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Mandarin Chinese *buguo* ('but') as a metacoherence marker in TV/radio interview talks

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This study examines the uses of Mandarin Chinese *buguo* 'but' as a contrastive discourse marker (CM) in spoken discourse. The data were taken from casual conversations, TV/radio single-interviewee interviews and TV panel news interviews. We found that two main types of the CM *buguo* were used to mark contrast: restrictive *buguo* and cancellative *buguo*. Restrictive *buguo* is similar to the ADV *buguo* in usage in that it modifies the validity of the preceding proposition to signal implicit contrast. Cancellative *buguo* is used to cancel the validity of a previous proposition to indicate explicit contrast. As such, restrictive *buguo* can serve as a topic-shift marker and to convey implicit disagreement; cancellative *buguo* often acts as a topic-change marker used to introduce explicit disagreement. In particular, both restrictive *buguo* and cancellative *buguo* can serve as metacoherence markers, which are often employed by interview hosts/hostesses to make the discourse optimally coherent.

Keywords: contrastive discourse marker, explicit contrast, implicit contrast, turn-taking, metacoherence marker

1. Introduction

Contrast can be defined as the perception of difference between two entities that are comparable in some other dimension or more simply as a general cognitive ability linked to structures of expectation (Schwenter 2000). Put differently, the concept of "contrast" refers to how one entity differs from another. It requires reference to both reasoning (Verhagen 2000) and evaluation and usually expresses the speaker's different viewpoints. All languages have expressions used to indicate

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contrast. Mandarin Chinese *buguo* (literally meaning *not pass* and similar to English 'but,' 'yet' or 'however'), which appears clause-initially and is regarded as a conjunction, is one of several contrastive discourse markers (CMs hereafter) used to restrict or cancel a previous assumption issued by either the same speaker or other participants in spoken discourse (Wang 2005; Wang & Tsai 2007).[1] In addition to its clause-initial CM function, *buguo* may occur in a clause-medial position where it precedes a verb phrase (VP) and functions as an adverb (ADV *buguo* hereafter). First, § 1.1 gives the three main functions of *buguo*, namely, restrictive ADV *buguo* and CM *buguo* in restrictive or cancellative contexts. Before detailing our method and data in § 2, we briefly review the grammaticalization development of *buguo* in § 1.2.

1.1 Types of *buguo*

The first type of *buguo* (ADV *buguo*) is a restrictive adverb (Lü 1980; Zhang 2000) which acts like its near-synonym *zhishi* by taking a VP. In this regard, it is similar to English *just* and *only* (Lee 1987). Both ADV *buguo* and ADV *zhishi* have a core meaning that entails restriction and both can be used to emphasize the predicates which follow as claims. Hence, they are also regarded as focus markers (Shi & Sun 2010). *Buguo* and *zhishi* sometimes co-occur with utterance-final particles such as *bale, eryi* or *jiushile* as a way of softening the tone (Cheng 1998; Li 2003). For example, the ADV *zhishi* in Example (1) below can be replaced by the ADV *buguo* without changing the soft tone and the meaning implied by it:

(1) *Wo* ***zhishi*** *shuoshuo bale*, *na neng zhen cizhi bu gan le*.
1SG only say simply how can really resign NEG do PRT
'I just said it casually, how can I really resign?' (taken from Li 2003: 238)

In addition to the clause-medial restrictive *buguo, buguo* and *zhishi* can also act as CMs by taking an S (clause or utterance)[2] like English *but* (Schiffrin 1987;

1. In analyzing the discourse functions of English *but*, Schiffrin (1987: 153) argues that "contrastive relationships themselves are tremendously variable. Sometimes such relationships are transparent enough to be found in the semantic content of propositions, but others are buried within speakers' and hearers' culturally based world knowledge, or implicit in their expectations about each other and each other's conduct".

2. As pointed out by a reviewer, a discourse marker has an operational scope covering a speech act with a propositional content, i.e. F(p) in Searle's (1969) framework, where p represents the propositional content and F marks the illocutionary type of mode with which the propositional content is presented. Hence the logical structure of *buguo* is *Buguo* F(p). That is, *Buguo* F(p) as a whole, not *buguo* itself, brings out the F(p) and indicates the speaker's attitude. We thank the reviewer for this constructive comment.

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Blakemore 1989) to textually signal an adversative or oppositional relationship between two clauses as "slight transition" markers (Lü 1980; Lu 2000)[3] and to interactionally indicate either disagreement or a counterclaim (Wang & Tsai 2007; Wang et al. 2013), as shown in Examples (2) and (3), respectively:

(2) *Zhe ren hen mianshou*, ***buguo*** *wo yishi xiang bu qilai shi shei*.
This person very familiar but 1SG for the time being think NEG COM COP who
'This man looks very familiar, but I for the time being cannot know who he is.'
(taken from Lü 1980:99)

(3) (C and D are talking about the medical board on a Bulletin Board Service (BBS) of which D used to be in charge. D tells C that although he was in charge of the medical board on the BBS, he/she was not necessarily the person responsible for writing all of the articles. D uses *zhishi* to mean something different from what C might suppose.)
C: .. *na*,_
then
.. *na ge jiu shi*,_
that CL ADV COP
.. *na ge yiliao ban*,_
that CL medical board
.. *na shihou jiu shi*,_
that time ADV COP
.. *ni zai fuze*._
2SG ADV in charge
D: .. *dui ah*,_
right PRT
.. *wo zai fuze ah*,_
1SG ADV in charge PRT
C: .. *oh*=,_
PRT
D: .. ***zhishi***,_
yet
.. *dagai*,_
probably

3. Lu (2000) argues that *zhishi* and *buguo* are used to indicate a slight transition while *zhishi* signals an even slighter transition than what is signaled by *buguo*.

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.. *wo jiu shi zhao*,_
1SG ADV COP search
.. *bujiande jiu shi wo xie la*,_
not necessarily ADV COP 1SG write PRT
C: 'That medical board, you were in charge of that then?'
D: 'Yes, I was.'
C: 'Oh.'
D: '**Yet**, maybe, I just searched (for the articles). It wasn't necessarily I who wrote them.'

(adapted from Wang et al. 2013: 203–204)

Similarly, the CM *buguo* and the CM *zhishi* can be interchangeable in Examples (2) and (3), without causing any difference in meaning. In addition, *zhishi* and *buguo* can be conflated to form *zhibuguo* to act as an ADV or a CM, as illustrated in the following casual conversation in Example (4):

(4) (D tells his recipient that his return trip home was generally smooth, except that other car drivers were competing with him on the superhighway.)
D: .. *Huilai de lu shang*=,_
come back NOM road LOC
… (4.2) *dagai*=,_
Probably
.. *yinggai suanshi yifanfengshun le ba*,_
should count smooth PFT PRT
(0) ***zhibuguo*** *zai*=,_
but in
.. *gaosugonglu shang*,_
superhighway LOC
(0) *you yujian yi jian*,_
again run into one CL
.. (H) *guannian shang de chongtu*,_
concept LOC DE conflict
D: 'Our trip home was generally smooth. **However**, we competed with (other) aggressive drivers on the superhighway and almost got rear-ended.'

(conversation)

Zhibuguo as a CM in Example (4) expresses a kind of adversative relationship and can be replaced by *zhishi* or *buguo*. It introduces a message which can be viewed as an unexpected or surprising fact – an exception to the expectation of the speaker.

However, acting as a CM, *buguo* can signal at least two kinds of contrastive relationships and is not always interchangeable with *zhishi*. In addition to the function seen in Example (2) where *buguo* can be replaced by *zhishi*, there are

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other functions in which *buguo* and *zhishi* are non-interchangeable. This can be seen in Example (5) below, taken from a radio interview program in Taiwan:

(5) (W is introducing the features of Caotun, located in Taichung County, Taiwan.)
W: .. *Suiranshuo*,_
although say
… *hen jiandan le*,_
very simple PRT
.. *yi ge shi hongyiren*,_
one CL COP red pearl-barley
.. *Riben yinjin de*,_
Japan introduce NOM
.. *yi ge shi caobian*._
one CL COP rush-woven (products)
L: .. *ey*.\
ey
W: .. ***buguo***,_
however
.. *dao le Caotun lai ah*,_
arrive PFT Caotun come PRT
.. *jiu keyi qu tiyan zhe liang ge dongxi de fengqing*,_
then can to experience these two CL things DE features
.. ***buguo***,_
however
.. *ruguo tingzhong pengyou xiang yao zhidao xiangxi*,_
if audience friend think want know detail
.. *biru zhusu de zixun dengdeng dehua*,_
for example accommodation DE information and so on in case
.. *Liangfeng Liang Dage ye tigong women ge dianhua*,_
Liangfeng Liang Brother also provide 2PL CL telephone
.. *dui-bu-dui*?/
right
W: 'Though it's very simple, that one is red pearl-barley, imported from Japan, and the others are rush-woven products,'
L: 'Yeah.'
W: '**yet** when you come to Caotun, you can see these two products. **However**, if the audience wants to know more details, such as information about accommodations in Caotun, Brother Liang can provide a telephone number through which you can get the relevant information.'
(TV/radio interview)

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Here, Speaker W, a radio program host, elaborates on his prior discourse by adding contrasting details prefaced by the two *buguos*, neither of which can be replaced by the CM *zhishi*. Note that the utterance prefaced by the first *buguo* is preceded by the utterance introduced by the concession marker *suiran* 'although/though'. Here, *buguo* cancels the topic domain of the foregoing discourse (i.e. red pearl-barley in Japan and rush-woven products in Caotun are two different things which a person may not have at the same time) in favor of a new perspective or expectation about what should follow in the discourse (i.e. the audience can experience both when they visit Caotun). The hearer may draw an inference based on his/her world knowledge which is then contradicted in the following utterance (i.e. a counter-expectation). The second *buguo* in Example (5) marks two larger discourse segments, the former of which deals with the features of Caotun, while the latter of which focuses on visitor information about it. Used in this way, *buguo* serves as a transition marker indicating a topic change. Specifically, the second *buguo* signals that the following discourse differs significantly from the preceding one. Thus, it can be seen in Examples (4) and (5) that *buguo* can signal different types of contrast which are not accounted for in the relevant literature. That is, although many studies have examined *buguo* (e.g. Lü 1980; Zhang 2000; Wu 2003; Shen 2004; to mention but a few), few of them have focused on the relationship between the ADV *buguo* and the CM *buguo,* or on the distinction between the CM *buguo* and the CM *zhishi*. Specifically, there are cases where the CM *buguo* can be substituted with the CM *zhishi* (as in Example (2)), but there are also cases where it cannot (e.g. in Example (5)). Therefore, this paper aims to demonstrate that the CM *buguo* has at least two main types that can be used to mark contrast – restrictive *buguo* (e.g. Example (2)) and cancellative *buguo* (e.g. the first *buguo* in Example (5)). These two uses of the DM *buguo* can be seen as two ends of a contrastive scale with intermediate gradations. Although restrictive *buguo* conveys implicit contrast[4] and cancellative *buguo* expresses explicit contrast, several examples in our data fall somewhere between these two extremes. The contrasts they express

4. The contrast conveyed by *buguo* and *zhishi* can be implicit (mild) or explicit (strong). Implicit contrast can mean that the proposition in the second utterance introduced by *buguo* is partially opposite (i.e. restricted) to that in the first utterance; that is, the first proposition is different from the second one. Explicit contrast means that the propositions in the first and second utterances are completely opposite or contrary to each other. For example, concession, pertaining to explicit contrast, refers to the concept that the proposition or assumption made from the previous proposition is totally cancelled in the following utterance. In this study, we argue that *buguo* is characterized as both [+/− concessive], while *zhishi* is clearly [−concessive]. In other words, restrictive *buguo* only signals that two things are different but not completely opposite. Cancellative *buguo* tends to contrast opposite sides of a single quality in two similar things or mark a contrast between extreme examples that represent almost polar opposites of each other.

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may be readily apparent (i.e. explicit contrast) or they may require the listener to draw upon contextual and cultural information to establish the connection (i.e. implicit contrast).

1.2 Previous studies on *buguo*

Before discussing methodology regarding the data collection and analysis in the next section, here we review previous studies on *buguo.* In previous literature, various characteristics have been ascribed to *buguo*. Originally *buguo* literally consisted of the negator *bu* ('not') and the verb *guo* ('pass,' 'surpass,' 'exceed') but gradually evolved into an adverb. Later, it developed into a conjunction used to signal a transition or to modify or oppose a preceding utterance by displaying an adversative or concessive relationship between two propositions (Lü 1980; Zhang 2000; Wu 2003; Shen 2004). In relevant literature, *buguo* has frequently been compared with other transition conjunctions such as *zhishi, danshi* and *keshi*. That is, some scholars have treated *buguo* and *zhishi* as near-synonyms, while others have regarded *buguo, keshi* and *danshi* as near-synonyms. Similar to the meaning of *zhishi,* Lü (1980: 122) has defined *buguo* as a conjunction which expresses a turn in the course of events, drawing forth a meaning that either: (1) opposes what was just expressed, or (2) limits or supplements the meaning of the prior text. Ross (1978) pointed out that while *buguo, danshi*, and *keshi* all conventionally imply a common topic and contrast, the conventional implicature of *keshi* and *danshi* is "oppositional contrast," whereas that of *buguo* is "non-oppositional contrast." Inspired by Schiffrin's (1987) analysis of English discourse markers, Miracle (1991) examined the functional uses of *buguo, keshi* and *danshi* in spoken Chinese discourse and labeled them discourse markers. According to Miracle's study, *buguo, danshi* and *keshi* are commonly used to mark an idea unit or structural unit contrast between whatever comes before and whatever immediately follows in a talk. In social action structure, *buguo, keshi* and *danshi* can be employed to introduce conflicting positions and to reestablish the relevance of an earlier topic. Within turn structure, these markers can serve to linguistically mark dispreferred responses to prior turns, a function closely related to the expectation of contrast which comes with the use of these markers. Following Miracle, Wang (2005) suggested that the contrastive markers *buguo, zhishi* and *keshi* developed from clause-internal predicate adverbs used in emphasizing a state of affairs to discourse markers which mark sequential relationships between clauses or between the preceding discourse and what follows in conveying contrasts between propositions or utterances. Compared with the other CMs, *buguo* occurs more often in institutional talk.

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As an adverb, it is used to describe a complete situation but with a casual tone so as to lighten the speaker's mood, usually by collocating with clause-final particles like *bale* ('simply'), *eryi* ('nothing more') and *jiushile* ('merely'), as shown in Example (6). Here, *buguo shi* can be replaced by *zhishi* without any change in meaning.

(6) *wo* ***buguo*** *shi wenwen jiaqian bale, bing bu zhen xiang mai.*
1SG just COP ask price simply and NEG really want buy
'I'm **just** asking about the price of the product; I don't really want to buy it.'
(taken from Lü 1980:99)

Lü (1980) points out that *buguo* is often used as a connector in spoken contexts to signal a transition to the following utterance, as illustrated in Example (7):

(7) *ta xingzi yixiang hen ji,* ***buguo*** *xianzai haoduo le.*
3SG character always very rash but now better PRT
'He has always been reckless, **but** now he has changed a lot.'
(taken from Lü 1980:99)

Here, the replacement of *buguo* by *zhishi* would sound odd.[5] Teng (1994) maintains that instead of implying contradiction, *buguo* can be used as a connector to introduce a condition or concession and is close in meaning to *though, it's only that* in English. This usage is different from *zhishi*. As a result, when *buguo* connects two propositions, the interpretations are as follows: (1) *while A is true, B is also true*; or (2) *A, though B, too*, as illustrated in Example (8):

(8) *ta hua bu duo,* ***buguo*** *gen hao pengyou zai yiqi hen jiantan.*
3SG words NEG many but with good friend at together very talkative
'He's not talkative, **though** with good friends he's a real conversationalist.'
(taken from Teng 1994:73)

According to Teng, this expression can be construed as follows: while the fact that he is not talkative is true, it is also true that with good friends he is a real conversationalist.

In analyzing semantic changes in Chinese adverbs, Zhang (2000) points out that *buguo*, a VP in old Chinese, was grammaticalized into an adverb because the NP it takes as an object carries the semantic feature [+ range limit]. Hence, the use of *buguo* plus its object means "not exceeding." When it takes an NP that indicates

5. According to Wang et al. (2013), *zhishi* tends to be used to convey the speaker's negative evaluation. Since the clause introduced by *buguo* in Example (7) indicates the speaker's positive evaluation, it sounds odd if *buguo* replaces *zhishi*. Besides, here *buguo* indicates an explicit contrast between the two propositions that the person referred to has: (1) always been reckless and (2) has changed a lot.

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a specific quantity, it expresses not only a limited range but also the minimum quantity in the NP, resulting in grammaticalization of the adverb *buguo* which contains a meaning similar to that of the adverb *zhishi,* thus delimiting in some way the focus element that follows it (Zhang 2000).

In examining the grammaticalization of the verb *guo* ('exceed'), Wu (2003) similarly observes that the adverbial use of *buguo* was often employed to describe trivial and insignificant things involving acts of negative "evaluation" on the speaker's part. Gradually, *buguo* took on the meaning of 'no more than,' when followed by a quantified NP. Later, *buguo* further evolved into an intensifying adverb when preceded by an extreme value. As Wu states, "when *Bu-GUO* begins to co-occur frequently with a VP, its status as a negative focusing verb meaning 'no more than, only' is clinched" (Wu 2003: 875). This is illustrated in Example (9):

(9) *shenghuo* ***[buguo]***$_{\text{Adv}}$ *[shi yigege de changjing]*$_{\text{VP}}$
life simply COP one after another DE scene
'Life is **simply** a combination of one scene after another.'
(taken from Wu 2003: 875)

According to Wu, the adverbial use of *buguo* further evolved into a concessive conjunction (meaning 'the only thing is, but') whereby it modifies not only the VP but the entire sentence. This new function is due to the fact that the speaker finds the previous sentence or a certain fact unsatisfactory and thus harbors a degree of opposition toward it. Hence, *buguo* ultimately developed into a connector with an adversative or concessive meaning whereby it usually follows or precedes a pause when it is used to express the speaker's attitude.

Wu treats *buguo* as an intensifying adverb similar to the English *but* by citing Nevalainen's (1990: 342) argument that "when *but* focuses on an item that represented the extreme value on a scale, the adverb is interpreted as an intensifier rather than as an ordinary exclusive." She further suggests that due to metaphoric transfer and metonymic expansion, *guo* (literally meaning 'moving past space physically'), after gradually reaching an abstract sense of 'going over a certain norm' and combining with *bu*, forms the word *buguo*, which maintains the intrinsic meaning of 'going beyond a criterion' in *guo*. That is, *buguo* has evolved into a form that serves as a bridge to mentally link two domains together and is therefore often employed as a contrastive discourse marker to connect two propositions. However, Wu does not specify how the adverb *buguo* with the meaning 'excluding the higher value on a scale' becomes an adversative or concessive connector in which greater focus is put on the proposition it introduces rather than on the preceding proposition. Shen (2004) also argues that the VP *buguo* gradually came to act like the ADV *buguo* before evolving into the conjunction *buguo*. The negative VP use of *buguo* 'not exceed,' equivalent to *mei dadao* 'not reach (a certain point)',

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instigated a more inferential use of the restrictive ADV *buguo* meaning 'simply, only, just.' As both Wu (2003) and Shen (2004) note, the restrictive function of the ADV *buguo*, which restricts its VP scope, later developed into a restricting transition marker operating on a proposition clause by shifting to the utterance-initial position. However, neither researcher addresses in detail the connection between the ADV and the CM *buguo*.

In spite of a wealth of literature on the syntactic and semantic properties of *buguo*, its interactional role in different discourse modes has received little attention. The characteristic uses of *buguo* may be conditioned by different discourse modes since certain genre-specific characteristics may have an impact on their distribution. For example, radio/TV interviews and TV news interviews comprise a (semi-)institutional genre of asymmetrical turn-taking (i.e. turn allocation); that is, the speakers' turns are 'preallocated' rather than determined on a turn-by-turn basis, or are 'locally allocated' (Sacks et al. 1974). In order to account for the discourse-pragmatic properties of *buguo*, the present study continues this area of research on CMs that was initiated some years ago (Wang 2005; Wang & Tsai 2007). The research questions addressed in this study are as follows. First, since *buguo* can act as both an ADV and a CM, what are the discourse-pragmatic functions of these types of *buguo* in spoken Chinese discourse, what contrastive relationships do these functions signal, and what is the relationship between them in regard to their meanings? Secondly, is there any difference in the distribution and/or use of the ADV *buguo* and the CM *buguo* in natural everyday conversations, radio/TV single-interviewee interviews, and TV panel news interviews?

This paper has begun by providing the background of the study and reviewing relevant literature (§ 1). The data and theoretical framework are presented in § 2. The results are detailed in § 3, followed by a discussion of the discourse-pragmatic functions of *buguo* in § 4 and 5. § 6 investigates the CM *buguo* in radio/TV single-interviewee interviews and TV panel news interviews in which *buguo* occurs more often than in casual conversations. Finally, a summary and concluding remarks are provided in § 7.

2. Data and method

This study involves three sets of data: daily occurring casual conversations, TV/radio single-interviewee interviews and TV panel news interviews. The participants in the conversations included students, colleagues, and housewives, among others, and took place in a wide variety of locations (e.g. dormitories, workplaces, homes, etc.). The interview data came from either radio or TV programs

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with one or two hosts/hostesses and one invited guest. The interviewees included celebrities or experts invited to discuss issues related to their fields, professions, and/or expertise on topics such as education, medicine/health, etc. The TV panel news interviews consisted of a program host/hostess and a panel of participants (three or more guests) having different perspectives on the social or political issues under discussion.[6] Both sets of interview data involved asymmetrical relationships, although the former involved two or three parties while the latter comprised four or more parties. Nevertheless, such discourse can be regarded as being more institutionalized compared to casual daily conversations because (semi-)institutional interviews tend to be more constrained by institutional role distribution and turn pre-allocation while being less prone to spontaneous intervention (Ilie 2001).

The data were all transcribed into intonation units (IUs),[7] a discussion of which can be found in Chafe (1987), Cruttenden (1997) and Du Bois, et al. (1993). The data comprised a total time of 4058 minutes and 5 seconds, including 1,352 minutes and 17 seconds of the casual conversations (representing informal/unplanned dialogue), 1,353 minutes and 37 seconds of the TV/radio interviews, and 1,352 minutes and 11 seconds of the TV news panel discussions (representing more formal/planned interaction).

In the present data, both the ADV *buguo* and the CM *buguo* were identified. We have examined their discourse-pragmatic functions in the three different sets of data based on the framework of Conversation Analysis (Sacks et al. 1974), an approach to studying social interaction and language use. To conversation analysts, language is a social institution, and one of its important functions is to maintain social networks and sustain interest in verbal interaction (Schiffrin 1994). Specifically, language is primarily employed to form actions (e.g. informing, questioning, and assessment) which are driven by social contexts and may give rise to social consequences. Therefore, conversation is the primary means of interpersonal linguistic communication, and is central to gaining a better understanding of what language is and how it works. Through conversation analysis, we are able to discover cognitive and social factors underlying the structure of language.

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6. A key feature of the panel discussions was that they promoted contrasting points of view and lively debate, albeit in a controlled framework in which conflicts were kept in check and the participants were safeguarded from losing face (Guillot 2008).

7. Intonation units are segments of speech; they can be as small as a single word, or as long as a clause. Specifically, they are sequences of words combined under a single coherent intonation contour, usually preceded by a pause. Intonation units generally include a single pitch word, phrase or clause and end with a pitch boundary (Du Bois et al. 1993).

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3. Distribution and occurrence of *buguo* in the data

As can be seen in Table 1 below, the conversation data yielded four occurrences (3.7%) of the ADV *buguo* and 103 occurrences (96.3%) of the CM *buguo*. The interview data yielded four occurrences (2.5%) of the ADV *buguo* and 158 occurrences (97.5%) of the CM *buguo*. The panel discussion data yielded nine occurrences (6.7%) of the ADV *buguo* and 126 occurrences (93.3%) of the CM *buguo*. Hence, *buguo* is commonly used as a CM in the spoken data, which is different from *zhishi* (Wang et al. 2013), and the total number of occurrences of the CM *buguo* in the single-interviewee interviews ($N=162$) is the highest among the three sets of data.

Table 1. Distribution and occurrence of *Buguo* in the data sets

	Mode					
	Conversations		Interviews		Panel discussions	
Type	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
ADV	4	3.7	4	2.5	9	6.7
CM	103	96.3	158	97.5	126	93.3
Total	**107**	**100**	**162**	**100**	**135**	**100**

(NOTE = Aborted or repeated cases are not included in the calculation; also not included here are cases of *bu-guo* used as a predicate (i.e. verb *guo* following the negator *bu* or V-*bu-guo*).

In our data, we observed that the CM *buguo* can perform the following discourse-pragmatic functions: (1) indicating contrasts between two utterances within a speaker's turn and across speaker turns; (2) marking transitions both within a speaker's turn and across speaker turns; and (3) displaying explicit and implicit disagreements, which will be discussed in the following sections. In particular, we found that two main types of the CM *buguo* were used to mark contrast: restrictive *buguo* and cancellative *buguo*. Restrictive *buguo* (CM *buguo* 1 is similar to the ADV *buguo* in usage in that it limits or modifies the validity of the preceding proposition to mark implicit contrast. Cancellative *buguo* (CM *buguo* 2 is used to completely cancel the validity of a previous proposition to indicate explicit contrast. As such, restrictive *buguo* can serve as a marker of topic shift[8] and to convey implicit disagreement; cancellative *buguo* often acts as a marker of topic change and to introduce explicit disagreement. CM *buguo* 1 and CM *buguo* 2[9] with respect to their turn positions in the three sets of data are summarized in Table 2.

8. A topic shift introduces a new aspect of a current topic (i.e. a subtopic), while a topic change introduces a topic which is new to the conversation (Lenk 1998; Stenström 1994).

9. Sometimes we categorized our data based on the collocations *buguo* appeared with; for example, restrictive *buguo* tended to occur with *eryi, bale*, and so on, whereas cancellative *buguo*

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Table 2. Distribution and occurrence of the two types of CM *Buguo* in the data sets

	Mode					
	Conversations		Interviews		Panel discussions	
Type	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
TCM 1	26	25.2	19	12.0	16	12.7
NCM 1	34	33.0	42	26.6	23	18.3
TCM 2	24	23.3	52	32.9	40	31.7
NCM 2	19	18.5	45	28.5	47	37.3
Total	**103**	**100**	**158**	**100**	**126**	**100**

(NOTE = T stands for turn-initial position and N for non-turn-initial position.)

In Table 2, the ratios of CM *buguo* 1 and CM *buguo* 2 in the conversations are 58.2% (25.2% + 33%) and 41.8% (23.3% + 18.5%), respectively, while those in

often occurred with *suiran* 'although/though'. In addition, we looked at the two propositions linked by *buguo*, as in (i):

(i) (A tells her participant that one day she got a scam phone call and felt uneasy. Finally, she was luckily not cheated by the scam gang, but a friend of hers told her the process in which she was cheated by a scam phone call.)
A: .. *suoyi*,_
so
.. *wo jiu meiyou*=,_
1SG then NEG
.. *bei pian*,_
BEI cheat
.. ***buguo*** *wo*,_
but 1SG
.. *pengyou ta you bei pian*,_
friend 3SG have BEI cheat
.. *suoyi ta zhuanshu zhe ge guocheng gei wo ting*,_
so 3SG report this CL process to 1SG hear
.. *suoyi*,_
so
.. *wo cai zhidao*,_
1SG till know
A: 'So I was not cheated (by a scam phone), but a friend of mine was cheated one time and she reported to me the whole process of being cheated.'

Here *meiyou bei pian* ('was not cheated) and *bei pian* (was cheated) are opposite, so we categorized the *buguo* in (i) as cancellative. Nonetheless, there were a few indeterminate cases, which require a larger context in order to determine which form of *buguo* is used.

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the interview data are 38.6% (12% + 26.6%) and 61.4% (32.9% + 28.5%), respectively, and those in the panel discussion data are 31% (12.7% + 18.3%) and 69% (31.7% + 37.3%), respectively. The frequencies of occurrence of CM *buguo* 2 in the interview and panel discussion data are higher than they are in the conversations. In addition, the distribution and frequency of the CM *buguo* in the interview and panel discussion data were examined with respect to speaker role. As shown in Table 3, the hosts in both the interview and news discussion data, particularly in the former, were more likely to use CM *buguo* in the turn-initial position – 35.4% (7.6% + 27.8%) compared to the guests – 9.5% (4.4% + 5.1%) in the interview data and 16.7% (4.8% + 11.9%) compared to 14.3% (7.9% + 6.4%) in the discussion data, showing unequal power dynamics between the two roles. Also, the hosts in the two sets of data used the CM *buguo* 2 very often: 43.6% (27.8% + 15.8%) in the interview data and 32.5% (11.9% + 20.6%) in the discussion data.

Table 3. Distribution and occurrence of two types of CM *Buguo* by hosts and guests in TV/Radio interviews and panel news discussions

		Mode			
		TV/radio interviews		Panel news discussions	
Speaker role/Turn position		N	%	N	%
Host(s)	TCM 1	12	7.6	6	4.8
	NCM 1	14	8.9	11	8.7
	TCM 2	44	27.8	15	11.9
	NCM 2	25	15.8	26	20.6
Guest(s)	TCM 1	7	4.4	10	7.9
	NCM 1	28	17.7	29	23.0
	TCM 2	8	5.1	8	6.4
	NCM 2	20	12.7	21	16.7
Total		**158**	**100**	**126**	**100**

(NOTE = T stands for turn-initial position and N indicates non-turn-initial position.)

4. The discourse-pragmatic functions of *buguo*

Our data show that both restrictive *buguo* (CM *buguo* 1) and cancellative *buguo* (CM *buguo* 2) are used to convey contrast. The former indicates implicit contrast and is concerned with topic shift and indirect disagreement, while the latter marks explicit contrast and deals with topic change and explicit disagreement. The following section addresses the discourse-pragmatic functions of the ADV *buguo* and the two types of CM *buguo*.

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4.1 Marking contrast

Our data show that both the ADV *buguo* and the CM *buguo* are used to indicate a contrast with what the normal expectation is or to indicate an exception or counter-expectation to normal phenomena. That is, a counter-expectation indicated by *buguo* is associated with a degree in scale of values in the speaker's belief system that seems to interact with an ordering which is specified by the context. Specifically, the ADV *buguo* imposes a restriction on the following verb or verb phrase and in so doing it draws attention to one element of the message. Hence, it can be treated as a focus particle which: (1) signals a focus on a proposition that is intended to be understood as "addressee-new" material (Kiss 1995); (2) relates the value of the focus to a set of scaled alternative values; and (3) ranks the focus on the scale. Like English *only* (König 1991; Rooth 1992), *buguo* arranges the alternatives of the focus on a scale and assigns an extreme value to the focus position on this scale. The value of the focus is ranked as "high" or "low" on some scale of relevant values in a given situation (König 1991). This ranking often indicates retrospective evaluation (Traugott 2006), which is related to the speaker's point of view. Furthermore, in this study we argue that akin to the ADV *zhishi* 'only,' the ADV *buguo* is associated with a ranked order where the value of its focus is usually minimal or negative. However, unlike the CM *zhishi*, the CM *buguo* comprises two types – CM *buguo* 1 and CM *buguo* 2. Specifically, while the proposition prefaced by CM *buguo* 1 tends to be viewed as negative just as its restrictive adverb and the CM *zhishi* are, the one introduced by CM *buguo* 2 can be viewed as either positive or neutral.

4.1.1 *Restrictive ADV buguo*

According to Wu (2003), when *buguo* is a negative focusing adverb, it sometimes co-occurs with *eryi* or *bale* 'simply' (see Example (6)) and is quite frequently used to emphasize that something is small or unimportant, especially when compared with something else, as shown in Example (10):

(10) (A, a hostess on a program, asks one of the invited guests, a legislator, how she obtained some documents, because after she held a press conference, a former president of Taiwan, Shui-Bian Chen, admitted that he had committed a crime.)

A: .. *benlai* *renmen yiwei*,_
originally people think
→ .. <D<MRC *zhe* ***buguo*** MRC>D>,_
this just
.. *jiu* *shi* *lingwai* *yi* *ge*,_
ADV COP another one CL

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.. *xiang Qiuyi weiyuan= de baoliao jizehui._*
like Qiuyi lawmaker DE exposure press conference
.. <D *you ren xin* D>,_
have people believe
.. <D *you ren bu xin* D>._
have people NEG believe
.. <MRC *mei xiangdao dangtian xiawu* MRC>,_
NEG think of on that day afternoon
.. *Chen Shui-Bian juran* <D<L *ren le* L>D>._
Chen Shui-Bian surprisingly admit PRT
.. <H *meiyou xiangdao* H>,_
NEG think of
.. <F<L *jiu shi ni na tian kai jizehui* L>F>._
ADV COP 2SG that day hold press conference
.. *na women lai huixiang,_*
that 1PL come recall
.. *zhe ge ziliao zeme chulai de._*
this CL information how come out NOM
.. *ni* <D *conglai dou meiyou shuochu* D>,_
2SG never all NEG speak out
.. <L *xiangguande mimi* L>,_
relevant secret

A: 'Originally people thought this was **just** a press conference like the one held by Qiuyi, the contents of which some people believed while others didn't. To one's surprise, in the afternoon on the same day that you held the press conference, Shui-Bian Chen admitted that he committed the crime. We should be indebted to you for your press conference. Let's recall how the material came out. You have never come out with any relevant secret like it.'

(panel news interview)

In Example (10), A compares the guest's press conference to that held by the legislator, Qiuyi. The hostess initially thought that the press conference held by the guest was just an ordinary one, as revealed in the proposition containing the ADV *buguo* meaning 'It was an ordinary, usual press conference.' However, it actually had a stronger effect than what she expected. Note that twice the hostess uttered *mei(you) xiangdao* 'never thought' to convey her surprise (i.e. counterexpectation). According to Ford (2000:285), such a contrast serves as a way to present two different perspectives only one of which the speaker identifies strongly with. Naturally, the ADV *buguo* is used here as a focus marker to restrict the predicate that follows. It can co-occur with *zhi* ('only'), as illustrated in Example (11):

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(11) (T, a TV program host, interviews L, a 40-year-old female marketing manager. L tells T the reason for her first divorce.)

L: .. *Wo shuijiao shui dao yiban*,_
1SG sleep sleep to half
.. *ah*,/
PRT
.. *pangbian*,_
at side
.. *zeme meiyou ren na*?\
how come NEG person PRT
.. *wo jiu*,_
1SG ADV
.. *xiaqu zhao ta*,_
go down find 3SG
.. *jiu kandao*,_
ADV see
.. *ta zai yi ge fangjian limian*,_
3SG in one CL room inside
.. *kan dianshi*,_
watch TV
.. *na zhong ganjue jiu haoxiang*,_
that kind feeling ADV like
.. *ni jinru yi ge dongku*,_
2SG enter one CL freezer
.. *hen binglengde na yi zhong qifen*,_
very cold that one CL atmosphere
.. *ni zhidao ma*?/
2SG know Q

→ T: .. *ta* ***zhibuguo*** *shi zai kan dianshi ma*,\
3SG just COP ASP watch TV PRT
.. *shibushi*?/
COP-NEG-COP

L: 'When I woke up at midnight, I discovered that my husband was not next to me, so I went downstairs to find him. He was watching TV in the living room. My heart froze. Do you know the feeling?

T: 'He was **just** watching TV, wasn't he?'

(interview)

In Example (11), L describes how she felt on this particular occasion when she woke up at midnight and found her husband watching TV. T points out that L's husband was simply watching TV and that there was nothing unusual about that,

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as expressed by the utterance *ta zhibuguo shi zai kan dianshi ma,* which implies 'It was a common, ordinary thing he was doing, namely, watching TV'. Note that *zhi* ('only') precedes *buguo*, which together acts as a restrictive adverb used by T to restrict the TV- watching event, that is, *shi zai kan dianshi ma* ('was watching TV'), since restrictive adverbs restrict the meaning of an action or proposition as a focus, evoke a ranking of the focus on some scale, and view the focus value as low-ranking. By doing so, T implies that simply watching TV is not serious in order to voice a slightly different opinion from L (i.e. an implicit disagreement). This excerpt suggests that the ADV *buguo* implicates a contextually-determined expectation scale and that the speaker asserts a proposition that does not exceed the higher value on the scale but is evaluated as being minimal. In other words, the ADV *buguo* sets a restriction on the following predicate so that the predicate becomes the focus and excludes all other possible alternatives (König 1991; Traugott 2006). Here, *buguo* identifies one possible referent (i.e. watching TV) to the exclusion of other alternatives (e.g. doing something wrong such as phoning his mistress, if he had one) and bears a contrastive focus.

Quirk et al. (1985) argue that there is a very close relationship between restrictive (exclusive) focus particles and adverbs called 'downtoners' (i.e. expressions like *barely, scarcely, just,* etc.) and that they are frequently used for either function. *Buguo* and *zhishi* are two cases in point. Both of these can occur together with *bale, jiushile*, or *eryi* ('merely, simply'), as seen in Examples (1) and (6), and they view their focus as having minimal value in the relevant ordered set (König 1991). Similarly, contrast is the difference in properties that makes an object distinguishable from other objects (i.e. exception). That is, contrast may be used to highlight puzzles or problems and may be a vehicle for observing remarkable phenomena and interactional sequences. As such, it may involve disagreement between speakers (Ford 2000). Accordingly, *buguo* can be used in interaction to express disagreement, an issue that will be addressed later at greater length.

4.1.2 *Restrictive CM buguo*

In our data, however, consistent with the findings of Wu (2003), we found that *buguo* is more frequently used as a CM to restrict a situation and to convey adversativity, accounting for more than 90% in the three sets of data (see Table 1). In other words, the ADV *buguo* is moved forward in discourse through frequent use and in this way becomes a CM.[10] Specifically, the degree of extremity in the ADV *buguo* goes beyond the expected norm in the speaker's mind,

10. Restrictive CM *buguo* is similar to the ADV *buguo* in usage; that is, both of them are used to restrict a following predicate or a preceding utterance, while the truth value in the predicate or the preceding proposition remains valid but differs to some degree.

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hence inducing the counter-expectation meaning in the CM *buguo*. In fact, there is a close relationship between restrictive particles and adversative conjunctions in many languages. For example, the English word *but* can be used both as a restrictive focus particle (as in Example (12a)) as well as an adversative conjunction (as in Example (12b)):

(12) a. He is but a child.
b. He wanted to do it, but he didn't find time. (taken from König 1991: 3)

In a similar vein, the CM *buguo* can be used to restrict a previous utterance to indicate some degree of opposition, in which case it is called the restrictive *buguo* (i.e. CM *buguo* 1 in this study), as seen in Example (13):

(13) (F comments on a controversial female figure and discloses that she has an entangling relationship with Chang-Ting Xie, a political leader in the Democratic Progressive Party.)

F: .. *Zhe yi ci ta dai geng duo de zhengju*,_
this one time 3SG bring more many DE evidence
.. *xie le yi ben shu*,_
write PFV one CL book
.. *jiaozuo Taiwan Makeshi Taiwan Yimeidai*,\
named Taiwan Marcus Taiwan Imelda
.. <MRC *anfeng* MRC> *Chen Shui-Bian zongtong*,_
insinuate Chen Shui-Bian president
.. *gen ta furen Wu Shu-Zhen*,\
and 3SG wife Wu Shu-Zhen,\
.. *hai baoliao shuo Xie Chang-Ting gen–*
still reveal say Xie Chang-Ting and
.. *gen ta*,_
and 3SG
.. *Xie Chang-Ting de jiufen*,\
Xie Chang-Ting DE imbroglio
→ .. ***buguo*** *zhengju bu mingque*,_
but evidence NEG clear

F: 'This time she has more evidence and has written a book entitled *The Marcus and Imelda of Taiwan*, ironically suggesting that Shui-Bian Chen and Shu-Zhen Wu have acted more like the characters in a book. She also unveils the imbroglios between herself and Chang-Ting Xie. **However**, what she discloses is not strongly supported with evidence.'

(panel news interview)

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Here, *buguo* indicates an internal adversative meaning, in contrast to the expectation directed at the ongoing communication process, and signals a shift in voice indicating a new perspective, just as *but* does in English (Halliday & Hasan 1976). Alternatively, from F's words in Example (13) we can see that the CM *buguo* combines two propositions – *hai baoliao shuo Xie Chang-Ting gen – gen ta, Xie Chang-Ting de jiufen* ('also unveils the imbroglios between herself and Chang-Ting Xie') and *zhengju bu mingque* ('the evidence is not clear') – in which the latter deviates from the validity of the former. However, it does not totally cancel the proposition in the former (i.e. *zhengju bu mingque* 'the evidence is not clear' instead of *zhengju quefa* 'lack of evidence'). Similar to a signal which alerts the hearer to a forthcoming message, *buguo* indicates the speaker's intention to provide new information that diverges from what has preceded it. Note that in Example (13) above *buguo* can be replaced by *zhishi* without changing the meaning of the utterance because they share a similar function (i.e. revision). More specifically, the CM *buguo* is similar to the CM *zhishi* in that it is sometimes used to restrict a preceding utterance while the truth value in the preceding proposition remains valid.

4.1.3 *Cancellative CM buguo*

In addition to its restriction function, *buguo* can also be used to completely cancel a preceding utterance or communication action, in which cases we refer to it as the 'cancellative *buguo*' (i.e. CM *buguo* 2). Although the restrictive *buguo* is interchangeable with the CM *zhishi*, the cancellative *buguo* cannot be interchanged with *zhishi*. Rather, it may appear together with the concession marker *suiran* ('though/although') to indicate an explicit contrast, as seen in Example (14):

(14) (A, a hostess on a panel news TV program, talks about the 2008 presidential election in Taiwan.)

A: .. *Suiran Xie Chang-Ting jintian renwei*,_
though Xie Chang-Ting today think
.. *zhe ge feichang guangdie huoze shi Taiwan zhoubao*,_
this CL very CD or COP Taiwan weekly magazine
.. *daluan le tade xuanqing*,_
disturb PFV 3SG election result
→ .. ***buguo***,_
but
.. *ge jia minyi diaocha*,_
each CL public opinion survey

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.. *jihu* *dou you* *yi* *ge* *xiangtongde qushi*,_
almost all have one CL same trend
.. *jiu* *shi* <*D lüjun* *manman huiliu* *le* D>,_
ADV COP green solider slowly return PRT
A: 'Although today Chang-Ting Xie thinks that this CD in question or *Taiwan News Weekly* will interfere with the election results, **yet** a media survey reveals a trend similar to the poll that shows the rise of the Democratic Progressive Party.'

(panel news interview)

In this excerpt, *buguo* appears in a contrastive context which is already concessive as indicated by *suiran* 'although/though'. According to Quirk et al. (1985), a concessive clause indicates that the situation in the matrix clause (i.e. 'a media survey reveals a trend similar to the poll that shows the rise of the Democratic Progressive Party' in Example (14)) is contrary to expectation in light of what is expressed in the concessive clause (i.e. 'this CD in question or Taiwan News Weekly will interfere with the election results'). Concession and adversativity can be understood as being one way in which speakers express contrast (Mann & Thompson 1992; Traugott & Dasher 2002), thereby assisting a speaker in expressing an opposing opinion. As noted by Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson (2000: 382), a speaker concedes information in order to make a contrasting point. Adversativity and concession involve a contrast in viewpoints as they are constructed in language use (Schwenter 2000). According to Traugott and Dasher (2002), adversativity and concession are more often used when speakers want to express beliefs or viewpoints that are contrary to either their own or to other interlocutors' expectations regarding the topic being discussed. However, compared with adversativity, concession involves a greater conflict in expectations (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2000). The cardinal concessive schema labeled by Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson (2000) consists of a claim, acknowledgement and a counterclaim. Barth-Weingarten (2003) argues that the acknowledgement in concession is more explicit than it is in adversativity. In our data, the ADV *buguo*, with its invited inferences of contrast, can be moved forward in discourse to become a CM that highlights and strengthens an already well-established concessive conjunction by co-occurring with *suiran*. In this case, *buguo* indexes the proposition in the following utterance as being a stronger argument in terms of rhetorical strength than the proposition in the preceding utterance introduced by *suiran*, thereby strengthening the speaker's argumentative position. Similarly, cancellative *buguo* can be

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used for the same purpose.[11] A cancellative *buguo*-utterance can follow an utterance prefaced by *suiran* (Example (14) above) or without it (Example (15) below).

(15) (A and his participant talk about Taiwan's government policy of offering a shopping voucher worth $ 100 USD to every man, woman and child in 2009 during the Chinese New Year holiday.)

A: (0) *ye you ren yong <E coupon E> zhe ge zi lai jiang*,_
Also have people use coupon this CL word come speak

→ .. ***buguo***,_
but

.. *tade zhengshi shuofa haoxiang dajia*,_
3SG formal way of saying seem everyone

(0) *shi yong* <E *voucher* E>._
COP with voucher

A: 'There are also some people calling it 'coupon.' **However**, it seems that the proper term for it is a 'voucher.'

(conversation)

4.1.4 *Marking contrast in a continuum*

These two uses of *buguo*, restrictive or cancellative, can be seen as scalar rather than dichotomous. Some of the instances of *buguo* in the corpus fall somewhere in between, in which speakers take the line of thought in a different direction. Like English *in fact* (Schwenter & Traugott 2000), *buguo* signals the speaker's assessment of what is on a scale of subjective value which ranks the utterance introduced by *buguo* as being stronger than the preceding utterance. Hence, it is often employed by the speaker to impose a scale for the purpose of strengthening his/her opinion at that point in the discourse. It can be employed by a speaker to add a comment to what he/she has already said (see Example (13) above) or to comment on what his/her interlocutor has just said (see Example (16) below).

(16) (A, B, and D are eating pizza delivered to their home.)

D: …(11) *Kouwei hai xiguan ba*,_
flavor still accustomed PRT

B: …(2) *Hen hao chi ah*,\
very good eat PRT

11. Unlike *but*, which cannot co-occur with *although/though, buguo* can co-occur with the concessive marker *suiran*. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that the contrast conveyed by Chinese *suiran* is more explicit than that conveyed by English *although* or *though*. However, this conjecture warrants further investigation.

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A: .. *Ni ye mei chi guo*?/
2SG also NEG eat ASP
B: … *Hen haochi*,\
very delicious
→ D: …(2) ***Buguo*** *wo juede ta*,_
but 1SG feel 3SG
..<MRC *xianchang* MRC> *chi bijiao haochi*.\
on site eat more delicious
D: 'Are you accustomed to this flavor?'
B: 'It's very delicious.'
A: 'You haven't eaten it yet?'
B: 'It's very delicious.'
D: '**But** I think it's more delicious if you eat it at the restaurant.'

(conversation)

Here *buguo* marks Speaker D's comparison between 'takeout' and 'dine in' pizza across speaker turns. It was classified as an example of restrictive CM *buguo* based on the speaker's tone in our calculation (note that there is *wo juede* 'I think' following *buguo*), but it could also be a borderline case. Although 'takeout' and 'dine in' pizza are in opposition, here Speaker D made a comparison of the taste between 'takeout' and 'dine in' pizza by using *bijiao haochi* 'more delicious.' Hence, *buguo* was considered to be a restrictive CM. The CM *buguo* in Example (15) occurs within a speaker's turn (i.e. it is uttered by the current speaker) and that in Example (16) occurs across speaker turns (i.e. it is uttered by a different speaker).

4.2 Marking transition within a speaker's turn

In addition to making a contrast between two utterances, the CM *buguo* can be used to mark a transition between two topics or subtopics. Since *buguo* is frequently used to elaborate on a point, speakers often employ *buguo* as a transitional device to shift attention to another subtopic, as shown in Example (17):

(17) (A, a program hostess, interviews B, an actor, and tells him that she heard that he plays computer games very well. B replies that he is not yet very good at it and would like to practice and make more progress.)
A: (0) *Tingshuo ni hen hui wan dianwan*,_
hear-say 2SG very be able play computer game
.. *duibudui*?/
right-NEG-right
B: (0) *Qishi wo bu tai hui wan*,_
actually 1SG NEG too be able

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A: (0) *Ah*,/
INJ
.. *zhende ma*?/
really Q
B: .. *Dui*,_
right
.. *jiushi yinwei bu tai hui wan dianwan*,_
DM because NEG too be able play computer game
.. *cai hui yizhi*–
ADV be able always
… *yizhi xiang yao qu wan*,_
always think want go play
.. *cai hui xiang* <@ *yao jinbu* @>.\
ADV be able think want make progress
A: @@@@
.. *Hao*._
okay
.. *Daihui ne*,_
later PRT
.. *zhege*,_
this
.. *Zai-Zai shuo ta jintian yao jiao wo*.\
Zaizai say 3SG today want teach 1SG
→ .. ***Buguo***,_
but
.. *jintian ne*,_
today PRT
(0) *ta xian yao dai women* <MRC *qu Yilan* MRC>._
3SG first want take 1PL go Yilan
.. <MRC *Yilan* MRC> *shi nide*=,_
Yilan COP 2SG
.. *zhege* [*jiaxiang de*] –
this homeland DE
B: [*guxiang*]._
hometown
A: 'A lot of people say that you are good at playing computer games, is that right?'
B: 'Actually, I'm not yet very good at it.'
A: 'Really?'

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B: 'Right. Since I'm not good at it, I want to play more so that I can improve.'
A: 'Okay. Zai-Zai says that later today he will teach me (computer games). **But** today he first wants to take us to Yilan. Is Yilan your [homeland]?'
B: '[hometown].'

(interview)

Here *buguo* lacks any obvious adversative, contrastive or cancellative force. Rather, its function is to signal a shift in voice and to segue into a new perspective. Speaker A discusses a topic which is still related to the previous or current topic (i.e. some other things about the interviewee such as his hometown) rather than deviate from it. So the topic introduced by *buguo* is restricted based on the previous topic. In a study on Chinese transition markers, Cheng (1998) observed that *buguo* and *zhishi* fall into the 'slight transition' category. From our data, we have observed that the restrictive use of *buguo* can mark a topical shift from one subtopic to another and can be substituted by *zhishi*, as shown in Example (17). However, unlike the CM *zhishi*, the cancellative *buguo* (CM *buguo* 2) can connect one topic to an unrelated but asserted utterance and make a topic change. That is, the cancellative *buguo* encompasses a wider scope compared to the restrictive *buguo* and *zhishi* and can be used to mark a topic change, as illustrated in Example (18), where *buguo* cannot be replaced with *zhishi*.

(18) (A and B are the hostess and host, respectively, of a radio matchmaking program. At the beginning of the show, they introduce a Taiwanese song entitled 'Wait for no letters by express mail.')

B: .. *Oh*,_
PRT
..<@<T *dengwu* T> *xianshi* <T *xin* T>@>
wait no by express mail letter
@@@
A: .. *hao la*,_
okay PRT
.. *zhe Huang dage*
this Huang Big Brother
.. *Minnanyu* <T *jiang de buliuli* T>
Southern Min language speak DE not fluent
B: .. *shi*.\
Yes
→ A: .. ***buguo***,_
but

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.. *daoshi* *ne*,_
on the contrary PRT
.. *zhege zuijin* *ne*,_
this recently PRT
.. *zhege tiantianqun jiedao* *hao* *duo*,_
this doughnut receive very many
.. *hao* *duo* *de* *xitie* *oh*.\
very many DE wedding invitation card PRT
B: .. *dui* *ah*.\
right PRT
B: 'Oh, 'Wait for no letters by express mail.'
A: 'Okay, Brother Huang, your Southern Min (=Taiwanese) is not fluent.'
B: 'Yes.'
A: '**But**, it's true that recently our program has received many wedding invitation cards.'
B: 'Right.'

(interview)

According to Maynard (1980:264), topic changes are utterances which are unrelated to prior dialogue, utilize new referents, and implicate and give rise to a series of utterances consisting of a different line of talk. At the beginning of Example (18), Speakers A and B introduce a Taiwanese song to the audience. After playing the song, Speaker B pronounces the title of the song in Taiwanese, but Speaker A laughs in response to his incorrect pronunciation. Speaker A then employs *buguo* to imply that even though Speaker B's Taiwanese pronunciation is not good, they get much positive response from the audience after stating that their program has received many wedding invitation cards recently because they have successfully matched many couples on the program. The dialogue introduced by *buguo* marks the start of a new topic which is completely unrelated to the previous one. Note that the speaker introduces a new referent (i.e. the program) and presents a series of utterances consisting of a different topic which is unrelated to the previous topic (i.e. the host's Taiwanese pronunciation). Since *buguo* in Example (18) functions to establish a new topic, we classify this *buguo* as the cancellative CM.

4.3 Marking transition across speaker turns

We have seen that *buguo* can be used to introduce new information which might be unrelated to previous discourse. In such cases, it functions as an initiative marker to introduce various kinds of information (e.g. a comment, conclusion, passing thought, closure of a talk, etc.), as noted in Example (18) above. Intrigu-

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ingly, our data show that the host/hostess in the two sets of interviews often employs the CM *buguo* to mark a transition across turns. For instance, in Example (19), the *buguo*-marked utterance is employed by the speaker to initiate a subtopic that does not seem particularly relevant to the current one:

(19) (Q, a hostess, is interviewing Z, a famous singer, on a radio program.)

Z: (0) *Suoyi*,_
so
.. *hen duo hen duo de shiqing yao cong*,_
very many very many DE things need from
.. *xiang wo zai*,_
like 1SG in
.. *di yi zhang zhuanji fa de shihou nayangzi de*,_
first one CL album release DE time that kind DE
.. *xinqing*,_
mood
.. *ranhou nayangzi de*,_
then that kind DE
.. *ganjue*,_
feeling
.. *qu gaosu dajia qu*,_
go tell everyone go
.. *jiao dajia lai renshi wo*,_
make everyone come know 1SG
.. *zheyangzi*.\
such

Q: .. *mm*.\
mm

→ .. ***buguo***,_
but
.. *Amei cong chudao dao xianzai lai oh*,_
Amei from debut to present come PRT
.. *yizhi baochi ta zhege*,_
always keep 3SG this
.. *hen qianxu de zhege xingqing*.\
very humble DE this temper

Z: 'I have to remind myself how I felt at the time when my first album was released. I wanted to express myself from the innermost depths of my heart, which can make every one of you rediscover me once again.'

Q: 'Uh huh. **But** we all know Amei has always remained humble from her debut until now.'

(interview)

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In this interview, Z, a well-known singer in Taiwan, describes how she felt when her first album was released. The unforgettable feeling rekindled her love for music. With her passion for music and a fresh image, Z is confident of her singing appeal and ability to attract more fans. Although Z shows her self-centered confidence, Q, the program hostess, says that Z has always been humble since the day of her debut, which can be interpreted as a conclusion drawn from the interview with Z. It seems here that *buguo*, which is used to introduce Q's reply to Z, functions to shift the current topic (i.e. her albums) to another one (i.e. her personality). In a TV/radio interview, when a topic or subtopic appears to have come to an end, the host/hostess is likely to ensure continuous talk by introducing either another subtopic or a new topic. In this excerpt, *buguo* is used by the hostess as a transition device to initiate a subtopic or to end the current topic. Specifically, she takes the floor from the interviewee and introduces a subtopic.[12]

In both interviews and panel discussions, questioning is an act that primarily involves eliciting a response and requesting information and opinions from informed interviewees (Haddington 2004). In both of these genres, the host/hostess may identify potential problems and raise them as topics for discussion based on his/her tacit knowledge of the topic at hand and on how he/she plans and structures the format of the interview or discussion. In particular, the host/hostess may employ *buguo* in a question to ask about another panelist's opinion after the current panelist voices his/her own opinion, as in Example (20):

(20) (After commenting on a current political news event, E suggests that the Chinese Nationalist Party and the Democratic Progressive Party should have a dialogue to find a new way out for Taiwan.)

E: .. *Na zhong lishi de gongshi*,\
that kind history DE common consensus
.. *lishi de duihua*,\
history DE dialogue
.. *tupo zhe zhong de lishide*,_
break through this kind DE historical
.. *yi zhong jingyan de jiaoliu*,_
one kind experience DE exchange
.. *wo juede cai neng zhaodao*–
1SG feel only can find out

12. In general, utterances spoken in close succession by one speaker or by several speakers are related. When they are unrelated, communication breakdown is likely. The utterance prefaced by *buguo* is dependent on the previous utterance in order for its meaning to be complete. Normally this previous utterance is spoken by the same person, but in some cases it could be spoken by another person engaged in the conversation.

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.. *ti Taiwan zhaodao yi zhong xinde chulu.*\
for Taiwan find out one kind new way out

→ A: .. ***Buguo*** *Yongping zemeyang kan zhexie shiqing oh*?\
but Yongping how see these things PRT

E: 'That kind of history of common consensus and historical dialogue can break through this kind (of barrier), this historical exchange of experiences. I think that it can find a way out for Taiwan.'

A: '**But**, Yongping, how do you see these things?'

(panel news interview)

In regard to a discussion topic, if the host/hostess wants to ask another guest's opinions, s/he may employ *buguo* as a marker of topic shift plus a question to yield the floor to another panelist. *Buguo* can also be used to express a reformulation of or change in a topic by the host or hostess in the single-interviewee interviews and panel news interviews, as seen in Example (21):

(21) (Prior to this exchange, a guest said that since the issue concerning ideologies of independence and/or unification in Taiwan has been debated for 30–40 years already, it would not affect the 2012 Taiwan presidential election.)

E: .. *Dui jianglai de toupiao de qingxiang*,_
toward future DE voting DE tendency
… *bu hui you tai da yingxiang oh.*_
NEG will have too big impact PRT

A: (0) *Bu hui you tai da yingxiang oh.*_
NEG will have too big influence PRT

→ .. ***Buguo*** *women lai taolun lingwai yi ge huati*,_
but 2PL come discuss another one CL topic
.. *weisheme wo hen guanxin oh*,_
why 1SG very concern PRT
.. *zhe yi chang bianlun*,_
this one CL debate

E: 'The issue concerning ideologies of independence and/or unification in Taiwan will not have an impact on voting tendency in the future.'

A: '(It) will not influence (the 2012 Taiwan presidential election) too much. **But** let's discuss another topic. Why am I so concerned about this (presidential candidates' televised) debate?'

(panel news interview)

In Example (21) the hostess, Speaker A, employs *buguo* and the utterance following it (*women lai taolun lingwai yi ge huati* 'let's discuss another topic'), where *buguo* is similar to the English topic change/shift marker *but,* to introduce a new

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topic followed with a question (i.e. 'Why am I so concerned about this debate?') in order to instigate renewed discussion.

As Georgakopoulou and Patrona (2000: 325) put it, "unlike everyday conversational contexts, the participant roles are demarcated *a priori* in that interactants are readily identified as host and expert." The host is the institutional regulator of the interaction who manages and controls the allocation, time, content of each participant's turns, and development of the topic. Hence, pre-allocation of the questions by the host and the answers given by the interviewees are the most salient features of this kind of institutional talk (Drew & Heritage 1992). That is, TV and radio program hosts/hostesses are expected to conduct their programs smoothly; as a result, it is no surprise that the host/hostess uses transitional devices (e.g. *buguo* to preface a question in order to introduce the next speaker) to accomplish this. In such situations, *buguo* is chosen to perform this function since it can be used to take the floor and change topics or subtopics. However, since panel news interviews involve multiple parties, the host/hostess may use *buguo* to take the floor back after a panelist's turn by responding to him/her or by asking another panelist to express his/her opinions about the issue being discussed.

Moreover, when the invited guests in the single-interviewee interviews finish their turn, the host/hostess is obliged to respond and initiate a new (sub)topic to continue the interview. Unlike the panel news interviews in which the host/hostess or another panelist is the next speaker after a panelist finishes his/her turn, the turn-taking sequence in the single-interviewee interviews would look like H-G-H-G, or like H1(-H2)-G-H1/H2 when there are two hosts/hostesses,[13] in which case the hosts/hostesses have more turns compared with those in the panel news interviews. This may explain why the host/hostess in the single-interviewee interviews in our data used *buguo* more often than they did in the panel news interviews to mark transitions across speaker turns.

4.4 Displaying disagreement

According to Pomerantz (1984), restricting the validity of the previous claim is a strategy often employed when the speaker expects an unfavorable response, such as disagreement. Since restrictive *buguo* is characterized by the proposition in the second utterance which limits the validity of the previous claim, it can be used to convey implicit disagreement (Günthner 2000), as shown in Example (22):

13. In the TV/radio single-interviewee interview data, the time length of the interviews involving two hosts totaled 380 minutes and 10 seconds, accounting for approximately one-third of the entire data.

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(22) (F, an invited guest, comments on the 2008 presidential election in Taiwan. A, the host, disagrees with him.)

F: .. *ta jishi xiaye le*,_
3SG even though no longer in power PRT
.. *ta zhiyao you zai lifayuan*,_
3SG only have at Legislative Yuan (the national parliament)
.. *ershiqi ge ren*,_
twenty seven CL people
.. *ni shuo shao ye zhende bu shao ye*._
2SG say few also really NEG few PRT
.. *nimen dadeguo na ershiqi ge ren ma*?/
2PL able to win that twenty seven CL people Q
.. *na-*
that
.. *erqie zhe zhongjian haiyou*,_
and this middle still have
.. *Chen Shui-Bian bang de budui zai nabian caopan*._
Chen Shui-Bian group DE troop at that side exercise

→ A: .. ***buguo***,_
but
.. *wo juede dadeguo*._
1SG feel able to win

F: 'Even though he is no longer in power, there are twenty-seven legislators in the legislature who support him, which is not a small number. Can you win them over?
Additionally, it is Shui-Bian Chen's proponents who are in control.'

A: '**But**, I feel that they can win.'

(panel news interview)

Speaker F in (22) is asking a rhetorical question (i.e. *nimen dadeguo na ershiqi ge ren ma*? 'Can you win over those twenty-seven people?'), which suggests that the speaker believes it is impossible to 'win them over.' By contrast, Speaker A explicitly states that s/he believes it's possible to 'win them over.' So Speaker A is basically claiming the opposite of what Speaker F claims. Here Speaker A disagrees with Speaker F. Note that *buguo* in Example (22) appears with *wo juede* ('I feel/think'), which could be treated as an epistemic stance marker, to voice indirect disagreement. The *buguo* in this example can be replaced by *zhishi*. On the contrary, cancellative *buguo* can express explicit disagreement, such as in the pattern: *buguo, wo gen X bu yiyang* 'However, my view is not the same as X',[14]

14. Explicit disagreement usually contains a negator like *bu* 'not', as shown in Example (23).

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which is often used by different panelists in the panel news interview data, as in Example (23):

(23) (Before D finishes his speaking turn, he acknowledges that some of the candidates in the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) have been offended by former Taiwan President Shui-Bian Chen, who was accused of degeneration and corruption, and intend to draw a sharp contrast between themselves and Chen, as argued by Liwen. D then expresses a different view from Liwen, indicating that the boundary, i.e. the contrast, is unclear.)

D: ..<MRC *bei Chen Sui-Bian dezui de zhexie ren* MRC>._
BEI Chen Sui-Bian offend DE these people
.. *nayang dehua jiu you gen*,_
such in case then have with
.. *Chen Sui-Bian*,_
Chen Sui-Bian
..<MRC *quge* MRC> *de yi ge*,_
distinction DE one CL
.. *yi ge dongzuo*,_
one CL action
.. *yi ge zitai zai*._
one CL stance existing
→ .. ***buguo*** *wo*,_
but 1SG
.. *wo-*
1SG
.. *laoshi shuo*,_
frankly say
.. *zhe yi dian wo gen Liwen bu yiyang*._
this one point 1SG with Liwen NEG same

D: 'Those who have been offended by Sui-Bian Chen show a distinction from him in their behavior and stance. **However**, frankly speaking, I am different from Liwen in this regard.'

(panel news interview)

As mentioned previously, contrast can be defined as the perception of some level of difference between two entities but comparable in some other dimension (Schwenter 1999). Therefore, it may be produced by single or multiple speakers and may include disagreement (Ford 2000: 289). Any possible differences in viewpoint or lack of consensus can result in disagreement between interlocutors. As such, disagreement involves contrasting points of view among different interlocutors. Kakavà defines disagreement as "an oppositional stance (verbal or non-

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verbal) to an antecedent verbal (or non-verbal) action" (1993:36). Given Examples (22) and (23), we suggest that the utterance introduced by *buguo* can be used to disagree with what another speaker says.

5. *Buguo* as a metacoherence marker

Like other contrastive discourse markers, *buguo* functions to guide the hearer to reject certain inferences and to aid her/him in understanding when a change takes place. It may modify the preceding proposition, like *zhishi*, or cancel the proposition. Either way, *buguo* can be used to explain an earlier statement, suggesting that it is intrinsically corrective and has a reflexive use. Correction is one locus which indexes reflexivity in introducing a repair or concession. Reflexivity is a process of metacommunication – a reflexive process that uses discourse at one level to discuss discourse on another level. Such a process has been labeled metadiscourse or metapragmatics and refers to the pragmatic use of language to comment reflexively on discourse itself (May 1993; Verschueren 1999; Hyland 2005). That is, speakers use metadiscourse devices to adjust the level of personality in their speech in order to offer a representation of themselves and their arguments. This helps the hearer organize, interpret and evaluate the information being presented.

The ADV *buguo* is specific about what it claims, disavowing all other possible alternatives (see Example (10)), while CM *buguo* 1 (i.e. restrictive use, see Example (13)) and CM *buguo* 2 (i.e. cancellative use, see Examples (14–15)) are specific in what they disclaim. The pattern X (the first proposition) *buguo* Y (the second proposition) manifested in our data signals that there is an acknowledgement in X that would lead to a certain expectation that follows from X. However, the speaker wishes to present information in Y as justification for thinking contrary to the expectation. This use seems to be triggered by the speaker's anticipated need to offer clarification of a behavior or event that should not be interpreted in terms of normal expectation (Overstreet & Yule 2002). Its corrective or repair usage can be defined as a self-reflective linguistic expression. It would actually have a metapragmatic function, providing the speaker with a means of commenting on and influencing the pragmatic interpretation and impact of what s/he is saying (Caffi 1984; May 1993). Both CM *buguo* 1 and CM *buguo* 2 allow the speaker to comment on the interpretation of his/her own intention(s). The speaker presents his/her argument(s) by first acknowledging the expectation implied or expressed by the preceding utterance and then by creating a perspective from which his/her different attitude(s) can be viewed as justifiable. As such, CM *buguo* 1 and CM *buguo* 2 can be used separately to convey implicit or explicit disagreement (note the implicit disagreement marked by *buguo* in Example (22) and the explicit

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disagreement marked by it in Example (23)). Sornig (1977) proposed that disagreement is a metalinguistic act because when the speaker expresses his/her disagreement, it is based on what the hearer has said, indicating his/her understanding of the meaning of the previous utterance. On the other hand, Hyland's (2005) interpersonal model of metadiscourse[15] posits that transition is one textual device that helps guide the reader. In our data, *buguo* used as a transition marker (note in Example (17) the shift in topic introduced by *buguo* within the speaker's turn, the topic change introduced by it within the speaker's turn in Example (18), the topic shift introduced by it across speaker turns in Examples (19) and (20), and the topic change introduced by it across speaker turns in Example (21)) often co-occurs with indexical expressions such as personal pronouns, aspect, tense, mood and evidentials, which necessarily "shift" in relation to changes in the context of use and hence in relation to the content of the message (Verschueren 2000). In the two sets of interview data, the host/hostess may address a guest by using *buguo* to introduce a different opinion or ask a question. Similar to English *well* (Aijmer 2013), *buguo* indicates that planning is occurring in the speaker's mind or accompanies cognitive processes such as revision. It can be described as a reflexive 'utterance signal' which can convey conversational feedback on a preceding utterance or project a new utterance. It can also signal a new stage of social activity (especially employed by the host/hostess in an interview). Its function of projecting a new stage in the discourse (a new activity, speech act, etc.) serves as an important metadiscoure indicator. It thus plays a crucial role in controlling and changing the discourse process, which is often used by hosts/hostesses in (semi)institutional speech situations because they are more pragmatically aware of the discourse structure than are the guests.

6. The uses of *buguo* in the single-interviewee interview data and in the panel discussion data

Overall, the results show that the CM *buguo* occurs more commonly than does the ADV *buguo* in the three sets of data. The ratios of ADV *buguo* to CM *buguo* in the casual conversation data, in single-interviewee interview data, and in the panel discussion data are 3.8% versus 96.2%, 2.4% versus 97.6%, and 6.7% versus 93.3%, respectively. Specifically, the CM *buguo* occurs more often in the single-interviewee interview data and in the panel discussion data than it does in the casual conversation data. Furthermore, an interesting finding in this study is the influence of speaker role in the use of the CM *buguo*. As seen from both the

15. The terms "metadiscourse" and "metapragmatics" are used interchangeably in the present study, referring to the same notion without making any distinction.

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TV/radio interviews and TV news discussion programs, *buguo* is frequently used by the hosts/hostesses both to shift the current topic to a related or aforementioned one as well as to introduce a new topic. It exhibits a topic-shifting or topic-changing function.

In our data, the hosts/hostesses, particularly on the single-interviewee interview programs, use *buguo* as a marker of topic shift or change. Since the hosts/hostesses are responsible for organizing a TV/radio interview program so as to ensure that it goes smoothly and successfully, it is not surprising that at certain times they hold the floor and implicitly direct the invited guest(s) toward topics the audience is interested in. In such situations, the CM *buguo* is used as a transition device to shift or change topics, thereby indicating a boundary and a change in the structure of the discourse. Similarly, due to the necessity of selecting the next speaker, the interviewers in the panel discussions act as moderators[16] and use the CM *buguo* to ask about the next speaker's opinions. Although each of the guests in the panel discussion has the right to govern a phase of his/her own (i.e. the guest is expected to be the primary speaker for the duration of his/her allotted speaking time), the host/hostess is primarily responsible for the opening and closing of each discussion and has the authority to regulate turn-taking while ensuring that the format of the discussion is respected and maintained (Korolija 1998). Using *buguo* as a transition (ground-shifting) device enables the host/hostess to monitor and guide the interviews and discussions in order to strictly adhere to the time constraints.

According to Coulthard (1977) and Andersen et al. (1999), the use of English *well* to introduce an utterance adds a sense of authority, indicating that the speaker is in a position of greater power than the addressee. Similarly, since *buguo* is often used by program hosts/hostesses who have the power to decide on and control the topics (Coulthard 1977), it displays an "authority connotation" (Andersen et al. 1999). By using *buguo*, the hosts/hostesses display their authority when it comes to directing the course of the program. Specifically, as they deal with various factors such as time control, commercial breaks, equitable speaking time, and so on, the hosts/hostesses may need to signal a change in orientation by using *buguo* in utterance-initial positions (i.e. the CM *buguo*). As such, it serves as a marker of metarelevance – relevance of a higher order that draws attention not merely to the

16. The radio/TV interviews involve two/three-party dialogues between one or two hosts/hostesses and an invited guest where the hosts/hostesses act as interviewers. However, the TV news panel interviews involve multiparty discussions consisting of one host/hostess and three to five invited guests with the host/hostess mediating between the several panelists who express different viewpoints. Hence, the role of the host/hostess is more like that of a moderator rather than an interviewer (Clayman 2002).

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information that may be gleaned from the discourse but also to what affordances and constraints might make the information maximally relevant in the production and reception of that information (Tseng 2012; 2013). More specifically, it can also be referred to as a marker of metacoherence in interaction. In particular, it is often employed by interview hosts/hostesses to make the discourse optimally coherent to the audience, which indicates the speaker's power to select topics and control the direction they take.

7. Conclusion

The results of this study suggest that the utterance *buguo* marks is used to indicate a speaker's attitude in discourse. On one hand, the CM *buguo* puts the focus on the utterance it prefaces and the focus evaluated by it is minimal or negative, just as the restrictive ADVs *buguo* and *zhishi* do. When the CM *buguo* acts like CM *zhishi*, it has a restrictive use. On the other hand, it can have a cancellative use by putting greater emphasis on the utterance it prefaces by cancelling the preceding proposition. In such cases, its preceding utterance can be introduced by *suiran* 'although/though,' which is similar to the functions of *keshi* and *danshi*.[17] When it acts more like *danshi* and *keshi*, the proposition it prefaces can be positive (e.g. as seen in Example (5)). We propose that there are at least two main types of the CM *buguo* that can be used to indicate a contrast. One is similar to the ADV *buguo* in that it limits or modifies the validity of the preceding proposition (i.e. restrictive *buguo*) and can be in the form of *zhibuguo* or replaced by the CM *zhishi*. The other use of the CM *buguo* is to cancel the validity of the previous proposition (i.e. cancellative *buguo*). More specifically, the CM *buguo* can: (1) restrict the utterance it introduces in order to partially cancel some level of meaning in the foregoing utterance (CM *buguo* 1); or (2) annul the validity of the preceding utterance in order to intensify the utterance it prefaces (CM *buguo* 2). In our data, however, we observe that these two types can be seen as two ends of the same scale but with intermediate gradations.

As a CM, *buguo* can be used to modify propositional content (i.e. make a contrast), express disagreement, and to achieve discourse coherence (i.e. make smooth transitions). In addition, our study on *buguo* suggests that speakers in more formal speech situations (e.g. interviews) are more pragmatically aware of

17. Although *buguo, danshi,* and *keshi* are similar (e.g. they sometimes can be used in combination with *suiran* ('though/although') to form constructions expressing adversativity or concession, as seen in Example (14)), they differ in degree of contrast and discourse mode. For more details, see Wang (2005) and Wang and Tsai (2007).

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what they say compared with speakers engaged in casual conversation. In particular, hosts/hostesses in interview programs (who mainly control the floor) tend to use *buguo* as a marker of metacoherence to control the topics or situations[18] in order to keep the interview or discussion flowing smoothly.

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Abbreviations

1SG	first person singular pronoun	COP	copula
2SG	second person singular pronoun	DE	associative (*de*)
3SG	third person singular pronoun	DM	discourse marker
2PL	second person plural pronoun	INJ	interjection
ADV	adverb	LOC	localizer
CL	classifier	NOM	nominalizer
COM	complement	PFT	perfective marker
COMP	complementizer	PRT	clause final particle

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18. Although *buguo* can also be used in casual conversation to mark transition, our data suggest that it is used more often in (semi-)institutional interaction contexts.

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