

The Stance-taking Functions of *gǎnjué*(feel) and *ju ále*(think) in Mandarin Conversation

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Abstract: In natural spoken Chinese, *gǎnjué*(feel) and *ju ále*(think) are used very frequently. The article aims to explore the interactional functions of their high-frequency formats *wǒ gǎnjué*(I feel) and *wǒ ju ále*(I think) from an interactive perspective. First, we count the semantic function distribution of *gǎnjué*(feel) and *ju ále*(think) by quantitative analysis; second, using the stance triangle theory, we analyze the positions, evaluate and align function of both *wǒ gǎnjué*(I feel) and *wǒ ju ále*(I think), and show that they have certain discourse marker function. Finally, *wǒ gǎnjué* (I feel) focuses on subjectivity, while *wǒ ju ále* (I think) is more used to interact with another communicative subject and show inter-subjectivity.

Keywords: *wǒ gǎnjué*(I feel); *wǒ ju ále*(I think); Positions; Evaluate; Aligns; Discourse Marker

1. Introduction

Considering *Xiandai Hanyu Babaici* (Modern Chinese 800 Words) and *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* (Modern Chinese Dictionary), the term *gǎnjué*(feel) refers to the direct reflection of the individual characteristics of objective things in the human brain; the verb *gǎnjué*(feel) is the same to *ju ále*; *ju ále*₁ means to have a certain feeling, *ju ále*₂ in some *opinion*, close to *rǎnwǎ*, but in a lighter tone. Fang(2005) noted that the evidential and epistemic verbs *gǎnjué*₂(feel) and *ju ále*₂(think) are on grammatical bleaching from complement-taking predicates to pragmatic markers. Xu(2012) took *wǒ ju ále*(I think) as a stance marker and analyzed its discourse functions. Yin *et.al* (2018) believe that *gǎnjué*(feel) is an evaluative marker. In other words: (1) *gǎnjué*(feel) and *ju ále*(think) have similar semantics; (2) their meaning of "have some opinion" is on pragmaticalization; (3) high frequency patterns *wǒ gǎnjué*(I feel) and *wǒ ju ále*(I think) are pragmatic-discourse markers. We believe that both stance marker and discourse marker are pragmatic markers, while the former primarily expresses the speaker's affection, attitude or evaluation, and the latter primarily marks the relationship between utterances.

On the perspective of interactional linguistics, this paper collected 1067 minutes of Mandarin conversation data, including 231 sequences with *gǎnjué*(feel) and 347 sequences with *ju ále*(think), aiming to quantitatively describe the semantic function distribution of *gǎnjué*(feel) and *ju ále*(think) and explaining its interactional functions from two levels.

2. The semantic distribution of *gǎnjué* (feel) and *ju ále* (think)

We distinguish the noun *gǎnjué*(feel) and the verb *gǎnjué*_{1/2}(feel) rely on syntactic standard, whether as a subject or predicate. We distinguish *gǎnjué*₁(feel) and *gǎnjué*₂(feel), *ju ále*₁(think) and *ju ále*₂(think) mainly rely on the semantic standard, whether its object describes "having some feeling" in body or emotion, or "having some opinion" in mind. We judge whether it is a pragmatic marker or not mainly referring to the 5 criteria of Fang (2005): linear position, syntax function, subjectivity, pattern meaning and separate intonation. It will be considered as a pragmatic marker if it is flexible in linear position, flexible, fuzzy in syntax function, subjective in expression, constructive in meaning and separate in intonation. We judge whether it is a discourse marker not focusing on its discourse function only. Of course, the grammatical bleaching is a continuum, the semantic and function of *gǎnjué*(feel) and *ju ále*(think) also appear two cases. For example,

(1)Wǒ **gǎnjué** chī diǎn suānde hǎo le. (*I **feel** good to eat something sour.*)

(2)Xiǎng kàn tā Pángyǒuquān, **gǎnjué** huì fā huā shéme de. (*I want to see her circle of friends, I **feel** she will send flowers and so on.*)

(3)Duì, yǒudiǎn nǐguāng, **wǒ jué**. (*Yeah, a little backlight, I **think**.*)

In example (1), *gǎnjué* (feel) can be understood as physical feeling or as light *rènwǎ* (think), *gǎnjué* (feel) in example (2) can be understood as light *rènwǎ* or subjective speculation of the speaker, can be placed at the end of the sentence; *wǒ jué* (I think) in example (3), if gets stress, it emphasizes the speaker's attitude, if reads weakly, it uses as a discourse marker. In the statistical semantic functional distribution, we take its more specific significance.

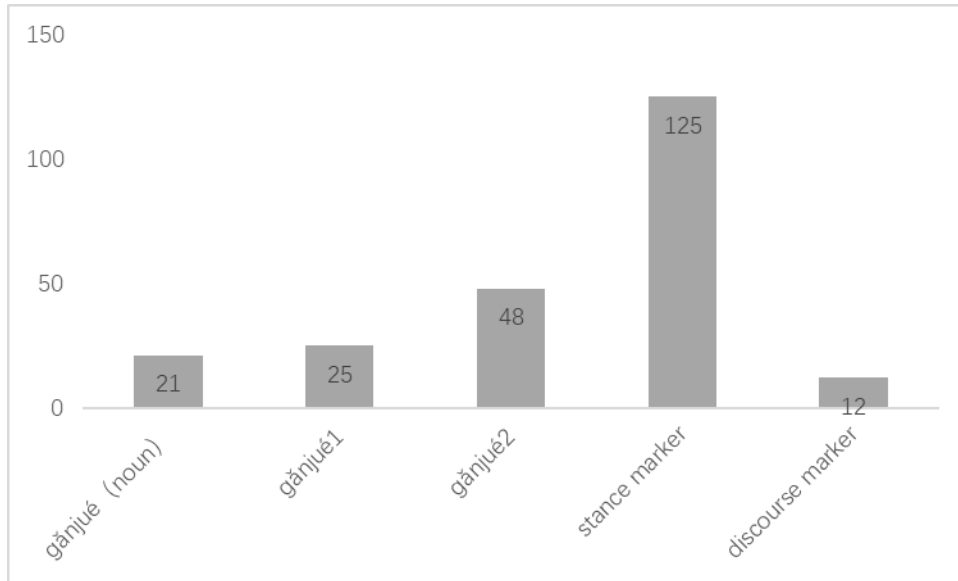


Figure 1.1 Semantic function distribution of gǎnjué (feel)

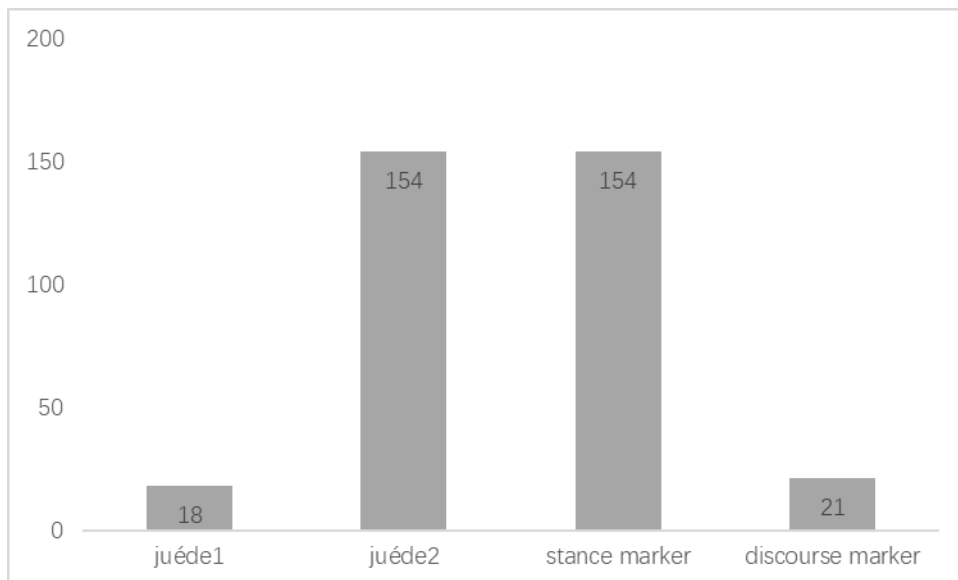


Figure 1.2 Semantic function distribution of jué (think)

As can be seen from Figure 1.1, the stance marker usage of *gǎnjué* (feel) pattern accounts for about 54.1% (125 / 231), and no other semantic functions are very prominent. In contrast, the *jué* (think) pattern in Figure 1.2 used as stance marker accounts for 44.4% (154/347), there are also many cases of "have some opinion" usage. This distribution difference between *gǎnjué* (feel) and *jué* (think) is mainly caused by the diversities of their syntactic subjects.

Table 1.1 Syntactic subjects of gǎnjué(feel) and ju ále(think)

	First person singular	Second person singular	No subject	Others	Total
gǎnjué(feel)	103 (49.0%)	10 (4.8%)	95 (45.2%)	2 (1.0%)	210 (100%)
ju ále(think)	278 (80.1%)	17 (4.9%)	6 (1.7%)	46 (13.3%)	347 (100%)

It can be seen in Table 1.1 that *gǎnjué(feel)* sequences have multiple use cases for first-person singular and no subject, representing 49.0% and 45.2%. In the data, except for one case, all the no subject sequences can be analyzed as the speaker as subject. That is 94.2% of *gǎnjué(feel)* sequences can be analyzed as *wǒ gǎnjué(I feel)*, with others summing up 13 sequences (including 10 sequences of *nǐ gǎnjué(you feel)*, 1 sequence of on subject, and 2 others), accounting for 6.2%. In *ju ále(think)* sequences, the non-first-person-singular subject sums up 66 sequences (including 17 *nǐ ju ále*, 3 no subject and 46 others), accounting for 19.0%, and *wǒ juéde(I think)* accounts for 80.1%.

Also, *wǒ gǎnjué(I feel)* is much more constructive than *wǒ juéde(I think)*. In the data, there are about 31.3% (87 / 278) of *wǒ juéde(I think)* inserting other components, such as *wǒ jiù juéde(I just think)*, *wǒ xiànzài juéde(now I think)*, *wǒ méi juéde(I don't think)* etc, while only about 15.7% (31 / 197) of *wǒ gǎnjué(I feel)* inserting with other components, mainly *jiù* (19 cases). So we think that *wǒ gǎnjué(I feel)* is more bleached than *wǒ juéde(I think)*. Xu(2012) analyzed the inserting of time words, stance-taking words and *yě* as marked patterns, and pointed out that there is no affect to the expression of epistemic stance. We believe that these marked patterns need to be treated differently and should not all be regarded as epistemic stance markers. For example:

(4)*Wǒ xiànzài tūrán juéde, yīgèshì duì kǒuyǔ yāoqiú gāo, língyīgè shì wénhuà rèntóng. (I now suddenly feel that one is the high requirements for the oral language, and the other is the cultural identity.)*

wǒ juéde(I think) in example(4) co-occurs with *xiànzài tūránjiān(now suddenly)* that expressing event process structure, actually representing an objective event rather than expressing the speaker's subjective opinion. Our analysis of high-frequency patterns of *gǎnjué(feel)* and *ju ále(think)* does not count this kind of marked tokens.

wǒ gǎnjué(I feel), *gǎnjué(feel)* and *wǒ juéde(I think)* in natural conversation are very common, and their linear positions are flexible, which can appear at the front of a clause, in the middle or at the end, mainly expressing the speaker's attitude: to themselves, to an object or to the former speakers. There are also a small part of cases limited to coherent the conversation, and there is no affect to the expression of the proposition if deleting them. As mentioned above, (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/ juéde(I feel/think)* has some "marked patterns", whose conventionalization is not very high, so focusing on the high frequency patterns of more than half can better explain the emergent of stance-taking function. So we only analyze the discourse function of *wǒ gǎnjué(I feel)*, *gǎnjué(feel)* and *wǒ juéde(I think)* below, recorded as (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/ juéde(I feel/think)*.

3. The stance-taking function of (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/ juéde (I feel/think)*

Any stance-taking involves stance roles and functions, stance roles include subject and object, and functions include position, evaluate and aligns. (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/ juéde(I feel/think)* is an epistemic phrase, which mainly used to mark the speaker's opinion at either the front of a clause or the end. But we also found that a number of (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/ juéde (I feel/think)* focus on evaluating the object that participants pay joint attention at either the front of a clause or the end. In addition, because of the low certainty (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/ juéde (I feel/think)*, it is also commonly used to mark a different opinion with the previous speaker's or give advice to the previous speaker. Such cases are of course the subjective epistemic or evaluation, but they highlight the interaction between the participants. Therefore, we analysis these cases from a perspective of aligns between the subjects.

3.1 Subject-centered position

3.1.1 Mark high certainty assertion

In the data, some utterances are clearly very certain inferences or epistemic, but the speakers still mark them with (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/juéde* (I feel/think). Such as:

(5)(Talk about children's age)

1 A: *jiǔyuè jǐ hào a?* (September?)

2 B: *jiǔyuè bāhào.....* (September 8...)

3 A: *gǎnjué gēn wǒ nàge.. gēn wǒ wàisheng chàbuduō.. dàxiǎo.* (feels about the size of my one as my nephew...)

4 B: *tā yé shì?* (So is he?)

5 A: *tā shí yuèfēn.* (he was in October.)

(6)1 A: *wǒ gǎnjué tā yào zhù yī wǎnshang.* (I felt like she was staying for one night.)

2 B: *du ì* (yeah.)

3 A: *zánmen ne?* (What about us?)

4 B: *suǐbiàn, dōuxíng.* (Whatever, whatever.)

(7)(Playing cards)

1 A: *wǒ juéde wǒ kěndìng bǐ nǐ dà.* (I think mine is definitely bigger than you.)

2 B: *wǒ juéde yěshì.* (I think so, too.)

It is obvious in example (5) that the speaker already knows that the two children were born in the same year, with one at 8th September, another at October, and surely they are at the same age. (5) 3 *gǎnjué*(feel) marks a very certain judgment. Example (6) 1 *wǒ gǎnjué*(I feel) also marks a very certain fact. Beside the listener knows what the speaker knows, and the aunt changed her ticket which we know from the earlier conversation, the speaker mainly turns an objective statement to a subjective opinion by using the epistemic stance marker. As we can see from the following conversation, the purpose of the speaker is not to inform aunt's decision to the listener, but to discuss how they are going to do next. In example (7) 1 *wǒ juéde*(I think) co-occurs with *kěndìng*(absolutely) that is a high certain modal adverb, which shows that the speaker is very confident with his judgment. Meanwhile, it is also proved to be reasonable by the listener's agreement in the following turn. Since the presence or absence of stance markers does not affect the truth value of a proposition, the usage of low certainty (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/juéde* (I feel/think) marking high certainty utterances, on the one hand, does not disturb the proposition, on the other hand, can maintain the positive face of both the speaker and the listener, which making the expression more euphemistically and the communication more smoothly.

3.1.2 Mark low certainty inference

(*Wǒ*) *gǎnjué/juéde*(I feel/think) can be used to mark the speaker's uncertain inference, on the one hand, the position of the speaker's subjective epistemic is unsure, namely "I can't tell the epistemic status of myself", on the other hand, the fact of the object is unsure, namely "I'm not sure what I'm talking about is true or false". Such as:

(8)(Just started climbing the mountain)

1 A: *yǒurén dōu xiàlái le!* (Someone has come down!)

2 B: *shìbushì xiàshān==* (down the hill ==)

3 C: *qǐzǎo shàngde.* (from the morning.)

4 B: *xiàshān gǎnjué yǐnggāi lìng yǒu tiáo dàoer.* (feels down the mountain should have another way.)

(9)(Playing cards)

1 A: *zěnme yě děi yǒu ge duìer.* (must have a pair.)

2 B: *nǐ quèdìng?* (Are you sure?)

3 A: *wǒ cāi wǒ gǎnjué tā yǐnggāi yǒu ge duìer.* (I guess I feel like he should have a pair.)

(10)(Discuss weather)

1 A: *kě léng le.* (very cold.)

2 B: *chuān nǐzìwàitào dǒu léng.* (it is cold even in a woolen coat.)

3 C: *zhēnde?* (Really?)

4 A: *en, zǎoshang kěnéng zhǐyǒu jǐ dù, wǒ juéde.. bùshàng 10 dù.* (Um, maybe only a few degrees in the morning, I think.. no more than 10.)

Gǎnjué(feel) in example (8)4 marks a low certainty inference. Since it's her first time to climb the mountain, she didn't know if going up and down was the same path or not. Based on her previous experience in climbing mountains, she inferred that there should be another way down the mountain. *gǎnjué*(feel) and *yǐnggāi* that is an epistemic modal auxiliary used to express the speaker's inference

co-occur here, which helps to understand the low certainty meaning well. There are many words expressing the speaker's inference in example (9), such as *wǒ gǎnjué*(I feel), *wǒ cāi*(I guess), *yīnggāi*(should), these words are repeatedly superimposed, indicating the speaker has low certainty about what he was saying. It also means the speaker's inference is low credible in example (9) 2 by responding with a yes-no question. Example (10) 4 is a general inference on the temperature based on the speaker's sensory, which got reinforced by the co-occurrence of *wǒ juéde*(I think) and *kěnéng*(possible) that is an epistemic modal auxiliary. According to the tone pause before *bù shàng 10dù*(no more than 10), we can tell that it is a supplemental composition, not the clause content.

3.2 Object-centered evaluate

3.2.1 Mark positive evaluation

(11)(Passing by the school built on the hill)

A: *zhè àer dà a, rǎn zhàn le bàn bān a, gǎnjué* (this side is big, it occupies half of the mountain, I feel.)

B: *shì zhānshānwáng.* (yeah, king of the mountain.)

(12)(Talk about a friend who signed her orders)

A: *…… tā bàozhe yīduī cǎilì ào qù zhǎo fùzhǔ……* (She holds a pile of material to find the principal)

B: *jìùshì tā jìùshì gèrén nénglì chāo qiáng, wǒ gǎnjué* (just she just has super personal ability, I feel.)

(13)(Share the travel experience)

A: *jìùshì dà tǔdū, nàxiē yízhǐ.* (it is just big mound, those sites.)

B: *tǐngzhǐ le, zhèyìtàng tèzhí, wǒ juéde.* (It's worth, your travel deserves, I think.)

The current common concern in example (11) is a college built on the mountain where the speaker describes its area large as *zhànle bàn bān*(half of the mountain). In example (12), after hearing how she striving for her own interests and persuading her boss by gathering evidence, the speaker summarized as *tā jìùshì gèrén nénglì chāo qiáng* (she just has super personal ability). In example (13), the speaker evaluates the listener's travel experience as *zhèyìtàng tèzhí*(your travel deserves). (*wǒ gǎnjué/ juéde*(I feel/think) in all the three examples are placed at the end of the intonation units. Fang (2007) identified these post palced patterns as an "assertion + perspective" expression where all the evidential and epistemic verb patterns can be used to evaluate. Except (*wǒ gǎnjué/ juéde*(I feel/think), *wǒ xiǎng*(I think), *wǒ kàn*(I think) etc. are also used to evaluate at the end of a clause, nomatter which is the verb. Of course there are also some tokens of (*wǒ gǎnjué/ juéde*(I feel/think) doing evaluation located at the front of the clause or after the clause subject in my data, but this paper points out that the end of a clause is the typical position to explain the bleaching degree. The following examples of marking negative evaluation are the same.

3.2.2 Mark negative evaluation

(14) A: *yèjǐng hái tǐng piàoliang……* (A: night scene is pretty……)

B: *bù íng, shǒujī jiùbǎ zhè jǐng huǐ le, gǎnjué.* (No, my phone will destroy the scene, I feel.)

(15) A: *Zhōngguó rén zài háizi shēnshang fūchū zhème duō, zhèngcháng háishì bùzhèngcháng, zhèyàng zuò dàodì hǎo háishì bùhǎo?* (Is it normal or abnormal for Chinese people to pay so much on their children. Is it good or not to do so?)

B: *kěndìng bù tài zhèngcháng, wǒ gǎnjué* (certainly not quite normal, I feel.)

(16) A: *jìyòng zhège, kějiǎndān le, wǒ dōu huáiyí tā shì jiǎde.* (just use this, it's too simple, I even suspect it is fake.)

B: *duì a, wǒ jù juéde [nǐ shuō zhème gāojí de dōngxī, jù bù néng bāozhuāng hǎo yīdiǎn], tāmen zhēnshì ..[tèbié chūnpǔ, wǒ juéde.]* (yeah, I think [such advanced things, can't you package it better?] they are..[too honest, I think.]

In example (14), speaker B gave a negative evaluation on the photo function of her mobile phone when everyone was taking night scene with their phones. In example (15), speaker B expressed her negative attitude with *kěndìng bù tài zhèngcháng* (certainly abnormal), responding *zhōngguó rén zài háizi shēnshang fūchū zhème duō de xīnxuè* (Chinese pay so much effort on children) which the last speaker asked with *nǐshuō*(you think) is normal or not. In example (16), speaker B evaluated that *tāmen zhēnshì tài chūnpǔ*(they are too simple), facing a rough packaged gift from the airport duty-free store,

as people commonly believed that duty-free goods that are kind of national name card should be beautiful packing.

(*Wǒ*) *gǎnjué/juéde*(I feel/think) can be used either to mark a positive and negative evaluation or a neutral one, because the epistemic phrase itself has no preference. The speakers mainly emphasize their own perspective by marking their opinions with an epistemic phrase. As Benveniste(1971[1957]) said, the main function of the first person pronoun plus a evidential and epistemic verb is turning objective statements into subjective statements. On the one hand, it does not force the listener have a same attitude, on the other hand, it does not affect the participants make their other judgments. So the speaker relieves his pressure of always telling the fact and the listener understands and accepts what the speaker said easily.

3.3 Inter-subjectivity and aligns

3.3.1 Alignment stance

Yao (2012) divided alignment stance into four types : parallel, continuity, sharing and induction. The stance-taking of (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/juéde*(I feel/think) covers these four types, which we illustrate separately:

(17)(Playing cards)

A: *zhè pái gāng bù jì àn guò ma?* (the card just not been seen?)

B: *en, du ì du ì gǎnjué zhēn shì à, hǎo xiàng shàng bǎ pái.* (em, yeah, right, it **feels** so real, like last hand.)

(18) 1 A: *xuéxiào yīnián yào kāi hěnduō huì.* (Our campus has a lot of meetings every year.)

2 B: *du ì à,* (it is,)

3 ... (4s)

4 *wǒ gǎnjué shǔjià de shíhòu dàjiā tǐng yuànyì lái zhèr kāihuì de.* (I feel like people would like to come here during the summer vacation.)

5 A: *bù shǐ.*

6 B: *en.* (um)

7 ... (3s)

8 A: *qīhōu wǒ gǎnjué dōngtiān yě yǒurén yuànyì lái, hěnduō mǎ jì àngùò xuě.* (**I feel that people are willing to come in winter too, many of them haven't seen snow.**)

9 B: *en en.* (Hmm.)

(19)(Discuss Yoga)

A: *yījiā zài Yìndù yě shì yī zhǒng xīnyǎng, bùguāng shì yī zhǒng yìndòng.* (Yoga is also a belief in India, not just a sport.)

B: **Wǒ juéde** shì (**I think** so too.)

(20) A:

B: *Yǒushòu gǎnjué hé ánlái de rénbǐ xūyào ánguān xìng zhòng à.* (sometimes I **feel** that compatible people are more important than kinship.)

A: *Du ì jì shì zhèzhǒng.* (yeah, it is.)

Example (17) is a type of parallel alignment stance. The subject A said *zhè pái gāng bù jiàn guò ma*(the card just not been seen), aligning by the subject B with *gǎnjué zhēn shì à*, and with *hǎo xiàng shàng bǎ pái*(like last hand) evaluating similarly. Example (18) is a type of continuity alignment stance. In line 8, the subject A responded with *dōngtiān yě yǒurén yuànyì lái*(people are willing to come in winter too) to *shǔjià de shíhòu dàjiā tǐng yuànyì lái zhèr kāihuì de*(people would like to come here during the summer vacation) of subject B in line 4, which aligned by B in line 9. Example (19) is a type of sharing alignment stance. The subject B separately marked an agreement turn with *wǒ juéde shì* (I think so), highlighting the alignment with subject A. Example (20) is a type of induction alignment stance. After the subject A sharing her experience on the attitude of her friends and relatives towards her misfortune, the subject B summarized the content from A's perspective, which got aligned by A in the next turn. Therefore, they completed an alignment stance.

3.3.2 Dis-alignment stance

According to expression strategies and the degree of dis-alignment, Dis-alignment stance was separately divided into direct or indirect strategies and complete dis-alignment or partial dis-alignment. Because the classifications are made from different perspective, it is possible to cross-present in natural

conversation. Such as:

(21) (Discuss whether travel needs to read some guides)

1 A: *Wǒ shuō nǐ gěi wǒ jǐng yī gè, tā jì wǒ gěi kāishǐ xiābiān -- (I said you tell me one, she would start making up)*

2 B: *Wǒ juéde nǐ qù āijí zhè zhǒng dǎng yīdìng yào zuò gōnglǚè bǎ tèbié yǒu mǐngde tútū qíán liǎojiě le. (I think you must read some guides to go to some place like Egypt, and know something about the famous works in advance.)*

3 A: *Bùyòng zuò gōnglǚè (There is no need to read guides.)*

4 B: *Bùyòng zuò gōnglǚè? (There is no need to read guides?)*

5 A: *Wǒ juéde bùyòng zuò gōnglǚè (I think there is no need to read guides.)*

6 B: *Wǒ juéde nǐ yào qù bówùguǎn shémede, nàxiē mǐng huà, háiyǒu mǐng diāosù, nǐ yīdìng yào zuò gōnglǚè, kànqǐlái cǎi yǒuyǐ. (I think you must read some guides before you are going to visit a museum or some place like it. The paintings, sculptures and so on will be more interesting.)*

In example (21), The subject B suggested that *yīdìng yào zuò gōnglǚè*(you must read some guides) in line 2, and the subject A said *bùyòng zuò gōnglǚè*(there is no need to read guides)in line 5, then A directly expressed a complete dis-alignment stance with B in line 6 by reaffirming her last words. Based on B's suggestion, the interaction between subjects is also kind of inter-subjectivity. Line 3 and 6 also need to be noted. The subject A directly denied what B suggested in line 3, and marked her different opinion with an epistemic phrase *wǒ juéde* (I think) in line 6. We can see that it has a great influence on B's communicative enthusiasm from what B responded. The subject B simply repeated A's utterance with a raise tone in line 4, but she detailedly introduced her thoughts in line 6, which partly means the use of epistemic phrase *wǒ juéde*(I think) can help to take care of the listener's emotion, reduce the face threat, and ensure the communication going well. Here is another example of dis-alignment stance:

(22)(Playing cards)

A: *10kuǎi wǒ dōu gěi nǐ kàn, chūbìchū? (All you need is ¥10 to see my cards, would you like to see?)*

B/C: *Chū ba, nǐ nàme yǒuqíán. (Pay for it, you are so rich.)*

D: *Wǒ juéde duì nǐ bù gōngpíng. (I think it's unfair to you.)*

In example (22), the subject A wants to show his card with 10 chips to subject D, but D refuses with *duì nǐ bù gōngpíng*(unfair to you) according to the game rule of forbidding players to see each other cards, by which D indirectly taking a complete dis-alignment stance with other participants. Meanwhile, (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/juéde* (I feel/think) can also be used to mark partial dis-alignment stance, such as:

(23) A: *.....nǐ yàoshì qù le biéde gōngsī, shǒuxiān jǐ bié qǔxiāo, wánle dǐng è gāo'ér wáiyuējī n, dǐng è shì bǎ wáiyuēchángxù n bàosòng gěi yàodùde dānwǎ, jìshì nǐ shìxù. jì wǒ dǐng tiáo dǐng tiáo tīnghēnde, dàn wǒ gǎnjué dǐng tiáo mǎfǎ shìxù. (If you go to another company, first, your title will be canceled, second, high liquidated damages, third, your honesty will be report to your next company, that means you break your word. The first and second one are serious, but I feel that the first one can not be implemented.)*

Polyphony voices are involved here, which need to distinguish utterers and sources. One of the subject played by the employer stipulated three liabilities for breach of contract, but the subject A partially aligned. At the end of this turn, first, the comparative discourse markers *dàn*(but) indicates a dis-alignment stance followed, and then it was clearly taken by *dǐng tiáo méifǎ shìxù*(the first one cannot be implemented).

4. Functions of (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/juéde* (I feel/think) as discourse marker

4.1 TCU-initial (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/juéde*(I feel/think) : Marking a topic shift

TCU-initial (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/juéde*(I feel/think) can be used to break silence to introduce a new topic or mark a topic shift when the speaker is aware that participants have no more interest on the current topic. There are the most examples of marking a topic shift by TCU-initial (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/juéde*(I feel/think) in the data, such as:

(24) I A: *Bānchē bùshì qīdiǎn ma? kě tā qīdiǎn èrshí cāi qǐ, yī zhāojībǎ guāhú dāo dōu shuāisuìlè @@ (Isn't the bus at 7:30? but he got up at 7:20. it's too hurry, which caused his razor broken.)*

2 B: *Zhēnde a, māshìba? (Really, is he okay?)*

3 A: *Māshìshì dān shì.. (2s) (He is fine, but...)*

4 C: *Jìshì [gǎnju éyǒudiǎn cāngcù]. (Just [it feels a little rushed].)*

5 B: *[āiyōu jìshì gǎnju é--] (Well, it just feels like--)*

6 ... (2s)

7 ***gǎnju é**shì yīnwǎ nàshíyà, wǒ de xiàngmù [zěn me bàn ne?] (Feel because of it, my project [what to do?])*

8 A: *[yào chūguó a], māshìlè, nànlǐ jìu—[you're going to go abroad], don't worry, then you)*

(25) I A: *Kāi shā dōu yǒu bù mǎnzú de. (It is not satisfied with driving anything.)*

2 B: *Qíshì chē yǒuyīgè fēicháng shúxī de jìxiàng, wǒ jué de. (Actually a familiar car is enough, I think.)*

3 C: *Wǒ yě jué de wǒ zhèxiǎochē tīnghǎo de. (I also think my little car is very good.)*

4 B: *Zhēndeshì Wǒ jìxiàng pǎngyǒu, huànle hǎochē hòu, háishì jué de cǎngjīng nàgè gāo'ěrfū zuì hǎoshì. (It is. After changing a good, my friend still thought that her old Golf was the best.)*

5 A: *En, gāo'ěrfū cāozuògǎn tǎi éqíng, nǐ jué de nǐ nǎng guǎiguòqù, nǐ jìxiàng yě guǎiguòqù. (Yes, Golf has the best controls, which you think you can turn over, then you can.)*

6 B: *Tā jìxiàng zū shúxī nàgè chē. (She is just very familiar with the car.)*

7 A: ***Wǒ jué de** wǒ zhè àzì hǎoxìng xūfù hū ikāichē le. (I think that I won't learn to drive in my whole life.)*

8 B: *Bùkěnéng. (That's impossible.)*

9 C: *Nǐ jìxiàng mǎ kāi. (You're just not starting to drive.)*

In line 7 of example (24), when the speaker is aware that other participants have no more interest on the current topic, she seized the turn and started another topic about her own project with *gǎnjué* (feel). In line 6 of example (25), the speaker B is actually repeating what she said before, which is noticed by speaker A, then she takes the turn and shift the topic from cars others drive to her learning of driving in line 7.

4.2 Separate TCU (wǒ) gǎnjué/juéde (I feel/think): Keeping or closing a turn

As a separate TCU, (wǒ) gǎnjué/juéde (I feel/think) can be used to keep a turn or as a filler in turn-medial, also close a turn at turn-final, such as:

(26) I A: *Qùnánměi gǎnjué dāide dōushì jìxiàng nànpǐn shímede. (It's all souvenirs bringing from South America.)*

2 B: *Duìduì yībāzì kěnéng yě jìxiàng qù yìcì dào [shìkěyǐ qù]. (Yeah, Once going in a lifetime, but [you can go].)*

3 C: *[Tīngzhīlè]. (It deserved.)*

4 B: *érqǐ yào nǐnǎng de shìhòu qù, 40suì zhīqǐn qù [**wǒ gǎnjué**], bǐrán tǐlì yǒukě nǎng bǐhì. (Go when you are young, before 40, [I feel], or you may be physical exhaustion.)*

5 A: *[40suì zhīhòu].. tāmen dōushì dāzhe háizi qù (After 40..they are all going with their children.)*

(27) A: *Tā dǎ bànchǐ nǐ yàoshì yǒu shènglǚ, nàhuán== jìxiàng jìxiàng.. **wǒ jué de** .. shì (zhī) dào ne -- wǒ bǐhì dào nǐ shípǎi. (He plays half a pool, if you have a winning rate, then== just just..I think...Who knows- I don't know what cards you have.)*

(28) A: *Zhègè dìfāng zuòrèqì jìxiàng nǎng bǐ suǒyǒu dīmào kǎnyībǎn, tǎi éhǎo. (You can see all the landforms a hot air balloon at this place, it's very beautiful.)*

B: *Hǎo xiǎng zuòrèqì jìxiàng, zhègè tǎi élǎngmàn, **gǎnjué** ha. (I really want to take the hot*

air balloon, it's so romantic, (I) feel.)

In line 4 of example (26), there is a insert before speaker B ending her turn, but B tried to keep her turn with *wǒ gǎnjué*(I feel), and she succeed in keeping talk. In example (27), *wǒ juéde* (I think) co-occurs with *jiùshì jiùshì* (just just) and *shéi (zhī) dào ne* (who knows) all as hesitation markers, indicating that the speaker has not organized her words. There are two situations of closing a turn by (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/ juéde*(I feel/think) at turn-final: one is like example (28), in which *gǎnjué*(feel) co-occurs with mandarin final particle *ha*, with *gǎnjué*(feel) marking that the speaker has finished her turn, while with *ha* interacting with the listener, namely checking her attention and asking a response; the other is used only for closing the turn with voice erosion and tone shortness, having no emphasis on speaker perspective and listener attention.

5. Compare (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué* (I feel) and *wǒ juéde* (I think)

Ji(2012), Yang(2015) and Guo(2017) all compared the difference between *gǎnjué*(feel) and *ju ále*(think) as verbs, pointing out that, in semantic, both of them have [psychological feeling] and [non-autonomy] features, but *gǎnjué*(feel) focuses on sensory perception, while *ju ále*(think) focuses on subjective epistemic; and, in syntax, both of them can take a predicate object, but *gǎnjué*(feel) also can take complements, while *ju ále*(think) can't, meanwhile, *ju ále*(think) can be modified by adverbs, while *gǎnjué*(feel) can't. Different from the former studies, this paper focuses on discourse function of (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/ ju ále*(I feel/think) as pragmatic markers.

This paper analyzed the discourse functions of (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué* (I feel) in 137 sequences and *wǒ juéde* (I think) in 175 sequences, whose distribution is as follow:

Table 4.1 Distribution of discourse functions of (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué*(I feel) and *wǒ juéde*(I think)

	Stance-taking function			Discourse Markers	Total
	Position	Evaluate	Aligns		
(<i>wǒ</i>) <i>gǎnjué</i> (I feel)	61 (44.5%)	43 (31.4%)	21 (15.3%)	12 (8.8%)	137
<i>wǒ juéde</i> (I think)	45 (25.7%)	45 (25.7%)	64 (36.6%)	21 (12%)	175

We can see from table 4.1 that both (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué* (I feel) and *wǒ juéde* (I think) mainly used for stance-taking function, with a small part as discourse markers. They could replace each other in most cases, but have slight differences. (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué*(I feel) focuses on the position of the speaker themselves, namely the speaker's inference, accounted for 44.5%, while *wǒ juéde*(I think) focuses on the degree of aligns between the subjects, namely agree or disagree each other's opinion, accounted for 36.6%. That is, (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué* focuses on subjectivity, while *wǒ juéde* (I think) on inter-subjectivity.

6. Conclusion

On the perspective of interactional linguistics, this paper provided a close-observation case for studying the functions of mandarin stance markers, and a strong evidence for emergent grammar and grammaticalization. The downside is that this paper doesn't analyse the features of utterances marked by (*wǒ*) *gǎnjué/ juéde*(I feel/think).

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