The Stance-taking Functions of gănjué(feel) and juéde(think) in Mandarin Conversation

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

Keywords: wǒ gănjué(I feel); wǒ juéde(I think); Positions; Evaluates; Aligns; Discourse Marker

1. Introduction

Considering Xiandai Hanyu Babai Ci (Modern Chinese 800 Words) and Xiandai Hanyu Cidian (Modern Chinese Dictionary), the term gănjué(feel) refers to the direct reflection of the individual characteristics of objective things in the human brain; the verb gănjué(feel) is the same to juéde; juéde1 means to have a certain feeling, juéde2 in some opinion, close to rènvéi, but in a lighter tone. Fang (2005) noted that the evidential and epistemic verbs gănjué2(feel) and juéde2(think) are on grammatical bleaching from complement-taking predicates to pragmatic markers. Xu (2012) took wǒ juéde(I think) as a stance marker and analyzed its discourse functions. Yin et al. (2018) believe that gănjué(feel) is an evaluative marker. In other words: (1) gănjué(feel) and juéde(think) have similar semantics; (2) their meaning of "have some opinion" is on pragmatization; (3) high frequency patterns wǒ gănjué(I feel) and wǒ juéde(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 gănjué(feel) and 347 sequences with juéde(think), aiming to quantitatively describe the semantic function distribution of gănjué(feel) and juéde(think) and explaining its interactional functions from two levels.

2. The semantic distribution of gănjué(feel) and juéde(think)

We distinguish the noun gănjué(feel) and the verb gănjué(think) rely on syntactic standard, whether as a subject or predicate. We distinguish gănjué1(feel) and gănjué2(feel), juéde1(think) and juéde2(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 discours marker not focusing on its discours function only. Of course, the gramatical bleaching is a continuum, the semantic and function of gănjué(feel) and juéde(think) also appear two cases. For example,
In example (1), gǎnjué(feel) can be understood as physical feeling or as light rènwéi(think), gǒnjué(feel) in example (2) can be understood as light rènwéi or subjective speculation of the speaker, can be placed at the end of the sentence; wǒ juéde(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.

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 juédé(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 juédé(think) is mainly caused by the diversities of their syntactic subjects.
Table 1.1 Syntactic subjects of gânjué(feel) and juéde(think)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>First person singular</th>
<th>Second person singular</th>
<th>No subject</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gânjué(feel)</td>
<td>103 (49.0%)</td>
<td>10 (4.8%)</td>
<td>95 (45.2%)</td>
<td>2 (1.0%)</td>
<td>210 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juéde(think)</td>
<td>278 (80.1%)</td>
<td>17 (4.9%)</td>
<td>6 (1.7%)</td>
<td>46 (13.3%)</td>
<td>347 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen in Table 1.1 that gânjué(feel) sequences have multiple use cases for first-person singular and no subject, representing 49.0% and 45.2%, respectively. 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 gânjué(feel) sequences can be analyzed as wǒ gânjué(I feel), with others summing up 13 sequences (including 10 sequences of nǐ gânjué(you feel), 1 sequence of on subject, and 2 others), accounting for 6.2%. In juéde(think) sequences, the non-first-personsingular subject sums up 66 sequences (including 17 nǐ juéde, 3 no subject and 46 others), accounting for 19.0%, and wǒ juéde(I think) accounts for 80.1%.

Also, wǒ gânjué(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 gânjué(I feel) inserting with other components, mainly jiù (19 cases). So we think that wǒ gânjué(I feel) is more bleached than wǒ juéde(I think). Xu(2012) analyzed the inserting of time words, stance-taking words and yé 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 tûrân juéde, yīnggē shì dui kōuyū yǒđōqiū gāo, lǐngyígē shì wēnhuò rěntông. (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 tûrânjiǎn(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 gânjué(feel) and juéde(think) does not count this kind of marked tokens.

wǒ gânjué(I feel), gânjué(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) gânjué/ 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 gânjué(I feel), gânjué(feel) and wǒ juéde(I think) below, recorded as (wǒ) gânjué/ juéde(I feel/think).

3. The stance-taking function of (wǒ) gânjué/ 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) gânjué/ 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) gânjué/ 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) gânjué/ 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: jiàyǔ jí huò a? (September?)
2 B: jiàyǔ bāhāo..... (September 8...)
3 A: gǎnjué gèn wǒ nàngge, gèn wǒ wàishèng chàbùduǎo, dàxiāo. (feels about the size of my one as my nephew...)
4 B: tā yê shì? (So is he?)
5 A: tā shì yuēfén. (he was in October.)

(6) 1 A: wǒ gǎnjué tā yào zhù yī yǐ wânhang. (I felt like she was staying for one night.)
2 B: duâi. (yeah.)
3 A: zànmen ne? (What about us?)
4 B: suibiàn, dâoxing. (Whatever, whatever.)

(7) (Playing cards)
1 A: wǒ juéde wǒ kêndìng bì 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 form 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 kêndìng(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, dose 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 of false”. Such as:

(8) (Just started climbing the mountain)
1 A: yóuchùn dōu xiǎolǐ le! (Someone has come down!)
2 B: shìbushí xiōzhōn== (down the hill ==)
3 C: qízhōo shâng. (from the morning.)
4 B: xiōzhōn gēnjù wǒ yínggăi lîng yōu tiăo dōoer. (feels down the mountain should have another way.)

(9) (Playing cards)
1 A: zēnmè yē dì yōu ge daîer. (must have a pair.)
2 B: nǐ quââng? (Are you sure?)
3 A: wǒ cā wǒ gēnjù tâ yínggăi yōu ge daîer. (I guess I feel like he should have a pair.)

(10) (Discuss weather)
1 A: kē liêng le. (very cold.)
2 B: chuân nǐziwântōo dōu liêng. (it is cold even in a woolen coat.)
3 C: zhândé? (Really?)
4 A: en, zōshâng kēndéng zhîyâu ji dō, wǒ gēnjù =hon. bôshâng 10 dō. (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 yīnggăi 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 cāilǐ( I guess), yǐnggǎi(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 10dí( 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: zhetúer dà a, rén zhàn le bānbishān a, gǎnjué, (this side is big, it occupies half of the mountain, (1) feel )
B: shí, zhènshānwéiwáng, (yeah, king of the mountain.)

(12)(Talk about a friend who signed her orders)
A: ‘‘tā báozhē yídūi cáiliào qu zhǎo fūzhé’’ …… (She holds a pile of material to find the principal)
B: jiūshì tā jiūshì gérén nèngli chǎo qiáng, wǒ gǎnjué, (just she just has super personal ability, I feel.)

(13)(Share the travel experience)
A: jiūshì dūtúfú, nǎxi à yízhī, (is just big mound, those sites.)
B: tǐng hǎo le, zhèntáng 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 bānbishān(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 jiūshì gérén nèngli chǎo qiáng (she just has super personal ability). In example (13), the speaker evaluates the listener’s travel experience as zhèiyáng 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 palted 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, nominating 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: yējíng hái tíng piàoliàng…… (A: night scene is pretty…….)
B: báoxíng, zhǒujiù jùbā zhe jíng huǐ le, gǎnjué, (No, my phone will destroy the scene, (1) feel )

(15) A: Zhōngguótuón zài háizi shēnshāng fūchā zhéme duō, zhèngcháng hái shí bǔzhěngcháng, zhèyíng zuò dàdì hǎo hǎi shíbùbāo. (Is it normal or abnormal for Chinese people to pay so much on their children. Is it good or not to do so?)
B: kěndíng bùtāi zhèngcháng, wǒ gǎnjué. (certainly not quite normal, I feel.)

(16) A: jiù yìng zhèguì, kě jiàndān le, wǒ dōu huáiyì tā shí jiàde. (just use this, it’s too simple, I even suspect it is fake.)
B: duì a,wò jiù jiàde [nǐ shuō zhéme gāoqí de dōngxi, jiù bù néng bāozhāng hǎo yídiàn, tāmen zhēnshì ...] tèbí chǎnghú, wǒ jiàde. (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 kěndíng bù tāi zhèngcháng (certainly abnormal), responding zhōngguótuón zài háizi shēnshāng fūchā zhéme duō, bǔzhěngcháng (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 tèbí chǎnghú (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.

(Wò) gānjùé/ juède(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 mainly 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 (wò) gānjùé/ juède(I feel/think) covers these four types, which we illustrate separately:

(17) (Playing cards)

A: zhè pāi gǒng bù jiàn guò ma? (the card just not been seen?)
B: en, duì, dài, gānjùé zhēn shì a, hǎo xiǎng shàng bō páí. (em, yeah, right, it feels so real, like last hand.)

(18) 1 A: xuēxiào yǐnián yāo kǒi hěnduō hūi ha. (Our campus has a lot of meetings every year.)
2 B: duì a, (it is,) 3 ... (4s)
4 wǒ gānjùé shǐjì de shihòu dàjiā tīng yuǎnyǐ lái zhěr kāihūi de. (I feel like people would like to come here during the summer vacation.)
5 A: bǐshū.
6 B: en. (um)
7 ... (3s)
8 A: qǐshí wǒ gǎnjùé dōngtiān yě yāquēn yuǎnyǐ lái, hěnduō méi jiànɡuò xuè. (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: yāijī zhāi Yǐndū yě shì yī zhōng xínyǒngɡ, bùɡuànɡ shī yī zhōnɡ yàndōnɡ. (Yoga is also a belief in India, not just a sport.)
B: Wǒ juéde shì. (I think so too.)

(20) A: ......
B: Yāoshànhòu gǎnjùé hédélāi de rén bì xuēyuǎn guǎnxì gènɡ zhōnɡyāo. (sometimes I feel that compatible people are more important than kinship.)
A: Duì, jiāshí zhězhōnɡ. (yeah, it is.)

Example (17) is a type of parallel alignment stance. The subject A said zhè pāi gānjùé bù jiàn guò ma (the card just not been seen), aligning by the subject B with gānjùé zhēn shì a, and with hǎo xiǎng shàng bō pāí (like last hand) evaluating similarly. Example (18) is a type of continuity alignment stance. In line 8, the subject A responded with dōngtiān yě yāquēn yuǎnyǐ lái (people are willing to come in winter too) to shǐjì de shihòu dàjiā tīng yuǎnyǐ lái zhěr kāihūi 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 expanse 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)

A: Wǒ shuō nǐ gěi wǒ jiāng yí gě, tǒ jiù gěi kōngshì xiǎohuì -- (I said you tell me one, she would start making up)

B: Wǒ juéde nǐ qù dājí zhè zhǒng diāfang yǐdīng yào zuò gāngliè, bǐ tèbié yǒu míngde tǔ tíjiān liǎojiē le. (I think you must read some guides to go to some place like Egypt, and know something about the famous works in advance.)

A: Bùyòng zuò gāngliè. (There is no need to read guides.)

B: Bùyòng zuò gāngliè? (There is no need to read guides?)

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

6 B: Wǒ juéde nǐ yào qù bówáiqùn shènméde, nà xī míng huá, báiyíu míng dìdōsū. Bù yǐdīng yào zuò gāngliè, kànlátái cái yǒuyìxi. (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 yǐdīng yào zuò gāngliè(you must read some guides) in line 2, and the subject A said bùyòng zuò gāngliè(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: 10kuài wǒ dào gěi nǐ kàn, chūbùchū? (All you need is ¥10 to see my cards, would you like to see?)

B/C: Chǒ ba, nǐ nàme yǒuqian. (Pay for it, you are so rich.)

D: Wǒ juéde dui 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 dui 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) gānjúé/ juéde (I feel/think) can also be used to mark partial dis-alignment stance, such as:

(23) A: ……nǐ yàoshì qù le bìéde gǒngsǐ, shēnxūn jǐbì qǔxīdōu, wánle dièrqì, gēo’ě wèiyuèfǐ n, dìsìngé shì, bǐ wéiyuèchéngxīn bǎosòng gěi yàoqúde dànwèi, jiùshì nǐ shìfǎn. jiù dìyītiáo dièrqiǎo tǐngpíndòu, dàn wǒ gānjúé dìyītiáo mèifǎ shìxíng. (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 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(但)indicates a dis-alignment stance followed, and then it was clearly taked by diyǐnǐáo mèifǎ shǐxíng(the first one cannot be implemented).

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

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

TCU-initial (wǒ) gānjúé/ 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) gānjúé/ juéde(I feel/think) in the data, such as:

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(24) I A: Běnchē bāshì qǐdǐn'bàn ma? kě tō qǐdǐn'ěrshí cái qǐ.Yī zhàojǐ bō guóhúdōo dōu shuāsūi le @ @ (Isn’t the bus at 7:30? but he got up at 7:20, it’s too hurray, which caused his razor broken.)

2 B: Zhēndē a, méishì ba? (Really, is he okay?)
3 A: Méishāshì, dān shì... (2s) (He is fine, but...)

4 C: Jūshì [jūnjué yǒu dǐn'ěrshī]. (Just [it feels a little rushed].)

5 B: [diyù jūshì gǒnjūé --] (Well, it just feels like--) 
6 ...(2s)

7 gǒnjūé shì yǐnwèi nǐshā ya, wǒ de xiàngmù [zǒn me bān ne?] (Feel because of it, my project [what to do?])

8 A: [yáo chūguò a], méishí, nà nǐ jiǔ —{you’re going to go abroad}, don’t worry, then you.)

(25) A: Kěi shá dōu yǒu bā mǔnzhú de.( It is not satisfied with driving anything.)

2 B: Qīshì chē yǒu yì gè fèicháng shùxiè jǐuxíng, wǒ juéde. (Actually a familiar car is enough, I think.)

3 C: Wǒ yě juéde wǒ zhè xiāo chē tǐnghào de (I also think my little car is very good.)

4 B: Zhēndeshī, Wǒ jiǔ yǒu pénghuà, huànué hōoché hòu, hǎishí jūshé céngjǐng nāgè gǒ oǐfó zǔiwòshī. (It is. After changing a good, my friend still thought that her old Golf was the best.)

5 A: En, gǒoérfó cǎozuòng dōn tèbìé qìáng, nǐ juéde nǐ néng guǒgiùguóqǔ, nǐ jiù kěyí guǒ iguóqú. (Yes, Golf has the best controls, which you think can turn over, then you can.)

6 B: Tō jiǔshì zú shùxiè nāgèchén. (She is just very familiar with the car.)

7 A: Wǒ juéde wǒ zhèbèizi hōoxiàng xuébǔhūi kēchén le. (I think that I won’t learn to drive in my whole life.)

8 B: Bùkěnéng. (That’s impossible.)

9 C: Nǐ jiǔshì měi kē. (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 gǒnjūé (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) gǒnjūé/juéde (I feel/think): Keeping or closing a turn

As a separate TCU, (wǒ) gǒnjūé/ 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: Qū nǎnměi gǒnjūé dāide dōushí jínhānqǐn shènméde. (It’s all souvenirs bringing from South America.)

2 B: Dài dài dài, yěbèizi kēněng yě jiǔ qì yǐcì, dào [shì kěyí qù]. (Yeah, Once going in a lifetime, but [you can go].)

3 C: [Tǐnghào. (It deserved.)

4 B: èrèfó yòu niánqǐn de shìhuó qù, 40suǐ zhīqián qù, [wǒ gǒnjūé ], bùrán tǐlí yǒuka néng bāzhī. (Go when you are young, before 40, [I feel], or you may be physical exhaustion.)

5 A: [40suǐ zhīhuó], tōmén dōushí dàizhè háizi qù. (After 40, they are all going with their children.)

(27) A: Tō dō bānchí, nǐ yàoshí yǒu shēngǒ, nà huánn= jiǔshí jiùshí .. wǒ juéde .. shéi (zhǐ) dào ne -- wǒ bāzhī lǎodāo nǐ shā pāi.(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: Zhēgè gǎifǎng zuò rěquī jì jiù néng bō suǒyǒu dīmào kānyābùan, tèbí hāo.(You can see all the landforms a a hot air balloon at this place, it’s very beautiful.)

B: Hǎo xǐng zuò rěquī, zhēgè tèbí lǎngmàng, gǒnjūé hǎ. (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 juéshì juéshì (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 juéde(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 juéde(think) focuses on subjective epistemic; and, in syntax, both of them can take a predicate object, but gǎnjué(feel) also can take complements, while juéde(think) can’t, meanwhile, juéde(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/juéde(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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stance-taking function</th>
<th>Discourse Markers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Evaluate</td>
<td>Aligns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wǒ) gǎnjué</td>
<td>61 (44.5%)</td>
<td>43 (31.4%)</td>
<td>25 (15.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I feel)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wǒ juéde</td>
<td>45 (25.7%)</td>
<td>45 (25.7%)</td>
<td>64 (36.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can seen 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 utterences marked by (wǒ) gǎnjué/ juéde(I feel/think).

References