

On the Discourse Functions of “*nar de hua*”

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Abstract—The non-interrogative usage of interrogative pronouns is a common phenomenon across languages which has been noticed for many years. However, there is still much room for the investigation of constructions related to the non-interrogative use of interrogative pronouns. From the interactional perspective, this paper discusses the distribution of the discourse marker “*nar de hua*” in dialogue, and explores its discourse function, forming mechanism as well as motivation. According to the different semantic intensities of negative assessment in a specific context, the discourse functions of “*nar de hua*” can be summarized as a continuum: accident, reminder, disaffirmation, refutation and reprimand. In addition, “*nar de hua*” is often used as a polite expression to express the speaker's modest attitude or respect for others. The negative orientation of “*nar de hua*” is mainly driven by subjectivity, and it is still in a dynamic development process from doubt to negation.

Index Terms—Discourse functions, “*nar de hua*”, negative assessment stance.

I. INTRODUCTION

It is noticed that some constructions with non-interrogative usage of “*na*” or “*nar*” as a component can express the negative stance in Chinese, such as “*nar de hua*”, “*nar a*” and “*nar ya*”. Their discourse functions are similar, and sometimes they can even be used instead of each other. But sometimes they show obvious differences, and cannot replace each other. The key to distinguish these constructions is to understand their usage and characteristics respectively.

This paper studies one of this kind of constructions, which is “*nar de hua*”. It is worth mentioning that the constructions of “*nar*” in this paper specifically refers to the constructions in which “*nar*” is non-interrogative, rather than the case of true question in example (1).

1) Dialect

- 1 S: 我们说方言，你能听懂吗？
women shuo fangyan ni neng ting dong ma
1PL speak dialect 2SG can listen understand PRT
'Can you understand our dialect?'
- 2 J: 那必须啊。
na bixu a
that must PRT
'It must be.'
- 3 S: 那我问你，你绝对听不懂(0.6) 一个老姥姥(0.5) 坐了凳子上了。
na wo sheng ni juedui ting bu dong yi ge lao lao lao zuo le dengzi shang
that 1SG say CL 2SG absolutely listen NEG understand one CL old grandmother sit PRT stool on
'Well, I say one that you absolutely can't understand. There is an old woman sitting on a stool.'
- 4 J: “哪儿的语啊这是。”
a nar de hua a zhe shi
INT where ASSOC utterance PRT this is
'What? Where is this dialect from?'
- 5 S: 就是我们这的主话呗。
jiu women zhe de zhuo hua bei
just 1PL this ASSOC dialect PRT
'It's my dialect.'

This extract is from a conversation between two friends talking about dialects. “*Nar de hua*” in line 4 is a real question, which can be judged from the answer of S in line 5. The above “*nar de hua*” used to ask questions is not what we pay attention to. Our research object is the following situation:

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2) Part-time job

- 1 S: 他说你(0.3) 想干嘛？
ta shuo ni xi xiang gan shi
3SG say 2SG what want part-time job
'He said you want to find a part-time job, right?'
- 2 G: 嗯(0.8) 想要那种时间灵活的，不知道啥时候有空主要是。
en xiang yao na zhong shijian linghuo de bu zhidao shi shiyou you kong zhuyao shi
INT want get that kind time flexible SOM NEG know what time have free main is
'Yeah, I want a flexible (part-time job), mainly (because) I'm not sure when I'm free.'
- 3 S: 这问题，这两天就能帮你打听。
mei wenti zhe liang tian jiu bang ni dading
NEG problem this two day soon help 2SG inquire
'No problem. I will help you to inquire about this these two days.'
- 4 G: 嗯(0.8) 主要是我(0.5) 没见过啥样的学校。
xuejie jianshi shi wo jian guo nai hao de xuejie
senior simply is 1SG meet PFV most good ASSOC senior
'You are the best senior I have ever seen.'
- 5 S: 哪儿的(0.5) 说(0.5) 知道(0.5) 彩虹(0.5) 屁。
nar de hua jiu zhidao caihong pi
where ASSOC utterance just know rainbow fart
'I am not. Don't flatter me any more.'

There are two schoolmates talking about finding a part-time job in this extract. The structure “*nar de hua*” in line 5 contains the interrogative word “*nar*”, but it doesn't have the function of interrogation and it doesn't need to be answered. Our research object is exactly this kind of “*nar de hua*” which are not used to seek information.

When it comes to constructions with non-interrogative usage of “*na*” or “*nar*” as a component, previous scholars mainly focused on the construction meanings and the relationships between the internal components of these constructions. Yang (2017) is of great significance to us, who pointed out that as a response “*nar de hua*” means a euphemistic negation of the content of the original. It can be divided into three types: comfort negation, modesty negation and total negation. Among them, the first two kinds of negation are more euphemistic than the third. Therefore, “*nar de hua*” can often be used repeatedly when it acts as the first two types of negation, that is, “*nar de hua nar de hua*”. While total negation is usually aimed at the third party other than the presenting parties of the conversation. The euphemistic tone is not obvious, so “*nar de hua*” cannot be repeated when it is used as total negation [1]. However, the discourse functions of “*nar de hua*” in dialogic context is still unclear, and the motivation of its formation needs to be further investigated. Based on previous studies, this paper makes a detailed description of the context and discourse function of “*nar de hua*” from the interaction perspective, and discusses the discourse function, forming motivation and mechanism of “*nar de hua*” in communicative interaction.

II. DATA AND METHOD

The corpus used in this paper comes from the dialogue corpus of BLCU Corpus Center (BCC) and a self-collected mini-corpus consisting of 5 hours of audio-recorder conversations, all of which are dyads between speakers of northern dialect collected by the author. A total of 24 conversations are examined, and a total of 101 corpora which containing “*nar de hua*” are selected.

The conversational analytic approach will be adopted in this study to examine the use of “*nar de hua*” in dialogue [2]. Conversational analytic approach often pays attention to the

distribution of the research object in the discourse, such as the position of the object in a turn, the sequence structure of the object, the interaction mode of the two sides in conversation, and so on.

Besides, combination of quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis is used in this paper. Both quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis methods are used in studying the context of “*nar de hua*”. And qualitative analysis is the main method used in discussing the discourse functions of “*nar de hua*”.

III. THE CONTEXT OF “*NAR DE HUA*” IN USE

A. Positions in a Turn

Levinson (1983) holds that turn is the period of time when a speaker speaks alone in a typical, orderly and multi person conversation [3]. An alternation forms a turn when the two sides of the conversation speak in order. According to the corpus we collected, “*nar de hua*” can appear at the initial, middle and end position of a turn, and can also act as a turn independently.

a. Initial of the turn

3) Confession

- 1 L: 他知道(04) 你 看 上 他 吗?
ta zhidao ni kan shang ta ma
3SG know 2SG see on 3SG PRT
‘Does he know you like him?’
- 2 Z: 应该(04) 知道 吧
yinggai zhidao ba
maybe know PRT
‘Maybe.’
- 3 L: 发 微信 说 了.
fa weixin shuo le
send wechat say PRT
‘Did you tell him by wechat?’
- 4 Z: 发 是(04) 发 是
fa shi mei fa
relative is NEG send
‘I didn’t send.’
- 5 L: 发 了 就 发 了 嘛, 别 不 好 意 思
fa le jiu fa le ma bie bu hao yisi
send PRT just send PRT NEG do NEG good meaning
‘Admit it! If you send him a message, Don’t be embarrassed.’
- 6 Z: 哪 儿 的 话, 发 了 还 有 什 么 不 好 意 思 的
nar de hua fa le haiyou shenme bu hao yisi de
where ASSOC utterance send PRT then what NEG good meaning PRT
‘This is not the case. If I send a message, what else should I be embarrassed about?’

b. Middle of the turn

4) Sing a song

- 1 L: 啥 时 候 比 赛
sha shihou bisei
what time competition
‘When will the competition be held?’
- 2 H: 下 周 四
xia zhousi
next Thursday
‘Next Thursday.’
- 3 L: 咱 个 咱 们 听 听
chang ge aumen tingting
Sing CL n/PL Listen
‘Sing it for us.’
- 4 H: 唱 得 不 好(04) 你 们 不 得 笑 话 我
chang de bu hao nimen bu dei xiaohua wo
Sing CM NEG good 2PL NEG COMP laugh 1SG
‘I don’t sing well. You’ll laugh at me.’
- 5 L: “哪 儿 的 话, 咱 们 就 听 个 热闹, 又 不 懂
ai nar de hua women jiu ting ge renao you bu dong
PRT where ASSOC utterance 2PL just listen CL bustle but NEG understand
‘No, we don’t understand. Just for bustle.’

c. End of the turn

5) Love

- 1 L: 恋 爱 了 吧 包 子
lianai le ba baozi
love PRT PRT name
‘Baazi, are you in love?’
- 2 Z: 跟 谁 呢
gen shui ne
with who PRT 1SG
‘With who?’
- 3 L: 前 几 天 你 (不), 和 那 谁 出 去 玩 儿? 不 是 跟 他
qian ji tian ni bu he na shui chu qu wanr bu shi gen ta
previous several day 2SG NEG with that who out go play NEG is with 3SG
‘Isn’t there someone you went out with the other day? Aren’t you in love with him?’
- 4 Z: “哪 儿 的 话
pei nar de hua
INT where ASSOC utterance
‘Bah! That’s nonsense!’

d. Occupy a turn independently

6) Shopping

- 1 A: 你 项链 还 买 吗
ni xianqian hai cheng
2SG necklace also ok
‘Your necklace is ok!’
- 2 B: 你 又 笑 话 我
ni you xiaohua wo
2SG again laugh 1SG
‘You laugh at me, again.’
- 3 A: 哪 儿 的 话
nar de hua
where ASSOC utterance
‘No, I am not.’

To find out the frequency of “*nar de hua*” used in different positions, this paper makes a quantitative analysis of its distribution, and the statistical results are as follows:

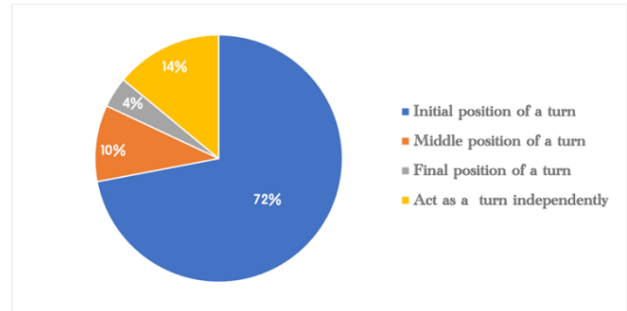


Fig. 1. The distribution of “*nar de hua*” in turn

It is found that “*nar de hua*” can appear at the initial, middle and final position of turn, as well as occupying a turn independently. However, the distribution frequency of “*nar de hua*” in different positions is not balanced. The most common position of “*nar de hua*” is the initial position (see blue area in Fig. 1.), and free-standing is the second most frequent case (see yellow area in Fig. 1). Turn-initial & free-standing combined accounts for 86% of all cases, that is to say, the construction “*nar de hua*” tends to appear without prior elements. It is because when one party completes a certain social action (such as praise and complaint) in an interactive communication, the most natural and conventional response from the other party should be to first express his or her approval or disapproval, and then further explain his or her stance. In extract 3), for example, two friends are talking about confession. “*Nar de hua*” appears at the initial position of the turn in line 6, whose function is to refute L’s view “fa le jiu fa le ma bie bu hao yisi” at the first time. And the subsequent discourse of “*nar de hua*” — “fa le haiyou shenme bu hao yisi de” further explains the reason and basis of the refutation by negating the premise. In extract 5), for another example, “*nar de hua*” acts as a turn independently in line 3. In this extract, two interlocutors are talking about the necklace B bought. After hearing B’s judgment “ni you xiaohua wo”, A directly negates B’s opinion with “*nar de hua*” without any prior element.

In addition, we also investigate the corpora in which “*nar de hua*” appears in the middle and at the end of a turn. It is found that the prior elements of “*nar de hua*” can be divided into three kinds in these two cases.

a. Disaffirmation tokens + “*nar de hua*”

7) Trip

- 1 S: 咱 看 我 同 学 昨 天 去 海 南 了, 我 都 好 多 年 没 出 去 旅 游 了.
za kan wo tongxue zuotian qy Hainan le wo dou hao duo nian mei chu qu lvyou le
2SG see 1SG classmate yesterday to Hainan PRT 1SG all good many year NEG out to travel+CL PRT
‘You see my classmates went to Hainan yesterday. I haven’t been out for a tour for many years.’
- 2 M: (志志) 你 也 准 备 出 去 玩 儿?
zenme ni ye zhunbei chu qu wanr
what 2SG also be going to out to play
‘What do you mean? Are you going out to play, too?’
- 3 S: 这 哪 儿 的 话 这 你 还 嫌 我 花 钱 呢
mei nar de hua zhe ni hai xian wo hua qian ne
NEG where ASSOC utterance this 2SG still dislike 1SG spend money PRT
‘No, I am not. You dislike me for spending a lot of money. Let alone go out to travel.’
- 4 M: 这 事 儿, 暑假 时 候 愿 意 去 哪 儿 也 去
Mai shier shujia shijie shijie yuanyi qu nanye qu
NEG thing summer vacation make come will to 1PL also to
‘It’s OK. If you make money during the summer vacation, we will go out for a trip.’

A child is talking about traveling with her mother in this extract. In line 3, S uses the disaffirmation token "mei" to answer the question "ni ye zhunbei chu qv wan" in line 2 before using "nar de hua" to make a negative response. Other disaffirmation tokens, such as "bu" and "meiyou" often appear at the initial position, too.

b. Interjections + "nar de hua"

8) Vaccination

- 1 H: 哪儿 打 疫苗?
nar du yimiao
where inject vaccine
"Where is the place for vaccination?"
- 2 L: 说 是在 社区 服务中心, 我 也 不 太 清楚。
Shuo shi zai shequ fowu zhongxin wo ye bu da qingchu
Speak is at community service center ISG also NEG big clear
"I heard it was in the community service center. But I'm not sure."
- 3 H: 一块 走? 前面 看 着 人 不 少 了(1.2s) 介意 不?
yikuai zou qianmian kan zhe ren bu shao le jeyi bu
together walk front look DUR people NEG little PRT mind NEG
"Let's go together. It looks like there are a lot of people ahead. Would you mind walking together?"
- 4 L: "哪 哪儿 的 话"
hai nar de hua
INT where ASSOC utterance
"No, I am not."

H invites L to go together with him and inquire if L would mind or not in this fragment. With the help of the initial element "hai", which is co-occurrence with the following construction "nar de hua", the emotion and attitude of L are expressed more clearly. Other interjections like "ai", "a" and "pei" often appear at the initial position, too. However, different interjections usually carry different emotions and attitudes. For example, "hai" in line 4 in this example is "an interjection expressing regret or sorrow" according to the interpretation of Xinhua Dictionary.

c. X + "nar de hua", in which X is the repetition or partial repetition of the previous turn.

9) Neighbor

- 1 M: 后来 我 才 知道 他 竟然 是 xxx 的 导演。
Houlai wo cai zhidao ta jingran shi xxx de daoyan
Later ISG know 3SG unexpectedly COP (name) ASSOC director
"Later I learned that he was the director of XXX"
- 2 S: 还在 说(0.8s) 你 还 和 明星 是 邻居 呢。
zhehai shuo ni hai he mingxing shi linju ne
this say 2SG still and star COP neighbor PRT
"So you have a neighbor who's a star?"
- 3 M: "邻居 哪儿 的 话" 他 五 六 年 前 就 搬 走 了。
linju nar de hua ta wu liu nian qian jiu ban zou le
neighbor where ASSOC utterance 3SG five six year before just move away PRT
"Neighbor? It isn't. He moved out five or six years ago."

M is introducing his neighbor to S in this extract. The echo question "linju" in line 3 points out the focus by partial repeating the preview turn.

All in all, there are three kinds of elements which can appear at the initial position of a turn before the position of "nar de hua" according to the corpus: disaffirmation tokens, interjections and (partial) repetition of the previous turn. As for the reasons, neither (partial) repetition nor interjections is a further explanation of the speaker's stance; disaffirmation tokens are also expressions of disapproval, which is basically consistent with the negative function of "nar de hua". Therefore, these three types of minimal forms can be placed before "nar de hua" in use.

B. Sequential Positions and Interactional Patterns

According to the theory of Positionally Sensitive Grammar (Schegloff 1996), grammar emerges in a specific sequence type and is shaped by a specific sequence position [4]. Therefore, it is necessary to study the sequence of linguistic elements. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974) pointed out that the basic structure of a conversation is adjacency pair. The former turn is called First Pair Part (FPP), while the latter is called Second Pair Part (SPP) [5]. Based on the corpus, the construction "nar de hua" usually appears in the SPP of an adjacency pair, that is, the response position, which has a

distinctive responsive feature.

The negative response given by the addressee can be a first evaluation of the proposition inquired by the addresser (there is only a unilateral evaluation made by the addressee in the conversation in this case), or a negative response given by the addressee according to the addresser's evaluation (the conversation contains the evaluation of two sides in this case). These two kinds form different conversational structures, which are investigated separately below.

C. Unilateral Assessment: Adjacency Pair of "Inquiry-Negative Assessment"

Unilateral assessment refers to the unilateral attitude and position of the receiver towards the questions raised by the speaker. In unilateral assessment, there is only the evaluation of the addressee, and the addresser's attitude and position are not obvious. In terms of conversation structure, unilateral evaluation usually constitutes a "I-NA" adjacent pair. "I" refers to the inquiry of the speaker, which invites the recipient to make an evaluation on a proposition. "NA" refers to the negative assessment made by the recipient with "nar de hua" to the speaker's question, which is the initial assessment in the current context. For example:

10) Netizens

- 1 C: 看 那些 网友 怎么 傻傻 地 跟 风 评论(1.1s) 可真 悲哀。
Kan naxie wangyou zenme shao shao de gen feng pinglun ke zhen beilai
Look those net friend silly, silly CL follow wind. Comment can really grief
It's a sad thing for those netizens to follow the trend to comment.
- 2 N: "怎么 忍 不 住 想 起 这 趟 浑 水 了?"
Zenme ren bu zhu xiang tang zhe tang hui shui le?
Why tolerant NEG stop want wade this trip muddy water PRT
"Why can't you help getting into this muddy water?"
- 3 C: 哪儿 的 话 跟 网友 是 置 什么 气。
nar de hua gen wangyou shi shenme qi
where ASSOC utterance with net friend place what anger
"No. There's no need to be angry with netizens."

In this extract, the speaker N raises a yes-no question "ren bu zhu xiang tang zhe tang hui shui le", and the receiver responds to the speaker with "nar de hua" to make a negative evaluation. The stance and attitude of the speaker is not obvious, and there is only the unilateral assessment of the receiver in conversation.

D. Bilateral Assessment: Adjacency Pair of "Assessment - Negative Assessment"

Different from unilateral assessment, bilateral assessment includes the evaluation of one proposition by two sides in conversation. In the conversation sequence where bilateral assessment is located, usually the speaker makes the first evaluation by indicating his or her attitude and position on one proposition in the trigger turn, and then the receiver makes the second assessment opposite to the speaker's first evaluation in the response turn. In this case, the turns of two sides in conversation constitute adjacent pairs, both of which have expressed their positions on a proposition, and the evaluation positions of these two sides are opposite. In terms of the form of discourse, the trigger turn can be either a statement that directly expresses one's own views and attitudes, or a question form such as speculative question and additional question.

11) Study abroad

- 1 L: 老 杨 家 的(0.5) 也 是 刚 留学 回 来。
Lao yang jia de ye shi gang liuxue hui lai
Old yang home POSS also COP just study abroad back come
"Lao Yang's son has just returned from studying abroad."
- 2 S: 想 得 是 挺 好, 但 到 头 来 还 是 不 如 说 在 国 内。
Danghuo xiang de shi ting hao dan dao tou lai hai shen bu ru zai guo nei
At first want ASSOC COP relatively good but to end come still really NEG than just at country in
"I thought it was good, but in the end, it's really better to be at home."
- 3 L: 哪儿 的 话 年轻 还是 见 见 世 面 好, 要 不 等 老 了 可 再 来 不 及 了。
nar de hua nianqing haishi jian jian shimian hao yao bu deng lao le ke zai lai bu ji le
where ASSOC utterance young still see see world good want NEG wait old PRT but anymore come NEG timely PRT
"No. It's better to see the world when you're young. It's too late to wait until you're old."

In this extract, there are two parents talking about their children studying abroad. The speaker S made the first evaluation of the proposition "hai zhen bur u jiu zai guo nei" in the form of declarative sentence, and the receiver L made a negative response to it with "nar de hua" in the response turn which made a secondary evaluation contrary to the speaker's position.

12) Drink

- 1 M: 老师 今天 走得 早 啊
Zhang laoshi jintian zou de zao a
Mr. Zhang teacher today leave ASSOC early PRT
'Our teacher Mr Zhang left early today.'
- 2 S: 兴许 是 喝 多 了 呢?
xingqu shi he duo le ne
Maybe COP drink much PRT PRT
'He may have drunk too much.'
- 3 M: 哪 的 话 他 酒 量 很 好 的
hai nar de hua ta jiu liang hen hao de
INT where ASSOC utterance NEG alcohol amount pretty good PRT
'No. He drinks well.'

13) Exam

- 1 Z: 今 年 考 哪 儿 啊?
jin nian kao nar a
This year exam where PRT
'Where will you take the exam this year?'
- 2 Y: 还 是 想 报 北 京 考
hai chi xiang wang Beijing kao
still COP want to Beijing exam
'I still want to go to Beijing.'
- 3 Z: 你 想 考 的 是 燕 大 不 是 吧?
ni xiang kao de shi yanda bu shi ba
SING want exam NOM COP PKU NEG COP PRT
'You want to test Peking University, don't you?'
- 4 Y: 哪 儿 的 话 这 我 都 不 想 考 的
nar de hua zhe wo xiang dou bu xiang de
where ASSOC utterance this 2PL want all NEG dare want PRT
'I don't. This is something I can't even think of.'

There are two students talking about their teacher's drinking capacity in example 12). And in example 13), there are two friends talking about their target university. In examples 12) and 13), speakers use the speculative question form of "xingqu shi" and the additional question form of "statement + bus hi ba" to express their tendentious stance respectively. Both receivers make a negative response with "nar de hua" and make a second assessment contrary to the speaker's stance. Importantly, the common ground of the above three cases is that the three contexts contain the evaluation positions of both parties involved in conversation.

However, the sequence structure of a conversation is not always arranged in an orderly way, which is SPP closely follows FPP. Sometimes, according to the needs of the actual conversational situation, two sides of communication will expand the root adjacent pair by inserting independent turns before, in and after the root adjacent pair [6]. The inserted turn mainly includes three kinds: pre-expansion, insert-expansion and post-expansion. Among them, post-expansion can be divided into minimum post-extension and non-minimum post extension. The minimum post-extension is a turn that appears after the root adjacent pair. Its function is not to continue the sequence, but to end the current sequence. Therefore, the minimum post-extension is a position which is also called sequence closing third (Schegloff 2007) [7]. "Nar de hua" happens to be a structure that occasionally appears in the minimum post-expansion position.

14) Doctor

- 1 Q: 24 小时 内 不能 洗澡, 不要 吃 辣
Ershisi xiaoshì nēi bùnéng xiǎozǎo, búyào chī là
24 hour in NEG.can shower NEG.will eat spicy
'You can't take a shower within 24 hours. Don't eat spicy food.'
- 2 W: 知道 了, 太 麻烦 医生 了
zhīdào le, tài máfan yīshēng le
know PRT over trouble doctor PRT
'I see. It's too much trouble for you.'
- 3 Q: 哪 儿 的 话
nar de hua
where ASSOC utterance
'No trouble.'
- 4 W: 那: 吃 海鲜(0.4s) 什么 的 没 问题 吗?
na chi haixian shermen de mei wēntí ma
That eat seafood what NOM NEG problem PRT
'Is it OK to eat seafood or something?'
- 5 Q: 最好 也 不要
Zuìhǎo yě búyào
Best also NEG.will
'You'd better not.'

"Nar de hua" in this extract appears at an independent turn and acts as the minimum post-expansion. Q in line 1 is the doctor who gives advice to the patient W, while W in line 2 thanks the doctor for his diagnosis and advice by saying "mafan yisheng le". In line 3, the doctor Q responds with a self-depreciatory expression "nar de hua" and ends the current sequence. Then, W launches a brand-new sequence in line 4 by inquiring the doctor whether he could eat seafood or not. Therefore, in this example, the function of "nar de hua" is to end the current sequence as a minimum post-expansion.

IV. DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF "NAR DE HUA"

A. Establishing a Negative Evaluative Stance

An evaluative stance is a judgment made by the speaker about the evaluation of things. If something seems reasonable to the speaker, his position is positive, while if he thinks that things are unreasonable or unsatisfactory, his evaluative stance is negative. The most important function of "nar de hua" is to establish a negative evaluative stance.

The expressive function of "nar de hua" in a specific context is often affected by the contents of the previous turn and the interpersonal factors such as the distance between the two sides involved in the conversation and the status of a generation in the family or a social network. Based on the collected language materials, we find that "nar de hua" in different contexts is usually attached with emotions of the speakers, with different semantic intensities, and dynamically emerge different functions of stance expression.

Thus, we advocate that the negative evaluative stance function of "nar de hua" is a continuum in practical use [8]. According to the strength of the stance when it appears, we divide the negative evaluative stance that "nar de hua" can express into five kinds. The arrow in the continuum indicates that the closer to the right, the intenser the stance is.

Accident < Reminder < Disaffirmation < Refutation < Reprimand

B. Accident

When what the speaker said does not match the receiver's original understanding or is not as expected by the receiver, the receiver uses "nar de hua" to express his skepticism and accident stance on this matter or this statement. In general, the content of the conversation involves a third party other than the two sides of the conversation.

15) Mr. Fan

- 1 G: 这 个 是 谁 来 着(2.2s), 唉, 叫 不 上 名 来 了, 叫 [呢:]
Zhe ge shi shui laizhe ai jiao bu shang ming lai le jiao fan
This CL COP who PRT INT call NEG up name come PRT call (name)
'Who is this? Ai, I can't call his name. He's fan-'
- 2 S: [呢:]
fan
(name)
'He is Fan XX'
- 3 G: 哦, 他 啊, 好 几 年 没 见 了, 谁 说 他 去 上 海 工 作 了,
O ta a hao ji nian mei jian le shui shuo ta qu shanghai gongzuo le
INT SSG PRT good several year NEG meet PRT who say SSG go Shanghai work PRT
'Oh, it's him. I haven't seen him for years. Some people say he went to work in Shanghai.'
- 4 S: 什么 啊, 他 一 直 在 苏 州 就 没 走
Shenme a ta yizhi zai suzhou jiu mei zou
What PRT SSG always in Suzhou just NEG go
'No. He hasn't gone, and he is always in Suzhou.'
- 5 G: 哪 儿 的 话() 不 是 吧
nar de hua bu shi ba
where ASSOC utterance NEG COP PRT
'No. It's unbelievable.'

We can see from line 3 of this example that G has no exact answer to "where he is", but he once heard someone say that he is in Shanghai. So when S says "ta yizhi zai Suzhou jiu mei zou", G finds it constast with his original understanding. Therefore, after obtaining the turn, G uses "nar de hua" to

express his accidents and doubts about S's statement in the previous turn. Besides, G's following utterance “bus hi ba” also confirms his accident from the side.

C. Reminder

When the receiver thinks that the speaker has made mistakes in the form of language, he often uses “*nar de hua*” to remind the previous speaker of his verbal misconduct. In other words, “*nar de hua*” can exercise the function of reminding others in specific contexts.

In our corpus, there are only some cases of “*nar de hua*” used as reminder function in crosstalk from BCC dialogue corpus. Since crosstalk also belongs to oral dialogue register, we also investigate it from the interaction perspective.

16) Old man with white beard

- 1 甲: 听 着 吧, 说 起 南 边 来 个 白 头 子 老 胡……
Ting zhe ba shuo qi nan bian lai ge bai touzi lao hu
Listen DUR PRT say from south side come CL white head.AFFIX old (name)
‘Listen to me. Mr. Hu is coming from the southside with white hair.’
- 2 乙: 白 头 子 老 胡, 这 是 哪 儿 的 话 呀?
Bai touzi lao hu zhe shi nar de hua ya
white head.AFFIX old (name) this COP where ASSOC utterance PRT
‘Mr. Hu with white hair? What are you saying?’
- 3 甲: 不 是 你 说 的 起 南 边 来 个 白 头 子 老 胡 吗?
Bushi ni shuo de qi nan bian lai ge bai touzi lao hu ma
NEG 2SG say ASSOC from south side come CL white head.AFFIX old (name) PRT
‘It isn't you who said ‘Mr. Hu is coming from the southside with white hair?’
- 4 乙: 说 起 南 边 来 个 白 头 子 老 胡……
shuo qi nan bian lai ge bai touzi lao hu
say from south side come CL white head.AFFIX old man
‘There is an old man with white beard coming from the south side.’

This extract is a crosstalk performance by A and B. What Jia wanted to say in line 1 was “bai huzi laotour”, but he mistakenly said as “bai tou zi lao hu”. Yi found this mistake, so he restated it to initiate a repair and then used “*nar de hua*” to remind Jia of his mistake in line 2.

There are two unique features of reminder.

First, as a specific form of negative evaluative stance, reminder is essentially a reminder sent by the listener to the speaker's wording. Reminders occur at the level of wording rather than the level of content. In the above example, even if Jia's slip of tongue is not corrected, it will not affect their interpretation of the correct form “bai huzi laotour”.

Secondly, compared with the usage of “accident”, although the addressee B only initiated a repair to remind previous speaker's mistake, B has already made a clear claim in his mind, that is, “I do not agree with your statement”.

D. Disaffirmation

When the current speaker disagrees with a specific content or point of view of the prior speaker, the current speaker uses “*nar de hua*” to express his or her negative attitude to the content or the view. When it is used, “*nar de hua*” can either occupy a turn or have a follow-up discourse, but the follow-up discourse can only express the negation of the former speaker without providing new information. It is distributed in both unilateral and bilateral assessment sequences when “*nar de hua*” perform the discourse function of disaffirmation. For example:

17) Change one's heart

- 1 W: 你 变 心 了.
Ni bian xin le
2SG change heart PRT
‘You don't love me any more.’
- 2 L: 哪 儿 的 话?
nar de hua
where ASSOC utterance
‘No.’

18) Drunk

- 1 D: 爸, 你 喝 多 了.
Ba ni he duo le
Dad 2SG drink much PRT
‘Dad, you are drunk.’
- 2 Q: 哪 儿 的 话 我 没 喝 多.
nar de hua wo mei he duo
where ASSOC utterance 1SG NEG drink much
‘No, I am not drunk.’

19) Courage

- 1 王: 没 吓 到 吧?
Mei xia dao ba
NEG frighten arrive PRT
‘Are you frightened?’
- 2 P: 哪 儿 的 话
nar de hua
where ASSOC utterance
‘No, I am not.’
- 3 王: 挺 平 常 胆 子 挺 大 的, 一 到 就 到
Wang ting pingchang danzi tending da de yici dao
Usual courage quite big PRT once arrive
‘You're usually brave. As soon as ...’
- 4 P: 一 到 事 儿 上 就 完 蛋.
Yi dao shir shang jiu wandan
Once arrive thing up just over
‘It's over as soon as you encounter something.’

In example 17), W in line 1 accused L of changing his mind. Then, L uses “*nar de hua*” in an independent turn to give a negative response to W. “*Nar de hua*” in this case is only a direct negative expression based on the surface meaning of “ni bian xin le”, showing that “I haven't changed my mind”. Similarly, in example 18), the daughter D tells her father “ni he duo le”. Hearing this, the recipient Q uses “*nar de hua*” to make a negative response followed by a word “wo mei he duo” which is a direct negation of the other party's point of view without adding any new information. Different from the above two extracts, example 19) is a unilateral negative evaluation response. “*Nar de hua*” in line 2 is an answer to the question “mei xia dao ba” asked by the speaker. J did not disclose any information about his stance in the previous turn, and only P made a unilateral negative evaluation in this dialogue.

E. Refutation

Refutation refers to the use of “*nar de hua*” when the speaker doesn't approve of the other party's point of view. However, compared with disaffirmation, refutation usually has a follow-up turn component that provides new information. Subsequent component is usually used to further explain the reason or basis for refutation. In this case, both sides in conversation stand opposite with each other. And the objects of refutation are usually the opinions or attitudes explicitly put forward by prior speakers. Therefore, refutation usually appears in bilateral assessment sequences in which the second assessment is conflicted with the first.

20) Medicine

- 1 K: 还 没 好 吗?
Hui mei hao ma
Still NEG good PRT
‘Haven't you recovered yet?’
- 2 P: 还 不 行 药 不 太 管 用.
Hui bu xing yao bu da guan yong
Still NEG OK medicine NEG big govern usage
‘I haven't recovered yet. The drug had little effects.’
- 3 K: 哪 儿 的 话? 昨 天 你 说 话 都 说 不 出 来 呢!
Nar de hua zuotian ni lian hua dou shuo bu chu lai ne
where ASSOC utterance yesterday 2SG and utterance all speak NEG out come PRT
‘No, you couldn't even speak yesterday.’
- 4 P: 稍 微 好 一 点
Shaowei hao yi dian
Slightly good a little
‘A little better.’

In this extract, K refutes the previous speaker's view with “*nar de hua*” in the line 3 and puts forward the basis for refutation in the subsequent component “zuotian ni lian hua dou shuo bu chu lai ne” to further explain the opposite view—“the medicine is useful”. In this conversation, both sides of the interlocutors have a clear expression of stance. P thinks the medicine doesn't work at all, while K holds the medicine is useful. Otherwise, it won't be the case that P not able to speak yesterday, but he gets better today. “*Nar de hua*” is used in the second pair part of the bilateral assessment

sequence. Therefore, the discourse function of “*nar de hua*” here belongs to the case of refutation.

F. Reprimand

When the receiver thinks that the speaker's words are inappropriate, or the views conveyed by the words are too unreasonable, he often uses “*nar de hua*” to occupy the middle position of turn to criticize the other party. This is called reprimand usage of “*nar de hua*”. When the receiver uses “*nar de hua*”, he usually compromises politeness, but takes a disdainful and irrefutable tone in his words. When “*nar de hua*” is used to express reprimand, the speaker's negative stance is very strong and intense, and the discourse usually contains negative emotions such as anger and dissatisfaction.

21) Anti-Japanese

- 1 S: 快来看, 抗日英雄来了。
Kuai lai kan kang ri yingxiong lai le
Hurry come watch combat Japan hero come PRT
'Hurry up! Here comes the Anti-Japanese hero.'
- 2 H: 抗日, 哪儿的话呢? 这是比赛, 最烦这种--
Kang ri nar de hua ne zhe shi bishai zui fan zhe zhong
combat Japan where ASSOC utterance PRT this COP competition most annoyed this kind
'Anti-Japanese? What? This is competition. I'm tired of--'
- 3 S: 带引号的“抗日”好吧
Dai yinhao de kang ri hao ba
Carry quotation ASSOC combat Japan OK PRT
'Quoted Anti-Japanese, OK'

This clip is taken from the scene where S called H to watch the Olympic Games. When S saw a Japanese player competing with a Chinese player, S says “*kang ri yingxiong lai le*” in line 1. H did not recognize S's wrong value. Therefore, he gave him a critical response after hearing this. Firstly, H repeated “*kang ri*” which is a partial repetition of the former turn to point out the focus of S's wrong view, and then criticized this point of view with “*nar de hua*”. Besides, in the subsequent discourses “*zhe shi bishai*” and “*zui fan zhe zhong*”, we can see his anger and irrefutable attitude, which is a feature of the reprimand usage of “*nar de hua*”.

Compared with the function of reminder, the particularity of reprimand is that it aims not at the errors in language form, but at the errors of others' views or understanding reflected through language content. Compared with refutation, reprimand not only refers to refuting the other party's point of view, but also shows the authority and command of one's own point of view with the indisputable attitude reflected in the subsequent discourse, regardless of politeness.

G. Polite Expression

As mentioned above, the discourse function of “*nar de hua*” is to establish a negative evaluative stance. When examining the corpus, we find that some cases show pseudo-negation in use. In these cases, it seems that the use of “*nar de hua*” is to establish a negative evaluative stance, but in fact, the speaker himself has no negative position at all.

Actually, it was driven by the Politeness Principle (Brown & Levinson, 1983). Usually, when speakers express praise, exaltation or gratitude to others, the receivers need to respond with modestly; and when speakers make self-deprecation or apologizes to the receivers, the receivers need to raise the other party's status to show respect [9]. The processes of raising others and lowering themselves are realized with the use of “*nar de hua*”.

22) License

- 1 Y: 驾照拿到了吗?
Jia zhao na dao la
driving license get arrived PRT
'Have you got your driver's license?'
- 2 T: 拿到了, 谢谢教练。
Na dao le xiestie jiaolian
Get arrive PRT thanks coach
'Get it. Thank you, my coach.'
- 3 Y: 哪儿的话, 没我多少事, 你用得着得休。
Nar de hua mei wo duoshao shi ni yongde de xiu
where ASSOC utterance NEG ISG many thing ZSG hard-working ASSOC hen much
'No, I didn't help much. It's all because you study hard.'

23) Party

- 1 Y: 驾照拿到了吗?
Jia zhao na dao la
driving license get arrived PRT
'Have you got your driver's license?'
- 2 T: 拿到了, 谢谢教练。
Na dao le xiestie jiaolian
Get arrive PRT thanks coach
'Get it. Thank you, my coach.'
- 3 Y: 哪儿的话, 没我多少事, 你用得着得休。
Nar de hua mei wo duoshao shi ni yongde de xiu
where ASSOC utterance NEG ISG many thing ZSG hard-working ASSOC hen much
'No, I didn't help much. It's all because you study hard.'

In line 2 of example 22), T expresses gratitude to Y, which is an act of raising the other person's status. Out of politeness, Y can't say self-praise words again in this case, so he uses the structure “*nar de hua*”, which has the function between doubt and negation, to package the response to other people's commendatory words, so as to reflect his modesty: that is, to avoid self-praise by giving a low-confirmation response to the complimentary words. Similarly, the scene of example 23) is that a family member W is late for a family party, so he apologizes to the family, which is an act of belittling himself. Due to politeness, G can't say anything that belittles A, even if A can criticize himself by saying “*shizai buhaoyisi*” and “*baoqian le*”. Therefore, G uses the structure of “*nar de hua*”, whose functions between doubt and negation, to package the response to other people's self-critical utterances, to express comfort and respect for others, that is, to avoid criticizing others through the low confirmation response to self-destructive utterances.

V. MOTIVATIONS AND MECHANISMS OF FORMING NEGATIVE STANCE

As mentioned above, “*nar de hua*” can be used in five different levels of negative stances: accident, reminder, disaffirmation, refutation and reprimand. The emergence of the negative evaluative stance function of “*nar de hua*” and the formation of different negative intensity levels are mainly affected by subjectivity.

Rhetorical questions are important bridging contexts in the process of “*nar de hua*” developing from the initial interrogative usage to the stance-taking usage. The phenomenon that the negative meaning expressed by the form of rhetorical question stems from speakers' subjective negative attitudes [10]. There is no doubt in rhetorical questions. So, although “*nar de hua*” adopts the form of question, the speaker has subjectively turned its answer into an airspace. “*nar de hua*” does not need to be answered, and there is no answer that can really meet the needs of the person who says it. This is where the negative use of “*nar de hua*” comes in. Whether “*nar de hua*” indicates doubt or negation is determined by speakers' subjective emotions and attitudes. In other words, subjectification is the fundamental mechanism of negative usage. In addition, “*nar de hua*” dynamically shows different functions of stance-taking in different conversational contexts, such as accident, reminder, negation, refutation and reprimand. What kind or level of

negative evaluative stance to express is also subjectively determined by speakers according to the needs of interactive communication in the context.

It is worth noting that although the question category of “*nar de hua*” has been weakened, the use of “*nar de hua*” is still in a dynamic development process from question to stance-taking device. We can see that there is also the use of “*nar de hua*” with the nature of doubt. For example, when “*nar de hua*” is used to express “accident”, the information obtained does not match the previously known information, which makes the addressee feel surprised and confused. In this case, the semantic intensity of the negative stance expressed by the addressee is low and the response shows that he still doubts the previous speaker's statement to some extent.

VI. CONCLUSION

The non-interrogative usage of interrogative pronouns is a common phenomenon across languages which has been noticed for many years. However, there is still much room for the investigation of constructions related to the non-interrogative use of interrogative pronouns. From the interactional perspective, this paper discusses the distribution of the discourse marker “*nar de hua*” in dialogue, and explores its discourse function, forming mechanism as well as motivation. According to the different semantic intensities of negative assessment in a specific context, the discourse functions of “*nar de hua*” can be summarized as a continuum: accident, reminder, disaffirmation, refutation and reprimand. In addition, “*nar de hua*” is often used as a polite expression to express the speaker's modest attitude or respect for others. The negative orientation of “*nar de hua*” is mainly driven by subjectivity, and it is still in a dynamic development process from doubt to negation.

However, this paper only studies “*nar de hua*”, which is one of these constructions related to “*na*” or “*nar*”. Further studies should be promoted in the future in order to find out the gap between these constructions in discourse functions. In addition, the construction related to the interrogative pronoun “*na*” or “*nar*” is only an epitome of the non-interrogative usage of the interrogative pronoun. Perhaps we should make a more systematic study of the constructions of other interrogative pronouns such as “*shui*”, “*shenme*” and “*zenme*”, in order to explore the causes of the form-meaning mismatch (interrogative pronouns are used to express non-interrogative or negative meanings) and summarize the social behavior of a certain language form in the framework of the non-interrogative usages of interrogative pronouns.

APPENDIX

Appendix A. Transcription Conventions

,	“Continuing” intonation, not necessarily a clause boundary
.	Falling or final intonation, not necessarily the end of a sentence
?	Rising intonation, not necessarily a question
[]	Talk between the two square brackets is overlapped, the left brackets indicates the start of the overlap, the right indicates the end

-	A cut-off or self-interruption, often done with a glottal or dental stop
(.)	A “micropause”, ordinarily less than 0.2 of a second
(0.4)	A silence of more than 0.2 of a second
=	Two adjacent units follow one another with no break or pause; equal signs ordinarily come in pairs
::	Prolongation or stretching of the sound just preceding them. The more colons, the longer the stretching
^	Sharp rise in pitch, or a whole shift or resetting of the pitch register at which the talk is being produced
o o	Talk between the two degree signs is markedly softer than the talk around it
@...@	Laughter
(())	Transcriber's descriptions of events, rather than representation of them
(word)	Uncertainty on the transcriber's part. The words in parentheses represent a likely possibility

Appendix B. Gloss Symbols

1SG	first person singular wo
2SG	second person singular ni
3SG	third person singular ta
1PL	first person plural women/zanmen
ASSOC	associative marker de
CL	classifier
COP	copula
INT	interjection
NEG	negator bu and mei
NOM	nominalizer de
POSS	possessive marker de
PRT	particle
CM	resultative marker de

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Song Yang conducted the research, analyzed the data and wrote the paper. All authors had approved the final version.

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