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The German Discourse Marker *na* and its Collocations

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Germanic Languages

by

Tara Leonie Fee Rensch

2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The German Discourse Marker *na* and its Collocations

by

Tara Leonie Fee Rensch

Doctor of Philosophy in Germanic Languages

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor John Heritage, Co-Chair

Professor Robert S. Kirsner, Co-Chair

The German discourse marker *na* has mostly been neglected by particle researchers thus far. In German colloquial speech, it is frequently used, both as a stand-alone turn-initial marker ("Na, wenn du meinst" *"Na, if you think so"*) and as part of several collocations such as *na gut, na also, na dann,* and *na los.* This dissertation uses a Conversation Analytic approach to find the function(s) and meaning(s) of the marker. We find that even though *well* is frequently provided as a translation for *na*, the two words do not share many functions.

Na-prefacing is used to qualify a statement and to return to a topic after going off on a tangent. *Na* can precede terms of endearment and conversation openers, and it precedes questions to make them sound more casual. Many of those *na*-prefaced turns are sequential departures where *na* alerts the hearer that something unexpected is coming. The collocations

with *na* mostly have sequence management functions (sequential departure, sequence closure, topic shift).

Overall, *na* is a shift marker: It indicates that some kind of shift is coming up (a shift towards a new topic, a departure from the agenda of the conversation, etc.). The second component of the *na*-collocations allows for contextual fine-tuning, specifying the shift, and leading to a wider scope than the shifts indicated by a stand-alone *na*.

The dissertation of Tara Leonie Fee Rensch is approved.

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2018

Table of Contents

List of Tables

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EDUCATION

MA: German Studies   2014
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CONFERENCES & PRESENTATIONS

- UCLA Department of Germanic Languages Symposium. Research Talk, Title: *Vimperative du mal - imperative or grammatical construction? An analysis within the construction grammar framework,* May 10, 2016

- 2nd UCLA Language Alliance Symposium: Teaching Intermediate and Advanced Language Classes: Proficiency, Content, and Culture. Research Talk, Title: "Teaching Cultural Awareness in German" May 16, 2016

- UCLA Language Alliance Workshop on Hybrid/Language Instruction: German 1 Hybrid Instruction Design, June 12, 2016

- Paper accepted for presentation at the Germanic Linguistics Annual Conference 2016: "*Vimperative du mal -* imperative or grammatical construction? An analysis within the Construction Grammar framework"

- "Fairy Tales in Foreign Language Teaching: Teaching German Through the Magic of the Grimm Tales." RMMLA Conference 2013. Vancouver, WA, October 2013.

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1. Introduction

The object under investigation in this study is the German discourse marker *na*. This marker is frequently used in German colloquial speech and, as is common for discourse markers, the precise meaning it adds to an utterance is difficult to pinpoint, especially so if, like in the case of *na,* it appears in a variety of contexts. Dictionaries and reference grammars only provide sparse information as to the use of *na*, most of the time only listing examples. The goal of the study is to determine the meaning and use of *na* both as a stand-alone marker (e.g. "*Na, das werden wir noch sehen!*" — "*Na, we'll see!*") as well as in collocations such as *na gut*, *na und*, and *na dann*.

In the FOLK corpus (Forschungs- und Lehrkorpus Gesprochenes Deutsch), developed and maintained by the Institut für deutsche Sprache (IDS) Mannheim, *na* occurs 2746 times in about 170 hours of transcribed conversation, which means an average of 16 occurrences of *na* per hour. With *na* occurring in spoken German this frequently, learners of German are bound to hear this word eventually and wonder about its meaning. For most particles and discourse markers, one can find many posts on online discussion boards where learners ask about the meaning and use of these words. German classes and textbooks, however, only sporadically address discourse markers and particles, and even if students specifically ask about them, German teachers like myself do not have satisfying responses. Even native speakers of German have only vague ideas as to the meanings and uses of markers and particles.

Na is no exception here: German-English dictionaries list *na* as a translation of *well*. It is not the case, however, that *na* is always an appropriate translation of *well*, and vice versa (as we will see in detail later on). When googling "How to use *na* in German?", we find some posts in

forums of German learners asking about the meaning of the word (with responses that are less than helpful), and some blog posts where people attempt to explain the use, but mostly in very few restricted contexts like *Na, wie geht's?* where it seems to mean something along the lines of 'So, how's it going?'. *Na* in other collocations, or *na* by itself prefacing an utterance, are not discussed.

This dissertation attempts to uncover the meaning of *na* by analyzing real language data. The first chapter will be an introduction to the subject matter, outline the purpose of the study, and provide a definition of the term *discourse marker* as it is understood in this study, drawing on a variety of studies in the area of discourse marker research in both German and English. The following section will discuss the literature on discourse markers in general, and the marker *na* in particular will be reviewed. Then the theoretical background for this study which is informed by Columbia School and Construction Grammar, using Conversation Analysis as the main method of approaching the data will be outlined; further core principles of Conversation Analysis as a method will be laid out.

Chapter two (Analysis) addresses stand-alone *na* by first comparing it to English *well,* and then discussing the various functions of the discourse marker. Chapter three begins by analyzing the frequent collocation *na gut* and its functions in discourse. Then, multiple other collocations of *na* will be analyzed. The final chapter will draw conclusions and provide an outlook on future research.

1.1 Purpose of Study

Among the vast variety of studies on German discourse markers and discourse particles, *na* is mostly unstudied thus far. Studies that led to a classification as discourse markers have been conducted on *weil* (Gohl/Günthner 1999), *also* (Dittmar 2002), *ja* (Meer 2012), and many others. If we want to understand the meaning and use of *na*, teach learners of German how to correctly use it, and train artificial intelligence applications (e.g. Apple's Siri) to correctly employ such markers, an in-depth analysis is necessary. Dictionaries are not helpful to learners wanting to acquire this discourse marker, but it is important for the mastery of spoken language to learn and correctly use these minute words. Only a speaker who employs all facets of a language that are commonly used by native speakers will be able to reach native-like proficiency. Yet, German classes and textbooks mostly fail to teach discourse markers and particles.

In search of an answer regarding *na*, a particularly interested student might go as far as to look at a German-German dictionary. Duden online summarizes the use of *na* as such:

"geht als Gesprächspartikel einem [verkürzten] Satz voraus und bildet damit den emotionalen Übergang von etwas, was als Geschehen, Gesprochenes oder Gedachtes vorausgegangen ist, zu einer sich daraus ergebenden Äußerung, die persönliche Gefühle, vor allem Ungeduld, Unzufriedenheit, Resignation, Ablehnung, aber auch Überraschung, eine Aufforderung, Zuspruch, Freude enthalten kann."[1]

(precedes as discourse particle a [shortened] sentence and forms the emotional transition from something seen, spoken or thought that came before, to a resulting utterance that contains personal emotions, in particular impatience, dissatisfaction, resignation, denial, but also surprise, a request, agreement, or joy)[2].

This general summary might be true, but neither does it provide a thorough explanation from a linguistic point of view, nor is it helpful for a learner of German. Some of the most

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[1] http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/na_Interjektion_Partikel

[2] All translations in this dissertation are my own unless otherwise specified.

commonly used textbooks (*Sag Mal!, Vorsprung, Denk Mal!, Stationen, Handbuch zur deutschen Grammatik*) fail to mention the existence of the particle.

More helpful is the entry for *na* in the DWDS (Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache). DWDS divides the uses of *na* in two categories:

(1) a number of emotions that can be expressed with *na* are listed here—similar to the list from Duden above—in this case each with examples, e.g. "drückt Ungeduld, Ärgerlichsein aus, Beispiele: na, schnell!, na los, komm schon!, na, fang doch endlich mal an damit!, na, wird's bald?" (*expresses impatience, being angry, Examples: na, schnell!, na los, komm schon!, na, fang doch endlich mal an damit!, na, wird's bald?*)[3] The examples give us a good idea of some possible uses of the discourse marker, but the list is not complete (it does, for example, not mention some of the more common collocations like *na dann*). The definition suggests that a wide variety of emotions can be expressed by using *na*, but the question of the role *na* plays in a conversation remains;

(2) *na* serves as an introduction to several speech acts, e.g. an introduction to a threat, a conciliation, a confirmation. Some of the examples here contain collocations (*na schön, na und?*), but many collocations are not mentioned at all (e.g. *na dann*). And another question is to be answered: Is there a basic function of *na*, something that all the uses listed have in common on the conversational level?

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[3] http://www.dwds.de/wb/na

1.2 Object of Study — Discourse marker: Definition & function

Not much is known about the origin of the word *na*. It can be found in literature since the 16th century (Pfeifer 1995); it is not known whether the particle is related to *nu* or *nun.*

Whatever the origin of *na,* discourse markers are not a modern phenomenon: They can already be found in the linguistic descriptions of Greek and Latin. Priscian, a Latin grammarian, describes discourse markers (or, as he called them, interjections) as "pars orationis significans mentis affectum voce incondita" ('a part of speech signifying an emotion by means of an unformed word, i.e. one not fixed by convention') (Ameka 1992:102). This early definition already entails two features that are often attributed to discourse markers: They are 'unformed words', and they communicate an emotion.

Particles, or in German, *Partikeln*, can be all kinds of words that cannot be inflected. Weydt points out the difference in what counts as a particle depending on who you ask: Duden classifies all adverbs (e.g. *oft, gern, hier*), prepositions (e.g. *für, gegen, hinter*) and conjunctions (e.g. *nachdem, aber*) as particles (Weydt 1989: 3). Helbig and Buscha only call *Gradpartikeln* ("particles of degree") (e.g. *ziemlich, etwas*) particles; Altmann includes interjections (e.g. *huch, pfui*) in his definition of particles (Weydt 4).

In the introduction to the collection of articles *Approaches to discourse particles*, editor Kerstin Fischer points out that "there is surprisingly little overlap in the different definitions" (Fischer 2006:2) provided by the authors represented in the volume. This, according to Fischer, is indicative of the heterogeneity in the field of particle research that "comprises synchronic and diachronic, formal and informal approaches, approaches building on text-linguistic models; models of general cognitive processing or interactively relevant domains of discourse; as well as

approaches concentrating on syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, or prosodic aspects." (1) Particularly problematic is the distinction (if there is any) between the terms *discourse particles* and *discourse markers*. While the former term "suggests a focus on small, uninflected words that are only loosely integrated into the sentence structure[4]" (idb. 4), the latter is described as a "purely functional term" that is "the most inclusive" term whose "functional characterisation [...] may avoid unnecessary formal limitations" (5). A problem Fischer sees with the term *discourse markers* as a functional classification is that it does not limit the size of the unit even though most of the units under consideration when talking about discourse markers/particles "are prototypically particles, connectives, or fixed phrases like *you know* and *I mean*" (5). In her volume, Fischer rules in favor of the term *discourse particles* because in her opinion, both functional and formal aspects are to be taken into consideration. Since the present study, however, concentrates on the functional aspect of *na* and its collocations, the term *discourse markers* will be preferred. Definitions proposed by other researchers will be discussed below in the following.

Auer and Günthner define discourse markers ("Diskursmarker") as short lexical units in the pre-prefield of spoken units which are mostly defined in their function for the organization of the conversation. Discourse markers frame the following utterances by signaling how these utterances relate to their immediate context (Auer/Günthner 2005: 335): "Sie machen das sprachliche Handeln interpretierbar, d.h. sie kommentieren es, steuern es, sichern seine formalen Voraussetzungen oder verankern es im Kontext" (336)[5].

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[4] "loosely integrated into the sentence structure" means that a discourse marker like *na* carries less propositional value than other word classes.

[5] "They make speech interpretable, i.e. they comment on it, steer it, ensure its formal requirements, or anchor it in the context." (my own translation)

In his article "Wortart Diskursmarker?", Imo (2012) lists criteria for discourse markers that distinguish them from similar types of words. He divides these criteria into different linguistic branches:

- Syntactic (position in the pre-prefield; discourse markers can be combined with other discourse markers) (Imo 79);

- morphological (discourse markers are short and formulaic, often consist of set phrases, and do not inflect) (Imo 79); Imo uses this definition to distinguish discourse markers from projecting phrases (*Projektorkonstruktionen*) like "wenn ich ehrlich bin" that have similar functions to discourse markers (63).

- semantic (they do not add anything to the following proposition, meaning they do not change the propositional content of the utterance);

- function (discourse markers frame the utterance and organize the conversation);

- sequentiality (the discourse marker projects an utterance and embeds it in the context of the preceding utterance);

- and lastly prosodic (discourse markers are variable in their prosodic realization) (79). Imo notes that discourse markers can prosodically separate from the following speech (he cites examples from Günthner, "obwohl: es ärgert mich schon ein bisschen"), but do not have to be ("ich mein" is conventionalized to the point where it does not require any special treatment prosodically to be understood as a discourse marker (71ff.).

The syntactical and morphological criteria as outlined by Imo very clearly apply to *na*: *Na* can be combined with other discourse markers (e.g. *na also*), it is short and formulaic, it occurs in set

phrases, and it does not inflect. Prosodically, *na* is flexible—it can, for example, be said with rising or falling intonation. It seems to exclusively occur turn-initially. There are a number of collocations beginning with *na*, the most frequent one being *naja* (sometimes spelled as two words, *na ja*). Others are *na gut*, *na und*, *na dann/denn*, *na also, na bitte* which all appear turn-initially. Outside of such collocations, a stand-alone *na* can preface a sentence. Determining whether Imo's criteria for semantics, function, and sequentiality can be applied to *na* is one of the goals of this study.

Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen discusses the semantic status of discourse markers and argues that "markers are best seen as processing instructions intended to aid the hearer in integrating the unit hosting the marker into a coherent mental representation of the unfolding discourse" (1997:236). She does not see this processing of discourse as "the application of a set of internalized rules of a specifically linguistic nature" (252), but prefers an *emergent* view of discourse over an *a priori* one. In this view, discourse markers indicate "how, and to what extent, their host units can be understood to make sense with respect to a mental representation of the discourse-so-far" (258).

Hansen further explains the necessity of accounting for the various uses of a discourse marker. She discusses three approaches to this problem: The first one is the maximalist approach which postulates different meanings and places them in the lexicon. Hansen describes this approach as lacking explanatory power as it confuses "the meaning of words with that of the contexts in which they occur" (240), and further criticizes that it remains "unclear how hearers go about deciding which of the competing homonyms should be activated in a given context" (ibd.). Secondly, there is the minimalist approach which aims to "isolate a unitary 'core'

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meaning, usually of a highly abstract and schematic nature, from which all uses of a given item can be derived" (239) (this is the approach the Columbia School takes). Hansen notes that this approach is suitable for some constructions like *in other words* which "might reasonably be described as having one basic meaning, while being capable of functioning at different levels of the utterance" (240), but in other cases a minimalist approach might "result in descriptions that are too abstract and general to be of significant practical value" (ibd.). Finally, Hansen discusses the polysemy approach which accounts for the different senses of a word not with pragmatic reasoning, but rather states that "these various senses are related in an often non-predictable, but nevertheless motivated way, either in a chain-like fashion through family resemblance, or as extensions from a prototype" (240-41), hence uniting ideas from both the maximalist and the minimalist approaches. Hansen shows this in her analysis of the French discourse marker *alors* which can have different functions. In the maximalist approach, one would have to decide whether *alors* after a digression "is resultative or signals the return to a previous topic" (241), but the polysemous approach allows for both functions being present simultaneously.

1.2.1 Turn-initial particles

A number of the aforementioned definitions emphasize the position in the beginning of the sentence (*pre-field*[6]) as an important factor for the classification of particles. This position, not only at the beginning of sentences, but in Conversation Analysis-terms, at the beginning of turns, deserves attention: Schegloff (1987) calls turn beginnings "sequence-structurally important places in conversation" (71); Selting (1994) notes that constructions on the margins of a sentence

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[6] The pre-field is non-integrated positions in a sentence, before the front field. It is an optional position. (Fischer/Alm 2013:52f). The discourse marker *also* occurs in the pre-field, as in "also du musst jetzt aus diesen ((räuspert sich)) wunderschönen bauteilen [...]" (59).

(*Satzrand*[7]) often serve the organization of the conversation (316). *Na* in a turn-initial position has such an organizational function as we will see later. A similar concept is conveyed in Schiffrin's (1987) definition of discourse markers "as sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (31). She argues that markers are independent of sentences and their structure, and therefore must be defined in their relation to units of talk rather than to sentences (32). The *units of talk* that markers can bracket can be sentences, but also "propositions, speech acts, tone units" (32). She rejects more precise units ("units defined because of their relations with other units, their cohesive relations, or their interactional relations" (31)) because such definitions "would place a tremendous limit on our analysis by restricting our attention to just that unit" (idb.). Citing Goffman and Schegloff, Schiffrin extends the importance of brackets as not only playing an important role in the organization of talk, but of social life in general (36). Goffman puts a particular emphasis on opening brackets:

> the bracket initiating a particular kind of activity may carry more significance than the bracket terminating it. For [...] the beginning bracket not only will establish an episode but will also establish a slot for signals which will inform and define what kind of transformation is to be made of the materials within the episode. (Goffman 1974:225, cited by Schiffrin)

In discourse analysis, the beginning of a turn is of particular interest in that it marks the transition between turns and as such plays an important role in the flow of a conversation and the negotiation of turn-taking. According to Schegloff (1987), "[t]urn Beginnings are [...] an important initial resource, for the projection of the turn-shape or the turn-type of the turn that is being begun at the turn beginning" (71). He further notes that this position "is a central place for

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[7] Non-integrated position before or after sentence (Selting 1994:300).

a variety of sequential markers in conversation — little objects that do a piece of sequential work" (72).

Conversations are organized in sequences. Sequences consist of adjacency pairs—pairs of turns where the second part is a fitting response to the first part. Such pairs can be, for example, summons and answer, invitation and acceptance/declination, and greeting/greeting (Stivers 2014:192). Items can be in an initial position (first pair part), a second position (second pair part), and third position (closing a sequence as a post-expansion) (Heritage/Sorjonen 2018:9). Heritage and Sorjonen (2018) note that turn-initial particles have different orientations based on where in a sequence they occur: If they are in first position, they tend to be forward-looking (that is, oriented towards the talk that is to come), while turn-initial particles in second position tend to be backward-looking (oriented towards the previous talk) (13).

It appears that turn-initial particles fall into three categories regarding their function: "(i) sequential departures; (ii) epistemic and related issues[8], and (iii) activity management (Heritage/Sorjonen:15). Some particles do only one of these things, while others do two or all of them, depending on context and position they occur in.

1.3 Plan, Data, & Method

1.3.1 Corpus

I am analyzing turn-initial *na* in two different forms: (1) stand-alone[9] *na*, and (2) *na* in collocations that frequently occur in conversation. The data are drawn from the FOLK

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[8] "Epistemic and related issues" deals with "epistemic issues (broadly construed) [that] tend to have a core meaning that travels across a diversity of usages" (Heritage/Sorjonen 2018:16).

[9] *Stand-alone* here is not used to describe *na* being the only item in the turn. It contrasts collocations of *na* where *na* occurs as a unit with some other word that follows right after with *na* occurrences without collocations.

(Forschungs- und Lehrkorpus Gesprochenes Deutsch) corpus by the Institut für deutsche Sprache (IDS) Mannheim. This corpus, directed by German conversation analysts Arnulf Deppermann and Thomas Schmidt, comprises a wide variety of interactions from different types of situations: dinner table conversations (*"Tischgespräche"*), conversations during game interactions, school lessons, professional conversation, panel discussions, and mediation talks, all recorded starting 2008. The corpus is further set up to contain conversations from different regions, age groups, and educational backgrounds. Most of these conversations are audio recordings, some are transcribed audio recordings from video, and some of these videos are publicly available as well. The corpus consists of 219 conversations with 582 documented speakers. The total length is 169 hours and 12 minutes and contains a total of 1,609,220 words. All conversations are transcribed and searchable.[10] For each conversation, there is a brief description of the context of the conversation, the date it was recorded, the region it comes from, and conditions under which the recording was made (e.g. "street noise and birds chirping in the background").

This corpus is well suited for the analysis of *na* because the variety of interactions and the balance of socio-economic backgrounds/dialectal regions ensure that the data are as unbiased as possible[11]. The data have been recorded within the last eight years and should be representative of today's language use. The fact that the data have been transcribed carefully and are searchable makes it easy to extract a sample of occurrences and allows for more time to analyze the data rather than collecting and transcribing them. The FOLK data have been used successfully in a

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[10]http://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/dgd/pragdb.dgd_extern.corpora?v_session_id=3AF65FB8CF8AA5A51830B134CF6A BBE8&v_doctype=c&v_corpus=FOLK

[11] It is possible that demographic factors play a role in the distribution and use of *na*, but this would go beyond the scope of this study. A follow-up study should investigate any posssible correlations between socio-demographic factors and distribution of uses of *na*.

variety of studies from different branches of linguistics and have been scrutinized by conversation analysts.

For bare *na,* the first 300 results of bare *na* from searching FOLK are used as the dataset for this study. This number was picked after carefully assessing the occurrences and determining that the quality and range was sufficient for this study. The process for constructing the dataset was to search FOLK for *"na"*, opening each transcript that came up, and using ctrl+f to find each *na*. That means that from some transcripts, there are several *na* occurrences. All occurrences of *na* in collocations (*na ja, na gut,* etc.) were skipped in this step. Also excluded were all occurrences that were clearly not the modal particle *na*, for example a driving instructor telling his student to go "na links" (which is his pronunciation of *nach links* = "to the left"), as well as the use of *na* for *dann* ("then") that is common in some dialects spoken in the Eastern parts of Germany (e.g. Saxonian).

Na ja was not analyzed for the present study simply because it is the only collocation of *na* that has already been researched extensively. However, this research will be discussed in the collocations-chapter, and Andrea Golato's recent findings on *na ja* will be considered in the context of *na gut*.

For *na gut*, the first fifty occurrences from the FOLK search were extracted for analysis, as well as a number of additional results for *"na gut dann"* and *"na gut aber"* as those were of special interest (see section 3.2.5 *Occurrences*). For all the other collocations, all occurrences were analyzed as there were not too many to do so, but still enough to demonstrate how these collocations are used. In some cases, the corpus did not contain any examples of uses that can frequently be heard in conversation. For those, examples were drawn from field notes and twitter

[12]. While this is not the best and most reliable data, this method was preferred to omitting those uses altogether.

1.3.2 Frequencies

Here is an overview of the frequencies for *na* and its collocations in the FOLK corpus, and the number of occurrences analyzed in this study:

	Frequency	**Analyzed**
na **total (stand-alone + collocations)**	3474	-
na[13] **(stand-alone)**	1879	300
na ja	1233	0
na gut	177	50
na dann	88	26[14]
na also	38	38
na klar	47	47
na okay	12	12

Table 1: Frequencies

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[12] On twitter, the 30 most recent tweets for each search term was analyzed. This number proved sufficient to show how those collocations are used (see section 3.3 for details).

[13] This number is simply calculated by subtracting the number of *na* in collocations from the total number of *na*'s. This is not very accurate as there might be other collocations that are not considered here, but the only alternative would be to go through all 3474 occurrences of *na* which is too time-consuming for the scope of this study. Also, the numbers for each collocation includes cases where *na* simply co-occurs with a word like *also* or *dann*, meaning that some *na*'s occur in this calculation twice.

[14] Analyzed were all cases where *na dann* occurs as a unit, and not as a stand-alone *na* followed by *dann* (see section 3.5 *Na dann* below).

1.4 Theoretical Background

Three different approaches will inform this study: Conversation Analysis (CA), Construction Grammar (CxG), and Columbia School (CS). While Conversation Analysis is a method used in sociology and linguistics amongst other disciplines, Construction Grammar and Columbia School are theoretical frameworks within linguistics. CA will be the method used in this study; general assumptions about language are drawn from the two theoretical frameworks (CS, CxG). The following three sections will outline the basic principles of the three approaches, as well as define important keywords. Section 4.4 will explain how the three approaches can be tied together.

1.4.1 Conversation Analysis

This study will take a conversation analytic approach in its analysis of the discourse marker *na* as it occurs it ordinary conversations. CA was developed by the sociologists Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson, and as such, its focus is the study of social interaction. It evolved out of Goffman's concept of interaction ritual (1967) which emphasizes the significance of face in interaction, and Garfinkel's idea of shared methods of making sense in interaction (1967).

According to Sidnell (2010), CA is "an approach within the social sciences that aims to describe, analyze and understand talk as a basic and constitutive feature of human social life" (1). Conversation analysts look at basic features of conversation such as turn-taking on the macro level, but also investigate units as small as pauses in talk. CA analyzes naturally occurring conversations and avoids types of data that are frequently used in other sociological/linguistic

studies such as interviews that elicit certain behaviors, or "use of native intuitions as a means of inventing examples" (Heritage 1984a:236).

Sidnell describes the significance of CA as the "grappling with some small bit of the world in order to get an analytic handle on how it works" (1). A discourse marker like *na* is such a small bit of the world and it only occurs in spoken language (and written renditions thereof). Heritage notes that "no order of detail can be dismissed, *a priori*, as disorderly, accidental or irrelevant" (1984a:241). The question that stands in the center of most CA analyses is, as Schegloff (1980) phrased it: Why that now? In this question is expressed the desire to understand why speakers say certain things, following patterns, in certain situation.

One of the key tenets of conversation analysis is the assumption that all interactions are structurally organized into recognizable patterns (cf. Heritage 1984a). A very basic pattern of interaction is turn-taking, which means that in a conversation, one speaker speaks at a time. The organization of turn-taking ensures that gaps and overlaps in a conversation are minimized. The basic unit in which turns are divided is the turn-constructional unit (TCU). A turn can consist of one or several TCUs, and "at the completion of a unit, transition to a next speaker *may*, but need not, occur" (Sidnell 2010:42). Another relevant concept for the organization of talk is that of adjacency pairs. The idea is that certain types of turns (e.g. questions) logically trigger other types of turns (e.g. answers). The two parts of an adjacency pair are called first pair part (FPP) and second pair part (SPP). While not every question is followed by an answer, participants of a conversation will be on the lookout for an answer after a question has been asked (64). If the expected SPP is not following an FPP, the consequence can be (unwanted) inferences: An

unanswered question might be interpreted by the questioner as the other participant not knowing

the answer or not wanting to reply (66).

A first pair part and a second pair part form a sequence. Sequences, however, are often

more complex than this. They can be expanded with pre-expansions, inserts, and

post-expansions. Post-expansions can be minimal (consisting of one turn), or non-minimal

(Schegloff 2007). A specific type of minimal post-expansions is the sequence-closing third. An

example in English is "oh" in the position of a post-expansion signaling information receipt

(Schiffrin 1987:93)[15]. These concepts (turn-taking, TCUs, sequence) will be relevant in the

analysis of *na* and its function in interaction.

1.4.2 Construction Grammar

A theoretical framework that will inform this study is Radical Construction Grammar (CxG)

developed by Croft (cf. e.g. Croft 2001). In the construction grammar framework, form and

function form a continuum. It is a sign-based approach in which the sign is the construction.

Construction grammar rejects the relevance of commonly postulated units of talk such as

morphemes and phrases and instead treats all kinds of units as constructions. Each sign is a pair

of form and meaning and such an approach "means to explore the co-occurrence relationships

between functional and formal characteristics" (Fischer & Alm 2013:48). Fischer and Alm

(2013) note that construction grammar is "particularly attractive for conversation analysts [...]

because the conversation analytic notion of structural context is in principle highly compatible

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[15] Schiffrin's example is the following:
Irene: You know who was bangin' out there for twenty minutes.
          Ken.   He didn't know where I was.=
Zelda: Oh.
(Schiffrin 1987:93)

17

with the sign-based nature of construction grammar" (48). Construction grammar, according to the authors, can contribute to the definition of discourse and modal particles, in that they are "not defined by the lexemes but [are] a matter of their use in context, in particular, in a grammatical construction" (49). Fischer and Alm argue that "every item used within a certain construction receives interpretations similar to those of other items in the same construction" (50).

In their study of German *also* and Swedish *alltså,* Fischer and Alm use this construction grammar approach to posit functions of the two discourse particles. They postulate constructions for different positions the particles can appear in (e.g. prefield, front field, middle field), as well as the particle when it is non-integrated, and when it appears in stable collocations (*na also*). From there, the authors arrive at form-meaning pairs: The form is determined by position, intonation, and sentence types; the meaning component is the function the particle has when it appears in this particular form.

1.4.3 Columbia School

The second theory used in this study is William Diver's Columbia School (CS). CS is another sign-based theory of language with meaning being the focal point. Meaning, in CS terms, is the figurative component of the sign which is unique to each sign: No two signs have the same meaning. Thus, when a speaker chooses one sign over another, he does so because he wants to communicate a specific message. Where other linguistic theories assign multiple meanings to one sign, the CS scholar accounts these different meanings to the context a sign appears in.

Within the CS theory, the terminology regarding word class and syntax commonly used by generativist approaches is rejected. Units such as subjects and objects are said to be

artificially set up units that are not based on actual communication. Rather, CS views the structure of language as consisting of four components: sign, signal, meaning, and message. The message is the thought that is communicated and it "results from the collection of hints" (Diver 1995:74) in the shape of meaning-bearing signals. A signal is something that we can observe: it can be a morpheme, but also a zero signal, or word order (84). Diver defines meaning as "no more than a collection of hints offered by the speaker, on the basis of which the hearer makes a guess at the message intended" (74). Columbia School ideas are especially useful in considering whether the collocations of *na* are units with a meaning of their own, or rather the combined meaning of their constituent parts: Not taking the unit of analysis for granted until the analysis has been made is an approach that has been taken in many CS analyses.

The Columbia School always utilizes real language data (as opposed to made-up sentences that can be judged by native speakers to be acceptable), often taken from literature corpora. Since language is not seen as a mechanical device, there is no such thing as a grammatically correct sentence. If something is uttered by a speaker of a language, this utterance exists, and it does so for a reason: The speaker's desire to communicate a specific message.

1.4.4 Connecting CA, CxG, and CS

In the introduction to *Interaction and Grammar*, the editors Schegloff, Ochs, and Thompson discuss the relationship between CA and different linguistic approaches. They point out that "attention must be paid to what the relationship is between activity, action and the orderly deployment of language called grammar" (Schegloff, Ochs and Thompson 1996:21) and that "the issue is not the generality of this or that detail, but rather how the details of the context of

any particular bit of talk bear on its grammatical composition and shape" (22). Schegloff believes that the grammatical structure of an utterance is "to be understood as adaptation[s] to that environment [turns-at-talk in conversation]" (Schegloff 1996:55). In this understanding, the conversational context influences the grammatical choices a speaker makes. This understanding is compatible with functional approaches to linguistics like Columbia School and Cognitive Grammar as in those approaches, speakers are believed to choose structures tailored to the communicative goal they are trying to achieve.

Defining the unit that is to be investigated is an important step in any linguistic analysis. With three different approaches informing this study, and each of them having their own way of defining units, we need to unite those different definitions.

While Columbia School has a strict 'one signal - one meaning'-rule, it does not define what exactly the signal must look like. In the context of *na*, several signals need to be analyzed: each collocation with *na* is its own signal, as is *na* by itself. The data will have to show whether it is possible to determine a single meaning for *na* that it adds to each collocation, or if each collocation has to be treated as a separate item. I will begin my analysis under the tentative assumption that the latter is the case.

Meaning must be quantitatively verified in CS; only a close look at the corpus data will reveal what it is exactly. Combining this perspective on signals and meaning with the construction grammar approach, the signal can be abstracted as *na + X*. The X can stand for any of the words that form collocations with *na* (*e.g. gut, also, toll*), or indicate a zero morpheme in the case of a stand-alone *na*. Such formulaic, mathematical looking units are not uncommon in studies utilizing construction grammar as their theoretical background (cf. *What's X doing Y?,*

Fillmore & Kay: 1997). Whether it is possible to postulate a meaning in the Columbia School sense for *na + X,* or whether it is necessary to find the meaning of individual collocations will become clearer once the data have been examined closely.

The basic units in CA, as mentioned above, are TCUs, and Schegloff suggests to "think of grammar as the - or one - basic organization for the turn constructional unit" (1996:55). Much like CS, Schegloff does not consider sentences or clauses as useful units of analysis. He points out that real language use (as opposed to "constructed prototype sentences") happens "in real time, subject to real interactional contingencies" (ibd.). He summarizes his understanding of the relation of grammar and interaction as the following:

> The central prospect, then, is that grammar stands in a reflexive relationship to the organization of a spate of talk as a turn. On the one hand, the organizational contingencies of talking in a turn [...] shape grammar — both grammar as an abstract, formal organization and the grammar of a particular utterance. On the other hand, the progressive grammatical realization of a spate of talk on a particular occasion can shape the exigencies of the turn as a unit of interactional participation on that occasion, and the grammatical properties of a language may contribute to the organization of turns-at-talk in that language and of the turn-taking device by which they are deployed. (P. 56)

It must be noted that Columbia School and Conversation Analysis not only use different methods for analyzing language, they also have different goals: CA is concerned with how conversations work, and what different things contribute to the conversation. Columbia School wants to understand what the units of language are. These different goals are helpful in the analysis of a discourse marker such as *na*: The CS approach reminds us to not make a priori assumptions (for example, whether *na gut* is a single unit, or a combination of two units—*na* and *gut*). CA puts an emphasis on the context of the marker: What came before the *na*-prefaced turn, and what comes after? What types of actions are accomplished with turns the begin with the

21

marker? These questions will guide the investigation and shed light on the various uses of *na* in conversation.

1.5 Literature Review

Particle researchers have mostly neglected the discourse particle *na* so far. In Harald Weydt's *Sprechen mit Partikeln* (1989)*,* for example, *na* is only mentioned in two places, once it is listed as an interjection (280) and once it is called a *Eröffnungspartikel* ("opening particle") (628). Both are just brief mentions without any analysis. In *Die Partikeln der deutschen Sprache* (Weydt: 1979) *na* is not mentioned at all.

The collocation *na ja* has been discussed by Harald Weinrich in *Textgrammatik der deutschen Sprache* (1993) as a *Dialogpartikel* which plays a role in the navigation of a dialog, and as a connective particle in combination with *und*. Brinker and Sager (2001) mention *naja* in the context of speakers trying to say something in a conversation when it is not their turn. Theo Harden (1989) analyzes *na ja* in his article "*Na ja* - ein vielseitiger Kommentar und seine portugiesischen Entsprechungen". In this article, *na ja* is seen as an interjection on the one hand, and as an indirect comment on the other hand. An indirect comment, according to Harden, describes a situation where the hearer rephrases the information he heard and forces his conversation partner to explicitly engage with him by doing so. Harden establishes the core meaning of *na ja* as "yes, but". Depending on the intonation used, Harden distinguishes between four different types of *na ja* that all have the core meaning of "yes, but", but differ in what of the preceding statement is being confirmed or negated. Most recently, *naja* has been analyzed by Andrea Golato (2018) as part of the book *Between Turn and Sequence: Turn-initial particles*

across languages, edited by John Heritage and Marja-Leena Sorjonen. Golato's findings will be discussed in detail later on.

Two studies serve as models for the current one: John Heritage's study "*Well*-prefaced turns in English conversation" (2015), and Fischer and Alm's study of *also* and *alltså*. Both will be described in the following section.

1.5.1 Heritage, John. 2015. "*Well*-prefaced turns in English conversation: A conversation analytic perspective"

Na is listed as a translation for *well* in some dictionaries, and in some cases, it can indeed be translated as such. Looking at the results from John Heritage's study on *well*-prefaced turns in English gives us an idea of what function(s) *na* might have, or, at the very least, shed light on the differences between the two words. There must be some overlap between the meanings and functions of *well* and *na*, but also certain cases where they diverge.

In his article, Heritage (2015) departs from Schegloff's concept of progressivity[16] to show that "*well*-prefacing functions as an alert that the talk to follow will privilege its speaker's perspectives, interests or projects in the ensuing talk, regardless of whether these perspectives etc. are supportive, antithetical, or neutral with respect to those of others" (89). Because this privileging leads to a departure from previous talk, Heritage calls the turn-initial *well* a "departure-indicating particle" (89). I want to argue that turn-initial *na* in German can serve a similar purpose.

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[16] Progressivity, for Schegloff, is "Moving from some element to a hearably-next-one with nothing intervening" (Schegloff 2007:15). He continues to explain: "Should something intervene between some element and what is hearable as a/the next one due - should something violate or interfere with their contiguity, whether next sound, next word, or next turn - it will be heard as qualifying the progressivity of the talk [...]" (ibd.).

Heritage analyzes 748 *well*-prefaced turns from ordinary conversation. Three main types of *well*-prefaced turns are distinguished: (1) *well*-prefaced responses to questions; (2) *well*-prefaced turns that lead to topic shifts; and (3) *well*-prefaced turns that include a 'my side' perspective. In the first category, responses to questions, *well* alerts the hearer that something about the response will be out of the ordinary (rejecting or dispreferred, indirect or non-straightforward, take more than one turn). The second category entails both cases where *well* initiates a topic shift as well as cases where it alerts to a topic closure. These cases "have the commonality that the speaker initiates a departure from the previous topic" (95). The third category is related to this in that a 'my side' perspective implicates a departure from previous talk. Here, epistemic domains come into play: The 'my side' perspective might entail agreement or disagreement with the previous speaker, but in all cases the speaker is announcing a contribution based on his "epistemic or experiential domain" (98).

1.5.2 Fischer, Kerstin, and Maria Alm. 2013. "A radical construction grammar perspective."

Fischer and Alm's (2013) analysis of German *also* and Swedish *alltså* from a construction grammar perspective shows that "the structural contexts in which the particles under consideration occur have been found to determine, at least partly, the interpretations the particles have in conversation" (49f.). Seeing that the meaning of particles is difficult to pinpoint, this approach can shed light on the role context plays in their analysis. The authors consider the two particles in different positions within a turn, as well as standing by themselves, and in a stable

collocation (*na also*). This can serve as a model for analyzing *na:* position-wise, *na* only occurs in the prefield, but it can also stand alone, and it frequently occurs in stable collocations.

Regarding turn-initial positioning of particles, Fischer and Alm note that "[i]n addition to the turn-taking function, starting a new turn has a rhetorical function: The speaker has to position his or her contribution with respect to the thematic development of the conversation" (57). The authors provide the following example for such a turn-initial *also*:

Gisela:	((...)) .h aber irgendwie hätt ich ooch 'nen
	SCHLE[CHtes gewissen,]
Barbara:	[((lacht auf))]
Gisela:	[wenn man da] so GAR nichts macht.=
Thomas:	[**also**:, =**also**: uns- unsre, /
	FREUNde drüben, die HA ben sich da schon engaGIERt äh /
	so mit / drittwelt- -lä:den-,((...))
Gisela:	((...)) .h but somehow I would have a [bad conscience,]
Barbara:	[((laughs))]
Gisela:	[if you do] absolutely nothing.=
Thomas:	[PRT,] =PRT our / friends over there, they have got them-
	selves involved eh / like with / third world import stores, ((...))
	(Fischer/Alm 2013:57)

The authors posit pairs of form and meaning, pairs that they call *constructions*. An example for such a *construction* is *also* with an uptake function: on the form-side, *also* occurs turn-initially and in the prefield of the host-unit; it is syntactically nonintegrated; the intonation is unstressed; before the occurrence of *also*, another speaker is talking; it is "used in interaction where the participants need to coordinate their speech" (58). The meaning side of the pair entails that the speaker "has heard the partner's turn" and "has understood the partner's turn signals that the speaker is about to say something that is relevant with respect to the topic of the previous turn", and "provides an account for taking the turn" (58)[17].

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[17] See section 3.6 for more.

2. Stand-alone *na*

Na can be found "by itself" at the beginning of a turn. In those cases, it is detached from the utterance by a short pause, often with a glottal stop. *Na* prefaces second-pair parts: turns that begin with a *na* are generally responses to something, and as such usually do not start new topics[18], but rather voice an opinion or comment on a previous turn. This chapter is dedicated to answering the following questions: What function does *na* have with regards to navigating the conversation? What does the word *na* add to an utterance? How does it change the message communicated with the utterance as opposed to what the message would be without *na*? Stand-alone *na* can occur in all three positions of a sequence, but the overwhelming majority (87%) of occurrences is in second position which includes all cases where *na* prefaces responses to questions.

Despite the lack of research regarding the meaning and function of this particle, most dictionaries attempt to explain the use of *na*. The examples given often seem invented (neither Conversation Analysis nor Columbia School consider invented examples a reliable source of information regarding language use), and it is yet to investigate in how far they represent the reality of usage. Duden, one of the major German dictionary publishers, says about *na* that it "precedes, as a discourse particle, a [shortened] sentence and forms the emotional transition from something seen, spoken or thought that came before, to a resulting utterance that contains

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[18] There are a few exceptions to this, see later sections 2.9.2 *Na* prefacing terms of endearment and other forms of address and 2.9.3 *Na* prefacing questions.

personal emotions, in particular impatience, dissatisfaction, resignation, denial, but also surprise, a request, agreement, or joy."[19] We will see in how far the data support this analysis.

From a Conversation Analysis-standpoint, the action types accomplished with turns are of interest. Most of the *na*-prefaced turns in the current dataset are assertions, followed by responses to questions:

Action Type	Frequency
Assertion	166
Response to question	62
Assessment	20
Request	17
Question	11
Agreement	2
Confirmation	2
Acceptance	1
Interjection	1
Offer	1
Suggestion	1
Summons	1
Not categorized	11
Total	*296*

Table 2: Action Types

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[19] My translation. "geht als Gesprächspartikel einem [verkürzten] Satz voraus und bildet damit den emotionalen Übergang von etwas, was als Geschehen, Gesprochenes oder Gedachtes vorausgegangen ist, zu einer sich daraus ergebenden Äußerung, die persönliche Gefühle, vor allem Ungeduld, Unzufriedenheit, Resignation, Ablehnung, aber auch Überraschung, eine Aufforderung, Zuspruch, Freude enthalten kann."http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/na_Interjektion_Partikel

Since dictionaries frequently list "na" as a translation of "well" (and vice versa), we will begin by investigating whether *na* and *well* actually have similar functions with regards to the communicated message. If they do, this would be helpful for both German-learning English-speakers, and German-speaking learners of English; if not, an alternative should be provided in order to facilitate learning how to use the particle. We will begin by taking a look at Heritage's take on *Well-prefaced turns in English* (2015) and see whether his findings about the functions of *well*-prefacing can be applied to *na*-prefacing in German.

The three main functions of *well*-prefacing discussed by Heritage are: 1. Responses to questions; 2. Topic shift and topic closure; and 3. 'my side' corroborations. We will take a close look at almost 300 occurrences of *na*-prefaced turns from the FOLK-corpus in order to determine whether these three functions can be applied to *na*.

We will see that a large number of cases discussed here have an underlying sense of a shift or departure of some kind: A shift from one topic to the next, from a topic back to a previous topic, from something that is currently talked about to a more pressing matter, a shift in form of a *transformative answer*, or a shift from one speaker's perspective to another speaker's perspective.

2.1 Intonation contours / gaps

The intonation of stand-alone *na* is consistent: It is uttered with a level pitch, no rising or falling intonation. Sometimes the a-sound is slightly stretched. In most cases, there is no audible gap between the *na* and subsequent talk; in 16 out of 296 analyzed stand-alone *na*-occurrences, there is a micropause (less than two-tenths of a second), but there does not seem to be any correlation

between those micropauses and the function of *na* in these cases. *Na* is what Heritage and Sorjonen (2018) call "prosodically integrated and thereby form a unit together with the subsequent talk" (1).

2.2 Responses to questions

According to Heritage,[20] almost a quarter of *well*-prefaced turns of his corpus are responses to questions. He suggests three lines of argument as to the function of *well* in such cases: *well* as an indicator "that the response will be rejecting or dispreferred" (90), "that the response will be indirect or non-straightforward", and "that the response will take more than one turn constructional unit". In the present dataset, 20% (62 of 296 analyzed stand-alone *na*) of all *na*-prefaced turns (that is: turns the are prefaced by a bare *na*, not a collocation of *na*) are responses to questions. Let us begin by looking at Heritage's proposals and investigate whether *na* has the same functions in German as well has in English.

2.2.1 Response will be rejecting or dispreferred

The present data does not seem to contain many examples of na-prefaced responses to questions that are rejecting or dispreferred. Only one occurrence prefaces a dispreferred response: TMP1 and TMP2 are in an elicited game interaction in which two participants each have the same map in front of them. The map has pictures as landmarks. One participant has a route drawn into his map that he needs to describe to the other person using the landmarks.

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[20] http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/heritage/Site/Publications_files/Well-prefaced%20turns.pdf

TMP2 describes a route to TMP1 and tells him to go vertical. TMP1 asks for clarification, "to the left or to the right?" to which TMP2 responds "*na* first upwards".

1		TMP2	also wieder senkrecht
			so then straight
2		TMP1	hm gleich
			hm in a moment
3			-0.5
4		TMP1	nach links denn (.) oder nach rechts
			to the left or to the right?
5			-1.86
6	—>	TMP2	nach (.) na erst ma nach oben
			to (.) na first upwards

<div align="right">ex. 1.1</div>

This is a dispreferred response as it rejects both of TMP1' suggestions and presents an option that TMP1 had not even considered instead. Since this is the only example in the data set, we can assume that *na* does not frequently preface dispreferred responses and is therefore different from well in English. We do see a shift in this example: TMP2 is shifting the conversation away from TMP1's question to his description of the route.

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[21] All transcripts, unless otherwise specified, are taken from IDS, Datenbank für Gesprochenes Deutsch (DGD). The transcripts were not changed in any way. Line numbering was adjusted so that each excerpt starts with line 1. Omissions of lines are marked by (...). All translations of transcripts are my own.
The data can be accessed under https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/dgd/pragdb.dgd_extern.welcome. To access the data, a user account is necessary ("REGISTRIERUNG" in the menu on the left). Once logged in, click "RECHERCHE" in the top menu, then "VOLLTEXT". Select the FOLK corpus on the right side. Now search terms from the extracts can be entered. In the results, click the name of the transcript (e.g. FOLK_E_00208_SE_01_T_01) to open the transcript.

2.2.2 Response will be indirect or non-straightforward: *Transformative Answers*

Heritage further looks at well-prefaced responses to questions that indicate an indirect or non-straightforward response. There are several examples of this happening with *na*-prefaced responses in the present corpus. One such example stems from an interview in which the interviewer asks the interviewee questions about his personal life. Here, the interviewer asks about the interviewee's hobbies, and he responds that he likes to play foosball. The follow-up question is whether the interviewee has his own foosball table at home to which he responds "*na my uncle has one*".

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00183_SE_01_T_02</div>

1	MF	[hast du da s]elber ein tisch da[heim (.) s]tehen ***do you have your own table at home?***
		(...)
2 —>	STP4	na mei onkel hat einen ***na my uncle has one***
3		-0.6
4	MF	hm[_hm] ***hm hm***
5	STP4	[der] (.) der mag ihn eigentlich schon seit ein johr (aufistelln) h° °hh ***he's been meaning to set it up for years***
6	MF	hm_hm h° (.) ***hm hm***
7	STP4	aber er hat no kei zeit gehabt ((lacht)) ***but he hasn't had time yet (laughs)***
8	MF	((lacht)) hm_hm °h ***((laughs)) hm hm***
9	STP4	ja und in de schul ham ma zwei steh h° ***yea and at school we have two***

<div align="center">31</div>

10		-0.26
11	MF	ach so ***I see***
12		-0.5
13	MF	hm_hm ***hm hm***
14		-0.26
15	MF	°h
16	STP4	ja ***yes***
17		-0.24
18	STP4	und beim furtgeh spiel ma halt viel ***and when we go out we play a lot***

<div align="right">ex 1.2</div>

He goes on to explain that while his uncle owns a foosball table, he has not set it up yet, but that

at his school they have table available. The *na* prefaces what turns out to be very

non-straightforward: The interviewee's uncle having a foosball table is barely relevant given that

the table is not even ready for use. The school tables are ready for use, but certainly not a

positive response to whether the interviewee has his own table at home.

Not only is this previous example an indirect answer, it is also what Stivers and Hayashi

(2010) call a *transformative answer*. Such *transformative answers* somehow resist constraints

that were placed on both "the action the recipient should properly produce next [...] but also on

the design that the action should take" (Stivers/Hayashi 2010:2). Constraints, for example, are to

require a *yes* or *no* answer in case of a polar question, or one of the provided options in an

alternative question. *Transformative answers* are one way of resisting constraints of a *yes-no* question: "With a *transformative answer*, the question recipient (dis)confirms a somewhat different question than was originally posed. Through the design of the (dis)confirmation, the question recipient retroactively proposes alterations to the question's terms or agenda" (2).

Looking back at example 1.2, we see *na* prefacing a *transformative answer* as described by Stivers and Hayashi. The polar question whether the interviewee has his own foosball table at home constrains the answer to "*yes I do*" or "*no I don't*". However, he responds with "*na* my uncle has one", retroactively changing the question to whether he has access to a foosball table. With that, he does not "disrupt sequence progressivity" (Stivers/Hayashi:3) but rather replaces a component of the question—namely the part of the question whether he has *his own table at home*. It is replaced with the question whether he has a table that he can use.

Another example of a *transformative answer* comes from a casual conversation between a couple:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00039_SE_01_T_01</div>

1	EL	wie la[nge ham wir ei]gentlich (.) jetz jeschlafen wie viel stunden
		how long did we sleep for?
	(...)	
2 —>	NO	na um halb vier war_ma im bett
		na we went to bed at 3:30
3	EL	halb vier
		three thirty

<div align="right">ex. 1.3</div>

He asks her how long the two of them slept the previous night, specifically asking how many hours; her response is not a direct one as she just tells him "*na* we went to bed at 3:30". The

question design here constrains the answer to a duration of time. The recipient retroactively alters the terms of the question. By providing the time they went to bed, she provides the necessary details her partner needs to calculate the number of hours slept. The *na* alerts the recipient that the response will be non-straightforward, but still indicates a relevant response. Saying "na, ich weiß nicht" would sound odd because no information would be provided.

This can be witnessed in other examples where the response does not directly answer a question. *Na* may very well serve two functions: Alerting the recipient of the non-straightforwardness of the response, but at the same time making it clear that the non-straightforward or transformed response is still relevant to the question.

2.2.3 Response will take more than one turn-constructional unit

Related to non-straightforward responses are those that take more than one turn-constructional unit as non-straightforward responses tend to take more explanation than straightforward ones. One example comes from another interview about personal issues. The interviewer asks the interviewee why he did not want to join the military, and tags on the question whether it was for health reasons. The interviewee responds "*na* actually I wanted to join the army big band" and continues to explain that he plays the trumpet but then decided against it because he would have had to go through basic training first.

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00183_SE_01_T_01</div>

| 1 | MF | äh warum willst du nicht |
| | | ***why do you not (want to)*** |

| 2 | MF | zum militär |
| | | ***join the military*** |

| 3 | MF | aus grundsätzlichen gründen oder weil_s äh äh (.) °h |

for health reason or because

4	STP4	h°

5		-0.38

6	STP4	ja n
		yes

7		-0.37

8 —>	STP4	na eigentlich wollt i zur militärkapelln
		na actually I wanted to join the army band

9		-0.32

10	MF	ja
		yes

11		-0.67

12	STP4	weil ich spiel trompeten
		because I play the trumpet

13		-0.23

14	MF	hm_hm
		hm hm

15		-0.46

16	STP4	°hh

17		-0.41

18	STP4	und (.) dann hab i halt
		and then I

19		-0.46

20	STP4	nee ja da muss ma halt zuerscht die grundausbildung machen
		you have to do basic training first

<div align="right">ex. 1.4</div>

The response takes several TCUs as the answer to the interviewer's question requires some explanation. The *na* alerts the interviewer that a longer response will follow. We see another shift here: The interviewee indicates with his response that he is shifting the conversation from directly responding to the question to his background story.

2.2.4 Quantitative evidence

Heritage finds that well-prefacing of responses to questions predicts whether a turn will be expanded or not, and the correlation becomes stronger when considering whether it is the response to a polar or a WH-question. The same does not appear to be true for na-prefaced responses to questions: Half of responses to questions were expanded, meaning that *na*-prefacing is not a predictor of turn expansion.

Heritage further finds that a majority of dispreferred responses to polar questions was well-prefaced. Again, the data for na-prefaced responses does not show the same direction: about half of the responses to polar questions aligned with the question/were not dispreferred. There is no evidence in the present dataset showing that na-prefacing of responses functions like well-prefacing of responses when it comes to turn expansion or preference.

2.3 Topic shift & topic closure

Heritage finds that almost 30% of all well-prefaced turns initiated a topic shift or a topic closure. He suggests that "[t]opic shifts toward a matter of the speaker's own topical preference are prima facie evidence for the claim that well-prefacing functions as an alert of an action in which

speakers privilege their own perspectives, interests and projects, rather than an expansion built from the prior sequence, turn or topic" (95).

The data for *na* does not show any example of *na*-prefaced turns ever initiating topic shifts or topic closures. It will be shown later that some of the collocations of *na* seem to serve this purpose, but a bare *na* cannot be compared to *well* in this regard.

2.4 My side-alert

The third function of well-prefacing in English according to Heritage is a 'my side' alert: "...well-prefacing functions as a 'my side' alert. Here the proposal is that when a first speaker's characterization of some state of affairs is matched by a second speaker's corroborative description that is specifically founded in the second speaker's experience, knowledge or *umwelt*, the second speaker's turn will tend to be *well* prefaced." (98) The *na*-data set shows that about 20% of the na-prefaced turns have a my-side character. Let us look at some examples.

DRE4 and DRE3 are playing the maze-game as described above. DRE4 needs clarification on the route and is inquiring whether he should turn left or right at the corner with the bread-landmark. DRE3 explains that he needs to go left. DRE3 wants to be sure and asks whether that means to go left at the book-landmark. DRE3 is asking "*na* - are the books there on your map too?", to which DRE4 responds affirmatively. DRE3 is saying something that, from his perspective (my side), is obvious. He knows the books are there. DRE4's question was redundant: they had already established the reference point using the bread-landmark. DRE3's statement is stating something that is obvious and stating something that is his perspective. He marks these two nuances of his utterance with a "na".

37

1   DRE4   a eh ach so die die die die die brötschenecke war des jetzt die
                reschte oder die lin[ke]
                and the bread-corner, was that the right one or the left one?

2   DRE3   [die l]inke
                the left one

3   -0.94

4   DRE4   gud
                good

5   -0.2

6   DRE4   und dann soll ich r (.) links bei dem buch vorbei
                and now I need to go left at the book?

7   -0.47

8 —>   DRE3   na sind die büscher bei dir och da
                na are the books there (on your map) too?

9   -0.55

10   DRE4   ja
                yes

ex. 1.5

This example shows more than just a my side-alert: It is also an example for *na* prefacing

a sequential departure. The *na*-prefaced turn is not what was expected sequentially after the

previous turn. It did not answer the question asked in line 6, but instead asks a counter-question.

Na functions to alert to this departure from the expected course of the conversation. We will see

that such sequential departures are quite frequently found when looking at *na*-prefacing.

Another example: Here, an interviewer interviews someone using a questionnaire that

asks questions about their personal life. One question concerns foreign language skills. The

38

interviewer asks the interviewee whether he knows any foreign language other than English. The interviewee responds that his stepfather is from Hungary but that he has always known German. The interviewer asks whether he picked up any Hungarian from him to which he responds, "only a few words". The interviewer follows up asking how he would judge his own skills, providing options "beginner, or below beginner?" Here the interviewee answers with a na-prefaced utterance, saying "below beginner" is where he would situate his Hungarian skills:

FOLK_E_00183_SE_01_T_01

1   STP4   na ja da kann i halt ä paar wörter
I know a couple of words

2   MF   hm[_hm]
hm hm

3   STP4   [abe]r
but

4   -0.62

5   STP4   s[odass] i an satz reden konn h° [°h des konn i nit
((Lachansatz))°hh]
not like I could say a full sentence, I can't do that

6   MF   [hm_hm °hhh h° °hh] würdest du sagen des sind
7   grundkenntnisse oder eher weniger als grundkennt[nisse]
would you say you have basic skills or less than basic skills?

8 —> STP4   [na weni]ger als [grundkenn]tnisse
na less than basic skills

9   MF   [hm_hm]

ex. 1.6

To him, this is absolutely obvious: he just explained that he barely knows any Hungarian words, so to him it is clear that this is the lowest possible level on a scale of language skills. But he also provides his perspective. The way the interviewer asks the question ("would you say that is basic

skills or below basic skills?") specifically invites a "my perspective" kind of response with the "would you say"-preface.

2.5 Summary of comparison between *well*-prefacing and *na*-prefacing

When it comes to responses to questions, *na* and *well* only partly overlap in their function with respect to the turn they preface: *na* does not   predict a dispreferred response the way *well* does; it also does not predict an expanded turn. It does however preface responses that are non-straightforward or indirect the way *well* does.

Na-prefacing does not indicate a topic shift or topic closure like *well*-prefacing does in English. We will see later that *na* can serve this function in collocations, but not when it prefaces a turn by itself.

The way *well*-prefacing and *na*-prefacing function to indicate a my-side perspective seems to be very similar. This appears to be the function where *well*-prefacing and *na*-prefacing are the most similar.

Overall, it seems to be overly optimistic to claim that *na* and *well* are translations of one another. While they do share certain properties, the majority of functions is dissimilar. We will now look at functions that a stand-alone *na* can have that *well* cannot.

2.6 Stating the obvious

There are many cases in the present dataset (10% in the present dataset) where a *na*-prefaced turn has a "stating the obvious" character to it. This has briefly been mentioned in the context of the my-side perspective but deserves more attention as the scope is wider than that. In these cases,

speakers express that what they are saying is (or should be) common knowledge and indicate that they expected the other person to be in the knowing regarding what is being said.

In this example from the maze-game interaction, DRE3 is asking DRE4 which table he means after DRE4 had tried to navigate him to the table-landmark.

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00105_SE_01_T_01</div>

1		DRE4 höhe der gedachten linie vom (.) ((schmatzt)) vom tisch vom tisch von der schemikerin] ***on the height of the table, the chemist's table***
		...
2		DRE3 (ja) welchen tisch meentest du dn ***which table do you mean***
3		DRE3 °hh
4 —>		DRE4 hm na den tisch h° ***na the table***
5		DRE3 vor de_schemikerin ***the chemist's one***

<div align="right">ex. 1.7</div>

DRE4's response "*na* den tisch" is basically just a repetition of what he previously said. This indicates that in his opinion, "the chemist's table" was an adequate description of the landmark he is referring to, and the only description he could have possibly used. The *na*-prefacing functions to alert DRE3 that his question was understood as unnecessary. The *na* also signals an impending shift: DRE4 expresses that he is ready to close the topic as he has nothing more to say about the table than what he already said.

A couple of examples for this stating the obvious-function of *na*-prefacing can be found in interactions between parents and their children. In the following example, a father is playing a board game (Monopoly) with his two daughters.

1	NK	warum krieg ich des geld eigentlich
		why am I getting the money

-0.57

2	NK	wenn da jemand draufkommt
		when someone goes there

-0.48

3 —>	VK	na weil dir das gehört die straße
		na because it belongs to you, the street

ex. 1.8

The daughter wants to know why she is receiving money when someone lands on a certain street, and her father responds "*na* weil dir das gehört die Straße" (*na because it belongs to you, the street*). The family has been playing this game for a while already (and it is probably not their first time playing either), so the question the daughter is asking seems very basic, and like something that she should know already. The father's response indicates this. The *na* alerts the daughter that what she is about to be told is something that she was expected to know. Again, the *na* adds a sense of readiness to move on to a different topic, hence indicating an impending shift.

There are several similar examples in the data set with interactions between parents and children. The reason for the increased occurrence of such examples in specifically these interactions could be in the nature of parent-child relationships. Parents are often in the position of teaching their children things. They generally have a good idea of what their child knows or does not know, and whenever the child asks a question about something that they supposedly know already, the parent reacts by making this obvious.

42

Related to "stating the obvious", but not quite the same, is *na* prefacing turns to add a sense of encouragement to them. In those cases, it is understood in a "well of course" sense as in the following example:

| 1 | NK | [papa ich] muss auf_s kl[o] |
| | | ***dad I need to use the bathroom*** |

| 2 —> | VK | [na] geh doch |
| | | ***na go ahead*** |

ex. 1.9

Here, the daughter is telling her dad that she needs to use the bathroom, and he tells her to go ahead and go, prefacing this with a *na*. He is stating the obvious in that it is obvious that his daughter can use the bathroom, but the *na* softens the statement and makes it sound encouraging. "Geh doch" by itself would sound almost snotty, as in "don't bother me with this." Just like in the previous examples, this *na*-prefaced turn indicates that the father does not see the need to continue talking about this issue and is ready to move on.

Depending on the tone of voice, *na* in these cases can either communicate an annoyance from someone who is asked to say something that should already be known or add a friendly note to something that goes without saying.

2.6.1 *na… doch / na … ja*

It is noteworthy that twenty of the *na*-prefaced turns also contain the particle *doch*. König, Stark and Requardt (1990) analyze the function of *doch* to be a reminder to the hearer of common background knowledge; Diewald and Fischer (1998) describe the use of *doch* as the speaker referring to a pragmatically presupposed unit which consists of the presupposed proposition and

the also considered alternative. Both these definitions work well with *na* prefacing turn that are stating the obvious from the speaker's perspective.

In the following conversation, a father is playing Monopoly with his two daughters, Sabine and Nina. He tells Nina that it would be good for her to sell her power plant, but she does not want to. Her sister is asking whether she is not getting why it would be good, and when the father urges them to continue, asks why she does not want to sell. Her father is dismissing her question by saying "*na* muss se doch nicht" (*na she doesn't have to*):

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00011_SE_01_T_03</div>

1	VK	[nina es wär en guter tausch] für dich gewesen mit dem elektrizitätswerk
		Nina, it would have been a good deal for you with the power plant
2	NK	°h aber ich geb mein e[lektrizi]
		But I'm not giving (up) my power plant
3	VK	[na (dann/na) gut dann lass e]s (.) dann (.)[spiel weiter]
		ok then leave it be and continue
4	SK	[(rafft) se] _s
		is she not getting it?
5	VK	dann spiel weiter (.) sabine is dran
		keep going, Sabine's turn
6	NK	aber warum macht se des nich mit
		but why isn't she doing it?
7 —>	VK	na muss se doch nich
		na she doesn't have to

<div align="right">ex. 1.10</div>

The *na* signals that the father is saying something that goes without saying: There is no rule that anyone has to sell anything. In this turn, the presupposed proposition is that the daughter does

not have to sell, the considered alternative is that she does have to sell. The *doch* further

corroborates the father's opinion that this is (or should be) shared knowledge between the players

of the game. This is another example of *na* prefacing a turn that is a sequential departure. The

father's turn is not the expected answer to the daughter's question.

A very typical use of this *na ... doch*-combination is the following example. Two friends

are discussing a colleague who is expecting BP to put together data for him that, according to

BP, he could very easily find in a table himself.

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00271_SE_01_T_02</div>

1	BP	[e m]ail (.) mit [fün]f also fünf din a vier seiten so ungefähr m
2		lauter screenshots wo eh scho
		an email with about five pages with a bunch of screenshots where
3	CP	quasi erklär[t is]
		it is explained
4	BP	[von t]abellen (.) äh wo dann drinsteht ja
		of tables where it says
5		also aus der tabelle müss_ma den wert nehmen un aus der tabelle
6		müss_ma den wert nehmen
		so from this table you have to take that number and from that table you take this number
7		anstatt) also (.) ich hätt dem ja einfach en dreizeiler hingschrieben ja
		instead of (.) I would have sent him a three-line-email
8 —>		na soll er sich doch die scheiß tabellen selber raussuchen
		na he should go ahead and find the stupid tables himself
9		des a programmierer der kennt die dabellen
		he's a programmer, he knows the tables

<div align="right">ex. 1.11</div>

In the *na*-prefaced turn, BP explains angrily what he thinks should be common sense—for his colleague to find the numbers he needs himself. Again, the *na* signals that the speaker thinks he should not even have to say what he is about to say. The *doch* adds the sense of a presupposed proposition (the colleague should find the tables himself) versus the considered alternative (the colleague should have BP find the tables for him). This combination of *na* and *doch* can often be heard in such angry, frustrated statements as it communicates the frustration of the speaker with having to spell something out for someone else.

Once again, the *na*-prefaced turn announces topic closure: BP explains that he would like to resolve the discussion with a "three-line-email", telling his colleague to find the tables himself. For him, this would be the end of the discussion and he is ready to move on to a new topic.

A similar effect can be observed with the occurrence of the particle *ja* shortly after a *na* in cases where someone is "stating the obvious". In the following example, mother and daughter are talking about antibiotics in meat. The mother is concerned about it but does not specifically buy meat without antibiotics. When the daughter asks her why, she responds that she is not eating much meat anyways in a *na*-prefaced turn. The mother feels that her daughter should know about her eating habits, so this is an obvious thing to say:

FOLK_E_00208_SE_01_T_01

1	ZW	[möglichst geflügelwurst (.) ohne an]tibiotikum *[ideally poultry sausage without antibiotics*
2	LW	[geflügelwurst (.) ohne antibiotikum] *[poultry sausage without antibiotics]*
3		(0.71)
4	ZW	antiidiotikum

46

??

5	EW	aber mama warum kaufst du dann keine bio (.) produkte

but mom, why don't you buy organic products?

6		(0.8)

7	EW	woher weißt du dass die hast du die alle gegoogelt die äh marken
8		die du so nimmst

how do you know that they - have you googled all brands that you buy?

9		(0.36)

10	LW	die die fl äh wurstsor[ten] die geflügelwurstsorten nö

the the uhm types of sausage, the poultry sausages? no.

11	EW	[hmhm]

[hmhm]

12		(0.2)

13	LW	nö

no

14		(0.2)

15	LW	also des (.) äh hm ess ich nu mit

so I eat that

16	LW	des antibiotikum

the antibiotics

17		(2.08)

18	EW	hmhm (.)

hmhm

19	LW	ja (.)

yes

20	EW	also

so

21		(0.5)

22	EW	((schmatzt)) (.) nur wenn du jetz so [fleisch zum kochen oder
23		braten] oder so
		but if you use that meat for cooking or frying or something

| 24 —> | LW | [na ich ess ja nich so viel wurst] |
| | | *na I don't eat that much sausage* |

<div align="right">ex. 1.12</div>

This *na* once again prefaces a sequential departure—the turn is not what was expected but departs from the course of the conversation.

Ja as a particle has been analyzed as a "linguistically indicated 'recourse' to facts mentioned before or assumed to be known to the hearers" (Lütten 1979: 30). Much like *doch* in the previous examples, *ja* doubles down on the "stating the obvious" meaning that *na* communicates in such cases.

2.7 Qualifying a statement

In some cases, *na* is prefacing statements that qualify a previous statement further. This happens after a question has been answered, but the responder wants to qualify their response further. In those cases, a translation of the *na* would be along the lines of "well, actually". In the following example, NO is asking EL whether he has many plans the following week. EL first responds with yes, but then adds "*na* (.) alle tage sin noch nich ausjebucht aber" (*na not all days are booked yet but*).

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00039_SE_01_T_01</div>

| 1 | NO | hast nächste woche viel zu tun |
| | | *do you have many plans next week?* |

| 2 | EL | hm joa |
| | | *hm yea* |

| 3 | NO | ja |

yes

4 —>	EL	na (.) alle tage sin noch nich ausjebucht aber
		na not all days are booked yet but

5	NO	gucken wa
		we'll see

6	EL	so_n (.) paar hab ick ja schon
		I have a couple of (plans)

<div align="right">ex. 1.13</div>

This is another *na*-prefaced turn that does something that we would not expect in this slot: Technically, the question (l. 1) had already been answered, so the "revised" answer in form of a qualification is a departure from the expected.

In another example, DN and LM are talking about a party they are planning. DN is asking whether LM is thinking of holding the party in the yard.

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00221_SE_01_T_01</div>

1	DN	also du [gehst aber jetz scho]n (.) von garten aus
		so you're planning to do it in the yard?

2	LM	(.) hmhm
		hmhm

3		-0.95

4 —>	LM	na je nach wetter
		na depending on the weather

5	LM	wenn nich tommys zimmer (.) ((lacht))
		otherwise Tommy's room (laughs)

<div align="right">ex. 1.14</div>

LM first responds with an affirmative "hmhm", but then qualifies this further with "na depends of the weather". The *na* signals that the turn still responds to the question, but in a qualifying way and, again, is departing from the sequence.

2.8 Duden definition

How well does the Duden definition of *na* represent the actual functions as observed in the present data? The definition puts a clear emphasis on *na* preceding turn that contain emotions: *[na]* "forms the emotional transition from something seen, spoken or thought that came before, to a resulting utterance that contains personal emotions"[22]. This seems a little strong for many examples that we have looked at so far. In the examples where *na* prefaces an expanded turn or an indirect response, the *na*-prefaced turns are often fairly unemotional statements, as in the sleep example:

FOLK_E_00039_SE_01_T_01

1	EL	wie la[nge ham wir ei]gentlich (.) jetz jeschlafen wie viel stunden ***how long did we sleep for?***
	(...)	
2 —>	NO	na um halb vier war_ma im bett ***na we went to bed at 3:30***
		-0.36
3	EL	halb vier ***three thirty***

ex. 1.15

Duden also lists some of the emotions that supposedly are communicated by *na*-prefaced turns: "in particular impatience, dissatisfaction, resignation, denial, but also surprise, a request, agreement, or joy."[23] DWDS (Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache) has a similar list for

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[22] In general, emotions are a very imprecise and unscientific way of looking at this, but since this is the only point of reference we get from dictionaries, we will still see if anything can be learned from this point of view.

[23] My translation. "geht als Gesprächspartikel einem [verkürzten] Satz voraus und bildet damit den emotionalen Übergang von etwas, was als Geschehen, Gesprochenes oder Gedachtes vorausgegangen ist, zu einer sich daraus ergebenden Äußerung, die persönliche Gefühle, vor allem Ungeduld, Unzufriedenheit, Resignation, Ablehnung,

uses of *na.* It is worth taking a look whether these emotions can frequently be found in turns

prefaced by *na*.

2.8.1 Impatience

Impatience can often be found in *na*-prefaced turns that are stating the obvious. When someone

feels that what they are saying should be clear already, impatience can be an accompanying

emotion, as in the following example from the maze game:

FOLK_E_00105_SE_01_T_01

1		DRE4	dann (.) zeichnest du nach links (.) bis ungefähr zur ((schmatzt)) °h
			then you draw to the left until the
2		DRE4	gedachten mittellinie von dem nachelbild hh° °h
			imaginary line of the nail picture
3		DRE3	von dem (.) von dem was (.)
			of the (.) of the what
4 —>		DRE4	v_an na die sind doch nägel (.) dieses bild (.) links nebe_m
5			motorrad
			na there are nails (.) this picture (.) left of the motorcycle

ex. 1.16

When DRE3 does not understand what DRE4 is referring to and requests clarification, DRE4

repeats that he means the nails. To him, this description was adequate, and he feels as if he is

stating something that DRE3 should know. The impatience is also audible in his tone of voice.

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aber auch Überraschung, eine Aufforderung, Zuspruch, Freude enthalten kann."
http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/na_Interjektion_Partikel

2.8.2 Requests

There are examples of *na*-prefaced turns that are requests in the data set. Those come in the form

of questions (also see section 2.9.3 *Na* prefacing questions) like in the following example.

During a lesson on spark ignition engines at a vocational school, the teacher is passing around

spark plugs:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00008_SE_01_T_01</div>

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1          LB    hier noch eine (.) lass isch durchgeh[n]
                 here's another one that I'll pass around

2          XM    [unne]
                 ((??))

3                (1.47)

4 —>       LB    na was sagsch zu der
                 na what do you say to this one?

5                (0.71)

6          JK    mh
                 mh

7                (0.22)

8          XM    schon hart
                 it's hard

9          JK    is ziemlich groß im gegensatz zu den anderen
                 it's pretty big compared to the others
```

<div align="right">ex. 1.17</div>

With the *na*-prefaced question (l. 4), the teacher is requesting his student to voice an opinion. *Na*

softens the request and makes it encouraging rather than demanding. The effect of *na*-prefacing

in such cases will be further discussed in section 2.9.3.

<div align="center">52</div>

2.8.3 Dissatisfaction, Resignation, Denial, Surprise, Joy

The only examples in the present dataset of *na*-prefaced turns that could be interpreted as

expressing dissatisfaction are the ones previously discussed as expressing impatience or

frustration because of the speaker having to say something that should be obvious.

Dissatisfaction does not seem to be an emotion frequently communicated with *na*-prefaced turns.

The same is true for resignation. No examples could be found for denial, surprise, or joy.

2.8.4 Agreement

There are a few cases in the present corpus where a *na*-prefaced turn signals agreement, or better,

limited agreement. The agreement is these cases is limited by a small correction of the initial

statement. This often overlaps with responses to questions that are *na*-prefaced because they are

indirect or non-straightforward as discussed previously. The indirectness here is that while the

speaker wants to respond affirmatively, there is some kind of catch to the response.

We can see this in an excerpt from the maze game. The route describer explains that the route

drawer has to go up to almost the middle of the sheet of paper. The drawer asks for clarification

("right next to the wheel back up?", l. 6) which is confirmed, and then she repeats the describer's

instruction ("until the middle of the sheet of paper", l. 9). The describer first confirms this with

"yes" since this is what she said earlier, but then backs down, correcting her prior statement to

"approximately". This "approximately" is prefaced with *na:*

FOLK_E_00108_SE_01_T_01

| 1 | BLN2 | dann geht_s wieder nach oben |
| | | ***and then it goes back up*** |

| 2 | | (0.37) |

3		BLN2	ähm so_n h°
			uhm like

4			(0.31)

5		BLN2	fast die hälfte des blattes °h
			almost half of the sheet of paper

6		BLN1	gleich (.) neben dem rad wieder nach oben
			right next to the wheel back up

7		BLN2	ja neben dem rad wieder nach oben
			yes, next to the wheel back up

8			(0.44)

9		BLN1	bis zur hälfte des blattes
			until the middle of the sheet of paper

10 —>		BLN2	ja (.) na ungefähr
			yes, na approximately

11		BLN1	(.) auf die h auf höhe der
			to the height of the

12			(0.2)

13		BLN2	[°h h°] °hhh öhm h° (.) °hh ja mach ma_n bisschen weniger als die hälfte
			uhm yea do a little less than half
			((schluckt))
			((swallows))

14		BLN1	[der (.) ähm wohnwagen oder]
			the uhm RV right?

ex. 1.18

The initial agreement is to confirm that the drawer has heard correctly what the describer said; the limiting "approximately" does not correct what was understood, but the original statement itself. The *na* signals that the initial agreement is about to be taken back. After this correction,

the describer clarifies further and tells the drawer to "do a little less than half" (l. 13). This is another example of a brief departure from the sequential project in progress. The initial *"ja"* (l. 10) had already accepted the terms of the previous turn, but then shifts back to correct this stance.

Another example from the maze game shows the same use of *na* after an initial agreement:

1		DRE4	genau über den kopf [oder so]
			right above the head or something like that

2 —>		DRE3	[ja na e]rst ma ja (.) du musst (da/dann) noch weiter aber °h nur da [damit du weest]
			yes, na first yes, then you have to keep going, just so you know.

ex. 1.19

DRE4 is asking for confirmation whether he needs to go above the head landmark. DRE3 initially confirms this, but then qualifies his confirmation with a "*na* first yes", indicating that something else is important to keep in mind. The *na* signals that there is more to this response. Just like in the previous example, this correction briefly departs from the sequence after an initial acceptance of the previous statement.

Another example from the same game:

1		DRE4	und die führst du weiter zum kreis (.) der um den arzt rumgeht
			and it [the line] keeps going until the circle which goes around the doctor

2		DRE3	(.) °h also (.) richtig oval ja
			so, very oval?

3 —>		DRE4	na richtig rund sogar
			na very circular even

ex. 1.20

When DRE4 talks about a circle, DRE3 is seeking confirmation whether it is an oval. DRE4

confirms this, but makes a small correction, explaining that it is not only an oval, but a circle.

Since an oval is a type of circle, he can confirm the question, but with his *na*-prefacing, he

indicates that he has a correction to make. This parallels the previous two examples of a brief

sequential departure.

Overall, it can be said that only small parts of the Duden-definition have been confirmed

by the data in the FOLK-corpus. Only for two out of the eight functions listed in the definition

examples could be found. Whether this is due to the nature of the data, or a representation of use

of *na* could only be confirmed with further research and a bigger corpus. Emotions do not seem

to be an adequate way of describing the uses of *na*, however given the complexity of the

functions of the marker we have seen so far, it is unsurprising that dictionaries attempt to find an

easier way of describing how to use *na*.

2.8.5 Duden examples

The following list is the full list of examples that Duden provides in the article for *na*:

"na, na, na!
na [ja] gut
na schön
na, dann mal los
na, wenn du meinst
na, warum eigentlich nicht?
na, der wird staunen [wenn er das sieht, hört]!
na, was soll denn das?
na, so was!
na, endlich hast du kapiert, worum es geht
na, das wird schon werden
na, das verbitte ich mir aber!
na, wer wird denn weinen?
(in vertraulicher Anrede:) na, wie geht es denn?
na, wo bleibst du denn?

(provokante [Gegen]frage, mit der ausgedrückt werden soll, dass man sich jemandes negativer Wertung von etwas nicht anschließt, dass man etwas nicht für besonders wichtig, aufregend, schlimm o. ä. hält) na und?
na, dann eben nicht
na, Kleiner?" (https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/na_Interjektion_Partikel)

It is difficult to provide much commentary on these examples as they come without any context. We cannot say whether Duden is right or wrong, but we can comment on the usefulness of the explanation and examples. Duden lists both *na gut* and *na schön* here, implicating that in both of them, *na* "precedes as discourse particle a [shortened] sentence."[24] There is no consideration of *na gut* and *na schön* being independent collocations.

The rest of the lists consists of examples that certainly could be uttered like this, but with the (lack of) information provided does not do much for our understanding of the precise function of the particle. If we take, for example, "na, wo bleibst du denn?" (*na, what are you waiting for?*), we cannot know how this sentence is to be interpreted. Is it an impatient statement (*Come on, hurry up)*, for example uttered by a parent whose child is taking their time putting on their shoes, and the *na* communicates this impatience? Or is it uttered in an encouraging sense (*I can't wait! Let's go*)? Without more context, we have no way of telling. For someone who is looking up a word in order to gain a better understanding on how to use it properly, this would not be helpful.

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[24] *https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/na_Interjektion_Partikel*

2.9 Other functions of *na*-prefacing

2.9.1 Return to a topic

While the present dataset could not produce any examples for *na*-prefacing for closing or shifting a topic the way *well* can function in English, there are examples for *na* functioning to preface the return to a topic after going off on a tangent. The following excerpt exemplifies this:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00260_SE_01_T_01</div>

1	SH	hab ich dir erzählt dass ich ly[dia] und sophia angerufen hab ***did I tell you that I called Lydia and Sophia?***
2	CF	nein ***no***
3	SH	äh heute um ***uhm today to***
4	SH	um halt zu fragen ob ***to ask if***
5		-0.2
6	SH	äh halb sieben für sie okay is an der kellertorbrücke ***uhm 6:30 works for them at the Kellertor bridge***
7		-0.38
8 9	SH	und die warn grad dabei ihre °h in der alten wohnung äh die tapete von der wand zu reißen ***and they were in the process of ripping wallpaper off their wall in the old apartment***
10		-0.57
11 12	SH	un [da war i]ch ((kichert)) °h da war ich echt traurig dass ich heut keine zeit hab ihnen zu helfen ***and I was (giggles) really sad that I don't have time today to help them***
13	CF	[ja] ***[yes]***

14		-0.59

15	SH	weil ich liebe das ***because I love that***

16		-0.92

17	SH	also mit so nem spachtel so richtig tapete von der wand abrei[ßen] ***tearing wallpaper off a wall with a scraper***

[8 lines of wallpaper discussion deleted]

18	SH	tapetenbahn (.) weißt du ***...the piece of wallpaper, you know?***

19	CF	hm ***hm***

20		-3.09

21 —>	SH	°h na auf jeden fall is halb sieben für die okay (.) ((schnieft)) ***na in any case, 6:30 works for them ((sniffles)***

22		-0.28

23	SH	un also super (.) und (.) dann treffen wir uns da ***so great, and we'll meet them there***

ex. 1.21

In this conversation, two friends are talking about evening plans. SH mentions that she called two other friends to confirm plans. She then goes off on a tangent, telling her CF that their friends were in the process of ripping wallpaper off the walls in their old apartment, and how disappointed she was that she was not able to help them. She then explains for eleven lines what she loves about wallpaper-tearing. Her friend is mostly quiet during this, and only when SH prompts her to respond, says "hm". SH is either done talking about wallpaper or realizes that CF is not overly interested in the topic, and switches back to the previous topic. She does that with a *na*-prefaced turn ("°h na auf jeden fall is halb sieben für die okay (.) ((schnieft))", l. 18). The *na*

signals this return to the previous topic; this is further confirmed by the "auf jeden Fall" (*"anyhow"*) that is following the *na*, a typical "back to the topic" phrase. The shifting function of *na* in this case is obvious: It is a shift back to a previous topic after a tangent.

2.9.2 *Na* prefacing terms of endearment and other forms of address

One of the most common uses of *na* has not been addressed yet: *na* frequently prefaces terms of endearment and other forms of address. The present dataset does not have many instances like this which is probably due to the nature of the corpus. While it does contain a wide variety of speakers, scenarios, and topics, it does not contain many situations where people first get together. These are the situations where this type of *na*-prefacing occurs most. Especially common is "na?", "na du?" (*na* you), "na ihr?" (*na* y'all), or "na wie geht's?" (*na* how are you?) as a form of greeting. It is usually said with rising intonation and understood as a question, similar to "how are you?" or "how is it going?". The response to these phrases is generally very short, and can even be just the return of the phrase ("na du?" - "na?") the same way Americans use "how are you?'s" in the beginning of a conversation.

An example from a phone conversation between a father and his (adult) daughter:

FOLK_E_00295_SE_01_T_01

| 1 | JA | hallo |
| | | ***Hello*** |

| 2 | | (0.29) |

| 3 | FA | °h hallo |
| | | ***Hello*** |

| 4 | JA | hihi ° |
| | | *haha* |

| 5 —> | FA | na wie geht_s dir °h |

60

na how are you?

6		(0.41)

7	JA	gut und dir ((kichert))
		good and you? ((giggles))

8		(0.42)

9	FA	ja wurd schon zeit dass ich di endli anrufen kann °hh h°
		Yes it was time for me to finally give you a call

ex. 1.22

The father called his daughter and after saying their "hello"s, he asks her "na wie geht's dir?", a formulaic way of starting the conversation that clearly does not require a long-winded response as his daughters "gut und dir?" indicates. *Na* simply serves as a conversation opener and makes the question sound more casual.

An example for *na* prefacing terms of endearment comes from a conversation between two mothers whose children are playing together:

FOLK_E_00285_SE_01_T_02

1 —>	SK	na mein schatz (.)[spiel ma mit linus]
		na my dear [go play with Linus]

ex. 1.23

One of the mothers briefly interrupts the conversation and addresses her child, saying "*na* my dear, go play with Linus". The "na mein Schatz" is said with rising intonation and makes this seem like a brief check-in regarding her child's well-being, before sending him off to play with his friend.

2.9.3 *Na* prefacing questions

Na does not only preface the question "Wie geht's?" but also other questions. Before "wie geht's?", *na* functions as a conversation opener, and indicates a casual tone. As we have seen in section 2.8.2, *na* functions similarly when prefacing other questions. Let us look at the spark plug-example again:

1	LB	hier noch eine (.) lass isch durchgeh[n] ***here's another one that I'll pass around***
2	XM	[unne] ***((??))***
3		(1.47)
4 ⟶	LB	na was sagsch zu der ***na what do you say to this one?***
5		(0.71)
6	JK	mh ***mh***
7		(0.22)
8	XM	schon hart ***it's hard***
9	JK	is ziemlich groß im gegensatz zu den anderen ***it's pretty big compared to the others***

ex. 1.17

As the teacher is passing around another spark plug, he asks the students what they think about this one. He prefaces this question with *na*. By doing so, he does not open the conversation, but he opens the new topic (in this case, the next spark plug). He also indicates that the question is meant in a casual way: It is not an exam question, he simply wants to hear his students' thoughts.

A colorful example for this comes from the field notes: Near a street festival, a group of young people are sitting on the ground in front of a store drinking beer and being a bit rowdy. Two police officers on patrol walk over:

<div align="right">[TR: FN: 5-31-18]</div>

1 —>	Officer	Na, was ist hier los?
		Na, what's going on here?
2	Teenager1	Nix, wir hängen nur so rum.
		Nothing, we're just hanging out.
3	Teenager2	Oder is des jetzt verboten? ((lacht))
		Or is that forbidden now? ((laughs))

<div align="right">ex. 1.24</div>

The police officer prefaces his question (which is also a request)—the first thing he says to the group of teenagers—with *na*. By doing so, he indicates that he is not interrogating them, and that his question is not supposed to be a threat of any kind. Without the *na*, the question—coming from a police officer—could easily be seen as threatening. The teenagers are responsive to the officer's casual tone: One of them responds rather nonchalantly "Nix, wir hängen nur so rum" (*Nothing, we're just hanging out*) (l. 2), another asks jokingly if that is forbidden and laughs. The police officers then just ask the group to be a little quieter because they are sitting in front of a residential building, and then leave. The police officer uses *na* to make it clear from the beginning that the nature of the conversation is friendly.

Another example shows a slightly different use of *na* before a question: Three friends are seeing a play together. When the intermission starts, one of them starts the conversation by asking whether the play is "knocking the others off their seats"[25]:

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[25] "to knock someone off his seat" = to knock someone's socks off

1 —>	ES	na (.) hat_s euch vom sit ***na did it***
2		(0.38)
3	ES	hocker gehaun ***knock you off your seats?***
4		(0.25)
5	ES	ne ***eh?***
6		(1.0)
7	IF	hmhm ***hmhm***

<div align="right">ex. 1.25</div>

The question is preceded by *na*, and in this case it is the conversation opener. Again, the effect of *na* is a casual tone. It makes the start of the conversation smoother; without the *na,* the question might sound sudden and harsh, as if the expected answer is "no".

2.9.4 *Na und*?

We frequently find the *na*-prefaced question "na und?" ("*na and*") which expresses a sentiment similar to "*so what?*". The effect is very different from the previously discussed *na*-prefaced questions: *Na* does not add a sense of casualness in this case, and it does not open a conversation or topic.

In the following example, a couple is bantering about their age after having talked about how late they went to bed last night. EL declares that they are still young (l. 1), and NO repeats

<div align="center">64</div>

after her in a mocking tone (l. 2), followed by pointing out that EL always says she is old (l. 4).

EL then declares that she is older than NO (l.8), to which NO responds with "na und?" (l. 10):

| 1 | EL | [sind j]a noch jung |
| | | ***we're still young*** |

| 2 | NO | (.) wir sind ja noch jung |
| | | ***we're still young*** |

| 3 | | -0.43 |

| 4 | NO | na du sachs immer du bis alt |
| | | ***na you always say that you're old*** |

| 5 | | -0.81 |

| 6 | EL | ((Lachansatz)) |
| | | ***((beginning of laughter))*** |

| 7 | | -0.37 |

| 8 | EL | bin ja auch älter wie du |
| | | ***I am older than you*** |

| 9 | | -0.44 |

| 10 —> | NO | na und |
| | | ***na und?*** |

| 11 | | -0.25 |

| 12 | EL | ((lacht)) |
| | | ***((laughs))*** |

| 13 | NO | ((Lachansatz)) |
| | | ***((beginning of laughter))*** |

ex. 1.26

Na und expresses that NO does not see the relevance of EL's statement to the matter at hand and does not expect an answer to his question. EL understands this and both of them just laugh. The

na-prefacing in this case also indicates a shift away from this topic: By deeming the previous

argument irrelevant, NO also indicates a readiness to move on.

In the following conversation, a group of friends discuss sex tourism in Thailand. One

person, Leo, is low-key defending the system of prostitution while the rest of the group is harshly

arguing against him, saying that women are forced to "go to the streets" (*work the corners*)

because they need money (l. 1-2, l. 3). Leo is saying that none of them except for him has been

there before so they have no idea (l. 6, l. 8). To this, one of the friends responds with *na und*:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00042_SE_01_T_02</div>

1	LP	ach sie ham kein geld leo [die (.) müssen auf die straß]e gehen
2		welche frau geht freiwillig auf die straße
		They don't have money, Leo [they have to go to the streets, what
		woman goes to the streets voluntarily?
3	AM	[sie ham kein geld]
		[they don't have money]
4		(0.22)
5	LP	jetzt hört_s aber au[f]
		that's enough now
6	LK	[leude] ihr wart noch net dort
		guys you haven't been there
7		(0.24)
8	LK	[also (.) du hast überhaupt kein plan]
		[so you have no idea]
9 —>	LP	[na und]
		[na und]
10	AM	[aber d leo des kannst doch auch nicht sagen des is so]
		[but Leo you can't say it is like this]
11	LP	[leo dazu braucht man nicht hingehen um des also]
		[Leo you don't need to go there to]

<div align="center">66</div>

12	LS	[also ich hab dort zeitspanne_agelebt also]
		[well I lived there for a while so]

13	LK	[ja ich weiß]
		[yes I know]

<div align="right">ex. 1.27</div>

With *na und*, LP makes it clear that she thinks that Leo's statement was irrelevant and pointless. She follows up by explaining this stance: She thinks one does not have to have been to Thailand to have an opinion on prostitution. Again, the *na*-prefaced turn functions to close an argument and "shut up" the person making the argument. LP signals readiness to move on from this (in her opinion pointless) course of the conversation.

Na und is highly conventionalized/idiomized, but the function of bare *na* that seems to be retained in it is the my side-alert: The speaker expresses that from their perspective, what the other person has said is irrelevant to the argument.

Just like in English (A: "My mother called yesterday." B: "And?"), it is also possible to only respond with "Und?" without the *na*. The function of doing this is different from *na und*: Without the *na*, "und?" can be heard as a simple request for more information, a token that signals "continue please". It is not per se questioning the relevance of the previous utterance like *na und?* does.

2.9.5 *Na los*

Another frequent co-occurrence with *na* is *los*. *Los* comes from a sports context and means *Go!*, but is also used outside of sports as an encouraging exclamation to get someone to get going. Often, *na* is added as in the following example from a board game:

| 1 | VK | guck |
| | | ***look*** |

| 2 | | (2.3) |

| 3 | VK | jetz aber nina hä |
| | | ***come on now Nina*** |

| 4 | | (0.35) |

| 5 | SK | ((macht Geräusche)) |
| | | ***((makes sounds))*** |

| 6 | VK | jetz is vorbei |
| | | ***now it's over*** |

| 7 | | (1.01) |

| 8 —> | VK | na los (.) würfel |
| | | ***na los (.) roll the dice*** |

| 9 | NK | mh |
| | | ***mh*** |

| 10 | | (3.63) |

| 11 | VK | zwei |
| | | ***two*** |

ex. 1.28

It is Nina's turn, but she is not rolling the dice. Her father tells her repeatedly to go ahead and roll the dice (l. 3, 6, 8), the last time with "Na los, würfel" (l. 8). He could have said "Los, würfel" without *na*, but that would have sounded harsher. *Na* functions to make the impatient request friendlier since this is only a game. In a situation where a parent wants to be sterner with their child, *los* would be used without the *na*. When the message is urgent, there is no need of

"cushioning" it for hearer. This *na* also indicates that the father wants to move on and adds a topic-closing character to the turn.

2.10 Discussion

We have seen that a "bare *na*" prefaces responses to questions that are indirect or non-straightforward much like *well* does in English and can indicate an expanded turn; it also functions to indicate a my-side perspective. *Na* is used to preface turns in which the speaker is "stating the obvious", both in a mildly annoyed, or an encouraging way. It frequently co-occurs with *doch* and *ja* to further corroborate this sentiment.

Na-prefacing is used to qualify a statement further after an initial thought. It is used to preface statements that express impatience, as well as limited agreement. *Na* can be used to indicate the return to a topic after going off on a tangent. *Na* can precede terms of endearment and "how are you"-like conversation openers. Finally, *na* can precede requests and questions to make them sound more casual, and the beginning of a conversation smoother.

Na does not indicate a rejecting or dispreferred response; it does not frequently preface topic changes or closures. *Na*-prefacing does not indicate dissatisfaction, resignation, denial, surprise, or joy. This limited range of communicated meanings could be due to the non-specificity of bare *na*. It does not communicate enough information compared with *na* + x which communicates a wider range of meanings, as we will see in the next chapter.

In most of the cases discussed here, *na*-prefaced turns indicate some kind of shift: We see sequential departures where *na*-prefacing indicates that something unexpected is coming, something that does not follow the expected course of the conversation. There are many

examples of shifts taking the form of topic closure where some participant of the conversation wishes to move on from a topic or an argument. Another type of shift we have seen is *transformative answers*. Those change the agenda of a question retrospectively, shifting from the questioner's project to the answerer's project.

The only cases where no shift can be found are those where *na* prefaces questions or terms of address/endearment. In those cases, the *na*-prefaced turn is beginning something rather than shifting away from something. The function here is to make the *na*-prefaced turn smoother, more casual, or less harsh.

The present dataset covers a variety of speakers of different ages, educational backgrounds, and geographic regions. *Na*-prefacing could be found across the board. Some speakers use *na* more frequently than other: Parents talking to their children seem to use it a lot, so do interviewees responding to an interviewer's questions about their personal life. Whether this is due to individual differences or the specific situation the conversation took place in is not clear and would require a bigger dataset to answer.

3. Collocations with na

There are a number of set expressions that begin with *na*. Many of them can be found in dictionaries as they are highly conventionalized, but those dictionary translations are not always very helpful. Dictionaries give us rough translations, but do not tell us what communicative and/or sequence management functions the collocations have within a conversation.

For each of these collocations we can ask whether we are dealing with a unit—two words that have a meaning in their combination that cannot be derived from the meaning of its constituents—or rather a combination of two separate entities (*na + something*) with the compositional meaning of the two constituents. This goes back to Saussure's definition of the linguistic sign: What exactly is the sound-image (*signified)* that call a specific concept (*signifier*) to our attention? Is *na gut* a sound-image of its own that has certain functions and meanings in a conversation, or is it a combination of two sound-images, *na* and *gut*?

This chapter will look at a number of *na*-collocations and, using data from the FOLK-corpus, attempt to posit functions with regard to the conversation they occur in, as well as analyze whether the collocations are units on their own, or rather a combination of bare *na* plus *something*. The collocations discussed in this chapter are *na gut* (and in this context *naja),* na + positive adjective (other than *gut), na dann, na also, na klar*, and *na okay*.

3.1 Gaps

There are no gaps in *na*-collocations between *na* and the other component of the collocation. The collocations are uttered as units, the *na* is not being stretched:

1	HM	[also] so schätz ich_s ei zumindescht ((atmet ein, 1.7s))
		[so] at least that's what I'd estimate ((breathes in, 1.7s))

2	AW	[((schnauft))]
		[((wheezes))]

3 —>	AW	na dann (.) den hattest du letztens zurückgerufen gell
		na dann (.) you called him back recently right

<div align="right">ex. 2.1</div>

We can see the micropause between *na dann* and the following talk, but there is no pause between *na* and *dann*.

3.2 *Na gut*

Out of all the collocations that *na* occurs in, *na gut* is one of the most frequent ones, only surpassed in frequency by *na ja*. *Na gut* occurs 177 times in the FOLK corpus. With *na* occurring a total of 3474 times in FOLK, 5% of the occurrences are in the collocation *na gut*. German-English dictionaries provide as translations "very well then!", "fair enough" (dict.leo.org), and "well, all right" (with the additional comment "hesitantly agreeing") (dict.cc). *Linguee,* a dictionary application that uses a database of texts that exist in German and English, brings up "well", "very well", and "oh well" as translations for *na gut.* These sources do not explicitly distinguish between American and British English.

While the data did not contain evidence that stand-alone *na* functions like *well*-prefacing with regards to sequence-closing, shifting topic, and prefacing dispreferred responses, *na gut* seems to do all these things.

Na gut often has a falling intonation like in the following example (drop in intonation

indicated by ↓)[26]:

1	TW	[nein nein n]ein so einfach kommst du mir nicht ((Lachansatz)) he
2		he
		no no no you're not getting off that easily ((beginning of
		laughter)) ha ha

3	LM	°h ((lacht))
		((laughs))

3 —>	LS	na gut ↓ wir g[ucken was wir machen k]önnen h°
		na gut let's see what we can do

<div align="right">ex. 2.2</div>

This falling intonation is present in cases where *na gut* has a topic or sequence closing character.

In other cases, the intonation of *na gut* is level (indicated by −) as in the following

example:

11	AK	jetz hab ich momentan zwei
		and right now I have two

12		-0.23

13—>	AK	na gut– drei (.) aber zwei mädchen da
		na gut three girls there

<div align="right">ex. 2.3</div>

3.2.1 *Na gut* **prefacing dispreferred responses**

Responses can be preferred or dispreferred in the eyes of both speaker and hearer. A preferred

response is one that goes along with the agenda of what it responds to: Accepting an invitation or

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[26] The FOLK corpus does not transcribe intonation/pitch on this level. Symbols added by me.

offer, expressing agreement, or agreeing to a request. Dispreferred responses, on the other hand, can be rejections of invitation or offers, disagreement, or other responses that throw off the agenda of what is responded to.

Dispreferred responses are usually marked as such with certain features. These features include delay, palliatives, accounts, and pro-forma agreements (Sidnell: 79). Whenever a feature like this is present, it alerts the hearer that what is about to come is not the desired response.

Na gut can function as pro-forma agreement as in the following example that happens during a card game amongst friends. EW jokingly complains that in games with game masters (leader of the round) the game master has the authority to make decisions that cannot be disputed. TW, the game master in this game, defends himself, explaining that in this case, he only decided according to what is explicitly stated in the rules. He starts his defense with *na gut*; by doing so, he expresses agreement with EW's banter that game masters can make decisions as they please, but he also adds that here, the decision was well grounded. *Na gut* here takes on the meaning of 'yes, but'. TW wants to move the conversation on from the accusation and he uses *na gut* to indicate that he has acknowledged EW's criticism.

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00204_SE_01_T_02</div>

1	EW	das is immer das problem mit games (.) gamemaster können immer
2		alles bestimmen
		that is always the problem with games gamemasters can always decide everything

3 —>	TW	na gut aber ich meine (.) da steht wenn du eine karte off[en ziehn
4		musst is und des is ja eigenlich (.) immer]nur der fall wenn du (.)
		na gut but I mean it says here when you have to draw a card openly, and that is really only always the case when you

| 5 | EW | [((schmatzt)) (.) ja das hab ich eben au_schon so interpretiert (gehabt)] |
| | | *yes I had interpreted it the same way just now* |

<div align="center">74</div>

The positive adjective *gut* signals positive acknowledgement of what has been said before; in this case, the speaker (TW) is the gamemaster and therefore the target of the accusation of taking advantage of his position. By reprimanding EW, he somewhat confirms the accusation and justifies the criticized behavior. With the *na gut* he emphasizes his acknowledgement of the complaint and softens the reprimand.[27] The *na gut* also serves to indicate a shift: TW is shifting the conversation away from EW's claim to his own view on the matter.

Pro-forma agreements with *na gut* can not only agree with an opinion that has been voiced as in the previous example but can also agree to a question or suggestion made by someone. Such an example comes from a conversation between a father and his daughter Sabine who are playing a card game. Sabine is in the process of preparing the game. Her father is getting impatient and asks whether he can help because "it's taking forever". Sabine responds with a *na gut*-prefaced turn:

FOLK_E_00010_SE_01_T_01

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[27] It is noteworthy in this context that we only rarely seem to see *na* plus a negative adjective. The FOLK corpus does not return any results for *na schlecht (schlecht = bad)*. Anecdotally I can report that I have heard this collocation before, uttered after a *na gut* closed a topic talking about something that is clearly not good. An example from the field notes exemplifies this.
After a discussion about problems going through US immigration with an expired visa:

[TR: FN: 4-18-18]

1	A	Auf jeden Fall haben wir jetzt entschlossen, dass wir es nicht riskieren und
2		diesen Sommer lieber gar nicht in die USA gehen.
		Anyways, we've decided that we won't risk it and we won't go to the US this summer.
3	B	Na gut.
		Na gut.
4	A	Na schlecht.
		Na schlecht.

| 1 | VK | °h kann ich dir nich_n bisschen helfen sabine das dauert ja ewig |
| | | *Can I help you a little, Sabine? This is taking forever.* |

| 2 —> | SK | na gut aber ich mach immer viererstapel |
| | | *na gut but I'm making stacks of four* |

| 3 | | (1.07) |

| 4 | SK | okay |
| | | *okay* |

| 5 | VK | viererstapler |
| | | *stacks of four* |

| 6 | SK | ja |
| | | *yes* |

| 7 | | (0.59) |

| 8 | VK | nich_n bisschen arg klein |
| | | *isn't that a little small?* |

| 9 | | (0.48) |

| 10 | SK | nein |
| | | *no* |

ex. 2.5

Sabine's response, "*na gut* but I'm making stacks of four", is a token agreement to her father's request to help. She communicates that he can help, but if he does, it will be on her terms, namely making stacks of four and not bigger stacks. Her father's reaction makes it clear that he understood Sabine's response as token agreement with a condition: He repeats "stacks of four", and when she confirms, he asks whether those stacks are not too small. The *na gut* functions to assuage the father as Sabine can sense his impatience and dissatisfaction with her process, but she is not willing to give up control of the situation, so the agreement comes in the shape of a token agreement. Again, *na gut* signals a shift away from the first speaker's focus (here: the

76

father wanting to speed up the process) to the second speaker's agenda (Sabine wanting to maintain control of the process).

A common use of this pro-forma agreement is when *na gut* is occurring by itself in a turn as a response to a question or request as is the next example. During a game, a daughter asks her father at the end of her turn whether she can still buy something from him, but he tells her that her turn is over:

FOLK_E_00010_SE_01_T_02

1	SK	kann ich dir zum schluss noch was abkaufen ***Can I buy something from you now at the end of my turn?***
2		(0.34)
3	VK	°h [eigentlich] eigentlich is des bis des fertig jetz ***Actually you are done now***
4	SK	[geht das] ***Can I?***
5	SK	(.) bitte ***Please***
6—>	VK	na gut ***na gut***
7		(0.66)
8	SK	he he ***hehe***

ex. 2.6

After being turned down by her father, the daughter begs him by asking again, and adding a pleading "please?". After that, he changes his mind, and replies with a conceding *na gut*. The English equivalent would be "if you must". This form of *na gut* can often be found after

bargaining and pleading. Another function of this *na gut* is closure of the topic: The father wants to be done debating this issue and, with his *na gut*, signals his readiness to move on.

3.2.2 *Na gut* as a sequence-closing token

Na gut often indicates the closure of an argument after which the same topic that the argument occurred in is continued. This is the case in 26 out of 40 analyzed occurrences of *na gut* (65%). This function of *na gut* falls into the category of *sequence management*, much like many of the previously discussed stand-alone *na* cases.

An example is a conversation where two friends are talking about financial aid; EP is concerned about finishing exams on time as to continue receiving support. BS assures him that in his case it did not matter, and that he never had to prove completion of exams. EP reacts to that with *na gut*, but follows up with explaining that BS' case is different because he had not been enrolled for longer than two semesters:

<div style="text-align: right">FOLK_E_00040_SE_01_T_02</div>

1	EP	die ganze zeit liegt mir en kommilitone in de ohre (.)
		the entire time a classmate is talking my ear off
2		(0.38)
3	EP	bis do un do hi des alles bestanne habe un des un des sag isch
4		dem nix al[la
		you have to pass everything until this point, and I tell him no
5	BS	[isch sag (.) also bei mir weil] wie gsagt isch kann nur sage wie
6		es bei mir war vor (.) zwoi drei johr
		I'm telling you, in my case.. because I can only say how it was for me
		2-3 years ago
7		(0.31)
8	BS	s war (.) alles scheißegal isch musst do gar nix vorlegge (.) eh gar kei
9		prüfung un nix

<div style="text-align: center">78</div>

		it didn't matter at all, I didn't have to show anything, no exams and nothing
10	EP	hm_mh
		hm hm
11		(0.74)
12 —>	EP	na gut du (.) w w warscht aber au nie länger an deim ding
		na gut but you've never been on that thing longer than
13		(0.22)
14	EP	als [als (.) zwe seme]scht[er]
		than two semesters
15	BS	[doch in stadt_a]
		Yes, I was, in city A
16	BS	[in stadt]_a[hab isch (.) hab isch] drei semester gemach[t (.) also]
		in city A I did three semesters

ex. 2.7

In this case, *na gut* functions as a 'yes, but'. While acknowledging that BS did not have any issues with his financial aid—debating this would be pointless as this information is in BS' epistemic domain—EP wants to disagree with Bs' reassurance as his situation is supposedly different. The *na gut* signals that EP want to close BS's line of argument and is ready to move on.

3.2.3 *Na gut* as indicating a topic shift

In some cases, *na gut* not only closes an argument sequence within the conversation about a topic, but also indicates and initiates a topic shift. This is the case in 14 out of 40 occurrences (35%) of *na gut*.

79

In a conversation between a mother and her daughters about their planned vacation, the conversation had briefly turned to one of the daughters asking whether she can finish the last tomato or if anyone else wants it. After the question is negated, the mother utters variations of "mh" three times and clears her throat. After this, she wants to return to discussing the vacation plans and does so by saying *na gut*, followed by a short pause, and then asks whether they should pack their swimsuits:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00209_SE_01_T_01</div>

1	LW	letzte tomate schatz ***last tomato darling***
2		(0.21)
3	LW	willst noch_n stück hier a[bhaben] ***you want a piece of it?***
4	EW	[nö nö] ***no no***
5		(0.73)
6	EW	wir ham doch noch eine zu liegen ***we have another one lying there***
7	LW	hmhm ***hmhm***
8	EW	soll ich sie noch machen ***you want me to slice it?***
9		(1.21)
10	LW	mir reicht des ***I've had enough***
11		(0.31)
		((6 lines deleted - clearing throat, "hm"))
12 —>	EW	na gut

na gut

13 EW ((schmatz)) also packen wa jetz für die bäder
    ((smacks)) alright, are we packing for the spa now?

<div align="right">ex. 2.8</div>

The *na gut* functions as a closing statement of the food discussion and opens the return to the previous topic. Without this closing unit, the switch of topics might be perceived as abrupt. This is like the function of bare *na* we have seen in chapter one: When bare *na* is prefacing questions, it makes the question more casual and the beginning of the conversation smoother.

In the next example, a group of friends is playing a board game. It is PA's turn and there is a short discussion whether she can make a certain move that was suggested by AM. JA asks whether the move is allowed, AM and KA explain that it is not.

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00132_SE_01_T_05</div>

1 Am [du könntest jetz]
    now you could [play]

2 Am [eine mi]ni
    a little one

3 Ja geht das [denn]
    is that possible?

4 Am [nee das] geht[nich]
    no it's not

5 Ka [nee hier da is wie]se
    no this is grass

6 Pa [ah nee okay]
    ah no, okay

7 —> Pa na gut dann hier
    na gut then here

<div align="right">ex. 2.9</div>

PA, whose turn it is, is ready to move on from the discussion and, after acknowledging that she was mistaken with "ah nee okay", does that with a *na gut*, followed by *dann hier*, indicating which move she wants to make instead.

Na gut as an indicator that the speaker wants to move on can be used strategically to 'shut up' a conversation partner. In the following conversation, a mother (CJ) is reading a story to her daughter (TJ). The child is commenting on something from the story and keeps talking about it. The mother only responds with minimal response tokens ("mh", "oh"), and then tries to end her daughter's monolog with "na gut". The daughter ignores her and continues talking. The mother then repeats "na gut", followed by the question "is mommy now allowed to finish reading the story?" Now the child reacts and answers "yes".

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00014_SE_01_T_01</div>

1	TJ	[und wir] reiten schnell und wir reiten weg ***and we're riding fast and we're riding away***
2		(0.43)
3	CJ	mh ***mh***
4	TJ	ja un dann mh (.) sind wir einfach weg ***yea and then we're just gone***
5		(0.21)
6	CJ	oh ***oh***
7	TJ	dann kann ja ein niemand (.) mich uns festbindn ***then nobody can tie us up***
8 —>	CJ	(.) na gut ***na gut***
9	TJ	nein un auch nicht streicheln

<div align="center">82</div>

no and also not touch us

10 —>CJ   na gut darf deine mama die geschichte fertig lesen
                 na gut can you mom finish reading the story now?

11   TJ   ja
                 yes

<div align="right">ex. 2.10</div>

While the two minimal response tokens are continuers, *na gut* serves as a topic-closing token. The fact that it is a positive adjective that makes up the collocation together with *na* may be an indication that even though the speaker wishes to end a topic/an argument, they still want to positively acknowledge what has been said previously.

In some cases, *na gut* occurs within one speaker's turn, separating two TCUs as a self-interruption. During a defense of a dissertation, one of the examining professors chimes in with what she thinks is an example for what the doctoral candidate has been talking about (metaphor), but halfway through she abandons her thought:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00056_SE_01_T_01</div>

1   SA   [ja oder oder steht da fest wie der va wie] der vater so der sohn
2 —>   [äh na gut] da [sinwa] dann wieder[beim s]prichwort ((lacht))
3   da[s kön]nen se dann aus anderen gründen [raus]werfen …

           yes or it's fixed 'like father like son' [äh na gut] then we are
           back to saying, that can be thrown out for other reasons…

<div align="right">ex. 2.11</div>

The function of *na gut* here is—again—topic shift: The professor interrupted the exchange between candidate and a different professor, and was going off on a tangent, and when she realizes that her comment is not relevant/appropriate, she brings her comment to an end, followed by the candidate continuing where she had left off.

3.2.4 *Na gut* before a self-correction

Occasionally, *na gut* is used in a situation where the speaker needs a moment to consider what they are saying. This can happen for different reasons. The first example is an excerpt from an interview with a farm owner. The interviewer is asking whether many children are coming to help with the horses. The farm owner explains that there are some, and that it is best for the horses if there are not too many children:

FOLK_E_00147_SE_01_T_03

1	AK	nä nee (.) die komm viele zum streicheln oder auch wolln auch
2		helfen (.) °hh aber es is immer besser auch für für die ponys da d
		no many come to pet [the horses] or want to help but it is always better for the ponies
3		-0.3
4	AK	dass die jeder n n äh we
		that each of them
5		-0.23
6	AK	äh für jedes pony nur ein kind da is °h so machen se die ponys
7		nervös un alles °hh (.) ((schnieft))
		for each pony there's only one child, or they make the ponies nervous and all that
8		-0.37
9	AK	und d d
		and
10		-0.25
11	AK	jetz hab ich momentan zwei
		and right now I have two
12		-0.23
13—>	AK	na gut drei (.) aber zwei mädchen da
		na gut three girls there

84

14		-0.27
15	AK	°hhh
16		-0.24
17	AK	ruby und h° ***ruby and***
18		-0.32
19	AK	jessika (.) nee h° jacqueline ***Jessika no Jacqueline***

<div align="right">ex. 2.12</div>

The farm owner is explaining how many girls are coming to help with the horses. He initially states that there are two girls, but after a pause, corrects that number to three. This correction is prefaced with *na gut*. It signals to the hearer that the speaker is considering something and will continue their turn momentarily. The *na gut* is also indicative of the shift from one reply (here: "two girls") to another ("three girls").

Another example where *na gut* is used in a similar but not quite the same way is the following excerpt: During an interview, the interviewer asks the interviewee about her foreign language skills, and asks her to rate herself using (German) school grades (1 is best, 6 is worst):

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00177_SE_01_T_02</div>

1	SMA3	englisch war meine erste ***English was my first***
2		(0.28)
3	SMA3	fremdsprache ***foreign language***
4		(1.1)
5	NL	hm_hm °h un

		hm_hm and
6		(0.42)
7	NL	die g (.) g einschätzung der *an estimate of*
8		(0.32)
9	NL	kenntnisse ganz grob *your skills, roughly*
10	SMA3	°hhh
11	NL	orientiert an schulnoten *based on school grades*
12		(1.07)
13	NL	so *like*
14	SMA3	sechs ((lacht)) *six ((laughs))*
15	NL	((lacht)) °h ha ney *((laughs)) ha no*
16	SMA3	°hh
17	NL	((kichert)) °hhh *((giggles))*
18 —>	SMA3	na gut fünf °h *na gut five*
19	SMA3	so sieht auch meine note momentan aus *that's what my grade looks like right now*

<div align="right">ex. 2.13</div>

The interviewee gives herself a six, the worst grade on the scale, and laughs. The interviewer also laughs but indicates that he does not believe this rather harsh, self-deprecating assessment. The interviewee then concedes and changes her answer to a five, explaining that this is the grade

she currently has. This concession is prefaced with *na gut*. The function here is similar to the previously discussed pro-forma agreement: The speaker agrees with the interviewers disbelieve and corrects her statement, admitting that her first assessment was too harsh. It is not quite agreement though, as the new assessment is only marginally better than the first one. *Na gut* signals this pro-forma agreement/concession, and indicates the shift from one answer to another.

In the next example of a group of friends talking, *na gut* is used in a similar function. Right before the excerpt, they had talked about a recent break-in, and they are debating whether it could be related to a music event that had taken place. NM wants to know when this event took place and is informed by FK and TU that it was the previous weekend:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00161_SE_01_T_04</div>

1	NM	wann war event[_a] ***When was event a?***
2	TU	[ja (.) jetz] dieses [wochenende] ***now, this weekend***
3 4	FK	[ja das] war da (.) ja (.) dies wochenende war das natürlich von freitach auf samstach ***yes it was this weekend, from Friday to Saturday of course***
5	TU	ja [und von] samstach auf sonntach war der (.)[zweite] abend vom [event_a] ***yes and from Saturday to Sunday was the second night of event a***
6	AJ	[ja] ***yes***
7	NM	[ja] ***yes***
8	NM	[ja (.) hmhm] ***yes (.) hmhm***
9		-0.45

<div align="center">87</div>

| 10 | FK | ja |
| | | *yes* |

| 11 | TU | warum |
| | | *why?* |

| 12 | | -0.22 |

| 13 | FK | ja |
| | | *yes* |

| 14 —>TU | | na gut (.) event_a wie lange geht das bis eins (.) halb zwei |
| | | *na gut event a, how late does it go? till one, one thirty?* |

| 15 | | -0.47 |

| 16 | TU | denke dann müssen die ja [schon wieder schluss mach] |
| | | *I think then they have to wrap it up* |

17	FK	[um vier uhr is] die gewach gemach öh (.) also hat die poli[zei sie]
18		angerufen
		she was woken up at 4, called the police

<div align="right">ex. 2.14</div>

After receiving confirmation that the event took place on the previous weekend, TU is wondering till how late at night the event is running to see whether the break-in could be related. This turn is prefaced with *na gut.* This *na gut* has a "hold on, let me think" function. It is followed by a question, but TU is asking herself, not the group of people around her. *Na gut* signals to them that TU is in the process of figuring something out and also lets them know in advance that the question that is about to come does not require an answer from them.

3.2.5 Occurrence

Na gut is not found prefacing responses to questions. Given the topic-closing or topic-shifting function the collocation has, this makes sense: questions are generally not followed by a shift or

closure of a topic. In the small data set of 40 occurrences, there is only one case where a question precedes the *na gut*:

1	NK	mag ich den
		then I want

| 2 | | (0.87) |

3	NK	den grüne
		the green one

| 4 | | (0.21) |

5	NK	den wie heißt der
		the what's-it-called?

| 6 | | (0.71) |

7 —>SK		na gut
		na gut

| 8 | | (0.69) |

9	SK	du dummes elektrizitätswerk
		you silly power plant

ex. 2.15

In this conversation, the sisters NK and SK are negotiating a transaction within the game they are playing. NK takes three turns that remain unanswered which consist of her telling her sister what she wants, followed by a question that could be for herself or someone else: "Then I want this one. The green one. The what's-it-called?" After this question, her sister says "na gut", treating the question as not to be answered. It is not entirely clear whether SK's *na gut* is a confirmation of the transaction, or she just wants to move on, but the topic shifts immediately to SK and VK discussing other transactions, and NK's question about the name of "the green one" that she wanted does not get answered. NK does not talk for a couple of turns after this.

In about a quarter of the occurrences of *na gut*, we can find the word *dann* shortly after.

Dann is an adverb and translates with *then*. It can express a simply temporal progression (*Erst essen wir, **dann** gehen wir ins Bett. - First we eat, then we go to bed),* but can also have a conditional meaning (*Wenn du mir nicht hilfst, **dann** bezahle ich dich nicht. - If you don't help me, (then) I won't pay you),* or the meaning of "contrasting with/or else" *(Wenn nicht hier, wo **dann**? - If not here, then where?)*. When following a *na gut*, *dann* expresses a "in this case" meaning: *na gut* serves to close the previous argument, the *dann* connects the following talk with reference to what came before.

In the following example, during a card game, one player (EW) drew a card that allows him to go through the discard pile and pick a card. After reading out the instructions to do so, another player (TW) says: "na gut dann such ma ne karte die du willst" ("ok then look for a card that you want").

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00204_SE_01_T_01</div>

1	EW	[wünschelstab] (.) durchsuche die abgelegten karten um eine karte
2		zu finden, die du willst (.) nimm die karte
		[name of card] search the discard pile for a card that you want.
		take the card
3		(0.3)
4	EW	die neue karte und lege diese ab
		the new card and play it
5		(1.74)
6 —>	TW	na gut dann such ma ne karte die du willst
		na gut then look for a card that you want
7		(0.94)
8	EW	mach isch jetz auch
		will do

With *na gut*, he expresses that he accepts the instructions from the card and wants to move on, thereby closing the sequence. With *dann* the request to EW to pick a card is connected to EW's previous turn in which he read out the instructions. If the *dann* was not there and TW had said "na gut. Such dir ma ne Karte, die du willst", it would not have been clear that this request just restates what the instructions said, and instead could have been seen as a new request.

Another word that is often following *na gut* is *aber* (but). The following example from a staff meeting at a hospital before the shift show this use. The nurses are talking about a patient who has trouble getting up in the morning:

FOLK_E_00114_SE_01_T_01

1	MP	is au_n langschläfer ***he likes to sleep in late***
2	ME	[hm_hm] ***[hm_hm]***
3	MP	[die jungs da hinten ja] sin [noch zäh] ***[the boys back there are tough]***
4	MD	[ausfal]len lassen heut mor[gen] ***[skipped this morning]***
5	MP	[ä]h_ja ***[ah yea]***
6	MJ	hasch mo gseh was der an lebonex kriegt ***did you see how much lebonex [antipsychotic medication] he is getting?***
7	MD	°hh ***°hh***
8 9	MJ	do hätt isch morgens ach anlaufproblä[me mit siewehunnert milligramm obends] ***I'd have trouble getting up in the morning too with 700 milligrams of that at night***

91

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10 —> MD     [na gut aber irgendwie muss es ja klappen wenn er au]ch ma[l
11           irgendwann nach] hau[se geht muss es ja auch klappen ne]
```
***[na gut but somehow it has to work, if he's supposed to go home
at some point it'll also have to work]***

<div align="right">ex. 2.17</div>

One of the nurses comments that with the medication the patient is on it is no wonder that he has trouble getting up in the morning (l. 6), and the other one responds with a *na gut, aber*-prefaced turn: While she seems to agree that the medication contributes to the situation, she does not think that it is a good enough argument. *Na gut* here is a token agreement, followed by a statement that restricts the agreement. It also signals the nurse's willingness to close her colleague's argument and move on with the issue.

We have seen this same thing happen in examples 2.4, 2.5, and with a slight delay, 2.6. Since these are examples where *na gut* functions as pro forma-agreement, and the "follow-up" with *aber* makes sense: After the token agreement, the speaker follows up with the restrictions and conditions under which they agree. In example 2.1, the restriction is "but it says so in the rules", in 2.2 it is "but we are making stacks of four", and in 2.3 "but you weren't here long enough to know".

3.2.6 *Na + gut* or *na gut?*

A question that remains to be answered is whether *na gut* is an independent unit, or rather a composition of a stand-alone *na* plus *gut*. We will entertain two options here: (1) If *na gut* is a compositional unit made up of a stand-alone *na* and the adjective *gut*, then the functions and meanings of *na* and *gut* might be present whenever *na gut* is used; or (2) One of the parts of the collocation (*na* or *gut*) is narrowing down the scope of possible interpretations of the other.

We will first look at option (1). The functions we are looking for in *na gut* are the functions determined for stand-alone *na* on the one hand: ((1) Response will be indirect or non-straightforward; (2) Response will take more than one TCU; (3) My-side perspective; (4) Stating the obvious; (5) Qualifying a statement further; (6) Limited agreement; (7) Return to topic), and the function of *gut* on the other hand.

As mentioned before, *na gut* does not preface responses to questions, therefore the question whether it prefaces indirect or non-straightforward responses is irrelevant. While this also applies to the point "response will take more than one TCU", we can still ask whether *na gut* prefaces expanded turns. The answer is a clear no. All occurrences of *na gut* in the FOLK corpus preface a maximum of one TCU, many do not precede anything further, making the *na gut* the only TCU in the turn.

When *na gut* is used to function as pro-forma agreement, often a my-side perspective is expressed. In such cases, the *na gut* is followed by the explanation the speaker has for not quite agreeing. This explanation provides the speaker's perspective of the situation.

Na gut does not preface turns that are stating the obvious. The instances where bare *na* prefaces these turns are mostly questions or requests, and since *na gut* does not occur in such places, it does not share this function with bare *na*. For the same reason, *na gut* does not preface turns that further qualify a previous statement. These also occur in response to questions and therefore in different places than *na gut* would be found in.

Bare *na* can preface expressions of limited agreement. This seems to overlap with the function of *na gut* as pro-forma agreement. A pro-forma agreement can be seen as limited

agreement as the speaker does make concessions to what has been said before voicing why this agreement is not a full or true agreement.

Likewise, there can be some overlap between bare *na* being used to return to a topic after going off on a tangent and *na gut* being used for a topic shift. A return to a previous topic is a form of topic shift—a shift away from the topic of the tangent.

In how far is the meaning of *gut* present in *na gut*? The biggest overlap here seems to be limited agreement: *Gut* is a positive adjective that can be used as an agreement token, so limited agreement is not too far of a leap. However, limited agreement is only one of the functions *na gut* has—in the other functions, the positive adjective meaning does not seem to be present.

We will now entertain option (2) mentioned above, that one of the parts of the collocation (*na* or *gut*) is narrowing down the scope of possible interpretations of the other. This is loosely based on Dwight L. Bolinger's theory of *Linear Modification* as outlined in his classic article: "Elements as they are added one by one to form a sentence progressively limit the semantic range of all that has preceded. This causes beginning elements to have a wider semantic range than elements toward the end" (Bolinger 1952:1117). Bolinger's theory is very compatible with Conversation Analysis: What happens during a conversation, he calls "fluid and automatic readjustment that presumably takes place when we ingest an utterance from its beginning to its end" (ibd. 1118). This reminds us of Gail Jefferson's famous article on error correction, where she outlines how the difference in pronunciation of "the" (*thuh* vs. *thee*) gives insight about what comes next: "At some level he knows (and a hearer can know) that it [the word] begins with, for example, a vowel" (Jefferson 1974:183). Jefferson exemplifies this with recordings from a traffic court hearing where a defendant says, "I told that to THUH- UH- officer" (184)—the

pronunciation of *the*, with schwa rather than [iy], indicates that the defendant had been "aiming" at (or retrieving from memory) a word beginning with a consonant rather than a vowel, most likely "cop" in the context.. Had the defendant been intending from the very beginning of the utterance to say "officer", *the* would have been pronounced "THEE". In Bolinger's terms: The pronunciation of *the* limits the semantic range of what follows.

Applying this to the question at hand, the assumption would be that after the speaker has uttered *na*, the scope of how to interpret what comes next is already limited. The meaning of a *gut* following *na* can therefore be very different from the meaning of a turn-initial *gut,* or a *gut* following another word.

This line of argument works well with cases where *na gut* signals limited agreement: *Gut* by itself would indicate agreement. By prefacing the agreement token with *na*, the speaker could seek to alert the hearer to not take the *gut* at face value.

With the very limited overlap in meaning of *na gut* and stand-alone *na* and *gut,* however, this argument cannot be extended much further. If in a given occurrence of *na gut* none of the functions of a stand-alone *na* are present, there is no reason to assume that hearer draw much information for upcoming elements from this initial *na*.

To summarize, it can be said that *na gut* and bare *na* do share some functions, but there are also things that *na gut* can do that bare *na* cannot, and vice versa. This does not conclusively answer the question whether *na gut* is analyzable in its constituent parts or not. It is possible that historically, *na gut* emerged from the combination of the two parts and was only used in the sense that bare *na* plus *gut* functions, and then later then became independent as the function broadened, but this can only be speculation.

3.2.7 Summary

Na gut has three main functions: It prefaces dispreferred responses that are usually pro-forma agreements; it closes a sequence within a topic to indicate that an argument is completed; it functions as a topic shift/topic closer when the speaker is ready to move on from the current to the next topic. There is overlap between these three functions: A pro-forma agreement is often the end of an argument as the speaker uses *na gut* to give the other person a sense of completion of their point. The end of a sequence/an argument can easily transition into a new topic. In all three scenarios, *na gut* helps navigate the conversation by signaling that a change is about to happen: a change from an unresolved argument to an agreement or a change of topics. *Na gut* facilitates these changes and makes them less abrupt, and sometimes more polite as can be the case with pro-forma agreements. Here, *na gut* can have a sense of the speaker making concessions.

We have seen that *na gut* indicates some kind of shift in almost all the examples shown here: Before dispreferred responses, it signals the speaker's desire to shift the focus away from the other speaker's agenda; when *na gut* closes a sequence or a topic, or initiates a topic shift, the speaker is looking to move on; when prefacing a self-correction, *na gut* indicates the shift from one thought to the correction of that though.

3.3 *Na* + positive adjective

Na combines with a number of positive adjectives other than *gut*: *na toll, na super, na geil, na prima, na großartig, na fein,* and *na schön* are all common expressions. They are however quite different in their function from *na gut*: Even though *gut* is a positive adjective much like *toll* and

super, *na toll* or *na super* cannot replace a *na gut*. They do not function as pro-forma agreement, to close a topic or sequence, or to change topics. In fact, the *na + positive adjective* collocations (other than *na gut*) do something that *na gut* never does: They provide an evaluation on a previous statement. That makes them not contrastive to *na gut* but puts them in a completely different category.

Most of the time they are used, these collocations communicate irony or insincerity. They are uttered in situations where the speaker reacts to something that he or she does not think is good in order to express commiseration, sympathy, or their own dissatisfaction with what has been said before. Irony, according to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, is "the use of words to express something other than and especially the opposite of the literal meaning of a sentence". In a series of experiments, Gibbs (1986) found that "people appear to use pragmatic information, as presented in the story contexts, very early in understanding what speakers mean in using sarcasm" and determined that people do not need to process the literal meaning of sarcastic utterances before "their nonliteral, sarcastic interpretations can be derived." Taking these findings into consideration, it is obvious that something about these ironic utterances must be giving the hearer a hint regarding their interpretation.

In the following conversation, we see an example of a *na toll* being uttered ironically. A newlywed couple (NO and EL) is talking over coffee. He mentions that he did not play the lottery, to which she replies "na toll". This can roughly be translated with "oh great" and is followed by "now we didn't win anything again" and is clearly meant ironically—of course, she would prefer to win the lottery over not winning it.

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00039_SE_01_T_03</div>

1	NO	ha_ick gestern jar nich lotto jespielt
		I didn't play the lottery yesterday

2		(0.42)

3 —>EL		na [toll]
		na toll

4	NO	[oh] och m[ann]
		oh man

5	EL	[jetz ham_wa wieder nüscht jewonnen
		now we didn't win anything again

6		(1.28)

7	NO	dabei ahm_wir so_n glück im spiel
		but we're so lucky when it comes to gambling

ex. 2.18

NO picks up on the ironic remark and goes along with it, responding with a similarly ironic comment in line 7.

Unfortunately, there are not many occurrences of such collocations in th FOLK-corpus. Only for *na toll* and *na super* examples could be found. For *na toll*, the numbers are especially strong: Eight out of the ten occurrences in the corpus are clearly meant ironically, for the remaining two, context and tone of voice are not unambiguous enough to determine whether the speaker meant to be ironic or not.

An obvious example is the following conversation between a doctor and his assistant during which they talk about certificates for participation in first aid classes:

FOLK_E_00226_SE_01_T_01

1	SW	überhaupt autorisiert bist (.) offiziell °hh ähm (.) so_n (.) so_n (.)
2		so_n zertifikat da auszustellen wobei der chef meinte nein das soll
3		jetzt kein zertifikat sein sondern einfach ne art teilnahmebe
4		bescheinigung °h im sinne von person ix ypsilon hat kurs bla (.)
5		mit erster hilfe an kindern die veranstaltung besucht und in °h
		(...) whether you're even officially allowed to issue such a
		certificate, but the boss said, no, it's not supposed to be a

98

		certificate but just a kind of confirmation of participation, something like "person xz has participated in the course 'first aid for children'"
6	MK	hm[hm] **hmhm**
7 8 —>	SW	[was] weiß ich reanimeationsübungen durchgeführt aber dann denk ich immer na toll °h **(that they) have done reanimation practice, but then I think na toll**
9		-0.46
10 11 12	SW	((schluckt))((schmatzt))wenn du da (.) das is dann ja nich fisch und nich fleisch du hast zwar irgendn zettel wo was draufsteht aber (.) was anfangen °h **that's neither fish nor fowl, you have piece of paper that says something but (you don't know) what to do**

<div align="right">ex. 2.19</div>

Here, the *na toll* does not preface a turn but is embedded in one; however, it prefaces the "mental turn" the speaker is talking about. She reports what she thinks to herself. It is very obvious that the *na toll* is not meant to compliment something: It is a commentary on people receiving a confirmation that they took a first aid class without actually knowing how to perform first aid. The speaker (who is in the medical field herself) does not approve of this and she makes this clear with her ironic use of *na toll*.

To make the irony even stronger, an intensifier can be used before the *toll*: A frequent expression is *na ganz toll*, *ganz* being an intensifier like *really*. There are no examples for this in the FOLK corpus but looking at occurrences on Twitter shows that the addition of the intensifier *ganz* makes 100% of all uses ironic. One example is "Auto anbumsen und einfach wegfahren- na ganz toll…" (*hit my car and then just keep driving- na ganz toll*)[28]. While *na toll* by itself

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[28] https://twitter.com/Eurybia_1/status/972437066180161536

occasionally is used in a sincere way, *na ganz toll* seems to be so over the top that it can only be used ironically.

One of the ambiguous examples demonstrates how important context is for the interpretation of irony. The following excerpt is the very beginning of a transcript. The participants have just turned on the camera/microphone that will record their conversation:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00119_SE_01_T_01</div>

1	TI	da blinkt jetzt alles rot (.) aber des_s mir auch egal ***everything is blinking red but I don't care***
2		(0.67)
3	RW	nimmt des jetz auf ***is it recording now?***
4		(0.61)
5	RW	((kichert)) ***((giggles))***
6	TI	ja ***yes***
7		(0.25)
8	PE	((lacht)) ***((laughs))***
9	TI	((lacht)) ***((laughs))***
10 —>	RW	na toll ***na toll***
11	RW	ich ess_n paar schoko crossies ***I'm eating some schoko crossies [candy]***
12	TI	okay (.) bitte ((lacht)) ***okay (.) please ((laughs))***

<div align="right">ex. 2.20</div>

The *na toll* here is said in response to the confirmation that the recording has started. It could be meant in a sincere way to express satisfaction that the technology is working properly; but it could also be meant ironically: Maybe the speaker is self-conscious about being recorded and would rather not be, in which case she would not be glad about the recording successfully starting. The tone of voice does sound more ironic than happy, but research on tone of voice and sarcasm detection cautions to jump to conclusion: While there are some patterns that could be correlated with ironic speech, those same patterns are also found to express other emotions. Bryant and Fox Tree (2005) conclude that "[w]hat seems like an ironic tone of voice is likely an emergent product of interpretations informed by multiple sources of information, many not acoustic. The folk notion of sarcasm as a fairly uniform category of language use could contribute to the illusion of prosodic consistency that an ironic tone of voice implies" (272).[29] Given these results, we cannot be certain whether *na toll* is this previous example is meant ironically or not. Unlike in other examples, the contextual cues are not strong enough to give a clear answer.

For *na super*, the numbers are less obvious: Only six out of eleven occurrences are ironic. The remaining five are not unclear or ambiguous like the *na toll*-occurrences are; they are very obviously not ironic but rather sincere expressions of appreciation/happiness.

The following example is one of the ironic once. Two colleagues are talking about a customer. JS is telling LS that she called the customer, he promised he would call back, but never did. LS reacts to that with "na super":

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00194_SE_01_T_01</div>

| 1 | JS | (...) °hh ähm aber ich hab ja auch wie gesagt nix von ihm gehört (.) |

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[29] This study looks at irony in English, but the results are applicable to German.

2		un jetz hab ich ja am freitach hab ich ihn erreicht °h
		(...) as I said, I hadn't heard from him and now last Friday I got a hold of him
3	LS	[hmhm]
		hmhm
4	LS	ja
		yes
5		-0.49
6	JS	aber dann hat er gemeint (.) er hat grad keine zeit der ruft mich
7		[gleich zurück]
		but then he said he doesn't have time and he'll call me back in a moment
		(...)
8	JS	da hat er natürlich nich zurückgerufen °hh und dann hat er jetz
9		gestern geschrieben
		of course he didn't call back and then yesterday he wrote
10 —>	LS	na super
		na super
11		-0.46
12	JS	((räuspert sich)) ähm °hh dass er wahrscheinlich jetz ers_ma
13		pausieren möchte oder
		uhm that he probably wants to put it on hold or
14		-0.21
15	JS	komplett des beenden möchte °h weil er
		completely end it because
16		-0.23
17	JS	einfach nur kosten dadurch
		it only costs him money

ex. 2.21

This is clearly an ironic *na super*: Not only is it generally considered rude to make a promise and not follow up on it, but also is this a customer they are talking about and him being flakey has potentially negative consequences for the company.

As mentioned above, *na super* is also used sincerely as is the following conversation among a group of friends. One of them is offering champagne to the group:

1	NH	ja hab ich (.) spendiert
		yes I bought it

2	US	ah sch[ön]
		ah nice

3	NH	[ihr] (.) dürft [euch gerne bedie]nen
		you're welcome to have some

4	US	[okay]
		okay

5	US	(na) super (.) cool
		na super, cool

ex. 2.22

The reaction to the offer with *na super* is not ironic in this case. The friend is appreciative of being offered champagne and the context makes it clear how her *na super* is to be understood, just like in the previous example, context is the decisive factor, and in this example leaves no doubt that the *na super* is ironic.

The FOLK corpus unfortunately does not have any examples of *na prima, na großartig, na fein,* or *na geil.* To get at least a rough idea how these are used, a quick look at Twitter is helpful. For *na geil,* all of the most recent 30 tweets[30] using the collocation are clearly ironic,

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[30] Since 100% of the 30 most recent tweets was ironic, it was decided that 30 is a sufficient number of tweets to analyze to understand how *na geil* is used.

with examples such as "Na geil mein Zug fällt aus meh"[31] (*na geil my train was canceled),* "Na geil… Brille eben runtergefallen und komplett durchgebrochen"[32] (*na geil, dropped my glasses and they are completely broken*), and "Ich krieg Halsschmerzen, na geil"[33] (*I'm getting a sore throat, na geil*).

The results for *na großartig* are similar, there are a few exceptions where it is actually used to express happiness, but the majority of tweets is ironic. One of them even specifically clarifies that they are being ironic: Posting a link to an article that talks about violence by neo nazis, he comments "Na großartig! (Sarkasmus!) In meiner ehemaligen Heimatstadt"[34] (*Na großartig! (Sarcasm!) In my former hometown".*

Na prima and *na fein* seem to be used in a sincere way a lot more frequently: About half of the thirty most recent tweets using these collocations seem to be sincere, the other half ironic. No clear preference for one interpretation or the other can be determined. Context has to do the work of making it clear how to understand such collocations.

Na schön appears to be close to *na gut* in meaning. It is never used ironically and, while a lot less frequently used than *na gut*, occurs in the same functions. One example comes from a public debate about the expansion of a train station that most residents of the area are opposing. One of the participants (BP) calls the other side out for cherry-picking arguments (l. 1-4), and TG responds that his side is not disputing this (l. 5-6). BP then counters with *na schön*, which overlaps with the moderator of the debate asking people to please take turns talking, and then

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[31] https://twitter.com/nightskybreeze/status/971635280821325825

[32] https://twitter.com/Zeltoss/status/971632152398966784

[33] https://twitter.com/rhimeanimal/status/966407583862083584

[34] https://twitter.com/rc_schneider/status/968856678383972359

repeats *"na schön, aber"* (l. 10), followed by a statement claiming that with cherry-picking, everyone could turn any argument into theirs:

1	BP	[...] we_man nämlich des interview ganz liest steht da °h unsere
2		durchbangs (.) bahnhöfe harmonieren mit dem takt (.) system
3		genauso gut wie kopfbahnhöfe des ham sie jetz nicht vorgelesen (.)
4		weil_s nicht so gut in die philosphie passt [°h]

[...] if you read the whole interview, it says that the through train stations are working with the pace of the system just as well as the terminal train stations, but you didn't read that out aloud because it doesnt't fit your narrative

| 5 | TG | [nur herr] palm[er des] hatten wir auch schon mal dis[kutiert dass |
| 6 | | wir des nicht bestreiten] |

but Mr. Palmer, we have discussed before that we're not disputing that

| 7 | BP | [was] |

[what]

| 8 | HG | [melden immer nomal der reihe nach] |

[one after the other please]

| 9 | BP | [na schön] |

[na schön]

| 10 | BP | (.) ver na schön aber |

na schön but

| 11 | | (0.2) |

| 12 | BP | des interv[iew könnt]en auch wir als beleg für unsere thesen |
| 13 | | benutzen wenn wir den satz zitieren worum es aber geht is doch °h |

we can use the interview as proof for our arguments if we quote the sentence, but the point is

ex. 2.23

This "*na schön, aber*" is doing exactly what a *na gut, aber* does: It functions as a token agreement, followed by a counter argument.

While this twitter-data is far from perfect, it gives us a general idea how these *na + positive adjective* collocations are used in contemporary colloquial German. One thing that stands out is that there are barely any instances where it is not clear right away whether the speaker means to be sincere or ironic. The context always makes it very obvious when the *na*-collocation is supposed to be understood ironically.

It seems that the overwhelming majority of frequently used positive adjectives can be made ironic with a preceding *na*. *Na wunderbar* and *na ausgezeichnet*, for example, can be used ironically as well. *Na gut* and *na schön* appear to be the only exception to this.

So, what does it mean if *na*-collocations with positive adjectives are almost exclusively used in situations where context makes it clear how to understand the utterance? This might bring us back to one of the functions of stand-alone *na*: stating the obvious. Maybe we use *na*-collocations to be ironic in situations where it is (or should be) absolutely obvious that something is not actually "toll" or "super".

Even without *na*, positive adjectives are used ironically. A look at the data reveals that in the case of *toll*, this is relatively rare: Only about 5% of occurrences of *toll* without a preceding *na* are meant ironically. In the case of *toll*, an accompanying *na* is a reliable predictor of irony. For the other positive adjectives, such statements cannot be made since even with the preceding *na*, the utterances are often sincere and not ironic.

3.3.1 Other ironic turns prefaced by *na*

Another *na*-phrase that is frequently meant ironic is *na danke*. There are no examples for this in the FOLK corpus, but my field notes contained quite a few instances:

Four friends (two couples) are having dinner together. The host brings champagne glasses for the two guests and herself and tells her husband that she could not carry the fourth glass, so he will have to get his own glass from the kitchen:

1	A	Ich hatte keine Hand mehr frei, du musst dir dein eigenes Glas in
2		der Küche holen.
		I didn't have a hand, you'll have to get your own glass from the kitchen

| 3 | H | Du hast allen eins mitgebracht außer mir? |
| | | *You brought one for everyone but me?* |

| 4 | A | Ja, du bist ja nur mein Mann ((lacht)) |
| | | *Yes, you're only my husband after all ((laughs))* |

| 5 | H | Na danke, sau nett von dir! ((lacht)) |
| | | *Na danke, really nice of you ((laughs))* |

ex. 2.24

The *danke* (thank you) here is prefaced with *na*. The context makes it obvious that the *danke* is meant ironically: The husband did not get a glass, so he has nothing to say thank you for; he is also ironically "thanking" his wife for the playful insult that he is "only her husband". They are both laughing, there is no doubt they are joking.

Another example: Two friends are setting the dinner table. Friend A is carrying a lot of things at once. Friend B is cautioning him, saying that he is carrying too much, but friend A is laughing it off and claims it will be fine. He then proceeds to drop everything on the floor:

1	B	Gib mir doch was, ich kann auch was tragen. Sonst passiert noch
2		ein Unglück.
		Give me something, I can carry something as well. Or bad things might happen!

| 3 | A | Passt schon, ich krieg das hin ((lacht)) |
| | | *That's fine, I can manage ((laughs))* |

((A drops things))

4 B Na das hat ja ganz toll geklappt!
      Na that worked out great!

<div align="right">ex. 2.25</div>

B's comment on his friend dropping everything is *na*-prefaced. It is clearly ironic: The carrying did not work out great. *Na* here functions to indicate the "stating the obvious" sense of the statement: He had warned A about dropping things, so his comment stating that it went wrong to him was the expected outcome.

3.4 *Na ja*

Na ja (or *naja*) is the most frequent *na*-collocation: it occurs almost 1300 times in the FOLK-corpus. It is also the only one of the collocations that has received plenty of attention in research so far. This section will briefly summarize the findings by Andrea Golato (2018) on turn-initial *na ja* and then take a look at the FOLK data to see if anything can be added to that. We will also consider whether *na ja* can be analyzed in its constituent parts.

Golato first looks at stand-alone *najas* and concludes that they "occur at the end of sequences to indicate that a topic has (potentially) been exhausted and that the prior action has been completed" (420). Next, she considers *naja* at the beginning of turns that initiate an action. In this position, according to Golato, "*naja* is used to manage speaker alignment" (422) when speakers return to a previous sequence after a side-sequence. In these cases, the sequence was "put on hold due to the recipient's requesting additional information or initiating repair, to a co-participant not providing the relevant next second-pair part (but some other action)" (422f.).

In second-pair parts, Golato agrees with Uhmann's 1982 study which analyzed *naja* as prefacing disagreeing second assessments which means that again, speaker alignment is being managed.

Lastly, Golato looks at *naja* at the beginning of third position turns. In this position, *naja* prefaces turns in which "the speaker is backing down from a previously held position or stance on a particular topic in response to information that they just received" (432).

Golato's analysis of turn-initial *naja* is very thorough and the FOLK data agree with her conclusions. Only one additional point can be made: In some cases, non-stand-alone *najas* can have the sequence-closing function she assigns to stand-alone naja. The following excerpt exemplifies this:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00271_SE_01_T_01</div>

1	BP	so ich schneid mal wieder die zucchini ***ok I'm cutting the zucchini again***
2		(1.78)
3	CP	hmhm ***hmhm***
		((6 lines omitted))
4	CP	°h gut brau[n gewor]den ***got nicely brown***
5	BP	[braun] [brown]
6		(0.27)
7 —>	BP	na ja (.) solang_s (.) da ned (noch) schwarz (dazua) ***na ja as long as it's not also black***
8		(10.18)
9	BP	so dann hab ich die

alright then I

10   (0.6)

11 BP pilze da drau[fgelegt]
       put the mushrooms on top

<div align="right">ex. 2.26</div>

BP and CP are cooking dinner. CP is commenting that the zucchini got nicely brown after BP announced cutting them. BP responds to this "*na ja* as long as it's not also black", indicating that brown is an acceptable color and does not mean the zucchini is burnt. The *naja*-prefaced turn closes the zucchini-sequence. The turn indicates that the topic of the zucchini color is exhausted and nothing more needs to be said. The conversation then turns to the mushrooms.

   The sequence-closing function in this previous example is the same as with a stand-alone *naja* like we can see in the following example in which two friends are having lunch together. One of them tries to give away a mushroom that she does not like, her friend volunteers to take it:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00042_SE_01_T_01</div>

1 AM mag jemand meinen ekligen pilz
       Does anyone want my disgusting mushroom?

       ((15 lines omitted))

2 LP [ja kannst] ihn mir da drauf
       yes you can put it on here

3 AM [(dahin)]
       [(there)]

4   (0.61)

5 LP danke
       thanks

6 AM na ja (ich) hab jetzt ungefähr zwei cent für [dich bezahlt für die
7   pilze ((lacht))]

<div align="center">110</div>

na ja I've paid about two cents for you for the mushrooms
((laughs))

| 8 | LP | [oh lecker ((lacht kurz))] |
| | | *[oh yummy ((laughs briefly))]* |

| 9 | | (0.31) |

| 10 | LP | hm lecker |
| | | *hm yummy* |

11 —>	AM	na ja
		na ja
12		(3.55)

| 13 | LP | ha (.) diese petersilie (.) die nervt mich die machen se überall drauf |
| | | *ha this parsley annoys me, they put it on everything* |

<div align="right">ex. 2.27</div>

After the successful mushroom transfer, AM indicates that the topic is exhausted with a *na ja* (l. 11) and the conversation moves on.

3.4.1 *Na ja* vs. *na gut*

Na ja seems to share some commonalities with *na gut:* They both function to close a topic, and they both preface dispreferred responses. In these functions, they often indicate that the speaker thinks that there are more relevant things to be dealt with than what has previously been discussed. Given these similarities, in how far are the two interchangeable?

We can test this by looking at some examples and see what happens when we replace *na gut* with *na ja.* In example 2.4, *na gut* prefaces a dispreferred response and functions as pro-forma agreement:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00204_SE_01_T_02</div>

1	EW	das is immer das problem mit games (.) gamemaster können immer
2		alles bestimmen
		that is always the problem with games gamemasters can always

decide everything

| 3 —> | TW | na gut aber ich meine (.) da steht wenn du eine karte off[en ziehn |
| 4 | | musst is und des is ja eigenlich (.) immer]nur der fall wenn du (.) |

na gut but I mean it says here when you have to draw a card
openly, and that is really only always the case when you

| 5 | EW | [((schmatzt)) (.) ja das hab ich eben au_schon so interpretiert |
| 6 | | (gehabt)] |

yes I had interpreted it the same way just now

<div align="right">ex. 2.4</div>

Replacing *na gut* with *naja* leads to the following:

| 3 —> | TW | naja aber ich meine (.) da steht wenn du eine karte off[en ziehn |
| 4 | | musst is und des is ja eigenlich (.) immer]nur der fall wenn du (.) |

naja but I mean it says here when you have to draw a card
openly, and that is really only always the case when you

This change does not change the communicated message significantly. Three native German informants were asked and none of them felt there to be a difference in meaning between the two statements.

This is not always possible, though. In example 2.6, *na gut* cannot be replaced with *naja:*

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00010_SE_01_T_02</div>

| 1 | SK | kann ich dir zum schluss noch was abkaufen |
| | | **Can I buy something from you now at the end of my turn?** |

| 2 | | (0.34) |

| 3 | VK | °h [eigentlich] eigentlich is des bis des fertig jetz |
| | | **Actually you are done now** |

| 4 | SK | [geht das] |
| | | **Can I?** |

| 5 | SK | (.) bitte |
| | | **Please** |

| 6—> | VK | na gut |
| | | **na gut** |

<div align="center">112</div>

7		(0.66)
8	SK	he he
		hehe

<div align="right">ex. 2.6</div>

In this example, saying *naja* instead of *na gut* in line 6 would change the meaning of this piece of

conversation:

4	SK	[geht das]
		Can I?
5	SK	(.) bitte
		Please
6—>	VK	naja
		na ja

In this scenario, the father's response to the daughter's request would not be understood as a

reluctant granting of her request (as *na gut* indicates), but rather as the father considering

whether or not to grant the request.

　　　While similar in their functions, *na gut* and *naja* are different in the way they are used.

Na gut often has a sense of pro-forma agreement, and even when it closes a topic, seems to give

a sense of confirmation to what has been said before. As discussed previously, this might be due

to the positive adjective *gut*. *Gut* carries more propositional value than *ja*: As a descriptive

adjective, it is semantically very different from a word like *ja* which is mostly functional. This

allows for *na gut* to communicate more than just *topic closure* and foreshadowing a dispreferred

response. The propositional value of *gut* influences the scope of interpretation of the collocation.

Naja, on the other hand only has the functional word *ja* influencing the interpretation of *na* and

as such, does not indicate any type of agreement or concession. In some cases, the two

<div align="center">113</div>

collocations might be interchangeable without changing the action achieved by the turn very much, but in most cases, switching out the collocation would cause a shift in meaning.

3.4.2 *Na ja* vs. *na + ja*

Andrea Golato and others before her treat *naja* as a single unit without much consideration for its constituent parts. They do acknowledge that it is sometimes spelled as two words (*na ja*) and Golato briefly talks about the two parts mentioning that *"[n]a* is a German interjection", and *ja* is a response token, but does not entertain the idea that *naja* might derive its meaning from the combined meanings of *na* and *ja*.

Ja in German occurs in two different forms: A positive response token ("yes"), or a modal particle. *Ja* as a particle has been analyzed as a "linguistically indicated 'recourse' to facts mentioned before or assumed to be known to the hearers" (Lütten 1979: 30).

If we were to assume that *na ja* derives from the positive response token, it would mean that the *na* in *na ja* does something to the positive response. We have seen that in the case of *na gut*, this is what happens in some cases: The *na* turns a positive response *gut* into a limited or pro-forma agreement.

For *na ja*, this does not seem to be true. None of the functions that Golato finds for *na ja* suggest a positive response to take place. All the functions mentioned by Golato fall into the category of sequence management: *Na ja* helps negotiate speaker alignment. This does not indicate any relationship with the positive response token *ja*.

A connection with the modal particle *ja* could be made with regard to Golato's analysis of *na ja* when it functions to indicate a return to a previous sequence after a side-sequence. In

this context, a form of the modal particle that functions as a recourse to something that mentioned earlier, as Lütten describes it, would make sense.

There is a tight connection between the *na* and the *ja* when they occur as the collocation: As with other *na*-collocations, there is no gap between the two parts; they cannot be "stretched" (*na .... ja*). Considering this tightness together with the scarce evidence for a relationship between the functions of *na ja* and the functions of *ja*, it seems logical to assume that *na ja* has become a unit of its own and cannot be analyzed in its constituent parts.

3.5 *Na dann*

When searching the FOLK corpus for *na dann,* we get 88 results which would make it the third most frequent collocation after *na ja* and *na gut*.

The intonation of *na dann* is level in most cases:

FOLK_E_00208_SE_01_T_01

1	EW	reden wir hier überhaupt nich über die tagesplanung merkt er ja ***we're not talking about planning the day, he'll notice***
2		(1.57)
3	LW	na dann– fang_wa (ruhig) ma an ***na dann let's get started***
4		(0.2)
5	EW	na ham wa doch schon wir ham se doch schon fertig ***na we already did, it's already don**e*

ex. 2.28

Only minimal variations in the intonation could be found.

In the case of *na dann,* we have to consider whether it really is a unit, or rather a combination of a bare *na* with the word *dann* where the individual constituents are still

115

analyzable. When looking at some of the occurrences of *na dann*, we see two different forms:

The first one is at the beginning of a turn as the start of a sentence as in this example:

1	EW	und ich trinke des
2	EW	weil ich milch nich so vertrage von tieren

and I'm drinking it because milk from animals does not agree with me

3 —>	LW	na dann nimm doch äh (.) generell was anderes du musst doch nich
4		milch trinken...

na dann use something else in general, you don't have to drink milk...

ex. 2.29

The other form is *na dann* as its own TCU, not followed by/embedded into a sentence:

1	AM	hey es tut mir leid dass du dir weh getan hast

hey I'm sorry you hurt yourself

2	PB	(.) ja (.) es macht ja nichts

yea but it's ok

3		(0.77)

4	PB	°h s geht ja auch schon wieder

it's already better

5 —>	AM	na dann

na dann

ex. 2.30

These two examples make it clear that there are indeed two forms. In the first example, *na dann* is not a collocation like *na gut* or others: it is simply the combination of a stand-alone *na*, followed by a sentence starting with *dann* (*then*). In this example, the function of *na* is to signal the beginning of a *stating the obvious* turn. LW is assuring EW that she does not need to

drink milk, as should be obvious since she is lactose intolerant. There is no audible gap between the *dann* and the *nimm*.

In the second example, however, *na* and *dann* form a unit similar to *na gut* with a function separate from stand-alone *na* plus *dann*. About 30% of all occurrences of *na dann* in the corpus are instances of this collocation, the rest is the two words co-occurring as in example 2.14.

Much like *na gut*, *na dann* has a topic closing function: AM was offering empathy for PB being hurt, but PB assures her that he is alright. AM then sees the topic as concluded as no further empathy seems necessary. She closes the topic with *na dann*, signaling that the conversation can move on.

In another example, tenants of a shared apartment interview a potential new roommate (JR). The person vacating the available room (SU) is present and the candidate asks him why he is leaving:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00252_SE_01_T_01</div>

1	JR	war_s schön hier warum bist du raus s (.) warum bist du
2		rausgegangen dann
		was it nice here? Why did you leave then?
3	SU	äh weil ich nach wertheim gezo[gen bin]
		uhm because I moved to Wertheim
4	JR	[ah ok]ay
		ah okay
5	SU	deswegen bin ich ra[us]
		that's why I left
6	NJ	[hat uns verla]ssen ((Lachansatz))
		[he left us] ((laughs))
7 —>	JR	[na dann]
		[na dann]

When JR is asking his question, he is looking to find potential reasons for not moving into the apartment. When SU can give a satisfactory response with a good reason for moving out (he moved to a different city), JR sees the topic as concluded and closes it with *na dann,* indicating that there is nothing else to say regarding his question.

Na dann is an uncooperative thing to say with regard to the conversation. It does not simply close a topic or an argument, it downright shuts it down in a way that discourages any further contributions to the previous topic or argument. This becomes obvious when we look at the way conversations continue after a *na dann*:

FOLK_E_00043_SE_01_T_01

1	AM	hey es tut mir leid dass du dir weh getan hast ***hey I'm sorry you hurt yourself***
2	PB	(.) ja (.) es macht ja nichts ***yea but it's ok***
3		(0.77)
4	PB	°h s geht ja auch schon wieder ***it's already better***
5 —>	AM	na dann ***na dann***
6	PB	(.) na dann ***na dann***
7		(3.94)
8	PB	(ich hoffe der zucker ist auch dabei) ***(I hope there's sugar in here)***
9	AM	was ***what?***
10	PB	hier bitteschön

118

11   AM   oh (.) danke schon zucker rein getan
                oh thanks, sugar is already in there

ex. 2.30 continued

After AM's *na dann*, PB responds with another *na dann* and after a short pause, switches topics to talk about the sugar in the coffee.

When used for closing a topic, *na dann* is often said in situations where the speaker has reason to be unhappy with the course of the conversation and is therefore looking to completely change the course. In example 2.15, AM had offered empathy, but her concern was not met with thankfulness, but rather dismissed as unnecessary; in example 2.16, the current roommates begin exchanging banter and sadness about one of them leaving after the candidate's question, putting the candidate in an awkward position: He is the potential new roommate, but the others are only talking about their sadness about the old roommate leaving. After his *na dann*, the candidate does not speak up for several turns, when before he was dominating the conversation with questions about the housing situation.

3.5.1 *Na gut* vs. *na dann*

If both *na gut* and *na dann* have the function of closing a topic, would *na gut* work in these scenarios in place of *na dann*? As we saw earlier, *na gut* a lot of the time has a feel of (pro forma) agreement to it. In situations where there is nothing to agree with or to, using *na gut* feels odd. *Na dann* serves a similar purpose as *na gut* with regards to topic closure/topic shift, but in a slightly different way. With its function as an agreement token, *na gut* can be used to respond to requests (like we saw in example 2.2). *Na dann* could not be used the same way as it is lacking

the agreement function. We have seen a similar effect when comparing *na gut* and *naja* (section 3.4.1): The propositional value of *dann* is not as strong as that of *gut*. As a consequence, we do not encounter any cases of *na dann aber*. *Aber (but)* can only follow *na gut* as it adds limitations to the agreement. Without the agreement function, *na dann* cannot have such limitations added to it.

Na dann* is stronger as a topic closer than *na gut*. *Na gut* is frequently followed by a final statement on the topic it is closing, or a segue into a new argument or topic. *Na dann*, on the other hand, is usually the only thing a speaker says, not followed by any more TCUs in the same turn. This also means that *na dann* is less versatile in its functions than *na gut* which explains its less frequent occurrence in the FOLK corpus. The lesser propositional value of *dann* leads to the functional value to be greater, making *na dann* stronger in its function to close a topic.

3.6 *Na also*

Na also* occurs 38 times in the FOLK corpus. According to dict.leo.org, it translates with "There!", dict.cc suggests "You see?" and "There we go". Fischer and Alm very briefly touch upon *na also* and posit as its meaning "confirms a hypothesis that had been in doubt" (74). The intonation of *na also* is level like in the first example.

Let us first look at an example where *na* and *also* occur as a unit. In this example, colleagues are talking about tourists in Eastern European countries. Someone told JS that "more normal people" are now coming to these places. LH remarks that English people are going there, and jokingly asks what is normal about the English people (l. 9). JS says he cannot comment on

that since he has never been to England, to which LH replies that he still knows English people.

When JS confirms that he does, LH says *na also* (l. 18):

1	JS	[aber d]ie sagen (.) des war früher so des würde sisch jetz
2		normalisiern (.) un die ganzen
		but they say it was like this previously but is now normalizing and all those…

| 3 | LH | h° |

| 4 | | (1.81) |

| 5 | JS | ich weiß nisch wie_s jetz is |
| | | ***I don't know how it is now*** |

| 6 | | (0.7) |

| 7 | JS | also es würde viel normaleres klientel kommen (.) nee |
| | | ***[the say] that much more normal customers are coming*** |

| 8 | LH | es kommen doch engländer |
| | | ***English people are going there*** |

[…]

| 9 | LH | was is denn an denen normal |
| | | ***what's normal about those?*** |

[…]

| 10 | CG | ((Lachansatz)) |
| | | ***((laughs))*** |

| 11 | JS | ich war da noch nich |
| | | ***I've never been*** |

| 12 | | (1.55) |

| 13 | LH | ja aber du kennst ja engländer |
| | | ***yes but you know the English*** |

| 14 | | (0.4) |

15	LH	also des volk an sich ***like, the people in general***
16	JS	ja ***yes***
17		(0.2)
18 —>	LH	na also– ***na also***
19		(7.28)
20	CG	sin da viele engländer oder ***are there many English people or***
21		(0.53)
22	CG	was ***what?***
23		(0.72)
24	JS	auf der insel ***on the island?***

ex. 2.32

Na also has a sequence-closing function here. LH is driving his point home: He made a snarky joke saying that the English are not normal, but the joke was not received as desired. Instead of laughing in agreement, JS states that he does not want to judge the English since he has never been to England, hence treating the joke as a serious statement. LH is not giving up on the joke though and asks JS to confirm that he knows the English without having been. LH's *na also* implies that knowing the English is enough to know that they are not normal and suggests that this should have been obvious all along. In this sense, *na also* seems to communicate the "stating the obvious" function that a bare *na* has. Much like *na dann, na also* is often uttered as the only TCU in the turn in response to something like we see in this example.

On the other hand, there are also occurrences of *na also* where the two words simply

co-occur as in this conversation during a staff meeting at a hospital:

1	ME	°h ach un des faxgerät des hat jetz endgültig den geist
2		aufgege[ben]
		oh and the fax machine is once and for all broken now

3	MA	[j]a
		yes

4		(0.25)

5	ME	da war gestern nachmittag noch ma was un zwar herr rho hatte
6		aus_m haus °hh en e ka ge was er im im krankenhaus befundet
7		haben wollte von einem patienten einer anderen station un da
8		wurde hat (.) zweimal gefaxt un_s ging aber nich durch °hh un
9		dann ham se_s vorne von der pforte gefaxt un da
		something came up yesterday afternoon, Mr. Rho had an EKG
		from a patient from a different department that he wanted
		evaluated in the hospital and he faxed it twice but it didn't go
		through and then they faxed it from the front desk and then

10	ME	kam_s postwendend in krankenhaus_c an °h dann hat
11		mitarbeiterin_r mi_m pförtner noch versucht dass (.) er von
12		draußen uns mal hier was zukommen lässt aber des geht auch nicht
		and then it arrived at the hospital straight away and a staff
		member tried with the front desk person to send something from
		outside but it doesn't work

13	MA	(.) mh_hm
		mh hm

14 —>	ME	na also faxen kann man nicht wenn dann müsst man an die pforte
15		gehen °h sodass wir jetzt fast des befürchtung haben dass die
16		befunde die wir...
		na also faxing doesn't work, you'd have to go to the front desk,
		so now we're worried that the result that we ...

ex. 2.33

ME is informing the rest of the team that the fax machine stopped working, followed by a

lengthy story in which she explains how she found out about the problem. After this story that is

only briefly acknowledged by MA, she uses *na*-prefacing to return to her point she was trying to make before launching into the story, reiterating that faxing is currently not possible. *Na also* here does not work to close the topic, and the pronunciation is different from when it is used as the collocation: there is a brief pause between *na* and *also* (brief enough to not having been transcribed as a micro pause), but no pause between *also* and the following talk. This creates a stronger connection between *also* and what follows and further backs the idea that we are not dealing with the collocation *na also* in this case.

In order to attempt to answer the question whether there actually is a unit *na also* or if bare *na* and the modal particle *also* just tend to co-occur, we need to look at the meaning of *also*, which can be a modal particle itself, and determine whether this meaning can still be found when *na also* is used in a turn. In their analysis of German *also* and Swedish *alltså*, Fischer and Alm discuss the function of *also* in a prefield position ("the first word of a new turn, at the beginning of any kind of syntactic unit" (56)). They ascribe "attention-getting and turn-claiming functions" (57) to the word in this position, and further posit that *also* is used to "signal up-take of the partner's utterance (Fischer 2000a): The turn-initial particle confirms that the speaker has heard and understood the partner's previous turn and is now about to say something that is related to the same topic" (57). We have seen an example for this in the introduction.

The turn-claiming function that Fischer and Alm posit for *also* does not seem to apply to *na also*. In Fischer and Alm's example, the person using *also* interrupts the other person speaking with his *also*-prefaced turn in order to make a point. Since *na also* frequently occurs as the only item in the turn, it seems unlikely that the speaker would use this to claim the turn and then not say anything further. The same argument rules out the other function posited for *also,*

124

"up-take of the partner's utterance" (57). With *na also* having a sequence-closing function, it does the opposite of up-taking, and it does not precede "something that is related to the same topic" (57).

Considering Fischer and Alm's line of argument and the examples shown here, we can say that *na also* does not carry any of the meaning that a pre-field *also* communicates. *Na also* cannot be analyzed based on the meaning of its constituents.

3.7 *Na klar*

There are 47 occurrences of *na klar* in the FOLK corpus. While *klar* by itself literally translates with *clear*, it is frequently used as a confirmation as in "sure, of course". *Na klar* seems to have the same meaning:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00260_SE_01_T_01</div>

1		CF	ham wir noch die zeit dass ich mir schnell zigarette drehe
			do we have time for me to roll a cigarette real quick?

2	—>	SH	na klar ↓
			na klar

<div align="right">ex. 2.34</div>

The intonation of *na klar* seems to vary more than that of other collocations. We see examples of level and falling intonation. This first example has a falling intonation, example 2.36 has a level intonation. Both are equally common in the present data set.

Like previously discussed collocations, *na klar* often occurs by itself as the only TCU in a turn. It is uttered as a unit with no pause between the words. If both *klar* and *na klar* mean the same thing, what is the difference (if any) between the two? Let us look at an example where *klar* is used in a turn where it is not embedded in a sentence as it would be when used as a regular

adjective. The following conversation is from a teachers' conference where two teachers discuss the suspension of a student:

| 1 | SZ | ich könnt mir aber trotzdem vorstellen auch so wie des der herbert |
| 2 | | auch vorgeschlagen hat dass es halt im prinzip |

but I could also see what Herbert has suggested, that in principle it is

| 3 | | (0.3) |

| 4 | SZ | nich länger als ne woche vielleicht sein sollte dass man sagt also |

no longer than a week maybe, so that we say

| 5 | | (0.42) |

6	SZ	klar (.) weil die schule muss se [auch raus]schmeißen die können
7		nich so weiter machen des geht ja nich (.) also irgendwas muss ja
8		passieren °hh

klar, because the school has to suspend her, they can't continue like this, something has to happen

| 9 | AW | [hm_hm] |

[hm hm]

ex. 2.35

SZ is explaining the strategy with suspending a specific student and reports their way of thinking as reported speech. This reported speech begins with *klar*. Since this is reported speech and not a real dialog where *klar* would be a response to something someone said, it is not necessary for the *klar* to do much navigation regarding the conversation.

In the next example, the situation is different. A couple is talking about alcohol consumption at events, and discusses experiences from their youth, AR asks his wife whether she also used to smuggle alcohol into events in her backpack:

| 1 | AR | haste früher auch immer in so_n rucksack n irgendso_n |

Did you also use to in a backpack

2		(0.61)

3	AR	bier mit reingeschmuggelt zu irgendwelchen veranstal[tungen] ***smuggle beer into all kinds of events?***

4 —>	BP	[na klar]– ***na klar***

5		(0.24)

6	BP	((lacht)) ***((laughs))***

<div align="right">ex. 2.36</div>

The wife immediately responds with *na klar,* in slight overlap with her husband's turn. This *na klar* is a very enthusiastic confirmation of her husband's question: In his question, he already implied that he himself used to smuggle beer into events with the use of the word *auch* (*also*) (l. 1). By doing so, he established this kind of beer smuggling as the norm. His wife now wants to be part of that and responds in a way that implies that there is no question whether she participated in beer smuggling or not. The *na* adds a sense of "stating the obvious" much like a bare *na* does.

We see a similar sentiment in the next example. Two friends are coming back home from a walk. One of them was smoking a cigarette and informs the other that she is going to finish smoking before going inside:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00260_SE_01_T_01</div>

1	CF	ich rauch noch schnell auf weil ich mit [zigarette nich] rein will ***I'm finishing up smoking real quick because I don't want to go inside with the cigarette***

2 —>	SH	[na klar] ***[na klar]***

3	SH	(.) nein lass dich äh ***no don't let***

4		(0.19)
5	CF	((zieht an der Zigarette))
		((smokes cigarette))
6	SH	äh hä lass dich in ruhe wollt ich s[agen lass dir] zeit (.) °h (.)
7		((lacht)) ni[mm dir r]uhe °h
		uhm leave yourself be, I wanted to say, take your time ((laughs)),
		take a quiet moment

ex. 2.37

SH here responds with *na klar* to express that it is not a problem that CF will take a moment to finish her cigarette. Again, this positive response has a sense of stating the obvious—of course she is not bringing her cigarette inside, and of course it is okay to finish smoking outside. SH reinforces this by telling her friend to "take your time".

In both these examples, *na klar* serves to express that a speaker agrees or goes along with what the partner has said without any hesitation. In both cases, the *na klar* is said in overlap with the previous turn which further indicates the enthusiasm with which the agreement/confirmation is expressed. While it also closes a topic as it communicates that nothing else needs to be said, this does not seem to be the primary purpose of the utterance.

3.8 *Na okay*

Na okay occurs twelve times in the FOLK corpus. Beach (1995) describes *okay* in English as signalling "a state of readiness for moving to next-positioned matters" (143). This seems to be what it does in combination with *na* as well: Much like *na gut, na okay* signals the closure of a topic or argument, and the speaker's readiness to move on. The intonation of *na okay* is falling as in ex. 2.38.

128

In the following example a father is playing a board game with his daughters. In preparation for the game, he is telling one daughter where to put a stack of cards. His daughter, however, refuses, and tells him that she is putting the stack elsewhere:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00010_SE_01_T_01</div>

1	VK	°h den fünfzehnerstapel den kannste hier hinstellen
		the stack of fifteens you can put here

2	XW	h°

3		(0.61)

4	NK	n_n_nein (.) den stell ich woander[s hin]
		no, I put it elsewhere

5 —>	VK	[na okay ↓ stell ihn hin]
		na okay put it down

6	SK	[so] und jetz (hast/helft) (du/ihr)
		okay and now you (help/have)

7	VK	un jeder kriegt zwei münzen ne so war_s na
		and everyone gets two coins, that's how it works right?

<div align="right">ex. 2.38</div>

The father's reaction starts with *na okay,* followed by him telling her that she can put the stack somewhere else. He clearly does not care very much where the stack goes and wants to move on so that the game can begin. *Na okay* indicates this readiness to move on.

Another example shows *na okay* as closing an argument, but not a topic. Two friends and colleagues are talking about CF's upcoming birthday; SH has told other colleagues about the birthday and plans a little party, CF does not want anything done for her birthday:

<div align="right">FOLK_E_00260_SE_01_T_02</div>

1	CF	[hj]a (ds) (.) danke dass du sie vorbereitet hast [hm] (.) aber hätten
2		wir gar nischt gesacht dann hätten se auch nich gewusst dass ich
3		ge[burtsta]g [°h (.) h]ab[e und denn ((Sprechansatz))]
		Thanks for preparing them, but if we had said nothing, they
		wouldn't have known it's my birthday and then…

4	SH	[ja] *yes*

5	SH	[((schmatzt)) °h] *[((smacks))]*

6	SH	[ja aber dann] *[yes but then]*

7   SH   [dann hätten d]ie dann hätten sie (.) wenn ich ne kerze ra[us]hole
8   irgendwie gesagt oh hättste das mal ges[agt und das is aber jetz un]
9   des aber [jetz unangenehm] °h (.) bla bla bla (.) °h das will ich aber
[then they would have] said, when I get out a candle, oh if you had said something.. now it's awkward, blah blah blah, I want that

10	CF	[h°]

11	CF	[da is ja der (.) da is ja der fehle]r *[that's the mistake though]*

12	CF	[des sollst du ja gar nich machen] *[you shouldn't do that]*

13		(1.02)

14	CF	aber ich will das nich *I don't want that*

15		(1.4)

16 —>	SH	na okay *na okay*

17		(0.25)

18	CF	ich werd dir nachher alle [kerzen] wegnehmen (.) *I'll take all your candles away later*

<div align="right">ex. 2.39</div>

After some back and forth, CF reaffirms that she does not want anything done for her birthday.

SH responds to this with a stand-alone *na okay*. With that, she closes the argument (CF not

wanting a party) by letting CF know that she heard her; but she has already made it clear that she told others about the birthday and that she has candles, so it is too late to call it off. The *na okay* acknowledges CF's stance, but also signals that there is nothing more to say to this line of argument.

Na okay functions much like *na gut* in that it can shift or close a topic. It might feel slightly more colloquial than *na gut* with *okay* still being a relatively new word in the German language, but it can be used in the same contexts that *na gut* can be used in.

In both examples, *na okay* could be understood as a token agreement: The father pro-forma agrees with his daughter (she can put the cards elsewhere), and the friend pro-forma agrees with the birthday girl (she is entitled to not want a birthday party).

The meaning of *okay* is somewhat retained in the collocation. The "readiness to move on" is often communicated with both the collocation and a bare *okay*, and as a pro-forma agreement, the agreement function of *okay* comes through.

3.9 Summary

In this chapter, we have looked at six separate collocations of *na: na gut, na* + positive adjective (other than *gut), na dann, na also, na klar,* and *na okay.* The findings can be summarized as follows:

Collocation	Function
na gut / *na schön*	- prefaces dispreferred responses as pro-forma agreement - closes sequence within argument - topic shift/topic closure
na + pos. adj.	mostly irony

na dann	● topic closure
na also	● sequence closure, stating the obvious
na klar	● confirmation, stating the obvious
na okay	● topic shift/topic closure

Table 3: Collocations and their functions

Na gut is not only the most frequent collocation within this group, but also the most versatile: It prefaces dispreferred responses in the form of pro-forma agreement, it closes sequences within an argument, and it function to shift or close a topic. *Na gut* shares some function with bare *na*, but also has some functions that are unique to the collocation.

Na + positive adjective (other than *gut*) often expresses irony; it comments on something that is not actually good. Depending on the positive adjective used, the probability of an utterance being ironic changes. *Toll* seems to be the adjective that most often expresses irony.

Na dann also functions to close topic, but in a stronger way than *na gut*. It is often used in a slightly annoyed tone and does not express any form of (pro-forma) agreement. *Na dann* does not seem to be analyzable in its constituent parts.

Na also functions to close a sequence within an argument but does not necessarily close the topic. It carries with it the "stating the obvious" meaning that a stand-alone *na* often communicates. With *na also,* it seems pretty clear that the collocation cannot be analyzed in its individual parts: *also* has a completely different function from *na also*.

Na klar likewise has a sense of "stating the obvious", but its primary function is not to close a topic or a sequence. Rather, *na klar* expresses enthusiastic agreement or confirmation and indicates that there is nothing wrong with what was requested or suggested. For *na klar*, there seems to be the most overlap between the meaning of the constituent parts: *Klar* is used for

confirmation and agreement; *na* adds a sense of "stating the obvious". *Na klar* is a combination of the two.

Na okay functions similarly to *na gut*: It indicates the speaker's readiness to move, closes a topic or an argument, and can function as a pro-forma agreement. Both the readiness to move on and the (pro-forma) agreement are functions that a bare *okay* has, so we do see some overlap between the constituent parts and the unit.

We cannot conclusively answer the question whether these collocations of *na* are units completely separate from stand-alone *na*. We do see some overlap, but we also have some functions that are very specific to the respective collocation. What we can see, though, is that all collocations other than the ironic uses of *na* + positive adjective indicate some kind of shift: *na gut* prefaces turns where speakers wish to shift the focus from the other person's agenda to their own, where speaker wish to close a sequence or topic in order to move on to something else, or turns where the speaker shifts from one thought to the corrected version of that thought.

4. Conclusion

We have seen that turn-initial *na* has a wide scope of functions, both as a stand-alone marker and as part of one of the many collocations there are. It seems that the majority of *na*-occurrences have sequence management functions and alert the hearer about the speaker's intentions for the course of the sequence: this might be a sequential departure where the speaker seeks to pursue an action different from what is expected after previous turn(s) or the closure of a sequence. There are some uses where *na* provides "situationally relevant information about the speaker's state of mind" (Heritage 2018:182) as Heritage describes the epistemic function of turn-initial *oh* in English. And then there are a few cases where *na* seems to fulfill both sequence management and epistemic functions at the same time. In general, it can be said that there is no clear line between epistemic and sequence management functions, and there are many cases where an argument could be made either way (or both ways). The following table gives an overview of the distribution of functions of stand-alone *na* and *na* in collocations:

Stand-alone *na*

Function	*Sequence management or epistemic function?*	*Sequence management function (specific)*
- *transformative answers*	sequence management	sequential departure
- expanded turns	sequence management	sequence/turn expansion
- my side-alert	epistemic	
- stating the obvious	epistemic	

- qualifying a statement	epistemic / sequence management	sequential departure
- return to a topic	sequence management	sequential departure
- terms of endearment	sequence management	conversation opener
- questions	sequence management	making questions more casual/smooth

Table 4: Functions of stand-alone *na*

Collocations

na gut: dispreferred responses	sequence management	sequential departure
na gut: sequence closing	sequence management	sequence closure
na gut: topic shift	sequence management	topic shift
na gut: self-correction	epistemic / sequence management	sequential departure
na + positive adjective	epistemic?	
na ja	sequence management	topic closure, sequential departure
na dann	sequence management	topic closure
na also	sequence management	topic closure
na klar	epistemic	
na okay	sequence management	topic shift/closure

Table 5: Functions of *na*-collocations

An example for *na* having both sequence management and epistemic functions is example 1.13:

FOLK_E_00039_SE_01_T_01

1   NO   hast nächste woche viel zu tun
                     do you have many plans next week?

2   EL   hm joa
                     hm yea

135

| 3 | NO | ja |
| | | *yes* |

| 4 —> | EL | na (.) alle tage sin noch nich ausjebucht aber |
| | | *na not all days are booked yet but* |

| 5 | NO | gucken wa |
| | | *we'll see* |

| 6 | EL | so_n (.) paar hab ick ja schon |
| | | *I have a couple of (plans)* |

ex. 1.13

Na here serves to alert the hearer that even though the question had been answered already ("hm joa", line 2), there is going to be another response to the same question. This is departing from the expected next action. But *na* also informs the hearer about the speaker's state of mind: The speaker decided to further qualify his response as he thought of new information (that even though he has many plans on the weekend, there is still free time) and he wants to share this knowledge.

The majority of categories of functions have sequence management functions: As the table above shows, fourteen of the listed functions/collocations have either only sequence management functions or sequence management functions plus epistemic functions; five have epistemic functions, or epistemic and sequence management functions. However, some of the groups that have epidemic functions are very important ones: "Stating the obvious" is a relatively large group within the stand-alone *na* (10% of the analyzed occurrences), with this function being present in other occurrences such as some of the collocations, and it is purely epistemic. In light of this, we cannot say that the main function of *na* is sequence management. It seems to be

136

a marker that plays an important role in both sequence management and the communication of epistemics in conversation.

4.1 *Na* - A discourse marker?

In the introduction of this study, we looked at Imo's (2012) list of criteria for discourse markers that distinguish them from similar types of words and set out to answer whether the criteria for semantics, function, and sequentiality are true for *na*. As a reminder, here are Imo's definitions:

- semantic (they do not add anything semantic to the following proposition);
- function (discourse markers frame the utterance and organize the conversation);
- sequentiality (the discourse marker projects an utterance and embeds it in the context of the preceding utterance);

It seems to be true—at least for the stand-alone *na*'s—that *na* does not add anything semantic to the following proposition: Dropping the *na* from any of the utterances does not change the semantics of what is being communicated. The work that *na* is doing is not in the area of semantics but has epistemic and sequence management functions. In collocations, the situation is different: Dropping *na* from those can significantly change the semantics as we have seen, for example in the case of *na* + positive adjective.

The criteria for function are met by *na*: As shown in this study, *na* organizes the conversation and frames the utterance it precedes. Related to that is also the question of sequentiality. *Na* has been shown to project an utterance (as, for example, in cases where it functions as a my side-alert), and embeds it in the context of the preceding utterance.

137

4.2 *Na* - A shift marker

Ultimately, *na* has proven to be a shift marker. Some of the shifts it marks are strong as in the case of sequential departures, topic closures, or topic shifts. Those shifts cause (or seek to cause) a significant change to the course of the conversation. Other shifts are weaker: *Transformative answers*, shifts that indicate a change of mind (like self-corrections), or a shift of focus from one person's agenda to another (like some cases of *na gut*).

In the case of the numerous collocations, *na* projects a shift and the second component of the collocation provides a specification of the nature of this shift. It connects what came before and what will follow, and performs "contextual fine-tuning" on the *na*-action projection.[35] We discussed Bolinger's *linear modification* argument in section 3.2.6 *Na + gut or na gut?* and saw that it is applicable to some cases of *na gut* (those that indicate limited agreement). While we could not find strong evidence for this argument working for other cases of *na gut* or *na ja,* this does not mean that the argument should be thrown out. The influence of the second component of the collocations could have become more opaque as the collocations became more conventionalized.

In the introduction of this study it was mentioned that two linguistic approaches inform the analysis: Columbia School and Construction Grammar. The analysis that was provided here is strictly following the methods of Conversation Analysis, but no explicit linguistic analysis has been presented, even though many of the finding are compatible with one or both of these approaches. The collocations discussed here can themselves be viewed as linguistic meanings. From a Construction Grammar standpoint this would call for a polysemous interpretation,

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[35] I would like to thank Professor Heritage for this wording.

138

meaning that different senses of a structure can be accounted for as extensions from a central

meaning. An example for such an analysis is Goldberg's 1992 diagram of the English

ditransitive construction (Goldberg calls the extensions *radial meaning*). Taking the case of *na*

gut, the different functions (pro-forma agreement, sequence-closing, topic shift) would then be

such extensions from the central meaning *shift*.

Columbia School linguistics organizes findings in closed systems of semantic

oppositions. An example for such a system are the Afrikaans demonstratives *hierdie* and *daardie*

which are less specific than the demonstrative *dié* (Kirsner 2014:43-57).

In this study, *na* becomes the including member of the system with the meaning SHIFT,

the collocations can be seen as specializations of bare *na*. This relationship can be diagrammed
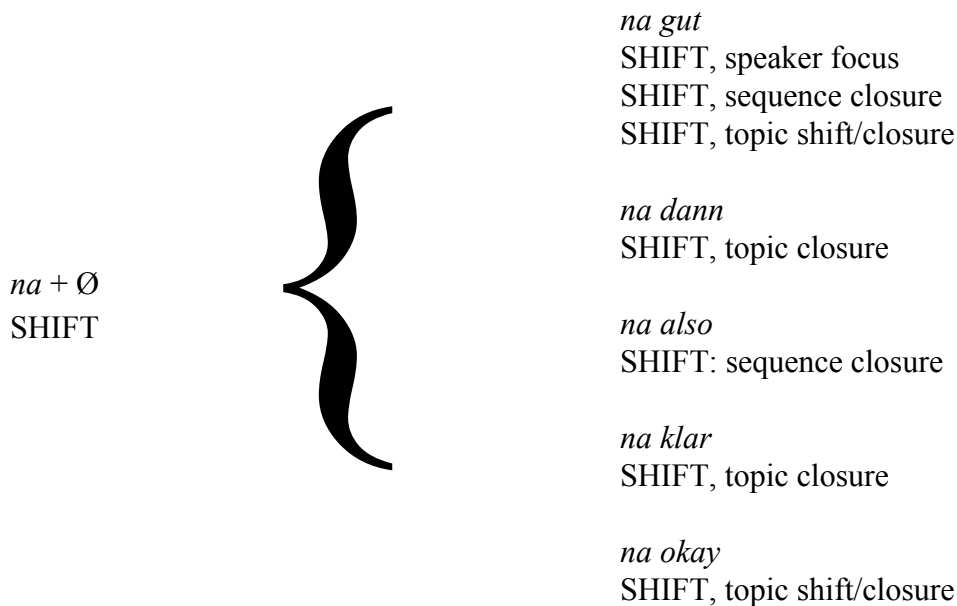
as follows:

<div>

na gut
SHIFT, speaker focus
SHIFT, sequence closure
SHIFT, topic shift/closure

na dann
SHIFT, topic closure

na + Ø
SHIFT

na also
SHIFT: sequence closure

na klar
SHIFT, topic closure

na okay
SHIFT, topic shift/closure

</div>

Figure 1. System of inclusion

We can posit smaller closed systems of semantic oppositions that contain signal-meaning

complexes. In the current study, *na gut* and *na dann* can be placed in a system of semantic

opposition. They are both communicating an instructional meaning (the instruction is to close the topic), but differ in strength: *na dann* is stronger in this instructional character than *na gut*. A Columbia School diagram could look like this:
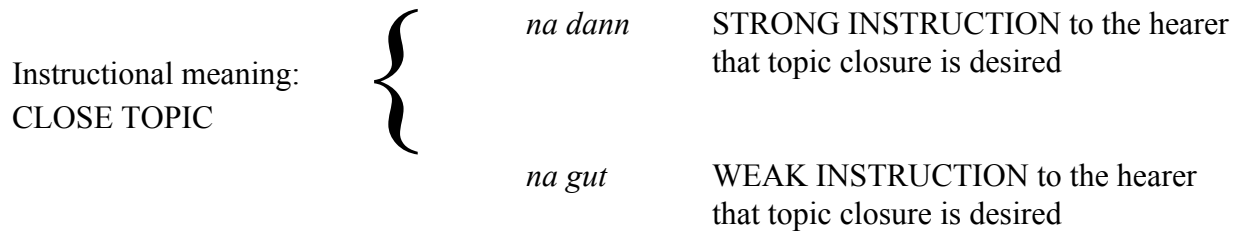
Instructional meaning: CLOSE TOPIC {

na dann   STRONG INSTRUCTION to the hearer that topic closure is desired

na gut   WEAK INSTRUCTION to the hearer that topic closure is desired

Figure 2. *na dann* and *na gut*

A different way of visualizing the results of the analysis is the following table. A plus (+) indicates information that is explicitly signaled.

Particle	SHIFT	FOCUS ON SPEAKER	INSTRUCTIONAL STRENGTH		SCOPE OF UNIT		TYPE OF OPERATION	
			STRONG	*WEAK*	*SEQUENCE*	*TOPIC*	*SHIFT*	*CLOSURE*
na	+							
na gut	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
na dann	+		+			+		+
na also	+				+			+
na klar	+					+		+
na okay	+					+	+	+

Table 6: Synopsis of results

Future research could use this table that shows the distinctive features of *na* and its collocations for a more in-depth discussion within the Columbia School and/or Cognitive Grammar framework. For the present study, these two theoretical approaches have played a role

140

in the background: Cognitive Grammar motivates the idea of the collocations being *constructions*, pairings of form and meaning, that are "not strictly predictable from [their] component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist" Goldberg 2006:5). Columbia School was useful in considering whether the collocations are actual units, or rather just co-occurrences of *na* and something else.

4.3 Final Remarks

This study has showed the usefulness of Conversation Analysis for studying a complex, multifaceted discourse marker like *na*, and for classifying it as a discourse marker. It has also showed the inaccuracy of dictionaries when it comes to this discourse marker and the need for thorough linguistic research in order to unveil the true functions of discourse markers. Future research should look at a larger data set to see if the results can be replicated and refined.

Another follow-up project would be to turn the results of this study into a unit to be taught to learners of German. With the large variety of uses it would have to be a boiled down version with only the most important and most frequently used ones being discussed. Giving students examples of uses and contrasting them with other discourse markers could improve their understanding of these words and help them be more aware when they hear them used in the future. Ultimately, the key to acquiring the correct use of discourse markers/particles is immersion in the language, but having some abstract understanding would probably help this process.

Transcription Conventions

The transcipts are adopted from the FOLK courpus and the only change that has been made is the line numbering (starts with 1 at the beginning of each excerpt).

(.)   Micropause (hearable silence of less than two-tenths of a second)

(1.23) Pauses longer than 0.2 seconds in decimals

[ ]   Square brackets indicate overlapping talk. Overlap onset is marked with [, overlap offset
          with] (Hepburn/Bolden 2014)

°h   hearable breathing in, 0.2-0.5 seconds long

h°   hearable breathing out, 0.2-0.5 seconds long

°hh   hearable breathing in 0.5-0.8 seconds long

hh°   hearable breathing out 0.5-0.8 seconds long

°hhh   hearable breathing in 0.8-1.0 seconds long

hhh°   hearable breathing out 0.8-1.0 seconds long

(( ))   double brackets contain non-verbal events and actions (e.g. *((laughs))*)

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