

## On the Pragmatic Marker *Ni-ZhiDao-Ma* 'Do You Know?' in Mandarin Chinese<sup>\*</sup>

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### ◆ ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to provide a pragmatic analysis of *ni-zhidao-ma* (NZDM) 'do you know' as a pragmatic marker (PM) in Chinese. Theoretically, following Dunn (1990) and Lee (1992), we assume that all pragmatic uses or functions of a PM share a basic sense (or meaning) and that they are contextually derived from the basic sense. We propose that the basic sense of the PM NZDM is that the speaker expects the addressee to know something. Then we demonstrate how pragmatic functions of the PM can be pragmatically derived from the basic sense and the context. Pragmatic functions analyzed include Attention-getting, Topic-initiating, Hedge, Agreement-seeking, Criticism-enhancing, and Self-repair. Since NZDM can be used to ask a polarity question, we also closely looked at the distinction between the PM NZDM and the grammatical NZDM. This was done by contrasting their syntactic, semantic, phonological, and pragmatic properties

Keywords : pragmatic marker, basic sense, contextual, pragmatic functions, inference

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## I . Introduction

This paper aims at providing a pragmatic account of the Chinese pragmatic marker *ni-zhidào-ma* ('you-to know-question ending', hereafter NZDM). It is one of the most frequently used pragmatic markers in Chinese spontaneous talk to express the speaker's various attitudes or intentions, as seen in the following examples.<sup>1)</sup>

- (1) wǒ bà shíjì shàng, **nǐ-zhīdào-ma**, tā yǒu gè tèbié dàde ài-hào,  
 my father fact on NZDM he has Clf special big hobby  
 nà jiù shì shàng tái biǎoyǎn ..... (CCL-MCC 2015)  
 that just be go stage perform

'My father, in fact, NZDM, has a great hobby,  
 that is, to go on stage to perform.'

- (2) wǒ měi tiān zhào tā, yuánlái méi yǒu, **nǐ-zhīdào-ma**, hěn píng a,  
 I every day look it past no have NZDM very flat Prt  
 hūrán zhèer ... (Yang Lan One on One 2015)  
 suddenly here...

'I looked into it (the mirror) every day, and no wrinkles in the past,  
 NZDM, very tight indeed.'

- (3) xiǎohái zhème zìsì, dōu shì dàrén gāo chūlái de, **nǐ-zhīdào-ma**.  
 kids so selfish all be adults make out Nm NZDM.

'Kids, being so selfish, are all spoiled by adults, NZDM.'

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1) Abbreviations used here: Q for question marker, Nm for nominalizers, Vpt for verb particles, Clf for classifiers, Prt for particles, S for the speaker, A for the addressee, PM for pragmatic marker.

In (1), the speaker (S) is introducing his father's hobby in an appreciative tone, using NZDM to emphasize the information following it, that is, 'my father's hobby'. In (2), S is expressing her surprise at her facial wrinkles, and by using NZDM, she self-corrects 'no wrinkles' to 'tight skin' to emphasize her tight facial skin in the past. NZDM as a PM in (3) is used to reinforce S's criticism of A's wrong behavior that adults make children spoiled. As seen in (1-3), NZDM as a PM can be used with various pragmatic functions.

Interestingly, NZDM is not only used as a pragmatic marker, but also used grammatically to make a polarity question as in (4). As seen from (1-3), NZDM as a PM does not have such a question function. However, NZDM in (4) lead a question, although the object in (4) is deleted but it can be recovered from the context: 'what the sixth one is.'

- (4) Dì liù shì shénme lái? Wǒ jì            bù de le. Bà, nǐ-zhīdào-ma?  
the six is what Prt I remember not fixed Prt dad you know Q  
'What is the sixth one? I can not remember. Dad, do you know?'

NZDM has been studied by some scholars (Tao 2003; Liu 2006; Zhang 2006; Zheng 2011; Shan 2014, 2015; Hu 2014), who have investigated the common discourse features and functions of the NZD clan, including NZD (*ni zhidao*), NZDB (*ni zhidao ba*), NZDM (*ni zhidao ma*). However, few of them have conducted a pragmatic study on how Chinese speakers use NZDM in conversation and how listeners interpret it. Even among the few studies that have focused on its discourse functions, they have made almost no attempt to provide a unified account for its diverse uses, nor to reveal the relationships between its functions and the basic sense.

This study aims to provide a pragmatic analysis of its diversified

functions. We propose that all the pragmatic functions of NZDM are closely related, and thus can be contextually inferred from its basic sense: we assume that the basic sense of the PM NZDM is ‘S expects A to know something.’ Thus, the paper will first examine the distinctive properties of NZDM as a PM, contrasting them with those of NZDM as a grammatical use. Then, in section 3, we will briefly introduce some previous studies of pragmatic markers in Chinese in association with the idea of the basic sense. Section 4 will present a unified pragmatic analysis of the PM NZDM, that is, how the basic sense gives rise to diversified pragmatic functions in different contexts.

The example data used in this study are mainly taken from the natural conversations of native Chinese speakers, either in everyday conversations (examples (3-7), (11) & (16)), and in TV talk shows such as “*Closest Distance--Jing Li Talk Show*” (broadcast on 20 February 2012, & 28 March 2015), “*A Date with Luyu*” (on 15 April 2010, 16 October 2014, & 26 February 2016), “*Yang Lan One on One*” (on 10 October 2015), and “*Waiting for Me*” (2015). And some are collected from the Modern Chinese Corpus compiled by Center for Chinese Linguistics in Peking University (CCL-MCC).

## II. Properties of NZDM

This section is to show how to distinguish between the two (PM and grammatical) uses of NZDM, comparing their features syntactically, semantically, pragmatically, and phonologically.

Syntactically, the PM NZDM is not a constituent of the sentence where it occurs. It has nothing to do with the grammaticality of the

sentence: so grammaticality remains the same even though NZDM is deleted. On the other hand, the grammatical use of NZDM requires an object to form a grammatical *yes-no* question because *zhidao* 'to know' is a transitive verb and *ma* functions as a question-marking particle. Therefore, if NZDM is deleted, the result is ungrammatical because only the object remains with no subject and main verb.

Because the PM NZDM does not constitute a sentence, it has no interrogative function, and it does not affect the original types of the sentence where it occurs, as seen in (1-3, 5a, 6a, and 7a). On the other hand, the grammatical NZDM makes a polarity question whatever sentence type it takes as its object, as seen in (5b, 6b & 7b). In addition, the question ending *ma* for the grammatical use can be separated from *ni-zhidao*, as seen in each b-sentence in (5-7), because it is normally placed sentence-finally. However, the PM NZDM does not allow such a separation, because it behaves as a single form.

- (5) a. Nǐ-zhīdào-ma, nàge nǚhái zhēn piàoliang a!  
NZDM that girl really beautiful Prt  
'NZDM, how beautiful that girl is!'
- b. Nǐ zhīdào nàge nǚhái zhēn piàoliang ma?  
you know that girl really beautiful Q?  
'Do you know how beautiful that girl is?'
- (6) a. Jǐ diǎn le, nǐ-zhīdào-ma? Nǐ cái huí lai.  
what time Prt NZDM you just back come  
'What time is it? NZDM. You only just came back.'
- b. Nǐ zhīdào jǐ diǎn le ma?  
you know what time Prt Q?  
'Do you know what time it is?'

- (7) a. Xiǎoxīn chē, nǐ-zhīdào-ma.  
care car NZDM  
'Watch out for cars, NZDM.'
- b. Nǐ zhīdào xiǎoxīn chē ma?  
you know care car Q  
'Do you know to watch out for cars?'

Semantically, based on the syntactic properties, the grammatical NZDM contributes to the propositional meaning of the sentence where it occurs, while the PM use does not. The propositional meaning remains the same whether the PM occurs or not, because it is not part of the sentence where it occurs.

Pragmatically, the grammatical NZDM is used when the speaker(S) wants to get some information, and when he believes that the addressee(A) knows the answer: that is why S asks to A. On the contrary, for the PM use, S knows the information, and he is not sure that the addressee also knows it; but S just expects A to know it. Such a belief can be exploited in different contexts to produce different pragmatic functions, which will be explained in section 4.

Phonologically, the grammatical NZDM always takes a rising intonation to be placed on *ma*, while the PM NZDM does not because it has no function of questioning. As Zheng(2011:135) observed, NZDM as a PM usually takes a falling intonation, but at the utterance-initial position, it can also be uttered with a rising intonation to attract the addressee's attention to what he is going to say. In addition, stress can be placed on the verb *zhīdào* 'to know' for the grammatical use, but no stress for the PM use. So, the PM can be casually pronounced as *zao*, but the grammatical one cannot.

Up to now, we have looked at the linguistic properties of the two

uses of NZDM, through contrasting and comparing their differences: they can be well distinguished. Now we will have a brief look at what the basic sense of a PM is for its pragmatic analysis, and how the pragmatic functions of the PM NZDM have been analyzed in the previous studies.

### III. The Basic Sense of NZDM

We assume that a pragmatic marker has many different pragmatic functions, and that they all share one basic sense, and that they are contextually inferred from it (Dunn 1990, Lee 1992).<sup>2)</sup> The basic sense, also labeled as the basic meaning (Fox Tree & Schrock 2002), or core meaning (Schourup 1985, Schiffrin 1987, Jucker 1993), is considered to be the invariant semantic content for each marker (Schourup 1999: 249), which directly influence their discourse uses, and even for some PMs which are claimed to be semantically empty, they are held to have an invariant core of some kind (Schiffrin 1987:267).

Tao(2003:298) first noticed the pragmatical uses of the *zhidao* 'know' clan, including *wo bu zhidao* 'I don't know,' *ni zhidao* 'you know,' NZDM, *ni zhidao ba* 'you know.'<sup>3)</sup> He assumes that NZD has two main functions as a pragmatic marker. First, it helps the speaker to communicate directly with listeners before taking up the current conversation topic.

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2) Dunn(1990) uses the term 'basic sense' non-technically as referring to an entry in a dictionary that is used for language-learning. Lee(1992) takes the same approach and claims that when a form has two uses, grammatical and pragmatic, they share a sense.

3) The particle *ba* is used to convey the speaker's belief that the listener is likely to know the information the sentence with *ba* delivers.

Second, it can arouse the listeners' attention during the speaker's talk. Tao did not give a focused analysis of NZDM.

Inspired by Tao(2003), Zhang(2008) and Shan(2014) have touched upon the basic sense of NZDM in their studies. Zhang makes a targeted study on NZDM. She lists its four pragmatic uses (topic-initiating, emphatic, explanatory and attention-arresting functions), and extracts its basic sense from their common grounds of the uses: "to direct or arrest the hearer's attention" (2008:88). Shan (2014) explores its discursive and interpersonal functions and proposed its basic sense is "to arrest the hearer's attention and seek his agreement" (2014:69).

As mentioned above, both of them take the attention-arresting function as its basic sense. However, the problem is that the function is not unique only to NZDM, because almost all the pragmatic markers have the function as 'the primary function of bringing the listener's attention to a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterance with the immediate discourse context' (Redeker 1991:1168). If so, we could claim that almost all PMs should share the identical basic sense, attention-arresting function. Then a serious problem arises: how can we explain why different PMs have different functions in spite of the same basic sense?

Moreover, Zhang(2008) and Shan(2014) do not reveal how their basic sense relates to the different functions of NZDM. Redeker(1991:1164) suggests, "The core meaning should specify the marker's intrinsic contribution to the semantic representation that will constrain the contextual interpretation of the utterance." As NZDM is still in the process of becoming a pragmatic marker, we claim that there is no other way to consider the basic sense in association with its literal meaning or the non-PM meaning.<sup>4)</sup>

Thus, considering the literal meaning 'Do you know something?', we assume that the basic sense of the PM NZDM is: the speaker expects the addressee to know something. What that something will be and why S wants A to know it will vary according to the context where it is uttered, and thereby different pragmatic uses of the PM will be inferred. They will be explained in detail next.

#### IV. Pragmatic Uses

In this section, we will provide a pragmatic analysis of the PM NZDM: how all of its pragmatic functions are inferred contextually from its basic sense, 'S expects A to know something.' The 'something' S expects A to know is usually expected to indicate the information that S will say after the PM NZDM, because what S has already said is the information that A now got to know. However, the PM can occur at the end of the sentence or utterance, as seen in (3). In that case, the 'something' is inferred to indicate the information preceding the PM, because S completed his utterance so that no additional information will follow, and then there must be a calculation of why S intends A to reconsider the already-delivered information. The pragmatic functions of the PM, that is,

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- 4) There have been two different views of the relationship between the PM meaning and the non-PM meaning of a form. One is that they are different in nature (Fraser 1990, Ostman 1982). Fraser(1990:393) argues that they should be analyzed as having a distinct pragmatic meaning, and that any reliance on content meaning is ill-founded. The other view is to believe that there is some kind of relationship between the two (Schiffrin 1987, Schourup 1999). Schiffrin (1987:127) argues that PM meanings are somewhat delimited by their semantic and grammatical status. We claim here that the PM meaning is related to the literal meaning.

why the information S expects A to know will be determined contextually in association with S's intentions at the moments. They are Attention-getting, Topic-initiating, Hedge, Agreement-seeking, Criticism-enhancing, and Self-repair. We will look at how they are pragmatically inferred one by one.

### 1. Attention-Getting

S can use the PM NZDM to emphasize its following or preceding information by way of drawing A's attention to that information. This function is contextually derived from the basic sense of the PM that S expects A to know something. In uttering the PM, S believes that A knows its basic sense, and he expects A to find out the information that S expects A to know, and A also thinks about why S expects A to find out what information the 'something' should be, and A calculates that the information is important for S's discourse purpose at the moment.<sup>5)</sup> Finding out the information thus invites A to focus her attention on it. Through this process, the PM can work to get S's attention.

Take (8) to observe the attention-getting function. The discourse in (8) took place on the talk show called *A Date with Luyu*, right after the guest, singer Wang watched a video clip about his past brilliant musical achievements. He began his talk with NZDM, to express his feeling that his past appearance was clumsy and unstylish, compared to his current style. By using NZDM utterance-initially, Wang wanted the audience to focus their attention on what he expected them to know from its basic

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5) It's interesting to note that the PM NZDM appears in a sentence or clause unit. So even though the term 'utterance' is used here, it is assumed to refer to a sentence or a clause.

sense: since the utterance-initial NZDM implies that he hasn't said this 'something' yet, they began to focus on what he's going to say, that is, 'I didn't look good.' Thereby the PM functions attracting the audience's attention to what Wang said after the PM. However, although the audience understands his use of NZDM, they do not accept the feeling he expected them to know, 'his past appearance is not good, and different from now,' but they show the strong positive reaction by saying 'very handsome.'<sup>6)</sup>

(8) W: Nǐ-zhīdào-ma, wǒ zhēnde bù gǎn kàn dào yīqián de yàngzǐ.  
NZDM I really not dare look Vpt past Nm look  
'NZDM, I really dare not look at what I was like.'

L: Wèishénme? Yīqián hěn hǎo a?  
why past very good Prt  
'Why? Not good?'

W: Hǎo chǒu a!  
very ugly Prt 'How ugly!'

Audience: Shuài, tài shuài la!  
Handsome too handsome Prt 'Handsome indeed!'

(A Date with Luyu 2010)

The PM NZDM is also used sentence-medially with the attention-getting function. For example, in the example (9), the speaker Mama uses it to emphasize the information of how many tears she shed after losing her son, by intending him to pay his attention to the

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6) The PM NZDM often occurs immediately after the vocatives or sentence connectives which are outside the domain of the sentence structure. These occurrences also retain the attention-getting function, as in (8). They are treated as part of the utterance-initial cases.

information to be uttered next. Mama tells her son how she lost him in Guizhou and how much painful and grievous life she has lived since then. So her goal in (9) is to show him how painful her life has been. By using the PM after the information about the heavy snow in Guizhou as an example of bad situations, she intends to emphasize how much she worried about his safety even in the snow. From the basic sense of the PM, her son can infer that what she expects him to know is how she felt for him even when the weather was bad in Guizhou: she always shed a lot of tears. Thus, the PM directs the son to pay attention to the information following it.

- (9) Guizhōu xià dà xuě de shíhòu, nǐ-zhīdào-ma, māmā diào duōshǎo yǎnlèi,  
 Guizhou down big snow Nom time NZDM mom shed many tears,  
 kěshì māmā liánxì bù shàng nǐ. (Waiting for Me 2015)  
 but mom contact not Vpt you.  
 ‘When big snow came in Guizhou, NZDM, I shed tears a lot,  
 but I could not find you.’

The PM with the attention-getting function can be used sentence-finally, as seen in (10). In a talk, Xiao, a Chinese actor, talks about his experience on a plane: as soon as he finished filming a movie in one city, he rushed to catch a plane to another city, and did not recognize his makeup face uncleaned. In (10), he says that he wiped his face with a wet napkin on the plane, and finally found out that he had not removed his makeup after observing the black and red stained napkin. He intends to emphasize that he did not notice his makeup face till he observed the black-and-red stained napkin. The listeners infer from the location of the PM and its basic sense that what Xiao expects them to know is not

what will be uttered after the PM, but what has just uttered, because it is used sentence-finally. Thus they understand that Xiao intends to emphasize the significance of the information that he saw the napkin stained with black and red, and that it implies that he never recognized that he didn't take off his makeup when he got on the plane.

- (10) Ná le yì zhāng shī jīn cā, cā xià lái quánbù dōu shì  
take Prt one sheet wet napkin wipe wipe off Vpt entire all be  
hēi hóng hēi hóng de, nǐ-zhīdào-ma... (Closest Distance 2015)  
black red black red Nm NZDM  
'I got a wet napkin, cleaned my face, and all I wiped off was  
red and black, NZDM.'

Up to now, we have explained that the attention-getting function of the PM NZDM is contextually inferred from its basic sense and location. Basically all the uses of the PM can function as attention-getter, whether it occurs sentence-initially, -medially, or -finally.

## 2. Topic-Initiating

The PM NZDM can function to introduce a topic, when it occurs discourse-initially, that is, when S begins a discourse with it. From the basic sense of the PM, it can be inferred that, since S has just started talking, what he is going to say will be the 'something' that S expects A to know: and it must be a hint that the discourse will proceed about that something: so using the PM can be interpreted as 'S wants to talk about the information in the discourse to come.' The topic-initiating function can be explained this way.<sup>7)</sup>

The example in (11) shows a typical case of the topic-introducing PM NZDM.

(11) P: ài, nǐ-zhīdào-ma, xuéxiào yào jǔxíng jīqìrén bǐsài, wǒ bào míng le.  
 hi NZDM school will host robot contest I sign name Prt  
 ‘Hi, NZDM, a robot contest will be held at our school. I signed up for it.’

Q: Zhēnde ? Dōu bǐ shénme ya? Bào míng de rén duō ma ?  
 really all compete what Prt sign name Nm people many Prt  
 ‘Really? What events are included? How many have signed for?’

In (11), P met Q and started the discourse with the PM NZDM after the greeting. The basic sense of NZDM allows Q to infer that P intended to emphasize the news about the robot competition at their school, and that the reason that P emphasized the news is that P wants to talk to Q about it. From P’s using the PM, Q understands P’s intention and responds with the questions about the topic P introduced with the PM.

NZDM can also be used in the middle of a conversation to introduce a new topic instead of the old one. In this case, S believes that A knows what they have talked about up to that moment so that using the PM leads A to focus on the information S expects A to know, which leads A to think that the information is different from what they have talked about, so that S wants to talk about it in the following discourse.<sup>8)</sup> In

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7) It is common for the PM NZDM to be used with more than one function. As mentioned in the previous section, all of its uses can have the function of getting A’s attention, and depending on the context, the attention-getting function is exploited to have additional functions such as topic-initiating, hedge, self-repair, agreement-seeking, criticism-enhancing, and so on.

8) Interestingly, as seen in (12), NZDM with this topic-changing function is often used together with the contrastive markers such as *danshi*, *keshi* or *ran’er* (all

that sense, this topic-changing function is a special case of the topic-initiating function.

The utterance in (12) is taken from a talk show, where an actress talked about her life and marriage. Just before it, she talked long about her true love with her husband. The show host, the speaker of (12), wants to focus on what people wants to know, that is, practical things such as how she met him, who proposed to marry, and so on. The speaker uses the PM NZDM after summarizing what the actress said, in order to solicit her to focus on her marriage to a rich man. From the basic sense, the actress interprets using the PM as changing the viewpoint of her talk to her rich husband and marriage.

- (12) Nǐ gāngcái tán dào de shì nǐ tè zhēnshíde gǎnqíng, dàn nǐ-zhīdào-ma,  
you just talk Vpt Nm be you very true feel but NZDM  
dāng nǐ bù tán, zhèxiē de shíhòu, dà bùfēn rén  
when you not talk these Nm time most part people  
dōu shì cóng méitǐ shàng huò zhī, jiùshì nǐ jià gěi yǒuqián de le.  
all be from media on get know that.is you marry give rich Nm Prt  
'What you've talked about just now are your true love. But NZDM,  
before you told us, what most people learned from the media is  
that you got married to a rich man.' (Closest Distance 2012)

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mean 'but'), because they imply that what comes next is unexpected in view of what was said before and the contrast between the old and new topics can be implied. Then we can conclude that the contrastive markers serve to reinforce the topic-changing function of the PM.

### 3. Hedge

NZDM can be used as a hedge to represent S's intention that what S expects A to know may not be accurate. This hedge function can be exploited when S is cautious or unsure of the accuracy of what S expects A to know, because the information S expects A to know may be different from what A has gotten from the context. Using the PM, S expects A to infer from its basic sense that the 'something' S expects A to know may not go well with the information A has got from the previous discourse and A's world knowledge. This implies that S is cautious of expressing the information of this 'something' through using the PM. A also believes that S would not use the PM NZDM if he was sure of the information. This way, the PM functions to represent S's hedging attitude.

To demonstrate the hedging function, let's look at the example (13), where the actress Liu talks at a talk show about her wedding which made her get legally and sexually tied with her husband. Liu's expression 'give themselves completely to each other' is an indirect way of saying 'have legal sex,' because 'sexual relationship is too private to be mentioned in public in China: she is very cautious of expressing it. Liu uses the PM at the end of the indirect expression with the intention to solicit the audience to pay attention to what she has just said in order to understand her intended meaning from their world knowledge. From the basic sense of the PM, her audience understand that 'completely getting united' is the 'something' she intended them to focus on so that her real intended meaning should be inferred on the basis of their cultural knowledge.

- (13) Jiéhūn le, xīn hūn zhī yè le, zài wánquán de bǎ duìfāng jiāo  
marry Prt new wed Nm night Prt then completely Prt other give  
gěi zìjǐ, nǐ-zhīdào-ma, yīnwéi... (Closest Distance 2012)  
to self NZDM because

‘When married, at the wedding night, we would completely get united,  
you know, because ...’

The example (14) shows NZDM which demonstrates the speaker’s hedging attitude towards the information following it. In (14), Haiqing, Chinese actress, talks about her doubts and suspicions about how she felt as a freshman. Just before it, she described how much her peers had enjoyed everything at college, unlike her. She could not feel happy, and she had doubts about everything as a freshman. However, she cannot explain it properly at the moment of uttering (14). By using NZDM, she wants her audience to focus on what she is going to say next, that is, on her doubt about her college life, even up to the famous teacher Huang. But to understand that her doubt about Huang cannot be a proper example which shows her intention to contrast with the happy college life of her peers. Thus, her audience can infer from the PM and the context that her saying about Huang is just an example chosen to prove how skeptical she felt as a freshman. In (14), Hiaqing’s stammering ‘I felt,’ and ‘I said’ before uttering NZDM plays a role of intensifying her hedging attitude.

- (14) wǒ fǎnér zhè shíhòu juéde, wǒ shuō, nǐ-zhīdào-ma, jiùshì bāokuò  
I instead this time felt I say NZDM that.is include  
duì huáng lǎoshī, wǒ duì tā dōu yǒu hěn dàde huáiyí...  
to huang teacher I to him even have very big doubt

‘Instead, I felt then, I mean, NZDM, that is, even to Mr. Huang Lei,  
I was even doubtful...’ (A Date with Luyu 2014)

#### 4. Agreement–Seeking

NZDM as a PM can be used to seek A’s agreement with what S has just said in order to support his argument. This agreement-seeking function usually places NZDM at the end of a clause or sentence. From the basic sense of the PM, A figures out that what S expects A to know is the information just delivered, and that the reason that S expects A to know the information is because it is important to S’s goal at the moment, so that S wants A to understand the information and to support him.

Take (15) for example to demonstrate the agreement-seeking function of the NZDM. In (15), S is talking to her friend about how weird her dressing style was when she was in elementary school. She says that her mother made leather shorts and a leather vest for a primary school child, and she had to wear them. She is expressing how much she disliked them, and she uses NZDM twice at the ends of the two clauses representing her dislike. The two NZDMs function to emphasize and make A imagine that an elementary school child was wearing a leather vest and leather shorts which was not normal in China, and understand that she was feeling like an alien. Thereby A is intended to understand and sympathize with S’s negative feelings.

- (15) Pí duǎnkù, nàme duǎn, ránhòu hái yǒu yí gè pí bèixīn, nǐ-zhīdào-ma,  
leather shorts so short then also have a Clf leather vest NZDM  
ránhòu wǒ mā gěi wǒ chuān ... wǒ juéde wǒ jiù shì gè yìlèi, nǐ-zhīdào-ma,  
then I mom give I wear I think I just be Clf alien NZDM

ránhòu zài xiǎo xué de shíhòu, wǒ yǒu tàò yīfu ...  
then in primary school Nm time I have set clothes...

'My mom made a leather shorts, so short, and a vest, you know,  
and then she put them on me... I felt I were just like an alien,  
you know, and then at primary school, I had a set of clothes...'

(A Date with Luyu 2013)

## 5. Criticism–Enhancing

NZDM as a PM is also used to reinforce the degree of S's criticism when S criticizes A for what A has done. For this function, the PM is usually placed at the end of a clause or sentence that describes what A did wrong. In this situation, S is using the PM to emphasize the information about what A did wrong, and to imply that S expects A to know the information because S believes it is a matter of fact: then it can be inferred that, if A knows what is wrong, then A should not have done it, but she did it even if she knew it. This is why the NZDM-using criticism sounds stronger.

The example (16) shows two occurrences of NZDM with the criticism-enhancing function. The speaker is criticizing her mother-in-law for giving too much care of and spoiling her daughter. Her daughter is now in her teens, but her mother-in-law did everything for her, even spoon-fed her at meals. The speaker had often talked her mother-in-law out of spoiling the girl, but she did not listen. Once again she found her mother-in-law spoon-feeding her daughter, and this provoked an outburst of anger from her:

- (16) a. Búyào gěi tā jiǎ le, tā zìjǐ huì jiā.  
 don't give her tongs Prt she self can clip  
 'Don't get food into her bowl. She can get it by herself.'
- b. Wǒ juéde nǐ yǒu diǎn guò fēn le, nǐ-zhīdào-ma.  
 I think you have little too far Prt NZDM  
 'I think you're going too far, NZDM.'
- c. nà hǎochīde dōngxī dàjiā dōu zhīdào huì chī de,  
 that yummy thing everyone all know will eat Nom  
 'Everyone wants to get the delicious food.'
- d. nǐ gànma yào tiān tiān jiù jiǎn gěi tā yíge rén chī ne?  
 you why will day day just pick give her one person eat Prt  
 'Why do you keep feeding her only?'
- e. Xiǎohái zhème zìsī, dōu shì dàrén gāo chū-lái de, nǐ-zhīdào-ma.  
 children so selfish all be adults make come-out Nm, NZDM  
 'Selfish children are spoiled by adults, NZDM.'
- f. Wǒ jiǎng yìbǎi biàn dōu shì zhè yàngzi.  
 I said 100 times all are this look  
 'I have told you this 100 times.'

The speaker is criticizing her mother-in-law for spoon-feeding a teenage girl who can eat for herself: such behavior is overindulgence, that is, “You’re going too far.” By using the first NZDM here, the speaker intends to reinforce the criticism of her mother-in-law by implying that she’s engaged in overindulgence again even though she knows it’s bad. Then, the speaker continues to criticize her mother-in-law for her continued overindulgence, and, by using the second NZDM, she reinforces her criticism by reminding her that adults make selfish and spoiled children: even though her mother-in-law knows it, she never stops her overindulgence. The speaker supports her intention to use the second NZDM by adding that she has told it 100 times.

## 6. Self-Repair

NZDM as a PM can be used to correct S's own mistake. By uttering the PM, S intends A to focus on what to say next, which S expects A to know, because S has made a mistake and S will correct it with what to say next. A can also understand S's intention to use the PM from its basic sense and the context.

The example in (17) shows how the PM NZDM works for the self-repair function. In a talk show where three men are having a heated discussion about the behavior of some tourists, the speaker of (17) is eager to share his opinion about some funny tourists and why he thinks so. To explain why, he first compares the tourists to a monkey, or a child. But he finds that using singular forms, 'a monkey' and 'a child' to indicate a group of tourists is not correct. So S uses NZDM before uttering the corrected form 'a group of children' to guide A to focus on the form that S expects A to know, because S is self-correcting his mistake to it.

- (17) wǒ yǒushíhòu juéde shǎoshù yì xiē yóukè xiàng gè hóu,  
I sometimes feel a few some tourists like Clf monkey  
huòzhě shuō jiù xiàng gè háizi, nǐ-zhīdào-ma, xiàng yì duī xiǎo hái, ...  
or say just like Clf kid NZDM ike a pile little kid  
'I sometimes feel that some tourists are like monkeys, or like a kid,  
NZDM, like a group of kids, ...'

## V. Concluding Remarks

We have provided a pragmatic analysis of NZDM as a PM in Chinese. Theoretically, following Dunn(1990) and Lee(1992), we assume that all the pragmatic uses or functions of a PM share a basic sense, and they are contextually derived from the basic sense, and we proposed that the basic sense of the PM NZDM is that the speaker expects the addressee to know something. We have shown how the pragmatic functions of the PM can be inferred pragmatically from the basic sense and the context. The pragmatic functions analyzed are Attention-getting, Topic-introducing, Hedge, Agreement-seeking, Criticism-enhancing, and Self-repair.

Since NZDM is also used to ask a polarity question, we took a close look at how to distinguish the PM NZDM and the grammatical NZDM. In order to do so, we have contrasted their properties syntactically, semantically, phonologically, and pragmatically.

Although this study has focused on NZDM as a PM, there are a handful of its variants such as *zhidao*, *zhidao-ma*, *ni-zhidao-ba*, *zhidao-ba* and *ni-zhidao*. We are not ready to say whether they are pragmatically different from NZDM or not; if they are different, we need to investigate what pragmatic conditions will be required for each, and, if they are not different, why separate forms are used. Further research is needed to answer these questions.

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❖ 국문초록

## 중국어 화용표지 你知道吗 연구

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본 연구의 목적은 중국어 화용 표지 *Ni-zhidao-ma* (你知道吗: NZDM)의 화용의미에 대한 화용 분석을 제공하는 것이다. Dunn(1990)과 Lee(1992)을 따라, 화용 표지가 가지는 모든 화용 기능들은 하나의 기본의미를 공유하고, 이 기본 의미로부터 모든 화용 기능들이 맥락적으로 추론될 수 있다고 전제한다. NZDM의 기본의미는 ‘화자가 청자도 무엇인가를 알고 있으리라 기대함’이라고 제안한다. 그리고 화용 표지 NZDM가 실제 대화에서 사용되는 구체적인 화용 기능들이 이 기본의미와 대화 맥락 정보로부터 어떤 추론 과정을 통해 도출되는지를 설명한다. 분석 제시한 화용 기능들은 Attention-getting, Topic-initiating, Hedge, Agreement-seeking, Criticism-enhancing, 그리고 Self-repair 이다. NZDM는 예-아니오 의문문을 형성하기도 하기 때문에, 화용 표지로서 NZDM와 문법적, 화용적으로 어떻게 구별이 되는지 대조 분석한다.

주제어: 화용 표지, 기본 의미, 화용 기능, 맥락, 추론 과정, 문법적 용법

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