AN ANALYSIS OF THE JAPANESE SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLE YONE

by

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Abstract

The Japanese sentence final particle *yone* is commonly used as a tag-like question corresponding to "isn't it?" or "right?" in English. *Yone* is also commonly used to show agreement. Another sentence final particle, *ne*, is considered as sharing those two functions with *yone*. However, they are not always interchangeable because there are cases in which *yone* or *ne* is the only possible choice; the alternate choice results in an unnatural utterance. This indicates that a simple description of the functions of *yone* as a tag-like question or showing agreement cannot provide a clear picture of its use.

Situated in a discourse and functional framework, the present study analyzes the use of *yone* as a tag-like question and response with invented and naturally occurring conversation data.

The present study argues that when *yone* is used as a tag-like question, it is associated with explicit or implied cognitive or interactional incongruity while *ne* encodes that the speaker assumes no difference of understanding or knowledge between conversation participants. Three types of incongruity have been identified in the present study. Type I and Type II are associated with an incongruity of the speaker's understanding or an existing incongruity because the information belongs more to the hearer than the speaker. Type I indicates that the speaker is not completely certain about the information while in Type II the speaker feels completely certain about the information. *Yone* is used because the information belongs more to the hearer. Type III is associated with a disalignment between the speaker and interactant. *Yone* is used when disalignment appears and the speaker feels the necessity to seek support from the addressee to justify one's position. Type III also appears in a situation where the addressee does not respond to what the speaker asks or requests.

When *yone* is used in responses, including showing agreement, it indicates the speaker's previously held recognition while *ne* presents the speaker's here-and-now recognition. Examples are examined in four situations: i) response to immediate situations; ii) response to the speaker's already-known information; iii) response to the answer to a question; and iv) response to assessment.

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Transcription Conventions

- 1. Transcript symbols
- [the point where overlapping talk begins
-] the point where overlapping talk ends
- (.) micro-pause
- (0.0) length of silence
- :: noticeably lengthened sound
- = latched utterance
- \uparrow rising intonation
- () unintelligible stretch
- (()) transcriber's descriptions
- hh laughter
- _____ relatively high volume
- 2. Abbreviations
- AUX auxiliary
- COP copula
- FP final particle
- ITJ interjection
- LK nominal linking particle
- NEG negative morpheme
- NML nominalizer
- NOM subject marker
- O object marker
- PST past tense
- Q question marker
- QT quotative marker
- TAG tag-like expression
- TP topic marker

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Sentence final particles in Japanese¹

In face-to-face interaction, speakers use a variety of linguistics features to index

epistemic and/or affective stances towards the addressee(s), the content of talk, or other aspects

of the speech context (Cook, 2001). In Japanese, such functions are often conveyed by the use of

sentence final particles.²

The following sentences show how sentence final particles function.

(1)			
	ano hito	wa gakusei	desu.
	that person	TP student	COP
	That person is	s a student.	
	-		
(2)			
	ano hito	wa gakusei	desu ka .
	that person	TP student	COP FP

Is that person a student?

(3)
 ano hito wa gakusei desu yo.
 that person TP student COP FP
 I tell you, that person is a student.

¹ Sentence final particles are prominent features of East Asian languages. Pragmatic particles (Cook, 2001) and interactive particles (Maynard, 1993) as well as utterance particles (Luke, 1990; Matthews & Yip, 1994) are also used to describe sentence final particles. Cross-linguistic research suggests that sentence final particles not only encode the speaker's knowledge, information and affective stance, but also reflect the speaker's orientation with respect to the hearer's knowledge, information and emotive stance (e.g., Cook, 1987, 1990, 2002; Maynard, 2003; Luke, 1990; Schiffrin, 1987; Strauss, 2005; Suzuki, 1990; Lee-Wong, 1998; Wong, 2004, among others).

² Sentence final particles in Japanese, such as *ne*, *sa*, can also occur in intra-sentential positions. For example, A: *rvoori wa ne tanoshii vo isshoni varu no*

cooking TP FP fun FP together do NOM It's fun to cook together.

In the current study, sentence final particles are considered as utterance-final particles and transcribed as FP (final particles).

(4)
 ano hito wa gakusei desu ne.
 that person TP student COP FP
 That person is a student, isn't he/she?

Example (1) is a declarative sentence. When the sentence final particle ka is added at the end of the sentence in example (2), the sentence becomes an interrogative. In example (3), the speaker can use sentence final particle yo to inform the listener of something that is assumed to be known only to the speaker. In example (4) the sentence final particle *ne* can indicate that the speaker is asking for confirmation.

Ka, ne, yo and other sentence final particles such as sa, no, wa, na, zo, ze are commonly

used sentence final particles (e.g., Shibatani, 1990; Maynard, 1993; Makino & Tsutsui, 1993;

McGloin, Hudson, Nazikian, & Kakegawa, 2014; Saigo, 2011).

Makino & Tsutsui (1993) describes the basic functions of the foregoing sentence final particles:

- a. *ka*: A sentence final particle indicating that the preceding sentence is interrogative (p. 166).
- b. *ne*: A sentence final particle indicating the speaker's request for confirmation or agreement from the hearer about some shared knowledge (p. 286).
- c. *yo*: A sentence final particle indicating the speaker's (fairly) strong conviction or assertion about something that is assumed to be known only to him (p. 543).
- d. *wa*: A sentence final particle used in weak assertive or volitional sentences by a female speaker (p. 520).
- *e. nā*: A sentence final particle used in exclamatory sentence that is usually used by men, but can be heard in conversations by younger women (p. 47).
- f. *ze*: A sentence final particle used for assertion, which is exclusively used in informal male speech. It is also used with invitational sentences (pp. 46-47).³

³ According to Makino & Tsutsui (1993), ze is used with an invitational sentence in the following example. Konban wa nomoo yo/ze. Let's drink tonight.

g. *zo*: Another sentence final particle used for assertion in informal male speech (p. 46).

Some sentence final particles can be combined with another sentence final particle. According to Shibatani (1990), for example, the particles *wa* and *ne* are combined as *wane*. Other examples are *wayo, kana* and *yone*. Note that not all sentence final particles can be combined with other sentence final particles and usually the combinations are no more than two particles. In addition, the order of the combinations cannot be freely changed. For example, *wayo* never appears as **yowa*. Nor can **newa* be found in conversations because only *wane* is possible. *Ne* and *yo* only appear as *yone* and never as **neyo*.

1.2. The present study

The present study focuses on the sentence final particle *yone*.⁴ In McGloin, Hudson,

Nazikian, & Kakegawa (2014), the functions of yone are described as follows:

yone: A sentence final particle expressing the combined meaning of asserting and confirming. Three types of usage can be identified:

- a) Confirming that the addressee shares the information.
- b) Confirming information of which the speaker is not completely certain.
- c) Asserting + expressing rapport.

(McGloin et al., 2014, p. 46)

The functions thus indentified for *yone* are very similar to those for *ne*. For example, *yone* and *ne* are usually translated as tag questions, "isn't it" or "right?", or as indexing confirmation and agreement (e.g., Noda, 1993; Hasunuma, 1992, 1995; Miyazaki, 2002, among others).

⁴ The present study considers *yone* as a single sentence final particle rather than a combination of *yo* and *ne*. See further discussion in Chapter 2.

Observe the following:

(5) kono heya atsui **ne**. wa this room TP hot FP This room is hot, isn't it? (6) kono heya wa atsui **vone**. this room TP hot FP This room is hot, isn't it? (7)A: kono mise no sushi oishii naa. this restaurant LK sushi delicious FP This restaurant's sushi is delicious. B: un oishii ne. delicious FP ITJ Yeah, delicious *ne*. (It's delicious, I agree with you) (8) A: kono mise no sushi oishii naa. this restaurant LK sushi delicious FP This restaurant's sushi is delicious. B: un oishii vone. ITJ delicious FP Yeah, delicious *yone*. (It's delicious, I agree with you)

Both *yone* and *ne* can be used as a tag-like question to seek confirmation as in examples (5) and (6), or to show agreement as in examples (7) and (8). In examples (5) and (6), the speaker thinks the room is hot and asks the hearer to confirm this by using *yone* or *ne*. In examples (7) and (8), *yone* and *ne* are used in a situation in which speaker B displays agreement with A's opinion, i.e. this restaurant's sushi is delicious.

There are cases, however, where yone and ne are not interchangeable. In example (9),

line 1, only *ne*, not *yone*, is the possible choice for seeking confirmation.

(9)

(Two speakers are tasting a new dish. After the first bite...)

1	\rightarrow A: oishii	desu	ne
	delicious	COP	FP
	It's delicio	ous <i>ne</i> .	

2 B: soo desu ne that COP FP It is (delicious).

In this situation, speaker A uses *ne* to ask for confirmation from speaker B in line 1.

In contrast, only *yone*, not *ne*, is possible in examples (10) and (11).

(10)

1	A: <i>omoshirokatta ne</i> interesting-PST FP It was interesting <i>ne</i> .
2	B: <i>iya omoshirokunakatta yo.</i> no interesting-NEG-PST FP No, it wasn't interesting.
3	→ A: ((talk to C)) <i>omoshirokatta</i> yone . interesting-PST FP It was interesting yone .
4	C: <i>un.</i> ITJ Yeah.

(Izuhara, 2003, p. 9)

Here, although speaker A is seeking confirmation from the third person, speaker C, *yone* cannot be replaced with *ne* in line 3.

In example (11), yone cannot be changed to ne either.

(11)

1 A: *kore takakunai*↑ this expensive-NEG Isn't it expensive? 2 B: *un takai*. ITJ expensive Yeah, (it's) expensive.

 $\begin{array}{rrr} 3 & \rightarrow A: \textit{takai} & \textit{yone.} \\ & \text{expensive} & FP \\ & (It's) \text{ expensive } \textit{yone.} \end{array}$

In example (11), *ne* cannot be used in line 3 even though speaker A agrees with speaker B's opinion, i.e., it's expensive.

The foregoing examples indicate that there are in fact subtle differences between *yone* and *ne*, and the functions of *yone* discussed in previous studies, i.e., seeking or providing confirmation and agreement, do not adequately explain their functions.⁵

The present study aims to explore the use of *yone* with naturally occurring conversation data. Since *yone* functions in a very similar way to *ne*, *yone* will be compared to *ne* where such comparison is important to discuss the subtle difference between *yone* and *ne*.

First, when *yone* is used as a tag-like question, the present study demonstrates that a possible incongruity is associated with its use. In contrast, when *ne* is used as a tag-like question, the speaker assumes that the hearer agrees with or accepts the speaker's view/understanding. The data in the present study demonstrates that the use of *yone* tends to be triggered by an explicit or implied cognitive or interactional incongruity (see Chapter 4).

Second, considering *yone* and *ne* in various response situations,⁶ the present study demonstrates that, as response, *yone* indicates a speaker's previously held recognition that has

⁵ Although previous research has pointed out that *yone* and *ne* are not always interchangeable in certain situations such as seeking or providing confirmation and agreement (e.g., Noda, 1993; Hasunuma, 1992, 1995; Izuhara, 2003), no explanation has been provided.

⁶ The present study focuses on four response situations: i) response to immediate situations; ii) response to the speaker's already-known information; iii) response to the answer to a question; and iv) response to assessment.

been established before the time of the utterance while *ne* presents what the speaker thinks, notices or recalls at the time of utterance (see Chapter 5).

With a comparative examination of the two sentence final particles, *yone* and *ne*, this dissertation contributes to previous literature on *yone* and *ne* in Japanese, particularly with respect of the presentation of a speaker's cognitive and affective stances. In addition, situating the analysis in multiparty natural conversation, the present study sheds light on the use of *yone* in a multiparty conversation context, which has rarely been explored in previous literature on *yone*.

1.3. Organization of the study

The present study is organized as follows: Chapter 2 provides an overview of Japanese sentence final particles *yo*, *ne* and *yone*. Chapter 3 describes the target of the present study and illustrates an overview of the data analyzed in the present study. Chapter 4 focuses on the use of *yone* as tag-like questions and Chapter 5 compares the use of *yone* and *ne* in giving response. Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of this dissertation and discusses the implication and directions for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

In Japanese, *ne*, *yo* and *yone* are considered the most commonly used sentence final particles in conversation (e.g., Maynard, 1993; Hasegawa, 2010; Saigo, 2011). They have been investigated from various approaches such as performative (e.g., Uyeno, 1971), scalar (e.g., Tsuchihashi, 1983; Kendall, 1985), interactional (e.g., Cook, 1990; Maynard, 1993; Morita, 2012; Tanaka, 2000, Izuhara, 2003; Hayano, 2013) and cognitive (e.g., Hasegawa, 2010; Kamio, 1990; Ohso, 2005; Takubo & Kinsui, 1996; Kato, 2001).

In the following sections, we will first review previous studies on *ne* and *yo* from different approaches. The second part is about previous studies on *yone*. The meanings and the functions of *yone* will be introduced.⁷

2.2. Different approaches to Japanese sentence final particles yo and ne

A large number of studies of the Japanese sentence final particles have been conducted from a wide variety of approaches. Although it is not easy to group the studies in terms of the approaches (Saigo, 2011; Eda, 2000), the following sections aim to capture a broader picture of Japanese sentence final particles *ne* and *yo* because they are most frequently used in conversation and have drawn significant attention in past research (e.g., Uyeno, 1971; Tsuchihashi, 1993; Kendall, 1985; Kamio, 1994; Tanaka, 2000; Cook, 1988, 1990; Maynard, 1993; Hasegawa, 2010; Morita, 2002; Hayano, 2013; and McGloin, 1991, among others).

⁷ All the examples from previous studies are presented in their original forms. If the original presentations are not in English, they are translated and follow the transcription conventions of the present study.

2.2.1. Performative approach

Uyeno (1971) is probably the first research focusing on Japanese sentence final particles in English (Maynard, 1993). She investigated *wa*, *zo*, *ze*, *sa*, *yo*, *ne*(*e*) *and na*(*a*) within the framework of performative analysis. These particles are grouped into two categories based on the following format (p. 59):

- a. Sex of the Speaker and Person of the Addressee
- b. Sentence Styles and Relative Social Status
- c. Sentence Types
- d. Co-occurrence with Other Particles
- e. Occurrence in Reported Speech Events
- f. Implications and Effects
- g. Logical Structure, Presuppositions and Surface Structure

According to Uyeno (1971, p. 140), the two groups of sentence final particles are as

follows:

- a. Those that express the speaker's insistence on forcing the given information on the addressee.
- b. Those that express a request for compliance with the given information leaving the option of confirmation to the addressee.

The former group includes the particles *wa*, *zo*, *ze*, *sa* and *yo* while *ne*, *ne*(*e*), *na* and *na*(*a*) belong to the latter group.

For the particle *yo*, she argues that there is no gender restriction in usage. In addition, *yo* implies the speaker's insistence, that is, *yo* "implies moderate emphasis and gives the effect of a claim, a warning, advice, or a softened command or a request, depending on the sentence type it

is used with" (p. 110). Thus, *yo* should not be used in a situation in which the speaker has no right to insist, otherwise the insistence will result in impoliteness. This explains why a clerk should not use *yo* to his/her superior.

Concerning *ne* and its variants ne(e), *na* and na(a), she argues that they imply the speaker's intention that the addressee is given the option of judging the given information. Thus, these particles can soften the tone of sentences and reflect the speaker's consideration of the addressee. They may be called particles of rapport (p. 131).

The performative approach adopted by Uyeno (1971) was criticized by Wierzbicka (1986). For example, Uyeno (1971) assigns the performative verb "I state" to *wa* and *zo*. However, *wa* and *zo* are far from interchangeable. Uyeno (1971) also argues that both *yo* and *ne* correspond to the same four performative verbs ("I state," "I ask," "I order," and "I suggest"). However, first, *yo* and *ne* are not interchangeable as well. In addition, all of *wa*, *zo*, *yo* and *ne* can mean "I state." In other words, one performative verb can correspond to several sentence final particles. Thus, Wierzbicka (1986) argues that the performative approach in Uyeno (1971) fails to capture the essence of particles because there is no one-to-one match between particles and performative verbs.

2.2.2. Scalar approach

Tsuchihashi (1983) investigated sixteen particles of Japanese and auxiliary predicate expressions: *daroo, deshoo, janaika, ka, kamoshirenai, kana, kashira, na, ne, sa, wa, yo, janaikashira,wane*, \emptyset_1 and \emptyset_2 .⁸ She argues that the semantic space involved in speech acts as a continuum where one end is declarative and the other end is interrogative.

⁸ ϕ_1 : Plain declarative with no additional speaker's attitude toward the proposition expressed in the sentence. ϕ_2 : With a raising intonation and lengthening of the final vowel, an ϕ -particle sentence is regarded as a type of question, soliciting some kind of response or reaction from the hearer.

The particles and auxiliary predicate expressions are examined from two different perspectives (Tsuchihashi, 1983, p. 367):

a. Subject of the sentence with a particular SFP (sentence final particle)

b. Types of response observed in the speaker-hearer interaction

She proposes that the Japanese sentence final particles and auxiliary predicate expressions are placed on the continuum with respect to frequency counts of a set of variables. The variables include:

a. The speaker's confidence/certainty in his/her knowledge/information

b. The speaker's willingness to admit challenge to his/her knowledge

c. The speaker's solicitation of confirmatory or corrective response

(Tsuchihashi, 1983, p. 362)

As Figure 1 shows, the right side is toward to declaratives while the left side is toward interrogatives in terms of the subject of the sentence. *Yo* is placed on the right side based on an assumption that "a proposition expressed in a sentence with a first person subject reflects the strongest degree of certainty value for the speaker, since it encodes a piece of information in which the speaker him/herself is the main participant" (p. 368).

F: Uso ø_{1.} lie 'You're lying.'

M: Uso ø_{2.} lie 'lying?'

(Tsuchihashi, 1983, p. 367)

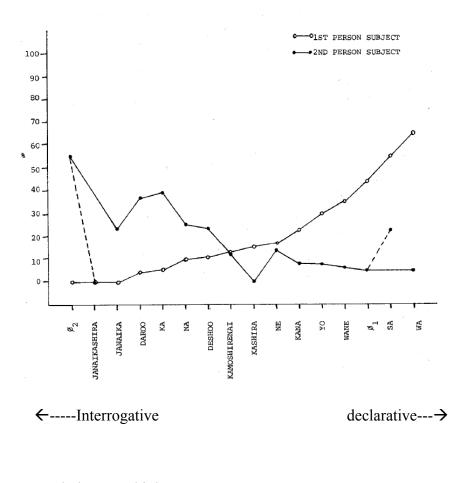


Figure 1 Tsuchihashi's continuum (Tsuchihashi, 1983, p.372)

(12) Demo boku wa suki desu yo.
 but I like
 'But I like it - yo'

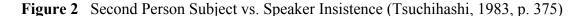
(Tsuchihashi, 1983, p. 368)

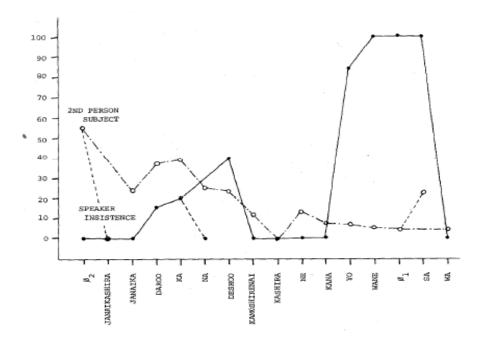
(13) Sonnano iya da wa, watashi.
that dislike I
'I don't like that – wa.'

(Tsuchihashi, 1983, p. 368)

According to Figure 1, for example, *wa* in example (13) indicates a stronger degree of certainty value than *yo* in example (12) because *wa* is placed further right than *yo*. *Ne* shows a weaker degree of certainty value than *yo* because *ne* is placed further toward the interrogative side of the continuum than *yo*.

When the subject of the sentence is associated with variables, for example, with the speaker's willingness to admit challenge to his/her knowledge, the graph is demonstrated as Figure 2.





(14)

a. M1: Soretomo kimi wa sono reigai ni naru Or else you that exception become 'Or else, do you have the self-confidence to become

> jishin ga aru no ka. Confidence SUB exist that exception?'

M2: Arima-sen yo. exist-NEG 'No, I don't.' According to Tsuchihashi (1983), M2 in example (14) uses *yo* to indicate his/her insistence on the information he/she has when challenged by M1. Figure 2 indicates that the probability for a speaker to insist is high when his/her certainty about the information is high.

The discussion about yo demonstrates Tsuchihashi's (1983) argument that the use of Japanese final particles is the result of the interaction between a set of variables and declarative-interrogative semantic space.⁹ The fact that yo is toward the end of the declarative side shows that the speaker is certain about the information he/she processes (Figure 1). The high position of yo in the curve of Speaker Insistence indicates that the more the speaker is certain about his/her information, the higher the probability the speaker insists (Figure 2).

Kendall (1985) proposes that Japanese sentence final particles do not indicate illocutionary force. Kendall (1985) argues that although sentence final particles are associated with some illocutionary forces such as asking, telling, explaining or warning, etc., the use of sentence final particles indicates the degree of commitment. Kendall (1985) defines commitment as "a willingness to be held accountable to the truth conditional content, and illocutionary force of an utterance. In other words, how certain speakers are about the validity of their claims, feelings, suggestions questions, etc. - they know what they're talking about" (p. 9). The sentence final particles are put on a scale as follows:

(Strong) ZO YO.. ZO..ZE..SA..YO..WA..NA..WA NE..NE..KA NA..NO..KA..DAROO..JANAIKA..JANAIKASHIRA (Weak)¹⁰

(Kendall, 1985, p.171)

⁹ The variables are i) The speaker's confidence/certainty in his/her knowledge/information; ii) The speaker's willingness to admit challenge to his/her knowledge and iii) The speaker's solicitation of confirmatory or corrective response. (Tsuchihashi, 1983, p. 362)

¹⁰ In Kendall's (1985) scale, "*zo yo*", "*wa ne*" and "*ka na*" are combined particles. In addition, Kendall (1985) notes that the scale is "by no means a final OR accurate version since the work of figuring out the precise strengths of commitment implied by the individual SFP's is incomplete" (p. 171).

As shown above, the particle "*zo yo*" indicate the strongest commitment while sentence final expression *janaikashira* indicates the weakest commitment. According to the scale, *yo* shows stronger commitment than *ne*.

Kendall (1985) further notes that illocutionary force and other attitudes of an utterance in context also affect the relative strength of commitment that the speaker can indicate with any sentence final particles. For example, according to the scale, particle *sa* shows stronger commitment than *yo*. However, depending on the lexical choice and the choice of sentence final particle, *yo* might indicate stronger commitment than *sa*. Kendall (1985) notes that *sa* can indicate a higher degree of commitment with a reinforcing adverb "*mochiron* (of course)" (example (15)) than *yo* because *yo* is in a declarative (example (16)). When *sa* is used with a judgment verb (example (17)), the degree of commitment becomes lower than *yo*.

(15)		
	Mochiron, sonna koto wa atarimae sa	
	Of course such thing matter of course	
	'That goes without saying, of course.'	
	<u>Indi</u> 5005 Without buying, of course.	
(10)		
(16)		
	Kimi wa ii gakusei da <u>yo</u>	
	you good student cop	
	'You are a good student.'	
	<u> </u>	
(17)		
(1')	Taraa wa ahigata a watta ahimay n daraa	
	Taroo wa shigoto o yatte shimau-n daroo <u>sa</u>	
	work do finish suppose	
	'Taroo is finished, I suppose.'	
		(Kendall, 1985, p. 171)
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

(15)

However, Wierzbicka (1986) points out that the scalar approach fails to capture the essence of particles, as does the performative approach, because knowing the position of certain particles on the scale of strength of commitment does not tell us anything about the meanings of particles.

2.2.3. Cognitive approach

Yo and *ne* have been investigated with respect to the relationship between the use of *yo* and *ne* and the representation of knowledge and information in conversation (e.g., Kamio, 1994; Cook, 1988; Maynard, 1993; Tanaka, 2000; Saigo, 2011; Morita, 2002; and Hayano, 2013, among others).

Concerning the relationship between sentence final particles and the representation of knowledge and information, the theory of territory of information proposed by Kamio (1994, 2002) is the most significant.¹¹ According to Kamio (1994), the speaker's information territory is a conceptual category which contains information close to the speaker him/herself (p. 77).

The information includes:

- a. Information obtained through the speaker's direct experience
- Information about persons, facts, and things close to the speaker including information about the speaker's plans, actions, and information about places to which the speaker has a geographical relation
- c. Information embodying detailed knowledge which falls within the speaker's professional or other expertise.

(Kamio, 1994, p.77)

¹¹ The following chart illustrates the basic of Kamio's (1994) the theory of territory of information.

Case	Definition of case	Utterance form
A	1 = Speaker $>$ Hearer $= 0$	direct form
В	$n < $ Speaker \leq Hearer $= 1$	direct-ne form
BC	1 = Speaker $> $ Hearer $> n$	daroo form
CB	$n \leq \text{Speaker} < \text{Hearer}$	daroo form
С	n > Speaker $<$ Hearer $= 1$	indirect-ne form
D	n > Speaker = Hearer	indirect form
N is the thread old walve for the an	antrou/honwow'n touvitory. The wetation	when many that a since piece of

N is the threshold value for the speaker/hearer's territory. The notation x > y means that a given piece of information belongs more to x's territory of information than to y's, while the notation x < y means the reverse situation. x = y means that information falls into both territories to the same degree.

(Kamio, 1994, p. 86)

Usage of *ne* is one of the key arguments supporting his theory. He distinguished two types of *ne* (or its variants such as *nee* and *naa*): obligatory *ne* and optional *ne*.

Kamio (1994) notes that obligatory *ne* is commonly used to seek assent, confirmation, or reconfirmation about a given piece of information from the hearer. Furthermore, the

information can be described as follows:

- i) a given piece of information falls completely within the hearer's territory, and
- ii) this same information also falls within the speaker's territory completely, or falls within it to a lesser degree (even a zero degree).

(Kamio, 1994, pp. 95-96	(Kamio,	1994,	pp.	95-96
-------------------------	---------	-------	-----	-------

Examples (18), (19), (20) and (21) illustrate the use of obligatory ne^{12}

Ii tenki da nee. nice weather is SF

'It's a beautiful day!'

(Kamio, 1994, p. 88)

(19)

(18)

Kimi wa doitu-go ga dekimasu nee. you TM German AM competent-F SF 'You are competent in German!'

(20)
 Kimi, sukosi yaseta ne.
 you a little lost-weight SF
 'You have lost a little weight, haven't you?'

(Kamio, 1994, p. 88)

(Kamio, 1994, p. 88)

 (21)
 Hitati-tte kekkou ookina mati-rasii ne. QM fairly big city seem SF
 'Hitati seems to be a fairly big city, doesn't it?'

(Kamio, 1994, p. 93)

¹² Case B and C in the chart at Note 11 are obligatory *ne*.

For example, the speaker and the hearer in example (18) are looking at the sky and weather information is accessible to both of them. The information (i.e., the weather) falls into both A's and B's territories because both A and B can directly access it. Thus, the obligatory *ne* is used in the conversation. In examples (19) and (20), the speaker can consider that the information (i.e., the listener's competence in German; the listener's appearance) completely falls into his/her territory based on the speaker's direct observation. The information also completely falls into the listener's territory because the information is about the listener him/herself. Thus, obligatory *ne* is used.

Obligatory *ne* is also used in a situation when the information falls completely within the listener's territory and falls within the speaker's territory to a lesser degree. In example (21), if the speaker is asking the listener about information of the city where the listener is living, the information (i.e., the size of the city of Hitati) can be considered as falling completely within the listener's territory while falling within the speaker's territory to a lesser degree.

On the other hand, optional *ne* is used in a situation in which:

i) a given piece of information does not fall into the hearer's territory, and

ii) it is closer to the speaker, or equally far from both.

(Kamio, 1994, p. 96)

Example (22) illustrates the use of optional ne.

(22)

S: Kore, ikura desu ka? this how-much is-F QM? 'How much is this?'

H: Gohyaku-en desu ne. 500 yen is-F SF Lit. '(It) is 500-yen.'

(Kamio, 1994, p. 97)

In example (22), H is working at a store and S is the customer who wants to know the price of an item. In this case, the information (i.e., the price of the item) definitely falls into H's territory, but not into that of S. If the *ne* is dropped, the utterance is still acceptable. Thus, *ne* in such cases is optional.

Kamio (1994) notes that optional *ne* cannot be used to seek assent or confirmation from the hearer because the hearer does not have the information in his/her territory, or sometimes the speaker may know the information better.

The application of Kamio's (1994) theory of territory of information in explaining the use of sentence final particle *ne* has been challenged by many scholars (e.g., Maynard, 1993; Kato, 2001). For example, Kato (2001) argues that *ne* is not the only possible choice in the following situation:

Two speakers look about and see that it is raining. According to Kamio's (1994) proposal, the information of "raining" falls into both the speaker's and hearer's territories. Thus, the obligatory *ne* must be used. However, several other sentence final particles are also possible in the following utterance.

(23)

A: yoku furu ame da **ne/yo/na** often fall rain COP FP FP FP It rains a lot **ne/yo/na**.

(Kato, 2001, p. 33)

Certainly, the sentence sounds unnatural if *ne* is not attached. Kato (2001), however, argues that the example illustrates that Kamio's (1994) theory fails to explain why *yo* and *na* are also possible.

Instead, Kato (2001) argues that *yo* and *ne* are markers of conversation management. *Yo* indicates that the speaker *prepares* (emphasis added) to conduct exclusive knowledge

management of the information while *ne* indicates that the speaker does not intend to conduct such management. "Exclusive knowledge management" refers to a situation in which only the speaker has more access to the information (p. 43). He further notes that the sentence final particles do *not* (emphasis added) indicate that the speaker can conduct the knowledge management nor can the speaker have better knowledge than others have. *Yo* and *ne* only indicate the speaker's stance toward his/her utterance.

For example, either yo or ne is possible in example (24).

(24) (A high school teacher is talking to a student's parent)

Parent: *uchi no ko daiichi shiboo wa daijoobu deshoo ka.* inside LK child first hope TP all.right COP Q Will my child get accepted by his first choice of school?

Teacher: *muri desu ne/yo*. impossible COP FP/FP It's impossible *ne/yo*.

(Kato, 2001, p. 44)

Kato (2001) proposes that if *yo* is used, the teacher is in a situation where he/she is preparing to conduct exclusive knowledge management, that is, the teacher is ready to explain the reason why he/she thinks so or to discuss any options with the parent. When *ne* is used, the teacher indicates he/she does not intend to conduct exclusive knowledge management. Thus, the teacher does not prepare to explain anything even if the parent might not accept the teacher's opinion.

Katagiri (2007) takes a similar approach analyzing *ne* and *yo*. Within the framework of the dialogue coordination model, he argues that *ne* and *yo* are used to inform the hearer of the speaker's state of acceptance about the information. He argues that "*ne* presents the propositional content as something the speaker has not yet wholeheartedly accepted while *yo*

presents the propositional content of the utterance preceding it as something the speaker has accepted" (p. 1317). The purpose of signaling the information in such a way is for the hearer to decide whether to accept the information. For example, the following two examples share the same proposition although different particles are attached.

(25)		
	Ikima	su yo.
	go	yo
	'I will	l go.'

(26) Ikimasu ne. go ne. 'I will go.'

(Katagiri, 2007, p. 1317)

Katagiri (2007) notes that both examples (25) and (26) can be used to negotiate a future plan in the sense of 'I'm planning to go, what do you think of it?'. However, if the speaker and the hearer agreed to do something in advance, only (25) is possible to be used to inform the hearer that the speaker is ready to go. *Ne* in (26) is used to inform the hearer that the speaker's action step is completed and they are about to move to the next step in a shared plan (p. 1317). He argues that only *yo* is eligible to communicate the state of progress of a joint activity being performed under an already agreed upon plan between a speaker and a hearer. In addition, *yo* can also be used in a situation in which the speaker and the hearer do not share a joint activity because "one might individually commit to a plan before proposing it to a hearer as a shared plan" (p. 1318).

A speaker can use *ne* to ask the hearer to accept a tentative joint plan including his/her future action. For example, the speaker is going to go to a bank in the following example (27). The speaker would commit to the future plan after she gets confirmation from the hearer. Thus, at the time of the utterance, the speaker has not yet accepted fully that she would perform the

action stated, or, at least, she presented the plan as one to which she has not yet fully committed (p. 1318).

(27) Ginkou-e ittekimasu *ne.* bank-to go *ne* 'I am going to go to the bank.'

(Katagiri, 2007, p. 1315)

Takubo & Kinsui (1997) investigated *yo* and *ne* based on their Discourse Management Theory. They argue that *yo* and *ne* are assumption management particles that work in mental discourse domains that are the interface between linguistic expression and memory base. There are two components in mental discourse domains: direct experience domain (D-domain) which is linked to the long-term memory and indirect experience domain (I-domain) which is linked to the temporary memory set up for the purpose of each discourse (p. 748).

They further point out that Japanese distinguish information that is directly accessible to the speaker from the information that is indirectly accessible to the speaker. *Yo* and *ne* are examples demonstrating the difference in information accessibility to the speaker.

According to Takubo & Kinsui (1997), *ne* indicates that the speaker is in the process of incorporating an assumption from the I-domain into the D-domain. In other words, *ne* is a marker for an on-going verification procedure (p. 754).

(28) Anata-wa John Smith-san desu-*ne*.

You-TOP Mr. John Smith COP-SFP 'You are John Smith, aren't you?'

D-domain: {evidence as to the identity of the hearer} I-domain: {the assumption to be verified: the hearer is John Smith}

(Takubo & Kinsui, 1997, p. 754)

In example (28), they argue that the proposition, i.e., you are John Smith, is in the speaker's I-domain because it is an assumption that has not been verified. After the verification

procedure is completed, the speaker concludes the proposition is true and may incorporate it into

the D-domain. Ne is used to manifest this verification process.

According to their theory, the hearer's knowledge is not taken into consideration. Thus, Takubo & Kinsui (1997) argue that the following can be successfully explained based on their theory.

(29) A: ima nanji desu-ka now what time is Q 'What time is it now?'

> B: eeto, 3ji desu-ne. well 3-o'clock is-SFP 'Well, it's 3 o'clock.'

> > (Takubo & Kinsui, 1997, P. 755)

In example (29), speaker B is answering speaker A's question. According to Takubo & Kinsui (1997), the use of *ne* here indicates that the speaker draws a conclusion on his/her own and the information regarding state of the hearer is not considered. Speaker A does not share the information, i.e., the exact time, with speaker B because he/she is seeking the information from speaker B. Thus, *ne* here cannot indicate that the hearer, i.e., speaker B, has any relevant information.

Takubo & Kinsui (1997) defines the use of *ne* in example (29) as self-confirmation and argue that such *ne* cannot be used in a sentence in which the conclusion is a non-trivial, non-obvious computation.

(30)A: anata-no okusan-no namae-wa? you-POSS wife-POSS name-TOP?'What is your wife's name?'

B:? Naomi desu-ne. 'It's Naomi.'

(Takubo & Kinsui, 1997, p.755)

In example (30), the use of *ne* results in an unnatural utterance because speaker B should know his wife's name. When *ne* is used, it will manifest that the speaker needs to go through a mental computation for verification, that is, searching his wife's name in memory, which leads to the unnaturalness of the utterance.

According to Takubo & Kinsui (1997), *yo* is a marker for setting up a proposition in the I-domain for further inference. In addition, *yo* indicates information that the speaker knows to be true and triggers future inferences rather than informs the hearer of the content of the proposition.

(31)

ame-ga hutte-iru-yo rain-NOM is-falling SFP. 'It's raining.'

(Takubo & Kinsui, 1997, p.756)

Takubo & Kinsui (1997) notes that *yo*, in example (31), is used to give directions for further action, e.g., "take an umbrella with you," or to notify a conclusion that can be drawn from the proposition, e.g. "the picnic will be canceled." If *yo* is not used, it indicates that no further inferences appear relevant.

Hasegawa (2010) investigated *yo* and *ne* in soliloquial Japanese. She argues that a sentence final particle is an instrument of thought and non-communicative intention can influence its usage. In her study, twenty-four native Japanese are asked to speak aloud their thoughts while alone in an isolated room. The subjects are instructed to verbalize whatever comes into their minds without considering any imaginary addressees.

Concerning the use of *ne*, Hasegawa (2010) argues that *ne* in soliloquial Japanese proves the validity of Takubo & Kinsui's (1997) proposal. Hasegawa (2010) notes that *ne* occurs frequently with (i) such adverbials as *yappa/yappari* (as expected, of course), *sasuga* (as might be expected), *igaito* (contrary to expectation), *soo ieba* (speaking of that), *naruhodo* (reasonably, that explains why something is in such a state), *jissai* (actually); (ii) the experiential demonstrative *are* (that); (iii) a conditional clause, and (iv) other kinds of comparisons, such as *mukashi no* (old one) (p. 80). Furthermore, *ne* also frequently follows *shi*, *mon(o)*, or *kara* which indicates some sort of reasoning. Thus, Hasegawa (2010) points out that the soliloquial Japanese data support Kinsui & Takubo's (1997) proposal about *ne*, that is, *ne* is a monitoring device for the speaker, rather than for the addressee (p.81).

Only *yo* with falling tones occurs in Hasegawa's (2010) study and she argues that Takubo & Kinsui's (1997) proposal can only be applied to *yo* with rising tone. Rather, she points out that the use of *yo* in her study supports Inoue's (1997) argument about *yo* with falling tone. According to Hasegawa (2010), Inoue (1997) contends that *yo* with falling tone "forces both the speaker and the addressee to re-evaluate the conversation and other relevant contexts in such a way that the conveyed proposition must be recognized as true" (p. 84). She further points out that *yo* with falling tone does not need to involve an addressee while *yo* with rising tone must involve an addressee.

Yo and *ne* have been examined from another perspective, that is, whether the speaker and the hearer share the same understanding or whether there is any difference of understanding between the speaker and the hearer. The essential properties of these two particles are that *ne* indicates that the speaker assumes that the hearer shares the same understanding while *yo*

indicates that the speaker's understanding is incongruent with the hearer's (e.g., Ohso, 1986, 2005; Masuoka, 1991; Moriyama, 1995; Inoue, 1997).

(32)

A: *amerikajin wa amari hataraki-masen ne* American TP not.much work-NEG FP American do not work much *ne*.

B: *iya yoku hatarakimasu yo* no a lot work FP No, (they) work a lot *yo*.

(Masuoka, 1991, p. 95)

According to Masuoka (1991), in example (32), speaker A assumes that speaker B has the same opinion by using *ne*. However, speaker B has a different opinion and *yo* is used to inform speaker A of the incongruence.

According to this explanation, *ne* and *yo* perform differently in conversation. Since *yo* indicates the incongruence of knowledge between the speaker and the hearer, *yo* tends to be used in situations in which the speaker assumes the hearer does not have the information or the speaker notices the incongruence of understanding between the speaker and the hearer and feels the necessity to explicitly inform the hearer of one's understanding (e.g., Masuoka, 1991; Ohso, 2005).

In the following example, WA1 is telling SE2 that he is often approached by strangers.

(33)

- 1 SE2: *hanashikakeyasui funiki na n jan* easy.to.talk atmosphere COP NML TAG Isn't it (because they feel) you are easy to talk with?
- 2 WA1:*na no ka ne* COP NML FP FP I am not sure.

3 SW2: *un*. ITJ Uh-huh.

4 WA1:*komatchau ne.* in trouble FP It's annoying.

5 SE2: *ii* **yo** *ii koto da* good FP good thing COP It's fine. It's a good thing.

(Ohso, 2005, p.7)

Ohso (2005) argues that SE2 notices that her understanding is different from WA1's (line 1 to line 4) and feels that it is necessary to inform WA1 of the difference (line 5). Thus, *yo*

is used to fulfill the purpose in line 5. She further notes that such use of *yo* is not obligatory.

Although *ne* indicates that the speaker assumes that the hearer shares the same understanding with the speaker, *ne* derives a function of confirmation when the reference belongs to the hearer. For example, Ohso (2005) proposes that *ne* in line 1 is the derived use of *ne* for confirmation because the reference, i.e., the bento, belongs to the hearer, SE2.

(34)

- 1 WA1: *a nanka onanoko ppoi obento da ne* ITJ somehow girl like lunch COP FP Oh, it is such a girl's lunch.
- 2 SE2: *e* so:: ITJ that Oh? You think so?
- 3 WA1: *un* ITJ Yes.
- 4 SE2: *sankyuu* thank you Thank you.

same

(Ohso, 2005, p. 5)

However, Kato (2001) argues that such explanation does not correctly describe the essential property of *yo* and *ne*. He presents the following counter-examples to support his argument.

(35)

A: *kore de ii ne* this COP good FP It is good like this *ne*.

B: *iya dame desu ne* no no.good COP FP No, it's not good *ne*.

(Kato, 2001, p. 34)

(36)

- A: *juubun janai desu ka* enough NEG COP Q It's enough, isn't it?
- B: *watashitoshite wa mitomerare-masen ne* for.me TP can agree-NEG FP I can't agree with you.

(Kato, 2001, p. 34)

In examples (35) and (36), speaker B uses *ne* even though he/she does not share the

same opinion as speaker A.

(37)

A: kimi no itteiru koto wa tadashii yo you LK saying things TP correct FP What you are saying is correct yo.

(Kato, 2001, p. 35)

In contrast, in example (37), even though speaker A shares the same opinion as others, he/she still uses *vo*. 13

¹³ Kato (2001) argues that *yo* and *ne* are markers of conversation management. See details of his proposal at p. 20.

2.2.4. Interactional approach

In the proposals of Kamio (1994), Kato (2001), Katagiri (2007), Takubo & Kinsui (1997) and Hasegawa (2010), the speaker's knowledge is the primary or the only contributing factor in the choice of *yo* and *ne* whereas the speaker's orientation toward others is not taken into consideration. Maynard (1993) argues that particles not only express the speaker's own voice, but also reflect "what he or she thinks is expected of him or her from the addressee" (p. 215).

Maynard (1993) defines sentence final particles as interactive particles that are devices to express the speaker's subjectivity, emotion and voice. She analyzed the use of *ne* and *yo* in conversation data from novels and TV dramas and proposes that unlike previous studies, *yo* and *ne* do not indicate the speaker's or the hearer's territory of information (Kamio, 1994); rather the choice of *yo* or *ne* encodes the relative proximity the speaker *feels* (emphasis added) he or she has to the information (p. 201).

(38)

ojoosan wa iyoiyo sotsugyoo A: Tanaka-san no da 500 Tanaka LK daughter T soon graduation BE I hear desu ne. IP BE 'I hear that Tanaka's daughter is soon graduating.' soo da soo B: Ee. desu a. ne IP yes so BE I hear BE b. <u>yo</u> IP |

'yes, I heard so.'

(Maynard, 1993, p. 200)

For example, two neighbors of Tanaka, A and B, are chatting about Tanaka's daughter. According to Kamio's (1994) proposal, if the information that A and B have learned is the same and the information source and the level of involvement are also the same between them, the information about Tanaka's daughter should be within both A's and B's territory of information.

According to Kamio (1994), *ne* must be used here because the information falls equally into the speaker's and the hearer's territory. As Kato (2001) points out, Kamio's (1994) theory does not explain why *yo* can also be used. Maynard (1993) argues that with the use of *yo*, speaker B indicates that he/she has relatively more access to and a firmer possession of the information than A has.

This argument is based on the theory of relative information accessibility/possessorship proposed by Maynard (1993) which is illustrated in the following table.

Sp(eaker)-E(xclusive), Ad(dressee)-E(xclu	usive), Sp(eaker)-M(ore	e), Ad(dressee)-M(ore) and		
Sp(eaker)/Ad(dressee)-Same					
Situation Label	Relative Information	Speaker's Choice			
	Accessibility/Possessorship		Of Particles		
	Speaker	Addressee			
Sp-E	Exclusive	None	Хуо		
Ad-E	None	Exclusive	X ne		
Sp-M	Partial-More	No/Partial-less	X yo, (X ne)		
Ad-M	No/Partial-less	Partial-More	X ne		
Sp/Ad-same	Same	Same	X ne		
-					

Table 1. The theory of relative information accessibility/possessorship

(Maynard, 1993, p.194)

As indicated in this table, Maynard (1993) notes that *yo* is used when the speaker believes that he/she has exclusive or more information accessibility or possessorship whereas *ne* is chosen when the speaker feels that the information is shared by the speaker and the hearer or the hearer has exclusive or more accessibility or possessorship of the information.

She further notes that the choice of using these particles "is made not necessarily on the basis of the speaker's or non-speaker's territory where information is found or whether the

knowledge is authorized individually or in a group. Rather, the level of accessibility to and/or possessorship of information in relation to the level of the interaction partner's is at issue" (p. 202).

Concerning the speaker's orientation towards the addressee, Maynard (1993) proposes that *yo* is a signal that the addressee should be aware of information exchange while *ne* is a device to avoid or remedy potential failure in interpersonal emotional involvement.

When *yo* is used in the [X *yo*] structure, *yo* indicates that the addressee's communicative behavior is required by the speaker to be "paying attention to [X]." When sentence final *yo* appears in discourse, the speaker and the addressee are primarily engaged in the process of information exchange while the participants' emotional involvement is not a main concern.

When *ne* is used in the [X *ne*] structure, *ne* indicates that the speaker solicits the hearer's confirmatory attitude and/or requests the addressee's transfer of information. The speaker and the addressee are primarily engaged in the interpersonal act of co-solicitation and granting of approval. Compared to the use of *yo* in which the information change is foregrounded, interaction is the main concern with the use of *ne*.

Cook (1992) also focuses on the functions of *ne* in natural conversation.¹⁴ She argues that *ne* directly indexes affective common ground between the speaker and the hearer. "Affective common ground" refers to agreement between the speaker and the addressee (p. 510). In addition, *ne* indirectly indexes various conversational functions that require the addressee's cooperation (e.g., requesting confirmation, getting attention, introducing a new topic, keeping the floor, socializing children, mitigating a face-threatening act and marking intimacy).

¹⁴ Cook (1992) treats the prolonged ne(e) the same as *ne*. In addition, the tones of *ne* and ne(e) are also not considered in her analysis.

The following example illustrates a *ne* used to mitigate a face-threatening act. The

speaker uses *ne* to minimize the potential damage to the addressee's positive face caused by a

face-threatening act (Brown & Levinson, 1978).

(39)

Mother: Oshokuji no toki ni mama shikaritaku nai kedo nee. meal Lk time at Mom scold-want NEG but FP 'I don't want to scold (you) at dinner time but,'

Hiroaki: *un.* Uh-huh 'Uh-huh.'

Mother: *Hiroaki no sono tabekaka ni wa moo (..) Mama yurusenai.* Hiroaki LK that eat-way PT T longer Mom forgive-can-NEG '(I) no longer can forgive you (..) for the manner in which you are eating.'

(Cook, 1992, p. 527)

Cook (1992) notes that in example (39), ne indicates that both the mother and the child

share the sentiment that scolding at dinner time is not desirable. Thus, both the particle ne and

the propositional content of the mother's utterance mitigate the face-threatening act.

Morita (2002) approaches *yo* and *ne* from a different perspective. She argues that using *yo* and *ne* presents relative degrees of authorship. She notes that final particles do not mark the content of the proposition, but mark the speaker's stance, i.e., the interactional position that a speaker wants to set up *with another speaker* in relation to a given utterance (p. 221, original emphasis).

She claims that *yo* marks an epistemic stance of authority on the part of the speaker that is not open to negotiation on the part of the hearer.

(40)

1 H: demo haashii hooru tte kekkoo huru soo but Hershey Hall QUO pretty old looks

 2hurui desho are? old MOD that 'But Hershey Hall looks pretty old, it's old, isn 	't it?'
$3 \rightarrow A$: are hurui-n desu kedo are wa< that old CP but that TOP 'That is old but that is'	
$4 \rightarrow$ H: <i>taishin koozoo</i> < aseismatic structure 'Aseismatic structure-'	
$5 \rightarrow A: nn shite-n desu yo.$ Mm do-ASP-SE CP FP	
6 <i>chanto siteru kara: anmari,</i> well do-ASP because not.so.much	
7nanka betsuni huan wa nakatta SOF particularly worry TOP not.exist:PA	ST

8 *tte iu ka*, [kichinto shiteru tte]. QUO say or well do-ASP QUO

'Mm, (it) has (aseismatic structure). Since it has (aseismatic structure), not so much...I would say I didn't worry so much. I heard it's well (built).'

(Morita, 2002, pp.227-228)

In example (40), for example, she argues that *yo* in line 5 in which H's contribution (i.e. line 4) can be evaluated indicates the speaker A's strong authority towards H and makes further negotiation impossible.

She further argues that the function of *ne* is to present a stance of "weak" or

"incomplete" authority in relation to the other speaker. In example (41), speakers A (female)

and T (male) are talking about their experience about an earthquake in Northridge, California.

Speaker A asks speaker T whether Japanese boys of his generation would attempt to disguise

their fear in a crisis situation like an earthquake.

- (41)
 - 1 T: ma onnanoko to sh< onnanoko to ne:? EMPH girls with girls with FP 'Say, with girls, with girls...'
 - 2 A: *n:n* mm
 - 3 ...
 - 4 T: nanka nanka futari kkiri dattari shitara ne:? SOF SOF two just CP-REP do-COND FP 'if (I am) somehow alone (with a girl), you know?'
 - 5 (1.0)
 - 6 *nn. nanka nanka henna koto kangae tari*, nn SOF SOF weird thing think REP
 - 7 soo yuu u u, such say
 - 8 A: [*nain*]
 - 9 T: [*yatara*] *kowagatta furi demo suru kamoshinnaikedo*. unduly scared-AUX show SOF do MOD CONN 'I may think something weird or maybe pretend to be ridiculously scared but...'
 - 10 A: nnnn.
 - $11 \rightarrow T$: nnn. soojanai toki wa otoko to issho dattarito.. so CP-NEG case TOP boy with together CP REP
 - 12 *dattari shitara* [*ne*]? CP REP do COND FP 'Otherwise, if, for example, (I were) with boys...'
 - 13 → A: [muda] desu <u>mon</u> [[ne: kowagatte misete]] mo ne: no.use CP thing FP scared-AUS show HP FP '...it is no use, right? even if you pretend to be scared, right?'
 - 14 T: [[yappari xxxxxxx] as. expected 'as you expect...'

For example, Morita (2002) argues that speaker A uses *ne* in line 13 to mitigate the force of asserting something only the interlocutor (i.e., speaker T) truly has the authority to claim. Morita (2002) notes that speaker A cannot claim symmetrical authority with T because speaker A is not a male and she cannot speak with authority about the inner thoughts of speaker T. Thus, speaker A's use of *ne* situates her stance as a "limited authority" regarding the issue being discussed (p. 226).

Tanaka (2000) approaches *ne* within a conversation analysis framework and examines *ne* as a turn-management device in conversation. She classifies *ne* in naturally-occurring conversation into four types: turn-initial, turn-internal, turn-final and *ne* occupying an entire turn. Tanaka (2000) demonstrates the use of *ne* in terms of regulating speakership and listenership among participants. Concerning turn-taking operations, *ne* can mark turn-entry points, acknowledgement-relevance places, possible transition-relevance places and topic changes. In addition, the use of *ne* is associated with a wide range of practices such as summoning, repair initiation, display of affiliation, collaborative construction of talk, competition for the floor, invitational affiliation, and reconfirmation of an agreed point.

For example, when *ne* is used in turn-final location, it can mark possible transitionrelevance places or select the next speaker. Furthermore, *ne* is involved in actions that invite affiliative or supportive actions from participants in the next turn. When *ne* itself occupies an entire turn, it marks turn-entry point and transition-relevance places. In addition, it can reconfirm an agreed point between participants or display appropriateness of topic transition.

Unlike other studies that consider *yo* and *ne* as opposites (e.g., Masuoka, 1991; Ohso, 1986, 2005), Izuhara (2003) argue that the goal of using *yo* and *ne* is the same, that is, they are

used to persuade the hearer to adopt the same cognitive state as that of the speaker. However, they differ in terms of how they accomplish such a task. The speaker uses *yo* to assert the speaker's own thoughts in order to change the hearer's cognitive stance. When *ne* is used, the speaker requests agreement from the hearer while not asserting his/her cognitive stance. Since both particles are involved with changing the hearer's cognitive stance, Izuhara (2003) points out that is why many speakers avoid using these particles with their superiors.

2.3. Past studies on *yone*

Compared to the many studies of *yo* and *ne*, the research on *yone* is limited. Many studies simply consider *yone* as the combination of *yo* and *ne* without further examination of the use of *yone* (e.g., Uyeno, 1971; Kato, 2001; Hayashi, 2010; Masuoka, 1991; Morita, 2002; Ohso, 2005; Saigo, 2011; Takubo & Kinsui, 1997; Kinsui & Takubo, 1998; and Katagiri, 2007, among others). Although there are some studies that focus only on *yone*, many of them tend to focus on a particular use of *yone*, i.e., confirmation (e.g., Hasunuma, 1995; Izuhara, 2003; Fukao, 2005; Asano-Cavanagh, 2011). This section will first introduce some research on *yone* as the combination of *yo* and *ne*. The second part of this section will introduce some research that focus only on *yone*.

2.3.1. Yone as the combination of yo and ne

In previous studies, *yone*, is usually considered as a combination of *yo* and *ne* (e.g., Uyeno, 1971; Kato, 2001; Hayashi, 2010; Masuoka, 1991; Morita, 2002; Ohso, 2005; Saigo, 2011; Takubo & Kinsui, 1997; Kinsui & Takubo, 1998; and Katagiri, 2007, among others). Thus, the meaning of *yone* has been analyzed based on the meaning of *yo* and *ne*. For example, according to Ohso (2005), *yo* indicates that the speaker explicitly demonstrates his/her information,

judgment or understanding to the hearer while *ne* shows the shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer. She argues that when the combination of the two, *yone*, is used, the speaker uses *yo* to clearly indicate that he/she already has the information and uses *ne* for confirmation. In addition, she notes that the use of *yone* indicates that the speaker tries to avoid a unilateral presentation of his/her thoughts and shows the speaker's consideration of the hearer's knowledge at the same time.

(42)

- 1 SR1: *demo sa nanka rifoomu toka tte* but FP like reform etc QT but something like home renovation.
- 2 KN2: *un* ITJ Unn
- 3 SR1: *hontoni nanka sa sonnani kawaru no*↑ really like FP that change Q Really change (the house) a lot?
- 4 KN2: *a: rifoomu wa nee* ITJ reform TP FP Oh, home renovation
- 5 SR1: *rifoomu yatten da yone* reform doing COP FP You are doing home renovation *yone*.
- 6 KN2: *un* ITJ Unn
- 7 SR1: so so un un ITJ ITJ ITJ ITJ Yes
- 8 KN2: *kawaru kawaru rifoomu wa hontoni kawaru yo* change change reform TP really change FP Home renovation does make a lot change.

In line 5, the speaker SR1 uses *yo* to show that she/he already knows that KN2 is having the home renovated and uses *ne* to seek confirmation.

Uyeno (1971) also considers *yone* as the combination of *yo* and *ne* and argues that when it is used in declarative sentences, the speaker implies his/her insistence on the truth of the matter with the use of *yo* while asks for confirmation from the addressee with the use of *ne* (p. 105). When *yone* is used in imperative sentences, the tone of the imperative sentences is softened because of the use of *ne* as shown in the following example:

(43) Ki-o-tuke-te ik-i-nasai <u>yo ne</u> Carefully go-command-formal 'Be careful on your way, won't you'

(Uyeno, 1971, p. 106)

Morita (2002) proposes that *yo* presents the speaker's epistemic authority without being open to negotiation while *ne* indicates the speaker's weak stance. When they are combined as *yone*, the degree of authority is located between *yo* and *ne*. In the following example, both speaker A and H use *yone*.

(44)

- 1 H: *yooroppa nanka sugoi* @@@ Europe SOF terrible 'such as Europe is terrible, hahaha'
- 2 A: @@@
- 3 H: *saabisu seeshin mo*, service mentality also '(their) service mentality also...'
- 4 → A: zero desu yo ne? zero CP FP FP 'does not exist.'

 $5 \rightarrow$ H: zero desu yo ne? zero CP FP FP 'does not exist.'

6 A: *kaitai-n dat-tara kae yo tte kanji.* want.to.buy-SE CP-COND buy-IMP FP QUO like 'It's like "if you want to buy, just buy!""

7 H: nnn nnn

(Morita, 2002, p. 229)

According to Morita (2002), both A and H can claim authority because both of them lived in England for a while. The use of *yone* indicates that both of them claim authority toward the utterance with the use of *yo* while not necessarily "against" the claim of the other by using *ne*. The speakers use *yo* first to indicate that one can claim the authority while at the same time by using *ne*, one indicates the action needs an uptake from the partner, "possibly as a politeness strategy" (p. 229).

2.3.2. *Yone* as a single particle

Some studies (e.g., Shirakawa, 1992; Kinsui 1993) argue that *yone* should be considered as a single particle rather than a combination of *yo* and *ne*. For example, Shirakawa (1992) argues that a speaker cannot express his/her understanding the same as and yet different from the hearer's at the same time, given that *yo* indicates the speaker and the hearer have different understandings while *ne* expresses a shared understanding.

In addition, *yo*, *ne* and *yone* can share some functions. For example, *yo*, *ne* and *yone* can be attached to information that is unknown to the hearer. This indicates that *yo* and *ne* are not opposite particles and *yone* is not simply the combination of them. Moreover, *yone* has its own function which is not shared by *yo* and *ne*. For example, when the speaker and the hearer have

different opinions and the speakers want to confirm with a third person, only *yone* is possible to fulfill such purpose (see chapter 4). The following section will introduce some studies which consider *yone* as a single particle.

2.3.3. Past studies on *yone* as a single particle

Because only limited research has focused on *yone* as a single particle, the following overview will be arranged by researcher.

2.3.3.1. Hasunuma

Hasunuma (1995) compares *yone* with other confirmation-seeking expressions "*daroo*" and "*janaika*" and argues that *yone* has two confirming functions: confirming the formation of mutual understanding/comprehension and engendering a shared recognition.¹⁵

(45)

watashi yuube megane koko ni oita yone. I last night glass here at put-PST FP I put my glasses here last night yone?

(Hasunuma, 1995, p. 397)

(46)

dookyuusei ni Kato tte ita (daroo/janaika/yone). classmate in Kato(name) QT existed

senotakai okokonoko. tall boy There was a classmate called Kato *yone*? (He was) a tall boy. (Hasunuma, 1995, p. 403)

¹⁵ Confirming the formation of mutual understanding/comprehension: 相互了解の形成確認; Engendering a shared recognition:共通認識の喚起.

For example, *yone* in example (45) is an example of confirming the formation of mutual understanding/comprehension. By *yone*, the speaker is asking the hearer to confirm that the hearer shares the understanding that "I" put the glasses here last night. In example (46), the speaker thinks that there was a classmate called Kato and asks the addressee to share this recognition.

As example (46) shows, Hasunuma (1995) notes that when *yone* is used to engender a shared recognition between the speaker and the addressee, it can be replaced with two other confirmation-seeking expressions: "*daroo*" and "*janaika*." However, when *yone* is used to confirm a formation of mutual understanding between the speaker and the addressee, it cannot be replaced with other confirmation-seeking expressions. Thus, Hasunuma (1995) argues that the formation of mutual understanding, as seen in example (45), is specific to *yone*. She further points out that when the speaker's understanding is uncertain, *yone* is the best choice for confirmation among these confirmation-seeking expressions (p. 402).

2.3.3.2. Izuhara

Izuhara (2003) argues that there are two types of *yone* for confirmation. First, *yone* is used to confirm whether the addressee's understanding is the same as the speaker's. With a *yone*-marked confirmation, the addressee is brought into the speaker's cognitive field in order to develop the conversation.

(47)

A: gaikoku de wa minna soo desu yone daitai. foreign country at TP everyone that COP FP general Generally speaking, everyone is like that in foreign countries yone. B: *soo desu ne.* that COP FP That's right.

(Izuhara, 2003, p. 8)

Example (47) shows that speaker A uses *yone* to confirm whether hearer B shares speaker A's understanding in order to develop the conversation smoothly.

The second type of *yone* is used when the speaker tries to make his/her understanding more certain. In this case, the hearer's understanding is considered more certain than the speaker's.

(48)

koko aitenai desu yone. here empty-NEG COP FP (This seat) is taken *yone*?

(Izuhara, 2003, p. 9)

For example, the speaker in example (48) can use *yone* to confirm whether the seat is taken or not when he/she notices a bag under the seat. The speaker's understanding is less certain than the addressee's.

2.3.3.3. Fukao

Fukao (2005) argues that *yone* presents a speaker's attitude, that is, the speaker tries to draw a conclusion with the help of the addressee's opinion or knowledge (p. 20). 16

For example, speaker A and B are talking about the food at a restaurant.

(49) 1 A: *doo*↑ how How's it?

¹⁶ Original Japanese is:自分の意見を提示し、相手の助けを借りて結論を出そうとする話し手の心的態度を 表現する。

2 B: *un umai yo kore* ITJ delicious FP this It's delicious.

3 A: *da* yone watashi mo sugoku suki COP FP I also very much like. Yes yone. I also like it very much.

(Fukao, 2005, p. 19)

Fukao (2005) notes that here '*da yone*' in line 3 means '*umai yone* (delicious *yone*).' Although speaker A asks "how's it" in line 1, probably he/she already thinks that the food is delicious. The use of *yone* in line 3 indicates that speaker A's understanding is confirmed with B's help, i.e., B's opinion expressed in line 2.

She further argues that yone cannot occur with the verb 'omou,' which means 'I think.'

This is because when yone is used, the speaker needs other people's 'help' (emphasis added) to

draw a conclusion. For example, she argues that *ne* is acceptable in the following example while

yone is unnatural because of the use of "omou (I think)."

(50)

watashi wa kimi ga tadashii to omou **ne**/?? yone I TP you NOM correct QT think FP FP I think you are right **ne**/??yone.

(Fukao, 2005, p. 21)

2.3.3.4. Asano-Cavanagh

Asano-Cavanagh (2011) compares *yone* and *ne* in the frame of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) approach and argues that *yone* indicates the speaker is uncertain about his/her understanding.

The following table illustrates the differences between *ne* and *yone*.

	Ne		Yone
a.	I know this	a.	I know this
b.	I think that you know the same	b.	I think that you know the same
c.	Because of this, I think that you will say: I want to say the same	c.	Because of this, I think that you will say: I want to say the same
		d.	I want you to say it
		e.	I don't know it

Table 2. The differences between ne and yone (Asano-Cavanagh, 2011)

As the table shows, the difference between *yone* and *ne* are components (d) and (e).

While *ne* indicates the speaker assumes the addressee will agree with the utterance, "*yone* implies that the speaker seeks consent, while not being fully certain" (p. 464).

(51)

- a. "noroware-te-iru no yo." "soo, nihongo-yaku ni kakawat-ta hito ga san-nin mo shinderu. Shit-te-ru **yone**?"
- b. "The book is cursed."
 "It's gotta be. The three people who attempted to translate it into Japanese are all dead. You knew about that?"

(Asano-Cavanagh, 2011, p. 463)

According to Asano-Cavanagh (2011), for example, if *yone* is replaced by the *ne* in example (51), the utterance sounds pushy because *ne* presents the speaker's assumption that the addressee shares the same understanding. On the other hand, *yone* indicates that the speaker is not fully certain about his/her understanding and the addressee is given the chance to show agreement or disagreement.

2.4. Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of previous studies on sentence final particles *yo*, *ne* and *yone*. The three sentence final particles are commonly used in conversation and have been explored from a wide variety of approaches. In particular, *yo* and *ne* have been studied from the performative approach, scalar approach, cognitive approach and interactional approach. *Yone* is commonly considered as the combination of *yo* and *ne* and the analysis of *yone* is based on the research results of *yo* and *ne*. However, some studies argue that *yone* should be considered as a single particle because *yone* can share the same function with *yo* and *ne*, but also has its own functions which are not shared by *yo* and *ne*.

The previous studies indicate that speakers can use *yo*, *ne* and *yone* to indicate not only the territory of information, epistemic authority, commitment to information and so forth, but also to facilitate the speaker's affective and epistemic orientation towards the interlocutor. *Yo*, *ne* and *yone* not only present the sharedness or incongruence of knowledge and information between the speaker and the hearer, but also the deep involvement and interaction between conversation participants.

Chapter 3

The Present Study

3.1. Target Form

Three types of yone are commonly used in conversation: i) yone as a tag-like question; ii)

yone in a response and iii) yone in providing information which the hearer does not know (e.g.,

Liu, 2010; Zhang, 2008; Hasunuma, 1992, 1995; Izuhara, 1993, 2003; Hayano, 2013). The

following three examples illustrate the uses of yone in conversation.

(52)

- $1 \rightarrow JF13$: karai no wa sonnani tabenai yone. spicy NML TP that.much eat-NEG FP You don't eat spicy food much yone.
- 2 JF14: *anmari ne* not.much FP Not much.

(Zhang, 2009, p. 23)

(53) (Sakura 9)

1 A: *ote suru neko iru jan*↑ shake do cat exist TAG Aren't there cats (which do) shake (trick)?

 $2 \rightarrow B: ma:: iru yone$ ITJ exist FP Well, there are yone.

(54)

- 1 IF04: *maikai maikai morau n da yone dareka kara* every time every time receive NML COP FP somebody from Everytime I get something from others *yone*.
- 2 JF03: *a:: honto hhhh* ITJ really Oh, really.

(Zhang, 2009, p. 24)

Example (52) illustrates that *yone* is used as a tag-like question. JF13 believes that JF 14 does not eat spicy food much and uses *yone* to seek confirmation from JF14. Example (53) shows that *yone* is used in a response. Here, *yone* is used in an agreement (line 2). In example (54), *yone* is used to provide the hearer with information that he/she does not have. In example (54), IF04 is telling that he/she receives something every time, and this information is not known to JF03.

To narrow the scope of analysis, the current study focuses the cases of *yone* used in two environments: (i) tag-like question (example (52)), and (ii) response (example (53)). *Yone* used for providing new information is not examined in this study (example (54)).¹⁷

3.2. Methodology and Data

Previous studies investigated *yone* from cognitive or interactive perspectives. However, neither perspective alone can successfully explain the use of *yone*. The present study aims to combine these two approaches and examines the use of *yone* in conversation under a cognitive-interactive framework.

Methodologically, the present study proposes hypotheses on the use of *yone* based on invented, written, and conversation data; the hypotheses are tested with naturally occurring conversation data. Invented data and naturally occurring conversation data are considered equally significant in the present study.

¹⁷ When *yone* occurs in situations in which the speaker provides new information to the hearer, it tends to appear as "*n da yone*" (Hasunuma, 1992).

A: a: demo ketten to ieba mizutamari ga kirai na n da yone ITJ but drawback QT if.say pool NOM dislike COP NM COP FP

Oh, but (the dog's) drawback is that (it) dislikes pool *yone*.

The present study excludes the cases of *yone* in providing new information in order to avoid the influence of the "*no da/n da*" structure. For a detailed discussion of "*no da*" structure, see Kuno 1973; McGloin, 1980; Noda, 1999.

The naturally occurring conversation data used in the present study consists of nine sets of face-to-face video-recorded multi-party conversations. The conversations are drawn from Sakura corpus distributed by the TalkBank organization.¹⁸ The conversation participants are native speakers of Japanese who are students at a Japanese university. In each video session, four students, who are classmates or close friends, talk about a given topic. The conversations were conducted in non-polite style (*da*-form) because of the closeness of the conversation participants. The selected video data includes female-male conversations and all female conversations. No male-male conversations are included because of the relatively fewer cases of *yone* in the data. Despite the fact that the data bias toward female participants, gender is not a contributing factor to the general conclusion of the present study. The speakers in the data are coded using Roman letters to provide anonymity.

The topics of the conversation include: "ideal partner," "preference for dogs or cats," and "part-time jobs." The conversation participants are allowed to deviate from the topic with the flow of the conversation. The length of these conversations is 24-35 minutes each and about 4 hours in total. Though the TalkBank provides transcripts along with video recordings, I re-transcribed the relevant segments in detail to improve the precision required for this analysis. Table 3 provides brief descriptions of the conversations.¹⁹

¹⁹ There are 18 face-to-face video data in Sakura. Ten video data were selected in terms of the numbers of *yone* used in conversation. Only the videos where more than 30 cases of *yone* are used were included in this study. Based on the provided transcription of the data in Sakura, the *yone* usage in each video is as follows:

#	Numbers of yone	#	Numbers of yone
Sakura 1	40	Sakura 10	31
Sakura 2	64	Sakura 11	46
Sakura 3	12	Sakura 12	40
Sakura 4	44	Sakura 13	11
Sakura 5	45	Sakura 14	22
Sakura 6	47	Sakura 15	12
Sakura 7	72	Sakura 16	28

¹⁸ The data are from the database of TalkBank. http://www.talkbank.org/browser/index.php?url=CABank/Sakura/

	N	I	Dentisinente	T
#	Name	Length (approx.)	Participants	Topic
1	Sakura 1	26 min	Two female students	Ideal partner
			Two male students	
2	Sakura 2	35 min	Two female students	Ideal partner
			Two male students	
3	Sakura 4	26 min	Two female students	Preference for dogs or cats
			Two male students	
4	Sakura 5	27 min	Two female students	Part-time jobs
			Two male students	
5	Sakura 6	26 min	Two female students	Part-time jobs
	a 1 -		Two male students	
6	Sakura 7	25 min	Four female students	Ideal partner
7	C 1 0	2 0 ·		T1 1 4
7	Sakura 8	28 min	Four female students	Ideal partner
8	Sakura 9	27 min	Four female students	Preference for dogs or cats
0	Sakula 9	27 11111	Four remaie students	Treference for dogs of cats
9	Sakura 10	25 min	Four female students	Preference for dogs or cats
,	Sultura 10	25 11111	i our remule students	reference for dogs of cuts
10	Sakura 12	24 min	Four female students	Part-time jobs

Three hundred thirty-one cases of *yone* have been identified in the data.²⁰ They are

classified into three groups according to the three main functions in previous studies. There are

Sakura 8	32	Sakura 17	9
Sakura 9	35	Sakura 18	21

²⁰ Two types of *yone* are also excluded from the data.

The first type is the case where *yone* appears in quotation. For example, *yone* in A and B's utterance (line 1 and line 3) are considered part of a quotation. Thus, they are excluded from this study.

a) 1 A: nanka asoko dame da yo toka ano kutsu nai yone toka such there bad COP FP such that shoes no FP such

- 2 *zettai iu n deshoo.* absolutely say NOM TAG (they will) definitely say something such as that's bad, that shoes are impossible, right?
- 3 B: *soo are wa nai yone toka* ITL that TP no FP such Yes, something like that's impossible.

Functions ²¹	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Total
Sakura1	17	4	0	21
Sakura2	28	15	4	47
Sakura 4	19	12	2	33
Sakura5	28	12	1	41
Sakura 6	26	2	0	28
Sakura 7	16	18	1	35
Sakura8	16	13	2	31
Sakura 9	11	11	12	34
Sakura10	21	4	0	25
Sakura 12	21	12	3	36
Total	203 (61.3%)	103 (31.1%)	25 (7.5%)	331 (100%)

Table 4. Summary of the cases of *yone* in this study

203 cases of yone used as tag-like questions, 103 cases of responses and 25 cases of yone for

providing new information. Table 4 shows the case distributions in each data set.

- b) 1 C: a: demo sa ima sa oya no nenree kangaeru to saa are da yone. ITJ but FP now FP parents LK age think if FP that COP P Oh, but if we consider our parents' age, that yone
 - 2 B: *a*:: *nenkoojoretsu da yone* ITJ seniority by length of service COP FP Seniority by length of service, right?
- ²¹ Type 1: seeking confirmation or agreement Type 2: showing agreement or empathy Type 3: providing new information

The second type is the case of "*are dayone*," which occurs when the speaker is in the process of word-searching. For example, "*are dayone*" occurs when speaker C could not find the right word in line 1. B provides the answer in line 2. The use of *yone* such as in line 1 is also excluded from this study.

3.3. Transcription conventions

The data were transcribed using the revised Hepburn system of Romanization. Although utterances were transcribed according to standard Japanese pronunciations, paralinguistic features, such as pauses, sound stretches, overlapping speech, etc., were also noted in the transcription according to the transcription conventions developed by Jefferson (2004) with modifications. In addition, non-vocal actions such as gestures, body alignment, and other contextual information are noted. See Appendix for complete transcription notation.

In addition, the transcription follows a tri-linear model: The first line is the Romanized utterance; the second line contains the word-by-word gloss; and the third line provides the approximate English translation.

The target particle, *yone*, is highlighted in bold because it is the principal subject of discussion. In English translation, *yone* remains in its original form without providing translation in order to avoid confusing the meaning caused by English translation.

The present study examined the transcription and the video through a variety of perspectives, including lexical choices, paralinguistics features and contextual information.

Chapter 4

Yone as a tag-like question²²

4.1. Introduction

Yone and *ne* are commonly used as tag-like questions. Many studies argue that they function as requests for confirmation or agreement (e.g., Hasunuma, 1992, 1995; Izuhara, 1993, 2008; Asano-Cavanagh 2011; Miyake, 1996; Miyazki, 2000; Hayano, 2013). For instance, in examples (55) and (56), both *yone* and *ne* are used to seek confirmation.

(55)

A: ashita	iku	yone.	
tomorrow	go	FP	
You will go	o ton	norrow,	right?

B: *un, iku.* yes go Yes, I will.

(56)

- A: *ashita iku ne* tomorrow go FP You will go tomorrow, right?
- B: *un, iku.* yes go Yes, I will.

Although both *yone* and *ne* can be considered as tag-like questions, they are not always

interchangeable. Observe the following example:

²² This chapter is based on my research with Professor Naomi H. McGloin. The research results were presented at the American Association of Teachers of Japanese 2014 Annual Spring Conference at Philadlphia and the 14th International Pragmatics conference in July 2015 at Antwerp, Belgium. I am deeply thankful to Professor McGloin for allowing me to use her hypothesis for this study.

- 1 A: *kyoo wa atatakai desu ne* today TP warm COP FP It's warm today *ne*.
- 2 B: <u>*eh*</u>↑ soo desu ka↑ waatashi wa samukute samukute ITJ that COP Q I TP cold cold Really? I am very cold.
- 3 → A: ((to C))*atatakai desu yone*. warm COP FP It's warm *yone*. 4 C: *un*. yes Yes.

In example (57), speaker A thinks it is warm while speaker B does not share that same feeling with speaker A. In line 1, speaker A uses *ne* to seek confirmation from speaker B. Here, *ne* cannot be replaced by *yone*. After speaker B displays his/her disagreement in line 2, speaker A uses *yone* rather than *ne* in line 3 to produce another tag question to speaker C. Again, here *yone* cannot be replaced by *ne*.

Although the differences between *yone* and *ne* as tag questions have been explored in various ways, no satisfactory explanation has been provided for why *yone* and *ne* are not interchangeable in a case like example (57).

The present study aims to account for the difference between *yone* and *ne*, which was exemplified in example (57). Specifically, we propose the following hypothesis:

- i) When *ne* is used as a tag-like question, the speaker assumes that the hearer shares the same understanding.
- When *yone* is used as a tag-like question, it is triggered by an explicit or implied cognitive or interactional incongruity.

(57)

The chapter is organized as follows: first, we will review past relevant studies regarding *yone* and the differences between *yone* and *ne* as tag-like questions. This is followed by detailed analysis of how *yone* is associated with incongruity. Three different types of incongruity associated with *yone* will be carefully examined. The last part summarizes the findings of this chapter.

4.2. Past relevant studies

This section presents the previous studies on the differences between *yone* and *ne* as taglike questions. In general, *yone* and *ne* used as tag-like questions are considered as confirmationseeking expressions (e.g., Miyake, 1996; Hasunuma 1995). Only limited research has focused on the differences between *ne* and *yone* as tag-like questions (e.g., Izuhara, 2003; Noda, 1993; Asano-Cavanagh, 201; Hayano, 2013).

4.2.1. The differences between *ne* and *yone* as tag-like questions

The first issue about the differences between *ne* and *yone* as tag-like questions is the speaker's certainty of the information. Asano-Cavanagh (2011) compares *yone* and *ne* in the frame of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) approach and notes that the difference between *yone* and *ne* lies in the fact that *yone* indicates the speaker is uncertain about his/her understanding while *ne* does not indicate the speaker's uncertainty. Asano-Cavanagh (2011) argues that "*yone* implies that the speaker seeks consent, while not being fully certain" (p. 464).

Contrary to that, Noda (1993) argues that *yone* displays the speaker's certainty of knowledge. She argues that the particle *yo* in *yone* is the marker that shows the speaker is certain about his/her understanding or knowledge.

(58)
 Nakano ni osumai deshita yone
 Nakano in live COP-PST FP
 You lived in Nakano yone.

(Noda, 1993, p.13)

In example (58), Noda (1993) argues that even though the information, i.e., where the hearer lived, is about the hearer, *yo* in *yone* indicates that the speaker is also certain about the information.

Another issue is how *yone* and *ne* presents the sharedness of understanding between the speaker and the hearer. Noda (1993) compares *yone* and *ne* in several situations. She argues that *yone* clearly presents the speaker's assumption that the hearer shares the same understanding. *Ne* also indicates the same assumption; however, *ne* does not as strongly present the assumption as *yone* because *ne* is frequently used even when the addressee does not share the information with the speaker.

(59)

kono bun ja ashita wa ame ni naru wa yone. this way if tomorrow TP rain to become FP FP As things stand, tomorrow will rain yone.

(60)

kono bun ja ashita wa ame ni naru wa ne. this way if tomorrow TP rain to become FP FP As things stand, tomorrow will rain *ne.*

(Noda, 1993, p. 13)

For example, Noda (1993) argues that example (59) has a stronger sense of confirmation than example (60) because in example (59) the speaker clearly expresses his/her judgment with the use of *yone*.

The third issue is the function of *yone* and *ne* in tag questions. Izuhara (2003) argues that *yone* is used to confirm that the addressee's understanding is the same as the speaker's while *ne* is used to invite agreement from the addressee. In other words, *yone* is associated with confirmation while *ne* is used for seeking agreement.

In contrast, Hayano (2013) treats *yone* and *ne* the same when they are used in a confirmation sequence. She argues that *yone* and *ne* are often used in questions "when they are confirmation requests for a hypothesis with which the speakers are quite confident" (p. 190). Both *yone* and *ne* can be used for seeking confirmation or agreement. The functions of *yone* and *ne* change according to whether the speaker and the addressee share the information about the referent. If the referent is accessible to both the speaker and the addressee, *yone* and *ne* are used for agreement. When *yone* or *ne* marks a piece of information that belongs to the territory of the addressee, it is associated with a confirmation action.

4.2.2. Remaining issues

Although these previous studies present illuminating explanations for *yone* and *ne*, their explanations are contradictory. For example, Asano-Cavanagh (2011) argues that *yone* indicates that the speaker is not fully certain about one's information while Noda (1993) proposes that *yone* clearly shows the speaker's judgment.

Moreover, the explanations in the previous research do not provide an answer to the following question: Why is *yone* the only possible choice of confirmation in the following multiparty conversation?

(61)

1 A: *kore kawaikunai*↑ this cute-NEG Isn't it cute? 2 B: E↑ kawaikunai yo ITJ cute-NEG FP Really? It's not cute.
3 → A: ((to C)) kawaii yone cute FP It's cute yone.
4 C: un ITJ Yes.

4.3. Hypothesis

The present study proposes that when *yone* is used as a tag question, the speaker is aware of an explicit or implied cognitive or interactional incongruity. This feature distinguishes *yone* from *ne* because *ne* does not indicate the involvement of such incongruity. Rather it indicates that the speaker assumes his/her understanding is the same as the hearer's. For instance, in example (61), the use of *yone* is associated with an explicit incongruity between speaker A and speaker B regarding whether the thing they are looking at is cute. Thus, a *yone*-marked tag question can be considered as being triggered by such incongruity.

In this study, three types of incongruity have been identified:

- a) Type I indicates an incongruity in the speaker's own understanding. Speaker uses *yone* when he/she is not completely certain about information or one's understanding.
- b) Type II indicates an existing incongruity because the information belongs more to the heaer than the speaker. Unlike type I, speaker is completely certain about his/her understanding. *Yone* is used because information is considered to belong more to the hearer.

c) Type III is a disalignment between the speaker and the interactants. In type III, *yone* can be triggered by different understandings between the speaker and the hearer or by a non-response. In addition, Type III *yone* also can function as a device to seek support from the addressee in order to justify the speaker's position. The following section carefully describes the three types of *yone* as tag-like questions.

4.4. Type I

In Type I situation, *yone* indicates there is a cognitive incongruity in the speaker's understanding. It can appear as the difference between the speaker's understanding and what the speaker is experiencing. In addition, *yone* can indicate that the speaker is not completely certain about his/her recognition or understanding.

(62) = (45)

watashi yuube megane koko ni oita yone. I last night glass here at put-PST FP I put my glasses here last night *yone*? (Hasunuma, 1995, p. 397)

For example, in example (45), reproduced as example (62), the speaker notices that his/her glasses are not where he/she put them the previous night. What the speaker notices, i.e. the glasses are missing, is different from what he/she thought, i.e., the glasses should be there. Moreover, *yone* also indicates that the speaker is not completely certain about his/her understanding.

The following examples of *yone* demonstrate how speakers use *yone* to present that they are not completely certain about their understanding in naturally occurring conversation. In example (63), four female students are talking about their part-time jobs. Speaker A works at a Japanese style bar, *Izakaya*, and speakers B, C and D know that.

- (63) (Sakura 12)²³
- 1 B: *are ikura da kke ikura da kke* ITJ how much COP AUX how much COP AUX How much is it? How much is it (I don't remember)
- 2 A: *ima wa 890 en* now TP yen It's 890 yen now.
- 3 C: [fuun ITJ Oh.
- 4 D: [*yoru mo*↑ night also At night also?
- 5 B: *agatta n da* went NML COP Oh, it has gone up.
- 6 A: *agatta* went up It has gone up.
- $7 \rightarrow D: eh\uparrow demo izakaya nishite izakaya da yone ITJ but Izakaya as Izakaya COP FP What? But, for an Izakaya, it is Izakaya yone.$
- 8 A: *un* ITJ Yes.

²³ Japanese transcription of (63)

- 1. B: あれ、いくらだっけ?いくらだっけ?
- 2. A: 今は、890 円。
- 3. C: [.j.h.
- 4. D:「夜も?
- 5. B:上がったんだ。
- 6. A:上がった。
- 7. → D: えでも居酒屋にして、居酒屋だ**よね**。
- 8. A: うん。
- 9. D: 安いよね。
- 10. A: うん、安い。

- 9 D: *yasui yone*. low FP It is low.
- 10 A: *un yasui* ITJ low It's low.

When speaker A tells others the hourly payment at her part-time job (line 2), speaker D seems surprised. She first asks whether the rate for the night shift is the same (line 4) and produces the *yone*-marked tag-like question (line 7). Before the *yone*-marked utterance, speaker D was going to say *'izkaya nishitewa*,' but she did not finish it only saying *'izkaya nisite*.' At the time of utterance, a question arose in speaker D's mind as to whether the place speaker A worked was indeed an izakaya. Thus, she stops and produces the *yone*-marked tag-like question. Here, the incongruity appears as speaker D questioning her own understanding of the place of speaker A's part-time job.

Example (64) also illustrates the speaker using a *yone*-marked tag-like question when she is not completely certain about the information. Before the segment, four students were talking about birthdays. Speaker H mentions that her birthday is in October and is the same as a holiday, Sports Day, which is on the second Monday of October.

(64) (Sakura 4) 24

²⁴ Japar	nese transcription for (64)
1	H: 体育の日
2	E:10月12?
3	H:13
4	E: 惜しい
5	→B:体育の日って年によって変わるよね?
6	H: うん、結構ほとん…
7	B: たいていかぶる ?
8	H: 今日 かい きょ= ?
9	C:= 今日 !?[(hhhh)
10	B: [(hhhhh)
11	E: 今日 ? どういう意味 ?
12	B: 今年 ?

- 1 H: *taiiku no hi* sports LK day Sports Day
- 2 E: *juugatsu juuni*↑ October 12 October 12th?
- 3 H: *juusan* 13 13th
- 4 E: *oshi* regrettable Close.
- $5 \rightarrow B$: *taiiku no hi tte toshi niyotte kawaru yone* sports LK day QT year according to change FP The date of Sports Day changes every year *yone*.
- 6 H: *un kekkoo hoton* yes quite almost Yes almost eve(ry)
- 7 B: taitee kaburu↑ in general overlap In general, does it overlap (with your birthday)?
- 8 H: *kyoo kai kyoo*↑=(hhhhh) today kai today Today *kai* Today?
- 9 C:= kyoo [(hhhhh) today Today?
- 10 B: [hhhhh]
- 11 E: *kyoo*↑ *doo iu imi*↑ today how say meaning Today? What do you mean?
- 13 H:今年。

¹⁴ E: あーなるほどね。

- 12 B: *kotoshi*↑ this year this year?
- 13 H: *kotoshi* this year this year.
- 14 E: *a: naruhodo ne* ITJ I see FP Oh I see.

After finding out speaker H's birthday overlaps with the holiday this year, speaker B asks whether speaker H's birthday generally overlaps with the holiday (line 7). Before that in line 5, she uses *yone* to confirm with speaker H whether the date of Sports Day changes every year. Given that Sports Day is a national holiday, speaker B probably knows that the date of the holiday changes every year. However, she is probably not completely certain about that considering, as line 7 shows, speaker B probably does not know how frequently speaker H's birthday overlaps with the holiday. Here, *yone* can be considered to mean that speaker B is not completely certain about her understanding of the holiday.

Example (65) is an example where the speaker uses *yone* followed by a question to indicate her uncertainty. In this segment, four students are talking about the thesis proposals they are supposed to submit before going to training.

(65) (Sakura 10 $)^{25}$

- 4 C: いいんじゃない ?
- 5 B: [期限は実習
- 6 C: [だってあたしもなんか、送ったけど、

²⁵ Japanese transcription of (65)

¹ C: でも何も言われてないんだよね?

² A:うん。

³ B: 実習の始まる前に送ったやつ。

⁷ 結局.まあはっきりしてないようなので、

⁸ 実習中に何かあったらメモでも取って考えて見てください。

⁹ みたいな感じだった。

¹⁰ A: (笑)

- 1 C: *demo nanimo iwaretenai n da yone* but nothing told-NEG NML COP FP But (the professor) didn't say anything, right?
- 2 A: *un* ITJ Yes
- 3 B: *jishuu no hajimaru maeni okutta yatsu* training LK begin before sent thing The thing we sent before the training began
- 4 C: *ii n janai* ↑ good NML COP-NEG It should be fine.
- 5 B: [*kigen wa jisshuu* deadline TP training The deadline is training....
- 6 C: [*datte atashi mo nanka okutta kedo:* but I also something sent but I also sent something,
- 7 *kekkyoku maa hakkiri shitenai yoo na node* after all well clear do-NEG seem COP because Eventually (the professor said) because the proposal is not clear,
- 8 *jisshuu chuuni nanka attara memo demo totte kangaete mite kudasai* training during something have.if memo such take think try please Please try to write down what you notice and think about it during the training.
- 9 *mitaina kanji datta* such feel COP-PST (the professor said) something like that
- 10 A: hhhhhhhhh
- 11→ D: jisshuu-chuu nanimo nai yone atta↑ training-during nothing no FP had There was nothing (to write down) yone. Was there anything?

^{11 →} D: 実習中なんもない**よね**? あった?

¹² B: 色々考える事はあったけど、

¹³ それは卒論にはあんまりつながらなかったみたいな。

¹⁴ A: うん、そうそうそう

- 12 B: *iroiro kangaeru koto wa atta kedo* various think thing TP had although Although there were a lot of things to think about
- 13 sore wa sotsuron ni wa ammari tsunagaranakatta mitaina that TP graduation thesis to TP not much related-NEG such not many were related to the thesis.
- 14 A: *un so so so* ITJ yes yes yes Yeah, yes yes yes

Although they were supposed to submit their proposals before going to training, some have not done so. Speaker C says that it does not matter because the professor did not give much feedback after she submitted her proposal. The professor just told her to write down important things during the training period (lines 6, 7, 8, 9). In line 11, speaker D produces a *yone*-marked tag-like question about whether there was something worth writing down. Following the *yone*-marked utterance, she continues with a question "*atta*? (was there anything?)." The combination of *yone*-marked tag-like question and yes/no question indicates that the speaker is probably not fully certain about her thought.

The foregoing examples demonstrate that *yone* can be used to index that the speaker is not completely certain about his/her understanding. The use of *yone* is triggered by a type of lack of understanding or lack of certainty.

4.5. Type II

Yone does not always indicate the speaker's uncertainty of his/her understanding; *yone* can be used when the speaker is compeletly certain about his/her understanding. The use of Type II *yone* is not associated with uncertainty. Rather, it tends to be trigged by an incongruity which exists because the information belongs more to the hearer than the speaker.

Example (66) illustrates yone used in a situation in which the information is related to

the hearer's personal information. In this segment, four students are talking about speaker B's

family history. Speaker B said that her ancestors were famous in history.

(66) (Sakura 4)²⁶

- 1 D: *ne: Tokike sugoi ne* FP Toki-family superb FP Toki-family is superb, isn't it?
- 2 B: *senzosama dake da kara* ancestors only COP because Only (my) ancestors.
- 3 C: hhhh *modoshita* ↑ returned ((laugh)) back to the (original topic)?
- 4 D: *mazu kanji ga kakkoii mon ne mazu* first of all characters NOM cool because FP first of all First of all, the character (of your family name) is cool
- 5 B: *onyomi da mon ne mazu* Chinese reading COP because FP first of all (It is read) by Chinese readings, first of all

- 4 D: まず漢字がかつこいいもんね、まず。
- 5 B: 音読みだもんね、まず。
- 6 C: 岐ってどういう字?
- 7 → D: 分岐点の岐だ**よね**?
- 8 B: うん。
- 9 D:山に支える。
- 10 C: ~-
- 11 D: 俺(())の一年生の名前を何回もね、
- 12 全員分書いたことあるからね、だいたいみんなの
- 13 漢字を知ってるもん、名前まで。
- 14 C:やったやん。
- 15 D: だいたい書けるもん。

²⁶ Japanese transcription of (66)

¹ D:ねー、土岐家 すごいね

² B: 先祖様だけだから

³ C: ふっ、戻した。

- 6 C: *Ki tte dooyuu ji* ↑ ki QT what character What is the character for *Ki*?
- $7 \rightarrow D$: bunkiten no ki da yone bunkiten LK Ki COP FP It's Ki of Bunkiten yone
- 8 B: *un* yes yes
- 9 D: *yama ni sasaeru* mountain to support It's the character for "mountain" and "to support".
- 10 C: hee ITJ I see
- 11D: ore ()ichinenseenonamaeo nankaimoneIfirst year students LKnamesO whattimesalsoFP
- 12 *zenin kaita koto aru kara ne daitai minna* all wrote thing have because FP generally everyone
- no kanji o shitteru mon namae made
 LK characters O know because name until
 I have written first year students' names for several times, so I know everyone's name in character.
- 14 C: *yatta yan* did TAG You did it!
- 15 D: *daitai kakeru mon* generally can.write because I can write for the most part

After praising speaker B's family history, speaker D starts to mention that the Chinese character of speaker B's family name is cool (line 4). Since speaker B's family name is not common in Japan, speaker C asks what the character is for speaker B's family name (line 6). In line 7, speaker D produces the *yone*-marked utterance to confirm the character with speaker B.

According to Kamio's (1994) theory of territory of information, personal information such as the character of a family name should fall into B's territory in this example. However, the use of *yone* does not mean that speaker D is uncertain about his understanding of the character of speaker B's family name. Unlike the *yone* in Type I, which indicates the speaker is not completely certain about one's understanding, here speaker D surely knows the character of speaker B's family name. From line 11 to line 13, speaker D explains that he knows the characters because he has written down all the students' names many times before and that is why he knows Chinese characters for everyone's name. Thus, this example shows that *yone* can be used in a confirmation when the speaker is completely certain about the information he/she is confirming, yet when the information belongs more to the hearer's territory.

In example (67), *yone* is used in a situation in which the information is related to the hearer's work experience, which also falls into the hearer's territory (Kamio, 1994). In the segment, four female students are talking about their part-time jobs. Before the segment, speaker D is telling a story about a girl (H) who currently is her colleague. H happened to work for 3 days in the same store where speaker B is now working. H told speaker D that she had an unhappy experience with a person wearing glasses in that store. The person wearing glasses in the conversation is speaker B's colleague. The following segment is about that person.

(67) (Sakura 10)²⁷

1 C: megane no hito tte obasan↑ glasses LK people QT middle-aged woman

²⁷ Japanese transcription of (67)

- 1 C: 眼鏡の人っておばさん?
- 2 B:[ううん。
- 3 → D: [おじさんだ**よね**?いた**よね**?
- 4 → D: 背高い人だ**よね**?
- 5 B: 背高い人、背高い人

Is the person who wears glasses a middle-aged woman?

- 2 B: [uun no No.
- $3 \rightarrow D: [ojisan da yone ita yone middle-age man COP FP existed FP He is a middle-aged man yone. There was a man like that yone.$
- $4 \rightarrow D$: setakai hito da yone tall people COP FP He's tall yone.
- 5 B: *setakai hito setakai hito* tall people tall people (he's) tall, (he's) tall

In line 1, speaker C asks whether the person wearing glasses is a woman. Speaker D produces *yone*-marked tag-like questions (line 3 and line 4) at the same time speaker B provides an answer (line 2). Since speaker D has heard the information about the person wearing glasses from the girl H, it is expected that speaker D knows the gender and the appearance of the person. However, according to Kamio (1994), the information about the person wearing glasses is direct experience for speaker B because she is directly working with that person, but indirect experience for speaker D because she heard the information from H. Thus, the information can be considered as located more in the speaker B's territory. The use of *yone* by speaker D illustrates that *yone* is used when the information belongs more to the hearer, i.e., speaker B.

Example (68) is another example showing the use of *yone* when the information is located more in the hearer's territory. In the following segment, speaker H is telling others that she doesn't cook much.

(68) (Sakura 4) 28

68

²⁸ Japanese transcription of (68)

rice and like side dish buy come like So you buy some rice and side dishes? 2 H: =okome dake rice only Only rice. 3 E: [*eh*↑] ITJ What? 4 C: [*eh*↑] ITJ What? $dake \uparrow$ 5 E:[*shiromeshi* plain cooked rice only Only cooked rice? 6 B:[ochazuke \uparrow = Ochazuke (rice with tea poured on it) Ochazuke 7 H: *=ochazuke toka* Ochzuke like Something like Ochazuke \rightarrow E: genki 8 denai yone (to H(energy not.come FP You won't get energy yone.

E: okome to nanka osoozai katte kuru mitaina[↑]=

9 H: *genki da yo*↑

1

1	E:お米と何かお惣菜買ってくるみたいな?=
2	H:=お米だけ。
3	E:[え?]
4	C:[え?]
5	E:[白飯だけ?
6	B: [お茶漬け?=
7	H:= お茶漬けとか。
8	→ E: <u>元気でない</u> よね?
9	H: 元気だよ。
10	All: (笑)
11	E: え、野菜物も肉も食べないみたいな?

12 H: 一回も買ってない。

energy COP FP I am energetic.

10 ALL: ((laugh))

11 E: *eh*↑ *yasai mo niku mo tabenai mitaina* ITJ vegetable too meat too eat-NEG like Really? Like you don't eat vegetable nor meat.

12 H: *ikkai mo kattenai*. once too buy-NEG I have not bought once.

Speaker E asks whether speaker H buys some side dishes if she does not cook much in line 1. When speaker H says she only eats rice (line 2), everyone is surprised (lines 3 and 4). The token "*eh*" (lines 3 and 4) indicates that the speaker notices something in the talk is different from his/her pre-existing knowledge (Shimotani, 2008; Hayashi, 2009). Here, the token "*eh*" indicates that a disalignment exists between speaker E's understanding and speaker H's behavior in terms of eating. Speaker E probably believes that an unbalanced diet such as only eating rice is unhealthy and will not provide enough energy and nutrition based on general knowledge. However, according to Kamio (1994), the information that whether speaker H is healthy is obtained through her internal direct experience and should be considered as completely in speaker H's territory; only speaker H herself can confirm whether she is energetic with only eating rice. Thus, speaker E uses *yone* even though speaker E is probably certain about his understanding.

The above examples demonstrate that *yone* can be used in a situation in which the speaker is certain about the information. The use of *yone* is triggered by the fact that the information belongs more to the hearer's territory.

4.6. Type III

Yone appears when the speaker realizes there is a disalignment between him/herself and

the interactants. Type III of *yone* can also be motivated by a disalignment created in

conversation where there is no expected response from the addressee. In addition, yone also

serve as a device to seek support from other conversation participants in order to justify the

speaker's position.

Example (69) illustrates the use of *yone* is associated with an explicit disalignment between conversation participants. In this segment, four students are talking about their preference for mountains or the ocean.

(69) $(Sakura 4)^{29}$

- 1 D: *demo Nagoya no wa ne umi ga* [*kitanai kara*] but Nagoya LK TP FP ocean NOM dirty because But, Nagoya's ocean is dirty, so
- 2 C:

[*ima nan tsu*] *tta*↑ now what QT said What did you say just now?

3 D: *Nagoya no umi wa kitanai kara*= Nagoya LK ocean TP dirty because Nagoya's ocean is dirty, so=

4 C: =*Nagoya tte itta n da Nagano tte kikoeta* Nagoya QT said NML COP Nagano QT heard You said Nagoya. I heard it as Nagano.

- 1. D: でも名古屋のはね、海が[汚いから]
- 2. C: [今なんつ]った?
- 3. D:名古屋の海は汚いから=
- 4. C:=名古屋って言ったんだ、長野って聞こえた。
- 5. B: あたしも。
- 6. C:ねっぴっ[くりだよ]
- 7. B: [長野ない]よねって
- 8. →D:名古屋って言ったよね。今(Aに)
- 9. A:言った。hhhhh
- 10. D: ほら (Cに)。今日気が合うね (Aに)

²⁹ Japanese transcription of (69)

- 5 B: *atashi mo* I also Me too
- 6 C: *ne:: bik[kuri da yo*] FP surprised COP P Right? I was surprised.
- 7 B: [*Nagano nai*] *yone tte* Nagano no FP QT (I thought) Nagano does not have an ocean right?
- 8 → D: *Nagoya tte itta yone ima* ((speaking to A)) Nagoya QT said FP now I said Nagoya *yone*, just now.
- 9 A: *itta hhhhh.* Said Yeah you did hhhhh
- 10 D: *hora* ((speaking to C)) *kyoo ki ga au ne* ((speaking to A)) ITJ today feeling NOM meet FP See, we are at the same wave length today, right?

In line 1, speaker D said that Nagoya's ocean is dirty. Before speaker D's utterance is finished, speaker C asks a question for clarification of what speaker D said in line 1. Speaker D repeats in line 3 what he said in line 1 and both speakers B and speaker C seem to have heard differently as demonstrated in line 4 and line 5. They thought they heard speaker D say Nagano rather than Nagoya.³⁰ Here, a disalignment has emerged from the on-going conversation because speakers B and C have a completely different understanding of what speaker D said. Speaker D's *yone*-marked utterance (line 8) is triggered by this disalignment.

³⁰ Nagano Prefecture is located basically in the center of Japan. It is surrounded on all four sides by a 3000-meter tall mountain and has no access to the ocean.

In addition, Speaker A is selected as the addressee of the *yone*-marked utterance because speaker B and speaker C have a totally different understanding from speaker D and only speaker A can extend the support to justify speaker D's position. After receiving speaker A's confirmation, in line 10, speaker D says "*hora* (see)" to speaker C to indicate that he was right in insisting that he said Nagoya, not Nagano.

This example demonstrates that *yone* appears in a situation where there is a disalignment between the speaker and the interactant and *yone* is used to seek support justifying the speaker's position.

Example (70) is similar to example (69). In this example, four students are talking about their preference for dogs or cats.

(70) (Sakura 4)³¹

1 C: <u>ah</u> ano sa pagu kawaikunai↑ ITJ that FP pug cute-NEG Ah! Don't you think pug is cute?

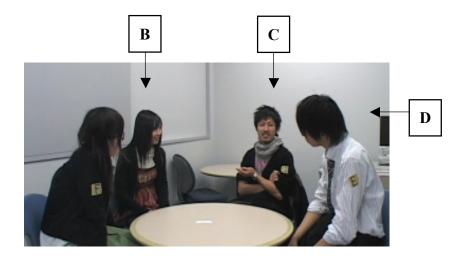
2 (1.0)

3 D: ((tilts his head and no response))

```
<sup>31</sup> Japanese transcription of (70)
          あっ!あのさ、パグ可愛くない?
   C:
1
     (1.0)
2
3
   D: ((返答なし))
4
   C: えへへへへ[へへへへ
5
               [イヌに戻った?
   B:
   D: 今、イヌに戻った。
6
7
      可愛いちゃ可愛いけど、飼う気になんないから、パグ
     イヌ飼うならパグっていう意識の人があまり
8
9
     どうなんだろね。
10
   B:パグとかブルドッグとか好きだよ、私。
   D: [ブルドッグとパグ何が違うの?
11
   B: [くしゃってなるじゃん=(Cに)
12
13 → C:=可愛いよ[ね (Bに)
           [可愛いよねあれ(Cに)
14
   B:
   C:ほら (Dに)
15
```

- 4 C: *eeeeeeee[e*↑ ITJ What? (really?)
- 5 B: [*inu ni modotta*↑ dog to returned back to the dog (topic)?
- 6 D: *ima inu ni modotta* now dog to returned (Yes) we are just back to the dog (topic).
- 7 *kawaii tcha kawaii kedo kau ki ni nannai kara pagu* cute if. say cute but have desire to become-NEG because pug Pug is cute but I don't want to have a pug.
- 8 *inu kau nara pagu tte iuu ishiki no hito ga amari* dog have if pug QT say awareness LK people NOM not much Not many people would like to have pug
- 9 doo na n daroo ne how COP NML possible FP I am not sure, maybe.
- 10 B: *pagu toka burudoggu toka suki da yo watashi* pug like bulldog like like COP FP I I like pug and bulldog
- 11 D: [burudoggu to pagu nani ga chigau no↑ bulldog and pug what NOM different Q How are bulldog and pug different?
- 12 B: [*kusha tte nanka*= ((speaking to C)) muzzled QT like Kind of muzzled (face)=
- $13 \rightarrow C: =kawaii yo[ne ((speaking to B)))$ cute FP It's cute yo[ne
- 14 B: [kawaii yone, are ((speaking to C)) cute FP that that's cute yone

15 C: *hora* ((speaking to D)) ITJ You see



As the picture shows, when speaker C says that pug dogs are cute (line 1) to speaker D, speaker D tilts his head and does not provide any response right away. The pause in line 2 and his gesture might show that he does not agree with speaker C. Speaker C seems to be surprised by speaker D's reaction (line 4). In lines 7, 8 and 9, speaker D expresses his opinion by saying that he does not feel like having a pug as a pet and does not quite understand why people want to have pugs. In line 10, speaker B expresses her fondness for pugs. Here, a disalignment between speakers B/C and D emerges in conversation, that is, speaker B and C like pugs as pets while speaker D does not. In line 13, speaker C uses *yone* to seek support from speaker B because B has clearly expressed that she likes pugs. Speaker B is selected because speaker C may need others' support to justify his position. In line 14 after receiving speaker B's confirmation, speaker C says "*hora* (see)" to speaker D to justify his position that pugs are cute.

Yone can also appear when there is disalignment between the speaker and the addressee on the addressee's action. In the following example, four participants are talking about their part-time jobs. Speaker E said he is going to quit his current job and become a personal tutor. However, speaker F and hearer E have different memories on whether speaker E said what he

would do.

(71) (Sakura 6)³²

- 1 F: ongaku no sa: [piano no sensee ni naru tte itteta jan music LK FP piano LK teacher to become QT said TAG Didn't you say you would become a piano teacher?
- 2 E: [muri da yo impossible COP FP It's impossible
- 3 E: *nani ga*↑ *moo ikkai itte* what NOM already once say What (did I say)? Say it again.
- 4 F: *iyaa datte piano no sensee no juku* ITJ because piano LK teacher LK cram school (You said) a piano teacher at a cram school
- 5 G: Yamaha [de oshieru teki na kanji desho↑ Yamaha with teach kind COP feel TAG Something like teaching with Yamaha
- 6 F: [soo soo soo soo soo soo soo soo soo yes yes
- 7 F: *tte itteta jan kono mae itteta* QT said TAG this before said

³² Japanese transcription of (71)

1. F: 音楽のさー、[ピアノの先生になるって言ってたじゃん。

- 2. E: [無理だよー。
- 3. E: 何が?もう一回言って。
- 4. F: いや、だってピアノの先生の塾。
- 5. G: Yamaha[で教える的な感じでしょ?
- 6. F: [そうそうそうそう。そうそうそう。
- 7. F: って言ってたじゃん、この前言ってた、
- 8. E: 嘘?ピアノの先生?
- 9. → F: 何か塾、教える、何か言ってた**よね**。 (Gに)
- 10. G:言って[た。
- 11. F: [言ってた。

You said it before, didn't you? You said it.

- 8 E: *uso piano no sensee*↑ lie piano LK teacher No way. Piano teacher?
- 9 → F: nanka juku oshieru nanka itteta yone ((speaking to G)) like cram school teach like said FP (He) said something like teaching at a cram school yone.
- 10 G: *itte[ta* said (He) said
- 11 F: [*itteta* ((speaking to E)) said (You) said it

In line 1, speaker F mentions that speaker E said that he will become a piano teacher. However, speaker E does not remember that as indicated by line 4 (*nani ga moo ikkai itte* 'what, say it again') and line 9 (*uso Piano no sensee?* 'No way, piano teacher?'). A disalignment between speaker F and speaker E emerged. The use of *yone* in line 10 is triggered by this disalignment and this *yone*-marked tag-like question is used to seek support from speaker G to justify speaker F's position because speaker G indicates the same opinion with speaker F at line 5. After receiving speaker G's confirmation in line 10, speaker F emphasizes her position again by repeating '*itteta* (you said it)' in line 11.

In examples (69), (70) and (71), *yone* is produced when the speaker notices that a disalignment exists between him/herself and the addressee and the speaker uses *yone* to seek support from other interactants to justify his/her position.

Example (72) illustrates that *yone* can be used when the speaker questions other participants' opinions or actions. For example, four female students are talking about whether they want to continue their part-time jobs until graduation.

- (72) (Sakura 12)³³
- 1 A: *eh baito zutto yaru yone yonensee saigo made.* ITJ part-time job throughout do FP senior last until Well you will do the part-time job until senior year finishes, right?
- 2 C: *uun tabun yannai* no probably do-NEG No, probably I won't.
- 3 *datte moo sudeni yaritakunai mon* because already already want.to.do-NEG because I already don't wanna do it.
- 4 ALL: ((laugh))
- 5 C: *zenbu kyohi shiteru* all refuse doing I have refused all of them.
- 6 sumimasen gakkoo no jikanwari ga wakannai shi tte sorry school LK schedule NOM know-NEG because QT (I told them) sorry, I don't know my schedule of school.
- 7 A: [*un*:....] ITJ oh
- $8 \rightarrow D$: [*eh*↑ *demo sa:*] *sotsugyou ryokou toka iru yone* ITJ but FP graduation travel such need FP Well but graduation travel or something like that needs money *yone*.
- 9 B: [zettai okane] iru yone

³³ Japanese transcription of (72) A: え、バイトずっとやるよね4年生最後まで。 1 2 C: ううん、多分やんない。 3 だってもうすでにやりたくないもん。 4 All: あはは 5 C: 全部拒否してる。 6 すみません、学校の時間割がわかんないし、って。 7 A:[うーん 1 8 → D: [え、でもさ]一卒業旅行とかいるよね。 9 B: [絶対 お金]いるよね。 10 A: [あーそうだね]。 11 D: 「絶対いるさ. まだ暇やでバイトしなかん

certainly money need FP Certainly money is needed.

10 A: [a: soo da ne] ITJ that COP FP oh, it does.

11 D: *zettai iru sa: mada hima ya de baito shinaakan* certainly need FP still free-time COP COP part-time job must.do Certainly money is needed. (We) are free now. We have to do part-time job.

In line 1, speaker A asks whether everyone will continue to work part-time until graduation. Speaker C expresses her unwillingness to continue working part-time from line 2 to line 6. In line 8, speaker D questions speaker C's plan of not continuing her part-time job by using *yone*. In addition, speaker D's utterance is combined with *yone*, "*eh*" and "*demo*." "*Eh*" indicates speaker D's understanding might be different from speaker C's (Shimotani, 2008; Hayashi, 2009). In addition, "*demo*" also indicates that the speaker's understanding contrasts with speaker C's (Onodera, 2004). This "*eh*" and "*demo*" combination indicates that speaker D has a different opinion about speaker C's action and thinks that they should keep working part-time since they need money for the graduation trip. Here, the use of *yone* is motivated by incongruity between speaker D's opinion, i.e., we should work part-time because we need money for the graduation trip. and speaker C's statement, i.e., no intention to continue working part-time. In addition, *yone* is also used to justify speaker D's position. After receiving confirmation from speaker B (line 9), speaker D clearly expresses her opinion that they should keep working at part-time jobs (line 11).

The speaker might use *yone* to seek support from the addressee when the addressee does not respond. Example (73) is such a case. In this segment, two female speakers, A and B, are talking with two male speakers, C and D.

(73) (Sakura 4)³⁴

- 1 D: nanka konna no ga sa saikin no wakamono sa like this kind NML NOM FP recently LK youth FP
- 2 *nanka shaberikata tte iu ka nan tte iu ka sa:* like the.way.of.talk QT say Q what QT say Q FP Recently youth's the way of talk, how to say it...
- 3 C: *sugu kireru desho*↑ soon angry possible Easily get angry, right?
- 4 ALL:hhhhhhhh
- 5 B: *hhh kireru gendai no wakamono* ITJ angry modern LK youth Hot tempered modern youth
- 6 C: ma: 21 da kedo ITJ COP but Well I am 21 though.
- 7 \rightarrow D: 21 *tte wakai jan ne.* (0.5) *wakai yone* <u>B-san</u> QT young TAG FP young FP name Isn't 21 young ? (0.5) It's young *yone* B-san!
- 8 B: *hhh atashi*↑ ITJ I

³⁴ Japanese transcription of (73)

- 1. D: なんかこんなのがさ最近の若者のさあ…
- 2. なんかしゃべり方っていうかなんていうかさ
- 3. C: すぐキレるでしょ ?hhhh
- 4. ALL: hhhh
- 5. B: hhh キレる現代の若者。
- 6. C: まあ 21 だけど
- 7. D: 21 ってわかいじゃんね。 (0.5)若いよね ? B さん!
- 8. B: hhh あたし?
- 9. B: あたしは[まだ,だって18だもん。
- 10. → D: [hh 若い**よね** ちゃっ、みんな、
- 11. D:[えつ]
- 12. A: [18]なの?
- 13. B:18だよ、まだ。

	me?
9	B: Atashi wa [mada datte 18 da mon I TP still because COP because I am still 18, so.
10	D: [hh wakai yone chatt minna young FP ITJ everyone Young yone, right? Everyone.
11	D: [e ITJ Really?
12	A: [18 <i>na no</i> ↑ NML Q You are 18?
13	B: 18 da yo mada COP FP still I am still 18.

Before this segment, they are talking about youth. When speaker B comments on current youth (line 5), speaker C says "*ma*:21 *da kedo* (well, I am 21 though)" which implies that he might think 21 years old is not young anymore. In line 7, speaker D asks speaker B whether speaker B thinks 21 years old is young. However, speaker B does not provide any response right away as indicated by the 0.5 pause (line 7). The pause might be because speaker B does not realize speaker D is talking to her (line 8). As seen in line 7, speaker D then clearly selects speaker B as the person to respond by calling her name. *Yone* is produced when speaker D doesn't receive the expected response from speaker B. This type of disalignment is the result of a breakdown in on-going interaction.

In this section, the foregoing examples have demonstrated that the use of Type III *yone* is associated with disalignment in conversation. The disalignment between the speaker and the interactants in conversation or non-response as a breakdown in interaction can trigger the use of

yone. In addition, the examples also demonstrated that *yone* can serve as a device to seek support from other conversation participants in order to justify the speaker's position.

4.7. Summary

This chapter has focused on the use of *yone* as a tag-like question and proposes that *yone* is associated with various incongruities. Three types of *yone* as a tag-like question have been identified in natural conversation data.

Type I is associated with an incongruity of the speaker's understanding. When a speaker feels the information might be different from what he/she already possesses, the cognitive incongruity emerges. The examples indicate that the speaker is not completely certain about his/her understanding.

Type II is associated with a cognitive incongruity between the speaker and the interactants. Different from Type I, type II indicates that the speaker is completely certain about his/her understanding. Incongruity or disalignment, however, exists. The incongruity or disalignment can be between the speaker and the hearer. In this case, *yone* is used to present a possible cognitive incongruity because the information belongs more to the hearer's territory.

Type III is associated with a disalignment between the speaker and other conversation participants. The use of *yone* can also be triggered by the incongruity that appears as no response during ongoing conversation. Moreover, type III *yone* functions as a device for the speaker when seeking support from other participants in order to justify his/her position.

Based on the results of the present study, the differences between *yone* and *ne* as tag-like questions can be explained by saying that some types of incongruity trigger the use of *yone* while *ne* does not indicate such incongruity. The use of *ne* assumes that there is no difference of understanding between the speaker and interactants. This explains why native speakers feel

example (74) sounds stronger than example (75) because the speakers present their understandings differently.

(74)	Sensee,	ashita	irasshaimasi	и пе .
	professor	tomorrow	go	FP
	Professor,	will you con	ne tomorrow	ne?

(75) *Sensee, ashita irassyaimasu* **yone**. professor tomorrow come FP Professor, will you come tomorrow **yone**?

In example (74) the speaker assumes that the professor shares the same understanding while the speaker in example (75) presents that his understanding might be different from the professor's by using *yone*. The cognitive incongruity in example (75) offers the hearer more room to provide answers, which results in the softness of the confirmation.

In addition, *yone* can serve as a device for seeking support to justify the speaker's assumption/position. In that case, the hearer is considered an essential entity who can give confirmation and support. Such function does not exist when using *ne* for confirmation. Thus, *yone* in example (76) cannot be replaced with *ne*.

(76) = (57)

- 1 A: *kyoo wa atatakai desu ne* today TP warm COP FP It's warm today *ne*.
- 2 B: <u>eh</u>↑ soo desu ka↑ waatashi wa samukute samukute ITJ that COP Q I TP cold cold Really? I am very cold.
- $3 \rightarrow A$: ((speaking to C)) atatakai desu yone warm COP FP It's warm yone.

4 C: un yes Yes Here, the use of *yone* is first triggered by the disalignment between speaker A and speaker B. In addition, speaker A uses *yone* to seek support from speaker C to justify his/her position. Hence, *yone* can be considered a way to achieve greater hearer involvement.

Chapter 5

Yone and ne in Response

5.1. Introduction

Yone and *ne* are not only used as tag-like questions to seek confirmation or agreement, but also can be used to show agreement or empathy (e.g., Noda, 1993; Zhang, 2009; Liu, 2010; Hayano, 2013). Noda (1993) argues that both *yone* and *ne* can be used to indicate that a speaker shares the same knowledge with a hearer. For example, B's utterance in examples (77) and (78) is considered the same because *ne* and *yone* indicate speaker B has the same knowledge as hearer A.

(77)

A: <i>honba no karei wa karai ne</i> authentic LK curry TP spicy FP Authentic curry is spicy, right?	
\rightarrow B: <i>karai desu ne</i> spicy COP FP It's spicy <i>ne</i> .	
(78)	
A: <i>honba no karei wa karai ne</i> authentic LK curry TP spicy FP Authentic curry is spicy, right?	
→ B: <i>karai desu yone</i> spicy COP FP It's spicy <i>yone</i> .	

Noda (1993) also points out that *yone* and *ne* are not always interchangeable when a speaker shares the same knowledge with an addressee. In certain situations, only one rather than the other is natural. For example, *ne* is acceptable in example (79) while *yone* cannot be used in

(Noda, 1993, p. 14)

the same sentence in example (80). Noda (1993) notes this is because *yone* cannot be used in greeting.

(79) A: ii tenki desu ne good weather COP FP The weather is good, right? desu \rightarrow B: soo ne that COP FP That's right *ne*. (80) A: ii tenki desu ne weather COP FP good The weather is good, right? \rightarrow *B: soo desu yone that COP FP That's right yone.

(Noda, 1993, p.14)

Here is another example in which *yone* is acceptable while *ne* does not sound natural in

the same context.

(81)	(Sakura 5)		
1	A: <i>yasukunai</i> ↑ cheap-NEG Isn't it cheap?		
2	B: <i>yasui</i> cheap (It's) cheap.		
3 –	→ A: <i>yasui yone</i> cheap FP		

It's cheap yone.

1 A: yasukunai ↑ cheap-NEG Isn't it cheap?

(82)

- 2 B: *yasui* cheap (It's) cheap.
- $3 \rightarrow *A: yasui \quad ne$ cheap FP It's cheap ne.

In examples (81) and (82), conversation participants are talking about hourly payment at their part-time jobs. After finding out speaker B's hourly payment, speaker A comments that the payment is low (line 1). Speaker B shows his agreement with speaker A in line 2. In line 3, when speaker A further displays his recognition that the pay is low, only *yone* is possible. If *ne* is used in the same position (example 82, line 3), the whole conversation becomes unnatural.

Although both *yone* and *ne* can indicate that the speaker shares the same knowledge with the hearer (Hayano, 2013), examples (79), (80), (81) and (82) illustrate that *yone* and *ne* are not always interchangeable in such situations. In addition, Noda's (1993) proposal that *yone* cannot be used in greetings is simply an observation and fails to explain the reason why only *ne* rather than *yone* can be used in greetings. Moreover, whether greetings are an important factor in deciding the use of *yone* and *ne* remains questionable.

This study proposes a new hypothesis on the difference between *ne* and *yone* in response as follows:

- i) *ne* presents a speaker's here-and-now recognition;
- ii) *yone* indexes a speaker's previously held recognition.

Following Miyazaki's (2002) proposal, in the present study, here-and-now recognition refers to what a speaker currently thinks, feels or what the speaker has just noticed or recalled at the time of the utterance. In contrast, a speaker uses *yone* to demonstrate that what he/she thinks, feels, or has noticed or recalled is based on his/her past experiences. In other words, *yone* presents that a speaker's knowledge or recognition is established before the time of utterance.

Examples (77) and (78) reproduced as examples (83) and (84), are treated the same in Noda (1993). However, the difference between *ne* and *yone* can be explained by this proposal.

(83) = (77)

A: <i>honba no karei wa</i> authentic LK curry TP Authentic curry is spicy, right?	spicy FP
\rightarrow B: <i>karai desu ne</i> spicy COP FP It's spicy <i>ne</i> .	
(84) = (78)	
A: <i>honba no karei wa</i> authentic LK curry TP Authentic curry is spicy, right?	
→ B: <i>karai desu yone</i> spicy COP FP It's spicy <i>yone</i> .	

In example (83), speaker B can use *ne* in a situation where he/she just tasted the curry.

His/her comment that the curry is spicy is a here-and-now recognition, which is based on his/her direct experience just gained through the tasting action. In contrast, *yone* in example (84) shows that speaker B's comment is based on his/her past experience or knowledge. He/she might have had authentic curry before or have known that authentic curry is spicy.

This proposal can also explain Noda (1993)'s proposal why *yone* cannot be used in greetings. Examples (79) and (80) from Noda (1993) are reproduced below as examples (85) and (86).

$$(85) = (79)$$

(0 F)

	U	<i>tenki</i> weathe eather is	er	COP	ne FP
\rightarrow		<i>desu</i> COP right ne			
(86)	= (80)				

A: *ii tenki desu ne* good weather COP FP The weather is good, right?

 \rightarrow *B: soo desu yone that COP FP That's right yone.

(Noda, 1993, p. 14)

In example (85), *ne* in "*soo desu ne*" shows speaker B's description or recognition at the time of utterance after he/she observes the good weather. In this sense, *ne* indicates the speaker's here-and-now recognition while *yone* in example (86) is inappropriate in such situation.

The chapter will test the hypothesis and demonstrate this distinction between *ne* and *yone* with natural conversation data. It is important to note that this distinction between *ne* and *yone* does not apply to all situations in which *ne* and *yone* appear. When *yone* and *ne* are used as tag-like questions, this distinction is not prominent in distinguishing these two particles. As shown earlier in examples (83), (84), (85) and (86), the data shows that this distinction is

relevant to situations in which the speaker responds to direct experience or previous experience or knowledge. In the present study, such situations are broadly defined as response.

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, response is something constituting a reply or a reaction. It refers to something that is said or written as a reply to something or something that is done as a reaction to something else.³⁵ In the present study, four responding situations in particular will be examined: i) response to immediate situations; ii) response to the speaker's already-known information; iii) response to the answer of a question; and iv) response to assessment.³⁶

This chapter is organized in the following manner: Section 2 will introduce crosslinguistic research in the relationship between the choices of linguistic forms with the speaker's consciousness, mind and immediate observation. Two important research studies regarding *ne* and *yone* will also be introduced. Miyazaki's (2002) proposal for *ne* is the foundation of the current study and serves as the basis for further development. Hayano's (2013) proposal about how *ne* and *yone* are used in assessment will also be introduced and a question of how the current study is different from hers will be clarified. Section 3 will examine how *ne* and *yone* are used in the four situations mentioned above. Section 4 will conclude this chapter.

5.2. Past relevant studies

In many languages, different forms are chosen to present information or knowledge registered in the speaker's consciousness at the time of the utterance (Akatsuka, 1985) or information or knowledge possessed by the speaker before uttering a sentence (Slobin & Aksu,

³⁵ Response [Def. 2]. (n.d.). In *Merriam Webster Online*, Retrieved October 21, 2015, from http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/response.

³⁶ In the present study, *ne*-marked or *yone*-marked responses commonly appear as assessment. However, response does not always appear as assessment. Assessment should be considered as one category of response.

1982). In this section, I will introduce examples from Turkish, English and Japanese to demonstrate how the speaker's "here and now" (Akatsuka, 1985) experience is involved in the choice of different forms in those languages. In addition, two important Japanese studies on final particles relevant to the present study will be presented. The first one is Miyazaki (2002) in which he argues that *ne* demonstrates what a speaker thinks, feels and has noticed at the time of utterance. The second one is Hayano (2013) in which she analyzes how *ne* and *yone* present a speaker's epistemic stance in assessment and informing sequences.

5.2.1. Newly learned information and the choice of linguistic forms

Cross-linguistic research has shown that a speaker chooses different linguistic forms to present newly learned information and past experience (Slobin & Aksu, 1982; Akatsuka, 1985; Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger, 1982).

For example, -di and -mis are two past tense morphemes in Turkish which are commonly considered to report direct or indirect experience. Slobin & Aksu (1982) argue that the difference between the two past forms is not about the direct versus indirect experience, but "the degree to which the speaker's mind has been prepared to assimilate the event in question prior to forming an utterance about the event" (p.198). The morpheme -di encodes that experienced events are related to a network of existing assumptions and expectations while the morpheme -mis encodes that the speaker's mind is unprepared for the events. The unprepared mind, encoded by -mis, indicates that the speaker does not have previous awareness of the current event. In other words, it presents newly learned information to the speaker. For example, *Uyu- muş- um* "I must have fallen asleep" is appropriate when the speaker just awoke over one's book. Another example, *Dirseg-im-ivur-muş-um* "I must have hit my elbow" is used when the speaker just felt a bruised elbow. These two examples show that the speaker's experience occurred outside of the

speaker's awareness. In other words, the speaker's mind is unprepared and had no previous awareness of experiencing the event. Thus, the distinction between these two morphemes lies in "a general psychological or phenomenological stance towards experience" (Slobin & Aksu, 1982, p. 197).

In Japanese, Akatsuka (1985) illustrates the important role a speaker's consciousness plays in the choice of forms for conditionals. She argues that "an understanding of what is registering the speaker's consciousness at the time of the utterance" is pivotal in distinguishing the conditional S_1 no nara S_2 from other conditionals in Japanese. When S_1 no nara S_2 is used, S_1 always expresses new information which has just entered the consciousness of the speaker at the discourse site.

(87) (Visiting his friend in the hospital, the speaker says to himself)

Konna ni yorokonde kureru no nara, motto hayaku this way in happy give that if more early

kite ager-eba yokatta. coming give-if good.was

'If he's so happy to see me, I should have come earlier.' (Akatsuka, 1985, p. 630)

For example, in example (87), the speaker expresses his surprise at how his friend was happy to see him. It is something completely unexpected to the speaker and can be considered as newly learned information, which has just entered the consciousness of the speaker. It does not express an established piece of knowledge. She also notes that Japanese grammar is sensitive to the cognitive distinction between "newly learned information" and the "state of knowledge."

Newly learned information also plays an important role in the choice of forms in English. Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger (1982) argue that the progressive marker (be-*ing*) has a nonaspectual function, that is, it indexes phenomenal knowledge. Different from structural knowledge, Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger (1982) notes that phenomenal knowledge describes

what is happening right here-and-now, what we might see if we simply opened our eyes.

- (88) The engine isn't smoking anymore.
- (89) The engine doesn't smoke anymore.

(Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger, 1982, p. 81)

For example, example (88) describes a situation phenomenally while example (89)

structurally. Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger (1982) provide a scenario to illustrate the difference

between the two sentences.

Imagine that your car has been smoking a lot recently and, knowing about automobiles, you decide to repair it yourself. You pinpoint the source of the trouble in a defective hose, and replace it. You can now confidently assert that *The engine doesn't smoke anymore*, with – or – without letting it run smokeless. To say *The engine isn't smoking anymore*, you would certainly have to start the engine first, and your comment would be just an observation, rather than a claim about its being repaired.

(Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger, 1982, p. 81)

Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger (1982) provide another scenario to illustrate the use of examples (88) and (89). When two people are driving down the highway with the engine smoking, they comment on the situation with "*Look, the engine is smoking*" and one of them dozes off to sleep. When the person wakes up and notices no more smoke, he/she may say (88), "*The engine isn't smoking anymore*." It would be odd to say the nonprogressive (89), "*The engine doesn't smoke anymore*" in this context.

The comparison of examples (88) and (89) demonstrate the point that the progressive marker (be-*ing*) can index a phenomenal knowledge. Thus, as Goldsmith and Woisetschlaeger (1982) note, example (90) would be appropriate if the statue were being moved around because

the progressive marker (be-*ing*) presents what the speaker is observing as an "eyewitness account."

(90) The statue of Tom Paine is standing at the corner of Kirkland and College. (Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger, 1982, p. 84)

The Turkish, Japanese and English examples illustrate that the speaker's here-and-now experience involves the choice of certain linguistic forms. In the next section, research regarding the relationship between speaker's here-and-now experience and the choice of sentence final particles in Japanese will be introduced.

5.2.2. Newly learned information and sentence final particle ne

Miyazaki (2002) proposes that *ne* is a marker of "what the speaker thought, felt and noticed on the spot." (p. 12)³⁷ Comparing the sentence final particles *na* and *ne*, Miyazaki (2002) argues that *na* and *ne* are the same except that *na* is used for monologue and *ne* is used for dialogue. He used several examples of *na* from novels to argue this point. For example:

(91) Shoya looked at Nobuko who is in front of him.

"Nobuko san?" to me o mihatta. "Odoroita **naa**!—marude betsujin da yo."

"Nobuko?" (He) opened his eyes widely "I am so surprised *naa*! You look like someone else."

(Miyazaki, 2002, p. 11)

(92)

mizu to sayu bakari nonde kita ichinen datta. Hakumai no gohan ga oishikatta. okazu ga oishikatta. "oo, jitsuni oishii **na**"

³⁷ My translation. The original is "sono ba de omotta koto, kanjita koto, kiduita koto (その場で思ったこと、感じたこと、気づいたこと)."

Koosuke wa hanbun kuchi de tsubuyaki nagara, hitotsu hitostu no aji wo kamishimeta.

Only water and boiled water were available for the whole year. The rice was very delicious. The dish was delicious. "Oh, this is really delicious *na*." Koosuke muttered while enjoying each taste of the food. (Miyazaki, 2002, p. 11)

He argues that this kind of na indicates that the speaker is expressing his feeling about what he just saw (example (91)) and what he is feeling when he is eating (example (92)). This kind of na represents what a speaker thinks, feels or what he/she has just noticed. He further argues that na can be changed to ne if the utterance is used in conversation as shown in example (91)' and example (92)'.

(91)'

"odoroita ne!—marude betsujin da yo." "I am so surprised ne. You look like someone else."

(92)'

"oo, jitsuni oishii ne" Oh, this is really delicious *ne*.

(Miyazaki, 2002, p. 12)

Ne shares the same characteristic of *na* in presenting a speaker's recognition of what he/she thinks, feels and has noticed at the time of utterance. Here are two other examples.

In examples (93) and (94), ne is used in assessment of what the speaker has just seen.

(93)

Tateo: (Looking at Nao's glass)

"gimuretto ka. ii ne. ore mo moraou kana." It's a gimlet. (That's) nice *ne*. I should get one, too.

(Miyazaki, 2002, p. 12)

(94)

Furuhata looked around and sat down in front of Takako.

"zuibun chiisa na heya desu ne." (It's a) very small room *ne.*

(Miyazaki, 2002, p. 12)

Miyazaki's (2002) observation supports Akatsuka's (1985) proposal that Japanese grammar is sensitive to "newly learned information." It demonstrates that Akatsuka's (1985) proposal is not only relevant to conditionals, but also to sentence final particles.

Although the use of *ne* tends to be associated with the speaker's here-and-now experience, the use of *yone* is not sensitive to such notion. This distinguishes the use of *yone* and *ne* in response and will be illustrated in the analysis section.

5.2.3. Epistemic authority/primacy and sentence final particles

Hayano (2013) discusses the difference of *yone* and *ne* in presenting territories of knowledge in Japanese conversation. She proposes that *ne* and *yone* are devices, which speakers use to demonstrate their epistemic authority and epistemic primacy. When an assessment is marked with *yone*, it indexes a stronger, more independent epistemic stance than *ne* (p. 63). The "stronger and more independent epistemic stance" sense of *yone* is derived from asymmetry of knowledge between conversation participants. The asymmetry of knowledge can come from different degrees of knowledge between speaker and addressee or from the difference between personal experience and general experience.

For example, in example (95), the instructor of a tea ceremony and a student comment on the clothes the instructor wore during the tea ceremony.

(95)

 $1 \rightarrow$ Masa: *yappari yoofuku to wa: nanka <u>ta</u>moto ga aru to* after.all clothes with TP like sleeve SP be then Compared to (non-kimono) clothes, with (its) sleeves,

$2 \rightarrow$	<i>Kanji ga chigau</i> [<i>ne</i> , feeling SP differ FP (it) makes a difference ne ,			
3 Kaz:	[<i>nn:,</i> ITJ Yeah:,			
4	(1.3)			
5 IST:	<pre>soo yone [: yatteru- ya-[(.) tte[te mo= that FP doing do ing also (It) does yone: doing- as (the one who is) do-ing (it) as well,=</pre>			
6 Masa:	[<u><i>ne</i></u> :: [ya- [<u>n</u> n: FP do ITJ It is ne::, do- Yeah:,			
$7 \rightarrow \text{IST}$:	<i>=chigai masu</i> [<i>yo</i> [<i>ne:</i> ,] differ HNR FP <i>=</i> (it) is different yone:.			
8 Kaz:	[<u>a [</u> a:.] ITJ <u>Oh</u> ::			
9 Mas:	[<u>n</u> n:]:. ITJ <u>Ye</u> ah::			

- 10 IST: ocha wa kimono ka [na:. Yappari TP kimono Q after.all tea After all, for a tea (ceremony), (it has to be/I'd want to wear) kimono, I guess
- 11 Mas:

[*nn*:. ĪTJ Yeah:.

12 Kaz: nn: ITJ Yeah:

(Hayano, 2013, pp. 60-61)

Hayano (2013) proposes that student Masa uses *ne* in line 2 because her assessment (*chigau ne*, 'it's different') is based on what she is watching. The instructor uses *yone* (*chigau yone*, 'it's different') in line 7 because the instructor is in position to claim better knowledge or rights than the student. The instructor can claim the epistemic primacy because of her longtime experience in performing tea ceremonies. Hayano (2013) argues that this asymmetry of knowledge results in the choice of *yone* and *ne*.

In another example, she argues that *yone* is used because the speaker's assessment is based on the speaker's own experience.

(96)

1	Yoko: <i>E <u>so</u>:nna igaito popyuraana no ne [tte=</i> ITJ such unexpectedly popular FP FP Q (I) said "wow (it's) unexpectedly common,"
2	Kazu: [hmm::
3	Yoko: = <i>ittara</i> <u>soo</u> yo tte <i>i</i> [tte said that FP QP said and (she) said "that's right,"
4	Kazu: [<i>h e e</i> [: : : [: :?
5	Yoko: [hn. [nn. ITJ ITJ Yeah yeah
6	(0.2)
7	Yoko: [<u>dakedomo</u> ne:,= however FP Anyways,
8	Kazu: [(nan-) wha- (wha-)

9	Kazu	: =nn, ITJ =Mm-hm,
10		(.)
11	→ Yoko:	<i>bukimi yo:</i> eerie FP (It's) eerie yo.
12		(0.2)
13	→ Kazu:	<i>nn chi ga deru to</i> ITJ blood SP come.out then Yeah, when (it) bleeds
14	\rightarrow	< <i>yada</i> yo[ne:::> bad FP (It's) awful yone:::
15	Yoko	: [<i>nn sore ne?;</i> Yeah then P Yeah, and then,
16	Kazu	: <i>chi kowa</i> [<i>i</i> : <i>n nn, nn</i> blood scary ITJ ITJ Blood is scary:, yeah yeah.
17	Yoko	: [ko kkara sa ko koo here from P th- this From here, like th-this,
18		shitara ano: ^pyu:: tto chi ga de soona do.then uhm MIM QT blood SP come.out seem (It) feels as though blood would spurt out
19		<i>kibun ni naru wake °</i> yo ° feeling to become N FP if (I) do like this ((gesturing rubbing the eye)) yo .
20		(0.4)
21	→ Kazu	: <i>gh</i> ::[:: ((gasping))

soona

22	Yoko:	[de dakara so- zenzen sore wa nai no. then so th- at.all that TP not P Then so, (it's) not like that at all.
23		(1.0)
24	Kazu:	naishukketsu na w[ake. internal.bleeing CP N (It's) internal bleeding.
25	Yoko:	[<u>nai</u> shukketsu (° na wake°) internal.bleeing CP N (It's) internal bleeding.
26		(0.2)
27	Kazu:	<u>hee</u> ::::
28		(0.2) (Hayano, 2013, pp. 163-164)

Before the segment in example (96), Yoko told Kazu that her eye bled internally, making its white bright red. She was in shock when she first saw her eye in the mirror, but was told later at the hospital that it was not a serious problem. At the beginning of this segment, Yoko is saying that a nurse at the hospital told her the disease is not uncommon. According to Hayano (2013), in line 11, Yoko is trying to solicit a response from Kazu by producing an assessment of her experience with a sentence final particle *yo*, i.e., it was eerie *yo*. Kazu's response is a *yone*-marked assessment (lines 13-14). Hayano (2013) argues that Kazu's *yone*-marked comment is not simply responsive to Yoko's story about internal eye bleeding. Rather, she broadens the scope of internal eye bleeding to bleeding in general, which she herself had experienced (p. 165).³⁸ Hayano (2013) suggests that the use of *yone* is based on Kazu's own bleeding experience.

³⁸ According to Hayano (2013), Kazu told Yoko her story about bleeding later, a story not shown in the data. Kazu was scared when she coughed up some blood.

As examples (95) and (96) show, Hayano's (2013) arguement that in assessment, *yone*, as compared to *ne*, shows that the speaker's stronger and independent stance is based on the speaker's expertise or own experience. In other words, when *yone* is used, at least in assessment, it displays the speaker's epistemic primacy or authority, as shown in example (95) or the speaker's territory of knowledge, as shown in example (96).

5.2.4. Remaining issues

5.2.4.1. Is *ne* always associated with newly learned information?

The cross-linguistic examples in 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 have shown that newly learned information plays an important role in the choice of linguistic forms. People can learn new information through various ways such as by observation, hearsay and so forth. Terms such as 'premonitory consciousness' and 'unprepared mind' (Slobin & Aksu, 1982), 'phenomenal description' (Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger, 1982), and 'newly learned information' (Akatsuka, 1985) share one common characteristic: That is, as Akatsuka (1985) proposes, that "an understanding what is registering in the speaker's consciousness at the time of the utterance," i.e. newly learned information, is a contributory factor in the choice of linguistic features.

Regarding Japanese sentence final particles, Miyazaki (2002) shows that a speaker's choice of *ne* indicates that what the speaker thinks, notices or feels occurs at the time of the utterance. In other words, *ne*-marked knowledge or understanding is newly learned information at the discourse site for the speaker.

However, the data of the current research shows that *ne* is also commonly used when a speaker recalls what he/she has experienced or when he/she has prior knowledge and recognition.

- (97) (Sakura 9)³⁹
- 1 A: *ano::: supeesusho nanka kou iku yatsu* ITJ space-sho like this go things Well, Space Sho(t) something like it goes like this.
- 2 B: [*a*::::] ITJ oh
- 3 A: [nanka] Nagashima de mittsu aru yatsu something Nagashima at three exist things There are 3 something like that in Nagashima (the name of an amusement park)
- $4 \rightarrow B$: aru **ne** are wa mada noreta. exist FP that TP still could.ride There are (something like that in Nagashima) **ne**. I have no problem with riding it.

For example, in example (97), speaker A starts to talk about the Space Shot ride at an amusement park. In line 4, speaker B mentions that she had no problem with riding it. The information that there is a Space Shot ride in Nagashima Park is not new to speaker B since she already knows about it. However, speaker B still uses *ne* for this already known information (i.e., the Space Shot ride is in the Nagashima amusement park). This indicates that *ne* is not necessarily associated with newly learned information, which is contrary to Miyazaki's (2002) proposal.

The next question is, if both *ne* and *yone* can present information that the speaker has already known, what is the difference between them? A detailed analysis will be provided in

- 1 A: あのースペースショッ...なんかこう行くやつ。
- 2 B:[あー]
- 3 A:[なんか]ナガシマ(テーマパーク)で3つあるやつ。
- 4 → B: ある**ね** あれはまだ乗れた。

³⁹ Japanese transcription of (97)

5.3.2 regarding how *yone* and *ne* are used in response to the information that the speaker already knows.

5.2.4.2. Can the difference between *yone* and *ne* be explained by epistemic primacy?

Hayano (2013) proposes that *yone* presents a stronger and more independent epistemic stance than *ne* does in second assessment position.⁴⁰ She argues that the sense of "stronger and independent" is from the asymmetry of information between conversation participants in terms of social status or experience.

However, in real life we can find a variety of cases in which the conversation participants share equal epistemic right or have similar experience on which to make assessments. For example, conversation participants should have equal rights to comment on whether dogs or cats are cute or which celebrity is handsome or pretty. In example (98), four female students are talking about handsome actors and speaker D mentions Ozawa Takao, a famous actor who was married to actress Hirose Kami.

(98) (Sakura 9)⁴¹

- (1) (J and R are in a rowboat on a lake.)
 - A1 J: It's really a clear lake, isn't it?
 - A2 R: It's wonderful.
- (2) A1 A: Oh, it was just <u>beau</u>tiful.
 A2 B: Well <u>thank</u> you Uh I thought it was quite nice.

(Pomerantz, 1984, p.60)

⁴¹ Japanese transcription of (98)

- 1 D: 大沢たかお
- 2 L:[=あ:::::::::
- 3 F:[= あ::::::::[超好き超好き
- 4 E: [え、夫婦だったの?
- 5 E:それ初耳。でも大沢たかおかつこいい。
- 6 \rightarrow F:[かっこいい**よね**。
- 7 D:[かつこいい[ああいうひとがいい。

 $^{^{40}}$ According to Pomerantz (1984), second assessments are assessments produced by recipients of prior assessments in which the referents in the seconds are the same as those in the priors. In the following example, first assessments are noted with A1, second assessments with A2.

- 1 D: <u>Ozawa Takao</u>= (name) Ozawa Takao!
- 2 L: [=<u>a:....</u> ITJ Ohhhhhhhhhhhhhh
- 3 F: [=a:.... [choo suki choo suki ITJ very like very like Ohhhhhhhhhhhhh I like (him) very much
- 4 E: [*e: fuufu data no*↑ ITJ couple COP-PST Q Really? Were they couple?
- 5 E: *sore hatsumimi demo Ozawa Takao kakkoii* that new but name handsome That's new to me. But Ozawa Takao is handsome.
- $6 \rightarrow F: [kakkoii yone]$ handsome FP He is handsome yone.
- 7 D: [*kakkoii* [*aaiu hito ga ii* handsome that kind people NOM good He is handsome. That kind of person are good
- 8 F: [ano hito ga nambaawan da na: that people NOM number one COP FP He is the number-one
- 9 F: *choo kakkoii* very handsome very handsome
- 10 E: *kakkoii ano hito* handsome that people he is handsome
 - 8 F: [あの人がナンバー1だな。
 - 9 F: 超かつこいい。
 - 10 E: かっこいい、あの人。
 - 11 D: ああいう人いいよね。

Although it is speaker D who brought up the topic of the actor Ozawa Takao, other speakers still used *yone* to make an assessment. For example, speaker F uses *yone* (line 6) to respond to speaker E's assessment in line 5. As example (98) shows, in the data used for this research, *yone* and *ne* are frequently used in such situations where the conversation participants make assessments on things they have equal rights to access or all participants can relate to based on their own experience. This indicates that expertise relevant to epistemic right, or the territory of knowledge relevant to a conversation participant's experience, is not the only factor contributing to the use of *yone* and *ne*.

5.3. Analysis

In this section, the hypothesis on the use of *yone* and *ne* will be examined with natural conversation data in four situations. The four situations include:

- i) response to immediate situations;
- ii) response to the speaker's already-known information;
- iii) response to the answer to a question; and
- iv) response to assessment.

The present study examines the use of *yone* and *ne* in natural conversation and argues:

- The speaker uses *yone* to indicate that his/her judgment, assessment or response is based on knowledge or recognition established before the discourse site.
- ii) The speaker uses *ne* to indicate that his/her judgment, assessment or response is based on here-and-now recognition. The here-and-now recognition appears as:
 - a) Newly learned information

- b) Already-known information
 - i. When the speaker recalls something, the recalled information can be considered as here-and-now recognition.
 - The speaker presents the already-known information as here-and-now observation.

Although these four situations are not intended to be comprehensive, they clearly reveal how a speaker displays one's recognition, understanding or knowledge with *ne* and *yone*.

5.3.1. Response to immediate situations

Immediate situations refer to situations in which the speaker has just seen or heard something new. In the data of the present study, *ne* is commonly used in such situations while *yone* has not been identified in such situations.

On the next page is an example of *ne* from natural conversation data to illustrate what the speaker has just seen. Four participants are talking about their ideal partners. Before the segment, speaker H says that he likes girls wearing framed glasses. Speakers L and K, two females, wonder what makes glasses appealing to speaker H.



- (99) (Sakura 1)⁴²
- 1 L: *aa*, *kooiu kanji*↑ ((pretend lifting glasses with a finger of her right hand)) ITJ this kind feeling Oh, like this?
- $\begin{array}{rrr} 2 & \rightarrow \text{H: } ii & \textbf{ne} \\ & \text{nice } \text{FP} \\ & (\text{That is}) \text{ nice } \textbf{ne}. \end{array}$
- 3 (1.0)
- 4 L: *ii* no↑ *eeee igai*= nice Q ITJ unexpected Nice? That was unexpected.
- 5 K:=*eee igai da ne. sangurasu no hoo ga ii to omotteta* ITJ unexpected COP FP sunglasses LK side NOM nice QT thought That is unexpected. I thought sunglasses were better.
- 6 H: *zenzen* Not.at.all Not at all.

In line 1 speaker L uses gestures like touching the frame of a pair of glasses. Speaker H responds to the acting with a *ne*-marked comment (line 2). His response is based on the immediate observation of speaker L's action. Thus, here speaker H uses *ne* to reflect what he has just observed.

Example (100) illustrates how *ne* is associated with assessments based on what the speaker has just heard. Four participants, are talking about relationships with friends of the

- 3 (1.0)
- 4 L: いいの? え~意外。
- 5 K: え~意外だね。サングラスの方がいいと思ってた。
- 6 H: 全然。

⁴² Japanese transcription of (99)

¹ L: あ~こういう感じ?

 $^{2 \}rightarrow H: \cup \cup h_{\circ}$

opposite sex. Before the segment, two female participants, A and B, mentioned they have some male friends.

- (100) (Sakura 2) 43
- 1 C: *ore onna tomodachi (.) ni anma narenai* I female friends to not much can become-NEG I hardly can have female friends.
- 2 D: [*un* ITJ Unn
- 3 A: [*a*:..... ITJ Oh.
- 4 B: e↑ sore wa suki ni natchau ka= ITJ that TP like to become Q (That's because) you start to like (her)?
- 5 C: *suki ni natchau tte yu ka* like to become QT say Q (I am not sure it is like) I start to like (her)
- 6 B: *hhhh*
- 7 A: *nanka moo isei mitaina* ↑ Like already opposite sex like like they are different from you?

- 1 C: おれ 女友達 (.) にあんまなれない。
- 2 D:[うん
- 3 A: [あーーー
- 4 B: えっ, それは好きになっちゃうか。
- 5 C: 好きになっちゃうってゆうか。
- 6 B: あはは
- 7 A: なんかもう異性みたいな?
- 8 C: うん, その異性だから、あんまり関わらないみたいな。
- 9 A:[うーーん関わらないのか。
- 10 B:[うーーん。
- 11 →B: そうなんだ。じゃさみしいね

⁴³ Japanese transcription of (100)

- 8 C: *un. sono isei da kara annmari kakawaranai mitaina* ITJ that opposite sex COP because not much connect-NEG like well, like I don't socialize with them because they are girls.
- 9 A: [*un*...... *kakawaranai no ka*↓ ITJ not connect NML Q (I see). You don't socialize with them.
- 10 B: [*un*..... ITJ I see.
- $11 \rightarrow B$: soo na n da ja samishii **ne** hhhh that COP NML COP so lonely FP I see. So (you are) lonely.

Speaker C, male, says that he cannot be friends with girls (line 1). Speaker B is surprised and wonders whether it is because speaker C will start to like the girl if she is friendly with speaker C (line 4). Speaker C gives the reason in line 8. Responding to the reason, a *ne*-marked utterance is produced in line 11. Note that "*soo nan da*" is used before the *ne*-marked utterance, which indicates the reason that speaker C does not socialize with girls is what speaker B has just found out. In addition, "*ja*" also indicates that the *ne*-marked assessment is made based on the information B has just received (line 11) (Hamada, 1991). In this sense, the *ne*-marked evaluative comment is triggered by what speaker B has just heard. In the data for the present study, there are nine cases of the combination of "*ja*+*ne*" while only one case is the combination of "*ja*+*yone*." This shows that *ne* is commonly used in situations where speakers express their here-and-now recognition.

Example (101) is another example that presents the speaker's here-and-now recognition based on newly learned information. Four participants are talking about where they would relocate for their future jobs.

(101) (Sakura 12)⁴⁴

- 1 B: *tekido na tokai ga ii na: yappari* moderate COP city NOM good FP after all After all, it is good to go to a moderate city.
- 2 G: *u:n densha de ikeru tokoro ga ii na:* ITJ train with can.go place NOM good FP Yes, a place where trains can go is good.
- 3 C: *jikka kara*↑ home from From your home?
- 4 G: *chigau. nanka idoo suru toki ni* [*densha ga nai toka iya da* wrong like move do time at train NOM no like dislike COP No, I don't like it if there is no train when I move around.
- 5 C: [*a*:..... ITJ Ohhh
- $6 \rightarrow C$: sore wa iya da **ne** that TP dislike COP FP that is not good *ne*.

When speaker G mentions that she would like to move to a place where trains can go (line 2), speaker C asks for clarification whether speaker G means she can take a train directly from her home (line 3). In line 4, speaker G explains that what she meant was that she could move around with trains. The change-of-state token "*a*……" (Heritage, 1984) produced by speaker C in line 5 indicates that speaker C realized what speaker G meant and speaker C's *ne*-

- 1 B: 適度な都会がいいな、やっぱり
- 2 G: うん、電車でいけるところがいいな。
- 3 C: 実家から?

5

- 4 G: 違う。なんか、移動するときに[電車がないとかいやだ。
 - С: [あーー
- 6 \rightarrow C: \forall h d \lor \forall h d \lor

⁴⁴ Japanese transcription of (101)

marked response in line 6 is based on what she just learned from G's explanation. Thus, *ne* here presents speaker C's here-and-now recognition.

In examples (99), (100) and (101), the *ne*-marked response is based on immediate visual or audio information. In other words, the speaker's recognition is established with what he/she has just seen or heard and the speaker presents his/her here-and-now recognition with *ne*. These examples are consistent with Miyazaki's (2002) proposal. On the other hand, no *yone*-marked response was found in such situations in the data.

5.3.2. Response to the speaker's already-known information

In 5.3.1, we saw that only *ne* is selected in response to what the speaker has just seen or heard while *yone* is not identified in such situations. However, *ne* also can be used in response to the information that the speaker already knows. This section will illustrate the different situations in which *ne* and *yone* are used to respond to the speaker's already-known information.

5.3.2.1. *Ne* in recall

Example (102), the same as example (97), shows how *ne* relates to the speaker's own experience which is already-known information for the speaker. Before the segment, four participants are talking about attractions at an amusement park. Speaker B says she does not enjoy the vertical movement found in elevators or roller coasters, although she does like riding attractions.

$$(102) = (97)^{45}$$

3 A:[なんか]ナガシマ(テーマパーク)で3つあるやつ。

⁴⁵ Japanese transcription of (97/102)

¹ A: あのースペースショッ…なんかこう行くやつ

² B:[あー]

1 A: *ano::: supeesusho nanka kou iku yatsu* ITJ space-sho like this go things Well, Space Sho(t) something like it goes like this.

2 B: [*a*:.::] ITJ oh

3 A: [nanka] Nagashima de mittsu aru yatsu= like Nagashima at three exist things There are 3 something like that in Nagashima (the name of an amusement park)

 $4 \rightarrow B$: =aru **ne**. are wa mada noreta. exist FP that TP still could ride There are (something like that in Nagashima) **ne**. I had no problem with riding it.

In lines 1 and 3, speaker A mentions other attractions in a park called *Nagashima*, i.e. Space Shot, which also have vertical movement. The speaker B's response (line 4) is related to her personal experience of riding the Space Shot. Here, *ne* presents recollection of her experience. Before speaker B mentions the "Space Shot," it seems that speaker B did not think about such attractions because the examples she gave were elevators and roller coasters. In addition, the *ne*-marked response is also associated with the change-of-state marker "*a*…" (line 2) (Heritage, 1984). This means that the experience of riding on "Space Shot" just entered speaker B's consciousness after she heard speaker A's statement in line 3. In this sense, although the *ne*marked response is about the speaker's past personal experience, it still reflects the speaker's here-and-now recognition at the time of utterance.

Examples (103) and (104), also demonstrate how *ne*-marked responses are associated with the speaker's personal experience. In these two segments, four participants are talking

^{4 →} B: ある**ね** あれはまだ乗れた。

about their ideal partners. Speakers H and G, two male participants, previously talked about the same topic with others in a different session. Example (103) is the beginning of this new session.

(103) (Sakura 1) 46

- 1 H: ee isee ni motomeru jooken nani ↑((reaches hands to speakers L and K)) ITJ opposite sex to ask for condition what Well, what are the criteria for ideal partners?
- 2 G: *hai doozo* = ITJ please Please (tell us)
- 3 H:=*hai hai [hai* ITJ ITJ ITJ Please, please, please
- 4 G: [sakki bokura katatta [kara ago we said because Because we have talked about it a little while ago.
- 5 H: [sanzan thoroughly thoroughly

⁴⁶ Japanese transcription of (103) H: え, 異性に求める条件なに? 1 G:はい どうぞ= 2 H:= はい はい[はい 3 4 [さっき,僕らは語った[から。 G: 5 H: [散々 6 G: 散々語ったから。 7 L:じゃあ,先に教えて、 8 G:何て言っとった? 9 (1.0)10 H:優しさ。 11 G: あ~そうだそうだ。 12 H: 色気= K:=hhhh 13 14 L:[hhhh 15 H:[あと何だっけ? 16 (0.3)17 H:それしかなかったっけ?= G:= いやいやいや, あとなんか家庭的とか[なんかいろいろある。 18 19 →H: [家庭的とか言っとったね。 20 G: まあ、そんなとこ、はい。

- 6 G: *sanzan katatta kara* thoroughly said because Because we have talked about it a lot.
- 7 L: *ja: sakini oshiete* then first tell Then please tell us first.
- 8 G: *nan tte yuttotta* ↑ what QT said What did we say?
- 9 (1.0)
- 10 H: yasashisa kindness Kindness.
- 11 G: *a*: soo da soo da ITJ that COP that COP Oh, I remember, I remember (we talked about it).
- 12 H: *iroke* = sexiness sex appeal.
- 13 K: =hhhhhhh
- 14 L: [hhhh
- 15 H: [*ato nan da kke*↑ after what COP AUX What else did we talk (I don't remember)?
- 16 (0.3)
- 17 H: *sore shika nakatta kke*↑= that only no-PST AUX That was all?
- 18 G: *=iya iya iya ato nanka kateeteki toka* [*nanka iroiro aru* no no no after like domestic like like various have No no no, we also talked about something like being family-oriented.

19 →H:

[*kateeteki toka yuttotta ne* domestic like said FP We said something being family-oriented *ne*.

20 G: *un maa sonna toko hai* ((reaches hands to speakers L and K)) yes ITJ that.kind place ITJ Yes, well, that is it. (Now it is your turn)

Speakers H and G are asked to provide what they talked about in the previous session. Speaker H first provides two criteria they talked about regarding an ideal partner (line 10 and line 12) and then he has trouble in recalling other things they talked about. In line 17, he says that that is all they talked about. However, in line 18, speaker G reminds him that they also talked about other criteria such as being family-oriented. In line 19, speaker H produces a *ne*marked response. Before his response, i.e., criteria like being family-oriented, is produced, he did not remember the criteria until speaker G reminded him. His response is triggered by speaker G's utterance in line 18 and *ne* here indicates speaker H's here-and-now acknowledgement of the fact.

The four participants continue talking about the criteria in example (104). Speaker L asks what else speakers H and G have talked about, and this time, it is speaker G who has trouble recalling what they said.

(104) (Sakura 1)⁴⁷

1	L:	ato	wa↑
		after	TP
		What	else?

⁴⁷ Japanese transcription of (104) 1 L: あとは? 2 (2.0)3 G: 何が? 4 (2.0)H: 服装とか言っとったじゃん= 5 6 →G: [=あ~言っとった**ね**。俺ら。 K:[=あ~要るね。 7 G: 言っとった, 言っとった。 8

- 2 (2.0)
 3 G: nani ga ↑ what NOM What?
 4 (2.0)
 5 H: *fukusoo toka yuttotta jan* = clothes like said TAG Didn't we also talk about something like clothes
- $6 \rightarrow G$: [=a:: yuttotta **ne** orera ITJ said FP we Oh, we talked about that **ne**.
- 7 K: [=a:: iru ne ITJ need FP Oh, it is necessary.
- 8 G: *yuttotta yuttotta* said said We did talk about it.

Example (104) is the same as example (103) in that the speaker's response is triggered by another's previous utterance in a situation where the speaker has trouble recalling something. In example (104), speaker G could not remember what else they talked about as criteria for ideal partners. Speaker G's *ne*-marked response produced in line 6 is triggered by speaker H's comment that they also talked about clothes in line 5. Here *ne* displays what speaker G has just recalled, thus the *ne*-marked response presents his here-and-now acknowledgement.

5.3.2.2. Yone in recall

The following part will discuss how *yone* is used in a situation where the speaker is talking about information which is already known to him/her.

- (105) (Sakura 5) 48
- 1 I: *jikyuu sen en tte ii ne* hourly-pay 1000 yen QT good FP It is good that your hourly pay is 1000 yen
- 2 E: *ee tabun tabun sonna kanji datta* ITJ probably probably that.kind feeling COP-PST Well, probably, it was kind like that.
- 3 L: *demo sempai sen en tte itteta [kara* But senior 1000 yen QT said because But she (the person who is our alumnus) said it is 1000 yen.
- $4 \rightarrow E: \qquad \begin{bmatrix} itteta \ yone \\ said \ FP \\ She said \ it \ yone \end{bmatrix}$
- 5 L: un ITJ Yes
- 6 E: *kenshuu kikan wa ne: yasui kamoshiren ne* training period TP FP cheap possible FP During the training period, the pay is probably less.
- 7 L: *demo nai n janai* [*sonna no*] but no NML COP-NEG that kind NML but probably that kind of thing won't happen.
- 8 E: [hajime wa] deeta nyuuryoku tte yutteta beginning TP data input QT said

⁴⁸ Japanese transcription of (105) I: 時給千円って良いね。 1 2 E: ええ、でもたぶんたぶんそんな感じだった。 L: でも先輩千円って言ってた[から 3 4 \rightarrow E: [言ってたよね。 5 L: うん 6 E: 研修期間はね 安いかもしれんね。 7 L: でも, ないんじゃない[そんなの [初めはデータ入力って言ってた。 8 E: 9 検査も何もしずに 10 L: 良いな。

9 *kensa mo nani mo shizuni* check-up also what also do-NEG At the beginning, I will only input data into computer and won't do check-up or other things.

10 L: *ii na::* good FP I am jealous.

Before this segment, speaker E told others that she ran into an alumnus at a clinic where the alumnus works. Speaker E was offered an opportunity to work there and the hourly pay was 1000 yen. Maybe because she has not started to work there yet and her job will be only inputting data into a computer without doing anything such as checking patients (line 8 and 9), she downgrades her stance (line 2) by showing uncertainty with the adverb "*tabun* (probably)" when speaker I comments on how good the pay is in line 1. In line 3, speaker L mentions that the alumnus has said the pay is 1000 yen and speaker E produces the *yone*-marked response in line 4. Certainly, she knows what the alumnus said about the hourly pay and the information about hourly pay was already-known information to her.

Example (106) also demonstrates how the speaker uses *yone* to talk about information already known to her.

(106) (Sakura 5)⁴⁹

1 L: *de baito no hanashi*↑ ITJ part-time job LK story

⁴⁹ Japanese transcription of (106)			
1.	L:でバイトの話?		
2.	(1.0) hhh		
3.	バイトの話に戻[さないといけないね。		
4.	I: [そうだね。		
5.	G: でも別にそれてもいいんだよ=		
6.	→ L: =いいって言ってた よね 。		
7.	(1.0)		
8.	G: じゃ次はカーマについて(.)語っていい。		

2	(1	.0)	hhh

3 baito hanashi ni modo[sanai to ikenai no ne part-time job LK story to return-NEG if can.go-NEG FP Well, part-time job, we must return to the part-time job topic. 4 I: soo da ne that COP FP yes, we must. 5 G: *demo betsuni* ii da sore temo п vo=particularly deviate even good NML COP FP but But it is OK to deviate from the topic. 6 \rightarrow L: =*ii* tte yutte (i)ta **yone** good OT said FP (They said) it is OK yone. 7 (1.0)8 G: ja tsugi wa Kaama nitsuite (.) katatte ii then next TP Kahma about talk good

Before this segment, speaker L and speaker I were talking about their training experience at a clinic to which they have gone. They talked about gossip from the people in the clinic for about four minutes. During their talk, another two participants, speaker G and speaker E, did not participant much because they did not know the people in the clinic. When speaker L notices she and speaker I have dominated the conversation for a long time, she mentions that they should go back to the part-time job topic (lines 1-3). When speaker G mentions in line 5 that they can deviate from the given topic, speaker L immediately produces the *yone*-marked utterance in line 6. Since the participants have been told that they can deviate from the given topic, the information is already known to speaker L. Her immediate response shows that she knows the information clearly and has no problem in recall.

Then next you can talk about Kahma (the name of a supermarket).

5.3.2.3. The difference between *ne* and *yone* in recall

Comparing the *yone*-marked response in examples (105) and (106) with the *ne*-marked responses in examples (103) and (104), it is clear that the environments in these examples are different. When *ne* is used, the speakers show problems of recollection in the preceding discourse while *yone* is not used in such situations. In addition, as examples (102) and (104) show, *ne*-marked responses tend to occur with the change-of-state maker "*a*::" (Heritage, 1984). In the data for this research, 37 cases of *ne*-marked responses occur with "*a*::" while only 6 cases of *yone*-marked response are prefaced by "*a*::."⁵⁰ This indicates that the speaker intends to use *ne* to present information as something that has just entered one's consciousness at the discourse site, even in a situation involving recalling already-known information.

	a::: + <i>ne</i> responses	a:::+ yone responses
Numbers	37	6

A::', corresponding to 'oh' in English, is a marker of change-of-state (Heritage, 1984). Heritage & Raymond (2005) argues that oh-prefaced second assessments assert epistemic

⁵⁰ 3 cases of *ne*-marked responses are "*a*:: *naruhodo ne*." "*Naruhodo*" cannot be combined with *yone*.

	a::+ ne	a::+yone	
Sakura l	3	0	
Sakura2	4	2	
Sakura4	4	1	
Sakura5	1	1	
Sakura7	5	0	
Sakura8	4	0	
Sakura9	5	0	
Sakura10	4	0	
Sakura12	7	2	
Total	37	6	
Total	3/	0	

independence and supremacy relative to the first assessment. Examples of the present study show that in Japanese an *a*::-prefaced assessment itself does not work in the same way as an ohprefaced assessment in English. When '*a*::' prefaces a *ne*-marked assessment, the *ne*-marked assessment can be triggered by the immediately preceding utterance, which indicates the speaker's recognition might be newly established.

Certainly, the speaker of a second assessment might have previous experience or judgment. When an *a*::-prefaced assessment is used to talking about previous experience, '*a*::+*ne*' assessment is a review, recollection and renewal of the speaker's previous experience or judgment. The speaker's recognition is that something has just emerged out of the speaker's memory at the time of the utterance. Although the experience per se is certainly not new, a speaker can present it as new information by using *ne*. In contrast, '*a*::+*yone*' is deployed when the speaker presents that his/her recognition is based on previous experience or knowledge. Thus, these examples show that the use of a particle can be decided by how the speaker wants to present his/her recognition rather than by the information per se.

In this section, *ne*-marked and *yone*-marked responses to already-known information are examined. *Ne*-marked responses tend to appear in situations in which the speaker has trouble in recalling his/her experience. *Ne* presents what has just entered the speaker's consciousness. In this sense, it is the same as a *ne*-marked response to an immediate situation (see 5.3.1), which also presents the speaker's here-and-now recognition. On the other hand, a *yone*-marked response does not associate with a speaker's recollection difficulties. In other words, the speaker does not use *yone* to present what has just entered the speaker's consciousness; rather *yone* is used to display one's previous held recognition.

5.3.3. Response to the answer to a question

In this section, how *yone* and *ne* are used in response to the answers for questions will be examined. The targeted *yone* and *ne* are in the positions of line 3 as shown below.

1 Question

- 2 Answer
- 3 \rightarrow Response + *yone/ne*

The data in the table below shows that when *yone* and *ne* are used in response to the answer to a question, the question, i.e., line 1, is designed differently. The different sequences are illustrated as follows:

Ne-marked response	Yone-marked response
1 WH question	1 Tag question/ WH question + Candidate answer
2 Answer	2 Answer
3 <i>Ne</i> -marked response	3 <i>Yone-</i> marked response

For *ne*-marked responses, the questions are mainly WH questions while the questions are primarily tag questions or in the form of "WH question + Candidate answer" for *yone*-marked responses.

To examine this point, let us observe some examples.

(107) (Sakura 12)⁵¹

```
<sup>51</sup> Japanese transcription of (107)
1 → A: 時給いくら?
2 B: 時給は、接骨院が 850 円、ラシックが、950 円、
3 家庭教師が 1500 円。
4 → A: めっちゃいいね。
5 B: うん、1 時間で
```

- $1 \rightarrow A: jikyuu ikura^{\uparrow}$ hourly payment how much How much is your hourly payment?
- 2 B: *jikyuu wa sekkotsuin ga 850 en rashikku ga 950 en* Hourly payment TP bonesetter's office NOM yen restaurant's name NOM yen
- *kateikyooshi ga 1500 en* tutor NOM yen
 850 yen per hour for a bonesetter's office, 950 yen per hour for *Rashikku* and 1500 yen
 for tutoring.
- $\begin{array}{rrrr} 4 & \rightarrow \text{A: } \textit{metcha} & \textit{ii} & \textit{ne} \\ & & \text{very good FP} \\ & & \text{That's very good } \textit{ne}. \end{array}$
- 5 B: *un ichi jikan de* yes one hour in Yeah, per hour.

In this example, four participants are talking about their part-time jobs. First,

speaker A asks about speaker B's hourly payment with a WH question "how much is your hourly payment?" (line 1). The question indicates that speaker A does not possess any knowledge about speaker B's salary. Thus, her response with *ne* (line 4) is based on the information she just received from speaker B's answer in lines 2 and 3. This example illustrates that a *ne*-marked assessment reflects a speaker's recognition, which is established upon the information he/she has just received.

Example (108) is another example that presents a speaker's response based on what she has just heard. It is different from example (107) because the question and the assessment are made by different individuals. However, the same pattern can still be observed. In this segment, speaker B is telling the other three participants that she is going to receive some compensation because her previous employer is going through bankruptcy. (108) (Sakura 12)⁵²

- 1. \rightarrow A: *dore kurai hairu no* how much about enter Q How much will you receive?
- 2. B: 60000 kurai. 60000 about About 60,000 yen.
- 3. A: *o*:. ITJ Wow.
- 4. \rightarrow D: *ooki* **ne**. big FP A lot money **ne**.

In line 1 speaker A asks the amount of the compensation with a WH question, i.e., "how much will you receive?" Speaker D's response (line 4) is based upon speaker B's answer in line 2. Thus, speaker D's response in line 4 also demonstrates that her understanding is also established on what she just learned from speaker B.

Ne-marked assessment in example (109) is another example in which the question and the *ne*-marked assessment are made by different individuals. In this segment, four participants are talking about their part-time jobs.

(109) (Sakura 5)⁵³

- 3 A:おーー
- 4 → D: 大きい**ね**。

⁵³ Japanese transcription of (109)

- 1 G: 眼科 1 本?
- 2 E:1本。
- 3 G:ちゅう=
- 4 E: 眼科、眼科2本になりそうな感じ。

⁵² Japanese transcription of (108)

¹ $\rightarrow A$: どれくらい入るの?

² B:6万くらい。

1	G:	<i>ganka ippon</i> ↑ ophthalmological clinic one One ophthalmological clinic?
2	E:	<i>ippon</i> one One job.
3	G:	<i>chuu=</i> <i>chuu</i> <i>chuu</i> (the utterance is interrupted by E)
4	E: opł	<i>=ganka ganka nihon ni narisoo na kanji</i> nthalmological clinic ophthalmological clinic two to might.become COP feeling somehow I might have two part-time jobs at ophthalmological clinics.
5	I:	e: sugee ITJ awesome Really? That is awesome.
6	→I:	<i>jikyuu ikura na no</i> \uparrow hourly pay how much COP Q How much is the hourly pay?
7	E:	<i>happyakugojuu en to sen en kanaa:</i> 850 yen and 1000 yen probably 850 yen and the other one is probably 1000 yen.
8	I:	[<i>sen en</i>] 1000 yen 1000 yen.
9	→G:	[sen en] sugoi ne 1000 yen awesome FP 1000 yen. It's awesome ne.
10	E:	deshoo kyoo chotto mensetsu itte kuru. TAG today a little interview go come Isn't it? I will have an interview (for it) today.
	5 I: À	しえ,すげえ。

6 → E: 時給いくらなの?

7 E: 850円と千円かなあ。

- 8 I:[千円!]
- 9 → G: [千円!] すごい**ね**。
- 10 E: でしょ。今日ちょっと面接行ってくる。

In line 6, speaker I asks the WH question about speaker E's hourly pay. It is clear that speaker G does not know much about speaker E's part-time jobs based on the question he asked in line 1. When speaker E tells them her hourly pay in line 7, speaker I and speaker G respond at the same time. Speaker G's *ne*-marked assessment in line 9 is based on the information he just received from speaker E. Thus, here *ne* presents that speaker G's understanding is based on what he just learned from speaker E.

The following three examples, (110), (111) and (112), illustrate that *yone*-marked responses tend to be associated with tag questions or a WH question followed by candidate answers to present a speaker's previously held recognition.

In example (110), four participants are talking about the hourly payment for their parttime jobs. At the beginning of this segment, speaker G says that even though he wants more money, he puts up with his low hourly payment because the part-time job is easy and close to his home.

(110) (Sakura 5)⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Japanese transcription of (110)				
1	I:G君いくらやった?			
2	G: 800 円=			
3	L:[=hhh]			
4	E:[=hhh]			
5	L:[=800円でこんな来るの?]			
6	I:[平日いくらだったっけ?]			
7	G: 平日?			
8	G:平日,午前中は午前中っていうか5時までは750円。			
9	L:[~]			
10	I:[安い]			
11	I:[稼げんじゃん]			
12	E: [よく頑張るね] 辞めやぁ[早く]			
13	G: [でも] それ それぐらいの仕事量			
14	E: あんまないつて事 ?			
15	G:ない。 暇だね。			
16	E: 暇 暇なのを取ったの ?お給料じゃなくて?			
17	G: そうそうそう暇で 家から近くて。			
18	I:お金はどうでもよかった?			

1	I:	Gkun ikura yatta ↑ (name) how much COP-PST How was your hourly payment, G?
2	G:	happyaku en= 800 yen 800 yen
3	L:	=[hhhhhhh=
4	E:	[hhhhhh]
5	L:	=[<i>happyaku en de konna kuru no</i>]↑ 800 yen with this kind come Q You have to come so much for 800 yen an hour?
6	I:	[heejitsu ikura data kke]↑ weekday how much COP-PST FP How much for weekdays?
7	G:	<i>heejitsu</i> ↑ weekday Weekday?
8	G:	<i>heejitsu gozenchuu wa gozenchuu tte iu ka goji made wa nanahyakugojuu en</i> weekday morning TP morning QT say Q 5pm till TP 750 yen Weekday morning, in fact it's 750 yen until 5pm
9	L:	[hee] ITJ Really?
10	I:	[<i>yas:ui</i>] cheap cheap
11	I:	[<i>kasegen jan</i>] cannot make money TAG You can't make money, can you?

- 19 G: そう欲しいけどね。
- 20 \rightarrow E: でもだって 安くない?
- 21 G: 安い。
- 22 → E: 安い**よね** 。それ。

12	E:	[yoku gambaru	ne:]	yameya	[hayaku]
		quite work hard	FP	quit	fast
		You really work ha	rd, you s	should qu	uit now

- 13 G: [*demo*] sore sore gurai no shigoto ryoo but that that about LK work amount but the work is about that much.
- 14 E: *amma nai tte koto* ↑ much NEG QT thing You mean you don't have much work to do?
- 15 G: *nai hima da ne* no spare time COP FP Not much work. I have a lot spare time.
- 16 E: *hima hima na no o totta no ↑ okyuuryoo janakute* ↑ spare time spare time COP NML O took Q salary COP-NEG You are doing that job because you have a lot spare time, not because the money?
- 17 G: soo soo soo hima de ie kara chikakute yes yes yes spare time COP home from close Yes, yes, yes. A lot spare time and it's close to my home.
- 18 I: okane wa doo demo yokatta ↑ money TP how ever good-PST So money doesn't matter?
- 19 G: *soo hoshii kedo ne* yes want but FP Yes, I want money, though.
- $20 \rightarrow E$: demo datte yasukunai but but cheap-NEG But isn't it cheap?
- 21 G: *yasui* cheap Cheap.
- $22 \rightarrow E$: *yasui yone. sore* cheap FP that That is cheap *yone*.

In line 20, speaker E's question is designed as a tag question, i.e., "*yasukunai* (isn't it cheap)." In addition, "*datte*" is used to strengthen the speaker's assertion and make others change their stance (Mori, 1994, p. 155). The combination of "*datte*" and tag question shows speaker E already thinks that speaker G's payment is very cheap. The question design indicates the purpose of the question is to solicit an affirmative answer rather than simply acquire an answer from speaker G. Upon receiving speaker G's expected affirmative answer (line 21), she produces a *yone*-marked utterance (line 22). Here *yone* is not interchangeable with *ne* because speaker E already thinks that speaker G's payment is cheap before she utters line 22.

In the following two examples, *yone* is used in response to the answer to a question in the form of "WH question + Candidate answer." In example (111), four participants are talking about their part-time jobs.

(111) (Sakura 12)⁵⁵

1 G: *demo dekireba shitakunai naa:*. but can if want to do-NEG FP But if it is possible, I don't want to do part-time job.

- 2 A: *majide* really Really.
- 3 B: [honto↑ really Really?

⁵⁵ Japanese transcription of (111)

- 1 D: でも、できればしたくない。
- 2 A: まじで?
- 3 B: [ほんと?
- 4 G: [え、バイト好き?
- 5 A: あたしはめっちゃ好きだね。
- 6 →G: えーなんで? 人がいいから?
- 7 A: 人がいいから。
- 8 →G: [あー]絶対そうだ**よね**。
- 9 A:[うん]

- 4 G: [*e:::: baito suki*↑ ITJ part-time job like What? you like part-time jobs?
- 5 A: *atashi wa meccha suki da mon* I TP extremely like COP because I like it very much.
- $6 \rightarrow G: e:::::: nande \uparrow hito ga ii kara \uparrow$ ITJ why people NOM good because Really? Why? Because (the co-workers) are nice?
- 7 A: *hito ga ii kara* people NOM good because Because (the co-workers) are nice.
- 8 \rightarrow G: [a::: zettai soo da yone. ITJ definitely hat COP FP Oh, definitely because of that yone.
- 9 A:[*un* yes Yes.

Speaker G says that she does not want to do any part-time job (line 1) while speaker A says that she likes her part-time job very much (line 5). Surprised by speaker A's totally opposite opinion, speaker G first asks for the reason with a WH question, i.e. "*nande* (why)," then she produces a candidate answer, that is, because speaker A's co-workers are nice (line 6). It is notable that the candidate answer, which is in the form of a polar question, does not stand alone to serve to seek an answer. In fact, the formation of "WH question+ candidate answer" shows that speaker G already had an opinion of what the reason is. Confirmed by speaker A (line 7), speaker G produces the *yone*-marked utterance in line 8. Here *yone* is chosen rather than *ne* because speaker A's opinion that "*hito ga ii kara* (because they are nice)" has been previously expressed in the specially designed question formation in line 6. She also upgrades

her opinion with the adverb "zattai" (definitely) (line 8). This example clearly illustrates that

yone presents the speaker's previously held recognition.

Example (112) is another case of *yone* associating with a "WH question + candidate answer" pattern. Four female participants are talking about speaker C's relationship with her boyfriend.

- (112) (Sakura 8)⁵⁶
- $1 \rightarrow D$: tabe ni itta toki toka sa doo suru \uparrow Warikan \uparrow eat to went time like FP what do split the bill When you go out to eat, what would you do? Split the bill?
- 2 C: *warikan*. split the bill Split the bill
- $3 \rightarrow D: da yone. onaji toshi da mon ne.⁵⁷$ COP FP same year COP because FP.(As I expected) split the bill*yone*. Because (you and your boyfriend) are same age.

. In line 1, speaker D asks what speaker C will do when she eats out with her boyfriend. After the WH question, i.e. what will speaker C do, speaker D adds a candidate answer in the form of a polar question, i.e. whether they should split the bill (line 1). This polar question also serves as a candidate answer. After speaker C's confirmative answer (line 2), speaker D produced a *yone*-marked utterance (line 3). Note speaker D also provides the reason why speaker C and her boyfriend should split the bill though speaker C is the one who knows the reason why she splits the bill with her boyfriend (line 3). Here *yone* is chosen also because

⁵⁶ Japanese transcription of (112)

3 →D: だ**よね**。同い年だもんね。

^{1 →}D: 食べに行ったときとかさどうする? 割り勘?

² C:割り勘。

⁵⁷ This SFP *ne* cannot be replaced with *yone* because the replacement will result in ungrammaticality. *Yone* cannot be attached to "*mon*" to form such as "*~mon yone*." Thus, this type of *ne* is not the target of this analysis.

speaker D expressed her opinion (line 1) and expected that speaker C split the bill, which is therefore a previously held view.

The foregoing examples of *yone* and *ne* demonstrated the distinctions between *yone* and *ne* in response to the answer to a question. *Ne*-marked responses are mainly associated with WH questions. The speaker's response is triggered by the hearer's answer to WH questions. Thus, the *ne*-marked response shows the speaker's recognition is established upon hearing the answer and something new that the speaker has just realized. In this sense, the response represents a here-and-now recognition. In contrast, a *yone*-marked response primarily occurs as a response to an answer to tag questions or with "WH question + candidate answer" patterns. These question forms reveal that the speaker does not simply seek an answer but seeks an answer that confirms the recognition he/she has already established. Thus, the response with *yone* to the answer presents that the speaker's recognition has been previously formed.

5.3.4. Response to assessments

In this section, how *yone* and *ne* are used in response to assessments will be examined. Hayano (2013) also investigated *yone*-marked and *ne*-marked assessments in an assessment sequence (see 5.2.). In her study, she compares particles *yo*, *ne* and *yone* in marking epistemic stance in assessment. However, the cases in her study are primarily limited to those in which *yo*, *ne* and *yone* occur in first and second assessment.⁵⁸

English: First assessment: Second assessment:

⁵⁸ According to Hayano (2013), a speaker can take an evaluative stance to make a first assessment on a referent which is also accessible to a recipient. The first assessment can invite recipients to convey their evaluative stance about the same referent in the next turn, a second assessment.

Here are some examples in English and Japanese. In an English example, speaker J and speaker L make assessment on the weather. In a Japanese example, speaker B and speaker G make assessment on a girl called Ayumi.

J: T's- tsuh beautiful day out isn't it? L:Yeh it's jus' gorgeous...

First	Yo-marked assessment	Ne-marked assessment	Yone-marked assessment
assessment			
Second	Yo-marked assessment	Yo-marked assessment	Yo-marked assessment
assessment	Ne-marked assessment	Ne-marked assessment	Ne-marked assessment
	Yone-marked assessment	Yone-marked assessment	Yone-marked assessment

Moreover, her focus is on how these particles claim epistemic primacy or shared

In example (113), the first assessment is a *ne*-marked assessment (line 1) and the second assessment is another *ne*-marked assessment (line 2). Hayano (2013) argues that the speakers use *ne* to claim they have shared knowledge.

(113)

- $1 \rightarrow \text{Kayo: de- (0.2) a^tsui ne.}$ and thick FP And- (0.2) (it's) ^thick ne.
- $2 \rightarrow$ Eiko: atsui desu [ne:. thick CP FP (*It's*) thick ne:.
- 3 Kayo: [un: ITJ Yeah

(Hayano, 2013, p. 53)

Japanese: First assessment:	B: demo a^yumi chan yoku shaberu ne :, igaini ne : but ayumi END much talk FP unexpectedly FP But Ayumi talks a lot ne, unexpectedly ne,
Second assessment:	G: ayumi chan wa yoku shaberu yo anoko wa ayumi END TP often talk FP that girl TP <i>Ayumi talks a lot yo, that girl (does).</i> (Hayano, 2013, p. 49)

In fact, there are many cases in which *yone* or *ne* are used to respond to non-*ne*-or-*yone*marked assessments in the data for the current research. The current research focuses on the *ne*marked and *yone*-marked response to assessments without *ne* or *yone*. The following table shows the environment examined in the present study.

First assessment	assessment	assessment	
Second assessment	Ne-marked assessment	Yone-marked assessment	

In addition, the target of assessment is limited to those that every conversation participant has the right to assess. In other words, epistemic primacy is not relevant in the current study.

Let us examine *ne*-marked responses first. Four females are talking about whether they prefer dogs or cats.

(114) (Sakura 10)⁵⁹

- 1 B: *kekka inu ha ga ookatta tte yuu* result dog group NOM many QT say The result is that more people prefer dogs.
- 2 G: *inu ha da ne.* dog group COP FP.

⁵⁹ Japanese transcription of (114)

- → B: 結果犬派が多かったって言う。
- 2 G: 犬派だね。
- 3 A: うん.討論にならなかったね あたし猫だよーとかに
- 4 ならなかった。
- 5 C: 猫あんまいないんじゃないの? いるかな?
- 6 A: いるんじゃない ?
- G: えー猫生意気だよ。なんか。
- 8 B: え、でも可愛いよね。
- 9 G:え?可愛い?
- 10 B: 子猫が可愛い。でも、
- 11 → G: あー子猫は可愛いね。

More people prefer dogs.

3	A: <i>un tooron ni naranakatta ne. atashi neko da yo:: toka ni</i> ITJ, debate to became-NEG FP I cat COP FP like to
4	<i>naranakata</i> became-NEG Yes, it didn't like a debate. Nobody said I prefer cats.
5	C: <i>neko anma inni n janai no</i> ↑ <i>iru kana:</i> . cat not much exist-NEG NML TAG Q. exist FP Not many people prefer cats, right? I wonder if anyone prefers cats.
6	A: <i>iru n janai</i> ↑ exist NML TAG Aren't there people who prefer cats?
7	G: e:, neko namaiki da yo nanka ITJ cat self-conceit COP FP like Really? Somehow cats are self-conceited.
8	B: e::: demo kawaii yone ITJ but cute FP eh, but they are cute
9	G: e:, kawaii↑ ITJ cute Really? (Cats are) cute?
10	B: <i>koneko ga kawaii demo.</i> kitten NOM cute but.

 $11 \rightarrow G: a::: koneko wa kawaii ne.$ ITJ kitten TP cute FP Oh, kittens are cute ne.

But, kittens are cute.

They conclude that they prefer dogs to cats in line 1. Speaker G is a dog person and that might be the reason she is surprised in line 9 when speaker B mentions that cats are cute (line 8). Upon speaker G's reaction, speaker B modifies her statements by saying kittens are cute (line 10). In line 11 speaker G supports speaker B's view that kittens are cute with *ne*. That *yone* is not used here might be related to the reason that speaker G's recognition has changed during the

discourse. First, she contrasts kittens with adult cats by using the topic marker *wa* showing her opinion that kittens are cute but not adult cats (line 11). This corresponds to her utterance in line 7 in which she explains why she does not like cats, i.e., she thinks cats are conceited. Moreover, her utterance is also prefaced with a prolonged interjection '*a*...,' corresponding to 'oh' in English, which is considered a marker of change-of-state (Heritage, 1984). Here, before speaker B's utterance in line 10 that kittens are cute, speaker G's opinion is that cats are not cute. Her opinion changed after hearing speaker B's utterance in line 10. In this sense, *ne* presents the speaker G's here-and-now recognition because she clearly did not think that cats were cute until speaker B says kittens are cute (line 10). This corresponds to Miyazaki (2002)'s argument that *ne* is a marker of "what the speaker thought, felt and noticed on the spot" (p. 12).

Example (115) is similar to example (114). In this segment, four female participants are talking about their ideal partners.

(115) (Sakura 7)⁶⁰

1 L: *tanpatsu suutsu (.) sawayaka [mitaina kurokami mitaina* short hair suits refreshing like black hair like (He is) short hair, suits, refreshing, black hair.

- 2 F: [a suutsu niau hito ga ii= ITJ suits match people NOM good Oh. I like guys in suits.
- 3 \rightarrow E: =*a*(.) <u>ii</u> <u>ne</u> suutsu ITJ good FP suits Oh. I like guys in suits too.

⁶⁰ Japanese transcription of (115)
 1. L: 短髪、スーツ(.) さわやか[みたいな黒髪みたいな.
 2 F: [あ、スーツ似合う人がいい=

3 \rightarrow A: =b(.) いいねスーツ

Speaker L is describing a guy she met a few days ago (line 1). When hearing the guy wore suits, speaker F comments that she thinks guys who look good in suits are good (line 2). Responding to speaker F's assessment, speaker E makes the same comments with ne (line 3). Before this segment, "suits" was not the topic of discussion until speaker L mentions the guy she met was wearing a suit. Speaker E's assessment is triggered by speaker F's assessment in line 2. In addition, speaker E's response is also an "a::"-prefaced assessment as observed in example (114). Thus, speaker E's assessment (line 3) can also be considered a here-and-now recognition which entered speaker E's consciousness upon hearing speaker F's assessment (line 2).

In example (116), four female participants list their favorite things about their ideal partners.

(116) (Sakura 7)⁶¹

- 1 E: *isei demo kaminoke mijikai hoo ga suki* Opposite sex even hair short side NOM suki But for guys, I like short hair guys.
- 2 F: *atashi kurokami ga ii ato megane* I black hair NOM good behind glasses I like guys with black hair and glasses.
- $3 \rightarrow E$: megane no [niau hito ii ne Glasses LK match people good FP. I like guys who look nice with glasses.

- 1 E: 異性でも、髪の毛短い方が好き。
- F: あたし黒髪がいいあと眼鏡。
- 3 →E: 眼鏡の[似合う人いいね。
- 4 F: [黒髪に眼鏡()わんーねー
- 5 E: やばいね。
- 6 F:()ちょー似合ったんだって。
- 7 E: あ、ほんとに。
- 8 F: だから生活中かけなさいって言ったの。そしたら()めっちゃ似合ったよ。
- 9 E: 眼鏡なんかかけてかっこいい人だったら、ちょっとキュンってしちゃうね。
- 10 →F:ヤバイよね。

⁶¹ Japanese transcription of (116)

- 4 F: [*kurokami ni megane () <u>wa:::::</u> ne ((lean toward the table))* Black hair P glasses ITJ FP Black hair and glasses () wow
- 5 E: *yabai ne* awesome FP That is awesome.
- 6 F: () *choo niatta n da tte* ((talking with her mouth almost covered by hands)) very match NML COP QT Looks very good.
- 7 E: *a: hontoni.* ITJ really Oh really.
- 8 F: dakara seikatsu chuu kake nasai tte itta no. sooshitara () meccha niatta yo. so life during wear please QT say FP then very match FP So I asked him to wear glasses every day. Then () looked very good.
- 9 E: megane nanka kakete kakkoii hito dattara chotto kyun tte shichau ne. glasses like wear good-looking people if little twinge QT do FP If one is a good-looking guy wearing glasses, he will make girls' hearts ache.
- $10 \rightarrow F: yabai$ yone: awesome FP That is awesome.

In line 2, speaker F says that black hair and glasses are good. Speaker E's *ne*-marked response (line 3) is triggered by speaker F's previous assessment (line 2). This *ne* is the same as the ones we discussed in examples (114) and (115) in which *ne* represents a speaker's here-and-now recognition. Then speaker F starts to tell others how good her boyfriend looks with glasses (lines 4 to 8). Speaker E's assessment in line 9 changes the specific experience of speaker F to a general statement that good-looking guys wearing glasses make girls' hearts ache (line 9). Speaker F agrees with speaker E with a *yone*-marked response (line 10). Here *yone* manifests her previously held recognition in the sense that she has clearly expressed how much she loved

her boyfriend's looks with glasses in line 8. Therefore, here a *yone*-marked response illustrates speaker F's understanding which was established before the utterance in line 10.

Example (70), reproduced as example (117), also presents how a speaker manifests previously held recognition with a *yone*-marked response. In example (70), we examined the use of *yone* as a tag question in line 13. Here, the use of *yone* in line 14 is focused. Before the segment, four participants are talking about their preference for dogs and cats.

(117) (Sakura 4) 62

1	C: <u>ah</u> Ano sa pagu kawaikunai↑ ITJ that FP pug cute-NEG Ah! Don't you think pug is cute?
2	(1.0)
3	D: ((tilts his head and no response))
4	C: <i>eeeeeeee[e</i> ↑ ITJ What? (really?)
5	B: [<i>inu ni modotta</i> ↑ dog to returned back to the dog (topic)?

⁶² Japanese transcription of (116) C: あっ!あのさ、パグ可愛くない? 1 2 (1.0)3 D: ((返答なし)) C: z~~~~[~~~~ 4 5 B: [イヌに戻った? 6 D: 今、イヌに戻った 7 可愛いちゃ可愛いけど、飼う気になんないから、パグ イヌ飼うならパグっていう意識の人があまり 8 どうなんだろね 9 B:パグとかブルドッグとか好きだよ、私 10 D: [ブルドッグとパグ何が違うの? 11 12 B:[くしゃってなるじゃん=(Cに) 13 C:=可愛いよ[ね (Bに) [可愛い**よね**,あれ(Cに) 14 →B: 15 C:ほら(Dに)

- 6 D: *ima inu ni modotta*. now dog to returned (Yes) we are just back to the dog (topic).
- 7 *kawaii tcha kawaii kedo kau ki ni nannai kara pagu* cute if. say cute but have desire to become-NEG because pug Pug is cute but I don't want to have a pug.
- 8 *inu kau nara pagu tte yuu ishiki no hito ga amari* dog have if pug QT say awareness LK people NOM not much Not many people would like to have pug.
- 9 doo na n daro ne how COP NML probably FP I am not sure, maybe.
- 10 B: *pagu toka burudoggu toka suki da yo watashi* pug such bulldog such like COP FP I I like pug and bulldog.
- 11 D: [*burudoggu to pagu nani ga chigau no*↑ bulldog and pug what NOM different Q How are bulldog and pug different?
- 12 B: [*kusha tte nanka*= ((speaking to C)) muzzled QT like Kind of muzzled (face)=
- 13 C: =kawaii yo[ne ((speaking to B)) cute FP It's cute.
- $\begin{array}{rcl} 14 & \rightarrow & \text{B:} & & [kawaii \ yone, \ are \ ((\text{speaking to C})) \\ & & \text{cute} & FP \ \text{that} \\ & & \text{That's cute} \ yone \ . \end{array}$
- 15 C: *hora* ((speaking to D)) ITJ You see.

In line 1, speaker C proposes that pugs are very cute. However, speaker E does not agree with him because he believes few people would like to have pugs as pets (lines 7, 8, 9). Speaker B says she also likes pugs (line 10) and uses gestures to describe the shape of a pug's

eyes (line 12), which becomes the target of assessment in this segment. After hearing speaker C's assessment in line 13, speaker B produces a *yone*-marked assessment in line 14 to align with speaker C. Here she does not simply align herself with speaker C by repeating the same assessment word "*kawaii* (cute)" but also shows her opinion that pugs' eyes are cute is not a newly established one because she has already mentioned that she likes pugs in line 10. By showing her recognition as a previously held one, she strongly presents her recognition to support speaker C's stance, i.e. pugs are cute, countering E's negative stance towards pugs.

Example (118) also demonstrates that how a speaker can use *yone* to display one's previously held recognition. Before this segment, four female participants talk about speaker A's part-time job. Speaker A works at a famous chocolate store.

(118) (Sakura 12)⁶³

1	B:	е	choko	tabereru ↑
		ITJ	chocolate	can.eat
		Can	you have cl	hocolate there?

2 A: *choko moraeta yo* ↑ chocolate could.receive FP I got some chocolate.

3 B: [*a: ii na:* ITJ good FP I am jealous.

- 1 B: え、チョコ食べれる?
- 2 A: チョコもらえたよ。
- 3 B: [あ、いいな。
- 4 G: [あ、いいな。
- 5 B: 絶対おいしいよ。
- 6 C:うん。
- 7 A: めっちゃおいしかった。
- 8 →B: だよね。

⁶³ Japanese transcription of (118)

4	G:	[<i>a: ii na:</i> ITJ good FP I am jealous.
5	B:	<i>zettai oishii yo</i> definitely delicious FP (The chocolate) must be very delicious.
6	C:	un yes Yes.
7	A:	<i>metcha oishikatta</i> very was delicious (The chocolate) was very delicious.
8	→ B:	<i>da yone</i> COP FP It is <i>yone</i> .

When speaker B finds out that speaker A can receive some free chocolate, she immediately comments on the taste of the chocolate (line 5). In line 7, speaker A upgrades her comment on chocolate with the adverb "*metcha* (very)" saying it was very delicious. Speaker B's *yone*-marked response to speaker A's assessment (line 8) corresponds to her own comment in line 5, i.e., "*zettai oishii yo* (definitely delicious)." Thus, this example clearly illustrates that *yone* displays a speaker's previously held recognition.

Just as in example (118), speaker E's *yone*-marked response in example (119) on the next page corresponds to her previous comment. Four female participants are talking about their ideal partners. Speaker E is a fan of a Japanese boy band and Kazunari Ninomiya from the band is her favorite. Kazunari Ninomiya is part of a famous entertainment company called Johnny's, which trains and promotes groups of male pop stars.

- (119) (Sakura 7)⁶⁴
- 1 D: *e donna no ga taipu na no*↑ ITJ what kind NML NOM type COP Q What is your type?
- 2 E: $n \uparrow$ n n?
- 3 D: *donna hito taipu na no*↑ what kind people type COP Q What kind of people is your type?
- 4 F: [donna hito taipu na no↑ what kind people type COP Q What kind of people is your type?

⁶⁴ Japanese transcription of (119)

- 1 D: え、どんなのがタイプなの?
- 2 E:ん?
- 3 D:どんな人がタイプなの?
- 4 F:[どんな人がタイプなの?]
- 5 E:[どんな人がタイプだろう]ねわかんない
- 6 F:二宮くんっていわれたらどうしよう。hhh(D c)
- D: え、二宮君のどこがいいの?
- 8 E: どこがいい[の?
- 9 D: [顏?顏?
- 10 E: なんか、普通な感じ。
- 11 D: あー、分かる。
- 12 F: あたしもそれはわかる。
- 13 E: なんか変にかっこつけてもなく
- 14 F: うん、普通[なのがいい。
- 15 E: [普通でしょ
- 16 D: うん、なんかジャニーズっぽくないところが[いい
- 17 F:
- 18 E: 普通でなんか、自分の中になんか世界あるよね。
- 19 D:あー
- 20 F: 前、すっごい昔さ、すばるくん(芸能人)とでてたじゃん=

[そうそうそうそう

- 21 E:= (危ない放課後)(ドラマタイトル)?
- 22 F:=そうあいちゃん(芸能人)と
- 23 F: あの時普通の人だなって思って、
- 24 →E: ほんと普通だよね。
- 25 E:[懐かしー。
- 26 D:[わかるそう人に惹かれる。

5	E:	[donna hito ga taipu daroo ne wakannai what kind people NOM type possible FP know-NEG What kind of people is my type? I don't know.
6	F:	Ninomiyakun tte iware tara doo shiyoo. hhhh (to D) Ninomiya QT told if how do What if E says that Ninomiya is her type. hhhhh
7	D:	e Ninomiyakun no doko ga ii no↑ ITJ Ninomiya LK where NOM good Q What makes you like Ninomiya?
8	E:	<i>doko ga ii</i> [<i>no</i> \uparrow where NOM good Q What makes me like him?
9	D:	[<i>kao</i> ↑ <i>kao</i> ↑ face face His face?
$10 \rightarrow$	E:	<i>nanka futsuu na kanji</i> somehow normal COP feel well, (because) he is a regular guy.
11	D:	<i>a: wakaru</i> ITJ understand Oh, I understand.
12	F:	atashi mo sore wa wakaru I aslo that TP understand I also understand that.
13	E:	<i>nanka henni kakkotsuketemonaku</i> somehow strange pretend.to.be.cool-NEG He doesn't try to be cool.
14	F:	<i>un futsuu</i> [<i>na no ga ii</i> ITJ normal COP NML NOM good Regular is good.
15	E:	[<i>futsuu deshoo</i> regular TAG He is a regular guy, isn't he?

- [soo soo soo soo yes yes yes yes Yes yes yes yes
- 18 E: *futsuu de nanka jibun no naka ni nanka sekai aru yone* regular COP like own LK inside at like world have FP He is a regular guy and has his own world inside.
- 19 D: *a*.: ITJ Oh

16

17

- 20 F: *mae sugoi mukashi sa Subarukun to deteta jan*= before very long time ago FP (name) with appeared TAG Long time ago, he was (in a program) with Subarukun.
- 21 E: =*Abunai hookago*=↑ (name of a program) *Abunai hookago?*
- 22 F: =soo Aichan to yes (name) with yes, with Aichan.
- 23 F: *ano toki futsuu no hito da naa tte omotte* that time regular LK people COP FP QT thought At that time, I thought he was such a regular guy.
- $24 \rightarrow E$: *honto futsuu da yone*. really regular COP FP He is really average *yone*.
- 25 E: [*natsukashii* fondly remembered It's sweet memory.
- 26 D: [*wakaru soo iu hito ni hikareru* understand that kind people to attracted I understand. I am attracted to such people.

When speaker E is asked why she likes Ninomiya, she said that she likes him because he is an average guy (line 10). The other two participants, speaker D and speaker F, show agreement with her. Speaker F talks about her impression of Ninomiya in a TV program in line 23 and speaker E produces the *yone*-marked assessment in line 24. She agrees with speaker F that Ninomiya is an average guy, which she mentioned earlier in the conversation (line 10). Thus, here *yone* displays speaker E's previously established recognition.

In the examples of *yone*-marked assessment above, the speakers already express their opinions before *yone*-marked assessment are made. In the following examples, speakers produce *yone*-marked responses before clearly presenting their opinions.

In example (120), four female participants were talking about the night view from the ferris wheel at a shopping mall in Sakae.⁶⁵

(120) (Sakura 9)⁶⁶

1 E: *demo Sakae no sa:* but Sakae LK FP But Sakae's (Ferris Wheel)

⁶⁵ Sakae is located in the heart of Nagoya, which is one of Nagoya's main commercial districts.

⁶⁶ Japanese transcription of (120)

```
1
   E: でも栄のさ、
    B:街並み?
2
3
   E: 見渡せる?あれ、ビルばっかで、
4
    (1.0)
5
    B: まあ久屋大通りとか見えるんじゃない?
6
   E: ふーん
7
     (1.0)
8
    D: テレビ塔だとかがめっちゃ=
9
    A:= あーあそこ綺麗[らしいね。
10 \rightarrow D:
                「綺麗だよね。
11
   D: テレビ塔がきれいじゃない?まず。
   A: いや、分かんない[夜行った事ない。
12
13
   D:
                 [オレンジ色に光って
14
   D: きれい。
15
   B: あんまりきれいに思った事無いなあ。
16
   D: うそ。
```

2	B:	machinami ↑ townscape Townscape?
3	E:	<i>miwataseru</i> ↑ <i>are biru bakka de</i> can see around that building only COP Can you have a good view (from there)? There are a lot building around.
4	(1.0)	
5	B:	<i>maa Hisayaoodoori toka mieru n janai</i> ? ITJ Hisaya street like can.see NML TAG Well, you can see Hisaya street or something like that, can't you?
6	E:	<i>fuun</i> ITJ mmmmm
7	(1.0)	
8	D:	terebitoo da toka ga metcha= TV tower COP like NOM very (The view of) TV tower is very
9	A:	<i>=a: asoko kiree</i> [<i>rashii ne:</i> ITJ there beautiful I heard FP Oh, I heard that it's very beautiful there.
10	→D:	[<i>kiree da yone</i> beautiful COP FP It's beautiful there <i>yone</i> .
11	D:	terebitoo ga kiree janai mazu TV tower NOM beautiful TAG first First of all, isn't the TV tower beautiful?
12	A:	<i>iyaa wakannai</i> [<i>yoru itta koto nai</i> no know-NEG night went thing NEG I don't know. I have never been at night.
13	D:	[orenji iro ni hikatte (i)te orange color as shine It's in orange color.

14 D: *kiree* beautiful Beautiful.

15 B: *ammari kireeni omotta koto nai na:* not much beautiful thought thing NEG FP I have not thought it's that beautiful there.

16 D: *uso* lie Seriously?

Before the segment, they were talking about the view from the ferris wheel at an amusement park and they agreed that the view was not very good. Then they mentioned many couples go to the ferris wheel at the shopping mall in Sakae at night to enjoy the night view. In line 1, Speaker E starts to question whether people can have a good night view from the Ferris wheel at Sakae because she thinks there are too many tall buildings there (line 1 and line 3). In line 5, speaker B mentions that people can see the night view of the main street called Hisaya. After a short period of silence, speaker D starts to talk about the night view of the TV tower but her utterance is interrupted by speaker A (line 8). Speaker D's utterance in line 8 is ended with an adverb "metcha (very)." In line 9, after interrupting speaker D's utterance, speaker A mentions that she has heard that the TV tower is beautiful at night. In line 10, speaker D's response to it is a *vone*-marked assessment which shows her agreement with speaker A. She continues to explain why the TV tower looks beautiful at night in lines 11, 13 and 14. Based on speaker D's utterance from lines 10 to 14, we can assume that the word she was going to say but was prevented from saying because of the interruption in line 8 might be "kirei (beautiful)," which is the same as what she says in line 10. In this sense, *yone* in the assessment in line 10 can be considered indicating that her recognition was established before the time of utterance.

5.4. Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that the differences between *yone* and *ne* in the context of response can be explained as follows: *Ne* presents the speaker's here-and-now recognition while *yone* manifests the speaker's previously held recognition. Examples were examined in four situations: i) response to immediate situations; ii) response to the speaker's already-known information; iii) response to the answer to a question; and iv) response to assessment.

The data shows only *ne* is used to respond to immediate situations such as what a speaker has just seen and heard. It can be prefaced with "*ja*" or the change-of-state marker "*a*.:" which indicates the speaker's recognition is based on what he/she has just learned from previous discourse (Hamada, 1991; Heritage 1984). No example of *yone* is found in situations in which a speaker responds to new information he/she has just seen or heard.

When *ne* and *yone* are used to respond to the speaker's already known information, *ne* can be used in recall. In the examples, although the information is known to the speaker, it is not in the speaker's consciousness before the *ne*-marked utterance. The use of *ne* indicates that the already-known information has just entered the speaker's consciousness. In this sense, the function of *ne* is consistent with the immediate situation, that is, the speaker uses *ne* to present the already-known information as here-and-now recognition. In contrast, since *yone* indicates the speaker's previously held recognition, the change-of-state marker "*a*::" does not frequently preface *yone*-marked responses.

When *ne* and *yone* are used in response to the answer to a question, the question is designed differently. For the examples of *ne*, the questions are WH questions, which indicate that speakers seek certain information. In addition, *ne*-marked responses in this case also tend to occur with the change-of-state marker "*a*::" where the speaker's response is based on the

information that he/she has just learned. Thus, the use of *ne* reflects a speaker's here-and-now recognition. For examples of *yone*, the questions are designed differently. Certainly, the speakers are also seeking the answer, but they already recognize possible answers when producing the questions. This special question design, tag question or question in the form of "WH question + candidate answer," is more to ask for confirmation of the already held recognition rather than simply to seek new information. Thus, when the recognition is confirmed by the answer, the response to it is associated with the marker *yone*.

When *ne* and *yone* are used to respond to assessments, *ne*-marked responses are often triggered by preceding assessments from others and the change-of-state marker "*a*::" tends to occur with the *ne*-marked response. The *ne*-marked assessment tends to be different from the assessment on the same referent the speaker makes in previous discourse. When *yone* is used to respond to an assessment, the *yone*-marked assessment remains consistent with the previous assessments the speaker makes or implies. In this sense, *yone* presents a speaker's previously held recognition.

Now let's examine an expanded version of example (108) presented as (121) below. The new part to the segment is B's *yone*-marked response in line 5.

(121) (Sakura 12)⁶⁷

1. A: *dore kurai hairu no*↑ How much about enter Q How much will you receive?

- 3 A:おーー
- 4 → D: 大きいね
- 5 → B:大きいよね

⁶⁷ Japanese transcription of (121)

¹ A: どれくらい入るの?

² B:6万くらい、

- 2. B: 60000 kurai. 60000 about About 60,000 (yen).
- 3. A: O:. ITJ Wow.
- 4. \rightarrow D: *ooki* **ne**. big FP A lot money **ne**.
- 5. \rightarrow B: *ooki yone*. big FP A lot money *yone*.

Hayano (2013) argues that a *yone*-marked response to a *ne*-marked assessment claims subtle primacy. Based on the analysis of the present study, the subtle primacy might also come from the speaker's claim that her recognition is previously held and not newly established. The *yone*-marked utterance would sound unnatural in line 5 if *yone* was replaced with *ne*. Because speaker B is the one who is going to receive the money, speaker B is supposed to know how much she is going to receive and knows that 60,000 *yen* is a large of amount (at least for students). If *ne* is used, it might sound like she has just noticed, which results in the unnaturalness. Certainly, the use of *yone* can also be explained as speaker B having the authority to claim her understanding based on Hayano's (2013) analysis. The combination of the sense of previously held recognition and authority that *yone* can convey might be able to give a better explanation for the use of *yone* here.

According to Slobin & Aksu (1982), the Turkish -mis particle expresses a speaker's unprepared mind and native speakers feel 'psychological distance' to utterances encoded by the -mis particle. They argue that it is because the speaker's mind has not been prepared to assimilate the event in question prior to forming an utterance about an event. In Japanese, native

speakers also sometimes feel that a *ne*-marked utterance sounds more distant than a *yone*-marked utterance. In addition, *yone*-marked utterances sound emotionally stronger. The state of the speaker's mind might be the key to bring out those feelings. When *yone* is used in response, the stronger feeling is derived from the presentation of a previously held recognition.

In example (122), four participants are talking about their ideal partners. Before this segment, they talked about what kind of things they do not like.

(122) (Sakura 1)⁶⁸

- 1 H: *kechi toka* stingy like. Like being cheap.
- 2 K: *a kechi* [*iya da ne* ITJ stingy dislike COP FP Oh, I don't like cheap *ne*.
- $3 \rightarrow L$: [kechi iya da yone stingy dislike COP FP I don't like cheap yone.
- 4: \rightarrow H: *kechi iya da* stingy dislike COP (You) don't like cheap.

When H brings up "being cheap," K and L immediately respond to it with almost the same assessment. The difference is that speaker K's *ne*-marked response is prefaced with the change-of-state maker "*a*:" while speaker L's *yone*-marked response is not.⁶⁹ With the analysis

- 1 H: ケチとか?
- 2 →K: あ, ケチ[いやだ**ね。**
- 3 →L: [ケチいやだ**よね**。
- 4 H:ケチいやだ。

⁶⁹ Heritage (1984) does not distinguish the change of state token "oh" and prolonged "oh…" As the following examples show, "oh" in line 3 of example (a) and "oh…" in line 12 of example (b) are treated same.

⁶⁸ Japanese transcription of (122)

above in hand, it is reasonable to interpret the difference between yone and ne in response is that speaker K uses *ne* to present her here-and-now recognition while *yone* is used by speaker L to indicate her previously held recognition. In addition, the feeling that speaker L shows stronger agreement is associated with the use of yone.

(a)

A: Well who'r you wokin' for. B: hhh Well I'm working through the Amfat Corporation. $1 \rightarrow A$: The who? $2 \rightarrow B$: Amfah Corpora[tion. T's a holding company. $3 \rightarrow A$: [Oh A: Yeah. (Heritage, 1984, p. 316) (b) 1 I: Ye- h Well she's gone to mm eh: eh; Chester:. 2 (0.9)3 I: Ja[nie:, 4 J: [†Janie has 5 I: ↑Ey? 6 J: No she hasn't 7 (0.8)8 I: Yes. She's go::ne. 9 (0.7)10 I: She went just before dinner. 11 (0.2) \rightarrow J: Oh \uparrow Oh [I (thought 12).] [She w'z in such a] rush. 13 I: (Heritage, 1984, p. 313)

As far as I know, no research has been conducted regarding the difference between Japanese "a:" and the prolonged "a:...." This would be an interesting topic for future study.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1. Summary of the study

Using a functional-discourse perspective, the present study analyzes the use of Japanese sentence final particle *yone* with invented data and naturally occurring data. In particular, the features of *yone* are investigated by comparing it with the particle *ne* in two situations: tag-like questions and reponse. Although *yone* and *ne* are commonly used as tag-like questions or response, whether *yone* and *ne* are interchangeable in these two situations still remains unclear. Through a close examination of natural conversation data in which *ne* and *yone* are used as a tag-like question is associated with explicit or implied cognitive or interactional incongruity while *ne* encodes that the speaker assumes no difference of understanding or knowledge between conversation participants. Furthermore, *yone* in responses, including showing agreement, indicates the speaker's previously held recognition while *ne* presents the speaker's here-and-now recognition.

Chapter 4 focuses on *yone* as a tag-like question. Three types of *yone* have been identified.

Type I is associated with the incongruity of the speaker's understanding. The speaker uses *yone* when he/she feels the information might be different from what he/she possesses. The incongruity might appear when the speaker's understanding is different from what he/she observes or experiences. This type of *yone* can be considered as indicating the speaker is not completely certain about the information.

Type II is associated with an incongruity which exists because the information belongs more to the hearer than the speaker. Unlike Type I, the speaker feels certain about his/her understanding or information in type II. *Yone* is used because the information belongs more to the hearer.

Type III appears as a disalignment between the speaker and interactant. It can also appear in a situation where the addressee does not respond to what the speaker asks or requests. *Yone* is used when the speaker feels the need to seek support from the addressee in order to justify his/her position.

The three types of *yone*-marked tag-like questions share the same feature; that is, the use of *yone* as a tag question is associated with some types of incongruity. Cognitive incongruity can appear explicitly or implicitly when the speaker is uncertain about the information or when disalignment exists between conversation participants. In contrast, *ne* is different from *yone* in tag-like questions because *ne* does not involve such incongruity between conversation participants.

Furthermore, *yone* can serve as a device for seeking support in order to justify the speaker's position. In this case, the hearer is considered an essential entity who can give confirmation or support. Thus, *yone* not only functions to seek confirmation as proposed in previous studies but also is a device to seek support from others to justify the speaker's position. Hence, *yone* is a means to achieve greater hearer involvement.

Chapter 5 focuses on the difference between *yone* and *ne* in response. The examples were examined in four response situations: i) response to immediate situations; ii) response to the speaker's already-known information; iii) response to the answer to a question; and iv) response

to assessment. The results indicate that the speaker uses *ne* to presents a speaker's here-and-now recognition while *yone* manifests a speaker's previously held recognition.

Only *ne* is used to respond to immediate situations such as what a speaker has just seen or heard. The use of *ne* indicates that the speaker's here-and-now recognition is established with what he/she has just seen, heard or learned from previous discourse. In contrast, no example of *yone* is found in such immediate situations. The finding supports Miyazaki (2002)'s proposal that *ne* indicates what the speaker thinks, feels or notices at the time of utterance.

Ne can also be used to respond to the speaker's already known information as well as *yone*. First, *ne* can be used in recall. Second, *ne* can be used to present what has just entered the speaker's consciousness. The data shows that a *ne*-marked response tends to appear when the speaker has trouble in recalling his/her experience. Moreover, *ne*-marked responses are usually triggered by the previous utterance and tend to occur with the change-of-state marker "*a::*" (Heritage, 1984). Thus, *ne* not only indicates what the speaker has just observed, but also can indicate that the information, which is already known, has just entered the speaker's consciousness. In contrast, a *yone*-marked response is not associated with a speaker's recollection difficulties. In addition, the change-of-state marker "*a::*" does not frequently preface *yone*-marked responses. Thus, the speaker does not use *yone* to present what has just entered the speaker's consciousness; rather *yone* is used to display one's previously held recognition.

When *ne* and *yone* are used in response to the answer to a question, the question is designed differently as follows:

1	WH questions	Tag questions/ WH questions + Candidate Answer
2	Answer	Answer

3 *Ne*-marked response *Yone*-marked response

Ne-marked responses tend to occur in situations where the questions are designed as WH questions. This design indicates that the speaker does not have certain information and needs the hearer to provide new information. Moreover, the change-of-state marker "*a*..." (Heritage, 1984) tends to be associated with *ne*-marked responses. Thus, the use of *ne* reflects that the speaker's recognition is established based on what he/she has just learned.

Yone-marked responses are associated with questions designed as tag questions or in the form of "WH question + Candidate answer." Although the speakers also seek certain information, this special question design, tag question or question in the form of "WH question + candidate answer," is more to ask for confirmation of the speaker's already held recognition rather than simply to seek new information. Tag question and candidate answer reveal that the speaker already has his/her own assumption. Thus, when the assumption is confirmed by the answer, *yone* is used in response to encode that the speaker's recognition has been established before the time of utterance.

The same patterns have been identified with *ne* and *yone* in responses to assessments. The environments where *ne* and *yone* appear are as follows:

- 1 Assessment
- 2 Ne-marked assessment

Assessment

Yone-marked assessment

As observed in other situations, *ne*-marked assessments also tend to co-occur with the change-of-state marker "*a*::" (Heritage, 1984). Moreover, a *ne*-marked assessment is often triggered by the preceding assessments by others. Thus, *ne*-marked assessments are often

different from an assessment the speaker made in previous discourse. The change of the speaker's assessment indicates that *ne* is used to present that the speaker's assessment is newly established or just entered the speaker's consciousness.

In contrast, the speaker's assessments tend to remain consistent in a *yone*-marked assessment sequence. *Yone*-marked assessment is the same or similar to what the speaker explicitly expresses in previous discourse. Without changing the speaker's assessment, the speaker uses *yone* to present a previously held recognition, which is different from the here-and-now recognition that *ne* presents.

In sum, the present study has elucidated the differences between two important Japanese sentence final particles *yone* and *ne* used as tag-like questions and responses. For use as a tag question, *yone* is associated with explicit or implicit cognitive incongruence while the speaker assumes no incongruity between conversation participant with the use of *ne*. In response situations, the speaker uses *yone* to present his/her previously held recognition while the speaker use *ne* to present his/her here-and-now recognition.

6.2. Implication of Findings

The findings of the present research contribute to Japanese linguistics and teaching Japanese as foreign language.

6.2.1. Japanese linguistics

Cross-linguistic studies suggest that sentence final particles are an important feature in human interaction with respect to representation of the speaker's epistemic and affective stance and orientation towards other conversation participants' epistemic and affective stances. In Japanese, for instance, the speaker can use certain linguistic features to present the territory of information (Kamio, 1990) or epistemic authority (e.g., Morita, 2002; Hayano, 2013). The speaker can also use certain linguistic features to index his/her subjectivity (Maynard, 1993). The present study demonstrates that the choice of *yone* and *ne* can index the speaker's subjectivity. As discussed in chapter 5, for instance, the use of *ne* or *yone* in an assessment is not necessarily decided by different degree of knowledge or personal experience but *how* the speaker presents his/her already-known information.

In addition, Akatsuka (1985) suggests that Japanese grammar is sensitive to newly learned information. Miyazaki (2001) also suggests that *ne* indicates what the speaker feels, thinks or has noticed at the time of utterance. With natural conversation data, the present study supports Akatsuka's (1985) and Miyazaki's (2001) proposals.

In sum, the findings of the present study not only contribute to the development of the understanding of the functions of *yone*, but also to the field of Japanese linguistics with respect to the relation between a sentence final particle and speaker's subjectivity, emotion and voice (Maynard, 1993).

6.2.2. Implications for teaching Japanese as a foreign language

Yone is a frequently used sentence final particle in daily conversation. However, it is seldom introduced in Japanese textbooks. According to Saigo (2011b), only one textbook provides an explanation of *yone*.⁷⁰ In the textbook "Japanese for Busy People III", the explanations for *yone* and *ne* are as follows:

⁷⁰ Saigo (2011b) did not include an intermediate level textbook "*Tobira*" which is commonly used in North America. In "*Tobira*," the explanation for *yone* is as follows:

Another double-particle, $\ddagger \ddagger$, functions similarly to \ddagger , except that $\ddagger \ddagger$ is used when the speaker is uncertain of his/her memory or judgment. Thus, when the speaker is certain that a statement is correct, $\ddagger \ddagger$ cannot be used, as in (i).

g. あの人は日本人だね。 ^f [confirmation]

h.あの人は日本人だよね。 / [confirmation; the speaker is not very certain]

- *Yone:* an ending used in spoken Japanese to ask someone for confirmation about a statement one has made (p. 102).
- *Ne*: The particle ne comes at the end of a sentence or phrase and, like 'isn't it?' in English, seeks confirmation and agreement from the other person. It is spoken with rising intonation (p. 5).

The explanation of yone only describes one function of yone, i.e., conformation, and fails

to provide a comprehensive picture. In addition, the explanation is very confusing because it is similar to the use of *ne*.

Saigo (2011a, 2011b) suggests that one of the reasons that yone is seldom taught in the

classroom is because the differences between yone and ne are still unclear.

The findings of the current research can make some practical suggestions on teaching

yone in the classroom. Two basic functions of yone, i.e., tag-like question and responding, can

be introduced in the following ways:

- a. Introduce the function of tag-like question.
 - Introduce the examples to demonstrate that *yone* can be used when the speaker lacks certainty.

Example:

kinoo megane o koko ni oita yone yesterday glasses O here at put-PST FP Yesterday I put the glasses at here *yone*.

- Since *ne* is usually introduced to learners much earlier than *yone*, the following example can be used to describe the difference between *yone* and *ne* as a tag-like question.
 - Sensee, ashita irasshaimasu ne. professor tomorrow go FP

i. A: 今日は暑いです{ね/★よね}。→[asking for agreement]
 B: ええ、本当に。

Professor, will you come tomorrow *ne*?

• Sensee, ashita irassyaimasu yone. professor tomorrow come FP Professor, will you come tomorrow yone?

As discussed before, *ne* indicates that the speaker assumes the professor shares the same understanding while, when *yone* is used, a possible incongruity of understanding between the speaker and the professor is presented, softening the tone of confirmation.

• Provide the examples in which only *yone* is possible.

Example: A: *kore oishii* this delicious This is delicious.

> B: *oishikunai yo* delicious-NEG FP It's not delicious.

A: (to C) *oishii* yone delicious FP It's delicious yone.

- Analyze the dialogue with students to facilitate the understanding of the concept of "incongruity of understanding" with which *yone* is associated.
- Analyze the examples of *ne* and *yone* to enforce the learner's understanding that *yone* indicates an explicit or implicit incongruity of understanding.
- b. Introduce the function of responding
 - Provide the examples in which only *yone* is possible.

Example: A: *kore yasukunai*? this cheap-NEG Isn't it cheap? B: *yasui*. cheap It's cheap.

C: *yasui yone*. cheap FP It's cheap *yone*.

- Analyze the dialogue with students to facilitate the understanding that *yone* encodes one's previously held recognition.
- Analyze the examples of *ne* and *yone* to enforce the learner's understanding that *ne* indicates what the speaker notices, feels and recalls at the time of utterance while the speaker uses *yone* to present that his/her recognition has been established before the utterance.

6.3. Future Studies

The present study focuses on *yone* and *ne* in confirmation and response while another function of *yone*, providing new information, was not covered. Previous studies show that *yone* and *ne* as well as *yo* can all be used to provide new information (e.g., Hasunuma, 1992; Zhang, 2008). Future studies can investigate the differences between them by scrutinizing the environments in which these particles are not interchangeable. Close examination of such environments not only provide insight into understanding the differences between these particles when used to provide new information, but also shed light on the relation between linguistic choice and human interaction.

. In addition, the present study has not examined gender as a contributory factor to the use of *yone*. Preliminary observation suggests that men tend to use *yone* less than women. Future studies can investigate the use of *yone* and gender with respect to the frequency, contexts and interactional effects.

Finally, sentence final particles are important features in East Asian languages. In previous studies, *yone* is often considered as showing the speaker's uncertainty. However, *yone* can also convey strong certainty when it is used to show agreement. In Mandarin, some particles, such as *ba*, are also traditionally considered as showing the speaker's uncertainty. Just like *yone*, *ba* can also indicate the speaker's strong feeling according to the context in which it appears. Investigation of the applicability of the analyses proposed for *yone* and *ne* to the particles in Mandarin will be another direction for future studies. A cross-linguistic study on these sentence final particles will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of language and sentence final particles in human interaction.

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