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Abstract

This work aims to provide a comprehensive description of the functions of the Japanese discourse particle (sentence-final particle) *ne* occurring at the end of a declarative clause, integrating insights from previous works and paying special attention to the way they correspond to different intonation types acknowledged in the recent phonological literature. The two central functions of *ne*, the ⟨call for confirmation⟩ use and the ⟨shared information⟩ use, are associated with distinct sets of intonations. The former is always accompanied by the question-rise contour. The latter, on the other hand, may be accompanied by the insisting-rise contour or the rise-fall contour; the choice of the rise-fall contour conveys an emotional tone, while the choice of the insisting-rise contour does not have this effect. *Ne* with the question-rise contour has two other uses, which I label the ⟨call for approval⟩ and ⟨offer/ promise⟩ uses. *Ne* with the insisting-rise or rise-fall contour too has multiple other uses, which I tentatively classify into two types: the ⟨look-up⟩ and ⟨dismissive reaction⟩ uses. Descriptions of the total of six uses are provided, and the conceptual links between them are discussed.

1. Introduction

It has been acknowledged in the literature: (i) that *ne*, one of the most frequently occurring discourse particles (also called sentence-final particles) in Japanese, has varied functions, and (ii) that the interpretation of *ne* is constrained by intonation (e.g., Hashimoto 1992; Koyama 1997; Sugito 1997; Moriyama 2001; Miyazaki et al. 2002; Oshima 2013). A full description of its diverse functions and correlation with intonation, however, is yet to be developed. This paper aims to provide a comprehensive description of the functions of *ne* occurring at the end of a declarative clause, integrating insights from previous works and paying special attention to the way they correspond to different intonation types acknowledged in the recent phonological literature.

In Section 2, as a preliminary, I illustrate the inventory of intonation contours in standard Japanese, which comprises four contour types (question rise, insisting rise, flat, and rise-fall). In Sections 3 and 4, two functions of *ne* which have often been regarded as central in the literature are examined. The first is the ⟨call for confirmation⟩ use, which is associated with the question-rise contour. The second is the ⟨shared information⟩ use, which may be accompanied by the insisting-rise or rise-fall contour; the

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choice of the rise-fall contour conveys an emotive tone, while the choice of the insisting-rise contour lacks this effect.

Section 5 discusses two other uses of *ne* with the question rise, which I call the ⟨call for approval⟩ and ⟨offer/promise⟩ uses. Section 6 discusses instances of *ne* that are accompanied by the insisting-rise or rise-fall contour but have rather different semantic contribution than *ne* in its ⟨shared information⟩ use; I propose to classify such usage into two types: ⟨look-up⟩ and ⟨dismissive reaction⟩. Section 7 briefly discusses the conceptual links between the different uses of *ne*.

It is worth noting that the semantic and intonational properties of *ne* to be discussed are largely shared by another particle *na* (e.g., Miyazaki et al. 2002: 281–283). It is beyond the scope of the current work, however, to examine in exactly what ways the two particles contrast with each other.

As stated above, this work focuses on *ne* occurring at the end of a declarative clause. Namely, *ne* occurring sentence-medially (as in (1)), or in interrogatives with the question marker *ka* and/ or a wh-phrase (as in (2)), directives (as in (3)), or sentence fragments (as in (4)), is excluded from consideration (see Hashimoto 1992: 92 and Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpoo Kenkyuukai 2003: 255 for some discussion of *ne* in such environments; what the arrow symbols refer to will be explained presently).[1]

(1) Ano hito-wa-ne(e) ↑↓ hontoo-ni sugoi-yo.
     that person-Th-*ne*   real-Adv amazing.Prs-DP
     'That person is, well, really amazing.'

(2) a. Kimi-mo kuru-ka-ne ↗
         you-also come.Prs-Q-*ne*
         'Are you coming too?'

     b. Nani-o   mita-nda-ne ↗
         what-Acc see. Pst-DAux.Prs-*ne*
         'What did you see?'

     c. Ashita-mo   ame-ka-ne ↑
         tomorrow-also rain-Q-*ne*
         'I wonder if it rains tomorrow too.'

(3) a. Kutsu-o   nuide-{ne ↗/ne ↑}
         shoe-Acc take.off.Ger-*ne*
         'Take off your shoes.'

     b. Te-o   araoo-{ne ↗/ne ↑}
         hand-Acc wash.Hor-*ne*
         'Let's wash our hands.'

(4) (in reply to: "Will you come?")

    Ki-ga   muitara-ne ↑

    mind-Nom   turn.Cond-*ne*

    'If I feel like doing so.'

2. Intonational Properties of *Ne*

After Venditti (2005), the current work adopts the four-way distinction of intonations (boundary pitch movements at the end of an intonation phrase, or IP-final BPM's, in Venditti's terminology): (i) the question-rise contour (annotated with "LH%" by Venditti), (ii) the insisting-rise contour (Venditti's "H%"), (iii) the flat contour (considered as "the absence of a boundary pitch movement" by Venditti), and (iv) the rise-fall contour (Venditti's "HL%"). The same four contours are also acknowledged by Kori (1997), who additionally posits a fifth contour labeled the "falling" contour (*kakoo choo*).[2] These contours typically occur at the end of an utterance unit (typically a full sentence), with the notable exception of rise-fall contours occurring utterance-medially (see below).

    Throughout the paper, I use the arrow symbols ↗, ↑, ↘ and ↕ to represent the question-rise, insisting-rise, flat, and rise-fall contours, respectively (this largely follows Kori's 1997 notation, who however does not use an explicit marking for the flat contour).[3] Also, shorthand like "*ne* ↑" will be used to represent "*ne* accompanied by the insisting-rise contour", etc.

    The rest of this section provides illustrations of the four contours, largely repeating the materials from Oshima (2014: 443–444). The question-rise contour is more concave (scooped) than the insisting rise contour. The question-rise contour is typically (though not always) used in questions, as in (5a). The insisting-rise contour, exemplified in (5b), adds an emotive and childish tone to the utterance when it occurs on a bare declarative.[4] The flat contour, exemplified in (5c), is the unmarked intonation for declaratives.


(5) a. Mieru ↗

       see.Pot.Prs

       'Can (we) see (it)?'

   b. Mieru ↑

       see.Pot.Prs

       '(We) can see (it)!'

   c. Mieru ↘

       see.Pot.Prs

       '(We) can see (it).'

The rise-fall contour consists of a rise and a fall following it, and is often accompanied by lengthening of the final vowel. The rise-fall contour is not used on a root declarative without a discourse particle, so that *Mieru*↑↓ sounds unnatural as an independent utterance. The rise-fall contour may occur sentence-medially, however, indicating that the utterance has not yet finished, as in (6).[5]

(6)   Mieru(u) ↑↓ toki-mo(o) ↑↓ atta ↘
       see.Pot.Prs time-also   exist.Pst
       'There were also, um, times when, um, (we) could see (it).'

Pitch trackings of actual tokens of *mieru* with the four types of intonations, produced with the software Praat (ver. 5.3.63; http://www.praat.org), are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1   "Mieru↘" (top left), "Mieru↗" (top right), "Mieru↑" (bottom left), and "Mieru↑↓..." (bottom right)
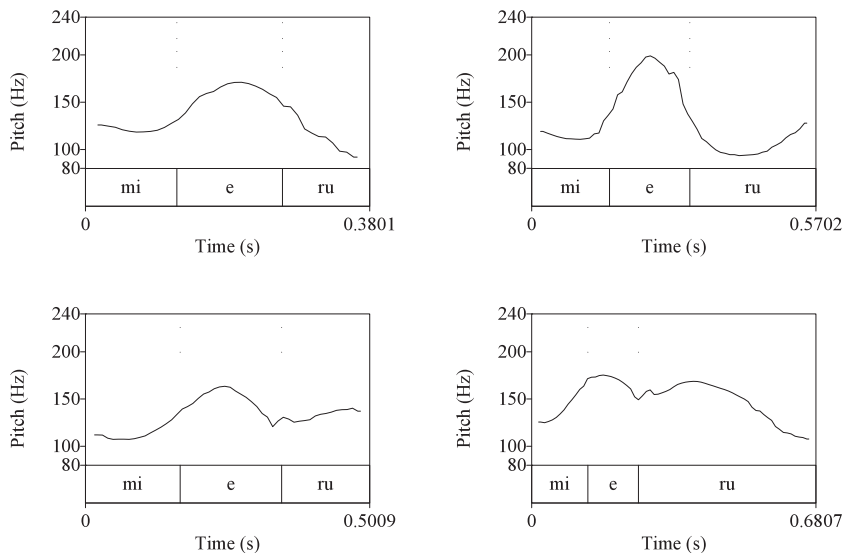
The particle *ne* can be accompanied by any of the four contours, although the combination of *ne* and the flat contour (*ne*↘) appears to be stylistically constrained and relatively rarely used (Inukai 2001: 20 et passim). In the following, I will not include *ne*↘ in the data, assuming that it is functionally more or less equivalent to *ne*↑↓. Pitch trackings of actual tokens of (7a–c) are presented in Figure 2.

(7)   Mieru-{a. ne ↗/b. ne ↑/c. ne(e) ↑↓ }
       see.Pot.Prs-*ne*
       '(We) can see (it), can't (we)? '

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Figure 2 "Mieru-ne↗" (top left), "Mieru-ne↑" (top right), and "Mieru-ne↑↓…" (bottom)
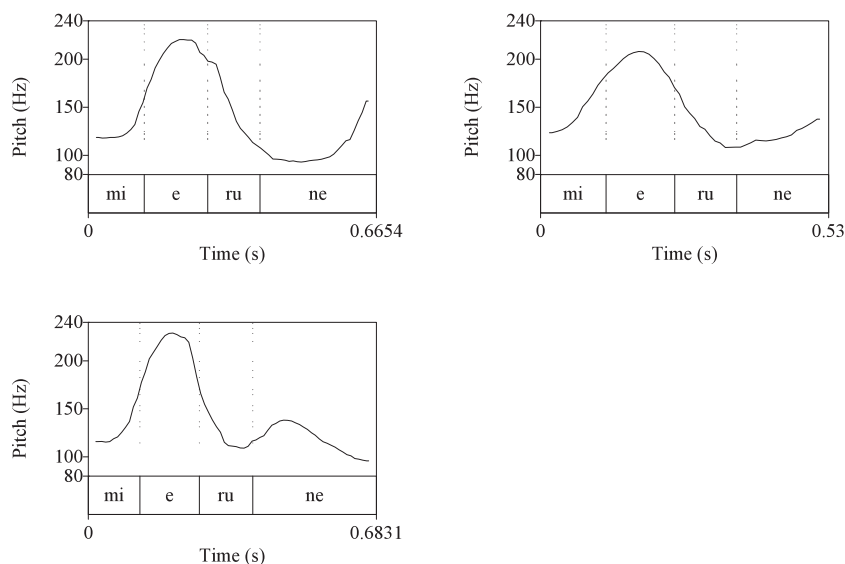
In much of the previous discussion of *ne*, the factor of intonation has not been given due attention. Although some authors have taken intonation into consideration, they tend not to make a proper distinction between *ne*↗, *ne*↑, and *ne*↑↓; Miyazaki et al. (2002: 280), for example, assume a simple two-way distinction between the "rising" and "falling" intonations, which do not easily map to the inventory of contours acknowledged in the recent phonological literature (see Oshima 2013 for additional remarks on this matter). In light of this, I will attempt in the following three sections to provide an adequate description/analysis of the functions the Japanese discourse particle *ne* (at the end of a declarative clause) with special attention to their compatibility with different contours; some materials therein are also found in Oshima (2013), but the proposed taxonomy and descriptions of the individual functions are not exactly the same.

3. The ⟨Call for Confirmation⟩ Use

Ne accompanied by the question-rise contour can be used to form a polar question with expectation of the positive answer, which is comparable in meaning to the English reversed polarity tag interrogative with a rising intonation (e.g., *He was here, wasn't he*↗).

(8) Kinoo,   Tozai Hoteru-ni ikaremashita-ne↗
     yesterday T.   hotel-Dat go.Pst.Hon.Plt-*ne*
     'You went to Tozai Hotel yesterday, didn't you↗'[6]

(9) Hora, asoko-ni kooban-ga   miemasu-ne↗
     hey   there-Dat police. box-Nom see.Pot.Plt-*ne*
     'Look, you can see a police box over there, right?'[7]

This use, which I label the ⟨call for confirmation⟩ (CFC) use, has been taken up in many previous studies (e.g., Koyama 1997; Takubo and Kinsui 1997; Miyazaki et al. 2002), and can be regarded as a central function of *ne*. An important question regarding the discourse function of *ne* in its CFC use is how S (the speaker) makes a choice between it and the complex particle *yone*, which likewise can be used to ask for confirmation when accompanied by the rise-fall contour.

(10) a. Kinoo,   Tozai Hoteru-ni ikaremashita-yone↑↓
         yesterday T.   hotel-Dat go.Pst.Hon.Plt-*yone*
         '*idem*'
     b. Hora, asoko-ni kooban-ga   miemasu-yone↑↓
         hey   there-Dat police. box-Nom see.Pot.Plt-*yone*
         '*idem*'

As discussed in Oshima (2014), the choice is constrained by a rather complex set of conditions, according to which *ne* is the only option in certain discourse configurations, *yone* is the only possibility in certain others, and either is acceptable in yet others. To mention just one such condition, while an utterance of the form (11a) can be used to ask for confirmation or clarification about the content of what H (the hearer) has just said, a similar utterance with *yone*, of the form (11b), cannot be so used.[8]

(11) a. {[a clause headed by a nominal predicate]/[a clause ending with the discourse auxiliary
         noda]} +*ne*↗
     b. {[a clause headed by a nominal predicate]/[a clause ending with the discourse auxiliary
         noda]} + *yone*↑↓

(12) A: Ashita-wa   Maeda-san-ga   kimasu.
        tomorrow-Th M.-Suffix-Nom come.Prs.Plt
        'Maeda will come tomorrow.'
     B: Maeda-san-{da/desu}-{ne↗/#yone↑↓}
        M.-Suffix-{Cop.Prs/Cop.Prs.Plt}-{*ne/yone*}
'   It is Maeda (who will come, I got it).'
     B': Maeda-san-ga   kuru-{nda/ndesu/no}-{ne↗/#yone↑↓}
        M.-Suffix-Nom come. Prs-{*noda*.Prs/*noda*.Prs.Plt/*noda*.Prs}-{*ne/yone*}

'Maeda will come (, I got it).'

B'':Maeda-san-ga　　{kuru/kimasu}-{#ne↗/#yone↑↓}

　　　M.-Suffix-Nom　{come.Prs/come.Prs.Plt}-*{ne/yone}*

<div align="right">(adapted from Oshima 2014: 447)</div>

4. The ⟨Shared Information⟩ Use

Ne accompanied by the insisting-rise contour (*ne* ↑) is commonly used to convey ― or conventionally implicate ― that S assumes that H has been aware that the propositional content of the utterance holds.　The semantic effect of *ne* in this use, which I refer to as the ⟨shared information⟩ (SI) use, is comparable to that of the English reversed polarity tag interrogative with a falling intonation.[9]

(13)　(S and H are graduate students of the same department.)

　　　Iwata-sensei, kinoo-no　　　　konshinkai-no toki,　nanka

　　　I.-teacher　　yesterday-Gen　party-Gen　　　time　somehow

　　　fukigen-datta-ne ↑

　　　sullen-Cop.Pst-*ne*

　　　'Prof.　Iwata was kind of sullen at the party yesterday, wasn't he ↘'

(14)　(a man to his girlfriend waiting for the bus together in the cold)

　　　Samui-ne ↑

　　　cold.Prs-*ne*

　　　'It's cold, isn't it ↘'

(15)　(to the opponent of a chess game)

　　　O-tsuyoi-desu-ne ↑

　　　Hon-strong.Prs-PltAux.Prs-*ne*

　　　'You're good.'

(16)　(a conversation between two students)

　　　A:　Raishuu-wa　　　shiken-ka.

　　　　　next.week-Th　exam-Q

　　　　　'(I have just recalled that) the exam is next week.'

　　　B:　Iya-da-ne ↑

　　　　　annoying-Cop.Prs-*ne*

　　　　　'It's annoying, isn't it ↘'

As is the case with the CFC use, it is a rather complicated matter how *ne* in its SI use "divides the labor" with *yone* (Oshima 2014). It is possible, for instance, to replace *ne*↑ in (13a) with *yone*↑, without causing a substantial change in the pragmatic, let alone truth-conditional, meaning.

(17) Iwata-sensei, kinoo-no   konshinkai-no   toki,   nanka
      I.-teacher   yesterday-Gen   party-Gen   time   somehow
      fukigen-datta-yone↑
      sullen-Cop.Pst-*yone*
      '*idem*'

The primary factor that conditions the choice between *ne* and *yone* in their SI use is whether the propositional content is information (belief) that S acquired in the discourse situation, or in other words, what Akatsuka (1985) calls "newly-learned information" for S. When this discourse condition holds, the choice of *ne* is compulsory and the use of *yone* is blocked. It can thus be said that *ne* and *yone* are respectively associated with mirativity — linguistic coding of the "new or unassimilated" status of the propositional content for the speaker (DeLancey 2012) — and "anti-mirativity".

(18) (S and H have been working in a room without a window. Coming out of the room, they see that, to their surprise, it is raining.)
      A,   ame-ga   futte   ru-{a. ne↑/b. #yone↑}
      oh   rain-Nom   fall. Ger   IpfvAux.Prs-{*ne/yone*}
      'Oh, it is raining.'

(19) (S was invited to H's home for the first time. Looking out on the garden, S notices that there is a pine tree.)
      Matsu-no ki-ga   arimasu-{a. ne↑/b. #yone↑}
      pine-Gen tree-Nom   exist.Prs.Plt-{*ne/yone*}
      'You have a pine tree.'

                                                                    (adapted from Oshima 2014: 447)

It is possible to use *ne*↑↓ to convey a meaning similar to that of *ne*↑ in its SI use. *Ne*↑↓ additionally indicates that S has a strong emotion (e.g., surprise, joy, discontent) toward the propositional content. To illustrate, the (b) versions of (20A, B) carry an emotive tone, which the (a) versions lack.

(20) (on a busy street; to a friend walking together)
      A: Kyoo-wa hito-ga   ooi-{a. ne↑/b. ne(e)↑↓}

today-Th person-Nom many.Prs-*ne*

'There are a lot of people today, aren't there ↘'

B: Soo-da-{a. ne ↑ /b. ne(e)↑↓ }

so-Cop.Prs-*ne*

'There are, indeed.'

In the scenario of (21), the use of *ne*↑↓ is unnatural because the propositional content (the train arriving at the station) is expected not to cause a strong emotion in S.

(21) (A married couple is on a train. They are heading home after they went to the movies, as they always do on Saturday evenings. After a 20 minute ride, the train arrives at their station, on time as usual. The husband says to the wife:)

Tsuita-{a. ne ↑ /b. #ne(e)↑↓ }

arrive.Pst-*ne*

'We are there.'

5. Other Uses of *Ne* Accompanied by the Question-Rise Contour

Ne accompanied by a question-rise contour has two additional uses to be distinguished from the CFC use: (i) the ⟨call for approval⟩ use, which can be taken to be an extension of the CFC use, and (ii) the ⟨offer/promise⟩ use, which can be taken to be an extension of the ⟨call for approval⟩ use.[10,11]

5.1. The ⟨Call for Approval⟩ Use

Ne↗ in its ⟨call for approval⟩ use occurs on a clause that describes an action intended by S, and forms an interrogative where S asks H to confirm that he approves her action.

(22) Kore kariru-ne↗

this   borrow.Prs-*ne*

'I'll borrow this, okay?'

(23) Jaa,   roku-ji-ni   mata mukae-ni   kuru-ne↗

then 6-o'clock-Dat again pick.up.Inf-Dat come.Prs-*ne*

'Then, I'll come back to pick you up at 6 o'clock, okay?'

It seems sensible to hypothesize that this use was derived from the ⟨call for confirmation⟩ use, via reduction of the component: 'it is okay (that)' from utterances along the lines of (21).

(24) Kore   karite-mo   ii-ne↗

      this   borrow.Ger-even.if   good.Prs-*ne*

      'It's okay for me to borrow this, isn't it↗'

5.2．The ⟨Offer/Promise⟩ Use

Ne↗ is also used as a marker of commissive speech act (in Searle's 1979 sense), such as offer and promise.

(25) (S is at the airport, and says to a friend who gave her a ride:)

      Arigatoo.   Omiyage katte   kuru-ne↗

      thank.you   gift   buy.Ger   come.Prs-*ne*

      'Thanks. I'll buy you a gift (at my destination).'

(26) (Daisuke gives his colleague Kiriko small stuffed bears as a gift. Kiriko is delighted, and Daisuke

      says: "I am glad you like them". In reply, Kiriko says:)

      Un, ki-ni   itta.   Taisestu-ni   suru-ne↗

      yes mind-Dat enter.Pst   important-Cop.Inf   do.Prs-*ne*

      'Yes, I like them. I will cherish them.'[12]

As discussed by Leech (2014: 180–186), a speech act meant to be beneficial to H can be to some extent face-threatening, being unwelcome for one reason or another, and a possible strategy to mitigate the threat is to present it in a form of request for permission (e.g. *Can I get you a drink?* , *May I help you with those bags?*). The ⟨offer/promise⟩ use can thus naturally be regarded as extension of the ⟨call for approval⟩ use.

6. Other Uses of *Ne* Accompanied by the Insisting-Rise or Rise-Fall Contour

Ne accompanied by an insisting-rise or rise-fall contour has two additional uses that are to be distinguished from the SI use, which I label: ⟨look-up⟩ and ⟨dismissive reaction⟩.

6.1．The ⟨Look-Up⟩ Use

As discussed by Takubo and Kinsui (1997: 755) and Miyazaki et al. (2002: 279), *ne* has a function to indicate that S has obtained the information expressed by the sentence "on the spot" (i.e., at the scene of the conversation) by looking up her memory or some other information source, or through a process of reflection.[13] *Ne* with this meaning is not compatible with the question-rise contour, and is typically accompanied by an insisting-rise contour.

(27) A: Yamada-san-no naisen   bangoo   shitte   ru?

      Y.-Suffix-Gen   extension   number   know.Ger   IpfvAux.Prs

      'Do you know Yamada's extension number? '

  (B looks up his pocketbook.)

  B: Eeto, go-go-ni-yon-da-ne ↑

     um   5-5-2-4-Cop.Prs-*ne*

     'Let me see, it is 5524.'

(28) (in reply to: "Do you know where Aoki is from?")

    Eeto, tashika,   Kyuushuu-no dokoka-desu-ne ↑

    um   if.I.remember.right   Kyushu-Gen   somewhere-Cop.Prs.Plt-*ne*

    'Let me see, if I remember right, he is from somewhere in the Kyushu region.'

(29) (A soccer match between Italy and Spain is about to start.)

  A: Docchi-ga   katsu-to   omou?

     which-Nom win.Prs-Quot   think.Prs

     'Who do you think will win?'

  B: Uun, tabun,   Itaria-ga   katsu-ne ↑

     hmm probably Italy-Nom   win.Prs-*ne*

     'Hmm, Italy probably will.'

Quite often, *ne* of this kind appears in an utterance whose content is likely not something S needs particular efforts to retrieve or figure out. Such instances are easily found in answers by celebrities, writers, etc., to interview questions, as in (30) and (31).

(30) Chooshi-ga   yoi-to   omou   toki-wa arimasu-ga,

    condition-Nom good.Prs-Quot think.Prs   time-Th exist.Prs.Plt-although

    sooiu toki-no   hoo-ga   utareru   koto-ga   ooi-desu.

    such   time-Gen way-Nom hit. Psv. Prs matter-Nom   many. Prs-PltAux. Prs

    Gyaku-ni   chooshi-ga   warui-to   omou   toki-no

    on.the.contrary   condition-Nom bad.Prs-Quot   think.Prs   time-Gen

    hoo-ga   utarenai-desu-ne ↑

    way-Nom   hit.Psv.Neg.Prs-PltAux.Prs-*ne*

    'There are times when I feel like I'm in good condition, but I tend to allow more hits in such times. On the contrary, when I feel like I'm in bad condition, I tend to allow less hits.'[14]

(31)　(in reply to the question: "How often do you go out for research (for your novels)?")

　　　Shuzai-wa　　amari　shinai-desu-ne ↑

　　　research-Th　much　do.Neg.Prs-PltAux.Prs-*ne*

　　　'I do not go out for research very often.'[15]

I suggest that, in such cases, the primary purpose of the use of *ne* is to communicate the message that S pays minute attention to what she says and what particular words she chooses, in an effort to talk in a sincere manner.

　　It is not clear to me whether the extent of the ⟨look-up⟩ use should be considered broad enough to cover cases such as (32) and (33). One might consider it more appropriate to posit a distinct use to deal with such occurrences, whose semantic contribution is quite hard to pin down anyway.

(32)　(Haruo sees his old acquaintance Tomie for the first time in years in their home village. Tomie now runs an old inn there.)

　　　S: "Then you should stay at my inn."

　　　H: "Do you have any vacancy?"

　　　S: "Yes, small rooms are available."

　　　H: Jaa, onegai-shitai-ne ↑

　　　　then ask.want.Prs-*ne*

　　　　'Then, I'd like to ask for it.'[16]

(33)　(a conversation between two French chefs Paul Bocuse and Jean Troisgros, who have had Japanese *kaiseki* cuisine, and a Japanese cooking teacher/researcher Shizuo Tsuji.)

　　　P: "Listen, Jean. I wonder if we can serve French cuisine in this way — if we can serve a variety of dishes in small portions. Don't you think that would make a whole new kind of French cuisine?"

　　　J: "Yeah, I agree."

　　　P: "Shizuo, what do you think?"

　　　S: Wareware-ni-wa　arigatai-ne ↑　Ima-no　　Furansu-ryoori-wa,　wareware

　　　　we-Dat-Th　　　good.Prs-*ne*　now-Gen　France-cuisine-Th　　we

　　　　Nihon-jin-ni-wa　　ryoo-ga　　　oosugiru-kara-ne.

　　　　Japan-people-Dat-Th　amount-Nom　too.much.Prs-because-*ne*

　　　　'That would work well for us. Portion sizes of the French cuisine as we know it are too large for us Japanese.'[17]

　　Parallel to the case of the SI use, *ne*↑↓ can be used to express a meaning similar to that of *ne* ↑ in its

⟨look-up⟩ use, but conveying an added emotive tone. In the context of (34), the choice of *ne*↑↓ will be more suitable if S wants to make it clear that she sympathizes with H's situation.

(34) (H wants to be at the Tokyo station by 6 p.m., but is not sure if he can make it by then. S is
      looking up the train schedule for him.)
      Yappari   ima-kara-ja   maniawanai-{a. ne ↑ /b. ne(e)↑↓ }
      after.all now-from-Cop.Inf   be.on.time.Neg.Prs-*ne*
      'As I thought, you won't make it if you start now.'

When the propositional content is something that is highly unlikely to induce a strong emotion, the choice of *ne*↑↓ leads to unnaturalness, as in (35) (cf. (21)).

(35) (the same context as in (27))
      B': #Eeto,   go-go-ni-yo-da-ne(e)↑↓
          um   5-5-2-4-Cop.Prs-*ne*
          (Let me see, it is 5524.)

6.2. The ⟨Dismissive Reaction⟩ Use

Ne ↑ further has a function to express S's dismissive attitude against the preceding utterance by H.[18]

(36) A: Soko-o   nantoka   tanomu-yo.
          there-Acc   somehow   ask.Prs-DP
          'I know I am asking too much, but could you do it, by any chance? '
      B: Iya-da-ne ↑
          annoying-Cop.Prs-*ne*
          'Nope, I don't want to do it.'

(37) A: Yappari   sonna mono nai-nja   nai-ka-na.
          after. all such   thing absent.Prs-*noda*.Inf   NegAux.Prs-Q-DP
          'I feel like there isn't such a thing, after all.'
      B: Aru-ne ↑
          exist.Prs-*ne*
          'But there is.'

While *iya-da-ne* in (16B) conveys a sympathetic attitude, the same phrase in (36B) conveys a contrary, rejecting attitude. The two are pronounced with the same intonation contour, although they may be

distinguishable in some cases based on other suprasegmental phonological features.

It is not clear to me if it is also possible to use *ne*↑↓ to express this meaning. The following quote by the manager Tatsunori Hara of the professional baseball team Yomiuri Giants might be taken to involve such an instance.[19]

(38) (at the press conference after a lost game on June 16th, 2011, in reply to a journalist's request: "Could you recapitulate today's game?")

Sookatsu-nante   dekinai-nee↑↓   San-mon!   Shitsumon-shite!

recapitulation-Top   do.Pot.Neg.Prs-ne   3-Cl   inquire-do.Ger

'I can't recapitulate it! (I'll take) three questions! Ask them now! '[20]

7. Semantic Connections between the Different Uses of *Ne*

In this section, I briefly discuss the conceptual links between the uses of *ne* discussed so far. Although consideration of historical facts will be crucial in determining how the polysemy of *ne* arose (cf. Onodera 2004),[21] here I consider synchronic facts only and leave diachronic investigation for future research.

There is an obvious semantic conceptual link between the CFC and SI uses, both involving S's expectation that H has known the expressed proposition (prior to the utterance). Also, as mentioned in Section 5.2, it seems plausible that the ⟨offer/promise⟩ use historically arose from the ⟨call for approval⟩ use, which in turn arose from the CFC use.

I furthermore suggest that the ⟨look-up⟩ and ⟨dismissive reaction⟩ uses are connected to the SI use via the notion of unquestionability, or establishedness. The SI use involves S's expectation that the propositional content has already been part of the interlocutors' common knowledge. If both interlocutors have agreed that *p* holds prior to the utterance, then *p* can be taken to be "established", at least between them. A proposition can be unquestionable/established, however, without H knowing it beforehand. If it is stated in certain kinds of information source, say an official train timetable or a phone directory, it can be a good reason to regard it as established. I thus propose that the ⟨look-up⟩ use, in its origin, involves indication of the status of the propositional content as established.[22] I hasten to note, however, that I am not claiming that a contemporary speaker using *ne* in its ⟨look-up⟩ use presents the propositional content as established. My claim is merely that the notion of establishedness might have played a crucial role in the development of the ⟨look-up⟩ use.

In using *ne* in its ⟨dismissive reaction⟩ use, S refuses to let H question the propositional content. One effective way to fend off those who doubt or challenge the truth of a certain proposition will be to present it as if it were an established fact. It seems thus sensible to hypothesize that the property of *ne* as an indicator of establishedness is behind the development of the ⟨dismissive reaction⟩ use as

well.

8. Summary

This work discussed the functions of the discourse particle *ne* occurring at the end of a declarative clause, paying special attention to how they interact with intonation contours. *Ne* with the question-rise contour has three functions, i.e., ⟨call for confirmation⟩, ⟨call for approval⟩, and ⟨offer/promise⟩. *Ne* with the insisting-rise contour, too, has three functions, i.e., ⟨shared information⟩, ⟨look-up⟩, and ⟨dismissive reaction⟩. *Ne* with the rise-fall contour might replace *ne* accompanied by the insisting-rise contour, but additionally conveying an emotive tone.

Notes

1   The abbreviations used in the glosses are: Acc = accusative, Adv = adverb marker, Aux = auxiliary, Cl = classifier, Cond = conditional, Cop = copula, Dat = dative, DAux = discourse auxiliary, DP = discourse particle, Gen = genitive, Ger = gerund, Hon = honorific, Hor = hortative, Inf = infinitive, Ipfv = imperfective, Neg = negation, Nom = nominative, Plt = polite, Pot = potential, Prs = present, Pst = past, Psv = passive, Q = question marker, Quot = quotative particle, Th = thematic *wa* (ground/topic-marker), Top = topic marker.

2   The falling contour refers to a steep fall that may be observed at the end of an emotive utterance, as in *Honto!* '(Oh) really!', and often involves lengthening of the final syllable. According to Kori (1997: 194), this contour is used rather infrequently, and also is constrained by the accent pattern of the final word of the utterance.

3   ↗ and ↘ are also used to represent the rising and falling intonations in English, corresponding to the intonation-phrase boundary tones H% and L% in English ToBI.

4   Utterances ending with *ne* ↑ or *yone* ↑, however, do not necessarily convey an emotive or childish tone.

5   The rise-fall contour is also used on a sentence fragment, as in *Hayaku* ↑↓ 'Do it already!' (lit. 'Fast.').

6   Taken from the novel *Iesu Kirisuto no Nazo* by Sakae Saito, published by Kobunsha in 1995. Here and thereafter, the intonational marking on data from a novel is made by the author, based on intuitive judgments.

7   Taken from the novel *Kakei Toshi* by Soji Shimada, published by Kodansha in 1986.

8   I take *no* exemplified in (12b) to be a form of the auxiliary *noda*, rather than a discourse particle.

9   The SI use in the current work subsumes what Miyazaki et al. (2002: 279) call the "*dooi yookyuu* (call for agreement)" and "*dooi hyoomei* (expression of agreement)" uses.

10   These two uses correspond to the "*koodoo sengen* (declaration of action)" use in Miyazaki et al. (2002: 279).

11   The sequence of *no* (see Note 8) and *ne*, and the sequence of *n(o)desu* (the polite present form of the auxiliary *noda*) and *ne*, have a special usage that cannot be reduced to the meanings of the two components. That is, accompanied by the question-rise contour, they can be used to indicate that the utterance serves to provide background information about the content of what S is going to say subsequently, as illustrated in the following example (cf. Izuhara 1992: 165–167; Miyazaki et al. 2002: 286).

(i)   Kinoo   hisashiburi-ni   Shinjuku-ni
       yesterday   for.the.first.time.in.a.long.time   S.-Dat
       itta-{no/ndesu}-ne ↗   Sooshitara,   tamatama   kookoo-jidai-no
       go.Pst-{*noda.Prs/noda.Prs.Plt*}-*ne*   then   by.chance   high.school-time-Gen
       tomodachi-ni dekuwashite ...
       friend-Dat   come.across.Ger

'I went to Shinjuku yesterday for the first time in a long time. Then, I bumped into a friend from my high school days, and ...'

I do not regard this as another use of *ne* ↗, because *ne* ↗ cannot express this meaning by itself.

12   Taken from the novel *Tenshi wa moppu o motte* by Fumie Kondo, published by Jitsugyo no Nihon Sha in 2003.

13   The ⟨look-up⟩ use corresponds to Takubo and Kinsui's (1997: 755) "self-confirmation" use, and Miyazaki et al.'s (2002: 279–280) "*jiko kakunin* (self-confirmation)" and "*kaisoo* (recollection)" uses.

14   Taken from a web article based on an interview with the baseball player Takuya Asao (⟨http://www.mizuno.jp/zone/2013/03/post-sp1.html⟩; checked on July 23, 2015).

15   Taken from an interview with the novelist Ira Ishida that appeared in the book *IWGP konpuriito gaido*, published by Bungei Shunju in 2012.

16   Adapted from the novel *Ten ni nobotta otoko* by Soji Shimada, published by Kobunsha in 1994.

17   Adapted from the non-fiction novel *Bimi raisan* by Yasuhisa Ebisawa, published by Bungei Shunju in 1992.

18   Miyazaki et al. (2002: 280) refer to this use as "*kyozetsu hyoomei* (expression of rejection)".

19   I do not have access to the audio, but the transcription in news articles, with an extra vowel letter, suggests that *ne* was accompanied by a rise-fall contour.

20   From a web article on July 23rd, 2014 (⟨http://www.daily.co.jp/general/flash/20130906278.shtml⟩; checked on July 24, 2015).

21   According to Yamaguchi and Akimoto (2001: 608–609), the earliest documented uses of the discourse particle *ne* are from the late Edo period (the late 17th century onward), and its etymological origin has not been identified. Another discourse particle *na*, whose functions largely overlap with those of *ne* (Miyazaki et al. 2002: 281–283), is much older and is attested in writings from the Nara period (A.D. 710–794; Yamaguchi and Akimoto 2001: 544).

22   Takubo and Kinsui (1997: 755–757) put forth a different account of the link between the ⟨call for confirmation⟩ and ⟨look-up⟩ uses. They argue that the two uses do not differ in meaning, *ne* invariably indicating that S is verifying her assumption (with or without the help of H) at the scene of the conversation. They do not, however, address the fact that the two uses are associated with different (sets of) intonations, which is hard to account for under their monosemy hypothesis. It must also be noted that at least some occurrences of *ne* in its ⟨shared information⟩ and ⟨dismissive reaction⟩ uses do not involve "verification by the speaker" in any clear sense (e.g., (20B), (36B)).

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