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## On and off the common ground: Japanese final particles as (un)grounding devices

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The notion of “common ground” (Clark & Brennan 1991; Clark 1996) presupposes communication or conversation as “the basic setting for language use” (Clark 1996: 11). The serialisation of Japanese sentence-final particles is highly sensitive to the likelihood of the relevant utterance being part of the common ground. This paper reconsiders the conception of common ground and grounding processes, investigating monologic as well as conversational discourse. A case study of two modernist texts which contain internal monologue (interior monologue) illustrates how three facets of grounding activities (the establishment, confirmation, and cancellation of common ground) are tactfully realised by means of the final-particle marking of a distinction between monologic and conversational discourse. Our analysis reveals that Japanese final particles (specifically, *-ne* and *-na(a)*) play an essential role in encoding the speaker's intention to *ground* or *unground* his/her utterance (i.e., to make the utterance *on* or *off* the common ground).

**Keywords:** common ground, grounding, final particle, monologue, Japanese

### 1. Introduction

According to Herbert H. Clark, “[l]anguage use is really a form of *joint action*, which “is carried out by an ensemble of people acting in coordination with each other” like waltzing, paddling a canoe, and playing a piano duet (1996: 3, italics in the original). In other words, using language is the action that requires speakers and addressees to “perform their individual actions in coordination, as ensembles” (Clark 1996: 3).

The interplay of the joint action is most prominent in face-to-face conversation, which Clark (1996) refers to “the basic setting for language use” (1996: 11). However, one might easily think of situations where language use is not restricted to face-to-face

conversation or even joint action (Carston 1999: 167). We can utter words even without anyone to coordinate with. For example, when one finds rotten lemons in the fridge, one may utter “Ew, what the heck!” even without anyone around, or when one tries to lift a large box and realises that it is heavy, one may say aloud “Woo, that’s hefty” (Izutsu et al. 2022). An athlete, when alone, might produce self-talk like “you can do it!” or “slow and steady” to enhance his/her sport performance (van Rallte & Vincent 2017).

Such self-talk was initially intended to be directed to no one, but it may happen to be uptaken by another co-present participant. For example, when informed of a loved one’s death, which is one of the cases where “public self-talk is [...] sanctioned” (Goffman 1978: 795), one may cry out without hesitation like “I can’t believe it” or “Oh, no, that’s not true.” These cries often create a sympathetic atmosphere and make people nearby produce words of consolation. This half-ratified interaction may then become the start of “a conversational encounter—a ritually ratified state of talk” (Goffman 1978: 798). Also, a conversational interchange can be shifted into “muttering” or mumbling (Goffman 1978: 796). For example, immediately after one has a bitter quarrel with someone, one may produce words of complaint in a voice that is small but audible enough to be heard by the opponent. The speaker can insist that the words are not directed to anyone or the opponent can overtly ignore them. Such self-talk is “located transitionally between a state of talk and mere co-presence” (Goffman 1978: 796). In other words, it is “a form of communication that hardly fits the linguistic model of speaker and addressed recipient” (Goffman 1978: 796).

Clark (1996: 5-9) regards self-talk or monologue as language use in “private settings,” which represent one exemplar of “nonbasic settings.” They are nonbasic because private settings are “derived from our social way of talking” and are “based on conversational settings” (1996: 11).

However, language use is more dynamic than expected. A sharp distinction between language settings, including the one between basic and nonbasic settings, is hard to maintain in many situations. As mentioned above, one type of language use can be drifted into another, normally without any clear delimitation of language settings. It seems that this may leave speakers at a loss to find a language setting they are currently engaged in, but there are some languages that provide speakers with devices for indicating which language setting is being referred to. Japanese is one such language; it has grammatical means for marking whether an utterance produced belongs to private or conversational settings.

The present study attempts to locate such language use in private settings within the model of grounding. What Clark sees as “a *sine qua non*” (1996: 92) for any kind of joint activity is the notion of “grounding” or “common ground” (Clark & Brennan 1991; Clark 1996), as stated in the following:

*In conversation, [...] the participants try to establish that what has been said has been understood. In our terminology, they try to ground what has been said – that is, make it part of their common ground.*

(Clark & Brennan 1991: 127, our italics)

Common ground is, “in effect, the sum of their mutual, common, or joint knowledge, beliefs, and suppositions” (Clark 1996: 93). According to Clark & Brennan (1991: 127), “[a]ll collective actions are built on common ground and its accumulation”; conversation instantiates such a joint activity and requires the conversation participants “to keep track of their common ground and its moment-by-moment changes” (p. 128). Although a major interest of these scholars may lie in conversational discourse, language in private settings such as talking to oneself or thinking aloud should also be dealt with in terms of the notion of “grounding” or “common ground” because, as Clark (1996: 92) puts it, “[c]ommon ground is important to any account of language use that appeals to ‘context’.”

Common ground often becomes salient by means of certain linguistic items. For example, modal particles in German and other languages are known as “lexical markers of common grounds” (Fischer 2007; Pittner 2007; see also Zimmermann 2011). It has been pointed out that Japanese final particles have some semantic and functional affinities with German modal particles (Kanda 2002). Given such affinities, the present research will investigate how Japanese final particles contribute to grounding activities through an analysis of literary texts which contain internal monologue. After describing the data used in this study in the next section, section 3 will show that Japanese final particles are sequenced in accordance with a speaker’s grounding processes. In section 4, we will present a case study of analysing sentence-ending forms in monologue and conversation in two Japanese novels. It will be demonstrated that monologic and conversational discourse manifests distinctive final-particle markings of three facets of grounding activities (the establishment, confirmation, and cancellation of common ground). Section 5 will illustrate that final particles used for common-ground cancellation are exploited in conversational discourse to indicate a current utterance as not being produced with an explicit communicative intention, i.e., to make his/her utterance *off* the common ground.

## 2. Data

If Japanese final particles have functions associated with common ground, one may question why such particles are used in monologue, which is seemingly irrelevant to the notion of common ground, and what kinds of functions they perform in our grounding activity. This study compares internal monologue (or interior monologue) and conversation in terms of the use of Japanese final particles. Literary texts rather than spontaneously spoken discourse were used in our analysis, because it is not easy to collect naturally occurring examples of monologic data as they occur unexpectedly in our everyday life like sneezing and yawning. Hasegawa attempts to gather soliloquy data produced by native speakers of Japanese and English, who were asked “to speak aloud his or her thoughts while alone in an isolated room” (2010a: 29).<sup>1</sup> Even in such a highly idealised

<sup>1</sup> Hasegawa (2005, 2010a, b) employs the term “soliloquy” to refer to speech not directed to a particular addressee and avoids the term “monologue” because the use of the latter term may implicate a speech made

situation, it is almost impossible to exclude the presence of an observer (an analyst or an audio/video-recorder) from a speaker's consciousness (Labov 1972: 209). The observer's presence may evoke the presence of an addressee and thus may likely affect the naturalness of data as genuine non-addressed speech.

The data used for the present analysis were taken from two novels, both of which contain a rich amount of internal monologue: a Japanese edition of James Joyce's *Ulysses* ([1922] 1986), translated by Saiichi Maruya et al. (1996), and a Japanese short story *M Hyakkaten (A Department Store Called M)*, written by Sei Ito ([1931] 1971).<sup>2</sup> They are aligned to the tradition of modernism, both written in the stream of consciousness technique. From *Ulysses*, episode 6 "Hades" was chosen because the episode contains a sufficient amount of both conversational and monologic utterances.

One might argue that internal monologue in literary texts also affects the authenticity of monologue, because inner speech may probably be different from genuine monologue actually uttered. Modernist writers (especially, those writing in English) made considerable efforts to invent literary techniques which they consider best represent such fragmentary and fluid nature of mind. English internal monologue, therefore, contains deviations from natural utterances, which impress the readers as something different from the language they use in conversation. Unless such literary devices are used, "[t]he subjectivity echoing the direct voice [...] is diminished" because there is no clear distinction from narrative discourse (Maynard 2022: 194).<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, however, Japanese internal monologue is not markedly characterised by such deviations and is fairly close to monologue in natural discourse (see also Yamaoka 2012: 40-51). For one illustration, compare an English example of internal monologue in (1a), taken from Joyce's *Ulysses* ([1922] 1986), with its Japanese translation in (1b).

- |     |    |   |   |
|-----|----|---|---|
| (1) | a. | Chilly place this.  | ( <i>Ulysses</i> Ep. 6, l. 604)         |
|     | b. | <i>Zuibun hieru-na, koko-wa.</i><br>quite be:cold-FP here-TOP | ( <i>Ulysses</i> Ep. 6, l. 712, trans.) |

(1a) sounds awkward as an ordinary English sentence because it does not have a tensed verb or an indefinite article and its constituent order is reversed. On the other hand, no such strong awkwardness is felt in (1b); it can still be perceived as part of actual

by a speaker to an (often large) audience. However, our study keeps the term "monologue" to refer to language produced with no intention to share it with others, since our analysis focuses on internal monologue in literary texts.

<sup>2</sup> *Ulysses* was originally published in 1922, and the translation used in this study (trans. by Maruya et al.) appeared in 1996. *M Hyakkaten (A Department Store Called M)* was published in 1931. Sei Ito was engaged in the first Japanese translation of *Ulysses*, which must have had a profound influence on his writing. He employed a lot of experimental techniques in his works. In *M Hyakkaten*, internal monologue is demarcated by square brackets from the parts of narratives. For *Ulysses*, the original English text is referred to for the interpretation of internal monologue.

<sup>3</sup> Maynard (2022: Ch. 10) compares Japanese literary works with their English translations and describes how the translation undermines the direct representation of characters' inner voices.

monologue mainly because of the presence of the final particle *-na*. If a different particle (e.g., *-ne*) is used, the sentence (*Zuibun hieru-ne, koko-wa*) can be heard in natural conversation (see our arguments below for the details). It is therefore well justified to consider that internal monologue in Japanese literary texts is close to actual monologue, hence serving as a good starting point for the investigation of monologic speech.

Note that actual monologue is not monolithic; some researchers argue that there are two types of monologue. For example, Hirose (1995) explains:

[...] *one can express one's thoughts without intending to communicate them to others*. For instance, suppose you are alone somewhere, thinking about something. In that case, you are just thinking in language, and you should not be thereby communicating with anyone. This does not of course apply when *you are talking to yourself or someone you have in mind, in which case you are using language for communication*.

(Hirose 1995: 226, our italics)

The former type can be referred to as genuine monologue, and the latter as addressee-directed monologue, which the speaker delivers, even when alone, as if s/he were communicating with someone else (see also Moriyama 1997: 174).<sup>4</sup>

Analogously, internal monologue can be classified into two types: genuine internal monologue, which is not intended for any kind of communication, and addressee-directed internal monologue, which includes an utterance directed to someone the speaker has in mind or to the speaker him/herself and an internal conversation between third parties which the speaker evokes in his/her mind. The addressee-orientation of the latter internal monologue is often indicated with the use of vocatives, second-person pronouns, and addressee-indicating devices such as imperatives, hortatives ('let's'), and addressee-honorifics (see also sections 3 and 4.2). Table 1 represents the number of utterances by mode of speech in *Ulysses* "Hades" and *M Hyakkaten*:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Whether or not the production of monologic speech is always conceptualised as communicating with oneself is another issue to be raised in the studies of monologue. This issue is mentioned in our article concerning monologue produced in the context of absolute solitude (Izutsu et al. 2022; see also Hirose 1995: 235-237; Hasegawa 2010a: 182-193).

<sup>5</sup> It is in fact difficult to make a clear-cut decision whether an utterance should be interpreted as internal monologue or not. As Wales (1992: 78) puts it, "interior monologue is subtly interwoven with narrative and indirect thought [...] with subtle shifts often within one and the same sentence," often called "slipping" (Leech & Short 1981: 340; Wales 1992: 86) from one mode to another. In "Hades" too, the narrator's voice is sometimes fused into Bloom's monologue: *Mr Bloom's glance travelled down the edge of the paper; scanning the deaths: Callan, Coleman, Dignam, Fawcett, Lowry, Naumann, Peake, what Peake is that?* (*Ulysses* Ep. 6, ll. 157-159). Interestingly, the Japanese translation of this kind of sentence is often separated into two sentences, as in: *Mr Bloom-no sisen-wa simen-no huti-ni sot-te sagari, sibooran-o hasiriyomisi-ta. Callan, Coleman, Dignam, Fawcett, Lowry, Naumann, Peake, dono Peake-daroo?* (Ep. 6, trans. ll. 187-189). When such explicit separation is not available, we treated this type of sentence as internal monologue.

Table 1. The number of utterances in the two texts

	<i>Ulysses</i> “Hades”	<i>M Hyakkaten</i>
Conversation	375	53
Genuine internal monologue	990	307
Addressee-directed internal monologue	64	4
Total	1429	364

Since *M Hyakkaten* is a shorter story, the number of utterances in each mode is smaller than *Ulysses* “Hades.” In both texts, however, genuine internal monologue shows the greatest number of utterances among the three modes of speech. Since addressee-directed monologue can be regarded as a kind of “pseudo-conversation” (Hasegawa 2010a: 37) and is excluded from many studies of Japanese monologue (Hirose 1995; Moriyama 1997; Hasegawa 2005, 2010a, 2010b), it falls outside the scope of the present analysis.

### 3. Sentence-final particles in Japanese

Japanese is a head-final language with the SOV basic constituent order. It is an agglutinative language, in which particles and/or auxiliaries are attached to verbs, adjectives or nouns to form morphologically complex constituents (e.g., a predicate comprised of a main verb and an auxiliary). Sentence-final particles are often added to the end of a predicate (i.e., final position) as shown in (2) and exemplified in (3), where the final particle *-ne* is attached to the end of the verb-auxiliary sequence of the predicate (*kuru-kamosirenai*).

- (2) {initial position}[topic]{internal position}[main V](aux){final position}  
(Izutsu & Izutsu 2013: 226)

- (3) *Demo asita-wa dareka kuru-kamosirenai-ne.*  
but tomorrow-TOP someone come-AUX-FP  
'But tomorrow someone may come, you know.'

As Table 2 shows, there are a wide variety of sentence-final particles in Japanese.<sup>6</sup> Following some previous studies (Saji 1957; Watanabe 1974; Suzuki 1976; Minami 1993), we classified such final particles into three types or layers, and characterised final particles in each layer in terms of the notion of “common ground” (Clark & Brennan 1991; Clark 1996).

<sup>6</sup> This table does not include *-no* in *-no-ka*, because it serves as a nominalizing particle creating a nominal clause, which can be followed by a predicate (e.g., *Kare-ga kita-no-ka wakara-nai*. ‘I don’t know whether he came or not.’ In this respect, the *-no* in *-no-ka* is different from the one used in *-no-sa*, *-no-yo* and *-no-ne*, each of which does not form a nominal clause (e.g., *\*Kare-ga kita-no-sa/yo/ne wakara-nai*) but represents a combination of two sentence-final particles.

Table 2. Final-particle ordering in Japanese (Izutsu &amp; Izutsu 2017; Izutsu, K. &amp; Izutsu, M.N. 2020: 163)

Layer 1 A speaker's judgment about proposition ( <i>p</i> )	Layer 2 Establishing <i>p</i> as part of knowledge space (common ground)	Layer 3 Confirming/cancelling <i>p</i> as part of common ground
- <i>ka/kke</i> (less certain)	- <i>sa</i> (weakly involved)	- <i>na(a)</i> (cancelling)
- <i>wa/no</i> (certain, mostly by women)		
- <i>zo/ze</i> (certain, mostly by men)	- <i>yo/i</i> (strongly involved)	- <i>ne/na</i> (confirming)

Most of these final particles can be used alone or sequenced with other final particles. The particles in the same layer cannot form a sequence (e.g., \*-*ka-wa*, \*-*wa-zo*, \*-*ze-no*, \*-*sa-yo*), but those in different layers can be combined with each other (see also Izutsu & Izutsu 2021 for further explanation about the sequencing of pragmatic particles/markers).

As represented in Table 2, final particles in each layer serve a distinctive function in presenting the proposition of the preceding clause. The particles in layer 1 express the speaker's judgment about a proposition. The final particle *-ka* indicates the speaker's lack of certainty about the realisation of a proposition. Since the lack of certainty often involves a desire to verify the validity of information, the particle can often be used as a question marker as in (4) below. The particle *-kke* can also signal some degree of uncertainty, especially when the speaker is trying to remember something (e.g., *Sonna koto at-ta-kke?* 'Did something like that happen?'). The other particles in layer 1 are used to indicate a relatively higher degree of the speaker's certainty. In affirmative sentences, the particles *-wa* and *-no* are typically used by female speakers as in (5), while *-zo* and *-ze* are mostly used by men as in (6) (Izutsu, M.N. & Izutsu, K. 2020: 152-153). The masculine tone of the latter particles serves to make an utterance sound more assertive or emphatic.<sup>7</sup>

- (4) *Doko-desu-ka.*  
where-COP.HON-FP  
'Where will it be?'

(*M Hyakkaten* 1. 162)

<sup>7</sup> Most of the Japanese examples cited in the following discussion are taken from the data used in this study: a Japanese translation of *Ulysses* (Episode 6 "Hades") and the original Japanese version of *M Hyakkaten* (see section 2 for further details). The English rendition of each example was taken from the original text of Joyce's *Ulysses: A Critical and Synoptic Edition* ([1922] 1986) and the English translation of *A Department Store Called M (M Hyakkaten)* (2005). Only conversational utterances were presented in order to highlight the interaction of participants, and reporting clauses and other stage directions were omitted unless necessary.

- (5) *Zya omatisei-tei-masu-wa.* [said by Kiriko, a female character]  
 then wait-PROG-HON-FP  
 ‘We’ll look forward to it (then).’ (M Hyakkaten 1. 382)
- (6) *Aitu-ga harat-ta-n-da-ze.* [said by Martin Cunningham]  
 he-NOM pay-PAST-NMZ-COP-FP  
 ‘O, he did. (He paid a silver florin.)’ (Ulysses Ep. 6, l. 349, trans.)

The particles in layer 2 contribute to the explicit indication of the establishment of a proposition (*p*) as part of the knowledge space or common ground presupposed by the speaker (and the addressee). The particle *-sa* signals the speaker’s weak involvement in the establishment of *p* as part of the common ground (Izutsu, M.N. & Izutsu, K. 2020: 149-152). It is typically used when the speaker presents a proposition as a matter of course or self-evident information (NINJAL 1951: 53; Matsumura 1969: 673). Hence, the utterance may have an indifferent or apathetic tone and often gives an impression of male speech (NINJAL 1951: 53; Morita 2007: 326). The particle is appropriate in a context where the speaker assumes that the addressee can anticipate or be concerned about a proposition to be presented (Nakano 1995: 1082). The addressee’s anticipation of an upcoming proposition allows the speaker to be less strongly committed to grounding this information. On the other hand, the particle *-yo* explicitly indicates the speaker’s stronger involvement in updating the common ground. It is generally used when the speaker perceives “a gap” or discrepancy between his/her own and the addressee’s belief states (Cheng 1987: 95-97), i.e., when (s/he assumes that) the proposition s/he is presenting is not known or at least anticipated by his/her addressee (Ohso 1986: 93; Masuoka 1991: 96; Izutsu, M.N. & Izutsu, K. 2020: 145). A speaker often employs *-yo* in order to attract the addressee’s attention to the information s/he is communicating. Example (7) illustrates such a difference between the two final particles.

- (7) [All in a carriage watched awhile through their windows caps and hats lifted by passers. Leopold Bloom saw a lithe young man, Stephen (a son of Simon Dedalus), clad in mourning, a wide hat.]
- Bloom: *Kimi-no siriai-to suretigat-ta-yo, Dedalus.*  
 you-GEN acquaintance-with pass-PAST-FP Dedalus  
 ‘There’s a friend of yours gone by, Dedalus.’
- Simon Dedalus: *Dare-da-i?*  
 who-COP-FP  
 ‘Who is that?’
- Bloom: *Kimi-no atotorimusuko-sa.*  
 you-GEN son.and.heir-FP  
 ‘Your son and heir.’ (Ulysses Ep. 6, ll. 49-51, trans.)



Bloom abruptly started to tell Simon Dedalus about his son (Stephen). Until this utterance was produced, Simon had not expected such a topic to be raised. The particle *-yo* is appropriate here, because there is a great discrepancy between the speaker and the addressee in their belief state about Stephen. In contrast, the third utterance (Bloom's second utterance) is a response to Simon's question. Bloom does not have to encode his strong intent to establish this information as part of their common ground, because he knows that Simon is prepared or "holding out his hands" (Nakano 1995: 1082) to obtain the information. Bloom simply hands it out to him in a rather indifferent attitude, which makes the particle *-sa* appropriate in the utterance. Note that *-sa* cannot be used as a topic-initiating utterance like the first utterance in (7): ??*Kimi-no siriai-to suretigat-ta-sa*.<sup>8</sup>

The particles in layer 2 are typically used in conversation or dialogue.<sup>9</sup> However, though not frequently, the particle *-yo* can be used in monologue, where the speaker does not intend to establish a proposition as part of the common ground, such as *Mazi-ka-yo* 'Really' or *Mait-ta-yo* 'Gee!/Shucks!' In Table 2, we included the term "knowledge space" along with "common ground" because in such monologic situations it is possible that the use of these particles enables the speaker to establish a proposition in his/her own knowledge space (unshared knowledge) rather than common ground (shared knowledge).

The particles in layer 3 are employed for confirming or cancelling a proposition as part of the common ground. The particle *-na(a)* represents the speaker's spontaneous expression of feeling or his/her sudden realisation of an immediate state of affairs (Miyazaki 2002: 11-12; Morita 2007: 125; Hasegawa 2015: 296), reflecting the speaker's belief that the proposition (*p*) expressed needs not to be part of the common ground.<sup>10</sup> Thus, it often occurs in "monologue" (Washi 1997: 68; Iori et al. 2001: 277), "inner

<sup>8</sup> The meanings and functions of sentence-final particles discussed in this study are based on their uses in common colloquial Japanese. Interestingly, the particle *-sa* is used quite differently in the Hokkaido dialect of Japanese (Izutsu & Izutsu 2013), where it has a topic-initiating function. In the Hokkaido dialect, *Kimi-no siriai-to suretigat-ta-sa* is perfectly acceptable as the first utterance in (7).

<sup>9</sup> Table 2 includes *-i* in layer 2. It is normally used in a sequence with another particle or a copula (such as *-ka-i* and *-da-i*) as in the second utterance in (7). Since it is probably a phonological variant of *-yo* (Konoshima 1966: 434), we do not give a detailed description here.

<sup>10</sup> Note that *-na(a)* discussed here differs from *-na* used to form affirmative and negative imperatives:

- (i) *Kaeri-na*.  
go.home-FP.IMP  
'Go home.' (Hasegawa 2015: 298)
- (ii) *Kaeru-na*.  
go.home-FP.PROH  
'Don't go home.' (Hasegawa 2015: 298)

An affirmative imperative as in (i) is formed with the particle following the adverbial form of a verb (*kaeri-*), and a negative imperative as in (ii) is created with the particle attached to the conclusive form of a verb (*kaeru*). The particle *-na(a)* is also attached to a conclusive form, but it can follow not only verbs but also adjectives, adjectival verbs and other final particles. It also distinguishes itself from dialogic *-na* (a variant of *-ne*), as indicated in n.12 below.

speech” (Cheng 1987: 107) or “utterances not requiring any responses” (Washi 1997: 68). The utterance *Okasii-na(a)* ‘Well, that’s strange’ sounds monologic and can be produced when the speaker is alone.

This kind of utterance can be heard in conversation, but retains a monologic quality, as in the following concocted example:

- (8) A: *Okasii-naa.*  
       be.strange-FP  
       ‘Well, (that)’s strange.’  
 B: *Nanka it-ta?*  
       something say-PAST  
       ‘Did (you) say something?’  
 A: *Iya, betuni.*  
       no not.particularly  
       ‘No, nothing.’

As far as conversational participants may hear utterances, they try to incorporate any piece of information as part of their common ground. However, when an utterance is not intended to be communicated to anyone else, the speaker has an option of signalling the cancellation of its incorporation into the common ground. In the first utterance of (8), the speaker indicates that s/he is just thinking aloud, using the monologic particle *-naa*. The use of this particle serves to signal the speaker’s belief that the propositional content of the utterance does not have to be part of the mutual belief. We can refer to this use of *-na(a)* in a conversational setting as a kind of “addressee-exclusion device” (Izutsu & Izutsu 2019), which serves as an indicator that the speaker’s utterance is not oriented toward the addressee on the speech-act space. Our argument is also supported by a layperson’s observation made on a web page (head\_jockaa n.d.). The web author explains that *-na(a)* is used when the speaker wants to “turn a conversation **off** and get lost in thought” (our emphasis) and the addition of *-na(a)* “reduces the possibility of getting a reply” because the utterance is likely to be interpreted as monologue.

Interestingly, this addressee-exclusion function of *-na(a)* exempts the speaker from using an addressee honorific even in the presence of a superior (Moriyama 1997: 183-184; Iori et al. 2001: 277). For example, when a teacher is talking in a class, a sentence like (9a) sounds impolite or aggressive if it is said by a student, because the utterance is not expressed in addressee-honorific form. A more appropriate utterance in this situation would be: *Kikoe-masen* ‘I can’t hear you,’ where *-masen*, the negative form of *-masu* (an addressee-honorific form), is used. However, (9b) can be felicitous in the same context even without such an honorific form. The particle *-naa* renders the utterance monologic and makes it sound as if it would not be directed to any addressees:

- (9) a. *Kikoe-nai.*  
hear-NEG  
'(I) can't hear (you).'
- b. *Kikoe-nai-naa.*  
hear-NEG-FP  
'Well, (his/her voice) is not audible.'

The addressee-free sense of *-na(a)* can also be attested from the fact that the particle is incompatible with inherently addressee-oriented sentences such as (10) (Moriyama 1997: 184).

- (10) a. *#Watasi-wa kaeru-tumori-da-naa.*  
I-TOP go.home-intent-COP-FP  
'I'm going home, I wonder.'
- b. *#Moosugu kare-wa tuku-to omou-naa.*  
soon he-TOP arrive-COMP think-FP  
'(I) think he will arrive soon, I wonder.'
- c. *#Keeki-wa motinaosi-ta-to kangaeru-naa.*  
economy-TOP recover-PAST-COMP think-FP  
'(I) think the economy has recovered, I wonder.'
- d. *#Kare-ga ki-ta-sooda-naa.*  
he-NOM come-PAST-AUX-FP  
'(I) heard he came, I wonder.'
- (Moriyama 1997: 184)<sup>11</sup>

The particle *-na(a)* is awkward in (10a), where the overt indication of the speaker's intention by the expression *-tumori-da* 'be going to' makes the sentence as if it were directed to the addressee (Nitta 1991a: 117-119). Likewise, (10b) and (10c) contain the verbs of thinking (*-to omou* and *-to kangaeru* (both translatable as 'think'), respectively. Such explicit coding of the speaker's thinking behaviour implicates a deliberate demonstration of his/her own thought or belief to the addressee and "presupposes the presence of the addressee" (Ono 2001: 23), hence incongruent with the monologic particle *-na(a)*. Also, the hearsay auxiliary *-sooda* in (10d) is an addressee-oriented expression (Hirose 1995: 227, 2000: 1626), thus disallowing the use of the particle *-na(a)*.

On the other hand, the sentence-final particles *-ne* and *-na* (unlengthened) indicate the speaker's intention to confirm that the proposition is already part of the common ground, typically used when the speaker assumes the proposition of an utterance to be likely accessible to the addressee (Ohso 1986: 92; Masuoka 1991: 96; Izutsu, M.N. & Izutsu, K. 2020: 141-149). The particle *-ne* is common both in male and female speech, while

<sup>11</sup> The symbol # shows that the utterance is infelicitous when it is produced as genuine monologue.

*-na* is “a masculine variation of *-ne*” (Hasegawa 2015: 296).<sup>12</sup> Cook (1992: 510) illustrates that the direct indexical meaning of *-ne* is to indicate “affective common ground between the speaker and the addressee,” from which various pragmatic meanings are evoked according to contexts. The particle *-ne*, she argues, indicates that “the information in question is to be interpreted with sharedness” (Cook 1992: 521).<sup>13</sup> Of the contextually dependent meanings of *-ne/na*, two well-known uses are expressing agreement and seeking confirmation (Ohso 1986: 91), as illustrated in the following dialogue:

(11) [Attending Paddy Dignam’s funeral at Prospect Cemetery]

- Bloom: *Kodomo-wa nannin?*  
 children-TOP how.many  
 ‘How many children did he leave?’
- Kernan: *Go-nin. Ned Lambert-ga onnanoko-no hitori-o*  
 five-person Ned Lambert-NOM girl-GEN one.person-ACC  
*Todd-no mise-ni sewasi-yoo-to it-teru.*  
 Todd-GEN store-to recommend-AUX-COMP say-PROG  
 ‘Five. Ned Lambert says he’ll try to get one of the girls into Todd’s.’
- Bloom: *Kanasii-koto-da-ne.* [said gently]  
 sad-thing-COP-FP  
*Tiisana ko-ga go-nin-mo i-te.*  
 small child-NOM five-person-no.less.than be-CP  
 ‘A sad case. Five young children.’

<sup>12</sup> The monologic particle *-na(a)* and the dialogic particle *-ne/na* are considered to have the same historical source (Onodera 2004: Ch. 6), but now they are treated as different particles by linguists (Cheng 1987; Washi 1997; Morita 2007) and in dictionaries (*naa* vs. *na* in Shinmura 2008) (see Washi 1997: 67 for the overview of previous studies on *-na* and *-ne*). Although monologic *-na(a)* and dialogic *-na* can have the same phonological or orthographical form (*-na*), they are prosodically distinguished; the cancellation (addressee-free) use of *-na(a)* is generally produced in falling intonation (rising-falling) often with the lengthening of the vowel, while the confirmation (addressee-directed) use is in rising intonation (falling-rising) (Moriyama 1989), often accompanied by stress. The latter prosodic features represent the speaker’s intention to draw the addressee’s attention. Such a prosodic distinction is not possible in our written data. However, since female speakers employ *-na* only in the cancellation use, we distinguish between these two particles by considering whether a given token of *-na* could be used by female speakers or not. If a token of *-na* would likely be used by female speakers in a given context, it was identified as the cancellation use. If not, we regarded it as a phonological variant of *-ne*.

<sup>13</sup> However, Cook’s examples of (-)*ne* not only include sentence-final particles but also interjections used for getting attention and interjectional/interjectory particles indicating boundaries between phrases or clauses: *Ano ne, betto, sofaa betto o kaimashita tte* ‘Uh, (she says) that (she) bought a bed, a sofa bed’ (Cook 1992: 515) (see Izutsu, M.N. & Izutsu, K. 2020 for the distinction between final and interjectional/interjectory particles). Also, Cook’s notion of “affective common ground” represents shared feelings often discussed in relation to the concept of *omoiyari* ‘emphathy’ or ‘feeling for others,’ which she assumes is fundamental to Japanese culture (1992: 519), but we consider that the meanings/functions of Japanese sentence-final particles can be characterised in terms of the more general concept of “common ground.”

- Kernan: *Kinodokuni okusan-wa daidageki-da-yo.*  
 how.poor wife-TOP a.great.blow-COP-FP  
 ‘A great blow to the poor wife.’
- Bloom: *Mattakuda-ne.*  
 indeed-FP  
 ‘Indeed yes.’

(*Ulysses* Ep. 6, ll. 633-640, trans.)

The two participants are talking about the family of the deceased. Since a compassion for bereaved children is a natural emotion to be experienced in this kind of conversation, Bloom’s second utterance is concluded with the final particle *-ne*, a marker of seeking the confirmation of their shared feeling. Kernan also mentions the bereaved wife’s misfortune, which is entirely agreed about by Bloom. The agreement is again indicated by the particle *-ne* in the final utterance.<sup>14</sup>

## 4. Results

### 4.1. Sentence-ending forms in internal monologue and conversation

Our analysis reveals how final particles are used to represent conversation and internal monologue in the two literary texts. Figure 1 summarises the use and non-use of final particles in a Japanese translation of *Ulysses* “Hades.” A combined form of final particles (e.g., *-ka-na*, *-yo-ne*) was counted as one token. In internal monologue, only 12.4% of the utterances (n = 123) contain final particles, and the others (87.6%, n = 867) do not contain any kinds of final particles. On the other hand, in conversation 44% of the utterances (n = 165) contain at least one final particle.

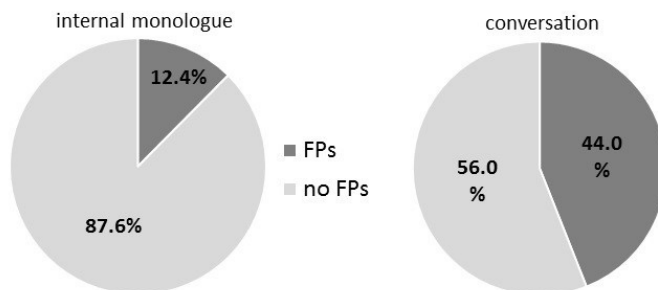


Figure 1. The use and non-use of final particles (Japanese translation of *Ulysses* “Hades”)

<sup>14</sup> Zimmermann (2011: 2016) mentions that “establishing or reconfirming a proposition *p* as part of the Common Ground” is the basic semantic function of the German modal particle *ja*, which also points to similarities of Japanese final particles to German modal particles.

As Figure 2 shows, a similar result obtains in the Japanese novel (*M Hyakkaten*). Only 8.5% of the utterances (n = 26) contain final particles in internal monologue, while 43.4% (n = 23) in conversation. The lower percentages of final particles in the internal monologue of both texts are consistent with Maynard's (1993a: Ch. 5, 1993b: 123-124) observation that "naked abrupt forms," i.e., sentence-ending forms without final particles and other interactional devices, tend not to be addressee-oriented but simply be the direct and immediate representations of the speaker's thoughts and experiences (see also Uehara & Fukushima 2004). According to Maynard (1993a: 178, our italics), "[t]he availability of the naked abrupt style makes it possible for a Japanese speaker to *shun*, if merely for a brief moment, *the awareness of 'thou'*."

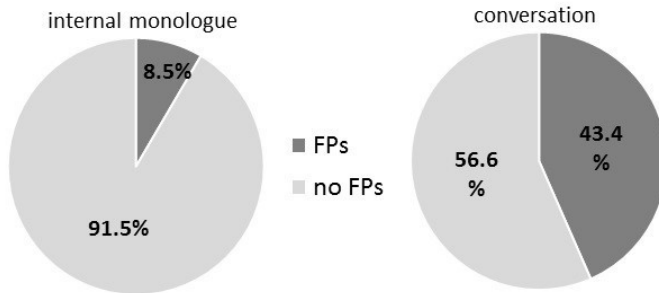


Figure 2. The use and non-use of final particles (*M Hyakkaten*)

#### 4.2. Final particles in internal monologue and conversation

Tables 3 and 4 show the frequency of each final particle in the two modes of speech (internal monologue and conversation) on the basis of the three-layer classification represented in Table 2 above. Any single occurrence of a particle was counted as one token in this tally. For example, a combination of two particles (*-yo-ne*) was counted as two tokens.

Although sentence-ending forms without final particles are preferred in internal monologue, Table 3 below (the result of *Ulysses*) shows that certain final particles were used in significant numbers. The most frequent particle *-na(a)* (n = 55) has the function of addressee-exclusion, and the second most frequent one *-ka* (n = 48) indicates the speaker's lack of certainty or confidence about a proposition. The two particles can be used together to form the combination of *-kana*, which occurred 13 times in the monologue of the "Hades" episode. On the other hand, in conversation the most frequent particle was *-yo* (n = 58), which is typically used for updating the common ground by introducing information which the speaker assumes to be worth communicating. The second common particle was *-ne* (n = 33), which serves to ensure that the information provided constitutes part of the common ground. The two particles can be combined as in *-yone*, although there were no examples of such combinations in the conversation of "Hades."

Table 3. The frequency of each final particle in *Ulysses* “Hades”

		internal monologue	conversation
Layer 1	<i>-ka</i>	48	28
	<i>-kke</i>	6	1
	<i>-wa</i>	1	0
	<i>-no</i>	0	4
	<i>-zo</i>	6	1
	<i>-ze</i>	1	11
Layer 2	<i>-sa</i>	6	13
	<i>-yo</i>	12	58
	<i>-i</i>	1	18
Layer 3	<i>-na(a)</i>	55	5
	<i>-ne</i>	0	33
	<i>-na</i> (a variant of <i>-ne</i> )	0	10
Total		136	182

A similar result is observed in *M Hyakkaten*, as shown in Table 4. The sentences of internal monologue are terminated by *-ka* (n = 23) or *-na(a)* (n = 5). The two particles appeared in combination (*-kana*) twice. In conversation, *-yo* and *-ne* were quite frequent, though they did not appear in combination. The particle *-ka* was also common, but all the tokens occurred after the addressee-honorific forms of predicates (*-desu/-masu*), which explicitly mark the utterances as questions directed to the addressee (e.g., *Doko-desu-ka*. ‘Where will it be?’).

Table 4. The frequency of each final particle in *M Hyakkaten*

		internal monologue	conversation
Layer 1	<i>-ka</i>	23	6
	<i>-kke</i>	0	0
	<i>-wa</i>	0	2
	<i>-no</i>	0	2
	<i>-zo</i>	0	0
	<i>-ze</i>	0	0
Layer 2	<i>-sa</i>	0	0
	<i>-yo</i>	0	6
	<i>-i</i>	0	0
Layer 3	<i>-na(a)</i>	5	0
	<i>-ne</i>	0	7
	<i>-na</i> (a variant of <i>-ne</i> )	0	0
Total		28	23

Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the percentage of final particles in each layer to the total number in each mode of speech. Figure 3 represents the layer-wise proportion of final particles in the “Hades” episode of *Ulysses*, and Figure 4 shows the one in *M Hyakkaten*. For conversation, a comparison of the two figures seems to suggest no consistent tendencies between the two sets of data. On the other hand, the results of internal monologue reveal a striking similarity. Notice that the light grey columns in each figure forms a V-shape, as indicated by a line connecting the columns. In Figure 3 (*Ulysses*), layer 1 indicates the highest proportion of final particles, layer 2 the lowest, and layer 3 the in-between, although the percentage difference between layers 1 and 3 is small. A similar distribution is observed with the light grey columns of Figure 4 (*M Hyakkaten*), where layer 1 shows by far the highest proportion, layer 2 the lowest or no example, and layer 3 the in-between.

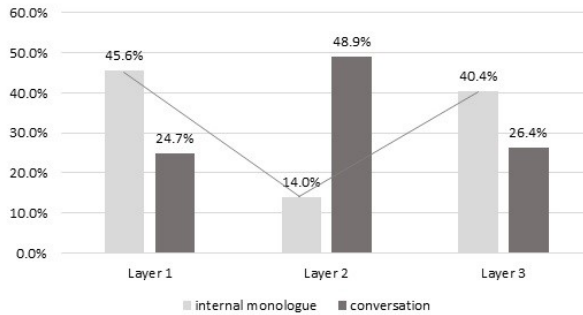


Figure 3. The proportion of final particles by layer (*Ulysses* “Hades”)

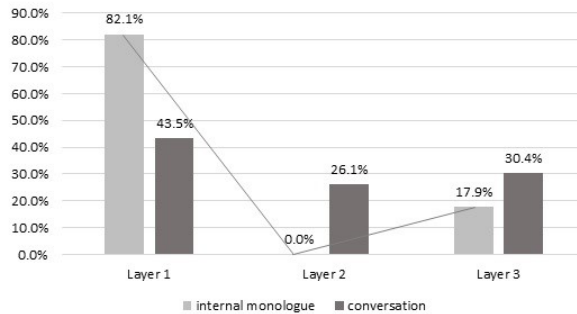


Figure 4. The proportion of final particles by layer (*M Hyakkaten*)

#### 4.2.1. Particles in layer 1

Such V-shape patterns in internal monologue represent the high proportions of the particles of weak certainty and common-ground cancellation (layers 1 and 3, respectively) and the low proportion or absence of those of common-ground establishment (layer 2). As seen in Tables 3 and 4, the highest ratio of layer-1 particles in internal monologue



is mainly due to the high frequency of the particle *-ka*, which can be combined with the layer-3 particle *-na(a)* as in (12).

- (12) *Kiriko-to Kusano-wa moo kaet-ta-ka-na.*  
 Kiriko-and Kusano-TOP already leave-PAST-FP-FP  
*Aruwa, koko-e agat-te ko-nai-ka.*  
 or this.place-to climb-CP come-NEG-FP  
 ‘I wonder whether Kiriko and Kusano have left yet. Or might they come up here?’  
 (M Hyakkaten II. 320-321)

The speaker is not certain about whether Kiriko and Kusano have left or not. This uncertainty is marked by *-ka-na* and *-ka*, each of which follows a clause designating one of the two possibilities. A similar meaning of uncertainty is also coded by *-kke* (Ikeya 2012):

- (13) *Nani-o si-teru onna-da-kke?*  
 what-ACC do-PROG woman-COP-FP  
 ‘What is this she was?’  
 (Ulysses Ep. 6, l. 294, trans.)

The particle *-kke* often appears in monologue, especially used when the speaker is not certain about whether the designated state of affairs is remembered correctly.

The particle *-zo* also occurs with the same frequency in *Ulysses*, as shown in Table 3. It can express the speaker’s awareness or conviction of a new state of affairs, as in (14), and does not always presuppose the presence of the addressee, as is shown by the fact that the particle is incongruent with imperatives, hortatives, and addressee-honorifics (Moriyama 1997: 182; Iori et al. 2001: 277; Ogi 2017: Ch. 7).<sup>15</sup>

- (14) *Mada ai-teru-zo.*  
 still open-PERF-FP  
 ‘(The gate is) still open.’  
 (Ulysses Ep. 6, l. 1158, trans.)

<sup>15</sup> The following sentences are ungrammatical or less felicitous in Japanese. (iii) is not impossible but less common in present-day Japanese (Ogi 2017: 172, n.13):

- (i) \**Mon-o akero-zo.*  
 gate-ACC open.IMP-FP  
 ‘Open the gate.’  
 (ii) ??*Mon-o ake-yoo-zo.*  
 gate-ACC open-HORT-FP  
 ‘Let’s open the gate.’  
 (iii) ? *Mon-ga ai-te-masu-zo.*  
 gate-NOM open-CP-COP.HON-FP  
 ‘The gate is open.’

### 4.2.2. Particles in layer 2

The ratios of layer-2 particles were the smallest in the internal monologue of both texts. *M Myakkaten* found no examples, and *Ulysses* “Hades” only 19 tokens. Even when layer-2 particles were used in the internal monologue of the latter text, they were used for establishing a proposition as part of the speaker’s own knowledge space, not common ground, as in (15) and (16).

- (15) [Contemplating how badly children with whooping cough suffer]

*Kawaisoona kodomotati!* [...]

poor children

‘Poor children!’

*Hidoi-mon-da-yo.*

terrible-thing-COP-FP

‘Shame really.’

(*Ulysses* Ep. 6, trans. ll.145-146)

- (16) [Thinking about Martin Cunningham, a friend of Leopold Bloom’s]

*Okagede kare-no seikatu-wa zigoku.*

due.to he-GEN life-TOP hell

*Arezyaa isi-no sinzoo-demo suriheru-yo, mattaku.*

that.way stone-GEN heart-even be.worn.out-FP really

‘Leading him the life of the damned. Wear the heart out of a stone, that.’

(*Ulysses* Ep. 6, trans. ll. 422-423)

Although it has often been pointed out that *-yo* is an addressee-oriented particle (e.g., Ohso 1986; Cheng 1987; Masuoka 1991; Hirose 2000), it is also observed in monologue (Ono & Nakagawa 1997: 49; Hasegawa 2010a: 2.4.2). We consider that the particle in the latter usage is employed for establishing a proposition as part of the speaker’s own knowledge space. The proposition is assessed in terms of whether it is consistent with the speaker’s existing assumption or contradictory to it, the former having a confirmatory tone (*Yappa muri-ka-yo* ‘It’s impossible, as expected’), while the latter conveying a sense of surprise or unexpectedness (*Mazi-ka-yo* ‘Really?’).

### 4.2.3. Particles in layer 3

The ratio of final particles in internal monologue increases again in layer 3. In both texts, the particle *-na(a)* alone accounts for this increase: 55 tokens in *Ulysses* and 5 tokens in *M Hyakkaten*. Of these, 13 tokens of *-na(a)* in *Ulysses* and 2 tokens in *M Hyakkaten* were used together with *-ka*. In contrast to the high frequency of the confirming particles *-ne/na* in conversation, those particles were not attested in internal monologue, which points to the irrelevance of addressee-involvement such as expressing agreement or seeking confirmation in monologic speech.

In (17), *-na(a)* indicates the speaker's spontaneous revelation of his conjecture:

- (17) [Watching the priest sprinkling water over Dignam's coffin, Bloom is sarcastically reflecting upon the meaning of the rite being conducted in front of his eyes.]

*Seisui-daroo-na,*

*sakki-no-wa.*

holy.water-AUX-FP

a.while.ago-NMZ-TOP

'Holy water that was, I expect.'

(*Ulysses* Ep. 6, trans. 1.731)<sup>16</sup>

If *-na* were not used here, the utterance could be interpreted as being directed to someone else, for example, as a response to a question raised by that someone else, as in (18):

- (18) A: *Nan-dat-ta?*

what-COP-PAST

'What was that?'

B: *Seisui-daroo,*

*sakki-no-wa.*

holy.water-AUX

a.while.ago-NMZ-TOP

'Holy water that was.'

In (17), the addition of *-na(a)* serves to make the utterance directed inward upon the speaker himself, signalling that it is part of Bloom's internal monologue, i.e., off the common ground. The particle is employed to indicate the cancellation of the integration of the information into the common ground so that it will not be shared by those present as conversation participants in the scene.

## 5. Final particles and common-ground cancellation

What do the V-shapes in the results of internal monologue tell about our understanding of common ground? According to Clark (1996: 92), when we enter a conversation, "we presuppose certain common ground, and with each joint action—each utterance, for example – we try to add to it." However, the results of our analysis reveal that not every utterance, or not every language, is intended to be used for establishing or updating common ground. Even in saying something, we may occasionally want it not shared with the addressee, namely, we may want to indicate that a proposition is off the current common ground. As seen in (8), (9) and (17), the use of *-na(a)* prevents the utterance from being interpreted as directed to the addressee, which is illustrated by the fact that the particle cannot co-occur with addressee-oriented expressions (see (10)). The fact that the particle is quite common in internal monologue is viewed as a natural consequence of its function as a common-ground cancelling marker.

<sup>16</sup> In (17), *sakki-no-wa* 'the one a while ago (was)' is a post-posed adverbial phrase and the unmarked order would be: *Sakki-no-wa seisui-daroo-na*, where *-na* is naturally seen as a sentence-final particle.

The common-ground cancelling function is more evident in conversation, the essential purpose of which is to establish and negotiate the common ground. Consider conversation (19), which is taken from another episode of *Ulysses* “Telemachus.”

- (19) [Buck Mulligan is talking to Stephen Dedalus on top of an old tower, where they live with an Englishman named Haines.]

Mulligan: [...] *Oretati atene-ni ika-nakya-na.*  
 we Athens-to go-must-FP  
*Oba-kara 20 pondo sesime-tara issyoni iku-ka-i?*  
 aunt-from 20 pound get-if together go-FP-FP  
 ‘We must go to Athens. Will you come if I can get the aunt to fork out twenty quid?’

[He laid his shaving brush aside and, laughing with delight, cried.]

→ Mulligan: *Kono otoko-wa kuru-no-ka-naa?*  
 this man-TOP come-NMZ-FP-FP  
*Yaseppoti-no iezusukaisi-san-wa-yo!*  
 a.jejune.person-GEN Jesuit-Mr.-TOP-IP  
 ‘Will he come? The jejune jesuit!’

[Ceasing, Mulligan began to shave with care.]

Dedalus: *Nee, Mulligan.*  
 hey Mulligan  
 ‘Tell me, Mulligan.’

[Stephen said quietly.]

Mulligan: *Nan-da-ne, booya?*  
 what-COP-FP my.boy  
 ‘Yes, my love?’

Dedalus: *Haines-wa itu-made kono too-ni iru-tumorina-n-daroo?*  
 Haines-TOP when-until this tower-in stay-be.going.to-NMZ-AUX  
 ‘How long is Haines going to stay in this tower?’

(*Ulysses* Ep. 1 Telemachus, trans. ll. 42-49)

In the first two utterances, Mulligan is jokingly inviting Dedalus on a trip to Athens, directly asking a question about his intention to come. In the third utterance, however, the question is changed into an expression of doubt about him: *Kono otoko-wa kuru-no-ka-naa?* In this context, Dedalus is the only addressee of the utterance, but Mulligan is crying out alone as if it were not directed to him. That is, he is talking off the common ground. Nitta (1991b: 266-267) refers to such usage of *-kana(a)* as “a question disguised as a form of doubt.” Interestingly, the absence of addressee-orientation is also indicated by the use of the third-person form *kono otoko* ‘this man’ to refer to Dedalus. If the second person pronoun were used instead (*Omae kuru-kai?* ‘Will you come?’), it would

inevitably invoke the speaker-addressee axis and place the utterance on the common ground. In this excerpt, since Mulligan's utterance is produced as if it were off the common ground, Dedalus does not respond to the utterance and brings a new topic about Haines.

Notice that if *-na(a)* were not used as in (19), the utterance would be simply interpreted as a direct question. Yet it could be taken as a simple question about someone else, not Stephen Dedalus, since the subject is expressed in the third-person form (*kono otoko* 'this man').

- (20) *Kono*                      *otoko-wa*      *kuru-no-ka?*  
 this                              man-TOP      come-NMZ-FP  
 'Is this man coming?'

Although neither observed in the present data nor traditionally included in the list of sentence-final particles, there is another Japanese particle which explicitly indicates the speaker's intention to cancel a proposition off the common ground. The particle *-(t)to* is used as a final particle to make an utterance sound like monologue.<sup>17</sup> Nitta (1991b: 220) dubs *-(t)to* in this usage a particle for "monologisation." Okamoto (1996: 237-239) identifies two monologic uses of this particle: "self-affirmation" as in (21) and "casual declaration" as in (22).

- (21) *Are-wa*      *moo*      *yat-ta-to.*  
 that-TOP      already      do-PAST-FP  
 'Let me see, that, I've already finished.' (Okamoto 1996: 237)

- (22) *Moo*                      *ne-yoo-tto.*  
 now                              go.to.bed-AUX-FP  
 'I'll go to bed now.' (Okamoto 1996: 238)

- (23) a. *Moo*      *neru-zo-tto.*  
 (e.g., <http://leinatural.seesaa.net/archives/201009041.html>)  
 b. \**Moo*      *ne-yoo-tto-ka/zo/sa/yo/ne,* etc.

Notice that *-(t)to* also occupies the rightmost peripheral position of an utterance. Young people's speech today (especially the one found in SNSs) has a usage of the particle following the final-1 particle *-zo* as in (23a). However, the final particle *-(t)to* cannot be followed by any other particles as in (23b), which suggests the use of the last-minute cancellation of what would otherwise be interpreted as being part of the common ground.

<sup>17</sup> The particle *-(t)to* originates from the quotative complementiser *-to* 'that.' One might suggest that it is simply the omission of a verb of saying/thinking, like *Are-wa moo yat-ta-to (omou)* 'I think I've already finished that.' However, since such a sentence is not functionally equivalent to a sentence ending with *-(t)to*, Okamoto (1996: 236-239) argues that *-(t)to* in sentences such as (21)-(23) can be justifiably regarded as a sentence-final particle.

Of course, final particles in layer 3 are not restricted to the cancellation function. The other layer-3 final particles are used to confirm a proposition as part of the common ground (43 tokens in *Ulysses* and 7 tokens in *M Hyakkaten*). In (24), for example, both Bloom and Cunningham are aware of the sudden stop of their carriage, which hence becomes part of their common ground based on their shared physical experience (Clark 1996: 112). With this indication of common ground, the Japanese translation of Cunningham's utterance is ended with the particle *-ne*, which is used for the common-ground confirmation of the event that the participants experienced on their carriage.

- (24) [The carriage halted short.]
- Bloom:           *Doo*     *si-ta-n-daroo?*  
                   how     do-PAST-NMZ-AUX  
                   ‘What’s wrong?’
- Cunningham:    *Tomat-ta-ne.*  
                   stop-PAST-FP  
                   ‘We’re stopped, (aren’t we?)’
- Bloom:           *Doko-da-i,*       *koko-wa?*  
                   where-COP-FP    here-TOP  
                   ‘Where are we?’

(*Ulysses* Ep. 6, trans. ll. 139-141)

The confirmation of common ground is not obligatory or necessary in conversation, because a proposition can be established as part of common ground without such layer-3 particles. As shown in Figure 3 above, layer-2 particles are most frequent in the conversation of *Ulysses*, which suggests that it is sufficient to indicate the common-ground establishment only by means of a layer-2 particle or its combination with a layer-1 particle. Or even without any common-ground markings, once we produce an utterance in conversation, it can be part of the common ground unless “we have been misheard or misunderstood” (Clark & Brennan 1991: 131). This may explain why in *M Hyakkaten* the ratios of layer-2 and layer-3 particles in conversation are lower than that of layer-1 particles as seen in Figure 4. For internal monologue, on the other hand, the ratio of layer-2 particles, which is indicated by the middle, light grey column, is the lowest in both texts. This lowest ratio is explained by the irrelevance of common-ground establishment to internal monologue, and the higher ratio of layer-3 particles is due to the cancelling function of the particle *-na(a)*. Before the layer-3 position appears, an utterance can be interpreted as part of the common ground. In that case, the speaker needs to use the cancelling particle in layer 3 when s/he needs to indicate that the utterance is not intended for communication.

This fact suggests that Japanese has a grammatical position which allows a speaker to indicate his/her intention of whether a proposition should be part of the common ground or not, or to put it differently, whether s/he wants to bring it up in the discourse of communication or keep it to him/herself.

- (25) {initial position}[topic]{internal position}[main V](aux){final position}  
 (layer 1)(layer 2)(layer 3)  
 -ne  
 -na(a)/-(t)to

As the Japanese final-particle ordering shows, layer-3 particles occupy the rightmost peripheral position of a sentence (or more precisely, the last position of a morphologically complex predicate), as illustrated in (25) above.<sup>18</sup> This rightmost peripheral position provides a final slot available to a speaker for morphologically marking his/her intention to make an utterance *on* or *off* the common ground (to *ground* or *unground* his/her utterance).

## 6. Conclusion

The present study argues that the notion of common ground is relevant to describing our linguistic activity of monologue as well as dialogue (conversation). The distribution of sentence-final particles in three different layers shows that Japanese has grammatical means for distinguishing among the establishment, confirmation, and cancellation of common ground. A significant number of layer-3 particles in internal monologue reveal that the rightmost peripheral position of a sentence serves as a grammatical slot for encoding the speaker's intention to *ground* or *unground* his/her utterance. Final particles such as *-na(a)* and *-(t)to* are grammatical devices for monologisation, which serve to make an utterance as if it were not directed to a particular addressee.

Any linguistic activity may inevitably entail the establishment or updating of common ground in the presence of others, because any speech sound can be part of conversation if someone produces a verbal reaction to it. However, language is not always intended to be used for communication but sometimes used to cry out or mutter one's own emotion or thought in private. Such "private settings" might be viewed as less basic or more derivative than face-to-face conversation as scenes for language use (Clark 1996: 5-11). However, the fact that Japanese has final particles for monologisation suggests that language use sometimes involves an occasion where a speaker wants to dissociate his/her utterances from a joint activity of communication, i.e., where s/he wants to explicitly indicate his/her intention to speak *off* the common ground.

<sup>18</sup> (25) focuses on the morphologically integrated part of sentence-final position. Sentence-final particles may be followed by some other morphologically independent words, such as *demo* 'though' in the following example:

- (i) *Tukareru-yo-ne, demo.*  
 be.tiresome-FP-FP            though  
 '(It)'s tiresome, though.'

## Key to abbreviations

ACC	accusative case
AUX	auxiliary verb
COMP	complementiser
COP	copula
CP	connective particle
FP	final particle
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
IP	interjectional/interjectory particle
NEG	negation
NMZ	nominaliser
NOM	nominative
PAST	past tense
PERF	perfect
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibition
TOP	topic marker

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