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The family of Japanese *no-wa* cleft construction: A register-based analysis

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Abstract:
This paper presents a comparative study of the Japanese (pseudo-)cleft *no-wa* construction, schematized as: [clause] *no-wa* [NP/AdvP/clause] (*da*), in four spoken/written registers: informal conversations, academic presentations, news reports, and newspaper editorials. The study finds that the *no-wa* cleft appears more frequently in non-objective discourse that deals with a higher level of complexity. Close examination of instantiations of the *no-wa* cleft uncovers various register-oriented functions that show a varied degree of family resemblance with one another. These functions can be subsumed under two general functional properties of the *no-wa* construction: highlighting function at the local level and (retrospective) anticipatory function at the global level. This study shows that the family resemblance model provides a realistic and inclusive (albeit complex) account of the relationship between grammatical forms, their functions, and the contexts of use.

Keywords:
register; genre; Japanese pseudo-cleft; *no-wa* cleft; family resemblance

1. Introduction
The interrelationship between grammar and context of use is an essential point of inquiry in usage-based linguistics and other related studies that aim to understand real language use. There are various levels and types of context, from turn-based sequential interaction to written versus spoken mediums. Regardless of the level or type, the basic premise is that linguistic forms, functions, and the knowledge of form-function pairs, are inseparable from the interactional, textual, institutional, and social contexts in which they are at work (e.g. Bybee, 2006; Chafe, 1994; Du Bois, 1987; Fillmore, 1982; Hopper, 1998; Schegloff, 1996; Schiffrin, 1987; Tomasello, 2003). The type of context that concerns the present study is that of register or genre. Register[1] is broadly defined as the use of language in a social situation for a specific purpose (Ferguson, 1994). This concept is often contrasted with dialects, defined as language varieties based on geographical or social group to which speakers belong (e.g. Bruthiaux, 1994; see also Biber and Conrad, 2009: 11-15). Examples of register include sports announcer talk (e.g. Ferguson, 1983), academic lectures (e.g. Thompson, 2003), cooking recipes (e.g. Fischer, 2013), and news reports (e.g. Bednarek, 2006), among many others.

Register studies generally identify situational characteristics as well as recurring lexical and syntactic features that characterize one or more registers (e.g. Biber, 2006; Ferguson, 1983), or investigate how the same or similar functions are carried out by different linguistic (and non-linguistic) features in related registers (e.g. Bednarek, 2006; Fischer, 2013). Although it is not part of mainstream register studies, to the extent that 'several different situational characteristics

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[1] For convenience, the term 'register' will be used instead of 'registers or genres' in this paper. Some studies distinguish register and genre (see Biber, 1994; Biber and Conrad, 2009).

can be associated with a single linguistic characteristic' (Biber and Conrad, 2009: 69), investigating a single grammatical construction in multiple registers can further our understanding of the interrelationship between form, function, and situations of use. For example, Matsumoto (2015) found that what she calls the stand-alone noun-modifying construction was used in a wide range of registers, including stage directions, blogs, and infomercials, whose situational characteristics were compatible with the invocatory function of the construction. The present study aims to add to this line of inquiry by investigating the use of the *no-wa* cleft construction in four diverse well-defined registers.

As described in Sections 3 and 4, the construction, schematized as [clause] *no-wa* [NP/AdvP/clause] (*da*), appear in all four registers. In spoken registers, we find many instances of the construction that seem partial or disjointed. While these fragment-looking tokens are shown to have a specific discourse function (Mori 2014, see Section 2), a comparative analysis of this and other types of the *no-wa* cleft construction, found in different registers, reveals that they are all related by partially overlapping and intersecting features. That is, just like individual members of a family partially share some physical and personality (and behavioral) traits among themselves, tokens of the *no-wa* cleft construction share similar but not identical formal and functional features. Important points are that no single feature is found in all members of a family and that overlapping features resemble but do not exactly match each other. The family resemblance model (Wittgenstein, 1953; see also Hopper, 2001; Bybee and Eddington, 2006) provides a realistic and inclusive (albeit complex) account of the relationship between grammatical forms, their functions, and the contexts of use.

The organization of the paper is as follows. Section 2 provides a brief overview of the traditional and existing approaches to *no-wa* cleft construction and situates the current study within the previous scholarship on this grammatical form. Section 3 presents the data set and method used in this study. The results of quantitative and qualitative analyses are presented and discussed from a comparative perspective in Section 4. Section 5 discusses the family resemblance relations among the identified functions, and Section 6 concludes the paper with a brief discussion on different levels of context.

2. Previous approaches to cleft construction

The *no-wa* cleft construction is one type of topic-comment copular sentence structure, represented as [clause] *no-wa* [NP/AdvP/clause] (*da*). In this structure, a clause, nominalized by the nominalizer *no*, is followed by the topic particle *wa*, and the comment, which can be a nominal/adverbial word/phrase or a (nominalized) clause, is followed by an optional copula *da* or its variants.[2] Previous sentence-level analyses of this structure have described it as a complex focus sentence structure derived from an underlying simplex sentence (e.g. Martin, 1975). The information in the simplex sentence is split into two parts in the derived complex sentence, with the presupposition in the topic position and the focus in the comment position. In the following source-cleft pair, for example, *kono hon* 'this book' in (1a) is considered extracted and placed in the comment position in (1b).

(1)   (a)   Source sentence
                鈴木さんがこの本を読んでいる。
                suzuki san ga kono hon o yonde-iru.
                (name) Ms./Mr. NOM this book ACC read-ASP
                'Ms. Suzuki is reading this book.'

        (b)   Cleft sentence

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[2] The use or non-use of the copula *da* or its variants most likely has some effect on the function of the construction. However, this issue is beyond the scope of the present study.

鈴木さんが読んでいる<u>のは</u>この本(を)だ。
suzuki san ga yonde-iru <u>no wa</u> kono hon (o) da.
(name) Ms./Mr. NOM read-ASP NML TOP this book ACC COP
'What Ms. Suzuki is reading is this book. / It is this book that Ms. Suzuki is reading.'

Structurally, (1b) is similar to the English pseudo-cleft or *wh*-cleft, as in the first translation; the topical/subject clause expresses the presupposition and the pre-copula NP expresses the focus (Inoue, 1982). At the same time, (1b) also shares a similarity with the English *it*-cleft sentence, as in the second translation, in that the clause is embedded as the topic/subject of the sentence by the nominalizer *no* or complementizer 'that,' respectively. As Prince (1978) demonstrates, the two types of clefts in English have different discourse functions. For Japanese examples in this paper, both *wh*-cleft and *it*-cleft English translations are provided whenever possible; when no *wh*-cleft is available or one type seems to better represent the contextual meaning of the *no-wa* cleft, I use only one of the forms (or the closest possible form) in the translation.[3]

Previous studies on the *no-wa* cleft sentence have discussed issues such as whether *no* is a nominalizer or an indefinite pronoun (e.g. Nakau, 1973), conditions for particle retention or deletion (Haig, 1981), and types of syntactic operation involved in deriving the *no-wa* cleft (e.g. Hoji, 1990). Beyond sentential level, the *no-wa* cleft has also been investigated from the perspectives of 'discourse topic' (Sunakawa, 1995, 2005, 2007), 'territory of information' (Kamio, 1991), and 'discourse frame' (Mori, 2014). The discourse-based studies offer some insights into the functional motivations for the use of this construction within given contexts.

Sunakawa (1995, 2005, 2007) presents comparative analyses of *no-wa* and *no-ga* cleft sentences from the perspective of discourse topic. Her data is a collection of published essays, magazine articles, novels, and textbooks. Her studies demonstrate three functions of the *no-wa* cleft. First, the most common function is to introduce a discourse topic. Predictable information is presented in the topic position, while unpredictable information, which becomes a discourse topic in the subsequent discourse, is introduced in the comment position. In the next example, *chichi* 'father' is the unpredictable information introduced with the *no-wa* cleft, and it continues to be discussed in the following context.

(2) 私とアメリカを結びつけた<u>のは</u>、父である。

   watashi to amerika o musubitsuke-ta <u>no wa</u> chichi dearu.
   I and America ACC connect-PST NML TOP father COP

   'It is my father who tied me and the U.S. / What tied me and the U.S. is my father.'
   (Sunakawa, 2007:31; all translations of her examples by the author)

The second function of the *no-wa* cleft is to present a situational framework for the main topic of the subsequent discourse. Unlike the previous example, unpredictable information is presented in the topic position and temporal information is given in the comment position. This type of cleft tends to appear at the beginning of essays and articles.

(3) 安部修二さん(43)が「牛丼の吉野家」でアルバイトをはじめた<u>のは</u>昭和46年だった。

   abe shuji san (43) ga 'gyuudon no yoshinoya' de arubaito o hajime-ta <u>no wa</u>

_____

[3] The (in)compatibility between the two types of English clefts and Japanese one is an interesting topic, but it would take too much space to discuss this issue in this paper.

(name) Mr. (age) NOM beef.bowl GEN (name) LOC part.time.job ACC begin-PST NML TOP
shoowa 46-nen dat-ta.
Showa 46-year COP-PST

'It was in 1971 that Mr. Shuji Abe (43) began to work part time at "Yoshinoya."'
(Sunakawa, 2005:121)

The third function is to bring the ongoing discourse topic to a close. In this case, both the topic and predicate positions contain predictable information. In the following example, the use of the demonstrative pronoun *sono* points to the information in the preceding context. This creates a situation where information flow is stalled, which helps to indicate a topic shift. This type of *no-wa* cleft tends to appear at the end of paragraphs.

(4)   お寺や古い民家での昼寝が気持ちよい<u>のは</u>、そのせいなのです。

otera ya furui minka de no hirune ga kimochiyoi <u>no wa</u>, sono sei-na no desu.
temple and old house LOC GEN nap NOM feel.good NML TOP that reason-ATT SE COP

'It is because of these (reasons) that taking a nap in a temple or an old house feels good.'
(Sunakawa, 2007:124)

The *no-wa* cleft may also contain elements other than nouns and noun phrases in the comment position. Sunakawa explains that this is because the basic function of the sentence pattern A (*no*) *wa* B *da* is simply to present a missing piece of information to fill in the gap in the given presupposition. In the following example, it is presupposed that something appeared, and *ip-piki no kuma* 'one bear' functions to identify that something.

(5)   その時現れた<u>のは</u>一匹のクマだった。

sono toki araware-ta <u>no wa</u> ip-piki no kuma dat-ta.
that time appear-PST NML TOP one-CLS GEN bear COP-PST

'It was a bear that appeared then. / What appeared then was a bear.'
(Sunakawa, 2007:27)

Missing information (or the answer to an implied question) can be of various types, from a noun referring to an animate or inanimate object, to an adverb *hajimete* 'for the first time,' to a clause referring to a reason, as in the following example.

(6)   人里にクマが現れた<u>のは</u>、森に食糧が不足しているためだ。

hitozato ni kuma ga araware-ta <u>no wa</u>, mori ni shokuryoo ga fusokushite-iru tame da.
village DAT bear NOM appear-PST NML TOP forest DAT food NOM lack-ASP because COP

'It is because there is a shortage of food that a bear appeared in the village.'
(Sunakawa, 2007:22)

The three discourse-based functions found in Sunakawa's studies may be specific to the type of written registers, that is, essays, magazine articles, and novels, examined in her study. In fact,

even in isolation, the *no-wa* clefts (2)−(6) seem to evoke certain types of writing/texts in the minds of their readers. Only empirical studies of other registers can reveal the generalizability of these functions.

Kamio (1991) applies his theory of territory of information (e.g. Kamio, 1979) to the Japanese (and English) cleft constructions. Territory of information is defined by the pragmatic notion of 'closeness' between a given piece of information and the speaker (writer) or the hearer (reader). If the information expresses facts, experiences, or stories about the speaker or someone close to the speaker, the information falls into the speaker's territory. The information within the speaker's territory is expressed in the direct form, while the information that falls outside the speaker's territory is expressed in indirect form, which includes a hedge or a rhetorical question. Kamio (1991) claims that the presuppositional part (P-part) of the Japanese cleft always takes the direct form, which indicates that the P-part of this cleft only accepts information falling into the speaker's (writer's) territory of information.

(7a) is an example of a *no-wa* cleft with its P-part expressing information within the speaker's territory. However, such information can also be expressed using non-cleft declarative sentences, as in (7b). According to Kamio, both types of sentences imply the speaker's recognition that the information is true, but only the non-cleft declarative sentence also implies the speaker's involvement with propositional content, for example, the speaker directly experiencing or observing the action or situation being described. Kamio's point, which is similar to what Prince (1978) claims about English *it*-clefts, is that the speaker uses cleft sentences to present information in the P-part as factual and indisputable, without implying the speaker's accountability or responsibility.

(7)　　(a)　　大家洪介が三条河原町の旅館へ戻ってきた<u>のは</u> 5 時だった。

　　　　　　　ooya koosuke ga sanjoo-kawaramachi no ryokan e modotteki-ta <u>no wa</u> 5-ji dat-ta.
　　　　　　　(name) NOM (name) GEN inn to return-PST NML TOP 5-o'clock COP-PST

　　　　　　　'It was 5 o'clock when Oya Kosuke returned to the inn in Sanjo-Kawaramachi.'
　　　　　　　(Kamio, 1991: 358 and 368; from Inoue, 1979: 36)

　　　　(b)　　大家洪介は 5 時に三条河原町の旅館へ戻ってきた。

　　　　　　　ooya koosuke wa 5-ji ni sanjoo-kawaramachi no ryokan e modotteki-ta.
　　　　　　　(name) TOP 5-o'clock DAT (name) GEN inn to return-PST

　　　　　　　'Oya Kosuke returned to the inn in Sanjo-Kawaramachi at 5 o'clock.'
　　　　　　　(Kamio, 1991; modified by the author)

Examples in Kamio (1991) come from novels or essays. In these registers (as well as in other registers such as academic presentations and newspaper articles), all information presumably falls under the writer's territory of information. Furthermore, factual and indisputable interpretations can be seen in the non-cleft A *no-wa* B structure, such as (8) below from the newspaper editorial data used in the present study. This is a non-cleft sentence in which the *no-wa* clause functions as the subject of the evaluative predicate. Even in this non-cleft example, the information in the topic clause (i.e. 'the abduction issue is not showing progress') is given factual interpretation. This suggests that the indisputable reading is not an exclusive property of the *no-wa* cleft. Thus, although Kamio's claim that only direct forms generally appear within *no-wa* cleft topic clause is confirmed in the present data as well, the theory of territory of

information and the presentation of information as (if it is) a fact do not fully explain why speakers and writers choose to use cleft constructions over non-cleft declarative sentences.

(8)   拉致問題が進展しないのは心が痛む。

   rachi mondai ga shintenshi-nai no wa kokoro ga itamu.
   abduction issue NOM show.progress-NEG NML TOP heart NOM hurt

   'It is painful that the abduction issue is not showing progress.'

   Both Sunakawa and Kamio examine written registers. Mori (2014), on the other hand, investigates the use of clefts in informal conversations under the conversation analytic framework. Mori's study only considers instances of *no-wa* clefts with nominalized clauses, followed by the copula *da* or its variants, in the comment position. She reports that 'well-formed' cleft constructions never appear in her conversational data. The following three types of *no-wa* cleft found in her conversational data all represent 'ill-formed' cleft constructions from the perspective of prescriptive grammar. In the following excerpts, taken from Mori (2014), the co-participant's backchannel is presented in the parentheses.
   (9a) ends with the reappearance of the same lexical item used in the topic clause (*yana no wa … iya-desu* 'what I don't like most ... I don't like'). (9b) ends with a similar lexical item used in the topic clause (*omotta no wa … kanjita* 'what I thought was ... I felt'). (9c) represents a case in which the *no-wa* topic clause is not accompanied by any clear grammatical marking that indicates the end of the corresponding comment component (*omotteru no wa … to* 'what I think ... that').

(9)   Ill-formed *no-wa* clefts (Mori 2014:194−196; modified by the author)[4]
   (a)   ただ私が<u>一番やな</u><u>のは</u>, .hh 受け入れる時は期待と:: .hh やあ: あの新しい方との出会いでね？（はい）すごく楽しいですけど, .hhh 帰る時が<u>嫌</u>ですねやっぱり.

      tada watashi ga <u>ichiban ya</u>-na <u>no wa</u>, .hh ukeireru toki wa kitai to:: .hh ya: ano
      but I NOM most unpleasant-ATT NML TOP accept time TOP expectation and um
      atarashii kata to no deai de ne? (hai) sugoku tanoshii desu kedo, .hhh kaeru toki
      new person with GEN encounter COP PP yes really fun COP but return time
      ga <u>iya desu</u> ne yapari.
      NOM unpleasant COP PP expectedly

      '... but what I hate most is, when I take them in, (I'm) full of anticipation and it's exciting meeting new people, right? (Yes.) so it's really fun, but I hate it when they go home, as you might expect.'

   (b)   私が<u>思った</u><u>のは</u>, 日本が, アメリカかぶれしてるのと一緒で::, 韓国も::, (0.5) 日本かぶれしてるみたいな所を<u>感じた</u>所があるのね,

      watashi ga <u>omot-ta</u> <u>no wa</u>, nihon ga, amerikakabureshite-ru no to issho de::,
      I NOM think-PST NML TOP Japan NOM Americanized-ASP NML with same COP
      kankoku mo::, (0.5) nihonkabureshite-ru mitaina tokoro o <u>kanji-ta</u> tokoro ga aru
      Korea also Japanized-ASP like aspect ACC feel-PST aspect NOM exist
      no ne,

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[4] See Appendix for transcription conventions for spoken data.

SE PP

'What I thought was, like in the same way in which Japan has been Americanized, Korea, too has been Japanized, there are things that I felt that way.'

(c)　ただ私自身が<u>思ってる</u><u>のは</u>ね, 先生たちにも言うんですが, .hhh 一時間中を評価のために授業をするんじゃないよと.

tada watashi jishin ga <u>omotte-ru</u> <u>no wa</u> ne, senseitachi ni mo iu-n desu ga, .hhh
but I self NOM think-ASP NML TOP PP teachers DAT also say-SE COP but
ichijikanjuu o hyooka no tame ni jugyoo o suru-n ja nai yo
one-hour-entire ACC assessment GEN purpose for class ACC do-SE COP NEG PP
to.
QT

'... but what I myself think is, I tell other teachers this, too, but it is not that we design the entire class hour just for the purpose of assessment.'

Mori's study uncovers how *no-wa* topic clauses (i.e. [clause] *no-wa*) are used in response to a specific interactional need in a particular sequential context, and how they are treated by the participants themselves. For example, in the following sequence (10), Eri's utterance (lines 16−18) beginning with the *no-wa* topic clause (line 16) is treated by the co-participant Mari as not complete, despite Eri's use of the tag-like expression *janai* (line 18), which can be interpreted as the end of a turn in other contexts. Mari's understanding of Eri's turns as not being complete can be seen in her use of the minimal token *u::::n* 'uh-huh.'

(10) (Mori 2014:204−205; originally numbered [9])
```
16    Eri:   そうい− すごい最初:: すっごいびっくりしたのは:::, .hh
17           なんだろ, 夜中の十二時とか二時とかまで−
18           図書館　おお− (0.3) オープ[ンしてるじゃな::い. .hhh=
19    Mari:  [う::::ん
```


```
16    Eri:   sooi− sugoi saisho:: suggoi bikkurishi-ta no wa:::, .hh
              that really first really surprise-PST NML TOP
17           nan daro, yonaka no juuniji toka niji toka made−
              what MOD midnight GEN 12-o'clock or 2-o'clock like until
18           toshokan oo− (0.3) oopu[nshite-ru ja-na::i. .hhh=
              library open-ASP COP-NEG
              'That- what really surprised me first is, how can I say, like until 12
              o'clock midnight or 2 o'clock, libraries are o- open, aren't they?'
19    Mari:  [u::::n
              uh-huh
              'Uh huh.'
```

Mori argues that the *no-wa* topic clause, such as the one in line 16 above, is used to initiate and project a forthcoming extended talk or multiunit turn. In particular, the *no-wa* topic clause functions as a 'prospective indexical' (Goodwin, 1996) which pre-announces the nature of the forthcoming extended talk and provides recipients with an interpretive framework. In the excerpt

above, it is not until Eri produces a predicate similar to the one in the *no-wa* topic clause (*sugoi naa:: toka omotta* 'I thought that was impressive' (not shown)) that Mari treats Eri's turn as complete.

Mori speculates that the prescriptive grammar concerning cleft construction is based on written data and introspection. Rudimentary forms in conversation may represent more natural and basic usage (e.g. Pawley and Syder, 1983; Hopper, 2004). She argues that what looks like the partial fragment of the 'full' cleft construction, the *no-wa* topic clause, is a full-fledged construction used by conversational participants. However, we can also argue that the reason the *no-wa* topic clause functions the way it does in conversations is precisely because the co-participants see it as a part of a fuller construction and they expect the latter half of the construction (i.e. comment) to be expressed. This view, taken in the present paper, allows for seeing and examining potential links and similarities among different forms and functions of the *no-wa* cleft (and related forms) used in different contexts.

The findings from the discourse-oriented studies reviewed above clearly show that the *no-wa* cleft construction bears different forms and functions in different registers, which are likely to be linked to the communicative needs and purposes of particular contexts. The present study examines the *no-wa* cleft in multiple registers to provide a larger and more comprehensive picture of the use of this construction in Japanese. By examining different registers, we can survey a fuller range of forms and functions of the *no-wa* cleft. All instances of the construction found in the present data, including those that may look like incomplete pieces (or a different construction, Mori, 2014), are analyzed as being part of the family of the *no-wa* cleft, which are related to one another via partial formal and functional resemblances.

3. Data and method

The data set for this study comes from the following sources. News reports (News) and newspaper editorials (Editorials) are taken from four major newspaper online sites.[5] Informal conversation data (Conversations) contain both face-to-face conversations and phone conversations between friends and family members.[6] Academic presentation data (Presentations) come from recorded conference presentations in the field of engineering and those within the humanities and social sciences.[7] To obtain a comparable data set, approximately the same number of texts/transcripts were drawn for each register. I used MeCab[8] for morphological tokenization and AntConc[9] for concordance. Table 1 displays the composition of each register.

Table 1. Composition of the four registers

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[5] Specific data sources are as follows: *Asahi Shimbun*, retrieved from: www.asahi.com; *Mainichi Shimbun*, retrieved from: mainichi.jp; *Sankei Shimbun*, retrieved from: www.sankei.com; *Yomiuri Shimbun*, retrieved from: www.yomiuri.co.jp. 30 news reports and 25 editorials were retrieved from each site between September and October, 2017. The news reports come from the following categories: society (*shakai*), politics (*seiji*), business/economy (*keizai*), international affairs (*kokusai*), and sports. Editorials are called *shasetsu* in *Asashi*, *Mainichi*, and *Yomiuri*, and *shuchoo* in *Sankei*.

[6] Conversation data consist of the following corpora: 71 phone conversations from CallHome Japanese Corpus (Linguistic Data Consortium 1996); 41 face-to-face conversations from Sakura Corpus in the TalkBank database (14) (MacWhinney, 2007), Workplace corpus (14) (Women's language at the workplace and Men's language at the workplace, *Gendai Nihongo Kenkyukai*, 1997, 2002), and Japan Corpus (13) (Aoki et al., unpublished data).

[7] Presentation data come from the Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese (National Institute for Japanese Language and National Institute of Information and Communication Technology, 2004).

[8] Kudo, Taku (2013) MeCab (Version 0.996). Available from: taku910.github.io/mecab.

[9] Anthony, Laurence (2014). AntConc (Version 3.4.4w) [Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Available from: www.laurenceanthony.net/software.

	News	Editorials	Conversations	Presentations
Texts/transcripts	120	100	112	108
Words (morphemes)	27,731	55,781	228,484	353,852
Words per text (average)	231	558	2,040	3,276

The four registers were chosen for the present study because (aside from their availability) they represent different sets of situational characteristics. In terms of the channel of communication, News and Editorials both belong to written medium, while Conversations and Presentations belong to spoken medium. With respect to the plannedness of discourse, News, Editorials, and Presentations are all planned, to a varied degree, while Conversations is largely unplanned, due to its spontaneous nature. Regarding communicative purposes, News is the only register among the four that conveys solely factual information, whereas the other three also express opinions and evaluative stances.

In each register, all sentences containing the *no-wa* sequence in the concordance list were manually checked and non-cleft constructions, as well as clefts appearing within quoted speech or writing, were excluded from further analysis. Table 2 shows the number of *no-wa* clefts found in each register.

Table 2. Frequency of the *no-wa* cleft in the four registers

	News	Editorials	Conversations	Presentations
No. of *no-wa* clefts	6	61	25	129
No. of *no-wa* clefts per 10,000 words	2.2	10.9	1.1	3.6
No. of *no-wa* clefts per text	0.05	0.61	0.22	1.20
No. of text with at least one *no-wa* cleft	6/120 (5%)	45/100 (45%)	23/112 (20.5%)	64/108 (59.3%)

The *no-wa* cleft appears most frequently in Presentations, followed by Editorials, both with respect to the average number per text and the number of texts containing at least one *no-wa* cleft token. Normalized frequency is higher for Editorials than for Presentations; this is due to the relatively short length of editorial texts (558 words) compared with that of academic presentations (3,276 words). The *no-wa* cleft also appears in Conversations, although not as frequently as in Presentations and Editorials. Compared with these three registers, the *no-wa* cleft rarely appears in News.

All instances of the *no-wa* cleft in the four registers were examined from grammatical and functional perspectives. First, the grammatical properties of each *no-wa* cleft were investigated, focusing on the forms appearing in the comment position (Section 4.1). We find that spoken registers contain cases where the comment portion is only loosely connected to the *no-wa* topic clause. Nevertheless, observed similarities between more loosely and tightly connected forms warrant treating them as belonging to the same construction family. A comparative analysis of discourse functions performed by the construction in its varied forms (Section 4.2) further explicates how these forms and functions are related to each other.

4. Findings and analyses

Detailed examination of the *no-wa* cleft in the four registers, as presented in this section, reveals that formal similarities are related to the degree of plannedness in discourse production, while functional similarities are associated with communicative needs and purposes of the immediate discourse environments. Various functions identified and described in Section 4.2 can be broadly categorized into two general functional properties of the construction: a highlighting function at the local level and a (retrospective) anticipatory function at the global level (see Hopper, 2001).

4.1 Grammatical properties
In this section, the grammatical properties of elements immediately following *no-wa* are examined. As shown in Table 3, there is a major division between written registers (News and Editorials) and spoken registers (Conversations and Presentations). Most notably, in spoken registers, independent clauses and complement clauses frequently appear after *no-wa*, while in written registers, these types of clauses never appear in the comment position of the *no-wa* cleft.

Table 3. Grammatical properties of the elements following *no-wa* (comment position)

	News	Editorials	Conversations	Presentations
Adverb (phrase)	4/6 (66.7%)	6/61 (9.8%)	0/25 (0%)	2/129 (1.6%)
Noun (phrase)	2/6 (33.3%)	30/61 (49.2%)	10/25 (40%)	70/129 (54.3%)
Adverbial clause	0/6 (0%)	7/61 (11.5%)	2/25 (8%)	4/129 (3.1%)
Nominal clause	0/6 (0%)	18/61 (30.0%)	1/25 (4%)	14/129 (10.9%)
Complement clause	0/6 (0%)	0/61 (0%)	2/25 (8%)	5/129 (3.9%)
Independent clause	0/6 (0%)	0/61 (0%)	10/25 (40%)	34/129 (26.4%)
Total	6 (100%)	61 (100%)	25 (100%)	129 (100%)

In News, the only elements found in the comment position are single words or short nominal or adverbial phrases. In Editorials, about 60% of the *no-wa* clefts contain single words or phrases and the other 40% contain adverbial or nominal clauses in the comment position. As we can see in examples (11)−(13) below, compared with News, Editorials tend to have longer and more complex information in the comment position.

(11) News: adverb in the comment position
国連トップ就任後、グテレス氏が日本メディアの単独インタビューに応じた<u>のは</u>初めて。

kokuren toppu shuunin-go, guteresu-shi ga nihon media no tandoku intabyuu ni
U.N. top inauguration-after (name)-Mr. NOM Japan media GEN exclusive interview DAT
ooji-ta <u>no wa</u> hajimete.
respond-PST NML TOP first

'It was the first time Mr. Guterres responded to an exclusive interview with the Japanese media since being sworn in as the head of the United Nations.'

(12) Editorials: noun phrase in the comment position
作品の根底にある<u>のは</u>、日英の情感の融合だろう。

sakuhin no kontei ni aru <u>no wa</u>, nichiei no jookan no yuugoo daroo.
work GEN basis DAT exist NML TOP Japan-Britain GEN sensitivity GEN fusion MOD

'It is probably the fusion of Japanese and British sensitivities that is the basis of his work. / What is at the basis of his work is probably the fusion of Japanese and British sensitivities.'

(13) Editorials: nominal clause in the comment position
大切な<u>のは</u>、教師が何でも抱え込む慣行を見直すことだ。

taisetsu-na <u>no wa</u>, kyooshi ga nandemo kakaekomu kankoo o minaosu koto da.
important-ATT NML TOP teacher NOM anything take.on custom ACC reexamine NML COP

'What is important is to reexamine the customary practice of teachers taking everything upon themselves.'

As mentioned above, *no-wa* clefts with complement clauses and independent clauses in the comment position only appear in spoken registers in the present data. These clefts can be considered loose or disjointed. From researchers' perspectives, comment parts in disjointed *no-wa* clefts may not be syntactically identifiable, but in actual interaction, interlocutors anticipate and treat these complement and independent clauses as pragmatically linked to the *no-wa* topic clause. On the other hand, *no-wa* clefts with nominal or adverbial phrases or clauses in the comment position form structurally tight unit. I call this type integrated clefts. The next table shows the distribution of integrated vs. disjointed *no-wa* clefts in the four registers.

Table 4. Distribution of integrated and disjointed *no-wa* clefts

	News	Editorials	Conversations	Presentations
Integrated	6/6 (100%)	61/61 (100%)	13/25 (52%)	90/129 (69.8%)
Disjointed	0/6 (0%)	0/61 (0%)	12/25 (48%)	39/129 (30.2%)

In Conversations and Presentations, a substantial number of the *no-wa* clefts are of the disjointed type. The disjointed cleft can be further categorized as those that contain grammatical elements in the comment position that clearly indicate the end of the unit and those that do not contain such elements.

Within the first type, some clefts end with a quote marker (complement clause), and others end with either the same or a similar item as the one used in the topic position. (14) is an example of a disjointed cleft ending with a quote marker in Conversations. The co-participant's backchannels are shown in the parentheses.

(14) Conversations: disjointed cleft with complement clause in the comment position
でもだか彼女達が言ってた<u>のは::</u> 働いても: 結局（うん）英語がどうしても必要になったりとか（うん）ボスが (.) 外人がアメリカ人が多いんだ<u>って:</u>.

demo daka kanojotachi ga itte-ta <u>no wa::</u> hataraite mo: kekkyoku (un) eigo ga dooshitemo
but so (truncated) they NOM said NML TOP work after.all even English NOM inevitably
hitsuyoo-ni nattari toka (un) bosu ga (.) gaijin ga amerikajin ga ooi-n da tte:.

necessary-ADV become like boss NOM foreigner NOM American NOM many-SE COP QT

'But so what they said was that they end up needing English after working for a while, or their bosses often turn out to be foreigners- Americans.'

In spoken language, quote markers such as *tte* are often used in isolation without a corresponding communication predicate such as *itte-ta* '(they) said' to express quoted speech. Thus, a modified version of (14) without the predicate *itte-ta* '(they) said' is possible without causing any ambiguity. In (14), *kanojotachi* 'they' refers to the speaker's classmates from Thailand. The speaker and her interlocutor have been talking about these classmates in the immediately preceding context, so the subject of the utterance is clear without overt mention. This suggests that the *no-wa* clause in (14) (*kanojotachi ga itte-ta no wa*) is structurally rather independent from the rest of the utterance.

(14') Modified written version of (14)
（でもだか）働いても結局英語がどうしても必要になったりとかボスが外人がアメリカ人が多いんだ<u>って</u>.

(demo daka) hataraite mo kekkyoku eigo ga dooshitemo hitsuyoo-ni nattari toka bosu
but so (truncated) work after.all even English NOM inevitably necessary-ADV become like boss
ga gaijin ga amerikajin ga ooi-n da tte.
NOM foreigner NOM American NOM many-SE COP QT

'(But so they) said they end up needing English after working for a while, or their bosses often turn out to be foreigners- Americans.'

The second type of disjointed cleft with end-of-unit grammatical elements repeats the same or a similar predicate in the comment position. (15) and (16) are examples of this type. Just like (14), (15) and (16) would still make sense and convey the same information without the *no-wa* topic clause. This, again, implies that the *no-wa* clause is produced separately from the rest of the utterance. We can also notice that in both cases there are noticeable pauses immediately after the *no-wa* (with the pragmatic particle *ne* in the case of (15)).

(15) Conversations: the same predicate
あの<u>電話したのは</u>ね (0.3)（うん）あの: (0.6) 末永く友達でいたいなと思ったりして<u>電話したん</u>ですよ.

ano denwashi-ta no wa ne (0.3) *(un) ano:* (0.6) *suenagaku tomodachi de i-tai na to omot-tari-*
um called NML TOP PP (uh-huh) um forever friend COP stay-want PP QT think-such-
shite denwashi-ta-n desu yo.
do call-PST-SE COP PP

'The reason I called is (Uh-huh.) I called thinking I wanted to stay friends with you for many years to come.'

(16) Presentations: similar predicate
ここで<u>発話と言っているのは</u>:: (0.4) 三百ミリ以上の (0.7) え: 無声区間で自動切り出しされた (0.3) その部分を (.) <u>発話と呼んでいます</u>.

koko de hatsuwa to itte-iru <u>no wa:</u> (0.4) *3-byaku miri ijoo no* (0.7) *e: museikukan de*

here LOC vocalization QT say-ASP NML TOP 3-hundred millisecond um more.than um pause by
jidoo kiridashis-are-ta (0.3) *sono bubun o* (.) *hatsuwa to yonde-i-masu.*
automatic cut.out-PSS-PST that part ACC vocalization QT call-ASP-POL

'What we are calling vocalization is, we are calling vocalization the parts that were cut out automatically between pauses of three hundred milliseconds or longer.'

The cases discussed so far all contain grammatical elements in the comment position that indicate the end of the unit.

There are other disjointed clefts, which do not contain any elements that indicate the unit ending. In a conversation in (17), speaker A's *no-wa* clause in line 1 is followed by a partial comment clause in the continuing *te*-form in line 3, but the trajectory of the talk gets diverted as speaker B begins to talk about the type of car she wants to buy in line 6. In the subsequent segment (not shown), they continue to talk about different car models before they shift to a different topic. In the academic presentation in (18), the *no-wa* topic clause is followed by a long complex clause (… *jittai de-arimasu* 'is the fact'), but the comment of the topic clause, that is, one more thing the speaker wants to say, continues over another eight clauses (not shown).

(17) Conversations: disjointed cleft with no end marking
1.   A: ちょっと俺ではね計画してん<u>のは</u>あっ子が:,
2.   B: うん.
3.   A: 来たらあっ子も車買って:,
4.   B: うん.
5.   A: うんそんで,
6.   B: あっ子チェロキーがいいよ.
7.   A: うん?

1.   A: *chotto ore de wa ne keikakushite-n <u>no wa</u> akko ga*:,
             little I and TOP PP plan-ASP NML TOP (name) NOM
             'What I'm planning is you,'
2.   B: *un.*
             uh-huh
             'Uh-huh.'
3.   A: *ki-tara akko mo kuruma katte*:,
             come-if (name) also car buy
             'If you come, you also buy a car and,'
4.   B: *un.*
             uh-huh
             'Uh-huh.'
5.   A: *un sonde,*
             yeah and
             'Yeah and,'
6.   B: *akko cherokee ga ii yo.*
             (name) Cherokee NOM good PP
             'I want a Cherokee.'
7.   A: *un?*
             yes
             'Huh?'

(18) Presentations: disjointed cleft with no end marking

それとえ: もう一つあの: 申し上げたい<u>のは</u>ですねあの: 私達こういう仕事をずっとやっ- アナウンスの仕事でま日本語のある部分を担ってきておりますけれども研究者の方々とのお: 現場との交流というのは殆どないというのがあ: 残念ながら実態でありますえ:・・・

soreto e: moo hitotsu ano: mooshiage-tai <u>no wa</u> desu ne ano: watashitachi kooyuu shigoto o
and um more one um say-want.to NML TOP COP PP um we this.kind work ACC
zutto yat- anaunsu no shigoto de ma nihongo no aru bubun o ninatte-kite orimasu keredomo
all.along do announce GEN work INS well Japanese GEN certain part ACC bear-ASP ASP but
kenkyuusha no katagata to no o: genba to no kooryuu to yuu no wa hotondo nai to
researcher GEN people with GEN um site with GEN exchange QT say NML TOP almost not.exist QT
yuu no ga a: zannennagara jittai dearimasu e: ...
say NML NOM um unfortunately reality COP um

'And one more thing we want to say is um we have been working as announcers and we shoulder some part of Japanese language, but unfortunately the reality is that there is almost no exchange between researchers and on-site announcers um ...'

   The three types of disjointed cleft resemble the prospective indexical *no-wa* topic clause found and discussed in Mori (2014), especially those in Conversations. Unlike what Mori found in her conversational data, however, both Conversations and Presentations also contain integrated forms of the *no-wa* cleft. This discrepancy is likely due to the fact that Mori's study only considers clefts with nominalized clauses in the comment position.[10]
   Within the integrated types, the average number of words in the comment position shows differences among the four registers: 5.2 in News, 11.9 in Editorials, 3.6 in Conversations, and 10.6 in Presentations. (19)−(22) below are representative examples from the four registers. As the differences in the number of words in the comment position suggest, Editorials and Presentations contain much more complex information than News and Conversations. The former registers with more complex information contain more cases of *no-wa* cleft constructions (see Table 2).

(19) News: average of 5.2 words in the comment position (6 words in the example)
捜査本部によると、通報があった<u>のは</u>８日午前６時ごろ。

soosa honbu ni yoruto, tsuuhoo ga at-ta <u>no wa</u> yoo-ka gozen roku-ji
investigation headquarter DAT according report NOM exist-PST NML TOP 8th-day a.m. 6-o'clock
goro.
around

'According to investigation headquarters, it was around 6 a.m. on the 8th when the report was made.'

(20) Editorials: average of 11.9 words in the comment position (11 words in the example)
肝心な<u>のは</u>、それぞれの投資案件について透明性を高めることである。

kanjin-na <u>no wa</u>, sorezore no tooshi anken ni tsuite toomeisei o takameru koto dearu.
crucial-ATT NML TOP each GEN investment item DAT about transparency ACC increase NML COP

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[10] The present study found one example of a *no-wa* cleft with a nominal clause in Conversations (see Table 3).

'What is important is to increase the transparency for each investment item.'

(21) Conversations: average of 3.6 words in the comment position (3 words in the example)
あの大樹さんじゃなくて日本にいる<u>のは</u>誰だったっけ？

ano daiki san ja-nakute nihon ni iru <u>no wa</u> dare dat-ta kke?
um (name) Mr. COP-NEG Japan DAT exist NML TOP who COP-PST PP

'Um, not Daiki, who was it that is in Japan?'

(22) Presentations: average of 10.6 words in the comment position (12 words in the example)
え: 今日お話したいと思いました<u>のはあ</u>:: 判断を原則のレベルでえ:: 捉える (0.4) 為の (0.3) お::
準備的な議論 (.) です.

e: kyoo ohanashishi-tai to omoi-mashi-ta <u>no wa</u> a:: handan o gensoku no reberu de
um today talk-want.to QT thoink-POL-PST NML TOP um judgment ACC fundamental GEN level at
e:: toraeru (0.4) tame no (0.3) o:: junbiteki-na giron (.) desu.
um grasp purpose GEN um preliminary-ATT discussion COP

'Um, what (I) thought (I) wanted to talk today is a preliminary discussion for the purpose of understanding judgments at a fundamental level.'

   In this section, we saw that spoken registers, regardless of formality, allow structural flexibility in the use of the *no-wa* cleft. Especially in conversations, in which co-participants actively participate in meaning making and negotiation, the *no-wa* topic clause may look independent from the rest of the utterances. However, the fact that co-participants usually anticipate and wait for the indication of the end of corresponding comment demonstrates that the entire structure is seen as a unit. The resulting form, when researchers transcribe and put them on paper, may seem ill-formed. But when the form is actually produced and interpreted in ongoing spoken discourse, interlocutors do not treat it as such. At the same time, the two spoken registers also contain integrated forms of the *no-wa* cleft. The next section examines motivations for the uses of construction in context and identifies their discourse functions in each of the four registers.

4.2 Discourse functions of the *no-wa* cleft in the four registers
In this section, we examine context-dependent functions and motivations for the use of the *no-wa* cleft in each register. We find that the *no-wa* cleft is used to perform a wide variety of functions, and those functions are closely linked to the communicative purposes and constraints found both within and across the registers. In News, it only has a single function of underlining temporal/numerical information (100%). The other three registers contain several functions, listed here in order of frequency. Editorials include four functions: signposting main theses (83.6%), presenting situational frameworks (6.6%), presenting sequentially relevant information (4.9%), and underlining 'first time' information (4.9%). There are also four functions identified in Conversations: early projection (prospective indexical) (48%), expressing contrast (20%), performing repairs (16%), and calling attention (16%). Presentations have the largest number of functions: early projection (50.4%), identifying a (sub-)topic (20.9%), presenting major findings/significant information (17.1%), presenting supplementary/background information (6.2%), and expressing contrast (5.4%).

4.2.1 News (News reports)

As we saw in the previous section, the *no-wa* cleft is very infrequent in News and its form is rather fixed. The limited nature of the *no-wa* cleft in News is also seen in the semantic property of information in the comment position. The two types of information found in the comment position are time (e.g. *hajimete* 'first,' *zenkoku hatsu* 'first in the country,' *sotsugyoo shite kara* 'after graduation,' *8-ka* 'on the 8th,' *gozen 6-ji goro* 'around 6 a.m.') and the number of people (e.g. *5161-nin* '5161 people,' *5-nin-me* '5th person'). The *no-wa* cleft is used to underline a specific type of information. (11) and (19) presented in the previous section both have time-related information in the comment position. (23) expresses the number of people involved in the reported event in the comment position.

(23) News: the number of people in the comment position
全国からの応募約３２万件のうち、シャンシャンと応募した<u>のは</u>５１６１人だった。

zenkoku kara no oobo yaku 32-man-ken no uchi, shanshan to ooboshi-ta
nationwide from GEN application approx. 32-million-case GEN within (name) QT apply-PST
<u>*no wa*</u> *5161-nin dat-ta.*
NML TOP 5161-people COP-PST

'There were 5,161 people who submitted Shanshan (for the panda's name) among three hundred twenty thousand submissions nationwide.'

As to the reason why the *no-wa* cleft is scarce in the News register, since its use for underlining some information implies taking a certain perspective, it does not fit the main purpose of news reports to objectively report factual information. The limited types of information that are used with the *no-wa* cleft, time and the number of people, are objective and verifiable, and they are usually not topicalized. With these types of information, the use of the *no-wa* cleft does not imply a subjective viewpoint of the writer. Thus, the construction is used rather formulaically to organize information locally, and it also adds sentence variety to the monotonous news reporting text.

4.2.2 Editorials
Editorials is one of the two registers in which the *no-wa* cleft frequently appears. We might expect, since both News and Editorials are newspaper texts, that the *no-wa* cleft plays similar roles in the two registers. Although the function of underlining temporal information is also found in Editorials, this function accounts for only 3.3% (2/61) of all the *no-wa* clefts in this register (and both cases have *hajimete* 'for the first time' in the comment position). Instead, a majority of the *no-wa* clefts in Editorials (83.6% or 51/61) are used in relation to the main point of the article. That is, the *no-wa* cleft is used to state the main thesis of the article (19/51), to present key information supporting the main point (23/51), or to present information that is highly relevant to the main point (9/51).

The main point expressed in the *no-wa* cleft is often a paraphrase or a further explication of the information expressed in the title of an article. In (24) (the same as (13)), the *no-wa* cleft expresses the thesis of the article, which is also a paraphrase of the title shown in the parentheses. In (25) (the same as (12)), the *no-wa* cleft expresses the main point of the article, which is a further explication of the title shown in parentheses. Many of the *no-wa* clefts expressing the point of an article include evaluative elements in the topic position (78.9% or 15/19). The most common element is *juuyoo-na no wa* 'what is important,' followed by *kanjin-na no wa* 'what is important.'

(24) Editorials: main point (paraphrase of the title)

大切な<u>のは</u>、教師が何でも抱え込む慣行を見直すことだ。
(教師の過労対策　雑務を抱え込む慣行なくそう)

taisetsu-na <u>no wa</u>, kyooshi ga nandemo kakaekomu kankoo o minaosu koto da.
important-ATT NML TOP teacher NOM anything take.on custom ACC reexamine NML COP
'What is important is to reexamine the customary practice of teachers taking everything upon themselves.'

(*kyooshi no karoo taisaku　zatsumu o kakaekomu kankoo nakus-oo*)
teacher GEN overwork measure　routine.duties ACC take.on custom eliminate-VOL
('Teachers' overwork measures: let's eliminate the customary practice of (teachers) taking on routine duties')

(25) Editorials: main point (further explication of the title)
作品の根底にある<u>のは</u>、日英の情感の融合だろう。
(ノーベル文学賞　頂点極めたイシグロ氏の情感)

sakuhin no kontei ni aru <u>no wa</u>, nichiei no jookan no yuugoo daroo.
work GEN basis DAT exist NML TOP Japan-Britain GEN sensitivity GEN fusion MOD
'It is probably the fusion of Japanese and British sensitivities that is the basis of his work. / What is at the basis of his work is probably the fusion of Japanese and British sensitivities.'

(*nooberu bungaku shoo　chooten kiwame-ta ishiguro shi no jookan*)
Nobel literature award　summit reach-PST (name) Mr. GEN sensitivity
(Nobel Prize for literature　Sensitivities of Mr. Ishiguro who reached the summit)

When a *no-wa* cleft itself does not express the main thesis, it often presents key evidence or information supporting the main thesis (as in (26)) or information that is highly relevant to the main point (as in (27)). As seen in the next example (26), main points are often expressed in the title as well as toward the end of an article (see Nishihara, 1997). In (26), the main point, that the U.S. cannot reinforce stricter gun controls and that this is a weakness, is expressed in the title shown in the parentheses and also in the last sentence of the article shown within the square brackets. What is expressed in the *no-wa* cleft is the key information which supports this main point.

(26) Editorials: key information supporting the main point
衝撃的な<u>のは</u>、大量のライフルなどの銃器や弾薬、スコープ（照準器）、銃を固定する三脚が部屋から見つかったことだ。
(ラスベガス乱射銃規制強化できぬ米国の病弊)
[残念ながら、銃規制の厳格化は望めまい。社会の分断が一段と深まることも懸念される。米国の病弊と言えよう。]

shoogekiteki-na <u>no wa</u>, tairyoo no raifuru nado no juuki ya danyaku, sukoopu (shoojunki), juu o
shocking-ATT NML TOP a.lot GEN rifle such.as GEN firearm and ammunition scope sights gun ACC
koteisuru sankyaku ga heya kara mitsukat-ta koto da.
stabilize tripod NOM room from be.found-PST NML COP
'What is shocking is that a large amount of firearms and ammunition such as rifles, scopes (sights), and tripods which stabilize the guns were found in the room.'

(*rasubegasu ransha juu kisei kyooka deki-nu beikoku no byooheki*)

Las Vegas random.firing gun control reinforce can-NEG U.S. GEN morbid.habit
(Las Vegas random shootings: the weakness of the U.S. which cannot reinforce gun controls)

 [*zannennagara, juu kisei no genkakuka wa nozome-mai. shakai no bundan ga ichidanto*
unfortunately gun control GEN reinforcement TOP expect-NEG society GEN divide NOM further
fukamaru koto mo kenens-areru. beikoku no byooheki to ie-yoo.]
deepen NML also fear-PSS U.S. GEN morbid.habit QT can.say-VOL
['Unfortunately, we cannot expect gun control reinforcement. It is also feared that society will be
further divided. It (the current situation) can be called a weakness in the U.S.']

(27) is on with the same topic as (25), but it comes from a different editorial article and
newspaper than (25). The main point of this editorial, as expressed in the title shown in the
parentheses, is that Mr. Ishiguro's Nobel Laureateship is a good opportunity for Japanese
people to reconsider their own country and culture. The *no-wa* cleft expresses information that
is highly relevant to the main thesis. The cleft construction appears immediately after the
sentence expressing the main point (now shown).

(27) Editorials: information highly relevant to the main point
... むしろ感謝する<u>のは</u>日本の方だ。
(イシグロ氏受賞　日本を見つめ直す契機に)

mushiro kanshasuru <u>no wa</u>   nihon no hoo da.
rather   be.grateful NML TOP Japan GEN side COP
'... rather, it is Japan that should be grateful (to Mr. Ishiguro).'

(*ishiguro shi jushoo   nihon o mitsumenaosu kikai ni*)
(name) Mr. prize.winning Japan ACC reconsider opportunity DAT
(Mr. Ishiguro winning prize   An opportunity to reconsider Japan)

Besides the major function of indicating the high relevance of information to the main point
of an article, the *no-wa* cleft in Editorials also has the functions of presenting situational
frameworks (6.6% or 4/61), presenting sequentially relevant information (6.6% or 4/61), and
underlining temporal ('first time') information (3.3% or 2/61). Notably, Editorials is the only
register that has the function of presenting situational frameworks, as Sunakawa (1995, 2005,
2007) found in her essay and novel data. The shared function between Editorials and
essays/novels suggests that these registers share some situational or communicative
characteristics in common. We will come back to this point in Section 5.

To summarize, a majority of the *no-wa* clefts in Editorials are used as main thesis reference
points. This major function as well as the function of presenting situational frameworks are
motivated by concerns related to text organization. Editorials is a type of persuasive writing with
dense information dispersed across many short paragraphs. The *no-wa* cleft seems to be
mainly used as a discourse organizational device to structure the text around the main
argument of the writer and draw readers' attention to it.

4.2.3 Conversations (informal conversations)
The disjointed cleft, presented in the previous section, represents one major type of the *no-wa*
cleft in Conversations. The *no-wa* topic clause is used to project a longer unit of talk (comment
part), and by doing so, it functions to secure the speaker's floor and provide the addressee with
a general interpretive framework to understand and participate in the subsequent talk (i.e.
prospective indexical). About half of the *no-wa* clefts in Conversations are of this type (48% or

18

12/25). In (28) (the beginning part of (17)), A uses the *no-wa* topic clause in line 1 to secure his floor, and B shows her understanding of such projection in the uses of the continuer *un* 'yeah' in lines 2 and 4 (although the talk eventually digresses and shifts to a different topic as we saw in (17)). The anticipatory use of the *no-wa* clause tends to co-appear with the pragmatic particle *ne* 'you know' and the first person pronouns such as *ore* 'I' in (28) (see also conversational examples from Mori (2014) in (9a)−(9c) above). It has been suggested that the use of *ne* is associated with the floor-holding function (Cook, 1992; Ono and Thompson, 2003) and the use of first person pronouns is linked to the 'frame-setting' function (Ono and Thompson, 2003), which is similar to the function of prospective indexical.

(28) Conversations: projection
1.   A: ちょっと俺ではね計画してん<u>のは</u>あっ子が:,
2.   B: うん.
3.   A: 来たらあっ子も車買って:,
4.   B: うん.

1.   A: *chotto ore de wa ne keikakushite-n <u>no wa</u> akko ga:,*
                  little I and TOP PP plan-ASP NML TOP (name) NOM
                  'What I'm planning is you,'
2.   B: *un.*
                  uh-huh
                  'Uh-huh.'
3.   A: *ki-tara akko mo kuruma katte:,*
                  come-if (name) also car buy
                  'If you come, you also buy a car and,'
4.   B: *un.*
                  uh-huh
                  'Uh-huh.'

     Contrary to the extended and multi-unit nature of the disjointed prospective indexical *no-wa* cleft, integrated forms of the cleft in Conversations are short in length and produced in single intonation units. While disjointed *no-wa* clauses work to foreshadow upcoming talk, integrated *no-wa* clefts deal with ongoing meaning making and negotiation processes. In particular, three functions are identified: calling attention (16% or 4/25), expressing a contrast (20% or 5/25), and doing a repair (16% or 4/25). These functions are by no means exclusive to the *no-wa* cleft, but the construction serves as one resource to perform these conversational actions. (29)−(31) represent each of these functions.

     In (29), the speaker A suggests two freight companies for B to send packages. In lines 1 and 3, A begins to formulate a comparative sentence (company X or company Y), but after clarifying the name of the first company in line 5, she abandons the comparative sentence and utters a new superlative sentence using the *no-wa* cleft in line 7. Sequentially, she could have completed the comparative sentence by just giving the name of the second company and providing a predicate (*(kakimata-unyu tte yuu tokoro ka) ABC ga ii* '(the place called *kakimata-unyu* or) ABC would be good.') Instead, the speaker uses the *no-wa* cleft to call the addressee's attention to the second company (ABC). In the subsequent context (not shown), the two interlocutors only discuss the second company.

(29) Conversations: calling attention
1.   A: 荷物送るんだったら:,
2.   B: うん.

19

3.   A: あの かまたき運輸っていう所か,
4.   B: えっ?
5.   A: かまたき運輸.
6.   B: かまたき運輸? [うん.
7.   A: [うん. 一番いい<u>のは</u> ABC.

1.   A: *nimotsu okuru-n dat tara:,*
             package send-SE COP if
             'If you are going to send the packages,'
2.   B: *un.*
             yes
             'Uh-huh.'
3.   A: *ano kamataki-unyu tte iu tokoro ka,*
             um (name) QT say place or
             'Um, the place called kamataki-unyu or,'
4.   B: *eh?*
             huh
             'Huh?'
5.   A: *kamataki-unyu.*
             (name)
             'Kamataki-unyu.'
6.   B: *kamataki-unyu?* [*un.*
             (name) yes
             'Kamataki-unyu? Uh-huh.'
7.   A: [*un.ichiban ii <u>no wa</u> ABC.*
             yes most good NML TOP (name)
             'Uh-huh. It is "ABC" that is the best.'

    In the preceding context to the shown segment in (30), speaker B asked A about the location of the prep school A is thinking of going. In line 1, A begins to answer B's question by providing information that there are two types of institutions (or programs at different locations). In line 3, A uses the *no-wa* cleft to contrastively identify the institution/program he was admitted to (and thinking of going).

(30) Conversations: expressing a contrast
1.   A: レックならね (1.0) 二種類あるんだ今.
2.   B: ふ::ん.
3.   A: で俺の一個通ってん<u>のは</u>高田馬場 (.) の方だけど,

1.   A: *rekku nara ne* (1.0) *ni-shurui aru-n da ima.*
             (name) if PP two-kind exist-SE COP now
             'Lec has two kind (of institutions/programs) now.'
2.   B: *fu::n.*
             hmm
             'Hmm.'
3.   A: *de ore no ik-ko tootte-n <u>no wa</u> takadanobaba* (.) *no hoo da kedo,*
             and I GEN one-CLS pass-SE NML TOP (place) GEN side COP but
             'And, it is the one at Takadanobaba that I was admitted to,'

20

In (31), speaker A is telling B about the *takoyaki* (octopus dumpling) restaurant she saw on TV the day before. In the preceding segment, A mentioned that guests would grind white sesame seeds to be sprinkled on top of *takoyaki*. Then, in line 1, B checks her understanding that the guests sprinkle the sesame seeds by themselves. In line 2, A uses the *no-wa* cleft to correct B's misunderstanding and clarify that it is the restaurant's staff who does that.

(31) Conversations: doing a repair (other-initiated, self-repair in this example)
1.　　B:　　ふ::ん. みずからかけるんだ.
2.　　A:　　や: みずからかけん<u>のは</u>お店の人だけどね?

1.　　B:　　*fu::n. mizukara kakeru-n da.*
　　　　　　hmm by.oneself sprinkle-SE COP
　　　　　　'Hmm. The guest sprinkle (the sesame seeds) by themselves.'
2.　　A:　　*ya: mizukara kaken <u>no wa</u> omise no hito da kedo ne?*
　　　　　　no by.oneself sprinkle NML TOP restaurant GEN person COP but PP
　　　　　　'No, it is the restaurant staff that sprinkles (the sesame seeds).'

In summary, four discourse functions are found in Conversations: prospective indexical, calling attention, making contrast, and performing repair. All of these uses are motivated by interactional concerns of the speaker. Prospective indexical is motivated by the speaker's concerns for the addressee as an active co-participant in the ongoing talk, and the other three functions are motivated by concerns related to achieving shared understanding and affective stance between the speaker and the addressee.

4.2.4 Presentations (Academic presentations)
As described in Section 3, the *no-wa* cleft is used more frequently in Presentations and Editorials than in the other two registers. We have seen that, in Editorials, it is often used to signal information as highly relevant to the main thesis of the article. In Presentations, more than half of the *no-wa* clefts (50.4% or 65/129) are used for the early projection function, which is similar to the prospective indexical function found in Conversations. Unlike Conversations, in Presentations, both disjointed and integrated forms of the *no-wa* cleft are used for this function. What seems to separate the two forms is the degree of plannedness. Speakers in this register have a freedom in how much and how well they prepare their presentations including preparing some type of script or notes. The following two segments, (32), an integrated type, and (33), a disjointed type, both have very long comment parts.

(32) Presentations: integrated cleft
えここであの数字を見るとお分かりになりますように大変特徴的な<u>のは</u> (0.4) 正答のリピートは(.) その教師の (0.2) 教師が入ったグループの方に多く (0.4) .hh 異なる正答の主張は (0.2) え: それに対し (.) 学習者同士の方にしか起こっていない (.) ということです.

e koko de ano suuji o miru to owakarininari-masu yooni taihen tokuchooteki-na <u>no wa</u> (0.4)
um here um number ACC see if understand-POL as very characteristic-ATT NML TOP
seitoo no ripiito wa (.) *sono kyooshi no* (0.2) *kyooshi ga hait-ta guruupu no hoo*
correct.answer GEN repeat TOP that teacher GEN teacher NOM participate-PST group GEN side
ni ooku (0.4) *.hh kotonaru seitoo no shuchoo wa* (0.2) *e: sore ni taishi* (.) *gakushuusha dooshi*
DAT many different correct.answer GEN argument TOP um that DAT against learner each.other
no hoo ni shika okotte-i-nai (.) *to iu koto desu.*
GEN side DAT only happen-ASP-NEG QT say NML COP

21

'Um as you can see um the numbers, what is very characteristic is that repetition of the correct answer was seen more in the groups of teachers, with teachers, and the argument for different correct answers were only seen in groups with just students.'

(33) Presentations: disjointed cleft
で最後ちょっと人数が減ってる<u>のは</u> .hh あの::: (0.8) おっ (0.2) あの:: 何て言うんでしょう (.) アルバイトで来てもらってますので: .hh 時間がちょっと過ぎたりして最後の検査が: .hhh あの:時間 .hh オーバーしてるので申し訳ありませんで帰っていただいた為にちょっと最後減ってしまいました.

de saigo chotto ninzuu ga hette-ru <u>no wa</u> .hh ano::: (0.8) o (0.2) ano:: nante iu-n dehsoo (.)and
last little number.of.people NOM decrease-ASP NML TOP um oh um what say-SE MOD
arubaito de kite-moratte-masu node: .hh jikan ga chotto sugitarishite saigo no kensa ga: .hhh
part.time by come-get-POL because time NOM little pass last GEN experiment NOM
ano: jikan .hh oobaashite-ru node moushiwakearimasen de kaette-itadai-ta tameni chotto saigo
um time go.over-ASP because I.appologize and go.home-get-PST because little last
hette-shimai-mashi-ta.
decrease-ASP-POL-PST

'And the reason why the number of people decreased at the end, um, oh, um, how do I say, because we had them come as part time work, it took too much time, the time exceeded the amount we had to do the last experiment, so I apologize, and because we had them go home, the number decreased.'

In the disjointed *no-wa* cleft (33), we see several fillers, re-starts, and a self-search. Though we also see a filler and a repair of a particle in the integrated cleft (32), the speaker of (33) seems to be talking more spontaneously than the speaker of (32). We can speculate that the speaker of the integrated cleft had a script or rehearsed the presentation, at least for the aforementioned portion. Despite these differences, the two examples share the function of early projection.

In Conversations the speakers use the *no-wa* topic clause to secure their floor and provide the addressee with an interpretive framework to understand and participate in the subsequent talk. In Presentations, on the other hand, the speakers do not have to secure their floor (as they are the sole speakers) and they do not have to involve the addressees, at least not in a direct manner. The speakers in Presentations use the *no-wa* cleft to state the main predicate early on, which enables the early projection of what is to follow and the main point of the current utterance. In a predicate-final language like Japanese, this early projection function (see Fox et al., 1996: 207−214) is especially useful in talking about complex ideas. The use of the *no-wa* cleft allows the speaker more flexibility in how the rest of the utterance unfolds as they do not have to keep in mind the appropriate predicate (i.e. the main point of the utterance), and this in effect lowers the speaker's cognitive load.[11] The early projection *no-wa* cleft appears in all sections of the academic presentations: introduction, background, data and methodology, findings, discussion, and conclusion, which demonstrates the usefulness of the construction in this register. Among these sections, the early projection *no-wa* cleft appears most frequently in the findings section, which generally deals with the most dense and complex information.[12]

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[11] It also helps the audience in comprehending the unfolding talk on a complex topic, but the primary motivation for the use of the *no-wa* cleft is cognitive rather than interactional/interpersonal.
[12] Some speakers interpreted the results as they reported them. I categorized these cases as belonging to the result section rather than the discussion section of their presentations.

As mentioned earlier in this section, the early projection function covers more than half of all *no-wa* clefts (50.4% or 65/129) in Presentations. Examples that are not mainly used for early projection are used to identify a (sub-)topic (20.9% or 27/129), present major findings/significant information (17.1% or 22/129), present supplementary/background information (6.2% or 8/129), and to express a contrast (5.4% or 7/129). Some of these functions share some characteristics with those found in other registers. The function of expressing a contrast was also seen in Conversations. The function of identifying a (sub-)topic is not seen in other registers within the current data, but it was one of the major functions identified in Sunakawa's (1995, 2005, 2007) essay and novel data.

Speakers in Presentations must deal not only with the temporal constraint of dynamic spoken language, as in Conversations, but also with the high cognitive load of delivering complex information on line. They are doubly concerned with lessening their cognitive load and presenting information as clearly as possible. The *no-wa* cleft seems to be a particularly useful grammatical/rhetorical resource to address these cognitive and presentational needs and concerns. In Presentations, the *no-wa* cleft is most commonly used to state the thrust of the current utterance early, and by doing so it lowers the cognitive load and warrants the speaker more time and flexibility in unfolding the rest of the utterance. The use of the *no-wa* cleft to identify (sub-)topics (and present background information) also helps with keeping the cognitive load low since the only new information is the (sub-)topic (or background information) and it allows the speaker more time to formulate the subsequent talk about the (sub-)topic (or the main part). The other uses of the *no-wa* cleft in Presentations seem to be motivated by the presentational concerns of the speaker to present information in a clear manner.

5. Discussion

As we saw in the previous section, various functions of the *no-wa* cleft construction are closely linked to the communicative purposes and needs of the registers. At the same time, some functions are found in more than one register and others share some characteristics. To see this more clearly and further explore their family resemblance relations, all functions identified from the four registers, as well as those found in the previous studies from essays and novels (Sunakawa, 1995, 2005, 2007), are listed under (34). The list is not meant to be exhaustive since it only reflects the set of data examined and analyzed in the present study. In parentheses, I indicate the functional level of the construction at work: local sentential level or global discourse level.

(34) Functions of *no-wa* cleft construction

News
- N1: Underlining temporal/numerical information (local)

Editorials
- E1: Main thesis signpost (global)
- E2: Situational framework (global)
- E3: Sequentially relevant information (local)
- E4: Underlining 'first time' information (local)

Conversations
- C1: Prospective indexical (global)
- C2: Calling attention (local/global)
- C3: Expressing contrast (local)
- C4: Performing repair (local)

Presentations
- P1: Early projection (global)
- P2: Identifying (sub-)topic (local/global)
- P3: Presenting supplementary/background information (local/global)
- P4: Presenting major findings/significant information (local)
- P5: Expressing contrast (local)

Essays/novels
- EN1: Closing topic (global)
- EN2: Situational framework (global)
- EN3: Introducing topic (local/global)

As noted earlier in the paper, local-level functions can be loosely grouped together under the general function of highlighting information. Similarly, all global-level functions can be related to each other by the general anticipatory function. All individual functions that belong to the general highlighting information function (N1, E3, E4, C3, C4, P4, P5) show local concerns of presenting information clearly and effectively by highlighting information in the comment position. Functions that are categorized under the global-level anticipatory function (E1, E2, C1, P1, EN1, EN2) show concerns beyond sentential level. Prospective indexical (C1) and Early projection (P1) in spoken registers utilize the two parts of the construction, that is, the *no-wa* topic clause and the comment, more or less disjointedly to perform the anticipatory function. Others, which are all in written registers, use the entire construction as an integrated unit. Situational framework (E2, EN2) contains simple information in the comment position, and the expressed information in the comment position is discussed in the immediately subsequent context. Main thesis signpost (E1) and closing topic (EN1) represent cases of retrospective anticipation. For example, when the main point of an editorial article, indicated or implied in the title, is paraphrased or explicated using the *no-wa* cleft, the readers can be said to have anticipated this statement as they would expect this type of article to be developed around a main thesis. In the function of closing a topic in essays, the readers can also be said to have retrospectively anticipated the closing of the particular topic while reading the preceding discourse. In this way, the (retrospective) anticipatory function contributes to the organization of discourse at the global level.

Four functions (C2, P2, P3, EN3) have not been discussed. These functions seem to be at work at both local and global levels. They highlight information in the comment position as other local level functions do, but the information also becomes the topic of the immediately subsequent discourse (P2, EN3), or the information is closely tied to the subsequent discourse through a subordinating relationship (P3). In the case of 'calling attention' (C2), the information is proposed as something that merits further talk, and in many cases, it is continued to be discussed in the subsequent discourse (as we saw earlier in (28)). The dual functionality is similar to how discourse makers such as *because* can simultaneously perform functions at local and global levels (Schiffrin, 2001:57−58). (35) is an example of 'identifying (sub-)topic' function from Presentations (P2). In this example, the *no-wa* cleft isolates and highlights the information in the comment position (the writer's workshop that the speaker used to go to). However, this is not the only function the construction plays here; it also projects the content of subsequent discourse. In this and other examples of the identifying (sub-)topic function, the identified (sub-)topic is discussed in the immediately subsequent discourse. This parallels the global anticipatory function of the *no-wa* construction.

(35) Presentations: identifying (sub-)topic

えこうした問題を耳に (0.2) するに付けて (.) 思い出す<u>のは</u> (0.3) 私がアメリカの大学院でよく通った (.) ライターズワークショップ (.) です .hh で: このライターズワークショップは・・・

e kooshita mondai o mimi ni (0.2) *suru ni tsukete* (.) *omoidasu <u>no wa</u>* (0.3) *watakushi ga*
um this.kind issue ACC ear DAT do DAT put remember NML TOP I NOM
amerika no daigakuin de yoku kayotta (.) *raitaazu waakushoppu* (.) *desu* .hh *de: kono raitaazu*
America GEN graduate.school LOC often attend writer's workshop COP and this writer's
waakushoppu wa ...
workshop TOP

'What I remember when I hear these kinds of problems is the writer's workshop I often went to at a graduate school in the U.S. And, this writer's workshop ...'

    Fig. 1 visualizes family resemblance relations among individual register-oriented functions. The codes refer to the functions listed in (34). Functions found in each register are vertically aligned (except for News since it only contains one function). The large circle on the left represents a set of global anticipatory functions and the one on the right represents a set of local highlighting functions. The four functions at the center within the overlapping area of two large circles (EN3, P2, P3, C2) work at both local and global levels. The smaller ovals with labels indicate that these individual functions share certain characteristics and thus form clusters.
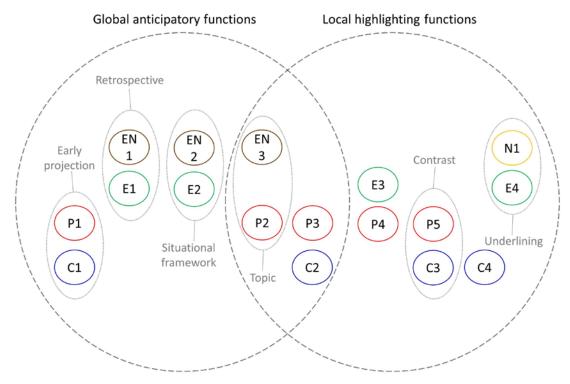

Figure 1. Family resemblance relations among the *no-wa* cleft functions

There are two clusters between Conversations and Presentations and between Editorials and Essays/novels, and one cluster between News and Editorials and between Presentations and Essays/novels. The clusters imply that the registers share similar communicative needs/purposes and/or situational characteristics/constraints. Both Conversations and

Presentations, for example, have the temporal constraints of delivering and processing utterances on line, which make the early projection function of the *no-wa* cleft useful. Editorials and Essays/novels, which form the cluster of Situational framework, share the characteristics of monological, planned texts, written from certain perspectives. The two registers can also contain a story-like segment within a larger context. Even these clusters, however, only represent partial overlaps. In the case of the Early projection cluster, for instance, disjointed forms are used in Conversations to engage the co-participants, while both disjointed and integrated forms are used in Presentations to lessen the cognitive processing load of the speaker. As stated in the introductory section, no single feature is found in all members of a family and shared features are similar but not identical.

6. Conclusions

The *no-wa* cleft is most useful in non-objective discourse with a higher level of complexity. Among the four registers examined, all but News represent non-objective discourse. In Editorials, the complexity comes simply from the complexity of information. In Conversations, the complexity arises from the temporal constraints and the need to engage the co-participant. In Presentations, it derives from both the complexity of information and temporal constraints. This dual layer of the complexity in Presentations makes the *no-wa* cleft especially useful in this register. It is important to make clear that there is no direct link between any register and the use of *no-wa* cleft. What speakers and writers attend to are specific communicative purposes under certain constraints from the immediate discourse environment; the *no-wa* cleft is one of the pragmatic and rhetorical resources that serve these purposes. The connection between form-function pairings becomes more strengthened as they are used repeatedly. Thus, if a communicative need of a register is highly specific and limited, and the same form is used for a purpose over and over again, the form-function paring may end up becoming a defining characteristic of that register (e.g. count routines in sports announcers' talk discussed in Ferguson, 1983). This study did not find this to be the case for the use of the *no-wa* cleft in the four registers. The findings of this study support the view that form and register are mediated by register-independent communicative functions (Matsumoto, 2015).

Seen from the perspective of register studies, the present study also sheds light on how situational characteristics at different levels of generality may be related to one another (see Biber, 1994: 34). For example, editorials and essays/novels may represent higher-level contexts consisting of a set of co-appearing, but not exclusive, situational characteristics. One of the situational characteristics they share is that of planned written story or narrative, which is found to be linked to the Situational framework setting function of the *no-wa* cleft. More register-based studies on various linguistic features will provide further insights into the role of context, at various levels, in form-function associations.

Appendix: Abbreviations and transcription conventions
Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	MOD	modal expression	PP	pragmatic particle
ASP	aspect	NEG	negative	PSS	passive suffix
ATT	attributive form	NML	nominalizer	QT	quotative particle
CLS	classifier	NOM	nominative	SE	sentence extender
COP	copula	PST	past	TOP	topic particle
DAT	dative	MOD	modal expression	VOL	volitional suffix

GEN   genitive   POL   polite suffix

Transcription conventions

[	the point where overlapping talk starts	=	'latched' utterances
(0.0)	length of silence in tenths of a second	?	rising intonation
(.)	micro-pause less than 2/10 of a second	.	falling intonation
::	lengthened syllable	,	continuing intonation
–	cut-off	.hh	audible in-breath

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