4 The grammar and discourse functions of Japanese cleft sentences

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Abstract

There are two types of Japanese cleft sentences: WA-clefts and GA-clefts. These have the following grammatical characteristics.

1) The predicate of a WA-cleft can either be a noun or a subordinate clause, whereas the predicate of GA-clefts is restricted to nouns.

2) Both WA-clefts and GA-clefts show a tendency for the predicate noun not to be accompanied by a *kaku-joshi* (case particle). However, this tendency is much stronger with GA-clefts than WA-clefts.

This paper aims to show that the above characteristics are not syntactic restrictions but preferred patterns of the use of cleft sentences in discourse.

I make the following two claims:

a) Japanese cleft sentences have two types of discourse function, namely 'focus-presentational function' and 'prominence-presentational function.'

b) The above-mentioned grammatical characteristics of WA-clefts and GA- clefts can be explained by their discourse functions.

1   Introduction

This paper focuses on the grammatical characteristics and functions of cleft sentences. It is argued that the characteristics of cleft sentences are not syntactic restrictions as has hitherto been claimed, but that these are the result of preferences in patterns of the use of cleft sentences in discourse. The paper thus claims that the grammar that is often regarded as arbitrary can have non-arbitrary characteristics underpinned by particular functions. There are two claims discussed in this paper:

a) Japanese cleft sentences have focus-presentational and prominence-presentational functions.

b) The grammatical characteristics of WA-clefts and GA-clefts can be explained by their discourse functions.

2   Definition of clefts

A cleft sentence may be defined as a copula sentence where the subject is a clause, and the predicate consists of a specific element within the clause, such as[1]:

(1) *Sono toki, fukai mori   no oku   kara   arawareta no <u>wa</u>,*
that time dense forest of depth from   appeared   NOM TOP
ippiki no kuma datta.
one   bear copula-PAST
'Just then, what appeared from the depths of the dense forest was a bear.'

(2) *Sono toki, fukai mori   no oku   kara   arawareta no <u>ga</u>,*
that time dense forest of depth from   appeared   NOM SUBJ
ippiki no kuma datta.
one   bear copula-PAST
'Just then, what appeared from the depths of the dense forest was a bear.'

These sentences share the same propositional meaning as the following sentence:

(3) *Sono toki,   fukai mori   no oku   kara ippiki no kuma ga arawareta.*
that time dense forest of depth from   one   bear SUBJ appeared
'Just then, a bear appeared from the depths of the dense forest.'

(1) and (2) take the subject of (3) *ippiki no kuma* (a bear) and place it in the predicate position, and use the clause *Sono toki, fukai mori no oku kara arawareta* (Just then, what appeared from the depths of the dense forest) as the subject. In this paper, WA-clefts are defined as sentences of the type shown in (1) that have …*no wa*…*da* and GA-clefts are defined as sentences of the type shown in (2) that have …*no ga*…*da*.

Previous research (including Kumamoto (1989), Sunakawa (1995) and Noda (1996)) has shown that the following differences can be found in the grammatical behaviour of WA and GA-clefts:

a)   WA-clefts can take subordinate clauses as their predicate but GA-clefts do not.

b)   The predicate noun of WA-clefts can take *kaku-joshi* (hereafter 'case particle')[2] but GA-clefts do not.

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1   The abbreviations in the glosses are:
NOM (nominalizer), TOP (topic), SUBJ (subject), OBJ (object), LOC (locative), Q (question marker)

2   *kaku-joshi* (case particle) consists of grammatical case particles such as '*ga* (SUBJ)', '*o* (OBJ)' and semantic case particles such as '*kara* (from)', '*made* (until)'. In this paper, *fukugō-ji* (compound particles) such as '*ni oite* (at)' and '*ni totte* (for)' are included in *kaku-joshi*.

In the next section, the above statements will be examined and it will be explained why a) is entirely plausible while b) requires some modification and further clarification.

3   Grammatical characteristics of WA-clefts and GA-clefts

3.1   Predicate type of WA-clefts and GA-clefts

In this paper, examples are taken from ten magazines, ten essays, three novels and two textbooks. As there is an abundance of examples of typical WA-clefts, and I would like to focus on the analysis of atypical WA-clefts, only a fraction of typical WA-clefts have been used and a search for examples has concentrated on atypical examples of WA-clefts. However, as the occurrence of GA-cleft is rare, I have collected and used all examples of GA-cleft found in the afore-mentioned materials. Table 3.1 shows the predicate type of the collected examples.

Typical type and atypical type of WA-clefts and GA-clefts are as follows:

A) Typical WA-clefts and typical GA-clefts are the ones whose predicate nouns are not accompanied by case particles.
B) Atypical WA-clefts are the ones whose predicate nouns are accompanied by case particles, or the ones whose predicates are subordinate clauses.
C) Atypical GA-clefts are the ones whose predicate nouns are accompanied by case particles.

Table 3.1. *Predicate type of WA-clefts and GA-clefts*

	Typical Type	Atypical Type			
	Noun	Noun + Case particle	Subordinate Clause	Adverbs	Total
WA-clefts	185 (84%)	11 (5%)	21 (10%)	3 (1%)	220 (100%)
GA-clefts	94 (99%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	95 (100%)

As stated above, not all WA-cleft examples of typical types are accounted for here. If all examples are taken into consideration, the frequency of WA-clefts is much greater.

Table 3.1 shows that the predicates of GA-clefts are mostly nouns, whereas WA-clefts have a variety of predicate types.

3.2   Use of subordinate clause as predicate

WA-clefts can use subordinate clauses as their predicate, as shown below:

(4) *Hitozato ni   kuma ga   arawareta   no   wa,   <u>mori ni   shokuryō ga</u>*
    settlement LOC bear SUBJ appeared   NOM TOP   forest LOC food   SUBJ
    <u>*fusoku shite   iru   tame*</u>   *da.*
    be short of because   copula
    'The reason why the bear appeared in the settlement <u>is because there was a</u>
    <u>shortage of food in the forest.</u>'

In case of GA-clefts, this is not permissible[3]:

(5) **Hitozato ni   kuma ga   arawareta no   ga,   <u>mori   ni   shokuryō</u>*
    settlement LOC   bear SUBJ appeared NOM SUBJ forest LOC   food
    <u>*ga fusoku shite iru tame*</u>   *da.*
    SUBJ be short of because copula
    '*The reason why the bear appeared in the settlement is <u>because there was a</u>
    <u>shortage of food in the forest</u>.'

As has been noted in previous research, and also in Table 3.1, subordinate clauses that take phrases such as …*tame* (because…), …*okage* (thanks to…), …*kara* (due to…) can only be used as predicates of WA-clefts and are not permissible in the case of GA-clefts.

The reason why GA-clefts cannot take subordinate clauses as predicates will be discussed in Section 5.2. and 5.3.

3.3   Use of case particles for predicate nouns

Predicate nouns of WA-clefts can take case particles as shown below:

(6) *Sono toki, ippiki no kuma ga   arawareta   no   wa,*
    that time   one   bear SUBJ appeared NOM TOP
    fukai   mori no oku   <u>kara</u> datta.
    dense forest of depth from copula-PAST
    'Just then, a bear appeared <u>from</u> the depths of the dense forest.'

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3   The symbol "*" denotes that the following sentences are not permissible.

As shown in (6), the predicate noun phrase '*fukai mori no oku* (the depths of the dense forest)' is accompanied by a case particle '*kara.*'

On the other hand, a GA-cleft sentence whose predicate noun accompanies a case particle as shown below may not be considered well-formed[4]:

(7) ? *Sono toki, ippiki no kuma ga   arawareta   no   ga,*
    that time   one   bear SUBJ appeared NOM SUBJ
    fukai mori no oku   kara datta.
    dense forest of depth from copula-PAST
    'Just then, a bear appeared <u>from</u> the depths of the dense forest.'

However, there are some instances where GA-clefts have their predicate nouns accompanying case particles and yet are still considered well formed.

(8) *Soshite sono kekka, futatabi Kanamaru-Tanabe rain ga   migoto ni*
    and   this result again   *Kanamaru-Tanabe* line SUBJ brilliantly
    kinō shita no ga, 58-nen 12-gatsu no kaisan-sōsenkyo
    functioned NOM SUBJ '58 December of general election after the dissolution
    <u>*ni oite*</u> *datta.*
    at copula-PAST

(*Bungei Shunjū*, Jan 1993)[5]

    'And as a result, when the Kanamaru-Tanabe line functioned brilliantly again was <u>at</u> the general election after the dissolution of the government in December '58.'

This example (8) contains the compound particle *ni oite* (at), which functions as a case particle, with the predicate noun *kaisan-sōsenkyo* (general election after dissolution of the government). Also, the following example is not considered ill formed:

(9) *Kanamaru ga   Tanabe o   mikagitta no ga,   masani sono riyū*
    Kanamaru SUBJ Tanabe OBJ severed NOM SUBJ very this reason
    <u>*de*</u> *datta.*
    for copula-PAST
    'Why Kanamaru severed the relationship with Tanabe was <u>because of</u> this very reason.'

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4   The symbol '?' denotes that the following sentences may be permissible but sound unnatural.

5   Indicated in parentheses are the sources of examples. Those that do not show the sources are examples composed by the author.

As shown in Table 3.1, out of the collected 95 examples of GA-clefts, there was only one example (example (8)) that contained a case particle with the predicate noun.

Although in cases of GA-clefts their predicate nouns seldom take case particles, under certain conditions well-formed sentences can be constructed.

On the other hand, WA-clefts have comparatively more examples that accompany case particles with their predicate nouns. But still, the number is limited. On examining examples of WA-clefts, it becomes clear that there are not as many examples of predicate nouns bearing case particles. As shown in Table 3.1, out of the collected 220 examples of WA-clefts, only 11 bore case particles with their predicate nouns, which represent a mere 5% of the total examples. As mentioned in 3.1, not all WA-clefts examples of typical types are accounted for here. If all examples are taken into consideration, the percentage will be much smaller than the 5% quoted here.

It is clear from these findings that not only GA-clefts but also WA-clefts seldom take case particles with their predicate nouns unless certain conditions are met.

Next, let us consider what sorts of conditions are necessary for predicate nouns to carry case particles.

3.4   Conditions for predicate nouns to carry case particles

First let us examine the following examples:

(10) *Jinkō-chinō   ni   rakkan-shugi ga   atta   no   wa*
    artificial intelligence LOC   optimism SUBJ existed NOM TOP
    1980-nendai made deshita.
    1980s   until copula-PAST

<div align="right">(Bungei Shunjū Jan 1993)</div>

    'People were optimistic about artificial intelligence <u>until</u> the 1980s.'

The underlined case particle of the above example can be removed and still remain well-formed:

(11) *Jinkō-chinō ni rakkan-shugi ga atta no wa 1980-nendai deshita.*
    'People were optimistic about artificial intelligence <u>in</u> the 1980s.'

The meanings of the two sentences are not the same. In the case of (10), a number of years prior to 1980 are included, while in the case of (11) only years in the 1980s are indicated. As shown here, by removing the case particles, the original meaning cannot be conveyed accurately.

Let us go back to the example of (8), relabelled here as (12).

(12) *Soshite sono kekka, futatabi Kanamaru-Tanabe rain ga   migoto ni*
     and   this result   again Kanamaru-Tanabe line SUBJ brilliantly
     kinō shita   no   ga,   58-nen 12-gatsu no kaisan-sōsenkyo
     functioned NOM SUBJ '58 December of general election after the dissolution
     <u>*ni oite*</u> *datta.*
     at   copula-PAST

<div align="right">(*Bungei Shunjū*, Jan 1993)</div>

   'And as a result, when the Kanamaru-Tanabe line functioned brilliantly again was
   <u>at</u> the general election after the dissolution of the government in December '58.'

The predicate noun *kaisan-sōsenkyo* (general election after dissolution of the government) does not only show the 'time' or 'place' but forms a combined and more abstract concept of 'aspect,' 'scene,' 'situation' and so on. It would appear that the reason why *ni oite* (at) is used in (12) is because, unlike simple 'time' or 'place,' without the case particle, the relationship between the noun *kaisan-sōsenkyo* (general election after dissolution of the government) and the predicate of the subject clause, *kinō shita* (functioned) is difficult to define.

From the above observations, it is possible to postulate that it is necessary to use case particles when the meaning is lost or the relationship between the noun and the predicate of the subject clause becomes vague without them. In any other circumstance, i.e., when the meaning is conveyed without the aid of a case particle, those case particles are usually omitted.

On the other hand, however, there are some cases as shown below where case particles are still used even though the relationship between the noun and the predicate is easily recognisable and the original meanings of the sentence can still be conveyed without using such case particles:

(13) *Odoroita   no   wa,   sono nedan no yasusa   ni desu.*
     surprised NOM TOP   this price of cheapness by copula

<div align="right">(Noda 1996)</div>

   'What I was surprised <u>by</u> was its cheapness.'

In this example, the original meaning of the sentence can just as easily be conveyed by removing the case particle *ni* (by) resulting in *odoroita no wa, sono nedan no yasusa desu* (What I was surprised by was its cheapness). Why then, was the case particle preserved? The answer to this question becomes apparent by observing the particular context of this sentence in the example.

This sentence was used in the second paragraph at the beginning of an essay as shown below.

(14) *Mirano shinai ni aru Aritaria no ofisu de kaimotometa passenjā-chiketto ni LIT2276000 to insatsu sarete iru no o mite, boku wa odorokimashita. Mirano-Roma-Tokyo no bizinesu kurasu, katamichi chiketto no nedan desu. Yōroppa no aru toshi made no katamichi chiketto o, Itaria kokunai de katta baai no nedan desu to ii naoshite mo yoi deshō.*

Odoroita no wa sono nedan no yasusa ni desu. 100-rira≒11.55-en to shite, 262,878-en desu. Ga, dentaku o tatakanaku tomo, 20-man-en-dai de aru koto kurai, dare ni datte wakarimasu. Nihon de katta baai, 405,400-en suru koto o shitte ita boku ga odoroita no mo muri arimasen, 142,522-en mo no sa ga aru no desu kara.

(Yasuo Tanaka *Faddish Kogengaku*, p.156.)

'I was surprised to find the price of LIT2276000 printed on the passenger ticket purchased at an Alitalia office in Milan. It was the one-way business class ticket for the route of Milan-Rome-Tokyo. Or, it may be rephrased as the price of a ticket between a city in Europe and Tokyo bought in Italy.

What I was surprised by was the cheapness of the price. Using the approximate rate of Lire 100 = Yen 11.55, it makes 262,878 Yen. Even without using a calculator, anyone can figure out that it is something between 200,000 and 300,000. It is not surprising that I was surprised at the figure, as I had known the price of such tickets in Japan to be 405,400 Yen if bought in Japan. The difference was 142,522 Yen.'

In the two paragraphs shown above, the first paragraph explains the surprise the author of the text felt upon seeing the one-way business class price for the route of Milan-Rome-Tokyo. The WA-cleft sentence in question is at the beginning of the second paragraph and it indicates that the reason why the author was astonished was the cheapness of the ticket. The content of the second paragraph beginning with this WA-cleft is that the tickets bought in Italy are much cheaper than those bought in Japan. The topic of this paragraph is the 'cheapness of tickets' and the same topic is carried on and on to the sixth paragraph. The reason why a case particle is used for the predicate noun in the cleft sentence at the beginning of the second paragraph is to emphasise the 'cheapness of the tickets' and by doing so, the topic 'cheapness of the tickets' becomes more prominent, so that it draws the attention of the listener and can be discussed for a length time in subsequent paragraphs.

Similarly, let us consider the GA-cleft example shown in (15):

(15) *Kanamaru ga   Tanabe o   mikagitta   no   ga,   <u>masani</u> sono riyū*
   Kanamaru SUBJ Tanabe OBJ severed NOM SUBJ very this reason
   de datta.
   copula-PAST
   'Why Kanamaru severed the relationship with Tanabe was because of this
   <u>very</u> reason.'

In this example, the predicate noun *sono riyū* (the reason) is emphasised by using the adverb *masa ni* (very), and this can be interpreted, by making the noun prominent, that it is made easier for the predicate of the GA-cleft to take on a case particle.

As in these examples, even for GA-clefts, if certain conditions are met, it becomes possible for their predicate nouns to accompany case particles.

As will be discussed in Section 5.3 in detail, predicate nouns in GA-clefts do not usually indicate other cases than the nominative or accusative. Out of 185 WA-clefts and 94 GA-clefts that belong to the typical type (cf. Table 3.1), the ratio of the GA-cleft examples which have predicate nouns other than nominative or accusative is 14%, which is much smaller compared to WA-cleft, where the ratio of predicate nouns other than nominative or accusative is 37%, as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. *Grammatical or semantic relations of the predicate nouns of WA-clefts and GA-clefts*

	Nominative/Accusative			Others					
	Nominative	Accusative	Total	Locative	Dative	Genitive	Time	Others	Total
WA-clefts	96 (52%)	21 (11%)	117 (63%)	9 (5%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	39 (21%)	17 (9%)	68 (37%)
GA-clefts	70 (74%)	11 (12%)	81 (86%)	0 (0%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	7 (7%)	4 (4%)	13 (14%)

This is the reason why example (7) given in the previous section, shown as (16) below, appears to be ill-formed. As shown below, the noun in the predicate, *oku* (depth), is ablative: an unusual case to appear in GA-cleft sentences.

(16) ? *Sono toki, ippiki no kuma ga   arawareta no   ga,*
      that time   one   bear SUBJ appeared NOM SUBJ
   fukai mori no oku   kara datta.
   dense forest of depth from copula-PAST
   'Just then, a bear appeared <u>from</u> the depths of the dense forest.'

If this sentence is modified by adding the phrase *nanto* (surprisingly, would you believe) it emphasises the situation, and given more dramatic contexts, it becomes more readily acceptable as a well-formed sentence:

(16') *Sono toki, ippiki no kuma ga   arawareta   no   ga,   <u>nanto,</u>*
     this time one   bear SUBJ appeared NOM SUBJ incredibly
     osoroshii majo ga   sumu to iu fukai mori no oku   kara datta.
     wicked witch SUBJ live   say dense forest of depth from copula-PAST
     'Just then, a bear appeared from, <u>incredibly</u>, the depths of the dense forest
     where that wicked witch was supposed to live.'

From the above, it is possible to conclude that regardless whether it is a WA or GA cleft sentence, so long as pragmatic conditions in discourse, such as when an important topic has to be emphasised and sustained in subsequent paragraphs or there is a need to emphasise the referent in the development of the discourse, it becomes possible for predicate nouns to accompany case particles.

In the following section, the grammatical similarities and differences in terms of WA-clefts and GA-clefts are discussed.

3.5   Differences and similarities of GA-clefts and WA-clefts

Grammatical similarities in both GA and WA clefts may be summarised as below:
i.   Predicate nouns of both cleft types can take case particles but occurrence rate is low.
ii.   In order for the predicate nouns of either cleft type to take case particles, the following discourse-pragmatic conditions must be met.[6]
    a)   When the relationship between the predicate noun and the predicate in the subject clause becomes unclear due to the absence of the case particle.
    b)   When the emphasis is to be added or attention is to be drawn to something.

As for differences, the following may be included:
iii. As predicates of WA-clefts, not only noun phrases but also subordinate clauses are used whereas in GA-clefts, only noun phrases are used.
iv.   The tendency of not having case particles in predicate nouns is stronger in the case of GA-clefts.

In the following section, the discourse functions of cleft sentences will be described. By doing so, it will become clear that the differences as listed in (iii) and (iv) are based on the difference in discourse functions of WA and GA-clefts. Furthermore, what used to be considered as restrictions at sentence level are in fact merely the manifestation of the patterns that are favoured in discourse.

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6   The examples of clefts that incorporate case particles (11 examples of WA-clefts and 1 example of GA-cleft) collected by the author were found to be all of the a) type. The example in (12) is a b) type example but was borrowed from Noda (1996).

4   Discourse functions of WA-clefts and GA-clefts

Both WA-clefts and GA-clefts can perform the function of focus presentation. On the other hand, there is a GA-cleft unique function of prominence marking. In the following section, these two functions are discussed in turn.

4.1   Focus-presentational function

The focus-presentational function is a function that fills the information gap between the speaker and the listener by providing the information that it lacks in the presupposition. For example, (17) is a sentence that is based on the presupposition and assertion given in (18):

(17) *Sono toki arawareta   no   wa   ippiki no kuma datta.*
this   time appeared NOM TOP one   bear   copula-PAST
'What appeared at that moment was a bear.'

(18) Presupposition: X appeared at that moment
Assertion: X is a bear

As shown above, a WA-cleft is a sentence where a proposition that contains a variable X ('open proposition' in Prince 1986) is the subject and its predicate is the focus, and the function of the cleft sentence is to assign a value to the variable by providing the focus information. In this paper, a function that fills the information gap between the speaker and the listener in communication is termed 'the focus-presentational function.' The focus-presentational function is, in other words, a function that provides information that is lacking in the proposition and by defining 'X is Y' in response to the question of what information X provides.

Next, let us examine the focus-presentational function of GA-cleft:

(19) *Soredewa, Nihon wa dō   darō   ka. / <u>Rēsen-go   no sekai   e no taiō</u>*
so   Japan TOP how copula Q   cold-war-post of world to of response
<u>*ni mottomo deokureta   no   ga   Nihon de aru*</u>[7].
to   most   slow in action NOM SUBJ Japan   copula

(Bungei Shunjū Jan 1993)

'So, how about Japan? / <u>The country that was the slowest in responding to the post cold war world was Japan.</u>'

7   The mark / denotes the end of a paragraph.

In this example, the GA-cleft sentence provides the answer 'being the slowest in responding to the post-cold war world' to the question of 'how about Japan?" The presupposition and the assertion may be summarized as below:

(20) Presupposition: Japan is X.
　　　Assertion:　　　The X is 'the slowest in responding to the post-cold war world.'

In summary, while the focus of WA-clefts is in the predicate, the focus of GA-clefts is in the subject. While the information of WA-clefts is presented in the sequence of 'presupposition → focus,' the information of GA-clefts is presented in the sequence of 'focus → presupposition.' These types of GA-clefts are also used to fill the information gap between the listener and the speaker, and therefore can be considered as sentences that perform a focus-presentational function.

4.2　Prominence-presentational function

Prominence-presentational function may be defined as a function that presents the referent prominently and draws the attention of the listener to it. This function is performed by GA-cleft sentences.

The underlined predicate noun, *ippiki no ōkina kuma* (a big bear), does not indicate the referent that has been conveyed from the previous discourse but the one that appears in this discourse for the first time.[8]

(21) *Watashitachi wa satsuei　o　akiramete, sono ba　o　tachisarō to shita.*
　　 we　　　　TOP shooting OBJ　gave up that place OBJ be about to leave
　　 Sono toki, mori　no oku　kara arawareta　no　ga,　　nanto
　　 that time forest of depth from appeared NOM SUBJ my goodness
　　 <u>*ippiki no　ōkina　kuma*</u>　*datta.*
　　 one　　　big　　bear　copula-PAST
　　 'We gave up shooting and were about to leave the place. Just then, what appeared from the depths of the forest was, oh my goodness <u>a big bear</u>.'

As shown in (21), the predicate nouns of the GA-clefts performing the prominence-presentational function indicate the referents in the current discourse for the first time. This is the essential difference with the type of GA-clefts performing focus-presentational function as shown in (19) where the predicate nouns are the presupposed information. Let us consider one more example of a typical prominence-presentational type:

8　(21) and (22) may be modified by replacing GA with WA forming WA-clefts. Please see Sunakawa (2005) pp.114-118 and pp.129-131 for an explanation of the differences between GA and WA-clefts.

(22) *Ningyo o meguru shinwa   ya   denshō wa,   sekaijū itaru tokoro ni*
mermaids about mythology and folklore TOP   world   all over   LOC
nokosarete iru ga, naka demo mottomo yūmeina   no   ga,
have been left but particularly most   famous   NOM SUBJ
<u>*Girisha-shinwa   no Sērēn   darō.*</u>
Greek mythology of Siren   copula

<div align="right">(*Estaminet* Dec 1991)</div>

'Mythology and folklore involving mermaids are found all over the world but
the particularly famous one may be the <u>Siren in Greek mythology</u>.'

Some have argued that these types of GA-clefts should be considered as topic-less
sentences (Shinya 1994, Noda 1996). However, these GA-clefts are not uttered without
any presuppositions and therefore must be based on the context of the discourse and
previous utterances. For example, looking at the sky and saying: *Ame ga futte kita yo* (It
has started raining!) may be quite plausible but: *futte kita no ga ame da yo* (What has
started falling is rain!) is not. It is because, unlike *genshōbun* (phenomenon descrip-
tive sentences) that describe an incident directly as presented, these are explanatory
type sentences that describe the situation arising from the presupposition based on the
preceding contexts and utterances.

The presuppositions of sentences of the prominence-presentational GA-clefts are
never presented explicitly as topics but implicitly contained within that which may be
called *jōkyō-indai* (situationally inferred topic). Situationally inferred topics are by defi-
nition topics that are hidden but if we were to describe them in words, they may take
the form as shown in the square brackets below:

(23) *Watashitachi wa satsuei   o   akiramete, sono ba   o   tachisarō to shita.*
we   TOP shooting OBJ gave up   that place OBJ be about to leave
[Soshite nani ga   okotta   ka to ieba]
and   what SUBJ happened   Q if say
Sono toki, mori no oku   kara arawareta no ga,   nanto
that time forest of depth from appeared NOM SUBJ my goodness
<u>*ippiki no ōkina   kuma*</u> *datta.*
one   big   bear   copula-PAST
'We gave up shooting and were about to leave the place. [And if we were to
talk about what happened next] Just then, what appeared from the depths of
the forest was, would you believe, <u>a big bear</u>.'

(24) *Ningyo o meguru shinwa   ya   denshō   wa,   sekaijū itaru tokoro ni*
     mermaids about mythology and folklore TOP   world   all over   LOC
     nokosarete iru ga,
     have been left but
     [Sorera no shinwa   ya   denshō   ni tsuite ieba]
     these   mythologies and folklores about   if say
     naka demo mottomo yūmeina   no ga,   Girisha-shinwa   no Sērēn darō.
     particularly most   famous   NOM SUBJ Greek mythology of Siren copula
                                                                    (*Estaminet* Dec 1991)

'Mythology and folklore involving mermaids are found all over the world but [if we were to talk about such mythologies and folklore] the particularly famous one may be the Siren in Greek mythology.'

As it is necessary for the listener to hear the situationally inferred topic in order to understand sentences like these, more inference by the listener is required. Consequently, the listener has to devote more energy on processing the sentence and as a result, the listener is forced into making a conscious effort to focus on the meaning of the sentence. This is how a meaning that is more than a simple proposition, i.e., the specific referent is marked and emphasized, is deciphered by the listener.[9]

It must be noted that in these types of cleft sentences, certain parts of the sentences are often marked and emphasized by adverbs or conjunctions, as in the case of examples such as *Mottomo yūmeina no ga* (the most famous one is) and *Mazu kangaerareru no ga* (For a start it may be considered) where the underlined part indicates their markedness (Amano, 1996). When certain aspects of subjects are marked this way, the listener pays more attention to the referent indicated by the predicate and as a result, the referent becomes the topic, and this topic retains its prominence in the subsequent discourse.

Hetzron (1971) argues that moving a specific element from its usual position to another results in selective 'presentative function.' The GA-clefts under investigation here increase the level of prominence of the referent of the predicate noun by not only moving the specific element to a sentence final position but also by introducing *jōkyō-indai* (situationally inferred topic) that requires extra effort on the part of the listener in deciphering the sentence, or by emphasizing certain parts of the sentences by adverbs or conjunctions, the referent of the predicate noun is made more prominent.

From the above, it is possible to postulate that prominence-presentational GA-clefts perform the role of taking the information given in the preceding discourse and then presenting the referent that becomes the topic in the subsequent discourse in such a way that leaves a distinct impression upon the listener.

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9   Please see Sunakawa (2005:118) for further discussion.

5   Topic development in discourse

In this section, focus-presentational functions of WA-clefts and the topic development of WA-clefts and GA-clefts are examined in order to explain the grammatical behaviours of both types of cleft sentences.

5.1   The focus-presentational function of WA-clefts

As discussed earlier, the main function of the structure of WA-clefts is focus presentation. The parameters of focus-presentational function, i.e., the function that determines the value of variable X and gives 'X is Y', are not restricted to those that seek specific referents by asking 'What is X?' or "Which one is X?' but include types that seek wide ranging answers such as causes, reasons and succession of events by posing questions such as 'Why X?' and 'X happens after what has happened?' and so on. WA-clefts can, therefore, seek not only the specific referent but also various different types of information, and answers to such questions are given in the focused predicate of the sentence. Consequently, not only nouns but various other expressions including subordinate clauses can form predicates of WA-clefts.

5.2   Topic development of WA-clefts

First let us examine cases of predicates being nouns. The following example has a noun as its predicate.

(25) <u>*Watashi to Amerika o   musubitsuketa no wa,   chichi   de aru*</u>.
I   and America OBJ linked   NOM TOP father copula
Kare wa Waseda no Seikei   o   sotsugyō-go,…
he   TOP Waseda of Politics and Economics OBJ graduated-after
(…description of father continues)

<div align="right">(Bungei Shunjū Jan 1993)</div>

<u>'Who linked me up with America was my father</u>. Having graduated from *Waseda* majoring in Politics and Economics, he…'

In this sentence, the predicate noun is a specific person, *chichi* (father). It is nominative in relation to the verb *musubitsuketa* (linked) within the subject clause, and plays the grammatical function of subject to the verb. With regard to semantic roles and grammatical functions of nouns, Givón (1995: 46) presents a topic hierarchy in the discourse.

(26) Topic hierarchy in case roles:
    a.   Semantic roles:
        Agent > Dative > Object > Locative > Instructive > Others
    b.   Grammatical roles:
        Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object

Following this hierarchy, *chichi* (father) in (25) is an agent, and as it is a subject of the verb in the clause, it is placed high in the topic hierarchy, and it is therefore expected that it will continue to be referenced in the subsequent discourse. Indeed, in this example *chichi* (father) is referred to as the topic in the subsequent discourse.

However, in a similar situation, there are some instances where the referent of the predicate noun is not carried on in subsequent discourse:

(27) *Tsui ni, to iuka, hatashite to iuka, waga mura   no sūpā   no tentō ni*
    finally   or   at last shall we say   our   village of supermarket of shop LOC
    doresu o   kita kyūri   ga   tōjō shita. <u>Saibai shite iru no wa,</u>
    dress OBJ wear cucumbers SUBJ   appeared   growing   NOM TOP
    <u>*tonari no   machi no seinen   de aru.*</u> */ Doresu to itte mo,   kifujin no*
    neighbouring town of young man copula   dress say though lady of
    yakaifuku   to itta   hade na   mono de wa nai.   Ga, sore demo,
    evening dresses say ostentatious thing copula-NEG but it   though
    nanttatte   kyūri   de aru
    whatever   cucumbers copula
                    (Soichi Yamashita *Mura ni fuku kaze, Shincho Bunko*, 1989)
    'Finally, or shall we say, at last, dressed cucumbers appeared at the counter of our village supermarket. <u>The person growing them is a young man from the neighbouring town</u>. / Though I call it a dress, it is not one of those ostentatious evening dresses a lady may wear. But, still, whatever one might call it, it is a cucumber.'

In respect to *tonari no machi no seinen* (a young man from the neighbouring town) being a person and the agent of the verb *saibai shite iru* (be growing) in the subject clause, this example is similar to (25). However the referent is not conveyed further and finishes within the current discourse. As seen in this example, in the case of WA-clefts, even those referents that are higher in the topic hierarchy are not always conveyed further as the topic of the subsequent discourse.

Furthermore, in the case of WA-clefts, it is not so rare that a referent lower in the topic hierarchy appears in the predicate, as the following example shows:

(28) *Sono hito   ga   norikonde kita   no   wa,   tashika* <u>*Shiogama*</u>
    that person SUBJ came on board NOM TOP   surely *Shiogama*
    datta   to omou.
    copula-PAST think

<div align="right">(TrainVert June 2003)</div>

'Where the person came on board was <u>*Shiogama*</u>, I'm almost sure.'

The semantic role of *Shiogama* in relation to the verb *norikonde kita* (came on board) in the subject clause is a 'place' and the grammatical role is neither subject nor object. Because of this, it is positioned low in the topic hierarchy. In this example, what is carried on to the subsequent discourse is not *Shiogama*, but the person who came on board.

As shown above, predicate nouns of WA-clefts are not always carried on to the subsequent discourse, and it is not rare that the referent indicated by the noun is dropped immediately after it is introduced in the discourse. Also to be noted is that nouns lower in the topic hierarchy can appear in predicates.

Next, let us consider cases of predicates being subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses represent events and attributions as well as the relationships between these subordinate clauses and the events and attributions of main clauses. When a certain concept is discussed as the topic of the discourse, it is more likely that the concrete referent will be conveyed further in the subsequent discourse rather than the abstract concept such as events, attributions and relationships (Chafe 1994: 67). Because of this, it is postulated that what a subordinate clause refers to may never become the topic of the subsequent discourse.

As predicted, among 21 examples where subordinate clauses form predicates, there was no sentence where the propositional content expressed in the subordinate clauses was conveyed further in the subsequent discourse, and in all examples what was found was the content left within the current discourse. An example of this is given below:

(29) <u>*Kaiga   ni tsuyoku hikareru yō ni natta no wa,   Hotta-tōdori   no otomo de*</u>
    paintings to strongly attracted became NOM TOP President Hotta's attendant
    <u>*yoku tenrankai   o   mi ni itta   sei   deshō.*</u> *Chichi ga yūzen shokunin,*
    often exhibitions OBJ see   went reason copula father SUBJ *Yuzen* artisan
    sobo   ga   makieshi   data   to iu kankyō   mo atta   ka
    grandmother SUBJ *Makie* artist copula-PAST say surroundings too existed Q
    to omoimasu. Saikin demo, yoku e   no tenrankai   ni wa   ikimasu.
    think   recently even often paintings of exhibitions to TOP go
    Senetsu desu ga,   yōga   ni kanshite wa   hanbun puro   o
    presumptuous though western painting concerning TOP semi professional OBJ

jinin shite imasu.
acknowledge myself

<div align="right">(<i>Be-Common</i> Dec 1991)</div>

'The reason <u>why I became very interested in paintings may be because I used to accompany President Hotta to exhibitions very often</u>. My father was a *Yuzen* artisan and my grandmother was a *Makie* artist and such a family background may have influenced me, too. Even now, I often go to exhibitions. Though I say so myself, I consider myself to be a semi-pro as far as western painting is concerned.'

From the information in the subordinate clause *Hotta tōdori no otomo de yoku tenrankai o mi ni itta sei* (Due to having accompanied President Hotta to exhibitions very often), only *tenrankai* (exhibition) is carried on in the subsequent discourse but the rest of the information is left within the current discourse. In addition to the fact that the meaning such as events, attributions, relationships presented by the subordinate clause is abstract, the high concentration of the information afforded by such subordinate clauses in comparison with nouns may also be the reason why the former cannot become the topic in subsequent discourse.

From these observations, it becomes clear that functions of WA-clefts are not primarily the introduction of the topic yet they perform other functions.[10]

5.3   Topic development of GA-clefts

As discussed in Section 4, there are two types of functions, namely the focus-presentational and prominence-presentational functions in GA-clefts. Out of 95 GA-cleft examples collected by the author, there were only five focus-presentational type sentences and the remaining 90 were prominent-presentational types. In case of all these 90 examples, the referent of predicate nouns was conveyed further in subsequent discourse. For example, in (30) below, *Kokuren Nihon seifu daihyōbu* (UN Japanese Government representatives) and in (31), *Zaōdō no gongyō* (divine services at the *Zaō* Temple) are conveyed further to the subsequent discourse.

(30) *Kono Kokuren ni taishi <u>Nihon seifu   o   daihyō suru no   ga*
this   UN   facing   Japanese government OBJ   represent   NOM SUBJ
<u>Kokuren–Nihon–seifu–daihyōbu</u>   de aru</u> ga, watashi wa soko   de
UN Japanese Government Representatives copula but I   TOP there LOC
1988-nen made no 3-nen kan, zaimu-tantō-ittō-shokikan
1988   until 3 years period the first secretary responsible for financial affairs

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10   Please see Sunakawa (2005: 112-131) for discussion on other functions of WA-clefts.

to shite kinmu shita.
as   worked

<div align="right">(Japan Essayist Club *Haha no Shashin, Bungei Shunjū* 1994)</div>

'Facing the United Nations, <u>what represents the Japanese government is the UN Japanese Government Representatives</u>, and this is where for three years until 1988, as the first secretary responsible for financial affairs, I worked. '

(31) *Soshite Yoshino   e haitte   ippaku shite,   <u>osusume na   no   ga</u>*
and   Yoshino to entered stayed overnight recommend   NOM SUBJ
<u>*sōchō   6-ji goro   ni   hajimaru Zaōdō   no gongyō.*</u>
early morning 6 o'clock around   start   *Zaō* Temple of service
Horagai   to   taiko   to   okyō   to   sore   wa subarashii desu.
conch horns and drums and sutra chanting that TOP wonderful copula

<div align="right">(*Katei Gahō* Jul 1991)</div>

'And getting to Yoshino and spending a night, <u>what is recommended is the divine service at the *Zaō* Temple that starts in the early morning around 6 o'clock</u>. Conch horns, drums, and sutra chanting; it's wonderful.'

The above observation indicates that prominence-presentational GA-clefts are used to introduce new referents, the referents that are introduced to the discourse for the first time and will be conveyed further to the subsequent discourse. Therefore, the referents of predicate nouns of prominence-presentational GA-clefts are 'New Topics' of the discourse.

On the other hand, the referents of predicate nouns of focus-presentational GA-clefts are the ones that follow from the previous discourse. Therefore, they are 'Old Topics' of the discourse.

Though there are such differences, in the case of both types, the referent of the predicate noun represents the topic of the discourse.

The grammatical characteristic of 'only nouns but not subordinate clauses being used for the predicate of GA-clefts' is attributed to the fact that predicates are the position that represents the topic of discourse that has been derived from the previous discourse, or is to be conveyed to the subsequent discourse. As discussed earlier, what is conveyed further as the topic of discourse is neither an event, an attribute or a relationship but the referent. Because of this, subordinate clauses are not used in predicates of GA-clefts. Instead, nouns are used in predicates.

Furthermore, this also explains the other characteristic of GA-clefts, where the tendency of the predicate nouns not accompanying case particles is particularly prominent in these constructions. In case of WA-clefts, predicate nouns do not always become the topic of discourse. On the other hand, predicate nouns in GA-clefts are always the

topic of discourse. This difference leads to the discrepancy in the way each type associates itself to the position within the topic hierarchy. In other words, the predicate nouns in GA-clefts that represent the discourse topic tend to associate themselves with higher ranking cases such as nominative and accusative in comparison with predicate nouns of WA-clefts that do not necessarily represent the discourse topic. Grammatical cases such as nominative and accusative are, unlike semantic cases such as instrumental and ablative, either cannot or do not normally take case particles when they are incorporated in the predicate of the cleft sentences. As a result, there are very few examples of GA-cleft predicate nouns taking case particles.

6   Skewed patterns of cleft sentences

As discussed earlier, WA-clefts are manifested in two types: "…WA + Noun + *da*" and "…WA + Subordinate clause + *da*" but in case of GA-clefts, in the examples found nouns were always contained but never subordinate clauses. Both types tend not to take case particles with their predicate nouns but the tendency is more apparent in the case of GA-clefts. In other words, GA-cleft distribution is skewed and most examples are found in the form of "…GA + Noun + *da*" and not in the form of "…GA + Noun + Case particle + da", and never in the form of "…GA + Subordinate clause + *da*." It is claimed in this paper that this phenomenon is not based on the restrictions at the sentence level but merely the patterns favoured by speakers in discourse depending on the differences of the functions of the two cleft sentence types. Based on the arguments thus far, the claims made in this paper and justifications for them are summarized below.

For WA-clefts having a focus-presentational function, it is possible for them to present a variety of information in the predicate, which is the focus. Because of this, not only nouns but subordinate clauses can take the predicate position.

GA-clefts have both focus-presentational and prominence-presentational functions. In case of GA-clefts with focus-presentational function, predicate nouns represent 'Old Topics' that have been carried forward from the previous discourse. On the other hand, in the case of prominence-presentational type of GA-clefts, predicate nouns represent 'New Topics' that are carried forward to the subsequent discourse. In summary, GA-clefts, whether they are focus-presentational or prominence-presentational, the referent of the predicate is always the discourse topic. Referents of nouns that represent relatively simple and concrete concepts such as inanimate objects or people are easier to convey as the topic of discourse, but abstract concepts such as events, attributes and relationships are not. Because of this, the predicates of GA-clefts are always nouns, and subordinate clauses are never used.

As for predicate nouns that present a topic, there is a tendency to use for nominative or accusative cases that are high in the topic hierarchy. Because nominative or accusative cases are clearly decipherable in terms of semantic roles, GA-clefts seldom accompany case particles in their predicate nouns.

7   Conclusions

Sentence patterns that are used frequently in discourse are gradually fixed and automated and enter higher-level grammar with distinctive regulatory power. Ohori (2004) points out that it is possible for grammaticalization to be found not only at the morphological or lexical level but also at the sentence level. The clefts examined in this paper are sentences that gradually form specific patterns based on functions performed in the discourse. These sentences may be considered as examples of day to day usage in discourse which encourage the development of certain patterns, making them fixed and automated, representing an example of sentence level grammaticalization.

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要旨（Abstract in Japanese）

「日本語の分裂文の文法と談話における機能について」

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　分裂文にはハ分裂文「〜のは〜だ」とガ分裂文「〜のが〜だ」の2種がある。これらは述語に従属節を用いることが出来るかどうか、あるいは、述語名詞が格助詞を伴うことが出来るかどうかという点で異なった振る舞いを見せる。

　本稿は、分裂文に見られる以上の相違に着目し、文レベルの制約だと思われていた現象が、談話において好まれて用いられる「型」の現れにすぎないものであることを述べる。

　本稿の主張は、以下の2点である。

① 分裂文は焦点提示機能と特立提示機能という2種の談話機能を持つ。

②　ハ分裂文とガ分裂文の文法的な振る舞いの異なりは両分裂文の談話機能によって説明できる。