



Japanese Case Marker Elision in Contexts of Varied Emotive Intensity: The Grammar-Pragmatics Interface¹

JUNKO BABA

University of South Carolina, Department of Languages,
Literatures and Cultures.

ABSTRACT

This empirical study demonstrates how Japanese Case Marker Elision (CME) is affected by the emotive intensity of spoken discourse in various casual and formal situations. Among the sociopragmatic variables that determine the emotive intensity of the discourse, 'interaction' is found to be most remarkable in CME, followed by 'positive politeness' and 'subjectivity'. Exceptional cases of CME superseding the grammatical constraints that ordinarily prohibit CME were found in extremely intensified affective speech and in presentational monologues that are analogous in style to newspaper headings. For the qualitative analysis of CME, use has been made of Discourse Analysis.

KEYWORDS

case marker elision,
emotive intensity,
sociopragmatic
variables,
grammar-pragmatics
interface

1. Introduction

Linguistic expression of affect has received serious academic attention in recent decades (Irving 1982; Ochs & Schieffelin 1989; Besnir 1990; Iwasaki 1993; Maynard 1993, 2003; Takami & Kuno 2006). In the present study, affect (or emotivity) refers to the speaker's "feelings, moods, dispositions, and attitudes associated with persons and/or situations" (Ochs & Schieffelin 1989: 8). The study of the linguistic expression of affect is especially important for the Japanese communication style, which is characterized by an emphasis on the attitude of speakers when they are sharing emotion and feelings with their interlocutors (Maynard 1993).

This study focuses on the controversial linguistic phenomenon of case marker elision (CME), one of a number of linguistic devices that can express affect. Morpho-syntactically, the Japanese Noun Phrase (NP) is marked primarily with post-nominal particles, such as the ones studied in this paper: the nominative case marker *ga*, the topic marker *wa*, and the accusative case

Correspondence: Junko Baba, email: BabaJunko@hotmail.com

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marker *o*.² Although absence of these case markers makes formal writing ungrammatical, it has been generally observed in past studies that they may be frequently omitted in spoken discourse, significantly on account of speakers' affective dispositions.

However, no systematic studies have been done to identify the type of spoken discourse in which CME takes place, in particular the degree to which case marker omission occurs in conjunction with the various sociopragmatic situational contexts of spoken discourse; past studies have mostly relied on hypothetical, contrived data or on natural spoken data collected from casual conversations or the media.

The present integrated empirical study explores how emotive intensity within different sociopragmatic contexts affects CME, while also clarifying the elusive concept of emotivity in discourse and providing a hypothetical model for the grammar-pragmatic interface.

1.1. CME vs the Empty Case Marker Controversy

There has been some controversy over whether it is CME or the empty case marker that is, in fact, the independent morpho-syntactic entity. Most major past studies claim that the absence of particles is attributable to case marker elision (Kuroda 1966; Martin 1975; Saito 1983; Kuno 1973; Tsutsui 1983; Makino & Tsutsui 1983; Fukuda 1993; Kageyama 1993; Makino 2003; Clancy & Downing 1987; Masunaga 1987; Fujiwara 1992; K. Lee, 2002; Takami & Kuno 2006). The concept of CME seems to be derived primarily from the premise that case markers are inherently morpho-syntactic phenomena characteristic of agglutinative languages.

The above studies suggest that CME can be explained by the retrievability of the case marker, which is made possible either by the canonical syntactic position of the NP within SVO or the availability of referents in terms of function (Masunaga 1987; Takami & Kuno 2006). Masunaga (1987: 153) also observes that the deletion of the nominative case marker *ga* is possible due to emotive factors. For example, the nominal case marker *ga* can be omitted when it is followed by a predicate with additional emphatic final particles such as *zo*, *yo* and *ne*, as in the sentence such as *Oya, ame (Øga) futteru yo/zo/ne* ('Oh it's raining!'). This is explained by the defocusing of the pertinent NP for the nominal case marker, while the VP in the predicate is more focused. Takami & Kuno (2006) further generalize the CME rules, claiming both the retrievability of the case marker and/or the high emotivity of the discourse as major factors.

Conversely, other studies adopt a null hypothesis, which holds that empty particles are independent grammatical entities which have both grammatical and expressive functions (Niwa 1989; Otani 1995; Maruyama 1995; D-Y. Lee 2002; Saegusa 2005; Shimojo 2005). These authors' major claim derives from the fact that some sentences can be ill-formed with any case markers, while empty particles are grammatically unmarked "with respect to the logical relationship between NPs" (D-Y. Lee 2002: 662), for example, when the statement *Gohan (Ø) tabenai* ('I don't eat dinner') is uttered in a situation where the speaker is upset. D-Y. Lee (2002) claims that in this case only the empty particle is appropriate, because the 'normal' accusative marker *o* would

²The topic marker *wa* is treated as a case marker in this study, based on the morphological consideration that the topic marker *wa* is part of the NP, semantically 'empty', and can be dropped like other case markers. By contrast, post-nominal particles such as *de*, *kara*, *e* which bear inherent meanings comparable to English prepositions such as 'at,' 'from,' and 'to' cannot be dropped (Tsujimura 2014: 134).

denote the simple fact, whereas the topic marker *wa* could have a contrastive meaning, implying that the speaker does not eat the meal in question, but does eat something else.

It should be noted, however, that the same utterance in a written narrative,³ when including emotive context and emotional involvement of the writer, requires the case marker *o*; here, CME would be ungrammatical:

- (1) *Taro wa okotte gohan o tabenakatta.*
 Taro TOP upset meal ACC eat-NEG-PAST
 ‘Taro was upset and did not eat dinner.’

Likewise, it would also be unnatural to use CME within the embedded sentence in the context of hearsay with a third person in the spoken discourse, as will be discussed later. Therefore, it is difficult to consider the empty marker as an independent entity with grammatical and expressive functions.

Others go a step further in the null-hypothesis and claim that empty particles are in fact a default phenomenon in spoken conversation and that case markers are inserted for pragmatic reasons (Ono & Thompson 2000; Fujii & Ono 2000; Yasutake 2012). Their main claim is that high frequency in the use of empty particles is evidence that they are the default and hence unmarked. These authors postulate that case markers are inserted as a result of speaker’s pragmatic focus, due to new information or emphasis. Part of their justification for this claim is that written language, being a different register, requires a full-fledged grammar. They assert that in their present form, the case markers became required when Japanese established its literacy, based on intensive borrowing from Chinese in the 5th century A.D., or even later; e.g. for the nominative case marker *ga* as late as the 19th century (Ono & Thompson 2000: 79), due to “the establishment of new norms triggered by contact with Western languages” (Fujii 1991: 286-287). Reviewing the history of the Japanese language, Yasutake (2012: 86) claims that the particles *wa*, *ga*, and *o* were “originally ecphrasis (exclamation, rushes of emotion without much semantic content), which were somewhat like sentence final particles in present day Japanese”. Therefore, Yasutake claims, the use of the case marker in conversation is marked to “give prominence” to the discourse, rather than being used for grammatical reasons.

In contrast to this, Wolf (1989: 281) found that the syntactic functions of the topic marker *wa* in Modern Japanese are also in evidence in Old Japanese, though they are used there “more as a local phrase marker than as a topic marker”. Anderson (2013: 55) also admits that the grammatical function ‘accusative’ has existed since Old Japanese; its (interjectional) usage is “limited to OJ [Old Japanese] and EMJ [Early Modern Japanese]”. Nothing can be said definitively without more extensive diachronic research; yet it seems plausible, also in light of the relative flexibility of Japanese word order, that the morpho-syntactic function of case markers has existed from early on.

³Tannen notices that story narrative in creative writing can “make a use of features associated with oral language because it depends for its effect on interpersonal involvement or the sense of identification between the writer or the characters and the reader” (Tannen 1982: 14). However, even in creative writing with fictitious interpersonal involvement, CME seems to be ungrammatical in Japanese, though it seems possible in the social media such as e-mail, where there are interactive interlocutors present.

It should be noted, however, that the case markers' early exclamatory nature seems to best explain how their original function has been grammaticalized historically, as in the case of the functional grammatical constraints of *ga* used in the 'exhaustive listing' of the subject (to be discussed later; see note 4 and the reference to Ono & Thompson 2000).

Tsutsui (1983: 239) analyzes CME that resorts to both morpho-syntactic and discourse related conditions. The former refer to the form or structure of the language, whereas the latter refer to the language function. Tsutsui (1984: 144) warns that "syntactic particle ellipsis and conversational particle ellipsis should be distinguished in the particle ellipsis studies in Japanese".⁴

Regardless of the different grammatical theories of case markers, "there are no conditions which obligatorily ellipst particles in conversation" (Tsutsui 1984: 144), while the case marker is obligatory in formal written language because any missing case markers can be ungrammatical. Empty particles cannot be obligatory even in casual conversation since certain grammatical constraints disallow the use of empty particles and require case marking. Furthermore, the inconsistent use of CME across the sociopragmatic contexts in spoken Japanese, along with its variable frequency across the different case markers shown in this study, also are cases in point.

1.2. The Grammar-Pragmatics Interface Hypothesis and a Model

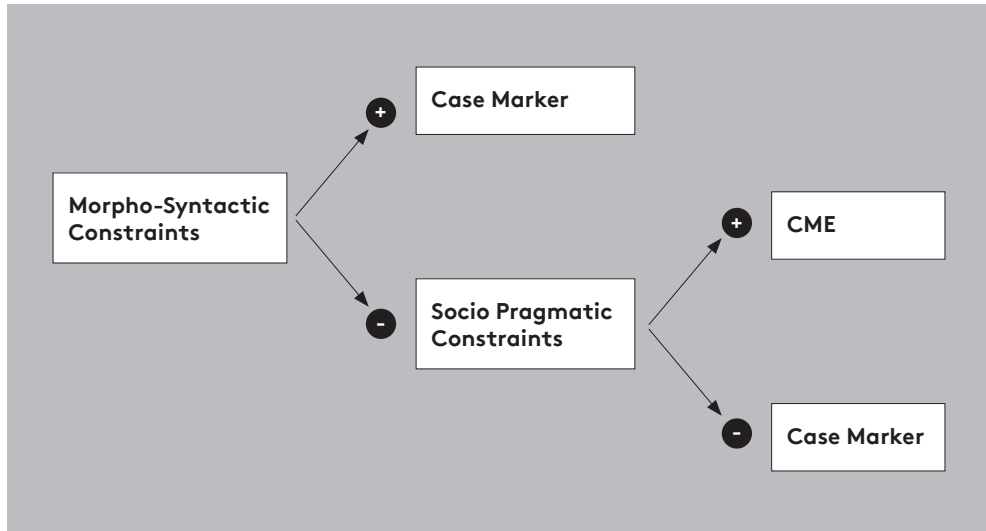
As discussed above, there are grammatical constraints on the use of CME, regardless of the grammatical theories; their different positions on omission and empty particles notwithstanding, they fundamentally agree that the emotive factor, in addition to the informationally motivated factor, could motivate or even encourage the use of CME in certain pragmatic contexts.

Therefore, the use of CME can be determined using a processing model with two sequential filters, as shown in Figure 1: (1) the morpho-syntactic constraints, and (2) the pragmatic conditions. If there are no morpho-syntactic constraints and the socio-pragmatic conditions are met, it is possible to use CME. While in principle, the basic grammatical constraints are supposedly constant across the different discourse types, the model provides the basic pragmatic conditions that allow or even encourage CME.

The present paper first reviews past studies of CME and discusses grammatical constraints which disallow CME, as well as examines the pragmatic conditions under which it is allowed. It then provides a theoretical construct for the linguistic expression of affect in the sociopragmatic context on which this study is based. Finally, we discuss the results of experimental research conducted to generate empirical data for analysis of CME in different speech situations and in contexts in which the expected emotive level of the discourse varies.

⁴The question rather seems to be which analytical model is being used: generative grammar versus functional grammar (both of which have been applied in Japanese linguistics). Morpho-syntactic theories centering around generative grammar hypothesize that syntactic "knowledge, use and acquisitions is largely subconscious" (see Roberts 1994, quoted in Sharwood Smith & Truscott 2010: 130). Grammatical constraints that disallow CME within an embedded sentence derive from innate structure built into the native speaker's subconscious knowledge. In contrast, functional grammar is "conceived in terms of the discourse functions from which it can be said to have emerged" (Thompson 2003: 54). For example, Ono & Thompson (2000) explain how the emphatic function of the nominative case marker *ga* can be grammaticalized into the *ga* that is used when one wants to qualify a subject as 'exhaustively' listed (meaning that there is only one of the kind).

FIGURE 1: A PROCESSING MODEL OF CME



2. Grammatical constraints on CME

The discussions in this study will be limited to the nominative case marker *ga*, the topic maker *wa* and the accusative marker *o*. The morpho-syntactic and functional aspects of the grammatical constraints on CME will be discussed separately in the following subsection, in order to distinguish the grammatical constraints of syntactic structure in generative grammar from the grammaticalized discourse/functional aspects in functional grammar.

2.1. Morpho-Syntactic Constraints of CME

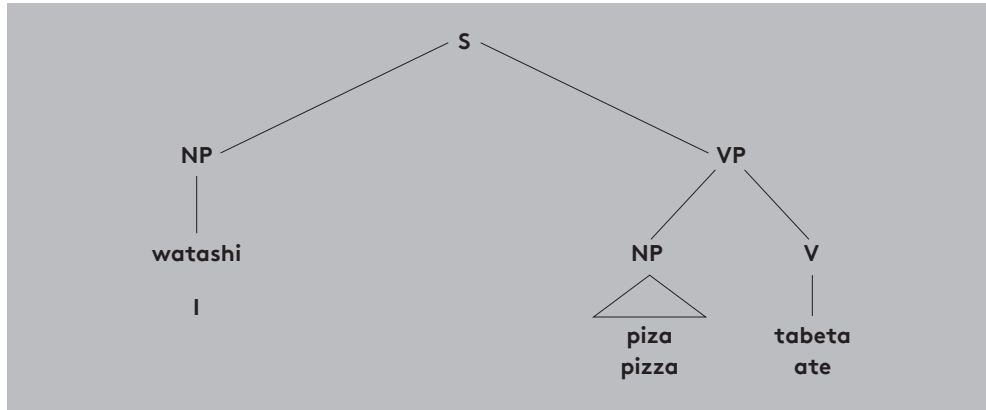
The basic grammatical function of the case marker is to clarify the logical connection between syntactical constituents. Therefore, CME is not allowed where it would make the sentence either incomprehensible or ambiguous because the syntactic logical relationship is lost.

As initially studied in generative grammar (Kuroda 1966; Kuno 1973), case markers were considered an inherently morpho-syntactic phenomenon (Sobin 2011). In Japanese, the syntactic derivation of these inherited case markers at the Deep Structure level is marked on the surface level by morphemic elements such as case markers. Since these morphemic case markers are under the constraints of the Case Filter, their absence is regarded ungrammatical under normal circumstances (Sobin 2011; Marantz 1991; Harley 1995; McFadden 2004; Sigurðsson 2003).

In the normal, canonical Japanese word order SOV, the accusative case marker *o* was found to be relatively easy to omit, due to the syntactic position of the referent NP under the predicate VP. For example, in a sentence such as *Watashi wa piza (Oo) tabeta* ('I ate pizza'), uttered in re-

sponse to a question such as ‘What did you eat at our party yesterday?’, the accusative marker has been omitted, as shown in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2: SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF ‘I ATE PIZZA.’



As shown in Figure 2, *pizza* (‘pizza’), the NP in the accusative position, is under the direct control of the predicate VP and adjacent to the verb *tabeta* (‘ate’). The sentence’s syntactic cohesiveness being clear, the accusative marker may be deleted in spoken discourse (Kuno 1973; Tsusui 1983; Maruyama 1995; Noda 1996), especially when the NP is not in focus (Makino 2003: 23). Martin (1975: 65) states that while the accusative marker *o* is often dropped, especially in dialects, the subject particle *ga*, on the other hand, is omitted somewhat less frequently, and the so-called topic *wa* even less frequently.

When word order is not canonical, CME can be disallowed, however. For contrast between canonical order (2a) and scrambled order (2b) observe the following:

- 2a. *John ga dare (Ø) nagutta no?*
 John who hit-PAST Q
 ‘John hit who?’
- 2b. **Dare (Ø) John ga nagutta no?*
 who John NOM hit PAST Q
 ‘Who hit John?’

In case of the scrambled order (b), the direct object *dare* (‘who’) of the main verb *nagutta* (‘hit’) moves up to the initial position in the sentence and is no longer adjacent to the main verb, which disallows CME (Fukuda 1993).

Likewise, Tsutsui (1983: 199), in his “last NP condition” on NP-*ga* elision, states that NP-*ga* elision is “the least unnatural in terms of the position of the NP-*ga* if the NP-*ga* in a clause is overtly or covertly preceded by another NP and immediately followed by its predicate”. Therefore, the phrase *Kimi ate ni gakko e tegami (Øga) todoite ita yo* (‘A letter has arrived at school for you’) is more natural than *Tegami (?*Øga) kimi ate ni gakko e todoite ita yo*. Thus, CME is possible when the case NP-*ga* with the noun *tegami* (‘letter’) is adjacent to the verb *todoku* (‘arrive’) in the predicate VP.

Other studies observe that within embedded (e.g. relative) clauses, case markers in external NPs cannot be omitted (Maeda 1998). For example, in the sentence [*Senshuu Taro ga (*Øga) ijimeta*] *ko wa Jiro datte* (‘I heard that the child [whom Taro bullied] was Jiro’), omitting the nominative case marker *ga* in the relative clause (indicated with brackets) could conceivably lead instead to the reading ‘the child who bullied Taro.’ Therefore, it requires a case marker to avoid ambiguity.

Likewise, Saito (1983) observes that the accusative marker *o* in the scrambled NP within the noun-modifying clause cannot be omitted as shown in the sentence *Sono hon (*Øo) Mary ga ageta hito wa Tom desu* (‘The person who Mary gave that book was Tom’). It seems most plausible that case markers within embedded clauses outside the matrix sentence tend to be marked with case markers owing to the logical connection.

2.2. Functional Constraints of CME

In the subject position, the nominative case marker *ga* has two functions: the descriptive *ga* refers to new information about the subject, while the exhaustive listing *ga* refers to the restrictive meaning: ‘X and only X’. The topic marker *wa* can be placed after the first NP of the sentence, yet it functions anaphorically as old information (Kuno 1973), meaning ‘speaking of X’. Finally, the contrastive *wa* presupposes a comparison of two or more references or an implied comparison. The accusative marker is normally *o*.⁵

Most studies agree that in a matrix sentence, certain case markers are obligatory, such as (1) the exhaustive listing *ga* (Takami & Kuno 2006; K. Lee 2002; Miyamoto et al. 1999; Kuno 1973), and (2) the contrastive *wa* (Takami & Kuno 2006; Clancy & Downing 1987; Masunaga 1987; Maeda 1998; Kurosaki 2007; Shimojo 2005). Other studies claim that the descriptive *ga* is most likely required under normal circumstances (Kuno 1973). First, observe the following example of the use of the exhaustive listing *ga* (cf. Takami & Kuno 2006):

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--|---------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| (3) | A: | <i>Dare</i> | <i>ga</i> | <i>ichiban</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>ga</i> | <i>takai?</i> |
| | | who | NOM | most | height | NOM | high |
| | | ‘Who is the tallest?’ | | | | | |
| | B: | <i>Jiro</i> | <i>ga(*Ø)</i> | <i>ichiban</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>ga</i> | <i>takai.</i> |
| | | Jiro | NOM | most | height | NOM | high |
| | | ‘Jiro (and only Jiro) is the tallest.’ | | | | | |

⁵The limited use of the accusative case marker *ga* is beyond the scope of this study and therefore has been excluded from the data.

In this example, an exhaustive listing *ga* appears in the question, ‘Who is the tallest?’. The answer is that ‘It is Jiro’ (and only Jiro). This restrictive use of ‘it is only Jiro’ is new indispensable information, which requires the exhaustive listing *ga* and does not allow CME.

Next, case marker requirements in the case of the contrastive *wa* will be examined. In the following example, observe how the omission of the contrastive case marker *wa* can lead to an ill-formed sentence (cf. Masunaga 1987):

- (4) *Hanako wa(*Ø) osushi o John wa(*Ø) suteeki o tabeta.*
 Hanako CON sushi ACC John CON steak ACC ate
 ‘Hanako ate sushi and John ate steak.’

Example 4 should make clear that it is Hanako who ate sushi and it was John who ate steak. Therefore, the contrastive *wa* seems logically necessary; otherwise the contrast in meaning is blurred. Likewise, the contrastive *wa* can be used when contrastive meaning is implied within the context (as in the example of Figure 2). Among all the instances of *ga* and *wa* in casual conversation, Yamada & Nakagawa (1995:38) found that the exhaustive listing *ga* constitutes 55% of the occurrences of *ga*, while the contrastive *wa* is used in 62.2% of the *wa* occurrences. The relatively frequent appearance of these case markers in the data as marked forms shows that the grammatical restrictions of CME are not affected by the pragmatic conditions of the spoken data.

In sum, CME is subject to grammatical constraints and is allowed when the meaning and syntactic structure are not affected by the elision (Saegusa 2005; D-Y. Lee 2002; Makino & Tsutsui 1983; Kuno 1973; Martin 1975).

3. Pragmatic Conditions for CME

The pragmatic conditions affecting CME will now be examined. In general, one condition is that the case marker is not needed, due to the relative unimportance of the information in the referent NP. Influential factors here are: (1) visual availability of the referent at the time of uttering, such as being pointed out by the demonstratives ‘this’ and ‘that’ or ‘here’ and ‘there’ within a ‘here and now’ context (Kageyama 1993; Makino 2003; Takami & Kuno 2006; Kurosaki 2003; Saegusa 2005); (2) accessibility of the ‘old information’ shared between interlocutors or contextually presupposed (Tsutsui 1983; Shibamoto 1990; Kageyama 1993; Makino 2003; Takami & Kuno 2006); and (3) emotive intensity adjustment in the discourse, where CME has a softening or signaling function. It should be noted that conditions (1) and (2) are contingent on the availability of retrievable information when CME takes place within a ‘here-and-now’ context or within preexisting shared information; in both cases, the CME is informationally motivated. On the other hand, the last condition, (3), refers to the speaker’s intention and his/her emotive control of the degree of intensity in the information (which needs to be adjusted and balanced to realize the softening and signaling effects of a CME).

Previous studies have observed two kinds of emotive intensity adjustments: the one happens when the focus of the referent NP in the subject position is being shifted to the predicate VP

(Makino 2003; Takami & Kuno 2006), as in the example above (*Oya, ame (Øga) futteru zo/yo/ne* ('Oh, it's raining!')), where the first NP is being 'defocused' and 'muted' following a CME. The other is the signaling effect of CME, which follows the intensified referent NP (D-Y. Lee 2002; Takami & Kuno 2006; Kurosaki 2003; Saegusa 2005) as in the (constructed) example *Ichiman en (Øga) ochieiru!* ('10,000 yen has been dropped!'). In this case, the initial (focused) NP is marked also prosodically and followed by an abrupt, tiny pause; here, the CME has a signaling effect.

In the present study, (1), the 'here and now' context in which the referents are available to the speakers, and (2), the 'old information' context in which pre-existing information is shared between the interlocutors, are both excluded; in order to control the variables, only the variable of affect is measured. In the research design of our study, the informant narrates an event without recourse to referents and provides new information.

4. Linguistic expression of affect and sociopragmatic theory

It is, at this juncture, important to emphasize the elusive nature of the concept of emotivity in discourse, the major theoretical concept upon which the current study is based. Emphasizing in particular the importance of emotivity in discourse in Japanese interpersonal communication, Maynard (1993: 4) asserts that

Japanese has a strong tendency to express this attitude, i.e., one's personal voice, by adding and/or avoiding a variety of linguistic devices (...). In fact, making a single utterance in Japanese requires a selection of a variety of linguistic devices which primarily express emotion and interpersonal feelings. (...) Such personal voice echoes so prominently in Japanese communication that often in Japanese, rather than informational sharing, it is subtextual emotion sharing that forms the heart of communication.

The use of CME is undoubtedly one of the important Japanese linguistic devices that enables emotive communication.

The linguistic expression of affect has received universal attention in the last two decades – an attention which is not limited to Japanese. Thus, Ochs & Schieffelin (1989: 21-22) argue that “[a]ffect permeates the entire linguistic system”, to varying degrees. They postulate two functions of linguistic expression of affect: that of specifier and that of intensifier. The former specifies a speaker's nuances, including positive and negative affective tones of the utterance (as in the case of the Japanese 'adversative passive'). The latter function “either augment[s] or diminish[es] the intensity of the affect”: the intensifier includes “word order, emphatic final particles, affixes, as well as prosodic devices such as intonation” (ibid.).

Two linguistic intensifiers that may co-occur with CME within the same sentence are the final particles (*yo* and *ne*) and the postposed NP (in 'right dislocation').⁶ In general, when they are

⁶NP-Postposing, or right dislocation, should be distinguished from scrambling fronting constituents that are referentially salient, as discussed earlier. Right dislocation has the cognitive function of adding an 'afterthought', to missing information; it is normally followed by remedial pause, and repaired with a case marker or emotive function, followed by an NP with CME (Shimojo 2005). While right dislocation never happens in written Japanese, scrambling can take place in the written language (see Shimojo 2005: 248).

used to intensify the affect, both the final particles (Uyeno 1971; Jordan & Noda 1987) and right dislocation (Maynard 1997; Guo 1999; Shimojo 2005) tend to appear more in personal conversation than they do in formal talk. As mentioned earlier, when used simultaneously with these intensifiers, it seems that one of the major functions of CME is to diminish or attenuate the tone of a highly emotive discourse, in order to maintain its emotive balance.

Furthermore, Ochs & Schieffelin (1989: 21-22) regard negotiating the level of ‘affect’ as a matter of “social referencing”, which enables “possible cooperation and communication in all spheres of social life”; this brings us to a discussion of the sociopragmatic factors that influence the emotive level of the speaker.

Hypothetically, sociopragmatic factors determining emotive intensity can be measured: (1) subjectively (Kuno 1973; Kuroda 1972; Iwasaki 1993); (2) by politeness level (Brown & Levinson 1987); and (3) based on interaction (Chafe 1982; Tannen 1982; Dunn 2010).

4.1. Subjectivity

Benveniste (1971: 229) defines linguistic subjectivity as “the capacity of the speaker to posit himself as a subject who reflects the attitude of the speaker with respect to the statement he is making”.

Because subjectivity is deeply ingrained in its grammar, narratives are crucial in Japanese, whether or not the subject is the first person or the third person. Direct linguistic expression of affect, as well as the expression of subjective experience are only possible in Japanese in first-person narratives taking place within the speaker’s subjectivity (Kuroda 1973; Kamio 1995).

For example, it is possible for a speaker to directly express her sadness, using CME, as in *Watas-hi* (Øwa) *samishii* (‘I am sad’); however, such an expression is ungrammatical in the third person as in **Mary san* (Øwa) *samishii* (‘Mary is sad’). Likewise, experience and information related to a first person subject can be uttered directly, using CME; if related in the third person, it should be uttered indirectly. Japanese ‘hearsay’ is usually expressed within the embedded clause, for example, in using an expression like *rashii* (‘it seems that’), or an indirect quotation like *-soo desu, -tte*, etc. (‘I heard that’); the use of CME may be disallowed or discouraged within the embedded sentence owing to the grammatical constraints applied to embedded sentences, as already discussed. The notion of ‘hearsay’ is especially relevant for our study when discussing third-party gossip or third-person narrative; see further below.

4.2. Politeness

Assuming that “the display of affect is socially constructed, with cultural and situational expectations about what and how feelings should be displayed”, Brown & Levinson (1987: 28) have posited that an array of research in linguistic expressions of affect can be linked directly to their own “discussions of face-threatening acts (FTA), positive politeness strategies and a cultural ethos”.

Here, first of all, aggressive direct display of affect such as “strong (negative) emotion toward H[earer]” or “expression of violent (out-of-control) emotions” of the speaker can potentially constitute face-threatening acts (FTA) in any social interaction (Brown & Levinson 1987: 66).

The effect of CME in terms of softening a defocused NP or signaling an adjacent focused NP with an abrupt, tiny pause seems to function potentially as a necessary relief valve (or a lubricant) to be used with linguistic expressions of affect, in order to avoid FTA-style discourse with an overly emotive tone. Secondly, appropriate display of linguistic expression of affect is considered to be a “positive politeness” strategy typically seen in “the normal linguistic behavior between intimates”; its main function is to enhance solidarity with basic “shared wants and shared knowledge.” For example, ‘gossiping’ exhibits a politeness strategy among intimates by emphasizing common ground and solidarity (Brown & Levinson 1987). A major characteristic of positive politeness is the “element of exaggeration” that indicates “I want your positive face to be satisfied” (Brown & Levinson 1987: 101).

Finally, the cultural ethos of positive politeness can be observed in the ‘*amae*-dependency’ type of relationships that are frequently observed in Japanese social interaction. This dependency is akin to the parent-and-child relationship of caregiver and recipient, and could be applied both to vertical dependency (e.g. in parent-child relationships) and horizontal co-dependency (e.g. in peer relationships).

In Japanese communicative patterns, two major manifestations are found of this cultural ethos, based on the psychology of *amae*-dependency. First, in a high-context society such as Japan, one is typically expected to display the *sasshi* (‘mind reading’) skills (Miike 2003: 102) which are required in non-verbal or implicit communication patterns. The other manifestation occurs in the speech act of ‘griping’ in the context of the *amae*-dependency relationship.

The *sasshi* schema is based on the speaker’s assumption that ‘my partners will be able to perfectly understand what I mean without me saying things in so many words’. In particular, Yasutake (2012: 89) comments that “the function of the empty particles in casual conversation is to “send the message of rapport and build solidarity” within in-group relationships, as typically seen in positive politeness. Lebra (1976: 55) claims that one of the culturally acceptable speech acts associated with intensified affect can be termed ‘griping’, which appeals to the addressee’s positive face and (within the cultural emphasis on *amae*) to a wish to perform as a ‘nurturant’. Of course, griping is most appropriate within the intimate/in-group informal context in which the speakers feel compelled to reveal their emotion or physical pain under strain more freely, with “spontaneity and freedom from inhibition”.

Conversely, official situations and speech events, such as an interview with a police officer, or speech at work (as examined in the present study) may require a negative politeness strategy, characterized by “formality and restraint” (Brown & Levinson 1987: 71); here, the affective tone of the positive politeness strategy is not relevant. The present study includes these different situations in order to show how politeness level affects the use of CME.

4.3. Interaction

Finally, whereas formal written discourse or expository public speech is detached from the interactive audience (Chafe 1982; Tannen 1982; Dunn 2010), the emotive involvement of the interlocutors can be reinforced in interpersonal socialization whenever immediate face-to-face in-

teraction with the addressee is available. Information-focused written discourse or expository monologues, as examined in the present study, belong more to the cognitive domain, as they are used in a socially decontextualized setting within an official context where the major function is to convey information (Goody & Watts 1963; Olson 1977; Gumperz 1982).⁷

Clancy (1982: 75) found that use of sentence final particles and of ellipped or postposed elements (such as NPs placed after the verb ending, contrary to the canonical word order in Japanese), are major characteristics of interactive conversation, reflecting a speaker's attitude, or affect. Conversely, expository written discourse or monologic public speaking "avoid[s] markers of interpersonal involvement such as sentence final particles and non-canonical order" (Dunn 2010: 1899).

As to CME, it was observed to be used simultaneously with final particles (Masunaga 1987) and postposed NPs (Shimojo 2005: 214), presumably in order to what Maynard calls "intensify[ing] the level of involvement between conversation participants" (1989: 30).

Thus, two-way interaction, with its "focus on interpersonal involvement" (Tannen 1982: 130) for socialization in interpersonal communication, seems to be the crucial factor responsible for the emotive level of the discourse that may affect the use of CME. Whenever it is relevant for our study, these interactive discourse markers co-occurring with CME will be discussed in the discourse analysis portion of our paper.

Thus, subjectivity, politeness and involvement are the three major sociopragmatic factors accounting for the emotive intensity of the discourse; they will be incorporated into the following research design and analysis.

5. Research Design

The current study adopted role plays based on the same storyline, enabling a cross-sectional comparison of the determinants of emotive intensity. Subjectivity, positive politeness and interaction would affect the use of CME in different sociopragmatic contexts. Because it consists of basic lexicons and information to be compared across different discourse types, use of the same storyline facilitates side-by-side comparison of linguistic variables across the different sociopragmatic contexts.

As mentioned earlier, our study also controls sociopragmatic variables by having informants narrate a past event, presented as new information to the addressee. This is done to focus on the affective factors that are responsible for CME, while excluding information factors affecting uses of CME triggered by the availability of referent NPs in a here-and-now context, or in old information shared with the hearer (as is often the case in natural conversation).

The data was collected from twenty Japanese college students, equally represented by gender. Four kinds of role plays (GRIBE, GOSSIP, REPORT and INTERVIEW) were performed using the same storyline. The story is about a bicycle accident involving a college student who is hit by a car driven by a juvenile delinquent. As a result, the protagonist's bicycle is broken and he/she misses an important exam. All role plays were tape recorded and transcribed for analysis.

The following glosses and coding are used for the transcripts:

⁷Interpersonal interactive conversation and expository public speech can be also considered in terms of the orality vs literacy continuum (potentially corresponding to the emotion and cognition continuum).

NOM:	nominative marker
TOP:	Topic marker
ACC:	Accusative marker
FIN:	Final Particle
ASST:	Assertive marker
COP:	Copula
NEG:	Negative
QT:	Quotation Marker
INTJ:	Interjection
ONM:	Onomatopoeia
CHAU:	Regret Chau-form
PAST:	Past tense
Q:	Question particle
(())	indicates anaphoric subjects

The role plays were performed in order to investigate the politeness level, both in casual situations between intimates and in formal situations involving official settings.

In the casual situations, the informant begins by narrating his/her own bicycle accident to a friend addressee (GRIPE). Then, this informant narrates the same story to a mutual friend (GOSSIP). Since GRIPE has a consistently strong element of subjectivity, it is performed as a first-person narrative, while GOSSIP is narrated in the third person. As mentioned earlier, the purpose of comparing the first and third person narratives is to investigate the effect of the presence vs. absence of subjectivity.

In the formal situation, the informant performs two roles in succession, performing first as a witness who saw the bicycle accident and reports it to the police (REPORT), and then as a police officer who reports the accident to his colleagues at a meeting of police officers (PRESENTATION). Since REPORT is a conversation, while PRESENTATION is a monologic public speech, they differ in terms of interpersonal interaction.

5.1. Research hypothesis

The present research design permits to measure an anticipated overall emotive intensity level of the discourse within varying situational contexts, according to the three sociopragmatic factors mentioned earlier. The effects of these factors on CME can be measured as follows: *Sub-*

jectivity effects can be observed when the first-person subject and the third-person subject are compared in terms of direct and indirect speech within the same casual situation (GRIPE and GOSSIP). The effect of positive *politeness* can be observed by comparing casual conversation in GOSSIP with official conversation in REPORT, both being narrations about a third party. Finally, *interaction* can be observed by comparing the dialogue in REPORT with the monologue in PRESENTATION in a formal official situation.

Table 1 summarizes the overall anticipated hypothesized emotivity level determined by the availability of the three sociopragmatic factors in each situational context. As the table indicates, it is assumed that the more sociopragmatic variables are marked, the higher the anticipated emotive level of each discourse.

TABLE 1: AVAILABILITY OF THE SOCIOPRAGMATIC VARIABLES			
Situational Context	Subjectivity	Positive Politeness	Interaction
GRIPE	✓	✓	✓
GOSSIP	NA	✓	✓
REPORT	NA	NA	✓
PRESENTATION	NA	NA	NA

NA: Not Applicable

Thus, the emotive intensity levels of the spoken discourse may positively correlate to CME, in a continuum across the register, with the highest level in GRIPE and the lowest in PRESENTATION:

GRIPE ← GOSSIP ← REPORT ← PRESENTATION

Assuming that the basic grammatical constraints discussed above remain the same for a minimum use of case markers across different situations with the same storyline, the ratio between the case markers and CME should indicate the appropriate usage of CME in the given context. Thus, the sociopragmatic conditions that determine the emotive intensity level may be assumed to correlate with the use of CME.

5.2. Research Questions

The following are the research questions of this study.

First, a quantitative analysis is done, using statistics (RQ1). This is followed by a qualitative analysis of the discourse structure in which CME is used (RQ2).

(RQ1) Does the CME correlate with the hypothesized emotive intensity of discourse, de-

terminated by subjectivity, positive politeness and interaction? If so, then how? The answer includes a breakdown of the determinants of emotivity level as well as of marker types: nominative case marker *ga*, topic maker *wa* and accusative case marker *o*.

(RQ2) How does the use of CME typically appear in the discourse? Are there any examples of violation of the grammatical constraints, due to excessive emotivity which can be observed in the discourse structure?

6. Data Analysis and Discussion

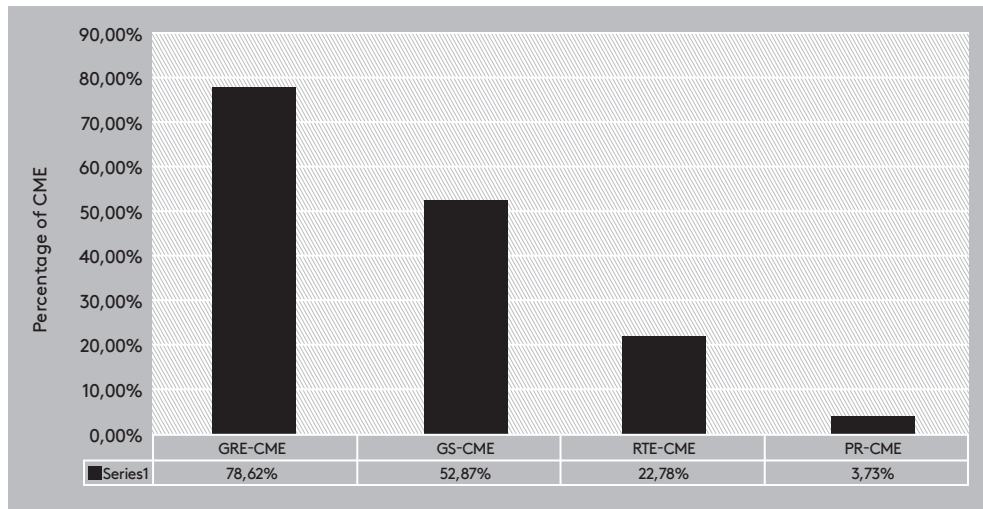
6.1. Overall result

First, having excluded sentences with zero anaphora (i.e. with missing subjects), the number of sentences in each discourse type is counted.⁸ The total number of comparable utterances (having subjects and predicates) used for analysis in each discourse type is: GRIPE (381); GOSSIP (356); REPORT (473); PRESENTATION (308).

The overall percentage of occurrence of CME per register in proportion to the use of case markers is shown in Graph 1.

GRAPH 1: SUMMARY OF CME FREQUENCY

NOTO: GRE: GRIPE: GS: GOSSIP: RTE: REPORT, PR: PRESENTATION



⁸Japanese is called a 'pro-drop' or 'zero anaphora' language, as it often lacks pronominal subjects in sentences. For example, omission of the first pronoun 'I' is frequently seen in conversation such as *Nihon no koto toka kiki -tai -shi sa* ('[I] want to hear about what's going on in Japan'). Ono & Thompson call this 'zero anaphora', and they conclude: "Referents, like much else in linguistic communication, would be inferred from the entire range of semantic and pragmatic factors which are present in the actual interactions in which speakers engage in everyday life" (Ono & Thompson 2000: 84). Completely lacking in case markers, zero anaphora affects the analysis of the subject marker *ga*, the topic marker *wa*. Therefore, zero anaphora sentences have been eliminated from the study. (The number of cases of zero anaphora excluded from the data is: GRIPE (483), GOSSIP (426), REPORT (608) and PRESENTATION (131)).

As can be seen in Graph 1, the proportion of CME usage is highest in GRIPE (78.62%), followed by GOSSIP (52.87%) and REPORT (22.78%), and lowest in PRESENTATION (3.73%). This supports the earlier hypothesis that the use of CME decreases with reduced emotive intensity of the discourse.

The percentages per informant are tabulated in Table 2.⁹ (For the raw data of each occurrence of case markers and CME, see the Appendix.)

TABLE 2: CME PER INFORMANT ACROSS DISCOURSE TYPES				
Informant	GRIPE %	GOSSIP%	REPORT %	PRESENTATION %
1	66.6667	43.7500	15.3846	7.1429
2	76.1905	46.1538	33.3333	6.6667
3	63.1579	66.6667	14.2857	0.0000
4	64.2857	66.6667	13.0435	6.2500
5	64.7059	66.6667	25.0000	5.2632
6	91.6667	47.6190	21.0526	0.0000
7	78.5714	52.1739	36.0000	30.0000
8	63.6364	50.0000	28.9474	0.0000
9	82.1429	50.0000	30.0000	0.0000
10	75.0000	53.8462	15.0000	5.0000
11	77.4194	47.0588	4.5455	0.0000
12	86.2069	40.0000	20.6897	14.2857
13	89.6552	80.0000	23.5294	0.0000
14	82.7586	61.1111	25.7143	0.0000
15	78.5714	40.0000	47.8261	0.0000
16	89.1892	63.6364	14.2857	0.0000
17	89.6552	50.0000	15.7895	0.0000
18	80.0000	55.0000	38.8889	0.0000
19	91.8919	20.0000	13.3333	0.0000
20	81.0811	57.1429	19.0476	0.0000
Total%	1572.4528	1057.4921	455.6971	74.6084
AVERAGE%	78.62%	52.87%	22.78%	3.73%

⁹It should be noted that some subjects are marked with the quotation *tte*, as in *John-san tte Nihongo dekirun date* ('I heard John can speak Japanese'), or with the particle *mo* as in *Tanaka-san mo yoku hataraku nee* ('Tanaka-san too works hard indeed'). These cases are excluded from the analysis.

A repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA, using SPSS) is performed with Wilk's Lambda to examine the means of continuous dependent variables (the CME percentages), when subjects are measured with subject factors under multiple conditions (GRIPE, GOSSIP, REPORT and PRESENTATION). The result indicates that the mean CME frequency is significantly different between at least two of the conditions with a p-value less than 0.001, as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3: REPEATED MEASURES ANOVA					
	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig
Wilk's Lambda	.024	228.123	3.000	17.000	.000

Post-hoc pairwise comparisons were also conducted in order to determine the mean difference between each condition. All comparisons were significantly different, with a p-value less than 0.001. The result shows that the mean CME values decrease from the highest, in GRIPE, down through GOSSIP and REPORT, to the lowest, in PRESENTATION, which statistically validates the major hypothesis of this study that the use of CME increases with the emotive intensity.

6.2. Breakdown of CME

6.2.1. Breakdown of CME by Sociopragmatic Variables

In order to investigate which sociopragmatic variables show the greatest impact on CME, the ratios between CME and subjectivity (in GRIPE vs GOSSIP), CME and politeness (in GOSSIP vs REPORT), and CME and interaction (in REPORT vs PRESENTATION) are compared, as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4: RATIO COMPARISON OF SOCIOPRAGMATIC VARIABLES FOR EMOTIVE INTENSITY		
	Discourse Types Compared	Ratio
Subjectivity	GOSSIP vs GRIPE	1:1.5
Politeness	REPORT vs GOSSIP	1:2.3
Interaction	PRESENTATION vs REPORT	1:6

Most significantly, interaction seems to be essential for the appearance of CME, since six times as many CME are produced in REPORT, compared to its counterpart PRESENTATION (there is no interaction within the formal registers). Secondly, positive politeness appears to be another crucial factor, since CME in casual conversation (GOSSIP) is used 2.3 times as much, compared

with official settings (REPORT), with both using third person narratives. The subjectivity factor is least remarkable with 1.5 times more CME in GRIPE (with first person subjects) than in GOSSIP (with third person subjects).

Due to a negligible occurrence of CME (only 3.73%), the data in PRESENTATION have been excluded from the comparative analysis; they will receive separate comments later.

6.2.2. Breakdown of CME by case marker

A detailed analysis of case markers in terms of CME occurrence in each discourse type is presented in Table 5.

CME	GRIPE	GOSSIP	REPORT	Average
<i>ga</i>	51.7% (61/118)	26.8% (25/93)	13.2%(18/136)	30.5%
<i>wa</i>	66% (97/147)	49.3% (66/134)	18.4%(37/164)	44.57%
<i>o</i>	92.7% (89 /96)	89.3%(67/75)	38.2%(55/148)	73.4%

As shown in Table 5, the total average rate of occurrence of omission is highest for accusative marker *o* (73.4), followed by topic marker *wa*, (44.5%) and nominative marker *ga* (30.57%). The omission of the accusative marker *o* is by far the most frequent, which is congruent with past studies discussed earlier (e.g. Martin 1975); most remarkably, it is used predominantly in casual conversation (GRIPE, 92.7%; GOSSIP, 89.3%). The omission of the accusative marker *o* is followed in frequency by elision of the topic marker *wa* (GRIPE 66%, GOSSIP, 49.3%) and the nominative case marker *ga* (GRIPE 51.7%, GOSSIP, 26.8%), but to a much lesser degree. Interestingly, CME is 24.9% higher for the case marker *ga* and 16.7% higher for the case marker *wa* in GRIPE than in GOSSIP, even in casual conversation. These results seem to indicate that the available subjectivity in GRIPE (with first person narratives) encourages stronger affective expression, using CME, than in the indirect sentences of GOSSIP (with third person narratives).

In addition to the predominant use of CME in casual conversation, it should be noted that the omission of *o* is relatively more frequent than for the other case markers (38.2%), even in REPORT. This may indicate that the accusative marker *o* is more easily dropped even in formal conversation, due to its syntactic position in the predicate NP in the matrix sentence (with the canonical SOV word order); alternatively, it could be affected by the interactive final markers within the predicate VP. (However, in scrambled word order or embedded sentence structures, the accusative marker *o* may be structurally required). CME of the topic marker *ga* and the accu-

¹⁰*o*-omission with 'light' verbs (sino-compounds with *suru*, e.g. *benkyo suru* ('to study'), *setsumeji suru* ('to explain')) is excluded from the data. Occurrence of case marker *ga* is limited to the subject position.

sative marker *wa* is likewise proportionately low in REPORT (13.2% and 18.4%, respectively).

7. Discourse Analysis of CME by Case Marker Type

In the following discourse analysis of CME by case marker type, the co-occurrence within the same sentence of interactive affective elements, such as final particles or postposed NPs, will be discussed. In particular, as mentioned earlier, final particles may function to enhance interaction, thus promoting the interlocutors' involvement; this makes the emotive level of the speech reflect the co-occurring CME. Final particles appear in the three sets of dialogue data (GRIPE, GOSSIP and REPORT) an average of 153 times, as opposed to a negligible number of times (14) in the monologic PRESENTATION;¹¹ this shows their roles as interactive markers.

7.1 Omission of accusative Marker *o*

Since omission of the accusative marker in casual conversation is found to be so frequent as to be almost a default practice, we must first examine its exceptional appearance there when comparing GRIPE and GOSSIP. This will be followed by an examination of its relatively fewer omissions in REPORT (38.2%).

Even though accusative markers are elided rather frequently, due to their weak syntactic position, still the marker *o* can be observed in the casual conversation of GOSSIP. To see this, compare the CME in the accusative position in GRIPE with the use of the case marker in GOSSIP in an embedded sentence. First, in Data#1 (from GRIPE), observe how the accusative marker *o* is elided, when the speaker shows his regret of not being able to take the test as a result of an accident:

- (5) 1. M *De* ((*boku wa*)) *shiken* (\emptyset) *ukerare* *nakatta*.
so test take-able NEG-PAST
'So I could not take a test.'
- 2 *Tesuto* (\emptyset) *zeTTAi* *ukeru* *tsumori* *datta* *kedo*
test absolutely take intend COP-PAST but
'I really meant to take the exam but'
- 3 *ukerare* *nakatta*.
take-able NEG-PAST
'I could not take it.'

¹¹Although no instances of CME in sentences with final particles were observed, the existence of the final particle in PRESENTATION, though extremely limited, may indicate the speaker's code-switching to the interpersonal mode, as occasionally observed in public speech, e.g. in meetings with familiar club members or colleagues (see Cook 1999 for further discussion).

- 4 *Saiaku!*
 worst
 ‘This is really the worst scenario!’

Data #1: GRIPE

In line 1, Masao (M), showing his regret that he could not take the test, omits the object marker *o*, which is followed, also with CME, by a stronger expression of regret in line 2.

In contrast, observe, in Data #2 (from GOSSIP) below, how the same phrase, *shiken o ukeru* (‘take a test’), does get marked with the accusative marker *o*.

- (6) 1 ((*Kaoru wa*)) *kekkyoku* *maniawa-naku-te*
 after all in time-NEG-and
 ‘After all, Kaoru could not make it in time for school and’
- 2 *shiken* *o* *ukerare* *nakatta-n da tte.*
 test ACC take NEG-PAST COP QT
 ‘I heard that Kaoru could not take the test.’

Data #2: GOSSIP

The above contrast shows that, due in part to the aforementioned morpho-syntactic constraints, the accusative marker *o* seems relatively difficult to omit when the referent NP is embedded within indirect reported speech.

In the formal conversation of REPORT, eleven out of fourteen omissions of the accusative marker *o* within the NP under predicate VP of a matrix sentence are accompanied by a final particle: *ne* (8) and *yo* (3). The following data from REPORT show how the accusative marker *o* is omitted when accompanied by the final assertive marker *yo*:

- (7) 1. W *Sumimasen!*
 excuse me
 ‘Excuse me!’
2. P *Do* *shitan* *desu* *ka?*
 what did COP Q
 ‘What happened?’

3. W	<i>Tatta</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>hikinige</i>	(\emptyset)	<i>mitan</i>	<i>desu</i>	<i>YOO.</i>
	right	now	hit-and-run		see-PAST	COP	FIN
	‘I just saw a hit-and-run’						

Data #3: REPORT

Another, similar use of CME in place of the accusative marker, when accompanied by the final particle *ne* is observed in REPORT, with the speaker emphatically talking about the accident: *Ano shoonen ga desu ne ISSOide jitensha* (\emptyset) *koideta n desu nee* (‘The boy was peddling his bicycle vigorously, you know’) and *Ongaku* (\emptyset) *gangan ni kiitete desu nee* (‘[The driver of the car] was listening to loud music, you know’). It should be noted that this type of code switching from formal mode to interpersonal empathy mode does not usually take place by itself, but is most often used with “the co-occurring affect keys [i.e., final particles or an animated tone of voice]” (Cook 1999: 100), as it does when Japanese speakers are switching from the formal *-desu/-masu* forms to casual plain forms.

7.2. Omission of *wa*

It should be noted that the main subject of the narration in GRIPE is the first-person speaker him/herself, whereas the main subject in GOSSIP is a mutual friend of the interlocutors; in contrast, the main subject in REPORT is a stranger. Part of the reason for frequent omission of the topic marker *wa* with the main characters in the two casual conversations between intimates may be explained by the fact that interlocutors are, as friends, speaking based on the same assumptions: by calling attention to the protagonist victim, their concern is to maintain peer solidarity in showing empathy.

In a pro-drop language such as Japanese, the first pronoun ‘I’ is often omitted under normal circumstances, unless a speaker intends to attract the hearer’s attention by using a marked form. Therefore, the omission of *wa* is more frequent in casual conversation (11 in GRIPE; 30 in GOSSIP; 1 in REPORT), when the main character, the referent NP in the subject position, is highlighted by the prosodic prominence accompanying CME (above indicated by CAPITALS). Conversely, while there is no topic marker *wa* marking for the main characters in the casual conversation of both GRIPE and GOSIP, 10 cases were observed in REPORT.

Contrasting the description of the subject of the accident in GRIPE and GOSSIP with the description of the subject in REPORT, we observe first the CME marking ($\emptyset wa$) of the first-person pronoun ‘I’ in GRIPE:

(8)	1. N	<i>Jitensha</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>koware</i>	<i>chau</i>	<i>shi</i>
		Bicycle	TOP	broken	CHAU	and
		‘In addition to broken bicycle,’				

2. *shiken wa ukerarenai shi*
 examination TOP take-NEG and
 ‘I could not take an exam -‘
3. *watashi (Øwa) doo-shi-tara ii NOO::*
 I how-do-if good FIN
 ‘what should I do?’

Data #4: GRIPE

In line 1-2, using contrastive *wa*, Naomi (N) complains to her friend about how much she was victimized by the accident: not only her bicycle was broken, but she was unable to take the exam. Whereas, due to the grammatical constraints discussed earlier, contrastive *wa* is not omitted even when the speaker is emotionally disturbed, Naomi uses CME with the intensified first person ‘I’ in line 3, with her mood of victimization reaching its climax: *Watashi (Øwa) dooshitara ii NOO?* (‘What should I do?’). The same usage of first-person ‘I’ with CME to call for sympathy was found in 5 of 12 other usages of ‘I’ in similar contexts: e.g. *Ore (Øwa) koke chattan dayo ne* (‘I fell, you know?’); *Sonomama ore (Øwa) buTTOn da* (‘It was like I flew away’); *Ore (Øwa) hanerare chattano ne* (‘I was hit [by that car], you know’).

A similar kind of empathy provoking CME for the topic marker *wa*, is observed when the speaker tries to attract the attention of the hearer by emphasizing the subject. In the next example, Kaoru, a mutual friend, is the victim of an accident:

- (9) 1. P *Sorede Kaoru (Øwa) koke-chatte*
 And then Kaoru fall-CHAU-PAST
 ‘And then, it is unfortunate that Kaoru fell’
2. *de chotto jitensha mo boroboro ni natte.*
 and little bicycle also ONM to become
 ‘and his bike is also broken into pieces.’

Data #5: GOSSIP

Note that in line 1, the speaker uses CME in a sentence concurrently with the *chau*-form in the past tense, which implies ‘to his regret’. In fact, this empathetic use of CME is best illustrated by reference to the context: the speaker is showing direct sympathy with Kaoru, which is shared with the hearer:

(10) 1. Y *Kaoru* (*Øwa*) *suGGOI* *kawaisoo* *da* *yo* *ne.*
 Kaoru extremely poor-thing COP ASST FIN
 ‘I feel terribly sorry for Kaoru.’

2. M *Kawai SOO!*
 ‘Poor thing.’

Data #6: GOSSIP

In line 1, Yuri (Y) empathizes with Kaoru and expresses her sympathy, saying how she feels sorry for Kaoru. She uses CME, accompanied by the intensifier *suggoi* (‘extremely’) which modifies *kawaisoo* (‘poor thing’). In line 2, Yuri’s sympathy immediately receives support from Makiko (M), who repeats *kawaisoo*, sharing sympathy in peer solidarity.

Compare also how in REPORT, in a similar rendering of the devastating accident, when the witness answers the questions of the police officer, the protagonist is marked with the topic marker *wa*:

(11) 1. P *Sono* *otokonoko* –
 that boy
 ‘That boy –’

2. *jitensha* *ni* *notta* *otokonoko* *wa*
 bicycle on rode boy TOP
 ‘the boy who was on the bike –’

3. *doo* *nari* *mashita?*
 how become PAST
 ‘what happened to him?’

4. M *Jitensha* *ni* *notta* *otokonoko* *wa* *desu* *nee*
 bicycle on rode boy TOP COP FIN
 ‘the boy who was on the bicycle, you know,’

4. P *De kega wa?*
 and injury TOP
 ‘What about the injury?’

5. A *Kega wa surikizu teidode sunda mitai desu kedo.*
 injury TOP scratch degree ended seems COP however
 ‘As for the injury, it seems like just a scratch after all.’

Data #8: REPORT

The truncated questions with NP+*wa* in lines 1 and 4 are answered in lines 2 and 5 by repeating the NPs of the questions. This sequence shows an effective way of gathering information, while maintaining topicalized themes and a coherent structure through use of the topic marker *wa*.

In sum, in this casual speech, the protagonist of the accident is marked with CME when the protagonist is the speaker him/herself, as in GRIPE, or when the protagonist is a mutual friend, as in GOSSIP. By contrast, in REPORT, the same protagonist can be marked with the topic marker in a formal situation, especially in an effort to maintain the focused interview structure through clarity and topicalization.

7.3. Omission of Nominative Case Marker *ga*

As indicated earlier, there is a higher incidence of omission of the nominative case marker *ga* in GRIPE (54.1%), compared with its counterpart GOSSIP (28.7%), both of which are casual conversations between intimates. Reported speech within an embedded sentence, as in GOSSIP, may make the direct linguistic expression of affect unavailable. Conversely, in GRIPE, the direct subjective expression is readily available to the speaker for use in narration about him/herself.

Compare how the bicycle accident is differently described in GRIPE and in GOSSIP. Observe first how the descriptive nominative case marker *ga* is omitted with the new information when the speaker narrates his/her own story in GRIPE:

- (13) 1. M *MOO supiido de kuruma ga toori sugitette saa*
 Super speed and car NOM street passing-and FIN
 ‘A car passed through at a tremendous speed, you know,’
- 2 *sono ikioi-de jitensha (Øga) koke-chatte NO!*
 that power-with bicycle fell-CHAU ASST
 ‘my bicycle fell because of the impact.’

Data #9: GRIPE

Note that the speaker introduces the NP ‘the car’ for the first time in line 1, where it is marked with the nominative case marker *ga* as new information. However, in line 2, the referent NP ‘bicycle’ is marked with CME, though it appears for the first time as new information. In line 2, the speaker describes the damage to her bicycle subjectively with intensified aggravation, by using *chatta* as well as the final assertive particle *no*.

Now observe how the same bicycle damage is referred to in reported speech (in GOSSIP):

- (14) 1. A *Doose* ((*Kaoru wa*)) *tesuto* (*Øwa*) *nebooshita kara*
 Anyway test overslept because
 ‘Because [Kaoru] overslept the test anyway’
2. ((*Kaoru wa*)) *iwake* (*Øo*) *tsukutten* *jya* *nai* *no?*
 excuse make-PAST COP NEG Q
 ‘he made it into an excuse, didn’t he?’
3. S *Demo* ((*Kaoru wa*)) *jitensha ga* *kowareta tte itteta shi...*
 but bicycle NOM broken QT said and
 ‘But he said his bicycle was broken and...’

Data #10: GOSSIP

In lines 1 and 2, when Akira (A) questions the seriousness of the accident involving their mutual friend Kaoru, Shinji (S) tries (in line 3) to underline the seriousness in the indirect report speech form. Note that the bicycle, the same referential NP as in the above data from GRIPE, is now (in line 3) marked with the nominative case marker *ga*. This marking is a result of the emotive level of the speech being ‘toned down’ which in turn is due to the indirect reported hearsay form embedded within the quotation marked by *tte*.

The subject being postponed after the predicate (as in right dislocation) creates another linguistic environment conducive to a more frequent use of the subject marker *ga*. Overall, right dislocations occur most frequently in GRIPE (25 instances), as compared with GOSSIP (12 instances) and REPORT (zero instances). Right dislocation with omission of the nominative case *ga* occurs exclusively in GRIPE (4 instances).

Observe now the omission of the exhaustive listing *ga* in the GRIPE discourse:

- (15) 1. Y *De,* *moo* *KANpeki-ni*
 and INTJ perfectly
 ‘And gosh! It became completely

2. *moo* *BARABARA*
 INTJ ONM
 ‘totaled, really!’
3. M *Nani* *ga?*
 What NOM
 ‘What are you talking about?’
4. Y *Ore* *no* *charinko* (*Øga!*)
 I of bicycle
 ‘My bicycle!’

Data #11: GRIPE

In line 2, the mimetic *barabara*, preceded by the interjection *moo* (‘gosh’), express the horror caused by the accident in an intensified way. However, since the speaker did not make it clear to the addressee what was ‘totaled’, the other’s initiated repair *Nani ga?* (‘What are you talking about?’) became necessary in line 3. Even though the question with the exhaustive listing *ga* in line 3 requires an answer with the same *ga* marking, the speaker answers *Ore no charinko* (‘My bicycle’), using CME. This exceptional elision of the exhaustive listing *ga* shows how intensified affective speech may supersede the grammatical constraints involved in the use of exhaustive listing *ga*.

7. 4.The unique use of CME in PRESENTATION

As previously mentioned, there are 13 instances of CME in the monologic discourse of PRESENTATION; they involve the omission of the nominative case marker *ga* or the contrastive marker *wa*. In the present section, the exceptional elision of the nominative case marker *ga* in PRESENTATION (comparable to the use of CME in newspaper headlines) will be examined.

Noguchi (2002: 98) suggests that among the devices used in newspaper headings are “omission of particles, NP ending, particle ending, omission of words and acronym”. Observe the following example from a newspaper headline (Kurosaki 2007: 69):

- (16) 1. *Chugoku* *Syushō* (*Øga*),
 China prime minister
 ‘Chinese prime minister’

2. *Nichu no shinrai zoshin Uttata*
 Japan-China of trust increase Appeal
 ‘pleaded for greater trust between Japan and China’
3. *kokkai de Enzetu*
 congress at Speech
 ‘when he made a speech in congress.’

In the above, the subject (the Chinese prime minister), is followed by a comma in line 1, which visually indicates CME (*Øga*). Kurosaki (2007: 74) contends that the motivation behind the CME in the newspaper heading is that of *wadai-ka* (roughly, ‘topicality’), by which the CME focuses attention on an NP and signals new information of special interest. This *wadai-ka* is part of an intensified emotive discourse in the news headings, intended to make the news appealing; it draws the readers’ attention to the new information the media is presenting. The strategy seems to be most effective in the headlines, since headlines are the dominant factor in the readers’ decision whether or not to read the article.

Likewise, this strategy is used in PRESENTATION, when the speaker talks about the accident to an audience. Observe the opening of this PRESENTATION, where the speaker incorporates the form in a newspaper headline and begins his talk with an ‘eye-catching’ remark:

- (17) 1. Y *Kagaiisha (Øga) yonin nori no supootsukaa -*
 assailant four person ride of sports car
 ‘The assailant was driving a convertible with four passengers –
2. *soshite yonin nori no supootsukaa De*
 and four passenger of convertible And
 ‘and in the four-seat convertible’
3. *yo nin (Øga) notteita to iu Koto desu.*
 four people ride-PAST Q say NOM COP
 ‘it is said that there were four passengers.’

Data #12: PRESENTATION

In Data # 12, the speaker had a false start, beginning his narrative with an incomplete sentence containing the new subject *kagaiisha* (‘assailant’) marked with CME in line 1. In line 3, the speaker ends up self-correcting his statement with a new paraphrased subject, *yonin* (‘four people’)

with CME used for a signaling effect.

In Data # 13, the contrastive *wa* is similarly omitted in order to single out victim and assailant with signaling effect:

- (18) 1. A *Higaisha* (*Øwa*) *Kaoru* 15 *Sai.*
 Victim Kaoru 15 years old
 ‘Kaoru, the victim, is 15 years old.’
2. *Kagaisha* (*Øwa*) *20 dai*
 Assailant 20’s
 ‘The assailants were in their 20’s’
3. *10-dai* *koohan* *kara* *20-dai* *zenhan* *No*
 10’s late from 20’s early Of
 ‘or between late teens to early 20’s,’
4. *wakamono* *Yonin*
 young people Four
 ‘four young people.’

Data #13: PRESENTATION

The PRESENTATION opens with the informant juxtaposing the victim and the assailant in line 1 and 2. They are presented as the *shudai*, ‘subject matter’, of the PRESENTATION, which has a function similar to a newspaper headline. Even though the victim in line 1 and the assailant in line 2 contrast semantically, the contrastive marker *wa* is elided by CME.

8. Discussion of the Research Questions

The two major research questions presented earlier in Section 5.2 are answered below.

Question 1: *Does the CME correlate with the hypothesized emotive intensity of discourse, determined by subjectivity, positive politeness and interaction? If so, then how? The answer includes a breakdown of the determinants on the emotivity level as well as of the case marker types, i.e. nominative case marker ga, topic maker wa and accusative case marker o.*

The earlier hypothesis was statistically validated: the use of CME positively correlates with the emotive level of the discourse. The most significant socio-pragmatic variables to determine the

emotivity of the discourse that affect the use of CME were found to be interaction and (to a lesser degree) positive politeness and subjectivity.

The most frequent CME was the omission of the accusative marker *o*, followed by the topic marker *wa* and the nominative case marker *ga*. A predominantly high frequency of accusative marker omissions in casual conversation was found to be mainly responsible for the general impression of this case marker's frequent omission in spoken Japanese, perhaps to be explained by its position in the SOV canonical order as well as by its closeness to the final particles. However, it should be noted that other case markers, too, are much less frequent in casual conversation, presumably owing to the greater number of functional grammatical constraints in the written language.

Question 2: *How does the use of CME typically appear in the discourse? Are there any examples of the violation of the grammatical constraints, due to excessive intensity of the emotivity, which can be observed in the discourse structure?*

8.1. Breakdown of CME by case marker type

The first question is answered for each case marker omission type:

- Accusative marker *o*: More susceptible to the immediate influence of the use of emphatic final particles within the same predicate VP. However, CME tends to be used less when the referent NP is within the embedded clause.
- Topic marker *wa*: A signaling use of CME occurs with subjects who are victims, in order to establish solidarity between interlocutors in the casual conversation of GRIPE and GOSSIP, while calling attention to the speaker's need for sympathy and compassion from the hearer. Conversely, adjacency pairs of truncated NP+*wa* questions and their answers, marked with *wa*, were found to be used to maintain coherent interview structure in REPORT (which also discourages the use of CME).
- Nominative case marker *ga*: Descriptive *ga* appears to be more often elided in highly emotive discourse due to the availability of direct emotive expressions in GRIPE with first person subject, and including right dislocation. By contrast, the case marker *ga* typically appears in the embedded sentences of the reported speech with third person subject, as in GOSSIP, REPORT and PRESENTATION.

8.2. Violation of grammatical constraints

- Two examples of violation of grammatical constraint were observed in the current data. The first case is the omission of the exhaustive listing *ga* in GRIPE, due to the high emotive intensity of the speaker, including its appearance within right dislocation. The second case is that of the descriptive subject marker *ga* and contrastive marker *wa* being omitted in PRESENTATION, when the speaker mimicks news reporting in newspaper headlines.

9. Conclusion

Conducted within different situational contexts in order to determine the discourse's emotive intensity, the current study has demonstrated how sociopragmatic variables may influence CME, the elision of the nominative case marker *ga*, the topic marker *wa* and accusative marker *o*. Interaction among the sociopragmatic variables was found to affect the use of CME the most significantly, followed by positive politeness and subjectivity. The object marker *o* was found to be the case marker most responsible for the general impression of frequent CME in casual conversation, but also the other case markers were used, albeit less frequently, in the same context. The study also closely observed the discourse structures in which CME appeared, and identified some cases that represent exceptions to the initial hypothesis, as in the case of the unique use of CME in public speech, analogous in usage to newspaper headlines, and observed as well some violations of grammatical constraints owing to an excessive emotive level. In particular, the concurrent use of final particles and right dislocation as affect keys seemed to trigger the use of CME in casual conversation.

Along with reviewing the controversies manifest in past studies, the present work also proposed a grammar-pragmatics interface model for processing CME. Although the current study limited its scope to spoken discourse, marginal casual written communication (e-mails, text messages, Twitter) should be a productive area of future study. Such a study is underway.¹²

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¹²As has been briefly discussed, it may not be a matter of the different registers of spoken and written language determining the use of CME (as discussed in past studies). Rather, the matter can be seen as a continuum between orality and literality, corresponding to the levels of emotivity and cognition, as shown in the present study. The same sociopragmatic variables that are responsible for the emotivity level of the discourse may also be applicable to the written discourse; future study may shed light on this question.

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Appendix: Summary of raw data of case markers and CME

Data# gender	gender	GRIPE		GOSSIP		REPORT		PRESENTATION	
			GRE-CME	GS-C	GS-CME	RT-C	RTE-CME	PR-C	PR-CME
		GR-C							
1	m	5	10	9	7	22	4	13	1
2	m	5	16	7	6	12	6	14	1
3	f	7	12	3	6	24	4	15	0
4	f	5	9	3	6	20	3	15	1
5	m	6	11	3	6	12	4	18	1
6	m	2	22	11	10	15	4	20	0
7	m	6	22	11	12	16	9	7	3
8	m	12	21	11	11	27	11	12	0
9	m	5	23	5	5	14	6	21	0
10	m	9	27	6	7	17	3	19	1
11	f	7	24	9	8	21	1	15	0
12	f	4	25	6	4	23	6	12	2
13	f	3	26	3	12	26	8	29	0
14	f	5	24	7	11	26	9	22	0
15	f	6	22	6	4	12	11	16	0
16	f	4	33	4	7	18	3	11	0
17	m	3	26	10	10	16	3	23	0
18	m	10	40	9	11	11	7	20	0
19	f	3	34	12	3	26	4	12	0
20	f	7	30	9	12	17	4	12	0
Sub Total		114	247	144	158	375	110	326	10
Total		361		302		485		336	