

Information and Discourse Structures and Topics: A Study of Japanese Cooking Show Discourse

[Invited Article]

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Abstract: This paper discusses the usage of the topic-comment articulation of a sentence in Japanese cooking show discourse and argues that the description of the usage requires both information- and discourse-structural considerations. The analysis addresses two functions of topics: presenting cooking instructions as parallel procedures and connecting non-task-oriented utterances to the mainstream instructions. While the latter is observed in both TV and YouTube cooking show discourse, the YouTube discourse rarely uses the former and presents instructions more linearly, contrary to observations in other sub-registers of cooking discourse (Aoyama 1987; Moriya 1993; Shimojo 2019; Kaneyasu and Kuhara 2020). This study argues that the observed variations correlate with differences in discourse presentation rooted in different priorities: recipe clarity for the TV discourse and simplicity/brevity for YouTube. The discourse observations are also discussed in Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005) for grammatical descriptions of the usage of topics.*

Key words: topic-comment, contrastive topic, Japanese, cooking discourse, recipe structure

1. Introduction

In the study of the interaction of form and function in language, it has long been pointed out that the same informational content may be expressed using different grammatical structures under different communicative contexts and that speakers' choices of forms are closely related to how information is distributed in sentences (Mathesius 1928, Halliday 1967, Kuno 1972, Chafe 1974, Prince 1981, Lambrecht 1994, *inter alia*). Central to this study is the topic-comment articulation of a sentence, which partitions a sentence into two complementary parts that are generally termed as the *topic* and the *comment*. Gundel (1988: 210) defines these notions as follows.

Topic definition: An entity, E, is the topic of a sentence, S, iff in using S the speaker intends to increase the addressee's knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to E.

* I wish to thank three anonymous reviewers for their many constructive critical comments on earlier versions of this paper. Any remaining shortcomings are my own.

Comment definition: A predication, P, is the comment of a sentence, S, iff in using S the speaker intends P to be assessed relative to the topic of S.

In Japanese, the topic-comment articulation may be explicitly manifested by a topic-*wa*-phrase (Kuno 1972); thereby, the topic entity represents the matter of current concern about which a comment is provided. Although the morphological topic marking is not the only means of expressing the topic-comment structure, it is “the most direct way of marking topic-comment structure” (Gundel 1988: 216). In languages like Japanese, the same informational content may be expressed with or without a topic phrase; thus, it is a legitimate question to ask what influences the speaker’s use or non-use of a morphologically marked topic to convey the intended information. Furthermore, topic-comment in the sense of a comment being about the topic, as described above, is generally associated with the referential given-new distinction, because “a primary function of the topic is to relate to the discourse context in which it occurs” (Gundel 1988: 212). However, with respect to the morphological topic marking in Japanese, it is also known that referential givenness does not necessarily correlate with the topic marking, since givenness may be expressed by a non-topic entity (cf. Hinds et al. 1987). With the above background, this paper presents analysis of topic-comment utterances in a particular sub-register of Japanese cooking discourse and describes the usage patterns of these utterances therein.

Cooking recipes represent a register, i.e. language use in a particular communicative situation for particular communicative functions, which tends to “develop identifying markers of language structure and language use, different from the language of other communication situations” (Ferguson 1994: 20). Recipes as procedural discourse are goal and activity focused, describing what is done and how it is done, not for who does it; thus, it lacks agent orientation (Longacre 1983). Likewise, Japanese recipes do not express agentive subjects (Hinds 1976, Shibatani 1990), which are commonly coded as a topic in other types of discourse (Fry 2003, *inter alia*). Yet, with respect to topic-comment articulation, it has been pointed out that recipes exhibit register-specific usage: systematic use of topics for preparation steps of ingredients where individual ingredients are cleaned, cut, etc. (Aoyama 1987, Moriya 1993, Shimojo 2019, Kaneyasu and Kuhara 2020). An example from Shimojo (2019) is given in (1), which shows the beginning part of a “chicken paprika” recipe including each ingredient coded as a topic (underlined in the translation).¹

- (1) 1. toriniku-wa mawari-ni tuite-iru abura-o teeneeni
 chicken-TOP around-DAT attach.TE-ASP fat-ACC thoroughly
 torinozoku²
 remove

¹ This recipe of chicken paprika is from NHK’s *Kyoo no Ryoori* ‘Today’s Cooking’.

² The following abbreviations are used: ACC = accusative; ASP = aspect; ATT = attributive; CL = classifier; COND = conditional; COP = copula; DAT = dative; DES = desiderative; EMPH =

- ‘Remove excess fat from around the chicken thoroughly.’
 ----- [omitted] -----
2. tamanegi-wa usugiri-ni suru
 onion-TOP thin.slice-DAT do
 ‘Thinly slice the onion.’
3. massyuruumu-wa isizuki-o nozoki tatehanbun-ni kiru
 mushroom-TOP stem-ACC remove vertical.half-DAT cut
 ‘Destem mushrooms and cut (them) in half vertically.’

Shimojo (2019) discusses two types of recipe instruction arrangement as indicated in Figure 1, which shows the schematic presentation of the “chicken paprika” recipe structure. The sequential arrangement of instructions represents series cohesion, and the procedural segments in a parallel relationship, although need not be completed in parallel, represent parallel cohesion (i.e. the top three boxes shown horizontally in the figure, which correspond to example 1). The two types of cohesion are linguistically manifested by use and non-use of the topic-comment

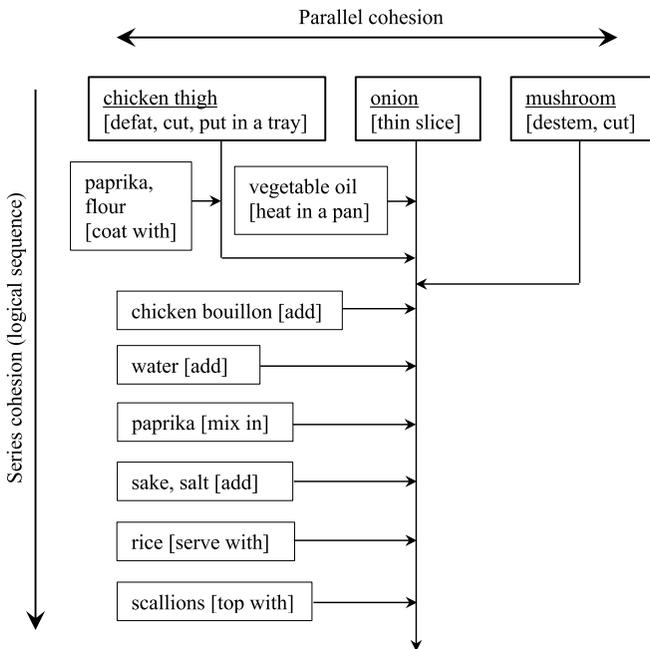


Figure 1. The structure of a chicken paprika recipe (Shimojo 2019: 520)

emphasis; GEN = genitive; IMP = imperative; INJ = interjection; INS = instrumental; MOD = modal; NEG = negative; NMZ = nominalizer; NOM = nominative; POT = potential; PP = pragmatic particle; PSS = passive; PST = past; QT = quotative; TE = *te* conjunctive; TOP = topic; VOL = volitional.

articulation and ingredients involved in parallel cohesion are mostly topic-marked and those in series cohesion are not.³ Shimojo (2019) shows that this usage of topics was also found in the corresponding spoken TV cooking show discourse, in which the recipe procedure was visually and verbally demonstrated by a cooking specialist.

While the usage of topics in recipes outlined above may be considered standard, Kaneyasu and Kuhara (2020) found variations across different sub-registers of recipes. By comparing linguistic features among professionally edited cookbooks, online commercial recipes, and online user-submitted recipes, they found higher uniformity in the cookbook and online commercial recipes and more variations in the user-generated recipes. This included topic-marked ingredients in the preparation steps, which were observed more consistently in the professionally written/edited recipes. Kaneyasu and Kuhara indicate that the use of topics in the recipes is part of the clarity driven aspects, which “facilitate quick and easy processing of information” (ibid: 52), and they explain that the consistent use of topics is due to high editorial control in the production of these recipes. Presumably, clarity is an important aspect for written recipes, which can be enforced by careful editing, and the consistent use of topics would help identify the intended recipe structure which is signaled by the linguistic feature.

2. Issues and questions

This study builds on the analyses by Shimojo (2019) and Kaneyasu and Kuhara (2020) and explores variations in the use of topics across sub-registers of cooking discourse. Shimojo’s (2019) analysis was limited to written recipes and TV cooking show discourse which correspond to the sub-register of “professionally-edited commercial” discourse in Kaneyasu and Kuhara’s (2020) terms. On the other hand, Kaneyasu and Kuhara’s analysis was limited to written recipes. This study presents observations in monologic cooking show discourse from YouTube cooking channels, which are “self-edited user-generated” and more casual sounding than the TV cooking show discourse analyzed in Shimojo (2019). While variations across the two sub-registers of spoken cooking discourse would be due to differences in editorial control, and the commercial discourse is expected to be more standardized, this study takes a different perspective from Kaneyasu and Kuhara (2020) and argues that differences in usage of topics are due to differences in intended instruction discourse structure in the given sub-register. Just like there are certain preferred structures of professionally written recipes, there is also a preferred or intended structure of user-generated recipe discourse, and individual differences due to the stylistic leeway in this sub-register are considered a reflection of variations in intended discourse structure.

With the assumptions above, this study will address the following ques-

³ The traditional notion of cohesion applies here; i.e., “relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text” (Halliday and Hassan 1976: 4), by which a recipe text forms a unified whole, rather than a collection of unrelated instructions.

tions: How is the morphologically-coded topic-comment articulation used in the YouTube cooking show discourse? And why is the usage associated with the particular discourse? While the scope of the study is the particular sub-register of cooking discourse, the discussion also addresses a comparison with the previous observations of the other sub-registers outlined above in order to better address the research questions. In particular, it is relevant to consider how the YouTube usage compares to the TV cooking show discourse. Given the variations across sub-registers of written recipes (Kaneyasu and Kuhara 2020), similar variations may be observed across sub-registers of spoken cooking discourse. With the new scope of analysis, this study aims to provide a more comprehensive and generalized understanding of cooking discourse.

Furthermore, this study goes beyond mere discussions of discourse observations by addressing how the discourse findings are captured in a theory of grammar with respect to the topic-comment articulation of a sentence. While it is important to describe discourse regularities per se, it is also important to consider how they are captured as part of grammar. The analysis is based on the assumption generally held by information structure studies that the structure of a sentence reflects a speaker's communicative intentions in given discourse situations. More specifically, the information structure of sentences concerns the relationship between sentence structure and speaker intentions, and this relationship is governed by conventions of grammar (Lambrecht 1994). This study assumes that the usage of topics in Japanese cooking discourse is an information-structural concern, not limited to how information is distributed in sentences, but including speaker intentions about how discourse is organized and presented. For the purpose of grammatical descriptions, the discussion draws on the framework of Role and Reference Grammar [RRG] (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2005), which provides a model of a grammar architecture in which discourse-pragmatics plays a role as prominent as syntax and semantics, the other interacting components of the grammar. The discussion of RRG is intended to provide one possible analysis to capture the grammatical conventions relevant to the usage of topics observed in the cooking discourse.

3. Data

The data for analysis consists of three monologic spoken cooking discourses in Japanese publicly viewable on YouTube (see Table 1). The cooking discourse was randomly chosen from three different YouTube cooking channels based on the following requirements. Because the analysis is targeted for procedural discourse, the discourse must primarily be step-by-step cooking instructions which are verbally given by the cooking expert while she or he demonstrates the procedure in the video. The cooking show discourse is typically mixed with occasional non-task-oriented utterances, which will also be discussed later. There are different styles of cooking discourse used by YouTube cooking channels. Some use a running narration instead of step-by-step instructions, and there are some even without verbal discourse; these do not serve the purpose of the present analysis. Also, the cooking

discourse used for analysis provides complete step-by-step instructions for the recipe in chronological order, without skipping a part of it or requiring advance preparation, so that the instructions can be followed by someone actually cooking the recipe. One noteworthy characteristic of the YouTube cooking show discourse is the casual style of language used throughout. While the overall speech level is formal with the use of the polite (*desu/masu*) forms of predicates for the most part, there is occasional use of the plain forms. The casual tone of language is also shown by pronunciations such as vowel lengthening (e.g. *iremaasu* ‘put’) and particular word choice (e.g. *okkee okkee* ‘okay, okay’, *abo mitaini* ‘like crazy’).

Table 1. YouTube cooking show data (instruction part only)

Recipe title	Channel name	Speaker gender	Duration	Total clausal units	URL*
[Ramen] Oisisugiru! Sapporo itiban miso raamen no tukurikata ‘How to make so delicious Sapporo Itiban Miso Ramen’	Makanai tyarenzi Kawara no Abe ‘Staff meal challenge at Kawara no Abe’	Male	6:02	74	https://youtu.be/qz1EFHEI_j0
[Bibimbap] Huraipan de tyookantan bibinba no tukurikata ‘How to make super easy bibimbap on frying pan’	Haruan no oisii dooga ‘Haruanne’s cooking chan- nel’	Female	7:48	112	https://youtu.be/R9VUph4w3XY
[Carbonara] Sikoo no karu- bonaara ‘Supreme carbonara’	Ryooriken- kyuuka Ryuuzi no bazuresipi ‘Cooking expert Ryuji’s buzz recipe’	Male	5:23	113	https://youtu.be/NtjPlr-W18

(*URLs last accessed June 2021)

In all three cooking videos used for analysis, the cooking discourse is preceded by an introduction which provides a background of the recipe and/or an introduction of ingredients (without preparation instructions) and followed by the YouTuber’s tasting of the food after the cooking. These non-cooking parts of the videos were excluded from the analysis. The cooking discourse for analysis was

transcribed and segmented into clausal units,⁴ which were tagged for their properties discussed in the following section. While the analysis focuses on the spoken discourse, it should be mentioned that the use of pop-up text is a salient feature of Japanese YouTube cooking videos, and there are interesting variations among the three cooking videos in this respect. The carbonara video uses the feature most frequently, in almost every step of the procedure. The bibimbap video uses some, but there is none used (for the instructions) in the ramen video. These pop-up texts consist of the following three types: verbatim captions for emphasis, titles of recipe segments (such as *namuru-o tukuroo* ‘let’s make namul’), and paraphrases of spoken utterances. The paraphrases are found for both instruction and non-instruction utterances, and in terms of the usage of topics, there is a general correspondence between the spoken utterances and the matching pop-up paraphrase texts.

4. Discussion

4.1. Recipe structures

As mentioned above, a recipe has a structure which represents both series and parallel relationships of procedures. A series relationship holds if instructions have contingent temporal succession and these procedural steps are not reversible because the subsequent step requires the completion of the preceding step. In contrast, some instructions may be reversible and therefore do not hold a sequential relationship, and these parallel procedural steps may even be completed concurrently if logistically possible. Schematic representations of the three recipe structures are presented in Figures 2–4. Each ingredient is shown in a box and abbreviated instructions are given in the brackets. The instructions are numbered according to the sequential order of mention in the discourse. Series and parallel relationships of procedures are reflected by the vertical and horizontal arrangement of the procedures respectively.

The ramen recipe (Figure 2) is the simplest among the three. The parallel steps 1–5 (which can be completed in any order) and the series steps 6–17 (which must be completed in the sequence) are clearly demarcated, and there is only one stream of series steps. The bibimbap recipe (Figure 3) has a more complex structure with two streams of instructions, one starting with step 1 and the other starting with step 6. Also, this recipe has fewer parallel steps than the ramen recipe. The carbonara recipe (Figure 4) has the most complex structure with three streams of instructions starting with 1, 4, and 10. The recipe also has five parallel steps, 1, 2, 3, 4, 10. The recipe structures shown in the figures are based on the procedures described in the cooking discourse, and it is important that the parallel recipe structure is not necessarily manifested linguistically in the instruction utterances (see section 4.3).

⁴ For complex sentences, *clausal junctures* (Hasegawa 1996, Van Valin 2005) were separated into clausal units (such as those linked with *kara* ‘because’). Complement clauses and complex NPs as well as *core and nuclear junctures* were not separated as an independent unit.

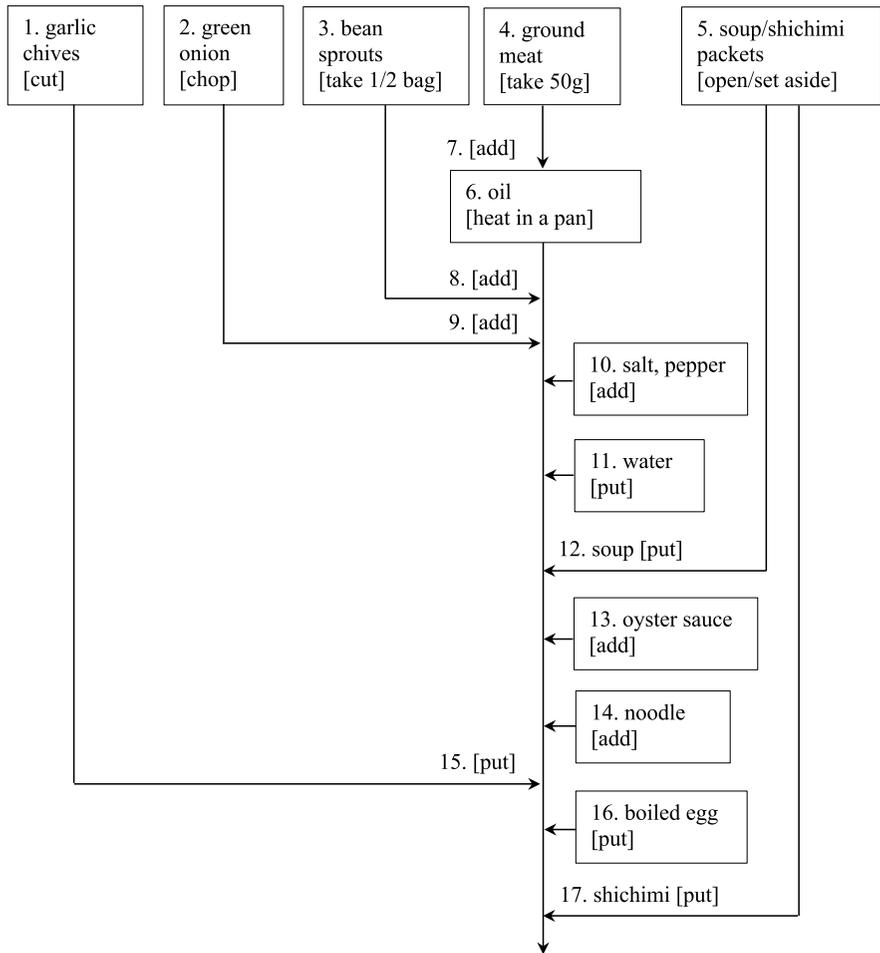


Figure 2. Structure of the ramen recipe

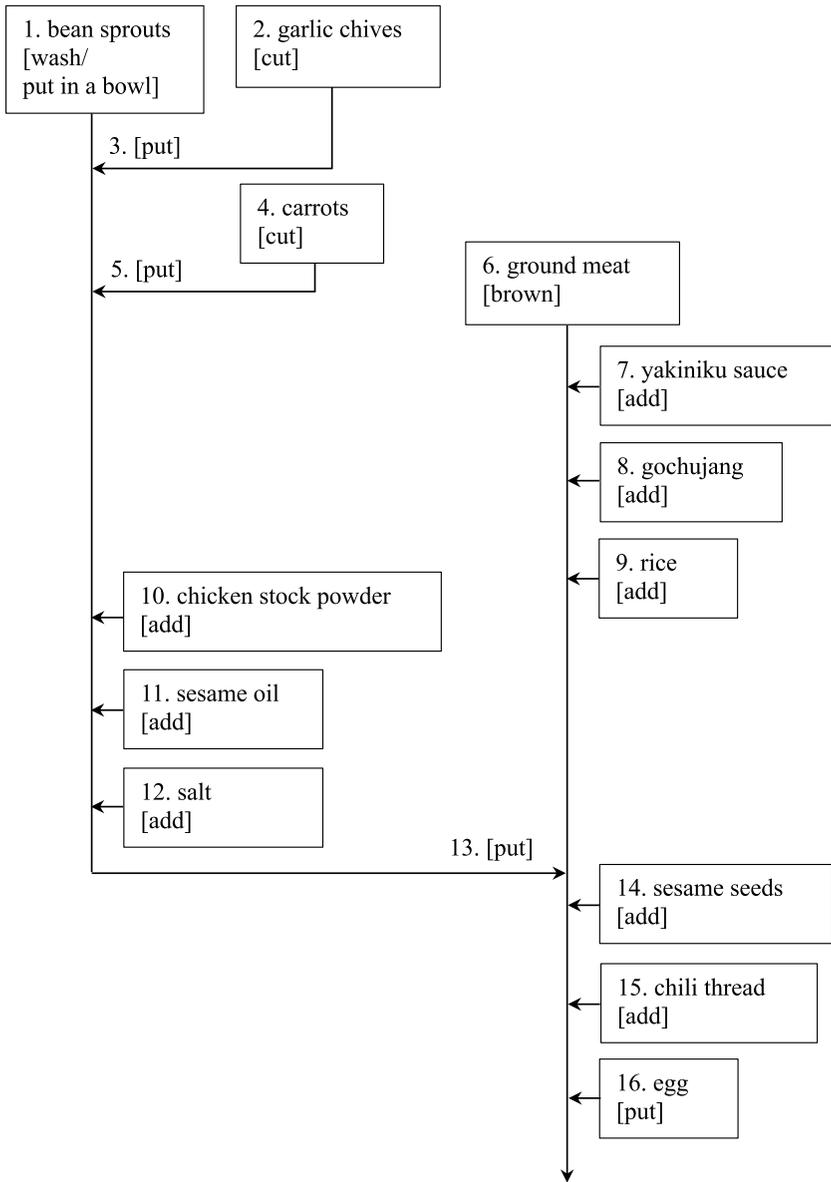


Figure 3. Structure of the bibimbap recipe

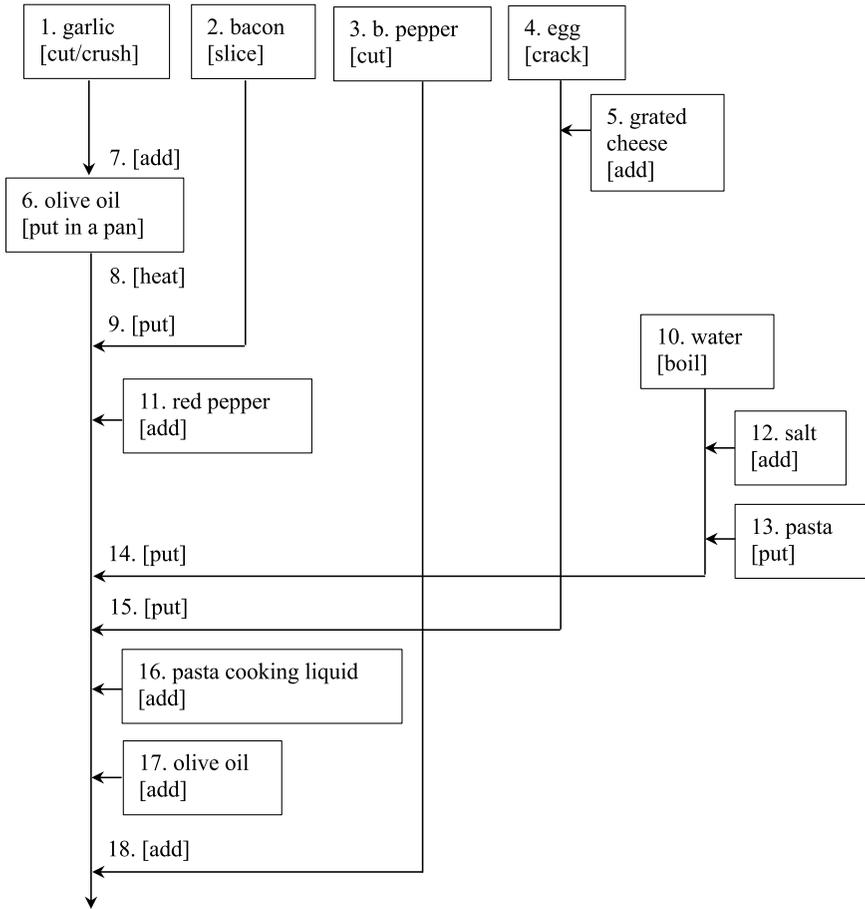


Figure 4. Structure of the carbonara recipe

4.2. Task-oriented and non-task-oriented utterances

It has been pointed out that cooking discourse contains both task-oriented and non-task-oriented content (Mayes 2003, Jung 2015); while the former refers to utterances relating to cooking dishes consisting of instructional and explanatory information, the latter is not directly related, such as jokes and personal stories. In the YouTube discourse for the current analysis, all non-instructional utterances *are* related to instructions; therefore, task-oriented utterances are defined more narrowly by referring to instructions only. Structurally independent non-instructional utterances are considered non-task-oriented, and a non-instructional clause structurally embedded in an instructional sentence is considered a task-oriented utterance as a whole. The non-task-oriented utterances are related to the mainstream instructions by coherence relations (Fox 1987, Mann and Thompson 1988) by

conveying relational propositions such as reason (for the instruction), background (information to facilitate understanding of the instruction), elaboration (details for the instruction), concession (inconsistent but affirmed situation for the instruction), and purpose (the intent behind the instruction). The distinction between task-oriented and non-task-oriented utterances is important because, in instructional utterances, agentive subjects are not expressed and non-agentive subjects are uncommon, in contrast to non-instruction utterances, which often contain an overt subject and exhibit agent orientation. Consider the beginning of part of the carbonara discourse given in (2).

(2) Task-oriented

1. mazu ne ninniku deesu
first PP garlic COP
'First of all, (it's) garlic.'
2. ninniku-wa ne koo ketu-o kiriyosite koo tubusimaasu
garlic-TOP PP this.way end-ACC cut.off.TE this.way crush
'Cut off the end of the garlic and crush (it) like so.'
3. de tubusitara
and crush.COND
'And after crushing (it)'
4. konkai itameru node ne
this.time fry because PP
'because (we) fry (it) this time'
5. me-wa ne totte-okimasyoo
germ-TOP PP remove.TE-ASP.VOL
'let's remove the germ.'
6. eeto tyotto kizami-nagara koo mizin-ni site ikimasu
INJ a.little mince-while this.way pieces-DAT make go
'Ah, mince (it) a little and finely chop (it) like so.'
7. tyotto ne aramizin gurai de ii desu
a.little PP coarse.pieces about COP.TE good COP
'A rough chop is fine.'
8. kono gurai-no mizin de daizyoobu desu
this about-COP.ATT pieces COP.TE okay COP
'Pieces like these are okay.'

Non-task-oriented

9. sosite konkai ne tyotto aburami tyotto sukunai n desu
and this.time PP a.little fat a.little little NMZ COP
kedomo
but
'And this time, (the bacon) is a little less fatty but'
10. ano aburabun-ga ooi siboobun-ga ooi beekon-no hoo-ga
INJ fat-NOM a.lot fat-NOM a.lot bacon-GEN side-NOM

boku-wa oisii to omoimasu
 I-TOP tasty QT think
 'I think bacon with more fat is tastier.'

11. konkai kore demo oisiku-dekimasu
 this.time this even tasty-be.able
 'This time, this will be tasty too.'

Task-oriented

12. de etto ma suraisusite tyotto ne komakameni kitte ikimasu
 and INJ INJ slice.TE a.little PP thinly cut.TE go
 'And cut the bacon into thin strips.'

Non-task-oriented

13. nan tuu noka sengiritte yuu no sengiri-ni sita
 what QT.say NMZ thin.slice.QT say NMZ thin.slice-DAT make.PST
 hoo-ga men to ne karami yasui n desu yone
 side-NOM noodle with PP stick easy NMZ COP PP
 'Well, thin slice, thin sliced (bacon) will stick to the pasta better.'

Task-oriented

14. e sosite kurokosyoo desu ne
 INJ and black.pepper COP PP
 'And black pepper.'
15. dekireba tyokuzenni kitta hoo-ga ii n desu kedomo
 if.possible just.before cut.PST side-NOM good NMZ COP but
 'It's better to cut (the peppercorn) right before if possible but'
16. konkai tyotto kittyaimasu
 this.time a.little cut.TE.ASP
 'I'll cut (it) this time.'
17. hootyoo-de kizande-kudasai koo yatte
 knife-INS cut.TE-give.IMP this.way do.TE
 'Cut (it) with a knife like so.'
18. hai dekireba girigirini yatte-kudasai
 yes if.possible just.before do.TE-give.IMP
 'Yes, if you can, (cut it) just before (using it).'

Non-task-oriented

19. dondon dondon ne kitta syunkan kara kono
 rapidly rapidly PP cut.PST moment from this
burakkupeppaa-no kaoritte yuu no-wa ne kezutte kara ne
 black.pepper-GEN flavor.QT say NMZ-TOP PP shave.TE from PP
 sanzuyuppun gurai sika motanaitte iu huuni iwarete-ru
 30.minutes about only last.NEG.QT say manner say.PSS.TE-ASP
 n desu ne kono kaori ne
 NMZ COP PPT his flavor PP
 '(They) say the flavor of black pepper lasts only about 30 minutes after
 grinding the peppercorn, from the moment of cutting (it).'

Task-oriented

20. maa nakereba hutuu-no arabiki demo
 INJ exist.NEG.COND regular-COP.ATT coarse.ground even
 ii n desu kedomo
 good NMZ COP but
 ‘If there is no (peppercorn), regular coarse ground (black pepper) is fine
 but’
21. dekireba kore kezutte-kudasai
 if.possible this shave.TE-give.IMP
 ‘please grind this (peppercorn) if you can.’

The excerpt above corresponds to the procedural steps 1–3 in Figure 4 (utterance units 1–8 corresponding to step 1, units 9–13 to step 2, and units 14–21 to step 3). Among these, units 9, 10, 11, 13, and 19 are non-task-oriented utterances. Units 9–11 express the youtuber’s acknowledgement of the bacon being inconsistent with the ideal type (concession). Unit 13 is a reason for the instruction in 12, i.e. why the bacon should be cut into strips. Likewise, unit 19 is a reason for the instruction in 18.

In terms of task-orientation of utterances, the non-task-oriented utterances use the topic-comment articulation more frequently than the task-oriented utterances, and the task-oriented utterances are more closely associated with topic-less utterances (Table 2). There are two important points to note here. First, the relative low frequency of the topic-comment articulation in task-oriented utterances is expected due to the goal/activity-focused nature, as indicated earlier; however, this tendency is particularly noticeable in the YouTube discourse, in contrast to the TV cooking show discourse discussed in Shimojo (2019). On the other hand, both sub-registers of cooking discourse are comparable in the usage of topics in non-task-oriented utterances. The two types of utterance are discussed further in the following sections.

Table 2. Articulation types and task-orientation of utterances

Recipe/task-orientation	Topic-comment	Topic-less	Total
Ramen			
Task-oriented	2 (.04)	54 (.96)	56 (1.00)
Non-task-oriented	8 (.44)	10 (.56)	18 (1.00)
Bibimbap			
Task-oriented	3 (.05)	63 (.95)	66 (1.00)
Non-task-oriented	7 (.15)	39 (.85)	46 (1.00)
Carbonara			
Task-oriented	7 (.08)	82 (.92)	89 (1.00)
Non-task-oriented	8 (.33)	16 (.67)	24 (1.00)

4.3. Topics in task-oriented utterances

As discussed earlier, it was previously observed that instructions which are intended to be parallel to each other are expressed in the topic-comment articulation. An example in (3) shows a part of the TV cooking show discourse from Shimojo (2019), which corresponds to the chicken paprika recipe (top three boxes) in Figure 1. Speakers C and A are the cooking specialist and the assistant respectively.

- (3) 1C. kore-wa mazu koo abura-o totte-itadakitai wane
 this-TOP first like.so fat-ACC remove.TE-receive.DES PP
 ‘This (chicken thigh), remove the fat like so first of all.’
- 2A. hai
 yes
 ----- [omitted] -----
- 3C. tamanegi-wa yonbunnoikko desu kara
 onion-TOP 1/4.CL COP because
 ‘(It’s) 1/4 of an onion, so’
- 4A. a hai
 INJ yes
 ‘Ah yes.’
- 5C. kore-o moo sugoku usugiri de ii n desu yo
 this-ACC EMPH very thin.slice COP.TE good NMZ COP PP
 ‘Thin-slicing this (onion) is good.’
 ----- [omitted] -----
- 6C. kore massyuruumu-wa hutatu-ni kitte-arimasu
 this mushroom-TOP two.CL-DAT cut.TE-ASP
 ‘This, the mushrooms have been cut in half.’
- 7A. hai etto ziku-o totte de hutatuwari desu ne
 yes INJ stem-ACC remove.TE and cutting.in.two COP PP
 ‘Yes, remove the stem and cut in half.’

As is the case with the corresponding written recipe given in (1), the TV discourse in (3) shows that the instructions for the three ingredients, chicken, onions, and mushrooms, use the topic-comment articulation, in which each ingredient is coded as a topic. In contrast, the YouTube discourse uses topic-less articulation for parallel instructions except for two cases noted below. The carbonara discourse, for example, starts with the four ingredients which take parallel instructions: garlic, bacon, black pepper, and egg (steps 1–4 in Figure 4), and only the garlic is coded as a topic (examples 2.2 and 2.5). While Table 2 shows a total of 11 cases of topic-comment articulation in task-oriented utterances, there are only two cases which may be taken as a reflection of the parallel recipe structure (“garlic” in example 2.2; “ground meat” in step 4 of Figure 2). The rest of the topic-marked ingredients do not express a parallel recipe structure, and they instead denote locally contrastive states, which is the more general topic usage (Clancy and Downing 1987). For example, the instruction in (2.5), *me-wa ne totte-okimashoo* ‘let’s remove the germ’

does not express a parallel procedure structure because the garlic germ is not an ingredient which is to be prepared; rather, it is to be removed in contrast to the other part of the garlic to be kept. Another example is given in (4), which corresponds to steps 14 and 15 of Figure 3 (the bibimbap recipe). The chili thread coded as a topic in (4.3) does not express a parallel procedure, but it expresses a contrast with another topping item mentioned in the immediately preceding utterance.

- (4) 1. hai sirogomaa
 yes white.sesame.seeds
 ‘All right, white sesame seeds.’
 2. goma desu ne
 sesame COP PP
 ‘(These) are sesame seeds.’
 3. itotoogarasi desu kore-wa
 chili.thread COP this-TOP
 ‘This is chili thread.’

As shown above, the YouTube cooking discourse exhibits a discrepancy between how the recipe is structured, as shown in Figures 2–4, and how the instructions are actually presented. Most of the parallel procedures of the recipes are not linguistically manifested with the topic-comment articulation, and this suggests the overall preference for a sequential presentation of the instructions. Thus, the observed contrast between the two sub-registers of spoken cooking discourse seems to reflect different approaches. In contrast to the commercial cooking discourse, which uses the standard prepare-the-ingredients-before-you-cook approach, the YouTube cooking channels use their quick and easy recipes as a selling point, and many of their videos are titled with these keywords, as exemplified by “10 minutes, super easy” in the title of the bibimbap video. With such a priority, the instructions tend to employ the prepare-the-ingredients-as-you-cook style, and there seem to be at least two consequences of this. First, the recipe structure itself tends to be one dimensional. In the bibimbap recipe, for example, step 4 “cutting the carrots” (Figure 3), one of the preparation steps, is presented after the ingredients from steps 1 and 2 are combined. Thus, this is an example of the one-dimensional recipe structure itself influencing the linguistic feature of the instructions.⁵ Secondly, a parallel recipe structure would be presented as sequential instructions, and this is the case with most of the preparation steps in the YouTube data (steps 1–3, 5 in Figure 2, steps 1–2 in Figure 3, steps 2–4 in Figure 4). In other words, the non-parallel procedures are the preferred feature of the YouTube cooking show discourse, and this is reflected in how the instructions are presented.

As indicated in section 1, it has been acknowledged that the topic of topic-comment articulation tends to denote givenness. This is generally the case with topicalized ingredients in recipes because a list of ingredients is provided initially

⁵ Similarly, Kaneyasu and Kuhara (2020) point out that the preparation stage tends to be simplified in the user-generated recipe texts, often integrated with the procedural steps.

for introduction (Kaneyasu and Kuhara 2020), hence presupposed (Lambrecht 1994). This applies to the present analysis, and the ingredients mentioned in the instructions are referentially given at the time of mention therein, due to the initial introduction of ingredients prior to the instructional discourse (for the bibimbap recipe, a list of ingredients is provided in the video description). Despite this, the YouTube discourse does not align with the usual topic-givenness correlation, since the previously given ingredients are coded mostly as non-topic in instructional utterances where they would be coded as topic in the other sub-registers of cooking discourse. That is, while a topic denotes givenness, it is how the recipe instructions are presented that correlate with the speaker's pragmatic articulation of the instructions.

4.4. Topics in non-task-oriented utterances

As stated in section 4.2, non-task-oriented utterances are a non-instruction part of the cooking show discourse; thus, they are considered side sequences vis-à-vis the mainstream instructions. As shown in Table 2, non-task-oriented utterances are more likely to use the topic-comment articulation in the YouTube data. It was observed in Shimojo (2019) that side sequences in the TV cooking show discourse are connected as part of the coherent discourse with a topic-*wa*-phrase. This is exemplified by the example in (5), in which the cooking specialist uses a side-sequence (5.3–6) in order to explain why the instructed procedure makes the noodle dish delicious. The sequence is introduced with a topic sentence in (5.3), which refers to the main ingredient noodle.

(5) Task-oriented

1A. sakihodo-no aemen to onaziyooni hukuro-no
 previous-COP.ATT noodle.with.sauce as in.the.same.way bag-GEN
 hyoozi zikan yorimo sukosi mizikameni yudete-imasu
 indication time than little shortish boil.TE-ASP
 'Like the previous noodle with sauce, boil (the noodle) a little less than recommended package cooking time.'

2A. nisankai sasimizu-o site-kudasai ne
 two.or.three.times adding.water-ACC do.TE-give.IMP PP
 'Add water two or three times (while cooking the noodle).'

Non-task-oriented

3C. kore-wa ne anoo betuno yudete betuno kono otuyu-de
 this-top PP INJ another boil.TE another this soup-INS
 taberu desyoo
 eat PP

'This (noodle), (you) boil separately and eat in this separate soup, don't you?'

4A. hai asari-no ima suupu-o ne kakete-masu ne
 yes clam-GEN now soup-ACC PP put.TE-ASP PP
 'Yes, (you) are putting the clam soup over (the noodle) now.'

5C. soo suru-to ne anoo aburabun-ga torete hizyooni oisii
 so do-COND PP INJ fat-NOM come.off very delicious
 to omoimasu yo kore
 QT think PP this

‘In doing so, um, fat is removed and (I) think this is very delicious.’

6A. a men-o yudeta oyu-o tukawanaide betuno
 INJ noodle-ACC boil.PST hot.water-ACC use.NEG.TE another
 suupu-o tukau-to aburapposa-ga kaisyoodekiru to yuu koto
 soup-ACC use-COND greasiness-NOM solve.POT QT say NMZ
 na n desu ne
 COP.ATT NMZ COP PP

‘Oh, (you) mean, without using the water (you) boiled the noodle in, by using the separate soup, (you) can get rid of greasiness.’

Task-oriented

7C. de tuyu-o konoyooni sosoide
 and soup-ACC in.this.way pour.TE
 ‘And pour the soup like so’

The YouTube discourse exhibits the analogous usage of topics. Consider example (6) from the YouTube ramen discourse, which corresponds to steps 6–8 in Figure 2.

(6) Task-oriented

1. hai ee huraipan-ga atatamatte kitara ne
 yes INJ frying.pan-NOM heat.up.TE come.COND PP
 ‘Okay, ah, when the frying pan gets warmed up’
2. mazu ne saradayu-o hikimaasu
 first PP cooking.oil-ACC put
 ‘first, put cooking oil (in it).’
3. hai soko-ni hikiniku ne sakki no ne
 yes there-DAT ground.meat PP a.little.while.ago one PP
 ‘Okay, (put) the ground meat from earlier in there’
4. de tubusi-nagara ne
 and break.apart-while PP
 ‘and break (it) apart’

Non-task-oriented

5. hikiniku-no hoo-wa azi-ga de-yasui
 ground.meat-GEN side-TOP flavor-NOM come.out-easy
 ‘Ground meat is usually more flavorful.’
6. butakoma demo nandemo ii n da kedo nee
 pork.pieces even anything good NMZ COP but PP
 ‘(You) can use pork pieces or whatever but’
7. hikiniku-no hoo-ga azi-ga deru
 ground.meat-GEN side-NOM flavor-NOM come.out
 ‘ground meat is more flavorful.’

Task-oriented

8. daitai ne iro-ga kawatte kitara kore moyasi
 almost PP color-NOM change.TE come.COND this bean.sprout
 ‘When (the meat) is mostly browned, this, bean sprouts.’

The excerpt above contains a side-sequence (6.5–7), which provides background of the ingredient and the topic-marked “ground meat” relates to the preceding instruction (6.3–4) for the ingredient. The utterance in (6.5) could have been a topic-less sentence such as (6.7), where the ingredient is denoted by a contrastive focus (*-no hoo-ga*),⁶ but the use of the topic in (6.5) makes the non-instruction comment more cohesive to the preceding instruction; for this purpose, the speaker could also have used an utterance such as *bikiniku-wa azi-ga de-yasui* ‘ground meat is usually flavorful’, without the explicit contrastive element *X-no hoo*.

Figure 5 presents a schematic presentation of the YouTube ramen discourse above (the first seven steps only), showing the mainstream instructions on the left, according to the sequential order of mention in the discourse, and non-task-oriented utterances on the right. The two types of utterances are linked according to their linear sequence in the text, and the topic-marked elements of the side-sequences are underlined.

The TV and YouTube cooking show discourses, despite their different sub-registers, share the usage of topics for non-task-oriented utterances. They are both procedural discourses, and for this reason, non-task-oriented utterances used therein are digressions, albeit coherent to the mainstream instructions. Yet, these digressions are intended to be an essential part of the cooking discourse because they provide additional information relevant to the recipe instructions. Accordingly, they need to be coherently connected to the mainstream instructions, and the topic-comment articulation serves this function by relating a side-sequence to the mainstream instructions.

⁶ A contrastive focus is a focus of the sentence which denotes an element singled out from a contextually given set (Erteschik-Shir 2007: 28); in this example, *bikiniku* ‘ground meat’ is singled out from the different types of pork mentioned in 6.5–6. A similar definition is used for contrastive topics in section 4.5.1.

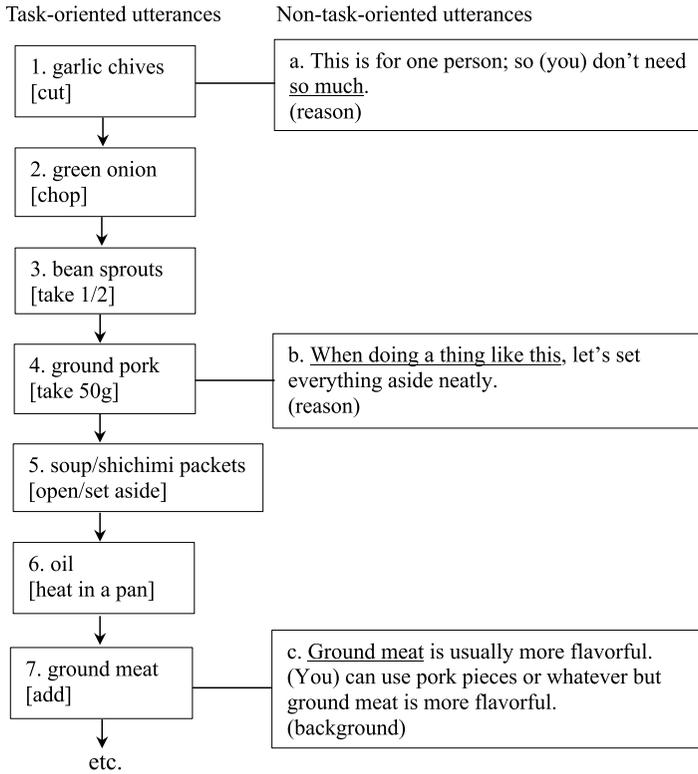


Figure 5. Parallel structure of the YouTube ramen discourse

4.5. The utterance types and sub-registers

The discussions given thus far are summarized as follows. In the TV cooking show discourse discussed in Shimojo (2019), the task-oriented discourse embodies the two-dimensional structure of a recipe by providing parallel procedures with the topic-comment articulation. At the same time, the cooking discourse as a whole is two dimensional due to the parallel structure consisting of a task-oriented discourse and non-task-oriented side-sequences. This is also the case with the YouTube discourse; however, the task-oriented discourse therein exhibits one-dimensionality because of a preference for presentation of sequential procedures. The comparison is summarized in Table 3, followed by discussions of the discourse and grammatical properties of each utterance type.

Table 3. Intended structures in the two sub-registers of spoken cooking discourse

	TV	YouTube
Task-oriented	Parallel/sequential	Sequential
Non-task-oriented	Parallel	Parallel

4.5.1. Task-oriented utterances

Clancy and Downing (1987) argue that all uses of topic-*wa*-phrases can be characterized as “fulfilling a cohesive role, in that they mark a *relation*, i.e., contrast, that necessarily involves two or more textual elements which might otherwise be presented as autonomous” (1987: 3–4, emphasis in original), and they indicate that *wa*’s cohesive bond can be global or local as in the case of the so-called “thematic” or “contrastive” *wa*’s (Kuno 1973) respectively. In the usage of *wa* to express parallel procedures, which is found mostly in the TV cooking discourse, *wa*’s cohesive role can be seen in relating parallel procedures by unifying instructions for each ingredient and contrasting the ingredients in terms of those instructions. This use of topics concerns the manifestation of the intended organization of the recipe instructions. If parallel procedures are provided in the topic-less articulation, the described procedures would be taken as sequential. This is exemplified by the modified version of (1), which is given in (7), and this topic-less presentation of parallel procedures is what tends to be used in the YouTube discourse.

- (7) 1. toriniku-no mawari-ni tuite-iru abura-o teeneeni
 chicken-GEN around-DAT attach.TE-ASP fat-ACC thoroughly
 torinozoku
 remove
 ‘Remove excess fat from around the chicken thoroughly.’
2. tamanegi-o usugiri-ni suru
 onion-ACC thin.slice-DAT do
 ‘Thinly slice the onion.’
3. massyuruumu-no isizuki-o nozoki tatehanbun-ni kiru
 mushroom-GEN stem-ACC remove vertical.half-DAT cut
 ‘Destem mushrooms and cut (them) in half vertically.’

Given the discussion above, the remainder of this paper sketches how the usage of topics observed in the cooking discourse is grammatically described, utilizing the framework of RRG. The questions addressed here are: How is the topic usage characteristic of the cooking discourse described in the grammar? And how are the variations in the usage of contrastive topics captured?

First of all, the contrastive function of topics concerns the focus structure of sentences, i.e. “the conventional association of a focus meaning with a sentence form” (Lambrecht 1994: 222). Focus meanings refer to the distribution of information with respect to pragmatic presupposition and assertion. Presupposition is the information which (the speaker assumes) is known to the hearer prior to the utterance, and assertion is the information which is known to the hearer as a result of the utterance (Lambrecht 1994: 52). Thus, a topic of a sentence which denotes presupposed information is the non-focus of the sentence, and the part of the sentence which denotes asserted information is the focus. In terms of the focus structure properties, a contrastive topic is ambivalent. On one hand, it is a non-focus element because it denotes an entity which is already known. On the other hand, it is focal at the same time because it denotes an element which is singled out from

a contextually given set, and it eliminates the other subset as a possible topic for the provided comment. Based on Erteschik-Shir's (2007) representation of focus structure, a contrastive topic x is described as $[\{x_{\text{foc}}, y, z, \dots\}_{\text{top}}]_{\text{top}}$, which shows that x is a singled out element from the given set of entities $\{x, y, z, \dots\}_{\text{top}}$ and that x functions as the matrix topic at the same time. The relationship between the focus structure of a sentence and the clause structure is shown in Figure 6.

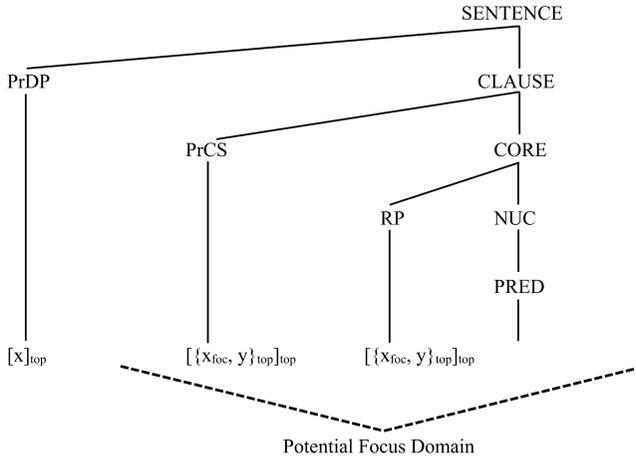


Figure 6. Assignment of topic phrases in the layered structure of the clause and focus structure projection

A non-contrastive topic is placed in the pre-detached position [PrDP] outside the clause, which is the syntactic domain where a focus element may appear, as indicated by the potential focus domain in the figure.⁷ On the other hand, a contrastive topic $[\{x_{\text{foc}}, y\}_{\text{top}}]_{\text{top}}$ is placed within the clause (and the potential focus domain) including the precore slot [PrCS], a reference phrase [RP] (argument) and the predicate [PRED]. The precore slot is a clause-internal but core-external position which houses a fronted element such as WH question words in English. Likewise, a contrastive topic which does not occur *in situ* is placed in the precore slot. In example (1.1), the focus structure for the topic contains $[\{\text{chicken}_{\text{foc}}, \text{onions}, \text{mushrooms}, \dots\}_{\text{top}}]_{\text{top}}$, since the topic element is singled out from the previously given set of ingredients to provide the instruction for the entity, and the same bi-level representation applies to 'onions' and 'mushrooms' in the following sentences in (1). In terms of clause structure, the contrastive topics in (1.1) and (1.3) are placed in a precore slot because they are separated from the argument

⁷ In some languages, the potential focus domain is restricted further. See Van Valin (2005: 75). While not shown in the figure, the potential focus domain contains the actual focus domain, which is the part of the sentence actually in focus. Contrastive topics are outside the actual focus domain.

RPs in which they function, as shown by the contrast with those appearing *in situ* in (7.1) and (7.3) respectively. On the other hand, the contrastive topic *in situ* in (1.2) is realized as a reference phrase within the core. Regardless of the syntactic positions of contrastive topics, it is important that they are contained within the potential focus domain of a sentence due to their topic–focus ambivalence, and the focal status of these topics is expected in the cooking discourse, since individual instructions are provided for particular ingredients singled out from the presupposed set.

The other question concerns the observed variations in the topic usage. A reference to an individual ingredient by singling it out and eliminating the other alternatives sets up the condition for a contrastive topic. Yet, not all ingredients are coded as a topic in the instructions, and they are rarely topicalized in the YouTube instructions even if the procedures are in a parallel relationship, as described in section 4.1. The choice between topic and non-topic coding of target ingredients depends on the speaker’s intention as to how the procedures are structured. In more grammatical terms, the topic coding of ingredients described above is associated with the parallel procedure structure, which is shown in Figure 7.⁸ The schema shows a presupposed set of ingredients and arrows indicating the mention of the ingredients in the given procedures. The horizontally positioned procedures represent the parallel relationship, regardless of the sequential order of mention of the procedures in the discourse.

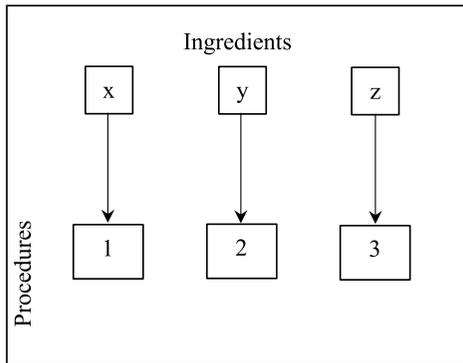


Figure 7. Parallel procedure structure

In contrast, the topic-less articulation is associated with the sequential procedure structure (Figure 8). The schema shows that the procedures are positioned sequentially, even if the procedures are separate and the completion of one does not require the completion of another, as shown in the figure.

⁸ I thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting the schematization here.

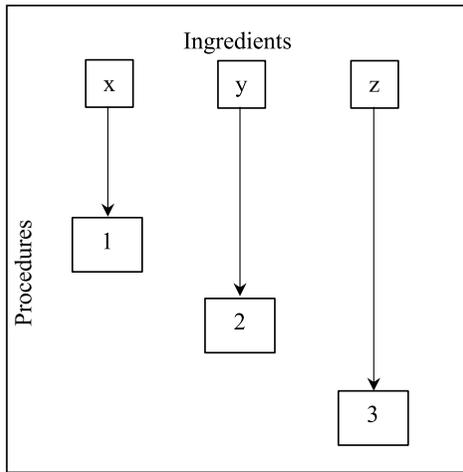


Figure 8. Sequential procedure structure

In both procedure structures above, the singling out of an individual ingredient sets up the condition for a contrastive topic. Yet, the speaker has the option of not coding ingredients as a topic if parallel procedures are not intended. The present analysis points to two areas which are relevant to this. First, parallel instructions are not intended if the recipe requires sequential arrangement of instructions. This applies across sub-registers of cooking discourse. Secondly, parallel procedures may be presented as sequential (as shown in Figure 8), and this is relevant to the observed cross-register variations since it is mostly the case with the YouTube discourse. This is also relevant to greater variations in the user-generated cooking discourse (Kaneyasu and Kuhara 2020) due to greater stylistic leeway therein, as mentioned in section 2.

4.5.2. Non-task-oriented utterances

Contrastive topics are also possible for non-task-oriented utterances in order to denote locally contrastive entities (not to express parallel instructions). This is exemplified by the utterance in (8.3), which singles out “oyster sauce” from {oyster sauce, soy sauce} and provides a reason for the preceding instruction in (8.1).

(8) Task-oriented

1. tyotto ne oisutaasooosu-o honno tyotto irete-mimasu
a.little PP oyster.sauce-ACC just a.little put.TE-MOD
'Add oyster sauce just a little bit (to the broth).'
2. syooyu demo ii kara
soy.sauce too good because
'Soy sauce will do too.'

Non-task-oriented

3. oisutaasoosu-wa tyotto amami-ga aru kara
 oyster.sauce-TOP a.little sweetness-ACC exist because
 ‘Oyster sauce is a little sweet, so’
4. oisiku naru n zyanai ka to
 tasty become NMZ PP Q QT
 ‘(I think the broth) will be tasty.’

However, the salient feature of non-task-oriented utterances is the use of non-contrastive topics, which was observed in both TV and YouTube discourse as mentioned earlier. In this case, the cohesive function served by a topic-*wa*-phrase is fulfilled by providing a sidenote *about* an element (or a related element) of the instruction. With respect to this type of uses, Shibatani (1990: 279) states that a topic “relates an event to the preceding scene in such a way that the new event is presented as a further development of the preceding scene or the new event is made tangential to the preceding scene rather than constituting an independent scene”. One of the earlier examples from the TV discourse is repeated in (9). As seen in this example, non-task-oriented utterances are presented as tangential to the mainstream instructions; thereby, these utterances are presented as a further comment of a given instruction rather than a separate digression.

- (9) kore-wa ne anoo betuno yudete betuno kono otuyu-de
 this-TOP PP INJ another boil.TE another this soup-INS
 taberu desyoo (= (5.3))
 eat PP
 ‘This (noodle), (you) boil separately and eat in this separate soup, don’t you?’

In RRG terms, non-contrastive topics exemplified by (9) are described as $[x]_{\text{top}}$, as shown in Figure 6, and it is placed in the pre-detached position outside the clause, i.e. outside the potential focus domain. The topic coding which relates a non-procedural comment to a procedure is associated with the discourse structure illustrated in Figure 9. As discussed in section 4.4, non-task-oriented utterances construct a parallel discourse to the procedural discourse, and the former is related to the latter explicitly with the topic coding. This is indicated by the line connecting the non-procedural comment to the procedure in the figure. Unlike the contrastive topics used for procedures, the non-contrastive topics used for non-procedural comments do not relate to the ingredient set and do not select a subset, but they relate to procedures in which the target ingredients are rendered salient. For this reason, topics in non-task-oriented utterances are expected to be non-contrastive, i.e. $[x]_{\text{top}}$, unless there is a locally contrastive set as in (8).

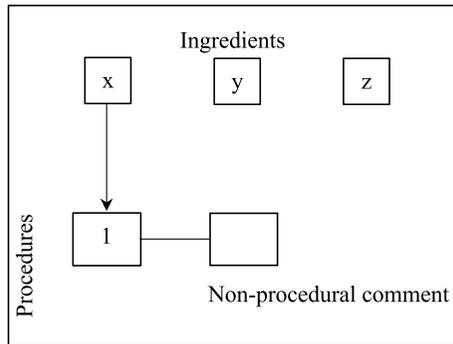


Figure 9. Parallel procedure-nonprocedure structure

5. Conclusion

By presenting an analysis of cooking show discourse in Japanese, this study attempted to show that proper description of the usage of topics requires both information- and discourse-structural considerations. This claim also aligns with the assumption that referential givenness, which is concerned with cognitive statuses of referents, and relational givenness, which involves a topic-comment partition of a sentence, are essentially independent, as the former is closely related to focus structure of sentences and the latter “reflects how the informational content of a particular event or state of affairs is conceptualized, represented, and expressed” (Gundel 2012: 589). With respect to the usage of topics, the case study has shown that the pragmatic articulation of a sentence plays an important role not only in relating an utterance to the preceding text but also in serving the purposes of the given discourse. In the YouTube cooking discourse, presenting procedures linearly with the topic-less articulation better serves the purpose of making the recipe more forward moving, i.e. seemingly quick, toward the goal.

The study also acknowledges the limitation of the analysis which was based on a small sample of discourse; thus, the question remains as to how generalizable the observations are to the same sub-register and across sub-registers of cooking discourse. Also, it would be important to consider whether the analysis can be extended to other types of procedural discourse. Another limitation that could be addressed in future study concerns how recipe complexity influences the presentation of instructions. Recipe complexity may raise the need for clarity in recipe presentation and therefore prompt the topic-comment articulation for instructions even in YouTube-like casual cooking discourse.

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【要 旨】

情報・談話構造とトピック ——料理チャンネルの談話分析から——

下條 光明

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日本語における主題文は文の情報構造と密接に関わるが、話者が意図する談話構造とも大きく関係することは、語りの談話等を除きあまり議論されてこなかった。本稿では、YouTube 料理チャンネル動画における主題文の用法を中心に、料理談話での主題文と談話構造との関係を考察する。これまで、料理レシピやテレビの料理番組では主題文が材料準備の教示発話に使われることが指摘されてきたが（青山 1987, Moriya 1993, Shimojo 2019; Kaneyasu and Kuhara 2020）、この様な並列教示の主題用法は YouTube 動画ではあまり見られず、これはレシピの簡単さや時短を謳う YouTube 料理動画で意図される直線的な談話提示と関係することを示す。一方で、料理動画で非教示発話に用いられる主題文は教示発話との結束性を示し、テレビの料理番組での用法と一致する。さらに、談話データにおける観察に対して、情報構造、談話構造、また主題文使用における個人差も視野に入れ、役割指示文法（Van Valin 2005）に基づいた文法的説明も試みる。