How the Japanese "Contrastive" *kedo* is Structured and Used in Everyday Conversation

by

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Abstract

Japanese *kedo* has traditionally been described and taught using two clauses where the *kedo* clause forms a contrastive relationship with the following main clause (Geyer 2007a; Geyer 2007b, Hatasa et al 2010; Iwasaki 2013). However, studies have shown that *kedo* also appears in other grammatical configurations and serves non-contrastive functions. Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997) show *kedo* in narrative and conversation often expresses background information, 'the parts which support, amplify or comment on the narration' (Hopper 1979). Their data also contains *kedo* clauses that are not followed by the main clause. Geyer (2007a; 2007b) mostly examines L2 data and suggests that *kedo* is a mitigation marker used to avoid conflicts with other speakers (e.g., *watashi wa soo omou **kedo*** 'I think so'). Building on these studies, the current study examines 41 conversations by native speakers and examines: 1) the frequency of the canonical usage of *kedo* (i.e., contrastive use and bi-clausal configuration) and how it is used in conversation; 2) the frequency of non-canonical usages of *kedo* (i.e., non-contrastive uses and other configurations) and how they are used in conversation. I have found that the contrastive *kedo* and bi-clausal *kedo* are not common at all in my data. In fact, *kedo* has several non-contrastive functions such as backgrounding and (discourse) mitigation and other structural configurations such as mono-clausal and clause chaining configurations. Many examples involving *kedo* have common characteristics (e.g*., mae ni mo itta **kedo*** 'I told you before but').

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List of Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
ASP	aspect
BCH	backchannel expression
CAU	causative
COND	conditional form
CONT	continuous aspect
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
EMPH	emphasis marker
EXCLAM	exclamatory
FP	final particle
GEN	genitive
HON	(respect) honorific
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
LK	linking nominal
NEG	negative
NMZR	nominalizer
NOM	nominative case
OBLIG	obligation
PAST	past
PL	plural

POL   polite suffix

PP   pragmatic particle

POT   potential suffix

PRED   predicate

PRT   particle

Q   question marker

QT   quotative particle

SUB   subject

TE   *-te* (conjunctive) form

TOP   topic marker

VOL   volitional suffix

List of Transcription Symbols

[ ]   overlap

@   laughter

<@ @>   laugh quality

..   short pause

...   long pause

-              truncated

=   lengthening

<X X>   unintelligible segment

[(H)]   inhalation

<Q Q>   quotation

<F F>   loud (forte) segment

%   glottal stop

(0)   latching

Chapter 1 Introduction

One of the Japanese connective particles, *kedo*, has traditionally been described as a contrastive marker connecting two clauses. The present study analyzes the use of the Japanese *kedo* in naturally-occurring conversations quantitatively and qualitatively, and investigates how *kedo* is used by Japanese native speakers.

1.1. Japanese sentence structure

Before we discuss the structural configurations of *kedo*, the Japanese sentence structure will be briefly illustrated in this section. Traditionally, Japanese is considered an SOV language. (1) is an example from Shibatani (1990).

(1) Shibatani (1990:257)

Taroo   ga   hanako ni   hon   o   yatta.
        Nom   DAT book   ACC   gave
        'Taro gave a book to Hanako.'

Japanese is a 'case marking' language and noun phrases are marked with a particle to indicate their relationship to the predicate (Iwasaki 2013). The particle *ga* in (1) shows that the noun *Taroo* has a nominative case relationship with the verb *yatta* 'give'. The particle *ni* is called a dative particle and functions to mark noun phrases as the indirect object. The particle *o* functions to show that the noun *hon* 'book' has an accusative relationship with the verb *yatta* (Iwasaki 2013). In this sentence, subject *Taroo* is placed at the beginning and object *hon* 'book' comes before the verb *yatta* 'gave'. Shibatani (1990) also states that verbs in Japanese must be in the

sentence-final position. (2) is from Shibatani (1990). This sentence involves a subordinate clause followed by a main clause.

(2) Shibatani (1990:259)

Taroo ga ringo o tabe, soshite Hanako ga mikan o tabeta.
          apple eat and   orange ate
        'Taro ate an apple, and Hanako ate an orange.'

The verb *tabe* 'eat' is said to be in its stem form and cannot end a sentence, and the first clause is considered to be a subordinate clause. The subordinate clause comes before the main clause in Japanese. One of the forms which is known to mark the subordinate clause is the connective particle *kedo*. The next section discusses the functions and the structural configurations of *kedo* that have traditionally been described.

1.2. Japanese "contrastive" marker *kedo*

The connective particle *kedo* is one of the forms in Japanese which expresses contrast in a similar manner to 'although' or 'but' in English (Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 1997; Geyer 2007a; Geyer 2007b; Iwasaki 2013). *Kedo* has variations such as *keredomo* and *keredo,* but *kedo* itself is the form most used in colloquial discourse (Iwasaki 2013). This particle expresses contrast between a proposition in the preceding clause and one in the following clause. According to Geyer (2007a; 2007b), traditionally, a clause ending with *kedo* is considered a subordinate clause. (3) and (4) are from Itani (1992) and Iwasaki (2013).

(3) Itani (1992:268)

Watashi wa   se   ga   hikui-**kedo** imooto wa   takai.
I   Top   back-Sub   low   but   sister   Top   high
        'I am short but my sister is tall'

(4) Iwasaki (2013:269)

 ano mise   yasui **kedo**, umakunai   yo.
 that restaurant cheap but   delicious:NEG   PP
        'That restaurant is cheap but not very good, you know.'

In the examples (3) and (4), the clause ending with *kedo* is a subordinate clause and the following clause is a main clause. In (3), *hikui* 'short' and *takai* 'tall' express a contrastive relationship. (4) compares a favourable quality, expressed by the subordinate clause *ano mise yasui* 'that restaurant is cheap', to an unfavourable quality in its main clause *umakunai yo* '(the food is) not very good' by using *kedo*. Thus, the examples in Itani (1992) and Iwasaki (2013) show the following characteristics of the canonical use of *kedo*:

1. *Kedo* in a sentence expresses contrast between a preceding clause and the following clause.

2. The clause ending with *kedo* is a subordinate clause and is followed by the main clause.

Thus, they form a sentence containing two clauses. I call this structural configuration 'bi-clausal configuration' in this study.

However, some researchers have shown that *kedo* does not only express contrast but also serves other functions, and *kedo* appears not only in a bi-clausal configuration but also appears in other structural configurations. Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997:608) state that *kedo* does not necessarily show a contrastive meaning, nor does *kedo* necessarily connect two clauses. In their study, Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama examined both narrative and conversation

and found that 47% of the total usage of *kedo* in their data is the non-contrastive usage and 27% of the usage of *kedo* does not precede a main clause in their data. As for the narrative portion of their data, three speeches given at a wedding reception were examined. They found that 62% of *kedo*[1] is non-contrastive in this data and expresses the background in which a certain incident occurs. Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997) cite Hopper (1979) to explain the notion of backgrounding. Hopper (1979; 214) claims that backgrounded events are the 'shunted' events and 'are not in sequence to the foreground events', while foregrounding events are main events. Moreover, Hopper (1979:215) described backgrounded clauses as the clauses that introduce topic changes or new information. In addition, Hopper and Thompson (1980) suggest that backgrounded parts involve 'scene-setting statements and evaluative commentary', while foregrounded parts are 'the actual sequential events' (Hopper and Thompson 1980; 281). (5) is an example from Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997). In this example, *kedo* serves a backgrounding function and appears in a series of clauses. This is a speech for the wedding and the speaker explains he and the groom often used to hang out with their friends Satoh and Takahashi.

(5) Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997:609)

1: satoo-kun takahashi-kun nanka to,
   Mr. Satoh Mr. Takahashi etc.   with

2: e::
   well

3: yoku   tsurundeta   n   desu **kedo,**
   often   hang-around-PAST NMZR   POL KEDO

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[1] This percentage is based on the number of tokens of *kedo* in total (49) and non-contrastive *kedo* (32) provided by Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997).

4: tatoeba,
   for-example

5: %atarashi   ideai   o   motomete   itta=   nonimokakawarazu,
    new   meeting ACC   seek-CONT go-PAST spite of

6: tada   hiyake   dake shite   kaettekita   koozushima no   tuaa toka
   only   sun-tan only do-CONT come-back-PAST   Koozu-Island GEN tour or

7: desu   ne,
   POL   PRT

'We used to hang around quite a lot with Mr. Satoh, Mr. Takahashi and others - for example, we made a trip to the Koozu Island where we hoped to meet someone but only got a sun tan …'

In this example, Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama state that line 3 *yoku tsurundeta n desu* **kedo** 'often used to hang out' and lines 5 and 7 *… tada hiyake dake shite kaettekita koozushima no tuaa toka desu ne* 'we made a trip to the Koozu Island where we … only got a sun tan' do not have any contrastive relationship. Moreover, *kedo* does not just combine two clauses but is found in a series of clauses, a phenomenon called clause chaining (Iwasaki 2013), which looks rather different from how *kedo* has traditionally been described. That is, unlike the bi-clausal configuration illustrated in (3) and (4) above, the *kedo* clause in lines 1-3 (i.e., *satoo-kun takahashi-kun nanka to, e::, yoku tsurundeta n desu* **kedo** 'we used to hang around quite a lot with Mr. Satoh, Mr. Takahashi and others **kedo**') is followed by two clauses (i.e., *atarashii deai o motomete itta= nonimokakawarazu* 'we hoped to meet someone but' and *tada hiyake dake shite kaettekita koozushima no tuaa toka desu ne* 'we made a trip to the Koozu Island where (we) only got a sun tan') and the talk seems to continue.

As another type of backgrounding function, Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997) show that non-contrastive *kedo* has a function to introduce a reference which is necessary for the

main story line. (6) is from Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997). In the wedding speech, the speaker talks about a theatrical play that they performed in the past and how his friend was not able to say the line 'Kathy, I love you' in the play.

(6) Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997:610)

    1: 'Kathy, I love you'

    2→ : tte   iu serifu ga   attandesu **kedo**,
        QUAT say line   NOM   existed

    3: sore ga.   desu ne,
      that NOM be   PRT

    4: nankai   yatte mo   dekinaindesu   ne,
      how . many. times did even   is. not. able. to   PRT

'(He) had a line that said "Kathy, I love you", and (he) could not (say) it no matter how many times (he) tried,'

The *kedo* clause in (4) *'Kathy, I love you' tte iu serifu ga attandesu **kedo** '(he) had a line that said "Kathy, I love you"'* does not have a contrastive relationship with the following clause starting in line 3 *sore ga desu ne, nankai yattemo dekinaindesu ne,* '(he) could not (say) it no matter how many times (he) tried'. In fact, *kedo* in line 2 functions to introduce the theme of the narrative following *kedo* (i.e., Kathy I love you *tte iu serifu* 'a line that said 'Kathy, I love you''). In addition, *kedo* in line 2 is not in bi-clausal configuration. The *kedo* clause seems to be followed by multiple clauses, which is indicated by the comma in line 4.

      Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997) also examine *kedo* in conversation. In most cases, *kedo* is often used at the end of a turn without any main clause and it mostly appears after

an utterance expressing the speaker's knowledge or opinion. (8) is from Nakayama and

Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997:612). The speakers are graduate students and gossiping about a

student who had been recruited by their department but turned down the offer. Y's utterance

appears after another student says she is wondering which university the student is from. .

(7) Y: San Diego State tte   uwasa o   kiita **kedo**.
                      QT rumor ACC heard
        'I heard (she) is from San Diego State (University).'

Kedo at the end of the sentence has 'an effect to avoid direct confrontation with the other speaker,

who seems to have a different opinion' (Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 1997). Using *kedo*

at the end of the sentence, Y successfully conveyed his opinion without conflicting with the

opinion stated by another student. Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997) claim that *kedo*

has a function to mitigate 'the assertive tone of the utterance and avoid being imposing'. In this

example, Y mitigates what he is currently saying with *kedo*. Moreover, this utterance appears to

be completed prosodically as indicated by the use of the period. (7) shows that *kedo* can appear

without a main clause. I call this type of structural configuration 'mono-clausal' configuration in

the present study.

Itani (1992) examines *kedo* in the utterance-final position and compares a sentence with

kedo to one without *kedo* as seen in (8). Both sentences, (a) and (b), perform the function of

asking the time.

(8) Itani (1992)

(a) moo jikan desu ***kedo***…
        'It's time now, but (implying e.g., 'don't you have to get ready to go out?')'

(b) moo jikan desu.
       'It's time now.'

Kedo in (a) seems to mitigate the speaker's current suggestion (i.e., 'don't you have to get ready to go out?'), which is implied by this sentence. Itani (1992) suggests that the former sentence sounds more polite and soft. She explains this is because the sentence ending with *kedo* can convey 'the speaker's reserved attitude'. Geyer (2007a) also cites this example in Itani (1992) and suggests that *kedo* in an utterance-final position often serves a mitigation function. Geyer (2007a) claims that *kedo* in an utterance-final position mitigates a speaker's opinion to avoid a conflict between speakers such as when the speaker is making assertions or giving information that others could disagree with.

On top of the functions discussed in Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997), Itani (1992) and Geyer (2007a; 2007b), Geyer (2007a) further introduces another type of mitigation, 'discourse mitigation'. She suggests that 'a longer qualifying segment' is employed for this function and it mitigates the speaker's own previous or upcoming utterances. (9) is an example in Geyer (2007a).

(9) Geyer (2007a)

amari yoku shiranai **kedo** (.) nihon eega sukina hito ooi n janai desu ka.
'I don't know too much about it, but aren't there a lot of people who like Japanese movies?'

In this example, there is no contrastive relationship between the first clause *amari yoku shiranai kedo* 'I don't know too much about it' and the following clause *nihon eega sukina hito ooi n janai desu ka* 'aren't there a lot of people who like Japanese movies?'. The first clause with *kedo*

8

'I don't know too much about it' makes the statement less assertive by highlighting the lack of knowledge. Thus, it seems that *kedo* in the first clause mitigates what the speaker is going to say. I should note that without having *amari yoku shiranai* **kedo** 'I don't know too much about it', the sentence would in fact sound more direct to my ears.

Discourse mitigation is also discussed by Mori (1999) using another term, 'self-qualification'. She examines how *kedo* functions in a negotiation situation in naturally-occurring Japanese conversation and suggests that *kedo* often 'marks a single clause unit of self-qualification'. (10) is an example of self-qualification *kedo* from Mori (1999). Naoko, Tae and Kazu talk about American men and Naoko gives her opinion on them.

(10) Mori (1999:144)

```
1 Naoko: ameika   no otoko no  hito   wa    ii    wa yo ne::
         Amerika LK male  LK people Top   nice FP FP FP

2        mattaku: [zen- a! ippantekini. =
         really              in-general
         'American men are really nice, in general.'

3 Kazu:          [na::nka]
                 somehow
                 'well'

4 Kazu: = soo desu ne. =
          so   Cop  FP
          'Right'

5 → Naoko: = ma   ippanron        wa (.) ikenai    to      omou  kedo.
             well  generalization Top    no-good Comp think  but
             'Well, I shouldn't make a generalization KEDO.'

6 Tae: [u::n
        uh-huh
        'Uh-huh'
```

7 Kazu: [.ss::: maa oooonishite- (.) ne?
               well   likely   FP
         '.ss:::: well, they tend to be (.) right?'

First, the *kedo* clause in line 5 is not followed by any main clause, so this is not in a bi-clausal

configuration. With regards to the function, no other clause contrasts the *kedo* clause in line 5. It

seems that the utterance-final *kedo* in line 5 mitigates what Naoko has already said. After Naoko

gives her opinion, *amerika no otoko no hitowa ii wayo ne* 'American men are really nice' in line

1, Kazu appears to show her reluctance by saying *na::nka* 'well', though he agrees with Naoko's

opinion in line 4. Naoko, in response to this, mitigates her opinion by saying *ma ippanronwa (.)*

*ikenai to omou **kedo*** 'well, I shouldn't make a generalization KEDO', and admits that such a

generalization should not be made. This example shows that the speaker uses *kedo* to make the

opinion she uttered earlier more agreeable and less assertive (i.e., discourse mitigation).

In the present study, I define mitigation as something that downgrades the claim of the current

utterance ending with *kedo*, as seen in (7) and (8). Discourse mitigation downgrades the

speaker's certainty and confidence in the content of his/her utterance in the previous or

upcoming sequence as seen in (9) and (10). When the term '(discourse) mitigation' is employed

in this study, it includes both mitigation and discourse mitigation.

The studies that I have introduced so far mainly explain the functions of *kedo* in various

configurations (i.e., bi-clausal, mono-clausal and clause chaining configurations). Ohori (1995)

explores the functions of *kedo* in a mono-clausal configuration (e.g., (7), (8) and (10) above)

based on the notion of the suspended clause. Ohori (1995) introduces an example using *kedo* and

claims that *kedo* also frequently appears in suspended clauses. (11) is from Ohori (1995). This

example is part of a broadcast of a baseball game. The speaker is a broadcaster and he is

wondering what would happen if the runner tries to steal a base. In this example, *kedo* appears in a mono-clausal configuration.

(11) Ohori (1995)

Kono.hen-de hasiru-to omosiroi-desu-**kedo**　　　ne.
here-at　　　run-TO　interesting-PRED-KEDO PRT
　　'Here (it) will be interesting if (the runner) tries to steal a base.'

In (11), *kedo* does not precede a main clause, therefore this clause is considered to be a suspended clause. According to Ohori (1995), the strength of the counter expectation is bleached when *kedo* is employed in a mono-clausal configuration and *kedo* in (11) just expresses that the speaker is wondering if it would be interesting if a certain event occurs, and thus it appears to mitigate the claim the speaker is making. While Ohori (1995) uses the term 'suspended clause', Evans (2007) employs the term 'insubordination' to refer to 'the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses' (Evans 2007). He suggests that contrastive markers in other languages such as English and Finnish appear without a main clause and function similarly to Japanese *kedo*.

　　Similar patterns have also been discussed in the fields of conversation analysis and interactional linguistics. Cooper-Kuhlen and Selting (2017) explains the use of *but* as a conjunctional in English by introducing Jefferson (1983)'s notions. (12) is an example from Jefferson (1983).

(12) Jefferson (1983: 4)

1 Sheila: 'hhhh so uh I haven't uh, hh 'hh met Nadine **b't**, hh

2　　　(0.3)

3 Erma: She's a d<u>o</u>:ll.

The conjunctional *b't* (i.e., but) in line 1 is seen in the final part of a TCU. According to Cooper-Kuhlen and Selting (2017), TCU stands for turn-constructional units, which are basic units which organize turn taking. In (12), because the next speaker in line 3 starts her turn without difficulty, *but* functions as a turn-final particle indicating turn ending. Jefferson (1983) calls this phenomenon 'clean' speaker transition. Local and Kelly (1986) employs the term 'trail-off' conjugationals. According to Local and Kelly (1986), 'trail-off' conjugationals are characterized by sound reducing patterns and slowing down of tempo, which usually start three or four syllables before the conjugations.

Furthermore, Mazeland and Huiskes (2001) suggest that Dutch *maar* 'but' is employed as a 'sequential conjunction' (Mazeland and Huiskes 2001) and links turns. Similarly, Koivisto (2012) examined how Finnish *mutta* 'but' functions in a turn-final position and found that turn-final *mutta* 'evokes concessive pattern but only implies the contrasting assertion' (Koivisto 2012). (13) is an example from Koivisto (2012). Taina (T) is thanking her friend Ella (E) for the flowers that Ella has sent.

 (13) Koivisto (2012:1264)

    1 T: ja kiitos ihanista kukista ne ovat niin.h (0.4)
         and thank you for the lovely flowers they were so.

    2   niin niin. h loistok#kaat#.
          so so. glamorous.

    3 E: pysykö ne.hh
         did they stay fresh.

4 T: no py↑: [↓sy. aivan ihanasti.]
　　　 well they did just wonderfully.

5 E:　　　　　 [joo. #n- n- #noi – n] oi taitaa　　　 aika hyvin kestä-ä
　　　　　　　　 PRT　　　 DEM. PL　 seem.3SG quite well　last- INF
　　　　 yeah I guess they last quite well

6　→ paitsi floksi　　　　　　 ny　vähän vari#se-e# **mut.**
　　　　 except name.of.a.flower now little　 shed- 3SG **but**
　　　　 except that phlox sheds (its petals) a little **but**

7　　　　 (.)

8　 E:. HH [HHH

9　 T:　　 [nii:m mutta kuitenki ne oli niil nuppusia.
　　　　　　 yeah but anyway they were so buddy

10　 E: nii. hyvä. hh ki↑ va.
　　　　 yeah. good hh nice.

After Taina gave Ella a compliment about the flowers that Ella has sent in line 4, *no py↑: ↓sy aivan ihanasti* 'well they did just wonderfully'*,* Ella responded using turn-final *mut(ta)* 'but' in line 6 *paitsi floksi ny vähän vari#se-e# **mut** * 'except that phlox sheds (its petals) a little **but**'. By telling Taina that one of the flowers that Ella sent sheds a little, Ella avoids self-praise. Koivisto (2012) claims that *mutta* 'but' in a turn-final position serves to mitigate what Ella said in line 5.

As seen in (11), (12) and (13), English *but* and Finnish *mutta* 'but' can also occur without a main clause and express similar functions such as politeness and mitigation to Japanese *kedo*. From the next section, this study focuses on the Japanese *kedo* and further explores how *kedo* is used in naturally-occurring conversations by Japanese native speakers.

1.3. Objectives of the study

In this chapter, I have reviewed previous studies (i.e., Itani 1992; Ohori 1995; Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 1997; Mori 1999; Geyer 2007a; Geyer 2007b), which show that *kedo* does not only have a contrastive function and a bi-clausal configuration, but has a variety of functions and structural configurations. In addition, Jefferson (1983) and Koivisto (2012) suggest that contrastive markers for languages such as English and Finnish are employed very similarly. However, there are several problems shared by these studies:1) some of the previous studies focus on constructed examples instead of naturally-occurring conversational data; 2) although some of the previous studies focus on naturally-occurring conversational data, they examine a relatively small amount of data; 3) most of the previous studies mainly discuss *kedo* based only on qualitative analyses. In addition to these problems, Geyer (2007a; 2007b) mainly focuses on Japanese learners' usage of *kedo*, not native speakers' usage. In order to overcome some of these problems, the present study examines a larger amount of data, specifically audio and video recordings and transcripts of naturally-occurring conversations by Japanese native speakers. Moreover, the present study examines the data both quantitatively and qualitatively, in order to examine:

1. how frequently does *kedo* appear in a bi-clausal configuration as shown in Iwasaki (2013) and Itani (1992)?

2. how frequently does *kedo* express contrast as shown in Itani 1992; Iwasaki 2013?

3. if speakers do not use *kedo* in a bi-clausal configuration, is it used in a mono-clausal or a clause chaining configuration (i.e., Ohori 1995; Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 1997; Geyer 2007a; Geyer 2007b) ? How frequently does *kedo* appear in these configurations?

4. if speakers use *kedo* non-contrastively, is it used for backgrounding, mitigation or discourse

mitigation (i.e., Itani 1992; Ohori 1995; Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 1997; Mori 1999;

Geyer 2007a; Geyer 2007b)? How frequently does *kedo* serve these functions? Are there any

other functions served by *kedo*?

1.4. Data

The present study utilizes a Japanese conversational corpus called the Corpus of Japanese

Everyday Talk[2]. The conversations were recorded between the 1980s and 2015. The corpus

contains roughly a 100 conversations and they are all naturally-occurring conversations which

took place in homes, restaurants and schools, both in Japan and the United States. Conversations

occurring in a variety of situations such as dinner talk, making appointments, arguments and

telephone talks are examined. Each conversation contains approximately two to five speakers

and the total number of participants in the study is 111 (male 38: female 73). These

conversations vary in formality. More formal data (i.e., six minutes) contain conversations

between a professor and student, and friends who talk with the polite sentence ending *desu* and

masu. More casual conversational data (i.e., 114 minutes) contain conversations between family

members, friends and colleagues. The age of the participants ranges from teens to 90s. The

corpus data includes conversations containing various Japanese dialects. In the present study, I

have tried to limit the data to those containing Standard Japanese, as there may be differences in

kedo usage between dialects. With regards to my data, majority of the participants spoke

Standard Japanese, though some of the participants spoke Kansai dialect and Fukushima. I also

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[2]The Japanese corpus consists of audiotaped, face-to-face and telephone conversations collected and
transcribed by researchers at the Universities of California, Santa Barbara, Arizona, Alberta, and Keio
University. It is currently housed in the Spoken Discourse Research Studio at the University of Alberta
and Keio University.

excluded some of the transcripts when I felt the transcription quality did not meet a certain standard. These steps left 41 audio and two video recorded conversations, which in total comprised 4.1 hours. Next, I examined only the first three minutes of the recording for each conversation. Out of 41 conversations, three conversations did not contain any *kedo* cases in their first three minutes. After this process, the present study examined the first three minutes of 38 audio and two video data totaling 1.9 hours of data. In this way, I was able to examine a sizable amount of data from a variety of conversations when completing this MA thesis.

1.5. Methodology

This section outlines the steps taken by the present study in order to explore the use of *kedo* in conversation. Firstly, I identified *kedo* usage in the conversations by viewing the transcripts while listening to the recording. The conversations are audio and/or video recordings that have been transcribed according to the conventions set by Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming, and Paolino (1993). The variants of *kedo*[3] such as *keredomo* are included in this study. Secondly, I classified *kedo* into two types of structural configurations; bi-clausal (i.e., clause *kedo* clause as seen in (3)) or other. To determine the structural configuration of each *kedo* case, the data was analyzed prosodically. After this step, 'other' was classified into two further types of structural configurations; mono-clausal (i.e., clause *kedo* as seen in (10)) or clause chaining (i.e., multiple clauses *kedo* multiple clauses as seen in (5)). In addition, *kedo* was categorized into having two types of functions; contrastive such as (3) or other. I defined the contrastive *kedo* as the one that expresses a contrast between the preceding clause and the following clause, based on examples given in Itani (1992) and Iwasaki (2013). Next, I classified these other types into the

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[3]My data includes only one case of *kedo* variant *keredomo*.

three functional types suggested by the previous studies such as Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama (1997) and Geyer (2007a; 2007b), i.e., backgrounding, mitigation and discourse mitigation. In the present study, I defined the backgrounding *kedo* as the one to introduce necessary information to set the scene for the main narration that follows, based on Hopper and Thompson (1980). With regards to the mitigation *kedo*, I employed a definition based on Geyer (2007a; 2007b), i.e., *kedo* to downgrade the claim of the current utterance ending with *kedo*. I also defined the discourse mitigation *kedo* based on Geyer (2007a), i.e., *kedo* to downgrade the speaker's certainty and confidence in the content of his/her utterance in the previous or upcoming sequence. Firstly, based on the definition above, I classified *kedo* cases that give necessary information for the main narration that follows into the backgrounding function category. Secondly, I examined the rest of the *kedo* cases and checked whether they downgraded the claim of the speaker's current utterance. I classified these type of *kedo* cases into the mitigation function category. Finally, I examined if the definition of the discourse mitigation *kedo* could apply for the remaining *kedo* cases. Classifying *kedo* into each category was challenging. It was especially difficult to distinguish between the mitigation and discourse mitigation functions for some *kedo* cases. Several *kedo* cases seemed to downgrade the certainty and confidence in the speaker's previous or upcoming utterances, but it was also possible that they downgraded the claim of the speaker's current utterance. In order to improve the accuracy of the classification, I consulted with another Japanese speaker.

In the data, 105 *kedo* cases were found. Five cases were used as part of the lexical conjunction *dakedo* 'but'. (14) is an example of *dakedo* in my data. T and K are friends who go to the same university in the United States. They are talking about a man who came to the US to

become a doctor. T says that the man thought that it would be more difficult to become a doctor

in Japan than in the US.

(14)

1 T: nihon no   hoo   ga   muzukashii kara.
      Japan GEN   than SUB   difficult   because
        'Because (becoming a doctor) is difficult in Japan than (the US).'

2   [sore ni   eigo   mo shaberitai] kara   ttoka,
      that DAT   English also speak-want because etc
        'And, because (he) wants to speak English too, etc.'

3 K: [a   a   a   a=]
      BCH BCH BCH BCH
        'I see'

4 → T: **dakedo** nanka   ima wa   nan   dakke   uchuu   uchuu kenkyuusha.
        but   what-Q now TOP   what COP-FP space   space researcher
        'But well, now what is that cos cosmologist'

In lines 1 and 2, T explains the reasons why he came to the United States, *nihon no hoo ga*

muzukashii kara. sore ni eigo mo shaberitai kara ttoka 'Because (becoming a doctor) is difficult

in Japan than (the US). And, because (he) wants to speak English too, etc.'. However, after line 4,

she mentions that the man changed his mind and aims to be a cosmologist now. *Dakedo* is said to

be the combination of the copula *da* and the conjunctive particle *kedo* 'but' (Matsumoto 1988).

The conjunction *dakedo* occurs independently from the preceding clause and it also occurs

utterance-initially. In addition, all of the five cases of *dakedo* function as a contrastive marker in

my data. In the rest of the thesis, this type of *kedo* is not considered. This leaves 100 cases of

kedo which we will examine in the rest of the thesis.

1.6. Overview of the Study

The content of this study is as follows: chapter 2 gives a detailed introduction of how is *kedo* used in actual discourse in detail from the following two aspects. First, I will establish the marked status of the canonical *kedo* (i.e., contrastive use and bi-clausal configuration) by examining its frequency. Second, I will examine the frequency of the non-canonical *kedo* and its usage in conversation. Chapter 3 discusses the idea that predicates of *kedo* clauses have specific types of meaning and structural configuration, and that *kedo* clauses seem to have common characteristics. Lastly, chapter 4 summarizes the findings of this study, suggests some implications that the study has for future studies, and discusses some limitations of this study.

Chapter 2 Analysis

This chapter will discuss the findings of the study in Section 2.1 and 2.2. Section 2.1 discusses the frequency of canonical types (i.e., contrastive *kedo* and *kedo* in a bi-clausal configuration) with representative examples from the conversational data. Section 2.2 examines the frequency of non-canonical types (i.e., backgrounding/ (discourse) mitigation *kedo* and *kedo* in a clause chaining/mono-clausal configuration) with their examples.

2.1. Canonical *kedo*

As introduced in Chapter 1, the Japanese *kedo* has traditionally been described as contrastive and occurring in a bi-clausal configuration (e.g., Itani 1992; Iwasaki 2013). I first examined how frequent the canonical *kedo* was in my data. As introduced in the previous chapter, I defined the contrastive *kedo* as the one that expresses a contrast between the preceding clause and the following clause, based on examples given in Itani (1992) and Iwasaki (2013). The total number of *kedo* examined here was 100. It was first found that the contrastive *kedo* is not common; out of 100 *kedo*, only 18 (18%) are contrastive while 82 (82%) [4]occur with other functions as shown in Figure 1 .

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[4] I found one case that can be categorized as serving both contrastive and other functions. This case was categorized as Other here.

Figure 1. Frequency of contrastive *kedo* and *kedo* with other functions
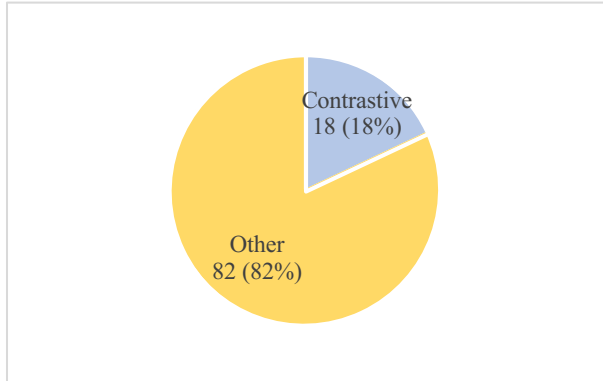
(15) is an example of the contrastive *kedo* from my data. K, M and E are having a family dinner.

K tells M and E that he has met a homeless man.

(15)

1: K: ya   shumi de   yatten no   ka [ttsuttara,
     well hobby INS   doing GEN Q   QT-say-COND
    'Well when (I) asked if (he) is doing (homeless) for fun,'

2:    shumi de   yatte] ru ttutteta   yo.
     hobby INS   doing   say-PAST   FP
     '(he) said that he did (it) for fun.'

3: M: [moo   ii   no? shichuu wa].
                             already   good   FP stew   TOP
                             '(Are you) good with stew already?'

4: E: aa[2 = 2].
    BCH
     'Uh-huh.'

5: K: [2 soo 2] iu hito   mo iru.
       such say person also exist
    'Some people are like that.'

6:→ M: [3 soo iu   hito   mo iru 3] **kedo**,
       such say person   also exist but
    'Some people are like that but,'

7: E: [3 n=   n= 3].
         BCH BCH
       'Uh-huh.'

8: → M: soo   ja   nai   hito   mo   iru   yo.
         such COP NEG person also exist FP
       'some people are not like that.'

K tells M and E that the homeless man who he met said that he was a homeless for fun in lines 1

and 2. M seems to partially agree with K by saying *soo iu hito mo iru **kedo*** 'some people are like

that KEDO' in line 6, however, K continues by saying *soo ja nai hito mo iru yo* 'some people are

not like that' in line 8. K's utterances in lines 6 and 8 that are connected by *kedo* have a

contrastive relationship. Moreover, *kedo* in line 6 is in a bi-clausal configuration as shown below.

(15a)

[CLAUSE 1] line 6
*soo iu hito mo iru **kedo***
        'that kind of person also exist but'

[CLAUSE 2] line 8
soo ja nai hito mo iru
        'some people are not like that'

Kedo follows a clause, *soo iu hito mo iru* 'some people are like that', and is then followed by

another clause, *soo ja nai hito mo iru* 'some people are not like that'.

Now, we examine how frequently *kedo* occurs in a bi-clausal configuration. In my data,

out of 100 cases of *kedo*, only six cases (6%) were found in a bi-clausal configuration while 94

cases (94%) were found in other configurations as shown in Figure 2.

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Figure 2. Grammatical configurations of 100 cases of *kedo*
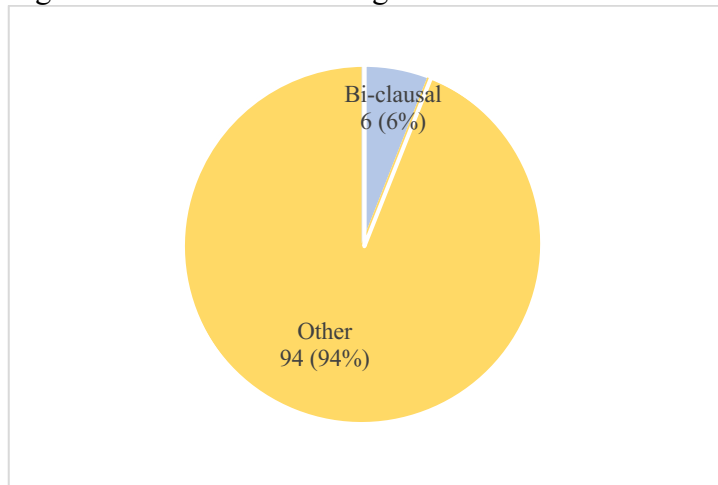
Next, how common is the canonical *kedo* which combines two clauses having a contrastive relationship? In my data, *kedo* which adhere to both features of the canonical type are not seen frequently. Figure 3 illustrates the frequency of the contrastive *kedo* in a bi-clausal configuration.

Figure 3. Frequency of contrastive *kedo* in a bi-clausal configuration
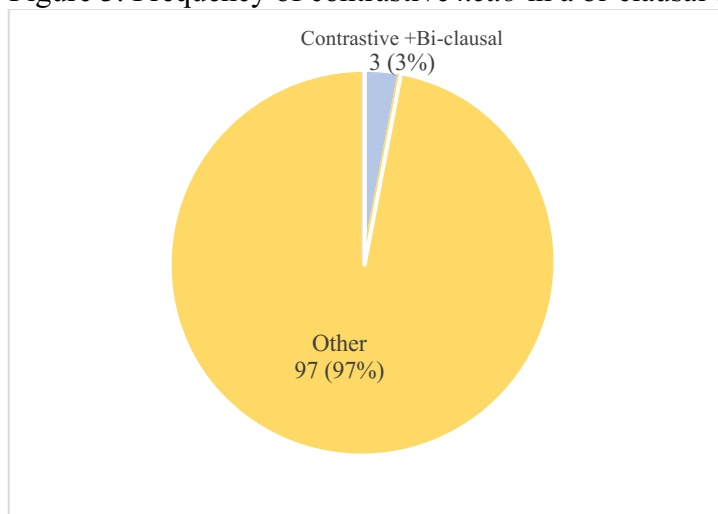
Figure 3 shows that only three out of all 100 *kedo* examples (3%) in my data represent the combination of contrastive and bi-clausal features. This usage is the one most typically found in the discussion of *kedo* in linguistic and Japanese language textbooks (e.g., Hatasa, et al 2010; Iwasaki 2013).

Figure 4 shows the frequency of *kedo* with one or both of these canonical features. That is:

1. *kedo*– both contrastive and bi-clausal (blue)

2. *kedo*– non-contrastive and bi-clausal (orange)

3. *kedo*– contrastive and non-bi-clausal(grey)

4. non-canonical (yellow)

Figure 4. Frequency of *kedo* with one or both of the canonical features
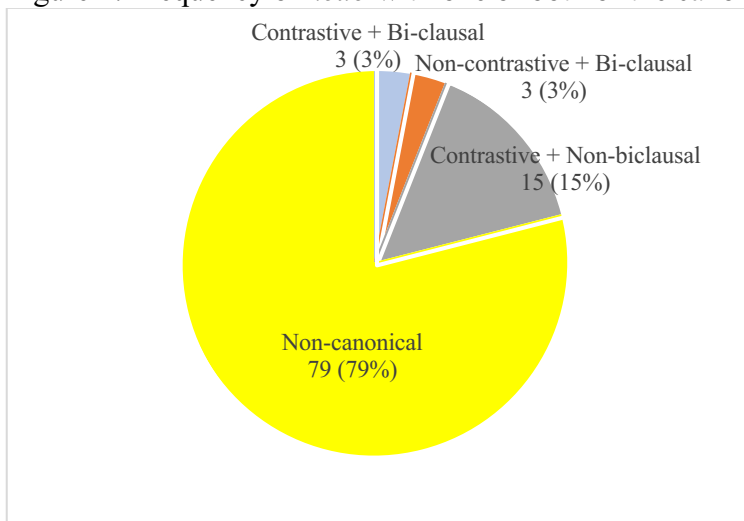
Figure 4 shows that *kedo*s with one or both of these canonical features are not so common in my data. Rather, *kedo*s with neither contrastive function nor bi-clausal configuration comprise close to 80% of the data. I will call this predominant type 'non-canonical' *kedo*. 2.2 focuses on this type and their frequency in my data with representative examples.

2.2. Non-canonical *kedo*

This section is going to focus on the non-canonical *kedo* (i.e., all cases of *kedo* which are neither used contrastively nor in a bi-clausal configuration). 79 cases of *kedo* found were non-canonical.

2.2.1. Non-canonical structural configurations of *kedo*

In this section, I focus on non-canonical structural configurations. I found *kedo* in non-canonical mono-clausal and clause chaining configurations in my data. Figure 5 provides the frequency of each structural configuration of the non-canonical *kedo*.

Figure 5. Structural configuration of non-canonical *kedo*
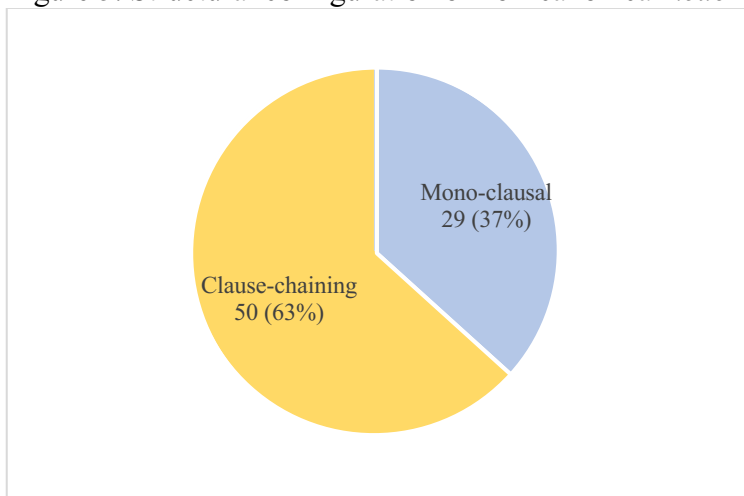
Out of 79 cases, 29 cases of *kedo* (37%*)* do not have what would be considered a main clause (i.e., mono-clausal). On the other hand, 50 cases (63%) were found in a clause chaining configuration. We will examine both of these types below.

Mono-clausal configuration

In my data, 29 cases of *kedo* appear in a mono-clausal configuration. (16) is an example

of *kedo* in a mono-clausal configuration. In (16), T and K are friends who go to the same

university in the United States. They are talking about a Japanese man who came to the United

States and has a Japanese girlfriend. T has a negative opinion about him having a Japanese

girlfriend in the United States and thinks that he should get an American girlfriend, as shown in

lines 4 and 5, *dame da ye ne. amerikajin tsukuranakya* '(that) is not good, isn't it? (He) has to get

an American (girlfriend)'. In line 6, T added another segment *atashi wa soo omou **kedo*** 'I think

so KEDO' and K seems to agree with T by saying 'well, but (you are) right' in line 7.

(16)

1 T: nihonjin.
    Japanese
      'Japanese.'

2   [@@]

3 K: [@@]@@

4 T: dame   da   yo ne.
    no-good   COP   FP FP
      '(That) is not good, isn't it?'

5   amerikajin tsukuranakya=.
    American make-OBLIG
   '(He) has to get an American (girlfriend).'

6 → atashi wa   soo   omou **kedo**=.\
    I   TOP like-that think KEDO
     'I think so KEDO.'

7 K: (0) maa   ne= demo ne= soo   da   ne=.
      EXCLAM   FP but   FP like-that   COP   FP
      'Well, but (you are) right.'

Firstly, no contrastive clause follows line 6, *atashi wa soo omou **kedo**=.* 'I think so KEDO'.

This *kedo* clause appears to be mono-clausal by design; it ends with a period (.) and an ending

intonation (\), which suggests that T intends to finish her utterance here (Jefferson 1983; Ono et

al. 2012). Moreover, K comes in with *maa ne=* 'well' right after T's utterance, which is

represented with (0) in line 7. This suggests that she also interprets that T has finished her

utterance.

Clause chaining configuration

      As Figure 5 shows, the majority of non-canonical *kedo* (63%) are in a clause chaining

configuration (Iwasaki 2013). In (17), K, E and M are family. K saw a homeless man when he

was an elementary school student and he saw people give him money, though K wondered if he

was just a street seller.

(17)
1 K: shiroi fuku   o   <@ kite   ne @>,   ←
    white clothes ACC   wear-TE FP
     '(A homeless man) wore white clothes and,'

2 M: un.
    BCH
     'Uh-huh.'

3 K: koo=   yatte koo   yatte minna   kawaisoo da tte yuu n   de,   ←
    like this do-TE like this do-TE everyone poor   COP QT say NMZR COP
     'doing like this doing like this, everyone said (he was) poor so,'

4 → koo=   okane o irete   n   da **kedo**,   ←
      like this money ACC put-TE NMZR COP KEDO
          '(everyone) put money in like this KEDO,'

5   kore wa   gyooshoonin ka na tte   [ore] wa   ne=,   ←
      this TOP peddler   Q FP QT   I   TOP FP
          'if (he) might be a street seller, I wondered and, '

6 E: [@]

7 K: .. ho[[nto]],
        really
        'really,'

8 M: [[@]]

9 K: omotta   koto   aru yo.   ←
      think-PAST   NMZR exist FP
          '(I) have thought (so).'

Kedo in line 4, *ko= okane o ire n da **kedo*** 'everyone put money in like this KEDO' does not

really have a contrastive relationship with the following clause, *kore wa gyooshoonin ka na tte*

ore wa ne 'if (he) might be a street seller, I wondered and,'. Moreover, *kedo* in line 4 is

expressed with a continuing intonation and involves an utterance consisting of a series of clauses,

i.e., clause chaining configuration. Each clause has been marked by an arrow.

(17a)

[CLAUSE 1] line 1
shiroi fuku o kite ne
        ' (a homeless man) wore white clothes and'

[CLAUSE 2] line 3
koo yatte koo yatte minna kawaisoo datte yuu n de
        'doing like this doing like this, everyone said (he was) poor so'

[CLAUSE 3] line 4
*koo okane o ire n da **kedo***
        'everyone put money in like this because (he) was poor KEDO'

28

[CLAUSE 4] line 5
kore wa gyooshoonin kana tte
  'if he was just a street seller'

[CLAUSE 5] line 9
ore wa ne omotta koto aru yo
  '(I) have wondered'

As seen in (17), it seems that *kedo* in line 4 does not serve a contrastive function and co-occurs with a series of clauses. Therefore, *kedo* in (17) does not have the canonical characteristics. The present section has focused on the non-canonical structural configurations. The next section will focus on the non-canonical functions of *kedo*.

2.2.2. Non-canonical functions of *kedo*

   The non-canonical functions of *kedo* are backgrounding, mitigation, discourse mitigation and unknown. I classified the *kedo*s that could not be placed within any category as 'unknown'. Figure 6 illustrates the frequency of each non-canonical function in my data.

Figure 6. Functions of non-canonical types
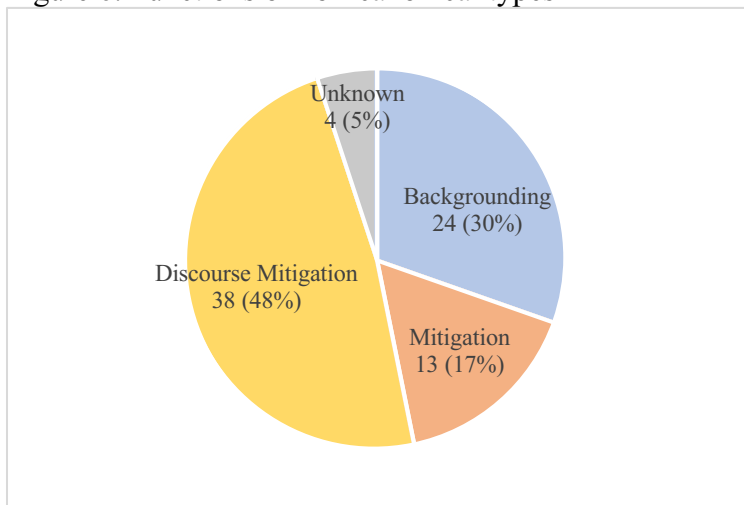
Out of 79 cases, I identified 24 cases of backgrounding (30%), 13 cases of mitigation (17%), 38

cases of discourse mitigation (48%). I have also found four examples (5%) that could not be

categorized into any of the three functions. I classified them as 'unknown[5]' in the present study.

First, I will discuss the backgrounding function by showing representative examples.

Backgrounding

24 cases of backgrounding *kedo* (30%) were found in my data. The backgrounding *kedo*

functions to introduce information that is necessary to set the scene for the main narration that

follows. All of the cases were found in a clause chaining configuration. Iwasaki and Ono (2007)

state that the clause chaining configuration is frequently seen when reminiscing and constructing

a story in their Japanese data. Giving backgrounding information is how speakers regularly tell

stories. Therefore, it makes sense that the backgrounding *kedo* is found in the clause chaining

configuration in my data. (18) is an example of backgrounding *kedo*. M and K are friends and M

talks about a party that she hosted. M met Galvin, who was from an embassy of a foreign country.

M is telling K that Galvin was called to the stage and M asked him a question there.

(18)
1 M: ano   totsuzen   sa,
      well   suddenly   FP
       'Well, suddenly,'

2   XXX taishikan no   hito   datta   no ne,
       name embassy GEN   person   COP-PAST FP FP
        '(he) was a person from an XXX embassy and,'

---

[5] Unknown cases include one case that can be categorized as serving both contrastive and backgrounding, and three cases that cannot be categorized into any of the functions in my study. There seems to be a softening tone in the utterances in the three *kedo* cases, but there is nothing that should be mitigated such as assertive opinions or suggestions, unlike with the mitigation and the discourse mitigation *kedo*s.

3 K: un=.
     BCH
       'uh-huh'

4 → M: uchi no   kaiin   no   sa Garubin   te iu n   da   **kedo**,
          my GEN member GEN   FP Galvin   QT say NMZR COP KEDO
             'our member, (his name) is Galvin KEDO,'

5 K: un.
     BCH
      'Uh-huh.'

6 M: de [sa=],
     COP FP
      'and,'

7 K: <@ [namae] ga   ii   ne nani sono namae @>.
          name   SUB   good   FP what that name
        '(his) name is good, what is that name.'

8 M: (0) e ?
          EXCLAM
         'huh?'

9 K: [2 Garubin 2],
        Galvin
        'Galvin,'

10 M: [2 Garubin 2] Yuuya tte iu   no ne.
         Galvin   Yuuya QT say FP FP
        '(his name) is Galvin Yuuya'

11 K: un=.
      BCH
       'Uh-huh'

12 M: (0) de sono hito   ga   sa= ano totsuzen   sa   yobarete   sa,
          and that person SUB   FP well suddenly   FP   call-PASS-TE   FP
        'and that person is, well (he) was suddenly called and,'

13 K: un.
      BCH
       'uh-huh.'

31

14 M: <Q taishikan no   kata   mo irashite   masu Q>
           embassy GEN   person   also come-CONT   POL
            ' "a person from an embassy also came" '

15   <@ toka itte   sa= @> <R totsuzen yobarete   namae o R>,
           QT say-CONT   FP   suddenly call-PASS-CONT name   ACC
           '(someone) said like that and (Galvin) had (his) name called,'

16 K: un=.
      BCH
       'Uh-huh'

17 M: <@ de   mae ni   kite   sa <H agate   sa konna kanji de   sa H>@>,
           and front DAT come-CONT FP   climb-CONT FP like this   INS FP
            'and (Galvin) came to the front and came up (to the stage) like this and,'

18 K: kawaiso,
       poor
        'Poor thing'

19 M: X watashi tonari de   sa=,
         I   next   INS FP
          'I was next to (him) and'

20 K: un=.
      BCH
       'Uh-huh'

21 M: <Q Garubin san   kyoo no   wa doo deshita   ka Q> ? to ka itte,
           Galvin HON today GEN TOP how POL-PAST Q   QT Q say-TE
           '(I) said 'how was (the party) today, Mr. Galvin? and,'

22   kiiteta   no ne.
         asking-PAST FP FP
          '(I) was asking.'

With regards to its structural configuration, *kedo* in line 4 is not in a bi-clausal configuration. It

follows a clause in lines 1-2 and is followed by seven clauses in lines 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21 and

22. A clause *Garubin Yuuya tte iu no ne* '(his name) is Galvin Yuuya' in line 10 is not included

because it does not appear to be part of the story. Instead, it is M's response triggered by K's

namae ga ii ne nani sono namae 'the name is good, what is that name' in line 7. After this

exchange, M appears to return to her story by saying *de* 'and' in line 12. After line 12, M starts

saying that Galvin, who was from an embassy of a foreign country was suddenly called to come

up to the stage and M interviewed him there. M's entire story about the party and the person

called Galvin is given in the form of clause chaining. In terms of the function, there does not

seem to be a clause in the surrounding discourse which has a contrastive relationship with *uchi*

*no kaiin no sa Garubin te iun da **kedo***, 'our member, (his name) is Galvin KEDO' in line 4.

Instead, in this clause, M introduces a new character, Galvin, to a discussion focusing on what he

did at the party. Thus, *kedo* in line 4 seems to serve a type of backgrounding function.

In this section, it was revealed that *kedo* frequently serves a backgrounding function. It

introduces necessary information, such as a new character, to set the scene for the main narration

that follows (Hopper 1979; Hopper and Thompson 1980). In addition, it appears only in a clause

chaining configuration in my data. The next section focuses on another non-canonical function of

kedo, mitigation.

Mitigation

13 cases (17%) of *kedo* clauses in my data have the function of downgrading the claim of

the current utterance. First, with regards to the structural configuration, all cases of this type were

found in a mono-clausal configuration, which supports the finding by Geyer (2007a). (19) is an

example of the mitigation *kedo* in a mono-clausal configuration. K, E, Y and M are having a

dinner, and they are talking about homeless people. K is telling the others that homeless people

cannot live in the countryside because they cannot make a living there. However, Y, who is K's

mother in law, has a different opinion from K and says that quite a few homeless people used to

be in the countryside in the old days.

(19)

1 K: [inaka   ni   wa   imasen   yo] ne.
       countryside DAT TOP exist-POL-NEG   FP FP
        'In the countryside, (homeless people) are not there, right?'

2 E: [n=].
       BCH
        'Uh-huh.'

3 K: honto ni   seikatsu   dekinai   kara.
       really DAT make a living do-POT-NEG because
        'because (they) really can't make a living (in the countryside).'

4 M: a[a].
       BCH
        'Uh-huh.'

5 K: [to]kai da   kara   iru   n   ja   nai   ka na.
        city   COP because exist NMZR COP NEG Q   FP
        'I assume (homeless people) are there because it is a city.'

6 E: aa [2 = 2].
       BCH
        'I see.'

7 K: [2 un 2].
             yes
          'yes.'

8 → Y: mukashi wa   inaka   ni   mo ita   **kedo**   ne= [kekkoo].
          old-days TOP countryside DAT also exist-PAST   KEDO FP   unexpectedly
         'In the past, unexpectedly, (homeless people) used to be in the countryside, too KEDO.'

9   K: [un].
                                                                     yes
                                                                     'yes.'

10   dakara sa ima wa zettai   ni   irenai   tte iu ka,
         because FP now TOP absolutely DAT exist-POT-NEG QT say Q
         'So now (homeless people) absolutely cannot be (in the countryside), in other words,'

11   irenai   to   omou na=.
      exist-POT-NEG   QT   think FP
       '(I) think (they) cannot be (in the countryside).'

First, *kedo* occurs independently in line 8 *mukashi wa inaka ni mo ita **kedo** ne= kekkoo⁶*. 'In the

past, unexpectedly, (homeless people) used to be in the countryside, too KEDO'. This sentence

ends with a period (.), which suggests that Y intends to finish her utterance here. In fact, K

accepts Y's statement right way with *un* 'yes' in line 9, which suggests that K thinks that she

finished her turn (Jefferson 1983; Ono et al. 2012). That is, Y's *kedo* clause in line 8 is mono-

clausal and does not have a contrastive relationship with another clause. It should be noted that

Y's utterance describes a situation which can be considered the complete opposite of K's *inaka*

ni wa imasen yo ne 'in the countryside, (homeless people) are not there, right?' in line 1. And

kedo here appears to be used to mitigate this statement perhaps to avoid direct conflict. In fact, if

Y did not use *kedo* in line 8 to give her opinion by saying *mukashi wa inaka ni mo ita* 'In the old

days, (homeless people) used to be in the countryside, too', it would sound more direct, even

rude. Thus, *kedo* in line 8 can be said to mitigate what Y is currently saying and makes the

utterance less direct. After this, K slightly modifies his strong opinion into a less assertive one by

adding *omou* 'think' in lines 10 and 11 *dakara sa ima wa zettai ni irenai tte iu ka, irenai to omou*

na= 'so now (homeless people) absolutely cannot be (in the countryside), in other words, (I)

think (they) cannot be (in the countryside)'.

     In this section, it was revealed that *kedo* serves a mitigation function. When serving this

function, *kedo* downgrades the claim of the current utterance so that the speaker's opinion

sounds more polite and soft (Itani 1992; Geyer 2007a; Geyer 2007b). As Geyer (2007a)

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⁶ Adverbials like *kekkoo* are known to appear after the predicate sometimes (Ono and Suzuki 1992).

described, all of this type of *kedo* cases were found in a mono-clausal configuration in my data.

The next section focuses on another type of mitigation, discourse mitigation.

Discourse mitigation

As introduced in Chapter 1, discourse mitigation is slightly different from mitigation

shown in (19). Geyer (2007a) suggests that 'a qualifying segment' is employed for this function

to mitigate the speaker's utterances produced in the surrounding discourse. That is, for regular

mitigation, *kedo* mitigates the claim of the current utterance as in *mukashi wa inaka ni mo ita*

kedo *ne= kekkoo. '*In the old days, (homeless people) used to be in the countryside, too KEDO'

in (19) whereas *kedo* serving a discourse mitigation function downgrades the speaker's certainty

and confidence in his/her utterance in the previous or upcoming sequence. 38 cases (48%) of this

type were found. It is the predominant function of *kedo* in my data. With regards to its structural

configuration, this use was found both in mono-clausal and clause chaining configurations: 13

cases in a mono-clausal configuration and 25 cases in a clause-chaining configuration. (20) is an

example of *kedo* serving discourse mitigation in a mono-clausal configuration. K and M are

friends and they are planning to have a surprise party for their friend.

(20)

1 K: sapuraizu to   ka itte   yaranai?
        surprise   QT Q say-TE do-NEG
          'Why don't we do (it) as a surprise?'

2 M: gu=tto aidea ja   nai?
        good   idea COP NEG
          'Isn't it a good idea?'

3 K: un.
     yes
       'Yeah.'

4 M: sore tte= a   ii   ne=.
     that QT um good FP
       'That's, um, good.'

5 K: ne?
     FP
       'Right?'

6 M; (0) <F sore zettai   ii F>.
             that absolutely good
         'That (is) absolutely good.'

7 K: (0) ne ?
          FP
         'Right?'

8 M: sono koro ni   wa   Miwa san mo akachan dekiteru   yo un.
     that about DAT TOP Miwa Ms also baby   becoming   FP yes
       'Ms. Miwa will have a baby by then, yeah.'

9 K: a datte   [tash=ika],
     oh because   maybe
       'oh, because maybe'

10 M: [sangatsu=] sangatsu yoteebi   deshoo ? sangatsu no
                 March   March   due-date probably March   GEN
         '(her) due date is in March right? March…'

11 K: [2 un 2] ,
        yes
        'Yeah,'

12 → M: [2 itsu 2] ka shiranai   [3 **kedo** 3].
           when   Q know-NEG   KEDO
         '(I) don't know when (her due date is in March) KEDO.'

13 K: [3 un 3].
                                    BCH
                                    'Uh-huh.'

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14 M: a sore ii   ne= .
       oh that good FP
        'Oh, that's good.'

In line 8, M starts talking about Miwa, who is another friend and expecting, *sono koro ni wa miwa san mo akachan dekiteru yo un* 'Ms. Miwa will have a baby by then, yeah'. In line 10, M says Miwa's due date is in March; however, M could not recall what date Miwa's due date is, indicated by *sangatsu no~~* 'March…'. In line 12, M continues, *itsuka shiranai **kedo*** '(I) don't know when (it is in March) KEDO' ending with a period (.) and an ending intonation, which suggests that Y intends to finish her utterance here making the clause mono-clausal. In fact, this analysis is also supported by K's saying *un* 'uh-huh' in line 13 which overlaps with the end of M's utterance, showing that K also interprets that M is finishing her utterance (Jefferson 1983; Ono et al. 2012). Moreover, there is no clause in the surrounding environment which is contrastive to the *kedo* clause in line 12. With regards to its function, *kedo* in line 12 seems to mitigate what M has said in line 10*, sangatsu= sangatsu yoteebi desho? sangatsu no ~~* '(her) due date is in March right? March …'. This seems to show that M is not sure what date in March is Miwa's due date. By M adding another segment in line 12, *itsu ka shiranai **kedo*** '(I) don't know when (it is in March) KEDO.', it seems that she expresses her uncertainty of Miwa's due date, making her statement in line 10 less assertive. Therefore, *kedo* in line 12 seems to serve the function of discourse mitigation in a mono-clausal configuration.

As mentioned above, 25 cases of *kedo* serving discourse mitigation in a clause chaining configuration were found. (21) is an example of this type. U and O are both Japanese students in the United States. O asks U questions regarding the university program U is in. O is not sure if she wants to study in this program. In this example, the *kedo* clause in line 6 mitigates the discourse that follows.

(21)

1 U: demo sensee ni   yotte   wa nanka [ano] ryuugakusee   toka no=,
     but   teacher DAT depend-TE TOP well   that international-student etc. GEN
       'But depending on the teacher, about international students,'

2 O: [un].
                                            BCH
                                            'Uh-huh.'

3 U: ano o wakatte   [[kureru sensee mo ite=]],   ←
     that ACC understand-CONT give   teacher also exist-TE
       'there are teachers who understand (international students) and,'

4 O: [[u===n un]] un   un   un.
                                 BCH   BCH BCH BCH BCH
                                 'Uh-huh.'

5 U: soo   itta imi   de= doo daroo,
     like-that say meaning INS how COP-FP
       'in that sense, I wonder,'

6 → kurasu ni   mo kanzenni kurasu ni   yoru n   da **kedo**,   ←
     class   DAT also perfect class   DAT depend NMZR COP KEDO
       '(this) completely depends on the class KEDO,'

7   [shi=n to shita   kurasu mo] areba,   ←
      silence QT do-PAST class also exist-COND
        '(some) classes are quite and,'

8 O: [u==n] [[u=n]].
      BCH   BCH
       'Uh-huh.'

9 U: [[moo < Q hai]] hai Q> tte   yuu kurasu mo   aru [3 shi= 3],   ←
             well   yes yes   QT say class   also exist-CONT
               '(some) classes are like 'yes yes' (being lively) and,'

10 O: [3 u=n 3].
                                                        BCH
                                                        'I see.'

11 U: doo daroo   na [=].
      how COP-FP FP
        'I wonder how (it is).'

12 O: [ma] sore wa   atari hazure tte koto   desu yo ne.
                         well that TOP hit   miss   QT NMZR POL FP FP
                         '(You mean) that is hit or miss, right?'

In this example, *kedo* does not seem to show any canonical features. With regards to its structural

configuration, the *kedo* clause in lines 5 and 6 is not in a bi-clausal configuration. Instead, the

kedo clause in line 6 carries a continuing intonation for the clauses that follow in lines 7 and 9,

and the *kedo* clause in lines 5 and 6 seems to be in a clause chaining configuration. It follows a

clause in lines 1 and 3 and is also followed by another two clauses in lines 7 and 9 as illustrated

below.

(21a)

[CLAUSE 1] lines 1 and 3
demo sensei ni yotte wa nanka ano ryuugakusee toka no o wakatte kureru sensei mo ite
        'Some teachers understand international students depending on the teacher and'

[CLAUSE 2] lines 5 and 6
*soo itta imi de= doo daroo, kurasu ni mo .. kanzen ni kurasu ni yoru n da **kedo***
        '*In that sense, I wonder**,** (it) completely depends on the class KEDO*'

[CLAUSE 3] line 7
shiin to shita kurasu mo areba,
        '(some) classes are quite and,'

[CLAUSE 4] line 9
moo hai hai tte yuu kurasu mo aru shi, [7]
        '(some) classes are like yes yes (being lively) and,'

With regards to its function, the *kedo* clause in lines 5 and 6 does not seem to have a clear

contrastive relationship with the following clause. U is telling O about the university program

she is in. In lines 1 and 3, U first describes the characteristics of the teachers in the program by

---

[7] Although *moo hai hai tte yuu* 'saying yes yes and ' can be considered a separate clause, here it is categorised as part of a clause because it modifies *kurasu* 'class'.

saying *sensee ni yotte wa nanka ano ryuugakusee toka no anoo wakatte kureru sensee mo ite* 'there are some teachers who understand international students depending on the teacher and'. Next, U describes the atmosphere of classes after the *kedo* clause in line 6. She says some classes are quiet but some classes are lively *shi=n to shita kurasu mo areba, moo hai hai tte yuu kurasu mo arushi,* 'some classes are quite, and (some) classes are like yes yes (being lively) and' in lines 7 and 9. Before this description of the classes, she says it completely depends on the class *soo itta imi de doo daroo, kurasu ni mo kanzen ni kurasu ni yoru n da **kedo*** 'in that sense, I wonder, it completely depends on the class KEDO' in lines 5 and 6, which appears to prevent the description that follows from becoming too generalized and categorical. Thus, the *kedo* clause in lines 5 and 6 appears to mitigate what U is going to say in the following sequence and to perform discourse mitigation.

This chapter has illustrated the frequency of both canonical and non-canonical *kedo*s and how they are actually used in conversation. It has been revealed that the canonical types of *kedo* (i.e., contrastive *kedo* and *kedo* in a bi-clausal configuration) are not common at all in my data. Instead, the non-canonical types of *kedo* predominate. It has been revealed that *kedo* often appears without its main clause (i.e., mono-clausal configuration) and also in a series of clauses (i.e., clause chaining configuration). The clause chaining configuration, in particular, is the most common configuration in my data. In addition, the present study has discovered that *kedo* serves various functions such as backgrounding, mitigation, and discourse mitigation in everyday conversation. In particular, *kedo* most frequently serves the function of discourse mitigation in my data. Looking at the predicates of *kedo* closely, I found that they have other common characteristics of meanings and structural configurations. The next chapter illustrates these characteristics with representative examples.

Chapter 3 Other common characteristics of *kedo* clauses

In the preceding chapter, I have discussed the frequency of the canonical and non-canonical *kedo* clauses and how they are actually used in everyday conversation. In this chapter, I am going to focus on other common characteristics of *kedo* clauses which I identified by closely examining how they are used in context. I have found that most of the predicates of *kedo* clauses are low transitive and a number of *kedo* clauses appear without a subject. Moreover, they are often used either for backgrounding or (discourse) mitigation. Below, 3.1 focuses on the different predicate types of *kedo* clauses. In 3.2, I further examine the common characteristics of their structural configuration, such as the lack of subject, predicate type, and use in conversation.

3.1. Predicate types of *kedo* clauses

In the 79 predicates of *kedo* in my data, I found a specific semantic characteristic of the predicate of *kedo* clauses. In particular, I noticed that many of them are low transitive predicates (Hopper and Thompson 1980). According to Hopper and Thompson (1980), transitivity is traditionally considered as 'the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another' (252), and they identify the parameters of transitivity, such as affectedness of object and agency. Therefore, when the predicates are low transitive, the effectiveness of action transferred from one person to another tend to be low. In this study, in order to confirm how robust this observation is, I classified predicates into different types which include cognitive, 'say', existential, other low transitive and high transitive verbs, and adjectives and nouns. Most of these predicates would be considered low transitive and do not have overt subjects. In addition, these clauses frequently serve particular functions such as backgrounding

and (discourse) mitigation. In the following paragraphs, I am going to describe each type in detail with representative examples.

Cognitive verbs are the ones which are related to the act and/or process of knowing and perceiving such as *wakaru* 'understand' and *omou* 'think'. There are 25 cases of this type in my data. (22) is an example of a cognitive verb, *omou* 'think' with *kedo*. M is telling H what she heard about graduate school from a professor who she knows.

(22)

1 → M: maa sono tokoro ni=   yotte   chigau   to   **omou kedo**=,   ←
       well um   place   DAT depend-TE different QT think   KEDO
           'Well, um (I) think (it) is different depending on the place KEDO,'

 2   tada ano gurajueeto sukuuru?
      but um graduate   school
         'but um, graduate school?'

3 H: un.
      BCH
      'Uh-huh'

4 M: ni   hito   o   erabu   toki? seito   erabu   toki,   ←
       DAT person ACC choose time   student choose time
       'When (a graduate school) chooses students? when (they) choose students,'

5 H: un.
      BCH
      'Uh-huh'

6 M: onaji andaaguraju- onaji gakkoo no   andaagurajueeto kara   wa,
       same undergragua- same school GEM undergraduate   from TOP
       'from the same undergradua- the undergraduate (program) of the same school,'

7   torinikui   n   da   tte.   ←
      take-difficult NMZR COP QT
      '(I heard it's) not likely that (they) take (students).'

First, *kedo* in this example seems not to show any canonical features. With regards to its

structural configuration, the *kedo* clause in line 1 *maa sono tokoro ni= yotte chigau to **omou***

kedo 'well, um (I) think (it) is different depending on the place KEDO' is not in a bi-clausal

configuration but in a clause chaining configuration. This clause is followed by a clause in lines

2 and 4 and another clause in lines 6 and 7 as shown in (22a) below.

(22a)

[CLAUSE 1] line 1
*maa sono tokoro ni= yotte chigau to **omou kedo***
        'well, um (I) think (it) is different depending on the place KEDO'

[CLAUSE 2] lines 2 and 4
tada ano gurajueeto sukuuru? ni hito o erabu toki? seito erabu toki
        'but um, graduate school? when (a graduate school) chooses students? when (they)
choose students'

[CLAUSE 3] lines 6 and 7
onaji andaaguraju- onaji gakkoo no andaagurajueeto kara wa, torinikui n da tte.
        'from the same undergradua- the undergraduate (program) of the same school, '(I heard
it's) not likely that (they) take (students).'

In terms of its function, the *kedo* clause in line 1 does not appear to be contrastive to the

following clause in lines 2 and 4. Instead, it seems to downgrade the statement that follows and

to serve discourse mitigation. In lines 2, 4, 6 and 7, M tells H that she heard that it's not likely

that a graduate school takes students from the undergraduate program of the same school, 'when

(a graduate school) chooses students? when (they) choose students, from the same undergraduate

(program) of the same school, (I heard it's) not likely that (they) take (students)'. Before she

starts telling this to H, she says, *tokoro ni yotte chigau to **omou kedo***, '(I) think (it) is different

depending on the place KEDO' in line 1. By saying this, M appears to avoid overgeneralizing

her statement. Thus, the *kedo* clause with the cognitive verb *omou* 'think' in line 1 can be

understood to serve the function of discourse mitigation as it mitigates what M is going to say in the following segment.

     'Say' verbs are used to report what someone says such as *iu* 'say' and *kiku* 'ask'. 10 cases were found in my data. In fact, some verbs of this type have lost their original meaning and seem to have been grammaticized to introduce names or labels (Suzuki 2007). In my data, out of 10 cases, one case of 'say' verbs, *iu* 'say' has been employed for this function. (18a) is the first part of (18), an example introduced in the last chapter. *Kedo* in this example appears with a 'say' verb, *iu* 'say'. M and K are friends and M, who is a party organizer, is telling K that she met a person named Galvin at a party who works in a foreign embassy.

(18a)

```
1 M: ano     totsuzen   sa ,
      well    suddenly  FP
        'Well, suddenly,'

2      XXX taishikan no     hito      datta        no ne ,                        ←
      name embassy  GEN   person   COP-PAST  FP FP
        '(he) was a person from an XXX embassy,'

3 K: un= .
    BCH
      'Uh-huh'

4 → M: uchi no    kaiin    no    sa      Garubin      te   iu  n     da    kedo, ←
        our  GEN  member GEN   FP       Galvin        QT  say NMZR COP   KEDO
            'our member, (his name) is Galvin KEDO,'

5 K: un .
    BCH
      'Uh-huh.'

6 M: de [ sa=] ,
    COP FP
      'and,'
```

7 K: <@ [namae] ga   ii   ne nani sono namae @>.
          name   SUB   good FP what that name
        '(his) name is good, what is that name.'

8 M: (0) e ?
          EXCLAM
        'huh?'

9 K: [2 Garubin 2],
          Galvin
        'Galvin,'

10 M: [2 Garubin 2] Yuuya tte iu   no ne.
          Galvin   Yuuya QT say   FP FP
        '(his name) is Galvin Yuuya'

11 K: un=.
     BCH
      'Uh-huh'

12 M: (0) de sono hito   ga   sa= ano totsuzen   sa   yobarete   sa,   ←
          and that person SUB FP well suddenly   FP   call-PASS-TE FP
        'and that person is, well (he) was suddenly called and,'

Note that *iu* 'say' in line 4 seems to have lost its original meaning 'say' and to be grammaticized

to introduce a name, *Garubin* 'Galvin'. As shown in Chapter 2, *kedo* in this example seems not

to show any canonical features. With regards to its structural configuration, *kedo* in line 4

follows the clause in lines 1-2 *ano totsuzen sa XXX taishikan no hito datta no ne* 'well suddenly,

(he) was a person from an XXX embassy, and is followed by another clause in line 12[8] as

indicated by an arrow above. Thus, *kedo* in line 4 seems to be in a clause chaining configuration.

With regards to the function, there does not seem to be a clause in the surrounding discourse

which has a contrastive relationship with the *kedo* clause in line 4 *uchi no kaiin no sa Garubin tte*

iu** n da **kedo, 'our member, (his name) is Galvin KEDO'. Instead, it seems to serve as

---

[8] As described in Chapter 2, a clause *Garubin Yuuya tte iu no ne* '(his name) is Galvin Yuuya' in line 10 is not
included because it does not appear to be part of the story.

backgrounding because it introduces a new character, Galvin, to M's story that in this party, his

name was suddenly called and he had go on the stage, and then M interviewed him there.

Existential verbs are used to express existence such as *aru* '(something inanimate) exists'

or *iru* '(something animate) exists'. Six cases were found in my data. (23) is an example of an

existential verb, *iru* '(something animate) exists' with *kedo*. T and K are students in the United

States and talking about a Japanese man who T met the other day.

(23)

1 T: nihonjin no   otoko no   nijuusan   gurai no   hito   ga,
    Japanese GEN man   GEN twenty-three about GEN person SUB
      'Japanese man who is about 23 years old,'

2 → hitori   **iru**   n   da   **kedo**,   ←
    one-person exist NMZR COP KEDO
      'is there (there is a Japanese man who is about 23 years old) KEDO,'

3 K: un   un.
    BCH BCH
      'Uh-huh.'

4 T: sono hito   wa   nanka isha   ni   narita- --   naritakute=,   ←
    that person TOP well   doctor DAT become-wan- become-want-TE
      '(I heard) that person wanted to become a doctor and,'

5   amerika ni   kita   n   da   tte.   ←
   America DAT come-PAST NMZR COP QT
      '(he) came to the United States.'

In this example, *kedo* seems not to show any canonical features. With regards to its structural

configuration, the *kedo* clause in lines 1 and 2 *nihonjin no otoko no nijuusan gurai no hito ga*

*hitori iru n da **kedo*** 'there is a Japanese man who is about 23 years old KEDO' is not in a bi-

clausal configuration but in a clause chaining configuration. This clause is followed by a clause

in line 4 *sono hito wa nanka isha ni narita- -- naritakute* '(I heard) that person wanted to become

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a doctor and', and another clause in line 5 *amerika ni kita n da tte* '(he) came to the United States' as indicated by an arrow. With regards to its function, there does not seem to be a clause in the surrounding discourse which has a contrastive relationship with line 2 *nihonjin no otoko no nijuusan gurai no hito ga hitori iru n da **kedo*** 'there is a Japanese man who is about 23 years old KEDO'. Instead, it seems to serve a backgrounding function. T is telling K that she heard from this man that he came to the United States to become a doctor in lines 4 and 5 *sono hito wa nanka isha ni narita - -- naritakute=, amerika ni kita n da tte* '(I heard) that person wanted to become a doctor and (he) came to the United States'. Before T starts telling K this story, she says, *nihonjin no otoko no nijuusan gurai no hito ga hitori **iru** n da **kedo*** 'there is a Japanese man who is about 23 years old KEDO' in lines 1 and 2. Similar to '(he is) our member whose name is Galvin KEDO' which we saw in (18), T introduces a new character, a Japanese man, so she can relay her story in lines 4 and 5. Therefore, the *kedo* clause in line 2 appears to serve a backgrounding function.

In addition to cognitive, 'say' and existential verbs, I found other low transitive verbs in my data such as *yoru* 'depend' and *wazawaisuru* 'lead to misfortune'. Six cases are classified by this category. (21a) is the first part of (21), an example introduced in Chapter 2. In this example, a low transitive verb, *yoru* 'depend' appears with *kedo*. U and O are both Japanese students in the United States. O asks U questions regarding the university program U is in. O is not sure if she wants to study in this program.

(21a)

1 U: demo sensee ni   yotte   wa nanka [ano] ryuugakusee   toka no=,
    but   teacher DAT depend-TE TOP well   that international-student etc. GEN
      'But depending on the teacher, about international students,'

2 O: [un].
                                          BCH
                                         'Uh-huh.'

3 U: ano o   wakatte   [[kureru sensee   mo ite=]],   ←
        that ACC understand-CONT give   teacher also exist-TE
          'there are teachers who understand (international students) and,'

4 O: [[u===n un]] un   un   un.
                                      BCH   BCH BCH BCH BCH
                                     'Uh-huh.'

5 U: soo   itta imi   de= doo daroo,
        like-that say meaning INS how COP-FP
          'in that sense, I wonder,'

6 → kurasu ni   mo kanzenni kurasu ni   **yoru**   n   da   **kedo**,   ←
        class   DAT also perfect   class   DAT depend NMZR COP KEDO
          '(this) completely depends on the class KEDO,'

7   [shi=n to   shita   kurasu mo] areba,   ←
        silence QT do-PAST class   also exist-COND
          '(some) classes are quite and,'

8 O: [u==n] [[u=n]].
        BCH   BCH
          'Uh-huh.'

9 U: [[moo < Q hai]] hai Q> tte   yuu kurasu mo   aru [3 shi= 3],   ←
                 well   yes yes   QT say class   also exist-CONT
                  '(some) classes are like 'yes yes' (being lively) and,'

As illustrated in the last chapter, *kedo* in this example seems not to show any canonical features.

With regards to its structural configuration, the *kedo* clause in lines 5 and 6 *soo itta imi de= doo*

daroo, kurasu ni mo .. kanzen ni kurasu ni **yoru** *n da* **kedo** 'in that sense, I wonder, (it)

completely depends on the class KEDO' is not in a bi-clausal configuration but in a clause

chaining configuration. It follows a clause in lines 1 and 3 and is also followed by another two

clauses in lines 7 and 9. In terms of its function, the *kedo* clause in lines 5 and 6 'in that sense, I

wonder, (it) completely depends on the class KEDO' seems not to have a clear contrastive

relationship with the following clauses in lines 7 and 9 'some classes are quite, and (some)

classes are like yes yes (being lively) and'. Instead, this *kedo* clause in lines 5 and 6 appears to

prevent the description that follows in lines 7 and 9 from becoming too generalized and seems to

serve as discourse mitigation.

   Regarding adjectives[9], 17 cases appear with *kedo* as a predicate. Examples include the

adjectives such as *ii* 'good' and *haado* 'tough'. *Ii* 'good' especially is seen frequently in my data

(eight cases). (25) is one such example. N and Y are friends and trying to choose one of the two

candidate restaurants for their group dinner.

(25)
1 → N: atashi wa sore dotchidemo naiyoo wa **ii**   n   da **kedo**,
  I TOP that either   content TOP good NMZR COP KEDO
   'As for me, either one (restaurant) is fine in terms of the content KEDO,'

2   tada tooi tte iu [koto]   ne.
   but far QT say NMZR FP
   'but (the problem is that one of the restaurants) is far, right?'

3 Y: [un].
          yes
          'Yeah.'

4 soo soo soo.
  BCH BCH BCH
   'You're right.'

5 N: [ano sore de ano],
   well that INS well
   'Well, and well,'

---

[9] Japanese has two types of adjectives; *i*-adjectives and *na*-adjectives. However, this study employs the term
'adjectives' to refer to both.

6 Y: [sore to ano],
       that and well
         'and also, well,'

7   Sawada san toka=,
      Sawada Ms. etc.
        'Ms. Sawada etc.,'

8 N: un.
      BCH
        'Uh-huh.'

9 Y: ano= o= sono a   Higuchi san= toka ne,
      well um that um Higuchi Ms. etc. FP
        'well, um, Ms. Higuchi etc., right?'

10 N: (0) ne [sore de sore] –
          FP that INS that
        'Right, and also -'

11 Y: [ano Chika san] toka minna   iru   kara,
              well Chika Ms. etc. everyone exist because
                  'well, because everyone will be there such as Ms. Chika,'

12 N: un.
      BCH
       'Uh-huh.'

13 Y: ano= yappari jooken   no   ii   hoo ga   ii   n   ja   nai ka na,
      well actually condition GEN good way SUB good NMZR COP NEG Q FP
        'well, a better conditioned one (i.e., one closer to the station) is good or not,'

14   to   omotta   no.
      QT think-PAST FP
       '(I) wondered (whether a better conditioned one (i.e., one closer to the station) is good).'

The *kedo* clause in line 1 *atashi wa sore dotchidemo naiyoo wa **ii** n da **kedo** '*As for me, either*

one (restaurant) is fine in terms of the content KEDO,' is an example of the canonical structural

type, a bi-clausal configuration. On the other hand, it does not serve a canonical functional type.

Instead, it seems to serve as discourse mitigation. Although N says she is fine with either

restaurant in line 1, *atashi wa sore dotchidemo naiyoo wa **ii** n da **kedo*** 'As for me, either one (restaurant) is fine in terms of the content KEDO', it is apparent that she prefers one of the two, which can be seen in her continuation in line 2, *tada tooi tte iu koto ne*, 'but (the problem is that the other restaurant) is far (from the station), right?'. That is, the *kedo* clause in line 1, *dotchidemo naiyoo wa ii n da **kedo*** 'either one (restaurant) is fine KEDO' appears to be produced to mitigate her choice of restaurant which her utterance in line 2 begins to defend. Y agrees with N's assessment that the other restaurant is far from the station by saying *un soo soo soo* 'yeah, you're right' in lines 3 and 4. From line 5 onwards, the two speakers then continue negotiating for quite a while (i.e., approximately two minutes) and finally agree to go to the restaurant that N prefers. In negotiating to pick a restaurant to go to, it seems appropriate for N to express her opinion to Y in an indirect manner. That is, the *kedo* clause in line 1 serves as discourse mitigation to make N's opinion, expressed in the following sequences, indirect.

10 cases of *kedo* were found with nouns. Examples include the nouns such as *tomodachi* 'friend' and *kako* 'past'. (26) is an example of a noun, *tomodachi* 'friend' occurring as a predicate of *kedo*. R and H are a married couple. R is talking about her friend's boyfriend who works for a real estate firm. Her friend and her boyfriend planned to go on a trip during a long holiday week. However, he became busy so could not take a vacation because people tend to look for housing during the holidays.

(26)

```
1 → R: fudoosangyoo    na  n      da   kedo,                          ←
        realtor             COP NMZR COP  KEDO
        '(his job) is (in) real estate KEDO,'
```

2   ima chotto sugoi isogashikute,   ←
     now a little very   busy-TE
        '(he) is a little busy now and,'

3   minna   nanka yasumi naku,   ←
     everyone like   day-off NEG
        'everyone does not have day-off and,'

4   isshookenmei yatteru n   da   tte.   ←
     hard   doing   NMZR COP QT
        '(I heard they) are working hard.'

5   soo iu   toki ni=,
     that say time   DAT
        'At the time like that,'

6   jibun dake nanka yasumi toru no   mo   yadashi,
     myself only like   day-off take NMZR also no-good-COP-CONT
        '(it is) not good for only him to take a day off and,'

7   ato= nanka okure o   totchau   tte   iu   no?
     and like   delay ACC take-ASP QT   say FP
        'and like, falling behind?'

8   minna   kara?
     everyone from
        'From everyone?'

9   sore mo yana   n   da   tte.
     that also no-good-COP NMZR COP QT
        '(I heard) that is not good (for him).'

10   nanka honto shigoto ga   sukina n   ja   nai   no?
     like   really job   SUB like-COP NMZR COP NEG FP
        'doesn't (he) really like his job?'

11 H: maa ne.
      well FP
        'Well.'

Kedo in this example seems not to show any canonical features. With regards to its structural

configuration, the *kedo* clause in line 1 **fudoosangyoo** *nanda* **kedo** '(his job) is (in) real estate

KEDO' is not in a bi-clausal configuration but in a clause chaining configuration. It is followed by three clauses in lines 2, 3 and 4 as indicated by an arrow above. In terms of the function, the *kedo* clause in line 1 is not contrastive to the following clause in line 2 *ima chotto sugoi isogashikute* '(he) is a little busy now and'. Instead, it seems to serve a backgrounding function. In line 1, R introduces her friend's boyfriend's job by saying ***fudoosangyoo*** *nanda **kedo*** '(his job) is (in) real estate KEDO'. R then explains his job situation in lines 2, 3 and 4 *ima chotto sugoi isogashikute, minna nanka yasumi naku isshookenmei yatteru n da tte* '(he) is a little busy now and everyone does not have a day off, and (I heard they) are working hard'. After this description, R further explains the reason why her friend's boyfriend did not take a vacation after lines 5-9 by saying *soo iu toki ni jubun dake nanka yasumi toru no mo yadashi, ato= nanka okure o totchau tte iu no? minna kara? sore mo yana n da tte* 'at the time like that, (it is) not good for only him to take a day off and, and like, falling behind? from everyone? (I heard) that is not good (for him)'. In line 10, R is telling her husband, H that she assumes that her friend's boyfriend really likes his job and H answers *maa ne* 'well'. Thus, similar to *iu* 'say' in (18a) and *iru* 'exist' in (23), the nominal predicate ***fudoosangyoo*** *nanda **kedo*** '(his job) is (in) real estate KEDO' in line 1 appears to serve a backgrounding function by introducing the boyfriend's job as a realtor, which is important when explaining why he is busy during the long holiday.

In contrast, I found only five cases of high transitive verbs in my data such as *taberu* 'eat', *keikakusuru* 'make a plan', *ireru* 'put (something) in', *kaku* 'write' and *tsukeru* 'add'.

We have seen examples of various types of the predicates of *kedo* clauses in my data. Figure 7 summarizes the frequency of each predicate type (i.e., cognitive, 'say', existential, other low transitive and high transitive verbs, adjectives and nouns) from 79 non-canonical *kedo* clauses.

Figure 7. Frequency of each predicate type of *kedo*
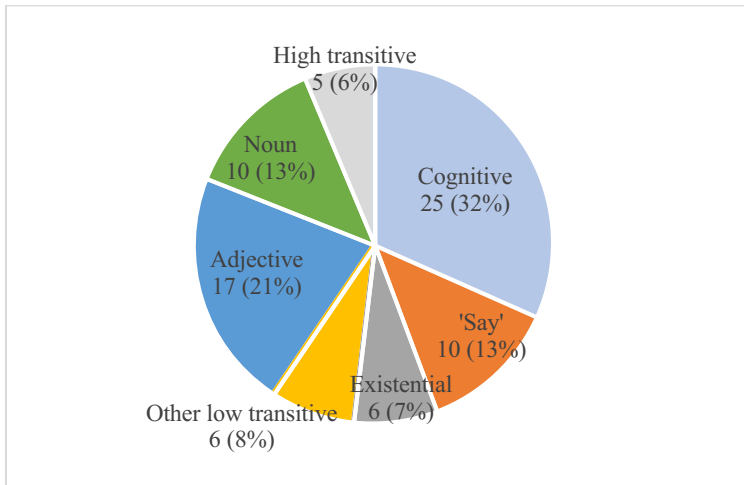
With regards to the verbs, Figure 7 shows that 25 cases (32%) of cognitive verbs, 10 cases (13%) of 'say' verbs, six cases (7%) of existential verbs and six cases (8%) of other low transitive verbs were found. In addition, 17 cases of adjectives (21%) and 10 cases (13%) of nouns were found. These predicate types can all be considered low transitive. On the other hand, only five cases of high transitive predicates (6%) were found in my data. In total, 74 cases of *kedo* (94%) appear with low transitive predicates in my data, while only five cases (6%) of *kedo* appear with high transitive verbs as can be seen in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Frequency of high and low transitive predicates
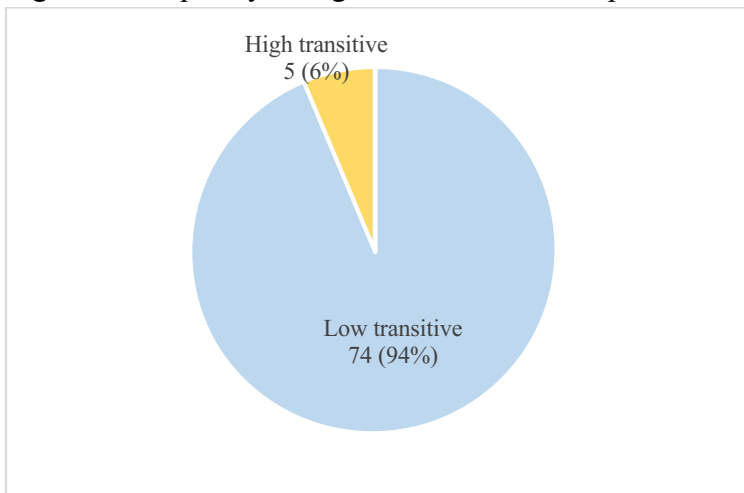
3.1 has shown that *kedo* clauses seem to appear with low transitive predicates, such as cognitive verbs, very frequently. The next section will focus on aspects of the structural configuration of *kedo* clauses such as the lack of subject, predicate type, and use in conversation.

3.2. Common functional and structural characteristics of *kedo* clauses

Hopper and Thompson (1980) suggest that foregrounding clauses tend to be high transitive while backgrounding clauses tend to be low transitive. As shown in the previous section, I have found that the majority of *kedo* clauses in my data (74 out of 79 cases; 94%) appear with low transitive predicates. I further examined the low transitivity of *kedo* clauses based on their functions. I divided them into two functions: backgrounding and (discourse) mitigation. The results show that majority of the predicates for the backgrounding *kedo* were low transitive. Out of the 24 cases of backgrounding, 21 cases (88%) were found with low transitive predicates, while only three cases (12%) were found with high transitive predicates. These results seem to support what Hopper and Thompson (1980) suggest regarding the connection between backgrounding and low transitive clauses.

In addition, I have found other characteristics associated with the (discourse) mitigation *kedo*. Out of 51 cases of (discourse) mitigation, only one (2%) of the cases serving (discourse) mitigation occur with a high transitive predicate while 50 cases (98%) occur with low transitive predicates in my data. This might be because on its own, discourse mitigation (i.e., 38 cases) is similar to the backgrounding function in the sense that it can also be understood to serve as a backgrounded segment which downgrades the speakers' main statements.

Examining the data to investigate the low transitivity of the predicates in the *kedo* clauses, I have discovered another distinctive characteristic. In my data, subjects in *kedo* clauses tend not

to be overtly expressed. Figure 9 below describes the frequency of *kedo* clauses with and without a subject.

Figure 9. Frequency of *kedo* clauses with and without a subject

With subject
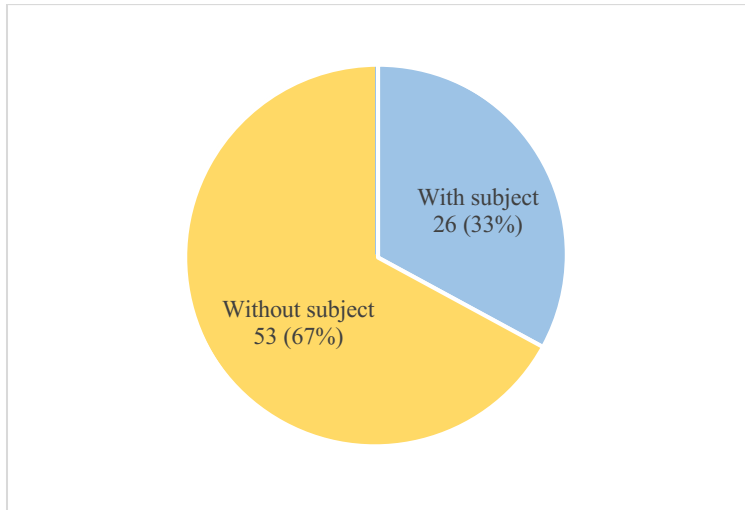26 (33%)

Without subject
53 (67%)

Figure 9 illustrates that 53 cases (67%) of *kedo* clauses without a subject were found, while only 26 cases (33%) of those with a subject appear in my data. This shows that *kedo* clauses appearing without overt subjects are predominant. Furthermore, in order to investigate if there is a specific characteristic related to the lack of an overt subject in these *kedo* clauses, I examined them with respect to the person of the subjects. The results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Types of the person for the *kedo* clauses with and without a subject

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	Total
With a subject	9 (18%)	1 (50%)	16 (62%)	26 (33%)
Without a subject	42 (82%)	1 (50%)	10 (38%)	53 (67%)
Total	51 (100%)	2 (100%)	26 (100%)	79 (100%)

As Table 1 illustrates, out of 51 cases of the first-person expressions (e.g., *watashi* and *boku* 'I'),

a great majority of subjects (i.e., 42 cases; 82%) appear overtly. With respect to the second-

person expressions (e.g., *anata* 'you'), only one case is expressed overtly, while another is

expressed non-overtly, so a distinctive characteristic was not found in this type. Finally, out of 26

cases of the third-person expressions, (e.g., *ano hito* 'that person' and *ie* 'house'), 16 cases (62%)

were overtly expressed, while 10 cases (38%) were not overt. Thus, the results show that the

first-person subject does not appear overtly most of the time, while the third-person subject is

expressed overtly majority of the time. Examples in (27) below, as well as most of the examples

in the last section, illustrate these characteristics.

(27)

a)   *to   omou **kedo**?*
        QT think KEDO
        '(I) think KEDO?'

b)   *mae   ni   mo itta   **kedo**,*
        before DAT also say-PAST KEDO
        '(I) said before KEDO,'

c)   *warui **kedo**.*
        bad   KEDO
         '(I) feel bad KEDO.'

d)   *maa ii   n   da **kedo** sa.*
        well good NMZR COP KEDO FP
        'well, (what I have just told you) is fine KEDO.'

e)   *kyoogi jitai wa   haado na   n   da   **kedo**,*
         sport   itself TOP hard   COP NMZR COP KEDO
        'the sport itself is hard KEDO,'

First, all of the *kedo* clauses listed above appear with low transitive predicates (i.e., *omou* 'think', *iu* 'say', *warui* 'bad', *ii* 'good' and *haado* 'hard') and seem to serve as either backgrounding or (discourse) mitigation in the respective context. Second, the examples (a) – (c) (i.e., *to omou kedo*? '(I) think so KEDO?', *mae ni mo itta kedo* '(I) said before KEDO' and *warui kedo* '(I) feel bad KEDO') occur without an overt first person subject, indicated by 'I' found in the parentheses. In addition, the example (d) in (27), *maa ii n da kedo sa* 'well, (what I have just told you) is fine KEDO', does not have an overt third person subject, as noted by 'what I have just told you' found in the parentheses. However, example (e), *kyoogi jitai wa haado na n da kedo* 'the sport itself is hard KEDO' does have an overt third person subject, *kyoogi jitai* 'the sport itself'.

We have thus shown that the *kedo* clauses in my data appear mostly with low transitive predicates such as cognitive verbs, 'say' verbs and adjectives. In addition, subjects of these *kedo* clauses, especially first-person subjects, tend not to be overtly expressed. We also saw in the last chapter that most *kedo* clauses occur either in a mono-clausal configuration or as part of clause chaining and serve backgrounding and (discourse) mitigation functions. This particular set of grammatical, semantic and functional characteristics associated with *kedo* in my data is in clear contrast with the canonical *kedo* portrayed in the previous literature. Since there are clear skews in the combinations of these features, I would like to suggest that clauses containing *kedo* frequently have certain characteristics as illustrated below:

Form:
[first person not expressed] low transitive predicate *kedo* mono-clausal
                                                                                  or
                                                                          clause-chaining

---

Function: backgrounding and (discourse) mitigation

The *kedo* clauses represented by this expression involve low transitive predicates and serve either backgrounding or (discourse) mitigation. They also appear in either mono-clausal or clause chaining configurations. Subjects of these predicates, especially the first person subjects, have a very strong tendency not to be expressed overtly. This is rather different from the bi-clausal structure and contrastive use of *kedo* highlighted as its canonical form in the previous literature. The above observations have thus shown that *kedo* is very commonly found with a specific set of structural and semantic characteristics. Moreover, this finding further suggests a hypothesis that the clauses involving *kedo* might be based on some formula rather than having been created from scratch.

In summary, in section 3.1, I have shown that *kedo* clauses often appear with low transitive predicates (i.e., cognitive, 'say', existential, other low transitive verbs, adjectives and nouns). In section 3.2, I have suggested that *kedo* clauses have common characteristics by appearing in specific structural configurations, that is, either a mono-clausal or clause chaining configuration without an overt first person subject. As mentioned in section 3.1, *kedo* clauses also appear with low transitive predicates and serve discourse level functions (i.e., backgrounding and (discourse) mitigation). In the next chapter, by way of conclusion, I will first summarize the findings of the present study. I will then suggest some implications for future studies. Lastly, I will discuss limitations of the present study.

Chapter 4 Summary and Conclusions

4.1. Summary

This study has examined how *kedo* is employed in Japanese everyday conversation. *Kedo* is one

of the Japanese connective particles and has been traditionally described as appearing in a bi-

clausal configuration (e.g., Itani 1992; Iwasaki 2013). That is, a clause ending with *kedo* is a

subordinate clause and it precedes a main clause. Moreover, *kedo* has been described as a marker

used to express a contrast between a proposition in the preceding clause and one in the following

clause. These are called canonical types in the present study. Traditionally, research mainly

examined constructed sentences, overlooking the significance of the context in which *kedo* is

actually used (e.g., Itani 1992; Iwasaki 2013). In addition, the previous studies which are

conversation-based (e.g., Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama 1997; Mori 1999; Geyer 2007a;

Geyer 2007b) examine a relatively small amount of data and their results are mainly based on

qualitative analyses. Thus, more quantitative information regarding how commonly canonical

types of uses are employed in conversation needs to be investigated. To that end, the present

study focuses on naturally-occurring conversational data in order to reach a more comprehensive

understanding of how *kedo* is used in real life.

Analyzing naturally-occurring conversational data allowed us to discover that *kedo* in a

bi-clausal configuration was not common at all in everyday conversation unlike what was

portrayed in the previous literature. Rather, for a great majority of cases, *kedo* clauses occur

independently (i.e., mono-clausal configuration) and in a series of clauses (i.e., clause-chaining

configuration). Specifically, clause chaining configuration is predominant. In addition, it was

revealed that contrastive *kedo* was not common at all. In fact, *kedo* serves several discourse-level

functions such as backgrounding and (discourse) mitigation in conversation. A backgrounding

clause provides an introduction, such as a new character, information necessary to understand the main narration that follows, and describes an event which leads to the main event (Hopper 1979; Hopper and Thompson 1980). *Kedo*-marked clauses also mitigate (i.e., downgrade) a speaker's opinion or suggestion and make them less direct. One type of mitigation downgrades what the speaker is currently saying (Itani 1992; Geyer 2007a; Geyer 2007b). In contrast, another type of mitigation 'discourse mitigation' downgrades the speaker's own previous or upcoming utterances (Geyer 2007a). In my data, discourse mitigation is predominant. Furthermore, I have found that clauses containing *kedo* often appear in a specific form and seem to have common characteristics. This finding further implies a hypothesis that the clauses involving *kedo* might be based on some formula rather than having been created from scratch.

That is, the majority of *kedo* cases appear with low transitive predicates such as cognitive verbs (e.g., *omou* 'think') and adjectives (e.g., *warui* 'bad'). Moreover, such *kedo* cases tend to appear in either a mono-clausal or clause chaining configuration. Their subjects, especially first person expressions, are not overtly expressed. They often serve particular functions such as backgrounding and (discourse) mitigation.

4.2. Implications and limitations

4.2.1. Implications

In this section, I will discuss some of the implications that the results of this thesis suggest for future studies. As summarized in 4.1, the previous literature tended to examine constructed sentences and illustrated that *kedo* occurs in a bi-clausal configuration and serves a contrastive function. However, analysis of conversational data in the present study has provided a very different view of what *kedo* is like for Japanese native speakers. It has been revealed that the

canonical types of *kedo* (i.e., bi-clausal and/or contrastive *kedo*) are not common at all. Further, as suggested in Chapter 3, *kedo* clauses appear to have common characteristics; they are either in a mono-clausal or clause chaining configuration with a low transitive predicate and often without an overt subject, serving either a backgrounding or (discourse) mitigation function. This suggests that the use of *kedo* has more to do with lexicon than grammar. These findings suggest that examining naturally-occurring data has great significance in understanding how humans use language in everyday conversations.

It is also important to examine *kedo* by using multiple analysis methods. The findings of the previous literature were mostly based on their qualitative analysis and examined a relatively small amount of data. The present study, on the other hand, investigates the various usages of *kedo* both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative analysis of a relatively larger data set in the present study allows us to draw the conclusion that canonical types of *kedo* are not used very frequently in everyday conversation. Rather, it has revealed that non-canonical types of *kedo* are the greater majority. The qualitative analysis of *kedo* enables us to grasp how Japanese native speakers use *kedo* in actual contexts. This indicates that it is critical to examine data both quantitatively and qualitatively to achieve a deeper understanding for the use of *kedo*.

Finally, I will briefly touch upon an implication on Japanese language teaching. As introduced earlier, it has been traditionally described in linguistic and Japanese language textbooks that *kedo* is a contrastive marker and appears in a bi-clausal configuration (e.g., Hatasa, et al 2010; Iwasaki 2013). However, the present study has revealed that *kedo* mostly appears in other structural configurations (i.e., mono-clausal and clause chaining configurations), and serves other functions such as backgrounding and (discourse) mitigation. Although some newer Japanese textbooks such as *Genki* (Banno, et al 2011) have started to introduce non-canonical

functions such as backgrounding and seem to be reflecting what is found in actual conversation, canonical types of *kedo*, especially canonical structural configuration (i.e., bi-clausal configuration) still seem to be discussed as its basic type in various Japanese textbooks. For Japanese learners to have a greater understanding of the use of *kedo*, it is important that more frequently used utterance types are described as representatives in future textbooks.

4.2.2. Limitations

Finally, I will close this thesis by discussing some limitations. First, the size of the data used in the present study is not large. I examined 100 *kedo* cases from two hours of audio and/or video conversation but it is not enough to fully understand the structure and use of *kedo* produced by Japanese native speakers in everyday conversation. To achieve this goal, a newer and larger dataset should be added to the current set of data in future studies. In addition, although my data included a small amount of video data, I did not find any clear pattern involving non-verbal behaviour. Thus a more systematic investigation examining a larger amount of video data would be necessary in future studies.

Second, the findings of the present study allowed us to realize that one of the non-canonical *kedo* functions, mitigation seems to be related to formality as seen in (19) of Chapter 2. *Kedo* serving this function downgrades the speaker's suggestion or opinion to sound less direct. It seems appropriate that the speakers employ *kedo* to mitigate their opinions especially in a situation where they are supposed to be polite to each other, such as a negotiation between a student and a professor. Although the present study examines both formal and casual conversation data, as Chapter 1 mentions, I examined only six-minutes of formal conversational data (5%) while I examined 114 minutes of casual conversations (95%). To get a more

comprehensive understanding of the use of *kedo*, it is important that more formal conversational data is added to the current set and examined in detail.

Lastly, the present study discusses examples from a few different textbooks such as *Nakama* (Hatasa, et al 2010) and *Genki* (Banno, et al 2011). Although it allowed us to discover that the canonical types of *kedo* are still discussed as its basic type in the textbooks, more textbooks need to be examined to gain a better understanding of how *kedo* is introduced and discussed in textbooks. Therefore, it is critical that Japanese teaching materials are examined more systematically in future studies.

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