Projective/retrospective linking of a contrastive idea: Interactional practices of turn-initial and turn-final uses of *kedo* 'but' in Japanese

Abstract

Projection and retrospection are the two primary factors in understanding how talk-in-interaction is structured in real-time. Powerful resources to mark a projective or retrospective relation between turns include conjunctions, and the contrastive conjunction *kedo* 'but,' which can be used in both turn-initial and turn-final positions, is one of the most prominent devices in Japanese conversation. Focusing on the cases where turns with *kedo* are used as responses to the prior turn of the interlocutor, this study compares the interactional functions of the turn-initial and turn-final *kedo*. Through detailed analysis of excerpts taken from the Corpus of Everyday Japanese Conversation, it is shown that while both turn-initial *kedo* and turn-final *kedo* are similar in that the speaker presents his or her own turn as more or less contrasting to the preceding turn, they differ in the typical sequential contexts and the subsequent trajectories of the interaction. Specifically, *kedo*-prefaced turns are used to bring in a new perspective and thereby project a sequence dealing with the newly introduced perspective. By contrast, *kedo*-ending turns do not invite further topical development but provide a supplementary comment retrospectively on a prior part of the conversation.
(190 words)

Keywords: Japanese, conjunctions, turn-initial/turn-final, Interactional Linguistics, temporality

1. Introduction

In conversations taking place in real time, the production of linguistic structures/utterances inevitably has features of temporality. Any unit is produced linearly, starting with a beginning and gradually unfolding to the end, with components produced in an earlier position projecting the trajectory of the unit-in-progress. This "on-line" feature of syntax in real-time conversation (Auer 2009) has been attracting attention from scholars interested in grammar in interaction. Especially, the notion of projection, or "the fact that an individual action or part foreshadows another" (Auer, 2005:8), has been a favored topic in Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics. Cross-linguistic differences in the pattern of projection and different kinds of projection have been documented using real data from conversation (Auer, 2005, 2014; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2018, Chapter 2; Deppermann et al., 2021; Hopper and Thompson, 2008; Schegloff, 2013; Tanaka, 1999,

2000; Authors, 2021). While projection seems to have been more widely discussed, retrospection is also at work in conversational use of linguistic items (Auer, 2015; Auer and Lindstrom, 2016; Deppermann, 2015). That is, almost all units in conversation have units produced prior to them, and the relation to the preceding part can be indicated by some explicit linguistic markers or conversational practices. Projection and retrospection, or forward-direction and backward-direction, are the two primary factors in understanding how talk-in-interaction is structured in real-time conversation.

One of the most powerful resources to make a link between one utterance and another, projective or retrospective, is conjunctions, or clause-combining devices (Haiman and Thompson, 1988; Laury, 2008). Conjunctions not only connect clauses to clauses to form a complex sentence, but are also used at the beginning or end of an utterance in conversation to mark the positioning of the utterance in the flow of the ongoing discourse. In example (1) below, the use of the conjunction *but* indicates that the utterance following the conjunction should be understood in relation to the preceding utterance.

(1) (From Mulder and Thompson, 2008:181-182)

1 ALINA: So he got another radi[o this] summer,

2 LENORE: [(H)=]

3 ALINE: **but** of course that got ripped off also.

4   <VOX **But** never mind VOX>.

Used at the beginning of utterances, *but* in (1) connects the utterances in the ongoing discourse. The tokens of *but* project that some units are going to be produced, and the content of the unit will have some kind of contrast, though the sense of contrast might be weak (Cf. Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson, 2000; Schiffrin, 1987).

Interestingly, in the Australian variant of English, *but* can be used at the end of an utterance as in example (2).

(2) (From Mulder and Thompson, 2008: 191)

1 Kylie: You sounded funny @@(H)

2 Diana: I know.

3   → Sounded like an alright person **but**.

4   (3.3)

5 Kylie: <SING On Saturday, SING>

Mulder and Thompson (2008) argue that final *but* as in (2) has become a discourse particle as the result of grammaticalization. Note that contrastive content has already been produced before the relation is marked by *but*. Produced with a falling intonation, *but* does

not project any more element to be added; rather, it marks the end of the unit. Thus, *but* in the utterance-final position as in (2) significantly differs from *but* in the utterance-initial position as in (1).

Cross-linguistically, it is not rare for the same conjunctive item to appear at both utterance-initial and utterance-final positions in spoken registers, contrary to the traditional assumptions based on written languages. In addition to *but, or* in English is reported to have a usage at the end of utterances (Drake, 2015). Similarly, Finnish conjunctions have been described to be normally used at the clause-initial position, but *ja* 'and' and *mutta* 'but' can be used at the end of clauses and are loaded with specific interactional functions (Koivisto, 2012). On *kuntey* 'but' in Korean conversation, Kim and Sohn (2015) argued that the conjunction used at the end of an utterance can work as a sentence-final particle, functioning to delay the speaker's disaffiliative stance such as disagreement or rejection (see also Sohn and Kim, 2014). Since conjunctions in languages have generally been described as restricted to occur at either end of a clause, it is of considerable significance that conjunctions in genetically unrelated languages develop the uses at both utterance-initial and utterance-final positions.

In this study, we investigate the uses of contrastive conjunction *kedo* 'but' in Japanese conversation. As we will show in Section 2, *kedo* can be used at both left and right peripheries, or turn-initial and turn-final positions, of utterances. Focusing on the use of *kedo* in responsive turns (Cf. Thompson et al., 2015; Authors, 2018), we will argue that *kedo*-prefaced turns are projection-oriented, while *kedo*-ending turns are retrospection-oriented. The scope of our analysis is not limited to utterances in which *kedo* is used, but also covers conversational sequences in which turns with *kedo* are deployed, as the difference between the two usages of *kedo* manifests more clearly in the level of topic development. Through the investigation of Japanese *kedo* in two different positions in conversation, this study attempts to unveil yet another pattern of a grammatical item developing position-specific functions in actual conversation.

2. Japanese *kedo* and its turn-initial/turn-final uses

Before exploring the interactional characteristics, let us take an overview of the grammatical properties of turn-initial and turn-final *kedo* 'but' in Japanese conversation. While the particle *kedo* can occur at both the beginning and end of a turn, the developmental paths of these usages are not symmetrical. In this section, we will first look at the original use of *kedo* as a subordinating particle and a derived usage as an independent conjunction. Then, we will see that both *kedo*-starting and *kedo*-ending clauses can constitute complete turns to connect back to and respond to their preceding turns. At the end of this section, a possible approach to capture the interactional difference between turn-initial and turn-final *kedo* will be discussed in light of relevant literature.

2.1 *Kedo* within a turn

The usage of *kedo* that is diachronically original and synchronically most frequent is called a "subordinating particle" (*setsuzoku-joshi*) in the Japanese descriptive grammar. In this usage, *kedo* appears at the end of a clause and makes it a contrastive adverbial clause to be followed by its main clause[1]. By attaching *kedo* after a clause, the speaker/writer can present the clause as information that is more or less contrastive in relation to its main clause; see the example below, in which the speaker is talking about her child's habit of eating fish skin[2].

(3) [T003_021]
だシャケはいい**けど**ブリはやめなよとか言って
da shake   wa   ii **kedo** buri   wa yamena   yo toka itte.
so salmon TOP fine but yellowtail TOP stop.SUG FP QT say
So (I) said, it's okay to eat salmon (skin), but let's not eat yellowtail (skin).[3]

Here, a message conveyed in the *kedo*-clause *shake wa ii* 'salmon (skin) is fine' is contrasted against the main clause *buri wa yamena yo* 'Let's not eat yellowtail (skin),' and the contrast is marked by *kedo*. There is no intonation break or pause before *kedo*, and the combination of *kedo* and the preceding clause is produced in one intonation contour.

Derived from its usage as a subordinating particle that is attached to the end of a clause, *kedo* has developed a usage as an independent conjunction that starts a new sentence, frequently in the form of *dakedo*, a combination of *da* 'be' and *kedo* (Matsumoto, 1988; Onodera, 2004; Onodera, 2014; Shinzato, 2017)[4]. See Example (4), where the speaker Ami is explaining a club's annual events.

(4) "Record from May" [T009_021]
01 Ami: なんで五月やらなかったか覚え-
            nande gogatsu yaranakatta ka oboe-
             why   May   do.NEG.PST Q remember

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[1] Our corpus search of the Corpus of Everyday Japanese Conversation (Koiso et al., 2018; 2020) shows that the clause-final *kedo* followed by the same speaker's continuing utterance accounts for the great majority of all the tokens of *kedo* (ca. 1,200 out of ca. 1,700 tokens that we have examined in the distributed transcripts).

[2] While contrast can be expressed without any explicit marker (cf. Ford 2000), the presence of *kedo* overtly marks that what is going to be produced is contrastive with the preceding utterance.

[3] *Da* at the beginning of the utterance is a shortened form of *dakara* 'so.'

[4] Shinzato, as well as Onodera (2004, 2014), dealt with *dakedo* 'but' as a discourse marker. As they argue, *dakedo* has developed from the combination of copula *da* and *kedo*. Similarly, Higashiizumi (2015) discussed the development of *dakara*, a discourse marker derived from *kara*, a connective marking causality.

(I don't) remember why (we) didn't do it in May…

02	(.)								

03　　　　あ. やったんだ. (0.3) **けど** 資料がなかったんだ.

03　　　　a. yatta　　nda. (0.3) **kedo** shiryoo ga nakatta　　　nda.

　　　　　INJ do.PST　SE　　　but　record NOM not.exist.PST SE

Oh, (we) did (it). (0.3) but (we) didn't have the records.

After saying "(I don't) remember why we didn't do it in May," Ami seems to remember that they actually did, but they have no record. While *shiryoo ga nakatta* 'we didn't have the records' is contrasted against *yatta nda* 'we did,' *kedo* here is syntactically and prosodically integrated with its following, as opposed to preceding, clause. Meanwhile, examples (3) and (4) show apparently similar constructions, but their syntactic structures are different. The first portion of line 3 *a. yatta nda.* 'Oh, (we) did (it).' is, syntactically speaking, a complete sentence composed of an independent clause. The syntactic status of *a. yatta nda.* 'Oh, (we) did (it).' is also illustrated in its prosodic configuration: it ends with a falling tone and is followed by a 0.3 second pause. The second half of line 3 is another sentence *shiryoo ga nakatta nda.* '(we) didn't have the records' led by *kedo*, which can be analyzed as an independent conjunction that contrastively connects one sentence to the prior discourse as opposed to a subordinating particle.

2.2 *Kedo* across turns: *kedo*-starting and *kedo*-ending responses

Like many other clause-linkage devices in Japanese and various other languages (see Introduction for examples of English *but*), both clause-initial and clause-final uses of *kedo* are used not only to form a bi-clausal construction within one speaker's turn but also to connect an utterance to a prior speaker's utterance. For example, the utterance format [*kedo* + clause] can be produced to follow an interlocutor's turn. This is the usage that we examine as an utterance-initial use of *kedo*.

(5) (to be analyzed in Section 4.1)

18　AKA:　であんなところにね: そうゆうものがあるってこと自体がなんか

　　　　　de anna tokoro ni　ne: sooyuu mono ga　aru tte　koto　jitai　ga nanka

　　　　　and DEM place LOC PRT DEM　thing NOM exist QT thing itself NOM HDG

　　　　　And, the fact that such an item is stored at such a place is...

19　　　　(0.8)

20　AKA:　危険だな: なんて思いながらも.

　　　　　kiken　　da na: nante omoi nagaramo.

　　　　　dangerous COP PRT QT　think　though

　　　　　... dangerous, that's what I was thinking.

21　　　　(0.4)

22　NAO:　けど今火縄銃使うよりは

　　　　　kedo ima hinawajuu　　　tsukau yori wa

　　　　　KEDO now matchlock.gun use　than TOP

　　　　　KEDO these days, rather than using a matchlock gun,

23　　　　(0.2)

24　NAO:　なんか電気のでビビってやった方が.

　　　　　nanka denki　　no　de bibi tte yatta　hoo ga.

　　　　　HDG　electricity GEN INS IDP QT do.PST CMPR NOM

　　　　　an attack with some electric device...

Similarly, a subordinate clause marked by *kedo* at the clause-final position can form a complete turn, retroactively linking to an interlocutor's prior turn[5]. See example (6).

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(6) (to be analyzed in Section 4.2)
11   GOU:   なんかはざ- はざ- 歯触りがいいってゆうか.
            nanka haza- haza- hazawari ga  ii     tteyuuka.
            HDG                texture  NOM good  HDG
            Well, the texture is good, I guess.
12          (2.4)
13   TAE:   パパのことだからアイスプラントは$不気味ってゆうかと思ったけど.$
            papa no koto dakara   aisupuranto wa $bukimi tte yuu kato omotta kedo.$
            dad GEN thing because iceplant      TOP creepy QT say QT  think.PST KEDO
            I thought you would say it's weird KEDO.
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The *kedo*-ending responsive turns are a subtype of the stand-alone use of *kedo*-clause, where a clause marked by *kedo*, which has been understood as a subordinating particle, constitutes a complete turn without its main clause and generates particular pragmatic nuance. Due to its syntactic and pragmatic peculiarity, the stand-alone *kedo*-clause has attracted researchers of various theoretical orientations such as relevance theory (Itani, 1992), construction grammar (Ohori, 1995), and discourse-functional linguistics (Nakayama and Ichihashi-Nakayama, 1997; Ono, Thompson and Sasaki, 2012).

The use of *kedo* at these positions have also been discussed as the result of grammaticalization or diachronic change (Izutsu and Izutsu, 2013, Onodera, 2014, Shinzato, 2017). In the recent development of historical pragmatics, growing attention is paid to the pragmatically special status of the beginnings and endings of utterances, or left and right peripheries (LP/RP)(Beeching and Deteges, 2014). Indeed, some researchers examine pragmatic properties of *kedo* in relation to the issues of LP/RP. Onodera (2014) and Shinzato (2017) point out that the development from clause-final subordinator (the original usage as in Ex. (3)) to clause-initial conjunction (Ex. (4) and (5)) can be seen as an illustration of the important role of the left periphery in the grammaticalization process.

Although these studies seem to successfully capture the developmental paths of *kedo* from the original usage to derived usages, the scope of their analyses comprises sentences or sentence pairs and does not include the flow of conversation. In order to precisely understand how *kedo* works in actual interaction, however, it is necessary to look at a wider context.

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[5] See Ford (1993:124-129) for descriptions of English adverbial clauses that compose complete turns and responds to prior turns. Below is an example where the speaker S produces a causal clause to respond to K's prior turn and check her understanding of it.

K: An' they wanted t'sue:.
S: **'Cause** it hurts business?   (Ford 1993:127)

2.3 Previous studies on interactional functions of turn-final/turn-initial *kedo*

Researchers working in the framework of Interactional Linguistics, which focuses on the relation between interaction and grammar (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2018), pay attention to the sequentiality of utterances and the social action achieved in the interaction. Some work has been done regarding the role of contrastive markers in Japanese conversation, focusing on specific conversational slots where contrastive turn formats can be used.

In her study of disagreements in Japanese conversation, Mori (1999) reports that contrastive connectives such as *kedo* 'but' and *demo* 'but' often play important roles to formulate disagreeing turns about the previous speaker's opinion or evaluation. According to Mori, the independent conjunction *demo* 'but,' which prefaces a clause, introduces a partial or non-straightforward disagreement when used after an interlocutor has presented an opinion or evaluation[6]. On the other hand, Mori describes that an utterance ending with *kedo* is used to qualify what the preceding turn conveys by introducing an exception, simultaneously implying a basic agreement with it. Comparing *demo*-starting and *kedo*-ending utterances that respond to interlocutors' opinions or evaluations, Mori argues that the syntactic status of the clause-final *kedo* as a subordinating particle can make a *kedo*-ending utterance a "parenthetical addition" (p.112) to the preceding utterance and thereby make it a mitigated disagreement as opposed to a direct opposition. In contrast, according to Mori's description, the independent conjunction *demo* functions to introduce more assertive, though still partial, disagreement.

Similarly, Hayano and Hayashi (in press) examine the interactional difference between *demo*-initiated and *kedo*-ending utterance formats produced as turn extensions after a minimal confirmation token *un* 'yeah' that responds to a prior polar question. According to Hayano and Hayashi, while both *demo*-initiated and *kedo*-ending turn extensions retroactively modify preceding confirmations and avoid producing a complete confirmation, the structural difference between the coordinating construction (*un* + *demo* + clause) and the subordinating construction (*un* + clause + *kedo*) result in what they serve to achieve in interaction. Their analysis illustrates that *kedo*-ending modification functions to "retract or significantly qualify" the confirmation, while *demo*-initiated modification is used to counterbalance the implication that the preceding polar question may arise.

In accordance with Mori (1999) and Hayano and Hayashi (in press), this study adopts the methodology of Interactional Linguistics and investigates *kedo* in turn-initial position and turn-final position in responsive turns. Looking at one identical item in two different positions

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[6] Mori describes that the conjunction *demo* 'but' is used to open a new topical sequence when used after a disagreement between speakers has resolved and they have reached some agreement. Although Mori examines a slightly different linguistic item (*demo*) and different interactional position (after resolution of disagreement) from our target (*kedo*-initiated turn responding to a prior speaker), Mori's observation that the interactional import of clause-initial *demo* involves topic management partially overlaps with our finding on turn-initial *kedo* (See Section 4).

enables us to see the features peculiar to each position clearly. We focus on responsive turns because the relation between the turn format and the interactional motivation is expected to be more transparent (Thompson et al., 2015; Authors, 2018). Through detailed analysis of the preceding context and the development of the interaction after the turn-initial/turn-final *kedo* is produced, we aim to uncover how turn-initial and turn-final *kedo* differ in their interactional functions.

3. Data

The data for this study are taken from the monitored public version of the Corpus of Everyday Japanese Conversation (Koiso et al., 2018), with some additional data that are released only to project members (150 conversations in total, which amount to over 50 hours). The 150 conversations, which involve over 450 speakers who had consented to the recordings, were recorded by volunteer participants living either in Tokyo, Kanagawa, Chiba, or Saitama during 2016 to 2018, intended to represent conversations that residents in the Greater Tokyo Area are having in their daily lives. The participants made recordings of conversations with their family members, friends, or colleagues in diverse settings. Thus, while talks compiled in the corpus are generally supposed to be in the Tokyo dialect or its close variants, other dialects may be also included, as is observed in Example (11), where one participant apparently speaks the Kansai (western) dialect. For more details about the corpus, see Koiso et al. (2020).

Using a transcript distributed by the corpus provider that is divided by an utterance unit that approximate what Conversation Analysts call a turn constructional unit (TCU) (Sacks et al., 1974), we collected cases where *(da)kedo* is used at the beginning of an utterance unit (46 cases of *kedo* and 185 cases of *dakedo*), and over 1,500 cases of *kedo* used at the end of an utterance unit[7]. From these collections, we further extracted cases of turns with *kedo* that were used as responses to the prior turn by the interlocutor, by examining their contextual details and prosodic features. As a result, 40 cases of turn-initial *kedo* are identified. Regarding turn-final *kedo*, due to the huge amount of the data and the difficulty of distinguishing turn-final *kedo* from other usages, 40 clear cases of turn-final cases are used to describe the characteristics.

As for turn-final *kedo*, we do not include turns that end with *kedo* but are not designed to be complete, since our focus in this article is to compare the two formats for turns with *kedo* that are tied to, and present contrastive information with, interlocutors' prior turns. A

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[7] While *dakedo* outnumbers *kedo* as a sentence starting conjunction, we assume that there is little difference in their meaning. Thus, we include both *kedo* and *dakedo* when collecting and analyzing examples for the present study. The question to what extent they differ is an empirical one and open to further studies. Also, a phonological string of *dakedo* is pervasively found among examples of *kedo*-ending utterances, since *da* 'be' functions as an ending of a nominal predicate and as a part of a modal particle *noda*: *dakedo* at the end of an utterance is not a lexicalized item.

typical example that we exclude from our analysis appears at line 9 in Example (7) below, in which three women Rena, Moe, and Saku are talking about their mutual friends Yuu and his girlfriend Emily.

(7) "Very jelous guy" [K001_003b]
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03  REN:      あの人は::: あの::: やきもち焼き.
              ano hito    wa::: ano::: yakimochiyaki.
              DEM person TOP   FL    jealous.person
              He is a, you know, very jealous guy.
04            (0.2)
05  MOE:      [ね::.
              [ne::.
               PRT
               Right.
06  SAK:      [ふ:[:ん:.
              [hu:[:n:.
               INJ
               Hmm.
07  REN:         [うん.
                 [un.
                  INJ
                  Yeah.
08            (0.5)
09  REN:→    で: エミリー↑は:::そ[ん- ] まあ彼女もそれなりにやきもち焼きだけど::,
             de: Emirii  ↑wa::: so[n-  ] maa kanojo mo sorenarini    yakimochiyaki da kedo::,
             and NAME   TOP         HDG 3SG    too to.some.extent jealous.person COP KEDO
             And Emily is also a jealous person to some extent, KEDO...
10  SAK:                         [うん.]
                                 [un. ]
                                  INJ
                                  Mm.
11  SAK:      うん.
              un.
              INJ
              Mm.
12            (0.3)
13  REN:      や (.) だからね::: (0.2) わたしはね: ちょっと今ね: (0.3) あの:
              ya (.) dakara ne::: (0.2) watashi wa ne: chotto ima ne: (0.3) ano:
              INJ   so    PRT         1SG    TOP PRT  a.bit now PRT       FL
              So, she says "I feel ... ((continues talking))
```

In line 9, Rena displays her intent to continue talking after *kedo* by using continuing intonation, which is visualized in Figure 1 below. Here, we can see at /*do*/, the final mora of *kedo,* the pitch markedly go up and down, the volume increase*,* and the final vowel /o/ lengthened.
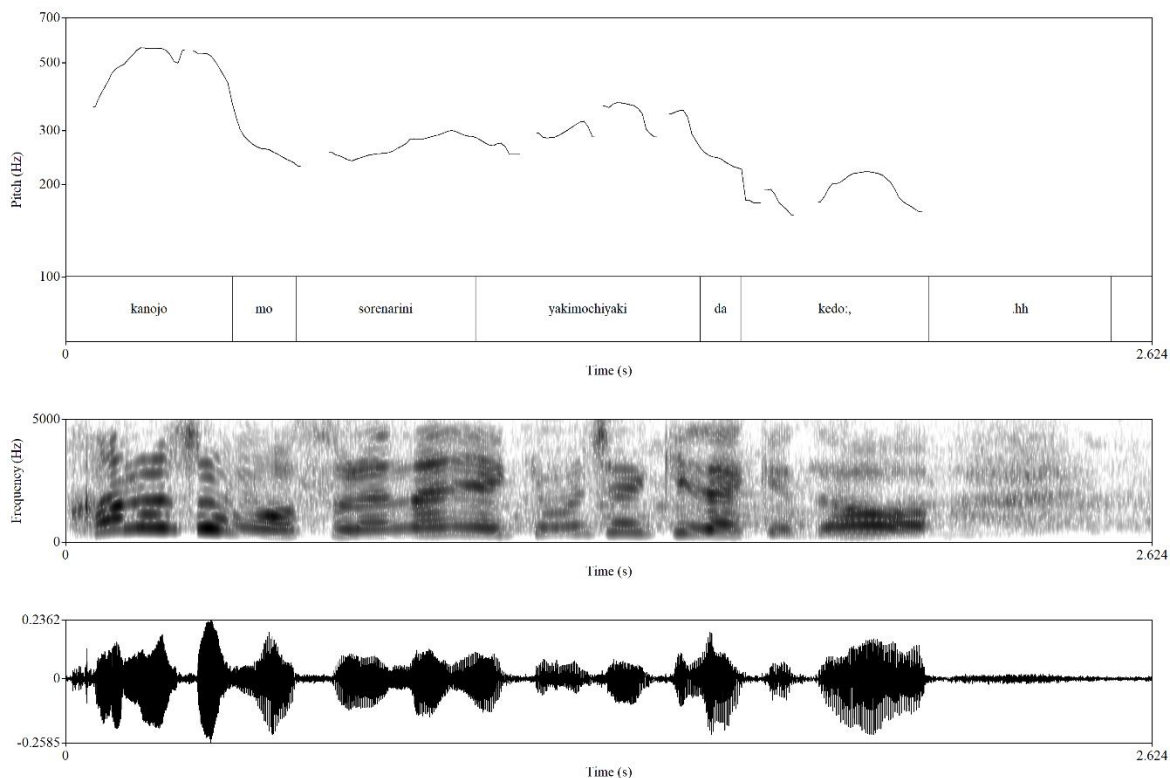
Figure 1. Phonetic visualization of the *kedo* clause at line 9 in Example 7

Thus, we only include in our collection *kedo* clauses without prosodic markings of turn continuation. Figures 2 shows the prosodic contour during the turn with final *kedo* to be examined in 4.2, illustrating that *kedo* ends with falling intonation and without final prolongation[8].

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[8] The sound wave in Figure 2 shows a little increase at the latter half in the *kedo* segment, but it reflects the speaker's laughter, which is another turn-final prosodic feature.
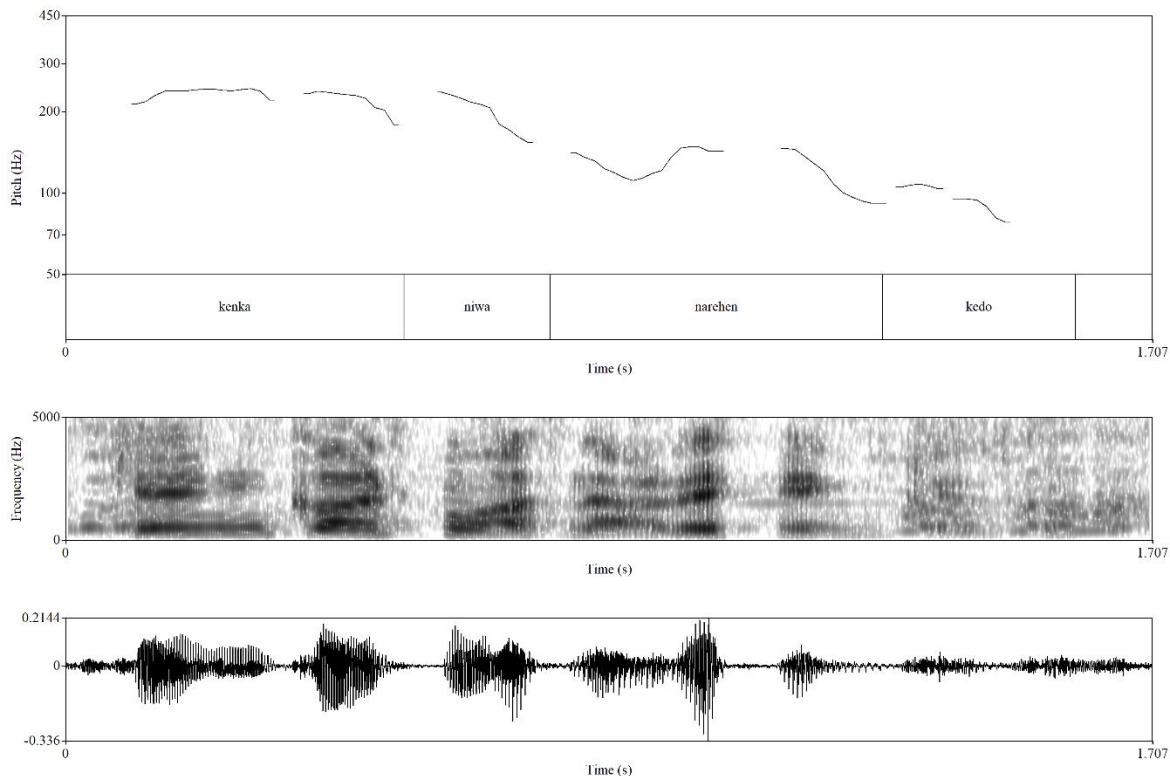
Figure 2. Phonetic visualization of the *kedo* turn in Example 12

4. Analysis

In this section, we examine cases of turn-initial and turn-final *kedo* in responsive turns. We argue that turn-initial *kedo* works as a device for projection, while turn-final *kedo* works for retrospection.

4.1 Turn-initial *kedo*

The turn-initial position has been argued to be a very important position for interaction (Kim and Kuroshima, 2013; Heritage and Sorjonen, 2018). At this position, the speaker may indicate the relation between the preceding turn and the turn that s/he is about to produce. In other words, items at turn-initial position may project the trajectory of the unfolding turn. By starting a turn with the contrastive conjunction *kedo*, the speaker presents the subsequent utterance as contrastive with what has been said in the preceding turn. We have found that such a construction is utilized as a resource for moving the conversation forwards after an interlocutor makes an assertion that is somehow difficult to simply agree with, such as a complaint, self-deprecation, or other types of negative assessment. With a *kedo*-starting utterance, the speaker introduces a new point of view, treating the problem presented in the preceding utterance as unproblematic. It is also notable that the new view initiated with *kedo* is often presented as something that is supposed to be accepted.

In Example (8) below, one participant (Takayanagi) makes a complaint, with which her interlocutor (Naoya) does not provide an explicit agreement, and turn-initial *kedo* is used to start a turn that brings in a new perspective. Just before the first line, Takayanagi says in surprise, "Is there a qualification for raw foodism?" and Naoya, who works in businesses related to natural foods, replies, "Yes. I have the qualification too." Then at line 1, Takayanagi, who works as a flower arranging instructor, makes a critical assessment of the trend of qualifications being created for various things ("everything is a qualification") and she mentions *hoomu paatii kentei* 'home party test', which sounds odd or puzzling, as an example of this criticism (line 4). Responding to Naoya's questions about the 'home party test' (lines 8 and 16-17), Takayanagi explains what she knows about it (lines 10, 13, 15, 18) but ends up closing the explanation with a strongly negative assessment (line 22).

(8) "Same as tea" [T002_019]
01　TAK:　何でもかんでも資格:-
　　　　　　nandemokandemo shikaku:-
　　　　　　everything　　　　　　　certificate
　　　　　　Everything is now (commercialized as) a certificate.
02　　　　　こないださ: 見つけたの¿
　　　　　　konaida sa: mitsuketa no¿
　　　　　　recently PRT find.PST FP
　　　　　　I recently found...
03　　　　　(0.5)
04　TAK:　ホームパーティ検(h)定ってあ(h)って[バカ(h)じゃないの]と°思って°
　　　　　　hoomu paatii ken(h)tei tte　a(h)tte　[baka(h) janaino] to °omotte°
　　　　　　home　party certification　exist　　stupid　　FP　　QT　think
　　　　　　... a "home party certification." I thought that was so stupid.
05　NAO:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[へ::.　　　　　　　]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[he::.　　　　　　　]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Oh.
06　　　　　(0.7)
07　TAK:　.HH[h　なん(h)でもかん(h)でも.　なん]か
　　　　　　.HH[h nan(h)demokan(h)demo.　nan]ka
　　　　　　　　　everything　　　　　　　　HDG
　　　　　　.HH Everything!
08　NAO:　　[何それ, どうなんのどうなんの.　]
　　　　　　　[nani sore, doo nan no doo nan no.]
　　　　　　　what DEM how become Q how become Q
　　　　　　What is it? What do you do with it?
09　　　　　(0.4)
10　TAK:　<財団>法人　　　[.hh]
　　　　　　<zaidan>hoojin [.hh]
　　　　　　incorporated.foundation
　　　　　　It's an incorporated foundation.
11　NAO:　　　　　　　　　　[うん.]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[un.]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Mm.
12　　　　　(0.6)
13　TAK:　日本 (0.2) ホームパーティ-
　　　　　　nihon (0.2) hoomu paatii-
　　　　　　Japan　　　　home party
　　　　　　Like "Japan Home Party...
14　NAO:　へ:[::　]
　　　　　　he:[::　]
　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　Oh.
15　TAK:　　[なん-] なんだら協[会みたいな.]
　　　　　　　[nan-] nandara kyou[kai mitaina.]
　　　　　　　　　　such.and.such association like
　　　　　　...such-and-such Foundation".
16　NAO:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[それはマ]ナーみたいなやつを,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[sore wa ma]naa mitaina yatsu o,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　DEM TOP manner like　　thing ACC
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Is that about things like manners?
17　　　　　マナー　協[会みたいな.]
　　　　　　manaa kyo[kai mitaina.]
　　　　　　manner association like
　　　　　　Like a "Manner Association"?

```
18  TAK:           [マナーじゃ]ないんじゃない?
                   [manaa  ja]nain janai?
                    manner COP.NEG PRT
                   It's not about manners, is it?

19                 ( . )
20  NAO:    う:ん.
            u:n.
            INJ
            Hmm.

21         (1.2)
22  TAK:    わかんない, もうくだらな過ぎて 見なかった[けど.]
            wakannai.    moo kudaranasugite minakatta [kedo.]
            understand.NEG EMP too.absurd    look.NEG.PST KEDO
            I don't know. I didn't examine it because it's too absurd.

23  NAO:                                      [はい]はい.
                                              [ hai]hai.
                                                PRT
                                              I see.

24         (1.1)
25  TAK:    [何でも (.) 何でもかんでもと°思って°        ]
            [nandemo (.) nandemokandemo to °omotte° ]
                       everything         QT think
            I was irritated that everything is (made a certificate).

26  NAO:    [けどまあ (.) お茶と一緒じゃないの. お茶と.]
            [kedo maa (.) ocha to issho janaino. ocha to.]
             KEDO EMP    tea com same FP        tea COM
            KEDO well, isn't that the same as tea?

27         (1.7)
28  NAO:    だって[お茶も, (.)あれでしょ]う? 作法でしょ?
            datte [ocha mo, (.) are de sh]oo? sahoo de sho?
            PRT    tea  too   DEM COP FP       etiquette COP FP
            You know, tea is also... ...about etiquette, isn't it?

29  TAK:         [まあまあそうだね.  ]
                 [maa maa soo da ne.]
                  PRT PRT  DEM COP FP
                 Well, yeah. . . . . . .

30         (1.4)
31  NAO:    なんか一番は.
            nanka ichiban wa.
            HDG   first   TOP
            Its essence. ((Takayanagi talks about the origin of tea ceremony.))
```

Instead of agreeing with it, Naoya minimizes the issue of having "qualifications for everything," which Takayanagi criticized, by suggesting via a turn-initial *kedo* (line 26) that the qualification tests are "just like the tea (ceremony)," which is generally not considered to be an issue.

      Here, the *kedo*-prefaced turn works as a way of moderating the conversational flow. Note that Naoya's *kedo*-prefaced turn (line 26) is produced after a 1.1-second silence and overlaps with Takayanagi's utterance (line 25). Before that, in line 22, Takayanagi expressed her evaluative stance clearly (*kudaranasugite minakatta* '(I) did not examine (it) as it is too absurd'). To this manifestation of a strongly negative evaluative stance, Naoya only acknowledges with *hai hai* (line 23), but does not agree or disagree. After the 1.1-second silence, then, Naoya and Takayanagi both self-select themselves as the next speaker, resulting in the overlap in lines 25 and 26. Naoya and Takayanagi's turns are clearly contrasted in the way they proceed. Takayanagi, who has expressed her evaluative stance, adds the reason for her not looking at the details of the home party certificate by referring to her mental state at the time (cf. Authors, 2014 for the use of *omotte* 'to think'). As the expression *nandemo kandemo* 'everything' has already been used (line 7), she is

not adding a new thing, but is practically repeating her own previous utterance. By contrast, Naoya brings a new aspect into the certification topic. He suggests a similarity between the new and traditional kinds of certificates, thereby minimizing the issue of having "qualifications for everything" and moving the conversation forward. After a 1.7-second silence (line 27), Naoya adds more explanation about what he thinks about the tea ceremony (line 28). Overlapping with this explanation, Takayanagi shows understanding to what Naoya has said by saying *maa maa soo dane* "well, yeah" (line 29) and then starts talking about the origin of the tea ceremony (line 31). *Kedo*-prefaced turn in this way is utilized to manage the flow of the conversation by bringing in a new perspective to the ongoing topic.

Sometimes the meaning of contrast may not be clear at all. In Example (9), Akai, Naoya, and Mie are talking about Akai's husband's family. Akai's husband's family has been living in the area for generations. They have built a small private museum on the family's property for the local culture, which displays weapons that were used by their ancestors who participated in battles during the Warring States period.

(9) "Matchlock gun" [T002_020]

```
01  AKA:    火縄銃とかもあって °家[に.°
                hinawajuu toka mo atte °ie      [ni.°
                matchlock.gun too exist house LOC
                They also have a matchlock gun (inherited from their ancestors). At their house.

02  NAO:                                        [へえ.
                                                [hee.
                                                 INJ
                                                Wow.

03  MIE:    へ[え:    す[ご:い.
                he[e:      su[go:i.
                 INJ          great
                Wow, incredible.

04  AKA:    [なんか:
                [nanka:
                  HDG
                So...

05  NAO:                    [資料館に.
                            [shiryookan ni.
                             museum    DAT
                            At the museum.

06          (1.2)

07  AKA:    なんか,↑考えてみたら，危険
                nanka,↑kangaetemitara, kiken
                hdg     think.COND       dangerous
                So, now that I think about it, it's dangerous.

08          (0.4)

09  MIE:    うん.
                un.
                INJ
                Yeah.

10          (0.5)

11  AKA:    だよ[ね.]
                dayo[ne.]
                    PRT
                Isn't it?

12  NAO:        [う]ん. (0.2) まあだけど.
                    [u]n. (0.2) maa dakedo.
                     INJ         PRT  but
                    Yeah, but,

13          (0.6)

14  AKA:    あん[な-]
                an[na-]
                  DEM
                Such a -

15  NAO:        [火]薬は 入ってない わけ で[すよね.]
                    [ka]yaku  wa haittenai wakede[su yone.]
                    gunpowder TOP loaded.NEG PRT      FP
                    There's no gunpowder in it, right?

16  AKA:                            [    入っ]てない.
                                    [    hait]tenai.
                                          loaded.NEG
                                    No.

17          (0.4)
```

```
18  AKA:   であんなところにね: そうゆうものがあるってこと自体がなんか
              de anna tokoro ni ne: sooyuu mono ga aru   tte   koto jitai ga nanka
              and DEM place LOC PRT DEM   thing NOM exist QT thing itself NOM HDG
              And, the fact that such an item is stored at such a place is...
19         (0.8)
20  AKA:   危険だな: なんて思いながらも.
              kikenda na: nante omoi nagaramo.
              dangerous FP QT   think   though
              ... dangerous, that's what I was thinking.
21         (0.4)
22  NAO:   けど今火縄銃使うよりは
              kedo ima hinawajuu        tsukau yori wa
              KEDO now matchlock.gun use     than TOP
              KEDO these days, rather than using a matchlock gun,
23         (0.2)
24  NAO:   [なんか 電気ので ビビっ [てやった方が.
              [nanka denki      no de bibi t[te yatta   hoo ga.
              HDG    electricity GEN INS IDP QT do.PST CMPR NOM
              an attack with some electric device...
25  AKA:   [hahhahhahhahhahhah       [.hhh
26  MIE:                              [huhhuhhuh
27         (0.2)
28  NAO:   huh[huhhuh はやいかもしれないです]からね_
              huh[huhhuh hayai kamoshinnaidesu] karane_
                        quick might.POL          PRT
              ... would be quicker.
29  MIT:      [ ne huhhuhhuh   .h      huhhuh]
30         (0.4)
31  AKA:   確かに.
              tashikani.
              PRT
              Right.
32         (0.8)
33  AKA:   [そうそうそうそう.]
              [soo soo soo soo.  ]
              PRT PRT PRT PRT
              Yeah, yeah.
34  NAO:   [ この  なんかジジ]ジ:って待っ[てる間に[ああ:ってやられちゃう.
              [ kono   nanka   jiji]ji: tte   mat[teru aidani [aa: tte yararechau.
                DEM    HDG     IDP  QT   wait   meantime INJ QT attacked
              While you were waiting for a fuse to burn, you would be attacked, like "Ohhh!"
35  MIE:                              [    huh   [huhhuhhuh
36  AKA:                              [hahhahhah
```

In line 7, Akai negatively evaluates the presence of a firearm on her husband's parents' property by using the adjective *kiken* 'dangerous.' This formulation can be understood to involve multiple aspects such as a self-deprecating assessment, boasting, and complaining about her husband's parents' home, which makes various kinds of responses possible. After producing a response token *un* 'yeah' at the beginning of line 12, Naoya immediately proceeds to request a confirmation, focusing on the non-dangerous aspect of the firearm, "So there's no gunpowder in it, right?" (lines 12 and 15). Akai gives confirmation by saying *haittenai* 'No (it doesn't have)' but reinforces the danger of having a matchlock gun in a private property (lines 18 and 20). Then Naoya starts a new turn prefaced with *kedo* in line 22.

By using *kedo* at the beginning of his turn, Naoya indicates that the content of his turn will contrast with what Akai has just said, but in fact what he says is not that contrastive. In lines 22, 24, and 28 Naoya brings up a new type of device that might be faster to start a fire/kill an animal, which does not deny the "danger" of matchlock guns itself but deviates the topic from the danger of having matchlock guns. Akai and Mie react to this

new line of talk by producing laughter and expressions of understanding (*tashikani* 'indeed,' line 31) and agreement (*so so so* 'right right,' line 33). The turn starting with *kedo* thus works as a topical turning point rather than disagreement.

Bringing in a new perspective can sometimes function to shift a topic (cf. Jefferson, 1984). In Example (10) below, the participants Ogata, Tominaga, and Aoki, who are in the midst of a job search, are sharing stories about how they passed or failed the exam to become local government employees. Prior to this fragment, both Ogata and Aoki talked about how they had failed the first test for the "special wards" (i.e., the 23 wards of Tokyo), and then the topic shifts to Tominaga's background.

```
(10) "Local Job" [T006_002]
01  AOK:   あ[れかな- (.)(よ-)ず[っと]横浜市に住んでんだっけ.
           a[re kana- (.)(yo-) zu[tto] Yokohama shi ni sunden dakke.
           DEM FP        long   NAME      city DAT live     FP
           Did you say that you've lived in Yokohama city for long?
02  OGA:   [(ん: ¿)
           [(n: ¿)
            INJ
           Hm?
03  TOM:                       [ん?]
                               [n?]
                               INJ
                               Mm?
04         (0.4)
05  TOM:   ↑そ[う:です(n-)
           ↑so[o:desu(n-)
              PRT
           Yeah.
06  AOK:      [s-
07         (0.2)
08  TOM:   小学生ん時に:            ひ- 戻ってきて↑父親
           shoogakusei      n  toki  ni: hi- modottekite  ↑chichioya
           elementary.student GEN time DAT   return         father
           I returned to Yokohama when I was an elementary school student.
09         (0.2)
10  TOM:   が 横浜  だった んで[:,
           ga Yokohama datta nde[:,
           NOM NAME    COP.PST because
           Because my dad was originally from there.
11  AOK:                      [あ:[:はいはい.  ]
                              [a:[: haihai      ]
                               INJ PRT
                              Oh, I see.
12  TOM:                       [戻ってき↑て:]ずっともう,
                               [modotteki↑te:] zutto moo,
                                return          long EMP
13         それから[うご[いてないので.       ]
           sorekara [ugo[itenai node.        ]
           since.then move.NEG because
           I haven't moved since I returned, so...
14  AOK:        [ 横[浜(ちか-) そっか    ][ 地元が もう 横浜市 なん[だ:.]
               [Yoko[hama (chika-) sokka] [jimoto ga moo Yokohama shi nan[da:. ]
                NAME             PRT      hometown NOW EMP NAME city COP
               Yokohama... So, Yokohama city is indeed your hometown.
15  OGA:        [ お ::          ][ :.
               [ o ::          ][ :.
                INJ
               Oh.
17  TOM:                                              [もう.] ((nod))
                                                      [moo.] ((nod))
                                                       PRT
                                                      Indeed.
18         (0.3)
19  OGA:   お::.
           o::.
           INJ
           Oh.
```

20		(0.3)
21	TOM:	でまあ, そんなに勉強　　[できないんで]　横浜[<市>:,]

21 TOM: でまあ, そんなに勉強　　[できないんで]　横浜[<市>:,]
　　　　　 de maa, sonnani benkyoo [dekinai nde] Yokohama [<shi>:,]
　　　　　 and PRT that.much study　good.at.NEG because NAME city
　　　　　 So, since I'm not that good at exams..., Yokohama city…

22 OGA:　　　　　　　　　　　　　[%へ::.　　　]　　　[　すい]ら- 翠嵐みたいな(h)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 [%he::.　　　]　　　[　sui]ra- Suiran mitaina(h)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　INJ　　　　　　　NAME　like
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Hmm.　　　　　***Like Suiran (High School).***

23 AOK:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[(↑.hhh)]

24 OGA: [HhHuh][huh [.hh huhuh .h .h hh

25 TOM: [↑え？　]　　[[$(　　　　)$
　　　　　 [↑e?　]　　[[$(　　　　)$
　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　What? ((quickly shakes her head))

26 AOK:　　　　　　[nHuhHuh[huhhuh

27 TOM: もう, (0.3) そこだけで:, まあちょっと特別区: どうしようみたいな¿
　　　　　 moo, (0.3) soko dake de:, maa chotto Tokubetsuku:　　dooshiyoo　　　mitaina¿
　　　　　 EMP　　　　DEM only　COP PRT　little Tokyo.Special.Wards what.should.I.do like
　　　　　 (I will) only (apply to) Yokohama city. And, I'm like,
　　　　　 "Should I take the exam for Tokyo Special Wards?"

28 OGA: あ[:　　]
　　　　　 a[:　　]
　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　Oh.

29 AOK: [>あ:あ]:あ:あ:<.
　　　　　 [>a:a]:a:a:<.
　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　Oh, yeah.

30　　　　　　 (0.9)

31 AOK: けど,
　　　　　 kedo,
　　　　　 KEDO
　　　　　 KEDO

32 TOM: °うん.°
　　　　　 °un.°
　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　Mm.

33 AOK: まあいいね_(i-)　地元で[就職　　で[きたら.
　　　　　 maa ii ne_(i-) jimoto de [shushoku de[ki tara.=
　　　　　 PRT good FP hometown LOC get.hired can.COND
　　　　　 Well, that would be great if you could get a job in your hometown.

34 OGA:　　　　　　　　　　　　　 [あら.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 [ara.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Oh.

35 TOM:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 [hHuh

36 AOK: =だ[っ てい][まねえ,　　　][.hh 今(h)( )]:=
　　　　　 =da[tte　i][ma nee,　　　][.hh ima(h)( )]:=
　　　　　 PRT　　 now PRT　　　　　now
　　　　　 Because...

37 OGA: [あら.]　　　　　　 [(あ:, あ-)(　　)]
　　　　　 [ara.]　　　　　　 [(a:, a-)(　　　)]
　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　Oh.

38 TOM: [h 地[元(h)だ(h)ったら.]
        [h   ji[moto(h) da(h)ttara.]
             hometown COP.COND
        (Working in) my hometown would be...

39 AOK: =[すげえ通ってる(も-)]
        =[suggee kayotteru (mo-)]
           much   commute
        Because I'm now commuting a long distance.

40 OGA: [そう. 横- だって   ] 横浜市だったらあれじゃん. あの:,
        [soo. yok- datte   ] Yokohama shi dattara   are jan. ano:,
             PRT   PRT   NAME   city COP.COND DEM COP FL
        Yeah, you know, Yokohama city is, you know...

41   (0.4)

42 OGA: 俺お- (0.2) さっき落ちた: (.) 横浜市住宅供給公社とか.
        ore o- (0.2) sakki ochita: (.) Yokohama shi juutaku kyookyuu koosha   toka.
        1SG   just fail.PST   NAME   city housing providing public.corporation like
        Like Yokohama City Housing Development Public Corporation, for which I just failed
        the exam,

43   (0.2)

44 TOM: お:[:::.   ]
        o:[:::.   ]
         INJ
         Oh.

45 OGA: [信用保証]協会とか.
         [shinyoo hoshoo] kyookai toka.
           credit guarantee association like
         Or Credit Guarantee Corporation.

46   (1.1)

47 OGA: 結構[がっつりほ- あの] ほぼ公務員的な
        kekkoo[gattsuri ho- ano] hobo koomuin tekina
         pretty.much   FL almost public.office like
        There are a bunch of public office-like workplaces.

48 TOM: [そ- そういう.]
              [so- sooyuu.   ]
                 such
              That kind of...

49   (0.6)

50 TOM: あ:準公務員のがなんかいっぱ[いあるんすね]
        a: junkoomuin no ga nanka ippa[i arunsu ne]
        INJ semi.public GEN NOM HDG lot exist.POL FP
        Oh, there are many semi-public offices.

51 OGA: [そう. あ]れも横[浜市だとすごいいっぱいあるから.
                             [soo. a]re mo Yoko[hama] shi dato   sugoi ippai aru kara.
                              PRT DEM too NAME   city COP.COND very many exist so
                             Yeah, there are so many jobs like that in Yokohama city.

52 TOM: [(たし-)
                                             [(tashi-)]
                                              PRT
                                             Right.

In lines 5, 8, 10, 12 and 13, Tominaga responds to Aoki's question by talking in detail about how Yokohama is "home" to her, describing this as an obvious reason to take the employment exam. In lines 21, Tominaga mentions her poor academic performance as the reason to search for a job in Yokohama. Here, she uses a negative assessment of herself to return to the topic of where to take the employment exam, and then suggests that she is not so eager to take the Tokyo special wards exam (line 27), which is possibly higher ranked than Yokohama.[9] Tominaga's self-deprecative manifestation in line 27 makes it difficult for the recipients to agree (cf. Pomerantz, 1984); Ogata and Aoki display the receipt of Tominaga's talk by producing change-of-state tokens in lines 28 and 29 respectively, but do not make any substantial evaluation about Tominaga's situation.

---

[9] In line 22, Ogata refers to Suiran, one of the most prestigious high schools in the Yokohama area, asking if Tominaga went to that school. However, Tominaga quickly denies Ogata's guess (line 25) and returns to explaining her job search plan.

In the *kedo*-prefaced turn in lines 31 and 33, Aoki makes a positive assessment, "if you could get a job in your hometown, that would be nice." This turn is produced as a response to prior turn by Tominaga and changes the flow of the conversation by bringing in contrastive or new viewpoints. Contrast can be found in the stance the participant takes and the generality/particularity of the described situation; Tominaga talks about negative aspects of herself, but Aoki focuses on the positive side of finding a job in a local town. Aoki's turn is hearable as talking about a general situation of people in the job market. This generality leads to the further topic shift, which can be seen in lines 36 and 39, where Aoki starts talking about himself.[10] In this way, the *kedo*-prefaced turn shifts the topic and changes the course of the talk.

In this section, we examined cases in which *kedo* is used at the beginning of a responsive turn. It was observed that the *kedo*-speaker brings in a new perspective about the topic being discussed and change the course of the ongoing talk. At the beginning of a turn, *kedo* projects that what is going to be told is somewhat contrastive, and that a new sequence will develop.

4.2 Turn-final *kedo*

In this section, we examine cases in which *kedo* is used at the end of a turn that responds to the previous turn. We argue that turn-final *kedo* explicitly connects the turn to the prior turn, working as the backward, or retrospective, linkage device.

In most cases, utterances with turn-final *kedo* are a minimum expansion of the preceding sequence and are not followed by further units from the same speaker. The example below illustrates this tendency. In this example, old friends Moe and Saku, and Saku's boyfriend Ikuto, are eating at a restaurant. Prior to this excerpt, Ikuto cut a pizza into slices. Then, Ikuto and Saku started talking about how Saku cannot cut the food symmetrically because of her bad eyesight.

---

[10] It is understandable that Aoki is referring to himself thanks to ethnographic information provided by the corpus building team: Aoki is the one who commutes from a distant city.

(11) "It wouldn't cause a fight" [K001_013]

01 IKU:　だからたぶんこういう切る時も:
　　　　　dakara tabun kooyuu kiru toki mo:
　　　　　PRT　maybe DEM　cut time too
　　　　　So, when she cuts food like this,

02 SAK:　あ．そう．たぶんねこう(0.4)こう[ずれるの．]
　　　　　a. soo. tabun ne koo　(0.4) koo [zureru no.　]
　　　　　INJ PRT maybe PRT DEM　　DEM deviate FP
　　　　　Oh, yes. Maybe, it doesn't go straight.

03 IKU:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[まっすぐ切ら]れへんのんやと[思う．]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[massugu kira]rehen nonya to [omou.]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　straight　cut.cannot FP　QT think
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　I think she can't cut straight.

04 MOE:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[うん．]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[un.　]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Mm.

05　　　　　　　(1.8)
06 IKU:　　(　　　　　　　　)
07　　　　　　　(1.2)
08 MOE:　う:[ん．ぶれるんだろ[うね
　　　　　u:[n. bureru ndaro[o ne
　　　　　　INJ　waver must　FP
　　　　　Hmm. She can't keep balance, can she?

09 SAK:　[まあだから　　[喧嘩にならないため↑に,
　　　　　[maa dakara　　[kenka ni naranai tame↑ni,
　　　　　PRT　so　　　fight DAT result.in.NEG in.order.to
　　　　　That's why, in order not to cause a fight,

10 IKU:　　　　　　　　　[うんうん．
　　　　　　　　　　　　[un un.
　　　　　　　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　　　　　Mm.

11　　　　　(1.3)
12 SAK:　ちゃんと切れる人に (0.6) お願いする．
　　　　　chanto kireru hito ni (0.6) onegaisuru.
　　　　　properly cut.can person DAT ask
　　　　　I always ask someone who can cut properly.

13　　　　　(0.7)
14 MOE:　ありがとう．((big gesture of tilting head))
　　　　　arigatoo. ((big gesture of tilting head))
　　　　　PRT
　　　　　Thank you.

15　　　　　(1.4)
16 SAK:　[ありが[とう．((small gesture of titling head))
　　　　　[ariga[too. ((small gesture of titling head))
　　　　　PRT
　　　　　Thank you.

17 MOE:　[hh　[h
18 IKU:　　　　[喧(h)嘩(h) にはなれ(h)へん [けど．]
　　　　　　　　[ken(h)ka(h) ni　wa nare(h)hen [kedo.]
　　　　　　　　fight　　　DAT TOP turn.NEG　KEDO
　　　　　It wouldn't cause a fight, KEDO.

19 MOE:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[huhuhu.][うん.]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[huhuhu.][un.]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　INJ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Mm.

```
20  SAK:                                                      [うん.]
                                                             [un.]
                                                             INJ
                                                             Mm.

21          (1.5)
22  IKU:    [俺なんでも-  ]
            [ore nandemo-]
            1SG anything
            I ...
23  SAK:    [ これもあっ]たかいうちに.
            [ kore mo   at]takai uchini.
              DEM too   warm     in
            We should eat this before it gets cold.
24          (0.3)
25  IKU:    ね:. ラザニアは?
            ne:. razania wa?
            PRT lasagna TOP
            Hey, what happened to the lasagna?
```

In lines 9 and 12, Saku says that when she needs to cut food, she asks someone who can cut properly in order to avoid a fight – if the pieces are too asymmetrical, people might start fighting over the bigger pieces. Here, the actual referent of "someone who can cut properly" can be understood as Ikuto, who hangs out with Saku regularly and has just cut the pizza. This understanding is shown in Moe's jokingly framed gratitude to Ikuto, "thank you," with an emphatic tilting-head gesture (line 14). Saku then joins Moe by saying, "thank you" with a similar gesture (line 16). In these turns, Saku and Moe are jointly and jokingly showing gratitude to Ikuto. Then in line 18, in a laughing voice, Ikuto states that they will not start a fight, ending his turn with *kedo*.

Ikuto's utterance in line 18 ('they will not start a fight') illustrates that *kedo*-ending turns are used to retrospectively connect to interlocutors' prior utterances. Here, Ikuto produces the *kedo*-ending turn to respond to Saku's and Moe's jokingly framed gratitude (lines 14 and 16) by denying the assumption that he and Saku would start a fight if foods were cut asymmetrically, which was claimed by Saku at lines 9 and 12. After Ikuto's *kedo*-ending utterance in line 18, both Moe and Saku produces a minimum agreement token *un* (lines 19 and 20), and after that they do not further talk about the issue of cutting asymmetrically. Their responses indicate that the recipients of the *kedo*-ending utterance take it as a minimum expansion referring back to the preceding part of the conversation, not as an issue to be pursued further.

Example (12) below is also a case of a *kedo*-ending turn that refers back to a preceding part. In this example, a middle-aged woman, Tae, and her father, Gou, are having dinner and talking about ice plants, a kind of vegetable that has been recently introduced to the Japanese food market and thus is new to them, especially to Gou, who is in his seventies.

(12) "Ice Plant" [C002_003]
```
01              ((Gou takes a bite of a piece of ice plant.))
02   GOU:    この(.)  この葉っぱ美味しいね: これ. なんだっけ.
             kono (.) kono happa oishii   ne: kore. nan dakke.
             DEM      DEM   leaf   delicious FP DEM   what FP
             This leaf tastes good. What was this called?
03              ア[イス: アイスじゃなくて.
                a[isu: aisu janakute.
                      ice COP.NEG
                Ice... No, it's not ice...
04   TAE:       [あ.
                [a.
                INJ
                Oh.
05   TAE:    アイスプラント.
             aisupuranto.
             ice.plant
             It's an ice plant.
06              (0.4)    ((Tae puts another ice plant onto Gou's plate.))
07   GOU:    うん. これうまい.
             un. kore umai.
             INJ DEM delicious
             Yeah, this is good.
08              (0.7)
09   TAE:    ↑好きなんだ.
             ↑suki nanda.
              like COP
              You like it!
10              (0.8)
11   GOU:    なんかはざ- はざ- 歯触りがいいってゆうか.
             nanka haza- haza- hazawari ga   ii tteyuuka.
             HDG                texture   NOM good HDG
             Well, the texture is good, I guess.
12              (2.4)
13   TAE:    パパのことだからアイスプラントは$不気味ってゆうかと思った[けど.] $
             papa no koto dakara   aisupuranto wa $bukimi tte yuu kato omotta [kedo.] $
             dad GEN thing because iceplant      TOP creepy QT say COMP think.PST KEDO
             I thought you would say it's weird KEDO.
14   GOU:                                                              [うん. ]
                                                                       [un.   ]
                                                                       INJ
                                                                          Mm.

15   GOU:    不気味は不気味だな.
             bukimi wa bukimi da na.
             creepy TOP creepy COP FP
             Yeah, it is weird.
16   TAE:    hhh
17              (11.9) ((Tae and Gou keep eating))
18   TAE:    あん[まりこうゆう食感てないもんね.
             an[mari kooyuu shokkan te nai monne.
             much    DEM       texture QT exist.NEG FP
             Yeah, the texture is quite unusual.
19   GOU:       [うん.
                [un.
                INJ
                Mm.
```

Gou makes a positive assessment of the ice plant he is eating by saying *kore umai* 'this is good' (line 7). Rather than agreeing or disagreeing with Gou's assessment, Tae treats it as new and unexpected information, *suki nanda* 'You like it' (line 9). Prompted by this reaction, Gou explains what he likes about the vegetable (line 11). In line 13, Tae states that she personally expected that her father would evaluate the food negatively (*bukimi* 'creepy/weird,' ending her turn with *kedo.*

What Tae says in the *kedo*-ending turn in line 13 contrasts with Gou's positive assessment of the food as "good" (lines 2 and 7) and "having a nice texture" (line 11). As the contrastive content has already been produced, *kedo* does not project a contrastive

content. Rather, *kedo* emphasizes that what has just been said is to be understood in relation with its preceding talk. In response to Tae, Gou confirms that he feels that ice plant is indeed creepy. Note that his confirmation about the creepiness is delivered in the [Predicate + 'wa' (topic marker) + Predicate] construction (Fillmore, 1989), which minimizes the impact of the negative aspect of the adjective *bukimi* 'creepy/weird.' Thus, although Gou confirms Tae's prior expectation, he does not totally change his stance toward the object; rather, Gou holds his positive attitude, and the confirmation is produced as a minimal downgrading of his stance. This illustrates that a *kedo*-ending response does not start a new sequence, but just adds a supplementary comment to what has been said in the prior part of the conversation.

In this section, we examined several cases of *kedo* used at the beginning and at the end of utterances that are responsive to the prior turn by the other participant. While in both positions *kedo* might mark contrast, the contrast can be weak. More than providing contrast, the use of *kedo* helps organize the interaction. At the turn-initial position, *kedo* is used to bring in a new perspective and start a new sequence. At the turn-final position, *kedo* ties the utterance retrospectively to the prior turn. Connecting utterances with a contrastive conjunction can be a resource for organizing the flow of interaction.

5. Discussion and conclusion

This study examined the interactional functions of *kedo* in turn-initial and turn-final positions in responsive turns. We argued that speakers bring in a new perspective using *kedo* at the initial position of a newly starting turn and that *kedo*-prefaced turns are utilized to develop a sequence of turns dealing with the newly introduced perspective. By contrast, the turns that end with *kedo* do not invite further topical development but provide a supplementary comment retrospectively on a prior part of the conversation. In both positions, the degree of contrast of *kedo*-framed utterances varies depending on the context.

Let us capture the functional difference between turn-initial and turn-final *kedo* on two levels: the level of turn construction (organized around the particle *kedo* and other turn-internal elements) and the level of sequence development (organized around a *kedo*-marked turn-constructional unit (TCU) and its preceding and following TCUs). On the turn construction level, the particle *kedo* at turn-initial position projects that something contrastive with the prior turn is going to be produced. The content may just be a new perspective and not necessarily contradicting or disagreeing, but the interlocutor can at least anticipate that the logical/semantic relation between the unit to be produced and the preceding part is not causal. On the other hand, at turn-final position, the particle *kedo* with falling, final intonation does not project any more elements to be produced in the same TCU. With the main body of the turn already produced, *kedo* marks the end of the TCU, thereby making a place for turn transition. The relations are shown in Figure 3.

Turn-initial *kedo*
(*kedo*-prefaced responsive turn)

Turn-final *kedo*
(*kedo*-ending responsive turn)

kedo	

	kedo

Projection: content contrasting with
a prior part is going to be produced

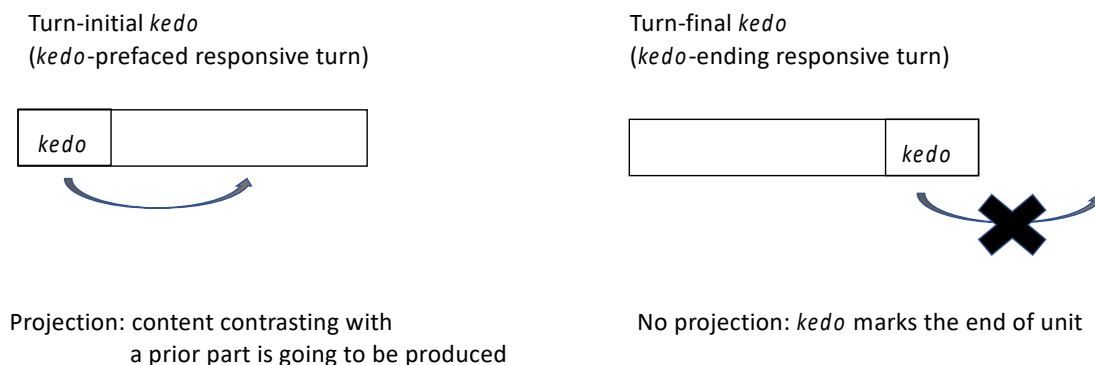No projection: *kedo* marks the end of unit

Figure 3: Projection with *kedo* on the turn construction level

The difference between turn-initial *kedo* and turn-final *kedo* is also found on the level of sequence development. Bringing in a contrastive or new perspective in discussion, TCUs prefaced with *kedo* trigger further TCUs about the issue at hand, thereby developing a new sequence of interaction. In this sense, turns prefaced by *kedo* are sequentially projective. On the other hand, *kedo* used at the end of a turn indicates that the content of the *kedo*-ending TCU is to be understood as a supplementary comment to a prior part of the interaction. This direction is backward and thus TCUs ending with *kedo* work retrospectively. These two kinds of connection are shown in Figure 4.

Turn-initial *kedo*
(*kedo*-prefaced responsive turn)

Turn-final *kedo*
(*kedo*-ending responsive turn)

Prior part

kedo	

Prior part

	kedo

-projective:
 starts a new sequence
-brings in a contrastive or new perspective

-restrospective:
 commenting back on a
 preceding part
-minimal expansion
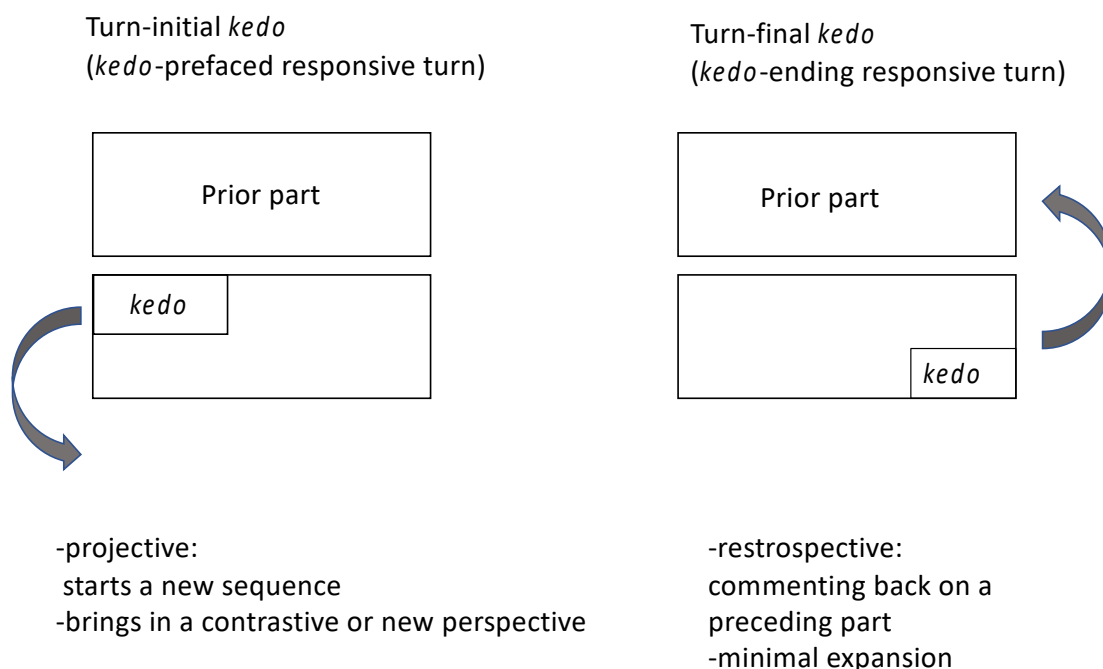
Figure 4. Projective and retrospective sequencing marked by *kedo*

Thus, not only is turn-initial *kedo* projective at the level of turn construction, but a *kedo*-prefaced turn is projective at the level of sequence development. Turn-final *kedo*, which makes no projection in the unfolding TCU, indicates that the TCU to which it is attached is commenting back on the preceding talk and does not invite further development of the sequence.

While this study provides analyses of *kedo* in responsive turns, further studies are expected for a more thorough understanding of the working of conjunctions at peripheries. First, since we focused on responsive turns, we did not examine cases where speakers expand their own turns. Whether *kedo*-prefaced and *kedo*-ending self-expansion of turns work in interaction is an empirical question. In fact, we found a large number of *kedo* tokens used in long stretches of self-expanded talk such as storytelling, and it is expected that the semantic feature of contrast is even more bleached in those cases. The use of *kedo* in such an environment will be an interesting case of multi-unit turn construction. Secondly, other elements that occur at utterance-initial and utterance-final positions should also be systematically investigated. Japanese has a rich repertoire of grammatical elements in both positions; various interjections are observed at the beginning of an utterance, some of which are called fillers or hesitation markers (e.g., *eeto* "well" or *nanka* "sort of", see Morita and Takagi, 2018) or epistemic stance marker (e.g., *a* and *aa*, see Author, 2018). The utterance-final position is often occupied by final particles (e.g., *yo*, *ne*, *yone*) that are characterized as markers of epistemic stance (Hayano, 2011). How those hesitation markers, epistemic stance markers and conjunctions work together or differently awaits further investigation (cf. Ito, 2018).

Utterances in conversation rarely consist of an isolated, single unit. Combining units is ubiquitous, and connecting utterances is thus an indispensable part of grammar. In real-time interaction, participants talk in the unstopping flow of time, and they are in constant need of making connections forward and backward. We hope to have shown that *kedo*, a contrastive conjunction in Japanese, has developed interactional functions specific to its position in conversation, and to contribute to the understanding of temporality in interaction.

Acknowledgements

Appendix A: Glossing symbols

1SG	1st person singular	COP	Copula
3SG	3rd person singular	DAT	Dative
ACC	Accusative	DEM	Demonstrative
CMPR	Comparative	EMP	Emphatic
COND	Conditional form	FL	Filler

FP	Final particle	NOM	Nominative
GEN	Genitive	PST	Past tense
HDG	Hedge	POL	Polite form
IDP	Ideophone	PRT	Pragmatic Particle
INJ	Interjection	QT	Quotation marker
INS	Instrumental	SE	Sentence Extender
LOC	Locative	SUG	Suggesting form
NEG	Negation	TOP	Topic marker
NAME	Name of a person, place, or school		

Appendix B: Transcription symbols

,	continuing intonation	-	truncated speech
.	terminal intonation (falling)	=	latching (no gap between two lines)
?	rising intonation	huh	laughter or laughing quality
¿	slightly rising intonation	h	hearable exhalation
_	level intonation	o	soft voice
[ ]	overlapping speech	___	loud voice
X	uncertain hearing	↑	sudden rise of pitch
:	lengthening	< >	slowed down speech
(.)	micro pause	> <	accelerated speech
(2.1)	long pause and its length in seconds	$ $	smiley voice

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