INDEXING INFERABLES AND ORGANIZATIONAL SHIFTS:

'NO'-PREFACES IN ENGLISH CONVERSATION

by

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Indexing Inferables and Organizational Shifts: 'No'-Prefaces in English Conversation

Thesis directed by Professor Barbara Fox

This dissertation uses conversation analysis to examine three non-disagreeing functions of the token 'no' when it prefaces a turn at talk. In the first function, 'no'-prefaces index and respond to an inferential component of a prior turn. This practice entails a number of sub-practices, in which speakers use 'no'-prefaced responses to deny face-threatening actions produced through "off-record" formulations, display affiliation with a recipient by managing incongruent stance displays, manage inferences regarding the speaker's epistemic stance or rights, deny an inference conveyed through a prior polar question, or produce a preferred response to delicate formulations that index a recipient's accountability, blame, or guilt. In the second function, 'no'-prefaces mark a shift in how the turn is organized with regard to the speaker's footing. In this practice, speakers employ 'no'-prefaced turns to shift between non-serious and serious interactional frames, or retroactively assert the serious footing of a prior utterance. In the third function, 'no'-prefaces mark a shift in how the turn is organized with regard to the surrounding talk. In this practice, 'no'-prefaced turns may be used to mark a unit of talk as hearably "misplaced", connect back to a prior segment of talk, or close an extended telling sequence. As a study situated within the framework of interactional linguistics, this dissertation examines these functions of 'no'-prefaces in the context of naturally-occurring English conversation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE DISSERTATION

In conversation and many other forms of talk-in-interaction, turns-at-talk are the key proximate organizational niche into which bursts of language are introduced, and to which they may be expected to be adapted. And grammar is one of the key types of organization shaping these bursts. (Schegloff 1996c:2)

1.1 Introduction to Chapter 1

The impetus for the present study first emerged from an analytic interest in the following exchange, taken from an instance of naturally-occurring conversational interaction. Here, Rich and Greg have been discussing a well-known director of a series of science-fiction films.[1]

(1) Labtalk

```
1     Rich: He's such a dou:chebag.
2     Greg: No: he i:s.
```

A number of observations can be made about the structure and organization of this exchange. First, it comprises what conversation analysts term an *adjacency pair*, a basic organizational unit for a sequence of actions. That is, the participants have produced two turns-at-talk organized one after the other, such that the first part of this pair of these can be heard to have invited (or "made relevant") the second.[2] Each of these turns also enacts a particular *social action*; in this case, both

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[1] The exchange presented here was not video recorded, as is the norm in conversation analytic studies of social interaction. Rather, it was jotted down by the researcher shortly after it was uttered. Given this, the transcribed representation of the exchange as presented here is only approximate.

[2] These components of an adjacency pair are termed the "first pair part" (FPP) and "second pair part" (SPP), respectively.

turns produce an assessment, while the second turn is additionally hearable as "doing agreement" with the first. Related to this, we might note that the adjacency pair above comprises a particular *pair type* of the form "assessment-agreement", and thus the first assessment has occasioned an aligning second turn – that is, one that supports the structural progression of the first turn's action. In particular, this second turn is formulated as a second assessment, one of a number of potential practices for displaying agreement with a first assessment.

Outside of these basic descriptions, still other observations can be made about the structure of the exchange above. In terms of the second turn's composition, we see that Greg's second assessment is prefaced by the negative response token 'no'. Additionally, the remainder of this turn is formulated as a partial repeat of the prior turn (the copular clause "he i:s"). With regard to the first point, notice that Greg's use of a 'no'-preface is seemingly at odds with the action produced by the talk that follows: namely, his agreement with the prior turn, which is formulated as a positive-polarity declarative ("He's such a dou:chebag"). The question of *why* we see 'no'-prefaced turn used to do agreement in this and similar contexts, and what pragmatic and interactional functions such response practices may serve, formed the initial motivation to undertake the present research study. To answer this question we turn to the second point, related to the composition of Greg's turn following the 'no'.

As a first assessment, Rich's first turn makes relevant a number of agreeing responses from Greg, each of which may index different levels of epistemic rights to assess the referent. As Heritage and Raymond (2005) show, second turns in assessment-agreement pairs – by virtue of their position as a second pair part – are hearable as doing simple agreement with the prior turn rather than producing an independently held claim about the assessable. Second assessments thus (by default) convey a weaker epistemic claim than first assessments. However, Heritage and

Raymond also show that second speakers may make use of a range of practices that upgrade the epistemic claims embodied in second assessments, such as producing a full repeat of the first assessment followed by an agreement token, or prefacing the second assessment with the change-of-state token 'oh'. Such practices display the second speaker's own rights to assess by asserting that the claim being made was already held by the second speaker.

Returning to Excerpt 1, we see that Greg's use of a partial repeat format in his second assessment ("he i:s") displays a relatively weak degree of epistemic independence. However, Greg's use of a 'no'-preface in this turn is strikingly similar in structure to the types of 'oh'-prefaced second assessments described by Heritage and Raymond (2005) and Heritage (2002), an assessment format that indexes a stronger degree of epistemic independence. As further inquiry into the use of 'no'-prefaced turns would show, these observations are related to one another – that is, Greg's use of a 'no'-preface in his second turn is a practice for asserting his epistemic rights, and upgrades the epistemic stance displayed through this turn. Whereas 'oh'-prefaced second assessments accomplish this assertion of rights through an "exploitation" of the change-of-state meaning of 'oh', however, 'no'-prefaced second assessments accomplish this by virtue of indexing and denying the inference that the second speaker's claims were only a rote agreement with the first assessment. This is an as-yet-undescribed function of 'no'-prefaced utterances in English conversation, and forms just one of the practices examined in this dissertation.

The practices described throughout the chapters to follow all share a common structural similarity: they are formulated with the response token 'no' in turn-initial position, as a preface to the talk that follows. These uses of 'no' stand apart from most other uses of the token described in the conversation analytic (CA) literature, as the functions described here are tied to

the token's organization as a turn beginning (i.e. they cannot occur through a turn consisting solely of a standalone 'no'). As further discussion will show, this organization of 'no' as a preface to a larger unit of talk is crucial to the pragmatic and interactional functions described in this dissertation. This is a feature of numerous other turn-initial discourse particles analyzed in CA (such as 'well', 'so', and 'oh'), a fact illustrated in the analytic focus on both the *position* and *composition* of a particular feature: that is, how it is both organized in relation to the surrounding talk and formulated in terms of lexis, grammar, prosody, etc. These types of linguistic features frequently enact different interactional functions across different sequential environments, and the import of examining a practice in terms of its position and composition has been stressed throughout work in CA. A particularly poignant discussion of this point can be found in Heritage's (1998) discussion of 'oh' as a preface to inquiries, in which he notes that "the particle's sense is also shaped by its placement within the turn: at the beginning of a turn, and as an integral part of the intonation contour of its first turn-construction unit. It is this placement that allows [it] to qualify the entire turn constructional unit that follows, and to provide a coloring or propositional attitude for that unit's response to the question that preceded it" (327).

In the chapters to follow, I examine three functions of these 'no'-prefaces in English conversation: to respond to an inferential component of a prior turn, to mark a shift in how the turn is organized with regard to the speaker's footing, and to mark a shift in how the turn is organized with regard to the local sequential organization of the surrounding talk. Before moving to an analysis of each function, in this chapter I present a brief background of the methods used in this dissertation (Section 1.2), introduce other relevant discussions of 'no'-prefaces in English and negative particles in other languages (Section 1.3), and describe the data (Section 1.4) used throughout the analysis.

1.2 Methodology: Conversation analysis

1.2.1 History and background

The description of the interaction between Greg and Rich in Excerpt 1 above is typical of work in conversation analysis, given its focus on the structural and organizational components of their exchange. Put simply, CA is a methodology for the analysis of talk in everyday social interaction. The approach first emerged in the work of Harvey Sacks as a sociological enterprise, and early work displayed notable influences from Garfinkel's ethnomethodology (Heritage 1984a) and the symbolic interactionism pioneered by Goffman (e.g. 1959). Both of these approaches were concerned with the operation of social interaction in everyday life, a topic that had been all but ignored in the dominant sociological paradigm from which they emerged (which viewed everyday interaction as being too disorderly to be subjected to rigorous analysis).[3]

From Goffman's work, Sacks adapted the idea that interaction has its own sense of order, an underlying structural organization that social actors routinely both engage with and work to construct. Goffman's concepts of *frame* and *footing*, which are discussed in further detail in Chapter 3, as well as his concept of *participation frameworks*, have also been adapted and expanded within the conversation analytic literature. Garfinkel's insistence on the use of rigorous, scientifically oriented analytic methods within his ethnomethodological program also provided a profound influence on the conversation analytic approach to interaction, particularly in how Sacks first advocated that analysts approach their data "without bringing any problems to it" (a practice also described as "unmotivated looking"). This analytic practice is a key part of the "social theory" (Heritage 2008) of CA, which treats the context of an interaction as a locally established social fact requiring keen observation by the analyst to uncover (rather than a static

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[3] This "anti-interaction" position was solidified through the work of Talcott Parsons (e.g. Parsons 1937), which shaped much of American sociology in the early- to mid-twentieth century.

or a priori component of the interaction).[4]

Despite its beginnings in sociology and its focus on the social order of interaction, CA has also developed as a novel approach to the study of language in use, particularly under the rubric of interactional linguistics (IL).[5] As a discrete framework, interactional linguistics has been influenced not only by the theories and methods of conversation analysis, but also by work in discourse functional linguistics (e.g. Chafe 1994; Ford 1993; Fox 1987; Tao 1996) and streams of linguistic anthropology (e.g. Duranti 1994; Hanks, 1990; Ochs 1988; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986), and maintains an analytic focus on the ways in which languages are shaped by interaction (and vice versa). Though there is considerable overlap between work in CA and interactional linguistics, Ford (2010) argues that one significant distinction is in how interactional linguistics is "heavily informed by (some would say biased by) linguistic research and terminologies. IL researchers are committed to critiquing and expanding our understanding of language 'structure' within Linguistics by treating interactional functions and patterns as foundational. IL scholars attend to relationships between social interaction and recurrent linguistic forms" (213). In this sense, the present analysis can be said to be situated within both conversation analysis and interactional linguistics, and addresses the types of concerns held by analysts operating in both research areas.

1.2.2 The social theory of CA

In this section, I provide a brief background on some of the core analytic concerns and the social theory of CA that has emerged over the last fifty years, which entails an understanding

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[4] While Schegloff (1992b) argues that the ethnomethodological stance on analytic rigor strongly influenced conversation analytic methods, he also notes a divergence between the two fields reflected in the explicitly "anti-positivist and anti-science" stance that Garfinkel set forth for ethnomethodology. Conversely, Sacks "sought to ground the undertaking in which he was engaging in the very fact of the existence of science" (xxxii).

[5] The term "interactional linguistics" was first used by Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2001) to describe an area of linguistic inquiry that had been previously known as work on "interaction and grammar". For a more in-depth discussion of interactional linguistics as a field, see Fox, Thompson, Ford and Couper-Kuhlen (2012).

of talk as a participant's resource for accomplishing the necessary minutiae of everyday life. Given this understanding, analysts seek to discover how particular features of the talk are meaningful first and foremost to the participants, and describe the ways that participants display their understanding of these features as meaningful.

These aspects of the talk form much of what analysts define as the *context* of the interaction. Because context is used by participants as a means of understanding the unfolding talk, speakers routinely display what features of the discourse are relevant to them at any given moment, effectively co-constructing the context of the interaction turn-by-turn. Rather than treat context as some *a priori* construct, then, conversation analysts focus on these types of demonstrable orientations to determine which aspects of the talk are important (or "procedurally relevant") to the participants. For example, the institutional identity of a police officer may not be relevant to a civilian participant *solely* by virtue of the institutional setting of the call. Rather, this identity is made relevant through the participants' demonstrable orientation to this identity during the activity of the talk itself (which may entail the use of particular turn-taking practices, use of address terms, etc.). Similarly, we can see these types of orientations in what Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) term a "next-turn proof procedure", by which a next turn at talk is seen to show a speaker's orientation to a prior turn as accomplishing a particular action. Within a question-answer sequence, for example, that a question receives an answer is evidence of the second speaker's orientation to the first as enacting a question.[6] Schegloff (1987, 1991, 1992) notes that it is only through close attention to this type of demonstrable orientation to the ongoing talk that the analyst may determine a participant's understanding of the unfolding interaction, and it is a critical component of how conversation analysts approach their data.

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[6] We see this too in the ubiquitous analyst's question "why that now" (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 299), which treats context as mutually constituted in the talk occurring both prior to, and immediately following, any particular point in the interaction.

Though close attention to the operation of context is of import to the analysis of talk itself, an overarching goal of conversation analytic work is also to identity those basic, fundamental structures and practices of interaction that can be described across multiple instances of talk. The operation of talk-in-interaction is thus described in CA as being both *context-sensitive* and *context-free*. These terms convey the view that a particular spate of talk is necessarily shaped by its local, immediately surrounding context, yet the practices employed within that spate of talk will be uniformly mobilized across different social and interactional contexts. Schegloff (1972) provides perhaps the first published description of talk-in-interaction as context-sensitive, noting that "to say that interaction is context-sensitive is to say that *interactants* are context-sensitive" (emphasis in original). Here, Schegloff argues that context is as much of a sense-making tool for participants as it is for analysts. The understanding that interaction also exhibits a context-free operation emerged in later work by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), which describes the universal applicability of the basic mechanism of turn-taking in interaction.

Though the present study works to describe a set of grammatical and interactional practices in a context-free manner, the reliance on participant orientations to the talk is a particularly crucial element of the second chapter of this dissertation, which examines actions produced in an "off-record" fashion. That is, these actions are formulated in such a way that the propositional content of the turn does not clearly index the action it accomplishes; rather, the action is produced via inference. We see this in the case of Excerpt 2 below, in which Bee has been discussing the renovations that her son has done on his new apartment. At line 33, Ada responds to these descriptions with a newsmark ('oh') produced with a falling, and hearably dismissive, intonation.

(2) CALLHOME EN_4459

```
33    Ada:   ↓Uoh::=

34 →  Bee:   =So::, ↑no: so tha:t's ↑ni:ce in a way cause you could walk

35           through instead of walking around the whole hou:se for the

36           ba:throom.
```

In looking at the mother's response to this turn (lines 34-36), we see that she produces a demonstrable orientation to the prior newsmark as producing a negative assessment of the description,[7] responding to Ada's turn by reaffirming her own positive stance towards the renovations ("So tha:t's ↑ni:ce") and providing an account for why the renovations are "ni:ce". As further analysis in the next chapter will show, Bee's use of a 'no'-preface at line 34 is also reflective of her understanding of Ada's prior turn at line 33 as a negative assessment. What this excerpt clearly illustrates, however, is the analyst's reliance on how the participants themselves understand and make sense of the moment-by-moment unfolding of the interaction. Without this, an understanding of the context-free operation of the types of 'no'-prefaced response practices seen in line 34 would be all but impossible to gather.

Outside of the operation of context within an interaction, conversation analysts examine different structural aspects of the organization of talk. Primary among these are: 1) the operation of *turn-taking*, particularly in terms of the structural composition of individual turns, their distribution among participants, the possible projection of their completion by co-participants, and the occurrence and management of overlapping talk; 2) the organization of turns into *sequences*, both in terms of the basic adjacency pair described earlier in this chapter and the practices by which these sequences may be expanded; 3) the types of *social actions* that an

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[7] Given the frequent use of the analytic term "negative" in this dissertation, a clarification of terms may be helpful to readers. By "negative assessment", I here refer to a display of stance related to a participant's dislike or disapproval of the referent. The term "negative" will be used this way in all similar references to a participant's stance. By contrast, when referring to 'no' as a "negative particle", I refer strictly to its grammatical polarity (i.e. as indexing some form of negation).

utterance may accomplish, and the various practices through which a particular action may be enacted; 4) the *preference structures* of various types of responsive actions (that is, whether a response promotes or impedes the projected outcome of the prior turn), the potential operation of competing or concurrent preferences, and the range of turn-shapes that generally accompany preferred and dispreferred responses; and 5) the operation of *repair* – the resolution of problems of hearing, speaking, or understanding within a spate of talk. Of particular import to the current research project are the operation of turn-taking, the organization of turns into sequences of social actions, and the relevance of preference structure to response practices. Each of these concepts, and the analytic terms employed in discussions of each, will be explored in further detail throughout the analysis to come.

1.3 Prior work on 'no' and similar particles

One overarching goal of this dissertation is to contribute to our general understanding of how polar response tokens, such as the English particle 'no', are deployed in interaction. The meaning and function of 'no' is, at present, still largely understood as belonging solely to the domains of negation and disagreement (Schegloff 2001). Yet this categorization of the token is necessarily complicated by the fact that 'no' is infrequently used to do outright disagreement in actual discourse contexts (Kitzinger and Frith 1999), an action more commonly enacted through turn-shapes featuring turn-initial delays, apologies, accounts, token agreements, and other components (e.g. Davidson 1984; Drew 1984; Pomerantz 1984). Over the last decade, analysts have increasingly focused on the other functions served by 'no' when it *is* employed by speakers, particularly when it occurs in turn-initial position.[8]

In one of the earliest of these studies, Schegloff (2001) describes the use of turn-initial

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[8] Though methodologically situated outside of CA, Lee-Goldman (2011) also provides a relevant discussion of some "non-canonical" functions of 'no' when it occurs in turn-initial position.

'no' to mark transitions from talk that is "analyzably non-serious" to talk that is "designedly serious". Though Schegloff's analysis primarily illustrates how 'no' can mark shifts in the footing (Goffman 1981) of an interaction, he offers a larger point of discussion in the observation that this particular function of turn-initial 'no' has nothing to do with disagreement, rejection, or other functions typically assigned *a priori* to the token. Through this observation, Schegloff dismisses both vernacular and analytic assumptions regarding the delimited functions of 'no', and calls for work that further discusses other such "non-canonical" uses. His discussion goes on to briefly describe other functions of 'no' that deserve further recognition and investigation, such as its use as a repair preface, especially in third position repairs. Lerner and Kitzinger's (2010) analysis of prefaces in self-repair practices takes up this very project, situating 'no' as one of a number of such prefaces used in the operation of repair. Still other research in CA has focused on English 'no' when it occurs as the standalone component of a turn rather than a turn preface. For example, Ford (2001), Jefferson (2002), Kaufmann (2002), and Ford, Fox, and Hellermann (2004) each provide analyses that illustrate the standalone token's use to accomplish such preferred actions as affiliation or agreement.

Within the last decade, work has also emerged on the functions of negative particles with functions similar to 'no' in languages other than English, including Danish *nej* (Heinemann 2003, 2005), Estonian *ei* (Keevallik 2012), Finnish *eiku* (Haakana and Visapää 2010, 2011), Japanese *iya* (Hayashi and Kushida 2013), and Korean *ani* (Kim 2011, forthcoming). Though there is some overlap in the scope of these analyses, they also highlight the wide array of functions that can be served by negative particles in interaction. Heinemann's (2003, 2005) discussion of Danish *nej*, for example, positions the particle as a marker of negation and focuses on its use in responses to both positive- and negative-polarity first turns. Her analysis considers

both turn-initial and standalone occurrences of *nej*, and attributes a number of practices to its organization as a turn preface: as a repair-initiator, as a marker of emotional stance, as a response to reversed polarity questions, and as a marker of transition. A similarly multi-functional analysis can be found in Keevallik's (2012) discussion of Estonian *ei* and Haakana and Visapää's (2010, 2011) work on Finnish *eiku*, which provide a survey of some of the many functions served by these particles in Estonian and Finnish talk-in-interaction (respectively). Keevallik's analysis frames many of these overlapping functions in Estonian as interfering with the progressivity of the interaction; such practices include repair initiation, correcting a presupposition, action, or epistemic primacy, and marking transitions in the talk. In each of these papers, the author focuses on the use of the particle across a number of distinct sequential environments. Adopting a somewhat different focus, both Hayashi and Kushida's (2013) analysis of Japanese *iya* and Kim's (2011, forthcoming) examination of Korean *ani* examine the use of these particles in a specific sequential environment: as a response to questions. Hayashi and Kushida's study focuses on the use of *iya*-prefaced turns as a practice for resisting an inferential component of a speaker's prior WH-question, while Kim examines a number of uses of *ani*-prefaced turns in response to both polar and WH-questions.

Many of the aforementioned particles are often considered to be parallel in meaning and function to English 'no', and frequently described by analysts as an analog of the English token (a particularly striking example is found in the title of Keevallik's (2012) paper, "'No'-prefacing in Estonian"). While these particles may share some functional domains of English 'no', however, there are also likely numerous domains in which there is no comparable overlap. Given our currently limited knowledge of what types of cross-linguistic generalizations can be applied to this area, I treat work on these types of negative particles as potentially relevant (and

comparable to) the findings in the present study, though I refrain from referring to them as strict "analogs" or "parallels" to English 'no'.

1.4 Data

The data for this study emerge from two primary sources: video-taped episodes of naturally-occurring face-to-face interaction, and speech corpora providing audio-recorded instances of telephone interaction. Participants from both of these sources are native speakers of American English.

The collection of video data comprises roughly 18.5 hours of talk-in-interaction recorded by the researcher from 2011-2012, as well as around 4 hours of talk-in-interaction recorded by other researchers during the late 1990s and early 2000s. The latter were made available through participant agreement to data-sharing clauses in the consent forms for the original recordings. The collection of audio data is taken from the Callhome and Callfriend corpora, made available through the University of Pennsylvania's Linguistic Data Consortium. All data were transcribed following a modified system based off of Gail Jefferson's transcription conventions; a list of these transcription symbols can be found in Appendix A.

While much of the data for this study are taken from conversational interaction, a number of excerpts also come from talk in institutional settings. Since its beginning, work in CA has noted that interaction within institutional settings differs in significant ways from "everyday" forms of conversation. Sacks (1992) frequently made reference to this fact in his lectures, for example, and early papers such as Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) and Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) note the existence of different systems of turn-taking and repair (respectively) within institutional forms of talk.[9] Two distinct areas of conversation analytic

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[9] It wasn't until Atkinson and Drew's (1979) *Order in Court* that this variation was explored in detail rather than being simply mentioned in passing, however, with Drew and Heritage's (1992) groundbreaking volume *Talk at*

research have emerged in the years following this initial work, which Heritage (1997) describes as being concerned with different orders of interaction. The more "mainstream" branch of conversation analytic research is primarily concerned with Goffman's (1983) concept of the "institutional order of interaction", and the way that talk-in-interaction both reflects and constitutes this order, while "institutional CA" finds itself more concerned with how particular institutions (medical, educational, legal, or otherwise) exist as relevant entities that shape and inform social interaction, and are both constructed and renewed by the talk itself. For example, ten Have's (1991) landmark, institutionally-focused study of doctor-patient interaction was only tangentially concerned with describing the types of context-free practices for turn-taking employed within these interactions, focusing instead on how the "asymmetry" in turn-taking that so frequently occurred between doctor and patient could be shown to be constituted in the interaction itself, by way of its institutional tenor, rather than as some pre-existing social fact. This concept of "talking institutions into being" (Heritage 1984a) has been the focus of much work within institutional CA.

While the present study draws on institutional data its context-sensitive analyses of talk-in-interaction, and approaches this data with the intent of first showing (rather than assuming) the relevance of institutional identities and/or settings to the talk, the analytic focus remains in line with more "mainstream" conversation analytic concerns (i.e. the structures and organization of talk-in-interaction). It is possible that particular functions of the 'no'-prefaces examined here may occur with higher frequency, or work towards a particular institutional goal or task, in these and other institutional settings, though these discussions are outside the scope of this dissertation.

Work following as one of the first books to entirely showcase key studies of institutional interaction from a conversation analytic perspective.

CHAPTER II

INDEXING INFERABLES THROUGH 'NO'-PREFACED TURNS

2.1 Introduction to Chapter 2

In this chapter, I examine the use of 'no'-prefaced turns to index and respond to an

inference in the prior talk. This practice entails a number of sub-practices that vary by the type of

inference indexed by the 'no'-preface. One such sub-practice, in which a 'no'-prefaced turn

responds to an action produced through an "off-record" formulation, is illustrated in Excerpt 1

below. Here, a mother has recently told her daughter that she will be sending presents to both her

and her brother, which means that the daughter will receive fewer gifts than expected.

```
(1) CALLHOME EN_4629

13    Dau:                                      [What are you sending

14          for Shimon?

15 →  Mom:  ↑No some a a couple of outfits I bought
```

Notice that the daughter's initial question in lines 13 and 14 receives a 'no'-prefaced response,

though her question is not designed to invite a yes/no answer. Rather than respond to the

propositional content of this prior turn, then, the 'no' in the mother's turn at line 15 responds to

an inference conveyed through the daughter's question. As further analysis will illustrate, the

mother's use of a 'no'-prefaced turn is more specifically a practice for indexing, and denying, an

off-record action enacted through the daughter's turn at lines 13-14.

Though the excerpt above illustrates the use of a 'no'-prefaced response to a WH-

question, this type of response practice occurs across a wide range of sequential environments.

Given this and other variations in the contexts and environments in which these practices occur, I

have divided the remainder of this chapter into five analytic sections. In Section 2.3, I examine 'no'-prefaced responses to a range of face-threatening action types produced through inference rather than "on-record" formulations. In Section 2.4, I examine the use of 'no'-prefaced responses to display affiliation in environments where a speaker has already displayed and/or projected their disaffiliation with their recipient. In Section 2.5, I present cases in which 'no'-prefaced responses manage inferences regarding the speaker's epistemic stance or rights. In Section 2.6, I examine the use of 'no'-prefaced responses to delicate formulations that index a recipient's accountability, blame, and guilt. In each of the sequential environments described in these latter four sections, the indexical and responsive work accomplished through 'no'-prefaces allows speakers to manage potential sources of interactional trouble and threats to social solidarity, serving as a critical resource for the doing of everyday social interaction. In Section 2.7, I present a single case in which a 'no'-prefaced response responds to an inference conveyed through a prior polar question.[10]

2.2 Previous work on inferences in interaction

Over the last fifty years, a significant body of literature has examined the nature of linguistic and conversational inference. These discussions have emerged predominantly within speech act theory, at the juncture of language philosophy and linguistic pragmatics, and focused primarily on producing a typology of inference. Analysts have developed a range of classificatory schemas for different types of inferables,[11] and discussed the relevance of these categories for a theory of semantics and pragmatics (see especially Levinson 2000). However, missing from virtually all of these discussions has been an analysis of the interactional and

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[10] Given the very limited collection available for this practice, I have withheld commentary regarding the potential threat to social solidarity that such a practice may potentially resolve.

[11] Among them various types of conventional and non-conventional implicatures, generalized and particularized conversational implicatures, and presuppositions; see Grice (1975) and Moeschler (2013) for a review.

intersubjective production of these types of inferences. This is an area of research that has instead been conducted largely within the field of conversation analysis.

While conversation analysts have rarely framed their discussions of inference in the terms of speech act theory and Gricean pragmatics (though see Levinson 1983, 2012), their work has often explored the distinction between linguistic form and social action, and described a range of practices for producing and responding to inferables. Schegloff (1996) has explored how speakers co-construct and respond to allusions (or "inexplicit conveyances") in everyday speech; Bolden (2010) has explored the use of 'and'-prefaced responses to articulate a "missing", though generally inferred, element of the recipient's prior talk; Heritage and Raymond (Heritage 2002; Heritage and Raymond 2005; Raymond and Heritage 2006) have examined how assessments produced in first position create an inference regarding epistemic primacy in the right to assess, and how second speakers can resist this inference; and numerous analysts (e.g. Heritage 1998; Schegloff and Lerner 2009; Stivers and Hayashi 2010) have examined how speakers can resist the implied constraints of a prior question. As the above descriptions show, this body of work has largely investigated these practices in terms of how speakers respond to these types of inferences, and this chapter continues this analytic focus. One goal of the present chapter is thus to contribute to research that treats inference as a relevant interactional resource rather than just an analyst's category, focusing on practices for responding to prior inferences through 'no'-prefaced turns.

Additionally relevant to the present discussion is work in CA on the interactional functions of particles that approximate the English token 'no' in both meaning and use: Korean *ani*, Japanese *iya*, and Estonian *ei*. Each of these studies examines the use of these particles to respond to some inference in the prior talk. Kim (2011, forthcoming) investigates the use of *ani-*

prefaced responses to both yes/no questions and WH-questions. Most relevantly, her analysis shows how *ani* may be used to respond to and block a challenge conveyed by the prior question, or to challenge the rights and claims that can be inferred through such a question. Hayashi and Kushida (2013) also examine the use of *iya*-prefaced responses to WH-questions. They examine how this practice is used by speakers to resist different types of inferences from the preceding question, such as those dealing with claims about the questioner's and respondent's assumed access to knowledge, or assumptions conveyed by the question about the state of affairs that it addresses. Keevallik's (2011) work on *ei*-prefaced responses examines a related function, in which the particles "corrects a presupposition" conveyed in the prior turn. Here, Keevallik presents a single case in which a first-turn presupposes some state of affairs (i.e. the assumption that someone is at home by calling and requesting to speak to them), and the *ei*-prefaced turn denies that this state of affairs is true.[12] I frame the present discussion of English 'no'-prefaced in keeping with, and expanding the scope of, these prior analyses.

2.3 Responding to off-record actions

In this section, I analyze the use of 'no'-prefaces to respond to a course of action produced through inference rather than a direct or overt formulation. Though the classification of such inferable actions as "indirect" (Searle 1975) or "off-record" (Brown and Levinson 1987) first emerged within speech act and politeness theory, these terms have also gained currency within studies of action formation in CA. Here, they generally refer to marked formulations that pursue an action without making it the focus of the turn. For example, Bolden, Mandelbaum, and Wilkinson (2012) discuss how initiating repair on an indexical reference can serve as a "covert" means for mobilizing response, enabling speakers to pursue a response without making this the

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[12] Keevallik's example of this practice is actually prefaced by *ei aga* ('no but'), forming what I later term a "complex preface" (e.g. 'no but' or 'but no'). However, Keevallik does not account for the phrasal component of this formulation within her analysis.

main project of the talk. They compare such practices to other indirect pursuits of action, such as

embedding a correction (Jefferson 1987) or inviting an offer through a pre-request, suggesting a

connection between covert formulations and the production of delicate actions. (In the present

analysis, covert formulations are employed in the production of actions that are also hearably

face-threatening.) A similar practice is observed in early work by Pomerantz (1980), who

examines the indirect and "off-stage" solicitation of information from co-participants through

claims to second-hand (or "Type II") knowledge. In another vein, Heritage (2012b) shows that

the distinction between direct and indirect productions of action can also be related to sequence

organization, examining how epistemic stance displays are typically produced "on the record"

when used to initiate sequences and "off the record" when forwarding a sequence already in

progress.

As these examples show, this body of work has focused largely on the production and

organization of off-record actions within a turn, and research has yet to investigate the practices

by which speakers respond to these actions. As Levinson (2012:107) has argued, the "off-record"

character of these formulations may make them "not easy to respond to directly without

completely redirecting the talk", and thus we might expect that these types of actions occasion

specific response practices, particularly within disaligning responses.[13] In the examples that

follow, 'no'-prefaced responses are one of a potential number of practices for doing so.

One such example, in which a 'no'-prefaced turn responds to an off-record complaint,

can be seen in Excerpt 1 below. The data for this excerpt is taken from a telephone conversation

between a mother and daughter; the mother is living in the U.S. at the time of the call, while her

daughter is living abroad in Israel. Some ethnographic background is useful for this analysis: for

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[13] This has certainly been the case with practices for responding to (and in particular, rejecting) other inferential components of interaction, such as those that arise through the production of questions (Stivers & Hayashi 2010) or assessments (Heritage and Raymond 2005).

many Jewish families in the U.S. with relatives in Israel, it is common practice for family

members visiting Israel to bring a suitcase loaded with favorite foods, new or forgotten clothing,

and other gifts. Receiving these items is thus a normative expectation for many such individuals

who live in Israel. In this excerpt, the mother and daughter discuss the suitcase of gifts that the

daughter has anticipated receiving during a future visit from a close family friend or relative,

Moshe. Shimon, the mother's son and daughter's brother, is also living in Israel near the

daughter at the time of the call.

(1) CALLHOME EN_4629 (A Whole Suitcase)

```
01    Mom:   I said (    ) May:a she wants to buy you a present y'know

02           she's getting around to buying a present someday ehheh .hhh

03           I said well I can't send anything more I don't think with

04           Moshe but, y'know maybe [with Bubby

05    Dau:                          [Why Moshe said he's pick up a

06           whole suitcase for me=

07    Mom:   =He ↑is but the ya know the things add ↑u:p and I'm also

08           sending something for Shimon too:: so I [already

09    Dau:                                          [What are you

10           sending for him?

11    Mom:   walked over with hu- a huge ba:g yesterday I almost buckled

12           under the weight ya know. (.) .hhh [W-

13    Dau:                                      [What are you sending

14           for Shimon?

15 →  Mom:   ↑No some a a couple of outfits I bought and I I looked

16           through some boxes (0.8) so I have a couple of uh things of

17           clothing, and he told Shimon that he would take his suit

18           and an:[d that he brought (for him)

19    Dau:         [.hhhh ri:ght.
```

```
20          (0.2)

21 →  Mom:   .hh ↑no don't worry there's plenty in there for you:: uh::

22          [(heh)

23    Dau:   [I ↑KNO::W I'm just ↑a:sking [sto:p.

24    Mom:                               [yea:h he basically has a

25           duffelbag set aside but y'know I mean even these shampoos

26           and salad dressings an whatever they're heavy
```

Mom begins the excerpt at lines 1-2 with news about her earlier discussion with Maya, a family friend or relative who is planning to send a gift to the daughter. However, this news is problematized at lines 3-4 by the mother's claim that Moshe, who is already bringing gifts from the mother to the daughter during his next trip to Israel, likely has no more room in his suitcase to pack a gift from Maya. The daughter responds at lines 5-6 with a WH-question that asserts her own Type 1 knowledge of what Moshe has said,[14] thereby challenging the mother's claim, and calls on her to account for the lack of room in Moshe's suitcase. The mother responds at lines 7-8 by offering multiple accounts for the lack of space: that "things add up" and that she is also sending "something" for Shimon as well. The daughter responds with another WH-question at lines 9-10, this time pursuing a description of what the mother is sending for Shimon. The question receives no uptake from Mom, however, and the daughter pursues a response at lines 13-14 through a modified repeat of her prior question. Though the daughter's turn is delivered in a WH-question format that does not invite a yes/no response, at line 15 the mother produces a 'no'-prefaced response, a non-type-conforming (Raymond 2003; Schegloff 2007), and thus significantly marked, form of responding.

Notice that the talk following this 'no'-preface displays the mother's understanding of the

---

[14] See Pomerantz's (1980) distinction between Type 1 (directly obtained, firsthand) and Type 2 (indirectly obtained, hearsay) knowledge.

prior question as not only seeking information, but as also enacting a complaint. That is, in

additionally sending items for Shimon, the mother has limited the amount of gifts that the

daughter can receive during Moshe's visit. Rather than providing a direct description of the items

meant for Shimon at lines 15-18, the mother's response both downgrades their quantity

(repairing the initial quantifier "some" to "a couple") and highlights their mundanity (describing

them as hand-me-downs and old clothing that had been stored away in boxes). At line 19 the

daughter produces only a minimal response to the mother's description ("Ri:ght"), a perfunctory

acceptance of the inference that the mother's present for Shimon doesn't warrant a complaint.

The mother does not treat this as an adequate response, however, and responds at line 21 with

another 'no'-prefaced turn.

The talk that follows this second 'no'-preface also displays the mother's orientation to the

daughter's prior talk as enacting a complaint, though here the mother explicitly denies the

grounds for such a complaint ("Don't worry there's plenty in there for you::").[15] However, notice

that while the mother's responses at lines 15-18 and 21 treat the daughter's prior talk as part of a

complaining action, there has been no overtly stated or "on-record" complaint in the daughter's

prior talk.[16] Nor do the daughter's turns at lines 13-14 and 19 contain any proposition that might

be negated or disagreed with through the use of a 'no'-initial response. At both lines 15 and 21,

then, the mother's 'no'-prefaced responses can be understood as indexing and denying the off-

record complaints enacted through the daughter's prior talk. We can see these response practices

illustrated in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 below. Notice that in the first 'no'-preface at line 15, the talk

---

[15] Also notice that the mother's 'no'-preface at line 21 is formulated with similar phonetic qualities to the initial 'no'-preface at line 15, being produced as part of a stressed syllable with a notably raised pitch relative to the surrounding talk. These parallel formulations may serve to mark that both prefaces respond to the same source of trouble: the daughter's off-record complaint.

[16] The fact that the daughter has not produced an on-record complaint allows her to deny that she has produced a complaint (as she asserts that the question was "just a question" at line 23: "I'm just ↑a:sking").

following the 'no' responds to the on-record action of the prior turn, the daughter's question. In the second 'no'-preface at line 21, the mother directly responds to the off-record complaint.

Inference: Off-record complaint enacted through prior question	
'No'-preface	**Response component following the 'no'**
Denies off-record complaint	*Responds to prior question*
	Orients to off-record complaint

Table 2.1 'No'-prefaced response at line 15 in Excerpt 1

Inference: Off-record complaint enacted through prior question	
'No'-preface	**Response component following the 'no'**
Denies off-record complaint	*Responds to off-record complaint*

Table 2.2 'No'-prefaced response at line 21 in Excerpt 1

We see the a similar case in Excerpt 2 below, in which 'no'-prefaced responses deny a series of negative assessments enacted through minimal responses. The data from this excerpt is from a telephone conversation between two middle-aged sisters, Bee and Ada. Both are American, though Bee is living abroad in Israel with her family at the time of the call. The speakers had previously been talking about Bee's son, Larry, who will soon move closer to home after living and working in a collective farming community (a *kibbutz*) with his wife, Yona. Rather than renovating their new apartment first and moving straight there from the farm, Larry and Yona have decided to delay work on their apartment and temporarily move into a different apartment while they finish the renovations. Ada's responses in the talk that follows index a negative stance towards the children's decisions, and receive two 'no'-prefaced responses from Bee.

(2) CALLHOME EN_4459 (Ready Apartment)

```
01    Ada:   So is his apartment rea:dy?
```

```
02   Bee:   ↑No:↓:: becau::se he::'s (.) eh- (.) he's ↑silly I: he

03          coulda- (0.3) Yona could've do:ne it already. The:y decided

04          that they'd ra:ther come he::re an::d, (0.3) take ca:re of it,

05          so::=

06   Ada:   =Ueghhhh oka:y.

07   Bee:   They're gonna live in an- a different apartment until they

08          ↑finish it. (0.6) >I even< (.) I don't know if they even

09          painted it. (0.3) yet.

10          (0.4)

11   Ada:   ↓Wo:[:w.

12   Bee:       [W- I guess she couldn't deci:de what she wanted to

13          do:: or,

     ((4 lines omitted))

18          (0.5) i- thei:r apartment that they're moving in: that was the

19          o:ne family the cra:zy people tha:t, really didn't do the:: (0.3)

20          living room nor:mal.

21          (0.3)

22   Ada:   [O::y.

23   Bee:   [Like they didn't put in the sli:ding door they closed it

24          and made a wi:n:do:w. (0.2) So that Larry told you the:: (.)

25          awhile ago that they want the sliding door to the por:ch, so

26          tha:t he fi:xed.

27   Ada:   Uh huh.

28          (0.5)

29   Bee:   U::m, (.) and the:::n (0.2) the:y did like from the parent- my

30          room to the ba:throom they did a doo::r (0.3) instead of

31          having like we have the (masa::n) there.

32          (0.5)

33   Ada:   Uo↓h::=
```

```
34 →  Bee:  =So::, ↑no: so tha:t's ↑ni:ce in a way cause you could walk

35          through instead of walking around the whole hou:se for the

36          ba:throom.

37    Ada:  Ehhuh[uhh I gue:ss so.

38    Bee:       [And but they-

39          (0.2)

40 →  Bee:  ↑No: it's all right. And then the ki:tchen thou:gh she had

41          le::ft (0.6) like the ha:llway she wanted to leave the

42          hallway cause it was an ar:ch. But it really made everything

43          sma:ll so her kitchen wasn't made bigger. So I think they

44          put that dow:n. (0.4) But other than tha:t anything else

45          they haven't do:ne yet.

46          (1.0)

47    Bee:  We:[ll

48    Ada:     [But how bout your house?
```

The excerpt begins as Ada deploys a yes/no interrogative to check on the status of Larry

and Yona's apartment ("So is his apartment ready?"). Bee's negative response at lines 2-5 places

the couple at fault for the unfinished status of their apartment and produces a playful, though still

hearably negative, assessment of Larry as "silly". Both of these moves treat the unfinished status

of the apartment as accountable, and Ada's response at line 6 – a vocalization that displays her

disapproval ("Ueghhhh") – can be heard as affiliating with the frustration hearable in Bee's talk.

However, Ada's continued production of a negative stance throughout the talk clearly

disaffiliates with the positive stance that Bee goes on to display towards Larry, Yona, and their

apartment.

Notice that each of Ada's stance displays are produced through minimal, off-record

formulations similar to her response at line 6. At line 11, she produces a hearably ironic stance

display ("↓Wo::w") that projects a negative stance towards Larry and Yona's work on the apartment; at line 22, she deploys the Yiddish discourse particle *oy* (a marker of disapproval or concern) in response to Bee's account for the children's slow progress; and at line 33, she produces a standalone 'oh' in response to Bee's description of the progress Larry and Yona have made, formulated with the same falling intonation as her prior responses. Each of these responses project a negative stance largely by virtue of its phonetic production, and are thus hearable as an indirect (or off-record) assessment of the progress made by Larry and Yona on the apartment. Also notice that the majority of these actions thus not only display Ada's clear disaffiliation with Bee, but do so in a realm in which Ada has both lesser epistemic rights (as Bee has had extensive first-hand access to the apartment) and less social authority (as Larry and Yona are Bee's children) to formulate a negative assessment. It is not surprising, then, that Bee deploys a response practice aimed at halting Ada's line of disaffiliating actions in her turn at line 34, formulated as a no'-prefaced response.

Bee's turn at line 34 initially begins with a 'so'-preface, projecting the possible continuation of her turn from lines 29-31, though this course of action is abandoned as she produces a 'no'-prefaced response in effective turn-initial position (Heritage 1998). Bee's 'no'-preface is followed by an positive, though hedged, assessment of the apartment repairs that Ada had expressed a negative stance towards at line 33 ("↑No: so tha:t's ↑ni:ce in a way"). This 'no'-prefaced response can thus be heard as indexing and denying the indirect assessment produced by Ada in the turn prior. Ada responds to this 'no'-prefaced turn at line 37 with a pro-forma agreement, an instance of laughter followed by an epistemically weak claim ("I gue:ss so"). Her agreement is produced in overlap with Bee's talk at line 38, a course of action that is abandoned as Bee produces another 'no'-prefaced response at line 40. The talk following the 'no' here again

explicitly rejects the premise of Ada's prior negative stance projecting responses, assuring her "It's all right". As with the prior conversation between the mother and daughter in Excerpt 1, the two instances of 'no'-prefaced talk are produced in response to turns at talk that contain no propositions that might be negated or disagreed with[17] through the use of a 'no'-initial response. Rather, in both of these turns, Bee's 'no'-prefaced responses work to both index and deny the disaffiliative (and potentially face-threatening) actions inferred through the prior talk. As in the second 'no'-preface seen in the prior excerpt, both of Bee's responses directly respond to the off-record assessment. An illustration of these practices are in Table 2.3.

Inference: Off-record negative assessments enacted through prior responses	
'No'-preface	**Response component following the 'no'**
Denies off-record assessments	*Responds to off-record assessments*

Table 2.3 'No'-prefaced responses in Excerpt 2

A similar case occurs in Excerpt 3 below, in which a 'no'-prefaced turn is deployed in response to an off-record challenge to a prior claim. The excerpt is taken from a face-to-face conversation between two college-aged friends, Daniel and Tamara. As the excerpt begins, Daniel comments on how his physical appearance has changed since he was a pre-teenager. In particular, Daniel, who is now a relatively thin brunette, talks about being "blonde and fat" when he was in middle school. This is followed by an affiliative story sequence in which Tamara describes her own "awkward" teenage self (omitted from the transcript). Daniel then launches a new sequence that compares the accountability of his youthful appearance with the public acceptability of a "blonde and fat" celebrity, Jessica Simpson, whose pregnancy-induced

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[17] In this example, Bee's 'no'-prefaced responses are hearable as doing disagreement with the inferred stance that Ada has displayed towards the repairs on the children's apartment, and this is potentially at odds with the earlier description of the 'no'-prefaces analyzed in this dissertation as "non-disagreeing". However, notice that this is not the sole function of Bee's responses, as her 'no'-prefaced turns also work to index and deny the off-record action of Ada's prior turns-at-talk (the "non-disagreeing" function under discussion in this chapter).

physique had been the frequent target of recent gossip media.

(3) DANIEL AND TAMARA (9:28 Blonde and Fat)

```
01    Dan:  The last time I was in New York I was like (0.3) it was

02          2005 so I was twelve.=

03    Tam:  =Wo:::w.

04    Dan:  That was when I bleached my hair [blonde and I was fat

05    Tam:                                   [hhhh

06    Dan:  an[d, (old/middle) school.

      ((11 lines of talk omitted))

18    Dan:  Wh[y is-

19    Tam:    [I was (.) always in my hoodie.=

20    Dan:  =Why is it okay for Jessica Simpson to be fat why [can't I

21    Tam:                                                    [huhhuhah

22    Dan:  [be blonde and fat cause it doesn't work it doesn't wo[rk

23    Tam:  [hhhhah hhh huhh                                      [.hhh

24    Dan:  for m[e.

25    Tam:       [Sh- has she had her baby yet.

26          (0.8)

27    Dan:  N:::o: neither has Hilary Duff (0.3) I think (.) >but I know<

28          [>Hilary [[Duff's<, hu:::ge.

29          [((eyebrows raise . . . . .))

30    Tam:           [[Because [Jessica Simpson,   [hu:::ge=

31                            [((eyebrows raise)) [((nods))

32 →  Dan:  =No °have you seen° Hilary Duff?

33    Tam:  No::, I ha(h)ven't seen [(her) (she) huhhhuhhhuh

34    Dan:                          [She:'s so:: bi::g.

35    Tam:  huhh like huhh dea(h)r Go(h)d woma(h)n.  Uhh.
```

The comparison between Daniel and Simpson first begins at line 18, though the turn is

abandoned early in its production and launched again at line 20. The turn is formulated as a

reverse polarity WH-question (Koshik 2005) and hearable as a non-serious complaint about the

comparative lack of accountability that Simpson enjoys despite also being fat and blonde.

Tamara displays her orientation to the non-serious footing of Daniel's talk through breathy

laughter at lines 21 and 23. She then initiates a new sequence at line 25, a yes/no interrogative

that asks whether Simpson has already had her baby.[18] After a short pause, Daniel replies at line

27 with the claim that neither Simpson nor Hilary Duff – another "blonde and fat" celebrity

whose pregnancy had also been discussed in recent gossip media – have delivered their babies.

Daniel follows this with a hedge ("I think") that epistemically downgrades his claim about Duff,

then goes on to produce support for the likelihood that at least Duff is still pregnant: the fact that

she is "Hu:::ge".

In terms of lexical choice, phonetic production, and co-occurring bodily-visual display

(Daniel's eyebrows are sharply raised throughout), this formulation of Duff's pregnant body size

is notably marked. Given these factors of its production, the turn is hearable as highlighting the

extraordinariness of Duff's current size. Tamara's subsequent turn at line 30, produced in partial

overlap with Daniel's description, produces a parallel claim about Simpson's size. Significantly,

it is formulated using the same lexical choice, phonetic production, and bodily-visual display as

that employed by Daniel at line 28. Given the sequential organization of these two turns, as well

as their strikingly similar formulations, Tamara's turn can also be heard as producing an off-

record challenge to Daniel's claim about Duff's extraordinary size by implying that Simpson is at

least as huge as Duff.[19] Daniel displays his orientation to Tamara's turn as a challenge through

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[18] Given the formulation of Tamara's subsequent talk at line 30 as a glue-on extension (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007) to this turn (through the use of "because"), this question is hearably concerned with determining whether Simpson's "fatness" is due to her still being pregnant or having simply not yet lost her baby weight.
[19] Of more import to the analysis, however, is how Daniel displays an orientation to Tamara's turn as a

his response at line 32, a 'no'-prefaced interrogative that questions whether Tamara has recently seen Duff. The question implies his own primary rights to assess the comparative size of Duff and Simpson (given that he *has* recently seen them) while challenging Tamara's epistemic rights to do the same, effectively "shutting down" the off-record challenge implied through her claim at line 30. The 'no'-preface itself can be understood as indexing and denying the inference that Tamara's prior claim establishes an effective challenge to Daniel's prior claim about Duff's extraordinary size. A schematization of this response practice can be seen in Table 2.4.

Inference: Off-record challenge enacted through prior claim	
'No'-preface	**Response component following the 'no'**
Denies off-record challenge	*Responds to off-record challenge*

Table 2.4 'No'-prefaced responses in Excerpt 3

In this section I examined the use of 'no'-prefaces to deny a prior off-record action. As these examples showed, 'no'-prefaced turns can occur in a range of sequential environments, including declaratives and WH-questions. In the latter case, these 'no'-prefaced responses comprise a non-type conforming (Schegloff 2007) response format, though in the former environment these turns are also marked in terms of their grammatical fit to the prior turn. That is, they respond to turns that do not invite or otherwise make relevant a 'no' (without rejecting or disagreeing with the propositional content of these prior turns). Additionally, in each of the cases above the off-record action was also face-threatening, with these turns enacting complaints, negative assessments, or challenges. In the data presented here, however, 'no'-prefaced turns serve as a resource for denying these types of action, thereby contributing to the maintenance of social solidarity.

2.4 Managing incongruent stance displays

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challenge.

In this section, I examine 'no'-prefaced responses that manage incongruities between a speaker's claim to affiliation and their prior disaffiliative stance. The analytic concept of "affiliation" has traditionally been used within CA to refer to a range of related interactional moves (see Lindström and Sorjonen 2012 for a review), though following Stivers (2008) the term is generally used to refer to the support and endorsement of another participant's stance, or the "affective treatment of the events he or she is describing" (37). In particular, Stivers contrasts the concept of affiliation with that of "alignment", a term referring to a participant's support of the structural progression of an action-in-progress. Whereas alignment is thus an ominrelevant phenomenon of interaction (Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig 2011), affiliation only becomes relevant in environments where a participant has provided access to their own stance, as in the production of such actions as stories, assessments, and claims. In the examples to follow, 'no'-prefaced turns are deployed as an affiliative response in a potentially troublesome environment: where the speaker's prior turns have projected their upcoming disaffiliation.

While prior work in CA has spoken to the use of 'no' as a potential marker of affiliation (Mazeland 1990; Jefferson 2002; Heinemann 2003), research in this area has largely explored this function in instances where the token responds to a prior negatively-framed or negative-polarity utterance. For example, Jefferson (2002) describes how speakers of American English can use 'no' as a means of affiliating with a negative-polarity claim, as in the following:

(4) NB:IV:13:R:24:mso (Jefferson 2002)

```
1 Emma:    She doesn't belo:ng in that apa:rtment.
2 Lottie:  No:.
```

The example above is one of a number of "negatively framed assertions of how things are or ought to be" (p.1355) examined in Jefferson's analysis. Here, Lottie displays her affiliation with Emma's assertion through a TCU consisting solely of a "no:", one of a number of potential

affiliative responses that Emma could employ in this environment (e.g. a partial clausal repeat, such as "she doesn't"). Through a small-scale corpus analysis, Jefferson shows that negatively-framed utterances in American English (as in Emma's turn above) are more frequently followed by positive response tokens, which she claims serve as "routine and unproblematic" practices for acknowledging a prior turn. In contrast, the more marked formulation of a standalone 'no' response is reserved for doing other types of interactional work, i.e. displaying affiliation.

Heinemann's (2003) discussion of Danish *nej* provides another relevant description of a negative response token used to mark affiliation. In arguing that negative-polarity utterances in Danish generally prefer a negative-polarity response, Heinemann's analysis makes two relevant claims about the use of *nej* as an affiliative. The first is that *nej*-prefaced responses to negative-polarity utterances, especially those utterances that make A-event claims, typically display the speaker's affiliation with the recipient. (Conversely, positive-polarity responses are often used to disaffiliate). A second finding of Heinemann's analysis is that the organization of *nej* within a turn is relevant to its use as an affiliative. She shows that while the token is often used to mark an affiliative stance when it occurs as a turn-preface, when it occurs as a stand-alone response it instead serves as an acknowledgment token or continuer.

Additionally relevant to the discussion of "affiliative 'no'" are analyses of negation practices in English, such as Ford's (2001) discussion of the types of elaboration that typically follow an instance of negation, Kaufmann's (2002) analysis of the prosodic production of various practices for doing negation, and Ford, Fox, and Hellermann's (2004) discussion of the turn-types that may be projected through 'no'-initiated utterances. Though discussions of affiliation are not central to these analyses, each (necessarily) accounts for how 'no' does not do disagreement in all environments, and shows how the token may also be used to display a

speaker's alignment and affiliation with a negatively framed prior utterance.

In the examples examined in this section, however, 'no'-prefaced turns are affiliative by virtue of denying an inference that the speaker's prior talk has projected their upcoming disaffiliation. This inference can emerge from two distinct sequential and interactional contexts. The first occurs when a speaker's prior turns at talk have indexed their disaffiliation, a move that is hearably at odds with the affiliative stance they now display. In these cases, 'no'-prefaced turns directly respond to a first speaker's stance display. This practice is illustrated in Figure 2.1.

Speaker B disaffiliates with Speaker A ↴
Speaker A invites affiliation from Speaker B ↴
Speaker B affiliates with Speaker A through 'no'-prefaced turn
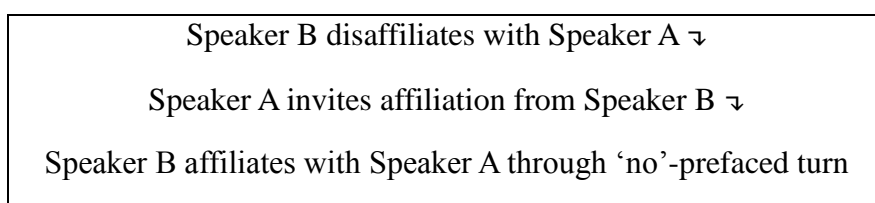
Figure 2.1 First pattern for 'no'-prefaced affiliation

The second occurs when a recipient of an extended telling has not displayed a stance when doing so is interactionally relevant, which may project their forthcoming disaffiliation (similar to how silences may project an upcoming dispreferred). In these cases, 'no'-prefaced turns respond to questions that pursue a stance display from the speaker. This practice is illustrated in Figure 2.2.

Speaker B withholds interactionally relevant stance display ↴
Speaker A pursues stance display from speaker B ↴
Speaker B affiliates with Speaker A through 'no'-prefaced turn
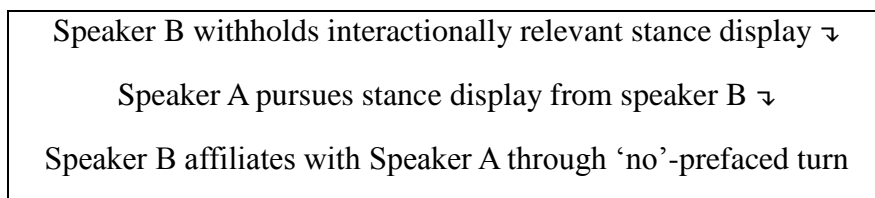
Figure 2.2 Second pattern for 'no'-prefaced affiliation

As with the examples examined by Jefferson (2002), the marked use of a negative (rather than positive) response token in these environments is relevant to the responses being understood as affiliative. However, unlike the examples of 'no' examined by Jefferson, Ford, Kaufmann, or Ford, Fox, and Hellermann, the instances presented in this section cannot stand on their own as the sole component of a turn or TCU. That is, their organization as a preface to the talk that

follows is an integral aspect of their interactional and pragmatic meaning, and thus they appear to have more in common with the *nej*-prefaced responses in Danish examined by Heinemann (2003).

2.4.1 Managing prior disaffiliation

We see an example of a 'no'-prefaced response used to manage an incongruent stance display in Excerpt 5 below. Here, Laura has been engaged in a storytelling sequence detailing the events of her first date with David, a boy whom she had known only "as a friend" for a few months prior. The date has caused two points of contention for Sally. First, David announced that the night out with Laura was a date (rather than a platonic outing between friends) while it was in progress, which Sally thinks is "weird". Second, shortly after the "date" ended, David asked Laura if he could make their relationship "Facebook official",[20] which Sally thinks is unacceptably fast. In the talk leading up to the excerpt, Sally has interrupted Laura's narrative with questions that pursue further details about the date, most recently asking how David kissed her for the first time. The excerpt begins immediately after Laura has answered this question, as she moves to return to the main story sequence.

```
(5) SALLY AND LAURA (4:46 Was it Awkward)
01   Lau:  But anyways so then last ni:ght, [(    )
02   Sal:                                   [Was it awkward when he kissed
03         you or did [you see it coming
04   Lau:            [↑No it was fi:ne. I mean, .hhh like (.) I really
05         like him, [a lot, I ju:st (0.9) I:- ] I know what you mean though
06                   [((withdraws gaze. . . .))]
07         like fast [I pff:::, last night I-,
08   Sal:           [((cocks head, furrows eyebrows, narrows eyes))
```

---

[20] The term "Facebook official" refers to making one's relationship status public on social networking sites like Facebook, a digital analog to "being pinned" or "going steady".

```
09    Sal:   Like, (0.2) weir:d, Laura.

10           (0.8)

11    Lau:   [No:: it's no:: it's no[t I mean

12    Sal:   [Like it's wei:rd      [NO: NO:T hi:m but like, (0.2) how

13           fa:[st it's happened

14 →  Lau:     [No I I agree I kind of was like, (0.4)

15    Sal:   Okay so like go on last night,
```

Laura's move to continue the story is abandoned after being interrupted by Sally's initiation of a side sequence (Jefferson 1972) at line 2. Sally here pursues an experiential account of the kiss, asking Laura whether it was "awkward" and surprising or something she had been expecting. At line 4 Laura responds to the initial TCU in Sally's turn, orienting to the query as a yes/no interrogative and disagreeing with Sally's candidate assessment of the kiss as awkward ("No it was fine"). Though Laura rejects the candidate, negative framing of the kiss, within that same turn (lines 5-7) she aligns herself with Sally's earlier stance (expressed prior to the excerpt) that the kiss was an accountable act. Laura first accounts for the kiss by claiming that she "really likes [David] a lot", then affiliates with Sally by claiming that she "knows what [she] mean(s)" when she said that the kiss was fast.

Immediately following Laura's description of the kiss as "fast", however, Sally produces a series of bodily-visual displays at line 8 that mark her disalignment with this description: she lowers her drink, cocks her head to the side, furrows her brow, and narrows her eyes in a display of disapproval or confusion (see Figure 2.3). This is followed at line 9 by Sally's negative assessment of either David, or the timing of his behavior on the date, as "weird", a disaligning action that further rejects Laura's characterization of the kiss as simply "fast".

Figure 2.3 in Excerpt 5

This turn is followed by a significant gap that projects Laura's upcoming disagreement at

line 11, produced in overlap with Sally's re-doing of her prior assessment at the beginning of line

12. Sally follows the assessment with a third-position repair that clarifies that it isn't David that's

weird, but rather the speed at which he and Laura have gone from platonic friends to kissing

and/or pursuing a relationship (lines 12-13).[21] Following this clarification, Laura claims

agreement with Sally's assessment at line 14.

Notice that Laura's claim of agreement ("No I I agree") is produced with a 'no'-preface,

despite the fact that it aligns with a positive polarity assessment. As with the other 'no'-prefaced

turns turns in this chapter, this practice is deployed here as a means of responding to an inference

rather than the propositional content of a prior utterance. Returning to the talk at lines 12-13, we

see that the 'no'-preface occurs in response to an assessment aimed at a recipient whose prior

turns have projected further disaffiliation. That is, Laura has already rejected Sally's earlier

assessment of the relationship as "weird" (line 9) as well as her candidate description of the kiss

---

[21] Note that the multiple 'no's deployed by Laura in line 9 are used to disagree with Sally's prior turn, while Sally's 'no' in line 10 is a repair initiator.

as "awkward" (line 2), actions that are hearable as displaying Laura's disaffiliation. And though Laura has also displayed the stance that she "knows what [Sally] means" about the kiss being "fast" (lines 5-7), she has produced no indication that she will align with an evaluation of its rapidity as "weird", the turn (lines 12-13) to which the 'no'-preface responds. As with the other examples in this section, then, Laura's 'no'-preface appears to be used to respond to the inference that she is a disaffiliating co-participant. This turn can be heard as both denying that Laura's upcoming talk will disaffiliate and retrospectively denying that there was "real" disaffiliation in her prior turns.

Notice also that Laura's 'no'-prefaced turn at line 14, organized as a response to an assessment, is formulated as a claim to her affiliation ("No I I agree"). As Pomerantz (1984) has shown, first assessments generally invite second assessments as a preferred response, as they enable co-participation within the larger assessment sequence. As Heritage and Raymond (2005) additionally discuss, second assessments are a resource for second speakers to assert their epistemic rights within the assessment sequence. In responding to Sally's assessment with only a claim to agreement, then, Laura's response at line 14 is hearable as providing only a rote, and thereby weak, display of affiliation. Significantly, this 'no' + "claim to agreement" format is seen throughout the majority of examples to come in this section, with only one case employing an alternative response format (a partial repeat of the prior turn). It is possible that these claims to affiliation are employed to unambiguously display their affiliation, given the incongruence of this stance display with the speaker's prior disaffiliation. Further, broader analysis of claims of agreement in assessment sequences will likely shed light on their use in the practice discussed here.

Two similar response practices occur further on in this same conversation between Laura

and Sally. We see one of these in the following excerpt; here, a 'no'-prefaced response is again

formulated with a claim to agreement, though this claim is epistemically upgraded through both

its lexical and prosodic formulation. This excerpt occurs around two minutes after the previous

excerpt. Here, Laura and Sally are still talking about Laura's first date with David, but are now

focused on his question about making their relationship "Facebook official". The excerpt begins

as Laura talks about her reaction to the question.

```
(6) SALLY AND LAURA (6:38 Make it Facebook Official)

01   Lau:   So he's like do you want to make it Facebook offi- or- do you

02          mind if I make it Facebook official, .hh I don't feel bad talking

03          about it [now cause like no one's gonna se(h)e [i(h)t

04   Sal:            [Yeah,                                [yeah,

05   Lau:   ((coughs)) .hhhh A::nd, (0.9) I thi:nk my fa::- at first I like

06          paused for a second then I was like o:ka::y, and then I'm

07          >thinkin [to myself<  .hhhh

08   Sal:           [No::, but you don't want [to.

09   Lau:                                     [Well it's ↑not that I ((head

10          shake)) didn't ↑wa:nt [it,

11   Sal:                         [YOU DIDN'T WANT IT AT-

12          [you don't want it RI:GHT [NO:W.

13   Sal:   [((Furrows brow, narrows eyes))

14   Lau:          [No: I [hhh

15   Sal:                 [ARE YOU FUCKING [ME?  LIKE SERIOUSLY?

16   Sal:                                 [((Posture shift / Arms raise))

17   Lau:                                 [.hhhh ehh hahh .hhh okay no

18          [here's

19   Sal:   [TWO like, (0.5) for me::, like looking at it you guys (1.2)

20          like, (0.2) have ((air quotes)) "known each other" for li:ke, a
```

```
21          week.

22          (0.3)

23   Lau:   .hh it's been like, I- I under[stand what you['re meaning

24   Sal:                              [.hhhh        [but like dating

25          ti[me, a week

26 → Lau:    [NO I comple::tely [agree with you.

27   Sal:                       [Yeah

28   Lau:   I complete[ly agree with you.

29   Sal:             [Yeah

30   Lau:   That's [why I was like

31   Sal:          [But like I know and like you've ta:lked you know for

32          [months and stuff

33   Lau:   [Right so we've been spending a lot of time together but I never

34          thought of him that way until like Monday [when he asked

35   Sal:                                             [I KNOW

36   Lau:   me to watch a movie that was the first time that I was even

37          eve[n like he LIKES me=

38   Sal:      [Okay so ((claps)) go on go on

39   Lau:   =Okay.
```

At lines 5-7 Laura describes how she began to have second thoughts after her initial response to David's question, reported here as a minimal but affirmative "O:ka::y". Before Laura is able to finish this turn, however, Sally offers a candidate understanding of what these second thoughts might be: that Laura didn't actually want to make the relationship official (line 8). Though Sally's turn invites Laura's confirmation, Laura responds at lines 9-10 with a 'well'-prefaced rejection of Sally's suggestion. At lines 11-13 Sally reformulates her earlier turn to instead suggest that Laura didn't want to make the relationship official as quickly as she did. Notice that much of Sally's reformulation is produced with a prosodic structure (raised

amplitude) and bodily-visual display (furrowed brow, narrowed eyes; see Figure 2.4) that convey

a strong epistemic stance rather than a candidate understanding that seeks Laura's confirmation.

Figure 2.4 "You don't want it RI:GHT NO:W" in Excerpt 6

At line 14 Laura begins to reject this reformulation, but is interrupted mid-production at

lines 15-16 as Sally provides a strong, face-threatening challenge to the veracity or believability

of Laura's rejection ("ARE YOU FUCKING ME? LIKE SERIOUSLY?"). As with her prior turn

at lines 11-13, Sally's talk here is produced with salient multi-modal practices that display her

stance towards the issue at hand: she produces the entire turn with raised amplitude, and towards

the end of the turn shifts her head and torso towards Laura while lifting her arms in a gesture of

possible disbelief (see Figure 2.5). Laura responds to this challenge at line 17 with laughter, a

move to manage the confrontational aspect of Sally's prior turn (cf. Arminen and Halonen 2007;

Holt 2012), then begins a possible explanation or reformulation of her earlier disaligning talk

(lines 17-18).

Figure 2.5 "LIKE SERIOUSLY?" in Excerpt 6

Before Laura can complete this turn, however, Sally begins to account for why she doesn't believe that Laura is as comfortable with the relationship as she says she is: that it happened too fast, given that the two have only "known each other for like a week" (lines 19-21). After a short pause that projects the dispreferredness of her upcoming turn, Laura begins to challenge Sally's time formulation, as she had "known" David for months prior to their first date (line 23). However, she abandons this course of action prior to completion and instead claims her understanding of Sally's earlier talk ("I understand what you're meaning"). This move is produced in overlap with Sally's talk at lines 24-25, a further clarification of her earlier time formulation ("Like dating time, a week"). At line 26 Laura then claims her affiliation with Sally, formulating this turn with a 'no'-preface ("No I comple::tely agree with you"). Laura then produces a partial repeat of this turn, formulated without the 'no'-preface and with a different prosodic production ("I completely agree with you") at line 28. Both of these affiliating turns receive minimal affirmative responses (produced in overlap and mid-TCU) from Sally.[22]

---

[22] Note that Laura's 'no'-preface in line 23 is the only instance of the response token under analysis here. Sally's turn-initial 'no' in line 8 is a candidate guess at what Laura had been thinking to herself; Laura's turn-initial

As with the prior excerpt, Laura produces her affiliating turn at line 26 with a 'no'-preface. Notice that the structure of the turns leading up to the 'no'-preface in both this excerpt and the prior excerpt are strikingly similar. Here, as in the prior excerpt, Sally clarifies the meaning of an earlier formulation that Laura had initially disaligned with, followed shortly thereafter by Laura's affiliation following the new formulation. (In this excerpt, this entails a formulation of the elapsed time that Laura and David had been dating, and in the prior excerpt, a formulation of what Sally thought was "weird".) More significant, however, is that in both excerpts the 'no'-prefaced displays of affiliation occur in response to a claim or assessment aimed at a recipient (Laura) who has repeatedly disaffiliated with the speaker (Sally). Laura has already rejected Sally's earlier B-event claims about Laura's feelings towards David at both lines 9-10 and line 14, and has similarly disagreed with Sally's formulation of the length of their relationship at line 23, actions which may be heard as disaffiliating with Sally. Laura's 'no'-prefaced turn at line 26 can thus be heard as denying the inference that Laura has disaffiliated through these prior turns, as the talk that follows the 'no' explicitly claims her strong affiliation (through both its phonetic production and its use of the adverbial 'completely'). As with the prior excerpt, then, Laura's 'no'-prefaced response denies that both her prior turns and her forthcoming talk disaffiliate with Sally.

A related practice to the ones described above occurs in the following excerpt, occurring in an advice-giving sequence between a mother and daughter (cf. Nguyen 2009). In contrast to the prior two excerpts, however, the 'no'-prefaced turn employed here may serve multiple functions within the talk. Here, a mother and daughter who live in different areas of the United States have been catching up with one another over the telephone. Towards the end of the call the

---

'no' in line 13 is a disagreement with Sally's prior B-event claim about what Laura wants, and the phonetic production and sequential organization of Laura's 'no' in line 15 make it hearable as a preface to an explanation or reformulation.

mother checks to see what the daughter's husband, Chris, has been doing while the two have

been talking. When the daughter responds that Chris has been out playing tennis, the mother

suggests that the daughter, who does not play, take up the sport as well.

(7) CALLFRIEND ENGN6899 (23:01 Heat of the Summer)

```
01   Mom:   What's Chris up to today.

02          (1.0)

03   Mom:   [Ow

04   Dau:   [He's playing tennis right no:w.

05          (.)

06   Mom:   Oh is he.=

07   Dau:   =Yea::h.

08          (0.5)

09   Mom:   .hhh ‾hu- why:- have you decided about taking tennis lessons?

10          (1.2)

11   Dau:   hhuh no:(hh):[(hh):(huhh) huh hhuh huh uhh  .hhhhh

12   Mom:                [Have you thou:ght about taking tennis lessons.

13   Dau:   No:::. Huhhuhhuh[huh   .hhhh

14   Mom:                   [Be:cau::se?

15   Dau:   Uhhh, (0.6) I don't know I guess I uh- (0.4) don't like it

16          enou:gh.

17          (1.2)

18   Mom:   Okay.

19          ((25 seconds of talk in which Mom continues to encourage the

20          daughter to take up tennis))

21   Mom:   And I think if if you developed some proficiency with it you

22          would like it.

23          (2.8)

24   Mom:   ↑Think?
```

```
25          (0.3)

26   Dau:   I probably would? But the one thing th't I do not li:ke mo:st

27          about it is: (0.4) it's generally a, (0.4) spri:ng summer type of

28          spo:rt. (1.0) And it's very aerobic and I can't sta:nd running

29          around out in the heat like tha:t.

30          (0.8)

31   Mom:   .hhh well I mean, (1.1) you don't ha:ve- I mean like toda:y is

32          not- I mean I don't know what it's like the:re. (0.5) But I me-

33          would today be a good day to play ↑there or,

34   Dau:   Oh I don't know it yeah probably. (0.6) .hhh bu:t (0.4) it's

35          gonna start gettin warm pretty qui:ck.

36   Mom:   Oh is it

37   Dau:   Yea:h.

38          (1.0)

39 → Mom:   °Okay°. (0.9) No I mean I agree I couldn't run around in in the

40          heat of the summer either I just didn't know if there was enough

41          time, (0.2) .hh in the spring and fa:ll, (0.9) tha:t u:h, y'know.

42          (4.2)

43   Mom:   That you'd be comfortable playing.

44   Dau:   °Yea:h°.
```

At line 9 the mother prefaces her suggestion with a yes/no interrogative ("Have you decided about taking tennis lessons?") The daughter responds to this initial question, as well as its reformulation at line 12, with a negative response and an accompanying episode of laughter. The mother pursues an account for these disaligning responses at line 14 (Ford 2001; Lerner 2004), and at lines 15-16 the daughter responds with a delayed and hedged claim about her dislike of the game. Following the mother's acknowledgement of this turn (line 18), she launches an advice-giving sequence that continues to encourage the daughter to take up tennis (omitted

from the transcript). This sequence ends with the mother's claim that the daughter would probably enjoy tennis if she "developed some proficiency in it" (lines 21-22).

The claim is met with nearly three seconds of silence, projecting the daughter's disagreement, after which the mother pursues a response through a yes/no interrogative at line 24. The daughter responds at line 26 with a hedged, pro-forma agreement delivered with rising intonation ("I probably would?"), but then further accounts for why she would not enjoy playing, citing the heat of tennis season as a deterrent (lines 26-29). Following a hearable gap, the mother begins to respond at line 31 with a 'well'-prefaced challenge that makes a B-event assertion about the weather near the daughter. However, she abandons this course of action to display her own less knowledgeable status regarding the temperature there. Here, she shifts to an interrogative format to check whether the day of the phone call would be a good one for tennis (lines 31-33). Though the daughter acknowledges that the weather that day is fine for tennis, she notes in her response that "It's gonna start gettin warm pretty qui:ck" (lines 34-35).[23] Following a newsmark at line 36, the mother produces a 'no'-prefaced turn extension at lines 39-40 that affiliates with the daughter's earlier claim about disliking "running around out in the heat". The mother then accounts for her earlier disaffiliation, claiming that she didn't know if there was enough time during the cooler months to play tennis.

As with the prior excerpt, the mother's 'no'-prefaced turn at line 39 only claims her agreement with the daughter's prior claim ("No I mean I agree"), using the same format analyzed in Excerpt 5 ("No I I agree"). Additionally, here we see that the mother's turn orients to the accountability of producing only a claim to affiliation rather than a more preferred second

---

[23] The daughter's use of an 'oh'-preface to her response (Heritage 1998) likely marks the mother's prior question as problematic in terms of its relevance to the on-going sequence, as the day's temperature holds little relevance to the daughter's problem with the heat of tennis season.

assessment or similar turn.[24] Given the context of this interaction, however, there are multiple interactional functions potentially served by the mother's 'no'-prefaced turn. As with the prior examples in this section, it prefaces an affiliative utterance that follows the speaker's prior disaffiliation across multiple turns, and thus may deny that there was disaffiliation in both her prior and upcoming talk. However, notice also that the mother's 'no'-prefaced turn does not respond to the immediately prior talk. Rather, it skip connects (Sacks 1992) back to an earlier point in the talk, occurring prior to the mother's initiation of a side sequence at lines 32-33. In addition to managing the mother's incongruent stance displays, the 'no'-prefaced turn at line 39 may also mark the sequential misplacement of this turn (see Section 4.3).

In each of the prior three excerpts, speakers responded to an assessment or claim through a 'no' + "claim to agreement" format. The following example differs in two ways: the format of the 'no'-prefaced response (a partial repeat of the prior turn) and the sequential environment in which this response occurs (following a yes/no interrogative). The data for this excerpt is taken from a conversation between two college-aged friends, Lena and Todd. Both are involved in local Greek life at the university they attend in the Western United States, and are active members of their respective sorority and fraternity chapters. Prior to the excerpt, Lena and Tom had been discussing some of the recent hotel parties (social events hosted by a fraternity that are held all night at a hotel) they had attended over the past year. In particular Tom had been talking about a particularly successful party where the police officer who was called in to monitor the party was "pretty cool", expressing a casual attitude towards the noise and drinking happening at the hotel and even accepting a beer from one of the college-aged attendees. As the excerpt begins, Lena makes the claim that the success of a hotel party ultimately relies on hotel

---

[24] We see that Laura begins to do the same, following her 'no'-prefaced claim to agreement with an account, though in both cases the account is abandoned to Sally's next turn.

administration showing a similarly lax attitude towards the types of activities common to many

hotel parties (e.g. drinking).

(8) LENA AND TODD (1:30 The Tugboat Grande)

```
01    Lena: I: feel li::ke? (1.0) where you have it [doesn't matter as long

02    Todd:                                        [((gazes at Lena))

03    Lena: as like the::, people that are ((gazes at Todd))

04          [running the hotel are like [cool with you drinking

05    Todd: [((head nods . . . . . . )) [Yea::h yeah it kinda ended up being

06          good that it was: (0.8) uh:: not the nicest hotel cause (.) i-

07          there weren't that many people there

08          (0.4)

09    Lena: Were you at the Tugboa- the: (.) one that was at the Tugboat

10          Gra::nde?

      ((5 lines omitted))

16    Todd: =Yea[::h, yea::h that was (   )

17    Lena:     [When you- you [were there

18    Todd:                    [Yeah

19    Lena: Okay I was at that one too[:

20    Todd:                           [That one was so fun

21    Lena: It was rea:lly fun but don't you feel like (0.8) people were like

22          getting in troubl:e?=

23 →  Todd: =Yea:h. No they did- they w[ere getting in trouble.

24    Lena:                           [Li::ke,

25          yeah. Like I didn't like that. I [don't know

26    Todd:                                  [I heard they got caught.

27          (0.2)

28    Lena: It's[:

29    Todd:     [With weed and they like called the cops and stuff.
```

Lena meets Todd's gaze part way through Lena's claim, inviting a series of affiliative nods. Todd then produces an affiliative response at lines 5-7, providing support for Lena's claim by citing an example of a party where the lower quality location did not negatively impact the event itself. Given the multiple positive response tokens that preface the turn (and the series of nods produced just prior), Todd's response can be heard as strongly affiliating with Lena. Following a hearable gap, at lines 9-10 Lena asks if Todd had attended a party held at another hotel, the Tugboat Grande. The turn is organized as a pre to secure the relevance of her upcoming complaint about the party (lines 21-22 and 25). After resolving Todd's understanding of the question through a third-position repair (omitted from the transcript), both participants claim to have been in attendance at the party (lines 16-19). Following Lena's claim, Todd treats her earlier question about the Tugboat Grand as a topic proffer at line 20 and begins to positively assess the party there, claiming that it "was so fun".

Notice that Todd's assessment of the party turns out to take a divergent stance from Lena's telling-complaint, which emerges later in the talk. While Lena responds at line 21 with a prosodically upgraded second assessment (Ogden 2006) ("It was rea:lly fun"), her next turn still pursues a complaining action, organized as a pre aimed at determining the relevance of her upcoming complaint. Here she asks whether Todd felt "like people were like getting in troubl:e" during the party (lines 21-22). The question invites a positive response, and Todd responds at line 23 with his agreement. Notice the format of his responding turn: though his response is initially produced through a simple "Yea:h" (a type-conforming response), it is followed by a 'no'-prefaced response in effective turn-initial position, separated from the initial 'yeah' by an intonation boundary. In contrast to the claims of agreement seen in prior examples, Todd then produces a partial repeat of Lena's turn ("They did- they were getting in trouble").

This divergence in response format may be motivated by the different sequential environment in which Todd's response occurs (as a response to a yes/no interrogative rather than the claims and assessments of prior excerpts). However, also relevant is the fact that it is not entirely clear that Lena's question occurs in an environment where Todd has projected his upcoming disaffiliation. (Again, in contrast with the prior excerpts in this section, in which 'no'-prefaced responses are delivered in just such an environment). However, Todd's prior positive assessment of the Tugboat party at line 20 *does* display a stance that is potentially at odds with the negative stance that Lena projects through her question at lines 21-22, especially in light of Lena's earlier claim that "good parties" are ones in which the hotel administration doesn't care about what students do (and thus students don't get in trouble). The second TCU of Todd's response (following the initial "Yea:h") can thus be understood as denying that his prior turn has displayed his disaffiliation, while clearly marking that his stance towards the Tugboat party is congruent with Lena's own.

In each of the cases thus far, 'no'-prefaced turns managed a speaker's incongruent stance display, asserting the responding speaker's affiliation with a first speaker. These turns occurred in response to two grammatical formats: a declarative (i.e. an assessment or claim) or an interrogative (a stance-displaying yes/no question. Within the former, 'no'-prefaced responses occurred following multiple prior occasions in which the speaker displayed their disaffiliation with the recipient, and each made use of a 'no' + "claim to agreement" format. Within the latter, a 'no'-prefaced response occurred in response to a single incongruent stance display, and made use of a different response format (a partial repeat of the prior turn). In the next sub-section, I present cases in which the speaker's disaffiliation is projected through a different context: when the recipient of an extended telling has not displayed a stance when doing so is interactionally

relevant. Rather than respond to a first speaker's stance display, the 'no'-prefaced turns in the following sub-section occur in a different sequential environment, responding to questions that pursue a stance display. In the first excerpt presented here, this is a yes/no interrogative; in the second excerpt, it is a WH-question.

2.4.2 Responding to the pursuit of a stance display

We see this type of response practice in Excerpt 9 below, taken from a conversation between two university students, Julie and Faye. The two have been talking about a recent photojournalism project Faye completed, which entailed interviewing and presenting on a mutual friend, Lana. After seeing the presentation, Lana complained that Faye had chosen to include sensitive personal information that had come up during the interview in a public presentation, and had misconstrued facts about her in other parts of the project. Prior to the excerpt below, Julie and Faye had been discussing the former complaint. As the excerpt begins, Julie, who has been critical of Faye's decision to include private information about Lana in the project, begins an advice-giving sequence that focuses on how she could better handle similar assignments in the future.

```
(9) JULIE AND FAYE (24:33 Wrong and Mistrued)
01   Juli: Like maybe that's a step in journalism school that you need to
02         lear::n, (1.3) whi:ch, (1.0)
03   Faye: mmhm
04   Juli: [on the spot which facts you ca::n sa:y.
05   Faye: [((head nods . . . . . . . . . . . . .))
06         (0.3)
07   Jul:  When you are on the spot in such a situation ((gazes at Faye))
08         [and you DON'T really know what to say, .hhh (.) maybe you
09   Fay:  [((head nods . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .))
```

```
10    Jul:  [need to develop a journalism skill that's where [you don't say

11    Fay:  [((head nods . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .)) [mmhm

12    Jul:  EVERYthin[g

13    Fay:           [((head nod, gazes away))

14                  [(0.4)

15    Jul:  You know what I'm say[ing

16 →  Fay:                       [*Yea:h*. ↑No I agree like

17          the[re's thi- (  )

18    Jul:     [SO THIS IS WHAT SHE TOLD ME THE ENTI:RE PROJECT SO::,

19    Fay:                                         [but the,

20          yeah the whole thing was ↑though, that she: sai:d tha:t

21          everything I had said wa:s, (0.3) wrong. (1.0) And mistrued.
```

Julie begins the excerpt at lines 1-2 with the suggestion that Faye may need to learn which kinds of information should and should not be released in a journalistic context. The turn raises the possibility that the blame for Lana's complaint is on Faye, thereby holding her accountable. Faye produces a continuer at line 3, a move that both acknowledges Julie's turn-in-progress and displays her recognition that Julie will continue. As she proceeds with her turn at line 4, Faye produces a series of small head nods that display her affiliation with Julie's suggestion. There is a short gap following the completion of the suggestion, and Faye's continued silence at this juncture treats Julie's turn as still in-progress, an orientation that may be attributed to Julie's gaze being held away from Faye both during and after the claim. Julie goes on to produce an extension of her initial suggestion at lines 7-12, focusing again on Faye's agency in (and possible blame for) the incident with Faye. Julie meets Faye's gaze part way through the first unit of this turn, inviting a series of nods from Faye that continue until she produces another continuer at line 11. Following the completion of Julie's suggestion, Faye responds at line 13 with a nod and cut-off gaze, turning away and looking down at the table in

front of them.

Notice that both of Faye's bodily-visual displays at this point can be understood as displaying her disaffiliation. As Stivers (2008) shows with regard to storytelling sequences, nods that occur while the speaker's action is still in progress, as Julie has done prior to this point, generally display affiliation with that speaker's stance. However, Stivers notes that the organization of nodding within a turn is critical. While its deployment within an ongoing course of action is generally preferred, positioning a nod as a final response to an action is strongly dispreferred, and treated by recipients as either an inadequate response or outright disalignment. Returning to the excerpt, we see that Faye's nod at line 13 is organized as a final response to Julie's suggestion, an action that prefers a spoken, on-record display of agreement. While such a response on its own might constitute a display of disaffiliation, Faye also employs a marked "cut-off gaze" immediately following her nod. As Haddington (2006) notes, these type of gaze practices often mark a just-spoken turn as problematic and project (or may themselves constitute) that participant's disaffiliation. Thus, though Faye does not verbally produce a spoken, "on-record" claim to a stance that disaffiliates with Julie (as do the excerpts in the prior sub-section), she has produced a range of bodily-visual displays that index, or at least project, upcoming disaffiliation.

Following the silence that occurs during these bodily-visual displays, Julie pursues a response from Faye through a yes/no interrogative format ("You know what I'm saying") at line 15. Such a move displays her orientation to the inadequacy of Faye's bodily-visual displays as a response. As with the prior excerpt between Lena and Todd, Julie's yes/no interrogative receives a response composed of two units: a positive response token and a 'no'-prefaced response, each separated by an intonation boundary (lines 16-17). Faye's initial, creaky-voiced "Yea:h" is

organized as a structurally aligning response to Julie's question, while the 'no'-prefaced unit that follows both responds to, and denies, the inference that her prior bodily-visual displays project subsequent disaffiliation. As with many of the claims to affiliation that follow the 'no'-prefaced responses in this section, Faye only produces a weak display of affiliation here as she simply claims her agreement with Julie ("↑No I agree").

A related case can be seen in Excerpt 10 below, taken from a telephone conversation between a wedding planner and one of his female clients. The two have been discussing photography plans for the client's upcoming wedding ceremony and reception. As the excerpt begins, the client produces a request to have disposable cameras left on each table during the wedding meal so that attendees can take their own pictures of the event.

(10) CALLHOME EN_4184 (6:54 I Think That's Fine)

```
01    Cli:   .hhh And what I would like to do (0.4) which, y'know we've heard

02           about people doing elsewhere for (.) the color ones during the

03           mea::l?

04    Pla:   Mmm.=

05    Cli:   =is y'know put some of those disposable cameras [on some

06    Pla:                                                    [mmhm

07    Cli:   tables [and let, (0.4) you kno:w (0.3)

08    Pla:          [mmhm

09    Pla:   Mmhm?

10           (0.7)

11    Cli:   .hh cause then I'll I- I'll be sure to get pictures from my

12           friends and st[uff

13    Pla:                 [mmhm mmhm

14           (0.8)

15    Pla:   Yeah, that's good.
```

```
16          (0.7)

17    Pla:  That's good [that'll be

18    Cli:              [What do you think of that=

19 →  Pla:  =No that's fine.

20          (0.3)

21    Cli: Okay=

22    Pla:  =Yeah, (.) I think that's fine.
```

Shortly after launching this course of action at line 1, the client produces a second hand account of the wide-spread use of disposable cameras at other weddings (organized as a parenthetical insert that accounts for her request). The rising intonation at the end of this action invites the planner's continuer at line 4, acknowledging her turn-in-progress. The client returns to the production of her initial request at lines 5 and 7, during which the planner produces two additional, overlapping continuers at lines 6 and 8. Following the mid-TCU silence that occurs during the client's turn at line 7, the planner produces another continuer, formulated with rising intonation, that pursues her continuation of the turn. After another gap, the client abandons her request and initiates another account at lines 11-12, this time providing an account for her original request for the cameras ("Cause then I'll I- I'll be sure to get pictures from my friends and stuff").

Following the planner's continuer at line 13 and the lengthy silence that follows, the planner displays his recognition that the client has finished her request sequence and produces an acceptance and possible assessment of the request at line 15 ("Yeah, that's good."). The turn receives no uptake in the silence that follows, however, and at line 17 the planner pursues a response through a partial repeat of his prior response ("That's good"). However, the client responds at line 18 with a WH-question that treats the planner's past few turns as having inadequately responded to her request sequence and pursues a clear stance display ("What do

you think of that"). The planner responds to this question at line 19 with a 'no'-prefaced turn, producing a prosodically upgraded assessment of the request as "<u>fine</u>" rather than "good". Unlike many of the 'no'-prefaced responses in this section, the planner's response is a non-type-conforming response (Raymond 2003; Schegloff 2007), and its marked status contributes to the understanding that it does more than "just" responding to the propositional content of the client's question. Here, the 'no'-prefaced turn responds to the inference that the planner has projected disaffiliation with the client's request.

While requests generally invite an acceptance as a preferred response, notice that the client orients to her initial request as having additionally invited a stance display from the planner. This is likely due to the fact that the call has its own institutional goal, i.e. wedding planning. In carrying out this goal through her initial request, the client makes relevant the speaker's institutional identities, and as the wedding planner, the planner thus has an institutional obligation to assess (rather than simply and neutrally approve) suggestions from the bride-to-be. Though the planner's acceptances of the client's request at line 15 and again at line 17 are hearable as both an acceptance and a weak positive assessment (given their formulaic production, i.e. "That's good"), the client does not treat them as a stance display. Moreover, the planner's frequent use of continuers throughout the request sequence only marks his acknowledgment of its production, and does nothing to provide access to his stance on the matter. In withholding a stance display where one is structurally expected, the planner's talk thus potentially projects upcoming disaffiliation. His use of a 'no'-prefaced response at line 19 therefore prefaces his claim of affiliation by responding to, and denying, this inference. Notice that it is only after the clarification brought about through the planner's 'no'-prefaced response that the client treats his response as adequate, accepting it at line 21 with an 'okay'.

Also notice that the format of the planner's 'no'-prefaced response differs from that seen in the prior excerpt, as well as Excerpts 5, 6, and 7 in the prior sub-section. That is, rather than employ a 'no' + "claim to agreement" format, the planner produces an assessment. His use of this formulation is likely relevant to the client's treatment of his prior turns, which assessed her suggestion as "good", as inadequate.

In this section, I examined the use of 'no'-prefaced turns to manage a speaker's incongruent stance displays, asserting their affiliation with a first speaker. These turns occurred in response to two grammatical formats: a declarative (i.e. an assessment or claim) or an interrogative (a stance-displaying yes/no question. Within the former, 'no'-prefaced responses occurred following multiple prior occasions in which the speaker displayed their disaffiliation with the recipient, and each made use of a 'no' + "claim to agreement" format. Within the latter, a 'no'-prefaced response occurred in response to a single incongruent stance display, and made use of a different response format (a partial repeat of the prior turn). It is not clear that that the 'no' + "claim to agreement" format, which is also seen in cases within the corpus that are unexamined in the present analysis, is endemic to this practice, and that the case between Lena and Todd (Excerpt 8) and the wedding planner and client (Excerpt 10) are outliers, despite the frequency of the former. As noted earlier, future work on these claims of agreement in other contexts will likely provide insight into the use of the practice discussed here.

2.5 Responding to issues of epistemic incongruence

In this section I examine instances of 'no'-prefaced responses that manage incongruities between a participant's presumed epistemic status and their claimed epistemic stance. "Epistemic status" refers to the comparative distribution of knowledge among participants, in that each will have differing degrees of access to different domains (or "territories") of information. Though

the nature of this access may vary widely in terms of the depth or scope of what a participant knows, or whether this information is derived from first-hand or second-hand sources,[25] participants generally occupy two comparative positions with regard to their epistemic status: from more knowledgeable (a K+ position) to less knowledgeable (a K- position). The concept of epistemic status may be contrasted with that of "epistemic stance", displays of these positions that occur throughout an interaction. In this section, I examine how speakers employ 'no'-prefaced responses to assert a K+ stance in environments where co-participants have treated them as having a K- status.

Epistemic status is arguably an omnirelevant phenomenon of interaction, and information regarding how a participant's own access and rights to knowledge compared to that of others is frequently relevant to the production of social action (Heritage 2012a). As work in conversation analysis has increasingly shown, participants may also do significant interactional work to provide access to their epistemic status (e.g. Heritage 1984b, 1998, 2012a, 2012b; Asmuß 2011; Mondada 2011) or assert their epistemic rights (e.g. Heritage and Raymond 2005; Stivers 2005; Raymond and Heritage 2006; Hayano 2011). Scholarship on negative particles in Japanese (Hayashi and Kushida 2013) and Korean (Kim 2011, forthcoming) have also discussed the role of turn-initial particles with functions similar to English 'no' in managing epistemic issues. Within this research, 'no'-prefaced responses to questions in Japanese and Korean are described as managing instances of epistemic incongruence between the questioner's and respondent's epistemic stances. In these cases, a questioner treats the respondent as having a K+ status when they are actually in a K- position, and these 'no'-prefaced are used to assert a K- stance.

In this section, I examine how 'no'-prefaced responses in English are used to manage a somewhat different type of epistemic incongruence, occurring outside of questioning

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[25] See Heritage 2012c and Sidnell 2012 for a review.

environments. In these cases, a participant is treated as having a less knowledgeable (K-) epistemic status despite actually embodying a more knowledgeable (K+) position. Such discrepancies between epistemic status and stance are a potential source of interactional trouble, and as with each of the response practices examined in this chapter, recipients deploy 'no'-prefaced responses as an interactional resource for managing this trouble.

We see one such instance of epistemic incongruence in Excerpt 11 below, taken from a telephone conversation between a wedding planner and one of his female clients. The two have been discussing photography plans for the client's upcoming wedding. As the excerpt begins, the planner asks how many pictures the client anticipates being shot during the event. Following a short exchange in which the client clarifies that she has already provided the photographer with an estimate of how many rolls of film she wants shot (omitted from the transcript), the client responds to the planner's initial question by reiterating this number.

(11) CALLHOME EN_4184 (The Expenses Go Up – 4:52)

```
01   Pla:  And the::n, (0.9) ((lip smack)) uh: he ↑nee:ds to know (.) ho:w
02         ma:ny (0.3) different sh:o:ts (.) you anti:cipa:te.
     ((9 lines omitted))
12   Cli:        [U::m::, (0.3) did he- (0.2) I to:ld him I wanted te:n
13         two and a quar:ter.
14   Pla:  O::ka:y, (0.5) oka:y=
15   Cli:  =But, I think it might actually ha:ve to be mo:re than ten.
16         (1.3)
17   Pla:  Mmhmm. (0.4) .hhh we:ll, I mean obviously you know that the
18         expenses go up the mor:e he ha:s to shoo::t.
19         (2.6)
20   Pla:  Ya know what I mea:n.
21   Cli:  Yeah: yeah::.
```

```
22          (0.8)
23    Pla:  Like there's a rela:tionship between the number of ro:lls he
24          shoo:ts and the cost of the who:le,
25          (0.2)
26    Cli:  Oh: yeah.=
27    Pla:  =thing.
28  → Cli:  No: I know- well yeah cause he has to take it to a pla:ce and
29          then gotta contact all of th[em and,
30    Pla:                              [Mhm
31    Pla:  Right,
32    Cli:  stuff [like that.
33    Pla:        [right, right.
```

The planner responds at line 14 with two acknowledgment tokens that serve as a sequence-closing third, and at line 15 the client produces an glue-on extension (Couper-Kuhlen and Ono 2007) of her prior turn that expands the sequence, amending her earlier estimate of how much film needs to be shot at the wedding. This is followed by a lengthy silence that projects the planner's dispreferred response at lines 17-18, an acknowledgement token followed by a 'well'-prefaced unit of talk that neither accepts nor rejects the client's proposal. Rather, the planner explains that the proposed increase in the amount of film used would raise the cost of the photography. Though the planner's turn treats this information as both common and mutually-shared knowledge (through the use of "obviously" and "you know"), as a B-event claim about the recipient's own epistemic status, it is also formulated to invite a claim of understanding from the client.

Despite this, the planner's turn is followed by a 2.5 second-long silence at line 19 that projects the client's possible misunderstanding of disagreement. At line 20 the planner pursues a response through a yes/no interrogative formulated with marked, falling intonation ("Ya know

what I mea:n"), and the client produces a positive response at line 21 ("Yeah: yeah::"). However, the client's response does not overtly demonstrate her understanding of the planner's explanation from lines 17-18 (rather, it only *claims* her understanding), and the planner does not treat it as an adequate response. Following the silence at line 22, the planner goes on to explain his earlier claim regarding the correlation between an increase in film usage and an increase in cost (lines 23-24). Prior to the syntactic or prosodic completion of this explanation – but at a hearable gap in the talk – the client responds at line 26 with an 'oh'-prefaced acknowledgement of the planner's explanation (cf. Heritage 2002). This is also not treated as an adequate response, however, as the planner produces a glue-on extension of his prior turn at line 27, mobilizing further response from the client. Notice that it is not until after the client's response at lines 28-29 that the planner treats the client's claim to understanding as adequate; significantly, this claim is formulated with a 'no'-preface.

In terms of epistemics, then, the prior excerpt presents an instance in which a participant who is treated by another participant as having a K- status goes on to retroactively claim a K+ stance. Here, we see that although the client understands the correlation between increased film use and increased costs, the planner's talk at lines 23, 24, and 27 treats her as if she did not. The client's use of a 'no'-prefaced turn at line 28 may thus be understood as indexing and denying that she is in a K- position. The 'no'-preface itself is then followed by a clear display of (rather than a simple claim to) her understanding of the issue at hand. Turning to the talk that precedes the client's use of a 'no'-preface, we also see that this particular response practice works to halt the planner's explanation-in-progress in a way that the client's prior 'oh'-prefaced response (at line 26) does not.[26] This is an outcome of 'no'-prefaced turns that can be seen in much of the

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[26] Cf. Keevallik's (2011) discussion of Estonian *ei* ('no') as a resource for compromising progressivity in interaction.

data throughout not only this section, but this chapter as a whole.

The next two examples of a 'no'-preface used to manage epistemic incongruence focus on inferences regarding a participant's recognition of a particular referent in the prior talk. We see this type of problem in person reference recognition in Excerpt 12 below, taken from a telephone conversation between two friends, Fern and Emily. Fern has been talking about an upcoming trip to upstate New York that will have her on an all-day layover in NYC, and has mentioned her tentative plans to spend the day with a friend who lives in the city. As the excerpt begins, Emily responds to this news by mentioning that two of her own friends, Herb and Samantha, also live in NYC (a move that turns out to be a pre to an offer or suggestion that Fern get in touch with them should her other plans fall through).

```
(12) CALLHOME EN_4490 (I Remember the Name – 1:12)
01    Fern: So it shouldn't be too ba:d then you know if [we can spend
02    Emi:                                              [You know
03    Fern: [the day together.
04    Emi: [Herb and Sa↑ma:ntha live there. (0.2) Do you know [them?
05    Fern:                                                    [↑WHO::
06    Emi:  Herb and Sama:ntha:?
07          (0.6)
08    Fern: I: va:guely remem:ber them.=
09    Emi:  =They::'re um- I guess it's like, (0.4) um Ora's (0.4) nephew? Is
10          Herb? (0.2) So it was like Fergie's, (0.8)
11    Fern: Yea[:h.
12    Emi:     [uncle or [cousin or something
13 →  Fern:              [↑No: I I remember the na:me.
14    Emi:  They're really nice an- (…)
          ((12 lines omitted))
```

```
27    Emi:  But anywa:y, (0.2) they- they live in New York City in Quee:ns
28          and they're rea:lly ni:ce so [if you get stuck li:ke, (0.4) you
29    Fern:                              [uh huh
30          kno:w, (0.3) I: could, (1.0) give you their number
```

Emily initially formulates this information about Herb and Samantha (lines 2 and 4) as mutually-shared knowledge, prefacing the turn with "you know" and employing recognitional person reference forms. However, she orients to the silence that follows as marking possible trouble with this formulation, producing a yes/no interrogative at line 4 to determine whether the couple is indeed known to Fern. Fern displays her lack of recognition by initiating repair at line 5, marking the person reference forms as the specific source of trouble. Following Emily's repetition of these reference forms at line 6, Fern displays a weak recognition of Herb and Samantha at line 8 ("I: va:guely remem:ber them"). Emily orients to this turn as a request for more information, responding at lines 9-10 with a non-recognitional (Sacks and Schegloff 1979) description of the couple that details their relationship to mutually-known parties.

Following the mid-TCU silence that occurs during this description, Fern produces an acknowledgment token ("Yea:h"). Notice that while this token is hearable as a continuer (and certainly this is how Emily orients to it, as she renews her description at line 12 in partial overlap with the "Yea:h"), by contrast, Fern's subsequent turn at line 13 is designed to halt Emily's description-in-progress. That is, Fern begins this turn well before Emily's own turn has reached a point of possible completion, and Fern's turn at this juncture displays a recognition of the couple that is "adequate enough" for the main project of Emily's talk (offering to put Fern in touch with them). Retrospectively, then, Fern's use of an acknowledgment token at line 11 can be understood as displaying her adequate-enough understanding of who Herb and Samantha are. Fern's 'no'-prefaced turn at line 13 can be understood as a move to manage the incongruence

between the epistemic stance she has projected and the status presumed by Emily, whose talk at line 12 continues to treat Fern as having a K- status with regard to the identities of Herb and Samantha.[27]

As with the prior excerpt, we see that Fern's move to manage these incongruent epistemic positions is formulated with a 'no'-preface. Here the initial 'no' is used to index and deny that she is in a K- position with regard to Herb and Samantha's identities, while the talk following the preface produces a clear claim to Fern's recognition of the referent form used by Emily to refer to them. As with the prior example, we see that Fern's 'no'-prefaced turn effectively halts Emily's explanation-in-progress, as Emily's following turn at line 14 moves to further preface her upcoming offer at line 28-30.

Excerpt 13 below also deals with an issue epistemic status related to referential recognition. Unlike the prior two examples in this section, however, the use of a 'no'-prefaced turn here does not halt the prior action. The excerpt is taken from a face-to-face conversation between two college-aged friends, Daniel and Tamara. The two have been discussing the various university courses that they plan to take in the future, and as the excerpt begins, Tamara mentions her interest in a business certificate program offered at the university they both attend.

(13) DANIEL AND TAYLOR (Business Certificate Program – 30:54)

```
01    Tam:   I wanna: go:::, there's li:ke a::, (0.8) I don't know how

02           many cre:dits it is but it's like *a*::: business [certificate

03                                                             [((gazes at D))

04           program:?=

05    Dan:   =*Yea:h*.
```

---

[27] Fern does not produce an epistemic stance that is "more knowledgeable" with regard to the identities of Herb and Samantha, and thus not what is traditionally defined as a clear K+ position. However, Fern's claim to a stance that is "knowledgeable enough" is structurally quite similar to the other examples in this section, in which second speakers halt an in-progress informing or explanation by claiming a knowledgeable status through a 'no'-prefaced response.

```
06          (0.2)

07    Tam:  ((gazes away)) I wanna do: that so [I'm like

08    Dan:                                    [Oh::: I=actually >know what

09          you're< ta:lking abou:t.=

10    Tam:  =[It's [like the C:[U::: I:B::,        [C: or

11    Dan:        [((head nod. . . .))

12    Dan:                     [It's, it's in the [summer I think right?

13    Tam:  something.

14    Dan:  [Yeah.

15    Tam:  [Yeah something.=

16 →  Dan:  =No: I hear[:d about that.

17    Tam:             [And it's like a fe:w wee:ks

18    Tam:  [and you get *like a certificate* th't says you've like *been

19    Dan:  [((head nods . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .))

20    Tam:  [[through a business program*

21    Dan:  [[((head nods . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .))

22    Dan:  Mmhm.
```

Tamara's initial turn mobilizes response (Stivers and Rossano 2010) at the end of line 4 through

the use of both gaze and rising intonation, possibly to check for Daniel's recognition of the

certificate program. Though he produces only an acknowledgment token at line 5, Daniel goes

on to display recognition through multiple response practices: a claim prefaced by the change of

state token 'oh' at lines 8-9, multiple head nods at line 11, and a hedged claim about the

program's timeframe at line 12 that asserts his independent epistemic access. Additionally,

following Tamara's reformulation of the earlier non-recognitional referent "a business certificate

program" to the recognitional "CU ICB" program at line 11, David responds at line 14 with a

further display of recognition ("Yeah"). After Tamara confirms Daniel's claim about the

program's timeframe at line 15, he provides another explicit confirmation of his knowledge of

(or K+ status with regard to) the program at line 16, claiming "No: I hear:d about that".

As with the prior two examples, this excerpt illustrates a speaker's move from perceived K- status (initially marked here through Tamara's use of a non-recognitional reference form at lines 2 and 4) to assert a K+ stance. As already seen, Daniel's epistemic stance is displayed through multiple response practices, among them an 'oh'-prefaced turn at line 8 and a 'no'-prefaced turn at line 16. In contrast to the prior two examples, we see that both Daniel's 'oh'-prefaced and 'no'-prefaced claims to epistemic access are followed by further discussion and clarification of the referent under discussion. However, this is likely due to the fact that Tamara does not demonstrably attend to Daniel's 'no'-prefaced turn at talk. Tamara's turn at line 17 is formulated as an extension of her prior talk (through an 'and'-preface) and launched while Daniel's 'no'-prefaced turn at line 16 is still underway, and is thus not positioned as a response to this prior turn. Rather, Tamara simply displays no uptake of Daniel's 'no'-prefaced turn as she continues her description of the program at lines 17-21. Conversely, Daniel's own activity following his 'oh'-prefaced and 'no'-prefaced turns (respectively) are markedly different. He makes no further claims to his epistemic stance following his 'no'-prefaced turn at line 16 (instead acknowledging Tamara's talk-in-progress through head nods and an acknowledgement token),[28] thus displaying an orientation to the two turns as having worked towards accomplishing different interactional goals.

Excerpt 14 below also features the use of a 'no'-preface following an 'oh'-preface, but here, an initial 'oh'-prefaced TCU is abandoned mid-production and restarted with a 'no'-preface. The data for this excerpt is taken from a telephone conversation between two friends:

---

[28] Though Daniel's use of head nods throughout Tamara's description display a possible parallel to the types of affiliative head nods analyzed in Stivers (2008), it is unclear what type of stance Daniel would be laying a parallel claim to through the head nods he deploys at lines 19-21. I thus analyze these head nods as acknowledgment tokens.

Annie, an American living in Israel at the time of the call, and Lana, who is living in the United

States. As the excerpt begins, Annie begins to recount a recent radio interview she had heard with

Israeli politician Shimone Peres, who discussed his support of Israel's use of bovine growth

hormone to speed milk production in cows.

(14) CALLHOME EN_4941 (Big Thing Here About the Milk - 4:50)
```
01    Ann:  Um::, [he said (.) that (.) the- (.) that Israel is such a

02    Lana:        [I dunno I-

03    Ann:  high:ly:, (0.8) technical, (0.6) uh: advanced technical ↑country

04          that, (.) if there's something good they're gonna, ↑use it.

05          (0.4)

06    Ann:  And [he mentioned the: hormones for the ↑mi:lk.

07    Lana:      [Yea:h.

08          (0.9)

09 →  Lana: OH [yeah that was a bi:g thi:ng here- no there was a big

10    Ann:     [That makes the cow:s

11    Lana: thing here about the mi:l[k that they put ↑SILICON in the ↑MI:LK

12    Ann:                           [where they would

13    Lana: he[re or something there was a big thing

14    Ann:    [te:- ye:- wha:-

15    Ann:  it's it's hormones to make the cows give ↑mo:re.

16          (0.3)

17    Lana: Oh oh: oh no that [sounds different yeah.

18    Ann:                   [And it's terrible it's a terrible horrible

19          ↑thi:ng.
```
Annie first mentions the bovine hormone issue at line 6, referring to it as "the: hormones for the

↑mi:lk". There is a significant silence following the introduction of this referent, after which

Lana displays both her recognition of, and independent epistemic access to, the issue at line 9.[29] This is initially accomplished through an 'oh'-prefaced claim about the same hormone issue also being a "bi:g thi:ng" in the United States. However, she abandons this TCU partway through its production and produces a restart, marked with a glottal cutoff on the word "here". The restart employs only a partial repetition of the initial TCU, being now prefaced with a 'no' instead of an 'oh' and altering the referent 'that' to 'there' (in addition to slight shifts in phonetic production).

Notice, however, that the shift from 'that' ("That was a <u>bi:g</u> thi:ng here") to 'there' ("There was a big thing here") is not hearable as an instance of self-repair, as Lana continues to display an understanding that the agricultural issues that both she and Annie have described are actually one and the same (as seen by her multiple-'oh'-prefaced response at line 17). Thus, the restart at line 9 is not used to correct an initial problem in speaking (and the 'no'-preface not used to initiate repair). Rather, Lana appears to deploy a restart to manage the overlapping talk that occurs at lines 9 and 10. In particular, the use of a 'no'-preface following the restart may be heard as effectively halting or rejecting Annie's continued use of a non-recognitional description in her glue-on extension at line 10, a formulation that treats Lana as having a K- status in regard to the hormone issue. As with the previous excerpts in this section, then, a 'no'-prefaced is deployed here to manage an instance of epistemic incongruence between the speaker's perceived and embodied epistemic status. Through the shift from an 'oh'-preface to a 'no'-preface at line 9, we also see Lana's orientation towards the fact that 'no'-prefaced turns may accomplish some form of interactional work that the initial 'oh'-preface at the turn's beginning could not.

In each of the previous excerpts, a 'no'-prefaced turn is used to respond to a unit of talk that treats the respondent as having a K- status. Through this unit of talk, the first speaker can be

---

[29] Though it is later revealed that Lana's recognition of the this issue is misguided, seen in Annie's third-position repair at line 15.

seen to display their understanding that the second speaker embodies a less knowledgeable position. In Excerpt 15 below, a similar 'no'-prefaced response practice is instead used in an environment where the first speaker has clearly displayed her understanding of the second speaker being in a K+ position. In other words, the first speaker is reminding the second speaker of something that is mutually known but momentarily not being oriented to by the second speaker. Here, a 'no'-prefaced response is deployed to respond to a redundant explanation, thereby marking its potential irrelevance to the issue at hand. The excerpt is drawn from a face-to-face conversation between two Nepalese American university students, Sagar and Prisha, have been talking about the contemporary economic status of Nepal. Sagar has claimed that the nation's economy would be better off if the Maoists had won during the Nepalese Civil War, a conflict between the nation's government and communist Maoist forces. Prisha has rejected this claim as glorifying the Maoist insurgency and has displayed her on-going disaffiliation with Sagar's stance on the matter throughout the talk. As the excerpt begins, Sagar claims that Nepal would be "less of a third world country" if the Maoists had won, and Prisha's response ("Yea::h") becomes hearable in this context as ambiguously marking either her acknowledgement or agreement.

(15) SAGAR AND PRISHA (8:42 More Organized as a Country)

```
01    Saga: But I felt like as far as the future g[oes?
02    Pris:                                        [Yea::h.
03          (1.0)
04    Saga: Nepa:l would, (0.4) would not be as much of a third world
05          country.
06    Pris: Yea::h.
07          (0.8)
08    Saga: In my opinion.
```

```
09          ((14 seconds of talk omitted))

10   Pris: I'm no:t saying li::ke, (1.0) oka:y yea:h you're *ri:ght*. (0.2)

11         *Y'know. (0.2) Things would've*, gotten *better: a:nd*, (0.4) we:

12         *could've li:ke*, kind of gotten *like (.) a boost? That we::

13         (1.0) might've needed to get better? Bu:t, (1.0)

14   Saga: >I [feel li-<

15   Pris:    [It already ha:ppened you [kno:w?

16   Pris:    [((shrugs . . . . . .))

17   Saga:                              [>It woulda been more org-< I feel

18         like it would be more organized a:s: a country.

19   Pris: Yea::h.

20         (0.6)

21   Pris: But it already ha:ppened.

22         (0.8)

23   Pris: A::n:d, (1.0) they didn't ta:ke *o:ve:r*.=

24 → Saga: =No I know I'm just saying,=

25   Pris: =yeah.

26   Saga: if they ha:d >I feel< like, (0.4) things [would be better

27   Pris:                                          [YEAH things would've

28         yea::h.
```

After the silence that follows Prisha's "Yea::h" at line 6, Sagar pursues an additional response through a glue-on extension at line 8. This is followed by a discussion of the possible perspective of older generations on the Civil War's outcome (not included in the transcript), after which Prisha clarifies that while she is not claiming to share Sagar's stance towards a Maoist victory, she also doesn't necessarily disagree with him (lines 10-13). This is followed at lines 15-16 by an account for Prisha's lack of a clear stance display towards the issue: the fact that the Maoists have already lost the conflict (and thus the consequences of their victory are not worth

speculating about). At lines 17-18 Sagar expresses another positive stance towards a Maoist victory, this time referring to the nation's potential for increased organization rather than economic prosperity. Prisha responds with another token of either acknowledgment or perfunctory agreement at line 19 ("Yea::h"). This is followed at lines 21 and 23 by a reiteration of Prisha's account for refusing to clearly affiliate or disaffiliate with Sagar's claims, that the Maoists have already lost the conflict. Though Prisha's account is not framed as news (that is, she clearly does not assume that Sagar has K- status with regard to the outcome of the Maoist conflict), Sagar responds to this account at line 24 with a clear claim to a K+ stance ("No I know").

As with each of the other examples in this section, Sagar's 'no'-prefaced turn responds to a spate of talk that conveys information that he already has access to. Rather than managing the epistemic incongruence between his own epistemic status and that presumed by Prisha, however, Sagar's response is used to highlight the potential redundancy and irrelevance of Prisha's assertion to the issue being discussed (i.e. the potential for positive economic and structural change in a communist-run Nepal). Contrary to the types of response practices seen in Excerpts 11-14, the particular type of 'no'-prefaced response used here may be common to the types of contrastive idea exchanges that Sagar and Prisha engage in (and in fact, two similar examples occur throughout the remainder of their conversation as it moves to debating different issues about the present state of affairs in Nepal). Additionally, whereas the prior excerpts in this section managed discrepancies between epistemic status (thereby resolving a potential source of interactional trouble), notice that Sagar's use of a 'no'-prefaced response in Excerpt 15 resists Prisha's move to bring him back to the present, rather than imagining the future. Sagar's resistance is hearably face-threatening, and thus in contrast to the prior excerpts, his 'no'-

prefaced response may be understood as introducing rather than managing face threats within the talk.

In each of the prior cases in this section, speakers employed 'no'-prefaced responses to assert a K+ stance when recipients have treated them as being in a K- position. Such practices serve a complementary role to the functions of Japanese *iya* (Hayashi and Kushida 2013) and Korean *ani* (Kim 2011, forthcoming), which conversely assert a speaker's K- stance when recipients have treated them as being in a K+ position.

In a related practice, 'no'-prefaces in English conversation may also be used to assert not only epistemic stance, but epistemic rights. This is a function of other turn-initial particles as well, as seen in Heritage's (2002) discussion of 'oh'-prefaced responses to assessments, as well as Estonian *ei*, as examined in Keevallik (2012). Keevallik's discussion presents a case in which a first claim (formulated as hearsay) is partially repeated in a 'no'-prefaced turn, which Keevallik claims is a practice for "correcting epistemic primacy".[30] A similar practice was observed in the corpus for the present analysis; here, a second speaker employs a 'no'-prefaced response to a claim that asserts their own rights to make this claim for themselves.

The excerpt is from an episode of the American television game show *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*. Prior to the excerpt, the contestant, Alan, had just correctly answered a question about the Cronkite School of Journalism. He follows his answer with a claim about Walter Cronkite, the broadcast journalist for whom the school was named, who had passed away only a

---

[30] It is not entirely clear that the *ei*-preface in Keevallik's analysis does not simply (or additionally) initiate a repair of the verb tense of the prior turn. The exchange is as follows (presented with glosses of the original Estonian):

```
1   K: But I happened to meet Taavi who
2      said that Maret is in the countryside.
4 → P: No, Maret has been in the countryside for a long
5      time already.
```

few months before the episode aired. Like Cronkite, the show's host, Meredith Vieira, is also a broadcast journalist by trade.[31] As such, Meredith has greater social authority, and possibly greater epistemic rights, to produce the type of claims about Cronkite's passing that Alan does over the course of the interaction.

(16) WWTBAM (We Miss Mr. Cronkite)

```
01    Ala:  ((Shifts head towards and gazes at Mer))

02    Ala:  W[e:

03    Mer:   [ALL [RIGHTY.

04    Ala:        [We miss Mr. Cronkite.

05    Mer:  ((head nods [. . . . [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .))

06    Mer:              [We yah-

07    Ala:                   [We were very sorry to see him go:=

08 →  Mer:  =No:: he was a wonderful wonderful journalist you're right

09          about that Alan ((eyebrows raise)) for sure.
```

Amidst audience applause for Alan's correct answer, and overlapped by Meredith's own talk at line 3, Alan begins his claim about missing the late Cronkite. (The claim is first begun at line 2, but abandoned and restarted at line 4.) Meredith responds at line 5 by producing a head nod with a large vertical trajectory, and then continues to produce a series of smaller, affiliating head nods (Stivers 2008) up until the beginning of her turn at line 8. After producing her first large-trajectory head nod, Meredith begins to respond at line 6 to Alan's claim with an aligning response ("We yah-"). However, the turn is abandoned to Alan's overlapping talk at line 7. Here Alan produces an extension to his initial claim about Cronkite, adding a further affective component to the claim ("We were very sorry to see him go:"). At line 8 Meredith responds by producing a strongly positive second assessment (Pomerantz 1984) of Cronkite and explicitly

---

[31] In fact, Meredith spent the first ten years of her career as a news journalist at the same network where Cronkite was employed throughout his career, CBS.

agreeing with Alan.[32] The turn not only clearly aligns with Alan's prior claim, but also displays a strongly affiliative, shared stance with him. Significantly, despite the aligning character of (and relational work accomplished by) Meredith's response, it is formulated with a 'no'-preface.

Notice that Alan not only uses the pronominal "we" to produce both his initial and expanded claims (at lines 4 and 7), but he also shifts his gaze from his lap to look straight at Meredith as he first produces this referent at line 4. Alan's use of "we" is thus potentially hearable as including Meredith as well, and his claims can be reasonably seen and heard as a move to speak for her. Such a move potentially holds Meredith accountable for not making a similar claim herself, given her own superior rights and authority to do so based on her professional, if not personal, familiarity with Cronkite. Notice also that Alan's initial claim is positioned, and treated by Meredith (see footnote above), as a first position assessment. As Heritage and Raymond (2005) and Raymond and Heritage (2006) have shown with regard to assessment sequences, the first turn within these sequences carries the inference that the first speaker has primary epistemic rights to produce the assessment. Second speakers must therefore do significant interactional work to display that their own second position assessments are not simply understood as rote aligning responses to the first turn. Extending their analysis to account for claims and their responses, we can see that Meredith's use of a 'no'-prefaced response to produce her own claim about Cronkite may thus serve as a practice for rejecting the inferences related to Alan's primary rights (as first speaker) to make such a claim, or Alan's presumed rights to speak for Meredith.

In this section I examined some of the ways in which participants deploy 'no'-prefaced

---

[32] Though Meredith's assessment is organized as a response to a claim rather than an assessment, the turn treats Alan's prior turn as if it was an assessment ("He was a wonderful wonderful journalist you're right about that"). Meredith's turn here can thus be heard as functioning similarly to the types of upgraded second assessments employed by speakers to display their affiliation with what has come before.

responses to manage incongruities between a participant's presumed epistemic stance or rights. In cases dealing with epistemic stance, a first speaker treats a second speaker as having a less knowledgeable status through an informing action, and the second speaker responds with a 'no'-prefaced turn that both asserts a more knowledgeable epistemic stance and seeks to halt the informing-in-progress. In cases dealing with epistemic rights, a first speaker produces a potentially face-threatening move to speak for the second speaker, who responds by asserting their greater epistemic rights. Though the examples in this section provide a diverse collection of environments in which these types of epistemic incongruities can occur, within such example, the indexical work performed by the use of 'no'-prefaced responses allowed second speakers to manage the potential trouble that such incongruities can bring to an interaction.

2.6 Responding to claims of accountability, guilt, and self-blame

In this section I examine 'no'-prefaced responses to delicate formulations that index a speaker's accountability and display feelings of guilt or self-blame. An illustration of these two response practices can be seen in Table 2.5.

Claims of Guilt	Claims of Self-Blame
'No'-prefaced turn acknowledges prior account, does not absolve accountability	'No'-prefaced turn absolves feelings of guilt, uses "that's" + "evaluative term" format

Table 2.5 'No'-prefaced responses to claims of guilt and self-blame

In each of these environments, 'no'-prefaced turns deny that the first speaker is in a position where an accounting action is necessary. In this sense, the response practices examined in this section are structurally similar to the types of responses made relevant through two other action-types: apologies and self-deprecations. In the case of apologies, such responses "mitigate or undermine … apologies' claims to have caused offense" (Robinson 2004:292), effectively halting the apology by denying its relevance or necessity. In the case of self-deprecations,

preferred responses disagree with the self-deprecating remark (Pomerantz 1984), a move that

may halt the deprecation-in-progress. While preference organization following both apologies

and self-deprecations is complex (Pomerantz 1978), the more preferred response is generally

some form of rejection or disagreement as a preferred response, oftentimes consisting of the

token 'no' as either a standalone turn component or turn preface. The admissions of

accountability, guilt, and self-blame discussed in this section can be understood as inviting the

same types of responses, and thus the 'no'-prefaced turns discussed here are analyzable as

preferred response types.

Despite enacting a preferred response, the 'no'-prefaced turns examined in this section

are still arguably marked in terms of their structural relationship to the prior turn. This claim is

most apparent when comparing these 'no'-prefaces to the types of preferred responses most often

seen with self-deprecations. As Pomerantz (1984) notes, such disagreeing responses often take

the form of "stated disagreement tokens" like 'no', which may be organized as either a turn

preface or the standalone component of the responding turn. However, the responses to self-

deprecations in Pomerantz' study are formulated as responses to the propositional content of the

prior turn, as they disagree with what has been said in the turn just prior. Consider the following

example:

(17) MC:1.-45 (Pomerantz 1984)

```
01    L:     (…) I'm so dumb I don't even know it. hhh!

02           – heh

03 →  W:     Y-no, y'you're not du:mb, (…)
```

By contrast, responses to claims of guilt or self-blame respond strictly to the inferential content

of the prior turn, as in this segment of Excerpt 18:

(18) SORORITY ORAL INTERVIEW (30:28 Like That's Psychotic)

```
28     Jess:    [Like I felt terrible leaving, [but like when they drive down

29 →   Ali:                                    [No:: not at all

30     Jess: and take me out like I had to.
```

Here, Ali does not challenge or disagree with Jess's claim to have felt terrible, an epistemic

domain with which Ali has virtually no rights or access to. Rather, she denies that there is any

need for Jess to feel terrible. As with the 'no'-prefaced turns analyzed elsewhere in this chapter,

then, the instances examined in this section do not simply deny what the first speaker has already

said, and must instead be understood as responding to the inferable content of a prior turn.

In this sense, the action types examined in this section have more in common with

apology sequences than self-deprecations. As Robinson (2004) notes, preferred responses to

apologies generally deny that there has been a cause to apologize, and such turns may be

prefaced by a 'no'- (or 'oh'), as in the following example:

(19) Drink Invitation [Heritage 01:13]

```
01     Edw:  No: epah, Our apologies.

02 →   Jan:  No. that's alright. >alright.< that's fine.
```

While Robinson's discussion does not consider the specific deployment of 'no'-prefaced

responses in these environments, it does note the frequent formulaic shape that such responses

often take: "an indexical term (i.e., that's) + an evaluative term (e.g. alright)". Robinson notes

that within such formulaic responses, the clause (e.g. "That's alright") responds not to the act of

apologizing itself (that is, its propositional content), but rather the offense indexed by the

apology (the prepositional inference).[33] Though we see the same types of formulaic responses

following a number of practices examined in this section, they only occur in response to feelings

of guilt. This reflects a larger trend in how speakers respond to these two action-types. Though

---

[33] Though Robinson's discussion does not analyze responses to apologies in terms of "propositional" and "inferential" content, such descriptions fit with the analysis offered here.

displays of guilt and self-blame both entail a display of accountability from the speaker, responses to displays of guilt typically invite a denial that the speaker has any need to feel guilt, while responses to displays of self-blame typically do not deny that the speaker has a need to blame themselves, instead only denying the need to continue the accounting action. Given the demonstrable differences in the way that responses to feelings of guilt and admissions of self-blame are typically produced and organized, the remainder of this section is organized into two sub-sections. The first of these examines 'no'-prefaced responses to admissions of accountability related to self-blame, while the second examines 'no'-preface responses to admissions of accountability related to guilt.

2.6.1 Responses to claims of accountability and self-blame

In this sub-section, I analyze 'no'-prefaced responses to claims of accountability and self-blame. In each of these examples, such responses deny the relevance of the recipient's accounting action, thereby halting the accounting-in-progress. We see an example of this practice in Excerpt 18 below, taken from a conversation between three members of a sorority at an American university.[34] Prior to this excerpt, Ali and Jess had been talking about some of their difficulties with a fellow sorority sister named Tammy. Their discussion focuses primarily on an incident that occurred one night during their freshman year, during which Tammy threatened to kill herself, her boyfriend, and her friends, and then unsuccessfully attempted (or possibly faked an attempt at) suicide. The story of this incident is known to both speakers, who recount it based on their own first-hand experiences, and is being told to a third participant who does not appear in the transcript. As the excerpt begins, Jess continues a storytelling sequence about her

---

[34] Though the interaction occurs in the context of an "informal" conversational oral interview conducted for a school project, the speakers in this excerpt (Jess and Ali), who are both interviewees, do not demonstrably orient to these institutionalized identities over the course of the interaction analyzed in this excerpt. I thus do not analyze this interaction with specific attention to its status as "institutional talk".

experiences during and after the incident with Tammy, and recounts some of the other concerns

she had had the night of Tammy's breakdown.

(18) SORORITY ORAL INTERVIEW (30:28 Like That's Psychotic)

```
01   Jess: And then the next da:y, .hhh like so we're a::ll (.) up all

02         night like (.) totally like (0.2) I'm tryin to figure out when

03         I'm going to visit Brent in the hospital and try to locate him

04         and try to talk to my brother cause he came down from Santa

05         Barbara, .hhhh and then u::m (0.2) Ta:mmy: (0.5) was like (0.6)

06         she like took pi:lls that night and (0.2) .hhh I found an

07         empty[:: container

08   Ali:      [I don't think she took the pills though but [or

09   Jess:                                                  [Or she like

10         probably emptied out [the pill bottle

11   Ali:                       [↑She ↑SAID ↑THAT like she put an empty

12         p:ill bottle and scissors by her be:::d.=

13   Jess: =*Yea::[:h*.

14   Ali:        [Like I'm sorry=and just left it ↑there?  ↑Like, no:,

15         [no, you don't do that [like, that's:: psychotic.

16   Jess: [Yeah and like,        [slept all morning and, (0.2) [and

17   Ali:                                                       [And you

18         guys left me alo:ne with her like all day I wanted to ki::ll

19         myself.

20   Jess: I was the::re, for a big chunk in the morning.=

21   Ali: =I kno::w but [when I: woke up (        )

22   Jess:              [And then my friends came down from Sant[a Barbara

23   Ali:                                                       [°I kno:w°

24   Jess: [Like I couldn't (   )

25 → Ali:  [NO I know I know
```

```
26    Jess: I could not,=

27    Ali:  =OH[:

28    Jess:   [Like I felt terrible leaving, [but like when they drive down

29    Ali:                                [No:: not at all

30    Jess: and take me out like I had to.

31 →  Ali:  No like everyone had stuff that they legitamy- like, legitimately

32          really had to do: but like, (0.9) it was::, (1.0) it was hard

33          like and it was har::d (0.7) with Jenn I think because it was

34          like I think we took two really opposite stands on the situation.
```

Jess's narrative goes on to describe her candidate understanding of Tammy's actions ("She like took pi:lls that night") at line 6, and begins to detail her own experiential account of Tammy's potential overdose ("I found an empty:: container") at lines 6-7. Prior to this turn's possible completion, however, Ali challenges the claim that Tammy had actually taken these pills (line 8). Jess responds at lines 9-10 with an 'or'-prefaced reformulation of the events of that night. The turn downgrades the epistemic stance expressed in her prior turn through multiple hedges, and produces the claim that Tammy had "like probably emptied out the pill bottle". Ali responds at line 11-12 by rejecting this reformulated description of the events, however, asserting her own Type 1 knowledge and claiming that Tammy had already admitted to placing both the empty pill bottle and a pair of scissors by her bed (providing the appearance of a suicide attempt). Jess acknowledges this version of the story at line 13. Ali then produces a complaint about, and multiple negative assessments of, Tammy's behavior at lines 14-15. Jess's response at line 16 is produced in partial overlap with this complaint, and produces a strongly affiliative second complaint about Tammy sleeping "all morning" the day after.

Ali next produces a complaint about Jess and the other sorority members that lived with Tammy at the time of the incident (lines 17-19). As a direct complaint addressed to a co-present

recipient, Ali's turn calls Jess to account for her absence that day (Dersley and Wootton 2000). Jess responds at line 20 by minimizing her own accountability, claiming that she was in the house with Ali and Tammy "for a big chunk in the morning". At line 21 Ali responds with a pro-forma acceptance (produced with a hearable "smile voice") that begins to reject this claim. Prior to Ali's completion of this turn, however, Jess begins to produce an account for leaving Ali alone with Tammy later that day, claiming that she had friends visiting from out-of-town (line 22). Before this turn comes to a point of possible completion, Ali produces an acceptance of the account ("I kno:w") at line 23. This is followed by a 'no'-prefaced turn at line 25 consisting of two additional repetitions of "I know", each produced as separate intonational units.

Notice that in both its position and composition, Ali's turn at line 25 is designed to halt Jess's accounting-in-progress. As an instance of overlapping talk organized without regard to the progressivity of Jess's account, Ali's 'no'-prefaced turn treats the account as irrelevant or otherwise unnecessary. In terms of its formulation, the 'no'-preface itself indexes and denies the inference that Jess needs to provide an account, while the talk that follows the 'no'-preface treats Ali's account as mutually-shared information. Though Jess continues to account for her actions at line 26, this is likely due to her lack of uptake of Ali's turn from line 25, which is produced entirely in overlap with Jess's ongoing accounting action.[35] Notice also that Ali's turn is formulated to display her K+ epistemic stance, and responds to a turn that treats her as being in a K- position. In addition to halting Jess's account-in-progress, then, Ali's turn may also be formulated to assert this epistemic stance (see Section 2.5).

At line 28 Jess expresses her feelings of guilt by noting that she "felt terrible leaving" (which Ali responds to with a 'no'-prefaced turn; see Section 2.6.2). She follows this at lines 28

---

[35] Notice that Ali's use of the change-of-state token 'oh' at line 27 also appears to manage (though also does not halt; cf. Section 2.5) Jess's continuation of her account.

and 30 with a reiteration of her earlier account for why she had to leave Ali alone with Tammy. At line 31 Ali again responds to Jess's account with a second 'no'-prefaced turn. Here, Ali explicitly displays the stance that neither Jess nor the other girls in the house are being called to account for leaving that day, as "everyone had stuff that they legitimately really had to do". As with her prior 'no'-prefaced response at line 25, then, Ali's turn at line 31 halts the account-in-progress by denying that an accounting action from Jess is necessary.

As with other instances of responses to claims of accountability and self-blame, we see that this particular response practice does significant relational work. Jess initially produces an accounting action in response to Ali's initial complaint at lines 17-19, an action that is both strongly disaffiliative and face-threatening. Ali's use of 'no'-prefaced responses to these accounts thus serve as a resource to manage the potential threat to both face and social solidarity that her complaint contributes to the interaction. In this sense, Ali's use of a 'no'-prefaced response to Jess's initial account at line 25 may serve as a third-position correction of the inference that Ali's complaint has invited an account. However, the relational work accomplished by these types of 'no'-prefaced responses is arguably weaker than that produced by the responses to claims of self-guilt analyzed in Section 2.6.2 (or the responses to apologies analyzed by Robinson 2004). That is, while Ali denies that Jess needs to account for her absence, she does not deny that Ali's absence that day was an accountable action, nor does she "mitigate or undermine" that Jess's actions "have caused offense" (Robinson 2004). In fact, following her acceptance of Jess's accounts, Ali goes on to describe the hardships that resulted from Jess and the other sorority members being absent that day (lines 31-34). Nonetheless, the two instances of 'no'-prefaced responses produced by Ali in this excerpt perform a significant relational function in managing the potential face-threats conveyed through both complaining and accounting actions.

A somewhat similar example of a 'no'-prefaced response practice can be seen in Excerpt 20 below, taken from a telephone conversation between a mother and daughter. At the time of the call the daughter had recently moved abroad to the western coast of Australia, while the mother was living in the United States. Prior to the excerpt, the mother asked what the weather has been like near the daughter. After hearing about how warm it's been, the mother asks the daughter if she's been to the shore by the Indian Ocean, which isn't far from her new home.

```
(20) CALLHOME EN_5242 (Must Be Busy Working - 16:28)
01    Mom:  Have you gone down by the o:cea:n?
02    Dau:  Yea:h we, I- well I told you we had breakfast on the beach that
03          day, (.)
04    Mom:  Ye:s,
05    Dau:  It [was beautiful.
06    Mom:     [um,
07    Mom:  Oh I bet. (0.3) Just think you're by the Indian O:cean.
08    Dau:  I know,
09    Mom:  (If it's) [it I
10    Dau:            [There's whales, (0.2) there's whales down here.=
11    Mom:  =((Gasp)) there are d'you [are you able to see them?
      ((4 lines omitted))
16    Dau:  No::::. I well- we COU::LD.
17    Mom:  Uh-huh=
18    Dau:  =We could [just go [lik[e out watching,
19    Mom:            [uh-huh      [Is
20    Dau:  but we haven't had time.
21 →  Mom:  No=I'm- you must be busy working.
22    Dau:  Yea::h.
```

The daughter initially produces a positive response token at line 2, but then displays instances of

trouble as she abandons the turn-thus-far and reformulates her response with a 'well'-preface (cf. Schegloff and Lerner 2009).[36] Such a move treats some aspect of the mother's question as problematic, likely its redundancy, given that the daughter has already told her about a prior visit to the beach. The mother responds with an acknowledgement token at line 4, and at line 5 the daughter produces an extension of her prior turn, an assessment of the ocean as "beautiful". At line 7 the mother responds with a newsmark, then produces a topic proffer that invites further talk about the ocean ("Just think you're by the <u>Indian</u> <u>O:cean</u>").

At line 10 the daughter responds by producing news that there are whales there. The mother responds with a news receipt (an audible gasp), then poses a yes/no interrogative: "Are you able to see them?" Notice that the mother's question has two possible interpretations, each dependant on the recipient's understanding of both the referent of "you" and the verb "see". First, the mother's question may try to determine whether the daughter and her family have had the opportunity to visit the beach to see the whales. In this case, a negative response would make relevant an accounting action. However, the question may also be aimed at determining whether the whales are simply visible to people visiting the beach. (In this case, a negative response poses no such interactional constraints on the daughter.) The daughter displays an orientation to both interpretations in her response at line 16. Here she initially produces a negative response token, then produces a 'well'-prefaced clarification: while the whales are visible to passers-by, she has not yet been down to the beach to see them.

The mother responds at line 17 with an acknowledgment token, and at lines 18 and 20 the daughter produces a partial repeat and extension of her prior turn, followed by an account for why her family has not yet been to the beach to see the whales (they simply haven't had time). At

---

[36] Though Schegloff & Lerner's (2009) analysis focuses on 'well'-prefaced responses to WH-questions, the daughter's 'well'-prefaced response to a yes/no question appears to serve a similar function, orienting to some aspect of the prior question as problematic.

line 21 the mother responds with a 'no'-prefaced, candidate account for why the daughter hasn't had time to see the whales: that she "must be busy working". As with the exchange in Excerpt 18, notice that while the mother's response is 'no'-prefaced, it does not disagree with the just-prior turn (the daughter's claim that she is too busy working to see the whales). Rather, the 'no'-preface responds to, and denies, the inference that the daughter needs to provide an account.

Also notice that the talk following the 'no'-preface in this excerpt differs significantly from that employed in the prior example between Jess and Ali. There, Ali responded to Jess's account by treating it as mutually-shared knowledge, thereby eliminating the relevance of the accounting action. In the example between the mother and daughter, the mother both acknowledges and legitimizes the daughter's account by providing a more specific, candidate account of why the daughter could not yet see the whales. In both examples, however, we see that the first speaker (Jess and the daughter, respectively) has been placed in an environment where accounting is relevant due to a prior action from the second speaker (Ali and the mother, respectively). That is, Jess was placed in such a position through Ali's prior complaint about having been left alone with Tammy (Excerpt 18), while the daughter was placed in this position through the mother's prior question (Excerpt 20). Though the mother's question is neither disaffiliative nor face-threatening – particularly when compared to the complaint issued by Ali in the prior excerpt – its sequential organization (in terms of serving as a first-pair part to the daughter's responding account) may also be relevant to the mother's deployment of a 'no'-prefaced response to deny her need to account (i.e. denying the inference that her prior turn has specifically *invited* an account).

A related case occurs in Excerpt 21 below, taken from a phone conversation between two friends, Rachel and Samantha. Both are married at the time of the call, and each has recently

experienced significant marital troubles that become the topic of conversation early on in the

talk. Prior to the excerpt, Rachel had talked about the recent strain on her relationship with her

husband, who lives across the country for work and only visits with her (and their young son) for

a weekend each month. Following this, the discussion moves to Samantha's marriage. As the

excerpt begins, the speakers continue talking about Samantha's husband, who has recently

cheated on her with one of his female employees.

```
(21) CALLHOME EN_5254 (4:15 It's the Same for You)

01    Sam:  He said well you know I never really w:anted you=physically,

02          y'know know if >this is a< problem then I guess the chemistry (.)

03          between us >hasn't been< good, but I love you more than anybody

04          else °in the ↑whole ↑world° (.) .hhhh=

05    Rach: =Yea[::h

06    Sam:      [I'm going, um:: sorry=hhhuh y'kno:w, I need more- I think I

07          deserve more than this.

08          (0.3)

09    Rach: °Yeah::°

10    Sam:  °We:ll you know it's with other women it's better but y'know I

11          don't know with you I dunno° but I- I love you and it's like,

12          (0.4) good well, let's stay sister and brother and lemme keep in

13          touch. .hhh[h

14    Rach:          [.hhhhh °yea:::h°=

15    Sam:  =So:: I don't know and it's really hard I mean I'm just saying

16          this so easily I'm sure [it's the same for you::.

17 →  Rach:                         [No:: I know I'm the same ↑way, ↑yeah

18    Sam:  And you have a kid too so not- so:: you're a litt[le mor:e,

19    Rach:                                                  [Exa::ctly

20    Sam:  even mor:e so. (0.2) How is your ↑ba:by:?
```

The excerpt begins as Samantha continues a troubles-telling sequence, a story about her confrontation with her husband after he admitted to cheating on her. At lines 1-4 and 10-11 she voices what her husband has said through reported speech (marked by shifts in prosody), and at lines 6-7 and 12-13 reproduces her own reactions to what he has said. Rachel responds to Samantha's telling-in-progress with acknowledgement tokens at lines 5 and 9, both of which may also be hearable as displaying a shared affective stance through their phonetic production. Following the possible completion of Samantha's telling at line 13, Rachel again responds with an acknowledgment token at line 14, a disaffiliative move that treats the telling as incomplete (cf. Stivers 2008, on the use of head nods at similar positions) and displays no appreciation of Samantha's troubles talk.

Samantha's subsequent turn at line 15 begins with a telling-exit device, marking the close of her own contributions to the story sequence through an epistemic stance display ("I don't know"). She then assesses the troubles with her husband as "really hard" and comments on the comparative ease with which she has talked about these troubles (lines 15-16). Such a move is hearable as a candidate account for Rachel's disaffiliative lack of uptake at line 14, or possibly an account for the incongruence between her prior claim (that it's "really hard") and her lack of an affective display throughout her telling. At line 17 Rachel responds to Samantha's account with a 'no'-prefaced response that is strongly affiliative in its display of a shared affective stance ("I know I'm the same ↑way").[37] Notice that Rachel's turn here is an aligning response to a positive polarity statement, and thus the 'no'-preface does not simply agree with the propositional content

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[37] Notice that Rachel produces a positive response to Samantha's B-event claim through the "yeah", which is separated from the prior talk in that turn through an intonation boundary, that follows this display of affiliation. Additionally, though Rachel's 'no'-prefaced turn at line 17 initially takes the same format as the epistemic stance cases in Section 2.5, the turn does not assert her K+ status, as the prior turn does not treat has as being in a K-position. To the contrary, Samantha's prior turn at lines 15-16 treats Rachel as if she had K+ status through its B-event statement.

of what Samantha has just said. Rather, as with the other examples in this section, Rachel

deploys a 'no'-preface to deny that Samantha is in a position of needing to account. In contrast to

Excerpts 18 and 20, Rachel's 'no'-prefaced response to an act of accounting does not just accept

the account, but also displays a strongly affiliative stance. In terms of its sequential organization,

however, this excerpt is otherwise similar to these prior examples.

2.6.2 Responses to claims of accountability and guilt

In this sub-section I analyze 'no'-prefaced responses to claims of accountability and self-

guilt. As in the prior sub-section, such responses deny that an account from the first speaker is

necessary. In the examples that follow, however, second speakers also clearly deny that the first

speaker is in a position of accountability (e.g. that their feelings of guilt are warranted). We see

an example of this practice in Excerpt 22 below, taken from a telephone conversation between

two friends, Dana and Carol. The call occurs during the week-long Jewish holiday of Chanukah,

and as the excerpt begins, Dana launches a new sequence to wish Carol a happy holiday and

check whether she has received the card that Dana has sent.

(22) CALLFRIEND ENGN6278 (6:15 Haven't Bought Cards Yet)

```
01    Dana: So happy ↑Cha:nukah.

02          (0.2)

03    Car:  Tha:nk ↑you (.) [I made potato pancakes earlier

04    Dana:                 [I-

05    Dana: I sent you a ca::rd right?

06          (0.6)

07    Car:  Yes::. [I got it (.) yesterday [actually.

08    Dana:        [Good                   [Okay. Good.

09          (1.1)

10    Car:  I of course haven't bought cards ye:t so(hh)::=

11  → Dana: =No that's fine. (0.2) .hh [I didn't even think
```

```
12   Car:                              [.hh I::'m guessing that

13        [won't *be happening*.

14   Dana: [I was gonna get mine out.

15        (0.5)

16   Dana: ↑Wha:t?

17        (0.3)

18   Car:  So I'm guessing I wo:n't be *doing [tha::t*.      [hheh

19   Dana:                                [That's fi:ne.  [I didn't

20        even think I was gonna get mine out bu:t hhh I had some time uhh.
```

The excerpt begins as Dana uses a 'so'-prefaced turn to launch a new, "recipient-

attentive" (Bolden 2006) course of action, wishing Carol a happy Chanukah. After a short pause,

Carol produces an aligning response at line 3 that accepts, but does not reciprocate, Dana's well-

wishing. Rather, Carol continues her turn by offering the news that she has recently made potato

pancakes (a dish traditionally eaten at Chanukah), treating Dana's prior turn as a topic proffer.

This news receives no uptake, however, as Dana produces a yes/no interrogative at line 5 that

checks to see if she had sent a holiday card to Carol. At line 7 Carol produces a positive response

to this question that additionally orients to the accountability of having received the card without

acknowledging its receipt. She here provides the news that she had received the card only the

day before. Notice that, though Dana's question is formulated to invite Carol's agreement at line

7, Carol's response significantly delayed. Her news regarding the very recent arrival of the card

is thus hearable as an account for why she has not yet acknowledged its receipt, while the

delayed production of her response can be understood as orienting to the accountable position

that the response places her in.

Dana responds in partial overlap with this turn at line 8, providing multiple

acknowledgement tokens. These are followed by a lengthy gap in the talk, possibly in which

Dana waits for a thanking that does not come. Following the gap, Carol self-selects at line 11 and produces an admission of another accountable act: that she hasn't even purchased her own holiday cards to send ("I of course haven't <u>bought</u> cards ye:t"). Here, the prosodic accent on "bought" highlights the fact that Carol has not even purchased, let alone sent, any holiday cards, while the use of the evidential "of course" positions such an accountable act as something expectable from her.

Dana responds to this turn at line 11 with a 'no'-prefaced utterance that denies that Carol is in a position of accountability, noting that "it's fine" that she hasn't sent a card. At lines 11 and 19-20, Dana further alleviates some of the accountability attached to Carol's admission by noting that she was unsure whether she'd even be able to send out her own cards, establishing an affiliative, shared experience between the two participants. As with the examples of 'no'-prefaces analyzed in Section 2.6.1, then, 'no'-prefaced turns deny that an account from the first speaker is necessary. However, here Dana's response is used to additionally deny that Carol is in a position of accountability, in much the same way that responses to apology deny that the recipient has caused any offense (Robinson 2004). In this and the remaining examples in this sub-section come, 'no'-prefaced turns are deployed in response to similar admissions of accountable acts or admissions of guilt. In each of these cases, these 'no'-prefaced responses do significant relational work by indexing and denying that the speakers have any reason to feel guilty or accountable.

A similar case occurs in Excerpt 23 below, taken from a phone conversation between two friends, Matt and Fiona. Matt and a mutual friend (Tanya) have been house-sitting for Fiona, who has been out of the country for some time. Fiona's apartment became infested with fleas not long before the day of the call, and Matt and Tanya have been hard at work getting rid of the

infestation: setting off a bug bomb throughout the house, and washing clothes, dishes, and hard surfaces in the aftermath of the bomb. Prior to the excerpt, the speakers had been talking about the state of Fiona's kitchen after the bug bomb had been used, and Matt reveals that Tanya has already gone through the kitchen and washed all of Fiona's dishes. As the excerpt begins, Fiona begins talking about the further kitchen cleaning that she anticipates doing once she returns home, particularly involving the items stored on her white kitchen shelf (or possibly the shelf itself; this is ambiguous due to the unclear description of the item in question at lines 3-4).

(23) CALLHOME EN_4927 (5:38 I Feel Horrible)

```
01    Fion: Well when I get ba:ck you kno:w, I mean if Tanya washed the

02          pla::tes that's very nice but what- I'm gonna take them all out

03          and I'm gonna wa:sh down that (.) um:: .hhhh you know that (    )

04          thing.

              ((1 line omitted))

06    Matt: Well she did tha:t.

07          (0.2)

08    Fion: She ↑did tha:t.

09    Matt: .hhh the ki:tchen: she:lf, [the whi:te [one th- she

10    Fion:                            [.hhh       [yea::h the whi-

11    Matt: didn't she didn't get everything out of the cupboard and, .hhhh

              ((8 lines omitted))

20    Fion: Well that's, [that's okay but um: I think the only thing that's

21    Matt:              [So.

22    Fion: in there are gla:sses and we'll wa- we'll wash the glasses.=

23    Matt: =Yeah, ye[ah.

24    Fion:          [But, ((lip smack)) that's so sweet of her I can't

25          believe she did that (0.7) oh: god ((sniff)) I feel so(hhh)

26          horrib(hh)le. .hh[hh
```

```
27 →  Matt:                        [((Lip Smack)) .hhh ↑No::.
28    Fion: Yea:::h thank you so [much:
29    Matt:                        [(  ) it's oka::y
30    Fion: Thank you so much.
31    Matt: You're welco(h)me.
```

At line 6 Matt responds to Fiona's description with the news that the item that she plans to clean herself has already been cleaned by Tanya. Fiona responds at line 8 with a newsmark, a prosodically upgraded repetition of Matt's prior claim ("She ↑did tha:t."). At line 9 Matt begins to clarify the referent of the item that Tanya has cleaned (the white kitchen shelf), which Fiona confirms at line 10. However, she abandons this confirmation to Matt's overlapping talk at lines 9 and 11, in which he clarifies that Tanya had not completely cleaned the kitchen, having left the contents of an open cupboard unfinished (omitted from the transcript). Fiona acknowledges this claim at line 20, denying any potential accountability for having ignored the contents of the cupboard. Following Matt's acknowledgement tokens at line 23, Fiona produces a display of guilt over Tanya having cleaned the kitchen shelf (lines 24-27).

Fiona begins this course of action with a positive assessment of Tanya followed by a claim of disbelief that Tanya would clean the white kitchen shelf in its entirety. Neither of these actions receive any uptake from Matt, however, and after a hearable gap, Fiona produces an overt expression of guilt over the fact that Tanya has cleaned the shelf ("Oh: god I feel so horrible"). At line 27 Matt responds with a 'no', which is then followed by Fiona's thanking action at line 28. While Matt's response at line 27 (a standalone 'no') stands in potential contrast to the prior instances of 'no'-prefaces examined in this section, notice that it is also hearable as a preface to the unit of talk he produces at line 29 ("It's oka::y"). In fact, as a turn-by-turn analysis of the participant's talk shows, the participants appear to orient to this latter understanding of the token.

Notice that Fiona's production of a thanking action ("Yea:::h thank you so much:") at line 28

invites an acceptance as a preferred aligning response (i.e. "You're welcome"). However, Fiona

does not orient to Matt's turn at line 29 as providing a relevant response to this action, as she

continues to pursue his alignment at line 30 through a partial repeat of her earlier thanking

action. (This repeat does, in fact, secure a preferred response by Matt at line 31). As Matt's talk

at line 29 ("It's oka::y") is not treated as a response to Tanya's thanking action, it is instead

hearable by the participants as a glue-on increment to Matt's prior 'no' at line 27. In this sense,

Matt's talk at lines 27 and 29 become hearable together as a 'no'-preface of the sort examined

elsewhere throughout this chapter. As with the 'no'-prefaced response practice deployed by Dana

in Excerpt 22, we see that Matt's use of a 'no'-prefaced response here denies that Fiona's

feelings of guilt are warranted, and makes use of the same type of formulaic response ("It's

okay" analyzed by Robinson (2004) in his discussion of responses to apologies ("an indexical

term (i.e., that's) + an evaluative term (e.g. alright)".

We see a very similar expression of guilt in the following excerpt, taken from the same

interaction between Jess and Ali analyzed as Excerpt 18 in Section 2.6.1. Just prior to the portion

of the excerpt reproduced below, Ali had produced her complaint about Jess and the other

sorority members that lived with Tammy ("And you guys left me alo:ne with her like all day / I

wanted to ki::ll myself"), which calls Jess to account for her absence that day.

```
(24) SORORITY ORAL INTERVIEW (30:28 Like That's Psychotic)
20   Jess: I was the::re, for a big chunk in the morning.=
21   Ali:  =I kno::w but [when I: woke up (        )
22   Jess:               [And then my friends came down from Sant[a Barbara
23   Ali:                                                        [°I kno:w°
24   Jess: [Like I couldn't (    )
25   Ali:  [NO I know I know
```

```
26    Jess: I could not,=

27    Ali:  =OH[:

28    Jess:    [Like I felt terrible leaving, [but like when they drive down

29 →  Ali:                                    [No:: not at all

30    Jess: and take me out like I had to.
```

As the excerpt begins, Jess responds to the complaint by denying her own accountability (line 22), and Ali denies that Jess is in a position of needing to account at lines 21, 23, and 25. Following these turns, Jess expresses her feelings of guilt at line 28 by noting that she "felt terrible leaving". As with the conversation between Matt and Fiona in Excerpt 23, this expression of guilt receives a 'no'-prefaced response. Both the 'no'-preface and the talk that follows (a variation on the formulaic "indexical term + evaluative term" format, "Not at all") index and deny the inference that Jess's feelings of guilt are warranted.

Though the prior examples in this sub-section saw the use of only one or two 'no'-prefaced responses deployed to halt an account, in Excerpt 25 below we see numerous 'no'-prefaced response practices, each working to deny an inference regarding the first speaker's need to account. The excerpt is taken from a telephone call between two friends, both clinical psychologists who have worked with adults and children in their respective practices. Their professional identities become relevant to the conversation as the speakers discuss a delicate topic: receiving gifts from therapy clients. As one of the speakers notes early on in the excerpt, there is some level of accountability in accepting these types of gifts (as doing so can potentially alter the dynamic of the therapist-client relationship), and both speakers display an orientation to this accountability over the course of the interaction. The excerpt begins as Dana, who has recently received a handmade Christmas gift from a child client, prepares to launch a complaint about the institutional accountability of accepting such gifts.

(25) CALLFRIEND ENGN6278 (0:04 Christmas Gifts)

```
01   Dana: One of my clients got me a Christmas ↑gift=I'm sure you get them

02         ri:ght?

03         (0.2)

04   Car:  .hhh u:m: not that often actually.=

05   Dana: =I- it kinda, like- uh- hhh it sorta bo:thers me cause you know

06         that you're not supposed to take gifts and this and that, but it

07         was like thi:[s this

08   Car:               [I think little gifts are fine like I've gotten

09         cookies and st[uff like tha:t

10   Dana:               [.hh yea:h well [wi-

11   Car:                               [I wouldn't accept something MA:jor

12   Dana: .hhh well it wasn't a major thing but what it was is it was a

13         pair of earrings and a ne:cklace that this little girl made out

14         of bea:ds.

15         (0.3)

16 → Car:  ↑O:h, (.) [↑no: definitely.

17   Dana:          [But it's really but it's really ni:ce though it's like

18         these really cu:te silver like dangling sunflower earrings that

19         she made with like a bea:d thing, .hhh and like this ↑necklace.

20         (0.2) .h[hh and

21 → Car:          [No I think if kid clients make you [thi:ngs, that's fine

22   Dana:                                            [Well it was a kid

23         client yeah, but still it was so ni:ce I felt so awkward I'm like

24         you really shouldn't have ↑do:ne ↑thi:s I said but oh it's so

25         ni:ce thank you cause I didn't want her to fee:l bad but then I

26         [told her

27   Car:  [Right

28   Dana: parents later she really shouldn't have do:ne this but it's
```

```
29            really nice=but, .hhh cause I get like really awkward y'know with
30            tha:t,
31    Car:    M[mhm
32    Dana:   [.hhh but it was really nice actually they're I'm gonn- I'll
33            wear em next time she [comes in see me
34  → Car:                          [No I've gotten gifts from ki:ds, like when
35            I worked on the kid unit, they made me all sorts of things and
36            that's dif[ferent
      ((5 lines omitted))
42    Car:              [But, I had one client who gave me ear:rings, as a
43            termination present, which ordinarily, (0.3) .hh I wouldn't
44            *ta::ke*.=
45    Dana: =Yea:h
46    Car:    Um, but with he::r, (0.6) like there was no:thing wei:rd about,
47            (0.2) like there was no interpersonal awkwardness [kinds of
48            thing-
49    Dana:                                                     [Yea:h
50    Car:    It was a real straightforward panic disorder thi:ng.
51    Dana: Yea:h, .hhh yeah and this is a little gi:rl she's actually my
52            fi:rst therapy case with my new job=I've been working with her
53            for four mo:nths I wor[k with
54    Car:                          [Oh, great
55    Dana: her on self es↑tee:m issue:s and she w- y'know we're seeing each
56            other now every other week, and she really likes coming i::n:,
57            .hhh we have this bo::nd, and it was very swee:t.
58            (.)
59  → Car:    No I [definitely think that's fi:ne
60    Dana:        [Very very swee:t, y'kno:w?
```

Dana begins the excerpt at line 1 with news about the recent Christmas gift she had received from a client. Within this same turn she produces a B-event statement about Carol's experience with client gifts that displays a strong epistemic status ("I'm sure you get them"), followed by a tag question which downgrades this status and mobilizes response. As a parenthetical insert (Schegloff 2007) that precedes Dana's upcoming complaint, this portion of the turn serves as a recognition check (Heritage 2009) that not only checks for Carol's shared experience with the subject of the complaint, but potentially gauges the likelihood with which Carol may affiliate or disaffiliate with such a complaint.

Notice that the composition of Dana's turn at lines 1-2 clearly invites Carol's agreement, and in particular, it invites Carol to confirm that receiving these types of gifts is a routine, normal occurrence (via the habitual aspect indexed through the formulation "you get them"). However, Carol's response at line 4 strongly disaligns with Dana's prior turn, a dispreferred and disaffiliative move that rejects the premise that receiving such gifts is normal (and thus, by extension, accountable). The dispreferred nature of Carol's response is clearly displayed through its composition: it is non-type-conforming, lacking a clear yes/no response, thereby marking resistance to some aspect of the preceding question (Raymond 2003); it employs a TCU-final instance of 'actually' as a counter-positional informing token (Clift 2001), thereby displaying further resistance to some assumption conveyed through the prior question; and it contains characteristic features of a dispreferred turn-shape, being delayed with multiple hedges (Pomerantz 1984). Though Dana does not overtly acknowledge this response in her subsequent turn at lines 5-7, her own turn is marked by interactional trouble (being delayed by hedges and multiple restarts) that displays an orientation to the dispreferredness of Carol's response. Here, Dana continues to produce a complaint about the accountability of accepting client gifts,

followed by an account for why she recently accepted a gift from a client.

Prior to its completion, however, this account is overlapped by Carol's turn at lines 8-9. Here she claims that *little* gifts are fine, and even admits to having accepted such gifts from clients in the past. Notice that the organization of Carol's turn, as an interruption that halts the progressivity of Dana's account-in-progress, further contributes to the stance that Dana does not need to provide an account (so long as the gift that she accepted was "little"). At lines 12-14 Dana confirms that the gift wasn't a "major thing", then proceeds to describe the gift in detail. After a hearable gap, Carol produces a newsmark at line 16 in response to this description. She then prefaces the rest of her responding turn with a 'no' in effective turn-initial position (Heritage 1998). As with the other examples in this section, the 'no'-preface does not disagree with the propositional content of the prior utterance. Rather, it indexes and denies that she speaker should feel guilt or accountability.

Returning to Dana's turn at lines 12-14, we see that she here responds to Carol's claim that accepting a client gift is fine so long as it isn't anything "major". Dana produces a 'well'-prefaced response to this claim, marking that what follows will not respond to the prior turn in a straight-forward manner. In this case, Dana admits that while the gift she received wasn't "major" (and thus accountably accepted), it also wasn't "little" (and thus unaccountably accepted), leaving its accountability still in question. Dana then proceeds to describe the gift, a handmade set of earrings and a necklace made of beads. Notice that Carol's 'no'-prefaced response at line 16 is produced primarily in overlap with Dana's continued description at line 17, however, and Dana displays no uptake of the turn. Rather, at lines 17-20 Dana continues to account for having accepted the gift. At line 21 Carol responds to this account with another 'no'-prefaced turn that again denies that Dana should feel guilt or accountability, a stance that is

explicitly claimed in the talk that follows the 'no' ("I think if <u>kid</u> clients <u>make</u> you things, that's fine"). Though Dana marks her uptake of this response in her subsequent turn at line 22, she continues to describe her feelings of guilt and "awkwardness" for accepting the gift.

Dana produces this description over the next twelve lines, and Carol responds with only minimal acknowledgement tokens throughout (lines 27 and 31). However, at line 34 Carol responds with yet another 'no'-prefaced turn which again denies the inference that an account is necessary. The 'no'-preface is here followed by another explicit confirmation of her stance that gifts from child clients are fine (lines 34-36), as well Carol's claim that she has had numerous child clients make her "all sorts of things" in the past, and her admission that she has even accepted gifts from adult clients in particular circumstances, as with one client with whom she had a unique interpersonal relationship (lines 42-50). At lines 51-57 Dana responds with a description of, and claim to, the similarly exceptional relationship to the child client who gave her the gift: the client is Dana's first in her new job, "really likes coming in" to see her, and shares "this bond" with her. At line 59 Carol produces a final 'no'-prefaced response to this description, a turn that epistemically upgrades her stance that Dana needs provide an account or express her guilt by noting that she "definitely thinks" that accepting the gift from the client was fine.

Notice that each of the 'no'-prefaced turns that have preceded Carol's turn at line 59 were an "upgrade" from the one prior, as Carol's responses move from a single word that ambiguously presents a stance (line 16), to an explicitly worded stance that gifts from child clients are fine (line 21), to an explicitly worded stance followed by an affiliative, first-hand account of having accepted similar gifts in the past (lines 34-36). The final instance of a 'no'-prefaced turn occurring at line 59 effectively "closes" the multi-unit accounting sequence that has unfolded

over the sixty lines of talk presented here. As in the prior examples in this sub-section, the 'no'-prefaced responses deployed by Carol throughout the excerpt not only engage in relational work (by denying that the recipient is in a position where feelings of accountability or guilt are relevant), but also work to halt the speaker's accounting practices. As with other examples analyzed in this chapter, multiple deployments of 'no'-prefaces may be involved in doing this type of interactional work, and in such cases the use of such prefaces may often be seen to "upgrade" or "build upon" the prior 'no'-prefaced turns.

2.7 Responding to an inference in a polar question

In this section, I examine the use of 'no'-prefaced responses to inferences, in which a 'no'-preface is used to index and deny the inferential component of a prior polar question.[38] In contrast to the four practices described in the previous sections, this practice did not occur in any of the recorded data used for this analysis, though I was exposed to a number of them as a direct member-observer.[39] Given this limitation, I present only a single such case here, transcribed from memory shortly after its occurrence.

The excerpt occurs from a conversation held between two customers and the maitre'd at an Italian restaurant. As the interaction begins, the customers, Barbara and Makoto, ask the employee about an antiquated looking machine at the front of the restaurant, which is known for importing all of their machinery and supplies from Italy. After the employee explains that the device is an old-fashioned meat slicer, the following exchange occurs:

(26) Pizza lunch

```
01    Barb:  Do you actually use it?
```

---

[38] Given the limited scope of this collection, it is unclear whether this practice might be more broadly described as a practice for responding to all question formats, or the degree to which this practice diverges and overlaps with the first response practice observed in Excerpt 1 (a 'no'-prefaced response to a WH-question).

[39] The particular example examined in this subsection was directly observed by Barbara Fox and Makoto Hayashi, and I thank them for sharing it.

```
02 →  Mait:  No we use it every day
```

Though Barbara's question is formulated as a positive polarity yes/no interrogative, the positive response from the maitre'd is produced with a 'no'-preface. Rather than respond to the propositional content of the prior turn (i.e. the polar question regarding the restaurant's use of the machine), the 'no'-preface is used to respond to an inference conveyed through Barbara's use of the modal adverb 'actually': that Barbara believes that the staff does not use the machine. This understanding of the 'no'-preface relies on the observations from the previous subsections: that 'no'-prefaced responses constitute a context-free practice for indexing and denying an inference from a prior turn. Though it is not entirely clear from the talk following the preface that the maitre'd orients to Barbara's use of 'actually' as conveying this particular inference, his response does display an understanding of the question as requiring more than a yes/no response, and in particular, an assertion that the machine sees frequent use.

There has been virtually no discussion of a similar use of 'no' in response to polar questions in conversation analytic work on English 'no', and relatively little work on negative particles in other languages has investigated anything similar. The most comparable use is one served by the Korean particle *ani* (Kim 2011), in that it occurs in a similar sequential environment, though it serves a very different function: the use of turn-initial *ani* to resist responding to the question.

2.8 Summary and discussion of Chapter 2

As the preceding sections illustrate, 'no'-prefaced responses are an interactional resource for participants to respond to – and specifically, to deny or reject – the inferable or off-record content of a preceding utterance. This function entails a number of sub-practices, in which 'no'-prefaced responses deny a prior off-record action, display affiliation in environments where a speaker has displayed incongruent stances, manage inferences regarding the speaker's epistemic

stance or rights, and respond to to delicate formulations that index a recipient's accountability, blame, and guilt. In each of these functions, 'no'-prefaced responses serve as a productive practice for speakers to respond to inferable aspects of an interaction without derailing the talk at hand (cf. Levinson 2012). The use of 'no'-prefaces to index these types of inferables is likely an action type that functions with other tokens besides 'no', which may allow speakers to do things other than just "deny" the inferences prior utterances, and this is an area deserving of future research. As the discussion here has additionally shown, the response token 'no' potentially serves a very wide range of functions outside of its more "canonical" use as a token of negation or disagreement (cf. Schegloff 2001).

CHAPTER III

INDEXING SHIFTS IN FOOTING AND FRAME

3.1 Introduction to Chapter 3

In this chapter, I examine the use of 'no'-prefaced turns to index shifts in a participant's

footing (Goffman 1981), the stance or alignment they display towards the talk and its

participants. Specifically, such formulations display an orientation towards a prior or ongoing

unit of talk as either serious or non-serious. An illustration of this practice can be seen in Excerpt

1 below, in which Neil accounts for why a co-worker has recently left the research institute

where he is employed.

```
(1) CALLFRIEND ENGN_4175 (1:02 Left a Little Prematurely)

08    Neil: hhehh she ended up not being too: ↑happy with her

09          ↑advi(hh)so(hh)r [eh heh heh heh hehh [hehh

10    Mike:                  [I see:.              [What a sur[pri:se.

11    Neil:                                                  [.hhh

12 →        Umm no:: she got marrie:d (0.3) u::m (.) a::nd (.) they got

13          married in Mar:ch:.

14    Mike: Uh huh.
```

Neil's production of the initial account at lines 8-9 displays his orientation to this action as a

"laughable," the specific component of the talk that invites laughter from co-participants.[40] That

is, the turn is both prefaced and followed by laughter, and is formulated with a hearable "smile

voice" and infiltrating laughter in the word "advisor". Neil's first account thus invites not only

laughter from Mike, but also an understanding of this action as non-serious. Following Mike's

---

[40] What Glenn (2003) refers to as the "referent" of an instance of laughter.

response at line 11, however, Neil produces a second account that differs significantly from the first, formulated with a 'no'-preface. As further analysis will illustrate, this use of a 'no'-preface marks the talk that follows as departing from a non-serious interactional frame, and signals that the talk to follow should instead be understood as serious.

The use of 'no'-prefaces to mark transitions between serious and non-serious frames has been previously discussed by Schegloff (2001), in a squib presenting five case analyses of the practice. Though the paper is largely focused on providing a turn-by-turn analysis of this collection, it also responds to Sacks' (1972) question of how participants manage the delivery and reception of an utterance as serious or non-serious. The determination of a unit of talk as hearably (non-)serious is a critical members' task, what Schegloff has more recently termed a "prolegomenon to the analysis of action – i.e. as something participants have to assess in working out what action is being implemented" (Lerner, personal communication). The types of 'no'-prefaces examined in this chapter can thus be understood as just one resource for making this distinction relevant to an interaction.

Additionally relevant to the present discussion is Keevallik's (2012) analysis of Estonian *ei* ('no')-prefaces, which she describes as a resource for compromising the progressivity of a unit of talk. Keevallik presents a single case in which *ei*-prefaces are used to mark a transition from joking to serious talk, as well as a follow-up case in which *ei*-prefaces mark a converse shift from serious to non-serious talk.[41] In both cases, Keevallik analyzes the *ei*-preface as marking a "halt" in tone, which is then followed by a transition to a serious action. Strikingly, however,

---

[41] In the latter practice (transitioning from a serious to a non-serious frame), the *ei*-prefaced turn follows a yes/no interrogative, and is thus a type-conforming response. This stands in contrast to the examples of non-serious to serious transitions presented in both Schegloff's (2001) analysis and the present chapter, in which 'no'-prefaces are not made relevant by the grammar of the preceding talk. Keevallik claims that the *ei*-preface she examines does not respond to the prior interrogative, however, instead marking only a shift in the frame of the interaction from serious to non-serious. However, this claim is not clearly supported by the single case she presents, and a larger collection of this practice deserves consideration in future work.

there were no occurrences of 'no'-prefaces used to mark shifts from a serious to a non-serious

frame in the corpora of English conversation used for the present analysis. This is not to say that

such practices are not employed in English, and in fact, the case presented by Keevallik seems at

least anecdotally similar to cases experienced (though not recorded) by the author. However,

such cases appear to at least occur with less frequency than the examples of 'no'-prefaced shifts

from a non-serious to a serious frame discussed in the present chapter.

The analysis to follow expands the scope of Schegloff's (2001) and Keevallik's (2012)

discussion of 'no'-prefaces in two ways. First, it organizes the larger practice of transitioning

from a non-serious to a serious frame into three related practices (Section 3.2). This section also

addresses variation in the 'no'-prefaced turn shapes that occur in the data, such as the inclusion

of modal adverbs and the conjunction 'but' within the turn preface.[42] Second, the chapter

presents another, as-yet-undiscussed practice for displaying a shift in footing through a 'no'-

prefaced turn. Here, in a practice analogous to third position or other-initiated repair, speakers

use 'no'-prefaced responses to retroactively assert their non-serious footing towards a prior

utterance (Section 3.3).

3.2 Shifting between non-serious and serious interactional frames

In this section I examine three practices for marking a shift between non-serious talk and

a 'no'-prefaced, serious turn. A diagram of each of these practices can be seen in Table 3.1.

1ˢᵗ **Practice**	Speaker A launches a joking or otherwise non-serious action ↴ Speaker A then produces a serious reformulation of the initial action
2ⁿᵈ **Practice**	Speaker A launches a joking or otherwise non-serious action ↴ Speaker B responds in a serious way to the prior action

---

[42] Both features are included in the formulations examined by Schegloff and Keevallik, however; the former contains an example with the complex preface 'no but' while the latter's lone example is formulated with the modal adverb *tegelt* (actually).

	Speakers have been engaged in an ongoing, seriously framed sequence ↳
3rd Practice	Speaker A or B launches joking or otherwise non-serious new sequence ↳
	Speaker B skip-connects back to prior-prior seriously framed talk

Table 3.1 Practices for shifting between serious and non-serious frames

In the first practice, a speaker follows a non-serious action with a 'no'-prefaced, serious

reformulation of the initial action (Section 3.2.1).[43] In the second practice, second speakers

employ 'no'-prefaced turns to respond in a serious way to a non-serious first turn (Section 3.2.2).

In the third practice, speakers use 'no'-prefaces to mark the close of a non-seriously framed

insertion or side sequence as well as an upcoming skip-connect back to the seriously framed

main sequence of the talk (Section 3.2.3).

3.2.1 Reformulating a non-serious action with a serious footing

In the following sub-section I examine instances in which speakers follow a non-serious

action with a serious reformulation of that action. In these cases, the subsequent, seriously-

framed action is marked with a 'no'-preface. We see this practice in Excerpt 1 below. The

excerpt is taken from a telephone conversation between Neil and Mike, two friends who used to

be co-workers at the federal institute where Neil is now employed. Following a discussion of

another of Neil's coworkers, Mike shifts the discussion to Lisa Mae, a post-doctoral researcher at

the institute that he and Neil both used to work with.

(1) CALLFRIEND ENGN_4175 (1:02 Left a Little Prematurely)

```
01    Mike: What happened to Lisa Mae:?
02          (0.3)
03    Neil: Uhhh she just le:ft she left u::m (0.5) ju:st u::m, I guess back
04          in Ma::y.
```

---

[43] Four of the five 'no'-prefaces examined by Schegloff (2001) fit this pattern, as does Keevallik's (2012) lone case. Schegloff's remaining case fits the third pattern, in which the talk skip connects to a prior-prior (Local 2002) serious sequence.

```
05    Mike: Yea:h? So she did her two yea:rs then she left?

06    Neil: Well she left a little prematur:ely: hhh hhehh[heh heh

07    Mike:                                              [Uh hah

08 →  Neil: hhehh she ended up not being too: ↑happy with her

09          ↑advi(hh)so(hh)r [eh heh heh heh hehh [hehh

10    Mike:                  [I see:.             [What a sur[pri:se.

11    Neil:                                                 [.hhh

12 →        Umm no:: she got marrie:d (0.3) u::m (.) a::nd (.) they got

13          married in Mar:ch:.

14    Mike: Uh huh.=

15    Neil: =So she was sorta eager ta li:ke (0.6) like lea:ve and (0.3)

16    Mike: Yea:[h

17    Neil:     [an' mo(h)ve in wi(h)th he(h)r hu(h)sband ehhuhh
```

At line 1 Mike launches a WH-question that asks what Lisa Mae has been doing since he left. There is some evidence of trouble in Neil's response at line 3, which is delayed by silences, hedges, and two partial repeats, as he provides the news that Linda had actually left many months prior to their phone call. Mike responds at line 4 with a newsmark followed by his candidate understanding of the conditions under which Lisa Mae has left the job: that she completed the two-year term of her post-doc appointment and simply left to work elsewhere. Mike formulates this understanding as a yes/no interrogative that invites Neil's confirmation, and at line 6 Neil produces a 'well'-prefaced rejection of this turn, explaining that Lisa Mae had instead left before completing her two-year appointment.

Neil follows this explanation with laughter, projecting the laughable to come as he produces an account for Lisa Mae's early departure: that she had been unhappy with her post-doc advisor (lines 8-9). Neil displays his own orientation to this account as a laughable through its phonetic production, as the turn is produced with hearable smile voice and infiltrating laughter

and followed by laughter upon completion. Mike does not join in this laughter, however, as he responds at line 10 with an acknowledgement token and an ironic claim of surprise that treats the account as a plausible reason for Lisa Mae to have left. Following Mike's response, Neil then produces a reformulation of the first account, now formulated with a 'no'-preface (lines 12-13).[44] With this second account Neil claims that Lisa Mae had gotten married a few months prior to leaving the position, which he later explains motivated her to leave the post-doc early in order to find work closer to her husband.

Notice that this reformulated account is not produced with any of the markers of laughter (e.g. smile voice, breathy voice, infiltrations of laughter) that we see in Neil's initial account from lines 8-9. These two accounts can thus be distinguished from one another by virtue of the footings indexed by each. The initial account is formulated to invite laughter, while the subsequent account is produced as a serious contribution to the main project of the talk: explaining Lisa Mae's early departure from her position). Significantly, this second account is formulated with a 'no'-preface. As in the remaining examples of this section, the 'no'-preface is used here to mark a shift in the organization of the talk, specifically a shift in the frame of the interaction from non-serious to serious. In this particular example, the 'no'-preface marks that the first account is hearable as "a joke", while the second is a reformulation that provides the "actual" account for why Lisa Mae has left.[45]

A similar example occurs in the following excerpt, taken from a telephone conversation between two friends, Helen and Judith. As the excerpt begins, Helen is in the midst of a

---

[44] As with the example to come in Excerpts 3 and 9, Neil's 'no'-preface is also preceded by the disfluency marker 'uh(m)'.
[45] Though Neil frames Lisa Mae's problematic advisor as a joking account for why she left, further talk reveals that she did, in fact, have problems with her advisor (and this is likely why Mike treats the initial account as a serious contribution to the talk). Neil's use of a serious reformulation of this account at line 12 thus does not deny the truth of the account; it only denies that it is, in fact, sequentially organized as an account for why Lisa Mae has left.

storytelling sequence about a strange incident that recently happened to her at work: while eating

lunch in the break room with her co-workers, their supervisor came in and began handing out a

trivia game for them to play and vouchers for a free manicure at a nearby salon.

(2) CALLHOME EN_6274 (8:35 The Ultimate in Pampering)

```
01    Hel: He comes in with .hhh uhh=um a trivia game? That we should all

02         play? Hhhhehh[heheheh

03    Judi:             [Uh huhh

04    Hel: .hh and then he pulls, (0.4) something out of hi::s um:, (0.2) out

05         of an envelope. .hhh (0.4) Anywa:y hh, (1.0) he: they ga:ve each

06         of us (0.3) a gift certificate for a manicure.

07         (0.9)

08    Judi: You're kidding=[hhh huhhuh

09    Hel:              [uh- no:: hhhhuh[h

10    Judi:                            [ehhuhhuh .hhh oh::: .hhhh hhhuh

11         that's too mu(h)ch. [ehhuhh

12    Hel:                     [For the ultimate in pampering=hhuhhuh

13         hehheh[hah

14    Judi:       [Oh:::. I would've preferred uhh- uhh- a massage hehhheh

15         [hheh

16    Hel: [Ehhuhh well I've never had manicure so I'll have to see because

17         a real manicure, (.) .hhh I think involves a massage of the

18         fingers and, and hands.=

19    Judi: =Ohh.

20 →  Hel: So:. (1.0) I wanted to say what about my feet? Ehhhuhh[huh

21    Judi:                                                      [Ehhuhhhuh

22         huhuhh .hhh Oh::::.=

23 →  Hel: =No actually I was so taken back I didn't kno(h)w, I hardly knew

24         ho(hh)w to(h) re(hh)spo(hh)nd huuh[hhuhh
```

25   Judi: [I- I can imagine ehhehheh

Helen produces this part of the story as a laughable, beginning with its production at lines 1-2. She follows her description of her supervisor bringing a game into the break room with breathy laughter, then employs a hearable smile voice as she describes his distribution of the manicure vouchers at lines 4-6. Judith responds at line 8 with a newsmark ("You're kidding"), then begins to laugh as well. Both speakers proceed to share laughter in the talk that follows, producing a series of jokes and complaints about the manicure vouchers. At line 20 Helen claims to have wanted to ask about receiving a voucher for a pedicure as well, following the claim with laughter that invites Judith's shared laughter at lines 21-22. However, Helen then goes on to contradict this claim in the turn that follows, claiming instead that she had no idea how to even respond to the manicure voucher (lines 23-24).

As with Neil's use of a second account in Excerpt 1, Helen's second claim is produced as part of a 'no'-prefaced turn, marking it as a designedly serious reformulation of her initial claim. Such practices not only mark the talk following the 'no'-preface as serious, but also mark that the talk that precedes it should be understood as a non-serious contribution to the interaction. In this sense, the 'no'-prefaced turns analyzed in this section are a crucial element of recipient design, guiding the recipient's interpretation of the talk that both follows and precedes the 'no'. In terms of its formulation, notice that while the shift in footing seen in the prior excerpt is marked through a 'no'-preface, the shift in this excerpt is additionally marked through a modal adverb ('actually') positioned directly after. Similar adverbials (such as 'seriously' or 'literally') can be seen throughout both this section and the one to follow.

A related case occurs in the following excerpt, taken from an informal interview between three sorority members at a university in the United States. Jamie is the interviewer and Ali and Jess the interviewees. As the excerpt begins, Jamie asks Ali to define a quality that she values in

Jess.

```
(3) SORORITY ORAL INTERVIEW (24:39 Just One Quality)

01    Jami: A:li:. (0.3) Can you think of:, (0.3) like, (0.3) a quality that

02          you::, (0.2) value most in, in Jess?  (   ) Jess (    ).

03 →  Ali:  ((lip smack)) ↑Aw:: just one quality?

04    Jess: Ehhe[h awww

05    Ali:      [Uhhhu[hhuh

06    Jami: ehheh

07 →  Ali:  Uhh: no seriously, like Jess is the best friend ever. I::[:

08    Jami:                                                    [ehheh

09    Ali:  Tend to get like totally wrapped up in so:: much drama and,

10    Jess: No you [do:n't.

11    Ali:         [I realize it.
```

Ali's response at line 3 can be heard as not only responding to Jamie's question, but also as initiating an insert expansion: a yes/no interrogative that checks to see if she's only allowed to mention one such quality about Jess. Ali formulates this question with a hearable smile voice and smiles throughout, precursors to laughter that display her own orientation to its laughability. Jamie does not treat the question as inviting a yes/no response, treating it instead as inviting laughter, while Jess orients to the question as a laughable as well as a compliment, responding at line 4 with both laughter and an acceptance ("Awww"). Ali and Julie join in this laughter at lines 5 and 6. Following this, Ali produces a relevant response to Jamie's interview question at line 7, effectively reformulating her initial answer as a serious contribution to the question-answer sequence. As with the prior excerpt between Helen and Judy, we see that this shift in footing is additionally marked through the modal adverb 'seriously'.

3.2.2 Responding in a serious way to a non-serious first turn

In the previous sub-section, speakers deployed 'no'-prefaces to mark their serious

reformulation of a non-seriously framed prior action (Schegloff's "joke → serious"). In the cases

to follow, second speakers use 'no'-prefaced turns to respond in a serious way to another party's

joking first-pair part. We see one example of this practice in Excerpt 4 below, taken from a face-

to-face conversation between two friends, Daniel and Tamara. Both are university students who

studied architecture together before changing to different majors. As the excerpt begins, Daniel

launches a new sequence by suggesting that the two visit a nearby tourist attraction, Royal

Gorge, a large canyon crossed by one of the highest bridges in the world.

```
(4) DANIEL AND TAMARA (13:33 Architecture Nerd)

01    Dan:   He:y know what we should do this summer?

02    Tam:   °Wha::t°

03    Dan:   Okay so I saw a Groupon for it and I missed it caus:e (.) Jeff

04           (0.2) didn't really, follow through.=

05    Tam:   =mhhhhmhhm

06    Dan:   But it was u:m: (0.8) a zipline thing [across Royal Gorge?

07    Tam:                                         [.hhhh

08    Tam:   Can we plea::se?

09    Dan:   D'you >know what< I'm talk[ing about? Did you see it too?

10    Tam:                             [Can we plea:se?

11    Tam:   *No:: b[ut like*     [I want just like,

12    Dan:          [Okay it goes [across Royal ↑Gorge.

13    Tam:   Ah:: so [cool.

14    Dan:           [and I've never bee::n.

15    Tam:   I've never been to the Royal Gorge *either* [and I (   )

16    Dan:                                               [But I hear the

17 →         bridge is beautiful, and I'm [still >kind of an< architecture

18                                         [((squints eyes, grabs at chest))

19         [ner::d,
```

```
20              [((cont'd))

21    Tam:  eheehehh [yea:hhh

22    Dan:           [hhhhh

23 →  Tam:  .hhh NO no:w I can look at a building and be like, (0.7) oh: it's

24          pretty: and not be like, oh:: someone bui:lt [this.

25    Dan:                                                [ahhhahh[ah

26    Tam:                                                       [uhhuhuhuh
```

Following his invitation to the Gorge, Daniel accounts for why he wants to visit the

bridge at the Gorge in particular: that even following his move away from studying architecture,

he is "still kind of an architecture ner::d" (lines 16-20). Daniel produces this account with a

marked bodily-visual display, as he squints his eyes and grabs at his chest near his heart,

expressing the mock heartfelt framing of his claim (see Figure 3.1). Tamara orients to this claim

as a laughable, responding with laughter at line 21. Daniel then produces shared laughter at line

22, displaying his own orientation to this claim as a laughable. Following this episode of

laughter, Tamara produces an affiliative response to Daniel's claim about remaining an

architecture nerd (lines 23-24). Here, Tamara claims that she also appreciates the aesthetic value

of architecture ("Oh: it's pretty:") – as an "architecture nerd" would – contrasting this position

with the way in which a layperson would view a building ("Oh:: someone bui:lt this").

Notice that Tamara's claim is 'no'-prefaced, marking a distinction between the joking

frame of Daniel's claim (introduced through his bodily-visual display) and the serious frame of

her own affiliative claim. Tamara's use of a 'no'-preface in this example thus serves to index a

shift in her footing as she produces a second claim. However, also notice that, as a second claim

that asserts her own position as an architecture nerd, Tamara's 'no'-prefaced turn is also hearable

as an assertion of her epistemic rights to make such a claim (see Section 2.5). Given this, the

'no'-preface at line 21 can be heard as potentially serving multiple functions within this

sequence.

Figure 3.1 in Excerpt 4

A related case occurs in the following excerpt, taken from a conversation between the three sorority members seen in Excerpt 3. These women have previously lived together as roommates in the shared living space of their sorority house, though they now occupy different rooms in the house. Ali has recently complained about having to constantly wake up early due to her current school schedule, and Jess encourages her to look forward to the following semester, when she'll be able to sleep in most mornings. As the excerpt begins, Ali launches a telling sequence by noting that, while she looks forward to the possibility of sleeping late, she'll only be able to do so if she is assigned to different roommates. She accounts for this claim by noting that the three women she currently lives with (Dana, Kristy, and Laura) are far too loud in the morning to sleep through.

(5) SORORITY ORAL INTERVIEW (39:38 Your Roommate Situation)

```
01    Ali:  As long as I don't have freaking Dana and Kristy, (0.2) Laura's
02          really lou:d too:.
03          (0.4)
04    Juli: Mmhm ((nods))
05    Ali:  Ehhuhhuh Lau(hh)ra's rea(h)lly lou(hh)d hhh. .hh ehhuh But it
```

```
06            doesn't piss me off qui:te as much cause I love Laura I don't
07            love Kristy and Dana [a(h)nymo(hh)re [I'm sorry
08   Juli:                        [hhhhh   hhh  [hahhah
09   Jess:                                        [hhhhh hhh
10   Ali:  .hh ↑NO:: ↑li:ke, (0.7) please.
11         (0.2)
12   Ali:  [(                    )
13 → Juli: [Jess do you love your roomma:te?
14         (0.2)
15   Jess: Eh[heh
16 → Ali:    [↑Yes ↑Jess ↑how's ↑your ↑room°mate situation°.=
17 → Jess: =No:: it's good bu:t, (0.3) °today she° snoozed her alarm? And I
18         was so:: [(    )
19   Juli:          [Didn't Kelly snoo:ze her alarm?
```

Following Julie's affiliation with Ali's complaint about her noisy roommates (line 4), Ali produces a turn extension at line 5 that prosodically upgrades her earlier description of Laura as "really loud". Ali formulates the upgraded assessment as a laughable, prefacing this action with laughter and producing it with infiltrated laughter throughout. Ali follows this action with the claim that Laura's noise in the mornings is tolerable, due to the fact that she "loves" Laura. By contrast, she claims that the noise from Kristy and Dana is inexcusable as she no longer loves them (lines 5-7).

This delicate complaint about mutually-known parties invites laughter from Julie (produced with hands covering her mouth) immediately following its delivery, and is produced with infiltrating laughter from Ali as well, marking their shared orientation to the complaint as a laughable (and as problematic). Jess joins them in shared laughter shortly after. Following the complaint, Ali displays an orientation to its accountably delicate nature at lines 7 and 10, though

these turns are also produced with hearable smile voice that marks their laughability. Julie orients

to this complaint sequence as not only inviting further laughables, but making relevant similar

troubles talk about roommates. Following this sequence, Julie produces a WH-question that asks

Jess about her own roommate situation (line 13). Julie formulates the question as a non-serious

laughable, producing it with noticeable smile voice and hugging her knee while smiling broadly

after its delivery (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 in Excerpt 5

Jess initially responds to the question with laughter at line 15, but does not provide a

relevant response to the question. Ali then produces a WH-question, formulated with significant

smile voice, that also pursues a response from Jess (line 16). At line 17 Jess responds to these

questions with a non-type-conforming response (Raymond 2003; Schegloff 2007), a 'no'-

prefaced turn that provides a serious answer to the prior questions. As with the prior excerpt,

then, Jess's use of a 'no'-prefaced turn marks a shift between the joking footing of Julie's and

Ali's questions, and the serious footing of her own response. However, as with the prior excerpt,

this particular 'no'-preface may serve multiple functions, as it additionally denies the inference

in Julie's and Ali's questions that her roommate situation is still problematic (see Chapter 2).

3.2.3 Returning to a seriously-framed main sequence

In each of the prior two sub-sections, speakers deployed 'no'-prefaced turns to either produce a serious reformulation of their just-prior turn or to respond in a serious way to a non-seriously framed first action. In each of these cases, 'no'-prefaces served to mark a shift in the organization of the talk from a non-serious interactional frame to a serious one. In the following sub-section, 'no'-prefaced turns not only mark a shift in the interactional frame of the interaction, but in its sequential organization as well. In the examples analyzed here, a first speaker launches a seriously framed action that is followed by a non-seriously framed insertion or side sequence. Following the completion of this secondary sequence, the first speaker then returns (or "skip-connects") to the seriously-framed main sequence of the talk (see Section 4.3). Within such cases, then, 'no'-prefaces mark the talk that follows as being both designedly serious and organized as part of an earlier sequence.

We can see an example of this phenomenon in Excerpt 6 below, taken from a face-to-face conversation between Daniel and Tamara. As the excerpt begins, Daniel initiates a telling sequence about a job search he has begun in anticipation of a possible move to Chicago.

```
(6) DANIEL AND TAMARA (31:17 Move to Chicago)
01    Dan:  I was looking for jo:bs because, that's what I do in my free
02          ti:me.
03    Tam:  ehhuhhuhh
04    Dan:  I [(just)
05    Tam:    [I shou(h)ld just start [do(h)i(h)ng tha(h)t
06    Dan:                            [I-
07    Dan:  I literally look at jo:bs for fu:n.
08          (0.5)
09    Dan:  I was um::, (0.9) cause I wanna move to Chicago,
10    Tam:  Mhmm=
11    Dan:  =I [was
```

```
12    Tam:    [I'll move to Chicago wi[th you.

13    Dan:                           [Plea::[:se?

14    Tam:                                  [ehhuhuh[h

15 →  Dan:                                          [No so I was looking at

16         jobs in banking. (0.3) A::nd, (0.5) I was looking at UPS?
```

Daniel launches this telling through a story preface at lines 1-2, and continues this course of action until Tamara's initiation of a side sequence at line 12. Here, she claims that she would move to Chicago with Daniel if he went. Tamara formulates this action with hearable smile voice and bodily-visual displays (smiling and a raising and lowering of the eyebrows) that display her understanding of this claim as a laughable. At line 13 Daniel produces an affiliative response ("Plea:::se?"), employing similar prosodic and bodily-visual features that mark his shared understanding of the joking frame of the talk. Tamara responds at line 14 with laughter produced in partial overlap with Daniel's turn, effectively closing the side sequence.

Daniel's next turn (lines 15-16) is 'no'-prefaced, and orients to this closure by returning to the main sequence of the talk, his telling about looking for jobs in Chicago. (The turn marks this return by recycling the initial pre-telling at lines 1-2.) This use of a 'no'-prefaced turn here displays Daniel's understanding that the talk to follow will be serious, standing in contrast to the joking talk that preceded it. However, also notice that the shift from non-serious to serious talk in this excerpt does not only entail a transition in footing or frame, but also ties back to a prior sequence. Daniel's turn at line 15 thus also displays his orientation to the talk that follows as contributing not to the joking sequence that has just been underway, but rather to the serious sequence that had been left off at lines 1-2.

We see a similar use of a 'no'-preface in the following excerpt, taken from a dinner conversation between two couples: Vivian and Shane, who have hosted the dinner, and Michael

and Nancy, who are their guests. Having come to the end of the main course, Michael asks

Vivian and Shane what they'll be serving for dessert. Shane's and Vivian's responses to

Michael's question are marked by multiple signs of trouble: silences, hedges, and finally a

dispreferred response from Vivian that does not answer the question, but rather attributes blame

for the dessert to Shane. It is later revealed that Vivian and Shane had planned to serve a

cheesecake for dessert, but Shane had forgotten to pick it up before dinner, and the couple is left

serving store-bought oatmeal cookies to their guests. Their troubled response to Michael's

question displays their shared orientation to the accountable position that this places them in.

(7) CHICKEN DINNER (15:33 What's Fer Dessert)

```
01   Mic:   What's fer dessert.

02          (1.3)

03   Viv:   Mm:-

04          (0.3)

05   Sha:   I- m-

06          (.)

07   Viv:   u-That wz ↑his i[dea.

08   Mic:                   [Ohhh:

09          (.)

10   Viv:   Okay?

11   Mic:   En'ee [fergot about dessr-- [Naht nih ] n:o [dessert. ]

12   Viv:         [I left t_h_e dessert] No no no,]     [He didn't]

13          fihget about it.

14   Mic:   Hm?

15   Viv:   u-But (.) th[e dessert]w'z hih-] N o]:,

16   Mic:               [J_e_l_l-O]prob'ly.]hah.]

17   Viv:   No,=

18   Mic:   =Fuckin Jell-O.[yihnah]˙hh
```

```
19   Viv:                    [Wait. ]

20   Mic:  [They make it ] /(su) ]

21   Nan:  [F i g Newt'n]s[:

     ((21 lines omitted))

43   Mic:  [Oh Jello oh wo:[:↓::w wow.

44   Viv:  [ehh heh ˙hh hh

45        (0.9)

46   Viv:  Let's make[ s o m e f u : n]

47   Mic:  Went to a lotta trouble ha[:h?

48   Sha:                    [Huh huh huh huh

49        (2.5)

50 → Mic:  No wudyou wuddiyou gi- wiidiyou get.de[ssert.]=

51   Viv:                           [Wai:t.]=

52   Mic:  =h[aa haa/(T's[it a pra)

53   Viv:   [It's a suhpri:[ze.

54   Mic:               [Is i:t? I be(hh)t.
```

Vivian shifts blame for the dessert to Michael (lines 7 and 10) with a hearable smile

voice, a move that displays her playful or non-serious footing with regard to the talk and invites a

similarly framed response. Though Michael does not respond with laughter, he treats Vivian's

account as initiating a playful side sequence in which he (and later, other participants) guesses at

the problem with dessert. At line 11 Michael produces an initial guess at the trouble, guessing

that Shane had forgotten to get dessert. Vivian rejects this guess at lines 12-13, and begins to

explain the problem with dessert at line 15, though her turn is overlapped by another guess from

Michael at line 16: that Shane had picked up Jell-O (which becomes framed in the talk that

follows as an inadequate dessert to serve to company). Though Vivian rejects this guess as well

at line 17, Michael continues to jokingly treat Shane's procurement of Jell-O as the problem, and

begins a non-serious complaint sequence beginning with a joking, negative framing of the treat ("Fuckin Jello").

While Vivian tries to halt Michael's complaint-in-progress at line 19, Nancy joins in what has now become its own activity, guessing the identity of the problematic dessert. Here she suggests that Shane had picked up another "inadequate" dessert to serve to company, Fig Newtons. Throughout the talk that follows, Michael continues to produce a negative stance towards Jell-O that invites laughter from Shane, while the other speakers joke and laugh about how Shane did, in fact, almost pick up Fig Newtons for dessert (omitted from the transcript). In fact, each of the speakers displays their orientation to the laughability of this side sequence throughout its production, producing shared laughter as well as turns at talk infiltrated by laughter and produced with both smile voice and breathy voice. This complex sequence comes to a close after Michael voices a hypothetical reaction to having been served Jell-O at a dinner event, expressing mock delight that the hosts would go through "the trouble" of preparing it (lines 43 and 47). This invites further laughter from Vivian and Shane, followed by a lengthy silence. Michael orients to the sequence as having come to a close at this point, and at line 50 returns to the initial question, employing a 'no'-prefaced turn to do so.

As with the exchange between Daniel and Tamara in the prior excerpt, Michael's use of a 'no'-prefaced turn doesn't simply mark a shift from the joking frame of the prior talk to the serious frame of the talk to follow, but additionally marks a shift back to the main sequence of the talk: his initial question at line 1, which never received a relevant response. (As with the prior example between Daniel and Tamara, Michael marks this return by recycling his initial question.) As seen here, a significant amount of time may pass between the production of a side sequence and the subsequent resumption of the "on hold" main sequence (in this particular case,

over 30 seconds and 50 lines of talk occur between them).

In addition to the use of 'no'-prefaces to mark the shifts in footing and sequential organization discussed here, we also see complex prefaces comprised of both the response token 'no' and the conjunction 'but' used to mark such shifts. The use of turn-initial 'but' as a marker of transition has been discussed by Mazeland and Huiskes (2001), who analyze the use of Dutch *maar* ('but') as a "resumption marker". Their discussion primarily focuses on the conjunction's use as a skip-connect, indexing a return back to a prior sequence that had been abandoned to an insertion or side sequence. Significantly, throughout the corpus for the present study, those cases in which 'no' and 'but' are deployed as a complex preface are also those in which a skip-connect occurs. (That is, they do not occur in the types of practices discussed in the prior two sub-sections.) In the cases of 'no but' and 'but no' considered here, then, it is likely that the token 'no' and conjunction 'but' each index a different aspect of transition: the former a shift in footing and the latter a shift in the sequential organization of the talk. This interpretation is supported by the fact that, in each instance of this practice, speakers produce 'no' and 'but' as distinct lexical components rather than being phonetically realized as a single lexeme.[46]

An example of the complex preface 'no but' can be seen in the following excerpt, taken from a face-to-face conversation between two step-sisters, Tia and Sami. The two have been discussing their mother's long-distance love affair with a man named Ananda, which occurred sometime before she met either of their fathers. As the excerpt begins, Sami begins a telling about the mother's attempt to bring this man to the United States.

---

[46] In an analysis of Danish and German conversation, Steensig & Asmuß (2005) draw a related distinction between complex prefaces in (e.g. 'yeah but') that are phonetically realized as a single lexeme, which they term an "integrated" production, and those produced as distinct lexemes, a "non-integrated" production. Though their discussion is focused on these particles in German and Danish, evidence of integrated productions of complex prefaces occur in English conversation as well.

(8) TIA AND SAMI (25:11 A Lover from Where)

```
01    Sami: I gue:ss she was tryin ta u::m, (0.2) >what was< it, (0.4) uh she

02          was doing some papers to ge:t, (0.3) him:, her- (0.3) lo:ver:: or

03          whatever over here?

04    Tia:  My da:d?

05          (0.2)

06    Sami: ↑No >no no< Ananda.

07          (0.3)

08    Tia:  Oh:: I thought you talkin bout,

09    Sami: No he w[as

10    Tia:         [I was like mom has a lover from where?=

11    Sami: =Ew(h)w(hh) .hhh [it's like mom OH::

12    Tia:                   [I need to talk to her.

13    Sami: Mom's li(h)ke, Mom was pro(h)bably like [no:: I'm [o::ld.

14    Tia:                                          [Like    [mo:m,

15    Tia:  I'm cuttin you OFF.

16    Sami: huhhuhhehhe[hhehheh

17    Tia:            [I was,

18 →  Sami: No but uh:, so Ananda or whatever sent some money over?

19    Tia:  Lover?

20    Sami: Mm[hmm

21    Tia:    [I thought that all like fell throu:gh and it was a bi:g, like

22          mista::ke and, (.) .hh she learned from it.
```

Sami's use of the non-recognitional person reference "her lover" to refer to Ananda at line 2 is a source of trouble for Tia, possibly because the non-recognitional phrase is a departure from the recognitional reference forms that both have used for him in the prior talk. (Sami's repair of the earlier locally-subsequent form "him" at line 2 may also be to blame.) At line 4 Tia initiates repair on this trouble source through a guess at the referent, and Sami rejects this guess and

repairs the reference at line 6. At line 8 Tia responds with a newsmark as a sequence-closing

third, then initiates a side sequence that accounts for her confusion. Here Tia explains that she

thought Sami had used the reference form "her lover" to refer to someone that their mother had

been seeing while she was still with Ananda. Tia frames this turn as inviting laughter through the

bodily-visual displays she employs throughout: she narrows her eyes, then shifts her body

posture forward and bobs her head in an exaggerated display of a confrontational stance,

jokingly treating Sami's reference to "a man on the side" as a threat to their mother's honor (see

Figure 3.3).[47]

Sami displays her orientation to Tia's prior turn as a laughable at line 11, producing a

negative stance display ("Eww") that is infiltrated with laughter. Both speakers maintain an

orientation to the laughability of Tia's prior turn in the talk that follows as well, deploying smile

voice and breathy vocal quality (lines 11-15). Following this spate of talk, Sami produces

laughter at line 16, a move that potentially marks the close of the side sequence. In the turn that

follows, she returns to the main sequence of the talk she had first initiated at lines 1-3. (In

contrast to the prior two excerpts, Sami marks this return by producing an extension of, rather

than recycling, this prior turn.) This transition is prefaced with a 'no but' that marks both the shift

in footing and sequential transition back to the prior "on hold" sequence.

---

[47] The somewhat taboo topic of the talk, i.e. the threat of their mother's sexual promiscuity, may make laughter further relevant.

Figure 3.3 from Excerpt 8

In each of the prior three excerpts, 'no'-prefaces appear to serve only one function, marking a shift in both footing and organization within the talk to come. In the following case, the 'no'-prefaced turn may also serve another function: here, denying the inference that the speaker has been a disaffiliating participant (see Section 2.4). This excerpt is taken from a conversation between two university students, Julie and Faye. The two have been discussing a recent photojournalism project Faye completed for a journalism course, which entailed interviewing and presenting on a mutual friend, Lana. After seeing the presentation, Lana complained that Faye had chosen to include sensitive personal information that came up during the interview in a public presentation. As the excerpt begins, Faye responds to these accusations by explaining how the parts of the interview that were made public were produced "on-the-record": in the context of a journalistic interview where the interviewee had a realistic expectation that what she said could be quoted verbatim.

(9) JULIE AND FAYE (21:24 Going Off the Record)

```
01    Faye: She sai:d I don't smoke enough po::t (0.2) to be able to rela:x
02          so I me:ditate. (0.4) And li:ke, as I was taking the ↑pi:cture.
```

```
03            (0.3) And li:ke, that's what I said in cla:ss but it's li:ke:,

04            (0.7) I'm sorry you don't say that to a reporter. Whatever you

05            say to a repor:ter is- without saying off the record? Is on the

06            record.

07            (1.1)

08    Faye:  And so ↑maybe: that got ba:ck and may:be [that's why she's ↑mad?

09    Juli:                                           [Uh:-

10    Juli:  Are you jo:king ((produced with wobble throughout))⁴⁸ are you

11           writing down my whole life story because I don't say off the

12           recor:d?

13           (0.2)

14    Faye:  Well no: because we're not in a journalist conte:xt.

15    Juli:  Oka:y, (0.2) let me know when we ever beco(h)me i(hh)n o(hh)ne?

16           ehhheuuh huh[hhhuhhhuh

17    Faye:              [Well it's li:ke if I'm interviewing you or

18           something.=

19    Juli:  =.hhh cause I'm gonna need to star:t going *off the record here*.

20 →        .hhh u:::m::, (0.9) *no:: I agree::*. (0.4) I ↑mea::n, (0.5)

21           ↑yea::h but the other thing i::s::,
```

Faye closes her telling-account at line 8 with a hedged claim that invites Julie's agreement.

However, Faye responds at lines 10-12 by launching an insertion sequence through two yes/no

interrogatives. The first of these is a reverse polarity question that challenges the seriousness or

veracity of Faye's claim about the default on-the-recordness of talking with a journalist ("Are

you jo:king"). The second question invites a response, and checks to see if Faye has been

documenting all of what Julie has ever said to her over the course of their friendship, as Julie has

---

[48] Ford and Fox (2010:353) refer to "wobble" as a non-technical term denoting "local modulations of loudness, sometimes accompanied with local modulations in pitch".
.

never claimed "off-the-recordness" during their prior conversations.

Faye responds to the latter question with a 'well'-prefaced response that treats some aspect of the question as problematic, likely the inapplicability of the concept of "on-the-record" and "off-the-record" status to their prior (non-institutional) as friends. Following Julie's acknowledgement, she requests that Faye warn her if they ever enter into a journalistic context (lines 15-16). Faye's request is infiltrated with frequent laughter and produced with smiles throughout, and is also followed by laughter. Faye does not orient to Julie's turn as a laughable, however, and responds at lines 17-18 with another serious explanation of the inapplicability of the on-the-record concept to their non-institutional interactions. Julie displays no uptake of this explanation, instead providing a glue-on extension of her prior turn. This is followed by a 'no'-prefaced, pro-forma claim of agreement to Julie's earlier claim about attributing the blame to Lana for ignoring the on-the-record context of the interview ("I agree::").

As with the other examples in this sub-section, Julie's turn at line 20 marks a shift in both the footing and sequential organization of the talk, displaying her understanding of the talk that follows the 'no'-preface as responding to Faye's earlier (seriously-framed) pursuit of a response at line 8. However, also notice that Julie's 'no'-prefaced response takes up a similar format to that described in Section 2.4, in which speakers affiliate with a recipient following their prior disaffiliation: a 'no'-prefaced claim to agreement ("*No:: I agree::*"). Faye's prior insertion sequence, hearable as a challenge to Faye's claims about her orientation to the on- or off-the-recordness of an interaction, is also hearably disaffiliative, and may project her upcoming disaffiliation. Julie's 'no'-prefaced response at line 20 thus may also serve as a resource for denying that inference, in addition to marking the shift in footing and sequential organization described above.

3.3 Retroactive assertions of serious footing

In the previous section, I presented cases in which 'no'-prefaces displayed a shift in the speaker's turn from a joking (or otherwise non-serious) frame to a serious one. In this section, I examine cases in which speakers employ 'no'-prefaced turns to correct another participant's displayed footing towards the prior talk. This practice, and the two sequential environments it may occur in, is detailed in Table 3.2.

1st Environment	Speaker A produces a non-seriously framed turn ↴
	Speaker B asserts the seriousness of the prior turn
2nd Environment	Speaker A produces a turn at talk ↴
	Speaker B treats the prior turn as non-serious ↴
	Speaker A corrects this footing of the prior turn

Table 3.2 Retroactive assertions of serious footing

In these cases, a speaker orients to a turn at talk as non-serious, and the 'no'-producing speaker responds by asserting the serious character of that prior turn. Within this practice, then, speakers and recipients are seen to display asymmetrical orientations to the seriousness and/or laughability of the prior talk. Consider the following example:

```
(10) JULIE AND FAYE (17:20 This Girl's Crazy)
25   Juli:            [This girl's cr:a(h)z(h)y ehh[uhuhheh
26 → Faye:                                        [No: she is
```

Here Faye responds to a designedly non-serious first assessment with a 'no'-prefaced second assessment, formulated without the laugh-relevant practices seen in the prior turn. As the analysis to come will illustrate, Faye's use of a 'no'-preface at line 26 thus retroactively frames Julie's initial assessment as serious.

This particular response practice has not been investigated within CA as a means of asserting the seriousness of a prior turn, though it is in many ways similar to other-initiated or

third position repair. While Lerner and Kitzinger (2010) have discussed the use of 'no' as an initiator of self-repair, its use in other environments has not received the same analytic attention. However, it can be seen throughout the literature to serve as a repair initiator in both second- and third position.[49]

In the examples to follow, speakers deploy a 'no'-prefaced turn to correct another participant's displayed understanding of an utterance as non-serious. Though these practices are in many ways analogous to repair practices, throughout the corpus for the present study, these types of 'no'-prefaced repairs were only found to occur as part of an assessment sequence. Unlike the broader categories of other-initiated and third position repairs, then, the practices examined here may be uniquely fitted to managing recipient understandings of this particular action type.

We can see an example of this practice in Excerpt 10 below, taken from the conversation between Julie and Faye presented in the prior excerpt. Here, Faye has been talking about her recently estranged friend, Emily, who had initiated the trouble between Faye and Lana discussed in the earlier excerpt. As this next portion of their conversation begins, Faye claims that she no longer plans to be friends with Emily. Though Julie initially responds with a display of potential disaffiliation, her turn goes on to affiliate with Faye by framing her as being in the right. Julie then follows this claim with a series of affiliative assessments that frame Emily's behavior as vindictive and self-serving.

(10) JULIE AND FAYE (17:20 This Girl's Crazy)

```
01    Faye: I don't think I'm gonna be her friend anymore.

02    Juli: I ↑mea:n::, (0.2) I thi:nk tha::t, it's like (.) a s:illy thing
```

---

[49] The use of 'no' as an initiator of third-position repair is at least common enough that Schegloff's (1997:31) description of third position repairs ascribe a 'no'-preface to a prototypical formulation; as he claims, "Such repairs regularly take the form, 'No, I don't mean X, I mean Y'".

```
03          to ruin a friendship over? But I also don't really think yo:u

04          ruined the friendshi:p. .hhhh because when you:: go: behind

05          someone's (0.2) ba::ck?  To get them in trouble? (0.4) Tha:t's

06          li[ke

07    Faye:   [Turning (to)=something tha:t,

08    Juli: Tha:t's like the u:ltimate backstabbing like, hh I have something

09          that's gonna get you in trouble and I'm not gonna tell yo:u

10          *about i:t:*.

11          (0.3)

12    Juli: I:['m just gonna   go get you in trouble.

13    Faye:   [mmhmm *yea:::h*

14          (0.4)

15    Juli: Tha:t's li:ke, no:::t, (0.6)

16    Faye: How I was thinking about it this mor:ning was [that like it's all

17    Juli:                                               [That's just such a

18          [b:acks:::

19    Faye: [Emily's influen[ce.=

20    Juli: =backstabbing [kinda way to go about [it

21    Faye:               [Cuz                  [that's how

22          Emily goes about e:verything?

23          (0.2)

24    Faye: And the fact [is

25    Juli:              [This girl's cr:a(h)z(h)y ehh[uhuhheh

26 →  Faye:                                          [No: she is li:ke, she

27          has this evil in her you can see it in- when you look into her

28          *ey:es*. .hhh like she:: is like really e*vil*}.
```

Though Julie's negative assessments are only based off of her Type 2 knowledge of the events

that transpired between Faye and Emily, Faye displays her affiliation as she nods throughout

lines 8-10 and produces an agreement token at line 13. Amidst Julie's continued assessment sequence, Faye claims that Emily regularly engages in the type of "backstabbing" behavior that Julie has described (lines 16 and 21-22).

Though the prior talk has been conducted within a serious interactional frame, Julie responds at line 25 by producing a negative assessment of Emily as "cr:azy" that she formulates as a laughable; the turn is both infiltrated and followed by laughter. Though this initial assessment invites shared laughter from Faye, she responds at line 26 with a 'no'-prefaced second assessment that is designedly serious. The assessment is formulated as a partial repeat of Julie's initial assessment, produced with a prosodic upgrade on the verb ("No: she is"). As with the other examples in this section, Faye's 'no'-prefaced turn asserts the serious character of Julie's first assessment of Emily as "cr:azy". In this sense, despite Faye's agreement with Julie's prior assessment, Faye's turn at line 26 is markedly disaffiliative (as it takes up a different stance than that displayed by Julie).

However, also notice the formulation of Faye's turn at line 26: a 'no'-prefaced second assessment produced by a speaker with greater epistemic rights to produce that assessment. It is possible that another function of Faye's 'no'-preface is thus to mark her greater epistemic rights to produce the assessment of Emily (see Section 2.5). However, also notice that, throughout the prior talk, Julie has produced numerous other assessments which Faye has greater epistemic rights to produce. It is only after Julie produces an assessment as a laughable that Faye responds with a 'no'-prefaced turn. It is plausible that the 'no'-preface may function as either an assertion of the seriousness of Julie's first assessment or an assertion of Faye's epistemic rights (or possibly both). In light of the next example, however, I propose the former understanding.

In Excerpt 11 below, Daniel and Tamara have been talking about the stress they are

beginning to feel as their semester at university draws to a close. As the excerpt begins, Daniel confesses to thoughts of dropping out of college to become a flight attendant whenever he travels by plane.

(11) DANIEL AND TAMARA (27:28 So Good at That)

```
01    Dan:  Everyti:me I go o- go somewhere like on a pla:ne I'm just like
02          what if I just dropped out of co:llege and beca:me a flight
03          attendant like yo:u.=
04    Tama: =Yea:h. (0.2) My mom was a flight atte:nda:nt?=
05    Dan:  =Reall[y?
06    Tama:       [For awhi:le yeah she did um (0.9) a small fli:ght from
07          Mai:ne *ta::, somewhere on the East Coast* and she's (like °it
08          was) (      ) and she did it for° awhi:le.
09    Dan:  Rea:lly:?=
10    Tama: =Yea:h.
11          (0.5)
12    Tama: She di- sh(h)::e li(h)ke whenever she gets on a pla:ne huhh when
13          they star:t li:ke, [(.) exits are [the::re, (.) and the::re, and
14                             [(( pantomimes [flight attendant activity. .))
15    Dan:                                   [((pantomimes "  "  " . . . .))
16    Tama: [hhhhhuh hhh
17    Dan:  [((cont'd .))
18    Tama: a(h)nd she(h)'s ju(h)st like I did tha(h)::t.  ehhh[ehh
19    Dan:                                                     [huhhuh[ah
20    Tama:                                                           [I was
21          li:(h)ke yeah mo:[m:.
22    Dan:                   [I would be so: goo:d at that.
23 →  Tama: Yea- no you wou:ld=
24    Dan:  =I'd be li:ke and [do:n't sass me.
```

```
25    Tama:                    [You'd be a sa- oh my gosh when we went to

26          California we had the sassiest flight attendant he was

27          hila:rious.
```

Tamara responds to Daniel's claim at line 4 with an acknowledgement token, then reports the news that her mother used to be a flight attendant. Following Daniel's newsmarks, Tamara produces a telling that describes some of her mother's occupational duties at lines 6-8 and 12-14. This latter unit of talk is produced as a laughable, as Tamara formulates her description with hearable smile voice and infiltrating laughter. During this turn Tamara also produces a pantomime of the different embodied practices her mother employed while working as a flight attendant, pointing to the various exits on an imagined plane. As she does so, Daniel responds with an exaggerated imitation of these pointing practices that, combined with the laughability of Tamara's telling, produce a joking interactional frame. Both Daniel and Tamara display their continued orientation to this frame as they produce shared laughter at lines 16-19.

Following Tamara's voiced affiliation with her mother at lines 20-21, also produced with laugh-relevant practices, Daniel claims that he would be "so: goo:d" at being a flight attendant (line 22). There is no clear shift back to a non-serious frame as Daniel produces this claim and, in fact, he smiles (a potential precursor to laughter) throughout its production. At line 23 Tamara produces an affiliative second assessment that agrees with this claim. Though this response is initially formulated with the positive response token 'yeah', Tamara abandons this token partway through its production and begins the turn anew, now employing a 'no'-preface.

As with the second assessment in the prior interaction between Julie and Faye, Tamara's 'no'-prefaced response at line 23 produces a partial repeat of Daniel's initial assessment, though it is produced without any laugh-relevant practices. Through these features, Tamara's 'no'-prefaced turn repairs Daniel's displayed footing toward his prior turn as non-serious by

retroactively asserting its seriousness. In contrast to the prior excerpt, however, Faye does not

have superior epistemic rights to make this assessment about David. In fact, Faye's own second

assessment is a B-event statement, and speaks to domains outside of her own experience.

While the two prior examples function similarly to other-initiated repairs (in that they

directly respond to a trouble source in the prior turn), the following cases feature practices that

are more analogous to third position repair. Here, a second speaker marks their understanding of

the prior turn as a laughable, and the first speaker corrects this understanding in third position.[50]

We can see an example of this practice in Excerpt 12 below, in which Daniel and Tamara are

discussing which university classes they plan to take in the upcoming semester.

(12) DANIEL AND TAMARA (20:55 Because He Sucks)

```
01    Tama: Yeah I'll take a sta::ts cla::ss:, and next year I'll be:: (.)

02          next semester I'll be in chemistry and anatomy:, (0.3) along with

03          our class that we have together.

04    (0.3)

05    Dan:  .hhhh poli sci:::.

06    (0.2)

07    Tama: *Yea(h)h*. It *sounds ki:nd of awful*.

08    Dan:  Okay [so:,

09    Tama:      [It's whatever though.

10    Dan:  what I did wa:s:, I talked to my TA: for my third cla- poli sci

11          Cla:ss? And we started talking shit about the professor because

12          he ↓su:::c[ks,

13    Tama:          [hehhehhehh=

14 →  Dan:  =like, (.) no: this professor's terrible. (.) He was like, ((lip
```

---

[50] Notice that the 'no'-prefaced turn may or may not be classifiable as occurring in "third position", dependant on the analyst's understanding of what comprises a "turn". That is, for the practice in Excerpt 12 to be considered analogous to third-position repair, we would have to understand Tamara's laughter at line 13 as comprising its own turn.

```
15          smack)) °the recession hit us really har::d°. (0.5) I live in
16          Chatauqua and a lot of my neighbors had to mo::ve. (.) down the
17          hill.
18          (0.4)
19    Dan:  I was like da:mn.
20    Tama: tehheh[hhehheh .hhh heh darn it.
21    Dan:        [So sorry.
```

At line 12, Daniel produces a negative assessment of his current professor, claiming that "he su:::cks". Tamara orients to Daniel's assessment of the professor as a laughable, responding at line 13 with overlapping laughter. At line 14 Daniel responds with a 'no'-prefaced turn, producing a follow-up assessment that now describes the professor as "terrible". As with the two prior examples, Daniel's 'no'-prefaced response is used to correct Tamara's understanding of his prior first assessment by retroactively asserting its seriousness. In contrast to the prior two examples, however, Daniel's 'no'-prefaced response produces what might be termed a "follow-up assessment" rather than a true second assessment, as it is not produced by the recipient.

A similar case occurs in Excerpt 13 below, taken from another conversation between Daniel and Tamara. The two have been talking about President Barack Obama, who had recently visited a number of swing states in the months leading up to the 2012 presidential election. Prior to the excerpt, Daniel had remarked on Obama's multiple visits to these states as a strategy to help secure their votes. As the excerpt begins, he contrasts these frequent visits with Obama's relatively few visits to the state of Arizona, where Daniel is from.

(13) DANIEL AND TAMARA (7:23 People there are Nuts)

```
01    Dan:  He::::: comes to swing states like Colorado and Ohi[o:?
02    Tama:                                                    [mmhm
03    Dan:  A:::ll the ti::me.
04          (0.2)
```

```
05     Tama: Mmm[hm

06     Dan:     [But li:ke, (0.4) he came to Arizona (.) [°twi::c:e°.

07           (0.2)

08     Tama: Nice=

09     Dan:  =Because it's li::ke, obviously he's [*not gonna win in

10                                                [((head shakes . ))

11           Arizo[:na*

12     Tama:      [huhhmuhhuhhhm

13     Dan:  People there are [nu::ts.

14                            [((index point, smiles))

15     Tama: Hahuh peo(h)ple the(h)re are nu:(h)t[s:.

16 →   Dan:                                      [No really they ar:e

17           huhhuh [huh

18     Tama:        [I've only been to Arizona *onc::::e.=

19     Dan:  =Don't go there.
```

Following the news that Obama only visited Arizona twice during his run for president (line 6), Tamara responds at line 7 with a newsmark. At line 9 Daniel produces a glue-on extension of his prior turn that accounts for Obama's relatively infrequent visits to Arizona: the fact that he obviously won't win there. Tamara orients to this claim as a laughable and responds with laughter at line 12. Daniel does not produce shared laughter at this point in the talk, however, and instead produces an account for his earlier claim that Obama has no chance of winning in Arizona: the fact that the state residents are "nu::ts" (line 13). Daniel follows this assessment with a smile (though it is produced without hearable smile voice), and Tamara continues to display an orientation to Daniel's talk as a laughable. At line 15 she produces a full repeat of Daniel's assessment of the people of Arizona, produced with infiltrating laughter and breathy voice throughout. Daniel responds to this turn at line 16 with a 'no'-prefaced follow-up

assessment that asserts the seriousness of his initial assessment from line 13. In contrast to the prior example, this 'no' is additionally followed by the modal adverb 'really'.

Daniel's use of a 'no'-prefaced follow-up assessment corrects Tamara's understanding of his initial assessment, asserting its serious footing. However, notice that this example contrasts with the prior example in that Daniel produces his initial assessment with laugh-relevant practices. That is, he smiles following his initial assessment of Arizonans as "nu::ts" at line 13, and his follow-up assessment at line 16 is followed by laughter. Despite these orientations to the laughability of his assessments, Daniel deploys a 'no'-prefaced turn here in much the same way he does in the prior example, as a means of repairing Tamara's understanding of his initial assessment by asserting its seriousness.

3.4 Discussion of Chapter 3

In the prior sections of this chapter, I examined two practices by which speakers index a shift in footing from non-serious to serious. In the first practice, speakers use 'no'-prefaces to display their orientation towards the prior talk as being non-serious and the talk that follows as being serious. Expanding the exploratory discussions of this particular practice in English (Schegloff 2001) and Estonian (Keevallik 2012), I illustrated how this practice may be further divided into three different functions, in which speakers 1) follow a non-serious action with a serious reformulation of the initial action, 2) respond in a serious way to a non-serious first turn, and 3) mark a return from a non-seriously framed insertion or side sequence to the seriously framed main sequence of the talk.

The second practice I examined involved the use of a 'no'-prefaced response to assert the serious footing of a hearably non-serious prior assessment. Though similar in many ways to other-initiated and third position repair practices, this latter practice occurs in both second and

third position and appears to be a specific response to assessments. Though the practice is arguably disaffiliative (as it rejects a prior speaker's footing towards an assessment), in cases where the 'no'-preface occurs in second position it may also be understood as a preferred response type, as it performs agreement with the initial assessment (cf. Pomerantz 1984). It is also worth noting that, in each of the cases of this practice examined in Section 3.3, the speaker producing the 'no'-prefaced second or follow-up assessment has some degree of epistemic primacy with regard to the initial assessment. These practices may thus also serve as a means of asserting a second speaker's right to assess (cf. Heritage and Raymond 2005; Raymond and Heritage 2006).

Though the present chapter dealt only with issues of transitions between serious and non-serious footings, similar response practices may be employed to mark other shifts in footing. For example, speakers may employ 'no'-prefaced responses to assert the "truth" (rather than the seriousness) of a prior claim. Consider Excerpt 14 below, taken from a telephone conversation between a mother and daughter. At the time of the call the daughter had recently moved abroad to the western coast of Australia, while the mother was living in the United States. As the excerpt begins, the mother continues a story about an injury suffered by a relative living in the U.S. who had recently poked her eye while gardening. The daughter responds by reporting news about local birds that are so fiercely territorial that they will attack passersby, often attempting to gouge out their eyes.

(14) CALLHOME EN_5242 (10:24 Eat Your Eye)

```
01   Mom:  So anywa:y, Kendra must have bent down and (0.2) po:ked her
02         ey::e.
03   Dau:  ↑.HHHH
04   Mom:  So anyways d- Nancy took her to the do- ((swallow)) do:ctor and
```

```
05           they think it scra:tched her cor:nea.
06           (0.5)
07   Dau:   .hhhhh let me let me te:ll you.
08           (0.2)
09   Mom:   °Oh: no:°.
10           (0.4)
11   Dau:   Umm, there are bir:ds here.
12           (0.6)
13   Mom:   °Ye[s°.
14   Dau:      [hhh uhhehehehh .hh Laura's laughing at me, .hh there are
15           bir:ds here that atta:ck you.
16           (0.5)
17   Mom:   ↑Oh ↑rea- (0.7) [(you wha-)
18 → Dau:                   [No: literally. They will attack you an- and poke
19           your ey:e out.
20           (0.2)
21   Mom:   .hhh ↑oh:::
22   Dau:   .hhh and ↑eat ↑your ↑eye.
23   Mom:   ↑Ugh::=
24   Dau:   =ehHEHHEHHEHHEH .hhhh
```

Following the daughter's pre-telling at line 7, she reports the news about the birds at lines 11 and

14-15. The news is followed by a hearable gap, after which the mother begins to respond at line

17 with a newsmark that is abandoned partially through its production and followed by

additional silence. The daughter orients to this turn as displaying the mother's disbelief, and

responds at line 18 with a 'no' followed by the modal adverb 'literally'. This is then followed by

a modified repeat of her earlier claim about the local birds that asserts the truth of her news.

The "'no' + modal adverbial" formulation seen in this example appears to be common in

these types of assertions, and can also be seen in Excerpt 15 below. Here, Chad recounts a story

to a group of friends about a girl who stopped by his fraternity house looking for his roommate,

Doug, who had been asleep in bed at the time. Not believing Chad's claim, the girl insisted on

going upstairs to check on Doug. A few minutes later Chad went upstairs and reasserted his

earlier claim that the roommate is sleeping, using the formulation 'no really':

```
(15) FRATERNITY GUYS (38:44 He's Pretty Tired)

01   Chad: So I ru:n upstairs, (0.5) and she's sitting on the be:d. (0.7) On

02         the- on the corner of the bed. (0.2) like this. (1.3) Sta:ring at

03         him. And he's sound asleep. and I was like yea::h, (.) it looks

04         like he's slee:ping you know uhh::: hhhh (1.1) maybe you should

05         come back like another day or something. hhhh (1.3) She's like

06         yea:::h (0.5) oka::y (0.5) we::ll. ((4 seconds omitted)) And she

07 →       just keeps staring at him I'm like, no really I mean I- (0.4) I

08         don't think he's gonna wake up he's pretty tired.
```

Though beyond the scope of the present chapter, it is likely that other types of footings beyond

'serious/non-serious' or 'truthful/non-truthful' may also be indexed by 'no'-prefaced turns.

Likewise, it is likely that speakers rely on a range of verbal and embodied practices that go

beyond the 'no'-prefaced turns examined here to shift between serious and non-serious

interactional frames. The practices examined here thus provide only a small part of the larger

picture of how speakers negotiate and manage footings and interactional frames over the course

of an interaction.

CHAPTER IV

INDEXING SHIFTS IN THE SEQUENTIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TALK

4.1 Introduction to Chapter 4

In this chapter, I examine the use of 'no'-prefaced turns to index shifts in the sequential organization of the talk. This function can be divided into three distinct practices. In the first practice, 'no'-prefaces serve as a misplacement marker, indexing that the talk that follows is organized as to be "out of place" with regard to the surrounding talk (Section 4.2). In the second practice, 'no'-prefaces function as a skip-connect device, marking that the talk to follow ties back to an other-than-directly prior turn or topic of talk (Section 4.3). In both of these practices, 'no'-prefaces function as a disjunction marker that marks the talk to follow as a departure from the just-prior talk. In the third practice, speakers employ 'no'-prefaced assessments as a telling-exit device, marking the close of an extended telling sequence (Section 4.4). A diagram of these practices can be seen in Table 4.1.

Misplacement marker	Marks that the talk following the 'no'-preface is organized as to be "out of place", belonging at an earlier point in the talk
Skip-connect marker	Marks that the talk following the 'no'-preface ties back to a specific prior turn or topic from an earlier point in the talk
Telling-exit marker	Marks that the talk following the 'no'-preface is no longer part of the prior extended telling sequence

Table 4.1 'No'-prefaced practices for marking shifts in sequential organization

Whereas each of the practices in the prior chapter attended to the organization of frame and footing of a turn, the practices discussed here mark shifts in the sequential organization of a turn with regard to the surrounding talk. For analytic purposes, I classify both functions as part of a

larger "organizational" function of 'no'-prefaces described over these two chapters.[51]

4.2 Marking a misplaced turn at talk

In this section, I examine the use of 'no'-prefaces to mark the upcoming talk as misplaced, and thus relevantly located in some prior portion of the talk. Here, 'no'-prefaces function as what Schegloff and Sacks (1973) term a "misplacement marker". These are devices that "display an orientation by their user to the proper sequential-organizational character of a particular place in a conversation, and a recognition that an utterance that is thereby prefaced may not fit, and that the recipient should not attempt to use this placement in understanding their occurrence" (pg. 320). Schegloff and Sacks highlight the phrase 'by the way' as a common device for marking this type of misplacement in English, illustrating how it prefaces actions that would be more relevantly organized within some earlier segment of the talk.

More recently, Keevallik (2012) has shown how the turns prefaced with the Estonian particle *ei* (which functions similarly to English 'no') may also mark a misplaced action within the talk, presenting a single case in which *ei* serves as a misplacement marker. As this excerpt illustrates, however, the use of Estonian *ei*-prefaces to mark the misplacement of a turn may comprise a very different practice from the use of English 'no'-prefaces to mark the same. I have duplicated Keevallik's case as Excerpt 1 below. Here, A offers E a silk gown for A to use in an upcoming Christmas show.

(1) Keevallik 2012 (pg. 20)

```
1    A:    /---/ mul on olemas see siidihommikumantel.
           'I have a silk morning gown,'

2          niisugune must ja punaste servadega.
           'black and with red edges.'

3    E:    draakoniga vä.
```

---

[51] This classification is suggested by Keevallik (2012) as well.

```
            'With a dragon?'
4     A:    jah,
            'Yeah'
5     E:    ähäh, (.) ei see on <@ normaalne. @>
            'Uhuh. (.) no, that's okay.'
6     A:    see sobib täiesti normaalselt, sest draakon
            'It would be quite okay since the dragon'
7           on selja taga see ei paista välja.
            'is on the back, it doesn't show.'
```

Following A's offer at lines 1-2, E produces an insert expansion at line 3 that checks to see

whether the offered gown has a dragon on it. A produces a positive response to this question at

line 4. E responds with an acknowledgement token at line 5, followed by what Keevallik

describes as an *ei*-prefaced positive assessment of the gown, an action that also accepts the prior

offer.

Keevallik analyzes the *ei*-preface at line 5 as marking the misplacement of E's

assessment of the gown, which she claims more properly belongs at line 3. This use of a

misplacement marker thus downplays both the import and the social affront of the prior question-

answer sequence, which Keevallik describes as a hearable challenge. Though functioning as a

misplacement practice, the *ei*-prefaced turn at line 5 illustrates a very different practice from the

use of such misplacement markers as 'by the way' in English. That is, the main project of the *ei*-

preface in Excerpt 1 entails downgrading the relevance of the prior insertion sequence, with the

misplacement marker serving as a vehicle to do so. By contrast, the main project of English 'by

the way' is to mark that an upcoming telling, news report, or similar action is more relevantly

organized within some earlier point in the talk. It is here that the present analysis diverges from

Keevallik's, as the English 'no'-prefaces presented in this section function analogously to 'by the

way'-prefaced turns, marking that the upcoming talk has a better "fit" with an earlier point in the interaction.

We can see one example of this practice in Excerpt 2 below, taken from an informal interview between three members of a sorority: Jamie, the interviewer, and Ali and Jess, the interviewees. Ali has been answering an interview question about what qualities she values most in Jess. Following a sincere, multi-turn description of these qualities, Ali produces an entextualized (Bauman and Briggs 1990) claim about Jess that quotes a recent complaint from a mutual friend, Lisa: that Jess allows people to walk all over her. The claim is jokingly framed as another of Jess's positive qualities and clearly formulated as a laughable, and each of the participants orient to the non-serious footing of this action by producing laughter or turns with a hearable "smile voice" throughout lines 1-4.

```
(2) SORORITY ORAL INTERVIEW (26:24 Walk All Over Her)
01   Ali:  And she's pretty easy to walk all ove(hh)r [ehhhehh .hehhhe
02   Jami:                                            [tss-hehhhhh
03   Ali:  Accor(h)ding to Lis(h)a at lea(h)st I [haven't personally
04   Jess:                                       [Tha:nks::, tha::nks::
05   Ali:  experienced this BU::T, .hhh you know you can take advantage of
06         her whenever you wa::(hh)nt
07   Jess: Yea::h so [Julie is in our [room and Lis[a is in our room and
08   Ali:           [hhhhh (ri::ght) [I:: hhhhh   [ehhhh hehhhh
09   Jess: she decides ta:,
10         (0.8)
11   Jami: To me[ntion this.
12   Jess:      [she mentioned this[:.
13   Ali:                          [Oh m[y go::d errhh
14   Jess:                               [little thing and she like was
```

```
15          saying tha:[t

16   Jami:            [I don't think she noticed.=

17   Jess: =Yea::h like she was saying that [(   ) yea::h like she was

18   Ali:                              [Lisa wouldn't notice

19   Jess: (    [      ) attention

19   Jami:     [I tried to cover it up

20   Jess: And I'm like yeah she do[es.

21   Jami:                      [People walk all over Jess, and ME::,

22          and everybody in this house [you know how that happens

23   Ali:                              [Oh::: go::d

24   Jess: I know you totally did you're good it was a good coverup you're

25          like (      ). And then you could say how you walk all over Ali,

26          and then you could say how you walk all over me and I'm like,

27   Ali:  I walk all over ever[ybody

28 → Jess:                      [No cause I don't think I ever told you guys

29          did I tell you about that I talked to her about it?

30          (1.1)

31   Jami: Mm-mm

32   Ali:  Talked to Jessie?

34   Jami: (Not yet)

35   Ali:  Oh yeah yeah yeah
```

At line 7 Jess launches an extended telling sequence that recounts the story behind Lisa's original complaint, which involved Jamie and a number of other sorority members as ratified overhearers (Goffman 1981). As all participants know the story, it is likely retold here for the purpose of the recorded interview. Jamie takes on co-tellership of the narrative at line 11, and Jess and Jamie continue to recount the story throughout lines 12-20. At lines 19-22 Jamie claims that she tried to manage the face-threat of Lisa's complaint, telling the other participants that

everyone in their group of friends walk all over each other. Jess then produces a positive assessment of this attempt to "cover-up" for Lisa at line 24. At lines 25-26, Jess launches an action that is tangentially related to this telling, producing joking proposals of similar cover-ups that Jamie also could have used (lines 25-26). This is an activity that Ali takes up at line 27.

Following these turns, Jess launches a new course of action at line 28, a 'no'-prefaced pre-telling to a new story about how she later confronted Lisa about her complaint. However, notice that this action is hearably misplaced with regard to the just-prior talk, as it does not contribute further to the still in-progress action that Jess and Ali have been engaged in at lines 25-27. Rather, Jess employs a 'no'-prefaced turn to introduce a telling that already should have been known to the other participants. Jess's 'no'-preface at line 28 is thus hearable as a disjunction marker that indexes this misplacement, and marks that the talk to follow is more relevantly organized at some point prior to its current position within the sequential organization of the talk.

Also notice that, as with many of the 'no'-prefaced turns examined throughout this analysis, however, the 'no'-preface at line 28 may serve multiple functions. That is, Jess's 'no'-prefaced turn occurs at the juncture between a non-serious interactional frame and a serious action. In addition to marking the misplacement of the turn, the 'no'-preface in Jess's turn may thus also mark a shift in frame and footing from non-serious to serious.[52]

A related case occurs in the following excerpt, taken from a conversation between two university students, Thuc and Kelly. Kelly has been recounting a story about a recent complaint she received from a concerned co-worker, who chastised her tendency to skip meals when she's under stress. Kelly produces the story as a laughable, formulating it as an example of a popular

---

[52] Notice that Jess's use of the token at line 28 would be an outlier when compared to the collection of 'no'-prefaced turns examined in Chapter 3, each of which skip-connected back to an earlier, seriously-framed sequence. In contrast to these cases, Jess's turn at line 28 does not skip-connect back to a prior segment of talk.

Internet meme in which individuals share uncomfortable social experiences by prefacing their telling with the formulaic phrase "That awkward moment when…".[53] As the excerpt begins, Kelly talks about the awkwardness she felt from being told that she needs to eat from a woman who is not only overweight, but has confessed to Kelly that she constantly thinks about what her next meal will be.

(3) THUC AND KELLY (15:08 All the Internet Memes)

```
01   Kell: And then sh- (0.4) but then I wanted to te:xt you the awkward

02         moment when the fa:t person sa:ys, I just can't li:ke, sto:p (.)

03         thinking about like whe:n do I get to ea:t ne:xt. And li:ke,

04         (0.4) I was li:ke, I didn't know how ta: (0.3) respo:nd to it

05         becau:se, (0.8) she was like ↑yea::h I always think about when I:

06         e- like when I'm gonna eat ne:x:t? (0.4) Like she's li:ke, a

07         heavier la:dy::?

08         (0.8)

09   Kell: Like she's rea:lly li:ke, (0.4) ehhuhh hhhhhhh I ju(h)st

10         di(h)dn't kno(h)w ho(h)w ta ha(h)ndl(h)e i(h)t

11         (1.0)

12   Kell: And I needed you in that situa:(h)ti[on ehhehh hehhh hhhh

13   Thuc:                                     [OH MY: GO::D

14   Kell: .hhh cause I: was li::ke, (1.1) erm yea::(h)h ehhuhh I don't know

15         it was horrible li:ke, (0.4) I didn't know what to do in that

16         situa:tion:.

17         (0.8)

18   Thuc: [(        )

19   Kell: [Cause li:ke there she is pointing me out like oh: you don't eat
```

---

[53] An "Internet meme" is some text – often a phrase, image, or video, or website – that has achieved a degree of social saliency and formulaic use within an online community of practice. As seen here, memes may be frequently entextualized (Bauman & Briggs 1990) in both offline and online discourse contexts, often within a joking interactional frame. For this particular meme, see http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/that-awkward-moment.

```
20            and she's like I don't ↑eat ↑ALL ↑the ↑time and I was like

21            ↑we:(hh)ll, hehhhh ehhhhhheh

22    Thuc: A::::ll the ti:m:e oh my god why did I just do that

23 →  Kell: .hhhh Oh my god no::::, some girl for the mission statements I

24            love her she's on the exec board no:w? ((sniff)) (0.7) umm::,

25            (0.4) she was li:ke, (0.6) ((cough)) she used all the internet

26            me:mes (0.7) fo::r:, um::, (1.2) her presenta:tion:.
```

Kelly follows her story with the complaint that she "just didn't know how ta handle it", and claims that she needed Thuc to be there for her during her the incident with her coworker (lines 9-12). At line 13 Thuc responds with an assessment ("OH MY: GO::D"), and Kelly then accounts for her earlier claim about needing Thuc, producing another complaint about the encounter with her coworker (lines 14-16). There is no uptake of this turn from Thuc following its completion, however, and at lines 19-21 Kelly extends her prior account by producing a description of why the interaction with her coworker was awkward. The turn is produced in part as a laughable, and at line 22 Thuc responds by producing a partial repeat of Kelly's prior turn with upgraded and exaggerated prosody ("A::::ll the ti:m:e").

At line 23 Kelly then initiates a new sequence, producing an extended telling prefaced by a response cry ("Oh my god") and the token 'no'. Here, Kelly tells the story of a classmate who did a class presentation comprised solely of Internet memes. As with the prior excerpt, notice that Kelly's 'no'-prefaced turn launches a new story that is misplaced with regard to the surrounding talk. This 'no'-preface is thus hearable as a disjunction marker that marks this misplacement, and displays Kelly's orientation to the talk that follows as being more relevantly organized prior to its current position within the talk. In contrast to the prior example, however, the misplacement of Kelly's turn is further marked by the response cry 'oh my god', a practice

for doing having-just-remembered.[54]

In this section, I presented cases in which a speaker marks the talk to come as being misplaced within the larger sequential organization of the talk. Within these examples, 'no'-prefaces appear to serve a similar function to the more commonly described misplacement marker 'by the way'. By contrast, the function of these 'no'-prefaced misplacement markers are strikingly different from the single case of Estonian *ei*-prefaced misplacement markers analyzed by Keevallik (2012), a practice for de-focusing a prior action. Given the disparity between these documented uses English and Estonian 'no'-prefaces as misplacement markers, the analysis above illustrates the need for further comparative work on the use of these and similar tokens to mark the misplacement of a unit of talk.

4.3 Skip-connecting to a prior-prior segment of the talk

In this section, I examine another use of 'no'-prefaces to mark that the talk to follow is not organized with regard to the prior turn. Here, I present cases in which 'no'-prefaced turns skip-connect (Sacks 1992) back to an earlier segment of talk. Within this practice, the 'no'-preface marks that the talk to follow ties back to what Local (2002) terms a "prior-prior", talk organized before the just-prior turn. Though somewhat similar in scope to the use of 'no'-prefaces as misplacement markers, in the practice examined here, 'no'-prefaced turns connect back to a specific point in the earlier talk. By contrast, in the cases of misplacement examined in the prior section, the actions launched following the 'no'-preface are only generally marked as being more relevantly organized at some earlier point in time.

Within conversation analysis, discussions of 'no'-prefaces that manage issues of sequence organization have primarily focused on skip-connecting practices. Most relevant to the present discussion is Broe's (2003) analysis of the token when formulated as part of what she

---

[54] Cf. Heritage (1984) on 'oh'-prefaces as a change of state token.

terms a "[yes] + [no+component]". These are formulations in which the positive response token 'yes', which displays the speaker's uptake of a prior turn, is followed by the negative response token 'no', which serves one of two functions. It may act as a disjunction marker, displaying that the talk to follow is not organized with regard to the sequentially prior talk, or it may serve as a negative polarity response to a prior action (e.g. a question). Broe's analysis focuses on cases in which skip-connects are deployed in non-competitive and collaborative environments, contrasting her analysis with Sacks' (1992, II:351) discussion of the competitive nature of skip-connect practices. Here, Sacks positions skip-connecting practices as part of a "technical competition" within the ongoing talk, in that they allow speakers to develop the talk in a particular direction while doing so is still relevant. Given Broe's focus on the cooperative nature of skip-connects, she presents a collection of cases in which skip-connects serve as a practice for producing coherence between sequentially distant turns.

In addition to Broe's discussion of 'no'-prefaced skip-connects in English, Haakana and Visapää (2010) have examined the use of Finnish *eiku*[55] ('no'), and Keevallik (2012) the use of Estonian *ei* ('no'), as skip-connect devices. Both analyses form part of a larger discussion of the discourse functions of these respective particles. Given the limited space devoted to skip-connect practices in each paper, however, Haakana and Visapää's and Keevallik's discussions focus on only one function of these skip-connects: to return from an insertion or side sequence to the main sequence of the talk (cf. Section 3.3). A more thorough discussions of skip-connect practices can be found in work on other tokens as skip-connect devices, such as Local's (2004) discussion of 'and-uh(m)' in American and British English. Local examines how these skip-connect practices can be used to either continue a prior turn or restart it. While he notes how these two practices

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[55] Though the authors acknowledge that *eiku* often functions similarly to English 'no', they also note that it is not a clear analogue, being instead a compound of two particles (glossed as 'no but').

may be marked by the grammatical fit of the 'and-uh(m)'-prefaced turn to the connected turn, Local's analysis focuses on the phonetic contextualization of these two turns (e.g. the use of similar or disparate pitch patterns across them).

The present analysis of 'no'-prefaced skip-connects provides new contributions that expand the scope of this prior research. Broe's (2003) analysis focuses on the ways in which [yes] + [no+component] turns are formulated to produce a sense of coherence with a prior turn, e.g. through the inclusion of deictic or co-reference practices. Other cases illustrate how this skip-connect device may perform other interactional work, e.g. initiating repair. The present study diverges from this analytic focus to discuss 'no'-prefaced skip-connects primarily in terms of their grammatical and sequential fit with the prior-prior that they tie back to. For example, as further sub-sections will discuss, these turns may connect back to the prior talk by recycling or extending a prior turn, or extending a topic of talk rather than tying back to a particular turn. In addition, whereas Broe's analysis focuses on skip-connects in non-competitive environments, the present discussion also accounts for instances of 'no'-prefaced skip-connects that are not only competitive, but may be staunchly disaffiliative, being organized prior to the completion of another participant's on-going turn.[56]

The present analysis also diverges from broader work in CA on skip-connects, which are based on cases in which a skip-connect device ties back only a short distance. This focus aligns with one of Sacks' claims about the practice, that speakers "don't skip-connect over long distances" (1992, II:349). By contrast, the present analysis considers how 'no'-prefaced skip-connects may also tie back across long stretches of talk; in some cases, multiple sequences

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[56] Of course, the present discussion further contrasts with Broe's (2003) analysis in that the examples of 'no'-prefaced turns examined here are not preceded by 'yes'. In fact, they generally do not acknowledge the just-prior turn at all. This disparity may be due to the regional nature of the Englishes examined in these respective studies. Though Broe describes her analysis as examining both British and American English, the data are primarily drawn from British speakers, while the present study focuses exclusively on American English.

comprising more than ten minutes of interaction. As further sub-sections will show, the length of talk occurring between these turns may be relevant to the formulation and organization of skip-connects within the talk.

In the sub-sections to follow, I present cases in which 'no'-prefaces are used to skip tie back to a prior utterance in various ways. In Section 4.3.1, I examine instances in which a skip-connect ties back only a short distance to a prior-prior turn by recycling or extending the initial turn. In Section 4.3.2, I examine examples in which a speaker ties back a longer distance to connect back to a prior-prior topic of talk rather than a specific earlier turn.

4.3.1 Restarting or extending a prior-prior turn

In this sub-section I examine instances in which speakers employ 'no'-prefaced turns to recycle and restart a prior-prior turn. We see this practice in Excerpt 4 below, taken from an informal interview between three members of a sorority: Jamie, the interviewer, and Ali and Jess, the interviewees. Ali and Jess have been asked to talk about a situation in which they successfully changed a long-term plan at the last minute, and begin to recount the planning process for a trip taken during their most recent spring break. Ali takes on primary tellership and begins to discuss the three girls' initial plans to go to San Felipe, a popular tourist location in Baja California, with a group of male friends from a local fraternity. Though the girls change their plans to instead vacation in another tourist town, Cabo San Lucas, the boys keep their original destination and spend their break in San Felipe.

(4) SORORITY ORAL INTERVIEW (22:44 Pictures from San Felipe)

```
01    Ali:   But we were trying to like think of to do:::, a:::nd:, (0.4) we:
02           deci:de:d, (0.4) fi:nally after forever: that we're gonna go ta
03           San Felipe and you were awesome because you agree:d to do that
04           even though I know like it was the last thing you wanted to
```

```
05           ↑do::, (.) .hhh but we had it all planned ou::t, it was gonna be

06           fu:n like whateve:r, (0.4) and the::n::, (0.2) ma:(h)ybe(h)

07           pro(h)ba(h)bly no(h):t. eh[heh .hhh

08   Jess:                            [Yea::h I don't thin[k so:.

09   Ali:                            [.hhh but the:n the opportunity to go

10           to Ca::bo came up:, and so: after we already like paid for San

11           Felipe and decided that for su:re that's what we're gonna do

12           after li:ke, (.) months of drama about i:t:, (0.3) we:: o:h

13           before that we were planning on Hawai'i=I for↑go:t about Hawai'i.

14           (0.3)

15   Ali:  But the whole Hawai['i thing.

16   Jess:                      [Yea:h.

17           (0.2)

18   Jess: Wi[th li:ke the (    )

19   Ali:    [And the:n u:m:.

20           (0.8)

21   Ali:  We decided that Cabo sounded more fu::n and it just kind like

22           fi:t o[ur (                )

23   Jess:        [I am so: glad that we decided like I cannot eve:n, (0.5)

24   Ali:  I [CA:Nnot imagine. >You ↑guy:s<,

25   Jess:   [Seriously.

26   Jess: Why:::, and I was really the one that was like I don't kno:w if

27           we shou::ld (0.3) but you guys were so: sto:ked on it I was like

28           ↑I ↑don't ↑kno:w, (0.2) like what was I thinking, of course.=

29 → Ali:  =no: you guy:s I didn't te:ll you::, the othe:r night when I was

30           over at John's he showed me pictures from San Feli↑p:e:, (0.2)

31           .hhh okay I never really talked to anyone that much about the

32           tri:p, (0.2) they hi::red? Porn stars? To hang out on the beach
```

```
33          all day there's pi:ctures?
34    Jess: Wha:::t?
```

Ali begins the telling at lines 1-7 by describing the girls' initial decision to vacation in San

Felipe, contrasting their early excitement about this location with the increasingly negative

stance they began to feel toward it. Following Jess's affiliation at line 8, Ali then describes the

girls' change in plans to instead visit Cabo San Lucas (lines 9-12 and 21-22), and launches an

'oh'-prefaced side sequence describing another rejected vacation destination, Hawai'i (lines 14-

19).

At line 23 Jess produces a strong positive stance towards their decision to visit Cabo

rather than San Felipe, and Ali affiliates with this stance at the beginning of line 24. Ali then

follows this action with the vocative "you guy:s", a preface aimed at securing recipiency among

her co-participants for an upcoming extended telling. Ali shifts her gaze toward Jess during the

production of this preface, and following its completion, her mouth is open wide in anticipation

of continuing her turn. However, this move receives no uptake from the other participants as Jess

continues a prior turn, producing an accounting action that describes her initial resistance to the

change in plans from San Felipe to Cabo (lines 26-28).

At line 29 Ali produces a 'no'-prefaced recycle of the vocative from her prior turn ("you

guy:s"), then launches an extended telling about an incident that happened during their brother

fraternity's trip to San Felipe. Here, Ali describes how the boys hired pornographic film stars to

spend time with them throughout their vacation. The telling is hearable as providing support for

Jess's positive stance towards their decision to go to Cabo instead of San Felipe, an

understanding that is reflected in Ali's subsequent, hyperbolic claim that if the girls had indeed

gone to San Felipe with the boys and their "porn stars", she would have killed herself (omitted

from the transcript).

Notice that Ali's use of a 'no'-preface at line 29 marks a skip-connect back to her prior turn from line 24. Ali employs a recycle of the vocative at line 29, and thus does not simply connect back to her prior action, but restarts it. As with the other 'no'-prefaced turns in this chapter, we see that Ali's use of the token marks a shift in the sequential organization of the talk from before the 'no'-prefaced turn. However, also notice that Ali continues her prior-prior turn by formulating her upcoming talk as news that she should have told earlier ("I didn't te:ll you::"). In addition to tying back to her prior-prior turn, then, Ali's 'no'-prefaced turn is also hearable as marking her upcoming news as misplaced.

A related case occurs in the following excerpt, in which a 'no'-prefaced turn does not recycle a prior-prior turn, but extends it. We see this practice in Excerpt 5 below, taken from a conversation between Thuc and Kelly. Thuc begins the excerpt by initiating a new sequence, a claim about the number of gay men on campus who are what he refers to as "plastics" (a membership category that originated in the film *Mean Girls*). The claim is hearable as a preface to a forthcoming complaint about local members of this group.

(5) Thuc and Kelly (17:35 The Plastics)

```
01   Thuc: I- I just realized how many ga:ys on campus are *pla:sti:cs*.

02        (0.5)

03   Kell: Are pla- Wha:t okay so what i:s a *plas:tic:*.

04        (0.3)

05   Kell: Are they just li:ke, ((limp wrist gesture))

06   Thuc: ((nods)) *The: plas:tics:*.

07        (0.3)

08   Thuc: It's like imagine Mea:n Gir::ls, (   ) but the ga:y version:.

09        (0.2)

10   Kell: Oh::[:

11   Thuc:     [The pla:stics.
```

```
12    Kell: Like ((shakes shoulders back and forth))

13    Thuc: And I':m li:ke, I don't wanna dea:l with this, oh:: shut u:p:, I-

14          I like start [zoning out in the middle of the conversation:.

15    Kell:                [((touches Thuc's shirt sleeve))

16    Kell: Yea:h? (0.6) Sorry I wanna touch your shir:t.  ((touches shirt))

17    Thuc: Isn't it really c- co:m[fy?

18    Kell:                        [Yea::h it really- it looks rea:lly

19          so:f:t.

20          (1.5)

21    Thuc: tsk *yea:h [but the pla:stics*.

22               [((shakes head . . . . . . . . . . . ))

23          (0.6)

24    Kell: Are the:y jus:t like, (1.1) reall:y into themselves?

25    Thuc: *Yea::::[h::*.

26    Kell:        [Yea:::h.

27          (0.4)

28    Kell: Highty tight[y, hoity toity

29 →  Thuc:            [.hh Yea- no: I was like, I was like this guy- I was

30          talking to this gu::y he was like, talking about um somebody that

31          li:ke he- he like really li:kes and I was like oh: that's cool

32          yeah yeah yeah, and I was like trying to figure it out and he's

33          being so:(h): drama(h)tic about it? ((16 seconds omitted)) "He's

34          walkin a little faster than me."
```

Following a hearable gap, Kelly initiates repair on the category "plastics" at line 3,

though this action receives no uptake from Thuc. At line 5 Kelly then produces a candidate guess

at defining the category, producing a "limp wrist" gesture (Ingram 2013) that indexes an

ideologically salient form of gay masculinity. Thuc confirms this characterization at line 6, then

further describes the category at line 8. At lines 13-14 Thuc produces a complaint about the plastics, though this action only receives an acknowledgement from Kelly as she initiates a side sequence at line 16, in which both participants touch and describe Thuc's shirt. At lines 21 Thuc skip-connects back to the main sequence of the talk and negatively assesses the local plastics through a head shake.

Kelly responds at line 24 with a yes/no interrogative that asks whether the plastics are "reall:y into themselves". Thuc produces a positive response ("Yea::::h::") at line 25, and Kelly produces another candidate assessment of the plastics as "highty tighty". Thuc's response at line 29 initially displays his agreement with Kelly's assessment, though this action is halted through a glottal cut-off at the end of its production and abandoned to produce a 'no'-prefaced turn. Here, Thuc launches a story that illustrates how "into themselves" a member of the plastics might be, describing a complaint from one plastic to another about how a potential crush walked a little faster than him. The story serves as a skip-connect back to, and a relevant extension of, his prior turn at lines 13-14, in which he describes his reaction to just such a conversation.

In the following case, a partial repetition of the prior-prior turn establishes a connection between the 'no'-prefaced turn and the earlier talk. This excerpt is taken from a telephone conversation between Danielle, who is pregnant and due to give birth in two weeks, and her friend Miriam. Following a discussion of the pregnancy, Miriam launches a new sequence with a WH-question that asks how Danielle has been feeling.

(6) CALLHOME EN_5373 (7:52 Two Weeks Left)

```
01   Miri: So >how you< fee:ling, you fee:ling::, (1.2) energe:tic or,
02         tir:ed or how you goi[ng=
03   Dani:                      [Yea:h I'm starting to get contra:ctions:
04         no::w.
```

```
05    Miri: Yea:[*:hhh*.

06    Dani:     [Like, painful contra:ctions:.

07         (0.4)

08    Miri: Gee:, (.) god it's going to come so fa:st. (.) Y'know you still

09         have two wee:ks left don't ya:?

10         (.)

11    Dani: .hhh yea::h but y'kno:w pro:[bably:.

12    Miri:                             [Less tha- ↑oh ↑no le:ss than

13         ↑tha::t?

14    Dani: .hh [na::h two weeks. It was two weeks yesterday].

15    Miri    [Te:n da:ys?

16         (0.2)

17    Miri: Oh:::=

18 →  Dani: =And uh::. (0.2) .hhh No I actually had a doctor's appointment

19         ye:sterday and:: uh:, (0.3) .hhh everything's fi::ne my doctor is

20         like the mo:st, (0.2) no::n uh:, (0.8) like I don't know whether

21         he's just not interes:t(hh)ed or just doesn't ↑care or ↑wha:t,
```

Danielle responds at lines 3-4 with the news that she has recently started to get contractions; she then reformulates this description as "painful contra:ctions:" at line 6. This reformulation receives no uptake, however, and at line 8 Miriam instead produces an assessment of how fast the baby will come. She follows this with a B-event claim, formulated with a negative polarity tag question, that invites Danielle's confirmation that she is due in two weeks. Danielle responds at line 11 with a pro-forma confirmation, though this action is abandoned prior to its completion as Miriam produces an overlapping turn at lines 12-13. Here Miriam initiates repair on her earlier time formulation, producing a candidate guess that the baby is actually due in less than two weeks. At line 14 Danielle confirms that, as of the day before, she was officially

due in two weeks, and Miriam responds with a newsmark at line 17.

Danielle then produces an 'and-uh' prefaced turn (cf. Local 2004), though this is abandoned and reformulated as a 'no'-prefaced turn that reports the news that Danielle had visited the doctor the day before (line 18). Here, she connects this turn to her prior turn at line 14 by producing a partial repeat of the temporal adverb "yesterday". Danielle's news at line 18 is hearable as support for Danielle's earlier claim that she was officially two weeks away from her due date the day before, as doctors generally schedule final trimester prenatal visits two weeks prior to the due date (a form of member knowledge that Miriam, as a fellow mother, also has access to). Danielle's 'no'-prefaced thus extends her earlier news report from line 14.

A similar case occurs in Excerpt 7 below, taken from a conversation between two university students, Daniel and Tamara. The two have been discussing their recent grades on course exams, and compare the different test formats used in their humanities and science classes. As the excerpt begins, Tamara claims that she hasn't had a problem with the exams in either type of course, as she generally excels at taking tests. She then produces a related claim about the relative ease with which she completed her ACT exam, a standardized college admissions test that primarily features multiple choice questions.

(7) DANIEL AND TAMARA (25:10 Multiple Choice Questions)

```
01    Tama: I'm rea:lly good at taking te:sts like, (0.8)

02    Dan:  huh tha[t makes o:ne of us:.

03    Tama:        [just- rea:lly good at taking tests and so like when I'd

04          do A.C.T. like I never ran out of ti:::me, (0.2) .hh like I never

05          did any of tha::t (0.3) where like other people *di::d*.

06    Dan:  I[:. Hate. Multiple choice questions.

07    Tama:  [It's just like how I am

08    Dan:  I like essay questions, cause [I can wri::te, and [explai:n like,
```

```
09   Tama:                                  [Yea::h.            [See that's

10        where like you and A:nnie are really similar cause like we're in

11        bi:o right now? And our t:ests our multiple choice and I've

12        gotten like, (0.4) hundreds [on the la:st two

13   Dan:                              [And she doesn't.

14   Tama: and she doesn't?

15   Dan: See[:, (    )

16   Tama:    [.hhh and that's like ca::used *iss:ues* [like,

17   Dan:                                              [Rea::lly?

18   Tama: like her like (0.4) since (     )? Her like self confidence is

19        °like su:per lo:w° and it's almost like she like compe:tes with

20        me: but li:ke, (0.2) when I get hundreds on tests it's like the

21        last one I got a hundred on she got an ei:ghty:, (0.3)

22   Dan: hhhh[hh .hhh

23   Tama:    [a::nd it was just like rea::lly awkwa(hh)rd I was like oh:

24        go::d.

25 → Dan: No:: like, (1.0) for multiple choice questions I'm always just

26        like I second guess myself, and was like this °maybe this one°,

27        °no thi:s one°.

29   Tama: hhhh yea:[:h.

30   Dan:          [But then but like with essays? I can be like (0.4) I

31        thought it was this one because this, but then I thought it was

32        [this one because of this,

33   Tama: [Yea::h,  yea::h.
```

At line 6 Daniel responds to Tamara's claims about the ACT exam by producing a strongly negative assessment of tests featuring multiple choice questions. He accounts for this stance at line 8 by noting his preference for essay questions, which allow him to "wri::te, and explai:n" his answers. Prior to his completion of this turn, however, Tamara initiates an extended

telling about a mutual friend's performance on science exams (lines 9-21). Following Tamara's sequence-closing assessment at lines 23-24, Daniel produces a 'no'-prefaced turn at line 25 that skip-connects back to his prior complaint from line 6. Here, he connects the two turns by producing a partial repeat of the phrase "multiple choice questions". While Daniel's earlier turn (line 6) produced a negative assessment of multiple choice exams, his 'no'-prefaced skip-connect (line 25) provides an account for this stance.

In addition to serving as a skip-connect device, also notice that the 'no'-preface in line 25 may serve an additional functions. That is, Daniel's turn at line 25 also entails a shift from a non-serious interactional frame to a serious one, as both speakers orient to part of the prior sequence as a laughable. Daniel's use of 'no'-preface is thus potentially similar to the examples seen in Section 3.2 of the previous chapter, in which 'no'-prefaced turns skip-connected from a non-serious insertion or side sequence back to the serious main sequence of the talk. However, in contrast to the examples in the prior chapter, Daniel's turn at line 25 skip-connects far beyond the non-seriously framed segment of the talk, connecting to his abandoned turn from line 6. While Daniel's 'no'-prefaced turn is thus potentially hearable as producing a shift in footing as well as the sequential organization of the turn, it has more in common with the practices examined in the prior three examples than those seen in Section 3.2.

In each of the cases of 'no'-prefaced skip-connects discussed thus far, the connection between turns occurs over a relatively short distance. By contrast, the following two cases feature significantly long stretches of time between the prior-prior and the skip-connecting turn. We can see one example of this practice in Excerpt 8 below, taken from a telephone conversation between two mothers, Rachel and Barbara. Rachel has recently delivered her third child, and though Barbara has recently talked to Rachel's husband about the baby, this is the first time that

the two have talked since she went into labor a few days prior. The two have been discussing

Rachel's labor process, and as the excerpt begins, Rachel launches a story about how her doctor

wanted to deliver through a caesarean section due to complications with the baby (who was not

positioned to be birthed head-first). Throughout the story, Rachel expresses her resistance to

having a caesarean, which entails a significantly long and often painful recovery period. Upon

reaching the story's resolution (Labov 1972), Rachel describes how her doctor opted to perform

a vacuum extraction of the baby instead.

(8) CALLFRIEND ENGN4889 (5:11 A Little Baby Girl)

```
01    Rach: What happened wa:s that she got stu:ck.

02    Barb: .HHHH

03    Rach: And she was li::ke, her head was like not faced the right wa:y.

04    Barb: Oh::: my goodness=

05    Rach: =and li:ke, she's like=

06    Barb: =open o:ne ((to someone off-phone))

07    Rach: going ta me, we might have to have a C-section um:, I-

08          [I pushed for two: hour:s and she tells me thi:s:,

09    Barb: [Oh: no::.

10    Rach: .hhh and I'm like, we're no:t having one, I don't ca:re what you

11          do(h):,

12    Barb: Rea:ll[y

13    Rach:       [So she she:, (0.2) did a vacuum extra:ction.

14    Barb: .HHH that also hur:ts, that hurts you: no:?=

15    Rach: =U:m:, it didn't really hurt but I have a very big episiotomy so

16          no:w it's like, y'kn[ow

17    Barb:                     [A:h yeah I feel so bad for [you hold on

18    Rach:                                                 [Bu:t,
```

```
19   Rach: it's (a) wa:y better than a sectio(h)n.

20   Barb: Just want to switched my channel of my cordle[ss

21   Rach                                              [Ten times better

22         than a section though.

23   Barb: O:f cou::rse.=

24   Rach: =so:=

25   Barb: The recuperation you fee:l, also you we[re sick then

26   Rach:                                        [I'm walkin arou:::nd

27   Barb: it's no but you were sick [then also you can't com-

28   Rach:                           [Yea:h, but sti:ll when you have

29   Rach: a caesarean you can't wa:lk. (0.4) I was walking around a

30         few hours la:ter.

31         (0.3)

32   Barb: Uh hah:

33   Rach: I'm walking arou:nd, I mean, (0.8) okay so I have an episiotomy

34         most people do:.

35         (0.5)

36   Barb: Ri::ght, (0.3) .hhh oh my goodness.

37   ((4 minutes of talk about the health of the baby following the birth))

38   Barb: You probably can't believe this is you.  Like,

39   Rach: No=

40   Barb: =Three years ago, huhh four years ago somebody would've told you

41         Yoheved you['re gonna have twins and then

42   Rach:            [You're gonna have three kids yeah

43   Barb: and then a yea:r later ehheh two years later you're gonna have a

44         little baby gir::l, you probably would be like wha::

45   Rach: Yeah you crazy ri(hh)ght go get your head examined ri(hh)ght

46   Barb: I ca:n't belie:ve it that is thri:lling. (.) that is really

47         grea:t=
```

```
48 →  Rach: =But no I'm really glad that she managed to do it without the C-

49         section:, (.) cause I fee:l, so much better now.

50         (0.5)

51  Barb: Uh hu:h.

52  Rach: I mean wa::y better.

53         (0.6)

54  Rach: I mean [(    ) I mean I ca- y'know I [(        ).

55  Barb:        [(   )                          [Was there a cha:nce the

56         whole time that you were gonna have a caesarean?
```

At line 14, Barbara responds to the news that Rachel underwent a vacuum extraction by

producing a B-event claim that the procedure is painful as well. Rachel rejects this claim at lines

15-16, claiming that the procedure was relatively painless, and follows this by claiming at lines

18-19 that the vacuum extraction was still preferable to a caesarean. Rachel then produces an

upgraded repeat of this claim at lines 21-22 to pursue a response from Barbara. Barbara produces

affiliating responses at lines 23 and 25, the latter of which produces a B-event statement about

how Rachel's concurrent illness[57] only complicated the recovery. However, Rachel's responses at

lines 26, 28-30, and 33-34 continue to focus on the further complications a caesarean would have

brought. Following Barbara's sequence-closing assessment at lines 36, the speakers produce

around four minutes of talk, discussing the health of the baby and the reaction of her older

children to their new sibling (omitted from the transcript). At line 38, Barbara initiates a new

sequence, producing a B-event claim with downgraded epistemic status that Rachel was not

expecting to have three children at this point in her life (lines 40-41 and 43-44). Rachel produces

affiliative responses throughout this claim (lines 39, 42, 45), and Barbara responds with a series

---

[57] The speakers have previously discussed how Rachel came down with a stomach bug just prior to her delivery.

of two positive assessments about Rachel having had multiple children (lines 46-47). Upon

completion of this turn, Rachel produces an assessment of how glad she is that her doctor did not

perform a caesarean section (lines 48-49). This 'but no'-prefaced turn skip-connects back to a

segment of earlier talk that occurred nearly five minutes prior, in which Rachel told a story that

expressed her strong resistance to having a caesarean. Notice that, like the skip-connects

discussed by Sacks (1992), this practice is markedly competitive. That is, through this practice,

Rachel treats the intervening talk as an "interruption" of her telling.

Also notice that, in contrast to each of the prior excerpts in this section, Rachel employs a

complex preface ('but no') rather than a 'no'-preface. A similar use of turn-initial 'but' has been

discussed by Mazeland and Huiskes (2001), who analyze the use of Dutch *maar* ('but') as a

"resumption marker". However, their analysis focused on the use of the conjunction to tie back

to the main sequence of the talk following an insertion or side sequence. By contrast, Rachel's

use of a 'but no'-prefaced turn ties back to turn within a sequence that had been concluded rather

than placed "on hold" by a secondary sequence. From the data in the present collection, it is

unclear how complex prefaced (e.g. 'but no') differ from 'no'-prefaced skip-connects, if they do

at all. Additionally unclear is whether 'but no' and 'no but' are employed differently.

A similar example occurs further on in the conversation between Rachel and Barbara.

Following the talk presented in the excerpt above, the participants engage in around five minutes

of talk about how Rachel is recovering from her delivery, baby clothes, and Rachel's upcoming

trip to see her mother. Prior to Excerpt 8 below, Barbara has produced a positive assessment of

Rachel's husband, Shimmy, who has been keeping Barbara informed about the birth through

frequent telephone calls. As the excerpt begins, Rachel responds to this assessment by initiating a

complaint that also accounts for why Shimmy had called instead of her: the fact that she was unable to call anyone from her hospital bed.

(9) CALLFRIEND ENGN4889 (14:44 They Were Really Incredible)

```
58   Rach: That's su:ch a pain that you can't call from the hospital. I mean

59         I'm sure there's a:, (0.4) I was feeling ba:d and I was gonna

60         call you f- with a credit car:(h)d hhhh

61   Barb: Oh::: no:. .hhhh It's a lo:t better anywa:y if he- (.) if you

62         kno:w, (0.2) he calls the people and then they'll ca:ll yo:u and

63         if it's not (   ) they'll ca:ll ya ba::ck.

64         (0.5)

65   Rach: Yeah but Shimmy >started ta tell< people not ta bo:ther me which

66         I [(    )

67   Barb:   [I ca:lled you last ni:ght, but uh your phone w[as probably off

68   Rach:                                               [Phone was busy

69         prob- oh [i- it was shut off already?

70   Barb:          [Yea:h.

71         (0.3)

72   Barb: No: you probably, too:k it off the hoo:k.

73   Rach: I took it off the hook, that's (what) I- I told Shimmy don't

74         worry about people bothering me: [cause if when I want to get a

75   Barb:                                  [Exa:ctly.

76   Rach: pho:ne call I'll take it (I mean) I'm up.

77   Barb: Ri:ght. A[nd if you're not u:p,

78   Rach:          [I'm not totally stupid.

79   Barb: I: ignored the phone a lot of times in the hospital uh=I just did

80         not feel like picking up=becau:se .hhh >first of all< you have to

81         tell your labor story to each person.

82         (0.4)
```

```
83    Rach:  Y:ea(h):[hh

84    Barb:         [ughhh ·hhh nu:h=it's not even ↑tha:t and i- i-

85         [it's just the

86 →  Rach: [No: but they were really incredible like they really did not let

87         me be in any pai:n any, li:ke (0.3) they just kept o:[n giving

88    Barb:                                                   [Fabulou:s.

89    Rach: me and giv- it was really good.
```

After it is revealed that Rachel and her husband have been leaving their phone off the

hook to staunch the flow of phone calls from friends and family, Barbara provides an affiliating

account at lines 80-81 for why she did the same with her last child. Here she produces the

complaint that, had she left her own phone on the hook, she would have had to tell the story of

her labor to everyone who called. Following Rachel's acknowledgement, Barbara continues this

complaining action at line 84. Prior to this turn's possible completion, however, Rachel

positively assesses the team of doctors and nurses that attended to her during her labor, claiming

that they never let her be in pain during the process (lines 86-87). As with the prior except, the

turn formulated with a complex preface ('no but'), and skip-connects back across a large span of

talk. Significantly, Rachel's turn here ties back to the first two minutes of the phone call,

occurring roughly fourteen minutes prior to her turn at lines 86-87. This prior-prior has been

duplicated here as Excerpt 10.

(10) CALLFRIEND ENGN4889 (0:37 They Were Really Incredible)

```
01    Rach:  Well the labor wasn- was fi:ne they gave me tons of epidural. I

02         mean it wasn't

      ((4 lines omitted))

07    Rach:  She gave me an epidural when I was one and a half centimeter(h)s

08    Barb:  Ar(h)e yo(h)u serious(h)s.
```

```
09    Rach: I am: se:rious.

10    ((1 minute of talk omitted))

11    Barb: But you weren't feeling anything [(        ) with the epidural.

12    Rach:                                  [But it didn't really really

13          hur:t. And- but then she goes [well you know you can have an

14    Barb:                                [(        )

15    Rach: epidural whenever you want.
```

Rachel had told the story of her epidural at this earlier point in the talk, describing how her

doctor had given her the anesthesia far earlier than is the norm (when her cervix was dilated to

only 1.5 cm rather than the more typical 4-6 cm). During this earlier sequence she also claims to

have had "tons of epidural" throughout her labor process (line 1), and was offered an epidural

whenever she wanted one (lines 13 and 15). Rachel's 'no but'-prefaced turn at lines 86-87 is thus

hearable as a tie back to these earlier turns at talk.

Notice also that, while both this excerpt and the one prior illustrate markedly competitive

uses of these skip-connect practices, Rachel's 'no-but' prefaced turn at lines 86-87 not only

disaligns with the prior turn, but is also strongly disaffiliative with it. That is, it treats Barbara's

prior in-progress turn, and the complaining action it enacts, as if they were complete (cf. Stivers

2008). This type of "competitive" use of a skip-connect practice was rare in the corpus, and only

occurred in the conversation between Rachel and Barbara.

4.3.2 Returning to a prior-prior topic of talk

In the previous sub-section, I examined cases in which 'no'-prefaces, or complex 'no

but'- or 'but no'-prefaces, clearly tied back to a prior turn within the talk. Here, I present a case

in which a 'no'-prefaced turn instead skip-connects back to a topic of talk from an earlier

segment of the interaction. In contrast to the cases examined in the prior sub-section, these

practices occur only when the skip-connect and the connected segment of talk occurred a significant distance apart.

Though working from outside of conversation analysis (instead analyzing 'no' as a discourse marker), Lee-Goldman (2001) has examined a similar practice. The relevant section of his analysis is his description of turn-initial 'no' to mark what he also terms a "topic shift". Here, he examines a single case in which a speaker connects back to the topic of an earlier segment of talk. Given the presentation of Lee-Goldman's data, however, the sequential "distance" between the skip-connecting turn and the earlier topic of talk.

We can see an example of this practice in Excerpt 11 below, taken from a telephone conversation recorded as part of the Callfriend corpus. The excerpt begins at the very start of the recording. Here, Jim begins the call with a negative polarity statement with rising intonation that checks to see if Martin wants to be recorded.

(11) CALLFRIEND ENGS_6269 (I Just Saw This - 0:00)

```
01    Jim:   You do:n't want ta be: recor:ded?

02           (0.3)

03    Mart:  Oh: I don't car:e.

04    Jim:   .hhh all right so: ah:, this is for the University of

05           Pennsylva:nia. .h[hh

06    Mart:                   [We:ll [I I, I sti:ll don't mind.

07    Jim:                          [Uh::, and we got

08           thirty minutes to ta:lk.

09           (0.4)

10    Mart:  We ha(h)ve thi(h)rty mi(h)nutes ta ta:(h)lk. Oh: okay.=

11    Jim:   =Yea:h, we gotta ta:lk thirty minutes.

12    Mart:  All right WE:LL,

             (14 lines omitted))
```

```
27    Jim:  I assu:me we just ta::lk.

28          (0.6)

29    Mart: Yessir:?=

30    Jim:  .hhh u:mm,

31          (0.8)

32    Mart: So how ya do:in?

33    ((70 seconds of talk omitted))

34    Jim:  It could be so:methin, (0.8) .hhh tha:t's, easy ta::, (0.6) uh:

35          rupture something it could be somethin tha:t, (0.2) .hhhh there

36          wouldn't even be anything to worry about.

37    Mart: Mhm.

38          (.)

39 →  Jim:  .hhhhhh uh:. (0.8) No: I: uh::, (0.4) I uh: just uh saw this,

40          (0.8) uh: artic- thi:s, a::d, in the Columbus Tribu:ne, (0.8)

41          a:nd uh::, (0.3)

42    Mart: That's interesting.

43    Jim:  I uh:, (0.2) uh: .hh (1.0) called the number and I thought ah

44          well they won't think anythin abou:t me. .hh so:. (0.3) .hhh

45          later I got this letter they wanted me to do it. hhehhhhh
```

Following Martin's 'oh'-prefaced response at line 3, Jim begins to provide a background

for the Callfriend project, reporting the news that the recording is being conducted on behalf of

the University of Pennsylvania (lines 4-5). Martin orients to this claim as a potential reason for

him to not want to participate, and confirms his interest in participating at line 6. Jim displays no

uptake of this turn, however, likely because it is produced in overlap with his own talk at lines 7-

8. Here, Jim further reports the news that they have thirty minutes to talk before the call is

terminated. Following an exchange in which Jim further reports the instructions for how to

proceed with the call (omitted from the transcript), Martin produces a topic proffer at lines 32, a

WH-question that asks Jim how he's doing. Jim responds with an extended telling about recent medical issues he has been facing (omitted from the transcript) that continues into lines 34-36.

Following Martin's acknowledgement at line 37, Jim pursues a different course of action, reporting that he recently saw an ad in a local newspaper (lines 39-41). Though Martin orients to this turn as news, Jim's subsequent talk at lines 43-45 make the turn hearable as a preface to a telling about how he heard about the Callfriend project. Notice that Jim's news report at line 39 is 'no'-prefaced, and can be hearable as returning to a prior topic of talk: the Callfriend study itself. In contrast to the cases from the prior sub-section, however, Jim's 'no'-prefaced turn does not clearly tie back to specific turns at talk. Rather, the only connection between Jim's 'no'-prefaced turn and the prior-prior talk is in their shared topic.

In this section, I examined the use of 'no'-prefaced turns as a skip-connect device. As with the prior section, these practices indexed a shift in the sequential organization of the talk by marking that the talk to follow was not organized with regard to the prior turn. Rather than marking the misplacement of the 'no'-prefaced turn (though this also occurred within 'no'-prefaced skip-connects), however, the main function of these 'no'-prefaces is to index that the talk that follows ties back to a prior turn or topic of talk. In contrast to Broe's (2003) earlier discussion of [yes] + [no+component] skip-connects, the cases examined in this section could be markedly competitive (and even disaffiliative). In contrast to more general discussions of skip-connects in CA, the cases examined here were also used to tie back over long periods of interaction.

4.4 Closing an extended telling

In this section, I analyze a practice in which 'no'-prefaces mark a notably different shift in sequence organization from those seen in the two prior sections. Here, 'no'-prefaced turns

mark the close of an extended telling (specifically, a story) sequence. In each of these cases, the token 'no' prefaces the teller's assessment of the events they have just described.

The use of assessments to close storytellings has been briefly analyzed by Jefferson (1978), whose lone illustration of this practice is prefaced by 'but' rather than 'no' (however, Jefferson does not note the possible relevance of this preface in her discussion). I have reproduced part of this example as Excerpt 12:

```
(12) GTS:II;2:64:r

1      Roger:[STORY] 'n were back t'the pizza joint we started from.

2             Y'know, En we spend a whole night doin that, 'n waste a

3 →           lotta money on gas'n, .hh But we hadda ba:ll.
```

Though it is unclear whether 'but'-prefaced or 'no'-prefaced assessments are similar in how they are deployed or what they may invite, it is telling that both Jefferson's case, and those presented here, are prefaced by tokens that also manage a different aspect of sequence organization: skip-connects (cf. Mazeland and Huiskes 2001).

We can see an example of the practice described above in Excerpt 13 below, taken from a telephone conversation between Teresa, who lives in the United States, and Anita, an American living in Mexico who has recently visited Teresa. As the excerpt begins, Teresa launches a topic proffer about a powerful earthquake that had recently hit the downtown area where she lives. Following Teresa's initial assessments of the earthquake, Anita displays her Type 2 knowledge of the event and describes hearing about it from her relatives in the U.S. (omitted from the transcript). Following another assessment sequence at lines 11-12, Teresa than launches a story about her personal experience during the earthquake.

```
(14) CALLHOME EN_5700 (11:08 Just Like Super Frightening)

01     Tere: Oh bo:y and you jus- (0.2) you missed the ear:thqua:ke, (.)

02           oh:: [god it was so fri:ghtening.
```

```
03    Ani:        [Yea::::h, right?

04          (0.4)

05    Tere: Go:[:d, I've never been so scar:ed in my li:fe I'd never FELT

06    Ani:      [Bu-

07    Tere: anything that stro:ng.=

08    Ani:  =↑Rea::↓lly.

09    Tere: It was tha::t ba::d.

10          ((20 seconds omitted))

11    Ani:  And tha:t's pretty ↑sca:ry [(tha:t)

12    Tere:                           [Yea::h, it was. It wa- I- y'know I

13          was with Louise and Mandy and we went dow:ntow:n? .h[hh

14    Ani:                                                     [Mhm.

15    Tere: You we never go out- well it's on Friday night okay so we went to

16          the- on the Ea:st ↑si:de, (0.3) .hhh and all of sudden you know

17          what we- (.) I look at Louise looks at me and I said, (0.4)

18          ↓we're ↓outta ↓here.

19    Ani:  ehhuhhu[hhehuhuhh

20    Tere:        [But it- it started r- it didn't start rea::l, rea:l::,

21          (0.3)

22    Ani:  Real [strong?

23    Tere:      [stro::ng:. It was just >it was< like,

            ((2 lines omitted - phone trouble))

26    Tere: But anyway so:- (0.3) so we got (ho:me) but by the time we got

27          out I mean, (.) .hhh the pavement was (.) BU:CKING. .hh it was

28          just li:ke,

29    Ani:  Who[:a.

30    Tere:    [Oh::. That- there was this, I remember this truck it was just

31          (.) BOUNCING up and down like so[mebody

32    Ani:                                  [.hh
```

```
33    Tere: had it like on a yo:yo:.

34         (0.2)

35    Ani: °Oh:: my goo:dness°.

36 →  Tere: ↓No: it was just like super fri:ght[ening.

37    Ani:                                     [And nothing happened to your

38         hou:se or?
```

Teresa launches the story with a pre-telling at lines 12-13 that secures Anita's recipiency.

That is, Anita's responses display her clear alignment with the ongoing project of Teresa's

storytelling: Anita responds to the initial pre-sequence with a continuer (line 14), to a word

search with a candidate guess (line 22), and to the telling of Teresa's story with assessments

(lines 29 and 35). Following Teresa's latter assessment at line 35, Teresa then produces a 'no'-

prefaced assessment of her experience of the earthquake, describing it as "super fri:ghtening"

(line 36). Notice that, following Teresa's 'no'-prefaced assessment, Anita shifts from the passive

recipiency she has displayed throughout the prior storytelling sequence to become an active

speaker. Here, she launches an 'or'-final (Drake 2013) yes/no question that proffers a further

topic of talk: the state of Teresa's house following the earthquake (lines 37-38). We see here that

Anita treats Teresa's 'no'-prefaced assessment at line 36 as a telling-exit device that closes the

story that was previously underway.

A similar case occurs in Excerpt 15 below, taken from a telephone conversation between

Bee and Ada. Prior to the excerpt, Bee had described the wedding of her oldest child, which

occurred a few years prior. Bee then begins to compare the reception for that event with the

recent wedding of her younger daughter, and as the excerpt begins, she begins a description of

the latter child's wedding reception.

(15) CALLHOME EN_4459 (17:32 It was Beautiful)

```
01    Bee: Anywa:y to make a long story short- (.) she had her we:dding:,
```

```
02          al:so::, (0.2) but her::s we di:d like u::m a buffe[t.

03          (0.8)

04   Bee:   So::, I was really nervous about ↑that cause when did we ever do

05          a bu↑ff:e:t.=

06   Ada:   =Ye[a:(h)h

07   Bee:     [So we rented the ta:bles: and chair:s a a↓gai::n, and we

08          rented all the beautiful dish:es:, (0.3) but we set up the

09          buffet we bou:ght like these really nea:t, y'know like they'r::e

10          (0.2) well we sa:ved em cause you can wa:sh em they're made outta

11          of plastic but they look like si:l:ver::, (0.4) tra::ys.

12   Ada:   Uh: hu:h, yeah.

13   Bee:   So we bought all different shapes and si:zes and we put out the

14          sa:lads and the:- mea::ts and the:: (0.3) all different ki:nds

15          and we ha::d um:, (.) little cocktail ho:t do:gs a:nd we ha:d (.)

16          chicken legs and we ha::d (0.2) schni:tzels: a:nd, (0.4) oh they

17          ma:de a beautiful ba:sket with brea:ds (with) [y'know everything

16   Ada:                                               [Wo::w.

17   Bee:   falling out on the ta(h)ble y'know those kinda=things?

18          (0.3)

19 → Bee:   No: it was ↑beautiful=it also came out really n:ic[e the only

20   Ada:                                                    [.hh you guys

21          must feel so o:ld that you've married chil:dren alrea:dy.
```

Bee launches a story about preparing for her younger daughter's reception at line 7, and
as with the prior excerpt, Ada displays her recipiency throughout. Here, this entails the
production of a continuer at line 12 and an assessment at line 16. At line 19, Bee then produces a
'no'-prefaced assessment of the reception as "beautiful", followed by a follow-up assessment
that compares it to her older child's wedding ("It also came out really ni:ce"). As with the prior

excerpt, we see that Ada orients to this practice as marking the end of the storytelling, as she shifts from passive recipiency to active speakership. Here, she launches a B-event statement about Bee and her husband that invites further talk about being old enough to have married children (lines 20-21).

It is unclear why 'no'-prefaces (or, as comparatively seen in Jefferson 1978, 'but'-prefaces) preceding a speaker's own assessment of their prior story serve as a telling-exit device. Assessments may, after all, mark the close of other sequences, such as when they serve as sequence-closing thirds (Schegloff 2007), and do so without the use of either a 'no'- or 'but'-preface. However, the use of assessments to close story sequences is itself an underexamined practice within the CA literature, and further discussions of this practice (both within English and cross-linguistically) may shed light on the practices described in this section.

4.5 Summary of Chapter 4

In this chapter I discussed three practices for marking shifts in the sequential organization of the talk through 'no'-prefaced turns. Along with the practices for marking shifts in the organization of frame or footing within a turn (Chapter 3), I argue that the practices discussed in this chapter comprise a larger function of 'no'-prefaces as indexing shifts in the organization of the talk, a classification schema that has also been suggested by Keevallik (2012) in her discussion of Estonian *ei* ('no'). The function of 'no'-prefaces described in Chapter 2, in which 'no'-prefaced turns index and deny a prior inference, appears to be an entirely separate use of the token.

In examining the use of 'no'-prefaced turns to index shifts in sequential organization, I presented three practices: the use of 'no' as a misplacement marker, as a skip-connect device, and as an exit-telling device. The first two practices described in this chapter display clear similarities

in function, as they mark that the talk following the 'no'-preface departs from the just-prior talk (serving as a disjunction marker). The third practice is a relative outlier, however, as speakers here employ 'no'-prefaced assessments to close an extended telling sequence. In the cases of this practice examined here, we saw that recipients appeared to orient to these 'no'-prefaced assessments as marking the end of the on-going sequence, displaying this orientation by shifting from a state of passive recipiency to become an active speaker. It is, however, also possible that the 'no'-prefaced turns examined in Section 4.3 serve some other function. For example, returning to Excerpt 15, we see that prior to Bee's 'no'-prefaced turn at line 19, Ada has displayed her inadequate uptake of the prior turn, and her subsequent 'no'-prefaced turn may respond to this. Additionally, Bee's prior turn at line 17 is produced with a laugh-relevant practice on the word 'table', and the subsequent 'no'-prefaced turn may index a shift in footing from a laughable to a serious assessment.

(15) CALLHOME EN_4459 (17:32 It was Beautiful)

```
17    Bee:  falling out on the ta(h)ble y'know those kinda=things?
18          (0.3)
19 →  Bee:  No: it was ↑beautiful=it also came out really n:ic[e the only
```

As noted earlier, a fuller treatment of assessment practices as sequence closers may shed light on the 'no'-prefaced practices examined in the prior section. Despite the ambiguity of this practice, however, the other two practices discussed in this chapter fit clearly with the larger discussion of 'no'-prefaced turns discussed in the prior chapter as well, and illustrate the need for further work on (and particularly, cross-linguistic analyses of) 'no'-prefaces as indexes of organizational shifts.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Summary of the dissertation

This dissertation has explored some of the functions of 'no'-prefaced turns in English talk-in-interaction. In this chapter, I conclude the analysis by first presenting a summary of its main findings, then discussing some general implications of the study.

In Chapter 2, I examined the use of 'no'-prefaces to index and deny an inference produced in the prior talk. This larger phenomenon was observed across a number of sub-practices that illustrated the wide range of inferences that could be responded to through a 'no'-prefaced turn. In each of these practices, the 'no'-preface itself responded not to the propositional content of the prior turn, but rather to the inferential component of the prior talk. Within this capacity, 'no'-prefaced turns were observed to accomplish the following: do deny a range of face-threatening off-record actions; to display affiliation in environments where a speaker has displayed and/or projected their prior disaffiliation; to deny inferences regarding, and thereby help manage, the speaker's epistemic stance or rights; to respond to an inference conveyed through a prior polar question; and to provide a preferred response to delicate formulations that index a recipient's accountability, blame, or guilt. Taken together, I refer to these functions as *indexing inferables*.

In Chapter 3, I examined the use of another set of functions of 'no'-prefaces, which display the speaker's footing towards a prior or ongoing unit of talk as either serious or non-serious. Two general practices were described here. In the first, 'no'-prefaced turns marked a transition from a non-serious to a serious interactional frame. I showed that this practice was

employed across three different sequential environments: when following a non-serious action with a serious reformulation of the initial action, when responding in a serious way to a non-serious first turn, and when marking a return from a non-seriously framed insertion or side sequence to the seriously framed main sequence of the talk. This chapter also presented a related practice for displaying a shift in footing through a 'no'-prefaced turn, in which speakers retroactively assert their non-serious footing towards a prior utterance. This practice was organized in one of two ways: as a second turn, to "correct" a first speaker's treatment of an utterance as non-serious, or in third position, to correct a second speaker's understanding of the first turn within the sequence. Though similar in many ways to other-initiated and third position repair practices, this practice was only observed in response to assessments, and in contexts where the speaker producing the 'no'-prefaced second or follow-up assessment has some degree of epistemic primacy with regard to the initial assessment. This practice may thus also serve as a means of asserting a second speaker's right to assess.

In Chapter 4, I focused on a related function of 'no'-prefaced utterances; taken together, I refer to the functions examined in both Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 as enacting different types of *organizational shifts*. Here, I examined the use of 'no'-prefaced turns to index three types of shifts in the sequential organization of the talk. In the first of these, 'no'-prefaces are used as a misplacement marker, indexing that the talk that follows is organized as to be "out of place" with regard to the surrounding talk. In the second practice, 'no'-prefaces function as a skip-connect device, marking that the talk to follow ties back to a spate of talk occurring before the just-prior turn. In both of these practices, 'no'-prefaces function as a disjunction marker that marks the talk to follow as a departure from the just-prior talk. In the third practice, speakers employ 'no'-prefaced assessments as a telling-exit device, marking the close of an extended assessment

sequence.

5.2 Inferences and action formation

Chapter 2 of this dissertation examined the use of 'no'-prefaced turns as one practice for responding to the inferential component of the prior talk. However, within conversation analysis, the nature of "inference" as an analytic category has not been subjected to any significant discussion or scrutiny. This contrasts with work in Gricean pragmatics and speech act theory, in which inferences are readily classifiable into one of a number of such categories, such as conversational implicatures, conventional implicatures, presuppositions, and entailments. While contemporary definitions of presupposition and entailment[58] are not necessarily confined to these methodological approaches, analytic understandings of both conversational and conventional implicatures generally rely on the general conversational principles outlined by Grice (e.g. 1975, 1989), in particular the four conversational maxims detailed under his cooperative principal.[59] Each of the inference types mentioned above also rely on Grice's theoretical distinction between what is said – that is, the part of the utterance containing the truth-conditional aspect of meaning – and what is meant and/or implicated. Rather than align myself with these philosophical and analytic traditions through the use of these terms within the analysis, then, I have refrained from categorizing the types of inference under analysis in this dissertation.

However, this is not to say that such categories are necessarily irrelevant, or cannot be applied, to the types of inference examined in Chapter 2. We see examples of them throughout the analysis, as in the following example, reproduced here as Excerpt 1:

(1) Pizza lunch

---

[58] A presupposition is defined as the manner in which speakers rely on assumptions about the state of affairs related to the utterance, while entailment describes a truth-value relationship between two utterances, in which the truth of one is reliant upon the truth of the other.

[59] Conversational implicatures operate through the flouting and/or invocation of a particular maxim, for example, while conventional implicatures additionally arise from some aspect of conventional meaning within what was said.

```
01   Barb:  Do you actually use it?
02 → Mait:  No we use it every day
```

Here, the conventional meaning of the adverbial 'actually' in Barbara's turn, as well as her

flouting of Grice's maxim of quantity, produce an inferable stance display: that she does not in

fact believe that the restaurant does use the device under discussion. This particular stance

display can not only be described as a conventional implicature, but may also be analyzed as

being produced "off the record" (i.e. through a formulation other than a direct claim of Barbara's

disbelief). This latter term is a descriptor that has found its way from work on speech act theory

and politeness theory into work in CA (cf. Bolden, Mandelbaum, and Wilkinson 2012).

The term "off-record" was also used throughout Section 2.3 to refer specifically to

actions produced in the manner described above, a use of the term that parallels its occurrence in

Levinson's (2012) recent discussion of action formation and the granularity of action description.

However, the findings of Chapter 2 call into question the kind of distinction that Levinson makes

between the "main job" (or primary action) of a turn and the "off-record" action that it may also

accomplish. Here, Levinson defines the primary action of a turn as "what the response must deal

with in order to count as an adequate next turn", i.e. the "on-record" component of the turn. He

contrasts these with off-record actions, which he argues are "not easy to respond to directly

without completely redirecting the talk" (107). Turning to an earlier example from Chapter 2,

however, we see a speaker responding to the off-record action, in a direct way, as part of a

response that serves as an adequate next turn:

(3) DANIEL AND TAMARA (9:28 Blonde and Fat)

```
28   Dan:  [>Hilary [[Duff's<, hu:::ge.
29         [((eyebrows raise . . . . .))
30   Tam:          [[Because [Jessica Simpson,   [hu:::ge=
31                           [((eyebrows raise)) [((nods))
```

```
32 →  Dan:  =No °have you seen° Hilary Duff?

33    Tam:  No::, I ha(h)ven't seen [(her) (she) huhhhuhhhuh
```

Here, Daniel responds at line 32 to the off-record complaint enacted through Tamara's prior turn

at lines 30-31, though significantly, he does not produce a relevant response to the on-record (or

in Levinson's description, the "main") action produced through the turn: the assessment of

Jessica Simpson as "hu::ge". The types of inference examined throughout Section 2.3 provide

only one piece of potential evidence against the proposed description of the "main job" of a turn

put forth by Levinson, however. Further discussion, with additional consideration of other

inference types and other practices for responding to these inference types, is a necessary step

towards forming a more complete understanding of action description in CA.

5.3 Examining complex prefaces

Though focusing on the use of 'no' as a turn preface, parts of this dissertation also

examined the functions that may be served by the complex prefaces 'no but' and 'but no'. The

precedent for this comes in part from prior research treating both simple 'no'-prefaces and more

complex 'no' + 'but'-prefaces as if they were interchangeable,[60] such as Schegloff's (2001)

inclusion of an instance of 'no but' in an analysis of turn-initial 'no', or Keevallik's analysis of *ei*

aga (glossed as 'no but') in her discussion of *ei*-prefacing. In terms of frequency, these complex

'no' + 'but'-prefaces were relatively rare across the data for the present analysis, and thus a

comparative analysis of these simple and complex prefaces was beyond the scope of this

research study. Occurring far more frequently within the corpus for this analysis was another set

of complex prefaces, 'yeah no' and 'no yeah'. Rather than risk the appearance of conflation

between the functions of these complex prefaces and simple 'no'-prefaces, these tokens were

---

[60] Haakana and Visapää's (2010, 2011) discussions of the Finnish particle *eiku*, a compound particle
glossed as 'no but', treat it as potentially distinct from the Finnish negative particle *ei* ('no'), and thus this type of
conflation may not apply in all languages.

excluded from the preceding analysis. I briefly address their use here.

Despite the salient language ideologies attached to the use of 'yeah no' in both American and British English,[61] relatively little scholarship has described its use in discourse contexts. The most comprehensive work is by Burridge and Florey (2002), who examine the token as a discourse marker in Australian English. The authors note functions of 'yeah no' that largely diverge from the functions of 'no'-prefaced utterances examined in this dissertation, as it is used as: a "resumptive topic marker" (similar to the use of 'no'-prefaces to skip tie back to a prior turn), an "abrupt" initiator of a new topic of talk, a response format for questions with ambiguous grammatical polarity, a marker of emphatic agreement, and a hedging device. The hedging function of 'yeah no' described by Burridge and Florey occurs across a range of sequential environments, and is described as a practice for displaying weak agreement, indexing a speaker's discomfort with a topic of conversation, and prefacing an apology, compliment, or refusal. This range of functions suggests that the functions of 'yeah no' in Australian English vary a great deal from those served by simple 'no'-prefaces in American English. However, Burridge and Florey's description does not take the position of the token within a turn into account, and crucially, an analysis of 'yeah no'- and 'no yeah'-prefaces shows far more overlap with the functions of 'no'-prefaces examined in previous chapters.

Two of these functions can be observed in Excerpt 4 below, taken from a telephone conversation between two sisters, Anna and Cady. The two have been discussing the planning process for Anna's upcoming wedding. As the excerpt begins, Anna launches a pre-telling to a story about picking up the wine to be served at the event's open bar with their father.

---

[61] The frequent use of 'yeah no' in speech has been satirized in both American and British television media (as on the television programs *South Park* and *Little Britain*), and negative attitudes towards its use can be readily seen among prescriptivists in both nations. For example, a *Chicago Tribune* (2010) editorial referred to both 'yeah no' and 'no yeah' as "verbal tics", the frequent use of which were "annoying as the sound of jet engines" and indicative of "the demise of English as we know it".

(4) CALLHOME EN_4092 (9:54 The Wine Dad Wanted)

```
01    Anna:  Bu:t uh: (.) yea:h Da:d's alrea:dy::, (0.4) Dad and I went to

02           bu:y the wi::ne the other da:y?

03           (1.0)

04    Anna:  And they were having a sa::le.

05           (1.0)

06    Anna:  On the wi:ne dad wanted.

07           (1.8)

08    Cady:  Are you talking to ↑me:?

09           (0.3)

10    Anna:  Of cour:se I'm talking to you:.

11    Cady:  I could hardly hea:r you.

12    Anna:  Oh::.

13    Cady:  I thought you were talking to somebody e:lse and like, (0.2) put

14           the phone down o[r something.

15    Anna:                  [I'm ↑ta:lking to you:.

16           (0.2)

17 →  Cady:     Oh:. .hhh yea:h=no: Dad told me tha:t.=

18    Anna:     =Oh he did te[ll you.

19    Cady:                  [It's all Chile:an.

20           (1.0)

21    Anna:     Yea::h.

22    Cady:     Yea::h.
```

Though the pre-telling at lines 1-2 is formulated to invite a go-ahead from Cady, it is followed by a second of silence. Anna follows the silence with continued attempts to mobilize response at lines 4 and 6 (producing extensions of her initial turn and pausing after each subsequent TRP), after which Cady initiates repair (line 8) and checks to see whether Anna has been speaking to her throughout her prior extended turn. Following Anna's affirmative response at line 10, Cady

accounts for the earlier interactional trouble between the speakers at lines 11 and 13-14. Following Anna's reassertion that she has been addressing Cady in the prior talk (line 15), Cady produces a turn prefaced by an integrated (that is, phonetically realized as a single lexical item; cf. Steensig and Asmuß 2005) 'yeah no' at line 17 that claims prior knowledge of Anna's earlier news-telling about buying wine with their father.

There are two possible functions of the 'yeah no'-preface observed here, both of which parallel the functions of 'no'-prefaces observed in Chapters 2 and 4, respectively. In terms of its composition, Cady's turn is similar in structure to the assertions of K+ status seen in Section 2.5. That is, Anna has treated Cady as an unknowing participant, and Cady denies and corrects this assertion through the 'yeah no'-prefaced turn at line 17 and her subsequent description of the wine at line 19 (which demonstrates her own independent epistemic access to the story). However, it is also possible that the 'yeah no'-preface serves as a skip connect, returning to the main sequence of the talk (Cady's telling) from the multi-turn insert expansion that had occurred at lines 8-16

A related practice, in which a 'yeah no'-preface is used to respond to another epistemic-relevant inference, occurs in Excerpt 5 below. The excerpt is from a telephone conversation between two mothers, Barbara and Rachel, who have been talking about the recent birth of Rachel's new baby. As the excerpt begins, Barbara begins a new sequence through a topic proffer, a yes/no interrogative that checks whether Rachel (who already has two other children) can actually believe that she has a new infant at home.[62]

(5) ENGN4889 (19:03 Another little pitzy)

```
01    Barb: So: do you believe you have another little ↑pi:tzy:. hh[h
02    Rach:                                                      [N:o:: and
```

---

[62] Barbara here uses the term "pitzy" to refer to Rachel's new baby, a diminutive form of the Yiddish *pitzeleh* (often glossed as "little one" or "dear one").

```
03          she's rea:l[ly cu::te
04   Barb:          [You: forGET that they were ever li::ke that, ri:ght?
05        (0.4)
06   Rach: Yea::h, y[ea:h:
07   Barb:          [Every ki:d uh:, you cannot believe that the o:ther ones
08        were ever tha:t sma- and she's bi:gger than your other o:nes:
09        (.)
10 → Rach: ↑Yea::h, (.) yea:h=no: of course you can't remember: I mean it's
11        li:ke,
12        (0.4)
13   Barb: It's like you hold a little sack of potatoes
```

At line 2 Rachel produces an aligning response to Barbara's question. This is followed by a positive assessment of the baby as "rea:lly cute". Barbara displays no uptake of this latter action, instead producing a B-event statement at line 4 about Rachel's feelings towards having a new baby at home, formulated with a tag question that downgrades its epistemic stance and invites Rachel's agreement. Following a short pause, Rachel responds at line 6 with a pair of agreement tokens ("yea::h") that are overlapped by another B-event statement from Barbara, this time produced without a tag question (lines 7-8). Though Rachel initially responds at line 10 with another agreement token, she restarts the turn (as part of a new intonation unit) with a 'yeah no'-preface in effective turn-initial position; as in the prior excerpt, this is an integrated production of the preface (i.e. as a single lexeme). Following the 'yeah no'-preface, Rachel produces an epistemically upgraded reformulation of Barbara's prior claim ("Of course you can't remember:") that displays her own epistemic primacy toward Barbara's earlier B-event claim (from line 4). As with the use of 'no'-prefaces observed in Section 2.5, Rachel's use of a 'no'-preface asserts her epistemic rights to a claim made by co-participant (which, given the B-event

nature of Barbara's earlier claim, are clearly stronger).

When organized as a turn preface, the other instances of 'yeah no' and 'no yeah' observed in the data appear to follow a similar trend, in that they function in much the same way that 'no'-prefaces do. Significantly, in cases where these complex 'yeah' + 'no' tokens function differently – such as in the ways that Burridge and Florey (2002) attribute to 'yeah no' in Australian English – they or not organized as a preface. Rather, they occur as either the standalone component of a turn, are organized in turn-final position, or are hearable as a distinct TCU in their own right. (This observation further reinforces the idea, discussed in Chapter 1, that both position and composition are crucial elements of how 'no' and other particles function in talk-in-interaction). For illustration's sake, an example of a function of a non-prefacing 'no yeah' is presented in Excerpt 6 below. Here, the speakers from the prior excerpt have been talking about what size clothes Rachel's two older children have been wearing. As the excerpt begins, Barbara suggests that Rachel will soon be able to match the baby's clothing with those worn by at least one of her older children.

```
(6) ENGN4889 (11:15 matching baby outfits)
01    Barb: Now you can ma::tch, (0.5) Ata::ra: a:nd the ba:by::, (.) ehhehh
02          if you can't ma:tch, Elana and Shimon=
03    Rach: °Yea::h° we'll see:, we'll see.
04    Barb: You could probably match bo:th, °no::°?
05          (0.3)
06    Rach: We:ll I bou:ght them stuff for Rosh: Hashana already.
07          (0.3)
08    Rach: And I- they didn't, they didn't come with matching baby outfits
09          so:.
10          (0.7)
11    Barb: °Ah ha::h°
```

```
12     Rach: °So maybe we'll have to not ma:tch them°.
13           (0.7)
14     Barb: .hh[h °oh:°
15 →   Rach:    [Bu:t, °↑ye:ah=↑no°
16           (0.7)
17     Rach: It's really funny cause that's ho:w, that Yemmy told them, that
18           Mommy had a baby gi:rl
```

Following Rachel's hedged, pro-forma agreement at line 3, Barbara suggests that Rachel can likely match the baby's clothing with both of her other children's clothes. Following a beat of silence that projects an upcoming dispreferred, Rachel produces a hedged, disagreeing response at lines 6-12. This is followed at line 15 with a 'yeah no' that precedes the initiation of a new sequence. It is unclear whether the 'yeah no' marks Rachel's orientation to the close of the sequence or as a post-positioned hedge following Rachel's dispreferred response (or possibly both), though both features align with the description of 'yeah no' described by Burridge and Florey (2002). It is thus possible that both American English and Australian English usage of 'yeah no' display more overlap than both this analysis and Burridge and Florey's would otherwise suggest, given the focus here on turn prefaces and Burridge and Florey's lack of attention to issues of sequential environment in their anlaysis. However, this is also an area where further comparative research is needed.

5.4 Implications of the dissertation

In Schegloff's (2001) analysis of what he termed "joking => serious" 'no', he provided strong evidence that our understanding of the token as doing simple negation and disagreement in all contexts simply does not hold. In this dissertation, I have demonstrated much of the same at a larger scope, examining a number of additional practices served by 'no' when it occurs as a preface to a larger unit of talk. However, the study also offers some more general observations

about language and interaction of import to analysts working both within and outside of conversation analysis.

One such observation is related to the use of 'no'-prefaces to respond to inferences. As Section 5.2 discussed, overt attention to what is meant by such categories as "off-record" and "on-record" within conversation- and other interaction-oriented analyses is not only relatively recent, but in need of further attention. The larger practice examined in Chapter 2 – that of responding to inferences through a next turn – is also underdeveloped within CA. What work does exist outside of the present analysis, such as Heritage and Raymond's (2005) and Raymond and Heritage's (2006) discussions of how speakers respond to the inference that they have lesser epistemic rights, has yet to consider that the practices examined therein may be part of a larger set of practices for more generally responding to inferences. However, as this dissertation suggests, a wide range of inferences may be responded to through the same practice: the analysis in Chapter 2 shows, for example, that both the management of incongruent epistemic stances, and the structurally preferred responses to admissions of guilt, may both be conducted through 'no'-prefaced responses given their formulation via inference. This is an observation that remains relevant to the broader study of action formation, and a direction for much-needed further discussion within CA.

The study has also highlighted the importance of both the position and composition of a linguistic feature to its meaning and functions in interactional contexts. As described throughout the previous chapters, the organization of an instance of 'no' as a turn preface is critical to how it is both used and understood by speakers. However, as the discussion of Burridge and Florey (2002) in Section 5.3 suggested, the organization of a linguistic feature within a turn is not often considered even in interaction-focused studies. This claim is likely even more true in other areas

of linguistic inquiry.

Additionally relevant is the degree to which the interactional functions of negative particles overlap across languages. Though prior work in CA on these types of tokens has often asserted that such particles are clearly analogous to English 'no', this is an area that has yet to receive any concrete cross-linguistic analysis. Given the scope of the present study, which comprises the largest conversation analytic study of a single negative particle to date, it may serve as an ideal starting point for just this type of comparison.

As a study of a single particle, this dissertation also serves as an example of the fruitfulness that discussions of a single grammatical constituent, examined across sequential environments and as enacting a range of functions, may serve within CA. As similar studies have suggested (e.g. Heritage 1984b, 1998, 2002), such particles often serve a single overarching function, and the seemingly diverse practices enacted through that particle may ultimately be organized as variable occurrences of that function. Throughout the analysis, I have suggested that 'no'-prefaces serve at least two functions, what I have titled *indexing inferables* and *indexing organizational shifts*. However, both of these functions might also be analyzed as enacting a single function: "doing denial or correction". This description is relatively clear when 'no'-prefaces are used to index and deny a prior inference; in the case of organizational shifts, 'no'-prefaces may be understood as correcting the assumption that the current organization of the talk will continue on as it has been. In this sense, the diverse functions of 'no'-prefaces analyzed here may be simply describable as an extension of the prototypical function of 'no' as a marker of negation.

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APPENDIX A

Transcription Conventions

wh[at   talk in brackets signifies simultaneous talk (in overlap)
  [what

talk=   equal signs indicate latching (two utterances with no
=talk   discernible gap in between)

(1.0)   numbers in parentheses signal gaps > 0.2 seconds

(.)   a period in parentheses signals a micropause, a gap < 0.2 seconds

.   a period indicates a 'final', or falling intonation, not
          necessarily the end of a sentence

?   a question mark shows rising intonation (not always a question)

,   a comma indicates a continuing intonation, not necessarily a
          clause boundary

fi:::ne   colons indicate the prolonging of the sound they are attached to

wha-   a dash indicates a cut-off or self-interruption

hey / HEY underlining, as well as the use of caps, indicate increased
          loudness

°what°   degree signs indicate whispered speech occurring between them

yeah   asterisks indicate the use of creaky voice between them

↑high ↓low arrows indicate sharp rising and falling intonation, respectively

hhhh   multiple h's signal auditory aspiration, e.g. breathing, laughter

.hhh   multiple h's preceded by a period signal an auditory inhale

((sniff)) double parentheses mark some non-spoken action