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The editor of this issue is Emilie Tholstrup.

Editorial comment

We are very pleased to be able to publish Trine Heinemann's dissertation on *Negation in interaction, in Danish conversation*. It was written as a result of Heinemann's PhD work at York University, and was finished in 2003. Since then, Heinemann has published several articles that have communicated the results of the dissertation to a scientific audience (among them Heinemann, 2005, 2009). But with this publication, readers will get the chance to see the full documentation and the bulk of analyses that lie(s)? behind Heinemann's subsequent publications.

Heinemann documents in fine detail how responses to negatively formatted utterances are made in Danish talk-in-interaction, and how these resources, including the response particles *jo* ('yes2'), *nej* ('no') and multiple *nej*, get deployed for interactional purposes. The dissertation not only analyzes and explains the use of these resources; it also demonstrates how very convincing analyses of such interaction-grammatical resources can be carried out.

This editorial comment is written by Jakob Steensig.

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Negation in interaction,
in Danish conversation

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on one aspect of grammar, negation, and the intersection between polarity and interaction. It will be demonstrated, that in their most commonly occurring contexts, negative structures are not produced as dispreferred or marked options. In contrast, it will be shown that negative structures overwhelmingly are deployed to accomplish preferred, aligning social activities such as for instance agreement. Using recordings of naturally occurring Danish conversations, I describe various negative structures as used in interaction, showing that polarity and negation is very much an issue for the participants. The relationship between polarity and interaction will be explored through detailed analysis of three distinct phenomena, where the deployment of negative polarity in one utterance proves to be crucial to the formatting of the subsequent response. The first of these is the response particle *jo* used most commonly in Danish to deploy an agreeing response to negatively framed utterances, designed to prefer a *yes*-response. Preceding the analysis of this phenomenon with a general discussion of preference structure, I will argue that this particle is a marked option, despite both its apparent positive polarity and its occurrence mainly as a preferred response. Second, I focus on the response particle *nej*, showing that this negative item most commonly occur as a preferred response, in unproblematic sequences of talk. I will argue, that this response particle is in fact so unmarked as to be used only as a marker of continuation, acknowledgement or confirmation in negatively framed contexts. Third, I discuss one linguistic construction which is used by participants to produce more affiliative actions than for instance mere acknowledgement, the *multiple nej*. This construction is also used mainly in negative environments and is in itself negatively framed, however I will argue that this construction embodies a highly affiliative and very specific action, an action which is not embodied by any other affiliative moves.

Contents

1 Introduction

Independently of methodology, terminology and the object of analysis, negation is generally understood and referred to as a marked or dispreferred option in language. First, negation is seen as an addition to the more general structure of a language, contrasting with positive unmarked structures by adding a linguistic item (a negative marker) and in this way reversing the truth value of a construction. Second, negation is seen mainly as being used for 'negative' actions, that is actions that run against the assumptions or expectancies of a prior turn by for instance disagreeing with, disconfirming, contradicting or falsifying that turn.

The aim of the present study is to investigate critically this understanding of negation as 'negative', by examining the use of the negative response particle *nej* 'no' in interaction. Using recordings of naturally occurring Danish conversation interactants' deployment of this particle in use will be explored – particular in the context of (or as a response to) negatively framed utterances.

Key resources for this study is the methodology of conversation analysis (CA) and its understanding of interaction as being the primordial site for studying language (See Drew (forth.a) and (forth.b), Wootton (1988), Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), Levinson (1983) and Brown and Yule (1983) for descriptions and reviews of the CA methodology.). CA views language as a resource for engaging in social life. Linguistic resources such as negation are used in interaction to construct social actions, and it is through these activities that human beings conduct their social lives. Linguistic items then should be looked at not to identify how they are put together to form larger grammatical units such as clauses and sentences; rather they should be analysed in terms of what they are put together to do in the interaction – and their adequacy for doing that work.

In terms of negation, the CA approach to language proves particularly salient in that it separates the notion of negation as a grammatical/semantically/logic tool, from the actual social action it implements in language-in-use. This study explicates the lack of correlation between negation as a logic or grammatical notion on the one hand and the implementation of a 'negative' action such as disagreement or disconfirmation on the other, in one particular language: Danish.

The introduction to this study is organised as follow: In section 1.1 I introduce the phenomena to be discussed in this study: negative responses in Danish. In section 1.2 I give a brief overview of some

perspectives on negation and answering systems in linguistics. I also discuss how the current study may benefit from and contribute to these more theoretically based studies. Second, I describe two general areas of CA research (preference organisation and response tokens), discuss how negation and negative responses are treated in these areas, and compare this very briefly with the focus, scope and results of the current study. This is then developed further in section 1.3 where I discuss in more detail the aims and relevancies of the current study. In section 1.4 I describe the data used for this study and its treatment. In section 1.5 I provide an overview of the organisation of this study.

1.1 The phenomena

The contrast between negation as a linguistic category and the implementation of 'negative' actions will be explored through detailed analysis of negative responses. First, I will demonstrate that negative responses are overwhelmingly produced in response to negatively framed utterances, utterances in which a negative marker is present, as in extract (1) below.

Extract (1): TH/S2/50/A.R. & Fie/Neg358

```
((Fie is renting out a holiday house in France. A.R. is a potential customer.))

1   A.R.:        det' nemli' svært du ved der' en masse
                 it's you-know difficult you know there's a lot
                 it's difficult you know there's so many

2                så no'en bureauer vi har kig på ås'=Det der
                 so such agencies we have look on also=That there
                 like agencies we've looked at as well=The one

3                hedder   Gites de France å'  [så no'et]
                 is-called Gites de France and [so   some]
                 that's called Gites de France [and stuf]f

4   Fie:                                      [>.Hhh<  ] Jah.
                                              [>.Hhh<  ] Ja.
                                              [>.Hhh<  ] Yes.

5                Det'   nu heller ikk' det værste [i   ka'   gøre]
                 That's now neither not the worst [ you  can   do ]
                 That's really not the worst you c[an do either  ]
```

```
6   A.R.:    →                                    [Nej det a' det]
                                                   [Nej that is it]
                                                   [Nej exactly it]


7                    nemli' ikk'.
                     exactly not.
                     isn't.
```

Here, Fie's turn in L4-5 is negatively framed due to the presence of the negative adverb *ikk'* 'not' in the main clause (in bold). The agreeing response produced by A.R. in L6-7 mirrors this negative polarity both through the turn-initial *nej* 'no' and the negative adverb *ikk'* 'not' in turn-final position (both in bold).

Based on examples such as extract (1) I will argue that aside from the interactional preference for agreement participants in interaction orient to a grammatical preference as well, that of mirroring the polarity of the prior turn in their response. Typically, the two preferences coincide. Thus, negative responses will be shown not to have any direct association with 'negative' actions; rather the opposite.

Second, I look in more detail at how these negative responses are formatted. Though there are various ways in which this can be done, the format of A.R.'s response in L6-7 is prevalent: a turn produced in response to a negatively framed utterance is initiated through the production of an acknowledging negative response token *nej* 'no'. If the turn responded to is furthermore designed to receive more than acknowledgement, the responding turn is composed of two units, the response token and a more action explicit component such as the agreeing *det a' det nemli' ikk'* 'exactly it isn't' in example (1). Thus, I will argue that this format of responding to negatively framed utterances is 'type-conforming' (Raymond, 2000 and 2002), in contrast to the nonconforming response in L3-4, extract (2).

Extract (2): TH/S2/17/C-K & Jens/type12

```
((Jens and a friend has drawn a proposal for the refurbishment of C-
K's house. C-K, who would like to discuss the proposal has suggested that they meet next
Thursday, a suggestion which Jens has rejected. Trying to settle on a different
day, Jens realises that C-K assumed the meeting would take place where Jens lives,
which would mean that C-K would have to travel. Jens and his friend would prefer
to have the meeting in C-K's house and having stated that, Jens once again orients
to C-K's suggestion for a date, as the circumstances have now changed.))


1   Jens:        .h Så Så gør det ikk' så meget det ikk' bli'r
```

```
                  .h Then Then does it not so much it not becomes
                  .h Then Then it doesn't matter that much that it

2                 torsdag,
                  Thursday,
                  won't be Thursday,

3  C-K:   →       .hh Ehhh h- Der A' tror itt' det a' (s)så
                  .hh Ehhh h- There I think not it is (s)so
                  .hh Ehhh h- There I don't think it is that

4                 nødvendigt så ihver[t f ald]
                  necessary then in-a[ny-case]
                  necessary then anyw[ay     ]

5  Jens:                              [Nej   O]ka[y]
                                      [Nej   O]ka[y]
                                      [No    O]ka[y]

6  C-K:                                      [F]ordi ateh .hh
                                             [B]ecause thateh
                  .hh
                                             [B]ecause thateh
                  .hh

7                 Nu ska' jeg li': kigge igen så
                  Now shall I just look again then
                  I'll just have another look then
```

C-K's negatively framed response in L3-4 confirms Jens's assumption stated in L1-2, that it will be okay if the meeting discussed will not take place on the Thursday. Again the confirmation is achieved partly through the mirrored negative polarity. In contrast to extract (1) however C-K's response is slightly hedged and does not as readily accept the project initiated in the prior turn. I will argue that this hedging is a consequence of the design of the response, i.e. the fact that this response is non-conforming in that it is not initiated through the production of the negative response token *nej* 'no'.

Third, I will focus on one particular format for responding with a negatively framed utterance: the *multiple nej* in extract (3).

Extract (3): : TH/S2/72/Jette H & Fie/Neg444

```
((Jette is trying to find staff to cover some shifts at a local museum, because of
illness. Fie has rejected to cover, but has attempted to suggest other solutions,
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one of these being Kaj, a retired volunteer. Jette agrees that he will probably be
available.))

1   Jette:          )]              [Det tror    j'ås']=Det tror jeg
                    )]              [That think I also]=That think I
                    )]              [I think so    too ]=I think so

2               ås' (al['så    Vi) har] bare ikk' ku'    ku' få
                also(yo[o-know We) have] just not could could get
                too (yo[u know We) just] haven't been been able
                to

3   Fie:            [O  g  e  h  h h]
                     [A   n   d   e   h h]
                     [A   n   d   e   h h]

4   Jette:   fat på  h[am ]
             hold on h[im ]
             get   hold[ of] him

5   Fie: →             [Nej]=nej men det' jo Det' jo det der sker
                        [Nej]=nej but that's That's that that happen
                        [No ]=no but surely  That's what happens
```

As in extract (1) and (2) the negatively framed response produced by Fie in L5 mirrors the polarity of the prior turn, Jette's statement in L2-4. And as in extract (1) and (2) the effect here is that Fie aligns with Jette, the interactional preference for agreement being achieved partly through the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity.

In contrast to other negatively framed responses however, I will argue that the 'negative' features of *nej* are here relevant for how the *multiple nej* is understood by the participants: as a strongly affiliative response, marking the affiliation as obvious through also containing a protest against any implications to the contrary.

1.2 Perspectives on negation and answering systems

Negation is a central feature of every system of human communication, without which we would be incapable of expressing such core aspects of language as truth values and contradictions. The prior sentence for instance is constructed through the use of contradictions, 'incapable' and 'without' being the logical equivalents of 'not-capable' and 'not-with'. Likewise, in order to treat the claim made in the main clause of that sentence as being false (not-true), the addition of a negative item is

necessary. These logical and semantic aspects of negation appear to be cross-linguistically uniform in that all language systems have a way of expressing negation, and negation can thus be seen as a defining, cognitive characteristic of the human species. This is reflected in the fact that when for one reason or another humans have the use only of a limited system of communication, negation will be one of the features available: children (as well as second language learners) will at a relatively early point in their development as language users have available a way in which to express and understand negation; though they may choose to ignore a negation produced by an adult. And, as shown by Goodwin (1995) the availability of negation in the otherwise extraordinary sparse language system of an aphasic man makes it possible for this man to communicate and even engage in meaningful conversation with others.

Likewise, all languages appear to have an answering system with which to provide short answers to polar questions. Though these systems are far from uniform (see for instance Sadock and Zwicky, 1985) they each provide the speaker of a language with the means to produce either a positive or a negative answer – to make it possible for instance to agree or not agree with a question.

By focusing on the negative response particle *nej* in Danish this study investigates these two separate aspects of language; that of negation on the one hand and of answering systems on the other. Though the methodological orientation is Conversation Analysis and the study is aimed as a contribution within this area of research, the findings made here may nevertheless benefit other more theoretical approaches to linguistics, just as the study draws on work in these areas. Below, I will briefly sketch two main areas of interest to this study, before turning to a more detailed discussion of relevant work done in the CA tradition.

1.2.1 Negation in generative linguistics
The importance of negation for language is reflected in the number of studies dedicated to this subject in the more traditional linguistic areas of syntax, semantics and logic (see Horn and Kato, 2000 for an overview). In semantics and logic, negation is understood and defined in relation to its polar opposite, positive structures. Positive structures and items are treated as unmarked or neutral, negation and negative items as marked, and accordingly negation is labelled as expressing 'contradictory opposition', 'denial' and 'falsehood'.

Theories of syntax share this view of negation as marked, in defining negation as being an addition to the more general structure of language and analysed as having an independent status in syntax (see for instance Jensen, 2002 and Haegeman, 1995. See also Laka, 1990 for a contradictory view).

In both semantics, logic and syntax the main focus of studies of negation is negational scope: how to account for the licensing of negative polarity items and the ambiguity of certain structures where negation is present. Negative polarity items such as *any* and a *red penny* are items that can only be used in constructions where a negative marker is present as in examples[1] (a) and (b) below (grammatical constructions are marked with (∨), ungrammatical with (*)).

> Example (a) ∨ I haven't got a red penny
> Example (b) * I have a red penny[2]

When a negative polarity item is positioned within a subordinate clause its 'licensing operator', the negative marker, must be present in the same subordinate clause to create a grammatical construction, as in examples (c) and (d).

> Example (c) ∨ He knows that I haven't got a red penny
> Example (d) * He doesn't know that I have a red penny

A further concern is how to account for the fact that when negation is used as part of a *because* clause, the positioning of the negation as well as *because* can result in ambiguity, as in example (e) in contrast to examples (f), (g) and (h).

> Example (e) He wasn't late because he took his bike.
> Example (f) Because he took his bike he wasn't late.
> Example (g) He was late because he didn't take his bike.
> Example (h) Because he didn't take his bike he was late.

In examples (f), (g) and (h) there is only one relational dependency between the *because* clause and the main clause; in example (f) the reason

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[1] I use the term example rather than extract here to signify that these cases are constructed.
[2] This example is of course only ungrammatical when *red penny* is used as an idiomatic expression.

for not being late is that 'he' took the bike, in examples (g) and (h) the reason for being late is that 'he' did not take the bike. In contrast, example (e) can be understood in two ways: first, as in example (f), that the reason for not being late is that 'he' took his bike, second that though 'he' was indeed late, the reason for this wasn't that 'he' took the bike (but some other reason). Thus, the positioning of the negative marker *not* in all of the examples above is of consequence for how much of the structure this marker takes scope over.

One of the principal objections against traditional linguistic studies, in particular generative linguistics, is that language-in-use is treated as flawed and is consequently not understood as a relevant object of analysis. Thus, the argument against many syntactic (and phonological) studies within this area is that by being based on idealised language, the findings are severely limited in scope – or may even be entirely wrong. Though this may be the case for some aspects of language, the observations made about negational scope in syntactic and semantic studies can nevertheless contribute to a better understanding of negation in interaction in that they at least provide the analyst with a general notion of what negative scope is. The examples above for instance exemplifies that the *presence* of a negative marker is not enough to make a sentence negatively framed; or for the negation to take scope over the whole of the sentence. Rather, the negative marker only takes scope over the clause in which it is positioned.

Naturally, the same should apply to turns or utterances; also here a negative marker has to be present in the main clause to render the utterance or turn as a whole negatively framed. The contrast between negative and positively framed utterances is captured in the following extract. Though both of Jens's utterances (in L1 and in L3) include the negative adverb *ikk'* 'not', only the first is negatively framed as the negative marker is here placed in the main clause.

Extract (4): TH/S2/28/Jens & Martin/Scope11

```
((Martin has a holiday house in the area where Jens lives. Martin's daughter broke
her leg while staying in Martin's house and was left to take care of herself for
12 hours because the doctor refused to come and see her. Obviously, Martin is not
happy with the way the system has worked for his daughter.))

1   Jens:   →(−) .hHHHehh Men DEt a' ikk' noget godt system,
                 .hHHHehh But IT  is n&#111;t  some good system,
                 .hHHHehh But IT isn't  a good system,
```

```
2   Martin:       Nej
                  Nej
                  No

3   Jens:    →(+)Men (.) Det a' bedre end hvis vi ikk' havde noget
                  But (.) It is better than if we not had some
                  But (.)It's better than if we didn't have any
                  (system)

4   Martin:       Jaja=
                  Jaja=
                  Yesyes=
```

The definition of L1 as negatively framed and L3 as positively framed is not merely analytical. As can be seen from Martin's responses in L2 and in L4 he also perceives the two utterances differently: in both cases he produces an agreeing – or at least acknowledging – response token, but these tokens contrast with regard to polarity. It is through this contrast that Martin displays that the position of the negative marker in the turn responded to is of relevance for him and has consequences for the formatting of his response.

The variation in the two tokens used in extract (4) thus conform to the pattern which will be established in this study: negatively framed utterances receive a negative response, positively framed utterances receive a positive response. Had I not been aware of the importance of the positioning of a negative marker in a sentence (or utterance) however, I might have taken the presence of such a marker in L3 as an indication of negative framing. Seen in this light, the fact that this utterance receives a positive response would have been at best puzzling, at worst a contradiction to the main argument of this study: that there is a grammatical preference for mirrored polarity in interaction.

That this is not a trivial matter is evident from an example used by Jefferson (2002) in her discussion of negatively framed utterances (and their responses) in British and American English. Jefferson does not define overtly what her criteria for negative framing is[3], but includes the following example (in L7) as one.

Extract (5): (Jefferson, 2002, (50) [Holt:SO88(II):2:7:2-3:mso], pp 1368)

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[3] Her criteria appears to be mainly intuitive, partly based on the presence of a negative item in the utterance; partly on whether the utterance receives a 'yes' or a 'no'- response.

```
((Leslie is filling Petra in on a story she'd missed, about a distant mutual
acquaintance with the tendency to drink too much. The story starts when this guy
failed to show up at the weekly afternoon badminton game))


1   Leslie:      Well a↑pparently he's (.) k-e-he's quite in the
                 habit
2                of turning up about two o'clock in the
                 ↑mo:r↓ning.
3                (.)
4   Leslie:      hets- u-o:r  ↑three ↓:. HO:me.=
5   Petra:       =Which- ↑Oh:.
6   Leslie:      And u[m
7   Petra:  (-)       [↑Oh(h)o dear I'm glad I'm not married
8                to hi[m.
9   Leslie: (-)       [nNo.=
10  Leslie:      =↑wu-What's his wife's kaw- (0.3) n[ame.]
11  Petra:                                         [Ann.]
11               (0.2)
12  Leslie:      Sorry?
13  Petra:       A:nn.
14  Leslie:      Ann. Well ↑Ann rang↑ up…
```

Based on examples (a) through (h) above it is possible to determine that the *linguistic* definition of the utterance in L7-8 as a whole is that this is *not* negatively framed, as the negative marker is positioned in the relative clause, *(that) I'm not married to him*. Nevertheless Jefferson (2002) analyses this example as a case of negative framing. And indeed the responding speaker Leslie produces a negative token in response to L7-8 apparently supporting the analysis of this utterance as being negatively framed. In contrast, the almost parallel case in Danish (in extract (6) below) is not treated as negatively framed by the responding speaker Ulrikke, who produces a positive token in response.

Extract (6): TH/S2/14/Fie & Ulrikke/Scope18

```
((Fie has been telling Ulrikke about a party she was at. Ulrikke's old neighbours,
Randi and Rasmus were also invited but had declined even when being offered a
lift. Ulrikke and Fie has agreed that Rasmus decided they shouldn't go because of
their age.))


1   Fie:         [Me]n jeg tror Randi var ked a' hun ikk'
                 [Bu]t I think Randi was sad that she not
                 [Bu]t I think Randi was sorry that she
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```
2  Fie:       fik lov     te' å' kom[me  (med)]
             got allowed to and  co[me (with)]
             didn't get   to     [go       ]

3  Ulrikke:                      [Ja       h]un vil' gerne
                                 [Ja        s]he will willingly
                                 [Yes  she l]ikes(to go)
```

If the English utterance in extract (5), L7 is defined as being negatively framed, then so should the Danish utterance in extract (6), L1-2. The polar differences with regard to the responses in the two extracts would then have to be explained as being an indication that *nej* 'no' is not used as an acknowledgement token of negatively framed utterances in Danish, just as is argued to be the case for *no* in American English by Jefferson (2002).

Rather than adopting this tack, I follow the evidence outlined in example (a) through (h) and suggest that indeed neither of these utterances are negatively framed. That Ulrikke, the respondent in extract (6) produces a positive token in L3 can then be seen as further evidence thereof. In contrast, Leslie's negative token in L9, extract (5) can only be taken as a fitted response token if produced in response to the part of Petra's utterance that *is* negatively framed: the subordinate clause *(that) I'm not married to him*. This is of course a rather odd response under the circumstances but can be accounted for as being due to Leslie's 'inattentiveness' to the overall turn: Leslie is gearing up and getting ready to launch a story of scandalous proportions (the initiation of this is already attempted in L6) but has problems with the initiation because she doesn't remember (or know) the name of one of the protagonists of the story. Petra's evaluation in L7-8 in this respect comes too early (the main point of the story has not been told) and disrupts the flow of Leslie's telling which is also threatened by her need to get the name of the protagonist. So Leslie has multiple problems with the trajectory of her talk and in dealing with these problems is perhaps not paying as close attention to Petra's turn in L7 as she ought to, the result being that she has noticed the presence of a negative marker in that turn, but not its position. As a consequence she incorrectly[4] produces a negative token in response to a turn that is in fact positively framed.

The brief discussion of the extracts above should at the very least indicate that the research in theoretical linguistic proves to be highly

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[4] A more 'intentional' suggestion could be that Leslie in fact wishes to display her inattentiveness, in this way marking Petra's turn as being inappropriate.

relevant for interactional studies – and for the study of negation in particular – by providing a more cogent rather than intuitive definition of negative scope. Combining this definition with empirical evidence thus provides a sounder base from which to discuss and analyse sequences in which negative polarity is of possible consequence for the interaction. Thus, in this study I will follow the definition of negative scope as being dependent on the positioning of the negative marker, so that only utterances where the negative marker is positioned in the main clause of that utterance will be considered 'negatively framed'.

Having in this way emphasised the importance of theoretical linguistics for the study of negation in interaction, the *failure* to consult language-in-use within this approach also becomes particularly relevant when studying negation, as this excludes the negative response particle *no* (or *nej* in Danish) from being an object of study.

As noted by Goodwin (1995) and Sorjonen (2001a) among others, response particles are inherently indexical in nature by pointing to the prior utterance, presupposing a link with other talk. When utterances (or sentences) are analysed in isolation, as is the case in most generative studies, the existence of *no* is not acknowledged and consequently not analysed or accounted for. For the purpose of creating a grammar which can account for all structures in all languages this is a rather unfortunate (and probably unpredicted) consequence of dismissing language-in-use as an object of study.

For studies that focus specifically on negation and scope this effect is doubly unfortunate: as will be shown throughout this dissertation, through the production of the negative response particle *nej* in Danish, participants display their understanding of the prior utterance (or sentence) as having negative polarity. Studying language-in-use thus provides the analyst with the language user's definition of what constitutes negative polarity and what part of a sentential structure negation takes scope over, in this way perhaps contributing to a better understanding of negation, polarity and scope. The findings of the current study in this way emphasises the importance of not studying language in isolation, but rather in its primordial site, as a means for interaction between language users.

1.2.2 *Studies of response systems*
Outside the scope of generative linguistics, other traditional linguistic studies do include negative response particles as an object of study. This is

the case for instance for Sadock and Zwicky (1985) in their description of the type of elements one should include in a typological study of a language. They argue that in language, specific types of sentences can be reserved for particular conversational uses. To typify a language a researcher has to be able to identify what form is mainly reserved for a particular conversational use in that language.

For instance the combination of verb-subject word order and rising final intonation in the English sentence 'Have they finished installing the furnace?' is associated with one use, that of asking a yes/no question. Other languages may have other forms that are reserved for the use of asking a yes/no question, and it is this variation in form which makes it possible to typify a language.

Just as there are various ways in which to form a yes/no question, there are various ways in which to form a response to such a question. Sadock and Zwicky (1985) argue that there are three basic systems for short answers to yes/no questions: yes/no systems, agree/disagree systems and echo systems. In yes/no systems a language has a positive particle standing for a positive answer and a negative particle standing for a negative answer. In agree/disagree systems a positive particle is used when the answer agrees with the polarity of the question, positive or negative, and a negative particle is used when the answer disagrees with the polarity of the question. Echo systems are languages that have no special answer words, but where short answers are given by repeating the verb of the question.

Danish, along with English and many other Indo-European languages belongs to the yes/no system type, where a positive particle according to Sadock and Zwicky (1985) stands for a positive answer and a negative particle stands for a negative answer. This should be understood so that 'yes'- and 'no'-answers pattern in the following way, in Danish as well as in English.

The yes/no answering system:

Example (i): Answers to positive interrogatives:

Q:	Regner det?	*Is it raining?*
A:	Ja (det regner)	*Yes (it is raining)*
	Nej (det regner ikke)	*No (it is not raining)*

Example (j): Answers to negative interrogatives:

Q:	Regner det ikke?	*Isn't it raining?*
A:	Jo (det regner)	*Yes (it is raining)*
	Nej (det regner ikke)	*No (it is not raining)*

As can be seen from the above examples, the terms positive and negative as used by Sadock and Zwicky (1985) are not the same as being an agreeing/confirming and disagreeing/disconfirming answer, respectively. Sadock and Zwicky (1985) thus note that yes/no questions are often biased in that a speaker through the form of a question, instead of merely asking a question may:

> *'…express his or her belief that a particular answer is likely to be correct and to request assurance that this belief is true.'*
>
> Sadock and Zwicky (1985), pp180

Negative interrogatives for instance can be understood in two ways, thus being biased towards either a 'yes'-response or a 'no'-response.[5] The question 'Isn't it raining? can be used to ask whether it is true that it is not raining, but it can also indicate that the speaker guesses that it is indeed raining (See also Bolinger, 1957 for a similar discussion on the conduciveness of yes/no questions.). Because of this ambiguity, an answer in addition to stating that something is, or isn't the case can also be understood either as agreeing or disagreeing with the speaker producing the question, as in the following examples.

Example (k): The ambiguity of negative interrogatives.

Possibility (a):
- Q: Regner det ikke? : 'Jeg tror det regner, er det korrekt?'
  Isn't it raining? : 'I think it's raining, is that right?'
- A: Jo (det regner) : Ja, du har ret i at det regner.
  Yes (it is raining) : 'Yes, you're right it is raining.'
- A: Nej (det regner ikke) : 'Nej, du tager fejl, det regner ikke.'
  No (it's not raining) : 'No, you're wrong, it is not raining.'

---

[5] Though Heritage (2002) argues that in news-interviews negative interrogatives are interactionally biased towards preferring a 'yes'-response, Koshik (2002) demonstrates that this is not invariably so for ordinary conversation, where the bias depends on the sequence in which a negative interrogative is produced.

Possibility (b):

   Q: Regner det ikke? : 'Er det sandt at det ikke regner?'
        Isn't it raining? : 'Is it true that it is not raining?'
   A: Jo (det regner) : 'Nej, det er ikke sandt (at det ikke regner)'
        Yes (it's raining) : 'No, it is not true (that it is not raining)'
   A: Nej (det regner ikke) : 'Ja, det er sandt (at det ikke regner)'
        No (it's not raining) : 'Yes, it's true (that it is not raining)'

As can be seen from the example above, the ambiguity of a negative interrogative is due to the different stance which a speaker can display when producing such a question: in possibility (a) the stance taken is that it is raining, in possibility (b) that it is not raining. Whereas a 'yes'-response in both these cases states that it is raining, such a response is agreeing with the stance taken in possibility (a), but disagreeing with that taken in possibility (b). A 'no'-response establishes the opposite pattern, so that the position taken in this response is that it is not raining, a position that is disagreeing with the stance displayed by the question in possibility (a), but agreeing with that of possibility (b).

According to Sadock and Zwicky (1985) the two possible understandings of a negative interrogative (as outlined in example (k)) complicate the interpretation of a simple positive answer, a 'yes'-response:

> 'It could either be interpreted as a positive response to the question itself ('Yes, it is not raining') or as agreement with the speaker's guess ('Yes, you're right; it is raining').
>
> <div align="right">Sadock and Zwicky (1985), pp 190</div>

In short, a 'yes'-response to questions such as 'Isn't it raining' is, according to Sadock and Zwicky (1985) ambiguous in that it can either be understood as an agreement with the other speaker's guess (or expectation), thus stating that it is raining; or a 'yes'-response can be understood as being a confirming (positive) answer to the question of whether it is true that it is not raining, thus stating that it is not raining.

Sadock and Zwicky (1985) note that to resolve this potential ambiguity:

> 'Many languages therefore provide a special positive answer that clears up this potential confusion. German doch (instead of ja), French si (instead of oui) and Icelandic ju (instead of já) all are used

to signal unambiguously that a positive answer to the negatively biased question is being given.'

<div align="right">Sadock and Zwicky (1985), pp 190.</div>

Thus, when for instance the German equivalent to 'Isn't it raining?', *Regnet es nicht?* gets the answer *Doch*, this can only mean that it is raining, independently of whether this was indicated to be the expectation or guess of the prior speaker or not (Jerry Sadock, p.c).

The observations made by Sadock and Zwicky (1985) are all of relevance for the current study: typologically Danish is a language with a yes/no answer system and also provides a 'special' positive answer.

Typological treatments such as Sadock and Zwicky (1985) may however appear rather crude from a Conversation Analytic point of view, particularly as they are based mainly on information from reference grammars and native-speaker intuition.[6] The limitation of basing a study on information from reference grammars and native- speaker intuition is evident for instance from the study of Finnish responses by Sorjonen (2001a) and (2001b) who shows that Finnish deploys both particles and repetition when giving a positive answer to yes/no questions. In this way Finnish exhibits a mixed answer system with traits both from the yes/no system and the echo system. These findings show that the categories defined by Sadock and Zwicky (1985) may not be relevant for all languages, and in particular that there may be language-internal variation in giving answers, something that is typically not taken up in typological studies.

Similarly, other interactional studies of response systems, responses and questions, as used in naturally-occurring talk highlight aspects or issues that are not treated by typological studies such as Sadock and Zwicky (1985) above.

When studying conversational data for instance it becomes apparent:

1) That 'yes' and 'no' are not the only choices available for a speaker to respond to a yes/no question, as demonstrated for English by Raymond (2000) and (2002).

---

[6] Indeed, Sadock and Zwicky (1985) themselves remark on this crudity but point out that their level of detail and their generalisations nevertheless serve the purpose of classifying a language as one or the other type.

2) That there are many other ways of posing a yes/no question than by producing a grammatical question (an interrogative) for instance through the use of tags and intonational features[7] (See for instance Sorjonen, 2001a, on Finnish and Raymond, 2000 and Heritage, 2002 for English.).

3) That 'yes' and 'no' are not just used as answers to questions, but also as responses to for instance statements (See for instance Jefferson, 2002 and Gardner, 2001 for English.).

Interactional studies such as Heritage (2002) and Koshik (2002) also indicate that though negative interrogatives as a type are ambiguous in that they can be biased towards either a 'yes'- or a 'no'-response, this ambiguity is dissolved through the sequential position in which such questions are produced. Thus, in extract (7) below, neither participant appear to have any problems with regard to how the negative interrogative and its subsequent 'yes'-response should be understood.

Extract (7): NB VII:1-2 (From Heritage, 2002, pp1428)

```
1 Emm:      Oh honey that was a lovely luncheon I shoulda ca:lled
            you
2           s:soo[:ner but I:]l:[lo:ved it.Ih wz just
            deli:ghtfu[:l.=
3 Mar:        [((f)) Oh:::]  [°(   )
                    [Well=
4 Mar:      =I wz gla[d    y o u] (came).]
5 Emm:           ['nd yer f:] friends]'r so da:rli:ng,=
6 Mar:      =Oh:::[: it wz:]
7 Emm: →        [e-that P]a:t isn'she a do:[:ll?]
8 Mar: →                               [iY e]h isn't she
            pretty,
9            (.)
10 Emm:     Oh: she's a beautiful girl.=
```

In L7 Emma produces an assertion about a third party, Pat, evaluating her in a very positive manner (as a *doll*). This is done through the format of a

---

[7] Though Sadock and Zwicky also provides examples of some of these types of yes/no questions, they do not discuss the relationship between these types of yes/no questions and the answer system of a language.

negative interrogative and as can be seen from Margy's response in L8 she as a respondent has no problem understanding the negative interrogative as being a display of how Emma feels rather than as a question to be answered. Likewise, Emma appears to have no problem understanding Margy's 'yes'-response as meaning 'yes, she is a doll', rather than 'yes, it is true that she isn't a doll'.

If the example above is anything to go by, individual cases of negative interrogatives and their corresponding responses are not treated as ambiguous in the context of naturally-occurring talk, at least in English.

Findings from naturally-occurring talk may serve to demonstrate with a greater empirical foundation the typology of a specific language. They also make it possible to widen the scope of typological studies, or even in some cases falsify claims made in such studies. Thus, the current study focuses on responses, in particular 'no'-responses, as used in Danish interaction, both in response to interrogatives, other yes/no question, as well as in response to utterances that are not questions. In doing so, this study broadens the notion of the yes/no answer system described by Sadock and Zwicky (1985), by demonstrating that this answer system is used in Danish not only when responding to interrogatives, but also to other types of utterances.

The study also looks at other types of answers than 'yes' and 'no' used in response to various types of utterances, in this way demonstrating that these are not the only relevant alternatives for producing an answer in naturally-occurring talk. And finally, the current study points out some problems with Sadock and Zwicky's (1985) claim that 'special' positive answers are present in some languages so as to disambiguate 'yes'-responses to negative interrogatives. Instead, I provide a more interactionally relevant account for the presence of the 'special' or marked positive response particle *jo* 'yes' in Danish. I argue that this response particle is present in Danish so as to make it possible at all times to orient to the negative framing of the prior turn, even when producing a 'yes'-response. This could be developed into an interesting typological study of the connection between having a special positive answer to negative interrogatives and the overall orientation to negative polarity in a language. Most importantly however, by providing an interactional account for the presence of a particular linguistic item, *jo* 'yes' in Danish, this study once again emphasises the usefulness and importance of studying language in interaction, rather than as isolated structures.

1.2.3 Studies of negation in interaction

In many ways Conversation Analysis constitutes the antithesis to more theoretical linguistics: it works on naturally occurring language-in-use, it sees the turn in a sequence, not the sentence as the main object of study – and, most importantly it sees language not as the primary focus, but rather as a resource for human interaction, a resource which is consequently shaped and organised by the needs of interaction.

Despite these major methodological and theoretical differences, CA share some of the basic attitudes towards language or interaction with more theory-based linguistics. Just as generative linguistics for instance assume that grammar is universal in that all languages share the same underlying syntactic structure, so too within CA is it generally assumed that some features of interaction are generic, for instance the turn-taking system, adjacency pairs and the possibility to implement various preferred and dispreferred actions to mention just a few. These features of interaction are taken to be deployed in various ways depending on such factors as language, culture and the type of interaction taking place. Parallel to generative linguistics then, CA orients to some aspects of language or interaction as being universal, the difference in actual outcome being dependent on features of the individual language or interaction. And as in generative linguistics this attitude has resulted in or is at least reflected by a bias towards mainly studying (American) English interaction, even when the analyst's first language is not English.

Though CA prides itself on emphasising that there is no one-to-one mapping between a specific linguistic structure or item and a specific action, findings in English are nevertheless often assumed to apply to other languages as well. For instance the fact that idiomatic expressions can be used as closing implicative in English (Drew and Holt 1998) is generally taken (also in this study) to imply that this is the case in other languages as well. Likewise, the articulatory behaviour (increased loudness, hitches and perturbations and recycling) of English speakers who find themselves in overlap as shown by Schegloff (2000b) is often assumed to be a universal deployment. This may also very well be so, and in fact it would probably be very difficult to get any research done if all aspects of interaction had to be explored individually for every language. For the study of negation however there seems to be a tendency towards understanding this phenomenon on the basis of only a small number of studies, mainly in American-English, the result being that it seems to be

generally assumed that a negative structure corresponds directly with the implementation of a 'negative' or dispreferred action.

In the CA literature there are hardly any in-depth studies of negation or negative responses, perhaps because negation is viewed as a formal linguistic category, rather than an action category. Typically negative structures are discussed only as an aside in research where other more general aspects of interaction are at the forefront, or as article-length studies on one phenomenon where negation is involved. There are however two main areas of CA research in which negation and negative responses are exemplified, focused on or discussed to various degrees: research on preference organisation and research on response tokens. The current study in some way or another draws on or contrast with studies within these two areas. In the following I will provide a brief preview of how the notion of preference and response tokens respectively are used in CA in general - and in this study in particular. I will also discuss how the issue of negation is explored in the most relevant literature within these two areas.

1.2.3.1 Preference organisation and negation

'Negative' actions such as rejections, disagreements, disconfirmations and rejections are in the CA-literature termed 'dispreferreds'. The terms preference – and dispreference - do not refer to the desires of the speaker, but rather:

> *"….to structural features of the design of turns associated with particular activities, by which participants can draw conventionalized inferences about the kinds of action a turn is performing."*
>
> Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998), pp 44

Thus, initial actions are often designed to make relevant a limited range of related response-types next. For instance, a question makes an answer (confirming or disconfirming) relevant, an invitation makes relevant an acceptance or a rejection, a request makes compliance or rejection relevant, and so on. These alternatives are however not equal: confirming, accepting and complying are all responses that align with the project of the initial action and are thus preferred. Disconfirmations and rejections on the other hand do not align with the initial action and are therefore dispreferred. That this asymmetry is an interactional preference, rather

than a psychological claim about the participant's desires is supported by the fact that dispreferred responses occur less frequently than preferreds, and when they do, are often elaborated, delayed or mitigated (Pomerantz, 1984a).

In the literature on preference organisation we find ample evidence that negation – and in particular the negative response particle *no* – should be associated with 'negative' or dispreferred actions. Dispreferred responses for instance are predominantly exemplified through cases of negative responses, as in all the following cases taken from various discussions of preference organisation.

Extract (8): (Levinson, 1983, (52), pp 335)

```
Ch:     Can I go down and see 'im
        (2.0)
        ()
        (1.8)
        C'mo::n
        (1.5)
        Come'n te see 'im
        (1.6)
        C'mo::n
M: →    No:::
```

Here the dispreferred response is a rejection of C's request (to go and see someone). The rejection is done through the production of the negative response particle *no*.

Extract (9): (Sacks, 1987, (2), pp57)

```
A:      Well is this really whatchu wanted?
B: →    Uh … not originally? No. But it's uh … promotion?
```

In this case the dispreferred response is a disconfirmation of A's question; again this dispreferred response is negatively framed. Finally, in extract (10) the dispreferred action is one of disagreement and again this dispreferred response is negatively framed.

Extract (10): (Pomerantz, 1984a, (37), pp71)

```
A:      …You sound very far away.
```

```
        (0.7)
B:      I do?
A:      Ymeahm.
B:  →   mNo I'm no:t,
```

It is not only in studies of English (American and British) that dispreferred actions are exemplified through cases where a negatively framed response is produced. Extract (11) is taken from a study of Swedish interaction by Lindström (1999), here the rejection of an invitation/request is as in the English cases exemplified through a negatively framed response.

Extract (11): (Lindström, 1999, (1:12), pp 35)

```
L:      Ja tänkte höra om du ville simma me mej?
        I thought hear if you wanted to swim with me
        I was gonna ask if you wanted to swim with me

        ((laughter))

M:      Nu:?
        Now

L:      Ja:¿
        Yes

        (.)

M:  →   °Nej de vill ja inte ida:°,
        No that want I not today
        No I don't want to today

M:      Men ja vill gä:rna de sen,
        But I would gladly that later
        But I would love to do it later
```

Based on examples such as the ones above, it is perhaps not surprising that for instance Pomerantz (1984a) establishes a direct link between one dispreferred action - disagreement - and negation by stating that negation (in English) is one:

> *"of the more common components used to disagree",*
with *no* being a
> *"stated disagreement component"*
>
> <div align="right">Pomerantz (1984a), pp 83 and 86</div>

Many studies within CA seem to follow the assumption made explicit by Pomerantz (1984a) for English, that negative responses in all languages (and in particular negative response particles or tokens) systematically implement dispreferred or negative actions such as disagreement and disconfirmation, whereas positive responses implement the preferred alternative. This view is neatly captured in the following quote from Lindström (1999), who describes the curled *ja* 'yes' in Swedish and argues that this positive response token can project disagreement (i.e. a dispreferred action) when produced with specific prosodic features. Comparing this to a study of Norwegian by Svennevig (1997), Lindström notes that:

> *"..Svennevig showed that the affirmative response token ja* **can be used** *to accomplish* **other activities than** *confirming the prior turn or affiliating with the other party. Similarly, the negating response token does not* **necessarily** *disconfirm or disaffiliate."*
>
> <div align="right">Lindström (1999), pp 31, my emphasis.</div>

This quote displays the understanding that the norm is for positive (affirmative) response tokens to accomplish preferred actions such as confirmation and affiliation, in contrast to negative response tokens where the norm is to accomplish dispreferred actions such as disconfirmation and disaffiliation. The orientation to this as being a systematic pattern in interaction is evident in Lindströms own work, where the dispreferred nature of the curled *ja* is treated as an exception.

On a similar note, Journal of Pragmatics has recently published a special issue with the title 'Negation and Disagreement' (Journal of Pragmatics, 2002, vol. 34, nos 10-11), in the introduction to which Malcah Yager-Dror defines the aim of the issue to be to investigate the relation between negation and disagreement (pp 1333). She argues that the findings in the various papers demonstrate that languages in general have a taboo on using prominent negative phrasing (this is avoided either by avoiding negative phrasing completely, or by prosodically reducing negative tokens so that they are less prominent). The degree to which this taboo is

oriented to depends on various factors, for instance the individual language, the cultural setting and the power-relationship between speakers. Besides from this variation Malcah Yager-Dror (2002) notes that the findings in the issue overall are that prominent negatives are more likely to be permitted in situations where negatives are less likely to be perceived as disagreements with co-participants (pp1337). Again, the association of negation with dispreference should be evident.

That negation can indeed embody dispreferred actions is demonstrated by Ford (2001), for English. She specifically focuses on negation that expresses disaffiliation or disagreement with the prior talk, demonstrating that because of the dispreferred actions embodied by negation, negation is typically followed by elaboration of some sort. When this is not done, participants respond by prompting further talk, thus treating unelaborated disaffiliative negation as problematic. Ford (2001) however also notes that negation may in fact be preferred or affiliative, and that in these cases elaboration is not oriented to as being relevant.

This notion of negation as a preferred action is further developed in recent work by Koshik (2002) and Schegloff (2001) who both aim at demonstrating that negation should not simply be associated with dispreference. This is done by discussing cases where negation is deployed to implement a preferred, or at least not dispreferred, action. Koshik (2002) for instance studies writing conferences to demonstrate that some questions can convey an assertion of the opposite polarity to that of the grammatical form of the question. Consequently, a positively framed question can be designed to prefer a negative response, as in extract (12).

Extract (12): (Koshik, 2002, (3), pp15.)

```
26  TC:      ↑Why do you talk a↑bout consensus leadership
27           here.
28  SD:      Because that was the other thing that (0.2)
29           Zaleznik talked about. (hh)=
30  TC:      =um hum[:
31  SD:             [besides (.) uh charismatic leadership.=
32  TC: →    =are you gonna talk about it?in relation to:
33           de Gaulle?
34  SD: →    (this) nuh uh. heh:=
35  TC:      =not right here, right?=
36  SD:      =uh uh.=
```

In L32 the teacher (TC) asks a yes/no question. The question is positively framed and as such grammatically designed to prefer a 'yes'-response. The student (SD) however responds with a 'no'-response, the *nuh uh* in L34, thus disconfirming that he/she will discuss the notion of consensus leadership in the paper on Charles de Gaulle.

Despite being disconfirming, Koshik (2002) argues that the students response is in fact the preferred response, and as can be seen from the teachers response in L35 he/she also treats the negative response as preferred. Koshik (2002) argues that questions such as the one in L32 are designed to prefer a 'no'-response despite their positive polarity because they are R(eversed) P(olarity) Q(uestions), conveying a negative assertion, in this case something like 'You're <u>not</u> gonna talk about it in relation to de Gaulle'.

The negative assertion is conveyed because of the type of context in which the question is asked. Thus in extract (12) the teacher is not asking for information, rather the question is asked so as to act as a veiled criticism of the text under discussion – a text written by the student. In this context only a 'no'-response furthers the course of problem-solving which is begun by the challenging[8] wh-question posed in L26.

Though the negative response in L34 is in this way preferred, it is nevertheless still deployed to implement an action normally associated with dispreference, that of disconfirmation. It is only because of the very specific context in which the question is produced, as well as the action implemented by the question, that in this case a negative – and disconfirming – response is understood as preferred. Koshik's findings are in this way similar to those made by Pomerantz (1984a) for self-deprecations that also prefer to receive a response normally associated with dispreference, that of disagreement, as in extract (13).

Extract (13): (Pomerantz, 1984a, (20), pp84)

```
L:      …En I thought tuh myself- ((with a gravely yodel))
        -gee whi:z when do I get smart. I'm so dumb I don't
        even know it. hhh! – heh!
W:  →   Y-no, y-you're yer not du:mb, my God you- you hit it
        right on the head,….
```

---

[8] On the challenging nature of wh-questions see for instance Koshik (forth.)

Again, as in the case of extract (12) the preferential nature of W's response is achieved through the production of an action that is normatively dispreferred, that of disagreement. And again, this type of response is only preferred because of the specific type of action – a self-deprecation – done through the production of the turn responded to.

In both studies then a negative response is demonstrated to implement a preferred response. As this is shown to be done only in very sharply defined and very specific contexts of interaction (in response to RPQ's and self-deprecations) these studies only demonstrate that negatively framed responses *can* be preferred, rather than argue against the assumption that negative responses are generally dispreferred. In fact, as the negative responses described by Pomerantz (1984a) and Koshik (2002) do indeed implement 'negative' actions such as disconfirmation and disagreement – actions that are normally associated with dispreference, but happen to be preferred in the specific contexts discussed – these studies seem more likely to maintain and support the understanding of negative responses as implementing dispreferred – or at least 'negative' - actions.

Schegloff (2001) specifically sets out to challenge the understanding that *no* should be taken as a disagreement marker or rejection particle. Thus he demonstrates that *no* can be used to mark the transition from non-serious to serious talk, as in extract (14).

Extract (14): (Schegloff, 2001, (1), pp1948)

```
1   Sherri:  Hi Carol.=
2   Carol:   =H[i:.  ]
3   Ruthie:   [CA:RO]L, HI::
4   Sherri:  You didn't get en icecream sanwich,
5   Carol:   I kno:w, hh I decided that my body didn't need it,
6   Sherri:  Yes but ours di:d=
7   Sherri:  =hh heh-heh-heh [heh-heh-heh  [.hhih
8   (??):                   [ehh heh heh  [
9   (??):                                 [(          )
10  Carol:   hh Awright gimme some money en you c'n treat me to
             one an
11  Carol:   I'll buy you a:ll some [too.]
12  Sherri:                         [I'm ] kidding, I don't need
             it.
13           (0.3)
14  (??):    (hih)
15  Carol:   I WA:N' O:N[E,
16  ?Ruth:              [ehh heh-hu [h
```

```
17  Carol:                              [hheh-uh _hhh=
18  Carol:  →  =No they [didn't even have any Ta:(h)b.
19  ?Ruth:             [.hheh
20  Carol:     This is all I c'd find.
```

Schegloff (2001) argues that Carol's utterance in L15 is designed as non-serious and treated as such by the recipients as can be seen from Ruth's laughter in L16 in which Carol joins. In L18 however Carol returns to a more serious stance by providing an account for why she didn't get an ice-cream sandwich (or anything else). This shift from non-serious to serious is marked with the turn-initial *no*. Turn-initial *no* when used in contexts such as extract (14) above then works as a boundary marker between non-serious and serious talk. This use of *no* can clearly not be taken to implement a dispreferred action, rather the deployment of *no* in these contexts is nicely fitted to the ongoing sequence and the type of activity done in that sequence.

As in the study by Koshik (2002) this use of *no* is limited to a very specific context or sequence. As such, Schegloff (2001) does not provide any definite evidence that turn-initial *no* should not in general be associated with the implementation of negative or dispreferred actions. Instead, he merely demonstrates that turn-initial *no* can be deployed in contexts where the notion of preference is not really relevant, and consequently where *no* is certainly not implementing a dispreferred action. Thus, the studies discussed here in reality only observe that:

> *"…no does not* invariably *mark rejection"*

(or disagreement etc.) by exemplifying that:

> *"..no can be doing other things as well"*
>
> Schegloff (2001), pp 1948

Though discussing cases where *no* is not used to implement dispreferred actions, the observations made by Koshik (2002), Schegloff (2001) and Pomerantz (1984a) in this way seem to follow and accept the assumption that *no* is most commonly used for dispreferred actions. Thus, their findings are in effect treated and described as exceptions to the normative way in which *no* is deployed – as a response implementing dispreferred actions. From the perspective of this study, these findings are limited in relation to the study of negative responses in that they only

demonstrate that these *can* be deployed to implement other actions than those that are dispreferred. A stronger argument against the potential association of negation with dispreference would be to demonstrate that it is in fact the other way around. This will be shown to be the case for Danish in this study: negative responses overwhelmingly do preferred actions, but *can* be deployed to do dispreferreds.

The limited scope of the studies discussed above is partly due to the fact that each of these focus on very specific types of actions: RPQ's, self-deprecations and transition between sequences. Another more pertinent reason however is that the negative utterances are studied only in the context of positively framed utterances, just as is the case for the studies that show negation to be dispreferred, i.e. Ford (2001), Pomerantz (1984a), Goodwin (1995) and the cases discussed in studies of preference organisation, cited above.

The current study shows that this *is* a significant limitation of the study of negative responses and its uses in interaction, at least in the case of Danish: of about 600 cases of the Danish negative response particle *nej* 'no', more than 450 was produced as a *preferred* response to a *negatively* framed utterance. By contrast the occurrence of the negative response particle used as described in the literature on English (as a dispreferred response, a preferred response to questions with conveyed polarity or as a boundary marker) was found to be very infrequent in Danish, though they do occur.[9]

Thus, this study will show that cases such as the ones discussed by Pomerantz (1984a), Koshik (2002) and Schegloff (2001) are indeed exceptional also in Danish. The exception however lies not with the fact that the negative response particle is here deployed to implement preferred (or at least not dispreferred) actions. Rather, these cases are exceptional because of the *grammatical* context in which they are deployed, that is as responses to (or following) positively framed utterances. Thus, I will argue that in Danish the grammatical or polar format of an utterance establishes a second locus of preference, besides from the interactional preference for agreement: negatively framed utterances makes relevant a response with similar polarity, so that negative responses are grammatically as well as interactionally preferred in these contexts.

---

[9] These uses did not even account for all of the remaining 150 cases, as other uses of *nej* were included in this. See chapter 2 for a detailed description.

The notion that the grammatical composition of an utterance may be relevant for preference organisation has been noted also for English. Raymond (2000) and (2002), Schegloff (1995), Heritage (2002) and Koshik (2002) all discuss to various degrees how the composition (for instance grammar, prosody and word selection) of an utterance can constitute a second locus of preference, aside from the preference established by the action embodied in that utterance. Raymond (2000) and (2002) for instance demonstrates that the grammatical form of yes/no interrogatives in English reduces the responses made relevant to a choice between the alternative tokens 'yes' or 'no'. Responses to yes/no interrogatives that are initiated through the production of one of these particles are termed type-conforming, whereas nonconforming responses to yes/no interrogatives are those where a response particle is not produced turn-initially, or even at all.

The following two extracts taken from Raymond (2002) exemplify the difference between type-conforming and nonconforming responses to yes/no interrogatives:

Extract (15) : Type-conforming response (Raymond, 2002, pp20, (16) HV5A1)

```
1  HV:   How about your breast(s) have they settled do:wn
2        [no:w.
3  M:    [Yeah they 'ave no:w yeah.=
4  HV:   =(    ) they're not uncomfortable anymo:re.
5  M:    No: they was la:st week.
```

Extract (16) : Nonconforming response (Raymond, 2002, pp21, (17) HV1C1)

```
1  HV:   Are you feeding her on Cow and Gate.
2        (1.0)
3  M:    Yeah premium (                   ).
4  HV:   Mm.=Are your breasts alright.
5        (0.7)
6  M:    They're fine no:w I've stopped leaking (.) so:
7  HV:   You didn't want to breast feed,
8  M :   .hh No:: I- (.) I've always had a (.) phobia
```

Both of these extracts are taken from a Health Visitor (HV) corpus and in both the HV enquires into the state of the mothers' (M) breasts. Though

both mothers produce preferred responses, confirming that their breasts are not at the moment problematic, these responses are formatted differently in each example: in extract (15), the mother produces a type-conforming response initiated through the production of the response particle *yeah*, accepting the format of the question which implies that though the breasts are now fine, they have been problematic at an earlier point in time. In contrast, in extract (16), the mother produces a nonconforming response, specifying that though the breasts are now fine, they were problematic at an earlier point in time, displaying that this was not oriented to by the HV's enquiry.

Raymond (2000) and (2002) argues that just as agreement and disagreement, acceptance and rejection are asymmetrical alternatives, so are type-conforming and nonconforming responses to yes/no interrogatives: type-conforming responses are much more common than nonconforming responses and are treated as the default response form, whereas nonconforming responses are produced only for cause. In addition, type-conforming responses promote action whereas nonconforming responses can be sequentially disruptive. Consequently, type-conforming responses are preferred, nonconforming responses are dispreferred. This type of preference is a *grammatical* preference, distinct from the more interactional preference for agreement, confirmation and the like (Raymond, 2002, distinguishes the two by terming the latter preference type 1, the former preference type 2). Consequently a response to for instance a yes/no interrogative can be interactionally dispreferred, but grammatically preferred as in extract (17), where the response to Jen's interrogative is initiated by the response particle *no*, hence type-conforming and grammatically preferred. Because the response particle in this extract however embodies a disconfirmation, the response is at the same time interactionally dispreferred.

Extract (17) : (Raymond, 2002, pp24, (23), Rahmen 8)
```
1   Jen:   Yes. Ahr you coming home now fih yer tea:.
2   Mat:    No, ah js wan'uh seh ev'thing's alright theh
```

In short, an utterance can establish 'multiple preferences' (Schegloff, 1995), one interactionally established by the action embodied in the utterance, and a second, distinct one established grammatically through the format of the utterance.

The polarity of an utterance in particular has been noted to be a clear example of how the grammatical format of an utterance establishes a second locus of preference organisation (i.e. grammatical preference), by both Raymond (2002) and Schegloff (1995) (see also Koshik, 2002 and Raymond, 2000). Raymond (2002) gives the following example:

> 'A speaker can ask: "can you give me a ride home?" In terms of preference type 1 (the interactional preference for agreement), such a request prefers granting. [..] The grammatical form [..] projects that such an acceptance should be conveyed by a "yes". [...] However, a speaker can reverse the polarity of an utterance, as in "you can't give me a ride home can you?" While the request embodied in such a turn still prefers granting, its polarity prefers, or anticipates, a "no".'
>
> Raymond (2002), pp13

Similarly to Raymond (2002), Schegloff (1995) notes that a pre-request such as 'You're not going downtown, are you?' has a turn format that is grammatically aligned for a 'no'-response though the action (a pre-request) carries a preference for a 'yes'-response. Based on this (invented) example Schegloff (1995) as Raymond (2002) notes that :

> 'There can be, then, alternative groundings of preference. Some preferences are grounded in the character of the course of action, and the directionality of its trajectory toward realization or "success;" we may think of these as preferences based in sequence structure the structure of the course of action in progress. Some preferences are grounded in the design of the turn [...], often through resources such as grammatical format, prosody, diction, and other features of turn design; we may think of these as preferences based in speaker practices.
>
> Schegloff (1995) pp 62-62.

The studies by Raymond (2000) and (2002) and Schegloff (1995) both focus on something else than negation and the notion that a negatively framed utterance establishes a grammatical preference for a negative response is not developed any further. Perhaps this is the reason also for why they both – rather untypical for CA studies – provide only invented examples of how utterances can establish multiple preferences. In

contrast, Sacks (1987) does provide empirical data to exemplify how a negative response can embody a preferred action, as in the case in extract (18) below where a confirmation is done through the production of a negatively framed response.

Extract (18): (Sacks, 1987, (11), pp63)

```
A:      N' they haven't heard a word huh?
B: →   Not a word, uh-huh. Not- Not a word. Not at all.
```

Here the negatively framed response is produced prominently, repeated twice and produced without any hedges; clearly the responding speaker is not orienting in any way to this being a dispreferred response.

From this example it is evident that negative responses can indeed be preferred, and are so in particular when responding to utterances that are themselves negative, as also noted by Raymond (2002) and Schegloff (1995). In the example from Sacks (1987) this grammatical preference furthermore coincides with the more interactional preference for a certain action, that of confirmation/agreement, so that the negative response is preferred both interactionally and grammatically.

There is evidence and indications then that negatively framed responses are not necessarily dispreferred, even in English. The examples given by Raymond (2002), Schegloff (1995) and Sacks (1987) and the discussion of these examples all demonstrate that when produced in response to negatively framed utterances, negative responses are in fact grammatically preferred (and in Sacks, 1987 also interactionally preferred).

In contrast, in the cases discussed so far where negative responses are in fact embodying actions normally associated with dispreference, i.e. disagreement (extract (10) and (13)), disconfirmation (extract (9), (12) and (17)) or rejection (extract (8) and (11)) the negative responses were all produced in response to positively framed utterances. This indicates that the grammatical or polar composition of an utterance is relevant for whether a negative response will embody preferred or dispreferred actions. As the current study will demonstrate, the polarity of the turn responded to certainly has consequences for whether a negative response in Danish is understood as preferred or dispreferred: when produced in response to positively framed utterances a negative response can certainly embody interactional dispreference – though this is not

necessarily the case. When produced in response to a negatively framed utterance however a negative response consistently embodies preferred actions.

Thus, in Danish the polar framing of an utterance clearly establishes a grammatical locus for preference, aside from the interactional preference for agreement. Whether this is a feature particular to Danish, or whether it is relevant in other languages as well can only be answered by more in-depth studies of negative responses in other languages. However, the grammatical preference described for Danish in this study appears to be exactly what is suggested also for English by Raymond (2002), Schegloff (1995) and Sacks (1987). In addition, studies of response tokens in a variation of languages indicate that this grammatical or polar preference is relevant for other Indo-European languages besides Danish. These will be discussed below.

1.2.3.2 Studies of response tokens

Broadly speaking, response tokens are brief, non-topical responses; responses that indicate that a piece of talk by one speaker has been heard and registered by the recipient of that talk. In English, typical response tokens are for instance *Yeah*, *Mm hm*, *Okay* and *Mm* (Gardner, 2001).

Response tokens do not however constitute a homogenous group, as a wide range of activities can be done through the production of each of these tokens. To add to the confusion the terms used to refer to response tokens and other minimal responses in the literature vary, depending on the theoretical background of a study and its' scope.

In this study response token is used as a generic term for those brief responses (in Danish typically response particles) that functions as continuers and acknowledgements. Previous research (Gardner, 2001 and Jefferson, 1984 among others) differentiate between response tokens, demonstrating that continuers and acknowledgements respectively do a range of work and that speakers make very fine distinctions between them. Though I mainly discuss continuers and acknowledgements as belonging to a common group – response tokens - I do not use the terms continuers and acknowledgements indiscriminately. Rather, when referring to these more specified uses I follow Gardner (2001) who defines continuers as responses that:

'are expressing 'no problem' with the prior speaker's turn, and declining the floor and an opportunity for more substantial talk.'

Gardner (2001), pp28

Acknowledgement tokens :

'are, like continuers, claiming 'no problem' in understanding or agreement. A difference from continuers is that they are not, primarily, in the business of handing the floor back to the prior speaker, but of making a claim to adequate receipt of the prior turn. In other words, they are more retrospective than continuers.'

Gardner (2001), pp34.

As is evident from the quotes above, the distinction between the two uses of a response token is very subtle, sometimes to the degree that it can be hard to establish whether a response token is used as a continuer or as an acknowledgement token. Gardner (2001) among other things lists prosody, the position of a token in relation to the other speakers talk, as well as the organisation of the sequence in which a token is produced as ways in which the use of the token can be established. Below are two examples of the use of the negative response token *nej* 'no' in Danish, one where *nej* is used as a continuer, one where it is used as an acknowledgement token.

Extract (19) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie I/Neg128

```
((Fie is describing how she once took a taxi to get to Ester's place because she
wasn't certain which way to go.))

1  Fie:                              [jah]men jeg har
                                     [ja ]but  I have
                                     [yes]but I have

2             jo       ås' prøvet engang  å' der   ku'
              you-know also tried one-time and there could
              tried once as well you know and there the

3             taxachaufføren  ikk' finde det=
              taxi-driver-the not  find   it=
              cab driver couldn't find it=

4  Ester: →    =nej=
```

```
                   =nej=
                   =no=

5   Fie:           =.hh da    kørte vi hele: L rundt [han ku' ]
                   =.hh then drove we all L round    [he could]
                   =.hh the we drove round all of L [he could]

6   Ester:                                          [ ja ja  ]
                                                    [ ja ja  ]
                                                    [yes yes ]

7   Fie:           .hh fordi     der var ensrettet å' [han]
                   .hh because there was one-way and  [he ]
                   .hh because it was one way street a[nd ]

8   Ester: →                                       [jah]
                                                    [ja ]
                                                    [yes]

9   Fie:           ku' ikk'    fin[de ] å' han måtte ikk' køre
                   could not    fin[d  ] and he must  not  drive
                   he couldn't fin[d  ] and he couldn't go one

10  Ester: →                  [nej]
                              [nej]
                              [ no]

11  Fie:           den ene vej å' den  [ an]den vej  å' så
                   the one way and the [ ot]her way and so
                   way and the other   [   ]  way and stuff

12  Ester: →                           [nej]
                                       [nej]
                                       [no ]

13  Fie:           noget    .hh å' jeg var jo ikk' så
                   something .hh and I  was you-know not so
                   .hh and you know I wasn't smart enough, so
```

In this extract Fie has launched an extended telling (Goodwin, 1986) in which she describes taking a taxi to Ester's house and the difficulty the taxi-driver had in getting there. Ester orients to this as an extended telling

by producing continuers (in L4, 8, 10 and 12)[10] displaying her understanding that talk is in progress but not yet complete. A typical feature of continuers are that they occur at the boundaries of turn-constructional units (such as a clause or a sentence), thus demonstrating both that one unit has been received and that another is now awaited (Goodwin, 1986). This is also the case here. Thus, Ester through her production of continuers marks Fie's prior turns as having been heard and understood, treating these turns as unproblematic and allowing the extended telling to progress.

In contrast, in extract (20) the negative response particle *nej* 'no' is deployed as an acknowledgement token.

Extract (20): `TH/S2/19/Mathias & Malte II/ Neg250`

```
((Mathias is describing his progress in a computer game.))

1   Mathias:     Så' jeg i gang med Ved hjælp a' Barbaro:sa
                 Frederik
                 Then-am I about to With help from Barbaro:sa
                 Frederik
                 Then I'm about to With the help of Barbaro:sa
                 Frederik


2                Barbaro:sa
                 Barbaro:sa
                 Barbaro:sa


3                (.)
                 (.)
                 (.)


4   Malte:       Aldri' h↑ørt om ham
                 Never h↑eard about him
                 Never h↑eard of   him


5   Mathias: →   Nejh. Han a' faktisk ø:h den næst- Den sidste
                 romerske
                 Nej.  He is actually e:h the sec- The last  roman
                 Noh.  He is actually e:h the sec- The last Roman


6                kejser overho'det
```

<hr>

[10] The multiple *ja* 'yes' in L6 is presumably doing more than marking continuation. See chapter 4 on how this is the case at least for multiple productions of the negative response particle.

```
emperor at-all
```
emperor at all

Here, Mathias in L1 initiates a telling of how he has played the historical character Frederik Barbarossa in a computer game. In L4 Malte states that he does not know who this character is, a statement which in this context can be seen as requesting further identification of the character referred to. In response to Malte's negatively framed statement, Mathias first acknowledges the production of this, then goes on to explain who Frederik Barbarossa is, in L5-6. Thus, Mathias through the production of the acknowledgement token states the claim of having understood the prior turn adequately (as a request for further identification) and specifically displays how this was understood through providing an identification of Frederik Barbarossa in his continuation after the acknowledgement token. The use of acknowledgement tokens in this way differs from that of continuers, in that acknowledgements tokens are not primarily used for handing the floor back to the prior speaker, as are continuers.

As can be seen from the two extracts, continuers and acknowledgements have in common that they register the prior talk but do not receive it as news or as informative. Thus, these tokens are primarily produced to display an organisational position to the current talk, rather than exhibit a specific kind of substantial analysis of that talk – as would be the case with for instance assessments or other commentaries. Another common trait is that both continuers and acknowledgement tokens can be characterised negatively; described in terms of what they are not doing (Schegloff, 1982). When a response token is used, there is at the same time an absence of repair and of markers of dispreference. The presence of repair would indicate problems of understanding (Schegloff et al, 1977), whereas the presence of markers of dispreference indicates an upcoming disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984a). Thus, response tokens align with the project undertaken in the turn or sequence they are responsive to, and because of this they can be taken as indications of agreement, though they do not in and by themselves claim agreement.

Studies of response tokens are fairly frequent in the CA-literature, reflecting their frequent distribution and the multiple actions these tokens can be shown to embody, be part of or foreshadow. Various uses

and functions of response tokens[11] have consequently been described in a variation of languages, among these Danish (Rathje, 1999), Dutch (Mazeland, 1990), Finland-Swedish (Green-Vänttinen, 2001), Finnish (Sorjonen, 2001a), Italian (Müller, 1996), English (American, British and Australian, Gardner, 1997 and 2001 and Jefferson, 2002), Norwegian (Skarbø, 1999) and Swedish (Lindström, 1999).

The particular focus of these studies vary to a great extent, as does their scope and depths. What most have in common is that they concern themselves mainly with positive responses and response particles (Mazeland, 1990 and Jefferson, 2002 in particular are exceptions to this). Nevertheless, in some of these studies there is evidence of the polar composition of an utterance being a locus of preference in the languages described. Green-Vänttinen (2001) for instance in her extensive study of response tokens in Finland-Swedish, demonstrates that *nä/ne* 'no' is used as a continuer and acknowledgement when responding to negatively framed utterances, noting that this is perhaps contrary to assumptions (Green-Vänttinen, 2001, section 3.3.5, pp123). Lindström (1999) similarly shows the following example of a negative response particle *Nehej* 'no' used for acknowledgement of a negatively framed utterance in Swedish.

Extract (21): Lindström (1999), 1:13, Clothes line [GRU:6:B], pp36

```
1    M:      Hej,
             Hi


2    R:      .hh Va gör du då,
             .hh What doing you then
             .hh What are you doing then


3            (0.8)


4    M:→(-)  Inget särski:lt hh, ((breathy))
             Nothing special hh


5    R: →    Nehej .hh vet du va ja frå- ville
             Nehej .hh know you what I as- wanted
             I see .hh listen I ask- wanted


6            att du skulle gå ut å ta u:t in
```

---

[11] Some studies include tokens other than continuers and acknowledgements, but here I focus specifically on the findings made for these tokens in the various studies, as this if of most relevance for the study at hand.

```
            that you should go out and take out in
            that you'd go out and take out- in

7           tvätten som hänger ba:ksidan .hh
            the laundry that hangs the backside .hh
            the laundry that hangs in the backyard .hh
```

Also Müller (1996) demonstrates that the Italian *no* 'no' can be used as a continuer in response to negatively framed utterances in that language. In these three languages then there are indications that the negative framing of an utterance establishes a grammatical or polar preference for a congruent 'no'-response.

Other studies in other languages focus more directly on this relationship between the polarity of an utterance and its corresponding response tokens. Thus Mazeland (1990) explicitly states that contrary to assumptions the negative response particle *ne* 'no' in Dutch is used as a response token in line with its positive equivalents. He argues that in Dutch congruent 'no'-receipts (i.e. negative response tokens produced in response to negatively framed utterances) accomplish topical alignment, just as 'yes'-receipts do. This is very similar to the findings made in this study. Whereas I have found no cases where a positive token was used as an acknowledgement or continuer in response to negatively framed utterances in Danish, Mazeland (1990) shows that this is in fact possible in Dutch. He notes however that such unmatched uses of positive tokens (i.e. positive token produced in response to negatively framed utterances) are not treated by the participants as a flawless display of recipient alignment, but rather is oriented to as:

'…*revealing a subtle type of disalignment.*'

Mazeland (1990), pp262.

Finally, Jefferson (2002) dedicates a whole study to the English negative response token *no* produced as a response to negatively framed utterances. She demonstrates that the use of *no* differs across British English and American English speaker communities: in everyday conversation British English speakers (or 'civilians' (Jefferson, 2002, pp 1350) may use negative tokens such as *no* as an acknowledgement token when responding to negatively framed utterances. In contrast, British English doctors and American civilians reserve the negative tokens for affiliation whereas acknowledgement of a negatively framed utterance is

done through a positive token. American doctors on the other hand do not use negative tokens as a response to negatively framed utterances at all.

Jefferson's aim is to establish whether negative response particles such as the English *no* can be used merely for acknowledgement, rather than only for more affiliative responses. The findings from the 'civilian' British English data thus confirms that this is the case.

Jefferson's study however also demonstrates that both in American English and British English speakers produce negative responses that are not dispreferred, specifically negative responses that are produced in response to negatively framed utterances. Thus, as in the case of Dutch, Italian, Swedish and Finland-Swedish there is evidence that at least for some activities the negative framing of an utterance establishes a grammatical preference for a 'no'-response. The range of activities in which this is done differs across user populations: British English civilians use negative responses both to acknowledge and affiliate with negatively framed utterances, whereas British English doctors and American English civilians only use negative responses when affiliating with negatively framed utterances. In short, British English civilians display a stronger orientation to the grammatical preference for a no-response than do British English doctors and American English civilians.

In a wider perspective, we now have strong indications that users in several languages (B. English, A. English, Swedish, Dutch, Finland-Swedish and Italian) orient to a grammatical preference for having negative responses follow negatively framed utterances. The extent to which this is done across activities may differ from language to language or across speaker communities, as is evident from Jefferson's comparative study. Further studies of negative responses in Swedish, Dutch, British English, Finland-Swedish is needed before it is possible to determine exactly how strong the grammatical preference for a negative response to negatively framed utterances is across activities in each of these languages. In this study I will show that in Danish the grammatical preference for a 'no'-response is oriented to consistently, across a large variety of activities, ranging from continuation-marking, acknowledgement and confirmation, to affiliation and agreement.[12]

---

[12] There is of course the possibility that the type of speaker community investigated may have an effect on the consitency to which this is done in Danish. Danish doctors may for instance show a weaker orientation to the polar preference of an utterance, as is the case for both American and British doctors.

1.2.3.3 Summary

There are two areas of CA research where negative responses are, if not directly analysed, then at least commented upon. In the area of preference organisation, negative responses are typically presented in two ways:

a) as being interactionally dispreferred responses, implementing actions such as disagreement, disconfirmation and rejection.
b) as being interactionally preferred responses, only because typical dispreffered responsive actions such as disagreement and disconfirmation are preferred due to the particular sequential context in which the responses are produced.

In both cases then, the negative responses described embody actions generally associated with dispreference; disagreement, rejection, disconfirmation etc.

In studies of response tokens on the other hand, negative responses are frequently treated as being equal to positive responses, in the sense that the former type is shown to be used in response to negatively framed utterances, the latter in response to positive utterances. The extent to which this is done (and shown to be done) varies across languages and speaker communities, but there is nevertheless a strong indication that negative responses should not simply be understood as embodying dispreferred responses.

The main difference between these two approaches is that when negative responses are commented on in the area of preference organisation, they occur after positively framed utterances. In contrast, when negative responses are commented on in studies of response tokens, they occur after negatively framed utterances. The current study will show that the grammatical or polar format of an utterance has strong consequences for whether a negative response in Danish embodies preferred or dispreferred actions: if the negative response is produced in orientation to a negatively framed utterance, it typically implement a preferred action; if, on the other hand it is produced in orientation to a positively framed utterance, it typically – but not necessarily – implements a dispreferred action. Thus, the current study ties together and develops what is mainly touched upon in the studies discussed above in the area of negation and interaction.

1.3 Research questions

The purpose of this study initially was to contribute to conversation analytic work on dispreferred actions, by describing how such actions are formatted in one particular language, Danish. As a starting point, based on previous research in preference organisation such as Pomerantz (1984a), Schegloff (1995) and Ford (2001) I identified negatively framed responses and the negative response particle *nej* 'no', as one particular feature of interaction that might be associated in particular with dispreferred actions.

Having made a collection of negative responses in Danish however it soon became evident that this starting point was entirely wrong, in that it turned out that negative responses were in Danish typically used for preferred actions, rather than the opposite.

In trying to deal with this outcome, the main analytic purpose of the present study developed into being instead a description of negative responses in Danish; how such negative responses are constructed as well as the type of actions they embody.

Thus, this study offers a typological description of negation in Danish interaction, but it also focuses on an area – negation and negative responses – that has not been subjected to any detailed study within the area of conversation analysis before in any language. The findings in this study, though limited to that of negation in Danish interaction, should for that reason also raise some interesting issues concerning the use of negation and negative responses conducted in other languages. The present study should thus be seen as a contribution not only to the study of Danish interaction, but to studies of interaction in general.

So far, conversation analytic work on negation has mainly explored how negative structures are used in clearly demarcated and limited contexts in English, embodying very specific actions such as marking the boundary between activities (Schegloff, 2001), responding to questions with reversed polarity preference (Koshik, 2002), or when used as an interactionally dispreferred response to positively framed utterances (Ford, 2001 and Pomerantz, 1984a).

The present study builds on and develops these studies by demonstrating that also in Danish negative structures can be used in the ways described for English. The present study however takes one step forward by providing an in-depth analysis and description of a much larger variety of actions that negative responses can embody in Danish. In doing

so, this study identifies the home-environment of negative responses in Danish as being that of a prior, negatively framed utterance. In this home-environment negative responses typically embody interactionally preferred responses of for instance agreement, affiliation, confirmation, acknowledgement and continuation.

The present study in this way demonstrates that in Danish negative responses are used in a fashion similar to that of positive responses, suggesting that negative responses should be included as an object of research in studies of responses, at least in Danish, but potentially also in other languages. By focusing specifically on these negative responses, the study develops the observations made by for instance Jefferson (2002), Mazeland (1990), Green-Väntinnen (2001) and Müller (1996) into a detailed description of how negative response particles can be used as an acknowledgement or continuation marking of a prior negatively framed utterance in one particular language, Danish.

Furthermore, by identifying a home-environment in which negative responses occur, and comparing these with cases where negative responses are used outside their home-environment, the function of negative responses in this study will be shown to be immediately tied with the grammatical construction of the prior talk.

Thus this study demonstrates that in Danish, if a negative response is produced in its home-environment, as a response to a negatively framed utterance, it typically embodies an interactionally preferred response. If on the other hand a negative response is produced outside its home-environment, as a response to a positively framed utterance it may embody an interactionally dispreferred response.

By in this way establishing that at least for Danish the polar framing of an utterance has clear implications for its preference structure, the present study develops and provides empirical evidence for the observations (or suggestions) made in previous work on preference organisation also in English, in particular Raymond (2000) and Schegloff (1995). The present study in this way contributes in an important fashion to our knowledge of doing preferred and dispreferred actions in interaction.

For the same reason, the present study contributes also to studies focusing on the intersection - or relation - between interaction and grammar, by demonstrating that the grammatical format of an utterance may establish a second locus of preference, along with the more interactional preference for agreement. Thus, the study makes a

contribution to our knowledge of the construction of interaction and social action by showing how participants in interaction draw and rely on grammatical resources dynamically.

Because of the lack of any detailed studies of negation in interaction in other languages, this study is not comparative in the sense that it points out differences and similarities between Danish and other languages in an exhaustive manner. However the results on the use, distribution and construction of negative responses in Danish should at the very least raise some interesting questions about the use of negation and negative responses in other languages, such as for instance:

- Are negatively framed utterances also in other languages the home-environment for negative responses?
- Are negative responses also in other languages typically used for interactionally preferred, rather than dispreferred responses?
- Do other languages also have a grammatical preference for having the negative polarity of a prior turn mirrored in the response?
- If so, then to what extent?

Though this study does not attempt to answer any of these questions in an exhaustive manner, these issues will be discussed or at least hinted at throughout the study, by comparing what we know so far about the use of negation in other languages. Further and more exhaustive comparisons between negation as used in Danish and other languages will have to await more in-depth studies within this area.

1.4 The data

As noted by Sorjonen (2001a) response tokens are by nature indexical, their use presupposing as well as creating context. The analysis of *nej* as a response token in particular makes relevant analysing tape-recordings of naturally occurring interaction.

The database for the present study consists of recordings (and transcripts) of 158 telephone conversations ranging from 30 seconds to 45 minutes. The data were collected in two phases, one in the spring of 2000, another in the summer of the same year. The data were collected from one source only; the Lindegaard family who were kind enough to record all their calls in these periods. There are altogether 69 speakers in the 158 conversations, some speakers (i.e. the members of the Lindegaard

household as well as their closest family and friends) are participants in more than one conversation, some only in one.

The recordings are a reflection of the Lindegaards life: Jens is the husband and father. At the time of the recordings he was unemployed; to have something to do he was rebuilding his workshop and installing a solar panel. He was also working on various projects to secure himself a job, trying to get funding for these projects from various sources. In addition he was a member of the local council, voluntarily managing a local museum and doing odd jobs for the local business office. Most of the conversations in which Jens participates deal with practical aspects of one of his ongoing projects, and he rarely participates in conversations that are not in the service of achieving a certain task.

His wife, Fie, has just as many irons in the fire: she is a full-time manager of the local ferry company. In the summer season this means that she has to be available to deal with potential problems outside of office hours. Many of the conversations she participates in are related to her work. Fie is also a voluntary worker for a museum and in addition she rents out a holiday house in France. As the 'domestic goddess' of the household she is also the one who calls the window cleaner, the bank and the shops when something needs doing or has been done wrong. In contrast to her husband, however, Fie also participates in multiple social calls.

Fie and Jens's only child still living at home is the 14 year old Mathias. Mathias is part of a group of boys whose main purpose in life is playing computer games and role playing games. Within this group of boys Mathias is the game master, the one who creates the role playing games. In this role he frequently receives or makes calls to the other boys in order to discuss the characters they play in the game. Likewise the computer game that one of them is currently playing is frequently treated as a reason for calling within this group.

Another speaker who frequently occurs in the corpus is Ester, Fie's older sister. Ester has a holiday house in the area where the Lindegaards live and normally spends most of her summer there. Partly because of this she has a close relationship with Fie, Jens and Mathias and calls very frequently, mainly just to chat.

Though taken from one source only, the database in this way is heterogeneous in that the calls are both conversations among friends and family, and more 'institutional' ones – calls to different kinds of experts and institutions such as plumbers, skip companies, booking agencies, cinemas etc. – in which participants are clearly oriented to specific

institutional tasks. Other calls are mixtures of this where a call may be initiated to achieve a specific task but where the participants know each other socially as well, the institutional setting in these cases blending with a more social function as well (on the membrane between institutional and conversational talk see Drew, forth.a).

In most cases the kind of actions that the negative response particle *nej* 'no' accomplishes seem to be ones that are done across settings, and the use of the negative response particle *nej* can be found in all of the calls, the only exception being some of the shorter calls of less than a minute. There are however certain actions accomplished through the production of *nej* which tend to cluster in certain calls: in general the very infrequent use of *nej* as implementing dispreferred disagreement (that is excluding disagreement in response for instance to self deprecations) is found mainly in calls between Ester and Fie on the one hand, and Mathias and his friends on the other. For teenagers this use of *nej* as implementing disagreement seems to reflect a more general tendency towards failing to orient to normative social constraints; it is thus also in the teenagers calls that pauses much longer than the standard maximum silence (Jefferson, 1989) of (1.0) occur, as does overt bragging. For Ester and Fie on the other hand the possibility for expressing disagreement perhaps reflects the closeness of their relationship as sisters.

1.4.1 The transcription

In the transcription I have used the conversation analytic conventions developed by Gail Jefferson, though a slightly less developed version than she in general recommends (see the appendix). Thus, I use a very rough categorisation of prosodic features, marking mainly the terminal intonation contours, with falls and rises in pitch contour only being transcribed in the most obvious cases. Stress is only marked when emphatic and laughter particles have not been consistently transcribed; instead their presence is often merely marked. This is not a reflection on any view of prosodic or phonetic details and non-verbal articulations as being irrelevant for the study of response tokens or indeed interaction. Indeed there do seem to be indications that the way in which *nej* is articulated has relevance for its effect on interaction. The standard or most common articulation of *nej* is *nej*. However when used for straightforward disagreement there seems to be a tendency to pronounce it as *Ej*. Likewise, when the response token is used for agreement, but where this is followed by subsequent turns where this agreement is

mitigated or contrasted, some speakers pronounce the token as *Næh*, to indicate a hedged agreement. Furthermore, in the specific contexts where *nej* occurs in clusters (chapter 3), participants mirror the production of the second *nej* on the prior speakers articulation of the first *nej*, producing an almost identical second *nej* even when taking into consideration the speakers differences in pitch range. Though the teasing out of any relevancy this imitation has for the interaction as a whole is beyond the scope of this study, I doubt that these phonetic features are purely coincidental.

Most of the speakers in the database speak one of the main regiolects of Danish; Jydsk, Fynsk or Sjællandsk; corresponding to the geographical areas of the mainland and the two larger islands in Denmark. As these regiolects are all versions of what one might term the standard received pronunciation of Danish, I have not transcribed these as dialects. Two speakers however distinguish themselves from the rest of the database: Peder and C-K both speak different versions of Sønderjydsk, a dialect spoken in the South of Denmark on the boundary with Germany. For these speakers I have attempted a transcription which displays their dialect. This is particularly crucial because their pronunciation of the negative marker *ikke* is *itt* in contrast to all other speakers who pronounce it as *ikk'*.[13]

Spoken Danish differs drastically from the written language in that particular vowels are often not pronounced: The unstressed e [∂] in a medial syllable is generally not pronounced, with the result that words like *interessant* 'interesting' and *elleve* 'eleven' are pronounced as *intressant* and *elve* instead. When the unstressed e appears in the present tense of certain verbs this feature 'spreads' to the consonant prior to e, with verbs like *tager* 'takes', *bliver* 'becomes' and *siger* 'says' being pronounced as *tar*, *blir* and *sir*. To display this and other differences between spoken and written Danish I have used the apostrophe (') to mark that a letter found in written Danish is not pronounced and hence not transcribed in the spoken corpus, transcribing for instance *altså* as *al'så*, *giver* as *gi'r*. This notation makes it possible to note when a word is articulated closer to the written version, something which may be relevant for the interaction. Furthermore it captures the fact that whereas some words are distinguishable in written Danish, they are not in most spoken varieties: the conjunction *og* 'and' and the infinitive marker *at* 'to' are both commonly pronounced as *å'*. This is so standard that many Danes have

problems deciding whether *og* or *at* should be used in particular linguistic constructions in written language, the replacement of *at* with *og* being a common grammatical error in much written work. By transcribing both as they are pronounced, as *å'*, I refrain from taking any position on whether specific constructions in spoken language are grammatical or not.

One further aspect of Danish which might be relevant for the transcription is the use of 'stød' as a functional phoneme which distinguishes forms that are otherwise similar. The Danish 'stød' is described in phonology as a glottal stop and for most non-native speakers this is how 'stød' comes across. For an interactional study of language in use this is particularly relevant in that the 'stød' can sound like a cut-off to listeners who do not speak Danish, an understanding which can clearly lead to the wrong analysis of a sequence. 'Stød' is not transcribed in the data.

1.4.2 The translation

One very important aspect of presenting data to non-native speakers is the translation. Danish is closely related to English and in many ways is very similar: both languages are derivational and both rely mainly on word order to display what functions a specific linguistic item has. Verbs are inflected to express tense (present, past and imperative all being derived from the infinitive form) and, like English, auxiliary verbs are employed to form the perfect, past perfect and future tenses. In Danish however verbs are marked neither for person or number. Furthermore Danish, as English, has a very limited case system, with only the personal pronouns being case marked.

Despite these structural similarities between the two languages, it is impossible to translate from one into the other without involving 'analysis'. By providing both a word-by-word translation and an idiomatic translation, I have attempted to counter some of these aspects. Nevertheless, even in the word-by-word translation some analysis is necessary. This is true for instance for the translation of *å'*, which as noted above is the articulation of both the infinitive marker *at* 'to' and the conjunction *og* 'and'. To translate the individual instances of *å'* I have had to rely on my competence as a native speaker, and in doing so I have in effect applied some analysis of the sequence in which *å'* occurs to the translation.

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[13] Peder's version of this dialect furthermore allow Negative Concord, though this is not used in any of the sequences discussed in this study.

Discourse particles are another example where translation becomes particularly impossible without doing some analysis. The discourse particle *altså* for instance has been translated either as 'really' (an emphasiser) or as 'you know' (a 'filler'), depending on the context and position in which it occurs. Likewise the response token *nåh* has been translated either as 'oh' (marking surprise) or as 'right' (marking receipt only). In choosing one translation over the other I have had to rely on my understanding of what the participants display through the use of the particle and the response token respectively, and as such have applied an analysis to make the translation possible.

There are of course ways to avoid this analysis, at least in the word-by-word translation, most noticeably by providing the corresponding linguistic category of each word in the word-by-word translation. For languages that are typologically different from English, this solution does make sense in that it provides the reader with a sense of the structure of that language.[14] For Danish however the use of linguistic categories in the word-by-word translation into English seems less relevant. The only aspect where this is not the case is specifically in the translation of discourse particles in which the meaning and function can be difficult to capture in a translation. In the case of discourse particles however the use of a linguistic category fares no better: 'particle' is not a defined grammatical category like verbs and nouns, but is a term used for small function words which cannot be put into another category (in Danish the term for particle translates directly as 'little word'). Thus, labelling a word such as for instance *altså* as a particle does not in effect provide the reader with any better insight into its meaning and function than a direct translation does.

1.4.3 The collection

When starting this study it soon became evident that transcribing all of the 158 calls would be an insurmountable task, and therefore only a smaller number of the calls, 48 in all, were actually transcribed in full. From these calls I made two collections: one of all the occurrences of *nej*; one of all the productions of negatively framed utterances, with the two collections most frequently coinciding case-by-case. In the remainder of the data an auditory search was made for all occurrences of negatively framed utterances - with or without *nej*. These were then transcribed in the sequence in which they were produced. Likewise, when the study

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[14] From personal experience however I have noted that not all readers are familiar or comfortable with linguistic categories, resulting in having them consult only the idiomatic translation.

developed and it became evident that other linguistic items or constructions needed to be analysed (for instance the marked positive response particle *jo* 'yes' and non-conforming responses to negatively framed utterances), an auditory search was made for these as well. The distribution of various linguistic items and constructions, as well as actions referred to in this dissertation thus represent the whole of the corpus.

1.5 Organisation

The study is organised as follows. In chapter 2, I demonstrate that in Danish the principle site in which the negative response particle *nej* 'no' occurs is as a response to negatively framed utterances. Further, I show that in these as well as most other contexts, the production of the negative particle does not implement 'negative' or dispreferred actions, but is instead perfectly fitted to the context in which it is produced, grammatically as well as interactionally. Based on these and other findings I argue that in addition to the interactional preference for agreement, participants in interaction also orient to a *grammatical* preference for reflecting the polarity of the prior turn in the response.

In chapter 3 I examine in more detail how negative responses are formatted in Danish. I show that negatively framed utterances are designed specifically to receive responses that are initiated through the production of the negative response particle, and that participants orient to this as being the type-conforming format for responding to negatively framed utterances. It will be argued that this type-conforming format reflects the fact that the negative response particle in Danish is used as a response token only.

In chapter 4 the use of the negative response particle in a particular linguistic construction will be discussed; the *multiple nej*. I demonstrate that when *nej* is produced as a series of *nej*'s in one intonational phrase, as a *multiple nej*, both the 'negative' features of *nej* as well as its fittedness to a prior negatively framed utterance will be oriented to by the participants. I argue that the *multiple nej* is a multi-action response where the negative features are deployed to implement 'protesting', while the preference for a negative response to a negatively framed utterance is deployed to implement affiliation. When used together in a *multiple nej*, these features result in the production of a response which marks the *obviousness* of the turn responded to.

In chapter 5 I summarise the findings made in the prior chapters, discuss how these relate to other studies of negation and points to areas for future research.

He glanced up quickly. 'You know we lost the school dinners?'

'Oh', I said. 'Sorry to hear that.'

'Yes, it's been very hard to bear.'

'Any chance of getting them back?' I asked.

'It's possible. That's why you're here, of course.'

'Is it?'

'Oh yes. There's plenty of room for improvement.

Now you're not going to go running off again, are you?'

'Er…no.'

' "No." or "er…no"?'

'No.'

'I should hope not.'

2 Negation and preference structure

In this chapter I demonstrate that negative responses in Danish do not typically embody dispreferred actions such as disagreement, disconfirmation and rejection. As a consequence any potential relations between negation and interactional dispreference do not hold for Danish. I show that this is the case by studying negative responses in the sequential context in which they most frequently occur: as responses to other negatively framed utterances.

As discussed in the introduction, work within the area of preference organisation (Schegloff, 1995, Raymond, 2000 and 2002, Sacks, 1987) indicate the existence of a grammatical preference for having the polarity of a response be congruent with the polarity of the turn responded to. The cases discussed by Schegloff (1995) and Raymond (2002) demonstrated that negative responses in this way are at least *grammatically* preferred when produced in response to negatively framed utterances. The example from Sacks (1987) and the discussion of studies of response tokens furthermore showed that grammatical preferences and interactional preferences can coincide, so that an utterance establishes a preference, both grammatical and interactional, for a negative response.

Studies of response tokens in various languages (Mazeland, 1990, Jefferson, 2002) however suggest that the extent to which the grammatical preference is oriented to differs across languages and speaker communities. In this chapter I will demonstrate that in Danish interaction the negative framing of an utterance is oriented to consistently as being relevant for the polar framing of a subsequent response. Thus, it is through orienting to the grammatical preference that also an interactional preferred response is produced: negatively framed utterances typically prefer a negative response, both grammatically and interactionally.

The chapter is organised as follows: in section 2.1 I demonstrate that negatively framed responses are overwhelmingly produced in response to negatively framed utterances, embodying preferred actions. This is shown to be a systematic pattern covering a wide range of responsive actions, from strong agreement and affiliation over confirmation to the more minimal actions of acknowledgement and continuer. I argue that in addition to the interactional preference for agreement, the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity is oriented to as being relevant for the format of the response in a consistent fashion in Danish. This is so,

because the two preferences mainly coincide, so that negatively framed utterances are for instance agreed with, confirmed or acknowledged through the production of a negatively framed response; and vice versa for positively framed responses.

In contrast, when the polarity of a response is opposite to that of the turn responded to, we typically find instances of dispreference. This is shown to be the case not only when a negative token is produced in response to a positive utterance, but also when a positive token is produced in response to a negative utterance. Thus the negative response particle *nej* 'no' is no more prone to implement dispreferred or negative actions than its positive equivalent *ja* 'yes'.

In section 2.2 I look at cases where the negative response particle is produced in response to (or in the context of) positively framed utterances, but without implementing a dispreferred action. Rather than treat these cases as exceptional in that they are cases where the negative particle is deployed to implement a preferred action, I treat them as exceptional in that they are instances where a particle with reversed polarity to that of the prior turn is deployed to implement a preferred action. Thus these cases are exceptions to the more general grammatical preference for mirrored polarity. At the same time however these cases are a distributional support of the other more general claim in this study, that the negative particle *nej* 'no' is most frequently deployed to implement preferred actions.

In section 2.3 I look at the deployment of the positive response particle *jo* 'yes'. The most commonly used positive response particle in Danish is *ja* 'yes', used in response to positively framed utterances as a continuer or acknowledgement and as a marker of agreement, affiliation and confirmation. However, this particle is never produced in response to negatively framed utterances; instead the variant *jo* is used to implement dispreferred actions such as disagreement and disconfirmation. *Jo* is also used as a response to utterances where the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity and the interactional preference for agreement clash, i.e. in cases where negatively framed utterances prefer a 'yes'-response because of interactional relevancies.

I will argue that the use of *jo* rather than *ja* in these contexts makes it possible for the participants to orient to the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity even when this does not coincide with the more interactional preference for agreement. This is so because *jo* is a marked 'yes'-response in contrast to the more commonly used *ja*. This aspect of *jo*

as a marked option will be consolidated through looking at contexts in which both *jo* and *ja* can be deployed, the choice between the two however having consequences for the strength of the response.

In section 2.4 I summarise and discuss the findings of this chapter.

2.1 Preference and polarity: responding to negatively framed utterances

As discussed in the introduction many studies within Conversation Analysis have in common that they present - and sometimes discuss – negative responses mainly of the type that follow prior turns that are positively framed. This is the case not only for the studies that show negative responses to be implementing dispreferred actions (for instance Pomerantz, 1984a, Ford, 2001), but also for those that focus on negation as embodying a preferred action (Schegloff, 2001[15], Koshik, 2002 and Pomerantz, 1984a).

In Danish we also find these positive sequential contexts in which a negatively framed response is produced, both as interactionally preferred[16] and dispreferred actions. However, even when looking at all these cases as a whole, this sequential context represents the least common position in which negative responses occur in Danish. In contrast, and overwhelmingly, negative responses are produced following other negatively framed utterances. The negative responses typically take such formats as in extracts (1) through (4), where the turn is initiated with the negative response particle *nej* 'no', then followed by a second turn component, which can contain other negative items, as in (1) and (2), or not, as in (3) and (4).

Extract (1) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie I/Neg104
```
((Ester and Fie are sisters in late middle age. Lis, a third sister has been
staying with Ester during a family celebration.))

1   Ester:          [Lis var   jo    ikk'] Lis var
                    [Lis was you-know not] Lis was
                    [Lis wasn't you know ] Lis wasn't

2           jo      ikk' te' (.) [å' få me'   (        )]
            you-know not to   (.) [and get with (      )]
            you know possible (.) [to bring along (     )]
```

```
3   Fie: →                      [nej  hun var ikk' mobil] nej
                                [nej  she was not mobile] nej
                                [no   she wasn't  mobile] no
```

Here, Ester's turn in L1-2 is negatively framed due to the presence of the negative marker *ikk'* 'not'. The response is negatively framed due to the presence of the response particle *nej* 'no' as well as the negative marker *ikk'* 'not'. Fie's response furthermore aligns with Ester's assessment by her producing a similar assessment of their sister in L3.

Similarly, in extract (2) a negatively framed utterance is followed by a negatively framed response, initiated with *nej* and further containing a second negative item, the negative marker *ikk'*. Again, this type of construction is deployed to achieve alignment between the participants.

Extract (2) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg18

```
((Krista has mentioned that she has read about a shop owner that she is also a
designer.))

1   Krista:  [M' ] det ka' godt være Du   ved  nogen gange
             [But] it can  well be  You(s) know some times
             [But] it could be, You know some times I can't

2            ka' jeg  sgu        ikk' altid huske
             can  I  bloody-well not always remember
             bloody well always remember

3            hva' jeg læ[ser]
             what  I   r[ead]
             what I    r[ead]

4   Fie: →               [NEj]hh det'   heller ikk' te' å' huske=
                         [Nej] that's neither not to and remember
                         [ NO]hh, that's not always so easy=
```

As in extract (1), Krista's turn in L1-3 is negatively framed through the presence of the negative marker *ikk'*. This negative polarity is mirrored in the response in L4, initiated through the production of the negative response particle *nej* and including the negative marker *ikk'*. Interactionally, Krista's utterance implements a potential self-deprecation by pointing out an ability which she herself lacks: the ability to remember what she reads. In this context Fie's response is aligning with Krista's self-deprecation, by stating that remembering what one reads can be a

general problem, implying that Fie herself might lack this ability, along with Krista.

Responses to negatively framed utterances can also only be initiated with the negative response particle *nej*, leaving out any additional negative markers such as *ikk'*, as in extract (3) and (4).

Extract (3) : TH/S2/28/Martin & Jens/Neg265

```
((Jens is complaining about a deputy doctor who refused to see his wife who'd
injured her eye.))

1   Jens:          j:: Jeg ved te'fældigvis a' ungerne var hjemme
                   I:: I know coincidently that kids-the were home
                   I:: I happen to know that the kids were home

2                  ikk' å' det passede ham ikk' å' stå op vel,
                   not and it suited him not to get up right,
                   right and it didn't suit him to get up right,'

3                  [. h h h]
                   [. h h h]
                   [. h h h]

4   Martin: →      [Nej det]' det
                   [Nej tha]t's it
                   [No that]'s it
```

Here, Jens's turn in L1-2 is negatively framed due to the presence of the negative marker *ikk'* 'not'.[17] The response is in this case negatively framed only through the use of the response particle *nej* 'no'. Interactionally, Jens's turn is a complaint, achieved through sarcasm and Martin affiliates with Jens, by continuing this use of sarcasm in his response.

Similarly, in extract (4) affiliation with a negatively framed utterances is displayed and projected through the production of the negative response particle.

Extract (4) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie I/Neg98

```
((Talking about quilts and fabrics.))

1   Fie:        men det-  det  .hhh  .hh det'    ås' nogen a' dine
                but that- that .hhh  .hh that's also some of your
```

---

[17] The first production of the negative marker *ikk'* 'not' in L2 is positioned at the end of a clause and is used as a tag. See section 2.3 for a discussion of this use of *ikk'* and the effect it has on polarity.

```
              but that- that .hhh .hh That's some of your
              fabrics

2             stoffer men det  ka' du    s- Det glemte jeg-
              fabrics but that can you(s) s- That forgot I-
              as well, but you can s- I forgot that-

3             al'så    det havde jeg ikk' tid te' å' vise dig=
              you-know that had   I  not time to and show
              you(s)=
              you know I didn't have time to show you that=

4  Ester: →  =N[ejh men    så'n     er   det  jo  ]
              =N[ej  but  like-this  is   it you-know]
              =N[o but  you know that's the way it is]
```

Fie's utterance in L1-3 is negatively framed through the presence of the negative marker *ikk'*; and again the negative polarity is mirrored in the response which is initiated through the production of the negative response particle *nej*. As in extract (2), the first utterance states something which the speaker has been incapable of doing, in this example a specific action, that of showing Ester a quilted bedspread that Fie had made from some fabrics given to her by Ester. And as in extract (2) the response is affiliative, forgiving of the fact that Fie has failed to do the specific action.

Though negatively framed responses to negatively framed utterances can be produced without *nej* in turn-initial position, as in (5) , or without *nej* at all, as in (6), these are far less common.[18]

Extract (5) : TH/S2/50/A.R. & Fie/Neg352

```
((Fie is describing a holiday house in France to a potential customer.))

1  Fie:       Der erhhh opvarmningsmuligheder både  [me' ]
              There ishh heating-opportunities both [with]
              There ishh heating possibilities both [with]
```

---

[18] Whereas my collection of negatively framed responses initiated with *nej* 'no' totals about 600, I have only managed to collect around 40 cases where the negative polarity is created through the use of other items, or with *nej* as non turn-initial. Thus, the focus on the negative response particle *nej* in this thesis is not incidental. The distribution of various negatively framed responses indicate that initiating a negative response turn with *nej* is the prototypical format, whereas the other cases can be seen as nonconforming, as is suggested for the more limited category of responses to yes/no questions by Raymond (2000) and (2002). Indeed, it does seem to be the case that nonconforming negative responses that are not initiated with *nej* are doing special work, responding in a particular way. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

```
2  A.R.:                                                     [ Jah]
                                                             [ Ja ]
                                                             [ Yes]


3  Fie:         el å' me' brænde å':
                electricity and with wood a:nd
                electricity and with wood a:nd


4  A.R.:        Okay. D[et    vi'] jo nok være aktuelt (*der*.)
                Okay. T[hat would] surely probably be relevant
                Okay. T[hat would] probably be rather relevant


5  Fie:               [  .klh   ]
                      [  .klh   ]
                      [  .klh   ]


6              (.)
               (.)
               (.)


7  Fie:        Ikk' nødvendig[vis.]
               Not necessaril[y . ]
               Not necessaril[y . ]


8  A.R.:   →                 [Ikk'] nødvendig[vis n]ej
                             [Not ] necessari[ly  n]ej
                             [Not ] necessari[ly  n]o
```

Here Fie's negatively framed turn in L7 is a disconfirmation of A.R.'s assumption displayed in the prior turn, that the heating possibilities in a rented house will be relevant in October. A.R.'s response to the disconfirmation is negatively framed and aligns with Fie by agreeing with the fact that it may not be relevant after all.

And in extract (6) Fie agrees with Ester's prior, negatively framed utterance, by producing a negative response. Again, the negative framing of the response is created through the use of the negative marker *ikk'*, rather than by initiating the turn with *nej*.

Extract (6) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie/type1

```
((Ester is joined by a friend in her holiday house. Her friend is bringing her
daughter and Ester is bringing her niece, the girls being approximately the same
age.))
```

```
1  Ester:       om   det ku' være hyg'ligt å' ha':   .hh Vi
                about it could be   nice    to ha:ve  .hh We
                about it could be nice to have .hh We

2                mærker ikk' dem hvis de  er  to
                 feel   not them  if they are two
                 don't notice them if they're two

3  Fie:         Glsk. Over[ho'det       ikk'  ]
                Glsk. Over[-head        not   ]
                Glsk  Not [ at   all        ]
```

The negative polarity of Ester's turn in L1-2 of extract (6) is mirrored in Fie's response through the production of the negative marker *ikk'*. Fie's response is furthermore agreeing with Ester's statement

The six extracts above signify the typical structural context in which negative responses are produced. However, they also exemplify that this is not merely a structural, grammatical preference, but that the negatively framed responses in extracts (1) through (6) each implement the interactional preferred responses as well - in (1) by producing a second assessment, in (2) and (4) by sympathising or aligning with the negative observation made by the prior speaker, in (3) by affiliating with a complaint, in (5) by accepting the disconfirmation made by the prior speaker and in (6) by agreeing.

These examples are typical of Danish interaction in that the mirroring of negative polarity in general coincides with the interactional preference structure for agreement. Thus, whether a negatively framed turn is constructed for instance as a question,[19] a statement or an assessment has no effect on the polarity of the preferred response, which will be negatively framed as well. In the following I will demonstrate in more detail how the grammatical and interactional preference for a negative response coincide across a large variety of actions, by looking at each of these actions in turn.

2.1.1 Polarity and agreement

In this section I will look at negatively framed utterances that are interactionally designed to prefer agreement. Preference for agreement as a term can be used as an umbrella covering responses that embody interactionally preferred actions in general, such as confirmation,

---

[19] With the exception of negative interrogatives proper. See section 2.3 (on *jo*) for a discussion of responses to these constructions.

acceptance, displaying sympathy etc. (Sacks, 1987). In this section however I use the term to refer specifically to those utterances through which a speaker makes an assertion or assessment about something in the real world (Heritage, 2001 and Pomerantz, 1984a). I distinguish between assertions and assessments in that I see assertions embodying a speaker's claim of how things are, and assessments as embodying a speaker's evaluation of how things are to be understood. Either way, a respondent can agree or disagree with these first actions, in the case of assertions by stating that things are indeed as the first speaker claimed, or that they are not, in the case of assessments by evaluating things in the same way as the first speaker, or by evaluating them differently.

In the following I will demonstrate that when an utterance embodying an assertion or an assessment is negatively framed in Danish, negative responses embody agreement, whereas positive responses embody disagreement.

In extract (7) for instance, Fie produces a negatively framed assertion, evaluating the weather by describing it as 'not bad'. In response, Ulrikke produces a negative response, initiated by the negative response particle *nej*, a response which agrees with Fie's evaluation of the weather.

Extract (7) : TH/S2/14/Ulrikke & Fie/Neg195

```
((Fie has been describing the local weather as mixed, including a heat wave, cold
weather and rain.))

1  Fie:          Jah Det' ikk' dårligt A[l'så der': der'
                 Yes It's not   bad  You[know there's there's
                 Yes It's not  bad  You [know there's there's


2  Ulrikke: →                         [Nej Ba- Bare der
                                        [Nej On-  Only there
                                         [No On- As long  as


3  Fie:          godt vejr te'  alle]
                 good weather to all]
                 nice weather for ev]erybody


3  Ulrikke:      kommer noget   sol ] i mid[ten]
                 comes some     sun ] in mi[ddl]e
                 there's some   sun ] in be[twe]en


4  Fie:                                  [ Ja] Ja
                                          [Ja ] Ja
```

[Yes] Yes

On Ulrikke's request, Fie has provided a description of the weather in her local area, including descriptive terms that for most people would include both bad and good things: heat-waves, rain, nice evenings with sunsets etc. This description is not an evaluation or assertion of the weather as being good or bad, as it does not convey Fie's personal attitude. In L1 however Fie sums up her description by displaying her evaluation of the collected effect of the weather, asserting that 'It's not bad.' By framing her statement negatively, explicitly stating that the weather is *not* bad, Fie is perhaps orienting to the possibility that Ulrikke had made this interpretation based on Fie's description and the inclusion of things that would be associated with 'bad weather'. Ulrikke, by initiating her turn with *nej,* orients to the negative framing of the prior turn and thus produces an agreeing, preferred response. Her agreement with Fie's interpretation of the weather as 'not bad', is furthermore emphasised by her continuation in L2-3, where she shows her understanding of what the definition of the weather as being 'not bad' relies on, that is, that the sun does shine once in a while.

Likewise in extract (8) Krista agrees with Fie's negatively framed assertion in L10, where she displays that she evaluates the personality trait 'being ones own person' as positive.

Extract (8) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg36

```
((About Krista's daughter-in-law.))

1  Krista:      [Ah  hun   er ] sgu            ås'  sød
                [Yes she   is ] bloody-well also sweet
                [Yes she blood]y well is sweet as well

2               Natalie=
                Natalie=
                Natalie=

3  Fie:         =Jahm'  det a' hun [  d a ]
                =Ja but that is she[surely]
                =Yesbut she is     [      ]

4  Krista:                         [  Ja ]en dejlig pige ja
                                   [  Ja ]a lovely girl yes
                                   [ Y es ]a lovely girl yes
```

```
5   Fie:           .jerh. [ Ja]
                   .yeah. [Ja ]
                   .yeah. [Yes]

6   Krista:            [(  ]     ) [Men  ås'] sig selv al'så
                       [(  ]     ) [But also]her self you-kno
                       [(  ]   ) Bu[t her ow]n person as well

7   Fie:                           [ . h  h ]
                                   [ . h  h ]
                                   [ . h  h ]

8   Fie:           Jerh.
                   Yeah.
                   Yeah.

9   Krista:        Helt bestemt.=
                   Whole definitely.=
                   Definitely=

10  Fie:           =Jerh, men det  gør [da    heller
                   =Yeah, but that does [surely neither
                   =Yeah, but that doesn['t matter,

11  Krista:                            [(
                                       [(
                                       [(

12  Fie:           ikk'    noget]
                   not something]
                   surely       ]

13  Krista: →              )] Nej det gør det da ikk'.
                           )] Nej that does it surely not.
                           )] No, it surely doesn't.
```

Here, Krista has perhaps indicated in L6 that she does not count 'being ones own person' as a positive trait of personality, particularly when the person having this trait happens to be your daughter-in-law. Fie's utterance in L10-12 at least appears to be a reaction to this possibility; the negative framing as well as the inclusion of the emphatic marker *da* indicating that her evaluation is challenging something Krista has implied. Whether Fie's interpretation of Krista's description of her daughter-in-law is correct or not, Fie's assessment in L10-12 is negatively framed and evaluating the personality trait of 'being ones own person' as positive –

even in relation to a daughter-in-law. As in extract (7) the respondent, Krista, in L13 produces a response that accepts and agrees[20] with the prior assessment, and as in extract (7) this is done partially by having the response reflect the negative polarity of the assessment, partially through an overt display of agreement via the continuation *det gør det da ikk'* 'it surely doesn't'.

Clearly, the negatively framed responses in extract (7), L2-4 and extract (8), L13 are agreeing with the assessments made in the prior turns, and as such they embody preferred responses. The alternative, a positively framed turn would have *challenged* the validity of the prior turn, in extract (7) by disagreeing with the definition of 'good weather', in extract (8) by disagreeing with the definition of being 'your own person' as constituting a positive personality trait.

Of course negatively framed responses can implement disagreement as well; to do this however, the assertion or assessment responded to has to be formatted with positive polarity as in extract (9) and (10).

Extract (9) : TH/S2/47/Fie & Ester IV/Neg343

```
((Ester has mentioned the possibility that Fie's husband Jens will get his mother,
the 'she' referred to here a new palm for her house. Kisser is Jens's sister.))

1   Fie:          Fordi  de:t  Det  ve' han ikk' å' de:t .hhh
                  Because that That will he not and that .hhh
                  Because that   He won't and that       .hhh

2                 Det a- i- Som regel a' det ikk' godt   nok
                  That a-i- As   rule is it  not  good enough
                  That a- i- As a rule it's not good enough

3                 det vi gør
                  that we do
                  what we do

4 Ester:          Nej men hun sagde nemlig   ateh Kisser havde
                  Nej but she  said you-see thateh Kisser had
                  No but you see she said thateh Kisser had
```

---

[20] The agreement done through Krista's response in L13 may only be a token agreement, in that she does not upgrade the positive evaluation of the personality trait. (Pomerantz, 1984a). On the other hand the inclusion of the emphatic marker *da* in Krista's response may work as a marker of her having epistemic priority over the matter at hand, marking that Fie was wrong in understanding Krista's description of her daugther-in-law (in L1-2, 4, 6 and 9) as implying that a negative evaluation was being made by Krista.

```
5                  bedt Jens om   det eller i- Jens havde
                   asked Jens about it   or  i- Jens had
                   asked Jens about it   or  i- Jens had

6  Ester:          lovet Kisser å': (.).hh å' købe en te' hende
                   promised Kisser to (.).hh to buy one to  her
                   promised Kisser to (.).hh to buy one for her

7                  (.)
                   (.)
                   (.)

8  Fie:   →        Ej det har han ikk'
                   Nej that has he not
                   No he hasn't

9                  (.)
                   (.)
                   (.)

10  Fie:           men
                   but
                   but

11 Ester:          KRH h[rk  ]
                   KRH h[rk  ]
                   KRH h[rk  ]

12 Fie:                 [Det ] ka' godt være a': hun mener det
                        [That] can well be tha:t she means that
                        [It c]ould very well be that she thinks so
```

Here, the statement made by Ester in L4-6 is positively framed and is asserting on behalf of a third person not participating in the interaction, that an agreement had been made. In L8, Fie disagrees with this assertion by producing a negatively framed utterance, contradicting the prior turn. The disagreement is articulated in the format generally associated with dispreferred actions (Pomerantz, 1984a, Schegloff, 1995): it is not produced immediately, but is preceded by a pause, and the disagreement is subsequently downgraded in L10-12. The polarity of the disagreement is negative, opposite to the polarity of the turn disagreed with, indicating that this is yet another feature of dispreference. Furthermore, the negative response particle is articulated without the nasal (n), something

which is rarely found when this particle is used for preferred actions, as is evident for instance in extract (7) and (8) above.

Indeed, articulating the negative response particle without the nasal as in (9) is quite commonly done in cases where the particle initiates a dispreferred response. Extract (10) is another case where this articulation is used. Again the negative response is dispreferred, interactionally because it disagrees with Ester's assertion about her having to move from her flat came as a surprise; grammatically because the negative response is of the polar opposite to that of the positively framed assertion.

Extract (10) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie I/Neg118

```
((Having lived in the same flat for over 30 years Ester has now been forced to
move because the rent went up drastically. Fie and Ester are discussing the
circumstances of her move.))

1  Fie:          at det ikk'    så'n  l- er noget     der
                 that it not like-this l- is something that
                 that it isn't sort of l- is something that


2                kommer luskende bagfra    [ al'så  ]
                 comes sneaking back-from  [ you-know]
                 sneaks up from behind     [ you know]


3  Ester:                                  [.hh nåhm'] det gjorde
                                           [.hh ohbut] that  did
                                           [.hh ohbut]  it did do


4                det   jo  for mig ikk'21=
                 it you-know for me not=
                 that for me you know, right=


5  Fie:  →       =.hh Ehj    fordi   du   Har faktisk
                 =.hh Nej  because you(s) Have actually
                 =.hh Nyeah because you actually have,


6                .hh du har faktisk   selvom du    ikk'
                 .hh you(s) have actually even-if you(s) not
                 you have have actually, even if you haven't


7                har haft så meget tid   så   har  du    taget
                 have had so much time then have you(s) taken
                 had so much time, then you've made
```

---

[21] As in extract (3) the negative marker here works as a tag. See section 2.3 for further discussion of this use.

```
8              dine egne valg
               your own choices
               your own choices


9              (.)
               (.)
               (.)


10  Ester:     .hh Ja. Men  da jeg da jeg (.) da jeg fik
               .hh Ja. But when I when I (.) when I got
               .hh Yes. But when I, when I , when I got the


11             brevet om    at    nu sku' jeg stige
               letter-the about that now should I rise
               letter about that now my rent would rise


12             sekstenhund'erd kroner det kom   edderma'me
               sixteen-hundred kroner that came bloody-well
               sixteen hundred kroner, that bloody well did


13             bag  på m[ig ] Der   ku' jeg
               back on m[e  ] There could I
                        sn[eak] up on me. Then I
```

Again, in this extract the disagreeing response has the opposite polarity of the turn responded to, and Fie orients to the interactional dispreference by using the marked articulation of the response particle *nej* as well as attempting to downgrade or soften the disagreement in L6-7. Though there is no pause preceding the disagreeing response as in extract (9), in this case an inbreath is taken. This might not initially appear to be produced as an orientation to the dispreference of the upcoming response; however the inbreath does delay the disagreement and inbreaths are indeed quite commonly found in these contexts of dispreference in my data, in contrast to cases where the negatively framed response is produced as a preferred response where inbreaths seldom occur, as is the case in extract (7) and (8) above.

Whereas negatively framed responses expressing agreement with a prior, negatively framed assessment or assertion as in extracts (7) and (8) above are quite common in Danish, the opposite, dispreferred action exemplified in extracts (9) and (10) occurs very infrequently.[22] This

---

[22] Of all occurences of the negative response particle *nej* in turn initial position, only about 8% are implementing dispreferred actions in general, and only a few of these are actual disagreements.

strongly suggests that even for negatively framed responses, disagreement is a marked option in Danish, and one which is clearly oriented to by the participants as being marked, not only through hedges, hesitations and downgradings, but also through a reversal of polarity. That this latter feature is indeed an issue when orienting to the preference structure of a response is further supported by the fact that when a *negatively* framed assertion or assessment is followed by disagreement, this is constructed through the production of a *positively* framed response. The disagreement can be produced straightforwardly as in extract (11); most commonly however the disagreement is also in these cases downgraded to mark its dispreferred nature as in (12) and (13).

Extract (11): TH/S2/19/Mathias & Malte/posd41

```
((Discussing the character in a computer game and the weapons possessed by this
character. Mathias has earlier described this character as having laser and plasma
rifles.))

1   Malte:        Nåhjah Så- Så var det lasegev-
                  Oh-yes The- Then was it laserr-
                  Oh yes The- Then it was laserr-

2                 (.)
                  (.)
                  (.)

3   Malte:    →   Laser rifler det havde han da ikk'
                  Laser rifles that had he surely not
                  Laser rifles he surely didn't have that

4   Mathias: →    D[et havde ha]n da .hh Han har da både plasme
                  T[hat had  he] surely .hh He has surely both
                  plasma
                  O[f course he] did   .hh He surely has both
                  plasma

5   Malte:         [(         )]
                   [(         )]
                   [(         )]

6   Mathias:     å' laser
                 and laser
```

(Others are disconfirmations and disaffiliating responses.) When considering also other negative constructions, where the disagreement is delayed, the number is only slightly higher, about 10%.

```
                  and laser

7  Malte:        Har han det
                 Has he that
                 He has?
```

In L 1-3, Malte makes a claim about a character in a computer game, asserting that this character did not have a specific weapon, a 'laser rifle', in contrast to a weapon the two participants have agreed on, a 'plasma rifle'. The claim is strongly designed for agreement because of this contrast, while at the same time challenging Mathias, the respondent, to disagree, through the production of the emphatic marker *da* 'surely' and the emphasis on *d*<u>e</u>*t* 'th<u>a</u>t'. The response produced by Mathias is of the latter type, disagreeing strongly with the prior turn and emphasising the disagreement through the production also of *da* as well as the continuation where 'laser' and 'plasma rifle' are categorised as 'weapons he did have but which Malte wrongly thought he didn't'. The disagreement is constructed as a positively framed utterance and thus with the opposite polarity of the turn responded to, the negatively framed assertion, this clearly being part of the format for disagreement in addition to the emphasised stress and the contrasting particle *da*.

Straightforward disagreement of this type is however not all that common,[23] in most cases the disagreement will be downgraded either subsequently, as in (12), or as part of the whole of the responding format, as in (13).

Extract (12) : TH/S2/49/Fie & Ester/posd55

```
((Talking about a third party, Dorthe and the fact that she can never keep her
houseplants alive.))


1  Ester:     ringed' te' mig der sagde hun Nå:h nu ka'
              called  to  me  there said she O:h now can
              called me then she said O:h now I can see

2             jeg se mine blomster de' helt tørre=Det'
              I see  my   flowers they're all dry=It's
```

---

[23] This extract is taken from a conversation between teenage boys. Though straight forward, unmitigated disagreement is not common overall, it occurs quite frequently in these types of interaction. Other interactional 'dispreferreds' such as pauses longer than (1.0) seconds (Jefferson, 1989), corrections and bragging are much more prone to be produced in these conversations, indicating perhaps that teenagers are less restricted by social norms in general?

that my flowers they're all dry=It's surely not

```
3              da ikk' så sært de ikk' gider være her
               surely not so weird they not bother be here
               so weird that they can't be bothered to stay here

4              (.)
               (.)
               (.)

5  Fie:        *Na[h    m e n*]
               *Ny[eah   but* ]
               *Ny[eah   but* ]

6  Ester:         [Al'så   det] a' Så'n har det jo ikk'
                  [You-know it] is Like-this has it you-know not
                   [You know it]'s  You know it hasn't always been

7              været altid
               been always
               like that

8              (.)
               (.)
               (.)

9  Fie:    →   Jorvh
               Jo
               Ye:ss

10             (.)
               (.)
               (.)

11 Fie:    →   Så'n      har det været længe=
               Like-this has it  been  long=
               It's been like that for a long time=

12 Ester:      =Nåh
               =Oh
               =Oh

13 Fie:        .hhh Meneh Det ka' ås' være hun overvander
               .hhh Buteh It can also be she over-water
               .hhh Buteh It could be that she gives them too
               much
```

```
14          dem det ved jeg ikk'
            them that know I not
            water as well, I don't know
```

Here, the negatively framed utterance, an assertion, in L6-7 is produced by Ester in anticipation of a potential disagreement or misalignment projected by Fie through the initiating *Nah men* 'Nyeah but'[24] in L5. Ester is making a claim about a third person's flowers and her inability to keep them alive, asserting that things haven't always been like that. The disagreement produced by Fie follows the typical format for disagreement generally, as also described for the disagreeing negative responses above: Fie does not immediately respond to Ester's turn, instead the pause in L8 foreshadows possible disagreement, an action which is then realised in L9 through Fie's production of the positive response particle *jo*.[25] The contrast between the polarity of the response particle and the turn responded to in this case is the sole formatting for the disagreeing action, an action which is furthermore downgraded through the hedged articulation of *jo* as *jorvh* and the subsequent turn in L11, where Fie states that 'It's been like that for a long time', a statement in contrast to, but not explicitly excluding Ester's assertion in L6-7.

Likewise, though more subtly, the positive framing of the response in L8-9 in extract (13) marks the prior negatively framed turn as potentially problematic to agree with for the respondent.

Extract (13) : TH/S2/140/Fie & Krista/posd6

```
((Fie and Krista are close friends, who's arranged a get together for the next
day. Fie has called to check whether this is still on as Krista's mother is ill.
Krista by way of explaining why she hasn't confirmed the get together tells how
she was waiting for her sister Lisbeth to call and let her know whether she will
be staying with the mother, leaving Krista free to have visitors. Lisbeth called
the day before))

1  Krista:   bare så glad   fordi det'     jo   ikk' så'n
             just so happy because it's you-know not like-this
             just do happy, because you know it's not as if

2            Lisbeth hun ringer å' siger .hh Fordi det det
             Lisbeth she calls and says  .hh Because it it
```

```
                    Lisbeth she'll call and say .hh Because it it

3                   afhænger a' detv' det var hva' hun sku' ha' op.
                    depends of it-was it was what she should have up.
                    depends on, it depended on what she had to
                    prepare

4  Fie:             Jerh.
                    Ja.
                    Yeah.

5  Krista:          Te' eksamen i[kk'] Å'  [å' som hun siger (      )]
                    To   exam    n[ot ] And [and as she says  (      )]
                    For the exams[ ri]ght, [And as she says   (      )]

6  Fie:                          [Jah]    [Men det'   klart. Å'  det ]
                                 [Ja ]    [But that's clear. And that]
                                 [Yes]     B[ut of course.And of course]

7  Fie:             ved   hun   jo   heller ikk' før   ehn bestemt dag.
                    knows she surely neither not before a specific day.
                    she doesn't know either, before a specific day.

8  Krista: →  Det  (fi-) vidste hun så    natten   mellem onsdag
                    That (fi-)knew she then night-the between Wednesday
                    That (fi-) she knew that night between Wednesday

9                   å' torsdag.
                    and Thursday.
                    and Thursday

10 Fie:             Okay.
                    Okay.
                    Okay.
```

Here, Krista has been complaining about her sister Lisbeth's inability to commit herself to seeing their seriously ill mother, leaving Krista with the responsibility. In L2-3 Krista provides what appears to be an explanation as to why Lisbeth hadn't been able to commit herself: as a teacher she does not know until the exams have been decided whether she needs to do lots of work at a certain time or not. Fie clearly sees this as pardoning Lisbeth's behaviour; it was not that Lisbeth was unwilling to commit herself, but that she was incapable of doing so, until she knew about the exams. The assertion that Lisbeth wouldn't be able to plan a visit until she had had further notice is stated by Fie in L6-7, and though the implications of

Lisbeth's 'innocence' are not directly stated, they are clearly present. Krista, in response to this, produces a positively framed turn, specifying the exact time at which Lisbeth knew about the exams, in this way implying that even after getting to know about the exams Lisbeth did not immediately call Krista to let her know and thus, that Lisbeth is indeed to blame. Though the positive framing of the response in this context does not implement a straightforward disagreement, as in extract (12), Krista's response is not agreeing or aligning with Fie's pardon of Lisbeth either.

The last three extracts clearly demonstrate that when assertions and assessments are negatively framed, a positively framed response is produced and oriented to as embodying the dispreferred action of disagreement. Though the use of phonetic features such as stress or emphasis, and specific linguistic items such as the emphatic or contrastive marker *da* do play a role in the designing of a response as doing disagreement, it is evident that the lack of mirroring the polarity of a prior turn in the response *in and by itself* marks a response as not being agreeing. The way in which this is done is identical to what has been shown to be the normative way of producing dispreferred response, for instance by Pomerantz (1984a) and as such, it is evident that positively framed responses can be as equally dispreferred in the context of negatively framed utterances, as is the case for negatively framed responses to positively framed utterances.

Comparing the latter three cases with extracts (7) and (8), it is furthermore evident that a negatively framed response to a negatively framed utterance is designed to be agreeing and thus preferred, exactly by mirroring the polarity of the prior turn.

As such it has been demonstrated above, that the action of agreement cannot be assigned to a particular linguistic format such as negation; rather it is dependent on the grammatical context in which it is produced. Most importantly for the purpose at hand, it has been shown that negatively framed structures are no more prone to be produced for or understood as embodying disagreement than are positively framed structures. In contrast, it has been argued and shown that agreement is enacted by formatting the response to a prior turn with mirrored polarity. In the following this pattern will be shown to expand and cover other actions associated with preference, such as confirmation and affiliation; and it will be argued that mirroring the polarity of a prior turn in the response is a preferred action oriented to by participants at all points in interaction.

2.1.2 Polarity and confirmation[26]

In this section I look at another type of responsive action that, like agreement/disagreement has preferred and dispreferred alternatives: confirmation and disconfirmation. As was the case for agreement/disagreement I demonstrate that negative responses are typically used for confirmation, rather than disconfirmation. And as in the case of agreement/disagreement this interactional preference typically coincide with a grammatical preference for mirrored polarity, so that negative responses are used for confirming negatively framed utterances and for disconfirming positively framed utterances; vice versa for positive responses.

In Danish, utterances that are designed for confirmation typically take the format of declaratives, the addition of tags and slightly rising intonation marking the utterance as being a request for confirmation, rather than an assertion or assessment to be agreed with. The understanding that such utterances state assumptions rather than claims is furthered by the fact that the statement typically bring up 'B-events' (Labov and Fanshel 1977:100-101), that is information for which the recipient has privileged access. Thus, statements referring to 'B-events' display a speaker's assumption about how things are, but leave it to the recipient to confirm (or disconfirm) that this is indeed the case. Such assumptions can be based on prior talk, (as in extract (14) and (15)), or on the speaker's knowledge of the other participant or the world in general (as in extract (16) and (17), all below).

Extract (14) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg1

```
((Krista's mother is seriously ill and Fie's question in L1-2 refers to her
condition.))


1   Fie:          .hhh Å'  (.) Der'    ikk' nogen ændringer i: (.)
                  .hhh And (.) There's not  some    changes in: (.)
                  .hhh And (.) There's   no       changes in: (.)

2                 tilstanden,
                  condition-the,
                  the condition,
```

---

[26] See chapter 3, section 3.3 for a further discussion of *nej* as a confirmation marker.

80

```
3   Krista:  →   Nejh
                 Nej
                 No


4   Fie:         Nej
                 Nej
                 No


5   Krista:      Det  a'  der ikk' >A'   du    blevet forkøl[et<]
                 That is there not >Are you(s) become      co[ld<]
                 There isn't       >Did  you   get   a   co[ld<]
```

This extract is taken from the beginning of a call, where Fie has several times attempted to initiate talk about Krista's mother who's seriously ill, in order to check whether there has been any development, good or bad, in the illness. As Krista has neither stated that her mother is better, nor that she is worse, this leads Fie to display her assumption or interpretation of how things are in L1. Her utterance is negatively framed, and by responding with the negative response particle *nej*, Krista confirms this suggestion as being the correct upshot of their prior talk, a confirmation which is then repeated in her continuation of the response in L5.

   Likewise, in extract (15), Mathias, has been told that despite the fact that Claus had planned to have some friends over, nobody has arrived. This leads Mathias to the conclusion that the arrangement was called off and this upshot is suggested in L6-7, formatted through the tag *eller hvad* 'or what' as a question requiring confirmation. This preferred action is then produced by Claus in L8, again in a negatively framed format fitted to the negative polarity of the question.

Extract (15) : TH/S2/86/Mathias & Claus/Neg452

```
((Claus was supposed to have a group of friends, excluding Mathias, staying at his
house. Claus has called Mathias to chat about computer games.))



1  Mathias:     Må jeg li' høre a' de ander' der nu,
                May I just hear are the others there now,
                Just tell me are the others there now,


2               eller hvad?
                or what?
                or what?
```

```
3   Claus:        Nejnej der' ikk' no'en.
                  Nejnej there's not someone.
                  Nono there's nobody (here).

4   Mathias:      Der' ikk' kommet no'en¿
                  There's not come someone¿
                  Nobody has arrived¿

5                 (.)
                  (.)
                  (.)

6   Mathias:      Men det blev måske ikk' te' no'et
                  But that became maybe not to something
                  But nothing became of that maybe

7                 eller hvad¿
                  or what¿
                  or what¿

8   Claus: →      Ne:j. det blev det ikk'.
                  Nej. that became it not.
                  No:. nothing became of that.

9   Mathias:      Nåh.
                  Oh.
                  Oh.

10  Claus:        Fordi min mor ska' på arbejd' i
                  Because my mum shall at work
                  Because my mum is working

11                morgen ti'li' så
                  tomorrow early so
                  tomorrow morning so
```

Extracts (16) and (17) further exemplify that for negatively framed utterances designed to receive a confirming response, the preferred response will always and unproblematically be negatively framed. However, in these latter cases, the assumptions to be confirmed are based not on the context of the interaction, but on knowledge which the speaker has about the other participant, as in (16), or about the social world in general as in (17). Thus, in extract (16), the assumption made by Martin, that Jens is not bothered about whether he can get a discount taking the ferry on a certain day, is grounded in Martin's knowledge that

Jens is married to the manager of the ferry company and for that reason
never pays for travelling with the ferry anyway. Jens's negatively framed
response, the particle *nej* produced in L8 as in the two previous extracts
confirms the assumption made by Martin as being correct, by mirroring
the polarity of the turn in which the assumption was made.

Extract (16) : TH/S2/41/Jens & Martin/Neg302

```
((Arranging a meeting on the mainland.))

1  Martin:      Jah. Det' godt. .hh Meneh Ve' du
                Yes. That's good. .hh Buthe Know you
                Yes. That's fine. .hh Buteh You know

2               hva' j- e:h: Jeg havde eneh fv- .hh Eneh
                what I- e:h: I had   aeh   fv- .hh Aeh
                what I- e:h: I had aeh    fv- .hh   Aeh

3               Tanke om at vi ku' gøre det tirsdag
                Thought about that we could do   it Tuesday
                Thought that maybe we could do it Tuesday

4               eller onsdag  e[h- F]or det første
                or Wednesday  e[h- F]or the first
                or Wednesday  e[h- F]irstly because

5  Jens:                      [JAh ]
                              [ Ja ]
                              [YEs ]

6  Martin:      a' det billigdag .hhh E:hh Det betyder
                is it  cheap-day .hhh E:hh That means
                it's the cheap day. .hhh E:hh Perhaps

7               måske ikk'  så meget for dig
                maybe not so much for you
                that doesn't matter that much to you

8  Jens:   →    Ne[jh ]
                Ne[j  ]
                No[h  ]

9  Martin:       [Men]eh .hh Mene:h Så tænkte jeg på ateh
                 [But]eh .hh Bute:h Then thought I on thateh
                 [But]eh .hh Bute:h Then I thought thateh
```

```
10              Om du havde lyst te' vi kombinerede=
                If you had want to  we combined=
                If you felt like combining=
```

Even when speakers have no personal relationship and thus no personal knowledge of each other, they can make assumptions which are designed to be confirmed by the other participant. In extract (17) A.R. is assuming that having children in the holiday house she is about to rent from Fie is unproblematic. This assumption is not based on anything in the prior talk, since children haven't been mentioned by either of the participants. Thus, A.R. must be basing her assumption on something more general, for instance that holidays are an activity which frequently involve children and as such, that had it been a problem, Fie would have mentioned it either in the prior talk or in her advertisement. As in extract (15) a tag, here *vel*,[27] formats A.R.'s assumption as being a question to be confirmed or disconfirmed, preferring confirmation. And, by being negatively framed once again, the assumption conveys the grammatical preference for a negatively framed utterance as the confirming response, and as in the other cases above, this is exactly what Fie provides in L2.

Extract (17) : TH/S2/50/A.R. & Fie/Neg354

```
((Fie is renting out a holiday house in France. A.R. is a potential customer.))

1  A.R.:     Å' hva':: børn det' ikk' no'et problem vel,
             And wha::t children that's not some problem right,
             And wha::t children isn't a problem is it,

2  Fie:  →   Nej.
             Nej.
             No.

3  A.R.:     Godt.
             Good.
             Good.

4  Fie:      Det a' det ikk'.
             That is it not.
             It isn't.
```

---

[27] In Danish different tags are used, dependent on whether the tagged utterance is positively or negatively framed. *Vel* is the tag used for negatively framed utterances, *ikk'* (as in extract (3) and (10)) is the tag used for positively framed utterances. Tagging is in this way another ressource for establishing the polarity of an utterance in Danish.

The last four extracts have exemplified that through producing a negatively framed assumption, speakers convey the preference for having their turn confirmed, and more importantly, for having this done through a negatively framed response. Clearly then, a negatively framed response in the context of another negatively framed utterance, embodies the preferred action of confirmation.

Again, in the many fewer cases where a negatively framed response enacts disconfirmation, the turn responded to is formatted with positive polarity as in (18) and (19).

Extract (18) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie I/Neg105

```
((Fie and Ester are sisters in late middle age. Lis, a third sister has been
staying with Ester during a family celebration.))

1   Ester:                  [Lis var   jo    ikk']
                            [Lis was you-know not]
                            [Lis wasn't you know ]

2               Lis var  jo       ikk'
                Lis was you-know not
                Lis wasn't you know

3               te'     [å' få me' (            )]
                to      [and get with (         )]
                possible [to bring along (       )]

4   Fie:                  [nej hun var ikk'     mobil] nej
                          [nej  she  was  not  mobile] nej
                          [no   she wasn't   mobile ] no

5   Ester:      Huneh Når  klokken den er syv     så   gider
                Sheeh When o'clock it  is seven then bothers
                Sheeh, When it's seven o'clock she can't be

6               hun ikk' mer'
                she not more
                bothered anymore

7   Fie:        St. [     Er     hun ] så gået i seng
                St. [     Is     she ] the gone in bed
                St. [   Has   she   ] then gone to bed

8   Ester:          [(Om      aftenen)]
```

```
                    [(In evening-the)]
                    [(In the evening)]


9   Ester: →       .hhh Ne:[j. Jeg] holdt hende oppe te'
                   .hhh Nej[.   I ] held    her  up  till
                   .hhh No:[:   I ] kept her up till it was


10  Fie:                 [ nå:h ]
                         [  o:h ]
                         [ o:h  ]


11  Ester:       klokken var elleve ha[lvtolv   ] men du
                 o'clock was eleven ha[lf-twelve] but you(s)
                 eleven half past ele[ven       ] but you


12  Fie:                         [ nåhnåh  ]
                                 [  ohoh   ]
                                 [  ohoh   ]


13  Ester:       ved hun var- hun er ikk' aktiv  .hh[h]
                 know she was- she is not  active .hh[h]
                 know she was- she's not active   .hh[h]
```

Based on the information that Lis, Ester and Fie's sister can't be bothered to do anything after seven o'clock and on her knowledge about her sister, Fie, in L7 poses a question (in this case the question is a grammatical interrogative) conveying her assumption as to what happens then: that Lis goes to bed. Ester, who has first hand knowledge, having had Lis staying for a weekend disconfirms this assumption, by stating that this isn't the case. As in the case of disagreement, the disconfirmation is delayed through the production of an inbreath and, when produced, is articulatorily marked or hedged through the stretching of the negative response particle *nej*. And again, the negative, dispreferred response has the opposite polarity of the turn to which it responding.

Similarly, in extract (19), the disconfirming response is again negatively framed, in contrast to the positive polarity of the turn responded to; the dispreferredness of the response is furthermore delayed through a pause in L4 and an inbreath before the response is initiated.

Extract (19) : TH/S2/121/Mathias & Malte/Neg476

```
((Malte and Mathias are teenage boys involved in role playing games. Mathias is
the game master and has called Malte to let him know there are some serious
problems with the features he has assigned to the character he plays, a thief.))
```

```
1  Malte:        (jøps-) Afhænger det a' min karism↑a:
                 (jøps-) Depends that of my  charism↑a:
                 (jøps-) Does that depend on my charism↑a:

2                jeg troed' det afhængte a' min: (.) hva'
                 I  thought that depended of my: (.) what is-
                 I thought it depended on my: (.) what's it

3                hedder den (.) (paception)
                 called it  (.) (perception)
                 called     (.) (perception)

4                (.)
                 (.)
                 (.)

5  Mathias: →    .hh Nejh .h[hh ] Det er: fordi at(t)
                 .hh Nej  .h[hh ] That is: because that(t)
                 .hh Noh  .h[hh ] That's: because that(t)

6  Malte:                  [Nåh]
                           [Oh ]
                           [Oh ]

7  Mathias:      .hh (.)Hvis de mister noget så finder
                 .hh (.)If they loose something then find
                 .hh (.)If they loose anything then

8                de ud a' det ikke
                 they out of it not
                 they'll find out right
```

Thus it should be obvious that in the matter of confirmation and disconfirmation there is a clear pattern of having negatively framed responses implement the dispreferred action of disconfirmation only in the context of responding to a positively framed utterance. Most commonly however, a negatively framed response will be used to confirm the prior, negatively framed utterance and as such the speakers clearly orient to the matter of mirroring the polarity of their response in the turn responded to as being preferred. As with disagreements discussed above, this pattern becomes even more evident when focusing on how a disconfirmation is formatted in the context of negatively framed

utterances. Again, this is done through the production of a response with opposite, positive polarity, as in extract (20) and (21).

Extract (20) : TH/S2/119/Jens & H.P./posd18

```
((Jens is calling to speak to H.P. but hasn't been able to get through on his
direct number. Here he has tried calling the main desk instead and gets to talk to
a secretary.))

1    Jens:    Lindegård=Jeg har prøvet å' få  fat  i H.P.
              Lindegård=I have tried   to get hold of H.P
              Lindegård=I've been trying to get hold of H.P.

2             =>Han har vel    [ikk'] skiftet nummer  ve[l ,< ]
              =>He has surely  [not ] changed number has[-he,<]
              =>Surely he hasn'[t   ]changed his number[has ]he,<

3    Sec :                     [°Jah°]                 [N↑ej,]Nej
                               [°Ja °]                 [Nej  ]Nej
                               [°Yes°]                 [N↑o, ] No

4    Sec :    det har han da rigtignok ikk'
              that has he surely really not
              he definitely hasn't

5    Jens:    >.hh Nåh.< .hh Han a' her bare ikk' i dag måske
              >.hh Oh.<  .hh He is here just not today maybe
              >.hh Oh.< .hh He's just not here today perhaps

6    Sec : →  Jo↑:h Det a' han,
              Jo    That is he,
              Ye↑:s He is,
```

Here, Jens makes an assumption on H.P.'s whereabouts based on the fact that he hasn't been able to get hold of him and the information that he hasn't changed his number, given by H.P.'s secretary in L3-4.[28] This assumption is displayed in L5 and is through its negative framing designed for receiving a negatively framed confirmation. However in L6 the secretary disconfirms this assumption, and does so through a positively framed response, clearly displaying that for the participants a positively framed response to a negatively framed utterance in this context

---

[28] In this case the position of *måske* 'perhaps', turn-finally, marks Jens's utterance as being a request for confirmation, not only by expressing his own lack of epistemic access, but also because *måske* would have had to be positioned turn-initially to make this utterance a claim/assertion in Danish.

disconfirms the prior turn and as such enacts a dispreferred action.[29] The same is the case for extract (21).

Extract (21) : TH/S2/21/Fie & Færgen/posd44

```
((Fie, the manager of a ferry company has half the day off and have just left the
office a few hours ago. The phone has been ringing at home, but Fie has been
unable to answer and the number displayer on her phone shows the number to be
'hidden'. One of the numbers which Fie knows to be hidden for the displayer is her
work number, so though she has problems imagining why they would need to contact
her after only a few hours, she calls to check whether this is indeed the case.))


1   Nivi:         Søby-Mommark ruten, det' Nivi,=
                  Søby-Mommark route-the, it's Nivi,=
                  Søby-Mommark route, it's Nivi,=

2   Fie:          =.h Ja hej, det' AnneSophie.=[Det' ikk']
                  =.h Ja  hi, it's AnneSophie.=[It's not ]
                  =.h Yes hi, it's AnneSophie.=[It isn't ]

3   Nivi:                                     [Ja   hej.]
                                              [Ja   hi.]
                                              [Yes  hi.]

4   Fie:          dig der har prø[vet å' ringe te' mig vel?]
                  you that has tr[ied to call to me  is-it?]
                  you who's been [trying to call me is it ?]

5   Nivi: →                      [Joh  det  er AnneSoph]ie=
                                 [Jo   it   is AnneSoph]ie=
                                 [Yes  it   is AnneSoph]ie=

6   Fie:          =Nå[h.]
                  =Oh[. ]
                  =oh[. ]
```

Here again Fie clearly displays that her assumption is that it was not her office who was calling, by producing a negatively framed question predicting this outcome in L2-4. Nivi however disconfirms this assumption through the production of a positively framed response in L5.

---

[29] In contrast to extracts (19) and (20) above, the disconfirmation in this case does not appear to be oriented to as dispreferred (i.e. no hedges or delays). This might be because that by disconfirming Jens's assumption, the secretary makes it clear that H.P. is at work, thus making it possible for Jens to get to talk to him.

The extracts in this section then clearly show that parallel to the pattern for agreement and disagreement in negatively framed contexts, in Danish interaction the grammatical preference for mirroring the polarity of a prior turn, coincides with that of an interactionally preferred response, that of confirming this turn. In fact, this preference is so strong that participants might find themselves responding in an untruthful manner, wrongly confirming an assumption made by the other speaker. This is the case in extract (22), below, where Ulrikke first confirms the prior, negatively framed assumption through the production of a negative response, then corrects herself with a positively framed utterance.

Extract (22) : TH/S2/14/Fie & Ulrikke/posd34

```
((Ulrikke and Fie are old friends, who only see each other when Ulrikke comes to
stay in her holiday house close to where Fie lives. Ulrikke has just been telling
Fie about her holiday in the States.))

1  Fie:                                    [Det var je]res ferie.
                                           [That was y]our holiday.
                                           [That was y]our holiday.

2           Nu har   [ i ] ikk' ferie,
            Now have [you ] not holiday,
            Now you  [have]n't got any holiday,

3  Ulrikke:          [(nu)]
                     [(nu)]
                     [(nu)]

4           (.)
            (.)
            (.)

5  Fie:     Me[re]
            Mo[re]
            Le[ft]

6  Ulrikke: →         [Ne]jh Johjoh vi kommer i september.
                      [Ne]j  Jo jo we come in september.
                      [No]h  yesyes we're coming in september.

7 Fie:      .gr I september=
            .gr In september=
            .gr In september=
```

Here Fie displays the assumption that Ulrikke and her husband has spent all their holiday time on a trip to the States just described by Ulrikke, and thus, that they have no more holiday time left. In L6 Ulrikke first confirms this assumption to be correct: by producing the negative response particle *nej* in L6, Ulrikke is orienting to the preference for confirmation and specifically to the preference for doing this by mirroring the negative polarity of the turn responded to.

As it happens, Fie was wrong in assuming that Ulrikke had no more holiday left, and Ulrikke rectifies her initial confirmation through repairing her response. Though this comes off as a self-repair or self-correction, Ulrikke in effect now disconfirms the prior turn through the production of a positively framed response with opposing polarity, as in extract (20) and (21).

It is evident then, from the extracts above, that just as is the case for agreements, the preferred action of confirmation is produced with orientation to the polarity of the turn responded to, and that not only action, but grammar and polarity is relevant for preference structure. And again, this pattern establishes that yet another dispreferred action, that of disconfirmation, is one which cannot be associated directly with negation.

2.1.3 Polarity and affiliation

In this section I will look at a third type of action, affiliation, and again demonstrate that negative responses typically embodies a preferred, affiliative response, rather than dispreferred alternative.

As agreement, the term 'affiliation' in some studies seems to be used as a more generic term for preferred responses in general (see for instance Heritage 1984a:272-273). A more restrictive use of this term is to refer only to actions that display affective stance toward what the co-participant has just said as affiliative. In the following I will follow this more restrictive use; focussing on the type of affiliation that is offered in a response through saying 'I feel the same way, I would do the same thing, I know what you mean, I see your point' (Jefferson, 2002).

In contrast to utterances that are designed for confirmation, affiliation relevant utterances typically occur as part of 'A-event' tellings (Labov and Fanshel 1977:100). That is, a speaker is talking about some events or states of affair in his/her life. In the midst of this the speaker may then produce an utterance that expresses his/her feelings, desires, possibilities or obligations toward some way of acting. By displaying the speaker's stance such utterances invite a display of affiliation by the recipient. As

was shown to be the case for the dichotomies of agreement/disagreement and confirmation/disconfirmation I will here demonstrate that negative responses are typically used for the preferred action of affiliation, rather than its alternative, disaffiliation.[30] Thus, when expressing sympathy, doing affiliation or aligning with the prior turn and its producer, speakers will orient to the polar format of the turn as a locus for grammatical preference as well, as is evident from extracts (23), (24) and (25), below.

Extract (23) : TH/S2/140) Krista & Fie II/Neg555

```
((Jens has been describing the cats living around his house as being wild, though
his wife feeds them regularly. He suggests, that soon there will be many more, as
they'll have kittens and the kittens will have kittens again when they grow up. In
contrast to this, Krista has two cats living in her house, not running wild and
whose breeding she intends to control))
```

```
1   Krista:          [Jarhmen ] jeg har to, å' de bli'r
                     [ Ja but ] I have two and they become
                     [Yesbut  ] I've got two and they'll get

2                    steriliseret så snart [(tiden] sig) nærmer.
                     sterilised as soon    [(time ]) approaches.
                     sterilised as soon as [ (it's] time.

3   Jens:                                  [ .jerh]
                                           [ .ja  ]
                                           [ .yeah]

4   Jens:            Jahmen [vi ] ka' jo ikk' komme te' vores jo=
                     Ja but [we ]can surely not get to ours you-k
                     Yesbut [we ] can't get at ours you know=

5   Krista:              [ja ]
                         [ja ]
                         [yes]

6   Krista: →        =Nej se'fø'lig ka' i ikk' det, (          )
                     =Nej of-course can you not that (          )
                     =No  of course you can't  (               )

7                    endnu
```

---

[30] Disaffiliation is not the only alternative to affiliation, a responding speaker need not contradict the stance displayed in the prior speakers turn (disaffiliate), but may simply ignore the invitation to produce an affiliative response, producing a response that may be neither affiliative nor disaffiliative, but rather non-affiliative. See for isntance extract (26).

```
                    yet
                    yet
```

By stating in L1-2 that she intends to sterilise her cats before they get old enough to breed, Krista is in effect making relevant something which Jens has failed to do to his cats. This is clearly oriented to by Jens in L4, where he accounts for why *he* hasn't sterilised his cats: because they are too wild to get close to. Because of its sequential positioning in a potential disagreement context, the account is strongly designed for affiliation and agreement, to prevent the sequence from expanding into a discussion of pet-care and owner responsibility.

Krista, in her response in L6-7 produces exactly this, a negatively framed response affiliating with the prior turn by mirroring its polarity and expressing understanding of why Jens hasn't sterilised his cats. The potential conflict is thus dissolved through the use of a negatively framed response embodying an affiliative action, and the conversation continues on the topic of Jens's cats and how the problem of the cats' breeding will eventually solve itself.

Likewise, when expressing sympathy with the other speaker, affiliation is done through mirroring the polarity of the prior turn, as in extract (24).

Extract (24) : TH/S2/140) Krista & Fie II/Neg526

```
((Krista has enquired about Jens's wellbeing and having got a less than
enthusiastic response initiated more talk about Jens.))

1   Jens:        Jah, jeg jeg ve' du      hva' jeg' jo
                 Ja , I   I  know you(s) what I've you-know
                 Yes I  I Do you know what you know I've

2                blevet hjemmegående    [ikk'] å'   det': å'
                 become home-going      [not ] and that's and
                 become a house husband [righ]t  and that's

3   Krista:                             [jah ]
                                        [ja  ]
                                        [yes ]

4   Jens:        jeg' jeg' simpelthen så stresset. Det ka'
                 I'm I'm  simply    so stressed. That can
                 and I'm I'm simply so stressed.  I can't

5                jeg ikk'holde te'.
                 I  not last  to .
```

```
                    cope with it.

6   Krista: →   Nej. Det'    sgu          ås' synd, du  bli'r
                    Nej. That's bloody-well also pity,you(s) get
                    No. That's a fucking pity as well I bet

7                   garanteret jagtet rundt.
                    guaranteed hunted around.
                    you're being chased round.
```

Krista's turn in L6-7 is strongly affiliative with Jens: her response is fitted with regard to the polarity of Jens's prior turn, and specifically expresses sympathy with Jens. Furthermore, she specifies exactly what it might be that makes Jens stressed about being unemployed: not that he is stressed about his finances or over having nothing to do, but that his wife makes up projects in the house for him to attend to.

   That participants do orient to producing an affiliative action and to doing this through mirroring the polarity of the turn affiliated with, is evident also from extract (25).

Extract (25) : TH/S2/140) Krista & Fie II/Neg587

```
((Krista is describing how her husband, Jesper, on top of having got a dishwasher
for his birthday has been spending money on himself.))

1   Krista:      [Å' Jesper han har fået   nye briller] å'
                    [And Jesper he has got new glasses] and
                    [And Jesper he's got new glasses  ] and

2                   han har fået nye tænder å' han er fand'me
                    he has got new teeth and he is bloody
                    he's got new teeth and he is bloody

3                   så dyr=
                    so expensive=
                    well expensive=

4   Fie:         =Ser han godt ud?=
                    =Sees he well out?=
                    =Does he look good?=

5   Krista:      =Å' han har fået ny .hh lækker skjorte å'
                    =And he has got new .hh nice shirt and
                    =And he's got a nice .hh new shirt and
```

```
6              han har fået nye lækre sko å' jeg får
               he has got new nice shoes and I get
               he's got nice new shoes and I never


7              aldrig noget.=
               never something.=
               get anything.=


8  Fie:  →     =Nej det tænkte jeg nok.
               =Nej that thought I enough.
               =No I thought so too.
```

Here, Krista is producing a list of new things her husband Jesper has got, on top of her having given him a dish washer for his birthday. The listing is clearly done as a mock complaint, the complaint furthermore being specified in L2-3 by Krista stating that her husband is expensive to keep. Fie however does not pick up on this, but orients to the possible consequences of the investments, that all the new things have improved Jesper's appearance. Instead of responding to this direct question, Krista continues her listing in L5-6, providing another upshot: that in contrast to her husband she never gets anything. This upshot is produced as part of an item on the list, intonationally as well as grammatically, and as such it is embedded in the action of producing a list. It is however this part of Krista's turn to which Fie chooses to respond, aligning with Krista in the matter of husbands. The aligning or affiliation is done explicitly by mirroring the polarity of the embedded negatively framed upshot made by Krista; without the negative response particle *nej*, the response would have been understood as orienting to the list of things that Jesper has got as is the case for Fie's turn in L4.

For participants then, negatively framed responses are unproblematically produced as affiliative actions, expressing sympathy or aligning with the other speaker, when responding to negatively framed utterances. However, it is not only that negatively framed responses can be affiliative in such contexts, but that this is the preferred way of doing so. Thus, in extract (26), a negatively framed utterance gets a positively framed response, and consequently no affiliation is produced.[31]

---

[31] No cases of negatively framed responses doing disaffiliative work in the sense discussed here were found and the positive equivalent are rare as well, perhaps because affiliation is a less definable 'category' than confirmation and agreement, the former being more subtly done.

Extract (26) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie/posd14

```
((Ester's has produced a lengthy description of her problems with her upcoming
move and has had no uptake from Fie who has merely produced continuers
throughout.³² At this point in the description, a specific problem has been
mentioned, including a possible complaint about Ester's neighbours, who's taken up
so much space in the loft that Ester cannot move her own stuff out. To solve this,
Ester concludes that she will have to take out some of her own stuff before
sorting through the rest, an option which she does not find optimal.))
```

```
1  Ester:                              [fordi ellers    så] ka'
                                       [because else then] can
                                       [because otherwise] I


2          jeg ikk' De   andre har  fyldt deres  loft    du
           I   not  The others have filled their attic you(s)
           can't The others have filled their attic you


3          ved helt [ud ] te' midten    så der   er ingen gang
           know all [out] to middle-the so there is no     path
           know,all[ th]e way to the middle,so there's no path


4  Fie:            [ja ]
                   [ja ]
                   [yes]


5  Fie:    Nej=
           Nej=
           No=


6  Ester:  =Å' flytte  noget   ud  på så [hvis ] ikk' jeg
           =To  move something out on so [ if  ] not    I
           =To move anything out to, so  [if   ] I don't


7  Fie:                                  [.nejh]
                                         [ .nej]
                                         [ .no ]


8  Ester:  li'ssom kommer a' me' noget a' mit så  ka' jeg
           sort-of come  of with some of mine then can I
           sort of get rid of some of mine, I won't


9          ikk' komme videre
           not  come   further
           get any further
```

---

³² The minimal productions of the negative response token *nej* in this extract are continuers. See
the discussion of extract (27), below, as well as chapter 3.

```
10 Fie:  →  Det    må    du     så   gøre
            That must you(s) then do
            You'll have to do that then
```

In L10, her first lengthy turn for quite a while, Fie accepts that Ester will have to take out some of her stuff beforehand, an option which Ester has clearly marked as dispreffered. This is done through the production of a positively framed response, a response which does not pick up on Ester's complaint, suggests any solution to the problem Ester has, nor does it express any sympathy with Ester's troubles. In fact, through the production of L10 Fie does not even acknowledge the stated problem, her response in any sense being clearly dispreferred.[33]

Thus, it is evident that negatively framed responses not only can, but will, embody affiliative actions such as aligning, or expressing sympathy with the prior speaker and his/her turn, when this is negatively framed as well. This further strengthens the argument that in interaction there is a preference for mirroring the polarity of the turn responded to, and that negative responses are most commonly produced as preferred actions.

2.1.4 Polarity and response tokens
In the prior three sections I have demonstrated that negative response typically embody preferred actions (agreement, confirmation and affiliation) in Danish. Furthermore, that this is so, because the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity and the interactional preference for a negative response coincide, so that negative responses are used to agree and affiliate with, or confirm a prior, negatively framed utterance. Evidently, there is a strong grammatical preference for mirrored polarity across a large variety of actions in Danish. In this section I will look at one further context in which negatively framed utterances typically receive negative responses in Danish: when these utterances are designed to receive only a continuer or an acknowledgement.

As discussed in the introduction I use the term response token to refer to acknowledgements and continuers, and exclude all other actions that a minimal response may embody (for a different use of the term response token, see Gardner, 2001). In the following I discuss the distribution of *nej* as a response token, but do not distinguish between its use as a continuer

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[33] See chapter 3 for other cases where responses to negatively framed utterances are not initiated through the production of *nej* and consequently not acknowledging the production of the prior turn.

and an acknowledgement. Though there is strong evidence to suggest that these different uses are of relevance for participants in interaction (see for instance Gardner, 2001 and Jefferson, 1984), for the purpose at hand the use of the more general term, response token, should however be sufficient to show that even more 'minimal' or 'empty' responsive actions such as continuers and acknowledgements in Danish are produced in orientation to the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity.

By terming these actions 'empty' or 'minimal' I do not mean to suggest that continuers and acknowledgements are less relevant for interaction. Rather, these terms merely indicate that acknowledgements and continuers differ from for instance the action of agreement and affiliation in the sense that they do not by themselves express any affective stance on behalf of the speaker, their production does not claim agreement or affiliation, but merely marks the prior turn as unproblematic and projects or foreshadows a possible agreement or affiliation.

In Danish, the negative response particle *nej* can be used for continuation marking and acknowledgement, as is evident from extract (27) and (28) respectively.

Extract (27) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie I/Neg128

```
((Ester has just concluded that when she moves to a different flat she will have
to take a taxi to the station when she travels. This consequence of her move
should however not necessarily be understood as bad, as Ester in the following
states that she has often wanted to take a taxi when living in her old flat, but
has always walked in stead, because she lived so close by that taking a taxi would
be stupid.))
```

```
1 Est:    Det  har jeg da     tit haft lyst te' alli'vel nede
          That have I surely often have want to anyway   down
          I have really often wanted to do that anyway from

2         fra: al'så    når jeg bare ås' har  boet  her  [.hh]
          from you-know when I just also have lived here [.hh]
          you know, also when I've just lived here       [.hh]

3 Fie:                                                   [ mm]
                                                         [ mm]
                                                         [ mm]

4 Est:    men så   fordi   at  man egentlig bor alli'vel så tæt
          but then because that one really lives anyway so close
          but then because really you still live so close
```

```
5              ved [ så ] ej:      det ka' man Tine prøved' det
               by  [then] nyea:h that can one Tine tried   it
               by, [then] nyea:h that can you, Tine tried it


6 Fie:         [ jah]
               [ ja ]
               [ yes]


7 Est:    jo engang  hvor taxachaufføren sagde Helt ærligt
          you-know one-time where taxi-driver  said All honestly
          once you know where the taxi driver said, honestly


8         hva' me'  om   du    gik   .hhh hehehe[heh]
          what with if you(s) walked .hhh hehehe[heh]
          why don't you just walk    .hhh hehehe[heh]


9 Fie:                                      [jah]men jeg har
                                            [ja ]but I have
                                            [yes]but I have


10        jo ås' prøvet engang   å' der  ku'
          you-know also tried one-time and there could
          tried once as well you know and there the


11        taxachaufføren   ikk' finde det=
          taxi-driver-the not   find    it=
          cab driver couldn't find it=


12 Est: →  =nej=
           =nej=
           =no=


13 Fie:   =.hh da    kørte vi hele: L rundt [han ku' ]
          =.hh then drove we all L round   [he could]
          =.hh the we drove round all of L [he could]


14 Est:                                    [ ja ja  ]
                                           [ ja ja  ]
                                           [yes yes ]


15 Fie:   .hh fordi     der var ensrettet å' [han]
          .hh because there was one-way and  [he ]
          .hh because it was one way street a[nd ]


16 Est: →                                    [jah]
                                             [ja ]
                                             [yes]
```

```
17 Fie:    ku' ikk'    fin[de ] å' han måtte ikk' køre
           could not   fin[d  ] and he must  not   drive
           he couldn't fin[d  ] and he couldn't go one

18 Est: →                   [nej]
                            [nej]
                            [ no]

19 Fie:    den ene vej å' den  [ an]den vej  å' så
           the one way and the [ ot]her way and so
           way and the other   [   ]   way and stuff

20 Est: →                         [nej]
                                   [nej]
                                   [no ]

21 Fie:    noget   .hh å' jeg var jo ikk' så
           something .hh and I  was you-know not so
           .hh and you know I wasn't smart enough, so

22         skrap så jeg ku': [ al'så  ] li'ssom
           tough so I  could [you-know] sort-of
                             that I co[uld you ]know sort of

23 Est: →                         [  nej   ]
                                  [  nej   ]
                                  [  no    ]

24 Fie:    .hh[h       al'så: ]
           .hh[h      you-know ]
           .hh[h      you know ]

25 Est:       [Nogengange ta'r] man jo en taxa fordi
              [Some-times take] one you-know a taxi because
               [Sometimes you t]ake a cab you know because

26         man ikk' kender vejen=
           one not   knows way-the=
           you don't know the way=

27 Fie:    =ja:h. Det ku'  jo    godt være
           =ja.  That could surely well be
           =ye:s. That could be a reason
```

Here, Ester produces a 'funny story' in L5-8 as an example of the kind of reaction one might get when trying to get a taxi to take you from the station to Ester's previous flat, located close to the station. In response Fie produces a second story, an extended telling (Goodwin, 1986), describing what happened to *her* once, when she took a taxi to Ester's flat: the taxi driver couldn't find the flat and had to take a long way round to get there, because most of the roads were one-way roads. This story spans from L9-24, and throughout this sequence Ester orients to her role as a recipient of a story telling by producing minimal tokens, in L12, 16, 18, 20 and 23.[34] These minimal responses are in contrast to Ester's comment in L25-26, where she produces what may be the point of Fie's story; that she took a taxi because she wasn't sure how to get to Ester's flat, but that the taxi driver couldn't find the way either.

A typical feature of continuers are, that they occur at the boundaries of turn-constructional units (such as a clause or a sentence), thus demonstrating both that one unit has been received and that another is now awaited (Goodwin, 1986). This is also the case here. Thus, Ester through her production of continuers marks Fie's prior turns as having been heard and understood, treating these turns as unproblematic and allowing the extended telling to progress.

As can be seen from this extract, both *ja* 'yes' and *nej* 'no' are used as continuers in Danish. Crucially, these positive and negative particles are distributed with regard to the polarity of the prior unit, so that *nej* is used as a continuer in L12, 18, 20 and 23, in response to the negatively framed units in L10-11, 15-17, 17-19 and 21-22, respectively, whereas *ja* is used as a continuer in L16, in response to the positively framed unit in L15. In this way, the participants display, that the preference for mirrored polarity is so strong in Danish, that it is oriented to even in the production of continuers.

Similarly, in extract (28) a negative acknowledgement token is produced in response to a negatively framed statement.

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[34] The two positive response particles in L14 are here not counted as response tokens as it is arguable whether the multiple production of a response particle implements mere continuation or acknowledgement. See chapter 4 for a discussion of this with regard to the negative particle *nej*.

Extract (28): `TH/S2/19) Mathias & Malte II/250`

`((Mathias is describing his progress in a computer game.))`

```
1  Math:    Så' jeg i gang med Ved hjælp a' Barbaro:sa Frederik
             Then-am I about to With help from Barbaro:sa Frederik
             Then I'm about to With the help of Barbaro:sa Frederik

2           Barbaro:sa
            Barbaro:sa
            Barbaro:sa

3           (.)
            (.)
            (.)

4  Malte:   Aldri' h↑ørt om ham
            Never h↑eard about him
            Never h↑eard of   him

5  Math: →  Nejh. Han a' faktisk ø:h den næst- Den sidste romerske
            Nej.  He is actually e:h the sec- The last  roman
            Noh.  He is actually e:h the sec- The last Roman

6           kejser overho'det
            emperor at-all
            emperor at all
```

Here, Mathias in L1 initiates a telling of how he has played the historical character Frederik Barbarossa in a computer game. In L4 Malte states that he does not know who this character is, a statement which in this context can be seen as requesting further identification of the character referred to. In response to Malte's negatively framed statement, Mathias first acknowledges the production of this, then goes on to explain who Frederik Barbarossa is, in L5-6. Thus, Mathias through the production of the acknowledgement token states the claim of having understood the prior turn adequately (as a request for further identification) and specifically displays how this was understood through providing an identification of Frederik Barbarossa in his continuation after the acknowledgement token.

The use of acknowledgement tokens in this way differs from that of continuers, in that acknowledgements tokens are not primarily used for handing the floor back to the prior speaker, as are continuers. For both

uses however it is evident from the two extracts above, that the negative response particle *nej* is used for both actions, when the turn responded to is negatively framed.

As discussed in the introduction to this study, work on negative responses in other languages has revealed that negative response tokens can indeed be used for acknowledgement. Thus, Mazeland (1990) and Jefferson (2002) show for Dutch and British English respectively, that in these languages negative response particles are used in a fashion similar to that of Danish as described above. One difference between the two former languages and Danish however is, that in both Dutch and British English negatively framed utterances can sometimes be acknowledged through the production of a positive response particle, though both Jefferson (2002) and Mazeland (1990) argues that this is only done for cause. In contrast, in Danish it does not appear to be possible to acknowledge or mark continuation of a negatively framed utterance with the positive response particles that are otherwise available in this language.[35]

Indeed, even when a participant is orienting to a project of his/her own, and can be said to perhaps not be so attentive to what the other participant is doing in an utterance, the negative framing is still oriented to, as in extract (29).

Here, Krista has been complaining about her local council, and how the politicians rather than the administration are now running the show; with dire consequences for Krista's work-environment in a kindergarten. In L1-2 Krista gives an assessment of how bad the situation is, by comparing the reign of the politicians and the mayor to that of despots or absolute monarchs. Rather than agree with this assessment, or express affiliation with the complainable matter, Fie in L5 merely acknowledges Krista's assessment/complaint, as is also done in L6 after Krista has produced what might be seen as pursuit of a more adequate response, the *simpelthen* 'simply' in L4.

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[35] At least, in the data used for this study I have found only a few, very specific cases where a positive particle was used for continuation or acknowledgements. These are cases where the negative framing of an utterance was created through the use of a negative tag. These will be discussed in section 2.3, were it will be demonstrated that these are exceptional, accountable cases.

Extract (29) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg54

```
((In Krista's local council the administration has been taken over by the
politicians.))

1   Krista:      borgmesteren Det'   krafted'me    du, de
                 mayor-the   That's power-force-me you, they
                 the mayor, That's fucking, they're

2                kører rent enevælde du.
                 run pure autocracy you.
                 running pure autocracy

3                (.)
                 (.)
                 (.)

4   Krista:      [Simpel]hen.
                 [ S i m]ply.
                 [That's] it

5   Fie:         [ Jerh.]
                 [ Ja.  ]
                 [ Yeah.]

6   Fie:         Jerh.=
                 Ja.=
                 Yeah.=

7   Krista:      =Det' ingengang      op[lyst  du]
                 =It's  no-time  enlight[ened you]
                 =It's not even  enlight[ened    ]

8   Fie: →                           [ . H h  ] Vi har
                                      [ . H h  ] We have
                                      [ . H h  ] We also

9                ås' Nejh. Vi har ås' store problemer herovre.
                 also Nej. We have also big problems here-over.
                 have Noh. We also have huge problems over here
```

Having failed to receive anything but acknowledgement of her complaint,
Krista in L7 strengthens the complainable/assessment, by adding that the
autocracy applied by the politicians is not even enlightened (In Danish the
difference between *enevælde* 'autocracy' and *oplyst enevælde* 'enlightened
autocracy' is that in the former all power lies with one person, typically the

king. This is also the case in the latter, but here the king may take the advice of others, for instance the aristocracy and the church.).

Instead of picking up on this now upgraded complainable matter, in L8 Fie launches a description of *her* local council and how things are going bad there as well, but for the opposite reason. In the midst of producing this utterance Fie self-interrupts to acknowledge the production of Krista's complaint, before returning to her own topic.

Though Fie is strongly oriented to getting her own matter discussed, and has resisted picking up on Krista's complaint throughout this extract, she nevertheless orients to the grammatical preference for a negative acknowledgement token in L7, by producing this in L7. That this is preference is oriented to in a sequential context in which the interactional preference for an affiliating response is not oriented to, suggest that the grammatical preference is indeed vary strong in Danish, also in the context of such minimal actions as acknowledgements.

Another strong indication of this can be found in cases where a negatively framed turn is not acknowledged with the negative particle, but with another token such as *okay*. In these cases the absence of the negative particle frequently projects that the respondent did in fact not find the prior turn to be unproblematic, as is the case in extract (30).

Extract (30) : TH/M2/2/Fie & Ester/posd15

```
((Fie and her family are taking Ester, her sister on a trip to France, where a bit
of hiking will be included. Fie has insisted that Ester try on her old hiking
shoes the next time they meet.))

1  Fie:      =Jah .hhh [ Glsk ] så'n       så   du   ikk' går i
             =Ja  .hhh [ Glsk ] like-this so you(s) not walk in
             =Yes .hhh [ Glsk ] so that you don't walk in

2  Ester:              [(     )]
                       [(     )]
                       [(     )]

3  Fie:      å' ødelægger dit almindelige fodtøj   [ de:t']
             and ruin     your  normal   foot-wear [that's]
             and ruin your normal foot wear        [that's]

4  Ester:                                           [ jaja ]
                                                    [ jaja ]
                                                    [yesyes]
```

```
5   Fie:       det det handler  o[m vi] ta'r dig    ikk' me' på
               that it is     abou[t we] take you(s) not with on
                what it's    about[ we']re not taking you along on

6   Ester:                         [ mhm]
                                   [ mhm]
                                    [ mhm]

7   Fie:       .hh på de værsteehm  steder
               .hh on the worstehm  places
                .hh on the worstehm places

8   Ester: →  okay=
               okay=
                okay=

9   Fie:       =men al'så    .hh hvo- vi ta'r dig    kun derhen
               =but you-know .hh hvo- we take you(s) only there
                =but you know .hh hvo- we'll only take you where

10             hvor vi ved    at du    ka'    klar[e det.] .hh men
               where we know that you(s) can handl[e  it.] .hh but
                we know that you can       handle[  it  ] .hh but

11  Ester:                                    [ jaja ]
                                              [ jaja ]
                                               [yesyes]

12  Fie:       det' rart å'  ha' (.) en støvle (.) fremfor eneh
               it's nice to have (.) a    boot (.) in stead aeh
                it's nice to have (.) a boot    (.) in stead of a

13             glsk en snøresko   [ eller   ]
               glsk a  laced-shoe [   o r   ]
                glsk a laced shoe [   o r   ]

14  Ester: →                     [Jeg ka' sag]tens Jeg ka'
                                  [I   can eas]ily  I can
                                   [I can easi]ly   I can

15         →  sagtens gå langt
               easily walk far
                easily walk far

16  Fie:       Jah jah=
               Ja  ja=
                Yes yes=
```

Fie's statement in L5-7 is produced as information and is not designed for a specific response. The information is probably provided so as to reassure Ester that the hiking they are planning will not be too strenuous. The way in which Fie's utterance is framed however indicates that the hiking trips have been planned specifically with Ester in mind, and thus that Ester is perhaps not in as good shape as Fie and her family. By acknowledging this with a non-negative response token, *okay*, in L8, Ester does perhaps accept that Fie won't take her on the most strenuous of walks, but she avoids accepting the implication that she cannot hike as far or as well as the others. The use of *okay* in this way very neatly captures the situation Ester finds herself in, as it accepts not being taken on strenuous hikes, while leaving a window of opportunity open for Ester to emphasise that she *can* walk far, as she does in L14-15.

It could perhaps be argued that on a scale of polarity, with *ja* 'yes' and *nej* 'no' as opposites, *okay* is positioned somewhere in the middle, perhaps even as a neutral item with no polarity. By using such an item to respond to the negatively framed utterance in L5-7, Ester manages to balance between giving a preferred and a dispreferred response, *nej* and *jo* respectively, and thus to not commit herself fully to the response while at the same time not disagreeing or rejecting the turn responded to. This again shows that participants do in fact orient to polarity as a highly relevant factor in the formatting of their responses, and that the preference is for a response to be formatted with the same polarity as the turn responded to.

2.1.5 Summary

The above sections and the extracts and discussions within them highlight several important aspects of negation, polarity and interaction in Danish.

First, that negative responses most commonly embody preferred actions of for instance agreement, confirmation and affiliation.

Second, that negative responses are typically produced in response to other negatively framed utterances.

These two findings together demonstrate that within the interactional preference for actions such as agreement and confirmation there is also a grammatical preference for mirroring the polarity of a response on the format of the turn responded to. This grammatical preference is oriented to across actions and response types, even covering more 'empty' action such as acknowledgement or continuation marking.

Consequently, negation in Danish cannot be associated with interactional dispreference, rather, this is achieved typically through producing a response with the opposite polarity to that of the prior turn, so that negative responses to positively framed utterances are dispreferred, as are positive responses to negatively framed utterances.

Table 1 shows the typical relation between the polarity of an utterance and its response, both grammatically and interactionally, established so far.

Table 2.1 The relation between polar utterances and their responses in Danish

	Neg. Framed utterances	Pos. framed utterances
Negative responses	Agreement Affiliation Confirmation Acknowledgement Continuer	Disagreement - - - - Disconfirmation - - - - - - - - - - - -
Positive responses	Disagreement Non-affiliation Disconfirmation - - - - - - - -	Agreement* Affiliation* Confirmation* Acknowledgement Continuer

(*) marks that this combination has not been exemplified in the preceding section,
but that it can be found in the data.
(----) marks that this combination was not found in the data.

In distributional terms, negative responses are far more commonly produced in response to negatively framed utterances, than to positively framed utterance, with a frequency of 3:1, so that about 75% of all the negative responses found in the data for this study were produced in response to negatively framed utterances. As this combination (negative response to negative utterance) is also the combination that typically results in preferred responses, agreement, affiliation, confirmation, acknowledgement and continuation), there is no doubt that if negation should be associated with something in Danish, it should be preferred actions rather than dispreferred actions.

A further contribution to this overall preferredness of negative responses will be discussed in the following section, where I demonstrate that even when a negative utterance is produced as an answer to a positive utterance, the negative response may embody an interactional preferred response, though the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity is breached.

2.2 The preference for negation: negative responses to positively framed utterances

In the section above, a few examples of negative responses to positively framed utterances were discussed. It was demonstrated that in these contexts, the negative responses did embody dispreferred actions of for instance disagreement and disconfirmation. It was argued, that since the occurrence of a negative response in a positive context was very infrequent, it cannot be said that negative responses in general should be associated with dispreference in Danish. In this section I will further consolidate this, by demonstrating that even when a negative response is produced in response to a positively framed utterance (thus breaching the grammatical preference for mirroring the polarity of the prior turn in the response), in many cases the action embodied by the response may nevertheless be interactionally preferred.

This is in line with suggestions made in particular by Koshik (2002) and Schegloff (2001), who both shows that the production of a negatively framed utterance in specific, otherwise positive contexts can be oriented to as preferred, or at least entirely unproblematic.[36]

Koshik (2002) shows that in writing conferences between teacher and student, the teacher, when producing a question, can convey his/her assertion to have the opposite polarity to that of the grammatical form of the question.

Schegloff (2001) on the other hand argues that negatively framed structures can be produced to deploy a particular action, where the dichotomy of preferred/dispreferred is not really relevant. Thus, he shows that turn-initial *no* can be used as the boundary marker for a joking sequence, displaying overtly that the speaker is now leaving the joking-sequence and 'returning to serious'.

These studies represent two very specific contexts in which a negatively framed structure can be produced as the preferred option in a context of

---

[36] And vice versa for positively framed responses. These will be discussed in section 2.3.

otherwise positive polarity. Likewise Pomerantz (1984a) argues that even when implementing actions associated with dispreference, negatively framed responses can be shown to be preferred in specific contexts such as when responding to a self-deprecation.

The pattern that emerges from each of these studies is that a negatively framed utterance, both as a first and as a responsive action, can indeed embody interactionally preferred actions, even when following a positively framed utterance: This is so, either because the sequential organisation and the particular action implemented by a positively framed utterance makes a dispreferred action such as disagreement or disconfirmation the interactionally preferred option (as in Pomerantz, 1984a and Koshik, 2002); or because the preferred/dispreferred dichotomy is not really an issue for the action embodied by the negative utterance (as in the cases described by Schegloff, 2001).

Below, it will be shown that taking these two conditions into consideration, two thirds of the cases where a negatively framed structure is produced in an otherwise positive context can be accounted for as not having the negatively framed utterance implement dispreferred actions. This will be shown to be the case in various contexts:

a) when the negative response particle *nej* is used as a response to a preliminary action,
b) when *nej* is used as a response to self-deprecations,
c) when *nej* is used as a response to utterances that convey reversed polarity,
d) when *nej* is used for displaying disbelief,
e) when *nej* is used as a correctional device ,
f) when *nej* is used as a boundary marker between actions.

2.2.1 Preferred dispreference: pre's and self-deprecations

In this section I will discuss cases where the negative response particle *nej* 'no' is produced in response to either a preliminary action or a self-deprecating utterance. These two types of actions have in common that the negative responses in these contexts do embody what is normatively understood to be dispreferred responses, such as disconfirmation and disagreement. However, in both cases, the actions that are done through preliminaries and self-deprecations specifically design these utterances to prefer a dispreferred action as the preferred response.

As noted by Schegloff (1980) and (1995) among others, some actions are preliminary (pre's) in that they function mainly as a preparation for a next action, for instance a request, an invitation or a story telling. A pre(liminary) action is designed to check whether a certain condition for a possible next action exists, to maximise the possibility of getting a preferred response to that action.

In the case of invitations for instance a pre can be used to check whether the recipient is available to engage in a prospective action, before inviting the recipient to engage in that action.

And in the case of story-telling a pre can be used to check whether the recipient already knows the prospective story, before engaging in telling this story.

Preliminaries in this way minimise the risk of receiving a dispreferred response to a prospective action; for instance the rejection of a request, invitation or a story telling. Preliminaries do however also establish a locus for interactional preference themselves, in that the possible responses to preliminaries are not equal alternatives; rather one alternative blocks the prospective action that the pre is preliminary to, and as such is a dispreferred response, whereas the other alternative is a go-ahead response to the pre, a preferred response in that it makes it possible to produce the action that the pre is a preliminary to (Sorjonen 2000, Schegloff 1990).

In the following I will show that the negative response particle *nej*, though implementing disconfirmation, can be the preferred response to a pre, by enabling the prior speaker to launch the action to which the pre is a preliminary, that is, *nej* can be used as a go-ahead response to a preliminary.

This is the case in extract (31), where Jens allows or enables Krista to announce what she has recently acquired (a dishwasher), as well as to launch a telling (about how she acquired this dishwasher), by disconfirming having any prior knowledge of this. Thus, in L5 Krista enquires whether Jens is aware of what she has acquired. Through his 'no'-response in L4 Jens disconfirms having any knowledge of this, thus making it possible for Krista to produce the announcement in L7. Jens's response shows that he as a participant is orienting to Krista's enquiry as a preliminary, rather than an actual question, not only by producing the preferred response, a disconfirmation, but also by subsequently inviting Krista to let him know what she has acquired, thus helping in setting up

the sequential environment in which Krista can produce her announcement and the subsequent telling.

Extract (31) : TH/S2/140) Krista & Fie II/Neg538

```
((Jens has told Krista that he is getting a new wood burning furnace and a solar
collector because the oil prices are too high.))

1  Jens:          [men vi ve' bare    ha'] noget, vi ve' bare
                  [but we will just have] something we will just
                  [but we just want some]thing we   just want

2  Krista:        [(Nå   det mener     )]
                  [(Oh   that mean     )]
                  [(Oh that mean       )]

3  Jens:          ha' noget mere ud a' pengene Krista,
                  have something more out of money-the Krista,
                  something more out of the money Krista

4       →         [det'   jo  det der li'ssom  (altid)] Nej hva'
                  [that's y-k that there like (always)] Nej what
                  [that's you know what's  (always )  ] No what

5  Krista:        [ Ve'  du hva' jeg  har    fået  ]
                  [Know you what  I have    gotten ]
                  [Do you know what  I got         ]

6  Jens:          har du fået?
                  have you got?
                  did you get?

7  Krista:        Jeg har  fået  en opvaskemaskine.
                  I  have got a dishwasher
                  I've got a dishwasher

8 Jens:           .hhh Det syn's jeg var en herl[ig    ting]
                  .hhh That think I was  a  love[ly   thing]
                  .hhh I think that's a     love[ly  thing]

9 Krista:                                        [Den   ga'] jeg
                                                 [That gave]  I
                                                 [I gave th]at to

10                Jesper i fødselsdagsgave
                  Jesper in birthdaypresent
                  Jesper for his birthday
```

```
11 Jens:        Men det  var  da    godt
                But that was surely good
                But that's really nice

12 Krista:      Jeh Nejm' det var   fordi Jesper er    jo
                Ja Nej but that was because Jesper is you-know
                Yeh Nobut that's because Jesper is so expensive

13              så   dyr.
                so expensive
                you know
```

Preliminary questions such as the one in L5 above quite commonly display a presupposition that the respondent does not have the knowledge enquired about. As such, the question in extract (31), L5 is not only dependent on a disconfirmation, but is designed with the expectation of a disconfirmation; that is, the question is in reality rhetorical. The same is the case for extract (32), where Mathias is describing a computer game which Malte has yet to try; but not in extract (33), where Mathias is checking whether Malte is available for chatting.

Extract (32) : TH/S2/19) Mathias & Malte II/Neg242

```
((Mathias is describing the computer game Red Alert II. The game is yet to be
released, but is described in detail in the new computer magazine Mathias
subscribes to. L1 and 2 constitute the completion of a side sequence within this
description, where Malte requests information about when the game is supposed to
be played out in 'real time', the answer being provided by Mathias is L1 : the
sixties or seventies.))
```

```
1  Mathias:   Han a' simpelthen i gang me' å' smadre hele verden
              He is simply in time with and crash whole world-the
              He is simply about to ruin the whole of the world

              ((7 lines left out where Mathias reveals the
              identity of the 'he' referred to in L1 as a
              character from another computer game, Tiberians
              Son.))

9 Malte:      Kom- Kommer den her så førhh
              Com- Comes this here the beforehh
              Does this one then come before

10            (.)
              (.)
              (.)
```

```
11 Malte:     hva' hedder den Tiberians Son
              what called-is it Tiberians Son
              what's it called Tiberians Son

              ((A repair sequence of 4 lines left out))


16 Mathias:   .HHh Joh den her kommer før Tiberians Son
              .HHh Jo this here comes before Tiberians Son
              .HHh Yes this one is before Tiberians Son

17 Malte:     Jah
              Ja
              Yes

18 Mathias:   Lang tid før
              Long time before
              Long before

19            (.)
              (.)
              (.)

20 Mathias:   .H[hh ] Her har' vi stadigvæk i nittenhunderd'
              .H[hh ] Here here-are we still in nineteen-hundred
              .H[hh ] Here we're still in the nineteenth

21 Malte:       [Jah]
                [Ja ]
                [Yes]

22            (.)
              (.)
              (.)

23 Mathias:   tallet .hh Nitten hunderd' nogenå'
              number-the .hh Nineteen hundred something-and
              century .hh Nineteen hundred sixty seventy

24            (.)
              (.)
              (.)
25 Mathias:   tres halvfjerds tror jeg
              sixty seventy think I
              something I think
```

```
26 Malte:       Jah
                Ja
                Yes


27 Mathias:     .Hh Ved du hva' han ås' har fundet på
                .Hh Know you what he also has found on
                .Hh Do you know what he's done as well


28 Malte: →     Nej=
                Nej=
                No=


29 Mathias:     =.hh Du ved godt Paris ikke,
                =.hh You know well Paris not,
                =.hh You know Paris right,


30 Malte:       Ja[h ]
                Ja[  ]
                Ye[s ]


31 Mathias:        [.h] Der' Eiffeltårnet jo=Der' han
                   [.h] There's Eiffel-tower-the you-know=There's he
                   [.h] There's the Eiffel tower you know=There he's
```

Here Mathias is describing how he's been faring in a yet unreleased computer game for which he's tried the demo. He reveals that the main character of the game is from a different game that both he and Malte has, and in L9-11 Malte interrupts Mathias's description of the computer game to check what period of history the game is set in. This sidesequence is completed in L20-26 and Mathias's question in L27 initiates a return to the extended telling about the computer game. From his earlier description, Mathias knows that Malte has no knowledge of the computer game and as such his question 'Do you know what he's done as well?' is rhetorical, the answer already known to be disconfirming.

In interactional terms however Mathias's continued telling is nevertheless dependent on Malte's response to allow him to continue, and as such the disconfirmation in L28 is preferred. The disconfirming *nej* 'no' is exactly what Mathias's question was designed to get, as only this particular response makes the return to the telling relevant. Consequently, Mathias continues his telling in L29, Malte taking on the

role of the recipient of a telling through his production of the acknowledgement token *jah* 'yes' in L30.[37]

In contrast, the question posed by Mathias is extract (33), L1 can not be understood as being rhetorical, as Mathias cannot know that the answer to his question will be a disconfirmation. In fact, the production of this type of question in itself indicates that Mathias has reason for assuming that Malte may indeed be engaged in eating.[38]

Nevertheless, what happens after the question-answer pair is dependent on the type of response provided by Malte in L2 or L4, and only a disconfirming response will allow the call to continue at this point, whereas a confirmation would close the call (though leaving open the possibility that the call could be resumed at a later point). Thus, as in extract (31) and (32) Mathias's question is a preliminary, dependent on disconfirmation to initiate a particular action or sequence subsequently and in this way the negative, disconfirmating response is clearly, once again preferred.

Extract (33): TH/S2/121/Mathias & Malte/Neg474

```
((From the beginning of the call. Malte's dad has answered and called Malte to the
phone.))

1   Mathias:    [Si]dder i å' spiser,
                [Si]t  you and eat,
                     [Ar]e  you eating,

2   Malte:      Hvar,
                What,
                What,

3   Mathias:    Sidder i å' spiser,=
                Sit you and eat,=
                Are you eating,=

4   Malte: →    =Nej.
                =Nej.
```

```
             =No.

5  Mathias:    .hh Nåh okay. .Hhh Godt. (.) Prøv å' hør her Malte
                .hh Oh okay. .Hhh Good. (.) Try and hear here Malte
                .hh Oh okay. .Hhh Good. (.) Listen Malte
```

This latter type of pre is different from the others above, in that only Malte has the knowledge needed to respond to the question. In this case then, the question is a real request for information, in contrast to extracts (31) and (32) above. This has consequences for the way in which the response is reacted to: in extracts (31) and (32), after having received a disconfirming response, the recipient launches into an extended telling immediately. In extract (33) however, the disconfirmation is specifically oriented to and evaluated as the preferred response, before another action is launched. However, the preference for a disconfirming, negative response is the same, as even here Mathias is dependent on this type of response to be able to continue, in this case to continue not an action as such, but the actual call.

It should be evident then, from the three extracts above, that though in the case of responding to a pre, the negative marker *nej* is in fact implementing disconfirmation, in the context in which it is produced the disconfirmation is preferred.

It is not only responses to pre's which show this pattern; in general, actions which are normally associated with dispreference, can, in certain contexts be the preferred response, as demonstrated for instance by Pomerantz (1984a) for disagreements with self-deprecations. As Pomerantz (1984a) specifically discuss cases where a negative response particle is used as a preferred disagreement, I will not discuss this in any detail here. Suffice is to say that not surprisingly the same pattern emerges in Danish, though self-deprecations proper are rare, most cases being more subtle instances of problematic issues for the speaker as in extract (34) and (35).

Extract (34) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie I/Neg82

```
((Ester has put an ad in the newspaper to sell her furniture.))

1  Ester:    =jeg har Ja men det drukner bare i mængden    i den
              = I have Ja but it drowns  just in mass-the in den
              =I have    Yes but it'll only drown in the masses in

2            blå avis [ er] jeg bange for [men nu ringer
```

```
              blå avis [ am]  I scared for [but now call
              den blå a[vis] am I afraid of[ but now I'll call


3  Fie:  →            [nej]                 [det det gør
                      [nej]                 [that that does
                      [no ]                 [it   it doesn't


4  Ester:  jeg te' nogen andre   ås']
           I   to  some  others also]
           somebody else as well    ]


5  Fie:    det ikk'  Nej   Nej .hhh ] folk   folk    de kigger
           it  not   Nej   Nej .hhh ] people people they look
                     No    No  .hhh ] people people they look
```

Here, Ester's statement that the advertisement for her furniture will not be noticed is not directly self-deprecating. It is however conveying a negative stance towards either the attention grasping potential of an advertisement Ester has written, or towards the attractiveness to potential buyers of furniture which Ester herself has chosen. Fie's response (in L3-5), initiated through the negative response token *nej*, is clearly orienting to this potential deprecation and disagreeing with the implication that Ester's furniture is unattractive or her ad anonymous. This disagreement, in effect affiliating with Ester, is clearly a preferred action, further strengthened by the protest being produced early, in overlap with Ester's self-deprecating statement.

Likewise, in extract (35) the positively framed utterance is not self-deprecating as such, though it does imply that the speaker has a tendency towards being 'pushy', a personality trait with clearly negative connotations. Consequently, when this is responded to through the production of a negative response token in L5, what is disagreed with is the self-assigning of a negative feature and as such, the disagreement is clearly affiliative and preferred.

Extract (35) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg42

```
((Krista has invited Fie and her husband for a visit on the first coming Saturday
and Sunday. Fie has called to check whether this is still on  and during the call
she lists all of the things her and her husband has to do on the Saturday before
catching the ferry to the mainland where Krista lives.))
```

```
1  Krista:   Jah. [Joh]m'   du    ve' Jeg tænkte bare på fordi
             Ja.  [Jo ]but you(s) know I thought just on because
             Yes. [Yes]but you know I just thought whether I'd

2  Fie:           [Jah]
                  [Ja ]
                  [Yes]

3  Krista:   om om jeg   så'n  havde presset for hårdt m'v'
             if if  I   like-this had pushed  too hard m'v'
             sort of been pushing too hard

4            Det' bare [ fordi ] jeg syn's nogengange
             It's just [because]  I  think some-times
             It's just [ that  ] sometimes I think that

5  Fie:  →            [ Nejh  ]
                      [ Nej   ]
                      [ N o   ]

6  Krista:   så'   det så hyggeligt om aftenen      ikk'=
             then's it so cosy      in evening-the  not=
             it's so cosy in the evening, right

7  Fie:      =Jah. [Men   de]t  syn's [Al'så    v'   .hhh Det]
             =Ja.  [But   th]at think [You-know w'   .hhh That]
             =Yes. [But  so ] do      [You know w'   .hhh It ]

8  Krista:        [ Al'så:]          [Al'så    ås'  det    der]
                  [You-know]          [You-know also that there]
                  [You know]          [You know as well that    ]

9  Fie:      PAsser os meget [fint ]
             SUits  us  very [fine ]
             suits us   very [fine ]
```

The cases in this section all have in common that the use of negation following a positively framed utterance implements actions normally associated with dispreference, in the case of preliminaries, disconfirmation, in the case of self-deprecations, disagreement. These actions however, because of their context, have been shown to be preferred actions. Thus, it is exactly because of the negative features carried by *nej*, the fact that a negative response in these cases do do negation of a positively framed prior utterance (and thus implements

disconfirmation or disagreement), that a negative response is seen as preferred in these contexts.

Similarly the negative polarity of the particle *nej* directly negating something prior is relevant for other actions which are not as readily associated with dispreference, those involving repair and the expressing of disbelief. The use of *nej* in relation to these two actions will be discussed separately below.

2.2.2 Nej *initiating repair*

In his discussion of the features of turn-initial *no,* Schegloff (2001) suggests that when this is produced in third position repairs, this is yet another instance where the use of dispreferred terms such as 'disagreement' or 'rejection' are not relevant.

This of course does not entail that repair cannot be seen as a dispreferred action and indeed, there seems to be a hierarchy within repair, from the most preferred to the most dispreferred type of repair. Thus Schegloff (1992), (1993), (1997) and (2000) notes that in interaction there is a general preference for self-initiated self-repair (see Schegloff et al., 1977 on the preference for self-initiated self-repair) at one end of the scale, over other-initiated, other-repair at the other end.

Cases such as extract (36) and (37) below, cases of same turn self-repair, then clearly belong to the category of most preferred types of repair.

Extract (36): TH/S2/49/Fie & Ester/rep1

```
((Ester and her friend Dorthe went to a nursery to collect a cherry tree, a
present from Dorthe to Ester. Dorthe had also ordered a palm for herself.))

1   Ester:                                          [N]åh Å'
                                                    [O]h and
                                                    [O]h and


2             hva' hedder det-
              what is-called it-
              what's it called-

3             (.)
              (.)
              (.)

4 Ester:      Ø:hh Vi fandt ås' den der e:h     (.)
              E:hh We found also that there e:h (.)
              E:hh We found that e:h              (.)
```

```
5          →        .hh breg- Nej hva' hed      den P[ALme ]
                    .hh fer- Nej what was-called it P[Alm  ]
                    .hh fer- No what was it called  P[Alm  ]

6  Fie:                                        [Palme] Jah
                                               [Palm ] Ja
                                               [Palm ] Yes
```

In L4 Ester displays herself as having problems producing her projected turn, first by the hedged *e:h*, secondly by the short pause, together indicating that a word search has been launched. In L5 Ester starts the production of something which could be the item searched for: a 'fern', or in Danish *bregne*, an item which fits not only with regard to grammar in that it is a noun (as has been projected in L4) but also with regard to its semantic category as being a plant, which would be something one would find in a nursery. Ester however breaks off the production of this noun in L5, marking it as being wrong through the production of *nej*: she subsequently produces another noun from the same semantic category, a 'palm' or *palme*, this item being projected through an overtly displayed search, *hva' hed den* 'what was it called' also in L5. In this way the negative particle indicates that what was produced beforehand was wrong and that the correct item will be searched for and produced subsequently.

Likewise in extract (37), L2, Ester interrupts herself after having almost produced two different time references, both of them incorrect. The interruption is done through the production of *nej* and in this case the search is done even more openly than in extract (36) in that Ester states her need to find the correct time outside of the interaction, in the folder where the ferry times are scheduled. [39]

---

[39] It is worth noticing, that in both of the extracts the production of *nej* initiates a different action within the repair sequence, that is one of 'searching'. Thus, in extract (36), subsequent to the production of *nej*, Ester overtly displays searching for the right item, whereas in extract (37), the searching is done outside of the interaction, consulting with a route schedule, a search which is announced with 'let me just have a look', immediately subsequent to the production of *nej*. This is similar to the use of *nej* as a marker of transition between activities, as will be discussed below, and it could be argued that this is the role of *nej* here as well.

Extract (37): TH/S2/56/Fie & Ester/Neg383

```
((Ester is taking her nephew Mathias on a trip to Copenhagen and is arranging for
Mathias to meet her on the mainland, where the ferry comes in.))


1  Ester:       Så mødes    vi der.    Kl[okken] (.) Hvornår
                Then meet(r)we there. O'c[lock ] (.)  When
                Then we'll meet there. At[     ] (.)  When


2           →   var det den var inde, fjo- hva'he fem: Nejh
                was it it was   in,  fou- what-he fi:ve Nej
                was it it was in harbour,fou-whathe five Noh


3               (.)
                (.)
                (.)


4  Ester:       Nu ska' jeg li' kigge.
                Now shall I just look.
                Let me just have a look.


5               (.)
                (.)
                (.)


6  Ester:       °Ærøskøbing°=Den sejler femten femten
                °Ærøskøbing°=It sails   fifteen  fifteen
                °Ærøskøbing°=It leaves  quarter past three


7               så' den inde (.) seksten tredve ikk'¿
                so's it in   (.) sixteen thirty not¿
                then it's in harbour(.)half past four right¿
```

It cannot be argued that the repairs in (36) and (37) are dispreferred; it is simply that a mistake has been or is about to be made and that this mistake needs correcting before the speaker continues her turn. The role of the negative particle *nej* is to mark the realisation that a mistake has been made and to interrupt the ongoing turn to make repair possible. In this way, the negative polarity of *nej* is relevant, as it is specifically that which marks the incorrectness of what has been produced thus far: it negates the correctness of the prior item produced (or nearly produced), in extract (36) the fern and in extract (37) the time references fourteen and fifteen. The particle *nej* in this way is deployed to negate something prior, but as in the case of preliminaries and self-deprecations, this

'negative' use of *nej* does not result in the production of a dispreferred action as such.

Likewise, even when *nej* is used more directly as a correctional device, there is evidence that this is not a dispreferred action as such. Thus, speakers can produce inquiries where two, often contrasting alternatives are provided, each of which the recipient is then invited to confirm or disconfirm as being correct.

This is the case for instance with 'or'-inquiries such as 'Are you leaving today or tomorrow?' A 'no'-response in these as in other positive contexts in effect disconfirms the prior turn (or something in that turn), and initiates repair of some item in the prior turn. At the same time however the repair creates a position in which the recipient of the 'or'-inquiry can also provide the correct alternative. A 'no'-response in this context cannot be seen to be dispreferred, in that the prior turn was specifically designed to invite a 'no'-response in which the recipient can delete the wrong alternative and mark the correct one.[40]

For instance, in extracts (38) a first speaker constructs her turn as a question with at least two possible alternative answers, through the Danish equivalent of an 'or'-inquiry, an *eller*-construction.

Extract (38) : TH/S2/33/Malte & Fie/Neg289

```
((Malte has called Mathias to get a computer game back. Mathias isn't home so
Malte talks to his mother Fie instead.))

1   Fie:          .hh (.) A' det no'et me' du ska' rejse i
                  .hh (.) Is it something with you shall leave
                  .hh (.) Is there something about you leaving

2                 dag, eller så no'et,
                  today, or so such,
                  today, or something,
```

---

[40] As demonstrated by Lindström (1999) for Swedish, 'or'-inquiries relaxes the preference structure of an utterance to facilitate a 'no'-response, because the participant through producing an 'or'-inquiry:

> '… reveals a speaker anticipation of possible recipient resistance to the action engaged in with the or-inquiry.'
>
> Lindström (1999), pp55.

The or-inquiries discussed by Lindström (1999) are oriented to as being complete after the *eller* 'or', in contrast to the cases discussed here, where *eller* is used to tie together two alternative suggestions. Nevertheless the 'or'-inquiries discussed here also relaxes the preference structure

```
3   Malte: →    Nej det ska'j'  i morgen   [å' han har]
                Nej that shalll-I tomorrow [and he has]
                No I'm leaving tomorrow    [and he has]


4   Fie:                              [ i morgen.]
                                      [ tomorrow.]
                                      [tomorrow. ]


5   Malte:     lånt et spil a' mig å' det ve' jeg gerne
               borrowed a  game of me and that will I like-
               borrowed a game from me and I'd just like to


6              li' ha' te'bage inden.
               to just have  back before.
               have that back before.
```

Through her turn in L1-2 Fie displays that she is aware of the fact that Malte is going on holiday within the next couple of days and thus that she realises that there is some urgency involved in Malte getting hold of Mathias and his computer game. Through the use of *eller så no'et* 'or something' Fie displays her uncertainty about when exactly it is that Malte is leaving, which makes it relevant for Malte to provide this information more specifically. This is done in L3, where Malte first disconfirms Fie's suggestion that it was 'today', then provides the correct alternative, the exact time at when he's leaving as 'tomorrow'. Thus, though *nej* here does initiate other repair, this repair has in effect been 'requested' through the construction of Fie's turn in L1-2.

The same is the case in extract (39), L3. Again the speaker producing the 'or'-inquiry is dependent on having the recipient mark which item is wrong and which is right.

Extract (39) : TH/S2/16/Fie & Færgen/Neg217

```
((Fie is the manager of a ferry company, Ib is the captain of the ferry. Outside
of her office hours a friend has called Fie to make a booking for the day after.
To make sure that this booking is secured Fie has called Ib on the ferry to have
him put down the booking in the book. The extract begins where Fie provides the
details of the booking, starting with the registration number on the car.))


1 Fie:         .hh Å' den hedder x:: p
               .hh And it is-called x:: p
               .hh And it's called x:: p
```

---

towards a 'no'response, though it is not done by orienting to a possible recipient resistance towards the inquiry.

```
2                   (.)
                    (.)
                    (.)

3 Ib:              x p eller t
                   x p  or    t
                   x p or    t

4 Fie: →           Nej p (.) so[m  ] Peter=
                   Nej p (.) as[    ] Peter=
                   No p  (.) as[    ) Peter=

5 Ib:                         [Ja ]
                              [Ja ]
                              [Yes]

6 Ib:              =Jerh.
                   =Ja.
                   =Yeah.

7 Fie:             .hh streg h t,
                   .hh dash  h t,
                   .hh dash h   t,

8 Ib:              Jerh
                   Ja
                   Yeah
```

Through his production of two phonetically close alternative letters, Ib displays that he has a problem recognising a specific letter in the registration number, and in this way his turn directly invites a response where the incorrect letter is disconfirmed and the right letter confirmed. This is exactly what Fie provides in L4, firstly disconfirming the incorrect letter through the production of *nej* and subsequently producing the correct letter in a manner which makes it easier to hear.

Thus, as in extract (38), the disconfirmation or repair produced in L4 through the use of *nej* is implementing the requested, preferred response in the specific context. In contrast, a confirming 'yes'-response in these cases would have left the prior speaker not knowing the response to their own question. In extract (38), Fie would not know whether Malte was leaving today or at some later time; in extract (39) Ib would not know whether *p* or *t* was the correct letter.

There is subsequent evidence pointing towards the repair or correction as being preferred as well, as in both cases the responding speaker confirms the receipt of the corrected item, in extract (38) through repetition, in extract (39) through a confirmation marker. Thus, though the negative response particle *nej* in these cases embody an action associated with dispreference (i.e. disconfirmation) this is done as a vehicle for confirming the correct item provided by the prior speaker and as such the production of the negative particle *nej* can hardly be argued to be dispreferred in this context. On the contrary, the participants appear to be orienting to this action of repair/correction as relevant and perhaps even crucial to the subsequent interaction.

As in the section on preliminaries and self-deprecations, in the cases of repair/correction discussed here, we have instances where a negative response particle is used for negating something prior, here specifically an item in either a speakers own turn (in the case of self-initiated self-repair), or in the prior speakers turn (in the case of other-repair/correction). As demonstrated above, neither of these 'negative' uses of *nej* can be said to embody dispreferred actions, in the case of self-initiated self-repair because this type of repair is preferred over all other types of repair; in the case of other-repair/correction because this action has in fact been invited through the formatting of the prior turn as an 'or'-inquiry.

In the section below I will discuss yet another sequential context in which *nej* is used for negating something in the prior turn, again without embodying a dispreferred action.

2.2.3 'No::hh Really?': negation displaying emotional stance

In this section I look at utterances used for announcing good or bad news, inviting the recipient to evaluate this news. I demonstrate that the negative response particle *nej* in this sequential context is produced as a way of evaluating news and expressing mock disbelief. This is for instance the case in extract (40) where Fie announces some good news to Krista, that her daughter has received a travel grant.

Extract (40) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg38

```
((Fie's daughter has received a travel grant. Fie is giving the good news to
Krista.))

1  Fie:          .hhh Å' Tine hun a' så glad.
                 .hhh And Tine she is so happy.
                 .hhh And Tine is so happy
```

```
2  Krista:       Det'v' godt
                 That'w'good
                 That's good


3                (.)
                 (.)
                 (.)


4 Fie:           Hun (.) modtog    me' posten   en check på
                 She (.) received with mail-the a cheque on
                 She (.) received a cheque for twenty five


5                femå'tyvetusind         kroner i tirsdags.
                 five-and-twenty-thousand kroner in Tuesday.
                 thousand kroner by mail on Tuesday


6 Krista: →      N↑ejhh
                 Nej
                 N↑ohh


7  Fie:          .hhh Et l- Et rejselegat.
                 .hhh A  l- A travel-grant.
                 .hhh A  l- A travel grant


8  Krista:       Nejh [hvor    dejligt]
                 Nej  [how     lovely ]
                 Oh   [how   lovely   ]
```

Krista's response to the good news delivered by Fie in L4-5 is the production of the negative response particle *nej* in L6. This response in effect negates the prior, denying the state of affairs expressed in that utterance. Because of the action done through that prior turn however, this denial is not dispreferred, rather it is to be understood as a mock expression of disbelief, on the line of 'I cannot believe what you are telling me'.

In this way, Krista's response is not only marking the prior turn as delivering news, but evaluates this news as unbelievable or incredible; and perhaps in this way as being particularly news worthy. In this case the news is furthermore treated as good news, through the way in which the negative response particle *nej* is articulated: with rising pitch and

emphasis.[41] Clearly this evaluation is exactly what Fie has built her turn to receive, and the production of the response particle again cannot be understood to implement any dispreffered action in this context.

Similarly, in extract (41) a news announcement is responded to with *nej* also to express disbelief. In this case the 'good news' evaluation is even more prominent as the evaluative effect of *nej* is further emphasised by the material added after the response particle.

Extract (41) : TH/S2/2/Mathias & Claus/Neg136

```
((Claus is describing his achievements in a computer game.))

1 Claus:      S' skærer de en ned, så ka' man få lov
              Then cut they one down, then can one get allowed
              Then they cut you down, then you're allowed

2             te' å' kæmpe. (.) mod dem.=Å' det' no'et
              to to fight. (.) against them.=And that's something
              to fight.   (.) against them. And that's something

3             me' a' det a': (f)fyrre eller så no'et.
              with that it is (f)forty or so-something.
              like that it's (f)forty (of them) or something.

4 Mathias: →  .HHhh Ej hvor hygget!
              .HHhh Nej how  cosied!
              .HHhh Oh  how cosy!
```

Here, Mathias's evaluative response in L4 is produced in orientation to Claus's description of various situations in a computer game. For these participants, both teenagers, achievements are measured in comparison to the level of difficulty, so having to fight against 40 opponents, even if they are midgets, obviously marks the computer game as being a good one. This is oriented to by Mathias in L4, where he produces an evaluation of this situation as described by Claus. The evaluation is initiated[42] through the production of *Ej*, a variation of *nej*, but is further emphasised through

---

[41] See extract (42) and (43) for contrasting examples where the intonation is falling and no emphatic stress is added and where consequently the negative response particle is orienting to the news delivery in the prior turn as being bad news.
[42] The inbreath produced before the *nej* is loud and abrupt and it is highly likely that this constitutes part of the evaluation as well or at least project that it is an evaluation which is about to be produced.

the production of a continuation where Mathias overtly expresses his evaluation of this as good news, or *hygget* 'cosy', their term for cool.[43]

As can be seen from extracts (40) and (41), the negative particle can either occur as an evaluative response on its own, or it can be followed by more material which helps to access the prior turn. Whether this is the case or not, the negative marker, when produced as an evaluative response, is always phonetically marked, particularly through heavy stress, emphatic intonation and breathiness. Furthermore, the negative features of the particle *nej* emphasises the display of disbelief, by negating the prior positively framed utterance and in this way in effect either disagreeing with, disconfirming or correcting that utterance. In combination with the 'exaggerated' use of phonetic features, this creates the effect of 'mock disbelief', on the line of 'no, I don't believe you'.

However, the negative features of *nej* do not appear to have any consequences for the valence of the actual assessment, since the negative particle can be used both for assessing the prior turn as delivering good, positive news, as in (40) and (41) above, as well as for marking bad, negative news as in extracts (42) and (43).

Extract (42) : TH/S2/14/Ulrikke & Fie/Neg192

```
((Ulrikke and Fie are old friends who only see each other when Ulrikke is staying
in her holiday house close to where Fie lives. Ulrikke is telling Fie when she
will be coming over next.))

1  Ulrikke:     =Ja  [To] uger   i  septemb[er]
                =Ja  [Tw]o weeks in septemb[er]
                =Yes [Tw]o weeks in septemb[er]

2  Fie:            [Ja]                    [Ja]h (.) Da' vi i
                   [Ja]                    [Ja]  (.) Then're we in
                   [Ye]s                   [Ye]s (.) We'll be in

3                Frankrig
                 France
                 France then

4  Ulrikke: →   =Nejh.
                =Nej.
```

---

[43] Even in Danish this seems a rather strange use of the term *hyggelig* which is normally associated with candles, snuggling up under a quilt, drinking tea while being the exact opposite of 'scary', *uhyggelig*. According to Toril Opsahl (p.c.) however this (mis)use of terms is commonly found in interactions between teenagers creating their own 'in-group language'.

```
=Noh.
```

Here Fie's turn in L2-3 conveys that she and her family will not be around when Ulrikke and her husband are taking their holiday later in the year. Ulrikke's *nej* in L4 displays her disbelief over Fie going away *exactly* at the time when Ulrikke and her family are visiting, as in extract (40) and (41); but this time she evaluates the news as negative. The valence of the evaluation is partly displayed through the way in which *nej* is articulated, with falling intonation and in a 'disappointed' mode, but is also understood as such due to the context in which it is produced, as a response to a 'bad news' delivery.

In extract (43), the evaluation of the prior turn as 'bad news' is further emphasised through the production of the explicit evaluation produced in L6, but again it should be obvious that the negative response particle in itself implements a negative evaluation through it's marked articulation of 'creaky voice' and falling pitch.

Extract (43) : TH/S2/14/Ulrikke & Fie/Neg193

```
((Ulrikke has enquired about the weather and as part of her response Fie describes
the conditions when she took her son on a cycle trip.))

1  Fie:        .hhh [Mathias å' jeg v]ar på: cykeltur på Lolland,
                .hhh [Mathias and I we]re on cycletrip on Lolland
                .hhh [Mathias and I we]re on a cycle trip on L,

2  Ulrikke:        [(°            °)]
                   [(°            °)]
                   [(°            °)]

3  Ulrikke:    ↑Jerh=
               Ja=
               ↑Yeah=

4  Fie:        =Å' havde treå'tredve grader
               =And had  threeandthirty degrees
               =And had thirty-three degrees

5              hve[r- (.) I tre    d]age=
               eve[r- (.) In three d]ays=
               eve[r- (.) For three ]days=

6  Ulrikke:       [ *Ræ:dselsfuldt  ]
```

```
                     [  *Ho:rrible      ]
                     [  *Ho:rrible      ]

7  Ulrikke: →  =*Nejh.
               =*Nej.
               =*Noh.

8  Fie:        På cykel   .hhh [Men] Vi overlevede
               On bicycle .hhh [But] We survived
               On bicycle .hhh [But] We survived

9  Ulrikke:                    [( )]
                               [( )]
                               [( )]

10             (.)
               (.)
               (.)

11 Ulrikke:    Jah=
               Ja=
               Yes=
```

These two extracts, when compared to extracts (40) and (41), then clearly show that in these context any potential negative polarity carried by the negative marker has no effect what so ever on whether an evaluation of some prior delivered news will be understood as negative or positive. Nevertheless, when an evaluation is implemented through the production of *nej*, the negative features of this particle is present in the response as an expression of disbelief, an action which we might term 'negative'. Thus, the sequential position of *nej*, as an evaluative action in response to a news delivery has consequences for how *nej* is understood: as an expression of mock disbelief that marks the news delivered as unbelievable or incredible, independently of whether this is evaluated as good or bad news. The negative response particle *nej* in this context then embodies exactly the type of response that the prior turn has invited, and as such is clearly not used for implementing a dispreferred action.

2.2.4 Nej *as a response to questions that convey reversed polarity*
The negative features of the particle *nej* have been shown above to be relevant for the action implemented by the production of the particle; disagreements, corrections and expressions of disbelief respectively. At the same time however it is evident that the negative feature or polarity

of the particle does not always have an effect on the preference structure, in the sense that its application can be just as preferred in a positively framed context as in a negative. For instance, though an utterance is positively framed, it can be designed specifically to receive a negatively framed response, as is the case for evaluations described immediately above.

Along the same lines, Koshik (2002) argues that positively framed utterance such as interrogatives can perfectly well convey a preference for a negative response through its sequential positioning. For instance in extract (44), Jens asks for professional advice about how much cement he'll need for his floor, having earlier indicated how much *he* thinks he needs.

Extract (44) : TH/S2/58/ Jens & beton/Neg389

```
((Jens has called to order some cement for laying a floor.))

1   Jens:      .hh E:hm Jeg sku' så'n bruge omkring e:hh en
               .hh E:hm I should like-this use about e:hh one
               .hh E:hm I need sort of about e:hh one

2   Jens:      komma hh syv kubikmeter
               comma hh seven cubic meters
               point hh seven cubic meters

3   Beton:     En komma syv meter=Jah,
               One comma seven meters=Ja,
               One point seven meters=Yes,

4   Jens:      .hh Mene:h Jeg må nok hellere få lidt ekstra
               .hh Bute:h I must probably rather get little extra
               .hh Bute:h I'd probably better get a little bit

5              tror du ikk'
               think you not
               extra don't you think

6   Beton:     Jo:h
               Jo
               Ye:s

               ((Fourteen lines omitted))

21  Jens:      (A'- a') Bli'r to for meget tror du
               (A'- a') Becomes two too much think you
```

```
                    (A'- a') Will two be too much do you think

22                  (.)
                    (.)
                    (.)

23 Beton:           (Jahm') det' svært å' (vide) Al'så
                    (Ja but) that's difficult to (know) You-know
                    (Yesbut) that's hard to     (know) You know

24                  (.)
                    (.)
                    (.)

25 Beton:           hv- Hvor stort a' gulv[et   ]
                    ho- How  big  is  floo[r-the]
                    ho- How big is the flo[or    ]

26 Jens:                                   [.h h ]h Jah de:t e:r: Jeg
                                           [.h h ]h Ja i:t  i:s: I
                                           [.h h ]h Yes i:t i:s: I'm

27                  regner me' å' sø- støbe i ti centimeter å' det
                    count with to sø- found in ten centimetres and it
                    counting on doing the foundation in ten centimetres

28                  er eneh en seksten kvadratmeter
                    is aeh a   sixteen square-meters
                    and it iseh about sixteen square meters

29 Beton:           Seksten kvadratmeter ja
                    Sixteen square-meters ja
                    Sixteen square meters yes

30                  (.)
                    (.)
                    (.)

31 Beton:           A' så lidt te' grunden å' det der
                    And then little to plot-the and that there
                    And then a bit to the plot and stuff

32                  (.)
                    (.)
                    (.)

33 Beton: →         Nej det tror jeg sgu'itt' det gør=Det svinder
```

```
                 Nej that think I bloody-well not it does=It shrinks
                 No I don't bloody well think it will=It shrinks

34               lidt når det bli'r (.)
                 little when it becomes (.)
                 a bit when it goes (.)
```

When in L21 Jens enquires from Beton whether 2 cubic meters of cement will be too much, he has already specified in L1-5 that he himself thinks that he needs a little bit more than 1.7 cubic meters. For the purpose of measuring the cement, a little bit more than 1.7 cubic meters can be easily rounded up to 2 cubic meters. In Koshik's (2002) terms, the interrogative produced by Jens in L21 has conveyed reversed polarity: because of its sequential position, following Jens's prior statement in L1-5, his question conveys that in this context the preferred response would indeed be one of reversed polarity. When in L33-34 Beton finally does provide a response to Jens's question in L21 this is initiated through the production of the negative marker *nej* and is as such dispreferred, in that it disconfirms that 2 cubic meters will be too much. However, since Jens has already indicated that he doesn't think that 2 cubic meters will be too much (by stating in L1-5 that he needs a bit more than 1.7 cubic meters) Jens's question is in effect designed to prefer a disconfirming response, one that will agree with or confirm his previously displayed assumption, that 2 cubic meters is indeed not too much. Thus, because of the sequential position in which Jens's question is produced, Beton's response is in fact preferred in relation to the overall sequence, though it disconfirms the immediate prior turn.

It is however not only the sequential position of Jens's interrogative in L21 that makes it prefer a negative, disconfirming response. The use of the term *for meget* 'too much' in the interrogative helps convey the assertion that Jens himself believes that the amount mentioned will *not* be too much.

Likewise, the question in L4, extract (45) conveys a preference for a 'no'-response, despite its positive framing, because of the presence of the word *da* 'then', as well as the formulation *Er det noget* 'is it something'. These words strongly question the presupposition otherwise present in the question, that the phone should be paid immediately, and as such steer the whole structure towards preferring a negatively framed response as the agreeing one.

Extract (45) : TH/S2/139/Torben & Jens 2/Neg507

```
((Torben and Jens used to own a boat together which has now been taken over by
Jens and a third party. Torben had a mobile phone put in his name for use on the
boat and now wants to change or cancel it before the next payment is due.))

1   Jens:          [Ja  det'     jo    ikk' noget  ] der-
                   [Ja  that's you-know not something] there-
                   [Yes it's surely    nothing      ] that-

2              Der'     jo    ikk' noget    der:
               There's you-know not something there:
               There's nothing there you know

3              (.)
               (.)
               (.)

4   Jens:      Er det noget   der ska' betales   nu da eller hva'?
               Is it something that shall pay now then or what?
               Is it something that needs paying now then or what?

5   Torben: →  Nejh: det  ska' det    jo     her  slut(        ) af
               Nej  that shall it you-know here end  (        ) of
               Noh: it needs (paying) here by the end (        ) of

6              måneden    men al'så
               month-the but you-know
               the month but you know
```

That positively framed utterances can be designed specifically to receive a negatively framed response as the preferred (disconfirming) response is particularly evident from extract (45) above. Here, Torben in his response shows a strong orientation to the general preference for agreement, by first responding in the preferred way with a negatively framed response disconfirming that the phone needs paying 'now'. However, the continuation of his response contradicts this disconfirmation, by specifying that the phone needs paying at the end of the month. As the phone call is made around the 20th this latter contribution implies that the phone does indeed need paying 'now', or at least 'very soon' and as such is a downgraded disagreement. By placing the negative response particle before this dispreferred response, Torben clearly shows his understanding of Jens's question as being designed for a

negatively framed disconfirmation as the *preferred* response, using this to delay the production of a more dispreferred action.

As was shown to be the case for the other types of actions done through the production of *nej* in this section, the particle here initiates a *preferred* response to questions with conveyed polarity. And as in the other cases discussed so far, this preferredness is created through the implementation of actions that are generally associated with dispreference; disagreements and disconfirmations. It seems then, that when *nej* is produced as a response to positively framed utterances (or for the case of correction/repair in a positively framed context) its negative features *can* be associated with doing 'negative actions' such as disbelief, disagreement, correction and disconfirmation.

However, in most of these cases these dispreferred actions are in fact preferred in that the prior turn was specifically designed for actions such as correction, disconfirmation, disagreement etc. This emphasises the importance of separating a linguistic category such as 'negation' from the more interactional term 'dispreference' and in particular that the study of negation is not solely a study of preference structure; instead negation needs to be studied for the action it implements in its context of use.

2.2.5 Nej *as a marker of transition*

This separation of preference and negation (or polarity in general) becomes even more obviously necessary when we are no longer dealing with negative structures as direct responsive actions such as confirmation and agreement, or their dispreferred equivalents.

Schegloff (2001) demonstrates for English that turn-initial *no* can be used to mark a transition from just preceding, 'non-serious' talk, to what will follow and is designedly 'serious'. This is the case in Danish as well, as in extract (46) and (47).

Extract (46) : TH/S2/10/Kaj & Jens/Neg179

```
((Jens has ordered some paint at the local ship yard for his boat. The ship yard
normally deals with much larger orders and as Kaj, the person in charge of the
ordering is going on holiday, he tells Jens that he won't get billed until he gets
round to writing one for him.))

1   Jens:    Al'så regninger de må godt de må godt
             You-know bills they may well they may well
             You know bills they can they can

2            vente lang tid
```

```
             wait long time
             wait a long time

3   Kaj:     Nå det må  [de   g(h)odt]
             Oh that may [they w(h)ell]
             Oh          [they c(h)an ]

4   Jens:                [ hehu he  ja]hahahaha[ .hhh (( laughter
                         [  hehu he ja]hehehehe[ .hhh (( laughter
                         [  hehu he ye]hehehehe[ .hhh (( laughter

5   Kaj:                                       [(Det ska' ja::
                                                [(That shall I::
                                                [( I'll  note-

6   Jens:    laughter                          ]
             laughter                          ]
             laughter                          ]

7   Kaj:     note- notere (                    )]
             note- note   (                    )]
             note that    (                    )]

8   Jens:    laughter          [     )) .hhh]
             laughter          [     )) .hhh]
             laughter          [     )) .hhh]

9   Kaj:  →                    [Ej fordi  jeg ] har ikk'
                               [Nej because I ] have not
                               [No because  I ] haven't

10           priserne på det.=
             prices-the on it.=
             got the prices for it.=

11  Jens:    =Nej det ved jeg  [godt. Se'fø'li' de- d-]
             =Nej that know I   [well. Off course de-d-]
             =No  I  know       [that. Off course it'- ]
```

The joking sequence is initiated by Jens in L1, after Kaj has stated that he won't be able to write out a bill for Jens at the time at which he collects some paint he's ordered. When both participants have joined in the sequence and done the action of 'laughing together', Kaj returns to the issue of the bill and thus to 'seriousness', through the production of a

turn-initial *Ej*.[44] The return to 'seriousness' is unproblematically picked up by Jens in L11 and as such it is evident that the participants themselves treat the negative particle as a transition marker. In this case, the particle *nej* is not produced specifically for its negative features in orientation to any preference structure in the prior turn, though perhaps the negative features help the participants to orient to its application as marking something special being done.

This is similar to the action of self-correction or repair discussed above, the similarity being particularly evident in extract (47) where Jens returns to 'seriousness' by rejecting his own prior joke initiator.

Extract (47) : TH/S2/45/Jens & Martin/Neg317

```
((From the beginning of the call.))

1   Jens:       [G]o'morgen    M[a r t i n .=]Vækkede
                [G]ood-morning M[a r t i n .=]Waked
                [G]ood morning M[a r t i n .=] Did I

2   Martin:                       [  Go'morgen ]
                                  [Good morning]
                                  [Good morning]

3   Jens:       jeg dig¿
                I   you¿
                wake you up¿

4   Martin:     Nej det gjorde du ikk', jeg sidder å'
                Nej that  did  you not,   i sit     and
                No you didn't, I'm sitting here drinking

5               drikker morg[en k aff]e.
                drink   morn[ingcoffe]e
                my      morni[ng coffe]e.

6   Jens:                      [ . h  h ]
                               [ . h  h ]
                               [ . h  h ]

7   Jens:       Ja   det tænkte jeg nok. Jeg har   j'    siddet her
```

---

[44] Incidently, or perhaps not, in both cases where the negative response particle is used as a transition marker to get from a joking sequence and back to serious, the particle is articulated without the nasal (n), the articulation that seems to have a tendency towards being used for projecting disagreement. At the moment I have too few cases of *nej* as a boundary/transition marker to establish whether this is a recurrent pattern.

```
              Ja that thought I enough. I have you-know sat here
              Yes I thought so. You know I've been sat here

8             å'  ventet to timer  før- Jeg turde
              and waited two hours befor- I dared
              waiting for two hours befor- I didn't dare

9             [ikk' ringe før    jo       vel]
              [not call  before you-know right]
              [call before that you know, righ]t

10  Martin:   [ °hehe°  å h a h h a h a h a jh]aha Nejnej
              [ °hehe°  å h a h h a h a h a jh]aha Nejnej
              [ °hehe°  å h a h h a h a h a jh]aha No no

11            det' klart.
              that's clear.
              of course not.

12 Jens: →    *Ej* det har jeg ikk' [. h h h  ]
              Nej  that have I not  [. h h h  ]
              *No* I haven't        [. h h h  ]
```

As noted in the section on repair/correction, it could be argued that the negative particle in these cases was applied so as to mark the transition between the actions of self-repair on the one hand and the search for a linguistic item on the other. That the negative particle is also used to mark the boundary between 'joking' and 'seriousness' suggests that it is used more generally as a boundary marker between actions or sequences. And indeed, it is not only the transition from 'joke' to 'serious' or from repair initiation to word searching, that can be marked by the production of turn-initial *nej*. In fact, it seems that transitions between activities in general, are frequently marked by the production of turn-initial *nej*, as in extract (48), where Jens shifts from the activity of 'enquiring', to the activity of 'accounting' or 'explaining'.

Extract (48) : TH/S2/9/Fie & Jens/Neg173

```
((Jens has called his wife at work to ask her about something. Fie was busy on
another phone line and Jens asked the secretary to have her call him back.))

1   Jens:     *Jah* det' Jens.
              Ja it's Jens.
              *Yes* it's Jens.
```

```
2  Fie:       Ve' du  tale    me' [mig¿]
              Will you speak with [me ¿]
              Did you want to talk[ to ]me¿


3  Jens:                           [ .hh] Ja har Kaj været der¿
                                   [ .hh] Ja has Kaj been there¿
                                    [ .hh] Yes has Kaj been there¿


4             (.)
              (.)
              (.)


5  Fie:       [Hva' for'en] Kaj skat¿
              [What for a ] Kaj dear¿
              [Which      ] Kaj dear¿


6  Jens:      [ . h h h   ]
              [ . h h h   ]
              [ . h h h   ]


7  Jens:      *Ø:hh:* Kaj >ovre fra motorfabrikken,<
              *E:hh:* Kaj >over from motor-factory-the,<
              *E:hh:* Kaj >from the ship yard,<


8  Fie:       Nej=
              Nej=
              No=


9  Jens:      =>Har han ringet<
              =>Has he  called<
              =>Has he called<


10            (.)
              (.)
              (.)


11 Fie:       Ø::h Nej.
              E::h Nej.
              E::h No.


12 Jens: →    Godt. (.) >.hh< Ej det var fordi han har
              Good. (.) >.hh< Nej it was because he has
              Good. (.) >.hh< No it's because he's


13            ringet hjem å' jeg ka' ikk' få fat i ham nu.
              called home and I can not get hold of him now.
              called me at home and I can't get hold of him now.
```

```
14              .hh[fh  ] Jeg regner me' det' min maling
                .hh[fh  ]  I expect with it's my paint
                .hh[fh  ] I'm assuming that it's my paint

15   Fie:       [Nej.]
                [Nej.]
                [No. ]

16   Jens:      der'  kommet  å'   så [ska' jeg  ha' den   hentet  ]
                there's come and then [shall I have it collected  ]
                that's arrived and the[n I'll have to collected it]
```

Here Fie is left somewhat puzzled by her husband's abrupt questioning. Jens, having finished his questioning and evaluated the response (in L12) orients to this abruptness by launching an account of why he was asking her in the first place. This shift between the activity of questioning and the activity of accounting is marked by the production of the negative response particle *nej*, parallel to the transition in extract (47). Thus it seems that *nej* is not only a marker of transition between the specific activities of 'joking' and 'seriousness', but between activities in general.

Clearly, as is stated by Schegloff (2001) for the more specific transition marker between joking and seriousness, such uses of *nej* cannot be understood as dispreferred. If anything the account made by Jens in extract (48) is highly relevant and would have appeared to have been lacking had it not been produced. Thus, this use of the negative response particle *nej* is another instance of a negative structure occurring in context where the prior turn is grammatically positive, without implementing a dispreferred option, just as was argued for the range of other actions described above.

2.2.6 Summary

In the section prior to this I demonstrated that in Danish the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity is strongly oriented to by participants in interaction. Further, that this grammatical preference is typically congruent with the interactional preference for agreement, so that negative responses also embody an interactionally preferred responsive action when produced in response to negatively framed utterances.

In contrast, in this section I focussed instead on cases where the interactional preference for agreement was non-congruent with the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity. Thus, I discussed cases

where negative responses - and other actions initiated by the negative response particle *nej* – were produced in response to, or in the context of, a prior positively framed utterance. I demonstrated, that in these cases, across a large variety of actions, the negative responses are not produced or oriented to as interactionally dispreferred, despite the lack of mirrored polarity.

Thus, as a directly responsive action, the negative response particle *nej* can display a speaker's emotional stance both positively and negatively towards the information provided in the prior turn. *Nej* can also be found to embody the preferred action of disagreeing with self-deprecations or disconfirming pre's, and as a preferred disconfirmation of positively framed questions with conveyed reverse polarity. In addition, the negative particle *nej*, when not directly responsive, can be used to demarcate the transition between activities such as 'joking' and 'being serious' or between 'repair' and 'searching'. Again, it was argued that this latter use is clearly not one of implementing a dispreferred action, but one which is fitted to the context and the activities taking place.

That negative responses (and other negative actions) need not be interactionally dispreferred, even in the context of a prior positively framed utterance further consolidates one of the main issues of this study; that in Danish negative responses cannot be directly linked to dispreferred actions. Rather, the two main sections in this chapter have now together demonstrated that negative responses typically embody preferred actions.[45]

A more important observation can however be made from the discussion of the cases in this section: that when the interactional preference for agreement and the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity are non-congruent, the interactional preference is oriented to as being the most important by the participants. Thus, in all the cases discussed in this section it is the interactional preference that is adhered to, whereas the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity is 'ignored', or breached.

In the following section I also focus on utterances in which the grammatical and interactional preferences are non-congruent, but now where negatively framed utterances are responded to with a positive

---

[45] An interesting aspect of the findings in this section is, that in most of the cases discussed here, where *nej* is used as an interactionally preferred response to a positively framed utterance, its preferredness as a response is an effect of the negative particle's implementation of a *dispreferred* action that happens to be sequentially preferred.

response. Also in these cases the interactional preference for agreement is adhered to and the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity is breached. I will however argue that even though this is so, in the case of positive responses to negatively framed utterances, the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity established in section 2.1 is nevertheless *oriented* to by the participants.

2.3 When interaction and grammar meet: displaying orientation to polarity while producing grammatically dispreferred responses: the case of the response particle jo

In this section I return to the issue of grammatical preference for mirrored polarity, as discussed in section 2.1. There it was demonstrated that the interactionally preference for a 'no'-response typically coincides with a grammatical preference also for a 'no'-response. Here I focus mainly on cases in which these two preference are non-congruent, specifically cases where the interactional preference of an utterance is for a 'yes'-response, whereas the grammatical preference is for a 'no'-response.

As demonstrated in section 2.2, for positively framed utterances, when the two preferences are non-congruent, participants typically orient to the interactional preference as being the most relevant, producing a 'no'-response though this is grammatically dispreferred. This will be shown to be the case for negatively framed utterances as well, so that these are typically responded to with a 'yes'-response that adheres to the interactional preference for agreement when this preference is non-congruent with the grammatical preference for a 'no'-response.

However, I will demonstrate that the grammatical preference for a negative response is nevertheless oriented to in these 'yes'-responses, in that participants through their choice of response token even in these contexts mark that the prior utterance is negatively framed. This is done by using a marked positive response particle, *jo*.

This response particle belongs to the category of 'special' positive answers (Sadock p.c.), as defined by Sadock and Zwicky (1985). As discussed in the introduction, they noted that some languages have available a special 'yes'-answer, one that according to them serves to resolve the potential ambiguity of how a negative interrogative and a corresponding 'yes'-response should be understood: a negative interrogative such as 'Isn't it raining?' can be understood as displaying either that the speaker thinks that it is raining, or as asking whether it is true that it is not raining. As a consequence of this ambiguity Sadock and

Zwicky (1985) further observed that a corresponding 'yes'-response could be ambiguous as well. Thus, a 'yes'-response to 'Isn't it raining?' can be understood either as agreeing with the prior speakers guess or expectation that it is raining, or as confirming that it is true that it is not raining.

Sadock and Zwicky (1985) argued that this ambiguity is resolved in some languages by the presence of a special positive answer that explicitly marks that a positive answer is being given to a negatively biased question. However, as was briefly discussed in the introduction the potential ambiguity described by Sadock and Zwicky (1985) does not appear to exist in naturally-occurring talk, but is dissolved through the sequential position in which a negative interrogative is produced (this issue of negative interrogatives as interactionally non-ambiguous will be developed further in section 2.3.2.2.). Thus, it seems to be unnecessary for a speaker to mark his/her 'yes'-response to a negative interrogative as 'special', at least with regard to issues of ambiguity.

Nevertheless the distribution of the positive response particle *jo* 'yes' in Danish interaction does indicate that this particle is 'special' – or marked, in that it is only deployed in a limited set of contexts in which a 'yes'-response can be produced.

In the following I will discuss the various contexts in which *jo* can be produced. It will be evident from this discussion that *jo* is in fact marked (or 'special'), in that it is used typically as a 'yes'-response to negatively framed utterances. Thus, I will argue that the presence of this special positive response particle in Danish makes it possible for participants to orient to the negative framing of the prior utterance, even when this utterance for interactional reasons receives a 'yes'-response.

As a side-effect of establishing this pattern it should also become apparent that the presence of 'special' positive answers such as *jo* cannot be accounted for in the sense suggested by Sadock and Zwicky (1985); as a response that dissolves ambiguity. Thus, it will be shown that *jo* is deployed as a 'yes'-response not only to negative interrogatives, but also to other types of negatively framed utterances - including utterances that are not ambiguous, even when seen in isolation, outside the sequential context in which they are produced. Furthermore, the fact that negative interrogatives are not interactionally ambiguous, as discussed in the introduction, will be further developed to include also statements followed by negative interrogative tags.

Overall, it will be shown that *jo* is not typically produced in response to prior ambiguous utterances, hence it cannot be the case that this 'special' positive response particle is available in Danish so as to make it possible to disambiguate a prior utterance and its response.

The discussion of the ambiguity of negative interrogative, their 'yes'-responses and languages with 'special' positive answers constitutes only a very small part of the more general typological discussion by Sadock and Zwicky (1985). Furthermore, their arguments are based mainly on reference grammars and speaker intuition, so their basis for making observations is rather weak from a conversational analytic point of view. In the following I will merely point out cases that seems to contradict the observations made by Sadock and Zwicky (1985), while focussing on the more general aim of this section: to establish that the grammatical preference for mirrored negative polarity is oriented to in Danish even when a negatively framed utterance because of interactional relevancies receives a 'yes'-response.

The section is organised as follows:
In section 2.3.1 I briefly discuss how 'yes'-responses are typically done in Danish, when embodying interactionally and grammatically preferred responses to positively framed utterances. In these contexts the positive response particle *ja* 'yes' is produced.

In section 2.3.2 I look at 'yes'-responses produced in the context of a prior negatively framed utterance. These responses occur in three different contexts: as interactionally and grammatically dispreferred responses to negatively framed utterances (section 2.3.2.1); as interactionally preferred responses (typically embodying agreement) to negative interrogatives (section 2.3.2.2) and as interactionally preferred responses (typically embodying confirmation) to statements followed by negative tags (section 2.3.2.3). The action embodied by these 'yes'-responses thus varies, but they all have in common that they are responsive to a prior negatively framed utterance. In these contexts the positive response particle *jo* is produced.

In this way I demonstrate that 'yes'-responses to negatively framed utterances are linguistically different from 'yes'-responses to positively framed utterance. I conclude that this difference is grounded in the fact that in Danish the preference for mirrored (negative) polarity is strongly and consistently oriented to, as also demonstrated in section 2.1. When it is not possible to orient to the grammatical preference through producing

a 'no'-response because of interactional relevancies and preferences, the presence of the marked positive response *jo* in Danish nevertheless makes it possible for a participant to mark that the prior turn was negatively framed.

In section 2.3.2.4 I look at some exceptional cases of this otherwise typical pattern, namely negatively framed utterances with an interactional preference for a 'yes'-response, where this 'yes'-response is not done through *jo*, but through *ja*. I show that this use of *ja* is limited to respond only to a very specific negative construction, the negative tag, and then only in cases where an acknowledgement or continuer is required. I conclude, that in these cases *ja* is used because the production of *jo* displays a stronger affective or epistemic stance towards the prior utterance and the response itself, than is required sequentially.

This notion of *jo* as displaying strong epistemic and affective stance is further explored in section 2.3.2.5, where I look at the distribution of *jo* and *ja* when used for initiating responses to wh-questions.

In section 2.3.3 I summarise the findings of this section and discuss the relevance these have for the overall pattern of negation and negative responses in Danish.

2.3.1 The positive response particle *ja*

In this section I briefly demonstrate that the typical format for responding to positively framed utterances in Danish is through the production of the positive response particle *ja* 'yes'.

As demonstrated in section 2.1 for negatively framed utterances, the polar format of such utterances establishes a grammatical preference for a negative response. Typically, this grammatical preference is congruent with the interactional preference also for a negative response that embodies agreement, affiliation, confirmation, acknowledgement and continuation.

Parallel to this, the positive framing of an utterance typically establishes a grammatical preference for a positive response that also embodies interactionally preferred responses of agreement, affiliation, confirmation, acknowledgement and continuation. The positive response particle used in these typical and most common contexts is *ja*, [46] as used in extract (49), (50) and (51) below.

---

[46] And phonetic variations of *ja* such as *jerh* and *jah*.

Extract (49) : `TH/S2/5/AnneMie & Jens/Pos11`

```
((Gossiping about a local family feud. Jens is describing his meeting with a
member of that family.))

1   Jens:                      [.slk] Jah men han var da: dog
                               [.slk] Ja  but he was surely still
                               [.slk] Yes but he was surely anyway

2            alli'vel jeg Jeg var jo       efter ham her forleden
             anyway    I   I  was you-know after him here other-day
             still I      You know I was pushing him here the other

3            jeg var nede å' hjæ- nede å' hjælpe me' å' sætte
             I   was down and he- down and help with to set
             day, I was down to he- down to help with putting

4            den   der op, å' jeg [ ve'] jo       godt ha' en
             that there up, and I [will] you-know well have a
             that thing up, and I [woul]d really like to have a

5   Mie: →                      [ jah]
                                 [ ja ]
                                 [ yes]

6            permanent udstilling a' den [gaml]es    ti- (Det var
             permanent exhibition of the [old ](gen) ti- (That was
             permanent exhibition of the [old ]mans ti-  (That was

7   Mie: →                      [Jah.]
                                 [Ja. ]
                                 [Yes.]

8            ås'  fint) Vi sku'   bare snakke me' Jette om det.=
             also fine) We should just talk with Jette about it.=
             fine as well),We only needed to talk to Jette about it
```

Here Jens is doing an extended telling about meeting the son of a recently deceased artist, and their discussion about making a permanent exhibition of the artist works in the manor house where Jens works as a volunteer. Mie orients to this as an extended telling by producing continuers in L5 and 7, to show that she is following the talk but not taking the turn. The units to which these continuers are responsive are positively framed, consequently the response particle used as a continuer is also positive: *ja.*

In extract (50) *ja* is used as an acknowledgement token (L2 and L6) and for affiliating (L3 and L10), and again this particle is produced in response to positively framed units or utterances.

Extract (50) : TH/S2/14/Ulrikke & Fie/Pos1

```
((Talking about the weather. Fie lives in Denmark, Ulrikke in Holland.))

1  Ulrikke:    Men i  øjeblikket er det her så koldt
               But in  moment-the is it here so cold
               But at the moment it's so cold here


2  Fie:   →    Jah (.) Jah. Men det a' ås' kun femten grader her
               Ja (.) Ja. But it is also only fifteen degrees here
               Yes(.)Yes.But it's only 15 degrees here as well


3  Ulrikke: → eJahaha
             eJa hehe
             eYehehes


4  Fie:        °.hh° Men vi når alli'vel å' være lidt ude å'
               °.hh° But we reach anyway to  be little out and
               °.hh° But we still manage to spend a little time


5              så no[get     så] det
               so so[mething so] it
               outsi[de and stu]ff so it


6  Ulrikke: →     [*J e r h  ]
                  [ Ja       ]
                  [*Y e a h  ]


7  Fie:        Det' [ikk' så dårligt]
               It's [not  so    bad  ]
               It's [not that bad    ]


8  Ulrikke:       [ J o : h  (   ] det' ås'se) Jeg nægter
                  [Jo        (   ]it's also  ) I refuse
                  [ Y e : s  (   ] it's also)  I refuse


9              a' ta' strømper på
               to take stockings on
               to wear any stockings


10 Fie:   →    Jahm' det gør jeg ås'
               Ja but that does I also
```

Yesbut so do I

Discussing the weather in their respective geographical areas, Ulrikke and Fie are here in general agreeing on the fact that it is cold for the season (spring), but that they nevertheless both manage to enjoy it. In L1, Ulrikke states that it is cold where she is and this information is acknowledged by Fie, who then subsequently states that the temperature is only 15 C° in her area. In L3 Ulrikke produces an affiliating response to this negative assertion, the laughter quality of her response displaying sympathy with Fie.

Similarly, but with reversed roles for the participants, in L6 Ulrikke acknowledges the information provided by Fie in L5 (that she despite the weather manages to spend some time outside), and in L10 Fie affiliates with Ulrikke by stating that she also refuses to put on stockings, as Ulrikke has just stated in the prior turn. In all these cases the positive response particle *ja* embodies or projects the preferred actions of affiliation or acknowledgement, in response to positively framed utterances.

The same is the case in extract (51), but here the positive response particle is used for confirming Ester's question of whether Fie's son has contracted the flu.

Extract (51): TH/M2/1/Ester & Fie/pos34

```
((From the beginning of the call, after the opening and greeting sequences. Fie's
voice is noticeably strained and thick.))

1  Ester:        [du'       da ]forkølet  end[nu]
                 [you're   surely] cold       y[et]
                 [you've surely st]ill got a co[ld]

2  Fie:                                       [ja ]men
                                              [ja ]but
                                              [yes]but

3  Fie:    al'så de:tm vi fik jo den der lille influenza
           you-know itehm we got you-know that there little flu
           you know itehm, you know we got that little flu

4          efter fnn tsk efter konfi[rmationen   ]
           after fnn tsk after confi[rmation-the ]
           after fnn tsk after the c[onfirmation ]

5  Ester:                                 [ås' Mathias]
                                          [also Mathias]
```

```
                                   [Mathias as w]ell

6  Fie: →    .hh jah
             .hh ja
             .hh yes

7  Ester:   nåh
            oh
            oh
```

The extracts above exemplify the typical way in which a 'yes'-response is done in Danish, through the production of the positive response particle *ja*, as the interactionally and grammatically preferred response to positively framed utterances (For a more detailed discussion of the positive response particle *ja* and its uses in Danish, see for instance Rathje, 1999). This is parallel to the pattern demonstrated for the negative response particle *nej*, in section 2.1. Here it was shown that a 'no'-response typically embodies the interactionally and grammatically preferred response to negatively framed utterances.

The two polar particles do however differ in one area: as demonstrated in previous sections, the negative response particle can also be used for responding to positively framed utterances, embodying either grammatically and interactionally dispreferred responses (section 2.1), or grammatically dispreferred but interactionally preferred responses (section 2.2).

In contrast, the positive response particle *ja* is never used as a grammatically dispreferred response to negatively framed utterances, independently of whether a 'yes'-response is in fact interactionally preferred.[47] Instead, an alternative positive response particle, *jo*, is used in these contexts. This particle will be discussed in the following, first by looking at contexts in which 'yes'-responses are interactionally as well as grammatically dispreferred, secondly by looking at contexts in which 'yes'-responses are typically only interactionally dispreferred.

2.3.2 Jo-*responses*
In this section I demonstrate the various contexts in which the positive response particle *jo* is used: as an interactionally dispreferred response to negatively framed utterances, as an interactionally preferred response to

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[47] With a very few interactional relevant exceptions. See section 2.3.2.4.

negative interrogatives and as an interactionally preferred response to statements followed by a negative tag.

2.3.2.1 Jo *as a dispreferred response to negatively framed utterances*
In this section I look at 'yes'-responses in the context of negatively framed utterances with an interactional preference for a 'no'-response; that is utterances in which the grammatical and interactional preferences are congruent and a 'no'-response preferred.

When this type of utterance receives a dispreferred 'yes'-response, the positive particle used is *jo*, rather than *ja*, as in extract (52), (53) and (54).

The first case, extract (52) is an example of dispreferred disconfirmation.

Extract (52) : TH/M2/2/Fie & Ester/pos11

```
((Ester is describing how her twelve-year-old granddaughter insisted on being told
stories from Esters childhood before falling a sleep. Without thinking about the
consequences such a story could have on a child, Ester tells the story of how she
came home late from school once and was punished by her angry mother))

1 Ester:    så måtte jeg ikk' få aftensmad.    .hh Så  blev
            then must I  not get evening-food. .hh Then became
            then I wasn't allowed any dinner  .hh  Then she


2           hun helt det syn's   hun al'så  bare var så synd
            she all that thought she really just was so pity
            went all, she really thought that was such a pity,


3           å' det   [ tænkt]e jeg  slet ikk' på vel
            and that [ thoug]ht I at-all not on right
            and    I [didn't] even think of that, right


4 Fie:               [Nja:H ]
                     [Nyea:H]
                     [Nyea:H]


5 Fie:      Det var s- [så   ku'   hun ikk' sove]
            That was s- [then could she not sleep]
            That was s- [then she couldn't sleep ]


6 Ester:             [Men  det  var  alli'vel ] noget    hun
                     [But   it   was   anyway ] something she
                     [But still, it was      ] something she


7 Ester: → Johjoh
```

```
           Jo jo
           Yesyes

8 Fie:     Nåh
           Oh
           Oh

9 Ester:   Så sagde jeg narhmen nu går jeg ud å' børster mine
           Then said I  nyeahbut now go I out and brush   my
           Then I said, nyeahbut now I'm going to brush my

10         tænder, mens jeg så børstede tænder faldt hun i
           teeth, while  I then brushed teeth  fell she  in
           teeth, while I was then brushing my teeth, she fell
```

In L5, Fie produces what she believes to be the upshot of the telling done by Ester: she was supposed to tell her granddaughter a good-night story but ended up upsetting her so much that she couldn't sleep. By suggesting that Ester's granddaughter couldn't sleep, Fie states an assumption about a 'B-event' (see section 2.1.2). The statement is furthermore negatively framed, so a 'no'-response would be the interactionally and grammatically preferred response here. What is produced (in L7) however is a 'yes'-response that disconfirms the correctness of Fie's assumption. Crucially, it is not the more generally used positively response particle *ja* which is used by Ester in this context, but a variant thereof, *jo*.

This use of the special positive answer *jo* can clearly not be argued in any way to serve as a way of dissolving a potential ambiguity, as otherwise suggested by Sadock and Zwicky (1985), as the negatively framed utterance (the assumption or suggestion of an up-shot) produced by Fie in L5 is not in any way ambiguous. Thus, such a response (even outside its sequential context) can only be understood as taking the position that Ester's grandchild could not sleep, not as displaying that Fie thinks she could sleep.

Extract (53) where *jo* also embodies dispreferred disconfirmation is another case in point. [48]

---

[48] See extracts (12), (20), (21) and (22) in section 2.1 for other cases where *jo* embodies dispreferred actions of disagreement and disconfirmation.

Extract (53): TH/S2/14/Fie & Kisser/jo80

((Kisser has suggested that Fie gets Kissers husband some revue tickets for his
birthday. Fie has marked this as problematic and enquired how to get them.))

```
1  Kisser:    [J]eg tænkte  på om   du kunne   slå op på
              [I]  thought on if you(s) could look up on
              [I]  thought that maybe you could look it up

2             internettet eller et'l'andet   å'  se hva' der
              internet-the or  one-or-other and see what there
              the internet or something and see what's

3             var   der=>Men det  ved jeg ikk' om   i
              was there=>But that know I  not  if you(p)
              there=>But I don't know if you've got that

4             har  nede på arbejdet<
              have down on work-the<
              at work<

5             (.)
              (.)
              (.)

6  Kisser:    Nej det har  i    ikk' v[el]
              Nej that have you(p) not rig[ht]
              No you don't, do you?

7  Fie:  →                              [Jo]h
                                         [Jo]
                                          [Ye]s

8  Kisser:    Nåh .hh Men al'så:  Ellers    ved jeg sgu   ikk'
              Oh  .hh But you-know Otherwise know I  bloody not
              Right .hh But you know Other than that, I don't

9             rigtigt Fie hva' vi  ska' (f)finde på
              really  Fie what we shall (f)find  on
              really know what we can get him Fie

10 Kisser:    .tch Al'så    krhm
              .tch You-know krhm
              .tch you know krhm

11 Fie:       Jah ng D- Der   var noget snak   om noget sprit
              Ja ng D- There was some  talk about some booze
              Yes ng D- There was some talk about some booze
```

Here, Kisser suggests that Fie look on the internet in order to buy some tickets for Kisser's husband, but in L3-4 notes that there may be an obstacle for doing this: she doesn't know whether Fie has access to the internet. This is not responded to by Fie, either to confirm or disconfirm her having access to the internet. Kisser understands this lack of response as projecting a dispreferred, disconfirming response and consequently redesigns her inquiry in L6 to display the assumption that Fie does not have access. This is done through a negatively framed utterance which in contrast to her initial inquiry is clearly designed to receive a negative response as the confirming, preferred response.[49]

As in extract (52) above, in L7 Fie produces a dispreferred, disconfirming response in the format of the marked positive response particle *jo*, providing us with yet another case of the application of this particle, contrasting with the more generally agreeing, confirming or affiliating particle *ja* as discussed in section 2.3.1. Again, the negative utterance is unambiguous and consequently *jo* cannot serve as a marker that dissolves this ambiguity, as noted by Sadock and Zwicky (1985).

In extract (54), a 'yes'-response embodies another type of dispreferred, a disagreement. Again the 'yes'-response is done with a *jo*, rather than a *ja*.

Extract (54) TH/S2/49/Fie & Ester/posd55

```
((Talking about a third party, Dorthe and the fact that she can never keep her
houseplants alive.))


1  Ester:     ringed' te' mig der sagde hun Nå:h nu ka'
              called  to  me   there said she O:h now can
              called me then she said O:h now I can see


2             jeg se mine blomster de' helt tørre=Det'
              I see  my    flowers they're all dry=It's
              that my flowers they're all dry=It's surely not


3             da ikk' så sært de ikk' gider være her
              surely not so weird they not bother be here
              so weird that they can't be bothered to stay here


4             (.)
```

[49] As with many other cases, this is not a case of personal preference, but of interactional. Thus, though Kisser might prefer to be told that Fie does have access to the internet, the interactional preference for agreement or confirmation in this case would result in the opposite being the case.

```
             (.)
             (.)

5  Fie:      *Na[h    m e n*]
             *Ny[eah   but* ]
             *Ny[eah   but* ]

6  Ester:       [Al'så   det] a' Så'n har det jo ikk'
                [You-know it] is Like-this has it you-know not
                [You know it]'s  You know it hasn't always been

7            været altid
             been always
             like that

8            (.)
             (.)
             (.)

9  Fie:   →  Jorvh
             Jo
             Ye:ss

10           (.)
             (.)
             (.)

11 Fie:   →  Så'n har det været længe=
             Like-this has it  been  long=
             It's been like that for a long time=

12 Ester:  =Nåh
           =Oh
           =Oh

13 Fie:      .hhh Meneh Det ka' ås' være hun overvander
             .hhh Buteh It can also be she over-water
             .hhh Buteh It could be that she gives them too much

14           dem det ved jeg ikk'
             them that know I not
             water as well, I don't know
```

Having discussed whether Fie's husband will buy a new plant for his mother, Dorthe, Fie has subsequently initiated talk about how Dorthe always seems to kill her plants. In response to this Ester through a story

suggest that Dorthe perhaps fails to water the plants regularly and that they dry out. In L7-8 she states that this dying of Dorthe's plants is a new development. Her statement is negatively framed, designed both interactionally and grammatically to prefer a 'no'-response. However in L10 Fie produces a 'yes'-response, disagreeing with Ester's statement through the production of the positive response particle *jo*.[50]

The three cases above are not merely typical, they are normative, in that if a negatively framed utterance gets a dispreferred response initiated through the production of a positive response particle, this particle will always be *jo*, never *ja*.

Thus, by looking at naturally-occurring language we can see that the 'special' positive answer, *jo*, is not used only as a 'yes'-response to negative interrogatives as described by Sadock and Zwicky (1985), but also in response to other negatively framed utterances.

In the cases above, the negatively framed utterances are unambiguous statements about how the speaker thinks that things are; and in being negatively framed statements they are designed to prefer a 'no'-response as the interactionally preferred, confirming or agreeing response. In these cases then it is hard to find any evidence for having *jo* produced to resolve any potential disambiguity.

From an interactional perspective however there are other reasons for why *jo*, rather than *ja* is used in the examples above: one possible explanation could be that the particle *jo* is in Danish a marker of interactional dispreference, displaying or projecting that the response will be interactionally dispreferred, along with more universal dispreference markers such as delays, hedges and marked articulation (see section 2.1).

Another possible explanation however is, that the marked positive response particle *jo* is produced not in orientation to the interactional dispreference, but to the grammatical dispreference, that is, that *jo* is marking that the turn responded to is negatively framed and thus grammatically prefers a 'no'-response. This latter possible account for the use of *jo* will be further consolidated in the following sections, where I look at negatively framed utterances that can be interactionally preferred to receive a 'yes'-response: negative interrogatives and statements followed by negative tags.

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[50] Again the negatively framed utterance is an unambiguous statement and *jo* cannot be understood as dissolving any ambiguities.

2.3.2.2 *Negative interrogatives and preference organisation:* jo *as an interactionally preferred response*

In this section I focus on negative interrogatives in Danish. I demonstrate that these constructions because of interactional relevancies can be designed to prefer either a 'no'-response or a 'yes'-response, though the grammatical preference is for a 'no'-response because of their negative framing. The overall preference structure of negative interrogatives can in this way have the two preferences either be congruent or non-congruent.

I further show that in the latter case, the interactional preference for agreement is oriented to as the most important, so that a negative interrogative that establish non-congruent preferences typically receives a 'yes'-response. As in the case of interactionally and grammatically dispreferred response to negatively framed utterances in general, discussed above, in these cases the 'yes'-response is produced as *jo*, rather than *ja*. Negative interrogatives are then yet another area in which negative framing is oriented to as being relevant for the interactants.

As discussed in section 2.1 and 2.3.1, the interactional and grammatical preference of an utterance are typically congruent. In language there are however certain grammatical structures where this is not the case. Thus, Heritage (2002) demonstrates that in English broadcast news interviews, negative interrogatives are typically built to establish an interactional preference for a 'yes'-response, by being designed and understood as a vehicle for an assertion, rather than as a question to be confirmed or disconfirmed (see also the discussion of Sadock and Zwicky (1985) in the introduction to this study).

The following case is taken from Heritage (2002) and exemplifies how a speaker (the interviewee) may understand a negative interrogative as an affirmative (or positive) assertion, displaying strong epistemic stance on behalf of the speaker producing the negative interrogative, in this case an interviewer.

Extract (55) : From Heritage (2002), pp1433,(8) [PBS MacNeil-Lehrer:22 July 1985]

```
1  IR: → But isn't this (.) d- declaration of thuh state of
2       emergency: (.) an admission that the eh South African:
        (.)
3       gover'ment's policies have not worked, an' in fact that
4       he um- United States (0.2) administration's policy of
5       constructive engagement (.) has not worked.
```

```
6  IE: → I do not agree with you .hhhh that the approach we
7        have taken (.) toward South Africa is- a- is an
8        incorrect approach.
```

The interviewee's response 'I do not agree with you' (in L6), shows that he views the interviewer as having made an assertion which can be disagreed with, though of course an agreement would have been the preferred action here (Because of the challenging nature of questions in news interviews, negative interrogatives such as the one above very rarely, if ever, gets an agreeing response (See Heritage, 2002). The following case taken from an ordinary conversation also in English shows that also here a negative interrogative is oriented to as displaying an assertion to be agreed (or disagreed with), rather than confirmed (or disconfirmed).

Extract (56) : From Heritage (2002), pp1428, ex 1 [NB VII:1-2]

```
1 Emm:    =Oh honey that was a lovely luncheon I shoulda ca:lled
          you
2         s:soo[:ner but I:]l:[lo:ved it. Ih wz just
          deli:ghtfu[:l. =
3 Mar:       [((f)) Oh:::]  [°( )
                  [Well=
4 Mar:    =I wz gla[d   y o u ] (came).]
5 Emm:          ['nd yer f:] friends]'r so da:rli:ng,=
6 Mar:    =Oh:::[: it wz:]
7 Emm: →     [e-that P]a:t isn'she a do:[:ll?]
8 Mar: →                          [iY e]h isn't she
          pretty,
9         (.)
10 Emm:   Oh: she's a beautiful girl.=
```

Here, the negative interrogative produced by Emma in L7 formulates an assessment of Margie's friend (Pat) and this assessment is agreed with by Margie with a second assessment (though downgraded, see Pomerantz, 1984a, for a discussion of this), also accomplished through a negative interrogative. In this extract, in contrast to extract (55) above, the negative interrogative does get a 'yes'-response, a 'yes'-response that is agreeing with the assertion displayed in the negative interrogative.

   Koshik (2002), looking at everyday conversations however demonstrates that negative interrogatives need not display a strong affirmative (or positive) epistemic stance on behalf of the speaker and can

consequently also be designed to prefer a 'no'-response interactionally, as in the following case.

Extract (57): Koshik, 2002, pp10, ex 2, (Upholstery Shop 24)

```
01 Mike:    Wanna get some- wannuh buy some fish?
02 (Rich):  Ihh ts-t
03 Vic:     Fi:sh,
04 Mike:    You have a tank I like tuh tuh- I-I [like-
05 Vic:                                         [Yeh I gotta
06          fa:wty:: I hadda fawtuy? A fifty,
07          enna twu[nny:: en two ten::s,
08 Mike:            [Wut- Wuddiyuh doing wit
09          [dem. Wuh-
10 Rich:    [But those were uh::: [Alex's tanks.
11 Vic:                           [-enna five.
12 Vic:     Hah?
13 Rich:    Those'r Alex's tanks weren't they?
14 Vic:     Podn' me?
15 Rich: →  Weren't- didn' they belong tuh Al[ex?
16 Vic:  →                                   [No: Alex ha(s)
17          no tanks Alex is tryintuh buy my tank.
```

Here, Mike seems to be proposing buying a fish tank from Vic, who lists the various sizes of tanks he has. Rich however interrupts with an objection, asserting that the tanks in question belong to a third party, Alex. Vic responds to this with a repair initiator, *Hah?*, in L12. As noted by Schegloff (1997) among others, such repair initiators can point to a possible disagreement. This is oriented to by Rich in L13, where he downgrades his assertion slightly, by constructing it as a question to be confirmed, through the addition of a tag. After a second repair initiator Rich produces an even more downgraded version of his initial assertion, the negative interrogative in L15.

The negative interrogative in this context then is clearly not displaying a strong affirmative (or positive) epistemic stance, but a rather weak one that suggests a preference for a same polarity answer, in this case a 'no'-response.

Comparing the three examples above, we can see that the sequential context in which a negative interrogative is produced, has consequences for what kind of action it is understood to embody, in extract (55) it is used for displaying an affirmative (or positive) assertion, in extract (56) for displaying an affirmative (or positive) assessment and in extract (57) for

avoiding a disagreeing response by 'backing down', shifting the interactional preference of the original utterance for a 'yes'-response towards a preference for a 'no'-response. Furthermore, the type of action embodied by the negative interrogative has implications for whether a 'yes'- or a 'no'-response is produced. This strongly suggest that these factors (sequential position, action embodied) are of relevance for whether a negative interrogative is designed to prefer a 'yes'- or a 'no'-response.

The importance of these factors is evident also for Danish negative interrogatives. As in English, these constructions can be designed to prefer either a 'yes'- or a 'no'-response, interactionally. Extract (58) and (59) are cases where a negative interrogative prefer a 'no'-response, extract (60) and (61) are cases where a 'yes'-response is preferred.

Extract (58) : TH/S2/5/AnneMie & Jens/Neg 158

```
((Gossiping about a local family. The father, a famous artist recently
died and Mie has just revealed that one of the sons treats the fathers
painting as belonging to him only, something which the other children
obviously does not agree with.))

1  Mie:    [A]'    der   kører en arves[ag        for fanden]
           [J]a  there's running a inher[itage-case for devil]
           [Y]es there's a court case ru[nning for God's sake]

2  Jens:                                 [ .  g  l  h   h    ]
                                         [ .  g  l  h   h    ]
                                         [ .  g  l  h   h    ]

3  Jens:   Gør der det?
           Does there that?
           Is there?

4  Mie:    Jaja, Jaja
           Jaja, Jaja
           Yesyes, Yesyes

5  Jens:   Nåh det vidste jeg ikk' noget    [  om. ]
           Oh that knew    I  not something [about.]
           Oh I didn't know anything about  [that. ]

6  Mie:                                      [N e jh] men det gør
                                             [ Nej ]but that does
                                             [ N o ] but you know
```

```
7           jo      det endnu mere speget [(            )]
            you-know it even  more smoked [(            )]
            that makes it even more smoky [(            )]

8   Jens:                                  [.hh Gør    der ]
                                           [.hh Does there]
                                           [.hh  Is there ]

9           virk'li' det.
            really that.
            really.

10  Mie:    Jerh [for    f  a  n]den=
            Ja   [For    d  e  v]il-the=
            Yeah [God      damn  ] it=

11  Jens:        [Ku'    de   in-]
                  [Could they in-]
                  [Could they in-]

12  Jens:   =Ku'    de ingengang bli': enige     om det.
            =Could they no-time become agreed about that.
            =Couldn't they even agree about that.

13          (.)
            (.)
            (.)

14  Jens:   Nåh.
            Oh.
            Oh.

15  Mie: →  Nejh Arne (tog det) på farens dødsleje.
            Nej Arne (took  it) on fathers-the death-bed
            Noh, Arne (took it) on the fathers death bed
```

Here Mie has just revealed some juicy information, that a local family is running a court case against each other after their famous father, a painter died. In L3, 5 and 8 Jens expresses his lack of knowledge about and surprise over this information. In this way Jens reacts to Mie's information with 'ritualised disbelief' (Heritage, 1984b) and is in this way also inviting Mie to elaborate on the issue of the family feud. This aspect of his responses is however not oriented to by Mie, who simply continues to confirm that there is a court case going on, without elaborating on this.

In this sequential context the negative interrogative produced by Jens in L12 is a third attempt at inviting Mie to elaborate on her juicy gossip: through the negative interrogative Jens displays the inference or assumption he has made from the prior talk: the members of the family discussed couldn't agree on the inheritance, and this is why there is now a court case. In this way Jens takes a piece of information provided by the co-participant and transforms it into one which needs to be confirmed. In inviting the other participant to confirm an assumption or inference, Jens treats Mie as the participant with privileged access to what is being talked about. In this way the negative interrogative is not displaying an affirmative (or positive) assertion as in extract (55) and (56), but rather a weak epistemic stance that suggest a preference for a 'no'-response.

This is exactly what Mie provides in L15 (after a short gap and the *nåh* produced by Jens which is yet another way of marking his disbelief). First, she orients to Jens's negative interrogative as a request for confirmation, by confirming that his inferences were correct, through the production of a 'no'-response. Subsequent to the production of the confirmation, she then launches a more elaborate description of the court case, how it came about and who is to blame, in this way orienting to the invitation to elaborate on the information she provided in L1.

In this case then, the sequential context in which the negative interrogative is produced, the action embodied by that construction and the epistemic stance displayed there all work together to establish an interactional preference for a 'no'-response.

Extract (59) is another case where a negative interrogative is designed to prefer a 'no'-response.

Extract (59) : TH/S2/69/Peter & Jens/Neg422

```
((From the beginning of the call))

1   Fie:        Det' Annesophie,
                It's Annesophie,
                It's AnneSophie,

2   Peter:      Jah go'daw AnneSophie det' Peter.
                Ja goodday AnneSophie it's Peter.
                Yes hello AnneSophie  it's Peter.

3               (.)
                (.)
                (.)
```

```
4   Fie:          Jerh
                  Ja
                  Yeah

5   Peter:        Tak for hilsn'
                  Thanks for greeting-the
                  Thanks for the greeting

6                 (.)
                  (.)
                  (.)

7   Peter:        Te' min fødselsdag,
                  To my birthday,
                  For my birthday,

8                 (0.6)
                  (0.6)
                  (0.6)

9   Fie:          .hh (.) Nåh. O[kay    ]
                  .hh (.) Oh.  O[kay    ]
                  .hh (.) Oh.  O[kay    ]

10  Peter:                     [A'   du] ikk' rigti' klar
                               [Are you] not   really clear
                               [Are you] not really aware

11                over hvem jeg a'
                  over who    I am
                  of who I am

12  Fie:    →     Nej.
                  Nej.
                  No.

13  Peter:        Ne:j:: (.) Ka' du ikk' godt huske mig jeg
                  Nej  (.) Can you not well remember me I
                  No::: (.) Don't you remember me I

14                var over å' passe jeres hunde,
                  was over and watch your dogs,
                  was over sitting your dogs,

15                (.)
                  (.)
```

```
                    (.)

16  Peter:       for en tyve år siden=
                 for a twenty years since=
                 about twenty years ago=
```

Peter is an old school friend of Fie's husband, Jens, who has recently re-established contact after 20 years. This extract is taken from the beginning of a call made by Peter. Fie, who answers the phone self-identifies in a manner typical for Danish telephone calls, by stating her first name (see also Lindström, 1994 for self-identification in another Scandinavian language, Swedish.). Peter, in response claims recognition (Schegloff, 1979) by repeating Fie's name and then self-identifying also with his first name.[51]

Rather than respond to this by returning the greeting, after a short gap Fie produces the acknowledgement token *jerh* in L4. In doing so, she does not claim recognition of Peter, but rather treats him as a caller who did not call to speak to her, but somebody else, the acknowledgement working as a go-ahead, providing Peter with a position in which he can request to talk to somebody else.

In L5 and 6 however Peter pursues the issue of recognition, displaying that for him it is relevant to be recognised by Fie. This is done first by thanking Fie for a previous greeting and after a gap, where Fie neither claims recognition nor responds to his 'thank you', Peter elaborates on when he received the greeting in a further attempt to establish references that will make it possible for Fie to recognise him.

In L9 Fie produces what at least semantically appears to be a claim of recognition, the prosodic delivery of this response is however far from

---

[51] Fie, is the less informal, shortened version of AnneSophie, and the one used by Fie herself, her family and close friends. By repeating the formal name, rather than the 'nickname', Peter may already have displayed that the participants are not in a close relationship. In contrast, family members and close friends typically greet Fie with her 'nickname', rather than repeat the formal version she uses, as in extract (i) below, where the caller is Ester, Fie's sister.

Extract (i) : TH/S2/36/Ester & Fie

```
1  Fie:     Det' AnneSophie,
             It's AnneSophie,

2  Ester:  Hej Fie,
             Hi Fie,

3  Fie:    H↑ej Ester.
             H↑i Ester.
```

convincing.[52] Peter himself is certainly not convinced, as can be seen from his production of the negative interrogative in L10-11. Here he displays the inference he has made based on the prior talk, that Fie has failed to recognise him.

By requesting Fie to confirm this inference as correct, Peter now pursues the issue of recognition through the production of a negative interrogative to which a 'no'-response would be interactionally (as well as grammatically) preferred, in that this response would in effect work as a request from Fie to have Peter provide more clues as to his identity, as is subsequently done in L13-16.[53]

As in English, the sequential position of the negative interrogative in Danish can be shown to have consequences for what type of action this construction is understood to be a vehicle for. And similarly, the type of action embodied by the negative interrogative has consequences for what type of response is interactionally preferred – in the cases above a 'no'-responses.

The sequential position of a negative interrogative and the action it consequently is a vehicle for can however also result in an interactional preference for a 'yes'-response in Danish, as in the English extract (55) and (56) above. Thus, in extract (60), Ester's continued solution of how to get cash for a trip is dependent on a 'yes'-response in the following way: Fie's husband is taking Ester, Fie's sister, on a shopping trip which involves going by ferry. The ferry company is run by Fie. Prior to this extract, Fie has asked whether Ester has enough cash to lend her husband some and Ester has expressed her doubts about this, as she is uncertain about how much she herself needs. In L2 Ester initiates the suggesting of a solution to the cash problem, through her *Men ka' vi ikke:*. The suggestion, as can be seen from L6-8 and L21-22 is that she can get a cash-back on the ferry when paying for her ticket, thus getting enough cash both for her and for Fie's

---

[52] It is hard to explain exactly what it is that makes this response come across as unconvincing, but at least partly is seems to have to do with Fie articulating the *nåh* 'oh' with falling rather than rising pitch.

[53] The issue of what the participants expect is of relevance here. By producing only his first name in L2, Peter displays that he expects Fie to recognise him on this reference and the voice sample he has provided through producing this. Fie however treats this as displaying that she does not need to know who he is, as she is simply answering on behalf of the person Peter has called to talk to.

Up until L9 then, the preference for recognition is oriented to mainly by Peter. In contrast, through producing the negative interrogative in L10 Peter may attempt to get Fie to explicitly request more information, thus indirectly admitting that she is to blame in not recognising Peter.

This issue of what can be expected, based on the participants relationship and the indetification provided by Peter is further oriented to when Fie finally does recognise him, but then subsequently accounts for her initial failure to do so by stating that 'there are so many Peter's' and in this way indicating that Peter did not produce enough material to be identified.

husband. This suggestion is however self-interrupted in L2-3 where Ester checks whether the conditions for this solution exist, that is whether there will be cash (and presumably enough cash) on the ferry. This is done through the negative interrogative *Har de ikke nogen me' på færgen*, where *nogen* refers to money.

Thus, through the sequential context in which this negative interrogative is produced, Ester displays her assumption that there will be money on the ferry. By furthermore having a confirmation of this be a pre-condition for her already initiated solution, Ester's negative interrogative is interactionally designed to prefer a 'yes'-response. And, when this confirmation is provided by Fie in L5, Ester orients to this as being the preferred response by now continuing her suggested solution, something which would have been impossible had Fie stated that there would not be money on the ferry.

Extract (60) : TH/S2/49/Fie & Ester/Jo4

```
((Fie's husband is taking Ester, her sister on a shopping trip to Germany in an
area where you can pay with Danish as well as German money. It is also possible to
pay with 'Dankort', a Danish debit card but shops charge extra for this, as
referred to by Ester in L1-2. Neither Fie nor her husband has had time to get any
cash out and thus will have to pay with the card unless Ester has enough cash.))
```

```
1   Ester:    *Jahm'* Det al'så Det Jeg syn's det' mange penge
               *Ja but* It you-know It I think it's many money
               *Yesbut* It you know It I think it's a lot of money

2             de ta'r for å' veksle=Men  Men ka' vi ikke:
               they take for to change=But But can we not:
               they charge you to exchange=But But can't we:

3             (.)
               (.)
               (.)

4   Ester:    Har de ikk' nogen me' på færgen,
               Have they not some with on ferry,
               Haven't they got some on the ferry,

5   Fie:  →   Jorv
               Jo
               Yes

6   Ester:    Så ka' jeg måske:h
               Then can I maybe:h
```

```
            Then maybe: I can

7           (.)
            (.)
            (.)

8   Ester:  Betale min: billet me': mit dankort,
            Pay   my:  ticket wi:th my  credit-card,
            Pay my ticket with my credit card,

            ((11 lines left out where Fie points out to Ester
            that the day they are travelling the tickets are
            cheaper.))

21  Ester:  Jahm' Jeg ka' da spørge ham om han ve' ta' den på mit
            Ja but I can surely ask him if he will take it on my
            Yes but at least I can ask him if he'll let me pay

22          dankort å' gi' mig tusind kroner
            dan-card and give me thousand kroner
            with my credit card and give me thousand kroner
```

What is notable here is, that the confirming and thus interactionally preferred 'yes'-response provided by Fie is done through the production of the marked positive response particle *jo*, rather than *ja*, as was also the case in section 2.3.2.1.

Similarly, in extract (61) and (62), a negative interrogative is interactionally designed to prefer a 'yes'-response and again this is done through the production of *jo*.

Extract (61) : TH/S2/40/Fie & Kisser/Jo3

```
((From the beginning of the call.))

1  Kisser:  Jerhh Har   i    det godt ellers
            Ja    Have you(p) it good otherwise
            Yeahh Are you fine otherwise

2  Fie:     Jahjah
            Jaja
            Yesyes

3  Kisser:  I:h a' det ikk' dejligt  vejr  i dag,
            I:h is  it not  lovely weather today,
            O:h isn't the weather lovely today
```

```
4  Fie: →   Joh a'   du   gal mand >Vi ska' på Møllemarked< nu
             Jo are you(s) mad man >We must on Mill market< now
             Yes you bet it is >We're going to the Mill market< now

5  Kisser: Nåhnåh Men det'    da    fornuftigt
             Oh oh  But that's really sensible
             Oh I see, but that's very sensible

6  Fie:     Jerh,
             Ja,
             Yeah,
```

Here, the negative interrogative produced by Kisser (in L3) is rather formulaic in that it is one of the ways in which comments about the weather is typically made in Danish, it's position, in the beginning of a call, after the inquiry into the other participants well-being also being rather typical. Based on my own intuition as a speaker, it is hard to imagine a context in which this type of negative interrogative could be understood as a genuine question, or as a request for confirmation. Rather, through the production of this negative interrogative Kisser is making a positive assertion, designed for Fie to agree with. And this interactional preference is oriented to by Fie in L4, through the production of the positive response particle *jo* and an emphatically agreeing continuation. So as in extract (60) an interactionally preferred 'yes'-response to a negative interrogative is done through *jo*, rather than *ja*.

The same pattern emerges in extract (62) where another negative interrogative is responded to with the interactionally preferred format of a 'yes'-response. Again, this format is constructed through the production of the marked version, *jo*.

Extract (62) : TH/S2/72/Jette H & Fie/Jo5

```
((Jette is the manager of the local museums where Fie works as a volunteer. Jette
has called to ask Fie to cover some shifts during the following week but Fie has
rejected this due to her real job.))

1  Fie:     A[l'så ] d- de[t kan jeg ikk' å' jeg jeg ved ikk']
             Y[ou kn]ow tha[t can  I  not and I   I know not  ]
             Y[ou kn]ow  I [can't do it and  I   I don't know ]

2  Jette:   [Godt.]     [(                            bare)]
             [Good.]     [(                            just)]
             [Good.]     [(                            just)]
```

```
3  Fie:      om de:r'    [Al'så    hva'] me' KAj,
             if the:re's [You-know what] with KAj,
             if there's  [You know what] about Kaj,

4  Jette:               [(           )]
                        [(           )]
                        [(           )]

5  Jette:    Han a' te' barn'dåb i dag så jeg ka' ikk'
             He is to child-christening today so I can not
             He is attending a christening today so I can't

6  Jette:    træffe ham hel[ler]
             meet    him eit[her]
             get hold of hi[m e]ither

             ((11 lines left out, where Fie once again states her
             incapability to cover the shifts. Jette concludes
             that there is a staff problem.))

7  Fie:      =[Men der a' jo d-] Al'så ((synkelyd)) Tror
             =[But there is y-k] You-know ((swallowing)) Think
             =[But there is y-k] You know ((swallowing)) Don't

8            du ikk' a' du ve' håbe på Kaj?
             you not that you will hope on Kaj?
             you think that you can count on Kaj?

9 Jette: →   Joh
             Jo
             Yes

10 Fie:      Al'så hvis han te'- Jahm' han må (jo) komme
             You-know if he to- Yesbut he must (surely) come
             You know if he's a- Yesbut he must surely come

11           hjem på et'l'andet tidspun[kt ikk']
             home on one-or-other time [   not ]
             home at some point        [right  ]
```

Here, Jette has initially requested that Fie covers some shifts at the local museum in the coming week. Fie has declined this request, but has suggested that Jette asks somebody else, Kaj, (in L3), as he is usually available because he is retired. In response to this Jette provides an account for why she hasn't done this yet: on the day of this call Kaj is

attending a christening and Jette has not been able to reach him. After Fie produces yet another rejection of covering the shifts and Jette describes getting staff as a more general problem, Fie in L7-8 produces a negative interrogative.

In this context the negative interrogative is a vehicle for providing a solution for Jette's problems of getting staff for the following week and is thus interactionally designed to prefer a 'yes'-response: a 'yes'-response will confirm that Jette do indeed think that Kaj can be counted on, in this way also accepting the solution provided by Fie. And, in orientation to this interactional preference Jette in L9 produces a 'yes'-response, again in the form of the marked positive response particle *jo*, rather than *ja*.

As the examples above demonstrate, negative interrogatives can also in Danish be biased towards either a 'yes'-response or a 'no'-response. The bias towards one or the other of these responses is dependent on whether the speaker through the negative interrogative is understood to be displaying that he/she believes that something is, or isn't the case. As a type or linguistic construction then, negative interrogatives are ambiguous with regard to whether they prefer a 'yes'- or a 'no'-response, as noted by Sadock and Zwicky (1985).

The extracts above however demonstrate that in interaction individual productions of negative interrogatives are not treated as ambiguous. Instead, the bias or preference for a certain type of response is displayed through the sequential position in which the negative interrogative is produced, as well as the action embodied by the negative interrogative. Consequently, neither 'no'-responses or 'yes'-responses to negative interrogatives are treated as ambiguous either. If a speaker through the production of a negative interrogative displays an assumption that something is the case (as in extract (61) and (62)), then a 'yes'-response is understood as agreeing with or confirming this. And if a speaker through the production of a negative interrogative displays an assumption that something is not the case (as in extract (58) and (59)), then a 'no'-response is understood as agreeing with this.

As in section 2.3.2.1 then, there is no evidence that the marked positive response particle *jo*, in these cases is produced so as to avoid any ambiguities (of the negative interrogative or the 'yes'-response), as otherwise suggested by Sadock and Zwicky (1985).

On the other hand, the 'yes'-responses produced in the three previous extracts are not implementing interactionally dispreferred responses as was the case in section 2.3.2.1, so it cannot be argued that *jo* serves as a

marker of dispreference (at least interactionally) either, as was suggested in that section.

Instead, the distribution of *jo* can be seen to be a direct consequence of the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity. As established in section 2.1, negatively framed utterances in grammatical terms prefer a 'no'-response. A 'no'-response is however not always forthcoming, either because a disagreeing or disconfirming 'yes'-response is produced instead (as in section 2.3.2.1), or because the interactional preference is for a 'yes'-response (as in this section). In either case, the 'yes'-response is done through the production of the marked *jo*.

Thus, participants produce *jo*, the marked version of the positive response particle, in orientation to the mismatch between the positive polarity of their response and the negative polarity of the turn responded to - thus displaying that to them, grammatical structure or polarity is very much a salient issue in interaction. This aspect of grammatical preference will be further developed in the following section where it will be demonstrated that *jo* is used as a 'yes'-response also in response to other negatively framed utterances that are interactionally designed for a 'yes'-response.

2.3.2.3 Jo *as a response to statement+negative tag*

Based on only the extracts above, it might appear too strong a claim to state that the marked positive particle *jo* is used as a 'yes'-response to negatively framed utterances, so as to mark that the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity has not been adhered to. However the distribution of *jo* used as a 'yes'-response to negatively framed utterances is so consistent that even when the negative marker is present only in or as a tag, *jo* will be produced. This will be demonstrated in this section.

In Danish there are two ways of tagging a positively framed utterance. Either way, a negative marker must be present in the tag,[54] as part of the tag, as in extract (63) and (64) or on its own as in extract (65) and (66).

---

[54] Negatively framed utterance on the other hand takes a positive tag, most commonly *vel*, translatable perhaps as 'right' in English. In English however 'right' can be used both after negative and positive structures. This is not possible in Danish, where the polarity of an utterance is always reversed in the tag.

Extract (63) : TH/S2/140/Krista & Fie/jo55

```
((Krista is listing all the things her husband has recently been spending money
on.))
```

```
1   Krista:    =Å' briller. Så har jeg gi'et ham en ny
               =And glasses. Then have I given him a new
               =And glasses. Then I've given him a new


2              opvaskemaskine i fødselsdagsgave Han
               dish washer    in birthday-present He
               dish washer for his birthday      He


3              bli'r så (h)hidsig når jeg s(hh)i(h)er (det)
               becomes so (h)angry when I s(hh)a(h)y  (it )
               gets so    (h)angry when  I s(hh)a(h)y (that)


4              (([                  laughter
               (([                  laughter
               (([                  laughter


5   Fie:        [Ahm'     det var han da   glad for var  han
                [Nyeahbut that was he surely happy for was  he
                [Nyeahbut surely he was happy about that wasn't


6   Krista: →  ))]hahahhah hah johohhhooh. Johm'jo det'
               ))]hahahhah hah jo hehhhehh. Jo but jo it's
               ))]hahahhah hah yehehhhehhs. Yes but yes it's


7   Fie:       ikk']
                not]
                he]


8              da Jesper der der der sagde a' nu ska' vi
               surely Jesper that that that said that now shall we
               Jesper who who who said that now we'll blo-


9              kra- Al'så   (.) Det' jo bare å' ta' sig sammen
               blo-You-know(.)It's surely just to take (r)together
               You know(.)It's just about getting it together
```

Here, Fie produces a negative tag (in bold) after what initially appears to be a statement about Krista's husband in L5-7. The tag rephrases the statement as a question, designed specifically for confirmation by Krista, while still strongly displaying the assumption made by Fie that Jesper was

happy about the dishwasher. Thus Fie's turn is designed to receive a 'yes'-response that confirms her displayed assumption as being correct.[55] As with negative interrogatives, this preferred response is produced in the format of *jo*, further supporting the claim that this is done in orientation to the negative polarity of the turn responded to, a negative polarity which in this case is created through the negative tag at the end of the utterance.

The same is the case in extract (64), where a postulate has a tag added to form a question, designed for a 'yes'-response to implement the confirming and preferred action. The confirmation is in this case doubly preferred in that only a confirmation will make an exchange of the ship's papers possible, as oriented to by Torben in L7.

Extract (64) : TH/S2/139/Torben & Jens/jo31

```
((Torben, Jens and a third party used to own a boat together. Torben has sold back
his share to the others as it got to be too much work for him, but this has been
done rather informally and Torben stills has some things lying around that
'belongs' to the boat.))

1   Jens:       .hhh Men Torben en anden ting du du har jo
                .hhh But Torben one other thing you you have surely
                .hhh But Torben  another thing you you surely have

2               øh å'sse skibspapirene har du ikk' det?
                eh also ship-papers-the have you not that?
                eh the ship papers as well haven't you?

3               (.)
                (.)
                (.)

4   Torben: →   Jo:hh det ka' da godt være at Niels Børge ga'
                Jo that can surely well be that Niels Børge gave
                Ye:s it's very likely that Niels Børge gave them

5               mig dem tilbage=
                me them back=
                back to me=
```

[55] Though this is an assumption about a 'B-event', it is displayed with strong epistemic stance through the emphatic marker *da*, perhaps marking Fie's utterance as an assertion rather than an assumption.

```
6   Jens:      =Det [  j a    å ' -    ]
            =That[ ja     and-     ]
            =That[ yes    and-     ]


7   Torben:       [Jeg ska' prøve å'] kigge efter det
                [I shall try   and] look after it
                [I'll  try   and ] look for it
```

Here, Jens in L1-2 first states that Torben has possession of some documents for a ship, rephrasing this as a question to be confirmed through the adding of the negative tag, *har du ikk' det*.[56] Again, this creates an interactional preference for a 'yes'-response to confirm that Torben does indeed have possession of the documents. This confirmation is doubly preferred in that it serves as a go-ahead for a next action: an exchange of the documents, which can only be done if Torben confirms having these documents.

Torben, in L4 does produce a confirming 'yes'-response and though this is hedged, in that Torben doesn't fully admit to have possession of the papers, the 'yes'-response is done through the marked positive response particle *jo*.

Extract (63) and (64) above demonstrates that when positive statements followed by negative tags establishes an interactional preference for a 'yes'-response, this response will be done through the production of *jo*, rather than *ja*. Again, this pattern indicates that participants orient to the grammatical preference for a 'no'-response, even in contexts where this preference is non-congruent with the interactional preference for a 'yes'-response.

Similarly, when the tag consists only of the negative marker, the same pattern emerges, with *jo* once again implementing the preferred, positively framed response to an otherwise negatively framed utterance, as in extract (65) and (66).

Extract (65) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie/jo15

```
((Ester has advertised her furniture in the newspaper but is worried that nobody
will respond and has thought of getting a professional buyer in.))

1   Ester:   =nu ringer jeg te' nogen   der købe[r op   (      )]
```

---

[56] As in extract (63), the epistemic stance of the statement is here reinforced through the production of an epistemic marker, in this case *jo*. Whereas *da*, as used in extract (63) is potentially challenging by marking that the statement is expressing an opinion based on what the speaker her/himself knows, *jo* is marking that what is being stated is known to both participants.

```
           =now call   I  to somebody that buy[s up    (    )]
           =now I'll call somebody that  buys [ up    (    )]

2  Fie:                                       [.hh Du      Har]
                                              [.hh You(s) Have]
                                              [.hh You    Have ]

3  Fie:     skrevet hva' det er ikk',
            written what  it is not,
            written what it is, right

4  Ester: → Jojo   [jeg   h]ar skrevet det var Krognæs Møbler
            Jojo   [ I    h]ave written it was Krognæs Møbler
            Yesyes [I've   ] written that it was Krognæs Møbler

5  Fie:            [ja   ja]
                   [ja   ja]
                   [yes yes]

6  Fie:     Ja. .hh så så hvis hvis [folk kigger efter  det ]
            Ja. .hh so so if   if  [people look after  that]
            Yes. .hh so so if if peo[ple are looking for that]
```

Here, the negative tag added to Fie's statement in L2-3 consists only of the negative marker *ikk'*, which for want of a better expression has been translated as 'right'. Despite this minimal negativity, the confirming, positively framed response is articulated as *jo*, displaying an orientation to the negative tag. The same happens in extract (66).

Extract (66) : TH/S2/19/Mathias & Malte/jo70

```
((Mathias is describing his achievements in a computer game.))

1  Mathias:   Og så a' det jeg ås' har fundet den der del
              And then is it I also have found that there part
              And then I've also found that part you know

2             te' deres hydro et'l'andet farms [.h heh] Så
              to their hydro one-or-other farms[.h heh] So
              for their hydro whatever farms   [.h heh] So

3  Malte:                                        [ Okay ]
                                                 [ Okay ]
                                                 [ Okay ]

4  Mathias:   den a' i orden  [.h h]
```

```
                              that is in order[.h h]
                              that's done     [.h h]

5  Malte:                     [Ja d]et' den der junk ting der
                              [Ja  ]that's that there junk thing
                              [Yes ] it's that junk thing

6             ikk',
              not,
              isn't it,

7  Mathias: → hJoh=
              Jo=
              hYes=

8  Malte:     =Den har jeg ås' fundet
              =That have I also found
              =I've found that one as well
```

These latter extracts show then that participants in interaction treat as negatively framed even those structures where the negative item is present only in the form of a tag, positioned at the end of an otherwise completed, positive structure. Participants overtly do this by responding with a marked version of the positive response particle, *jo*, thus maintaining the interactional preference for agreement, while at the same time displaying their orientation to the grammatical or polar dispreferred format of the response.

In the prior sections it has been established that the grammatical preference for mirrored negative polarity in Danish is oriented to even in contexts where a negatively framed utterance for interactional reasons receives a 'yes'-response. This is done by producing a marked 'yes'-response *jo*, rather than *ja*, when responding to a variation of negative constructions: negatively framed statements (as in section 2.3.2.1), negative interrogatives (as in section 2.3.2.2), statements followed by full sentential negative tags (as in this section) and statements followed by a negative marker used as a tag (also in this section).

These constructions together constitute the various contexts in which a negatively framed utterances receives a 'yes'-response in Danish; and in all of these cases the 'yes'-response produced is *jo*. In contrast, when a 'yes'-response is produced in response to positively framed utterances, embodying an interactional as well as grammatically preferred response, the particle used is *ja* (as shown in section 2.3.1).

It has been demonstrated that there are clear distributional differences between these two positive particles, the main difference being that *ja* is used as a 'yes'-response to positively framed utterances, whereas *jo* is being used as a 'yes'-response to negatively framed utterances. Hence, by producing *jo*, participants display their orientation to the grammatical preference for a negative response, even when the interactional preference for a 'yes'-response is non-congruent with and overrides this grammatical preference. For participants in Danish then, the grammatical preference for mirrored negative polarity is oriented to as being relevant at all points in interaction where a negatively framed utterance is produced.

There is however one minor exception to this pattern: 'yes'-responses to statements followed by a negative marker used as a tag, as in the last two examples shown above. In these cases a respondent may occasionally be found to produce *ja*, rather than *jo*. This use of *ja* in response to a negatively framed utterance is not only limited to a very specific linguistic context, but can also be shown to be grounded in interactional relevancies: the response token *jo* displays stronger epistemic authority than *ja*, and thus cannot be used as an acknowledgement token or continuer. This will be demonstrated in the following sections.

2.3.2.4 The hierarchy of preference organisation: some accountable exceptions

Though the distribution of two positive response particle *ja* and *jo* above was shown to differ, so that *ja* embodies the typical 'yes'-response to positively framed utterances, whereas *jo* embodies the typical 'yes'-response to negatively framed utterances, there is one area where the two particles distribution seem to cross: 'yes'-responses to positively framed statements followed by the negative marker *ikk'* 'not', used as a tag. In these cases the unmarked variant of the positive response particle, *ja*, can be also be produced, as is the case in extract (67) and (68).

Extract (67) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista/tag18

```
((Talking about a shop which Fie has expressed regret over being closed the last
time she came to town.))

1  Krista:   nu'   det    jo    [ikk'] li':   sånoget  tøj   jeg
              now-is it  you-know [not ] exactly so-some clothes I
              then it's not exact[ly t]hat kind of clothes I'm
```

```
2   Fie:                        [jerh]
                                [ja  ]
                                [yeah]


3   Krista:    kigger efter nu  vel
               look   after now is-it
               looking for now, is it?


4   Fie:       .hh Nejh.
               .hh Nej.
               .hh Noh.


5   Krista:    Meneh Men det er meget specielt ikk' [ å'] jeg tror
               Buteh But  it is  very special  not  [and] I  think
               Buteh But it is very special, right? [and] I think


6   Fie:  →                                         [ja ]
                                                    [ja ]
                                                    [yes]


7   Krista:    ås' det var  nogen   man ku' snakke me' hvis man
               also it was somebody one could talk with if one
               it's somebody you can talk to, as well, if you


8              sku' ha'   noget   specielt,
               should have something special,
               needed something special.
```

Here, Fie's positive response particle *ja* in L7 is produced in orientation to and acknowledging the production of Krista's utterance in L5, an utterance to which the negative tag *ikk'* is added and as such would be expected to be understood as negatively framed and responded to with the marked version of the positive response particle, *jo*. The same is the case in relation to the negative tag in extract (68), L6-7 (see the response in L8).

Extract (68) : TH/S2/49/Fie & Ester IV/tag14

((Dorthe and Ester were going to the local nursery to pick up a cherry tree that Dorthe had ordered. Knowing that they were coming, the nursery called Dorthe to let her know that nobody would be there until the afternoon.))

```
1   Ester:    =Så havde de ringet å'-
              =Then had they called and-
              =Then they'd called and-
```

```
2             (.)
              (.)
              (.)

3  Ester:   te' Dorthe i morges klokken ni å' sagt
            to Dorthe in morning-this o'clock nine and said
            Dorthe   this morning at nine o'clock and said

4           at De ikk' var hjemme før klokken to      .h[h hh]
            that They not were home before o'clock two .h[h hh]
            that  They weren't home before two o'clock .h[h hh]

5  Fie:                                              [Jerh]
                                                     [Ja  ]
                                                     [Yeah]

6  Ester:   *ø:h* Fordi han li'ssom havde forstået vi
            *e:h* Because he like had understood we
            *e:h* Because he'd like understood that we

7           ville komme ik[k',]
            would come  no[t ,]
            would  come ri[ght],

8  Fie: →               [Jer]h
                        [Ja ]
                        [Yea]h
```

The occurrence of *ja* as a response to a turn where the negative tag *ikke* is added is less common than the occurrence of *jo*. By not conforming to the pattern of orienting to the negative polarity of the prior turn, the cases in extracts (67) and (68) however do initially seem to contradict the claim that the marked positive response particle *jo* is produced in order to show the speaker's orientation to the negative framing of the prior turn. However, the exceptional cases where this is not the case can be accounted for when looking at them in more detail.

In extract (67) and (68) the response particle is positioned in overlap with or immediately after the negative tag; indeed a very common position for *ja*'s to replace the otherwise expected marked variant *jo*. As shown by Jefferson (1986) in an otherwise unrelated study, participants in interaction appear to have a 'blind spot' when taking a turn. Turns at talk typically project a possible completion point, a point at which an utterance can be understood as grammatical, intonational and/or pragmatically complete (Sacks et al, 1974, and Selting and Couper-Kuhlen, 1996). This

point is a 'turn transitional relevant place' (Sacks et al, 1974), where speaker change may occur. Jefferson (1986) argues that at this place the participant about to take the turn may not orient as closely to the ongoing turn which completion has been projected.

Tags, by definition, are additions to an otherwise completed utterance; and in cases such as (67) and (68), a turn transition relevant place has been clearly projected both grammatically, pragmatically and intonationally (in L5 and L7 respectively), before the production of the tag. It is highly likely then, that having heard an utterance as coming to completion, the respondent speaker has 'geared up' to respond in the appropriate way, with an unmarked, positively framed response mirroring the polarity of the prior utterance without the negative tag. Thus it is not only that the negative tag in extracts (67) and (68) are not oriented to, but that they have not been heard at the time at which the respondent speakers gets ready to produce their response.

That this is a possible account for apparently exceptional extracts such as (67) and (68) is reflected by cases such as extract (69), where the respondent (Krista) first produces a *ja* in orientation to the prior, positively framed turn; then realising that a negative tag has been added she responds yet again, this time with the marked variant *jo* to show orientation to the now negatively framed utterance.

Extract (69): TH/M2/1/Krista & Fie/jo13

```
((Krista went to the confirmation of Fie's son and bought him a gift suggested by
Fie. Krista has just reflected on how good it was that nobody else bought the
same.))

1  Fie:       [Jahm'  det vidste jeg   jo  ] bare  a'  [jeg]
              [Yesbut that knew    I you-know] just that [ I ]
              [Yesbut you know, I just knew ] that      [ I ]

2  Krista:    [(                          ) ]          [ ja]
              [(                          ) ]          [ja ]
              [(                          ) ]          [yes]

3  Fie:       ikk' havde sagt te' andre  [ikk']ås'
              not   had  said to  others [not ]also
              hadn't told that to others [righ]t?

4  Krista: →                             [Jah ]
                                         [Ja  ]
                                         [Yes ]
```

```
5  Krista: → Joh. Fordi   der'      jo nogen ting   der'
            Jo. Because there's you-know some things there's
            Yes. Because you know, there's some things that are
```

Fie's statement in L1-3, a positively framed utterance,[57] is acknowledged by Krista in L4 with a fitted, unmarked response token reflecting the polarity of the turn to which it responds. However Fie also produces a negative tag, added to the utterance and in effect reformulating the whole of the utterance as having negative polarity. Because the tag is produced in overlap with Krista's response, there is no way that Krista could have heard it before starting up on her own response. Realising that a negative tag has been produced however, Krista reproduces her response in L5, this time using the marked version of the positive response particle in orientation to the now negatively framed utterance in L1-3, again displaying a participant's orientation to the preference for mirroring the polarity of the turn responded to in the response. This emphasises that the addition of a negative tag is enough to reformat an utterance as being negatively framed.

Jefferson's (1986) 'blind spot' at least in this context however seems to be more of an analytical than interactional category, with no evidence that participants orient to these and no way of determining for instance over how much material a 'blind spot' can span. It is arguable for instance whether the production of the unmarked response particle *ja* in L3, extract (70) is done in a 'blind spot'.

Extract (70) : TH/S2/19/Mathias & Malte II/tag1

```
((From the beginning of the call.))

1  Mathias:    .hh Ser du her i det her blad her jeg fik her
               .hh See you here in this here magazine here I got
               .hh You see here in this magazine that I got here

2              forleden computerbladet ikke
               here other(day)-the computer-magazine-the not
               the other day the computer magazine right

3  Malte: →    Jerh
```

---

[57] Though the subordinate clause in L3 is negatively framed, this does not effect the polarity of the main clause or the utterance as a whole and Krista is responding specifically to the main clause : I just knew x, where x happens to consist among other things of a negative item.

```
                    Ja
                    Yeah

4  Mathias:         .hh Stod der en masse int'ressante ting plus a'
                    .hh Stood there a lot interesting thins plus that
                    .hh was written a lot of interesting stuff plus

5                   Fall Out var med
                    Fall Out was with
                    that Fall Out was included
```

Though a negative tag is added to Mathias's turn in L2, Malte's response is an unmarked acknowledgement token *ja*. This is not produced in overlap with or latched to the negative tag, but exactly one beat after its production, a time span common between turns at talk, making it less likely that Malte hasn't heard the production of the negative tag. So why isn't Malte orienting to the negative tag and why doesn't Mathias react to this? The answer can perhaps be found in cases such as extract (71) and (72) below, where a negative tag is produced after a response has already been provided.

Extract (71) : TH/S2/5/Jens & AnneMie/jo88

```
((Jens has been setting up an exhibition of a famous deceased local artist with
help from his son who's supplied the paintings. AnneMie has been indicating that
the ownership of the paintings are uncertain as the estate hasn't been settled yet
because the artists children are fighting among each other.))

1  Jens:    .hh Det tror jeg   bestemt det er [det var   da ]
            .hh That think I definitely it is [it was surely]
            .hh I think it definitely is      [it was surely]

2  Mie:                                       [J a   h  e ]
                                              [Ja       h  e ]
                                              [Y e  s  h  e ]

3  Jens:    li': ve'  å'  gå galt   her i   i mandags , jeg
            just with and go wrong here in in Monday,    I
            just about to go wrong here on   Monday,    I

4           ku' Han havde vist glemt  å' si': det te' Ole. .hh=
            could He had maybe forgotten to say it to Ole..hh=
            could Perhaps he had forgotten to tell Ole .hh=

5  Mie: →   =Jerh.
            =Ja.
```

```
          =Yeah.

6  Jens:   Havde han ikk'?
           Had   he  not ?
           Hadn't he?

7  Mie: →  Joh han havde.
           Jo he   had
           Yes he had.

8  Jens:   Nåh(hh) ja(h) d(h)et t(hh)ænkte jeg [  n(h)ok ]
           Oh(hh) ja(h)  t(h)at t(hh)ought  I  [e(h)nough]
           Oh(hh) ye(h)s,  I t(hh)hought so    [        ]

9  Mie:                                   [ Han  har] aldrig
                                          [ He   has] never
                                          [ He's    ] never

10         nogensinde: bedt om   tilladelse eller noget som
           ever        asked about permission or something like
           ever asked for permission or anything

11         helst a' det der=
           all of that there=
           at all
```

Here, Jens's statement in L4 displays an inference made by him based on the prior talk by AnneMie. Thus, through the use of *vist* 'perhaps' Jens in his turn displays uncertainty about the truth value of his own statement, indicating that he is not the authority on this subject, a subject which was indeed first mentioned by AnneMie. In this way Jens's statement in L4 may serve as an invitation for AnneMie to confirm his inference as being correct (and perhaps specifically what she has alluded to) as well as for her to initiate a more elaborated telling of the behaviour of the parties discussed. AnneMie however merely confirms that Jens's inferential statement is correct, in L5.

Subsequent to this response Jens produces a negative interrogative tag, retrospectively rephrasing his turn in L4 directly as a question to be confirmed or disconfirmed by AnneMie who consequently responds again. The response is now a preferred confirmation of Jens's assumption, with AnneMie here displaying having superior knowledge, and treating Jens's statement as a question proper. Subsequent to this AnneMie further elaborates on the behaviour of the parties discussed, in this way now

displaying that this was what Jens's request for confirmation served as a vehicle for.

The negative tag, in this context then works as what Jefferson (1980) terms a 'post response pursuit'. She argues that when a tag is added after a response has already been produced, this is because the initial response was inadequate and not what the utterance was designed for. That the marked positively framed response particle in this context is produced and accepted as adequate after the tag indicates that the participants orient to this particle as implementing a different action than the mere acknowledgement implemented through the production of its otherwise equivalent, unmarked particle *ja*.

The same is the case in extract (72), where the tag as an individual turn consists only of the negative marker *ikke* and the corresponding response consists only of the response particle *jo*.

Extract (72) : TH/M2/2/Fie & Ester/jo16

```
((About Ester's upcoming move to a smaller flat.))

1  Ester:  så    må jeg se hvad der    sker.>Men  ellers<
            then must I see what there happens.>But otherwise<
            then I'll see what happens. >But otherwise<

2           du    ved  så  gør jeg ikk' så meget. Så flytter jeg
            you(s) know then do I   not so  much. Then  move I
            you know then I won't be doing that much. Then I'll

3           bare over å'   så ligger jeg to springmadrasser
            just over and then lie   I  two  mattresses
            just mover over and then I'll put two mattresses

4           ovenpå   hinanden  å' sover på dem  .hhh å'  så
            over-on each-other and sleeps on them .hhh and then
            on top of each other and sleep on them .hh and then

5           ved jeg a'  det porcelæn  å'  køk'ngrej  jeg ska'
            know I that the porcelain and kitchen-stuff I shall
            I know that the porcelain and kitchen stuff that I

6           bruge det ka' jeg vaske skabs (.)
            use  that can  I  wash  cupboard (.)
            need, that I can was cupboard   (.)

7           wø- al'så     skabene      af å'  stille lortet
```

```
            wø- you-know cupboards-the of and put     crap-the
            wø- you know the cupboards and put the crap

8           ind    i     køkkenskabene.
            inside in kitchen-cupboards-the
            in the kitchen cupboards

9   Fie:    Jerh
            Ja
            Yeah

10  Ester:  Så ka' jeg  sove  der   å' så   ka' jeg lave mad  å':
            Then can I sleep there and then can  I  make food and
            Then I can sleep there and then I can make food and

11          .hh bruge mit køkken  [ fordi ] det  er    jo
            .hh use   my   kitchen [because] that is you-know
            .hh use my kitchen    [because] that is, you know

12  Fie:                    [  jerh ]
                            [  ja   ]
                            [  yeah ]

13  Ester:  i orden [å'    så] ve' jeg bare du      ved
            in order [and then] will I  just you(s) know
            in order [and then] I'll just you know

14  Fie:            [  nemli']
                    [exactly ]
                    [exactly ]

15  Ester:  hen   ad vejen  finde ud  af  så  ta'r jeg bare
            along of way-the find out of then take  I   just
            along the way figure out, then I'll only bring

16          det me'  jeg absolut  ve'   ha' me'
            that with I absolutely will have with
            what I absolutely want to bring

17  Fie:  → jah=
            ja=
            yes=

18  Ester:→ =ikk'=
            =not=
            =right=
```

```
19  Fie:   → =jo
              =jo
              =yes


20  Ester:  Å'   såeh  hh så   ka' jeg hen  a' vejen finde  ud  af
             And theneh hh then can  I along of way-the find out of
             And theneh hh then I can along the way figure out


21          hva' jeg ve' ha'   å' [hva'   der'    smartest]
            what  I will have and [what there's smart-most]
            what I want to have an[d what is most smart   ]


22  Fie:                          [Det   ka'    du sagten]s
                                  [That  can  you(s) easil]y
                                  [You can easily do that ]


23  Ester:  I    stedet   for å' købe noget forkert=
            In place-the for and buy something wrong=
            Instead of buying something wrong=
```

Here, Ester has described in details how she means to deal with her upcoming move to a smaller flat, a move which she finds problematic. In L1-13 Ester describes how she will bring only the bare essentials to begin with, concluding in L15-16 that she will limit herself to bringing only what she absolutely wants to bring.

Rather than display any overt affiliation with this stance taken by Ester (for instance by stating that she would do the same, or that she thinks this is a good way of dealing with the move), Fie in L17 merely acknowledges Ester's statement, thus failing to express any kind of support for Ester having made the right decision.

This lack of a stronger affiliation is oriented to by Ester, in L18, by pursuing a more overtly affiliating response through her production of the tag in L6, thus displaying that the type of response her utterance in L15-16 was designed for, has not been produced in L17. And, as in extract (71), the responding speaker Fie orients to this pursuit of a more adequate (more affiliative) response by producing the marked positive response particle *jo*.

That this response is indeed understood as displaying a stronger epistemic stance (that of agreeing in this context) is evident from L20-21, where Ester now continues the description of her plans for moving house, thus displaying her understanding of *jo* as implementing more than mere acknowledgement, in sharp contrast to its unmarked variant, *ja*.

These cases clearly support the claim that participants orient in great detail to the polarity of the prior turn when responding, by highlighting that the addition even of an individual, negative item has consequences for the formatting of the subsequent response. Thus, the participants treat the distribution of the two positive response particles *ja* and *jo* as being dependent on the presence or absence of a negative marker: a positively framed utterance on its own is responded to with *ja*, but when a negative tag is added to such structures *jo* is employed and in this fashion oriented to as the more appropriate and fitted response.

On the other hand, this proves to be a somewhat limited account of extracts such as (71) and (72) above, where it is evident that the markedness of *jo* in contrast to *ja* is relevant also for what specific actions the production of this particle results in, *jo* being used specifically for confirmation as in (71) or for agreement as in (72). Clearly, the inherent markedness of *jo* in contrast to *ja* has the effect that *jo* can be used for implementing actions that carry an evaluative valence, specifically in contexts where *ja* has been used as an acknowledgement token.

With this contrast in mind, returning to extracts (67), (68), (70) and (73), below, it is now possible to account for the apparent contradictory findings in these extracts in a more interactionally relevant way than merely claiming that the responding participants haven't heard the production of the negative tag.

Extract (73): TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista/tag12

```
((Fie and her husband is visiting Krista the next day. Krista has been describing
how stressed she is with her job and her seriously ill mother and how she needs
time to herself once in a while as well with the result that her house hasn't been
properly cleaned for a while.))

1  Krista:    =om jeg ka' flytte en lille bitte smule støv
              =if  I can   move    a    little tiny bit dust
              =to see if I can move a tiny bit of dust around

2             Men hvis nu når   i   kommer ikk'
              But  if now when you(p) come not
              But just in case, when you get here, right

3  Fie:   →   Jerh
              Ja
              Yeah

4  Krista:    i     la'r vær' me' å' flytte på  noget     i
```

```
                you(p) let be  with to move    on   something in
                you don't move anything in the window

5               vindueskarmen ikk'=
                window-frame-the not=
                sill, right

6  Fie:   →     =Joh
                =Jo
                =Yes

7  Krista:      Ikk',al'så ikk' flytte nogen a' skakbrikkerne [å' ]
                Not, you-know not move some of  chess-pieces  [and]
                Right,you know don't move any of the chess pi[ece]s

8  Fie:                                                      [Nej]
                                                             [Nej]
                                                             [No ]

9  Krista:      så   noget    vel=
                so something right=
                and stuff, right

10 Fie:         =Ne[j]
                =Ne[j]
                = N[o]

11 Krista:         [G]odt. [Så   la'r  vi   det  ligge]
                   [G]ood. [Then let   we   that  lie]
                   [F]ine, [Then we'll leave that    ]
```

In L2, Krista initiates an *if-then* clause (in Danish *hvis-så*). Lerner (1991) argues that such constructions are 'compound turn-constructional units' (Lerner, 1991, pp442) in that the occurrence of an *if* at the beginning of a speaker's utterance may foreshadow or project a second component, the *then* clause. Thus, though the *if*-component in itself can be seen to come to completion, the completion of this component will not finish the turn, as this will only be done upon completion of the second component, the *then*-clause. Consequently, participants will orient to this by not taking the turn (or doing so only minimally) upon completion of the first component, but rather wait till completion of the second component has been reached.

In the example above, Krista adds a negative tag to the first component of her *hvis-så* construction, the *ikk'* 'not' in L2. The negative tag in this

context does not reconstruct the clause it follows as a question or question-like structure;[58] Krista's turn in L2 does not enquire whether Fie will be coming or when this will be, but takes this for granted. Consequently, Krista's utterance is not designed to receive a response of commitment or agreement from Fie, and the *ja* produced by Fie in L3 is merely a continuer, specifically orienting to the fact that Krista has projected more to come, and displaying that Fie will wait for the projected completion before responding with an action where commitment or stronger epistemic stance is displayed.

This is done in L6, where Krista (in L5) has reached a possible completion of her projected clause. By being designed as a request through adding a negative tag, this latter turn is designed specifically for Fie to grant or accept the request. As this is a more prominent action than acknowledgement or continuation, and because of the presence of the negative tag, the request is granted through the production of the marked response particle *jo.*

The latter production of a response particle in L6 then conforms to the more general pattern in which participants orient to the polar dispreference of their positively framed response, when this response implements a prominent action such as agreement, confirmation, granting or accepting. These are all actions which commit the respondent directly as aligned with the other participant, sharing the same stance towards what has been discussed, in contexts where such actions are preferred, if not required.

In contrast, L2 in the extract above is not designed to receipt any of these more prominent, committing actions – which is the case also in L1-2 extract (70) reproduced here for convenience.

Extract (70) : TH/S2/19/Mathias & Malte II/tag1

```
((From the beginning of the call.))

1  Mathias:      .hh Ser du her i det her blad her jeg fik her
                 .hh See you here in this here magazine here I got
                 .hh You see here in this magazine that I got here

2                forleden computerbladet ikke
                 here other(day)-the computer-magazine-the not
                 the other day the computer magazine right
```

---

[58] Though its presence does perhaps in this extract project that something is about to be produced which Fie needs to conform with or confirm.

```
3  Malte: →     Jerh
                Ja
                Yeah

4  Mathias:     .hh Stod der en masse int'ressante ting plus a'
                .hh Stood there a lot interesting thins plus that
                .hh was written a lot of interesting stuff plus

5               Fall Out var med
                Fall Out was with
                that Fall Out was included
```

Again, a negative tag is added in L2 at a position where further talk has been projected (talk about what was written in the magazine referred to). In this case, the tag is added after a parenthetical remark in which Mathias establishes what magazine he is referring to, before going on to describe what was in the magazine. In doing so, Mathias displays that the identification of the magazine is perhaps relevant for what he is about to tell and provides a position for Malte in which he can state whether he is familiar with the magazine or not. By producing the unmarked positive response particle *ja* here, Malte acknowledges Mathias's parenthetical remark, showing that he has no problems with identifying the referent and thus at the same time abstaining from getting more information about the magazine. In this way he 'permits' Mathias to continue his description, while minimising the effect the parenthetical remark has on the sequence. This effect is particularly evident in this extract as Mathias continues his description as soon as the acknowledgement has been produced.

The two examples above exemplify the most common contexts in which the unmarked, positive response particle is used as a response to units to which a negative tag has been added. Extracts (74) and (75) are other examples where the negative tag is added before the second part of a conditional *if-then* clause has been produced and thus before the projected turn is completed, extracts (76) and (77) are more examples where a parenthetical remark is being tagged. Consequentially all of these are responded to merely with the acknowledging or continuing *ja*, not the marked, confirming, agreeing or granting response particle *jo*.

Extract (74) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie/tag14

```
((About Ester's upcoming move to a smaller flat. Ester is trying to decide whether
to keep some of her furniture or buy all new.))

1   Ester:    [Fo]rdi at hvis jeg ska' købe noget     nyt
              [Be]cause that if I shall buy something new
              [Be]cause if I have to buy something new

2             sånoget         du   ved [ der] dækker mit behov
              so-something you(s) know [that] covers my need
              sort of     you   know  th[at'l]l cover my need for

3   Fie:                                [jah ]
                                        [ja  ]
                                        [yes ]

4   Ester: →  me' å' opbevare noget porcelæn ikk'=
              with and store    some porcelain not=
              storing some porcelain, right=

5   Fie:   →  =Jerh
              =Ja
              =Yeah

6   Ester:    Så   ska' jeg m- d- der  har de  noget lækkert i
              Then shall I m- d- there have they some lovely in
              Then I have m- d- They have something lovely in

7             Ilva sånoget        hvidpigmenteret eh fyrretræ
              Ilva so-something white-pigmented eh pine-wood
              Ilva, some white pigmented eh pine wood I

8             er [det   n o k]
              is [it probably]
              thi[nk it is   ]

9   Fie:         [   m   hm  ]
                 [   m   hm  ]
                 [   m   hm  ]

              ((Several lines left out in which Ester goes on to
              describe the furniture in Ilva))

10  Ester:    =å' det koster syv. Otte tusind
              =and that cost seven. Eight thousand
              =and that's seven. Eight thousand
```

```
11  Fie:      jerh
               ja
               yeah
```

In L1 Ester initiates an *if-then* clause, a subpart of which gets tagged with the negative marker *ikke*. At the point at which the tag is added in L4 only the *if*-clause is completed and more talk (a *then*-clause) is clearly projected. The tagged component is furthermore also a parenthetical remark as in extract (70), clearing up what kind of new furniture Ester needs (furniture that will satisfy her need for storage). As such, the tagged part of Ester's turn is not designed for an elaborate or strongly affiliative response, but maximally for a response that acknowledges that Fie is aware of what kind of furniture Ester is referring to.

And, as in extract (70) and (73) the tagged structure is merely acknowledged by Fie through the production of the unmarked positive response particle *ja*, allowing Ester to continue her projected clause.

Similarly in extract (75) a continuation is projected through the use of *når* 'when' in L1. Again, the tagged structure is further embedded in the sequence by being an explanation of what an *antidynium* is. Again, this information is merely acknowledged, allowing Mathias to continue his extended telling.

Extract (75) : TH/S2/19/Mathias & Malte II/tag16

```
((Mathias is describing his achievements in a computer game but is interrupted by
Malte requesting him to be more explicit about a particular term, 'vilculators'.))

1  Mathias:   .hh Vilculators=Ka' du ikk' huske når du kommer
               .hh Vilculators=Can you not remember when you come
               .hh Vilculators=Don't you remember when you get

2              ind i den der antidynium som a' den der
               in in that there antidynium that is that there
               into into that anti dynium which is the

3       →      indre by i Boneyard ikke,
               inner city in Boneyard not,
               inner city in Boneyard right,

4  Malte: →    Jarh
               Ja
               Yeah
```

```
5   Mathias:  .Hhh Der vrimler det rundt me' så nogen
              .Hhh There crowds it round with so some
              .Hhh There's like crowds of those


6             (.)
              (.)
              (.)


7   Mathias:  ehh store fyre i jernrustninger
              Ehh big   guys in iron armours
              Ehh big guys in iron armours


              ((Several lines left out where Mathias attempt to
              get Malte to remember the 'big guys in iron
              armours'))


8   Mathias:  De hedder Vilgulators
              They called-are Vilgulators
              They are called Vilgulators
```

Explaining or defining a term used in a turn is a common context in which a structure is tagged, acknowledged and then left behind in the continuation of an extended telling, as is evident also from extract (76) and (77) where in contrast to (74) and (75) no conditional clause is produced.

Extract (76) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie/tag21

```
((Ester has a holiday house close to where Fie lives. The year before Ester paid a
local schoolboy to cut her grass. Arriving for the first time this year, Ester saw
that her grass had been cut and assumed the boy had done it.))

1   Ester:  hvis hvis ng jeg troede    jo    ikk' jeg behøvede
            if   if   ng I  thought you-know not   I  needed
            if   if   ng you know I didn't think I needed


2           slå   græs fordi    at   da jeg ble' så glad    å'
            beat  grass because that when I became so happy and
            to cut the grass because when, I became so happy to


3           så det havde været slået=
            saw it  had    been beaten=
            see it had been cut=


4   Fie:    =Je[rh ]
            =Ja[   ]
```

```
                       =Ye[ah ]

5   Ester:        [al’]så det trængte  te’ det [.hhh] men jeg så
                  [you]-know it needed to that [.hhh] but I   saw
                  [you] know it needed to be cu[t   ] but I saw

6   Fie:                                       [ m m]
                                               [ m m]
                                               [ m m]

7   Ester:    nogen havde slået det så   troede
              someone had beaten it then thought
              somebody had cut it, then I thought

8             jeg det var ham jeg bad    om det
              I   it was him I asked about it
              that it was the guy I asked to

9      →   sids[te å]r  [Mart]in ikk’ [.hh ] å’
            las[t  y]ear [Mart]in not  [.hh ] and
            do [it l]ast [year] Martin [righ]t and

10  Fie: →      [jah ]    [Jerh]        [Jerh]
               [ja  ]    [Ja  ]        [Ja  ]
               [yes ]    [Yeah]        [Yeah]

11  Ester:   s’ sagde jeg te’ Lis Fedt  så   gider  vi ikk’ å’
             then said I  to  Lis Great then bother we not to
             then I said to Lis Great, then we can’t be bothered

12           slå græs  å’ [ da ] jeg så  fik a’ vide af min
             beat grass and [when]  I then got to know of my
             to cut the gr[ass ] and when then I was told by my
```

Here, the third *ja* in L10 is produced in response to Ester's parenthetical identification of Martin as the guy she asked to cut her grass (in bold). The identification is tagged, constructing this as a position in which Fie can acknowledge the naming and in this way showing that she has no problems with identifying the referent. Again, the unmarked particle *ja* is merely acknowledging this information as received, while claiming no superior or prior knowledge of this identification.

In contrast, a *jo*-response in this context would have been understood as treating the *Martin ikk'* 'Martin right' as a question to be confirmed, displaying that Fie rather than Ester would be the person who had the

strongest epistemic access to naming the person that used to mow Ester's lawn.

Extract (77) is another case where information/explaining of a referent is provided in a parenthetical manner and followed by a negative tag. Again, this is treated as having the speaker provide information that the other participant needs before the talk can continue, rather than as having the speaker check with the other participant whether something is right or wrong before continuing. As in other cases where *ja* is produced in response to these types of parenthetical remarks and first components of compound constructions, the speaker producing the 'yes'-response displays him/herself as having weaker epistemic access that the prior speaker. The information provided in a parenthetical manner in this extract is that Ester is talking about *new* furniture.

Extract (77): TH/M2/2/Ester&Fie/tag13

```
((Ester is selling some of her furniture because of a move to a smaller flat. She
is however only selling if she can get the right price.))

1  Ester:      fordi    at jeg har set for  mange år   siden bare
               because that I have seen for many years since just
               because I have seen many years ago, just the

2              skabet       te' salg i sån'en     stilmøbler
               cupboard-the to sale in like-this stilmøbler
               cupboard for sale in one of those stilmøbler

3        →     al'så som nyt ikk'=
               you-know as  new not=
               you know as new, right=

4  Fie:  →     =jerh=
               =ja=
               =yeah=

5  Ester:      =da kostede det trettentusind    bare skabet
               =then cost  it thirteen-thousand just cupboard-the
               =then it was thirteen thousand, just the cupboard

6  Fie:        Ja,  det  tror jeg gerne.
               Ja, that think I well
               Yes, I'll believe that
```

As in extract (70), the information in extracts (74), (75), (76) and (77) perhaps creates a common point of reference for the participants, the speaker checking that the respondent has followed the talk so far, something which might be particularly important in sequences of extended tellings as in all of the extracts discussed so far. The addition of the negative tag in these cases does not reconstruct a statement as a question or an assertion designed to receive confirmation or agreement, but merely provides a place in which the recipient can display his or her involvement in the telling.

This is in stark contrast to all the cases discussed in this and previous sections, where the marked positive response particle *jo* was produced. In these cases a negatively framed utterances was not part of an embedded or parenthetical structure and *jo* implemented more prominent actions such as agreement, affiliation and confirmation. This pattern suggests that participants distinguish the two response particles with regard to the actions they implement; because of its markedness *jo* cannot be used as an acknowledgement token or continuer, whereas this is perfectly possible for the unmarked version, *ja*.[59]

In fact participants appear to be so aware of this difference between the two otherwise similar particles that it is possible for them to exploit this difference in their interaction, as in extract (67) reproduced here, where Krista produces a negative tag after an assertion which is neither a first component of a compound construction nor a parenthetical remark.

Extract (67) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista/tag18

```
((About a shop which was closed the day Fie was in town.))

1   Krista:   Meneh Men det er meget specielt ikk' [ å'] jeg tror
              Buteh But  it is  very special  not  [and] I  think
              Buteh But it is very special, right? [and] I think

2   Fie: →                                         [ja ]
                                                    [ja ]
                                                    [yes]

3   Krista:   ås' det var  nogen   man ku' snakke me' hvis man
              also it was somebody one could talk with if one
              it's somebody you can talk to, as well, if you
```

```
4              sku' ha'   noget   specielt,
               should have something special,
               needed something special.


5              Den ene er      [  j o  ] designer
               The one is      [you-know] designer
               One of them is a [designer] you know
```

Here Krista evaluates a clothes shop which Fie wants to go and visit. The evaluation is done through the adjective *specielt* 'special', an adverb which has negative connotations in Danish,[60] at least in this context.

By responding with *ja* instead of *jo* here Fie avoids agreeing with Krista's negative evaluation of the shop – a shop which Fie has earlier expressed great interest in. Instead, the *ja* merely acknowledges Krista's evaluation, avoiding an expression of overt disagreement while at the same time indicating that Fie does in fact *not* agree with the evaluation either.

This is of course a slightly speculative account for why Fie produces *ja* as a response in a context where one would otherwise expect *jo* to be the grammatically preferred response. Krista however orients to the production of *ja* as a marked option in this context, displaying potential problems in the alignment between the speakers and attempts to dissolve

---

[59] See also the following section, where it is shown that *jo* and *ja* are treated as being different at all points in interaction, even when used as response initiators following positively framed utterances.
[60] This is particularly evident in this context where the same evaluation of the same shop in an earlier sequence is reacted to by Fie as being negative. This is displayed through Fie initiating her response in L5 with *men/but*:
((Prior to extract (67)))

```
1  Krista:        .hh Nåh Jah .hh D- det'   Det er noget    meget
                  .hh Oh  Ja  .hh D- that's That is something very
                  .hh Right. Yes .hh D- that's The things they've got


2                 specielt de har   [ der ]
                  special they have [there]
                  there are very spe[cial ]


3  Fie:                             [ Jah ] Det er det=
                                    [ Ja  ] That is it=
                                    [ Yes ] It is=


4  Krista:  →     =Det' meget speci[elt]
                  =That's very spec[ial]
                  =It's very   spec[ial]


5  Fie:     →                      [Men] jeg ska'   da    altid ind
                                    [But]  I  must really always inside
                                    [But] still, I always have to go


6                 å' kigge
                  and look
                  inside and look
```

this problem by redefining the use of *speciel* as having positive connotations.[61]

The cases discussed above, where a negatively tagged structure is receipted with the unmarked positive response particle *ja*, initially appeared to contrast with the more general pattern of responding to these types of constructions with the marked version *jo*: despite an overall preference for mirroring the polarity of a turn in the response, in specific contexts a positive response particle is the preferred format for responding to negatively framed structures. In these contexts the marked version of the positive response particle *jo* is deployed to display the speakers' orientation to its polar dispreference. It was argued that this is due to a hierarchy of preference structures, with the interactional preference for agreement overriding the more grammatical, polar preference, in cases where the two preference structures clash.

It is now evident that the seemingly contrasting or even contradicting cases discussed above can be accounted for in the same way that is through interactional relevancies. Because of their positioning as embedded or parenthetical, the structures in question can be shown to be designed specifically to be receipted only with a token of acknowledgement or continuation. The marked response particle *jo* however implements a more prominent response, one that displays a fairly strong epistemic stance on behalf of the speaker, such as agreement, affiliation or confirmation. Thus, *jo* cannot be used as an acknowledgement token or continuer.

When responding to embedded or parenthetical negatively tagged structures, respondents consequently do not have the choice between the marked or the unmarked positive response particle, as in this position the marked response particle *jo* is simply not available to them, precisely because of its marked features. Thus, the interactional preference for receiving an acknowledgement or continuer in this position overrides the preference for orienting to the polarity of the structure responded to.[62]

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[61] This is done by introducing the fact that one of the people owning the shop is a designer, a designer being the kind of person you would perhaps go to when you wanted something 'special' associated with a 'special occasion'.

[62] A more linguistic account could be that because Danish always has negative tags after positive structures as the only way to format a tag-question or elicit response, *ikke*, when being the only item of the tag is less likely to be understood as in fact negative. That is, over time it could be that *ikke* in certain positions have lost its negative features and that this spreads slowly through the language. The loss of negativity is indeed a common feature of language development, as shown by Jespersen (1917).

In the following section I will further develop the argument that *jo* is a stronger epistemic response than *ja*, by looking at one sequential context in which *jo* and *ja* are both produced: when initiating responses to wh-questions.

2.3.2.5 Beyond preference: the markedness of *jo* revisited

In this section I look at another context in which both *ja* and *jo* occur; when initiating response to wh-questions. As such, the discussion of this section moves away from the issue of negation – and of response particles. However, here it will be shown that the distribution of *ja* and *jo* in the context of wh-questions also show that *jo* is a stronger epistemic marker than *ja*.

In this way the findings in this section further supports the account for the fact that *jo* cannot be used as a response to those statements+negative tags that are designed to receive an acknowledging 'yes'-response, as discussed above.

It has been argued that when negatively framed utterances are designed to receive a positively framed response as the preferred option, implementing for instance agreement or confirmation such responses are (with a few exceptions) initiated through the production of the marked positive response particle *jo*. This does not entail that *jo* is never produced following positively framed utterances; but even in such cases it is evident that participants orient differently to the use of *jo,* in contrast to its unmarked equivalent, *ja*.

Thus, for Norwegian, a language closely related to Danish, Svennevig (2001) demonstrates that when initiating a response to wh-questions with *ja* and *jo* respectively, speakers project different types of response. He argues that *ja*, the unmarked version of the positive response particle in the context of wh-questions, directly affects the turn-taking system or sequential organisation of the interaction, for instance by projecting that the response will be delayed or consist of multi-unit turns. *Jo* on the other hand is used as a marker of the speakers':

> *'affective or epistemic commitment to the response', 'making the answer seem reasonable, or even obvious.'*
>
> Svennevig (2001), pp 154

The two examples below taken from socio-linguistic interviews exemplify how *ja* and *jo* can initiate very different responses to almost identical

questions in Norwegian. In extract (78) the response is initiated through *ja*, in extract (79) through *jo*.

Extract (78) : (Svennevig 2001, (20), pp158,)[63]

1	I-er:	da va- vi ferdig. … hvordan syns De det var å bli intervjua
		now we're finished.. how did You like to be interviewed
2	IO	…((LATTER)) ja=((LATTER)) ja=
		…((LAUGHTER)) yes= ((LAUGHTER)) yes=
3		jæ ha- gått og studert på detta herre siden jæ fikk detta
		I've been thinking about this since I got this
4		brevet=men= ((LATTER)) men jeg=…((LATTER)) det
		letter=but=((LAUGHTER)) but I=…((LAUGHTER)) it
5		va- jo –kke så ille allikevel.
		wasn't so bad after all.

Having been asked a question in L1 how he/she felt about the interview as a whole, the interviewee (IO) responds by initiating his turn through the production of the positive response particle *ja*, thus acknowledging the question and projecting that an answer will be delivered. However this answer is not produced immediately; instead the interviewee produces a turn that displays his stance towards the idea of being interviewed before the interview took place, followed by the actual answer, a downgraded evaluation of the interview.

Svennevig (2001) argues that *ja* is positioned turn-initially in such contexts, projecting that an answer will be given, but that the first turn should not be understood as constituting the answer on its own: that is, *ja* serves to signal that an introductory comment will precede the answer to the question.

In contrast, when *jo* is used as a response initiator in the same context, the response is provided immediately after the particle is produced without any hedges or delays.[64]

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[63] Svennevig (2001) uses a different transcription system and this has not been changed in the examples used here as it should have no effect on the understanding of *jo* and *ja* as different objects.

[64] Speakers of English might argue that the production of the response particle in itself delays the evaluation on line with what *oh* or *well* do in English, thus in effect projecting a non-preferred response. However, as noted by Svennevig (2001), initiating responses to wh-questions through the production of a particle is a rather common phenomenon in Norwegian and does not appear to be associated with dispreference.

Extract (79) : (Svennevig, 2001, (14), pp154)

1   I-er: hvordan syns di det var å bli intervjuet,
              how did You like being interviewed,
2   IO: …jo=det va- jo ålæit,
              …yes=that was all right,
3   I-er: …har di blitt intervjuet før
              …have You been interviewed before

Though the evaluation markers used in the examples above are not equally graded, with 'all right' being slightly more upgraded than 'not so bad', in both examples the IO provides a preferred, though downgraded positive evaluation of the experience of being interviewed. Nevertheless, the respondent in extract (78) where the response is initiated by *ja* seems to distance himself from making a personal commitment to the evaluation produced by inserting a turn which makes the evaluation conditional or dependent on specific circumstances, in this case his stance towards the interview before the interview was conducted. In contrast the respondent in extract (79) readily commits himself to producing an evaluation. In short, the epistemic stance taken by the respondent in extract (78) where the response is initiated with *ja*, is weaker than that taken by the respondent in extract (79), where the response is initiated with *jo*.

Though initiating a response to a wh-question is not as common a phenomenon in Danish as in Norwegian,[65] the number of examples consequently being much smaller, nevertheless from the findings of Svennevig (2001) it is possible to see that the use of *jo* is distinctive from the use of *ja* even in these contexts. Thus, as in Norwegian, the unmarked positive response particle *ja* is recurrently used to initiate a response where the respondent in some way seems to distance himself from making a personal commitment to the response, as in extract (80), (81) and (82) below.

Extract (80) : TH/S2/5/AnneMie & Jens/jo74

```
((Jens is unemployed and has offered to help the local business-office with
setting up an internet cafe for tourists. AnneMie is the manager of the office.
Bente, the 'she' referred to in L4 and L6 is an employee of the business office
who has called Jens to discuss the details of the cafe. At the time of the call
```

Jens wasn't home but is now calling the office back. Bente has left for the
weekend, leaving AnneMie to deal with Jens. Jens's question in L1-3 is directly
orienting to the business of the internet-cafe.))

```
1  Jens:     drejede sig    om  Nåh[hva' hva' hva' har    i    ]
             turned itself about  So[what what what have you(p)]
             was about.     So what [what what have you         ]

2  Mie:                              [Jah. (                    )]
                                     [Ja . (                    )]
                                     [Yes. (                    )]

3  Jens:     fundet ud a'.=
             found  out of=
             figured out=

4  Mie:  →   =Jahmeneh Så   ku'  hun    jo    ikk' få fat  i
             =Ja buteh Then could she you-know not get hold in
             =Yesbut Then she couldn't get hold of you yesterday

5            dig    i går      da du    var ude å' rejse.
             you(s) yesterday when you(s) were out an travel
             you know, when you were out travelling.

6            [Å' ] så   laved' hun en aftale .hhh ehh Det'
             [And]then made   she  a  deal   .hhh ehh It's
             [And]then she made a deal       .hhh ehh It's

7  Jens:     [Nej]
              [Nej]
              [No ]

8            noget me'   a'  Kent godt ville nogen aft'ner
             something with that Kent well would some evenings
             something like that Kent would do some evenings

9  Jens:     Jah=
             Ja=
             Yes=

10 Mie:      =Å' vi snakker om  fra: .hh fem  te' syv  mener jeg
             =And we talk about from .hh five to seven think  I
             =And we're talking from .hh five to seven I think
```

```
11          (.)
            (.)
            (.)

12  Mie:    Al'så    fra    sytten   te' nitten
            You-know from seventeen to nineteen
            You know from seventeen to nineteen

13  Jens:   Jerhh
            Ja
            Yeshh

14  Mie:    Å'  så  Kent har så   sagt ja te' et par aft'ner
            And then Kent has then said yes to a pair evenings
            And then Kent has said yes to a couple of evenings

15          å' så  ville Egil godt (.) Ka' det passe det har
            and then would Egil well (.) Can it   fit   it has
            and then Egil would     (.) Could it have been

16          været fredag han godt ville? .hh [Så ] jeg
            been  Friday he  well would? .hh [So ] I
            Friday that he would?          .hh [So ] I

17  Jens:                                     [.gl]
                                              [.gl]
                                              [.gl]

18          tror  det' endt me'  a'   der'  lavet en
            think it's end with that there's made an
            think it ended up with that there's been an

19          annonce der he:dder .hh Mandag tirsdag
            advertisement that called-is .hh Monday Tuesday
            advert made which is .hh Monday Tuesday

20          onsdag å' fredag Det tror jeg, men jeg ka' ikk'
            Wednesday and friday That think I  but I can not
            Wednesday and Friday I think so, but I can't

21          huske det.
            remember it.
            remember.
```

The wh-question produced by Jens in L1-3 requests information about the arrangements of an internet-cafe. However, instead of providing this information immediately, AnneMie launches a description of the

circumstances in which the details were arranged: other participants in the project agreed to do certain nights of the week and because Bente couldn't get hold of Jens, the internet cafe was only advertised as being open on those nights. The actual conclusion and answer to the wh-question is not produced until L16-21, designed to be an outcome specifically of the circumstances described by AnneMie in L4-16.

Though AnneMie in this way eventually produces a response to the wh-question this is clearly delayed. Furthermore, AnneMie manages to distance herself from the response specifically through the material produced between the wh-question and the response, first by referring to Bente ('she' in L4 and L6) as being the person directly involved in the project (and thus the decision making), and second by expressing uncertainty about the outcome, by using the phrases *jeg tror* 'I think' and *jeg ka' ikk' huske det* 'I don't remember'.

In this way AnneMie displays that though a decision has been made about the project and a response to Jens's wh-question can be provided, the decision was based on specific circumstances and made largely by Bente, with AnneMie only being the messenger - in this way distancing herself from the decision being taken without displaying any personal epistemic stance towards the decision. And, as in the Norwegian extract (78), the response is initiated through the production of the positive response particle *ja*.[66]

Likewise, in extract (81) the wh-question is responded to through the production of *ja* in turn-initial position, and again the responding speaker avoids making a personal commitment towards the response.

Extract (81): TH/S2/28/Jens & Martin/wh11

```
((Jens and Martin have been working together on a refurbishment project for a
third party, C-K. C-K has called Jens to request that they all meet at the house
for further discussions and Jens has called Martin to arrange the meeting.))

1   Jens:      [.hh]h A' det noget du ku' forestille dig vi
               [.hh]h Is it something you could imagine you we
               [.hh]h Is that something you could imagine we
```

---

[66] The use of the contrastive conjunction *men* 'but' in this context may also be part of the way in which AnneMie displays that a response to the wh-question is not directly forthcoming. Thus, *ja*-responses to wh-questions are typically constructed in this way (*jamen* 'yes-but') in contrast to *jo*-responses. The presence of men does however not appear to be tied directly to the issue of the epistemic strength of the response. See for instance extract (85), where a *ja*-initiated response

```
2                  ku' få tid te' i løbet a' de næste
                   could get time to in run-the of the next
                   could get around to doing sometime within the next


3                  par uger Martin=
                   couple weeks Martin=
                   couple of weeks Martin=


4   Martin:    =Jah: Det ka' vi godt
               =Ja  That can we well
               =Yes: We can do that


5   Jens:      Jerh Hvornår ska' det være=
               Ja   When shall   it be=
               Yeah When


6   Martin: →  =Jahmen (.) Det ve' jeg så li': snakke me': me'
               =Ja but (.) That will I then just talk with with
               =Yesbut (.) I'll talk that over with with


7                  Inger om her
                   Inger about here
                   Inger here
```

In L4 Martin accepts Jens's suggestion that they arrange a meeting within the next couple of weeks, but making no suggestions as to when this could be. Consequently, Jens in L5 specifically enquires about a date, this enquiry being formatted as a wh-question designed to receive a date or time as the preferred response.

As in extract (80) Martin initiates his response through the production of the response particle *ja*; and again, something other than a specific, preferred response is produced subsequent to the particle. Though this is orienting to the eventual production of a response proper, the material produced after *ja* not only delays the response, but displays that there are circumstances which have to be considered before Martin can produce a response. As in extract (80) a third party, Inger (Martin's girlfriend) is being referred to, projecting than when a response is eventually produced it won't be Martin's decision alone, but will be dependent on his girlfriend's plans as well.[67]

---

without men clearly marks that the speaker takes a 'weak' epistemic stance towards the response in terming it a 'suggestion'.

[67] When Martin does provide a date for the meeting in a later call, this is specifically introduced as being in agreement with Inger.

Thus instead of producing a straightforward response, committing himself to a date for the meeting, Martin delays this response and furthermore displays that he has not made the decision on his own.

Evidently the speakers responding to the wh-questions in both extracts (80) and (81) manage to avoid taking a personal stance towards their own responses, instead marking them as dependent on, or even the responsibility of, a third party. In this way the responding speakers also take a rather weak epistemic stance towards their own response, by distancing themselves from this.

Though both of these responses are initiated through the production of the response particle *ja*, this is not however evidence that the use of *ja* by itself projects that a non-committal response is about to be produced. It could indeed be argued that it is the delay in the production of the actual response which projects this lack of commitment or personal stance of the responding speaker. Distancing oneself from the response produced is however not dependent on an actual delay, but can be done even in a direct answer to a wh-question. Even in such cases the response will be initiated through *ja*, as in extract (82).

Extract (82): TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista/wh3

```
((Fie's daughter was going to a wedding and needed a scarf to wrap around her
shoulders in church. On a shopping trip with Krista Fie picked up two different
scarves, a black one with golden decorations and a red and orange one. Both Fie
and Krista preferred the black one, but the daughter was going to wear an orange
dress and red shoes so she picked the red/orange scarf.))


1   Krista:   [Å'  hva'] me' Tine, hva' valgte hun a' alle
              [And what] with Tine what chose she of all
              [And what] about Tine which of all her


2             hendes (.) tørklæder der?
              her    (.)  scarves  there?
              scarves did she choose?


3   Fie : →   Jahm' hun valgte det røde,
              Ja but she chose the  red,
              Yesbut she chose the red one,


4             (.)
              (.)
              (.)


5             [Det indefra] fra: Charlotte der.
```

```
              [That in-fro]m from Charlotte there.
              [That one   ] from Charlotte.

6   Krista:   [I n d e fra]
              [ I n-from  ]
              [ F r o m   ]

7   Krista:   Nåh, Jah.
              Oh, Ja.
              Oh, Yes.

8   Fie:      .hhh Ehm: (.) Å'   al'så   (.) te': sandalerne var
              .hhh Ehm: (.) And you-know (.) to   sandal-the was
              .hhh Ehm: (.) And you know (.) with those sandals

9             det ås' det rigtige.=
              it also the right.=
              that was the right one as well.=

              ((23 lines omitted in which Fie described how
              gorgeous her daughter looked in her dress.))

10  Fie:      te' den Fo- .hhh MEn det var det der   var det
              to that Fo- .hhh BUt it was that there was the
              for that-   .hhh BUt that one was the

11            FLotteste.
              NIcest.
              NIcest one.
```

In L1-2, Krista explicitly enquires what decision Fie's daughter made about some scarves. In this way, Krista has already displayed that the response provided by Fie does not need to display Fie's opinion as to which of the scarves were the nicest one and so Fie does not need explicitly to distance herself from her daughter's decision.

When the response is provided in L3, however, Krista treats this as somehow problematic or at least unexpected, first through the pause in L4, then through her surprise marked receipt in L7. In orientation to this Fie in L8-9 introduces a reason for why the specific choice was made: the scarf had to match the shoes her daughter was wearing. Thus, through her turns in L3 and L8-9 Fie manages to distance herself from the response to the wh-question, first by stating that the choice wasn't hers, but her daughter's, second by providing the specific circumstances under which this was the right choice to make.

In this way extract (82) provides an insight into what speakers might be doing when distancing themselves from the response they provide to a wh-question. In L4-5 Krista treats the response as unexpected in that Fie's daughter chose the 'wrong scarf', not the one Krista would have picked had the choice been hers. This treatment is in essence dispreferred,[68] in that Krista displays that she does not agree with the choice. However, because the choice has been clearly stated as not being made by Fie, such dispreferreds are perhaps less problematic than had Krista expressed surprise over a choice made specifically by Fie. In return, because Fie has not taken a strong epistemic stance towards the choice her daughter made as being correct, there is also no need for Fie to defend the choice and thus in effect orient to Krista's surprise marker as inappropriate, dispreferred or in some way problematic.

Thus, though Fie does defend her daughter's choice as being the right one under the circumstances, through her circumstantial statement in L8-9, she manages not to disagree with Krista's surprise marker which indicates that the choice was wrong in general. In fact in L10-11 Fie overtly displays that she does agree with Krista about which scarf was the nicest, as *det* 'it' is referring to the black scarf that Fie's daughter didn't choose. Thus through distancing herself from the response produced, Fie (like Martin in extract (81) and AnneMie in extract (80)), displays that as she did not have the final say in the decision, she cannot be held responsible for her response.

The common factor of these non-committing or distancing responses, with weak epistemic stance taken towards the response, is that they are all initiated through the production of the response particle *ja.* This indicates that *ja* does indeed project that the response will take no personal stance or commitment towards the outcome, as suggested by Svennevig (2001).

This is further supported by the fact that when a speaker responds to a wh-question with a turn expressing direct personal experience or opinion, the response is not initiated with this particle. Instead it's 'marked' equivalent *jo* is used, as in extract (83) and (84).

---

[68] And is oriented to as such by Fie in L8-9, where she produces an account.

Extract (83): TH/S2/28/Martin & Jens/wh5

```
((Jens and Martin have settled the business for which the call was initially
made.))

1   Jens:      .hhh=
               .hhh=
               .hhh=

2   Martin:    Mene:h Å' hvod'n g- Har i det ellers,
               Bute:h And how  g- Are you(p) it otherwise,
               Bute:h And how is it g- Are you(p) otherwise,

3   Jens: →   Jojo    Still[e å'    r o l i g t] ikk' ikk'(h) det
               Jojo    Quie[t and    c  a  r  m] not  not(h) the
               Yesyes  Nice[ and    quiet      ] nothing nothing

4   Martin:                [(Nåhm' det'   godt)]
                           [(Ohbut that's good)]
                           [(Ohbut that's good)]

5   Jens:      vilde=
               wild=
               wild=

6   Martin:    =Men Jens jeg' indstillet på å' gøre det
               =But Jens I'm  disposed on to   do   it
               =But Jens I'm prepared to do it
```

Having finished making arrangements for a meeting, in L2 Martin produces a 'how are you' enquiry. Responding to such a question involves an evaluation of one's own circumstances, and as such it is hard if not impossible to avoid taking a personal stance when responding, as is done by Jens in L3 where he produces a positive[69] personal evaluation of his family's circumstances. In contrast to the extracts discussed above, the response is initiated with *jo*[70], not *ja*. Crucially, in this case Martin displays

---

[69] The evaluation is on line with the English 'same old same old', which might not be considered a positive evaluation in English, instead projecting a troubles telling. In Danish however these apparently downgraded positive evaluations are quite common and as in extract (83) the recipient generally treats them as unproblematic.

[70] The response initiator is in fact a multiple *jo, jojo*. As will be discussed in chapter 4, multiple negative particles implements a stronger affiliative action than when the particle is produced on its own. In addition, the multiple production appears to indicate that the response is in obvious agreement with the prior turn, to the extent that the action done in the prior turn should perhaps not have been produced at all. Part of this seems to be dependent on the negative features of *nej*, and it is uncertain whether a multiple positive token do the same action as does the multiple *nej*. It

his understanding of the particle as projecting a committed, undelayed and unmitigated response as is evident from his overlapping receipt marker in L4.

Likewise, in extract (84), Mathias delivers a highly committed response to the wh-question posed by Malte in L9, displaying strong epistemic stance (and authority) towards the response. Again this response is initiated through the production of *jo*.

Extract (84): TH/S2/121/Malte & Mathias/wh7

```
((Malte and Mathias are teenagers and part of a group of boys who play role-
playing games. Mathias is the dungeon- or game-master, that is the person who
designs the game. He has called Malte to suggest (or demand) that Malte makes some
changes to his character.))

1   Math:     .hhn Jeg har kigget lidt på din liste
              .hhn I have looked little on your list
              .hhn I've had a little look at your list

2   Malte:    Jah
              Ja
              Yes

3             (.)
              (.)
              (.)

4   Math:     .hh Fundet ud a' der' en masse ting *de:r*
              .hh Found out that there's a lot things *that*
              .hh Found out that there's a lot of things *that*

5             sagtens ka' tillade⁷¹=Men der' visse ting a'
              easily can allow=  But there-are certain thing that
              easily can allow= But there are certain things that

6             jeg måske ikk' syn's du ska' (.) strække
              I maybe not think  you shall (.) stretch
              maybe I don't think you should (.) go

7             så meget efter
              so much after
```

---

may however be that the multiple *jo* here also displays a resistance towards the question; certainly the issue of how Jens and his family is doing is left behind rather quickly.

[71] This construction is as awkward in Danish as it is in English. To be grammatical either the verb *tillade* should have been in the reflexive form with an 's' added equalling 'be allowed' in English, or the proterm *der* should be replaced with *jeg* 'I'.

```
                  that much for

8                 (.)
                  (.)
                  (.)

9   Malte:   Hvad
             What
             What

10  Math: →  .hhh Joh je:g' blandt andet- ng t- tænker blandt
             .hhh Jo  I:'m  among other- ng  t- think among
             .hhh yes I:'m among other- ng   t- thinking among

11           andet på better criticals(s),
             other on better criticals(s),
             other things on better criticals(s),

12  Malte:   Jerh,
             Ja,
             Yeah,

13  Math:    .hh Å' bownus damatch,  [ (Eller) ]
             .hh And bownus damatch, [  ( Or ) ]
             .hh And bownus damatch, [  ( Or ) ]

14   Malte:                           [(Raid) da]mage
                                      [(Raid) da]mage
                                      [(Raid) da]mage

15  Math:    Jerh Range damatch [.hh ]
             Ja   Range damatch [.hh ]
             Yeah Range damatch [.hh ]
```

Here, Mathias has stated that he doesn't agree with some of the choices made by Malte regarding his character in a role-playing game. In L7 Malte requests more specific information about what Mathias finds problematic, by asking a wh-question. In response to this Mathias lists the features he has personally identified as being problematic.[72]

Thus, Mathias produces a response to the wh-question which is displaying his own personal and strong epistemic stance towards the issue

---

[72] Alternatively, he could have noted that these features were problematic according to the rules of the game as is indeed the case: Because Malte has chosen some specific features for his character, he has had to leave out other features which his character should posses to be able to play. This is stated by Mathias later in the call, when Malte attempts to challenge Mathias's position as game-manager.

discussed, committing himself to this particular point of view, initiated through the production of *jo*.'

The contrast between a response to a wh-question initiated through *ja* on the one hand and *jo* on the other with regard to the commitment or personal stance displayed is perhaps best captured in extract (85), taken from the same call as extract (84). Malte has now accepted that the features he has chosen for his character are problematic, and he initiates a discussion of alternatives with Mathias. The turns of interest are the wh-questions produced by Malte in L3 and L29 and the responses provided subsequently by Mathias.

Extract (85): TH/S2/121/Malte & Mathias/wh9

```
((Character's in role-playing games each has a set of points which can be used to
'buy' character features such as charisma and intelligence as well as various
weapons. Malte is playing a thief and his character needs to be charming and
intelligent so as to not be discovered and to be able to avoid suspicion. The
features he has 'bought' does not provide him with this. The solution to Malte's
problem is evident for anybody participating in role-playing and has already been
pointed out by Mathias earlier in the call: to be able to buy the correct
character features for a thief, Malte needs to let go of other character
features.))
```

```
1   Malte:        (Så) det' ikk' godt=Det ka' jeg godt se
                  (So) that's not good=That can I well see
                  (So) that's no good= I can see that

2   Mathias:      Ikke,
                  Not,
                  Right,

3   Malte: →      .hh Hva' ska' vi så gøre ve' det
                  .hh What shall we then do with that
                  .hh What should we do about that then

4                 (.)
                  (.)
                  (.)

5   Mathias: →    .hhh Ja jeg ku' blandt andet foreslå Hvis vi nu
                  .hhh Ja I could among other suggest If we now
                  .hhh Yes among other I things I'd suggest If we

6                 strøg hh I hvert fald bare ø:hm:
                  erased hh In any case just e:hm:
                  eliminated hh At least just e:hm:
```

```
7                    (.)
                     (.)
                     (.)

8   Mathias:    bonus range damatch oge:h better criticals(s)
                bonus range damatch ande:h better criticals(s)
                bonus range damage ande:h better criticals(s)

9                    (.)
                     (.)
                     (.)

10  Malte:      Je[rh]
                Ja[  ]
                Ye[ah]

11  Mathias:     [Så]:eh Ka' vi godt score (.) to point der,
                 [Th]eneh Can we well score (.) two points there
                 [Th]eneh We can get      (.) two points there,

12  Malte:      I hvad,=Ja min intelligens ka' vi så ås'
                In what,=Ja my intelligence can we then also
                From what=Yes my intelligence we can lower as

13  Malte:      sætte ned
                put down
                well then

14  Mathias:    .hh Ja  å'  så  ryg[er  b]ownus ranch of
                .hh Ja  and then  go[es  b]ownus ranch of
                .hh Yes and then bon[us ra]nge of fire

15  Malte:                          [(jah)]
                                    [(ja )]
                                    [(yes)]

16  Mathias:    fire så ås'
                fire then also
                goes as well

17  Malte:      Nå ryger den ås'
                Oh goes that also
                Oh is that going as well

18  Mathias:    .h Jerh .hh Jeg forstår ikk' hvorfor man ska'
                .h Ja   .hh I understand not why     one shall
```

```
                    .h Yeah .hh I don't understand why you need six

19                  bruge seks intelligens te' den (.) .hh Ve' du
                    use   six intelligence to that (.) .hh Know you
                    in intelligence for that one  (.) .hh Do you know

20                  hva' vi gør Malte,
                    what we do Malte,
                    what we'll do Malte,

21  Malte:          Nej=
                    Nej=
                    No=

22  Mathias:        =.h Vi retter bare på kravene
                    =.h We correct just on demands-the
                    =.h We'll adjust the demands

23                  (.)
                    (.)
                    (.)

24  Malte:          Mhm
                    Mhm
                    Mhm

25  Mathias:        Sætter vi kravene ned te' fem i intelligens
                    Put we  demands-the down to five in intelligence
                    We'll lower the demands to five in intelligence

26  Malte:          Jerh okay
                    Ja  okay
                    Yeah okay

27                  (.)
                    (.)
                    (.)

28  Mathias:        .hh Okay,
                    .hh Okay,
                    .hh Okay,

29  Malte:          Jerhm' hva' så
                    Ja  but what then
                    Yeahbut what then

30  Mathias: →      kng Jo så ligger vi dem over på din karisma,
```

```
                   kng Jo  then lay we them over on your charisma,
                   kng Yes then we'll put them on your charisma,

31                 .hhh Å' hvis vi så ændrer nogen a' dem der
                   .hhh And if we then change some of those there
                   .hhh And if we then change some of the ones

32                 vi har fjer- fjernet te' foreksempel
                   we have eras- erased to for-example
                   we've eras- erased to for instance

33                 harmless
                   harmless
                   harmless

34                 (.)
                   (.)
                   (.)

35 Malte:          Jerh
                   Ja
                   Yeah

36 Mathias:        .hh Så har vi j'en perfekt tyv=
                   .hh Then have we y-k-a perfect thief=
                   .hh Then we've got a perfect thief you know=

37 Malte:          =>Jeg ka' ikk' se hvorfor du har no'e- Hva'
                   =>I can  not see   why   you have some- What
                   =>I can't see why you have anyt-  What have

38                 har du imod better criticals<
                   have you against better criticals<
                   you got against better criticals<
```

The response to Malte's first wh-question in L3 is formatted as a conditional *if-then* clause and though a sidesequence as well as a second wh-question is embedded within this response, a solution to Malte's problem is clearly provided.

Producing the response as a conditional clause marks Mathias's response as more of a suggestion than an actual demand. This display of lessened personal stance or commitment towards the suggestion is further strengthened through Mathias's use of lexical items such as *blandt andet* 'among other things' and *foreslå* 'suggest', leaving the suggestions

open for discussion or negotiation.[73] As in extracts (80), (81) and (82) above, this delayed response displaying low personal commitment - or weak epistemic stance - towards the suggestion, is initiated through the production of the particle *ja*.

The second wh-question (L29) is a pursuit of the *then*-clause projected by Mathias in L5. Thus Mathias's turn in L30-36 is dependent on and a consequence of Malte's acceptance of the suggestions provided by Mathias in L5-11, and as such is a non-negotiable truth in the specific circumstances in which the *if*-part of the response is accepted. In contrast to the response in L5, this turn is initiated through the 'marked' response particle *jo*; and as in extract (83) and (84) the response is produced directly, with no delay and no mitigating phrases, displaying that the content of this turn is something to which Mathias is strongly committed. This is further emphasised by his conclusion in L36 where he states that putting the extra points onto the features *charisma* and *harmless* will result in the creation of a perfect thief. The non-negotiability of L30-36 and the display of Mathias as being committed to this solution is furthermore clearly oriented to by Malte: though he does attempt to argue with Mathias's solution, the part which is picked is not the *then*-part initiated in L30, but the *if*-part in L5-8, that is the part which Mathias himself showed the least commitment or personal stance towards by initiating this turn through the production of *ja*.

The examples in this section thus demonstrate that when the positive response particles *ja* and *jo* are used as response initiators following wh-questions, the type of response projected differs depending on which particle is used. *Ja* initiates responses in which the speaker distances him- or herself from the response, for instance by displaying that the response is conditional or that other people have been involved in the decision-making leading to the response given. In this way the respondent produces a response with weak epistemic stance.

In contrast, *jo* is used to initiate responses to which the speaker is personally committed, displaying the speaker's epistemic stance towards the response as more committing. This clearly shows that even in non-negative environments, speakers orients to *ja* and *jo* as doing different jobs and implementing different actions.[74]

---

[73] This aspect of Mathias's response is clearly oriented to by Malte in L12-13, where he produces an alternative suggestion for how to get more points, after having initially acknowledged Mathias's suggestion in L10.

[74] Another difference between *ja* and *jo* is that *jo* can be used as a boundary marker in line with what was shown for *nej* in section 2.2. Thus, in extract i), *jo* is marking the boundary between H.P's

This distinction between the use of the two particles in the context of wh-questions falls well in line with the variation in use shown in section 2.3.2.1 – 2.3.2.4 for responses to positively framed utterances to which a negative tag is added. In general, such structures are responded to with the marked positive response particle *jo*, to display the speaker's orientation to the negativity of the tag. However, when negatively tagged structures are embedded within a larger sequence, the production of any action more prominent than acknowledgement risks an interruption or even abandonment of the sequence as a whole. In these contexts the positive response particle produced is *ja*, rather than *jo*.

In this way we can see that speakers distinguish between *ja* and *jo* not only with regard to polarity or preference, but also with regard to the type of action they implement or project. *Jo* implements or projects more prominent actions displaying strong epistemic stances such as agreement and affiliation, whereas *ja* in this context implements the less prominent action of acknowledgement, delaying any epistemic evaluation on behalf of the speaker to a later point. Thus, independently of whether *jo* is used as a response particle or as a response initiator, the contrast with *ja* is oriented to by the participants.

---

search for the thing he wanted to bring up for discussion and having actually found it in L2. No cases have been found where *ja* is used in this way, indicating that this is another feature of *jo's* markedness.

Extract (ii) : TH/S2/119/Jens & Hans Pedersern/jo51

```
1     H.P. :             Øhh Jop- Ehh hh (.) *N- Nu* (.) var den der igen=
                          Ehh Jop- Ehh hh (.) *N- Now* (.) was it there again=
                          Ehh Yep- Ehh hh (.) *N- Now* (.) it popped up again=

2          →             =Hva' fa':en var d(h)e- (håh) Joh.=>Det- det var det
                          =What deviel-the was i(h)t- (håh) Jo.=>It- it was that
                          =What the fuck was i(h)t- (håh) Yes.=>It- it was that

3                        var'n< Det var no'et (jeg saksede) ud a' mine notater
                          was-a< It was something (I sissored) out of my notes
                          was a< It was something ( I cut    ) out of my notes

4                        .hh >Det var det der me- me- Me' den< der
                          .hh >It was that there wi- wi- With that< there
                          .hh >It was that thing wi- wi- With that<

5                        dampmaskine i Marstal
                          steam-machine in Marstal
                          steam machine in Marstal
```

2.3.3 Summary
In this section I have described the contrastive uses of the two positive response particles available in Danish, *ja* and *jo*. *Ja* is a typical 'yes'-response in that it is used for agreement, affiliation and confirmation, or as an acknowledgement token or continuer, all when produced in response to positively framed utterances.

In contrast, *jo* is used for various – and very varied, even contrasting actions in relation to a prior *negatively* framed utterance: disagreement and disconfirmation on the one hand (as in section 2.3.2.1), and agreement and confirmation (as in section 2.3.2.2 and 2.3.2.3) on the other.

The main difference between *ja* and *jo* was in this way shown to be dependent not on interactional relevancies as such, but rather as being related to the polar framing of the prior turn: 'yes'-responses to positively framed utterances are done with *ja*, 'yes'-responses to negatively framed utterances are done with *jo*.

As demonstrated in section 2.1 Danish has a strong preference for mirroring the negative polarity of a turn in the response, so that negatively framed utterances are typically responded to with negative responses. Grammatically speaking then, 'yes'-responses to negatively framed utterances are always dispreferred in Danish, independently of whether these responses are at the same time interactionally dispreferred (as in section 2.3.2.1) or interactionally preferred (as in section 2.3.2.2 and 2.3.2.3).

The contrastive usages of *ja* and *jo* further consolidates this more general pattern in Danish: that negatively framed utterances through their polar and grammatical design establishes a grammatical preference for a negative response. By producing the marked positive response particle *jo* in the contexts described in this section, participants manage to orient to the negative framing of the prior utterance, while still producing a 'yes'-response.

Thus, I have in this section demonstrated that the grammatical preference for mirrored negative polarity is so strong in Danish that it is oriented to at all points, to the extent that a marked positive response particle, *jo*, is used when a 'yes'- response is for interactional reasons produced after a negatively framed utterance.

2.4 Conclusion

In this section I summarise the findings made in this chapter and draw some conclusions from these findings. I finish by making some observations about possible implications for studies of negation in interaction as well as for other languages.

2.4.1 Summary

In this chapter a large variety of utterances and their corresponding responses have been discussed. Here, I will briefly outline the most important patterns described in prior sections.

In section 2.1 I demonstrated:
- that negative responses are typically produced in response to other negatively framed utterances,

- and, that when this was the case the negative responses embodied preferred actions

- that this was the case across actions, including both agreement, affiliation and confirmation, as well as acknowledgement and continuer marking

- further, that when negative responses do embody dispreferred actions, this is only in the case where they are produced as a response to positively framed utterances,

- and, that positive responses in a similar fashion can be deployed also to implement dispreferred actions, when produced in response to negatively framed utterances.

From these observations I concluded:
a) That in addition to the interactional preference for agreement, there is in Danish also a strong grammatical preference for having the response mirror the polarity of the turn responded to, so that negatively framed utterances typically receives 'no'-responses; positively framed utterances 'yes'-responses.

b) That the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity is mostly congruent with the more interactional preference for agreement, so

that mirrored polarity constitutes one way in which preferred actions are formatted.

c) That negative responses in Danish are typically associated with preferred, rather than dispreferred actions.

In section 2.3 I consolidated the latter point by demonstrating that negative responses may in fact embody a preferred action, even in cases where such a response is grammatically dispreferred because of the negative framing of the turn responded to.

Thus, interactional relevancies such as the sequential context in which a positively framed utterance is produced, and the action implemented by that utterance may result in an interactional preference for a 'no'-response, despite the otherwise positive framing of the utterance.

In section 2.3 I returned to the main point of this chapter: that participants in Danish show a strong orientation to the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity. Here, I consolidated this observation further, by demonstrating that this preference is oriented to at all times, even when a negatively framed utterance for interactional reasons is designed to prefer a 'yes'-response.

I demonstrated that independently of what actions a negatively framed utterance and its corresponding 'yes'-response embodies (whether disagreement, disconfirmation, agreement or confirmation), a responding speaker will overtly display his/her orientation to the negative framing of the prior turn, by producing the marked positive response particle *jo*, rather than *ja*, in these contexts.

In this chapter, three response particles have been discussed with regard to their distribution and the interactional consequences the production of these particles may have. Table 2 shows the relation between polar utterances, the possible usages of each of the three response particles *nej, ja* and *jo*, and the type of action they embody in specific grammatical and interactional contexts.

Table 2.2 : The distribution of response particles in relation to polar utterances

	Nej	Ja	Jo
<u>Negative utterances</u> (with negation in main clause)	Agreement Affiliation Confirmation Acknowledgement Continuer	--------	Disagreement Disconfirmation
<u>Negative interrogatives:</u> - with interactional preference for 'yes'-response	Disagreement Disconfirmation	--------	Agreement Confirmation
- with interactional preference for 'no'-response	Agreement Confirmation	--------	Disagreement Disconfirmation
<u>Statements +</u> <u>full sentential negative tags</u>	Disagreement Disconfirmation	--------	Agreement Confirmation
<u>Statements +</u> <u>negative marker as tag</u>	Disagreement Disconfirmation	Acknowledgement Continuer	Agreement Confirmation
<u>Positive utterances</u>	Disagreement Disconfirmation	Agreement Affiliation Confirmation Acknowledgement Continuer	----------

Positive utterances with interactional preference for 'no'-response	Disagreement (preferred) Affiliation Disconfirmation (preferred)	Agreement (dispreferred) Confirmation (dispreferred)	------------

2.4.2 Discussion

This chapter has provided a detailed description of negative responses in Danish: the type of actions they embody and the grammatical context in which they occur.

Though the basis for this study is Danish interaction, these findings are relevant beyond the boundaries of the Danish language. For instance, as the findings in this chapter demonstrate, negatively framed utterances form a home-environment for negative responses in Danish; it is here that these responses typically occur, and when doing so they typically embody an interactionally as well as grammatically preferred response. Thus, though negative responses can embody interactionally dispreferred actions, as in other languages, this is in Danish only the case when a negative response is produced outside of that home-environment, as a response to a positively framed utterance.

This begs the question of whether negatively framed utterances constitutes the home-environment for negative responses also in other languages, and whether negative responses when analysed in this context would in fact prove to typically embody preferred actions such as for instance agreement in most – if not all – languages.

As most prior work on negation in other languages have focused on negative responses to positively framed utterances, as discussed in the introduction to this study, this question has so far been left unanswered – and even unasked.

Comparing the extensive description made of Danish in this study with previous work on negation and preference organisation in other languages does however suggest the kind of response one would get to the question. Yes – and no.

Danish, as is evident from the description in this chapter has a strong grammatical preference for mirrored negative polarity, covering all kinds of interactionally preferred actions, ranging from agreement and affiliation across confirmation to acknowledgement and continuation. In fact, this grammatical preference is in Danish so strong that even when

the interactional preference for agreement and the grammatical preference for mirrored negative polarity are not congruent, the negative framing of the prior turn will still be oriented to, through the production of a special positive response particle, *jo*.

Studies of negative responses in other languages suggest, that though the grammatical preference for mirroring the negative polarity of an utterance in the response may not be as strong in all other languages, there is at least to some extent a connection between the interactional preference for agreement and a grammatical preference for mirrored polarity in most Indo-European languages.

The study of negative responses in British and American English by Jefferson (2002) for instance demonstrates that negative responses in these languages embody preferred actions of agreement and affiliation when produced in response to a prior, negatively framed utterance. British English in addition to this allows for the possibility of having a negative response implement acknowledgement and the preference for mirrored negative polarity could in this way be said to be stronger for British English than American English.

This difference between American English and British English suggests that if a language has the possibility to use negative acknowledgement tokens, then stronger actions such as agreement or affiliation with negatively framed utterances will also be done through a negative response. The pattern in Danish confirms this suggestion, as Danish has negative acknowledgement tokens as well as negatively framed agreeing and affiliating responses.

Danish is however stronger even than British English, in that it not only allows the use of negative acknowledgement tokens, but in fact limits the way in which a negatively framed utterance can be acknowledged, to that of producing a negative response particle. A further way in which Danish is stronger in its orientation to mirrored negative polarity than both British and American English is through its use of a special or marked positive response particle, used as an interactionally preferred yes-response.

Again, this difference between British English and Danish suggests that if a language marks the negative polarity of a prior turn even in cases where a positive response is produced, then the negative polarity of a prior utterance is consistently oriented to in that language, as is the case in Danish.

Thus, if a language has a special positive response used in the ways described above for Danish, it also allows only negative continuers and

acknowledgements of negatively framed utterances, which again means that other, stronger actions such as confirmation, affiliation and agreement is also done by having the negative polarity of an utterance reflected in the response.

As noted by Sadock and Zwicky (1985), there are other languages than Danish that has the use of a special positive response particle, used in response to negative interrogatives that are designed for a 'yes'-response. These are Icelandic, German and French, and in addition to these the other Scandinavian languages, Norwegian, Faeroese and Swedish.[75]

If these languages use their special positive response in the same way as has been shown for Danish, that is as a positive response to negatively framed utterances, then the prediction would be that these languages, as Danish, only allows for negative acknowledgements of negatively framed utterances and thus also has stronger actions such as confirmation, agreement and affiliation done through mirroring the negative polarity of an utterance in the response.

Rather than seeing the pattern described in this chapter for Danish as exceptional then, I would here suggest that the grammatical preference for having the negative polarity of an utterance mirrored in the response is one that is relevant to most, if not all languages and hence, that negative responses are typically employed in the service of producing interactionally preferred responsive actions such as for instance agreement and confirmation in most, if not all, Indo-European[76] languages. Whether this is in fact the case and to what extent this is so for the individual languages await further, more detailed investigations of negative responses in individual languages.

3 The format of negative responses and their interactional usages

In this chapter I look in more detail at how negative responses to negatively framed utterances are constructed. I demonstrate that the grammatical format of a negative response has consequences for what type of action is done in the response and for how the action produced in the prior negatively framed is responded to. In this way, the grammatical format of a negative response is shown to have consequences for the overall interaction.

---

[75] The inclusion of the last three languages is not based on Sadock and Zwicky (1985), but on my own knowledge of these languages.

[76] I limit this 'prediction' to cover only Indo-European languages as I would expect that languages that have the use of a different answer-system, the agree/disagree system or the echo system may differ drastically from the ones using the yes/no system. See Sadock and Zwicky (1985).

First, I look at the differences between negative responses that are initiated with the negative response particle *nej*, and those that are not. I note that the former appears to be the 'default' format for responding to negatively framed utterances. Thus, responses initiated with *nej* are in Danish by far the most common way of responding to negatively framed utterances. These responses are furthermore produced and oriented to as being unproblematic adequate responses to the prior negatively framed utterance and the action produced by that utterance.

I argue that this is partly because a speaker accepts - or aligns with - the course of action initiated by the prior utterance by producing the negative response particle *nej* in turn-initial position. By mirroring the polarity of the prior turn *nej* in addition projects or foreshadows that the aligning response will be preferred.

In contrast, negative responses that are not initiated through the production of *nej* are demonstrated to be used only when the responding speaker for some reason has problems accepting the action embodied by the prior turn, or the type of recipient he/she has been proposed to be by that action. Hence, *nej* is not produced turn-initially – or often not at all – so as to mark that the response is not aligning with the action produced in the prior turn, though the response may nevertheless be agreeing with or confirming the content of that turn.

I conclude that the difference between responses that are initiated with *nej*, and those that are not, is, that the former are type-conforming, whereas the latter are nonconforming, in a similar fashion to what has been argued to be the case for responses to yes/no interrogatives in English, by Raymond (2000 and 2002).

Further, I demonstrate that in Danish, the negative response particle can only be used in the manner described above: as a response that aligns with the action taken in the prior turn. Hence, the negative response particle is only understood as being an adequate response on its own, when produced in response to turns that are mainly produced in the service of exchanging information between the participants. The negative response particle *nej* is in this way only used as a confirmation marker, an acknowledgement or a continuer in Danish, when produced on its own.

In contrast, to do anything further than confirmation, acknowledgement or continuation, for instance to agree or affiliate with the prior turn, an additional unit or component of talk is required, in which it is demonstrated how the responding speaker understood the prior turn, and where an affiliating or agreeing action is specifically produced. Thus it

will be demonstrated across a variety of actions that *nej* 'no' in itself is not oriented to and understood as being a sufficient response, except in the cases where an utterance was designed to recieve only confirmation, acknowledgement or continuation.

The chapter is organised as follows:

In section 3.1 I briefly describe the various formats that a negative response to another negatively framed utterance can take in Danish.

In section 3.2 I compare responses that are initiated with *nej*, to those that are not; and show how this variation in the format of a negative response has consequences for the interaction.

In section 3.3 I compare responses that consist only of the negative response particle, to those where *nej* is produced as a turn-preface. Here, I demonstrate that whereas a free-standing *nej* can be used as an acknowledgement token or continuer, to embody for instance agreement or affiliation an extended response is required.

In section 3.4 I focus on negative responses used for confirmation. Here I demonstrate that though the free-standing *nej* can be used as a confirmation marker, requests for confirmation are typically used as a vehicle also for other actions. When this is the case, a free-standing *nej* is treated as an insufficient response, again in contrast to an extended response where *nej* is used as a turn preface.

In section 3.5 I demonstrate that free-standing *nej*'s can be used as a closing-implicative device, but that also this use of *nej* is dependent on whether such a free-standing *nej* is a sufficient response to the action produced in the prior turn, or not.

3.1 The grammatical format of negative responses

In the previous chapter it was established that the grammatically preferred format for responding to negatively framed utterances is through the production of an utterance reflecting that negative polarity. It was further demonstrated that this grammatical preference for a negative response typically coincided with an interactional preference also for a response with negative polarity.

These negatively framed responsive utterances can however have various formats, the common feature being that a negative item is present in the utterance. Thus, a negative response can consist only of the negative response particle *nej*, as in extract (1); it can be initiated through the production of *nej* as a separate intonational unit, but followed by a

second component of talk, as in extract (2); it can be initiated with *nej* and followed by a second component of talk, where the two components constitute a single intonational unit, as in extract (3); it may have the negative response particle *nej* produced in 'tag-position' at the end of the utterance, as in extract (4); or it can contain another negative item such as *ikke*, as in extract (5).

Extract (1) : TH/S2/17/Carlsen-Kipp & Jens/Neg223

```
((Jens and a friend has worked on a proposal for a new design for C-K's house. C-K
has called Jens to arrange a meeting where they can discuss the proposal, assuming
that he should come and see Jens. Having realised this, Jens states that the best
thing would be for him and Martin to come to C-K's house, because they need to see
the house.))
```

```
1   Jens:      [.h]hh Fordi    al'så   j længere ka' man
               [.h]hh Because you-know j longer  can one
               [.h]hh Because one can't get any further

2              ikk' komme=
               not   come=
               you know=

3   C-K: →     =N[ej]
               =N[ej]
               =N[o ]

4   Jens:        [Ud]en  personligt å' [å'  li'sso:m]
                 [Wi]thout personally  [to   sort-o:f]
                 [Wi]thout in person    [to sort o:f ]

5   C-K:                                [Nej de:t ka'] jeg godt se=
                                         [Nej that can]   I well see=
                                         [No  I can   ] see that=
```

Jens's statement in L1-2 is negatively framed through the use of the negative marker *ikk'* 'not'. The response in L3 consists only of the negative response particle *nej*, latched on to the immediately prior turn and furthermore overlapped by Jens's incremental continuation in L4. Through the production of the negative response particle in this extract then, C-K acknowledges Jens's prior turn in L1-2 and displays that he has no problems understanding or accepting what was being done in that turn.

In extract (2) the prior speakers negatively framed utterances is also acknowledged through the production of the negative response particle

nej, but in this case the particle is followed by a second unit of talk in which the responding speaker overtly demonstrates her agreement with the prior turn and speaker.

Extract (2) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie I/Neg114

```
((Ester has been forced to move to a smaller flat when the rent rose dramatically
in the place where she'd been living for the last 30 years. She claims to have
accepted the fact that she has to move and that she now regards it as something
positive.))

1   Ester:                   [Jeg ve' ] ikk' bruge min sommer
                             [ I will ] not   use   my summer
                             [ I don't] want to spend my

2               på det  det  ka' [ jeg ] godt si': dig
                on that that can [   I ] well say you(s)
                summer on that,  [I can] tell you that

3   Fie:                       [.nejh]
                               [.nej ]
                               [ .no ]

4   Fie:  →     Nej. Det ska'   du    i hvert fald ikk' stresse
                Nej. That shall you(s) in any  case not   stress
                No. You definitely shouldn't get stressed about

5               [over]
                [over]
                [that]

6   Ester:      [ Nej] D[et ] gider jeg heller ikk'
                [ Nej] T[hat] bother I neither not
                [ No ] I[ ca]n't be bothered either
```

Here, Ester in L1-2 concludes how she will not let her upcoming move ruin her summer, though the move was not of her choice. In response to this, Fie in L4 acknowledges Ester's negatively framed utterance (through *nej*) and then initiates an expansion in which she supports Ester's decision (not to let the move ruin her summer), by overtly stating that she shouldn't get stressed about the move. In this way, Fie's response in L4 is strongly affiliating with Ester. In this case, the negative response particle and the second component of Fie's response are produced as separate intonational units.

In extract (3), the negative response is also formatted through the production first of the negative response particle *nej*, then of a second component. Here, *nej* and the second component constitutes a single intonational unit, and the second component in this case exemplifies why Krista agrees with Fie's negatively framed utterance produced in L1-3.

Extract (3): TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg45

```
((Fie and Krista has arranged a get together at Krista's the following day and Fie
has called to check whether this arrangement is still on. Krista's mother is
seriously ill but Krista has stated that unless her mother dies she would still
like to see Fie.))

1   Fie:      JA men det'   ås' det jeg mener ] Al'så:   [eh eh ]
              Ja  but that's also that I  mean] You-know [eh eh ]
              Yes, but that's what I mean     ] You know [eh eh ]

2   Krista:                                             [(     )]
                                                        [(     )]
                                                        [(     )]

3   Fie:      man ka'   jo  aldrig vide  noget  som helst [ vel ]
              one can surely never know something at all  [right]
              you never know anything for sure, right     [     ]

4   Krista: →                                           [ Nej ]
                                                        [ Nej ]
                                                        [ No  ]

5   Krista:   f(hh)ordi(hh)   Lisbeth    al'så  hun a'    sgu
              b(hh)ecause(hh) Lisbeth you-know she is bloody-well
              b(hh)ecause(hh) you know Lisbeth is not always

6             heller ikk'  li': nem å' arbejde me' altid
              neither not  just easy to work  with always
              fucking easy to work with
```

Here Fie's statement in L1-3 is negatively framed through the production of the negative time adverbial, *aldrig*, or 'never'. Krista's response first claims agreement with Fie about how 'one can never know' through the production of *nej* in turn-initial position, then displays more overtly how Krista agrees with this, through the production of a second component in which Krista provides an example of how she didn't really know what would happen with regard to Fie's visit, as her sister failed to inform her about her plans.

   Though the responses in (1), (2) and (3) are differently formatted with regard to grammar, intonation or both of these factors, and are furthermore used for different actions, they all have in common that the response is initiated through the production of the negative response particle, *nej*. In contrast, this is not so in extract (4) and (5), either because *nej* is positioned turn-finally, rather than turn-initially, as in extract (4); or because *nej* is not produced at all, as in extract (5).

Extract (4) : TH/S2/50/A.R. & Fie/Neg353

```
((Fie is renting out a holiday house in France and is describing the house to a
potential customer wishing to rent the house outside of the season, in October.))

1   Fie:          Der erhhh opvarmningsmuligheder både  [me' ]
                  There ishh heating-opportunities both [with]
                  There ishh heating possibilities both [with]

2   A.R.:                                              [ Jah]
                                                       [ Ja ]
                                                       [ Yes]

3   Fie:          el å' me' brænde å':
                  electricity and with wood a:nd
                  electricity and with wood a:nd

4   A.R.:         Okay.  D[et    vi'] jo nok være aktuelt (*der*.)
                  Okay. Th[at would ] probably be relevant (there)
                  Okay. Th[at would ] probably be rather relevant

5   Fie:                  [  .klh   ]
                          [  .klh   ]
                          [  .klh   ]

6                 (.)
                  (.)
                  (.)

7   Fie:          Ikk' nødvendig[vis.]
                  Not necessaril[y . ]
                  Not necessaril[y . ]

8   A.R.: →                     [Ikk'] nødvendig[vis n]ej
                                [Not ] necessari[ly  n]ej
                                [Not ] necessari[ly  n]o

9   Fie:                                          [ Nej.]
```

```
                                          [ Nej.]
                                          [ No. ]
10  A.R.:          De[t k(h)a' man ikk' vide]
                   Th[at c(h)an one not know]
                    Y[ou c(h)an't know        ]

11  Fie:           [ Det   a'   det  ikk'.] Ne[j.]
                   [ That  is   it   not. ] Ne[j.]
                   [ It isn't.            ]  N[o.]

12  A.R.:                                    [Ne]j.
                                             [Ne]j.
                                             [No].
```

In L7, Fie disagrees with the statement made by A.R. in L4, that heating would be necessary at the time of year during which A.R. is renting a house from Fie. Her disagreement is negatively framed, thus contrasting with the positive polarity of A.R.'s statement, one of the patterns of dispreferred responses discussed in chapter 2.

AR responds in L8 by changing her position to agree with Fie, which she does by mirroring the polarity of Fie's prior turn (here managed in the simplest form of mirroring, through straight repetition). In addition, A.R. produces a negative response particle in 'tag'-position that is after her utterance has otherwise reached grammatical completion. In adding the tag, A.R. displays her acceptance of Fie's prior turn and the position taken there, in a similar fashion to what was being done through the production of *nej* in extract (1), (2) and (3). And, as in these extracts, the negative response produced here is clearly an interactionally preferred response in that A.R. through this response agrees with Fie, that it might not be necessary to heat the house during A.R.'s stay.

Similarly, in extract (5) the negative framing of Jens's response formats this response as interactionally preferred, again, as in extract (4) by expressing agreement with the prior turn and speaker. This is so, even though the negative response particle *nej* is not produced (as a response particle) in Jens's response at all.

Extract (5) : TH/S2/119/Jens & Hans Pedersen/type11

```
((Jens is involved in a local project on alternative energy sources. H.P. is the
representative of the Danish energy board and has suggested to Jens that he
applies for funding for the project even though the odds are that they won't be
funded.))
```

```
1   Jens:      =side a' den .hhh MEN dET ve' vI prøve å' gøre.
               =side of it .hhh BUT tHAT will wE try and do.
               =side of it .hhh BUT WE'll Try to do that.


2              (.)
               (.)
               (.)


3   H.P. :     Det- de:t- Det sker der i hvert fald ikk'
               That- tha:t- That happens there in any case not
               That- tha:t- It won't do you any harm to do


4              noget' ve' å' [gøre (                            )]
               something with to[ do  (                           )]
               that at least    [      (                          )]


5   Jens: →                    [.hh  OVerhO'det ikk'=Vi får ikk']
                               [.hh AT-All     not=We get not    ]
                               [.hh Not at all=The worst that    ]


6   Jens:      andet end Nej jo=
               other than No you-know=
               happen is that they say No you-know=


7   H.P. :     =Å' å' jeg mener ikk' a' de:t- A' det ka'
               =And and I mean not that it i:s- That it can
               =And and I don't think that i:t- That it can


8              umiddelbart ka' siges å' lig- Å' ligge uden for
               immediately can say(r) to li- To lie outside of
               be said straight away to li- To lie outside of


9              det [man ve'-] Ma[n  vil] beskæ[ftige sig] me'=
               that[ one wi-] On[e will] occup[y  (r)   ] with=
               what[ one wi-] On[e want]s to d[eal      ] with=
```

In this extract H.P. produces a negatively framed utterance in L3-4, stating that putting in an application for funding won't do Jens and his associates any harm. Agreeing with this in L5-6, Jens's response is negatively framed through the production of the negative marker *ikke*, his turn thus mirroring the polarity of the immediate prior turn in a grammatically preferred manner, as described in chapter 2.

The five extracts above exemplify the ways in which a negatively framed response to negatively framed utterances can be constructed. As can be seen from these extracts, how the negative framing is constructed

does not appear to have any effect on the interactional preference organisation of these responses: if they are negatively framed (and produced in response to negatively framed utterances), then they are grammatically as well as interactionally preferred, embodying actions such as acknowledgement, affiliation and agreement.

However, in the following sections I will demonstrate that the grammatical format of these negative responses do have an effect on what type of action they embody. In section 3.2 I compare negative responses that are initiated through the production of the negative response particle *nej* 'no' (as in extract (1), (2) and (3)), to those that are not (as in extract (4) and (5)). In section 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 I compare negative responses that consist only of the negative response particle (as in extract (1)), to those where a second component of talk is produced subsequent to *nej* (as in extract (2) and (3)).

3.2 Type-conforming and nonconforming responses to negatively framed utterances

In this section I compare negative responses that are initiated with the negative response particle *nej* 'no', to those that are not. I demonstrate that the former are responses that treat the prior negatively framed utterance and the action produced there as entirely unproblematic, whereas the latter are responses that in some way treat the action produced in the prior turn as problematic.

As described in the prior section, negative responses can be constructed in various ways. One of the differences between formats can be whether the negative response particle *nej* initiates the response, or not.

These two alternatives are not evenly distributed with regard to their frequency of occurrence: of approximately 450 cases of negatively framed responses to negatively framed utterances collected from the data for this study, 410 are initiated with *nej* (either with *nej* constituting the whole of the response, as in extract (1); or with *nej* followed by a second component of talk, either intonationally separate from *nej*, as in extract (2); or constituting a single intonational unit, as in extract (3)).

In contrast, only 40 cases have the negative response particle positioned turn-finally, or not produced at all. Thus, there is a strong distributional bias towards having negative responses to negatively framed utterances initiated by the negative response particle *nej*, in Danish.

A similar bias was noted by Raymond (2000) and (2002) for responses to yes/no interrogatives in English. He noted that such interrogatives typically receive responses that are initiated with a response particle; either *yes* or *no*, dependent on the polar format of the interrogative, as well as whether the response was agreeing or disagreeing. In contrast, responses that were not initiated with a response particle occurred very infrequently. Raymond (2000) and (2002) argues that this distributional bias is due to the fact that the grammatical structure of an interrogative reduces the responses they make relevant to a choice between *yes* and *no*. In this way, the grammatical form of an utterance (an interrogative) can constrain what type of response is relevant next.

Raymond (2000) and (2002) terms responses that conform to these constraints (i.e. responses initiated with *yes* or *no*) type-conforming responses, and those that do not conform to these constraints nonconforming. He further demonstrates that type-conforming responses are the default way in which a response to interrogatives are produced, whereas nonconforming responses are produced only in cases where the responding speaker has problems accepting :

> *"...both the course of action initiated by an interrogative, and the type of recipient one has been proposed to be by it..."*
>
> Raymond (2002), pp41

The two examples below from Raymond (2002) demonstrate the difference between a type-conforming and nonconforming response to a *yes/no* interrogative.

Extract (6) : (Type-conforming response) (Raymond (2002), pp20, extract 16) HV5A1

```
1  HV:    How about your breast(s) have they settled do:wn
2         [no:w.
3  M:     [Yeah they 'ave no:w yeah.=
4  HV:    =(    ) they're not uncomfortable anymo:re.
5  M: →   No: they was la:st week.
```

Extract (7): (Nonconforming response) (Raymond (2002), pp21, extract 17) HV1C1

```
1  HV:    Are you feeding her on Cow and Gate.
2         (1.0)
```

```
3   M:    Yeah premium (                    ).
4   HV:   Mm.=Are your breasts alright.
5         (0.7)
6   M: →  They're fine no:w I've stopped leaking (.) so:
7   HV:   You didn't want to breast feed,
8   M :   .hh No:: I-(.) I've always had a (.) phobia about my
          breasts.
```

Both of these extracts are taken from a Health Visitor (HV) corpus and in both the HV enquires into the state of the mothers' (M) breasts. Though both mothers produce preferred responses, confirming that their breasts are not at the moment problematic, these responses are formatted differently in each example: in extract (6), the mother produces a type-conforming response initiated through the production of the response particle *yeah*, accepting the format of the question which implies that though the breasts are now fine, they have been problematic at an earlier point in time.

In contrast, in extract (7), the mother produces a nonconforming response, specifying that though the breasts are now fine, they were problematic at an earlier point in time, displaying that this was not oriented to by the HV's enquiry. Raymond (2002) thus concludes that:

> "...type-conforming responses accept the design of a FPP[77] (the interrogative) – and the action it delivers- as adequate, while nonconforming responses treat the design of a FPP- and the action it delivers-as, in someway, problematic."
>
> Raymond (2002), pp21

Negatively framed utterances as a group are of course not as homogenous as the yes/no type interrogatives described by Raymond (2000) and (2002). Whereas the grammatical format of yes/no interrogatives clearly constrain the relevant responses to be either *yes* or *no*, responses that either confirm or disconfirm the question posed through the interrogative, negatively framed utterances, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, can be designed interactionally as well as grammatically to prefer a larger variety of action-responses, from agreement, affiliation and confirmation, to acknowledgement and continuation. Nevertheless, in the following I will demonstrate that negatively framed utterances are in Danish typically responded to with the

---

[77] FPP is an abbreviation of First Pair Part, the first part of an adjacency pair.

production of a turn-initial *nej*, that is, that this format of responding is type-conforming.

3.2.1 Type-conforming responses to negatively framed utterances

As demonstrated in chapter 2, negatively framed utterances are typically responded to through the production of a negatively framed response. Independently of what action is being done through these negative responses, these responses are most commonly formatted through the production of the negative response particle *nej*, and then perhaps followed by an additional turn component. Thus, in extract (8) the negatively framed utterance is responded to with a marker of continuation, in extract (9) with an acknowledgement token, in extract (10) confirmation, in extract (11) affiliation and in extract (12) agreement. Crucially, in all of these cases, the negative response delivered is initiated with (or consists of) the negative response particle *nej*.

Extract (8) : TH/S2/140) Krista & Fie II/Neg548

```
((Krista has been explaining to Jens how she wants a new washing machine because
she and her husband need to be able to wash small amount of clothes, without
having to use a full machine of water. 'The aunt' referred to is Jens's sister-in-
law.))


1  Jens:      Nejh. .hh Der har: Vi har jo lige fået
              Nej.  .hh There have: We have you-know just got
              Noh. .hh There have: We've just got


2             eh ehh mosterens over hos os  [for]di hun
              eh ehh aunt-the over with us  [bec]ause she
              eh ehh the aunts' to our place[ be]cause she's


3  Krista:                                 [ ja]
                                           [ja ]
                                           [yes]


4  Jens:      er flyttet å' der' vaskekælder å' hun havde
              is moved and there's washing-basement and she had
              moved and there's a washing basement and she didn't


5             ikk' plads te' den der.=
              not room   to  it there.=
              have any room for it there.=


6  Krista: →  =Nejh
              =Nej
              =Noh
```

```
7   Jens:       .hhh Så har hun så fået den stillet op ve'
                .hhh So she has then got it put up by
                .hhh So she's had it installed next to

8               siden a' vores,  [øhh] så hun så bruger
                side-the of ours [ehh] so she then uses
                   ours          [ehh] so that she then uses

9   Krista:                      [ja ]
                                 [ja ]
                                 [yes]

10  Jens:       den når hun er her. .hh Å' det' jo så'n en
                it when she is here. .hh And that's y-k like-this a
                it when she's here. .hh And that's like a

11              .hhh en simpel tohundredetyve volts maskine
                .hhh a simple twohundred-twenty volts machine
                .hhh a simple twohundred and twenty volt machine
```

In a discussion of energy- and water-saving washing machines, Jens here introduces his sister-in-law's washing machine, to compare this new machine with the old one he and his wife has. The sister-in-law has recently moved to a house with public washing machines and has now moved her own machine to Jens's house which is close to her holiday house (where there is no water-supply).

In L2-4 Jens mentions the reason for why the washing machine is now placed in his house. This is done through the production of a negatively framed utterance, 'she didn't have any room for it there'.

As part of a larger sequence in which Jens has introduced his sister-in-laws washing machine as somehow relevant for the general discussion of water- and energy-consumption, this utterance is a side-remark, establishing how Jens came to be able to compare his sister-in-law's washing machine with his own. Consequently, Krista in L6 responds to this utterance only with a marker of continuation, the negative response particle *nej*, that displays that she has heard, understood and accepted the prior turn, and that Jens can continue his telling.

Similarly, in extract (9) Fie marks Ester prior negatively framed utterance as heard, understood and accepted, through the negative response particle *nej*, which in this case is used as an acknowledgement token.

Extract (9) : TH/S2/47/Fie & Ester IV/Neg340

```
((Ester is describing how she and a third party, Dorthe, went to a nursery to pick
up a palm that Dorthe ordered. When they got there, Dorthe realised that the
nursery wanted two hundred kroner for the palm. Finding this too expensive, they
left without the palm.))
```

```
1   Ester:   Men det her var ås' en anden Al'så den her
             But that here was also an other You-know that here
             But this one was another one as well You know this one

2            var helt sikkert de to hundrede kroner værd
             was all   sure   those two hundred kroner worth
             was definitely worth the two hundred kroner

3            [fordi  de]n var .hh Den var anderledes=
             [because i]t was .hh  It was different=
             [because i]t was .hh It was different=

4   Fie:     [Nåh    nåh]
             [Oh     oh ]
             [Oh     oh ]

5   Ester:   =Det var ikk' den hun ville ha' heller
             =It was  not that she wanted have neither
             =It wasn't the one she wanted either

6   Fie: →   Nejh=
             Nej=
             Noh=

7   Ester:   =Så nu vidste hun   ikk'engang  om hun ville
             =So now knew  she   not-one-time if she would
             =So now she didn't even know if she'd dare to

8            turde be' Jens om    å' købe en fordi   hun ville
             dare ask Jens about to buy one because she would
             ask Jens to buy one, because she didn't want

9            ikk' ha' en forkert å' [.hhh ]
             not have a  wrong  and [.hhh ]
             a wrong one       and  [.hhh ]
```

In L5 Ester states that the palm in the nursery wasn't the kind of palm Dorthe really wanted, through the production of a negatively framed utterance. In contrast to L2-4 in extract (8), this utterance could be

understood as a concluding remark on the issue of Dorthe failing to buy the palm (because the palm was wrong, rather than because she is stingy), and there is no projection of further talk being produced by Ester on this topic. In response to this, Fie produces an acknowledgement token, the negative response particle *nej*, in L6. In this way she displays that the prior turn has been heard, understood and accepted unproblematically, but also that she has nothing to contribute to the talk herself.

In extract (10), the role of the negative response particle is that of confirming the assumptions displayed in the prior, negatively framed question, as being correct.

Extract (10) : TH/S2/49/Fie & Ester/Neg633

```
((This extract is taken from a sequence in which closing of the call has been
initiated by Fie.))

1  Ester:      =Hva' så   ta'r  Tine så   ikk' me' jer
               =What then takes Tine then not with you
               =So is Tine not going with you then

2              (.)
               (.)
               (.)

3  Fie:        Hvorhen
               Where-to
               Where to

4  Ester:      Te' fødselsda[g ]
               To    birthda[y ]
               To the birthd[ay]

5  Fie:                      [.h]h Nej Hun har ringet te' Allan
                             [.h]h Nej She has called to Allan
                             [.h]h No  She's called Allan

6              i dag  Å' [sag]t a' hun ikk' kommer.
               today And [sai]d that she not comes.
               today and [tol]d him she's not coming.

7  Ester:                  [Jah]
                           [Ja ]
                           [Yes]
```

In L1, Ester inquires whether Fie's daughter Tine will be going somewhere with the rest of the family. The 'somewhere' is left unspecified, and in L3

Fie request a specification of this, through her wh-question, 'where to'. Thus, it is not until Ester has provided a specification of what she was referring to, that Fie can respond to Ester's question in L1. This question is negatively framed, and through the inferential marker *så* 'then', Ester displays an assumption that Tine will in fact not be going. This assumption is then confirmed by Fie in L5, through *nej*, where after she subsequently elaborates on the issue of her daughter not going to the birthday. As in extract (8) and (9), the negative response particle here marks that the prior negatively framed utterance has now been heard, understood and accepted by Fie, in addition to confirming the assumption displayed in that negatively framed utterance.

Similarly, when a negatively framed utterance is designed for for instance affiliation or agreement, the negative response particle is produced in turn-initial position, so as to mark the prior turn as heard, understood and accepted – and furthermore to project that the response will be interactionally preferred, in extract (11) one of affiliation, in extract (12) one of agreement.

Extract (11) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg18

```
((Fie and Krista are discussing some shops in Krista's area where Fie likes to
shop. Krista has just stated that she thinks she has read somewhere that the owner
of one of these shops is a designer.))



1  Krista:    [M' ] det ka' godt være Du   ved  nogen gange
               [But] it can  well be  You(s) know some times
               [But] it could be, You know some times I can't


2             ka' jeg  sgu       ikk' altid huske
              can  I  bloody-well not always remember
              bloody well always remember


3             hva' jeg læ[ser]
              what  I   r[ead]
              what I    r[ead]


4  Fie:  →              [NEj]hh det'   heller ikk' te' å' huske=
                        [Nej]  that's neither not to and remember
                        [ NO]hh, that's not always so easy=


5  Krista:    =Men  ellers   TAk   for sidst, det var rigtig
              =But otherwise THanks for last, that was really
```

```
        =But otherwise, THank you for the last time, that
```

Here, Krista produces a self-deprecating, negatively framed utterance in L1-3, where she states that she cannot always remember what she reads. Fie, in her response strongly affiliates with Krista, by stating that remembering is not always easy, in this way implying that she herself might also sometimes have the same trouble.

The affiliating response is initiated with the negative response particle *nej*, and the slightly louder level at which this is produced may in itself mark the response as affiliative. At the same time, the negative response particle as in the extracts above displays that Fie has no problem understanding or accepting Krista's negatively framed utterance, and furthermore projects or foreshadows that the response will be interactionally preferred, in this case affiliating.

The same pattern is present in extract (12), though the preferred action projected by *nej* is here one of agreement.

Extract (12) : TH/S2/50/A.R. & Fie/Neg358

```
((Fie is renting out a holiday house in France. A.R. is a potential customer.))

1   A.R.:        det' nemli' svært du ved der' en masse
                 it's you-know difficult you know there's a lot
                 it's difficult you know there's so many

2                så no'en bureauer vi har kig på ås'=Det der
                 so such agencies we have look on also=That there
                 like agencies we've looked at as well=The one

3                hedder   Gites de France å' [så no'et]
                 is-called Gites de France and [so  some]
                 that's called Gites de France [and stuf]f

4  Fie:                                    [>.Hhh<  ] Jah.
                                           [>.Hhh<  ] Ja.
                                           [>.Hhh<  ] Yes.

5                Det'   nu heller ikk' det værste [i   ka'   gøre]
                 That's now neither not the worst [ you  can  do ]
                 That's really not the worst you c[an do either  ]

6  A.R.: →                                       [Nej det a' det]
                                                 [Nej that is it]
                                                 [No  exactly it]
```

```
7                    nemli' ikk'.
                     exactly not.
                     isn't.
```

Here Fie produces a downgraded, but positive evaluation of a company renting out holiday houses in France. Because the evaluation is negatively framed, a response agreeing with this evaluation should mirror the polarity of this utterance, as illustrated by A.R.'s response in L6-7: that is initiated through the production of the negative response particle *nej*. The agreement is further emphasised by A.R.'s *nemli'* 'exactly'. Thus agreement with the immediate prior turn is explicitly demonstrated in the material produced after the negative response particle, as affiliation was done in extract (11).

In extracts (8), (9) and (10), it is evident that the negative response particle has to be present, in order to produce the action of continuation marking, acknowledging and confirming, respectively, as these actions are specifically embodied in the negative response particle. However, in extract (11) and (12), the preferred actions of affiliation and agreement are expressed in the material following the negative particle. In these extracts, the material or component produced after *nej* is furthermore negatively framed, and in this way these components also by themselves constitute a grammatically preferred response.

The second turn components of the negative responses in L4, extract (11), *det' heller ikk' te' å' huske* 'that's not always so easy', and in L13, extract (12), and *det' a' det nemli' ikk'* 'exactly it isn't', thus appears to be perfectly adequate responses to the negatively framed utterances they follow: in extract (11) by explicitly expressing, or demonstrating affiliation in response to a self-deprecating utterance; and by doing this in the grammatically preferred manner, with a negatively framed response. And in extract (12) the component produced after *nej* demonstrates agreement with the assessment produced in the prior negatively framed utterance; again this is done through the grammatically preferred format of a negatively framed response.

For extracts (11) and (12) then there appears to be no grammatical or interactional reasons for initiating the responses in L4 and L13 respectively with the negative response particle *nej*, as even without this particle, these responses appear to be both grammatically and interactionally preferred. Nevertheless, the negative response particle *nej* is produced in these cases.

One reason for this could be, that because the grammatical preference for mirrored polarity, as demonstrated in chapter 2, is very strong in Danish, it is necessary for participants as early as possible to display their orientation to this negative polarity, so that a response is designed first to mark that the prior turn was negatively framed, then to respond in an interactionally relevant manner to that prior turn. However, as can be seen from extract (13) below, affiliating or agreeing responses to negatively framed utterances are initiated with *nej*, even in cases where such utterances has already been acknowledged.

Extract (13) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie I/Neg114

```
((Ester has been forced to move to a smaller flat when the rent rose dramatically
in the place where she'd been living for the last 30 years. She claims to have
accepted the fact that she has to move and that she now regards it as something
positive.))

1  Ester:                      [Jeg ve' ] ikk' bruge min sommer
                               [ I will ] not   use   my summer
                               [ I don't] want to spend my

2              på det  det  ka' [ jeg ] godt si': dig
               on that that can [   I ] well say you(s)
               summer on that,  [I can] tell you that

3  Fie:   →                       [.nejh]
                                   [.nej ]
                                   [ .no ]

4  Fie:   →     Nej. Det ska'   du    i hvert fald ikk' stresse
               Nej. That shall you(s) in any  case not   stress
               No. You definitely shouldn't get stressed about

5              [over]
               [over]
               [that]

6  Ester:      [ Nej] D[et ] gider jeg heller ikk'
               [ Nej] T[hat] bother I neither not
               [ No ] I[ ca]n't be bothered either
```

Ester's negatively framed utterance in L1-2 is potentially complete, at least syntactically and pragmatically, after the production of the first *'det'* in L2, the utterance being *Jeg ve' ikk' bruge min sommer på det* 'I don't want to spend my summer on that'. In orientation to this Fie produces a fitted,

negatively framed response, the negative response particle *nej*, in L3, a response that acknowledges[78] Ester's statement, through its polar format specifically as being negatively framed. Finding herself in overlap at this point, Fie delays the production of an affiliating, agreeing continuation until the next transitional relevant point, the next point at which Ester has reached a possible completion, at the end of L8. Here, Fie then produces a response that not only acknowledges Ester's negatively framed statement, but furthermore demonstrates affiliation or agreement with the decision stated, by Ester, that she will not let the upcoming move ruin things for her.

Again, this affiliation or agreement is explicitly expressed or demonstrated through the production of the second component *det ska' du ikk' stresse over'*, a component that is negatively framed. But, as in extract (11) and (12) this response is nevertheless initiated through the production of the negative response particle *nej*. If the negative response particle was merely produced so as to acknowledge the production of the prior negatively framed utterance, marking it as heard, understood and unproblematic, as suggested above, this would already have been done through the production of *nej* in L3, as Ester's continuation is not in itself negatively framed and does not contribute anything new to her utterance.

By specifically reproducing the negative response particle *nej* in L10, Fie in this way orients to a relevance – or even perhaps preference – for having a response to negatively framed utterances initiated through the production of *nej*, independently of what actions are done in that response and whether the negative framing of the turn responded to has already been oriented to.

The extracts above in this way demonstrate that participants in Danish interaction initiate their responses to negatively framed utterances with the negative response particle *nej*, independently of what type of (preferred) action these responses embody, that is whether a response marks continuation, acknowledges or confirms the prior negatively framed utterance, or agrees or affiliates with that utterance. That this way of responding is in addition the by far most common way of responding to negatively framed utterances indicates that this format is indeed oriented

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[78] As will be discussed in section 3.3 and 3.4, the negative response particle when produced on its own can only be used as a continuer, acknowledgement token or confirmation marker, whereas more affiliative actions such as agreement has to be done through an expanded turn. Thus, there is no way that Fie's response in L9 can be understood as embodying affiliation or agreement, though it may project these preferred actions.

to by the participants at all times as being preferred, that is as being the type-conforming response to negatively framed utterances in general.

Comparing the extracts above, we can now see that in all of these, the negative response particle *nej* takes on a similar role to that of type-conforming responses to yes/no interrogatives, even though negatively framed utterances do not in the same way constrain the type of response that can be produced.

By initiating their responses with *nej*, the recipients of a negatively framed utterance display that they accept the action produced in that utterance and the type of recipient they were proposed to be by it, just as was shown to be the case for type-conforming responses to yes/no interrogatives by Raymond (2000) and (2002): in extract (8) and (9) the recipients of the negatively framed utterances accept that what was being done in that utterance was only designed for a minimal response that allows the speaker producing the negatively framed utterance to continue, should he/she wish to do so. In this way, the speaker producing the *nej* accepts that their role in the interaction at this point is simply to display their participation in the talk.

In extract (10) the negative response particle *nej* also displays that the recipient of that utterance has accepted the action produced in the prior turn, a request for confirming the information produced in that prior turn. As *nej* in this context at the same time provides that information, by confirming the correctness of the assumption displayed in that prior turn, the respondent at the same time takes on the recipient role she has been proposed to be by the prior turn, a recipient that can confirm (or disconfirm) the assumption displayed there.

Similarly, in extract (11) and (12), the participants producing the turn-initial *nej*'s accept that they are recipients of a self-deprecation and an assessment. By accepting this, the participants at the same time project or display that their responses are relevant to the role they have been proposed to take; and consequently also to the type of action produced in the prior turn. This is then demonstrated in their second component of talk, after the turn-initial *nej*.

In all of the extracts above then, participants, by producing a turn-initial *nej* in response to negatively framed utterances, present their own turn as being dependent on the prior, and display that what is being done in their turn is specifically done as a responsive action.

It might appear to be a rather banal observation to make, that the negative response particle is used in interaction to mark that what is being

done is a responsive action, built on the prior turn (or the turn responded to), the action being done there and the type of recipient one has been proposed to be by that action.

However, in the following I will demonstrate that this observation is not banal from the viewpoint of the participants, as the absence of turn-initial *nej* in responses to negatively framed utterances marks that the recipient has problems accepting the action produced in these utterances and the type of recipient he/she was proposed to be by it.

3.2.2 Nonconforming responses to negatively framed utterances

In this section I focus on nonconforming responses to negatively framed utterances, that is, responses that are not initiated with the negative response particle *nej*. As noted in the introduction, this format of responding to a negatively framed utterance is far less common than the format discussed in the previous section, where a response was initiated through the production of the negative response particle *nej*.

Here, it was argued, that by initiating a turn with *nej*, a speaker explicitly marks that what is being done in this turn is an action responsive to the prior negatively framed utterance – and thus, that the speaker has accepted both the action produced in that utterance and the type of recipient he/she has been proposed to be by it.

In contrast, when producing a nonconforming response, where *nej* is not positioned turn-initially – is, in fact frequently not produced at all – a speaker can be seen to actively resist what is being done in the prior turn and how this effects how a corresponding response should be understood.

For instance in extract (14), Ester resists the complaint embodied by Fie's negatively framed utterance, by specifically not initiating her otherwise agreeing response to this utterance with *nej*.

Extract (14) : TH/S2/47/Fie & Ester/Neg-not38

```
((Fie and Ester are sisters, the third party referred to is Dorthe, Fie's mother-
in-law as well as Ester's friend. Fie has rejected buying a houseplant on behalf
of Dorthe, as suggested by Ester. Fie predicts that Dorthe will not be satisfied
and that she would be
better of getting it herself, adding that Dorthe has done this on multiple
previous occasions, the houseplant having eventually died on her.))

1   Fie:        .klhh Jeg ved ikk' hva' hun gør ve' sine
                .klhh I know not what she does with her
                .klhh I don't know what she's doing to her
```

```
2              blomster mhhhh
               flowers mhhhh
               flowers mhhhh


3   Ester: →   mr- gn- Det ved jeg ikk' I dag da hun
               mr- gn- That know I not To day when she
               mr- gn- I don't know  Today when she


4              ringed' te' mig der sagde hun Nå:h nu ka'
               called  to  me  there said she O:h now can
               called me then she said O:h now I can


5              jeg se mine blomster de' helt tørre=Det'
               I see  my   flowers they're all dry=It's
               see that my flowers they're all dry=It's surely


6              da ikk' så sært de ikk' gider være her
               surely not so weird they not bother be here
               not so weird they can't be bothered to stay here


7              (.)
               (.)
               (.)


8   Fie:       *Na[h    m e n*]
               *Ne[j      but* ]
               *Ny[eah    but* ]


9   Ester:        [Al'så   det] a' Så'n har det jo ikk'
                  [You-know it] is Like-this has it you-know not
                  [You know it]'s  You know it hasn't always been


10             været altid
               been always
               like that


11             (.)
               (.)
               (.)


12  Fie:       Jorvh
               Jo
               Ye:ss


13             (.)
               (.)
```

```
                    (.)

14  Fie:       Så'n      har det været længe=
               Like-this has it  been  long=
               It's been like that for a long time=

15  Ester:     =Nåh
               =Oh
               =Oh

16  Fie:       .hhh Meneh Det ka' ås' være hun overvander
               .hhh Buteh It can also be she over-water
               .hhh Buteh It could be that she gives them too much

17             dem det ved jeg ikk'
               them that know I not
               water as well, I don't know
```

Fie's negatively framed utterance in L1-2 initiates a complaint sequence by alleging that Dorthe is doing something wrong to her houseplants. Though Ester in her subsequent turns does accept the overall topic of the conditions of Dorthe's houseplants, the complaining nature of Fie's turn in L1-2 and the implication that Dorthe is doing something wrong is resisted. This is done through Ester's nonconforming response in L3, a response which is *not* initiated by the production of the negative response particle *nej*.

Ester in this way manages to avoid accepting the implications of Fie's negatively framed utterance, and subsequently tries to dissolve the potential deprecation of Dorthe by telling a 'funny' story about how Dorthe herself was orienting to her mistreatment of the houseplants.[79]

Had Ester's turn in L3 on the other hand been type-conforming, that is initiated with *nej*, her turn would have been marked as being directly responsive to Fie's complaint in L1-2, and in this way the subsequent story about how Dorthe's plants were dying would have been understood as a description of what Dorthe does wrong with her plants.

In this way, a type-conforming response would have displayed that the participants were aligned in the action of complaining, with Fie initiating

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[79] The telling is done in the type of voice associated with cuteness, for instance when discussing slightly naughty children who you can't really blame for misbehaving. Furthermore the choice of wording associated with the houseplants in Danish projects a pun: if the houseplants are being mistreated and don't want to stay at Dorthe's, i.e. die, the consequence will be that they leave, or 'walk out'. The Danish phrasing of this, *går ud* is the same term used when plants are dying/withering.

that action in L1-2, and Ester accepting this action and her role as a co-complainant in the talk.

That the nonconforming response is however understood as resisting the complaining nature of Fie's L1-2 can be seen from Fie's subsequent turns in L8 and L16-17 where she produces her own suggestion of what Dorthe does wrong, dismissing the 'funny' story told by Ester in L3-6 and returning to the matter of Dorthe's houseplants in a complaining manner in L16-17.

Likewise, in extract (15), a negatively framed utterance is responded to with a nonconforming response. Again it is evident that the recipient has problems accepting the implications made in the prior, negatively framed utterance, and is consequently marking her own turn as not being exactly responsive.

Extract (15): TH/S2/140/Krista & Fie/neg-not27

```
((Krista has just told Fie that she's got a new dishwasher of the brand Bosch.
Earlier in the same call Krista has told Jens, Fie's husband the same. Jens's
response, 'well I guess that's good enough' might have indicated to Krista that a
Bosch isn't considered an ideal option by Jens and Fie, something which might have
led Krista to produce L1-2 as a defence))

1  Kri:    Jamen det er:  vores eh det' vores elektriker der
           Ja but that is: our  eh it's our  electrician there
           Yesbut it is:  our eh it's our electrician who

2          har bestemt hva' vi ska' ha'.
           has decided what we shall have.
           has decided what we're having.

3  Fie :   N[åh,]
           O[h, ]
           O[h, ]

4  Kri:     [Han] bestemmer altid hva' vi ska' ha' a'
            [He ] decides  always what we shall have of
            [He ] always decides what we're having of

5          hårde hvidevarer.
           hard  appliances.
           hard appliances.

6  Fie:    .sthh Jahmen så' det jo ikk' så svært.
           .sthh Ja but then's it surely not so difficult.
           .sthh Yesbut then it's surely not too hard.
```

```
7   Kri:      °N[ej (    )°]
              °N[ej (    )°]
              °N[o  (    )°]


8   Fie:       [Men nu':] det så ikk' så'n en hvor pumpen
               [But now']s it then not like one where pump-the
                [But now ] it's then not one of those where the pump


9             den ryger efter tre     å[r vel.]
              it  goes after three year[s righ]t
              goes after three     year[s is i]t


10  Kri: →                            [.hh Al]'så ve' du
                                      [.hh Yo]u-know know you
                                      [.hh Yo]u know Do you know


11       →  hva' det håber vi så sandeligen ik[k' ] Men så'
           what that hope we so surely     no[t  ] But then's
           what we surely don't hope it       [is ] But then


12  Fie:                                  [nej]
                                          [nej]
                                          [no ]


13  Kri:   jeg ås' sikker på du ve' .hh Det' fordi det'
            I also sure    on you know .hh It's because it's
            I'm also sure    you know  .hh It's because it's


14         så'n en lille en der arbejder oppe på skolen.
           like-this a little one that works up on school-the.
           like a little guy who works at the school.


15  Fie:   Jerh,
           Ja,
           Yeah,


16  Kri:   Å': Han gi'r jo altid Jesper tre meter ledning
            An:d He gives you-know always Jesper three meters cord
            An:d He you know always gives Jesper three meters of


17         te' det, å' kommer li[':   ] å' slutter det te'.
           to this, and comes ju[:st  ] and connects it to.
           cord for this, and ju[st po]ps by and connects things.
```

The negatively framed utterance produced by Fie in L8-9 inquires whether the dishwasher bought by Krista isn't one of those which will be broken within three years of purchase. By being negatively framed, a negative response will confirm that this is not the case, that is, that the dishwasher is indeed not one of those.

Though in this way being designed for a negative response to confirm that something is not the case, Fie nevertheless implies that she in fact does think that the dishwasher is one of those that breaks down easily. This is partly done simply by her mentioning the possibility and partly through her use of the inference marker *så* 'then' in L8. As such, Fie's utterance is not merely a request for information, but is at the same time implying that Krista bought a dishwasher that is easily breakable. In this way, Fie makes Krista accountable for whether the dishwasher is breakable or not, through her inquiry.

By initiating her response through *nej*, Krista would in this context accept being accountable for the quality of the dishwasher, in that she would accept the relevancy of Fie's inquiry being directed at her. By not responding in the type-conforming format, Krista in contrast marks that she does not accept being held accountable for the quality of the dishwasher, instead stating that she *hopes* the dishwasher is not easily breakable.[80] In this way she manages at least to some extent to confirm that the dishwasher will not break down, while at the same time resisting being held accountable, should this happen anyway. Again, as in extract (14) this is done by marking her turn as not being directly responsive to the prior, negatively framed utterance.

That the absence of a turn-initial *nej* explicitly marks a turn as not being directly responsive to, and thus unproblematically accepting of, a prior, negatively framed utterance is perhaps particularly evident from extract (16).

---

[80] The issue of accountability is further adressed in Krista's continuation in L13-17. Through her 'But then I'm also sure you know', Krista appears to be referring to what would happen should the dishwasher actually break down. Though her utterance here is self-interrupted, it seems to project that in this case the guy who sold them the dishwasher would do something about it breaking ('But then I'm also sure you know' [that he would replace/fix it]), that is, that he is the one who can be held accountable for the quality of the dishwasher. The description of the guy who sold them the dishwasher as being the kind of person who always lends a helping hand (or three meters of cord) and doesn't charge money for little jobs (connecting electrical parts) further supports this aspect of who can be held accountable (and why): Krista doesn't need to check for herself whether she is being sold a good dishwasher, because the guy who sold it is one of the honest traders and if he sold her the dishwasher then this was because he though it was a good one. Should the dishwasher nevertheless break down, this would be an accident and not because Krista was being cheated.

Extract (16) : TH/M2/Torben & Jens/not-neg30

```
((Torben and Jens co-owns a house, Skovby Skole, which is being rented out as a
bed and breakfast. The lodgers have put up signs along the roadside to advertise
the business.))

1   Jens:     (grm) Hvis al'så jeg' jo lidt: eh det der
              (grm) If   you-know I'm surely little eh that there
              (grm) If you know I'm you know a bit eh all that

2             det der ehhh skilteværk de har på Skovby Skole
              that there ehh sign-stuff they have on Skovby Skole
              all that ehh sign stuff they've got on Skovby Skole

3             det' jo ikke voldsomt øhhhm (.) hverken noget
              that's surely not violently ehhhm (.) either some
              it surely isn't massively ehhm  (.) either

4             lovligt eller
              legal or
              legal or

5   Torben:   Nøhh
              Nej
              Nohh

6   Jens:     .hhh eh det blander jeg mig ikk' i.
              .hhh eh that mix    I   me(r) not in.
              .hhh eh I won't interfere with that.

7   Torben:   Nejh
              Nej
              Noh

              ((20 lines omitted where Jens suggests an
              alternative to having the signs along the road: the
              hedges could be trimmed, leaving room for signs
              still visible from the road, but placed on the
              property and thus being legal))

8   Torben:                [(formodentlig)] må de slet
                           [(presumably ) ] may they at-all
                           [(presumably)  ] they're not

9             ikk' skilte langs amtsvejen (    [      )]
              not sign    along county-road-the[      )]
              allowed to advertise on the count[y road ]at all
```

```
10  Jens: →                                    [ De må ]
                                               [They ma]y
                                               [They're] not

11           overhovedet ikk' skilte langs amtsvejen
             at-all not sign     along county-road-the
             allowed to advertise on the county road at all

12  Torben:  Nej
             Nej
             No

13  Jens:    Det' ikk' noget der' nogen der gør
             It's not something there's somebody that does
             It's not something that there's anybody who

14           noget ved.
             something with.
             does something about.

15           (.)
             (.)
             (.)

16  Torben:  Nej  ikk' herov[re (     )] gør de andre steder
             Nej not   here-[over (   )] do they other places
             No  not over he[re   ( ) ] they do in other places

17  Jens:                   [vel. Nejh ]
                            [right. Nej]
                            [right. Noh]
```

As early as L2-4 Jens states that the placement of signs along side the road is illegal; having received a confirming response by Torben in L5 he suggests a legal alternative.

The negatively framed utterance produced by Torben in L8-9 however is formatted as if the illegality of the signs is something that just occurred to Torben as being a possibility. Thus, Torben shows no orientation to this having been suggested by Jens previously, and moreover marks the illegality as only a possibility, formatting his statement as an assumption to be confirmed or disconfirmed through the production of *formodentligt* 'presumably'.

Responding to this utterance with a type-conforming response would confirm Torben's assumption and as such accept that the issue of legality

was raised by Torben. To avoid this, Jens produces a *nonconforming* response in L10-11, which, though agreeing with the fact that putting up signs on the county road is illegal, doesn't accept that this was an issue raised by Torben, and instead treats himself (Jens) as the expert on this matter.

The extracts discussed in this section together demonstrate what happens when a negatively framed utterance is responded to through a nonconforming format. Nonconforming responses differ grammatically from type-conforming responses, in that such responses are not initiated with the negative response particle *nej*.[81] This absence also has interactional implications: by not producing the negative response particle *nej* in turn-initial position, a speaker avoids to display an acceptance of the action being done in the prior turn, and the type of recipient he/she has been proposed to be by it. For instance, through her nonconforming response in extract (14), Ester resisted the complaining nature of the prior, negatively framed utterances and did not accept the role of co-complainant. This was done by marking that her turn was not directly responsive to the prior. Similarly, in extract (15) and (16), Krista and Jens resisted the actions produced in the prior, negatively framed utterance, also by displaying that their turns were not directly responsive to the priors.

Thus, by *not* producing these responses in a type-conforming format, the responding speakers manage to mark the prior negatively framed turn as in some way problematic; they avoid accepting the implications made or the actions implemented by that prior turn.

This interactional markedness of nonconforming responses reflect the distributional bias discussed in the introduction of this chapter, where it was noted that cases where the speaker does not initiate a response to a negatively framed utterance through the production of the negative response particle *nej*, are by far the least common. Thus, the pattern of such responses parallels what Raymond (2000) and (2002) shows for nonconforming responses to yes/no interrogatives: nonconforming responses are less frequently produced than type-conforming responses; and this distributional markedness is reflected in the participants' orientation to the production of a nonconforming response as in some

---

[81] In the extract above the negative repsonse particle is in fact not produced at all. See however extract (4) in this chapter, for a case where *nej* is produced in turn-initial position. Such nonconforming responses may be different from the ones discussed here, as the negative response particle is present in the response. From the current data however it was not possible to collect enough cases to say anything meaningful about this potential difference.

way not accepting the prior turn as unproblematic, independently of whether the response is in fact subsequently embodying a preferred or dispreferred responsive action.

The fact that participants orient to negatively framed utterances that are not initiated by *nej* in a similar manner is further evidence that responses to negatively framed utterances in general can be categorised as type-conforming and nonconforming respectively; the difference in format depends on whether or not the responsive turn is initiated through the production of the negative response particle *nej*.

As can also be seen from the extracts above, nonconformity is not the same as interactional dispreference; rather the nonconforming responses produced above all implement interactionally preferred responses. In extract (14) Ester claims 'no knowledge' along with Fie, and subsequently produces a suggested solution to the puzzle of what Dorthe does wrong with her plants; in extract (15) Krista confirms that Fie was right in assuming that the new dishwasher will not break down within three years; and in extract (16) Jens agrees with the illegality of the signs.

In the following section I will briefly discuss the relation between conformity and preference organisation.

3.2.3 Preference and conformity
In his discussion of responses to yes/no interrogatives, Raymond (2002) demonstrates that conformity is independent of preference structure; both type-conforming and nonconforming responses to yes/no interrogatives can implement preferred actions such as agreement on the one hand, or dispreferred actions such as disagreement on the other.

Each of these four cases are exemplified below.

Extract (17) : Raymond (2002) pp24 (19, Rahman:B:1)

```
2    Jen:    Em u-Hello Mi:chael it's Ahntie Jenny
3            heah <is Mummy thea:h?,
4    Mic:    Yes (.) hold onna minute please,
```

Extract (18) : Raymond (2002), pp24 (23, Rahmen 8)

```
1    Jen:    Yes. Ahr you coming home now fih yer tea:.
2    Mat:    No, ah js wan'uh seh ev'thing's alright theh
```

Both the above examples have *type-conforming* responses (initiated with a response particle) to the interrogative. In extract (17) the response is preferred, confirming the interrogative by mirroring its polarity, whereas in extract (18) the polarity of the interrogative is reversed in the response, thus disconfirming the assumption made in the interrogative. In both examples however the responding speaker treats the format of the interrogative as unproblematic acceptable. This is in contrast to the following two examples of nonconforming responses.

Extract (19) : Raymond (2002), pp25 (25, Gerri and Shirley)

```
12   Ger:   =.hh Wul the remaining three yea:rs uhm see
13          her in pai:n,
14   Shi:   .hhh She already is in a great deal of pain.,
```

Extract (20) : Raymond (2002), pp32, (29, CMC Shoulder Pain [11166-106/2])

```
1    Doc:   Does that hurt right there,
2           (0.5)
3    Pat:   Mm:, It doesn't uhm I can feel it. But it's not real
            painful
```

In these two examples the responses to the interrogatives are *nonconforming*, in that each response is not initiated through the production of a response particle. In extract (19) the response is preferred, confirming that 'she' the third party will be in pain, in extract (20) the response is dispreferred, disconfirming that the patient feels any pain when the doctor pushes her arm into the shoulder socket.

Again, the contrast between a preferred and dispreferred response is achieved through the use of polarity - in example (19) the polarity of the turn responded to is mirrored in the response, in example (20) the polarity is reversed in the response. Furthermore, by producing a nonconforming response to the interrogative, the recipients display that they have a problem with the format of the interrogative, in example (19) because the question implies that the third person being referred to isn't already in pain, and in example (20) because the pain the patient is feeling isn't of the type that can be reproduced by pushing.[82]

---

[82] See Raymond (2002) for a more detailed discussion of fuller versions of these examples.

Responses to negatively framed utterances show the same pattern with regard to conformity and preference: that is, a response can be type-conforming and implement either a preferred action, as in extract (21) or a dispreferred action as in extract (22), and nonconforming responses can implement preferred actions as in extract (23) as well as dispreferred actions as in extract (24).

Extract (21) : TH/M2/2/Ester & Fie I/Neg76

```
((Ester is moving house and won't have room for all of her furniture, but has
decided to keep a large dresses in the basement if she can't get a proper price
for it when selling))

1  Ester:    [Å' ] hvis ikk' jeg ka' få .hh jeg ska' 'hverfald
             [And]  if  not   I can get .hh I shall in-any-case
             [And] if I can't get .hh I have to have at least

2            ha'  ti for d[en] ellers så ve' jeg ikk' sælge den=
             have ten for [it] otherwise then will I not sell it
             ten   for    [it], otherwise I won't sell it=

3  Fie:                   [ja]h
                          [ja]
                          [ye]s

4  Fie:  →   =Nej. Det [ka' jeg] godt      for[stå  Ester]
             =Nej.That [can  I ] well underst[and Ester ]
             =No.   I [ can   ] understand t[hat Ester ]

5  Ester:                 [   .hh ]              [så    beho]lder
                          [   .hh ]              [then   kee]p
                          [   .hh ]              [then I'm  ] keeping

6            jeg mineh mit skab
             I myeh  my cupboard
             myeh my cupboard
```

Here, the response to Ester's negatively framed utterance in L1-2 is initiated through the production of the negative response particle, the additional material displaying sympathy with Ester, as well as understanding of her decision not to sell her furniture. Thus, the response is type-conforming, being initiated with *nej* and preferred, as it implements agreement or affiliation with Ester.

In contrast, the response produced by the secretary in L5, extract (22) is dispreferred, though still type-conforming.

Extract (22) : TH/S2/119/Jens & Hans Pedersen/jo54

```
((Jens has attempted to call H.P. but having been unable to get through he has now
called the main desk instead and is talking to H.P.'s secretary.))

1   Jens:      =>Han har vel    [ikk'] skiftet nummer  ve[l ,< ]
               =>He has surely  [not ] changed number has[-he,<]
               =>Surely he hasn'[t  c]hanged his number h[as he],<

2   Sec :                       [°Jah°]                 [N↑ej,]=
                                [°Ja° ]                 [Nej, ]=
                                [°Yes°]                 [N↑o, ]=

3   Sec :      =Nej det har han da rigtignok ikk'
               =Nej that has he surely really not
               =No he definitely hasn't

4   Jens:      >.hh Nåh.< .hh Han a' her bare ikk' i dag måske
               >.hh Oh.<  .hh He is here just not today maybe
               >.hh Oh.< .hh He's just not here today perhaps

5   Sec : →    Jo↑:h Det a' han,
               Jo  That is he,
               Ye↑:s He is,

6   Jens:      A' han det=[Jeg] har ringet på femå'halvfjerds
               Is he that=[I  ] have called on five-and-seventy
               Is he=     [I'v]e called seventy five

7   Sec :                 [ Ja]
                          [Ja ]
                          [Yes]

8   Jens:      sekså'halvtreds fem[å'tyve    nul    nul]
               six-and-fifty  five[and-twenty zero zero]
               fifty six     twent[y five    zero zero ]
```

Jens's assumption, displayed through a negatively framed utterance in L4, that some third person ('he') isn't at work that day is disconfirmed by the secretary in L5. The disconfirming response is type-conforming in that it is initiated through the production of the positive response particle *jo*.

As shown in chapter 2, this particle is a marked version of the more common positive response particle *ja*, and is used in orientation to the negative polarity of the prior turn. Thus, in both extract (21) and (22) the

negative framing of the turn responded to is acknowledged through the production of a response particle placed turn-initially in the response, making that response type-conforming irrespective of whether it implements preferred or dispreferred actions.

When a response is formatted in a nonconforming way, it follows also that a preferred action such as agreement or confirmation is not straightforwardly produced, or even projected. Such hedging or delay in producing a responsive action is generally understood to project dispreferred actions such as disagreement or disconfirmation, as shown by Pomerantz (1984a) and as discussed in chapter 2, section 2.1.

Nonconforming responses can nevertheless be seen to be doing both preferred and dispreferred actions. Thus, in extract (23) C-K's response in L3-4 is not straightforwardly agreeing with the negatively framed assumption produced by Jens in L1-2. Nevertheless in his response C-K accepts that under the circumstances the meeting to be arranged can possibly take place on a different day than Thursday.

Extract (23) : TH/S2/17/C-K & Jens/type12

```
((Jens and a friend have drawn a proposal for the refurbishment of C-
K's house. C-
K, who would like to discuss the proposal has suggested that they meet next
Thursday, a suggestion which Jens has rejected. Trying to settle on a different
day, Jens realises that C-K assumed the meeting would take place where Jens lives,
which would mean that C-K would have to travel. Jens and his friend would prefer
to have the meeting in C-K's house and having stated that, Jens once again orients
to C-K's suggestion for a date, as the circumstances have now changed.))

1   Jens:     .h Så Så gør det ikk' så meget det ikk' bli'r
              .h Then Then does it not so much it not becomes
              .h Then Then it doesn't matter that much that it


2             torsdag,
              Thursday,
              won't be Thursday,


3  C-K:   →   .hh Ehhh h- Der A' tror itt' det a' (s)så
              .hh Ehhh h- There I think not it is (s)so
              .hh Ehhh h- There I don't think it is that


4             nødvendigt så ihver[t f ald]
              necessary then in-a[ny-case]
              necessary then anyw[ay     ]


5  Jens:                         [Nej   O]ka[y]
                                 [Nej   O]ka[y]
```

```
                                      [No     O]ka[y]

6   C-K:                                       [F]ordi ateh .hh
                                               [B]ecause thateh .hh
                                               [B]ecause thateh .hh

7             Nu ska' jeg li': kigge igen så
              Now shall I just look again then
              I'll just have another look then
```

Here, Jens and C-K has been trying to settle a date for a meeting between the two and a third party. Earlier in this conversation, C-K stated that Thursday was the only possible date for him, but this was rejected by Jens. At the point at which this extract is taken, Jens has suddenly realised that he and C-K have misunderstood each other with regard to where the meeting should take place. C-K thought they were meeting at Jens's place, whereas Jens wants to meet at C-K's house, as this is the house they are going to work on. Having solved this misunderstanding, Jens in L3 states a potential beneficial outcome of this; that the meeting can now take place at another date. His turn is formatted as a question (partly due to the rising intonation, partly to the fact that C-K is the participant with epistemic access to the response) in which an assumption is displayed.

By confirming this assumption as correct, through the production of *nej*, C-K would accept the implication that the reason for him not wanting the meeting on the Thursday was dependent on the location of the meeting (As the two participants lives on different islands, having a meeting on Jens's island, rather than C-K's could for instance mean that C-K would have to spend a good deal of the day travelling). Instead, C-K produces a nonconforming response that does confirm (though in a somewhat hedged manner) that the meeting may after all take place on the Thursday, but without accepting that this change in stance is because of the change in the location of the meeting.

In contrast to this slightly hedged, but nevertheless confirming and preferred response, the nonconforming response produced by Mathias in L18-20 in extract (24) is straightforwardly disagreeing with the immediate prior negatively framed utterance produced by Malte.

Extract (24): TH/S2/19/Mathias & Malte/posd41

```
((Mathias  is  describing  his  adventures  in  a  computer  game  played  by  both
participants. The computer  game is played  in English and in their  translation of
the English rifles, Malte  and Mathias use  the Danish terms  gevær  and  rifler
```

interchangeably. Thus, these two terms do not refer to different weapons; rather
the difference is whether the rifles have laser or plasma beams.))

```
1   Math:    (boogynder han) Å’   så   står   der li’: pluds’li’
                 (              ) And then stands there just suddenly
                 (              ) And then all of a sudden there’s five

2                fem mennesker ude ve’ porten
                 five people  out  by gate-the
                 people standing outside the gate

3                (.)
                 (.)
                 (.)

4   Malte:   Jerh=
             Ja=
             Yeah=

5   Math:    =.Hhh Ieh   De    der combat armours
             =.Hhh Ineh Those there combat armours
             =.Hhh Wearing Those combat armours

6   Malte:   Mh[m ]
             Mh[m ]
             Mh[m ]

7   Math:       [.h]h Me’ lasergeværer å’ shotguns
                [.h]h With laser guns and shotguns
                [.h]h With laser guns and shotguns

                 ((6 lines omitted))

9   Math:    .hh Å’ der’ se’fø’lig ås’ en enkelt plasme gevær
             .hh And there’s of-course also a single plasma rifle
             .hh And of course there’s a plasma rifle as well

10               (.)
                 (.)
                 (.)

11  Malte:   .hh Hm: Havde han dem Ham der,
             .hh Hm: Had he them Him there,
             .hh Hm: Did he have those That guy,

12  Math:    Jerh=
             Ja=
             Yeah=
```

```
13  Malte:    =Nå=
              =Oh=
              =Oh=

14  Math:     =.hh (Bognumberen)
              =.hh (Bognumber-the)
              =.hh (Bognumber-the)

15  Malte:    Nåhjah Så- Så var det lasegev-
              Oh-ja The- Then was it laserr-
              Oh yes The- Then it was laserr-

16            (.)
              (.)
              (.)

17  Malte:    Laser rifler det havde han da ikk'
              Laser rifles that had he surely not
              Laser rifles he surely didn't have that

18  Math: →  D[et havde ha]n da .hh Han har da både plasme
              T[hat had  he] surely .hh He has surely both plasma
              O[f course he] did   .hh He surely has both plasma

19  Malte:     [(         )]
               [(         )]
               [(         )]

20  Math:     å' laser
              and laser
              and laser

21  Malte:    Har han det
              Has he that
              He has?
```

As part of a lengthy telling of how he's been faring in a computer game, Mathias in L5-9 describes the armour and weaponry being used by a particular character in a fight. Whereas the presence of 'laser rifles and shotguns' in L7 is treated unproblematically, when Mathias mentions the use of a 'plasma rifle' in L9, Malte reacts with suspicion, indicating that he doesn't think that the character in question possessed such a weapon. When Mathias insists in L12 and L14 that this is the case, Malte accepts this and in L15 starts the production of an account of how he might have

been mistaken, that is that it was 'laser rifles', rather than 'plasma rifles', that the character didn't possess.

In doing so, he perhaps realises that Mathias earlier (in L7) claimed that the character did indeed have 'laser rifles'; in any event, Malte interrupts his own turn in L15 and instead introduces the same matter as a counter to Mathias's earlier claim. This is done in L17 through a now emphatically marked (through *da* 'surely') statement.

Thus, in L17 Malte not only states that he doesn't believe that the character in question had a 'laser rifle', but conveys that this belief is grounded in the information provided by Mathias, that he did have a 'plasma rifle', the one possibility excluding the other.

If this utterance had been responded to through the production of a type-conforming response, Mathias would have accepted this implication. In contrast, by responding with a nonconforming response, Mathias manages to insist not only on the character having a 'laser rifle', but that this does not exclude the possibility of having a 'plasma rifle' *as well*, displaying this explicitly in his continuation in L18-20.

From these four illustrations, therefore, it is evident that whether a response to a negatively framed utterance is type-conforming or not is independent of whether the response implements a preferred or dispreferred response. Of course, the lack of a turn initial negative response particle in itself indicates that the response to be produced will not be straightforwardly agreeing with the immediate prior turn, as is the case in extract (23), as well as extracts (14), (15) and (16) above. Nevertheless, in all these cases a nonconforming response implemented preferred actions such as affiliation, confirmation and agreement, while still displaying that the format of the prior turn and its implications and consequences for the interaction was problematic for the responding speaker.

3.3.4 Summary
In the sections above it has been shown that responses to negatively framed utterances in Danish exhibit a similar pattern to that established by Raymond (2000) and (2002) for yes/no interrogatives in English.

In distributional terms there is a strong bias towards initiating responses to negatively framed utterances through the production of the negative response particle *nej*; of 450 cases of negatively framed utterances 410 are responded to with a turn initial *nej*, and in only 40 cases

is *nej* either omitted completely, or produced in tag position at the end of the utterance.[83]

As demonstrated by Raymond (2000) and (2002), such a strong bias is the result of participants orienting to an interactional preference for one type of response over the other, so that the most recurrent format of responding is type-conforming, the less frequently applied response nonconforming.

In the case of negatively framed utterances, this has the consequence that participants in interaction orient differently to responses that are initiated through the production of the negative response particle *nej* and responses that are not: when speakers respond with a nonconforming construction, without the production of a turn initial *nej*, this is done to display that the turn responded to is in some way problematic for the responding speaker.

In contrast, when producing a type-conforming response, the speaker accepts the format of the prior turn and the constraints carried by this format as unproblematic, by acknowledging its production as well as its negative framing through the production of the negative response particle.

In this way, it has been demonstrated that whether a negative response to a negatively framed utterance is initiated with *nej*, or not, has clear implications for how such a response should be understood. In the following section I compare two other negative and responsive constructions; *nej* as a response on its own, and *nej* followed by a second turn component, to demonstrate that also this constructional difference has implications for the interaction.

3.3 Affiliating and non-affiliating responses to negatively framed utterances

In this section I look in more detail at the type-conforming responses discussed above, that is responses to negatively framed utterances that are initiated with *nej*. This is done by comparing the usages of those type-conforming responses that consist only of *nej*, to those that have additional material, a second turn component added after the *nej*.

In the prior section it was argued, that turn-initial *nej* in response to negatively framed utterances serves to display that the speaker accepts

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[83] Of the 410 cases, 220 of the responding turns consist of *nej* only. These will be discussed in more detail below, where it will be argued that the role of the *nej* is basically the same as described here, that of acknowledgement or acceptance, but that in these cases a continuation implementing agreement, affiliation or the like is not oriented to by the participants as being neccesary.

the action produced in the prior turn, and the type of recipient he/she has been proposed to be by it. In this section I will demonstrate that this is typically all that the negative response particle is treated as doing by he recipient, when produced as (or as part of) a response to a prior negatively framed utterance.

Thus, I demonstrate, that *nej* constitutes a response on its own only in cases where the main purpose of the surrounding talk is that of exchanging information. Thus, the negative response particle *nej*, when produced on its own is used as a continuer or an acknowledgement token.

In contrast, to do anything further than this, for a response to display the affective stance of the speaker for instance by affiliating or agreeing with the prior turn and speaker, an additional unit of talk is required, in which the affiliation or agreement is demonstrated.

The section is organised as follows:
In section 3.3.1 I discuss the use of *nej* as a response token, that is when *nej* is used as a continuer or an acknowledgement token, drawing on some of the findings made in chapter 2, distributional evidence from the data used for this study, as well as the use of negative response particles in other languages.

In section 3.3.2 I demonstrate that though a speaker may claim and project actions such as affiliation and agreement through the production of *nej*, this response is typically not treated as being sufficient to express affiliation and agreement. Rather, participants in interaction in various ways display that an additional turn component should be produced after the negative response particle cases where affiliation or agreement has been made relevant by the prior utterance.

3.3.1 Free-standing nej *as a continuer and acknowledgement token*
In this section I demonstrate that in Danish, the negative response particle *nej* can be used as an acknowledgement token and continuer.

For native speakers of English, particularly American English, (and other languages where a negative response particle or token cannot be used as an acknowledgement or continuer) the possibility that a negative response token can be used as a mere token of acknowledgement without implementing affiliation, may seem surprising and even problematic. This is reflected by Jefferson (2002) who, having been confronted with a similar proposal for Dutch, notes:

'My feeling was that 'no', following a negatively-framed utterance affiliated with it, could be understood as 'I feel the same way', I'd do the same thing', etc., i.e., whereas the acknowledgement tokens did not affiliate, but merely indicated 'I understand what you said'

Jefferson (2002), pp1345

Though Jefferson (2002) goes on to establish that *no* can in fact be used as an acknowledgement token, at least in everyday British English conversations, the contrary assumption is commonly reflected in most English CA-studies of continuers and acknowledgement tokens, where only positive tokens such as *yeah, yes, mm hm* and *Uh huh* are discussed (See for instance Drummond & Hopper (1993a) and (1993b), Gardner (1997), Jefferson (1984). Gardner (2001) provides a good overview of most of these studies and also doesn't include *no*).

In contrast, CA studies of other Indo-European languages, as discussed in the introduction, quite unproblematically describe the equivalent of *no* as being used as a continuer or acknowledgement token. Thus, for Italian Müller (1996) describes *no* 'no' as an acknowledgement token in line with *si* 'yes'; for Dutch Mazeland (1990) discusses *ne* 'no' as one type of acknowledgement token; for Norwegian Skarbø (1999) parenthetically remarks that *ja* 'yes' and *nei* 'no' are commonly treated as 'response-words';[84] and for Finland-Swedish Green-Vänttinen (2001) lists *nä* and *ne* 'no' as the type of 'backing-up'[85] or 'response particle' used in response to negated utterances.

Considering that Danish is closely related to Swedish and Norwegian, it is not surprising that the negative response particle *nej* can in fact be used for acknowledgement or continuation, indicating that the speaker has heard and understood what was being said up to the point at which the response particle is produced.

This point has already been established both in the introduction as well as in chapter 2, so here I will merely provide two further examples of how *nej* is used in Danish as a continuer or acknowledgement of the prior, negatively framed turn.

In Danish, when one participant is engaged in an extended telling, the recipient producing acknowledgement tokens and continuers throughout the telling will interchange between the positive response particles such

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[84] Litteral translation from the Norwegian 'svarord'.
[85] Litteral translation from the Swedish 'uppbackningar.'

as *ja*, *jerh* and *mhm* and the negative response particle *nej,*[86] depending on the polarity of the turn responded to, as in extract (25).

Extract (25): TH/M2/23/Fie & Krista/Neg19

```
((Fie's son has just been confirmed and Krista was present at the party.))

1  Kri:     =Men  ellers   TAk   for sidst, det var rigtig
             =But otherwise THanks for last, that was really
             =But otherwise, THank you for the last time, that was

2            [hyg'ligt] å' noget m[eget   lækkert  mad.]
             [ cosy   ] and some v[ery delicious food.]
             [really n]ice, and so[me very delicious f]ood

3  Fie:      [.hhh JAh]              [Jah   selv    tak. ]
             [.hhh Ja ]              [Ja    self    thanks.]
             [.hhh YEs]              [Yes, you're welcome]

4  Fie:      Jah[men]eh: Det syn's jeg ås'. Al'så    vi
             Ja [but]eh: That think I also. You-know we
             Yes[but]eh: I thought so as well. You know we

5  Kri:         [ Ja]
                [Ja ]
                [Yes]

6  Fie:      havde vi havde faktisk  en god dag
             had   we   had actually a good day
             had, we actually had a good day

7            [å' ] jeg var ikk' spor stresset eller
             [and] I was  not  trace stressed  or
             [and] I wasn't stressed in the least, or

8  Kri: →   [ja ]
            [ja ]
            [yes]

9  Fie:      [  noget.  ] .hhh Jeg syn's det var en luksus å'
             [something.] .hhh I thought it was  a  luxury to
```

---

[86] The negative response particle can also take a non-lexical form such as *mm*. These are easily identifiable as being 'negative' through their intonation pattern. In my data the use of non-lexical tokens is fairly low, particularly for the negative tokens. This 'lack' of non-lexical tokens is most likely incidental and not due to a language specific phenomenon, as Jakob Steensig (p.c.) assures me that in his Danish data which includes telephone conversations as well as face-to-face interactions the use of non-lexical tokens is a recurrent phenonemon.

```
                        [anything .]  .hhh I thought it was a luxury to have

10  Kri: →   [ n e j h  ]
            [   n e j  ]
            [   n   o  ]

11  Fie:    ha' to kokke   i   huset    å' .hhh å'  en te' å'
            have two chefs in house-the and .hhh and one to and
            two chefs in the house and .hhh and someone to do the

12          ta'   opvasken  , [det ] var al'så    fhh gnr å'- det'
            take up-wash-the, [that] was you-know fhh gnr and- it
            dishes, you know  [that] was       fhh gnr   and- it

13  Kri: →                      [ ja ]
                                 [ ja ]
                                  [ yes]

14  Fie:    det var me: ja- al'så   j- jeg betalte regningen i
            it was with ja- you-know j-  I   paid    bill-the in
            it was with ja- You know, j- I  paid the bill on

15  Fie:    tirsdags [å' ] jeg vidste ikk' hva': hva'
            Tuesday  [and] I   knew    not what what
            Tuesday  [and] I didn't know what what it would

16  Kri: →          [ja ]
                    [ja ]
                    [yes]

17  Fie:    det kostede o[ver]hovedet. .hhh Å' jeg var meget g-
            it   cost   o[ver]head-the. .hhh And I was very  g-
            cost at all  [    ]           .hhh And I was very g-

18  Kri: →                [nej]
                          [nej]
                          [ no]

19  Fie:    meget te'freds
            very  satisfied
            very satisfied

20  Kri: →  Jerh.
            Ja.
            Yeah.

21  Fie:    .hhh Såeh det har bare været fint.
```

```
           .hhh Soeh that have just been fine.
           .hhh Soeh that's just been great.

22 Kri:    Det var dejligt=
           That was lovely=
           That's nice=
```

This extract is initiated with Krista thanking Fie for the last time they were together at Fie's house, the occasion being a party for Fie's son. In L1-2 Krista evaluates the party and the food there as good, and in L3-4 Fie thanks Krista for the thanking and states that she agrees with Krista that the party and the food was good. At the end of L4 Fie then initiates a more specific description of how the party and the day in general was a good one from her (and her family's) perspective as a hostess.

That her turns at talk from this point up until her concluding remark in L21 should be understood as providing the reasons for why she as the hostess agrees with Krista's evaluation of the day as being good, is displayed through the *Al'så* at the end of L4. Through want of a better expression, this word has been translated into English as 'you know', but the Danish version when used in this position has connotations of connecting the prior to the following talk, with the following talk being an explication or account.[87] Fie's description is concluded in L21, where she once again states that everything relating to the party was fine.

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[87] For instance, in the following extract Fie initiates her account for why she rejected Jette's request to cover a shift at the local museum through the production of *Al'så*, in L7.

Extract (iii) : TH/S2/72/Jette H & Fie/Alså1

```
1 Jette:   Jeg ved ikk' om (.) om du overho'det    har tid °eller
           I   know not  if (.) if you over-head-the have time °or
           museum, I don't know if, if you have time at all °or

2          noget som helst men ° .tchh Vi mangler en på hh (.)
           something at all but ° .tchh We miss one on  hh (.)
           anything at all but°   .tchh We need somebody in hh

3          Flaskesamlingen i dag
           Flaskesamlingen today
           Flaskesamlingen today

4          (.)
           (.)
           (.)

5 Fie:     .HH[h      h      h      h   ] Det ka' jeg [ikk']hh (.)
           .HH[h      h      h      h   ] That can I  [not ]hh (.)
           .HH[h      h      h      h   ] I can't do t[hat ]hh (.)

6 Jette:      [Men det'   nok   for ]               [ Nej]
              [But that's probably too]             [ Nej]
```

As such, Fie's turns at talk from the end of L4 to the conclusion in L21 are not designed for agreement or affiliation, but merely for providing background information that can account for the ways in which the day can be evaluated as good from her perspective. In orientation to this, throughout this sequence, Krista produces minimal tokens, in L8, 10, 13, 16, 18 and 20, interchanging between *ja* 'yes' and *nej* 'no', depending on whether the prior talk that is responded to is positively or negatively framed. All of these tokens are used as continuers or acknowledgement tokens, marking that the prior talk has been heard, understood and accepted, but that Krista did not understand this talk as agreement- or affiliation-relevant, but rather as part of a description of in what way Fie as a hostess felt that the day was.

Similarly, in extract (26) a negatively framed utterance is being acknowledged through the production of the negative response particle.

Extract (26): TH/S2/14/Ulrikke & Fie/Neg204

```
((Ulrikke and Fie are old friends who rarely see each other as Ulrikke has been
living in Holland for more than 30 years. Fie has just delivered the good news
about her daughter who's received a grant to study abroad. Ulrikke, whose son
Andreas is the same age has expressed surprise at the amount of money Fie's
daughter gets in comparison to Andreas. The following is Fie's explanation of why
this is so.))

1  Fie:    de u- De (s)sidestiller .tch de udenlandske (.)
```

```
                [But that's probably too]          [ No ]

7  Fie: →  Al'så   jeg v- Jeg var deri- Jeg var [på:e]hm .tchh
           You-know I  v-  I was  inth-   I was [on:e]hm .tchh
           You know I v-  I was inth-  I    was [ate:]hm .tchh
8 Jette:                                        [( )]
                                                [( )]
                                                [( )]
9 Fie:     Hammerichs hus igårhh
           Hammerichs house yesterdayhh
           Hammerichs house yesterdayhh

10 Jette:  Jah (Ja[hmen fint jeg ved ikk')]
           Ja  (Ja[ but fine I know  not )]
           Yes (Ye[sbut fine, I don't know]

11 Fie:        [.H h h        Å'eh    ] Jahmen je:g a'
               [.H h h        Andeh   ] Ja but  I: am
               [.H h h        Andeh   ] Yesbut I'm baking

12         [ve'] å' bage kage å' jeg ska' ha' gæster   [klok]ken fem
           [by ] and bake cake and I shall have guests [o'cl]ock five
           [a c]ake at the moment and I'm having guests[ at ]five o'clock
```

```
              they u- They compare    .tch the abroad      (.)
              they u- They compare    .tch the ph.d. students (.)

2             doktorgradsstuderende  .h[h h]h Eh: Med de
              doctor-degree-students .h[h h]h Eh: With the
              abroad                 .h[h h]h Eh: With the

3  Ulr: →                           [Jah]
                                     [Ja ]
                                     [Yes]

4  Fie:    [ da]nske Fordi i Danmark betaler du ikke
           [ da]nish Because in Denmark pay you not
           [ da]nish Because in Denmark you don't pay

5  Ulr: → [Jah]
          [Ja ]
          [Yes]

6  Fie:    (.) undervisningsafgift .tc[hhh] Å' du få:reh
           (.) tuition-fees        .tc[hhh] And you ge:teh
           (.) tuition fees        .tc[hhh] And you ge:teh

7  Ulr: →                            [Nej]
                                     [Nej]
                                     [No ]

8  Fie:    undervisningsjob hvor du ka' tje:n' e[n lø]n.=Å'
           teaching-jobs  where you can ea:rn a [sala]ry.=And
           teaching jobs where you can ea:rn a  [sala]ry. And

9  Ulr: →                               [Jah ]
                                        [Ja  ]
                                        [Yes ]

10 Fie:    det' nøjagtig det samme de gør me' de udenlandske
           it's exactly  the same they do with the abroad-ones
           it's exactly the same they do with the ones abroad

11 Ulr: → Jah[h ]
          Ja [  ]
          Yes[s ]

12 Fie:      [.H]hh Eh: Al'så de kompenserer
             [.H]hh Eh: You-know they compensate
             [.H]hh Eh: You know they compensate
```

```
13 Ulr:  Jah
         Ja
         Yes


14 Fie:    .tch[Hh     Jah]
           .tch[Hh     Ja ]
           .tch[Hh     Yes]


15 Ulr: →     [°Jah° .hh A]hm'   de har  det ås'  i Holland
              [°Ja°  .hh J]a but they have it also in Holland
              [°Yes .hh  Y]esbut they have it in Holland as


16            de      der øh: pladser   .h Meneh de tjener (.)
              those there eh: positions .h Buteh they make (.)
              well those positions .h, Buteh they make (.)
```

As noted by among others Gardner (2001) and Green-Vähttinen (2001) participants can define their own role in the interaction as being that of a 'listener' in contrast to the principal speaker, through the production of a series of response tokens. By responding to an utterance with a response token as constituting the whole of the turn, a participant in effect hands the turn back over to the prior speaker,[88] while still displaying his/her own participation in the interaction. In contrast when a more elaborate turn is produced the role of the participants may be shifted.

In extract (26) above, Ulrikke assigns herself the role of recipient or 'listener' through her use of minimal response tokens in L3, 5, 7, 9 and 11, treating Fie as the authority on the subject of Ph.D. students in Denmark. Again, the negative response particle is used as an acknowledgement token, in response to the negatively framed statement made by Fie in L4-6, whereas the positive response particle is produced only in response to positively framed talk. In contrast to these acknowledging responses, Ulrikke in L15-16 produces a fuller turn through which she launches a comparison with the Dutch system, in this way displaying that she at this point is no longer merely a recipient.

In the above extracts, the participants use both the positive and the negative response particles as constituting a response on their own. By interchanging between these two particles within the same sequence of an extended story telling, for instance, the participants orient to both response particles as implementing continuation or acknowledgement - in this way displaying that in Danish the negative response particle can be

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[88] At least in interactions with only two participants.

used as an acknowledgement token or continuer in the same way as its positive equivalent. That this is indeed the case is further reflected in the fact that the only determining factor for whether *ja* or *nej* is used in the extracts above is whether the turn, utterance or unit responded to is positively or negatively framed. Thus, participants in interaction overtly display that the negative response particle *nej* is used as a response token, marking acknowledgement or continuation parallel to the positive response particle *ja*, in contexts where the utterance responded to is negatively framed.[89]

Jefferson (2002) notes that her reluctance to accept *no* as being an acknowledgement token is partly due to the fact that at least in American English :

> *"…, the minimal responses which I take to be 'acknowledgement tokens' are used, not only following positively framed utterances, but also following negatively framed utterances."*
>
> Jefferson (2002), pp1346

Seen in this light, the most compelling evidence for the possibility that *nej* can in fact be used as a continuer or acknowledgement token in Danish is perhaps that in neither of the extracts above is the *positive* response particle used for acknowledging or marking continuation of talk that is negatively framed.

Furthermore, as noted in chapter 2, the pattern of orienting to the negative polarity of the prior turn is in fact so strong in Danish, that the positive token is not in general used as an acknowledgement or continuer in response to prior, negatively framed talk. Thus, in all of the 220 cases collected from the data for this study, where a negatively framed utterance is responded to with a single response token constituting a full turn on its own, the token is always negative and most commonly done through the full lexical form *nej*.[90,91]

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[89] This is of course once again highlighting the importance of mirroring the polarity of the turn responded to in the response, as discussed in chapter 2.

[90] As noted in chapter 2, the response particle also occurs in the form *Ej*, without the nasal, but this is most frequently done when implementing disagreement. Another format for negative acknowledgement or continuation marking is through non-lexical forms such as *m*. and *mm*. These are intonationally different from their positive equivalents and can easily be distinguished from these, that is even in this case a negatively framed utterance will be negatively acknowledged.

[91] Though this in itself is compelling evidence that *nej* is the only possible response token to negatively framed utterances, it at the same time has the consequence that no deviant cases exist in which it can be shown that the participants react to the inappropriateness of a positive acknowledgement or continuation marker of a negatively framed utterance.

The use of *nej* as described above, the fact that negatively framed utterances cannot be acknowledged or marked for continuation through the positive token *ja* in Danish, and the fact that other languages use negative response particles for acknowledgement and continuation should be compelling evidence that in Danish, the negative response particle *nej* is used for acknowledgement and continuation. This is however not the only observation that can be made about the negative response particle *nej*, and its use in Danish.

As noted above, the data used for this study provided me with around 220 cases where a negatively framed utterance was responded to with the negative response particle *nej*, constituting a response on its own. Of these 220 cases, the particle was used as an acknowledgement token or continuer in more than 150. This distribution suggests, that the main purpose of the negative response particle in Danish is, to mark that the prior turn has been heard, understood and accepted, as is being done through continuers and acknowledgement tokens.

In the following section I will further develop this point, by demonstrating that the negative response particle *nej* when produced on its own is oriented to only as claiming alignment, by marking that some information has been exchanged between the participants in an unproblematic way. This will be done by looking at agreement- or affiliation relevant utterances; that is utterances that are designed to receive a response in which the affective stance of the speaker is displayed. In response to such utterances, a free-standing *nej* is treated and oriented to as an insufficient response by the participants, in various ways. In contrast, extended responses that are initiated with *nej* are treated as sufficient responses in these contexts.

3.3.2 Nej *as an insufficient response to agreement- and affiliation-relevant utterances*
In this section I will demonstrate how the negative response particle *nej* is treated as an insufficient response to utterances that are not merely in the service of exchanging information between the participants, but rather designed to receive an agreeing or affiliating[92] response, that is

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[92] I here use the terms affiliaition in the way discussed in chapter 2, meaning utterances in which a speaker expresses for instnace symptahy with or understanding of the prior turn and speaker, rather than as a more general term, referring to all kinds of preferred actions, including agreement and confirmation.

responses in which the speaker displays his/her affective stance towards the prior talk and speaker.

The section is organised as follows:
In section 3.3.2.1 I will describe the typical format for responding to negatively framed affiliation- or agreement relevant utterances. These are formatted through initiating the response with the negative response particle *nej*, followed by a second turn component in which affiliation or agreement is demonstrated.

   In section 3.3.2.2 I look at cases in which affiliation- or agreement-relevant utterances are not responded to in this manner, but rather through the production of *nej* only. I will demonstrate that in these cases, the recipient of a *nej*-response will mark this response as insufficient, and pursue a more fitting response. When such a response is provided after a pursuit, it will be done through the format described in section 3.3.2.1, consisting of a turn-initial *nej* and a second turn component in which the agreement or affiliation is demonstrated. I will conclude that in Danish the use of the negative response particle is limited to marking an exchange of information, in this way claiming, rather than demonstrating alignment.

3.3.2.1 Responding to affiliation- and agreement relevant utterances
In an earlier draft of a published paper,[93] Jefferson (msc) suggests that the consistency with which negative response tokens occurs as an acknowledgement of negatively framed utterances is dependent on whether such tokens can be used also as a marker of affiliation in specific languages or cultures: Thus, she notes that:

> *"..when […] "No" has ceased to have any lingering resonance of its AFFILIATIVE use, the configuration of Negatively-Framed Utterance followed by "No" will be […] consistent…"*
>
> Jefferson (msc.) pp28

This suggestion is based on the assumption that participants in interaction need a way to distinguish between the different actions of affiliation and acknowledgement. In languages such as American English, where the positive response particle is used to acknowledge even negatively framed utterances, this leaves the negative response particle *no* free to be used as a marker of affiliation.

In contrast, as discussed above, in Danish the negative response particle *nej* is the only way of acknowledging or marking continuation of a prior negatively framed utterance. Thus using this particle for displaying affiliation as well would perhaps, as suggested by Jefferson (msc) rob participants of a way of distinguishing between the two actions. Following Jefferson (msc) then, one might expect that *nej* has ceased[94] to have any affiliative use at all, and thus, that *nej* would be treated or oriented to as an insufficient response to utterances that are designed for affiliation and agreement.

That response tokens can indeed embody insufficient responses in particular interactional contexts is demonstrated by Lindström (1999). She shows, that in Swedish, the positive or affirmative response token *ja* 'yes' does not satisfactorily complete a claim of alignment with deferred action requests. Thus, requests for actions that cannot be immediately satisfied typically receive a response where the positive response token is produced as a turn preface, rather than on its own. Extract (28) is an example of this.

Extract (28) : Lindström (1999), pp108, (4:5)

```
1    A:    [RING se:nare hörrudu   ring klockan eh (.)
           Call later listenyouyou call clock eh
           Call later listen call at nine

2          ni:e?
           nine
           o'clock

3    M:    Ja: ja kan ri:nga lite se:[nare
           Yes I can call little later
           Yes I can call a little later
```

---

[93] The manuscript has been revised and is now published as Jefferson (2002).

[94] The use of the term *ceased* implies that *nej* at some point could be used for affiliation and as such that the Danish usage of *nej* as an acknowledgement token is a degraded one, as suggested by Jefferson (msc) for the similar pattern in British English. I find this choice of words rather unfortunate, as it implies that one language or period of a language is better than the other. In addition, there seems to be no evidence that the developement has been in the direction that Jefferson (msc) suggests, i.e. it could as well be that in American English *no* has previously been used as an acknowledgement token only but that speakers over time has developed its use to cover affiliation, its prior used slowly being taken out of use. Without further studies of data from earlier periods I will not suggest that one explanation is more right than the other, as this would merely reflect a particular attitude towards language.

Here, A is asking his mother to call back later, an action which cannot be immediately satisfied. In response, the mother produces a turn initiated by *ja*, followed by an additional turn-component, *ja kan ringa lite senare*.

In contrast, when such deferred actions as above are responded to only with *ja*, the person producing the deferred action request engages in a pursuit after the production of this positive token, in this way displaying that this was an insufficient response to the request, as in extract (29).

Extract (29) : Lindström (1999), pp115-116 (4:11)

```
1    M:      Ja (kan int-) kommer ni: kan ni komma å
             Yes (can no-) come you can you come and
             Yes (can you no-) come you can you come and

2            hämta mej ti:e ja har gått så mycke ida,
             fetch me ten I have walked so much today
             pick me up at ten I have walked so much today

3    R:  →   Ja:¿
             Yes

4    M:  →   Går'e bra¿
             Goes't well
             Would that be okay

5    R:      Ja:: [a-
             Yes  [o-

6    M:           [Sju: över tie kommer tåget,
                   Seven past ten comes the train
                   The train comes at seven past ten

7    R:  →   Ja annars kommer ja me cy:kel,
             Yes otherwise come I with bike
             Yes otherwise I'll come with a bike

8    M:      Okej
             Okay
```

Here, M formulates a request in L13, asking R to come and pick her up at the station later in the evening. R responds with the positive response token *ja* 'yes', but M's pursuit in the next turn (L16) suggests that she does not understand this response as sufficient, as a satisfactory granting of her request. In contrast, when R in L19 produces a response where the

positive response token is followed by additional talk, this is receipted as sufficient or satisfactorily with M's *okej* in L20.

In this way, Lindström (1999) demonstrates that the positive response token in Swedish is an insufficient response to deferred action requests.

In the following I will in a similar manner to that of Lindström (1999) demonstrate that the negative response particle *nej* in Danish is an insufficient response to utterances that are designed for agreeing or affiliating responses.

First I will show cases where the negative response particle is produced as a turn preface rather than as a response on its own. This is the most common response design of affiliative and agreeing responses. It suggests that speakers design their talk to have *nej* understood within a larger turn.

Second, I look at cases where *nej* is produced as a separate intonational unit, within a larger turn. In these cases, recipients can be shown to withhold talk, thus treating *nej* as a pragmatically incomplete response even though it is intonationally and syntactically possibly complete.

3.3.2.1.1 Affiliative or agreeing responses to negatively framed utterances
Affiliative or agreeing responses to negatively framed utterances are typically formatted in the following way in the data for this study: the responding turn is initiated with *nej* and a second turn component is produced after this, together constituting one intonational unit, as is the case in extract (30) and (31).

Extract (30) : TH/S2/139/Torben & Jens 2/Neg520

```
((Torben and Jens together rent out a building for bed and breakfast on a small
island. The lodgers have put up signs along the county road. The county
headquarters are placed on the mainland.))

1   Torben:                    [(formodentlig)] må de slet
                               [(presumably ) ] may they at-all
                               [(presumably)  ] they're not

2                 ikk' skilte langs amtsvejen (    [      )]
                  not sign    along county-road-the[      )]
                  allowed to advertise on the count[y road ]at all

3   Jens:                                          [ De må ]
                                                   [They ma]y
                                                   [They're] not

4                 overhovedet ikk' skilte langs amtsvejen
```

```
                   at-all not sign     along county-road-the
                   allowed to advertise on the county road at all

5  Torben:     Nej
               Nej
               No

6  Jens:       Det' ikk' noget der' nogen der gør
               It's not something there's some that does
               It's not something anyone will do

7              noget ved.
               something to.
               anything about.

8              (.)
               (.)
               (.)

9  Torben: →   Nej  ikk' herov[re (     )] gør de andre steder
               Nej  not  over-[here (   )] do they other places
               No   not over   [here ( ) ] do they other places

9  Jens:                       [vel. Nejh ]
                               [right. Nej]
                               [right. Noh]
```

In L6-7, Jens states that though their lodgers have positioned their signs illegally, nobody will bother about it. His statement is negatively framed, and consequently when Torben responds his turn is initiated by the production of the negative response particle *nej*. As discussed in section 3.2, the negative response particle here displays that Torben aligns with the action being done in the prior turn and the type of recipient he has been proposed to be by it.

In this case, the prior turn, Jens's negatively framed utterance is a strong claim about how things are, an utterance which in this way is designed for agreement, with Torben taking on the role of being an agreeing respondent. The negative response particle, by being negatively framed and furthermore aligning with the action of the prior turn in this way claims agreement, an agreement which is then demonstrated and consolidated in Torben's continuation where he elaborates his position/agreement.

As can be seen, the movement from the claimed agreement embodied by *nej* to the demonstrated agreement embodied by the second

component *ikk' herovre* 'not over here' is done without any intonational break, hitch or perturbation, that is, the two components are produced as one intonational unit.

This is the case also for the response produced by Fie in extract (31), L5, though in this case the response is one of affiliation.

Extract (31): TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg57

```
((Krista has been describing how her local council had suggested cutting the
funding for a local childrens support network, but refrained from doing so after
recieving complaints from the local community. This latter information is treated
by Fie as 'good news' but it turns out however that because of the insecurity felt
by the employees of the network, most of the best people were offered other jobs
and left. The 'he' referred to in the extract is a speech therapist who was
headhunted for a job with high pay and career possibilities, but turned it down as
he preferred working for the network. When the network was under threat by the
council he was offered the job again and chose to leave, thus proving Krista's
point that though the council didn't actually cut the funding, they scared people
away from the network and as such is still to blame.))
```

```
1  Kri:     [Å]'  vi har virkeli' ff fod på de     der   børn
             [A]nd we have really ff foot on those there children
             [A] we really had control over those kids,


2           å' vi havde .hh skidego'       psykolog   å' en
            and we had  .hh shitting-good psychology and an
            and we had  .hh a fucking good psychologist and an


3           enormt   dygtig eh .hh eh talepædagog     ikk', Å' vi
            enormously good eh .hh eh speech-therapist not, And we
            enormously good eh .hh eh speech therapist, right, And


4           har fået uddannet alle vores ehh støttepædagoger
            have got educated all our ehh support-pedagogues
            we'd had all our supporting pedagogues educated,


5           ikk', å' vi har en    fast       støttepædagog   (
            not, and we have a permanent support-pedagogue (
            right, and we have a permanent supporting pedagogue


6                      ).=.hh Fungerer skidegodt.    .hh Så kommer
                       ).=.hh Works    shitting-well. .hh Then come
                       ).=.hh Works   fucking well. .hh Then they


7           de    bare å' ve' lukke det.=Å'  det  ve'  si': da
            they just and will close it.=And that will say: since
            just show up and wants to close it down=And that means
```

```
8        de   har været under pres    sålænge, .hh hvor  de
         they have been under pressure so-long, .hh where they
         because they've been under pressure for so long, where

9        har snakket om  det to et halvt år, [.hh] Så
         have talked about it to a half year, [.hh] Then
         they've been talking about it for two[ an]d a half

10 Fie:                                             [ mm]
                                                    [ mm]
                                                    [ mm]

11 Kri:   så'n     en  som  Ole Fischer ikk'?
          like-this one like  Ole Fischer not?
          years, then someone like Ole Fischer, right?

12       (.)
         (.)
         (.)

13 Fie:   J[ah]
          J[a ]
          Y[es]

14 Kri:   [So]m har en kapacitet inde for det område [.hh] han
          [Th]at has a capacity inside for that area [.hh] he
          [Wh]o has a capacity within that area,     [.hh] he

15 Fie:                                             [Jah]
                                                    [Ja ]
                                                    [Yes]

16 Kri:   kom  jo   ind å'  blev leder inden på Tale
          came you-know in and became leader inside on Speech
          got to be the leader on The Speech and Hearing

17       Høre'stituttet   inde i: inde  i Odense. .hh Å'
         Hear-institution inside in inside in Odense. .hh And
         institute in, in Odense, you know    .hh   And he'd

18       den stilling var han (.) headhunted te' engang
         that position was he (.) headhunted to one-time
         been head hunted for that position once before,

19 Kri:   før   hvor han sagde nej tak, [fordi  h]an syn's
          before where he said no thanks, [because h]e thought
          where he said no thanks,       [because h]e thought
```

```
20 Fie:                                     [Fordi    h]
                                            [Because h]
                                            [Because h]


21 Kri:     det var så spændende,=
            it  was so exciting,=
            it was so exciting=


22 Fie:     =Jer[h]
            =Ja [ ]
            =Yea[h]


23 Kri:        [Å]' arbejde på den måde ikk'.=
               [T]o   work  on that way not.=
               [T]o work in that way, right


24 Fie:     =Jerh.
            =Ja.
            =Yeah.


25 Kri:     Så dengang   eh:m (.) de    så   blev ved ikk'?
            So that-time eh:m (.) they then became by not?
            Then when they kept on, right


26 Fie:     Mhm.=
            Mhm.=
            Mhm.=


27 Kri:     =Så   sagde han nu har han fået tilbudt den igen
            =Then said he now has he got offered it again
            =Then he said, that now he'd got it offered again,


28 Kri:     NNu rejste han al'så=
            NNOw left   he really=
            Now he really was leaving=


29 Fie:     =Jah=
            =Ja=
            =Yes=


30 Kri:     =Å'  nu   gad    han ikk' [mer']
            =And now bothered he not  [more]
            =And now he couldn't be bo[ther]ed anymore


31 Fie: →                             [Nej ] de:t
                                      [ Nej] that
```

```
                                        [ No ]  I can
32 Fie:      f[orstår jeg  ] godt.
             u[nderstand  I] well.
             u[nderstand  t]hat.
```

Here Krista is describing how her local council, by threatening to cut the funds for a local child-network managed to scare away all of the extremely competent workers of the network. In L9-30 she provides one example, a speech therapist who accepted a job as director of a speech and hearing institute, only because he couldn't stand the pressure of not knowing whether the network could continue, or not. This stance of his is explicated by Krista in L25-30, where she reports what the speech therapist said to her.

Thus, Krista argues that she is not upset with the speech therapist and other personnel for leaving, but rather, that she is upset with the local council for forcing them to do so, though indirectly.

As such, the reported speech of the speech therapist in L27-30, where the reason for leaving is provided is at the same time an expression of how Krista feels: that it is unreasonable that the council created this situation. In this context, the statement that the speech therapist 'couldn't be bothered anymore' is strongly designed for affiliation, in that Fie, by affiliating with this, expresses understanding of the kind of stress the network has been under and in this way also affiliates with Krista's negative stance towards the council.

Thus, by expressing understanding of the speech therapists decision, Fie in effect also agrees with its cause, in this way affiliating with Krista's complaint about the council. The affiliating response produced by Fie in L31-32 is, as in extract (30) initiated with the negative response particle *nej*, then followed by a second component in which the affiliation is explicitly demonstrated. Again, the two components constitute one single intonational unit.

Affiliating or agreeing responses to negatively framed utterances are typically constructed in the manner of the responses in extract (30) and (31), that is with the negative response particle being part of a larger turn, rather than as a response in its own right. Thus, in the current data 3 out of 4 affiliating or agreeing responses were formatted in this way. This suggests that speakers do not understanding a free-standing *nej* as being sufficient to implement agreement or affiliation.

Further evidence for this can be found in the cases where *nej* is not produced as a turn preface, but rather as its own intonational unit,

separate from that of the second component. In these cases, recipients withhold talk at the point at which *nej* has been produced, and waits for a second component also to be produced, in this way displaying that they do not understand a free-standing *nej* to embody the full, sufficient response. This is evident from extract (32) and (33) below.

Extract (32) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg34

```
((Fie has just celebrated her son's confirmation with a party. Krista as well as
Fie's brother-in-law was present at the party. The brother-in-law has a tendency
to odd behaviour, singing the wrong lyrics for a song and expressing odd political
opinions. Krista has just been commenting on this, while at the same time stating
that he only talked about Fie's family in a positive way and all in all was very
sweet, though odd. Fie has explained that this is his usual behaviour.))
```

```
1  Kri:      A[l's]å han ve'   jo-   Uhh han ve' jo
           You-[kno]w he will you-know- Uhh he will you-know
           You [kno]w he wants you know Uhh he wants to tell


2  Fie:        [Nej]
               [Nej]
               [No ]


3  Kri:    ge[rne fortælle hele   tiden] hvor godt det
           li[ke   tell    all time-the]  how good  it
           al[l the time              ] how good it


4  Fie:      [Han han     . h h h h h h]
             [He   he     . h h h h h h]
             [He   he     . h h h h h h]


5  Kri:    va:r [å' ikk'.     Al'så]
           wa:s [and not.   You-know]
           was ,[and right? You know]


6  Fie:        [Jahh .    Det  hele] Jerh.=
               [Ja   .    It    all] Ja.=
               [Yes  .   Everything] Yeah.=


7  Kri:    =Det'   jo    ikk' noget    [ka' man si':
           =It's you-know not something [can one say
           =You know it's not something [you could say


8  Fie:                                [.H h h h h
                                        [.H h h h h
                                        [.H h h h h
```

```
9  Kri:         såd'neh]
               like-thiseh]
               sort   of  ]


10 Fie: →   .hh    .hhh]hh NEJ  EH   d- De:t lever vi ås'
           .hh    .hhh]hh Nej  EH   d- That lives we also
           .hh    .hhh]hh NO   EH   d- We can live with that


11         me'  Krista.=
           with Krista.=
           as well, Krista


12 Kri:    =Jahmen det  [bli'r   man    jo     nødt te', al'så
           =Ja but that [becomes one you-know forced to, you-know
           =Yesbut      [you have to do that you know, you know


13 Fie:               [Det'  ikk'     h h h     Det'    ikk'
                      [It's  not      h h h     It's    not
                      [It's  not      h h h     It's    not


14 Kri:    det'   det vi si'r] venner  ka' man vælge  [men]
           that's that we say] friends can one choose [but]
           that's what we say] you can choose your fri[end]s but


15 Fie:    noget     problem ]                      [jah]
           some      problem ]                      [ja ]
           a         problem  ]                      [yes]


16 Kri:    fam[ilie  (            )]
           fam[ily   (            )]
           fam[ily   (            )]
```

In L7-9 Krista produces a concluding evaluation of Fie's brother-in-law's behaviour, and though she never completes her utterance the verdict is clear: odd as he may be he doesn't harm anybody and thus his behaviour is not so bad. Her evaluation is negatively framed; and again, to project an agreeing response Fie initiates her responding turn produced in L10-11 with the negative response particle *nej*.

However it is through the material produced after the particle that she specifically demonstrates herself as agreeing with Krista's evaluation, her agreement being on the same epistemic level as Krista's evaluation in that 'to live with something' is the same type of evaluation as 'it's not the worst', both implying that though things are not ideal, neither are they catastrophic.

As represented by the capitalisation of *Det* 'That' in L10, the negative response particle is produced as a separate intonational unit and it is furthermore syntactically as well as pragmatically possible complete. Nevertheless, Krista does not produce more talk at this point, but rather withholds this to the point at which Fie has demonstrated her agreement explicitly, through the second component *det lever vi ås' me'*. In this way, Krista treat the *nej* as being insufficient as an agreement – and Fie's continuation, the production of the second component in her responsive turn demonstrates that she also sees *nej* as being an insufficient response.

In a similar fashion, sympathy, a strongly affiliative action, is demonstrated in material produced subsequent to the free-standing negative response particle in extract (33). Again, the recipient of the *nej*-response withholds talk until this affiliation has been demonstrated through the second component of talk, rather than accept the claim of affiliation made through the polar fitted *nej*.

Extract (33) : TH/S2/140) Krista & Fie II/Neg526

```
((In response to Krista's enquiry into his well-being Jens has produced a response
implying suffering. Krista has reacted to this in the appropriate manner, by
eliciting a more extended telling from Jens about how he's doing.))


1   Jens:      Jah, jeg jeg ve' du     hva' jeg' jo
               Ja , I   I  know you(s) what I've you-know
               Yes I  I Do you know what you know I've


2              blevet hjemmegående    [ikk'] å'   det': å'
               become home-going      [not ] and that's and
               become a house husband [righ]t  and that's


3   Krista:                           [jah ]
                                      [ja  ]
                                       [yes ]


4   Jens:      jeg' jeg' simpelthen så stresset. Det ka'
               I'm I'm  simply    so stressed. That can
               and I'm I'm simply so stressed.  I can't


5              jeg ikk'holde te'.
               I  not last  to .
               take it.


6   Krista: →  Nej. Det'    sgu          ås' synd, du  bli'r
               Nej. That's bloody-well also pity,you(s) get
```

```
                  No. That's a fucking pity as well I bet

7                 garanteret jagtet rundt.
                  guaranteed hunted around.
                  you're being chased round.

8  Jens:          Simpelthen så [galt]. Ej jeg har haft
                  Simply    so  [ bad]. Nej I  have had
                  Simply so     [bad ] . No I've had a

9  Krista:                       [Jah ]
                                 [Ja  ]
                                 [Yes ]

10 Jens:          udvalgsdag   i  dag, vi havde (.) næsten halvtreds
                  committee-day to day, we had   (.) almost fifty
                  committee meeting today we had (.) almost fifty

11 Jens:          punkter på (.) [      udvalgsdagsorden.     ]
                  items   on (.) [  committee-progamme-the. ]
                  items on   (.) [ the agenda.               ]
```

In L1-5 Jens states that he is getting very stressed having to stay at home, concluding that he can't take it. This is delivered in a joking manner, being ironic about most people associating stress with working rather than staying at home. Again, the negative framing of this statement is reflected in Krista's response in L6-7 which is initiated through the production of the negative response particle.

The more strongly affiliative action, the expression of sympathy is implemented through the elaboration in L6-7 where Krista specifically demonstrates that she is sympathetic towards Jens's suffering through *Det' sgu ås' synd* 'That's a fucking pity as well'. Krista furthermore produces a suggestion of why, contrary to assumptions, Jens is getting stressed staying at home, namely that he is being chased around (by his wife), to do things in the house. This suggestion shows the detailed attention with which Krista has treated Jens's prior turn; his choice of term in this turn, using *blevet hjemmegående* 'becoming a house husband' instead of 'lost my job', clearly displays that he isn't getting stressed about the money not coming in, having to apply for new jobs or even the fact that he is out of a job, but that it is specifically the 'staying at home' that is taking its toll.

As in extract (32), though the negative response particle is produced as a unit of its own, Jens does not treat this as a complete, sufficient

response to his strongly affiliation relevant utterance, but withholds further talk until Krista through her second component of L6-7 has explicitly demonstrated her affiliation. This treatment indicates that had Krista in fact completed her response after the production of the negative response token *nej*, her demonstration of sympathy and simultaneous understanding of why specifically it is that Jens is so stressed would not have been achieved.

The four extracts above demonstrate how participants in interaction understand a free-standing *nej* as an insufficient response to utterances that make agreement or affiliation relevant. Thus, in all these extracts the participants display an orientation to an extended turn being of relevance for whether a response can be understood as sufficiently agreeing or affiliating.

As discussed in section 3.2, the presence of a turn-initial *nej* in response to negatively framed utterances makes such responses type-conforming, in that speakers through the production of *nej* claims alignment with the prior utterance and speaker. But, as can be seen from extracts (30)-(33) above, such a claim of for instance agreement or affiliation is not sufficient, rather the agreement or affiliation has to be demonstrated in an extended response, before it is accepted and the recipient produces further talk.

The difference between claiming agreement or affiliation through *nej*, and demonstrating these actions through an extended response is evident from cases where such initial claims of alignment are subsequently ignored or even countered in the second component of the response. This is the case in extract (34), where AnneMie first through the production of *nej* claims to accept a rejection made by Jens in the prior turn, but then counters this rejection in the second component of talk.

Extract (34): TH/S2/5/AnneMie & Jens/Neg155

```
((Jens has described how he is making an exhibition of some pictures with a local
architect, Arne. Arne is also an artist, and his recently deceased father was a
fairly well-know painter. Jens has not explicitly stated whether the exhibition is
of Arne's pictures, or of the fathers. This issue is checked by AnneMie in L1 of
this extract. Ole, referred to at the end of the extract is Arne's brother.))


1   Mie:      Om    Arnes   billeder
              About Arnes pictures
              About Arnes paintings


2   Jens:     Nej. Farens.
```

```
                   Nej. Fathers-the.
                   No. His fathers.


3   Mie:      Nåh[jah]
              Oh [ja ]
              Oh [yes]


4   Jens:        [Far]ens      kirkestudier
                 [Fat]hers-the church-studies
                 [His] fathers church studies


5   Mie:      Jaja.  Jaja.  Jahm' a' det Arnes eller hvordan
              Jaja.  Jaja. Ja but is that Arnes or     how
              Yesyes. Yesyes. Yesbut are those Arnes or how


6             a' det det a' me' det.
              is it  it is with that.
              is it it is with that.


7   Jens:     Det ve' jeg ikk'=
              That know I not=
              I don't know=


8   Mie:      Nej [det'  et'l'andet   me'] deres arv.=
              Nej [that's one-or-other with] their inheritage.=
              No  [that's something to do w]ith their inheritage.=


9   Jens:        [Det ve' jeg ikk' blande-]
                 [That will I not    mix- ]
                 [I      won't    get  in- ]


10  Jens:     =Det ve' jeg ikk' Det ve' jeg ikk' blande mig i.=
              =That will I not  That will I not    mix   me in.=
              = I won't          I won't get involved in that.=


11  Mie:  →   =Nej men det'   (højst) interessant, det ka'j'
              =Nej  but that's (higly) interesting, that can-I
              =No but that's (highly) interesting, I can promise


12            lo:v'    dig,  Det' en  hel   krimi.
              promise you(s), That's a whole crime-novel
              you that, That's a whole crime novel


13  Jens:     .hh Det tror jeg   bestemt det er [det var   da ]
              .hh That think I definitely it is [it was surely]
              .hh I think it definitely is      [it was surely]
```

```
14  Mie:                                       [J a  h  h  e ]
                                               [Ja       h  e ]
                                               [Y e  s  h  e ]

15  Jens:    li':ve'  å'  gå galt   her i   i mandags , jeg ku'
             just with and go wrong here in in Monday,    I could
             just about to go wrong here on Monday,     I could

16           .hh Han havde vist     glemt   å' si': det te' Ole.
             .hh He  had probably forgotten to say   it to Ole.
             .hh I think he had forgotten to tell Ole.
```

Having checked that the pictures exhibited are made by Arne's father, rather than Arne, AnneMie in L5-6 implies that Arne does not in fact have the right to dispose over these pictures, as they might in fact not rightfully belong to him. Though this implication is formatted as a question, it is obvious from AnneMie's turn in L8 that she already knows the answer, and that the question was posed so to initiate gossip about the family involved. Jens clearly attempts to block this topic, first by claiming 'no knowledge' about who the pictures belong to, in L7, then by explicitly stating in L9 and L10 that he doesn't wish to be involved in the issue.

This latter turn in L10 is negatively framed, and by initiating her responding turn with the negative response particle *nej*, AnneMie initially appears to accept Jens's rejection of her topic. However when subsequent material is produced (the second component of AnneMie's response) it becomes evident that *nej* should indeed be seen as only a token of acceptance even in its most literal sense, as AnneMie here insists on talking on the topic of Arne and his family by indicating that there is indeed a problem with who owns the paintings and that she knows something about it.

Tempted by a potentially very juicy subject of gossip or perhaps relinquishing his resistance in the face of her insistence, in L13-16 Jens accepts the gossip by providing some information he has access to.

Through countering her initial acceptance of Jens's rejection in the extract above, AnneMie demonstrates that though the negative response particle *nej* by being a grammatically fitted response claims alignment with the action produced in the prior turn, it does not in and by itself embody for instance acceptance of - or affiliation or agreement with – that turn or indeed the prior speaker.

Rather, as is evident in particular from extracts (30) through (33), such actions need to be explicitly demonstrated through the production of a second component of talk, before a response to a negatively framed utterance is understood as being affiliating or agreeing with that utterance. Thus, the negative response particle *nej* is oriented to by the participants as an insufficient response to affiliation or agreement relevant utterances, because it is understood only as a *claim* of alignment that projects that what is being done in the turn will in all likelihood – but not necessarily, as is evident from extract (34) - be done in alignment with the action produced in the prior turn.

This orientation to the insufficiency of a free-standing *nej* and the relevance for an extended responsive turn will be further demonstrated in the following section, where I discuss cases where a more extended response is pursued (and typically provided) through various interactional means, when a free-standing *nej* has been produced in response to agreement – or affiliation relevant utterances.

3.3.2.2 Pursuing an extended response after a free-standing nej

In this section I look at cases where the negative response particle *nej* is (in contrast to the examples in the section above) produced as a free-standing response to negatively framed utterances that are agreement- or affiliation relevant.

I demonstrate how these free-standing *nej*'s are treated by the participants as insufficient responses to agreement- or affiliation relevant utterances: either by having the recipient of a free-standing *nej* treat the response as incomplete by withholding further talk, or pursue a more sufficient response through the use of free-standing tags.

These pursuits of a more sufficient response can be resisted or ignored by the speaker initially producing the free-standing *nej*, but when they are not, the speaker demonstrates the relevance of an extended response by producing this after the pursuit. This then is another context in which it is demonstrated that participants understand a free-standing *nej* to be an insufficient response to affiliation- or agreement relevant utterances.

There are, as mentioned above two main ways in which a recipient of a free-standing *nej* can display their understanding of this response as being insufficient in the context in which it is produced:[95] either the recipient of

---

[95] See also chapter 4, section 4.2.1, where the affiliative, *multiple nej* is shown to be a particular type of response which can be used in contexts where the free-standing negative response particle has been treated as an insufficient response.

the free-standing *nej* can withhold further talk, in this way providing a place in which the other speaker can produce an extension of his/her response; or the recipient of the free-standing *nej* can produce a tag, in this way providing a place for the other speaker to produce a new, extended response.

In extract (35), after the production of a free-standing *nej* by A.R., Fie withholds further talk by producing what may be termed a 'turn-filler', the *E:h*, in L10.

Extract (35) : TH/S2/20/Frankrigskunde & Fie/Neg254

```
((Fie is renting out a holiday house in the South of France. She is describing the
house and its surroundings to a potential customer.))

1   Fie:      .hhhhm Å' i landsbyen a' der ås' så'n
              .hhhhm And in village-the is there also like-this
              .hhhhm And in the village there's like more or less

2             hh mer' eller mindre det man hh behøver
              hh more or less that one    hh needs
              what one needs  as well

3   FK:       Jerh,=
              Ja,=
              Yeah,=

4   Fie:      =Al'så restauranter å' tennisbaner: å'
              =You-know restaurants and tennis courts and
              =You know restaurants and tennis courts and

5             .hhh picnicplads å'  hh[m  ]
              .hhh picnic spot and hh[m  ]
              .hhh picnic place and h[hm ]

6   FK:                               [Jah] Jerh=
                                      [Ja ] Ja=
                                      [Yes] Yeah=

7   Fie:      =°huh° Så'n (( Swallowing)) men (.) Al'så
              =°huh° Like-this ((Swallowing)) but (.) You-know
              °huh° Like    ((Swallowing))  but (.) You know

8             ikk' no'et (.) ikk' no'et mondænt(t)=
              not something (.) not something fashionable
              not anything  (.) not anything fashionable
```

```
9   FK:    →    =Nej.
                 =Nej.
                 =No.

10  Fie:        *E:h*=
                *E:h*=
                 *E:h*=

11  FK:         =Det beh[øver det heller ikk' å' være. Jah]
                =That ne[eds it neither not to be  . Ja  ]
                =It does[n't need to be either.       Yes ]

12  Fie:             [E n    e n    ganske    a l min]delig
                     [ A     a    completely    ordin]ary
                     [A      a    completely    ordin]ary

13  Fie:        fransk landsby.
                french village.
                french village.
```

Here, Fie is describing her holiday house and its surroundings to a potential customer, F.K.. In L7-8 Fie defines the surrounding village as 'non-fashionable'. In doing so, she implicates that the fashionability of the location may be a determining factor for whether F.K. would wish to rent the house or not.

A relevant response to this would be one in which F.K. stated her stance towards the issue of 'fashionability', that is, whether she is indeed looking for something fashionable, or not.

In response to this however, F.K. in L9 produces a free-standing *nej*. This response displays that F.K. has understood and heard the information given in the prior turn; and though the *nej* (in contrast to for instance a *nåh* 'oh') also claims that F.K. has no problem with the village being 'un-fashionable', this is not explicitly demonstrated in her response.

Rather than produce further talk and thus accept this response, Fie marks it as being insufficient by producing a turn-filler, the *E:h* in L10, spanning over a (0.9) second gap.[96] Its effect is evident in that upon production of this turn-filler, F.K. in L11 produces an extended response

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[96] That Fie is indeed orienting to *nej* as being an inadequate response is further supported by her turn in L12 which is produced in overlap with FK's affiliative response. Here Fie elaborates on the definition of 'not fashionable' as 'an ordinary French village' thus giving FK another opportunity to state that this is indeed what she's looking for.

where she explicitly states that the house or place she is looking for doesn't need to be fashionable either. [97]

In this way F.K. displays her understanding of Fie's turn-filler in L10 as an indication of the insufficiency of her free-standing *nej* response and reacts to this by producing an extended response that explicitly demonstrates her alignment with Fie.

Together, the two participants demonstrate that a free-standing *nej* can be understood and marked as being an insufficient response; and that when this is the case an extended response in which affiliation is overtly demonstrated is, in contrast understood and oriented to as sufficient.

Similarly, in extract (36) a free-standing *nej* is marked as insufficient, again through the use of a turn-filler as well as a gap of silence, both indicating that this response is as yet incomplete. In this case however an extended response is not forthcoming and the recipient of the *nej*-response instead backs down from the stance taken in the turn that initially received only a *nej*.

Extract (36) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg14

```
((Fie and Krista are discussing a shop which used to be their favourite shop in
the town where Krista lives. Krista has stated that she now thinks some of the
stuff sold there is rubbish and that she doesn't think business is good anymore.
This has been responded to with disbelief by Fie and the participants have
launched a discussion of why each of them thinks the other is wrong.))


1  Krista:   hvorfor jeg tror  det'    fordi  hun har ansat en
             why      I  think that's because she has hired one
             the reason I think so's because she has hired one


2            på fuld tid
             on full time
             for full time work


3  Fie:     Ja[h]
            Ja[ ]
            Ye[s]


4  Krista:   [F]ør    jul
             [B]efore christmas
             [B]efore christmas
```

---

[97] This affiliation is however slightly downgraded through the use of behøver 'needs'. A strongly afiliaiting response would in contrast have been one in which F.K. explicitly stated that the house or place shouldn't be fashionable, that is, that she would prefer a house located in a 'ordinary (and thus typical) french village', a term used by Fie in L12-13.

```
5   Fie:      Jerh=
              Ja=
              Yeah=

6   Krista:   =Å'  hun er der  ikk' mere
              =And she is there not more
              =And she's not there anymore

7   Fie:  →  Nej
              Nej
              No

8             (0.8)
              (0.8)
              (0.8)

9   Krista:   Øhm::: M- Men jeg ved det ikk'=
              Ehm::: B- But  I  know it not=
              Ehm::: B- But I don't know=

10  Fie:      =Nej [det ved jeg heller    ikk'     Fnnt]
              =Nej [that know I neither    not      Fnnt]
              =No, [I don't know either         Fnnt ]
```

Krista's turn spanning L1-6 is an account or argument for why she is right in assuming that the shop under discussion isn't doing as well as it used to. Fie's response to the turn as a whole, the *nej* in L7, does not contest the fact that the full-time assistant is no longer there. However, by merely acknowledging Krista's turn as being heard and understood, Fie fails to accept the account as a valid argument for why Krista may be right in assuming business to be bad, neither making it necessary for Fie to enforce her own position by providing further contrasting arguments, nor to change it towards being more in agreement with Krista.

Consequently, Krista reacts to Fie's response token as not embodying the type of affiliating or aligning action required by her own turn. This is done firstly by treating Fie's turn as incomplete, by not taking the turn immediately after completion and leaving a pause in L8 in which Fie has the opportunity to continue her turn and produce a more adequate response. As this is not forthcoming even after (0.8) seconds of silence, Krista takes the turn, but initiates it through the production of the non-lexical *Øhm:::* thus giving Fie yet another opportunity for providing an extended, more affiliative response.

When this is not done Krista 'backs down' in L9 by claiming to have 'no knowledge' about the overall business, and the disagreement sequence is closed down in unison when Fie reciprocates with a similar claim in L10.

Though Fie in effect 'ignores' Krista's display of having received an insufficient response through the free-standing *nej* in L7, there is no doubt that this is what Krista is orienting to through not taking the turn in L8 and through the non-lexical *Øhm:::* in L9. Likewise it should be evident that in both extract (35) and (36) the insufficiency of *nej* owes to its only *claiming* alignment, rather than actually demonstrate it. That this non-demonstration of alignment is a relevant factor for the interaction is displayed differently in the two cases: in extract (35) F.K., the speaker producing the free-standing *nej* rectifies this missing demonstration by subsequently producing an extended response. In contrast, in extract (36), it is the recipient of the free-standing *nej*, Krista, that as a consequence of having received only claimed alignment, rather than demonstrated alignment, backs down from her initial stance.

Another way in which to mark a free-standing *nej* as being an insufficient response is through what Jefferson (1980) terms a 'Post-Response-Completion Response Solicitation'. She argues that when a tag is added, not at the end of an utterance, but following a response to that utterance, the speaker producing the tag is marking that response as being inadequate – or insufficient – in that it was not the type of response which the utterance was designed to receive, in effect pursuing a new response.

This pattern was discussed in chapter 2, section 2.3 where it was argued that the negatively framed tag *ikk'* in post-response position was oriented to as displaying that the acknowledgement token *ja* was an insufficient response to the prior turn. When a negatively framed turn is tagged upon completion or in post-response position, the tag is *vel*: the pattern of its use, associated with marking a prior response as insufficient, is the same as that of the negative tag *ikk'*.

Extract (37) : TH/S2/53/Fie & Farmor/Neg368

```
((Farmor is Fie's mother-in-law. Together they are going to Farmor's son-in-laws
6oth anniversary on the mainland. Fie has called Farmor to give her the travel
details, when they will pick her up, which ferry they are taking and when. They
initially thought they would have to take the early ferry at 7 o'clock but Fie has
figured out that if they take the ferry from another town they can leave later and
still have plenty of time.))

1   Fie:          .hhh Så det- det ka' vi sagtens nåhh.=
```

```
                       .hhh So that- that can we easily managehh.=
                       .hhh So that- we can easily manage thathh.=

2   Farmor:     =Jerh=
                =Ja=
                =Yeah=

3   Fie:        =Så jeg syn's- Jeg syn's ikk' der
                =So I  though-  I thought not there
                =So I didn't- I didn't think there

4               var no'en grund te' å' ta' a'sted før.
                was some reason to and take of-place before.
                was any reason to leave before that.

5   Farmor:     Ne:j
                Nej
                No:

6   Fie:        vel¿
                right¿
                right¿

7   Farmor:     Endeli' ikk'.
                At-last not.
                Not at all.

8   Fie:        .hnejh
                .nej
                .hnoh

9               (.)
                (.)
                (.)

10  Fie:        Godt.
                Good.
                Fine.

11  Farmor:     Det passer mig strå(he)lende
                That suits me sh(hh)ining
                That suits me per(hh)fectly

12  Fie:        Nåh
                Oh
                Oh
```

```
13 Farmor:       å' ikk' sku' op klokken seks
                 to not should up o'clock six
                 not having to get up at six
```

Immediately before this extract begins, Fie has told Farmor that they can leave later than expected. This is clearly good news, but having received no evaluation of this news, in L1 Fie produces a turn that might be seen as being in orientation to the lacking uptake from Farmor indicating that she indeed has problems with evaluating the 'leaving later' as good news. Thus Fie focuses on one potential problematic aspect of this: if they leave later they may not manage to make it in time, explicitly stating this to be unproblematic in L1.

Having even after this received no positive evaluation of the news, Fie in L3-4 states the obvious, that she finds no reason to leave earlier when they can leave later without any consequences. Though Farmor does respond to this, her response consists only of the negative response particle *nej*, merely marking Fie's turn as being unproblematically heard and understood, but not explicitly demonstrating agreement with Fie's statement and consequently neither with her decision to leave later.

By producing the tag *vel* in this position, subsequent to the response token, Fie in effect hands the turn back over to Farmor, having rephrased her statement as being explicitly designed for an agreeing response and marking the prior response as being insufficient. This is oriented to by Farmor, who in L7 produces an extended, more affiliative response designed to demonstrate agreement with Fie's statement in L3-4 as well as her decision to leave later. Furthermore, in L11-13 Farmor evaluates the decision as having only positive consequences for her personally, as it means she no longer has to get up at six and thus finally providing the positive evaluation that Fie's news delivery was designed to receive.

As is evident from the extracts above, participants clearly orient to a free-standing *nej* as an insufficient response to agreement- or affiliation relevant utterances. This can be done by orienting to the insufficient response in various ways: either by not taking the turn after the response has been completed, as in extract (35), by filling the turn subsequent to the production of *nej* with a hedged 'turn-filler' such as *E:h* and *Ø::hm* as in extract (34) and (35) or by producing a post response pursuit, the tag *vel,*, as in extract (36).

In the latter case, the turn is specifically handed back to the speaker initially producing the negative response particle. Pauses and turn-fillers on the other hand do not explicitly hand the turn back over to the other

participant, but mark that the speaker in this position has nothing to contribute to the sequence, thus leaving it up to the other participant whether to take the turn and what to do with it.

Irrespectively of which device is used, participants clearly orient to any of these as implicating some problem with the use of the free-standing *nej* as a response to the prior turn and will most commonly rephrase their response in an attempt to solve this problem. By doing this specifically through the production of an extended turn in which an aligning action is specifically demonstrated, participants overtly define the problem of the free-standing *nej* as being due to the fact that this type of response marks the prior turn as having been heard, understood and accepted as unproblematic and in this way merely claiming alignment. This is in contrast to the extended responses where the aligning action is demonstrated for instance as agreement or affiliation.

3.3.3 Summary

In the sections above, it has been demonstrated that the way in which a negative response is formatted has consequences for what type of action it is understood to be doing. The difference between a free-standing *nej* and a more extended response initiated with *nej* has been shown to have consequences for the interaction, though both are grammatically fitted and thus grammatically preferred, when used in response to negatively framed utterances.

Thus, it has been demonstrated that the negative response particle *nej* in Danish can be used for acknowledgement and as a continuer; and is in fact the only way in which a negatively framed utterance can be acknowledged or marked for continuation. These actions were noted to be the most frequent use of free-standing *nej*'s in Danish, suggesting that the main purpose of a free-standing *nej* in Danish is to mark that the prior negatively framed utterance has been heard, understood and accepted as being unproblematic, both with regard to the information provided and the action produced in that prior utterance.

In doing so, a respondent claims alignment with - or acceptance of - the stance taken in the prior turn. As could be seen from the extracts in section 3.3.1, such a claim of alignment is perfectly adequate in the sequential contexts in which an exchange of information is being done, as the free-standing *nej*'s by for instance acknowledging the prior turn display that the information has been exchanged in an unproblematic manner, that is has been accepted, understood and heard.

It was then demonstrated that this most common use of a free-standing *nej*, as an acknowledgement token or continuer, claiming alignment with the prior turn and speaker, has consequences for how such a response is oriented to when used as a response to utterances that are produced not merely in the service of exchanging information. Thus, the free-standing *nej* was shown to be treated as an insufficient response to agreement- or affiliation relevant utterances; that is utterances that are designed to receive a response carrying affective stance. Instead, these types of utterances are responded to through the production of an extended turn where *nej* is used as a turn preface and is followed by a second component in which affiliation or agreement is explicitly demonstrated.

So here, it has been demonstrated that a free-standing *nej* can be used as an acknowledgement token or continuer, but not for agreement and affiliation. In the following I will look at other usages of the free-standing *nej*, as a confirming response and as a closing-implicative device. Again, I will compare the use of the free-standing *nej* to that of a more extended response initiated with *nej*.

3.4 Free-standing nej *and confirmation*

In this section I focus on a particular type of negative utterance, those that embody a request for confirmation. As in the sections above I demonstrate that the type of action produced in response to such utterances is dependent on the format of the response; that is whether a response consists only of a free-standing *nej*, or of a more extended response in which *nej* is used as a turn preface.

In the former case, the request for confirmation is treated by the respondent only as a request for confirming the assumption displayed in the prior turn. In this way, a confirming, free-standing *nej* serves only to mark that some knowledge or information which was previously known only – or mainly – to one of the participants is now common to both, in a similar matter to what is being done through the production of an acknowledgement token or continuer.

In contrast, when an extended response is produced, the request for confirmation is treated and oriented to also as a vehicle for other actions. Here, the negative response particle as in the former case confirms the assumption displayed in the prior turn as being correct, thus marking that some information has now become common knowledge. The second component, the material produced after *nej* is then subsequently

produced in orientation to the consequences this information exchange has for the interaction, that is, the action that the request for confirmation was used a vehicle for.

The section is organised as follows:
In section 3.4.1, I demonstrate that a free-standing *nej* is oriented to as a perfectly adequate and sufficient response when the request for confirmation was produced merely so as to exchange information between the participants.

In section 3.4.2, I discuss how requests for confirmation can serve as a vehicle for other actions, and demonstrate that participants will orient to this by producing an extended turn, rather than a free-standing *nej*.

In section 3.4.3, this difference between a free-standing *nej* and an extended response is then specifically oriented to, by looking at a subgroup of utterances that embody requests for confirmation, 'echo-questions', that is questions that are formatted as repeats of the prior speakers turn. For these I demonstrate that by producing a free-standing *nej*, a respondent treat the 'echo-question' as being a request to confirm that the information provided in a prior turn was indeed correct. In contrast, an extended response initiated with *nej* treats 'echo-question' as expressing disbelief.

3.4.1 Nej *as a confirmation marker.*

As discussed in section 2.1.2 utterances that are designed for confirmation typically take the format of declaratives, the addition of tags, inference markers such as *så* 'then', and *jo* 'you know', markers of uncertainty such as *måske* 'maybe'/'perhaps' and *nok* 'probably', as well as slightly rising intonation marking the utterance as being a request for confirmation, rather than an assertion or assessment to be agreed with.

The understanding that such utterances state assumptions rather than claims is furthered by the fact that the statement typically bring up 'B-events' (Labov and Fanshel 1977:100-101); that is information for which the recipient has privileged access. Thus, statements referring to 'B-events' display a speaker's assumption about how things are, but leave it to the recipient to confirm (or disconfirm) that this is indeed the case.

Thus, through their turns at talk speakers can display a certain assumption, based for instance on the prior talk or on what the participants know about each other. Through such turns speakers take a piece of information and transform it into one which needs to be

confirmed by the other participant. Confirmations of such turns treat the information they provide as one that has already been in some way known to the recipient, accepting the inference or assumption made in the prior turn, without displaying any stance towards the information provided in the confirmation itself.

For instance in the following extract, Jette makes the inference that an exhibition has not been extended based on Jens's statement in L4-5, that they have to start thinking about taking it down. In L10 and 13 Jens through his free-standing *nej*'s confirms that this inference was correct, without evaluating how he feels about the fact that the exhibition has been taken down. This non-evaluation should be seen in contrast both to Jette's evaluation of this information in L16 and Jens's demonstrated agreement with this in L17.

Extract (37): TH/S2/84/Jette H & Jens/Neg 633

```
((Jette is the curator of the local museums. Jens works as a volunteer for a local
organisation that runs a manor house, making exhibitions, renting it out for
weddings etc. The manor house is not part of the local museums, but the two
organisations work together and has in the case discussed here co-operated at
getting an exhibition set up. The exhibition is now about to finish))
```

```
1   Jette:   Det a' Borø Museum Jette¿
             This is Borø Museum Jette¿
             This is Borø Museum, Jette speaking¿

2   Jens:    .hh Jah det' Jens Lindegård,
             .hh Ja it's Jens Lindegård,
             .hh Yes it's Jens Lindegård,

3   Jette:   Dav=dav,
             Day=day,
             Hello=hello,

4   Jens:    .lhh Jette vi ska' jo te' å' begynde å' tænke på
             .lhh Jette we shall you-know to and begin and think on
             .lhh Jette you know we ought to start thinking about

5            å' ta' den udstilling ned igen.=
             that take that exhibition down again.=
             taking that exhibition down again.=

6   Jette:   =Jah.
             =Ja.
             =Yes.
```

```
7             (.)
              (.)
              (.)

8   Jette:   >Nåh i har ikk'< fået den forlænget, °eller
             >Oh you have not< gotten it extended, °or
             >Oh you didn't < get it extended , °or

9            den a' ikke,°
             it is not,°
             it isn't,°

10  Jens: → Nejh.
             Nej.
             Noh.

11  Jette:   U↑:ps. Heller ikk' me': en (p)plade på
             W↑o:ps. Either not wi:th a board on
             W↑o:ps.  Not even with a board on

12           eller etl'andet¿
             or    one-or-other¿
             or something¿

13  Jens: → Nejh.
             Nej.
             Noh.

14           (0.8)
             (0.8)
             (0.8)

15  Jens:    °. h h h h h h h  Øhm:::[:]
             °. h h h h h h h  Øhm:::[:]
             °. h h h h h h h  Øhm:::[:]

16  Jette:                         [D]et var da ærgeligt.
                                   [T]hat was surely annoying.
                                    [T]hat is really too bad.

17  Jens:    Jahhhahde(h)et(he) e(hh)r(he) d(he)et(hh) .hhehh
             Ja hhehtha(h)t(he) i(hh)s(he) i(he)t(hh) .hhehh
             Yehhhehs i(hh)t i(hh)s(hh) .hhehh
```

In L8, through the *nåh*, Jette displays her realisation of what Jens's statement in L4-5 means, that the exhibition hasn't been extended. Thus, her displayed assumption of this is clearly based on the information in L4-5 and is as such a request for Jens to confirm that this was indeed the right inference to make. This is then confirmed through Jens's free-standing *nej* in L10.

Similarly, in L11 Jette states another assumption, that it isn't even possible to extend the exhibition by putting boards up (apparently this would be to protect some of the exhibited works). This assumption is again based on Jens's statement in L4-5, as well as on his free-standing *nej* in L10, which by confirming Jette's assumption in L8-9 leaves no possibility open for extending part of the exhibition. Again, this latter assumption is confirmed to be correct through a free-standing *nej*, produced by Jens in L13.

In confirming Jette's assumptions as being correct, Jens merely displays that information which was perhaps in some way already known to Jette is now equally well known to the two participants. In contrast, he doesn't display any kind of affective stance towards the information he in this way provides; for instance whether he is satisfied or not, with the fact that the exhibition will not be extended (this could have been done for instance by following the free-standing *nej* with a second component in which Jens stated that they tried to get an extension).

This lack of displaying affective stance is however not because Jens has no opinion on the matter, as can be seen from his agreeing response to Jette's evaluation of this in L17, he is in fact not satisfied with the fact that they didn't get an extension. Rather, the reason for Jens only producing a free-standing *nej* in L10 and L13, and thus only confirming that the assumption suggested by Jette is correct, is that he treats the prior turns as requests for confirmation; or as requests for information exchange, only.

Similarly, in extract (38), Jens produces a free-standing *nej* in response to the assumption made by Martin, that it doesn't matter to Jens whether the day they take the ferry is a day with a discount or not. And again, the free-standing *nej* merely treats the prior turn as a request for confirming some information, rather than an utterance designed to receive for instance agreement.

Extract (38) : TH/S2/41/Jens & Martin/Neg302

((Jens and Martin have been working on a project for a house on the mainland. They
have agreed to meet with the owner of the house. Martin who is on vacation would
like to bring his family, 'to make a trip out of it' and has now called Jens to
let him know when it would suit them to go. Jens's wife manages the ferry company
with which they are travelling so Jens can travel for free.))

```
1  Martin:        Jah. Det' godt. .hh Meneh Ve' du
                  Ja. That's good. .hh Buthe Know you
                  Yes. That's fine. .hh Buteh You know

2                 hva' j- e:h: Jeg havde eneh fv- .hh Eneh
                  what I- e:h: I had   aeh   fv-  .hh Aeh
                  what I- e:h: I had aeh    fv- .hh   Aeh

3                 Tanke om at vi ku' gøre det tirsdag
                  Thought about that we could do   it Tuesday
                  Thought that maybe we could do it Tuesday

4                 eller onsdag  e[h- F]or det første
                  or Wednesday  e[h- F]or the first
                  or Wednesday  e[h- F]irstly because

5  Jens:                      [JAh ]
                              [Ja  ]
                              [YEs ]

6  Martin:        a' det billigdag .hhh E:hh Det betyder
                  is it  cheap-day .hhh E:hh That means
                  it's the cheap day. .hhh E:hh Perhaps

7                 måske ikk'  så meget for dig
                  maybe not so much for you
                  that doesn't matter that much to you

8  Jens:   →      Ne[jh ]
                  Ne[j  ]
                  No[h  ]

9  Martin:          [Men]eh .hh Mene:h Så tænkte jeg på ateh
                    [But]eh .hh Bute:h Then thought I on thateh
                    [But]eh .hh Bute:h Then I thought thateh

10                Om du havde lyst te' vi kombinerede=
                  If you had want to  we combined=
                  If you felt like combining=
```

In several calls, Martin and Jens have been trying to settle a day for a meeting on the mainland with a third party. Here, Martin has called Jens to let him know which days would be suitable for him.

Having suggested that the meeting take place either Tuesday or Wednesday, in L4 Martin launches an account for why he would prefer either of these two days. The account is initiated through the construction *for det første* 'first of all', projecting a list, or at least more than one reason for why he would prefer to travel on those days. After the first reason has been produced Martin 'inserts' an utterance in which he displays the assumption that this reason may not be relevant for Jens (This assumption is based not on something in the prior talk, but on Martin's knowledge about Jens). This utterance is clearly not a second item on the list of reasons for going on the specific days and as such Martins projected list can not be seen as completed at the end of L7.

Nevertheless, by displaying an assumption about Jens, Martin makes relevant next an action of confirmation (or disconfirmation) from Jens. This confirmation is produced in L8 through a free-standing *nej*, and as in extract (37) this response merely marks that knowledge has now been exchanged, in that something has been confirmed to be correct. In this case the recipient, Martin, further displays that this type of response was all that his prior turn was designed for, by continuing his talk. In this extract the context in which Martin's assumption is produced, as a parenthetical remark within a list construction is relevant for the type of response given by Jens.

Extract (39) is yet another case of a free-standing *nej* produced in response to a request for confirmation. Here, it should be particular evident from the recipient, A.R.'s response, that what is being done through the production of such a free-standing *nej* is marking that an exchange of information or knowledge has taken place.

Extract (39): TH/S2/50/A.R. & Fie/Neg354

```
((Fie is renting out a holiday house in France. A.R. is a potential customer.))

1  Fie:    Al'så vi har haft huset i mange mange mange år.
           You-know we have had house-the in many many years.
           You know we've had the house for years and years.

2  A.R.:   Mm.
           Mm.
           Mm.
```

```
3  Fie:     Å’ de:thh   Vi’ velkomne å’ (.) det’ vores
            And i:t’shh We’re welcome and (.) that’s our
            And it’s   We’re welcome and (.) so are our

4           gæster åsse å’ (0.2) .tch Der a’ de ting man
            guests also and (0.2) .tch There are those things one
            guests and (0.2) There are the thing you

5           ska’ bruge i  landsbye[n.]
            shall use in village-t[he]
            need in the village   [  ]

6  A.R.:                          [°J]erh°
                                  [°J]a °
                                  [°Y]eah°

7           (0.3)
            (0.3)
            (0.3)

8  A.R.:    Å’ hva’:: børn det’ ikk’ no’et problem vel,
            And wha::t children that’s not some problem right,
            And wha::t children isn’t a problem is it,

9  Fie:  →  Nej.
            Nej.
            No.

10  A.R.:   Godt.
            Good.
            Good.

11  Fie:    Det a’ det ikk’. Vi ha:r selv haft børn
            That is it not. We ha:ve self had children
            They aren’t. We ourselves have had children there

12          igennem (.) alle årene.=
            through (.) all years-the.=
            throughout (.) the years.=

13  A.R.:   Ja=ja. Det  lyder  jo    rigtig  (.) tiltalende.
            Ja=ja. That sounds you-know right (.) attractive.
            Yes=yes. That really sounds really (.) attractive.
```

Here, Fie has been describing her holiday house and its surroundings to a potential customer, A.R.. A.R. has throughout this sequence asked various questions about the house and its location, and another one of these is produced in L8, where she inquires into the issue of bringing children.

This is done by displaying the assumption[98] that there will be no problems in her bringing children to the holiday house that Fie is renting out. This assumption is confirmed to be correct by Fie in L9, through the production of a free-standing negative response particle. By producing a receipt token in L10, furthermore evaluating the confirmation as positive, A.R. displays that in this case, the free-standing *nej* was an appropriate response to her question in L8, that is, that her prior turn was designed with an exchange of knowledge in mind, and that this has been achieved through Fie's free-standing *nej*.

However, the turn produced by Fie in L11 suggests that *she* did in fact not see her free-standing *nej* as being a sufficient response to A.R's question. Thus, Fie here expands her response, first by further confirming that bringing children isn't a problem, then by demonstrating how this is the case, by stating that she herself has been bringing children through the years. This provides us with an insight into how participants in interaction may not always see requests for confirmation simply as being about exchanging information or knowledge.

A.R.'s request for confirmation in L8 may be understood in two ways: either as questioning whether it would be problematic to bring children from the letters perspective (that is whether it is okay, or even allowed to bring children to the house); or whether it would be problematic to bring children from the parents or even the children's perspective (that is whether there are things in the house that makes bringing children awkward, for instance stairs, the lack of suitable beds, or whether the children would be able to find things to do).

In confirming the unproblemacy of bringing children through the free-standing *nej*, Fie could be orienting to either of these perspectives, but in doing so does not in any way display that it would in fact be a *good* idea to bring children to the house. This may however be one of the determining factors for whether a potential lodger, who is also a parent, will end up renting Fie's, rather than somebody else's house. Thus, though A.R. in here

---

[98] This inference is presumably made on the basis of the information made available in the advertisement of the house as children have not been mentioned previously in this call. Alternatively, it may be based on a more general assumption that since many people have children to take on holidays, a holiday house will automatically be suited for children.

receipt of the confirmation displays that her question was responded to in an adequate and sufficient manner, for Fie as a letter it might be seen as a good idea to state in a more explicit manner that it is more than just unproblematic to bring children. And this appears to be exactly what Fie is doing by stating that she herself has brought her children throughout the years, as this emphasised that bringing children is entirely unproblematic not just from her perspective as a letter, but also from her perspective as a *user* of the house, and in this way hopefully also for her own children as well as A.R.'s.

In this way, Fie demonstrates that free-standing *nej*'s are doing a different action from that of more extended responses, in response to requests for confirmation: the free-standing *nej* is produced and understood simply as confirming that some assumption displayed in the prior turn was correct, and as such as marking that some knowledge has now been transferred between the speakers.

In contrast, the more extended response allows Fie to display a more affective and personal stance towards the information or knowledge that has just been transferred.

In this case, the free-standing *nej* and thus the transfer of knowledge was clearly treated as being a sufficient responsive action by the recipient, A.R. (as was the case also in extract (37) and (38) above) whereas the speaker producing the free-standing *nej*, Fie, subsequently oriented to this response as being inadequate.

In the following extract, it is again the speaker responding to, rather than the speaker producing the 'request for confirmation', that orients to a free-standing *nej* as being an insufficient response. In this case, this orientation is displayed through the immediate production of an extended response initiated with *nej*.

Extract (40): TH/S2/119/Jens & Hans Petersen/Neg464

```
((Jens is the director of a local electricity board. As part of a state run
project the board is working on getting people to save energy as well as
introducing alternative energy sources. For the latter Jens has been trying to get
funding from various sources, and has among other things written the environmental
minister, Auken. Hans Petersen is a leading member of the regional electricity
board which is also a potential source of funding. The call is however made to
discuss an article Hans Petersen has written for the regional boards magazine
about the success of saving energy in Jens's area. Jens has expressed doubt about
some numbers cited by Hans Petersen, but the participants have now agreed that the
numbers must have been in some material Jens has sent to Hans Petersen earlier.
The 'sending' triggers Jens's utterance in L1.))
```

```
1   Jens:                          [Jah]=Jeg fik jo aldrig sendt
                                    [Ja ]=I got you-know never sent
                                    [Yes]=You know I never did send


2            Aukens svar.
             Aukens response.
             Aukens response.


3            (.)
             (.)
             (.)


4   H.P. : → Nej det har'j' ikk' set
             Nej that have-I not seen
             No I haven't seen that


5   Jens:    Nej. Men det' jo ås' li'gyldigt i forhold te'
             Nej. But that's surely also irrelevant in relation to
             No.  But that's irrelevant in relation to this


6            det her=
             this here=
             anyway=


7   H.P. :   =Jaja
             =Jaja
             =Yesyes
```

Through his response in L3, H.P. confirms that Jens hasn't sent the reply
from the environmental minister (through stating that he hasn't seen it).
By using an extended response in contrast to the free-standing *nej* used in
extracts (37), (38) and (39) above, H.P. however treats Jens's utterance not
merely as being designed for confirmation but as initiating or suggesting a

new topic (the topic of funding as opposed to the discussing of the article written by H.P).

H.P.'s response thus accepts this potential topic initiation by implying that he would be interested in seeing (or being told about) the reply. This is done by producing his extended response in an 'enthusiastic voice', the stress on *set* 'seen' further indicating that though H.P. hasn't seen the response from Auken, he would certainly like to. The extended response is in this way treating Jens's turn not merely as containing some information that could be confirmed by H.P., as is done through *nej*, but furthermore as initiating the topic of Auken's response, an action which is then accepted and in fact encouraged through the second component of H.P.'s responsive turn, the *det har'j' ikk' set*.

As it happens, Jens's utterance in L1-2 was not designed to be understood as a topic initiator, but merely an aside, perhaps an overt reminder to himself that he needed to send the reply to H.P. at some point. This is displayed in Jens's turn in L5-6 where he states the irrelevancy of the reply from the environmental minister with regard to the interactional project at hand, the discussion of H.P.'s article.

In this way Jens in effect scolds H.P. for having treated Jens's turn in L1 as topic initiating, displaying his understanding of the extended response as doing exactly this, as opposed to the free-standing *nej*'s in extracts (37), (38) and (39) which were implementing confirmation and thus marking an exchange of knowledge only.

It should in this way be evident from the extracts above, that participants orient to the negative response particle *nej* as being an adequate and sufficient response which confirms the assumptions or inferences made in the prior turn as being correct. At the same time they display their understanding of the free-standing *nej* as doing no more than marking that information or knowledge has now been exchanged.

In the following section I will demonstrate in more detail how this limited use of the free-standing *nej* has the effect that when a request for confirmation is designed for more than confirmation, for more than simply an exchange of knowledge or information, an extended response will be produced.

3.4.2 Extended responses to requests for confirmation
In this section I demonstrate how requests for confirmation can be used as a vehicle for other actions. When this is the case, an extended response will be produced, in which *nej* as a turn preface confirms the prior turn,

whereas the second component of the extended response deals with the consequences of this confirmation, the type of action the request for confirmation was understood to be a vehicle for.

Utterances in which observations, assumptions or claims are made about the other speaker, such as for instance requests for confirmation are frequently designed not merely to be confirmed, but to implement other actions as well. Thus, in extract (41) Martin's displayed assumption about Jens not having called to hear about Martin's daughter's accident, while being designed for confirmation is also a vehicle for creating a position in which Jens can initiate his 'reason for calling'.

Because Martin's utterance in this way in effect embodies more than one action, this is reflected in the response.

Extract (41) : TH/S2/28/Martin & Jens/Neg273

```
((Jens has called Martin earlier in the day to talk to him. Martin, being in the
midst of cooking promised to call back after dinner and has now done so. The
extract is taken from well into this conversation, where Martin has produced an
extended telling about his daughter breaking a leg and not being seen to by the
doctor with the result that she needed an operation. This topic has now been
closed down.))


1  Martin:    [Men] det var nok    ikk'     derfor du rin[ged']
              [But] it was probably not therefore you cal[led ]
              [But] that was probably not why     you cal[led ]

2  Jens:                                                [ .hh]
                                                        [ .hh]
                                                        [ .hh]

3  Jens: →    NEJ DET Var jo ikk' fordi de:t Lars havde jo:
              Nej THAT Was surely not because tha:t Lars had you-know
              NO IT wasn't because of:   Lars had you know

4            Har'j' ringet te' mig for å' høre om vi ville
             Have-you-know called to me for to hear if we would
             Have you know called and asked if we would

5            komme over å' besøge ham å' Lis
             come over and visit him and Lis
             come and visit him and Lis
```

Because Jens is the participant who originally initiated this interaction Martin has every reason to believe that Jens has a 'reason for calling'. This is stated explicitly in Martin's utterance in L1. Here Martin displays the

assumption or inference being made by him: that Jens has a reason for calling, as an assumption to be confirmed (or disconfirmed) by Jens.

In addition to this however the production of L1 provides Jens with a position in which to state his reason for calling and as such is designed for a response which does more than merely confirm the correctness of Martins assumption. This is oriented to by Jens who produces a multi-action response, first confirming through the production of the response particle *nej*, that Martin was right in assuming that his reason for calling wasn't to discuss Martin's daughter's injuries.

By confirming this, Jens at the same time accepts the implication that he did have some reason for calling. This aspect is then oriented to in Jens's second component of talk in L3, where he introduces the reason for calling. In this case then, the 'request for confirmation' is used as a vehicle for another action, that of providing a space for giving the reason for calling.

In extract (42) the action implemented through the 'request of information' is to reproduce an offer, again this second action is specifically oriented to through the production of an extended response after the confirmation has been done.

Extract (42) : TH/S2/120/ Scandinavia Inn & Fie/Neg470

```
((Fie has a holiday house in the South of France which she rents out. HL is a
representative of a newish magazine that explicitly focuses on that part of France
and advertises houses. Fie has used an introductory offer from the magazine to get
a cheap ad in the magazine as well as some free copies for herself. Not being
impressed with either she didn't resubscribe after the offer ran out. The
magazine, in a rather desperate attempt to get more customers has nevertheless
continued to run her ad and has sent her additional magazines. HL has called to
get Fie to subscribe and advertise again and has been consistently rejected.
Nevertheless she continues her sales pitch.))
```

```
1   HL:      =Fordi    d e r'j['ik]k' fordi der' så meget .hhh
              =Because there's-y[-k n]ot because there's so much .hh
              =Because   it's   [   n]ot like there's very much .hh

2   Fie:                        [Jah ]
                                [Ja  ]
                                [Yes ]

3   HL:      Man får- (.) Hva' der sker i- i I Frankrig ka'
              One gets- (.) What there happens i- in In France can
              One gets- (.) What    happens in- in In France one

4            man [si': å'] å'    de [ting v]el,
              one [say and] and those [things r]ight,
```

```
              coul[d say  ] and  and  [stuff  r]ight,

5   Fie:          [Ne:jh  ]           [ N e jh ]
                  [Nej    ]           [ N e j  ]
                  [No:h   ]           [ N o h  ]

6   HL:       [.hh Å' li'ssådan al'så   på   på d]et her me'
              [.hh And like-that you-know on on t]his here with
              [.hh And like the same about about ]this about

7   Fie:      [.hhhh    ° M    e   n   e : h °   ]
              [.hhhh    ° B    u   t   e : h °   ]
              [.hhhh    ° B    u   t   e : h °   ]

8   HL:       å' leje sit sit hus ud=Så det ve' du
              and rent (r) (r) house out=So that will you
              renting out your house=So you don't want

9             ikk' ha' et billigt til[bud ] te'
              not have a cheap     of[fer ] to
              a cheap              of[fer ] for that

10  Fie: →                             [°Ej° ]
                                        [°Nej°]
                                        [°No° ]

11  Fie:      .hhh Mene:hm Al'såhh (.) Jeg regner me' å':
              .hhh Bute:hm You-knowh (.) I count with to:
              .hhh Bute:hm You knowh (.) I'm expecting to

12            å':eh gå på nettet. me' det [iste]det for [å' ]
              to:eh go on net-the.with it [in-st]eas of [to ]
              to:eh go on the net.with it [in st]ead of [ to]
```

Focusing once more on the benefits of the magazine in L1-8 HL launches a last desperate attempt to sell a subscription of the magazine. As early as L7 Fie has however indicated that she is not interested, through her use of the contrastive conjunction *men* 'but'. This potential rejection is oriented to in L8-9 where HL displays that she has made the inference that Fie does not want a good offer on the magazine.

L8-9 is however at the same time a reproduction of HL's offer, making an acceptance or rejection of this offer relevant. In this way her question has multiple, cross-cutting preferences: by producing a grammatically preferred confirmation Fie would at the same time reject the offer,

whereas an acceptance of the offer entails a disconfirmation of HL's inferential assumption.

Not surprisingly, considering that she has already rejected the offer several times, Fie chooses the former option, confirming HL's assumption as being correct and in this way rejecting the offer as well. She specifically displays her orientation to the dependency between the confirmation and the rejection by using a certain type of *variant* of the negative marker *Ej*, a variant that is generally associated with dispreference (see chapter 2). The response is further oriented to as implementing not only confirmation but rejection through the second component of L11-12, where Fie provides an account for her rejection.

In this way Fie (in extract (42)) and Jens (in extract (41)) display their orientation to the dependency between their confirming responses and the interactional consequences such a confirmation has, in extract (41) as accepting a topic initiation; in extract (42) implementing a rejection and thus making an account relevant. This orientation to the consequential or dependent actions of confirming an inferential or assumptive utterance can also be oriented to through the speaker producing the confirmation but subsequently *resisting* the implications made in the prior turn as in extract (43).

Extract (43): TH/S2/5/AnneMie & Jens/Neg159

```
((Gossiping about a local family. The head of the family, an elderly relatively
famous artist has recently died and AnneMie has just revealed that the sons, Arne
and Ole are fighting each other in court for the inheritance. She has further
indicated that the behaviour of Arne in particular has been less than appropriate.
Jens, whose daughter is a close friend of the daughter of Arne and who furthermore
has just gotten help from Arne in setting up an exhibition of the father's artwork
might be slightly partial towards Arne. AnneMie on the other hand has gotten most
of her information from the wife of the other son, Ole.))
```

```
1  Mie:    Jaja.   Jaja.   Jahm'  a' det Arnes eller hvordan
           Jaja.   Jaja.   Ja but is that Arnes or      how
           Yesyes. Yesyes. Yesbut are those Arnes or how

2          a' det det a' me' det.
           is it  it  is with that.
           is it it is with that.

3  Jens:   Det ve' jeg ikk'=
           That know I not=
           I don't know=

4  Mie:    Nej [det'   et'l'andet    me'] deres arv.=
```

```
                Nej [that's one-or-other with] their inheritance.=
                No  [that's something to do w]ith their inheritage.=

                ((11 lines left out))

16 Mie:                                    [ Han  har] aldrig
                                           [ He   has] never
                                           [ He's     ] never

17              nogensinde: bedt om   tilladelse eller noget som
                ever        asked about permission or something like
                ever asked for permission or anything

18              helst a' det der=
                all of that there=
                at all

19 Jens:    =Nejnej. Han gør det bare.
            =Nejnej.  He  does it just.
            =Nono. He just does it.

20 Mie:     Jah
            Ja
            Yes

21 Jens:    Uden    å' tænke over det.
            Without to think over it.
            without thinking about it.

22 Mie:     .hh Nej han ve'   sgu   godt hva' han [gør ]
            .hh Nej he knows by-god well what he  [does]
            .hh No, he knows bloody well what he's[ doi]ng

23 Jens:                                   [Nåh.]Nåhnåh.
                                           [ Oh.]Oh oh.
                                           [ Oh.]Oh oh.
24 Jens:    Oka[y]
            Oka[y]
            Oka[y]

25 Mie:        [A]'    der    kører en arves[ag          for fanden]
               [J]a  there's running a inher[itage-case for devil]
               [Y]es there's a court case ru[nning for god sake  ]

26 Jens:                                   [ .  g  l  h  h   ]
                                           [ .  g  l  h  h   ]
                                           [ .  g  l  h  h   ]
27 Jens:    Gør der det?
```

```
           Does there that?
           Is there?

28 Mie:    Jaja, Jaja
           Jaja, Jaja
           Yesyes, Yesyes

           ((7 lines left out))

36 Jens:   =Ku'     de ingengang bli': enige    om det.
           =Could they no-time become agreed about that.
           =Couldn't they even agree about that.

37         (.)
           (.)
           (.)

38 Jens:   Nåh.
           Oh.
           Oh.

39 Mie: →  Nejh Arne (tog det) på farens      dødsleje.
           Nej Arne (took  it) on fathers-the death-bed
           Noh, Arne (took it) on the fathers death bed

40         (.)
           (.)
           (.)

41 Jens:   Jahjahjah, det'    jo    klart.
           Jajaja  , that's surely clear.
           Yesyesyes, but of course he did.

42 Mie:    Jah. [Så så]:eh .hh A' se'fø'li'   a' der ikk'
           Ja.  [So so]:eh .hh Yes of course is there not
           Yes. [So so]:eh .hh Yes, of course there's nobody

43 Jens:        [.Jerh]
                [.Ja  ]
                [.Yeah]

44 Mie:    nogen    der'    uskyldige,men man ka' være mere
           somebody there-are innocent but one can be more
           that are innocent, but you can be more or

45         eller mindre grov.=
           or    less    rough.=
```

```
          less cheeky.=

46  Jens:    =Jah.  Jahh
             =Ja.   Ja
             =Yes.  Yehs
```

Here, the question produced by Jens in L36 displays the inference he has made from the information provided by AnneMie: that the brothers are now in court fighting over the paintings left behind by the father. As such, this utterance is designed for confirmation by AnneMie, the participant who has disclosed that the brothers are in court and thus the participant with the most epistemic access to this information.

At the same time, Jens's request for confirmation is a vehicle for initiating further talk about this topic from AnneMie, who has implied throughout this sequence that she has juicy information about this.

Jens's assumption displayed in L36 is however neutral with regard to who is to blame, whereas AnneMie in the previous talk has more than implied that one brother, Arne, in particular had behaved inappropriately. This is done for instance by her implying in L1-2, that the pictures lend out by Arne didn't belong to him, in L16-18 by stating that 'he', referring to Arne, has never asked (his siblings) about what to do with the paintings and in L22 by claiming – in disagreement with or as a correction of Jens, that Arne is fully aware of what he is doing, that is that he has intentionally disposed of the pictures as it suited him.

Thus, Jens's inference is not entirely correct[99] - and is clearly not what AnneMie had intended to imply through her talk. This leaves AnneMie with the problem of how to respond to Jens's question: a confirmation would accept his inference as being correct, in effect eliminating her earlier indication that Arne was to blame (a confirmation would in this way perhaps also have consequences for whether AnneMie would be able to orient to the request for confirmation as a vehicle for initiating topical talk; because by confirming that the court case was due to the brothers disagreeing, rather than because one of them had behaved inappropriately, the interesting aspect of her further talk would have dissolved.). On the other hand Jens's inference is not entirely wrong and a disconfirmation could result in a confusing disagreement sequence, leaving Jens incapable of understanding exactly what had been going on.

---

[99] This incorrectness may be what is oriented to as early as L37, where AnneMie refrains from producing a response to Jens's question.

This dilemma results first in AnneMie not taking the turn in L37; and Jens subsequently pursuing a response by once again expressing his disbelief over the matter that the brothers couldn't agree, through the *nåh* 'oh' in L38. When AnneMie does produce a response in L39, this appears to resolve all of her problems, by first accepting the inference made by Jens through the confirming *nej*; then *subsequently* specifying that the fact that the brothers doesn't agree is based on Arne's inappropriate behaviour. Thus, through producing an extended response AnneMie modifies her acceptance of Jens's inference, displaying her understanding of the confirming *nej* as having consequences for the interaction as a whole; consequences which she in this case cannot accept and consequently resists.

Again then we find evidence in this extract that a free-standing *nej* is understood and treated by participants as a response that confirms an assumption or inference made in the prior turn. As in all other contexts where a *nej* is produced in turn-initial position discussed in this chapter, whether free-standing or not, the *nej* also when used as a confirmation in this way claims and projects alignment with the action being done in the prior turn.

However, as is evident from the extracts discussed in the prior two sections, this is all that a free-standing *nej* does also when used for confirmation. Thus, as in the case of acknowledgements and continuers, a free-standing *nej*, when used for confirmation does not *demonstrate* alignment and as such is not understood as a sufficient response to utterances that are designed for more than confirmation. Rather, when this is the case, an extended response is produced in a fashion similar to those that are used in response to agreement- or affiliation relevant utterances. A free-standing *nej* is in this way again oriented to by the participants as one which mainly serves to mark that an exchange of information or knowledge has now taken place, whereas an extended response is used in cases where this former type of action is not a sufficient response. In the following section I will demonstrate further, how this understanding of a free-standing *nej* is displayed by the participants in interaction.

3.4.3 Confirming questions that repeat: the difference between nej and extended responses initiated with nej

In this section I demonstrate how speakers through producing a free-standing *nej* as a confirmation of the prior turn display their understanding

of that turn simply as a request for re-confirming that the information they have just delivered was in fact correct. In contrast, an extended response in this context treat the prior turn as in some way displaying disbelief of that information.

Some requests for confirmation are designed by rephrasing the prior speakers turn (typically an answer) as a question to be re-confirmed. In this way a speaker is very explicitly taking a piece of information provided by the co-participant and transforms it into something which needs to be re-confirmed. Because of this, these types of questions are typically referred to as 'echo questions' (Levinson, 1983, pp 341). Extract (44) is a case in point.[100]

Extract (44) : TH/S2/52/Bente & Jens/Neg362

```
((Jens has been doing odd jobs for the local business office from time to time.
Bente, the secretary in the office is about to account for the salary payments for
a funding agency and has called to check that they haven't overlooked any work
Jens has been doing.))


1   Bente:        Jeg sidder her å' ska' lave den
                  I   sit    here and shall make the
                  I'm sitting here doing the


2                 sidste lønudbetaling
                  last   salary-out-payment
                  last salary payment


3   Jens:         .hhh
                  .hhh
                  .hhh


4   Bente:        Så nu ska' jeg li': vide om du
                  So now shall I just know if you
                  So now I just need to know if you


5                 overho'det ha[r (   )]
                  at-all     ha[ve(   )]
                  have (   ) a[t all  ]


6   Jens: →1                  [Det har] jeg ikk'.
                              [That ha]ve I  not.
                              [I haven]'t.
```

```
7   Bente: →2    Det har du overho'det ik[k']
                 That have you at-all   no[t ]
                 You haven't at        al[l ]

8   Jens:  →3                          [Ne]j.
                                       [Ne]j.
                                       [No].

9   Bente:       Jeg ville bare vær' sikker på det.
                 I   would just  be  sure  on it  .
                 I just wanted to make sure of that.
```

Here, Bente through describing what she is doing at the moment (in L1-2) implies that this is relevant for her calling Jens. Thus, though her statement disclosing what she needs to now (to do the salary payment) is syntactically incomplete Jens has no problems understanding what it is she needs to know: whether he has done any work that needs paying or not. This is evident from Jens responding early in L6, in overlap with Bente's yet incomplete statement; a statement which by stating what she needs to know is requesting this information from Jens. This is exactly what is being done by Jens in L6, where he disconfirms having done any work that needs paying.

It is this disconfirmation that Bente rephrases as a second request for confirmation, a rephrasing that is furthermore upgraded through Bente adding *overho'det* 'at all', now in effect asking whether Jens is absolutely certain that he hasn't done any work that needs paying. By producing only the negative response token *nej* as a response to this question, Jens treats Bente's question in L7 as only being a request for confirmation, not implementing any other actions. Bente herself orients to this one-sidedness of her question in L9 by stating that the reason for asking the same question a second time was indeed to make absolutely sure - and as such that Jens was right in producing only a confirming *nej*.

However, as noted by for instance Heritage (1984b) 'echo questions' such as the one produced by Bente above can be done to express 'ritualised disbelief' of the turn that is being echoed and rephrased as a question. Thus, an alternative reason for reframing Jens's initial response could have been that Bente had some reason to believe that this response was incorrect and that Jens was indeed owed some money but has either

---

[100] The turn which is rephrased as a question is marked with 1, the rephrasing with 2 and the response with 3. This notation will be used in the following cases as well.

forgotten or is holding back this information. Thus, by rephrasing Jens's response as yet another question this would give Jens the opportunity to once again respond, this time with a different outcome.

Though this is evidently not the case in the extract above, this effect of 'echo questions' is indeed frequently oriented to by the participants as being relevant. In these cases, the response provided will typically be an extended response initiated with *nej*, in contrast to the free-standing and merely confirming *nej* in the extract above.

Thus, in both extract (45) and (46) below, a recipient of an 'echo question' responds to this with an extended turn, thus displaying her/his understanding of the 'echo question' as displaying disbelief, rather than being simply a request for re-confirming some information so that the participants can be absolutely sure that something has been established and agreed upon as a fact, as was the case in extract (44).

Extract (45) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg12

```
((Talking about a shop in Krista's area on the mainland. Fie thinks of this shop
as a 'posh shop' and always goes there when she is in the area. She has just told
Krista how the shop was closed on her last trip. The 'she' referred to is the
owner of the shop.))


1  Kri:     Nåh  Jahm'  det  gør  hun   så'n  Jeg troede bare ikk'
            Oh   Ja but that does she like-this I thought just not
            Right, Yes but she does this like, I just didn't think


2            hun gjorde det i sommerperioden
             she did   it  in summer-period-the
             she did that in the summer period


3  Fie:     Nejm'    det havde hun [ al'så]
            Nej but that had  she [really]
            No but    she really was[ ((clo]sed))


4  Kri: →1                          [(    )] Jeg tror ikk' hun har så
                                    [(    )] I think not she has so
                                    [(    )] I don't think she has


5      →1  meget handel mere
           much    trade anymore
           that much business anymore


6  Fie: →2  Tror  du    ikke=
            Think you(s) not=
```

```
               Don't you?

7  Kri: →3  =Ej   al'så  ve'  du   hva' der'   jo   kommet
           =Nej you-know know you(s) what there's you-know come
           =No, you know what, you know there's opened that

8       →3  den    der nye: eh   så'n   trendbutik eller
           that there ne:w eh like-this trend-store or
            new eh sort of trend store or
```

Having been told that the shop was closed, Krista in L1-2 confirms she did know that the owner usually closed for one day of the week, but that she hadn't thought that she did so in the summer. In L4-5 she displays the conclusion she has reached with this information, that the shop is closed even in the summer because it is no longer doing that well. This is responded to by Fie in L6 through a rephrasing of Krista's statement into a question, the stress on *ikke* 'not' indicating that Fie is surprised by - and perhaps not even in agreement with - Krista's conclusion. Fie in this way marks her question as one of disbelief.

In this case then Fie through her rephrasing *challenges* the content of Krista's prior turn, implying that she does not agree with the conclusion Krista has made, by marking that this conclusion was surprising to her. A free-standing *nej* would in this context only have confirmed that Krista does indeed not think that the business is doing well, but would not have oriented to the fact that Fie has marked this belief as surprising. By instead producing an extended response in L7-8, Krista not only confirms that she believes the business is doing badly (through the *nej*), but also responds to the fact that Fie might find this surprising, by explicating in her second component of talk how come she thinks that this is the case.

Similarly, in extract (46) Fie explicitly orients to the rephrased repeat of her prior turn as challenging or expressing disbelief.

Extract (46) : TH/S2/3/Mathias & Fie/Neg139

```
((Mathias and Fie are son and mother. Mathias is trying to arrange for a friend to
stay over on a weekday and has called Fie at work to check whether this is
alright.))

1  Math:     .hhh Å' så a' det han mener a' den- (.)
             .hhh And then is it that he thinks that it- (.)
             .hhh And then's it that he thinks that it- (.)

2            A' hvis vi ska' få no'et ud a' å' lege
```

```
            That if we shall get something out of playing
            That if we're to get anything out of playing

3           sammen,
            together,
            together,

4   Fie:    M[m ]
            M[m ]
            M[m ]

5   Math:    [.h]h Så skul' han jo egentli' sove her.
             [.h]h The should he you-know actually sleep here.
             [.h]h Then actually he ought to sleep here.

6           (.)
            (.)
            (.)

7   Fie:    Jerh.
            Ja.
            Yeah.

8           (.)
            (.)
            (.)

9   Fie: →1 M' det må han ås' godt.=Det har
            But that may he also well.=That have
            But he's allright to do that.=I haven't

10       →1 jeg ikk' no'et 'mod.=
            I   not something against.=
            got anything against that.=

11  Math: →2 =>.hh< Det har du ikk' no'et 'mod
             =>.hh< That have you not something against
             =>.hh< You haven't got anything against that

12  Fie: →3 Nej det har jeg da ikk'.
            Nej that have I surely not.
            No of course I haven't.

11  Math:   .hh Må han ås' godt bli': å' spise hvis det
            .hh May he also well stay and eat  if it
            .hh Is he allright to stay and have dinner if that
```

```
12 Fie:      Ja se'føl'li [(
             Ja  of-course[(
             Yes of course[(
```

Here, Mathias has called his mother to check whether he can have a friend stay the night on an ordinary weekday. Mathias himself clearly treats this issue as delicate, first by implying that the sleep-over was suggested by his friend rather than himself, and by providing an account for why it is necessary (in L1-5). In this way, Mathias's turns in L1-5 is designed as a pre-request, orienting to a potential rejection from his mother, Fie. Thus, Fie could upon production of L5 state that the friend would not be allowed to sleep over and though this would in effect be a rejection, it would not be produced in the face of a request as such – and would furthermore reject something suggested by Mathias's friend, rather than Mathias himself.

Fie, in L6-8 however does not immediately treat Mathias's turns as a pre-request, but merely acknowledges through her *Jerh* in L7 that she has heard and accepted the information provided by Mathias. Her 'yes'-response in this way indicates that Mathias can continue his request by projecting that she will produce an acceptance, rather than a rejection.

As Mathias does not initiate this request, Fie in L9-10 instead produces a response to the pre-request, in which she allows the friend to stay over, further stating that she is okay with this. This latter part of her response is then rephrased as a question by Mathias in L11.

In the context of having designed his request with a potential rejection in mind Mathias thus treats Fie's response as surprising, displaying his disbelief through reframing her response as a question. Fie, by responding with an extended turn in L12 displays that this is the way in which she understood Mathias's repeat: first by confirming the information asked about in L11 through the production of the negative response token *nej*. Second, by orienting to the disbelief expressed in Mathias's turn, restating an emphasised version (through *da* 'surely') of her own prior turn in L10 and thus *insisting* on Mathias's request as being unproblematic.

Though Fie's extended response in this way differs with regard to the type of action implemented in comparison to the one produced by Krista in extract (45) above,[101] in both extracts it is evident that the recipients of an 'echo question' may orient to this as being more than simply a (second)

---

[101] At a later point in this call Fie does however orient more directly to the potential disagreement betwen her and Mathias by explicitly stating that what she *does* have a problem with is when Mathias wants a group of kids to stay over at the same time in which case she needs to know several weeks in advance.

request for confirmation. That they do this explicitly through the production of an extended response, rather than a free-standing *nej* once again demonstrates that for participants this is the format used as a response to negatively framed utterances that are designed for more than an exchange of information.

In extract (44) the 'echo question' was treated simply as a second request for confirmation, to make absolutely sure that something was – or rather wasn't – the case. In contrast, the 'echo questions' in extract (45) and (46) was treated as implying that something which had been stated to be the case wasn't perhaps true, or at least surprising. The contrast between these two understandings of the kind of action embodied by an 'echo question' was shown through the format of responding; in the former case, where the 'echo question' was treated simply as a second request for confirmation a free-standing *nej* was produced, whereas an extended response initiated with *nej* was produced when an 'echo question' was understood as expressing disbelief.

If we compare the three extract above, we can also see, that the understanding of whether an 'echo question' is designed only for a free-standing *nej* or a more extended response is grounded also in the sequential context in which the 'echo question' is produced, as well as the way in which the 'echo question' is formatted.

For instance, in extract (44), before producing the 'echo question' Bente has not in any way indicated that she believes that Jens has done any work that needs paying. In contrast, in extract (46) Mathias through the way in which his request is formatted has clearly implied that his mother Fie might reject his request and thus, that it is not okay for her that he has a friend sleep over.

Thus, whereas Fie's accept of the sleep-over and her stating that this is okay with her in effect embodies a response that is contrary to Mathias's expectations or assumptions, this is not the case for Jens's claim that he has not done any work that needs paying.

The contrast between these two extracts then is, that in extract (46) the participants can already be seen to be somewhat misaligned before the 'echo question' is produced, whereas this is not the case in extract (44).

Similarly, the way in which the 'echo question' is formatted appears to have an effect on whether this question is understood as an expression of disbelief, or not. For instance, in extract (44) Bente's 'echo question' is not absolutely identical to Jens's prior turn, but has the qualifying *overho'det*

'at all' added. In this way Bente's 'echo question' is upgraded, checking that when Jens claims that he hasn't done any work that needs paying, this is something he is absolutely certain about. In contrast, in extract (45), Fie's 'echo question' is, except for the replacement of the pronoun *jeg* 'I' with *du* 'you' (and the ellipsis *of hun har så meget handel mere*), a word-for-word repeat of Krista's prior statement, now reframed as a question. Here, the negative marker *ikk'* is further more emphatically marked through heavy stress, implying that it is this particular item that is in focus in the question, that is, that it is the fact that Krista does *not* think that the business is doing well, that is surprising to Fie.

Had Bente's 'echo question' been formatted in the same way as the 'echo question' in extract (45), without *overho'det* and with stress on the negative marker, as *Det har du ikk'* 'You h<u>a</u>ven't', the effect would have been the same, that is, Bente's 'echo question' would also have been understood as expressing disbelief.

That the sequential context in which an 'echo question' is produced, and the format in which this is done has consequences for what action an 'echo question' should be understood to embody is evident also from extract (47). Here, a free-standing *nej*, as in extract (44) is produced in response to the 'echo question', but as can be seen from the prior talk as well as the way in which the 'echo question' is formatted, in this case the 'echo question' was designed for expressing disbelief and thus for receiving an extended response, rather than a free-standing *nej*. Consequently, the free-standing *nej* is in this context treated as an insufficient response.

Extract (47): TH/S2/85/Jens & Peder/neg611

```
((Jens and Peder both do voluntary work at a local mansion. Peder manages the
buildings and rents it out for weddings, birthdays and other private parties. Jens
manages public events such as exhibitions and concerts. The mansion consists of
two buildings, the first floor referred to is in the main building, the hall in
the annexe. At the moment Jens has an exhibition in the main building and has got
the possibility to extend the exhibition for a month. To do this he is however
dependent on Peder not having rented out the main building for private parties in
that period.))

1   Jens:        Hvornår har due::h lejet førstesalen ud¿'
                 When have you::eh  rented first-floor-the out¿
                 When have you rented the first floor out¿

2                (.)
                 (.)
```

```
                          (.)

3   Peder:  →1    Den har jeg itt lejet u'.
                  That have I not rented out.
                  I haven't rented that out.


4   Jens:   →2    Det har du ikk¿
                  That have you n̲o̲t¿
                  You haven't¿


5   Peder:  →3    Næjh.
                  Nej.
                  Noh.


6   Jens:          Nåh. Jahm' jeg troede da Jonny Jensen
                   Oh. Ja-but I thought surely Jonny Jensen
                   Oh. Yes but I really thought Jonny Jensen


7                  sku' ha' et'l'andet      [d e r oppe]
                   should have one-or-other [there  up ]
                   was doing something      [ there    ]


8   Peder:                                  [Ha' holder]  det
                                             [He   holds ] it
                                             [He's doing ] it
9                  over i s̲a̲len.
                   over in h̲a̲ll-the.
                   over in the h̲a̲ll.
```

By framing his question in L1 as a wh-question referring to time, Jens is clearly displaying that he assumes that Peder *has* rented out the first floor in the main building at least for some time during the relevant period. Peder's response in L3 in this way contradicts this assumption and is, in this way a surprising response. This surprising quality of Peder's response is then further reflected by Jens producing an 'echo question' identical to Peder's response (again with the exception of replacing the pronoun *jeg* with *du* and ellipsis), and in which the negative marker is furthermore emphasised.

In this way Jens's 'echo question' in L4 is similar to those in extract (45) and (46) and is clearly not designed simply as a request for re-confirmation, but as a question in which the prior turn is marked as somehow surprising. Jens's 'echo question' is thus designed for an extended response initiated with *nej*, rather than for a free-standing *nej*.

By responding to this question only with the negative response token *nej*, Peder orients only to the request for confirmation, not to the aspect of unexpectedness or incorrectness.[102] This insufficiency of Peder's response is oriented to by Jens in L6 who now explicitly displays why Peders response was unexpected and perhaps even incorrect: Jens had prior knowledge of someone having rented the main building.[103] In this way Jens overtly states why he has problems accepting Peders responses both in L3 and L5 and thus retrospectively displays that his reframed repetition in L4 was designed to receive more than confirmation and that Peder has failed to respond in an appropriate way by only producing the negative response token.

For participants then there is a clear distinction between responding to an 'echo question' based on their own prior turn, through the production of a free-standing confirming *nej* on the one hand and through using an extended response format where *nej* is used as a turn preface on the other.

When responding only with *nej*, the 'echo question' is treated simply as being a request for a re-confirmation of some information that has already been provided.

In contrast, an extended response is used as an orientation to the 'echo question' as expressing disbelief or indicating misalignment between the participants. Here, the negative response particle again works as a confirmation whereas the second component of the turn orients explicitly to the misalignment or expression of disbelief for instance by consolidating the reason for having done the confirmation in the first place.

In some cases however the recipient of an 'echo question' fails to orient to the misalignment indicated through this turn by only responding with the negative response token, treating the 'echo question' as a request for confirmation only. When this happens the recipient of the confirmation will orient to this lack of orientation to the misalignment. Thus the cases in

---

[102] The phonological features of the response token also seems to be orienting to this response as only being confirming at a point at which something more might be relevant as it is articulated with the vowel 'æ' instead of 'e'. This choice of vowel lends a sense of finality to the response in a similar fashion as has been shown for responses such as *nope* and *yep* for English by Raymond (2000). Peder, however speaks a strong local dialect which may influence the articulation of vowels among other things so it may be that *næjh* here doesn't replace the more common *nej* but is simply the way in which speakers of this dialect articulates the negative response particle.

[103] And as can be seen from Peders response to this in L8-9 somebody is having a private party in the relevant period, but as they are having it in the hall in the annexe this has no relevancy for Jens's exhibition.

this section once again highlight that participants orient to a free-standing *nej* and an extended response initiated with *nej* as implementing very different responses, with the free-standing *nej* only being used as a response on its own when a turn is designed for confirmation only.

3.4.4 Summary

In this section it has been shown that participants orient to the difference between free-standing *nej* and an extended response when these are used for confirming the prior turn. The negative response particle *nej* when used on its own is produced and oriented to as doing only confirmation, in this way claiming alignment with the prior turn and speaker, as well as marking that some information or knowledge has now become common ground for both participants.

In this way the free-standing *nej* is used in a similar, rather minimal fashion as when used for acknowledgement or continuation, that is as a response that serves mainly to mark an exchange of information: when a free-standing *nej* is used as a continuer or acknowledgement, it marks that the speaker producing the *nej* has been informed by the prior turn; whereas the free-standing *nej* when used as a confirmation marks or has the effect that the prior speaker has been informed. The free-standing *nej* in this way establishes that the participants at the point at which it is produced share some knowledge that was perhaps previously known only, or mainly, to one of the participants.

Though a free-standing *nej* when used as a confirmation in this way claims alignment with the prior turn and speaker in accepting as unproblematic the action being produced there, a free-standing *nej* does not in itself orient explicitly to that action. Thus, when a request for confirmation is used as a vehicle for another action, for instance that of inviting further talk or expressing disbelief, the free-standing *nej* merely claims alignment with that action. In doing so, the free-standing *nej* may project that further talk will follow or that the disbelief expressed in the prior turn will be oriented to, but the doing of these actions are not embodied by the free-standing *nej*, but by a second component of talk, produced after the *nej*.

Thus, an extended response initiated by *nej* and followed by a second component is used in cases where the prior turn is designed for more than an exchange of information - in the cases above for more than confirmation – that is, when a request for confirmation serves as a vehicle for another action.

In this way, a free-standing *nej* as a response has been demonstrated to embody a rather minimal action, that of treating the prior turn as one oriented mainly to the exchange of information (as was also the case in section 3.2 and 3.2), while at the same time refraining from doing anything further with that information, instead handing the turn back to the prior speaker. In the following I will demonstrate how this rather minimal effect of a free-standing *nej* has as a consequence that this type of response can be used as a closing-implicative device.

3.5 Free-standing nej *as a closing-implicative device*
In this section I will demonstrate that a free-standing *nej* can be used as a closing-implicative device.

This will be done by demonstrating how a speaker through producing a free-standing *nej* accepts the production of the prior turn, for instance by acknowledging or confirming or acknowledging that turn, but at the same time passes the opportunity for doing more substantial talk on to the recipient of the free-standing *nej*. In this way a free-standing, confirming *nej* initiates or suggests closing of the ongoing activity, making a shift in activity a possible relevant next.

As demonstrated in the previous sections, such minimal free-standing *nej*'s and the action embodied by these may be exactly what the prior utterance was designed to receive – or they may in contrast be treated as an insufficient response to the prior utterance. In the following I will demonstrate how a recipient of a free-standing *nej* can use the same device either for accepting this response as adequate and sufficient, or, to the contrary, mark that the free-standing *nej* was in fact an insufficient response and pursue an extended response instead.

Thus, I will show that one way of displaying that a free-standing *nej* was a sufficient response is through the recipient of such a response producing another free-standing *nej* in the consecutive turn, creating what will here be termed a 'cluster' of *nej*'s. In doing so this speaker also displays that he/she has nothing to add to the ongoing activity or topic, and is in this way accepting a shift towards a different activity or topic. Consequently, a shift in activity will typically follow the cluster of *nej*'s.

However, by producing such a second free-standing *nej*, the speaker at the same time does not him/herself initiate a shift in topic or activity, but in effect hands the turn back over to the speaker producing the first *nej*. Thus, I will also show cases where in doing so, the speaker producing the second *nej* marks that the prior turn, the first free-standing *nej* was in fact

not understood as being a sufficient response in the context in which it was produced. Through producing a second free-standing *nej* a speaker in this way may also imply that a closure of the ongoing activity or topic is *not* at this point acceptable. When this is the case, a return to or continuation of the activity typically follows the cluster of *nej*'s.

The section is organised as follows.
In section 3.5.1 I give two examples of the phenomenon to be discussed here and   describe how clusters of *positive* minimal responses have been discussed in previous studies in other languages.

In section 3.5.2 I discuss the cases where a cluster of *nej*'s is typically followed by a shift in activity. I demonstrate that in these cases the first free-standing *nej* is treated as an adequate and sufficient response through the production of the second free-standing.

In section 3.5.3 I discuss cases where a cluster of *nej*'s is typically followed by a return to or continuation of the ongoing activity. I demonstrate that in these cases the first free-standing *nej* is understood as being an insufficient responsive action to the prior turn, and treated as such by the production of the second free-standing *nej*.

3.5.1 Clusters of minimal responses: topic attrition or topic hold?
The following is an example of how a cluster of *nej*'s may appear in Danish.

Extract (48) : TH/S2/19) Mathias & Malte II/Neg243

```
((This extract is taken from an extended telling in which Mathias is describing
his progress in a computer game: Having managed to convince some characters, 'the
bladers',  in the game to help him storm a city, he is here describing the rather
gory details of the attack, how many bad guys died an how many he killed himself.
In the heat of the moment some civilians where killed as well.))


1  Math:     .hhh Å' jeg nakker personligt fire a' dem, A'
             .hhh And I neck personally four of them, Of
             .hhh And I personally kill four of them, Of

2            de der Vilgulators
             those there Vilgulators
             the Vilgulators

3  Malte:    Jah
             Ja
             Yes
```

```
4   Math:      hh hh .hheh Ogeh Så (a') der så a' et par
               hh hh .hheh Andeh Then (is) there then that a couple
               hh hh .hheh Andeh Then there's also a couple of


5   Math:      indbyggere der dør
               inhabitants there dies
               inhabitants who dies


6              (.)
               (.)
               (.)


7 Malte:       Nåh
               Oh
               Oh


8 Math:        .Hh Hvilket var ret uheldigt for jeg tror nok
               .Hh Which  was rather unlucky because I think probably
               .Hh Which was rather unfortunate because I think that


9              Smitty a' død.
               Smitty is dead.
               Smitty is probably dead.


10             (1.0)
               (1.0)
               (1.0)


11 Malte:      Hvem,
               Who,
               Who,


12 Math:       Smitty. .h[h Det' h]am der ska' opgradere min
               Smitty. .h[h That's] him that shall upgrade my
               Smitty. .h[h He's t]he one who has to upgrade my


13 Malte:                 [(       )]
                          [(       )]
                          [(       )]


14 Math:       plasmeriffel.
               plasm-rifle.
               plasm rifle.


15             (0.7)
               (0.7)
```

```
               (0.7)

16 Malte:    >A' det var ikk' så heldig.<
             >Ja that was not so lucky.<
             >Yes that wasn't too lucky.<

17 Math: →   Nej.
             Nej.
             No.

18 Malte: →  °Nej.°
             °Nej.°
             °No.°

19           (0.6)
             (0.6)
             (0.6)

20 Math:     .hHhh Menehm .tch Ham den anden han lever endnu
             .hHhh Butehm .tch Him that other he lives  still
             .hHhh Butehm .tch That other guy is still alive

21           Og så a' det jeg ås' har fundet den der del
             And then is it I also have found that there part
             And then I've also found that part
```

Here, Mathias evaluates the fact that some of the inhabitants of the village he attacked was killed in the cross fire as 'unfortunate', because one of the dead inhabitants may be Smitty. Such an evaluation makes agreement from Malte relevant as a response, something which is not forthcoming from Malte, as is evident from the (1.0) second long gap in L10. In L11 however Malte displays why that agreement was not forthcoming: he has problems with identifying who the name Smitty refers to and thus does not know what the consequences of his death would be. In response to this, Malte in L12 initiates a repair sequence by requesting further identification of who Smitty, the character referred to by Mathias, is, and it is not until this has been done that Malte can appreciate and respond to the information in L8-9 in an appropriate manner. When the identity of Smitty has been established at the end of L15 Malte produces his evaluation of the information in L16, agreeing with Mathias that Smitty's death was indeed rather unfortunate.

In this extract then the participants have multiple sequences in play at the same time: the extended telling of Mathias's adventures and

achievements in the computer game, the evaluation of Smitty's death and the repair sequence in which Smitty's identity is established. At the end of L14 the repair sequence is completed in that Smitty's identity has been established and at the end of L16 Malte has produced an evaluation of Smitty's death.

Rather than return to the overall sequence of his extended telling at this point; Mathias in L17 produces a confirmation (or post-confirmation confirmation) of Malte's evaluation in L16. This confirmation marks the unfortunateness of Smitty's death as being now settled and agreed upon, thus making it possible to return to the extended telling.

As this is not done by Mathias and since it is him, rather than Malte who has the role of the teller, there is very little Malte can do with his turn in L18. In orientation to this he hands the turn back over to Mathias through the production of yet another negative response token in L11 and after a pause Mathias returns to the extended telling in L13-14.[104]

In this way, both of the free-standing *nej*'s in extract (48) serves to mark that the speaker has nothing more to contribute to the ongoing activity, that of evaluating Smitty's death; and thus that a return can be made to the extended telling.

Aside from the fact that the participants in extract (48) produce negative response particles in orientation to the negative framing of Malte's evaluation in L16, the exchange as a whole is strikingly similar to the studies of *positive* response particles occurring in clusters by Jefferson (1993) for English and Sorjonen (2001) for Finnish.

Jefferson (1993) argues that by producing only a positive response particle (in her case used as an acknowledgement token) a participant passes on doing substantial topical talk. When each participant does so, in turn, the result is that though the topic may still be in progress it is now free of content. She notes that:

> "…although a range of things may follow a series of passes, I think there are grounds for proposing that such a series is topic-shift implicative; that with a second acknowledgement token, the topic-in-progress is put into a state of attrition where, then, the shift-

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[104] L20 however appears to be orienting still to the accidental death of Smitty, 'that other guy' presumably being somebody else who can upgrade Mathias's plasm rifle. By mentioning this Mathias treats Smittys death as an aside to the telling: if he has other ways of getting his plasm rifle upgraded, Smittys death is after all not that important.

implicature of such a series may be counteracted [...] – at least temporarily- [...] or carried out.

<div align="right">Jefferson (1993), pp26</div>

She further suggests that in the cases where a participant does produce further on-topic talk:

"...one often gets a feeling that that talk is a matter of keeping the topic going."

<div align="right">Jefferson (1993), pp25</div>

Building on Jefferson's (1993) observations, Sorjonen (2001) shows that the Finnish positive response particle *joo* also appears in clusters or series. She notes, that this use of *joo* is associated with 'topic hold' or 'topic attrition',[105] in that through the production of *joo* neither participant brings anything substantial to the current talk - nor do they move towards a new activity (or topic), in this way both displaying having trouble with the trajectory of the talk. Sorjonen (2001) further notes that:

"*A batch of* joos *is often found in interactionally delicate positions: the first* joo *speaker uses* joo *as a way of displaying that she or he is not going to do some appropriate next action and transfers the turn back to the co-participant.*"

<div align="right">Sorjonen (2001), pp266-267</div>

As has been demonstrated both in this chapter and in chapter 3, the negative response particle *nej* is in many ways oriented to by participants as being parallel to its positive equivalent, the only apparent difference being, whether the prior turn is positively and negatively framed. Thus, the negative response particle is routinely used for rather minimal actions such as acknowledging or confirming the prior turn. Consequently, it should not be surprising, that the negative response particle can be used also as a closing-implicative (or, in the words of Jefferson, 1993, 'topic-shift implicative') device in a parallel fashion to that of the positive response particle.

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[105] Sorjonen (2001) takes the notion of topic hold/topic attrition from a report made by Jefferson to the British SSRC. Unfortunately I have been incapable of tracking this report down.

And, when returning to extract (48) it is apparent that the batch or cluster of *nej*'s share many of the same features described by Jefferson (1993) and Sorjonen (2001): by having both Malte and Mathias produce a *nej*, the ongoing topic or activity is put on hold without any of them actually moving towards - or initiating - a new topic or activity.

In addition, because there are multiple sequences or activities still in play at this point, both participants evidently have trouble with the trajectory of the talk.

Finally, though Mathias in his turn in L20 initially stays on the topic or the activity of evaluating Smitty's death (by mentioning that somebody else, who presumably can also upgrade Mathias's plasma rifle, is still alive, this statement is in effect a downgrading of the evaluation of Smitty's death as unfortunate or unlucky.), a return to the overall activity of the telling is done in the same turn in L21, thus making the on-topic utterance in L20 appear to be talk mainly produced to keep the topic going to then make it possible to shift the activity.

In extract (48), the cluster of *nej*'s is in this way followed by – an almost immediate – shift in activity (or topic), as such being a case of what Jefferson (1993) and Sorjonen (2001) terms topic/activity attrition.

In the following extract however, the cluster of *nej*'s is not followed by a shift in activity, rather the participant continue the activity of trying to agree on a date for their meeting.

Extract (49) : TH/S2/17/Carlsen-Kipp & Jens/Neg225

((Arranging a meeting.))

```
1   C-K:      [Oge]:h (.) Men vi hå' Vi hå' så'n      set tænkt
              [And]eh (.) But we had We had like-this seen thought
              [And]eh (.) But we had We had kind of thought

2             om det måske ku'   la'   sig gøre på torsdag
              if  it maybe could let (refl) do  on thursday
              if maybe it could be possible on Thursday

3             (.)
              (.)
              (.)

4   Jens:     nmmmm ((Heavy aspiration))
              nmmmm ((Heavy aspiration))
              nmmmm ((Heavy aspiration))
```

```
5  C-K:        Hva' si'r du    te' det=
               What say you(s) to that=
               What do you think about that=

6  Jens:       =Det tror jeg ikk'
               =That think I not
               =I don't think so

7              (0.6)
               (0.6)
               (0.6)

8  C-K:        Det   tror  du    ikk' det ka'=
               That think you(s) not it can=
               You don't think that's possible=

9  Jens: →     =Nej=
               =Nej=
               =No=

10 C-K:  →     =Nej[hehehe]
               =Nej[hehehe]
               =No [hehehe]

11 Jens:           [.hhehh] Ehh Men jeg prøver
                   [.hhehh] Ehh But  I   try
                   [.hhehh] Ehh But I'll try

12 C-K:        Jah,
               Ja,
               Yes

13 Jens:       Jeg prøver (.) Ikk',
               I try       (.) Not
               I'll try  (.) Right

14 C-K:        Eh:mm Å' ellers Al'så a' ha' itt' no'et
               Eh:mm And otherwise You-know I have not some
               Eh:mm And otherwise You know I haven't got any

15             alternativ li': nu ihvertfa[ld ]
               alternative just now in-any[-ca]se
               alternative at the moment a[nyw]ay
```

Here, the activity of establishing a date for a meeting has clearly not reached completion at the point (in L9-10) where the cluster of *nej*'s is produced, as an agreement has not been reached. And, as can be seen from Jens's turns in L11 and 13 and C-K's turn in L14-15, the participants do not treat the cluster of *nej*'s as closing-implicative in this context, rather the same activity is in fact continued after the cluster of *nej*'s.

When comparing these two extracts then, we are faced with a phenomenon, the cluster of *nej*'s which appear to be sometimes oriented to as being closing-implicative – and sometimes not. That is, the clusters of *nej*'s are sometimes understood as doing topic/activity attrition, sometimes as topic/activity holding.

In the following sections I will demonstrate that whether a cluster of *nej*'s is treated as being closing-implicative or not, is neither random or incidental, rather it depends on the interactional sequence in which such a cluster and the individual free-standing *nej*'s it consist of are produced.

First, in the following section I consider those sequences in which a cluster of *nej*'s is followed by a shift in activity and describe the common points of these sequences.

Then, in section 3.5.3 I compare these to sequences in which a cluster of *nej*'s is not followed by a shift in activity.

3.5.2 Clusters of nej's *doing activity/topic attrition*
When clusters of *nej*'s are oriented to by the participants as initiating a closing of the ongoing topic or activity they are typically found in contexts where a larger on-going activity has one or several smaller activities embedded within it.

This was the case in extract (48) above where the repair sequence was embedded within the activity of evaluating some information, this activity again being embedded within a larger activity, an extended telling. Having to juggle with a variety of ongoing activities appears to create problems for the participants with regard to the trajectory of the talk, as was also evident from this extract.

Similarly, in extract (50) and (51) below, smaller activities are embedded within a larger one, and after having initiated closing of these smaller activities through a cluster of *nej*'s, the participants as in extract (48) can be seen to have problems with the trajectory of the talk, for instance with regard to who takes the turn and what to do next.

Extract (50) : TH/S2/47/Fie & Ester IV/Neg330

((Ester is going on a trip with Fie's family, without Fie. They are taking the
ferry which Fie manages. Fie has asked how much money Ester has got since she and
her husband forgot to take money out. Ester has suggested that she gets a cash-
back when paying for her ticket on the ferry.))

```
1   Ester:   Jahm' Jeg ka' da spørge ham om han ve' ta' den på mit
             Ja but I can surely ask him if he will take it on my
             Yes but at least I can ask him if he'll let me pay


2            dankort    å' gi' mig tusind kroner
             dan-card and give me thousand kroner
             with my credit card and give me thousand kroner


3   Fie:     Det ve' han sikkert godt
             That will he probably well
             He probably will


4   Ester:   Eller nihunderd'halvtreds=
             Or  nine-hundred-fifty=
             Or nine hundred and fifty=


5   Fie:     =.Jerh[h]
             =.Ja  [ ]
             =.Yeah[h]


6   Ester:        [D]et ve' han nok godt når jeg følg's me' Jens
                  [T]hat will he probably well when I go with Jens
                  [H]e'll probably do that as I'm going with Jens


7   Fie:     Ja[h]
             Ja[ ]
             Ye[s]


8   Ester:   [D]et' ikk' ham vi kender vel,
             [I]t's not him we   know    right,
             [I]t' not the guy we know is it,


9            (.)
             (.)
             (.)


10  Fie:     .hheh Al'så det' ikk' ham den mørkhårede
             .hheh You-know it's not him the dark-haired
             .hheh You know it's not the dark haired guy


11  Ester: → Nej
```

```
            Nej
            No


12  Fie:    → Nej
            Nej
            No


13          (.)
            (.)
            (.)


14  Fie:    Han a': ude på den anden fær[ge]
            He i:s  out on the other fer[ry]
            He i:s working on the other [fe]rry


15  Ester:                              [Je]rh=
                                        [Ja]=
                                        [Ye]ah=


16  Fie:    =Jah. gm .hh Men du- Je- tror måske du kender ham
            =Ja. gm .hh But you- I- think maybe you know him
            =Yes. gm .hh But you- I- think you might know this


17          her ås'
            here also
            one as well


18          (.)
            (.)
            (.)


19  Fie:    Men det'j' li':meget Al'så fnn ,hhh Menehm hhh
            But that's-surely just-much Y-k fnn, hhh Butehm hhh
            But it really doesn't matter Y-k fnn,hhh Butehm hhh


20          .tch Vi ser li' på det h
            .tch We look just on it h
            .tch We'll see how it goes h
```

As in extract (48) the participants have here launched multiple activities: the overall activity is an attempt to establish how to get Jens some money. The solution suggested by Ester is that she will get a cash-back from the ticket collector on the ferry. Triggered off by the mentioning of the ticket collector is the activity of establishing whether Ester knows the ticket collector, this activity being initiated in L8.

Further embedded within this activity is Fie's attempt to establish the identity of the collector referred to by Ester, a task which is necessary to accomplish for Fie to confirm or disconfirm Ester's question in L8.

Fie's turn in L10 in this way manages to provide her confirming response of Ester's question in L8 as being dependent on the correctness of the referent (that is that if Ester's *ham vi kender* 'the guy we know' was indeed referring to *ham den mørkhårede* 'the dark haired guy', then this was correct and in this way confirmed as such by Fie through her turn in L10). Through her *nej* response in L11 Ester orients to this dependency between activities by confirming that the referents match.

Similar to extract (48) an utterance which was designed merely for confirmation or agreement has been side-tracked by a problem in reference, the effect being that the role of the participants gets reversed: Ester, who initially produced a question to be confirmed by Fie now finds herself in the position of being the speaker producing a confirmation herself.

Through her production of the *nej* (in L12) Fie treats both the repair sequence (in which the identity of the referent is established) as well as the aside as having been settled and in effect closed down.[106]

At this point then, both participants have displayed that they have nothing more to contribute to the ongoing topic or activity; but neither has initiated a shift in the talk either, thus displaying that the trajectory of the talk is somehow problematic to them. The problem appears to be based in the many activities at play here - which of these activities to orient to as having been closed and which ones are still ongoing. Fie, the next participant to take the turn after the cluster of *nej's* orients directly to this problem, in a few turns managing to deal will all of these issues and regain control of the trajectory of the talk: first, she treats the most embedded activity (the repair sequence) as having been closed through Ester's *nej* in L11. Second, she keeps open the activity initiated by Ester's question (in L8) by providing L14 and 16 as being on topic with this (the cluster of *ja*'s, the *Jerh* in L15 and the *Jah* in L16 here also appears to be closing-implicative). In L19 she then subsequently closes down this activity, at the same time treating this activity specifically as an aside by overtly stating that whether Ester knows the collector or not is irrelevant (to the task of getting a cash back). And finally, in L20 the overall activity of

---

[106] It is important here to note that the *nej* produced by Fie in L12 is not a delayed confirmation of Ester's question in L8.

planning how to get Jens some money is oriented to and a closing of this is initiated.

Clusters of *nej*'s in the context of embedded activities such as in extracts (48) and (50) are evidently used in orientation to the closing down of one or more activities. Because these activities are embedded within larger activities however a closing down of the embedded activities result in the problem of how to return to the more overall activity or topic of the talk. By producing turns that are in effect keeping the embedded activities or topics open *after* the production of a cluster of closing implicative *nej*'s, the participants create a position in which a return to the overall topic is possible.

In extract (48) the clusters of *nej*'s treat the evaluation of Smitty's death as having been settled; but by producing more talk on this topic in L20 Mathias manages to create a tie between this and his return to the overall extended telling. Likewise, in extract (50) the cluster of *nej*'s treat both of the embedded sequences as having been dealt with. By nevertheless staying on the topic (of the ticket collector) Fie manages to create a tie between this activity and the more overall task of how to get Jens some money.

Thus, clusters of *nej*'s are in these contexts clearly oriented to by the participants as doing topic or activity attrition; that the participants nevertheless keep open an activity or topic subsequent to this cluster is to do with a very specific problem in the trajectory of the talk: how to return to the overall activity of the interaction.

That the participants in extract (48) and (50) do not shift the activity or topic immediately after the cluster of *nej*'s has more to do with them having problems with the trajectory of the talk, rather than because the cluster of *nej*'s is in fact not closing-implicative at all, is evident from extract (51), where only two activities are at play, and the return to the overall activity less problematic. Here, the activity being closed down through the cluster of *nej*'s is directly followed by a return to and a closing down of the overall activity as well as the call.

Extract (51) : TH/S2/46/Jens & C-K/Neg324

```
((Arranging a meeting at C-K's house. Jens and his colleague have to take a ferry
and then a short drive to get to C-K's house.))

1   Jens:     Så  vi  a'   der   klokken   ni. [A-]
              So  we  are  there  o'clock  nine.[A-]
              So we'll be there at nine o'clock.[A-]


2   C-K:                                    [Ja]hm' det' f↑int
                                            [Ja] but that's f↑ine
                                            [Ye]sbut that's f↑ine


3   Jens:     Jeg reg- Jeg' jo ikk'- fv-
               I exp-  I'm y-k not- fv-
               I exp- You know I'm not- fv-


4             Al'så vi' jo inde otte tre:dve å':::
              You-know we're you-know in eight thirty a:::nd
              You know we're in (harbour) eight thirty a:::nd


5             *jeg*'v- måske et kvarter om å' køre
              *I* w- maube a quarte about to drive
              *I*t takes me maybe about fifteen minuts to drive


6             ud te' jer.
              out to you.
              to your place.


7   C-K:      Ja mer' itt' da.
              Ja more not surely.
              Yes surely not more than that.


8   Jens:     Nej vel¿
              Nej right¿
              No it doesn't does it¿


9   C-K:  →   (n)Ej.
              (n)Nej.
              (n)No.


10  Jens: →   Nej.
              Nej.
              No.


11            (0.3)
              (0.3)
```

```
          (0.3)

12 Jens:    >.hh-< Men- Det si'r vi,
            >.hh-< But- That say we,
            >.hh-< But- That's a deal then,

13  C-K:    Jahm' det' fint
            Ja but that's fine
            Yes but that's fine
```

Having stated that they will arrive at nine o'clock in the morning and received an evaluation and acceptance of this by C-K in L2, Jens inserts a 'cautionary' remark which explains the time of arrival as being approximate. C-K picks up on this aside (in L4) and confirms that the drive takes no longer than fifteen minutes. This is followed by a question similar to the 'echo-questions' discussed in section 3.4.3, Jens now repeating as a question to be confirmed, the information which C-K has already provided.[107]

By confirming this information in L9 and doing so only through the production of the response particle *nej,* C-K clearly displays that she has nothing more to contribute to this activity or topic, as does Jens in his production of a second, free-standing *nej* in L10.

Thus, both participants have through their minimal *nej*-turns treated the aside as having been settled; with a return to the overall activity of arranging the meeting being relevant next. In contrast to the cases above where more embedded activities were in play, in this extract Jens does not produce a next turn to keep open the embedded activity, but returns to the overall activity directly.[108] In this way Jens is clearly displaying his understanding of the cluster of *nej*'s as having settled and closed down the embedded activity.

---

[107] In this case this does not appear to be done in pursuit of a different response but explicitly only as a request for confirmation as is provided by C-K through only responding with *nej*. Jens may however have other 'reasons' for requesting this confirmation: the call made immediately before this was between Jens and Martin, the colleague who is also going to the meeting. In the call Martin stated that he thought the distance between the ferry and C-K's house was much longer and was corrected by Jens. It may be then that Jens sees C-K' confirmation as an assurance that he and not Martin was right.

[108] The pause and the cut-off on *men* may indicate that Jens does have some problem with the trajectory of the talk. However it is evidently not as big a problem as in extract (48) and (50) as the

The same is the case in extract (52) below.

Extract (52) : TH/S2/16/Fie & Færgen/Neg218

```
((Ib, the captain of a ferry is complaining to Fie, the manager, about campers
having been booked in pre-season for free, this now resulting in them having to
leave unbooked paying customers behind because the ferry is full. Fie has agreed
to make sure this doesn't happen again. After having discussed various other
things Fie comments on how busy they are even though the last time she looked in
the books there weren't that many bookings. Ib agrees and accounts for this by
stating that on weekends they always get extra people coming in without having
booked and that this is the reason for why they should no longer let campers get
on the ferry for free.))
```

```
1   Ib:        Å'- for vi ris'kerer vi stå:r å' ska'
               And- because we risk we stand and shall
               And- because we'll risk being stood and will

2              ikk' ka' få få: de sidste me' i aften jo.
               not can get get the last with tonight you-know.
               Not be able to get get the last ones on tonight.

3              (.)
               (.)
               (.)

4   Ib:        [når ] vi (.) sejler derover fra.
               [when] we (.) sail  thereover from.
               [when] we (.) sail from over there.

5   Fie:       [Mm  ]
               [Mm  ]
               [Mm  ]

6   Fie:       .hJerhh
               .Ja
               .hYearhh

7              (0.7)
               (0.7)
               (0.7)

8   Fie:       Jahm' ingen ekstratur.
               Ja but no   extratrip.
               Yes but no extra trip.
```

---

return to the overall activity does not have to be tied in with more talk on the embedded activities as such.

```
9               (0.6)
                (0.6)
                (0.6)


10  Ib:    →    Ej.
                Nej.
                No.


11  Fie:   →    Ej.
                Nej.
                No.


12              (.)
                (.)
                (.)


13  Fie:       >.hhh< E::h Jeg har li': en ting ås',
               >.hhh< E::h I have just one thing also,
               >.hhh< E::h I've just got something(to say)as well,
```

The problem of campers having been mentioned once again by Ib in L1-4, both participants now display that neither has anything new to contribute to this topic, Fie through her production of minimal turns of acknowledgement in L5 and 6, Ib by not taking the turn in L7 where a long gap occurs.

Refraining from taking the turn may (as discussed in section 3.3 above) be done in cases where the other participant has failed to respond in an appropriate manner to the prior turn. This may be what Fie is orienting to in L8 through her negatively framed statement: one solution which the company has used in other situations where a large amount of unbooked cars showed up was to insert an extra trip and in this way making more money while at the same time providing a service above expected. By explicitly stating that they are not going to put in an extra trip Fie is orienting to the discussion of the problem as having been settled: she has already promised to make sure that the situation will not occur again and the situation at hand is now treated as something which nothing can be done about.

After a pause[109] in L9 Ib confirms and accepts Fie's statement thus displaying that he and Fie are aligned on this issue and that he has nothing

---

[109] Pauses of this length often indicate a recipients problem with some aspect of the talk. There are two aspects of Fie's turn which can be understood as problematic from Ib's perspective. Firstly, the

more to contribute to this. When Fie herself follows this with another *nej* in L11 she in the same way displays that she has finished the topic or activity, and after a small pause she initiates a new topic which is clearly being displayed as such through the format of her turn.

By returning to the overall activity as in extract (51) or by introducing a brand new topic as in extract (52) participants display their understanding of these clusters as being strongly closing implicative, making a shift in activity or topic relevant next.

Of course this shift may not always happen as is evident from extract (53) below.

Extract (53) : TH/S2/140) Krista & Fie II/Neg598

```
((Fie owns a holiday house together with some old friends. She has lately had some
problems with these friends. In the talk prior to the extract she has told Krista,
who knows the nature of the problem from other interactions that she and her
husband are now looking for a new house for themselves.))


1   Fie:      Men de:t det h- a' ås'  et  projek[t:]
              But tha:t that h- is also a projec[t:]
              But tha:t that h- is also a projec[t:]


2   Kri:                                        [Ja]h
                                                [Ja]
                                                [Ye]s


3             (.)
              (.)
              (.)


4   Kri:      Man¹¹⁰ ska'    jo  heller ikk' gå stille
              One shall surely neither not go quietly
              You surely shouldn't go quietly, either


5   Fie : →   Nej=
              Nej=
              No=
```

way in which Fie's turn is framed makes it difficult to determine whether it is in fact a statement, a question or a request for confirmation. Secondly by framing her turn negatively Fie is in effect orienting to the possibility that Ib might otherwise have considered inserting an extra trip. This is clearly not necessarily what Ib intended to disply through his turns in L1-4. Whichever of these are problematic to Ib, the pause in this way seems to be used as a space in which Ib tries to figure out what action Fie's turn is implementing and why it was produced.

[110] *Man* has here been translated as 'one' in the gloss and 'you' in the idiomatic translation. Neither of these English words however captures the meaning of *man* completely. *Man* is a generic reference term, as 'one', but whereas 'one' to my ear has connotations of being used for mimicking upper-class speech, this is not the case for *man*.

```
6   Kri:   →   =Nejh
                =Nej
                =Noh


7   Fie:   →   Nej [Ahm'    ] det  det vi havde ikk' sså go' en
                Nej [Nyeahbut] that that we had not so good an
                No  [Nyeahbut] that that, we didn't have a very good


8   Kri:   →        [Nej ]
                     [Nej ]
                     [No  ]


9   Fie:       oplevelse   me' det   der de:t=
                experience with that there tha:t=
                experience with that, tha:t=


10  Kri:       =Nejh det ved jeg godt du sa[gde ] de:t Jah.
                =Nej that know I well you sa[id  ] tha:t Ja.
                =No, I know that you said   [that]   Yes.
```

Krista's negatively framed utterance in L4 is an idiom. As noted by Drew and Holt (1998) for English, idioms can be strongly closing-implicative and the same seems to be the case for Danish. The idiom here in effect sums up Fie's house searching as being a consequence of the problems she has had with the co-owners and as such potentially concludes and summarises the sequence in which Fie has revealed that she is looking for a new house.

At the same time Fie has not explicitly stated what the problems are and Krista's L4 could be understood as inviting Fie to discuss in more detail the problems she has had with the co-owners, should Fie wish to do so.

Fie's response in L5 only orients to the former aspect of Krista's turn: by producing merely a confirmation of Krista's conclusion/summary Fie in effect aligns with Krista while at the same time displaying that she has nothing more to add to the topic. Krista's production of *nej* in response to this displays that she also has nothing more to contribute. Thus, both participants at this point treat the topic as exhausted.

In extract (51) and (52) this was followed by a return to an overall activity, and by initiating a new topic, respectively. Here, Fie instead (re)turns to the topic of the problems she has had with the co-owners. In contrast to extracts (48) and (50) her turn in L7 is not merely produced to create a tie between this activity/topic and a new one, but is developed

into extensive topical talk about the problems with the co-owners and the effect this has had on Fie.

That a cluster of *nej*'s in this case is not followed by a shift in activity or topic does not contradict the closing implicative features of such sequences but merely serves to highlight that these features are only *implications*, making a shift *relevant* but not *obligatory* at this point.[111]

By producing clusters of *nej*'s neither participant offers material which might keep the topic or activity going; while in effect staying on this topic or activity. Thus, by producing on-topic talk subsequent to the cluster (as in extract (53)) the topic is in effect rekindled in a position where the alternative would have been to initiate a new topic or return to some prior activity.

From extracts (48) and (50) through (53) it can be seen that participants orient to and understand clusters of *nej*'s as initiating closure, making a shift in activity or topic relevant next. This is done by one participant shifting the activity or topic immediately after the cluster has occurred, in retrospect defining the cluster as a closure of the prior activity or topic.

There are however two main exceptions to this pattern: first, a speaker can produce more on-topic talk, both participants subsequently working on developing this topic further. Through doing so the participants display that though clusters of *nej*'s are frequently followed by a shift in topic or activity, this is only one of the possible next actions, a further development of the topic being another. This emphasises that what comes after a cluster of *nej*'s in effect defines what this cluster should be seen as doing.

Second, after a cluster of *nej*'s is produced a speaker can produce one or a few turns of on-topic talk without the other participant taking this talk up as an invitation to develop the topic further. This pattern occurs when clusters of *nej*'s are used for the closure of activities that are embedded within one or several other activities or sequences. In such cases the closure of an embedded sequence through a cluster of *nej*'s makes a return to the main activity relevant. Because of the embedded structure however participants have problems with the trajectory of the talk. The turns in which on-topic talk is produced are produced exactly because of this trajectory problem, as an orientation to this, creating a tie

---

[111] The same pattern is noted for other closing implicative devices such as concluding remarks and summing ups by for instance Svennevig (1997) and for idioms by Drew and Holt (1998).

between the embedded activity and the main activity thus making a return to the latter possible.

Though in this way clusters of *nej*'s can be followed by a variation of actions, it is nevertheless evident from the extracts above that such clusters are oriented to by the participants as being implicative of closing.

In the following section I will discuss cases where clusters of *nej*'s are in contrast to the cases in this section not oriented to as closing-implicative, in that they are not followed by a shift in activity.

3.5.3 Clusters of nej's doing activity/topic hold

In this section I will demonstrate how clusters of *nej*'s can have the effect of sustaining or maintaining the ongoing activity, rather than suggest a closing of this. This is the case in contexts where the first free-standing can be understood as an insufficient or inadequate response to the prior turn. In this context, a second free-standing *nej* can be used as a device for pursuing a more appropriate or sufficient response.

Pursuing a more sufficient or appropriate response through the production of a second, free-standing *nej* is frequently used as the last resort in a problematic sequence where other pursuits have been deployed – and failed. This is the case in all of the three following extracts, though the way in which the pursuit is oriented to in each case differs.

Extract (54) : TH/S2/17/Carlsen-Kipp & Jens/Neg225

```
((Jens is an engineer and together with a friend, Martin, who's an architect he
has drafted a proposal for the refurbishing of C-K's house. C-K has called Jens to
ask Jens and Martin to meet with him and further develop the proposal. This
development is apparently surprising to Jens, who perhaps thought that C-K would
ask other people to develop the proposal.))


1  C-K:                  [Me]ne:hh Vi si'r tak   for den[e::h  Det]
                         [Bu]te:hh We say thanks for the[e::h  The]
                         [Bu]te:hh We'd like to thank yo[u for the]


2  Jens:                                                [.gnhhhh  ]
                                                        [.gnhhhh  ]
                                                        [.gnhhhh  ]
3  C-K:     gode skitseforslag
            good draft-proposal
            good draft proposal

            ((15 lines left out where C-K and Jens discusses the
               proposal))
```

```
19 Jens:      .hhh Men det  ka' i     jo   arbejde videre me'
              .hhh But that can you(p) you-know work further with
              .hhh But you know you can work further on that

20            (.)
              (.)
              (.)

21 C-K:       Ehhm:[:]
              Ehhm:[:]
              Ehhm:[:]

22 Jens:          [E]ller (.) Samarbejde me': alt m[uli]gt andet
                  [O]r    (.) Cooperate with all po[ssi]ble other
                  [O]r    (.) Cooperate with all ki[nds] of things

22 C-K:                                        [Jah]
                                               [Ja ]
                                               [Yes]

23 C-K:       Mene:hhm Vi vil    da   godt eh d- Du    skrev
              Bute:hhm We will surely well eh d- You(s) wrote
              Bute:hm We would like to   eh d- You wrote

24              noget    om    at han var på Ærø de n[æste tre
              something about that he was on Ærø the n[ext three
              something about him being on Ærø for the[ next three

25 Jens:                                            [.h h h h h h
                                                    [.h h h h h h
                                                    [.h h h h h h
26 C-K:       uger   (eller de tre   uger  i:) Juli]
              weeks (or   the three weeks in) July]
              weeks (or the three weeks in )  July]

27 Jens:      Det    a'   han   Ja        Jah] Det a' han Ja
              That   is   he    Ja        Ja ] That is he Ja
              He is.             Yes     Yes ] He   is Yes

28 C-K:       Øhh Så vi:: Ku'    da   godt tænke vos li':  å':
              Ehh So we:: Could surely well think us just   to:
              Ehh So we:: Would really like to discuss

29 C-K:       å' vende det [(sammen elle:r)] me'  jer=
              to turn  it  [(together o:r )] with you(p)=
              it           [(together o:r )] with you=
```

```
                          ((9 lines left out))


40 Jens:      =kigge på det=Jahmen det ve' jeg   da prøve å'
              =look  on it=Ja but that will I surely try to
              =look at it=Yesbut I will definitely try and


41            arrangere (for     dig) Lars
              arrange   (for you(s)) Lars
              arrange that (for you) Lars


              ((20 lines left out in which C-K describes how busy
              he has been))

62 C-K:       [Oge]:h (.) Men vi hå' Vi hå' så'n       set tænkt
              [And]eh (.) But we had We had like-this seen thought
              [And]eh (.) But we had We had kind of thought


63            om det måske ku'   la'   sig gøre på torsdag
              if  it maybe could let (refl) do  on thursday
              if maybe it could be possible on Thursday


64            (.)
              (.)
              (.)


65 Jens:      nmmmm ((Heavy aspiration))
              nmmmm ((Heavy aspiration))
              nmmmm ((Heavy aspiration))


66 C-K:       Hva' si'r du    te' det=
              What say you(s) to that=
              What do you think about that=


67 Jens:      =Det tror jeg ikk'
              =That think I not
              =I don't think so


68            (0.6)
              (0.6)
              (0.6)


69 C-K:       Det   tror  du    ikk' det ka'=
              That think you(s) not it can=
              You don't think that's possible=


70 Jens: →    =Nej=
              =Nej=
```

```
                     =No=

71 C-K:    →    =Nej[hehehe]
                =Nej[hehehe]
                =No [hehehe]

72 Jens:          [.hhehh] Ehh Men jeg prøver
                  [.hhehh] Ehh But  I    try
                  [.hhehh] Ehh But I'll try

73 C-K:         Jah,
                Ja,
                Yes

74 Jens:        Jeg prøver (.) Ikk',
                I try      (.) Not
                I'll try  (.) Right

75 C-K:         Eh:mm Å' ellers Al'så a' ha' itt' no'et
                Eh:mm And otherwise You-know I have not some
                Eh:mm And otherwise You know I haven't got any

76              alternativ li': nu ihvertfa[ld ]
                alternative just now in-any[-ca]se
                alternative at the moment a[nyw]ay

77 Jens:                                  [Nej]=nej=Ve' du hva'
                                          [Nej]=nej=Know you what
                                          [No=]no=You know what

78 Jens:        jeg prøver li': å' se om hva' hva': jeg ka'
                I   try  just and see if what what I can
                I'll just try and see if what I can

79              arrangere
                arrange
                arrange

80 C-K:         Jah=
                Ja=
                Yes=

81 Jens:        =Ska' vi ikk' si': det
                =Shall we not say that
                =Is that a deal

82 C-K:         Al'så de:t afhænger jo sel'følgelig a': om om
```

```
                You-know tha:t depends you-know of-course of if if
                You know that of course depends on whether

83 C-K:         omeh: den her færge den har plads:
                ife:h this here ferry it has roo:m
                whether there'll be room on the ferry
```

Here, C-K has called Jens to thank him for the draft proposal he and his friend Martin has made for C-K for refurbishing his house. This is done in L1-3. As is displayed in the beginning of this extract, Jens and C-K clearly has different expectations as to what the draft proposal entails: Jens expected this only to be a draft proposal which C-K could then develop further, either on his own or with other people, and that he and Martin were only meant to do the preliminary work, rather than the whole refurbishing project. This is stated by Jens in L19-22, but C-K clearly marks this as contrary to what he wants, first by not responding to Jens's statement in L19, then by in L24-25 and L29-30 stating that he and his wife would like to look at the proposal with Jens and Martin, in this way requesting that Martin and Jens continue to work on the refurbishment. Accepting this, Jens in L40-41 states that he will try to arrange this for C-K, that is that he will talk it over with Martin and then get back to C-K with a suggestion for when they can meet.

Again, Jens and C-K turns out to be misaligned in the matter of arranging a meeting, in that Jens through his turn in L40-41 treats the arranging and thus the settling of a date as something to be done in the future. In contrast, C-K in L62-63 provides a suggestion of a date, thus orienting to the matter of settling this date and arranging the meeting, as something to be done *now*. Here, C-K states that he was hoping that the two parties, him on the one hand and Jens and Martin on the other, could meet on the following Thursday.

As such, C-K's statement is a request to be accepted or rejected by Jens. Rather than producing an immediate accept of C-K's request, after a short gap, Jens in L65 produces a heavy aspirated *nmmmm* through which he displays 'thinking about it'. As this non-responding turn delays the point at which an acceptance is produced, Jens's turn at the same time projects the possibility that what will be produced is a rejection, rather than an acceptance.

C-K in L66 pursues an answer from Jens, by directly enquiring what Jens's attitude to having a meeting on the Thursday is. In L67, Jens finally

produces what is a downgraded rejection of C-K's request, that he thinks that it will not be possible to have the meeting on Tuesday.

This rejection is downgraded to the extent that it is almost undecided, that is, though Jens has not accepted that the meeting takes place on the Thursday he has at the same time left open the possibility that it might do so anyway.

For C-K, who is clearly orienting to the activity of settling on a date as something to be done now, such a largely undecided response is insufficient in that it blocks the discussion of other possible dates. A direct accept of the request would have settled the date for the meeting, and a direct rejection would have made the discussion of other possible dates relevant next.

That C-K does not understand Jens's response in L67 as sufficient is evident first from the long gap of (0.6) seconds in L68, then by C-K's 'echo-question' in L69. As discussed in section 3.4.3, such 'echo-questions' can be used to express disbelief of the other speakers prior turn, in this way pursuing a more sufficient or appropriate response, and this is what is being done also through C-K's 'echo-question' in L69.

The type of response that C-K is pursuing is in this context a response that orients to the matter of settling a date *now*, rather than in a later call. A response that explicitly stated that Jens would not do the meeting on the Thursday would in this context further the activity of settling a date *now*, in that by rejecting C-K's suggestion for a date, a discussion of other dates would be relevant next.[112]

A 'no'-response such as the one produced by Jens in L70 on the other hand merely reconfirms that Jens is not certain whether the meeting can be held on the Thursday. This effect of the 'no'-response is independent on whether the *nej* is produced as free-standing, or as a turn-preface.

Consequently, C-K does not need to hear more than the *nej* produced by Jens in L70, to know that this response is not one that will be orienting to the ongoing activity as being about settling a date now. By producing a second, free-standing *nej* in L71, C-K treats the prior as constituting an insufficient response in the context in which it is produced.

---

[112] A 'yes'-response would of course be preferred, in the sense that though it would disconfirm the assumption displayed by C-K in L69 (that Jens don't think the meeting can be done on the Thursday), it would at the same time accept C-K's initial request and in this manner settle the date for the meeting.

Thus, the free-standing *nej* produced by C-K pursues a more sufficient response,[113] rather than accepting or further suggesting a closing of the ongoing activity. As can be seen from Jens's turns in L72 and 74, he in turn orients to C-K's *nej* as one which does not accept or suggest closing, by further elaborating on his *nej* response.

The way in which this is done however is not so as to further a discussion of alternative dates, as Jens still leaves open the possibility that the meeting can take place on the Thursday.

As a consequence of this, the participants continue to be misaligned with regard to what the ongoing activity is. Thus, Jens in L77-79 as well as in L81 continues to orient to the matter of dates as not being one which can be settled at this point. Rather than agree with this, for instance by accepting Jens's question in L81 with a type-conforming *ja* 'yes', C-K in L81-82 implies that there may be a problem with settling the date later, rather than now: that there won't be room on the ferry.

The discussion of whether to settle a date now or later, and what dates are in fact possible, is continued throughout this call, with C-K finally accepting that a date has to be settled at a later point, when Jens explicitly states that he needs to check with the other party, Martin, first.

The outcome of this rather long extract then is that the cluster of *nej*'s occurs in a rather delicate context, in which the participants are clearly misaligned with regard to how the ongoing activity should be defined, and a first free-standing *nej* is treated as an insufficient or inappropriate response through the production of a second free-standing *nej*. Consequently, the cluster of *nej*'s is in this context not oriented to as being closing-implicative, rather the activity is continued after the cluster of *nej*'s.

Similarly, in extract (55), a first free-standing *nej* is treated as an insufficient response by the recipient, who in turn produces a second free-standing *nej*. Again, this is done in a rather delicate context, and again the cluster of *nej*'s does not result in a shift in activity.

Extract (55) : TH/S2/69/Peter & Jens/Neg422

```
((From the beginning of the call.))

1  Peter:      Jah go'daw AnneSophie det' Peter.
               Ja  goodday AnneSophie it's Peter.
```

---

[113] This aspect of C-K's *nej* is further strengthened by the 'embarrassed' laughter quality of its production which clearly displays that something inappropriate has occurred.

```
                    Yes hello AnneSophie  it's Peter.

2                   (.)
                    (.)
                    (.)

3  Fie:             Jerh
                    Ja
                    Yeah

4  Peter:           Tak for hilsn'
                    Thanks for greeting-the
                    Thanks for the greeting

5                   (.)
                    (.)
                    (.)

6  Peter:           Te' min fødselsdag,
                    To my birthday,
                    For my birthday,

7                   (0.6)
                    (0.6)
                    (0.6)

8  Fie:             .hh (.) Nåh. O[kay    ]
                    .hh (.) Oh.  O[kay    ]
                    .hh (.) Oh.  O[kay    ]

9  Peter:                         [A'   du] ikk' rigti' klar
                                  [Are you] not  really clear
                                  [Are you] not really aware

10                  over hvem jeg a'
                    over who   I am
                    of who I am

11 Fie:     →       Nej.
                    Nej.
                    No.

12 Peter:  →        Ne:j::
                    Nej
                    No:::

13                  (0.6)
```

```
                        (0.6)
                        (0.6)

14  Peter:       Ka' du ikk' godt huske mig jeg
                 Can you not well remember me I
                 Don't you remember me I

15               var over å' passe jeres hunde,
                 was over and watch your dogs,
                 was over sitting your dogs,

16               (0.2)
                 (0.2)
                 (0.2)

17  Peter:       for en tyve år siden=
                 for a twenty years since=
                 about twenty years ago=

18  Fie:         =Har du fået en hilsen te' din fødselsdag,
                 =Have you gotten a greeting to your birthday,
                 =Have you gotten a greeting for your birthday,

19  Peter:       °Jerh.° Det ved du måske ikk'.
                 °Ja.°   That know you maybe not.
                 °Yeah.° You don't know that perhaps.
```

From the beginning of this extract it is evident that Fie has failed to recognise who the caller, Peter, is (the gaps in L2, 5 and 7 and Peter's pursuit of recognition in L4 and 6). In orientation to this lack of recognition Peter in L9 asks Fie outright whether she recognises him. By framing his question negatively Peter displays that from the prior talk he has inferred that this is indeed not the case, thus designing his question to prefer *nej* as confirming this inference as being correct.

At the same time however the question is interactionally designed to prefer a disagreeing response in which Fie claims recognition. The response produced by Fie, the single *nej* in L11, only treats the prior turn as a request for confirmation, in effect ignoring its interactional relevancies.

As in extract (54), the second free-standing *nej* produced by Peter in L12 is clearly not to be understood as being closing implicative - this would end the sequence in which recognition of one of the participants in the

interaction was attempted, a recognition without which the conversation can hardly continue.

Instead, as in extract (54) Peter produces a second *nej* so as to hand the turn back over to Fie, in this way providing her with yet another position in which the appropriate action of recognition can be done.

This type of pursued appropriate response is however not one which can simply be provided. If Fie doesn't recognise Peter, then she doesn't recognise him (And she has already once been found out when claiming recognition untruthfully (in L8), so this is not really an option either.). This puts Fie in the position of not being able to provide the appropriate and highly sought after response, the result being that she abstains from producing any turn what-so-ever, hence the pause in L13. In the light of this, to ensure that the call can continue, there is nothing else to do than for Peter to provide more clues as to his identity, as he does in L14-15.[114]

As in extract (54) then, the first *nej* upon production fails to implement a next appropriate action, the second *nej* pursuing this response by maintaining the activity while at the same time handing the turn back to the other speaker in an attempt to force that speaker to produce a more appropriate or sufficient responsive action. That this action is not provided in extract (55) is due to the fact that Fie is incapable of doing so, not necessarily because she does not wish to do so.

The pursuit of an appropriate or sufficient next action through the production of a second free-standing *nej* can however also be actively *resisted* by the recipient, with a subsequent shift in activity or topic being the consequence as in extract (56) below.

Extract (56) : TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg1

```
((Krista's elderly mother is terminally ill and has been so for a while. Fie and
Krista had arranged a get-together at Krista's the following day, with the
understanding that if Krista's mother was dying or needed special attention, the
get-together would be off. Having gotten no call from Krista confirming or
cancelling the get-together, Fie has called to check on how things are.))

1   Kri:      Ja  hallo det' Krista
              Ja  hello it's Krista
              Yes Hello it's Krista


2   Fie:      Hej Krista det' Fie=
```

---

[114] Peter is finally recognised several excruciating turns later to the relief of both participants after which Fie defends her inability to recognise him as being grounded in the fact that Peter is such a common name.

```
           Hi  Krista it's Fie=
           Hi  Krista it's Fie=

3  Kri:    =Hejj
           =Hi:
           =Hi:

4  Fie:    .hhh Hvordanhh står det te' hos jer?
           .hhh How hh    stand it to   at  your?
           .hhh How are things at your place?

5  Kri:    >Det står   da     godtnok    te'<
           >It stand surely good-enough to<
           >We're all right<

6  Fie:    Jerh?
           Ja?
           Yeah?

7  Kri:    Jah. .hh Jeg snakket' me': Jeg vi' ha' ringet te'
           Ja. .hh  I  talked  wi:th  I would have called to
           Yes. .hh   I  spoke   to:   I would have called

8          jer   her te' middag  .hh øhhh Lisbeth hun ringet'
           you(p) here to lunch   .hh ehhh Lisbeth she called
           you at lunch           .hh ehhh Lisbeth called

9          i går     de ta'r hjem i dag  å' i morgen
           yesterday they take home today and tomorrow
           yesterday they're going home today and tomorrow

10 Fie:    Nåhh!
           Ohh !
           Ohh !

11 Kri:    (e)Jah.
           (e)Ja.
           (e)Yes.

12 Fie:    .hhh Å'  (0.8) Der'   ikk' nogen ændringer i:(0.2)
           .hhh And (0.8) There's not  some  changes in: (0.2)
           .hhh And (0.8) There's  no     changes in: (0.2)

13 Fie:    tilstanden
           condition-the
           the condition
```

```
14  Kri:  →    °Nejh°
              °Nej°
              °Noh°

15  Fie:  →    Nej.
              Nej.
              No.

16  Kri:       °De:t >a' der ik-<°=>A'   du    blevet forkøl[et,<]
              °Tha:t >is there no-<°=>Are you(s) become   co[ld,<]
              °The:re >isn't-<° = >Did   you    get   a   co[ld,<]
```

As early as in her enquiry in L4 Fie orients to the fact that Krista's mother is ill by using what is a marked format of 'how are you's' in Danish. Thus, in the data for this study, these enquiries are typically produced either with a strong preference for having the recipient produce a positive evaluation, by displaying such an assumption through the enquiry, for instance by formatting it as *Å' du har det godt?* 'And you're fine?' or *Har i det godt ellers?* 'Otherwise are you fine?'. If this preference for a positive evaluation is not displayed, the default or unmarked form of a 'how are you' enquiry in the data is as in English *Hvordan har i/du det[115]?* 'How are you?'.

In contrast, the form used by Fie in L4 first of all implies that things may in fact not be well and also that there might be a specific reason for why this is so, that is the condition of Krista's mother.

Thus, Fie through her marked enquiry allows for a negative evaluation of the general state of things, in this way inviting a troubles telling. This opportunity is however not oriented to by Krista through her response in L5, a response which neither evaluates the state of things as good or bad, but rather implies that things are as they have been for a while.

In response to this Fie produces a response particle with questioning and thus eliciting intonation, in effect pursuing talk from Krista on the general state of things. Again this is resisted by Krista in her response in L7-9 where she instead orients to why she hasn't called Fie, the reason being that she was waiting to hear from her sister, Lisbeth.

For Krista, the waiting for Lisbeth to call was relevant for her calling Fie in that she needed to know that her sister would come and stay with their parents, before she agreed to have Fie visiting. For Fie this is however not evident and the news that Krista's sister is coming might indicate to her

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[115] Danish distinguishes between the plural and the singular of the pronoun 'you'. *I* is the plural form, *du* the singular.

that their mother's condition has indeed deteriorated and thus, that the visit is off.

Having expressed her surprise over the news (in L10) from Krista and not gotten an elaboration on these news, Fie, whose visit is dependent on Krista's mothers condition explicitly enquires into her condition in L12-13, displaying that she from the prior talk has inferred that the mother is the same. Again this question is not merely designed to be confirmed, but is produced so as to elicit more talk on Krista's mothers condition, so that it can be established whether Fie can visit or not.[116]

By responding merely with a confirming *nej*, Krista resists the implementation of Fie's question as a topic initiator, in this way failing to produce the next appropriate action, an extended troubles telling.

As in extract (54) and (55) Fie's repeat of the negative response token in this context pursues this action by handing the turn back to Krista. The handling of this misalignment is done very delicately by Krista, who first produces a turn which is formatted as a continuation of her initial free-standing *nej*-response, the *°De:t >a' der ik-<°* in L16. In this way Krista indicates that she at this point will elaborate on her mother's condition, as she was requested or invited to do by Fie. However, subsequent to this, Krista then rushes into a new topic and activity, a discussion of Fie's health, produced as being occasioned as a noticeable from the prior talk.[117,118] In this way Krista orients to Fie's *nej* as pursuing an appropriate response but resists this through introducing a new activity.

Though the cluster of *nej*'s in the extracts above are in fact not followed by the production of a more appropriate response than the speaker provided through the production of the first *nej* of the cluster, it should nevertheless be evident that the cluster of *nej*'s in these case are not treated as closing-implicative in contrast to the extracts discussed in the previous section.

Extracts (54), (55) and (56) also contrast with the extracts discussed in the previous section, by being produced in delicate or interactionally problematic sequences, where the speaker producing the first *nej* in doing so fails to do some appropriate next action. In this context a second *nej* is

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[116] Getting no further information about the mother's condition in response to this or at any later point, Fie finally resigns herself to asking outright whether the visit is still on at a later point in this call.

[117] Fie's voice is clogged and shows all the auditory signs of a cold and is thus noticeable in the same way as a new hair cut would have been in face-to-face interaction.

[118] The new topic is initiated through a rush-through, a phenomenon which is frequently deployed for these types of actions as noted by Local and Walker (2003).

oriented to as pursuing the appropriate next action by holding on to the topic or activity without contributing anything to it, in this way handing the turn back to the other participant at a point at which some appropriate next action is still lacking.

Thus, extracts (54) through (56) demonstrate that in interactionally delicate or problematic sequences participants orient to clusters of *nej*'s as displaying misalignment between the participants: the speaker producing the first *nej* by merely confirming or acknowledging the prior turn displays that he or she is not going to do some appropriate next action and transfers the turn back to the co-participant.

In return, by producing the same type of response, this speaker hands the turn back to the prior. In this way, the second *nej* treats the first *nej* as an inappropriate responsive action and pursues a more appropriate alternative.

As such, pursuing a more sufficient or appropriate response through producing a free-standing *nej* is not a very efficient way of doing so (in comparison for instance to using 'echo questions', turn-fillers or tags, as discussed in section 3.4.3 and 3.3.2.2 respectively). Thus, such a pursuit does in fact typically not result in a more fitted or sufficient response and can in fact even be resisted by the recipient of the second *nej*.

3.5.4 Summary

In this section it has been demonstrated that the negative response particle *nej*, when produced on its own can be used as a closing-implicative device, in a similar fashion to what has been demonstrated for its positive equivalent in other languages such as English by Jefferson (1993) and Finnish by Sorjonen (2001).

By producing a free-standing *nej*, a speaker displays that he/she has accepted the information provided in the prior turn, but that he/she has nothing more to contribute to the ongoing activity or topic. A recipient of such a response may, in return produce yet another free-standing *nej*, also displaying that he/she has nothing to contribute to the ongoing activity, in this way creating a cluster of *nej*'s. Thus, by producing a second, free-standing *nej*, a speaker demonstrates that his/her understanding of the first free-standing *nej* is that a closure of the ongoing activity or topic has now been suggested.

However, whether this second free-standing *nej* is produced so as to accept the closure of an ongoing activity, or, in contrast, resist this closure, was shown to be dependent on the kind of sequential context in which

the first *nej* was produced. Thus, if the first free-standing *nej* was produced in a sequence in which the participants were already misaligned, as a response to an utterance which was designed for receiving more than acknowledgement or confirmation, the second *nej* was treated as marking the first *nej* as being in some way an insufficient or inappropriate response. As a consequence of this, a cluster of *nej*'s in this rather delicate context was not followed by a shift in activity or topic.

In contrast, when the first free-standing *nej* is produced in a sequence in which the participants are aligned with regard to the ongoing activity, and as a response to utterances that are designed only for confirmation or acknowledgement, a first free-standing *nej* is oriented to and understood as a sufficient and appropriate response.

This understanding can also be displayed through the production of a second free-standing *nej*, which is here not treated as a pursuit of a more sufficient response, but rather as a way of displaying that the participants now have agreed on the closing of an ongoing activity or topic. Consequently, a cluster of *nej*'s is in this type of context followed by a shift in activity or topic.

That a free-standing *nej* can in this way be used as a closing-implicative device, further supports the findings of the previous sections in this chapter, where a free-standing *nej* was described as embodying a rather minimal action: that of claiming, rather than demonstrating alignment with what was being done in the prior turn and the consequences this may have for the interaction.

3.6 Conclusion

In this section I summarise the findings made in this chapter and draw some conclusions from these findings. I finish by discussing how these findings together demonstrate how the grammatical format of negative responses is of relevance to the type of action embodied by such responses.

3.6.1 Summary

In this chapter a large variety of responding actions embodied by negatively framed utterances has been discussed. Here, I will briefly outline the most important patterns described in prior sections.

In section 3.2 I demonstrated:

- that negative responses initiated with the negative response particle *nej* is in Danish the most common way in which to respond to negatively framed utterances,

- and that this format for responding is used so as to display that what is being done is being done in response to the prior turn, a turn that is in this way marked as being entirely unproblematic.

- that the production of negative responses that are not initiated with *nej* is far less frequent,

- and that this type of response is used so as to display that what is being done here should not be understood directly as being responsive to the prior turn, but rather that part of the action being done there was somehow problematic for the recipient.

From these observations I concluded:

a) That negative responses initiated with *nej* are type-conforming, whereas those responses that are not are nonconforming.

b) That the negative response particle serves as way of claiming alignment with the prior turn and speaker, as well as the action being done there.

In the following sections I further developed this latter point, by demonstrating that the negative response particle is treated only as a claim of alignment across a variation of contexts and actions.

Thus, in section 3.3 I demonstrated that the negative response particle, when produced on its own is in Danish typically used as an acknowledgement and continuer. In contrast, utterances that are designed to receive an agreeing or affiliating response are typically responded to through the production of an extended response, one that is initiated with *nej* but then followed by an additional turn component in which agreement or affiliation is explicitly demonstrated.

In section 3.4 I described a similar pattern when a free-standing *nej* is used as a confirmation. Here, a free-standing *nej* was shown to be

oriented to as sufficient only in the contexts where claiming alignment through confirming the content of the prior turn did not have as a consequence that further actions should be oriented to by the respondent. Again, responses where more than a claim of alignment was required were formatted as an extended response, initiated with *nej* and followed by a second turn component.

Finally, in section 3.5 I described how a free-standing *nej* can be used as a closing-implicative device, exactly because it embodies merely a claim of alignment, in this way further demonstrating how the free-standing *nej* is oriented to as doing a rather minimal action, in the sense that it does not contribute to a further development of the ongoing activity.

As the summary above demonstrates, a variety of responsive actions embodied by negative responses, and the grammatical formats these may take have been discussed in this chapter. Table 3 shows the relation between the format of negative responses and the type of action they embody.

Table 3.3 : Negative responses and the relation between grammar and action

	Type-conforming	Nonconforming
<u>Free-standing *nej*:</u> (app 220)	Confirmation Acknowledgement Continuer Closing-implicative device	------------
<u>Extended response, initiated with *nej*:</u> (app 190)	Agreement Affiliation Confirmation + further action	------------
<u>Extended response, not initiated with *nej*:</u> (app 40)	-----------	Agreement Affiliation (Confirmation) + further action

3.6.2 Discussion

Table 3, the summary above as well as the cases discussed in this chapter together demonstrate that though the negative response particle *nej* is a necessary part of a response to a prior negatively framed utterance, it is not always treated as a sufficient response, when produced on its own. Thus, there is in Danish a clear division of labour between a free-standing *nej* on the one hand and a more extended response initiated with *nej* on the other.

Utterances that serve mainly to make an exchange of factual information between participants are the home environment for the free-standing *nej*. As a response to such utterances *nej* marks that information or knowledge that was previous known only – or mainly – to one participant is now common knowledge. This is done either by marking that information as heard and accepted, through an acknowledgement token or continuer, or by marking the information suggested in the prior turn as being correct, through a confirmation. The negative response particle in this way claims alignment with a prior negatively framed utterance and the action being done there.

But, as this is all that the negative response particle does, it cannot be used as a sufficient response to utterances that are designed for more than an exchange of factual information, that is utterances that are designed for agreement, affiliation or an additional action aside from confirmation. In these cases, an extended response initiated with *nej* is produced instead. Again, the negative response particle is used as a claim of alignment with the prior turn and the action being done there, but it is not in itself understood as being in compliance with that action. Instead, this compliance is demonstrated in the second component of the extended response.

That the negative response particle *nej* in Danish is in large variety of sequential contexts treated as an insufficient response can be set in the context of studies by Lindström (1999) on the Swedish positive response particle *ja* and Sorjonen (2001) on the Finnish positive response particles *joo*. Lindström (1999) as discussed above shows how, in ordinary Swedish telephone conversations, the positive response particle *ja* is treated and understood as being an insufficient response to a deferred action request. Instead, an extended response consisting of two components (the positive response particle *ja* which claims but does not accomplish acceptance, and a second component that provides acceptance) is used in response to

these deferred action requests. Sorjonen (2001) in a similar manner demonstrates that the Finnish positive response particle *joo* is treated as an insufficient response to affiliation-relevant utterances. Instead, in response to such utterances, the other positive response particle available in Finnish, *nii*, is produced.

In both these two studies then, it is demonstrated that a positive response particle may be treated as an insufficient response to a prior utterance, depending on the format of that utterance and the type of action produced there, because the response particle merely promises or claims alignment, rather than actively providing it.

Aside from its negative polarity, is the Danish *nej* different from the Swedish *ja* or the Finnish *joo*? Before a proper answer can be given, further research is needed. However, the mere possibility that positive response particles in other languages can be treated as an insufficient response, even if only in very specific contexts in itself suggests that the reason for why the negative response particle *nej* in Danish can be treated as an insufficient response has to do with it being used typically for the rather minimal actions of confirmation, acknowledgement and confirmation, in a similar fashion to that of its positive equivalent, rather than because of its negative polarity.

In the light of the current study, more work on the positive response particle *ja* and its use in Danish interaction is needed, before determining whether the insufficiency of the negative response particle *nej* is limited to this particular particle, or whether it is a more generic trait of response particles in Danish – and potentially other languages as well.

'Your Pia aunty is waiting! My God, you see if we don't have a number one good time!'

His voice drops conspiratorially: 'Lots,' he says darkly, 'of *fun*.'

And Mary: 'Arré baba yes! Such steak! And green chutney!'…

'Not the dark one,' I say, captured at last; relief appears on the cheeks of my captors.

 'No no no' Mary babbles, 'light green, baba. Just like you like.'

And, '*Pale* green!' Hanif is bellowing, 'My God, green like grasshoppers!'

From Salman Rushdie, Midnight's children.
Vintage, Random House.

4 Agreeing with the obvious: the case of multiple *nej*

In this chapter I focus on one particular way of constructing a negative response, that of producing a series of negative response particles, *nej*'s, in one intonational phrase, what will here be termed multiple *nej*'s.

The chapter is organised as follows.

In section 4.1 I introduce the notion of multiple response particles in general and provide and example of how the Danish negative response particle *nej* can be produced as such.

In section 4.2 I demonstrate how a *multiple nej* is treated by participants as doing a different action than that of the free-standing *nej*, even when a free-standing *nej* is produced more than once.

In section 4.3 I describe the kind of sequential position in which a *multiple nej* is typically produced and the way in which it is formatted.

In section 4.4 I describe the kind of action embodied by a *multiple nej*, demonstrating that a responding speaker through the production of such a response displays him/herself as being in *obvious* agreement with the prior speaker.

In section 4.5 I discuss the use of the *multiple nej* response when used outside of its home-environment, in response to positively framed utterances, and demonstrate how the obviousness displayed by a *multiple nej* is present even in these contexts.

4.1 The production of multiple response particles as a strong action

We saw in chapter 3 that the single negative response particle *nej* is typically used for rather minimal actions, such as confirmation, acknowledgement and continuation; that is those kinds of actions that treat the prior turn as an exchange only of some factual information. It was thus demonstrated that when a free-standing *nej* is used as the sole response to more affiliative seeking utterances, participants orient to this as inappropriate or insufficient. As a consequence, in order to show affiliation with the immediate prior turn and thus the prior speaker, the responding speaker would elaborate the content of the response by producing other conversational material in addition to, or instead of, the negative response particle.

In her study of negative responses in British and American English, Jefferson (2002) demonstrates that in British English, the negative response particle *no* serves both as an acknowledgement token and an affiliating response. She observes, though, that when a prior negatively

framed utterance is in British English strongly designed for affiliation, such an utterance is responded to with a multiple *no*, rather than merely a single, free-standing *no*. Thus, in the following extract Mum produces a negatively framed assertion evoking how things should be but are not, that is, an utterance designed for affiliation, rather than acknowledgement. Here, the negative response provided consists of two *no*'s.

Extract (1): Jefferson (2002), pp 1356, (20) [Holt:X (C) 1:1:6:4:mso]
```
((Leslie and her mother are complaining together about British Telecom: On top of
high prices, there's a £17 service charge))
```

```
1  Mum:       I've never ↓had any service from them. ↑Ne↓ver.
2  Leslie:    No:. No:.
3             (.)
4  Leslie:    Oh I haa (.) we ha:ve,
5  Mum:       °Ha[ve yo[u°
6  Leslie:      [.hhh[Because thet're a:lways going wrong here
7  Leslie:    [at Bridgewater,
8  Mum:       [(Tha:t's it. ↑yes.)
```

Similarly, Müller (1996) notes that the multiple production of the French positive response particle *oui* in the following extract gives a 'stronger' answer than would have been done had only one particle been produced.

Extract (2): Müller (1996), pp135 (2)

```
1  A:       (..) j'ai vu qu'il y avait l'exposition: au Musée des
             (..) I saw there was an exhibition at the Art
2            Beaux-arts ca je vais y aller. C'est pas: ca vient
             Museum I'm going to go there. It's not: it just
3            d'ouvrir aujourd'hui là.
             opened today.
4  B: →     Oui Oui Oui
             Yes yes yes
5  A:       Ca je vais y aller ca dure tout' l'été, (continues)
             I'm going to go it's on all summer (continues)
```

Focusing on different matter, neither Jefferson (2002) or Müller discuss the kind of stronger, affiliating action such multiple response particles do, or how this is done. From the following extract we can see that the

negative response particle *nej* can also be reiterated in a similar fashion to the English *no* and the French *oui*.

Extract (3) : TH/S2/139/Torben & Jens 2/Neg513

```
((About the key to a boat co-owned by Jens and Niels Børge. Torben used
to be the third co-owner, Jens is going away on holiday and Niels Børge
has just had a blood clot in the brain. Jens has asked Torben for a key
to the boat, which Torben reluctantly has admitted to having.))

1   Jens:       .hhh Det' kun fordi a' jeg mener ikk' jeg ka'
                .hhh It's only because that I mean not I can
                .hhh It's only because I dont' think I can

2               tillade mig å' pålægge Niels Børge å' passe
                allow me(r) to instruct Niels Børge to watch
                venture to instruct Niels Børge to watch the

3               båd mens jeg er væk.
                boat while I am away.
                boat while I'm away.

4   Torben: →   Nej=¹¹⁹nej=
                Nej=nej=
                No=no=

5   Jens:       =Så ku- så hvis [ jeg så ku' få en ekstra nøgle (.)
                =Then co- so if [ I then could get an extra key (.)
                =Then co- so if [ I then could get a spare key (.)

6   Torben:                     [(
                                [(
                                [(

7   Jens:       hængende hos på Fie's kontor] så Åge han ku'
                hanging at  on Fie's office ] then Åge he could
                to hang at in Fie's office  ] then Åge he could
```

Here, Jens produces a negatively framed utterance as a reason for requesting Torben to give him a spare key in L1-3, stating that he can't leave Niels Børge to look after the boat while on holiday. Torben's response is an agreeing, fitted response in L4, aligning with the fact that Niels Børge can't be expected to look after the boat, and as in extract (1)

---

[119] The equal sign (=) here signifies that the two *nej*'s are pronounced as one intonational unit. This notation will be used throughout this chapter to make it possible to identify this as the phenomenon in question without having access to the audio.

and (2) this is done through the production of more than one response particle, in this case a *multiple nej*.

Multiple nej's such as the one produced in extract (3), L4 initially pose something of a puzzle: though by nature a more extended response than is a single free-standing *nej*, *multiple nej* does not appear to contribute additional material with regard to content; it is not a more 'elaborate' response than a single *nej* (i.e. it does not constitute an elaboration or development of the grounds for the speaker's agreement with the other). Nevertheless, it should be clear from extract (3), that the *multiple nej* does embody an affiliative responsive action, stronger than mere acknowledgement.

In the following, it will be argued that *multiple nej* as a response is clearly distinctive from the production of a single *nej* as a response token, and that *multiple nej* is indeed a highly affiliative response. It will further be shown, that the production of *multiple nej* as a response is highly context sensitive, used only in certain specific interactional contexts, and that the multiple *nej* is used for a different kind of affiliative or agreeing action than its alternative discussed in chapter 3, an extended response initiated with *nej*.

4.2 Multiple nej *vs. free-standing and acknowledging* nej*: distinctive features and interactional consequences of the multiple* nej *in contrast to single* nej

Before launching a more detailed account of the *multiple nej* used as a response, it is important to establish that *multiple nej* is not merely a variant of the negative, acknowledging response token *nej*, but that they are treated as different response types, with different functions. To do this, I will firstly identify some structural features of *multiple nej* which clearly distinguish this from other kinds of instances where more than one negative response particle occurs in close proximity to each other, then I will demonstrate how a multiple *nej* can be produced as a response when a prior, free-standing *nej* has been treated as insufficient.

As was noted in the introduction to this chapter, *multiple nej's* are produced as one intonational unit, transcribed as latched in the extracts. This is a distinctive feature of *multiple nej*, distinguishing it from other cases, such as a single *nej* produced by a speaker in close proximity to another single *nej*. A typical case of the latter was discussed for other reasons in chapter 3, exemplified by extract (4) below.

Extract (4): TH/M2/1/Fie & Krista I/Neg60

```
((About Krista's work load and the fact that she is spending too much time on
unnecessary administrative work))

1  Krista:    [Å'   så  ska' jeg rende   te'] de    møder
               [And then shall I   run    to ] those meetings
               [And then I have to run to    ] those meetings

2  Fie:       [Men det'   da    ås' rigtigt]
               [But that's surely also  right]
               [But surely you're right      ]

3  Krista:    der' nødvendigt å' ikk' te' en masse .hh
               there's necessary and not to   a   lot  .hh
               that's necessary, and not to a lot of

4             møder    hvor dagsordenen den er .hh øhh skrevet,
               meetings where agenda-the  that is .hh ehh written,
               meetings where the agenda is .hh ehh written, and

5             å' hvor beslutningerne ås' a' skrevet
               and where decisions-the also are written
               where the decisions are written as well,

6             før øhh    [ f ø r] (det går)
               before ehh [before] (it goes)
               even before[      ] (it goes)

7  Fie: →               [N e j ]
                         [N e j ]
                         [ N o  ]

8  Fie: →     Nej. .hh[h For    så   a' det   jo  ] Så a' det
               Nej. .hh[h Because then is it you-know] Then is it
               No . .hh[h Because you know then it's ] Then it's

9  Krista:            [Eller    før   vi    kommer]
                      [Or       before   we    come  ]
                      [Or       before we get there   ]

10 Fie:       jo      helt:    unødvendigt.=
               you-know completely unnecessary.=
               completely unnecessary, you know=
```

In L7-8 Fie produces two negative response particles in close proximity to
each other, both responding to the same prior utterance, Krista's

statement in L3-6. However the response particles in this case are produced as individual tokens, each as their own intonational unit, in contrast to the *multiple nej* in extract (3).

The contrast between these two responses can not only be found in the actual production; though Fie's response in (4), L7-8 is highly affiliative and agreeing, this is due not to the presence of more than one *nej*, but to the continuation and elaboration formulated after the production of the second *nej*. More importantly, the second *nej* is produced only as a preface to the second component *For så a' det jo Så a' det jo helt: unødvendigt.* where the affiliation and agreement is demonstrated.

As discussed in chapter 3, acknowledgements and continuers are frequently and quite unproblematically produced in overlap with another speaker's ongoing talk. This is due to the nature of these tokens; because the respondent is merely marking the utterance being responded to as being heard and understood, it needs only to be heard as being there.

This is exactly what Fie is doing through the production of her first response particle in L7: by producing a fitted token in this position, Fie acknowledges the statement made by Krista and furthermore shows that she understands where the statement is headed, i.e. what Krista is projecting.

On the other hand the production of a single *nej* passes the turn back to the other speaker, the responding speaker declining the opportunity to speak next. As a consequence of this, in extract (4) Fie has declined the opportunity not only to speak next, but to produce a more elaborate, affiliative response.

As shown in chapter 3, the type-conforming and preferred format for affiliative responses to negatively framed utterance is an extended response initiated with *nej*, where *nej* acknowledges the prior turn, displaying that the responding speaker has 'no problem' with that turn.

When this is not done (i.e. when a nonconforming response is produced) participants will orient to this as problematic. Thus, to regain the turn after Krista's turn is completed and to display that the turn is an affiliative unproblematic response to that turn, in L8 Fie initiates her response with *nej*, a *nej* which in this case happens to be the second *nej* produced by Fie in close proximity to another *nej*.

It should be clear then that the production of two individual *nej*'s in close proximity to each other is a different phenomena than *multiple nej* as a response: the repetition of a single, individual *nej*, when in the clear, gives the respondent the opportunity to re-acknowledge the prior turn,

re-claiming the position as respondent, consequently making it possible to produce a more elaborate, possibly affiliative or agreeing response through a type-conforming format.

In short, two intonationally individually produced response particles each contribute a response or part of a response to the immediate prior turn. In contrast to this, the production of two or several instances of *nej* as one intonational unit constitutes one response only, the phonetic variance in itself distinguishing *multiple nej* quite clearly from other, perhaps initially similar cases such as the multiple occurrence of *nej* in extract (4).

4.2.1 Multiple nej *as a resolution to acknowledgement as an insufficient response*

That *multiple nej* varies from other, intonational variants of multiple occurrences of the response particle *nej* as described above, does not exclude the possibility that *multiple nej* is a (particular type of) response token, merely acknowledging or confirming the immediate prior negatively framed utterance.

However, extracts (5) and (6) clearly show that participants treats *multiple nej* as being different from the production of the single response particle *nej* and thus as being something other, *something more than* acknowledgement.

Extract (5)：TH/S2/5/AnneMie & Jens/Neg161

```
((Gossiping about a local family feud, where sisters and brothers have
been fighting over the heritage from their famous father, a painter. Jens
has been working with Arne, one of the brothers, on an exhibition of the
fathers paintings in a local museum. Mie reveals that the other brother,
Ole, was never consulted. Jette is the local museum inspector and married
to Ole.))

1  Mie:     =Jaja, ikk' ås'.  Men  al'så:  e:hm eh d- det
             =Jaja  not also. But you-know e:hm eh d- that
             =Yesyes, isn't it. But you know  e:hm eh d- that

2            det'en a' en   a' de    ting   som ås' lægger på
             that's one of one of those thing that also lies  on
             that's one of one of those things lurking under the

3            lur, at der'   aldri' nogensinde snakket om
             nap, that there's never some-ever  talked about
             surface, that there's never ever been spoken about
```

```
4              de    der   ting  mme' .hh de andre søsk'ne.
               those there things with .hh the other siblings.
               those things with .hh the other siblings.

5  Jens:    Nejh.
            Nej.
            No.

6           (0.6)
            (0.6)
            (0.6)

7  Jens: →  Ne[j=nej] .hh Nejnejmen al'så    det ve' jeg da
            Ne[j=nej] .hh Nejnej but you-know that will I surely
             N[o=no ] .hh Nonobut you know I would surely do

8  Mie:       [ ehhi]
               [ ehhi]
               [ ehhi]

9  Jens:    me' glæde.      Al'så jeg har det   jo   godt me'
            with pleasure. You-know I have it you-know well
            that with pleasure. You know I have a fine

10          Jette jeg ve' me'  glæ:de   fh snakke me' hende
            with Jette I will with pleasure fh talk with  her
            relationship with Jette, I would be happy to talk
```

In L1-4, Mie introduces a complainable matter as part of her extended telling of gossip: that one of the brothers, Arne has failed to consult the other siblings before lending out some paintings made by their recently deceased father. As a complainable, Mie's turn is designed for more than simply acknowledgement, for instance a response in which Jens shows that he, along with Mie does not condone the behaviour of Arne, or, since he is somewhat involved in the matter complained about, that he will rectify this.

However, Jens initially responds with a single *nej*, an acknowledgement token passing the turn back to Mie without in any way orienting to Mie's complaint. The following pause in L6 is as described in chapter 3 typical of sequences where recipients have not received the response for which their turns were designed, the pause giving the respondent the opportunity to produce a more appropriate or sufficient response. Consequently the respondent, in this case Jens, produces another

response in an attempt to resolve the matter. That he chooses to do so through the production of a *multiple nej* shows that he is orienting to this as a more appropriate or sufficient responsive action, among a group of other responses doing more than acknowledgement, such as for instance the extended responses discussed in chapter 3.

Extract (6) is another instance showing how participants may mark a free-standing *nej* as embodying an insufficient response. In contrast to the case above, the first speaker, Jens, does take the turn after the insufficient response of acknowledgement, marking the insufficiency in this case by rephrasing the turn responded to, giving the respondent another opportunity to respond in a more appropriate manner.

Extract (6) : TH/S2/5/AnneMie & Jens/Neg162

```
((Mie is the local business consultant and has been "complaining" to Jens
about a meeting with the local traders commission whose members can't
agree on whether the high street should be pedestrian or not. Jens, a
member of the council incidentally is involved in this, as some members
have approached him with suggestions. Jens is now complaining about this
type of approach as it doesn't give him information about what the
trading commission as a whole wants.))
```

```
1   Jens:      D'm manglede vi li'ssom i billedet [.hh ] Å' vi
               Those missed we like in picture-the[ .hh] And we
               Those we're kind of missing         [ .hh] And we

2   Mie:                                             [Jerh]
                                                     [Ja  ]
                                                     [Yeah]

3   Jens:      ville i å' for sig helst ha' haft a' det ha'v-
               would in and for (r) rather have had that it had-
               would actually rather have preferred that it had-

4              var ↑Handelstandforeningen der havde ansøgt.>Men
               was ↑Traders-commision-the that had applied.>But
               was the Trading commission that had applied. >But

5              det ka' vi< ikk' be' dem om
               that can we< not ask them about
               we can't< ask them to do that

6   Mie:  →    mn
               mn
               mn
```

```
7   Jens:      Al'så .hh Der' nogen ting vi ikk' ka' gøre som
               You-know .hh There's some things we not can do as
               You know .hh There are some things we can't do as a

8              udvalg   Vi ka' ikk' så'n du ved nok
               committee We can not so you know
               committee We can't like you know

9              (0.1)
               (0.1)
               (0.1)

10  Mie:   →   Nej=[nej]
               Nej=[nej]
               No =[no ]

11  Jens:          [Si']: det det'v' vi ikk' ta' os a' det
                   [Say]: that that-will we not take us of that
                   [Say]: we can't be bothered with this, that has

12             ska' være Handelstandsforeningen fordi vi bli'r
               shall be   Traders-commision-the because we become
               to be the Traders commision because we have to deal

13             nødt te' å' ta' de .hh Forespørgsler alvorligt
               forced to and take those .hh Enquiries serious
               seriously with those .hh Enquiries that are

14             der kommer ind ikk'.
               there comes in    not.
               submitted right.
```

Here, Jens in L1-5 describes the rather delicate situation he as a member of the local council is in: though the council would prefer that the Trading Commission, rather than its individual members applied to the council for various permissions, the council are not legally entitled to ask the commission to do that. By in this way describing a state of things as regrettable, Jens's utterance >Men det ka' vi< ikk' be' dem om is designed for more than acknowledgement, for instance a response in which Mie agrees with this as being regrettable, or, since she is as the local business consultant is involved with - and even going to a meeting with – the trading commission, a response in which she makes a suggestion as to how this regrettable situation can be rectified.

But, as in extract (5) the respondent, here Mie only produced the most minimal response, the acknowledging *mn* in L6. Though this token can be clearly identified as orienting to the negative framing of the prior turn, this is all it does.[120]

In response to this, Jens pursues a more sufficient response from Mie by reproducing his prior turn in a more elaborate and explanatory manner (L7-8). Furthermore, this second attempt by Jens at involving as a respondent is designed specifically to involve her as an aligning participant through the use of such terms as *du ved* 'you know'. Crucially, when after a short pause AnneMie does respond to this second attempt in L10, she does so by producing a *multiple nej*.

The two extracts above then clearly shows the participants distinction between the action implemented through a single *nej* on the one hand and a *multiple nej* on the other: when a free-standing *nej* is treated as an insufficient response, the respondent through producing a *multiple nej* after a pursuit display his/her understanding that this type of response is doing something more than, and something different from the acknowledgement that a free-standing *nej* is treated as doing.

This is then further emphasised by the fact that when speakers produce two negative response particles in close proximity, but not as one intonational unit, these are oriented to as separate units, each implementing acknowledgement of the same prior turn. In contrast, *multiple nej* is produced and understood as one response only, as discussed in the section above.

We have however yet to explore what action the production of a *multiple nej* does implement, and what consequences this has for the interaction as a whole. This will be discussed in the following sections.

4.3 The sequential positioning and components of multiple nej

The most common position in which *multiple nej* occurs is as a response to negatively framed utterances. This corresponds with the distribution of negative responses in general, as discussed in chapter 2 and 3, and is due to the overall preference structure of interaction: a response will

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[120] As shown by Raymond (2000) for English *nope* and *yep*, this type of response token, articulated with a firmly closed mouth: *"projects utterance completion or ´no elaboration,´ even in cases where more talk may be relevant"* (Raymond 2000, pp194). Thus *mn* is perhaps an even more minimal token than *nej*. As noted in chapters 2 and 3 however there are only a few of these negative non-lexical response in my data, certainly not enough for a comparative study of these in contrast to the lexical response token *nej*.

overwhelmingly be fitted to the turn responded to with regard to polarity.[121]

As a negative response to a negatively framed utterance, the multiple *nej*, as other negative responses, typically embody – or at least projects - preferred actions by being in alignment with the prior turn and speaker, as well as the action being done there. This interactionally preferred nature of negative responses to negatively framed utterances is for the multiple *nej* in addition strengthened by the fact that in most cases it is produced as early as possible, either being produced in overlap with the turn responded to as in extract (7), or at least latched to the turn to which it responds, as in extracts (8) and (9), all below. Thus, as noted by for instance Pomerantz (1984a), the timing of a responsive action in relation to the turn responded to, may in itself indicate that what is being done in the responding turn is a preferred action, for instance of agreement or affiliation.

Extract (7) : TH/S2/17/Carlsen-Kipp & Jens/Neg227

```
((Finding a date for a meeting. The suggestion C-K has made has been rejected by
Jens.))

1  C-K:       Eh:mm Å' ellers Al'så a' ha' itt' no'et
              Eh:mm And otherwise You-know I have not some
              Eh:mm And otherwise You know I don't have any

2             alternativ li': nu ihvertfa[ld ]
              alternative right now in-an[y-c]ase
              alternative at the moment a[ny ]way

3  Jens: →                              [Nej]=nej=Ve' du hva'
                                        [Nej]=nej=Know you what
                                        [No ]=no=You know what

4             jeg prøver li': å' se om hva' hva': jeg ka'
              I    try  just and see if what what I can
              I'll just try and see what wha:t I can

5             arrangere
              arrange
              arrange
```

---

[121]Of course, as was discussed in chapter 2, there are exceptions to this more general pattern, usually explainable with reference to other interactional preference structures. As with other negative responses, *multiple nej* can be applied after the production of a positively framed utterance. See section 4.5 in this chapter for a discussion of this.

In (6) C-K's negatively framed utterance in L1-2, with which he states that he has no other suggestion for a date to meet is responded to with a *multiple nej* by Jens in L3. The *multiple nej* is produced in overlap with the last item of C-K's turn, *i hvert fald* 'in any case'.[122] C-K's utterance points out something he is incapable of (at the moment at least) and as such implies that he should have been able at this point to provide some alternative dates for a meeting. By responding with the *multiple nej* and by doing this early, Jens accepts the information provided by C-K as being unproblematic to him, thus countering the potential expectation that C-K should have been able to provide some dates.

Similarly, in extract (8) Torben through the production of two *multiple nej*'s agrees with Jens's statement that cancelling the phone isn't a matter to discuss at the moment, and again counters any expectations to the contrary. In this case the *multiple nej* is latched to the turn it is a response to and is as such again produced as being early.

Extract (8) : TH/S2/139/Torben & Jens 2/Neg497

```
((Torben, Jens and Niels Børge used to co-own a boat. Torben having sold his share
back to the others now wants to cancel the mobile phone for the boat as it is in
his name. Niels Børge is in hospital with a blood clot but has insisted that they
keep the phone. Jens is refusing to discuss the matter until Niels Børge is
available.))

1   Jens:         Det'     jo    [ikk'] aktuelt li': nu=
                  That's you-know [not ] relevant just now=
                  You know that's [not ] relevant at the moment=

2   Torben:                       [okay]
                                  [okay]
                                  [okay]

3   Torben: →    =Nej=nej. Nej=nej. Nej.
                 =Nej=nej. Nej=nej. Nej
                 =No=no.  No=no.   No.
```

These two extracts as well as the ones described above also begins to indicate what kind of action it is that a *multiple nej* is doing, namely that of affiliating or agreeing with the prior turn and speaker. However, this

---

[122] Though C-K's turn could be grammatically complete as early as after the production of 'alternativ' in L2 the turn is not intonationally complete at this point and would in addition mean that C-K had indicated some problem with the rejection of his first suggestion of a date.

agreement or affiliation appears to be created partly by countering, rather than aligning with the action being produced in that prior turn. For instance in extract (8), Torben through his *multiple nej* response indicates that he agrees with Jens's prior statement, a potentially reproach or scolding of Torben, to the extent that it need not have been stated in the first place.

Extract (9) is another case in point. Here, C-K is stating that Saturday is not a good day to have a meeting, in this way implying that this day may otherwise have been suggested by Jens. The *multiple nej* response as in extract (8) is early, in that it is latched to C-K's prior turn, thus emphasising the agreement produced by Jens in the response. Again, this response counters the potential expectation, that Saturday would have been a good day to meet on, by agreeing with C-K's statement to the contrary.

Extract (9) : TH/S2/17/Carlsen-Kipp & Jens/Neg229

```
((Arranging a meeting. Jens has initially turned down the date suggested by C-K,
who is now orienting to his calendar in order to find another date. C-K's
contributions in L1 and L4 are orienting to this activity and are not necessarily
designed for any response from Jens))

1  C-K:      °Fredag måske°
             °Friday maybe°
             °Friday maybe°

2  Jens:     .eHh Ve' du hva' jeg prøver li': å' finde ud a' me'
             .eHh Know you what I try just and find out of with
             .eHh You know what I'll just try to find out with

3            Mart[in hva' hva' han si'r]
             Mart[in what what he says ]
             Mart[in what what he says ]

4  C-K:         [(ikk')  i k k e   lør]dag=
                [(not )    n o t  Satu]rday=
                [(not )    n o t  Satu]rday=

5  Jens: →  Nej=nej=nej=nej=nej=nej=Det' ikk' godt i weekenden.
           Nej=nej=nej=nej=nej=nej=It's not good in weekend-the.
           No=no=no=no=no=no=It's not good in the weekend.

6          Det ska' hels[t være en h]verdag .hh Jahmen
           It shall pref[erably be a] weekday .hh Ja but
           It should pre[ferably be ]a weekday .hh Yes but
```

Comparing the above extracts where a *multiple nej* is produced highlights some important variations in how *multiple nej* is produced, aside from its positioning as a fitted, grammatically as well as interactionally preferred response to a prior, negatively framed utterance.

First of all, as (9) rather dramatically illustrates, *multiple nej* can be done as more than two *nej*'s produced immediately after each other: hence the term *multiple nej* rather than *double nej*. Overwhelmingly however the most common form of *multiple nej* is the production of two *nej*'s, with three or four being much less common. The highest number of *nej's* produced as a *multiple nej* in one intonational unit to be found in my data is six, as in extract (9).[123]

Secondly, *multiple nej* occurs both as a response on its own, as in extracts (3) and (6) above, and (10), below; as a response followed by elaboration or expansion, as in extracts (5), (7) and (9) above, and (11), below; or even as more than one set of *multiple nej's* as in extracts (5) and (8) above, and (12), below.

Extract (10) : TH/S2/13/Kaj & Jens/Neg187

```
((Giving directions to where Kaj lives. Jens has disconfirmed knowing any of the
landmarks Kaj has provided so far.))

1   Kaj:        Du ve' godt e:h h- henne ve' møllen
                You know well e:h h- over by mill-the
                You do know e:h  h- over by the mill

2               ska' du ikk'- Du ska' ikk' køre ne' a'
                shall you not- You shall not drive down of
                you shouldn't- You shouldn't drive down

3               Møllemarksvejen.
                Mill-field-way-the.
                Millfieldway.

4   Jens: →     Nej=nej=
                Nej=nej=
                No=no=
```

---

[123] Whether the actual number of *nej's* used to produce a *multiple nej* has any effect on the strength of the affiliation implemented by the *multiple nej*, is a question I do not feel comfortable answering here, how does one after all measure the strength of affiliation or agreement? For the cases where a large amount of *nej's* are being produced there does however seem to be a tendency among participants to produce an expansion which is clearly stating why they agree with the prior speakers negatively framed turn.

```
5   Kaj:        =Så den næste vej hen (.) Der drejer du
                =So the next road over (.) There turn you
                =Then the next road down (.) There you

6               li':  om (.) Ne' a' Mosevej.
                just about (.) Down of Moorroad.
                just turn (.) Down Moorroad.
```

Here, the *multiple nej* is produced in L4 as a response to Kaj's negatively framed utterance in L1-3, in this way displaying that Jens is aware of the fact that driving down Millfieldway in order to get to Kaj's house would be incorrect.

Extract (11) : TH/S2/119/Jens & Hans Petersen/Neg458

```
((From the opening of the call.))

1 Secretary:  De:t' Eltra=
              It's  Eltra=
              It's Eltra=

2 Jens:       =hh Ja:h [go'dag] de- Go'dag de:t' Jens
              =hh Ja   [hello ] it-  Hello it's  Jens
              =hh Ye:s [hello ] it-  Hello it's Jens

3 Sec :                     [(     )]
                            [(     )]
                            [(     )]

4 Jens:       Lindegård=Jeg har prøvet å' få  fat  i Hans P.=
              Lindegård=I have tried    to get hold of Hans P.=
              Lindegård=I've been trying to get hold of Hans P.=

5             =>Han har vel    [ikk'] skiftet nummer  ve[l ,< ]
              =>He has surely  [not ] changed number has[-he,<]
              =>Surely he hasn'[t ch]anged his number    [has he]<

6 Sec : →                      [°Jah°]              [N↑ej ]=
                               [°Ja° ]              [Nej  ]=
                               [°Yes°]              [N↑o  ]=

7             =Nej det har han da rigtignok ikk'
              =Nej that has he surely really not
              =No he definitely hasn't
```

Here the *multiple nej* is produced as a response to the displayed assumption by Jens in L5, that H.P. has not changed his telephone number. Subsequent to the production of the *multiple nej,* the secretary expands her response, further confirming that H.P. hasn't changed his number.

Extract (12) : TH/S2/10/Kaj & Jens/Neg181

```
((Jens has ordered some paint at the local ship yard, through Kaj. The paint
hasn't turned up yet but will presumably arrive on the next ferry. Kaj has to be
present when Jens comes to collect the paint.))

1   Jens:      M- men ring bare te' mig hvis du ta'r ned i
               B- but call just to me   if you take down in
               B- but just call me if you're going down there

2              eftermiddag. Jeg a' hjemme he:le
               afternoon.   I am  home    a:ll
               in the afternoon. I'll be home all

3              efter[mid]dagen.
               after[noo]n-the.
               after[noo]n.

4   Kaj:           [Jah]
                   [Ja ]
                   [Yes]

5   Kaj:       Me' je:g' li:' køre ve' for a' se om det
               But  I'll just drive by for to see if it
               But I'll just drive by to see if it's

6              a' me' for d- itt' me' så- fh a' det ikk'
               is with because it- not with then- fh is it not
               there because if it isn't- then fh it's not

7              nø'vendig du ko[mmer (          vel    )] Såeh
               necessary you c[ome  (        you-know )] Soeh
               necessary for y[ou to come     ( you know )] Soeh

8   Jens: →                   [Nej=nej. Nej=nej.  Fint nok]¹²⁴
                               [Nej=nej. Nej=nej.Fine enough]
```

---

[124] This case appears to be a combination of having two instances of *multiple nej* as well as a expansion/additional turn. However in this case the additional turn *Fint nok* is doing a very separate action to the *multiple nej's* in that it is accepting the information provided in the turn responded to, not explicating why the affiliating/agreeing *multiple nej* was produced in the first place as will be argued is otherwise the case for expansions after the production of a *multiple nej*.

[No=no.   No=no. That's fine]

And in this example (12), Jens responds to Kaj's negatively framed utterance in L6-7 with two sets of *multiple nej's* in L8, displaying his agreement with Kaj (that it would be unnecessary for him to come).

The various forms in which the *multiple nej* can occur are not directly consequential for the actions implemented by the production of such a response; that is, it should be clear that *multiple nej* is a fitted, preferred response to the immediate prior turn, and that such a response is doing more than mere acknowledgement, independently of whether the *multiple nej* consists of two, three or four productions of *nej*, and whether the *multiple nej* is followed by another *multiple nej* or another additional turn component.

This is evident from the empirical findings discussed above: first, that *multiple nej* is produced as a grammatically fitted response, mirroring the polarity of the turn responded to. Second, that *multiple nej* is commonly produced early, in overlap with or latched to the prior turn, as is generally the case for preferred actions in conversation. Most importantly however, the fact that *multiple nej* is used as a resolution when acknowledgement has been treated as an inadequate response, and that participants orient to *multiple nej* as an adequate response in these contexts is clear evidence that *multiple nej* in any form is an affiliative response, agreeing with or accepting the immediate prior turn.

As will be argued in the following, whether or not a *multiple nej* is followed by the production of an additional turn by the same speaker is dependent on the type of sequence in which *multiple nej* is produced, what type of turn the *multiple nej* is a response to, as well as what type of affiliative action is implemented by the production of *multiple nej*.

To investigate this, I will firstly examine cases in which *multiple nej* is followed by an additional turn component, as these cases more explicitly show non-native speakers of Danish that the participants do orient to the production of *multiple nej* not only as a highly *affiliative* response, but as a response which marks the *obviousness* of the immediate prior turn.

It will be argued, that this marking is done solely through the production of the *multiple nej*, and that the additional component or expansion merely serves to explicate, account or consolidate the obviousness of the prior turn. It will then be shown that in the cases in which *multiple nej* is not followed by an additional turn component, the

participants are orienting to the type of sequence in which the *multiple nej* is produced.

4.4 Agreeing with the obvious: The interactional consequences of multiple nej
As discussed in the previous sections, *multiple nej* is a fitted, negative response to a negatively framed utterance, affiliating with the prior speaker's turn. In this sense, *multiple nej* appears to be no different from other perhaps more elaborate negatively framed responses to negatively framed utterances. Thus far, the occurrence of *multiple nej* then merely supports the claims made in chapters 2 and 3, that is that overwhelmingly the polarity of a response will be fitted to the polarity of the turn responded to, and that affiliative or agreeing actions take the format of consisting of more than a single *nej*.

However, *multiple nej* is not only produced as an affiliation or agreement with the immediate prior turn and speaker; it is doing a particular type of affiliation or agreement that does not appear to be obtainable through any other type of construction. As was demonstrated in the section above, *multiple nej* can implement actions such as agreement and acceptance; these actions are however merely carried by the negative framing of the *multiple nej*, the mirroring of polarity, as well as the fact that *multiple nej* is a more elaborate response than a free-standing *nej*.

What distinguishes *multiple nej* from other affiliative responses is that its production not only shows agreement with or acceptance of the turn responded to, but that it marks this turn as being *easily* agreed with or accepted by having stated something so obvious it almost need not have been said.
This *of courseness* conveyed by *multiple nej* is particularly evident in the cases where the same speaker continues/adds another component after the production of *multiple nej*, as in these cases the speaker will often explicate this *of courseness* or *obviousness*.

Independently of whether the *multiple nej* is affiliating through showing for instance agreement or acceptance, the expansions themselves can take various forms; but they all clearly orient to the content of the negative statement in the prior turn as being specifically unproblematic. The expansions can take the form of generalisations, as in (13) and (14), repeats of the prior speakers turn as in (15), (16) and (17) or as counters orienting to the implications made by the prior, negatively framed turn, as in extracts (18), (19) and (20), below.

4.4.1 Explicating the of courseness of a multiple nej *response through generalisations*

A generalisation produced following a *multiple nej* response is one way in which the respondent can specify why the turn responded to was so easily accepted or agreed with. By producing a generalisation in this position, the speaker underlines the obviousness of the prior turn, as something which is generalised, or common knowledge, if not to all then at least to the participants in the interaction.

The generalisation can subsequently be followed by more elaborate talk, further explicating why the prior, negatively framed turn was agreed with, as in (13); but just as often occurs on it's own as in (14)

Extract (13) : TH/S2/17/Carlsen-Kipp & Jens/Neg229

```
((Arranging a meeting. Jens has initially turned down the date suggested by C-K,
who is now orienting to his calendar in order to find another date. C-K's
contributions in L1 and L4 are orienting to this activity and are not necessarily
designed for any response from Jens))


1  C-K:      °Fredag måske°
             °Friday maybe°
             °Friday maybe°


2   Jens:    .eHh Ve' du hva' jeg prøver li': å' finde ud a' me'
             .eHh Know you what I try just and find out of with
             .eHh You know what I'll just try to find out with


3            Mart[in hva' hva' han si'r]
             Mart[in what what he says ]
             Mart[in what what he says ]


4  C-K:         [(ikk')  i k k e   lør]dag=
                [(not )    n o t  Satu]rday=
                [(not )    n o t  Satu]rday=


5  Jens: →  Nej=nej=nej=nej=nej=nej=Det' ikk' godt i weekenden.
           Nej=nej=nej=nej=nej=nej=It's not good in weekend-the.
           No=no=no=no=no=no=It's not good in the weekend.


6            Det ska' hels[t være en h]verdag .hh Jahmen
             It shall pref[erably be a] weekday .hh Yesbut
             It should pre[ferably be ]a weekday .hh Yes but


7  C-K:                   [ s å : e h ]
```

```
                        [ s o : e h ]
                        [ s o : e h ]

8  Jens:     det' ås' Rent færge mæssigt der' det bedst for
             that's also Purely ferry wise there's it best for
             that's Regarding the ferry as well there it's best

9            os a' det' midt i ugen Der' ikk' så
             us that it's middle in week There's not so
             for us that it's in the middle of the week There

10           hård    bela[stning p]å
             hard    weig[th    o]n
             it's not so h[eavily l]aden
```

The negative statement made by C-K in L4 is a potential rejection of a day, Saturday, for a meeting between Jens and C-K. However, this day has not been suggested by neither Jens nor C-K and as such L4 also works as a pre-emptive strike against the possibility that Jens might suggest Saturday as a day for their meeting.

By responding to this with a *multiple nej* Jens not only accepts C-K's inability to meet on a Saturday, but marks this as *obvious*, meeting on a Saturday as unthinkable or inappropriate, in further agreement with C-K. This sense of being in *obvious agreement* is further underlined by the continuation, where Jens first generalises weekends and thus any Saturday as being an inappropriate date for a meeting, explicitly stating that only weekdays are possibilities. By widening the definition of days that are unsuitable to weekends, rather than only Saturdays, Jens in this way upgrades his agreement.

In this case, Jens furthermore displays that for him this is not just a token agreement, by specifying the problems he would have with meeting on a weekend in L8-10.[125] The latter turn is particular to this extract, but even when only a generalisation is produced, as in (14) it is evident that this is done to emphasise the *obviousness* of the prior turn.

---

[125] This latter turn is not part of the generalisation, but is closer to what is termed "counters", discussed below, where speakers not only emphasise the obviousness of the turn responded to, but attempt to resolve potential implications made through this turn, in this case that Jens perhaps had expected C-K to be able to meet on a Saturday.

Extract (14) : TH/S2/72/Jette H & Fie/Neg444

```
((Jette is trying to find staff to cover some shifts at a local museum, because of
illness. Fie has rejected to cover, but has attempted to suggest other solutions,
one of these being Kaj, a retired volunteer. Jette agrees that he will probably be
available.))

1  Jette:     )]           [Det tror    j'ås']=Det tror jeg
               )]           [That think I also]=That think I
               )]           [I think so    too ]=I think so

2             ås' (al['så   Vi)  har] bare ikk' ku'    ku' få
              also(yo[o-know We) have] just not could could get
              too (yo[u know We) just] haven't been been able to

3  Fie:              [O   g   e   h   h h]
                      [A   n   d   e   h h]
                      [A   n   d   e   h h]

4  Jette:    fat på  h[am ]
             hold on h[im ]
             get   hold[ of] him

5  Fie: →           [Nej]=nej men det' jo Det' jo det der sker
                    [Nej]=nej but that's That's that that happen
                    [No ]=no but surely  That's what happens

6             (.)
              (.)
              (.)
```

Here, the *multiple nej* produced by Fie in L5 accepts as *obvious* and
unproblematic, the fact that Jette has been unable to reach Kaj to check
whether he can cover some shifts. The continuation of her response
produced after the *multiple nej* further strengthens this understanding;
the generalisation explicitly stating that Jette's inability to get hold of Kaj
is just 'one of those things', something which is pardonable in that it can
happen to anyone. This notion of something being general knowledge (or
at least mutual knowledge for the participants) is further underscored
through Fie's use of the marker *jo*, a marker that is inclusive rather than
contrasting and thus marks that what is being talked about is common
knowledge.

The two extracts above in this way show how participants themselves
orient to the production of *multiple nej* as doing not only something more
than mere acknowledgement, but more than simple agreement or

acceptance. By producing a generalisation after the *multiple nej* response, the speaker clearly orients to this response as in addition marking the *of courseness* or *obviousness* of the prior turn, that is as something which is so easily agreed to or accepted that it need perhaps not to have been stated in the first place.

This move is particularly relevant because of the negative framing of the prior turn: by producing a negatively framed turn, 'not x', the speaker is marking it's positive opposite, 'x', as being possibly relevant.[126]

In extract (13) for instance, by rejecting Saturday as a possible day for a meeting, without this day having been suggested by any of the participants, C-K orients to the possibility that Saturday might in fact be considered part of the category of days when a meeting might be held, countering this possibility by rejecting it before it gets to be suggested.

Thus, through producing these negatively framed utterances the speakers make relevant a next action which would orient to their inability to 'do x', their lack of knowledge of 'x' etc, for instance an account.

By agreeing, affiliating or accepting these negatively framed utterances, furthermore marking these as stating something obvious, the producer of a *multiple nej* response is in addition implying a protest against the possible relevance of the positively framed implication in these utterances, displaying that a next relevant action, for instance an account, is unnecessary.

Thus, the *multiple nej* response in extract (13) is not only accepting that C-K cannot meet on a Saturday, but is *protesting* against the possibility of having Saturday in the category of days in which to have a meeting, making it unnecessary for C-K to explain why he cannot meet on a Saturday.

Though the action of protesting in itself may be associated with dispreference and disagreement, in this context it is a highly affiliative move, aligning the speakers not only as being in agreement with each other, but as having *retrospectively* been aligned or in agreement even before the negatively framed utterance and the *multiple nej* response was produced.

Producing a generalisation in this context, then further supports this highly affiliative move, by elaborating on why the responding speaker was in total agreement with the prior turn as well as in disagreement with the possible relevancies implicated by this turn.

---

[126] See Schegloff (1995) for a discussion of negative observations as a similar aspect of negatively framed utterances.

This makes the *multiple nej* into a double-barrelled tool, responding to both actions embodied by the prior turn, and responding to both in a preferred way. This is done through one single turn, the *multiple nej*, thus showing no priority to any of these actions.

The turn component produced after the *multiple nej* can however give priority to either of the actions embodied by the prior turn. Generalisations for instance clearly orient to the negatively framed turn by displaying further affiliation with this turn, supporting the effect of the *multiple nej* at the same time.

A rather different orientation however can be found where the component produced after the *multiple nej* is a close imitation or repeat of the turn responded to; or where the second turn component is produced as a 'counter'. In both cases the expansion is orienting to the *possible implications* made by the prior negatively framed turn, explicating the protest that was initially implemented through the production of the *multiple nej*.

4.4.2 Explicating the of courseness of a multiple nej *response through 'anaphoric repetitions'*

Anaphoric repetitions as a second turn component after the production of a *multiple nej* response are components in which the negatively framed turn responded to is repeated, most often with a pronoun replacing parts of the prior negatively framed turn, specifically the part which was negated. In addition, a contrastive or emphatic lexical item such as 'either', 'definitely' or 'at all' is used in the repetition. It is in particular this emphatic item which marks the component as orienting to the possible implications made by the prior negatively framed turn.

Thus, through his negatively framed turn in L5-6, extract (15), Peter makes explicit the possibility that Jens's daughter will be injured from working too hard, while at the same time stating that this shouldn't happen. Responding with a *multiple nej* not only agrees strongly with the latter, but makes it possible for Jens to protest[127] against the former possibility.

The second turn component is in this case explicitly orienting to the implications made by Peter and is in essence rejecting them through the

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[127] The sense of protest is perhaps here particularly salient because of the early placement of the *multiple nej*, in overlap with Peter's negatively framed utterance. In addition, the numbers of *nej* produced as a *multiple nej* is here four, further emphasising the aspect of protest.

contrastive element *heller* 'either', as well as the repetition of the continuation, not once, but twice.

Extract (15): TH/S2/69/Peter & Jens/Neg428

```
((About Jens's daughter who's helping him rebuilding his work-shop.))

1   Jens:     Jah jeg har datteren hjemme I øjeblikket
              Ja  I have daugther-the home in moment-the
              Yes I've got the daugther home at the moment

2             [ å' ] hun knok[ler så å]s' rime- rimeli'
              [and ] she work[s then a]lso fair- fairly
              [and ] she work[s      a]lso fair- fairly

3   Peter:    [Nåh,]           [(        )]
              [Oh, ]           [(        )]
              [Oh, ]           [(        )]

4   Jens:     godt ikk' men .hhh  [*men* ]
              good not but  .hhh  [*but* ]
              hard right but .hhh [*but* ]

5   Peter:                         [Ja. Nu] må hun jo ikk'
                                   [Ja .No]w may she y-k not
                                   [Yes. N]ow she shouldn't

6             få de samme skader som   [f a r e n .]
              get the same injuries as [father-the.]
              be getting the same injur[ies as the ]dad.

7   Jens: →                           [N e j=n e j ]=nej=nej det
                                       [N e j=n e j ]=nej=nej that
                                       [N o  =n o   ]=no=no she

8             gør hun h'ikk' det gør hun heller ikk'.
              does she not that does she neither not.
              doesn't do that either she doesn't do that either.

9             [Det    gø]r hun heller ikk'.=Hun får
              [That  doe]s she neither not.=She gets
              [She doesn]'t do that either.=She gets

10  Peter:    [°*Nå::h*°]
              [°*O:::h*° ]
              [°*O:::h*° ]
```

```
11  Jens:     så mange andre fordi hun knokler
                so many others because she works
                so many others because she works

12            rigeligt i forvejen men.
                enough   to-begin-with but.
                plenty enough anyway but.
```

Here, the protest against the possibilities made relevant by Peter in L5-6, is implemented through Jens's production of a *multiple nej* in L7 and backed up or emphasised through his second turn component, where it is stated that this (i.e. that his daughter will be injured) will not be the outcome. The second turn component is a positively framed repeat of Peter's utterance in L5-6, replacing *få de samme skader som faren* 'get the same injuries as her dad' with the anaphoric pronoun *det* 'that' or 'it'. The same pattern occurs in extract (16) and (17) below, where a component produced after the *multiple nej* is again done as a repeat of the prior turn and thus orients explicitly to the implications being made there.

Extract (16): TH/S2/119/Jens & Hans Petersen/Neg458

```
((From the opening of the call.))

1 Secretary:  De:t' Eltra=
                It's  Eltra=
                It's Eltra=

2 Jens:       =hh Ja:h [go'dag] de- Go'dag de:t' Jens
                =hh Ja   [hello ] it-  Hello it's  Jens
                =hh Ye:s [hello ] it-  Hello it's Jens

3 Sec :                 [(     )]
                        [(     )]
                        [(     )]

4 Jens:       Lindegård=Jeg har prøvet å' få  fat  i Hans P.=
                Lindegård=I have tried    to get hold of Hans P.=
                Lindegård=I've been trying to get hold of Hans P.=

5             =>Han har vel     [ikk'] skiftet nummer  ve[l ,< ]
                =>He has surely  [not ] changed number has[-he,<]
                =>Surely he hasn'[t ch]anged his number   [has he]

6 Sec : →                       [°Jah°]                  [N↑ej ]=
                                [°Ja° ]                  [Nej  ]=
```

```
                        [°Yes°]                    [N↑o   ]=
```

```
7              =Nej det har han da rigtignok ikk'
               =Nej that has he surely really not
               =No he definitely hasn't
```

Jens's negatively framed question in L5, is displaying the assumption that Hans Petersen hasn't changed his phone number, and is therefore designed for a negatively framed response as the agreeing or confirming response. However, the fact that he has to pose this question in the first place implies the possibility that Hans Petersen has indeed changed his number. This implication is strengthened by the positioning of the question as an additional unit after stating that he has been trying and presumably failed to get hold of H.P..

The *multiple nej* response again orients to both these aspects, confirming that Jens was correct in assuming that H.P has not changed his number, while at the same time protesting against the possible implication that H.P. might have done so. In the second turn component, after the *multiple nej*, the responding speaker, the secretary, again replaces part of the turn responded to, *skifte nummer* 'changed his number' with the anaphoric pronoun *det* and strongly rejects the implication that H.P. has changed his number by adding the emphatic *rigtig nok* 'definitely' to the repeat.

Extract (17): TH/S2/16/Fie & Færgen/Neg222

```
((Fie, the manager of a ferry company has called the captain to make a booking for
a friend. The captain, Ib, was in the process of writing a list of complaints
about the booking system when she called and has relayed the complaints to Fie
over the phone.))
```

```
1  Ib:         Du har ikk' no'e å': klage overhh
               You have not something to: complain overhh
               You've got nothing to complain abouthh
```

```
2              (.)
               (.)
               (.)
```

```
3  Fie:        [Ikk' endnu]
               [Not  yet  ]
               [Not   yet ]
```

```
4  Ib:         [Te' mig al]'så
```

```
                    [To me you-]know
                    [To me that] is

5   Fie: →         Nej=nej. Nej jeg ve' slet ikk' klage
                    Nej=nej. Nej I   will at-all not complain
                    No=no.   No  I don't want to complain at all
```

In (17) the *multiple nej* and the second turn component that follows is the second response to Ib's negatively framed question, the first response in L3 being a teasing reply.

The *multiple nej* response on the other hand agrees with Ib's displayed assumption that Fie hasn't got anything to complain about and as such is a serious reply. In addition, it orients to the implication made by Ib in L1 that Fie *will* complain, dismissing the opportunity for Fie to do so, an opportunity made relevant by Ib's implication.

The second turn component, as in extract (15) and (16), again orients to the implication made by the prior turn, by rejecting this emphatically, this time through the use of *slet ikk'* 'at all'.[128]

Thus, anaphoric repetitions produced as a turn component following a *multiple nej* response display the speaker's orientation to the implications made in the prior negatively framed turn: whereas the *multiple nej* in itself aligns with the prior turn and protest against the implications of that turn, expanding the response through an anaphoric repetition emphasises *only* the protesting features of *multiple nej*.

4.4.3 Explicating the of courseness of a multiple nej response through 'counters'

Another way in which speakers can display their orientation to the implications of the negatively framed turn as being the most salient action embodied by that turn, is through producing a 'counter' in the second turn component after the *multiple nej* response.

'Counters' as ways of underlining the *multiple nej* as marking the *obviousness* of the prior turn appear in particular in contexts where the negatively framed turn responded to is potentially threatening to the participants. In such cases the additional component following the

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[128] In this case, the negated object, klage/complain is not replaced by an anaphorical pronoun. This might be due to the fact that this is the second response to basically the same turn, and that an anaphorical pronoun would be too far away from the item it replaces. In any case, this divergence does not change the fact that the repetitive expansion is orienting to the implication, not the negatively framed turn as such.

multiple nej counters the potential implications made by the prior negatively framed turn.

For instance, in extract (18), by explicitly stating that he hadn't forgotten to call Jens, Martin is potentially implying that Jens might have thought otherwise.

Extract (18) : TH/S2/28/Martin & Jens/Neg258

```
((Jens has called Martin to arrange a meeting. Martin, being in the middle of
cooking his dinner has promised to call Jens back later and after a lapse in time
does so.))

1   Jens:          nJa:h Det' Jens=
                   Ja It's Jens=
                   Yes  It's  Jens=

2   Martin:        =Hej Jens det' Martin
                   =Hi  Jens it's Martin
                   =Hi  Jens it's Martin

3   Jens:          Go'dag Martin=
                   Good-day Martin=
                   Hello Martin=

4   Martin:        =Jeg ha'de ikk' glemt   dig
                   =I   had   not  forgotten you(s)
                   =I hadn't forgotten you

5   Jens: →        .hHh NE:jh=nej=nej=nej Det tænkte jeg heller ikk'
                   .hHh Nej=nej=nej=nej That thought I  neither not
                   .hHh NO:h=no=no=no, I didn't think so either

6   Martin:        Nej=nej [(Nej)]
                   Nej=nej [(Nej)]
                   No=no   [(No )]

7   Jens:          [.hh D]u    holder jo    ferie
                   [.hh Y]ou(s) hold surely vacation
                   [.hh Y]ou're on vacation, right?
```

By responding with a *multiple nej* in this context, Jens not only accepts the information provided by Martin, but marks this as obvious information, the opposite of which, though implied by Martin's turn, would never have occurred to Jens. The second turn component, by explicitly orienting to the potential implication further strengthens this claim made by the

multiple nej; after all if Jens didn't think that Martin had forgotten, this information is obvious and so unnecessary. That Jens's turn component is produced directly in orientation to the implication that he might have thought that Martin had forgot to call is displayed through the production of *heller* 'either', a contrasting element which specifically points out that Jens's response is rejecting this implication.

In this case, countering the implications made by the turn responded to is done explicitly, by Jens stating that he didn't think that Martin had forgotten. Such explicitness is fairly uncommon in these contexts;[129] but even when the counters are much more delicately designed, there is no doubt that these second turn components are produced so as to further reduce any potential conflict otherwise implied by the negatively framed turn responded to.

Thus, in extract (19), though it is not explicitly stated that AnneMie does not expect Jens to commit himself for every Thursday of the summer, her second turn component after the *multiple nej* nevertheless orients to resolving any problematic issues, by explicitly defining his negatively framed utterance as not embodying a rejection.

Extract (19): TH/S2/5/AnneMie & Jens/Neg145

```
((Jens has previously accepted helping out in an internet cafe which is to be set
up during the holiday season, from July till September. AnneMie has stated that
she has staff for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday and that they will
advertise the opening days as Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday. Jens clearly
understands this as implying that he works all the Thursday shifts and produces
L1-3 in orientation to this.))

1 Jens:      [.glhh Al'så jeg  ka' i-] Jeg ka'
             [.glhh You-know I can i-] I  can
             [.glhh You know I can i-] I can't

2            j'  ikk'    nødvendigvis si': jeg ka' hver evig
             you-know-not necessarily say   I can every eternal
             you know necessarily say that I can do it every

3            eneste torsdag  men [al'så   j]eg har  ik[k' n]oget
             single Thursday but [you-know ] I have no[t  s]ome
             single Thursday but [you know ] I haven't[ got]

4 Mie: →                             [ Nej=nej ]          [men ]
```

---

[129] This is perhaps the reason why Martin responds to the counter with a *multiple nej*, thus marking the information that Jens didn't think he had forgotten as, once again, obvious information, implying that Martin didn't actually think that Jens thought that Martin had forgotten.

```
                                [ Nej=nej ]              [but ]
                                [ No=no    ]             [but ]

5  Jens:    på nogen torsdage [endnu.]
            on   some Thursday [  yet.]
            anything on any Th[ursday]s yet

6  Mie:                    [Nejmen] al'så   det   det   det
                           [Nejbut] you-know that that that
                           [Nobut ] you know it's it's it's

7           handler      jo  kkun [  om ] juli måned.
            is-about you-know only [about] july month.
            only you know going to [ be i]n july.
```

Jens's negatively framed utterance in L1-3 is a potential rejection, stating that he cannot commit himself to covering every Thursday shift through the summer, implying that this is what he thinks AnneMie expects of him.

By responding with a *multiple nej* in L4, AnneMie treats Jens's turn as not being a rejection, even potentially, by marking his response as being obvious, exactly what she expected. Her second turn component in L6-7 seeks to emphasise what her expectations were, by countering the implication of Jens's prior turn: she only expected Jens to be able to plan for a month ahead, so his inability to plan for the whole summer was expected, obvious and wholly unproblematic.

Another way in which a second turn component following a *multiple nej* can orient to and counter any possibly implications of the negatively framed utterance can be seen in (20), below.

Extract (20) : TH/S2/17/Carlsen-Kipp & Jens/Neg227

```
((Finding a date for a meeting. Jens has rejected the date(s) suggested by C-K.))

1  C-K:     Eh:mm Å' ellers Al'så a' ha' itt' no'et
            Eh:mm And otherwise You-know I have not some
            Eh:mm And otherwise You know I don't have any

2           alternativ li': nu ihvertfa[ld ]
            alternative right now in-an[y-c]ase
            alternative at the moment a[ny ]way

3  Jens: →                            [Nej]=nej=Ve' du hva'
                                      [Nej]=nej=Know you what
                                      [No ]=no=You know what
```

```
4          jeg prøver li': å' se om hva' hva': jeg ka'
           I    try  just and see if what what I can
           I'll just try and see what wha:t I can

5          arrangere
           arrange
           arrange
```

C-K's negatively framed turn is potentially self-deprecating, in the sense that by stating that he has no alternative dates, he marks this as something which would be otherwise potentially relevant or expected. The *multiple nej* response readily accepts this as unproblematic, countering the potential problem of C-K not providing an alternative date and as such is highly affiliative. The *multiple nej* in this way not only accepts that C-K has no alternative date, but marks this as being something which was not expected of C-K in the first place. This is further strengthened by Jens's expansion in L3-5 in which he treats finding a date as his own problem, countering the implication that C-K would be responsible for this.

Orienting to a possible implication made by the negatively framed utterance is perhaps particularly relevant when the utterance observes something which the speaker hasn't got, hasn't done or is not going to do - that is when the speaker is making a negative observation about him- or herself. By doing so, the speaker points out an action or a feature they fail to do or possess, something which might otherwise have been expected by the other speaker, and as such the negatively framed utterance is potentially self-deprecating.

In such cases it is perhaps not enough merely to accept or agree with the negatively framed utterance, as this would entail that the responding speaker also agrees or accepts the implication of some possible failure on the part of the prior speaker.

The *multiple nej* in contrast does not merely accept or agree with the immediate prior turn, but marks the *of courseness* of this turn, indicating that this was exactly what was expected and thus, that no fault has been found and no failure committed.

By further producing a 'counter' to the potential implications made by the other speaker, the respondent manages to re-define the sequence as a whole as being unproblematic.

For instance, in extract (18), Martin's negatively framed turn orients to the amount of time between his initially being called and when he calls back as being accountable and perhaps problematic. The counter produced by Jens however displays that Jens had not started thinking of reasons why Martin had not called back, and as such shows that Jens found the time between the calls to be unproblematic.

Likewise, in extract (19), Jens's potential rejection is treated as being unproblematic through the production of the counter, as it is a rejection of something which AnneMie displays (through her *multiple nej* response) that she didn't request at all. In this way, the sequence as a whole is in effect redefined, with something that looked as or was leading into a dispreferred action retrospectively being treated as unnecessary and as such not implementing a 'real' dispreferred.

4.4.4 The variation in second turn components and its consequences

The three ways in which to produce a second turn component after a *multiple nej*, discussed here, display different features, orienting to separate actions implemented both by the turn responded to as well as the *multiple nej* itself: generalising turn components align with the negatively framed turn, elaborating why this turn was so easily agreed with or accepted, by marking the obviousness of the turn as being something general.

Anaphoric repetitions and 'counters', on the other hand, orient specifically to the implications made by the negatively framed turn. This orientation is however displayed very differently; anaphoric repetitions contrast directly with the implications made in the prior turn, protesting their relevancy, but does not explicate *why* the protest was made.

'Counters' on the other hand *display* the responding speaker's reasons for protesting against the possible implications made in the prior turn, by providing accounts for why the implication wasn't valid in the first place.

This difference between the three types of turn components is not incidental, but depends on the context in which *multiple nej* is a response. Thus the latter form, 'counters', only appears as a continuos response to negatively framed utterances which potentially implement dispreferred actions (in extracts (19) and (20) a rejection, in extract (18) an apology). By producing a 'counter' after the *multiple nej* the speaker in effect protests against the necessity of these dispreferred actions, by countering the basis for which these dispreferred actions were oriented to (In extract (18) for instance by protesting against the implication that Martin had

forgotten to call Jens cancels any necessity for Martin apologising for this and in extract (20) by taking on the responsibility for finding a date Jens counters the potential problem of C-K having no dates to suggest.). In this way the speaker overtly displays why the implications of the prior turn were protested against.

In contrast to this, the two former types of second turn components - generalisations and anaphoric repetitions - do not orient explicitly to why the *multiple nej* not only affiliates with the prior turn, but also protest against any implications made in that same turn.

For generalisations, this simply follows from the fact that this type of expansion orients to the affiliative nature of the *multiple nej*, not the protest against the implications of the prior turn.

Anaphoric repetitions, on the other hand, orient to and emphasise the protesting features of the *multiple nej*, and as such to the implications made by the prior turn, but do so by emphatically contrasting or disagreeing with these implications.

Interestingly, the latter type of expansion never occurs as a response to self-orientating negatively framed utterances. When considering anaphoric repetitions however, this is perhaps not so puzzling after all: the anaphoric repetitions explicitly repeat parts of the prior utterance to display disagreement with the implications made there. Though in general displaying disagreement with implications that are potentially self-deprecating is a preferred, affiliating action, doing this by repeating a negative observation about the other speaker is clearly not so, as is evident from this constructed example, where the negatively framed utterance produced by Jens in extract (19) is followed by an anaphoric repetition.

Extract (21) ((Constructed))

```
1   Jens:        Jeg ka' j'  ikk'    nødvendigvis si': jeg ka'
                 I   can     you-know-not necessarily say
                 I can't     you know necessarily say

2                hver evig eneste torsdag
                 I can every eternal single Thursday
                 that I can do it every single Thursday

3   AnneMie: →   Nej=nej det ka' du da ikk'
                 Nej=nej that can you surely not
```

No=no you surely can't

Though AnneMie's *multiple nej* response and her continuation appear to accept the information displayed by Jens's negatively framed turn, that form of acceptance carries a sense of irony. However more importantly the expansion does not orient to the implication that AnneMie might have expected Jens to be able to commit himself and consequently does nothing to dissolve the potential rejection carried by Jens's turn.[130]

In contrast to this, anaphoric repetition in its real environment, as shown above, is highly affiliative exactly by nature of contrasting or disagreeing with the implications made in the prior turn, by repeating this turn but with anaphoric reference and the use of contrastive lexical items.

The distributional difference between 'counters' and anaphoric repetitions as expansions after *multiple nej* clearly shows that speakers are capable of understanding exactly what is being done in the immediate prior turn and displays their understanding through the expansion.

Despite these type-specific differences, it is evident that as responses to negatively framed utterances, the cases above have in common the fact that they mark the information provided in the prior turn as being obvious, easily agreed with and accepted. The implementation of these affiliative actions in response to the prior turn is achieved while the speaker at the same time manages to convey a protest against the implications of that turn.

This double action is implemented solely through the production of the *multiple nej*, as should be evident from the fact that the various types of second turn components in each case orient only to one of the two actions responded to by the *multiple nej*. Thus in their expansion, speakers can either orient to the first aspect of *multiple nej* as a response, the strengthening of affiliation (done through generalisation), or to the second aspect - the protest against the possible implications (done through a 'counter' or an anaphoric repetition).

The character of *multiple nej* as a multi-action response will be explored further in the sections below, where cases of *multiple nej* followed by [*men* 'but']-constructions and *multiple nej* as constituting a response alone will be discussed, to further emphasise the fact that the *multiple nej* is oriented to by the participants as an affiliative response, implementing protest in its own right.

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[130] See extract (19) for how this turn is really responded to and how the actual response does in fact orient to and dissolve the potential rejection.

4.4.5 Turn components after multiple nej *not orienting to the prior turn*

That the *multiple nej* on its own implements two responsive actions is particularly evident when the additional component following the *multiple nej* is not a continuation of the response.

For instance in extract (22) Bente first agrees with Jens (that he is not the kind of person who would ask for money he was owed) by producing a *multiple nej*, subsequently treating this as being irrelevant as to whether he should get the money anyway.

Extract (22) : TH/S2/52/Bente & Jens/Neg364

```
((Bente works for the local business office, for which Jens occasionally does
project work funded by various organisations. The funding money not used has to be
returned but before doing this Bente has called to check whether Jens is owed any
salary))

1   Bente:     Men det ville ås' være frygteligt hvis
               But it would also be   terrible     if
               But it would also be terrible if


2              det var ateh a' jeg bare ikk' ringed' te'
               it was thateh that I just not called to
               it was thateh that I just hadn't called


3              dig å' å' vi så bagefter kom te' å' Gud
               you and and we then afterwards came to and God
               you and then afterwards we would Oh my God


4              jahm'  der   [var faktisk  (          )]
               ja but there [was actually (          )]
               yesbut there [was actually (          )]


5   Jens:                   [>.hh< Ej  det ville jeg nu] aldri'
                            [>.hh< Nej that would I now]  never
                            [>.hh< No   that I would    ] never


6              ha'- det ville jeg nu aldri'.=Så'n a' jeg
               hav- that would I now never.=Like-this am I
               hav- I would never have.=That's not how I


7              jo ikk' jo.
               surely not you-know.
               am you know.


8   Bente: →  N[ej=nej   men   du  ska'  da   ha'   løn] for det
```

```
            N[ej=nej but you shall surely have salary] for that
            N[o=no   but surely you should get   paid] for what

9   Jens:     [(Det ville  jeg ikk' ha' sagt no'et om.]
              [(That would  I not have said some about]
              [(I would   never have said anything abou]t that.

10  Bente:    du lave[r al's]å.
              you   d[o you-]know.
              you  do[ you  ]know.

11  Jens:           [ .hh  ]
                    [ .hh  ]
                    [ .hh  ]
```

Notice that in this case the negatively framed utterance produced by Jens is not potentially self-deprecating, but is rather claiming something positive or good about himself, that is that he is not the kind of person who would insist on being paid in a situation where the business had no funds.[131] Consequently, it is not necessary for Bente to orient to this aspect of the negative utterance, for instance by producing a 'counter'.

Therefore, in this context the *multiple nej* response is enough in itself to mark the negatively framed turn as stating something obvious, at the same time protesting against the implications made by it; that Jens would be the kind of person who would insist on getting what he's owed.

In contrast to the various types discussed above, the second component in L8-10, the material produced after the *multiple nej* here displays, through the use of *men* 'but', that independently of whether the negatively framed statement is in fact treated as true, and agreed with by Bente, Jens ought to get his money anyway.

Thus, her second turn component is not directly orienting to any of the actions embodied by the negatively framed utterance and responded to with the *multiple nej*, but is returning to the issue of whether or not Jens is owed money.

Extract (22) in this way demonstrates that the *multiple nej* can indeed work as a response by itself, displaying both affiliation with the prior negatively framed turn as well as protesting against any implications made

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[131] This situation will arise if Jens does not here state that he is owed money. Thus, Bente has explicitly stated that the reason for her call is that she is doing the accounts for a funding agency and when this is finished, the money left over from the funding agency has to be returned. Thus, the buisness will not have money left to pay Jens should he at a later point realise that he was in fact owed money.

by this same turn. Second turn components of the [*men*]-construction type do not display any orientation to the prior negatively framed turn, in contrast to the components discussed in the previous section. When the [*men*]-construction follow a *multiple nej* the prior negatively framed turn is nevertheless responded to in a highly affiliative manner, the implications of the prior turn simultaneously being protested against.

It seems then that the speaker producing the *multiple nej* has the *option*, but not the *obligation* to produce a second turn component that emphasises one of the two actions embodied by the *multiple nej*.

The existence of turn components such as the [men]-construction in extract (22), where neither of these actions are oriented to is in itself a strong indication that the *multiple nej* in and by itself implements both the action of affiliating with the prior turn as well as the protest against the implications of that turn.

This is further and finally supported by the fact that *multiple nej* can be produced quite unproblematic as a response on its own, with no additional turn component. When this is the case, it can be argued that speakers producing the *multiple nej* are orienting to other sequential relevancies in the interaction, that is, that they display their understanding of there being no place for a second turn component to be produced.

4.4.6 Multiple nej *as an affiliative response on its own*
When a speaker projects more talk to come, the *multiple nej* response is not followed by a second turn component of any type. The projection of more talk can be due to a turn being syntactically, intonationally and pragmatically incomplete, it can be an effect of a turn being pragmatically as well as intonationally incomplete, or it can be because an ongoing activity is as yet incomplete.

Thus, a *multiple nej* can be positioned as a response to a grammatically incomplete turn (as in (23)), a grammatical complete turn projecting more talk through pragmatic and phonetic features (as in (24)), or to a turn within a larger activity (as in 25)).

In all these cases a *multiple nej* is produced as a response on its own, in orientation to the sequential position in which it occurs, at a point at which more talk has been projected by the prior speaker.

Extract (23) : TH/S2/49/Fie & Ester IV/Neg345

```
((About Fie's daughter and son-in-law's schedule. Ester has been asking about when
the son-in-law arrives and leaves, when the daughter is working and whether the
two of them will have any time to spend with each other at all. Throughout this
sequence Fie has appeared to resist providing this information.))

1   Fie:          Å' jeg ved ikk' hvornår det er=Jeg ha- jeg
                  And I know not  when   it is =I ha-    I
                  And I don't know when that is=I ha-    I

2                 har ikk' rigtig .h[hh ]
                  have not really .h[hh ]
                  haven't really  .h[hh ]

3   Ester: →                       [Nej]=nej
                                    [Nej]=nej
                                    [No ]=no

4   Fie:          Check på deres tidsplan=
                  Check on there time-plan=
                  A grasp of their schedule=
```

Fie's negatively framed turn is clearly not complete at the end of L2, grammatically, pragmatically or intonationally.

This is not to say that Ester cannot predict what Fie is about to say, and as such, responding with a *multiple nej* in this context is not only highly affiliative because of the grammatical and interactional features of the *multiple nej*, but because of it's positioning as early as possible, as soon as the negative marker has been produced.

As such, the *multiple nej* is a friendly, supportive and affiliative overlap, forgiving Fie for not knowing about what her daughter and son-in-law have planned and protesting against any implications that Ester thinks Fie ought to have known.

This context then is similar to what was discussed above, the negatively framed utterance being of the type that would either have the *multiple nej* followed by a generalisation or a 'counter'.

However if a continuation had been added after the production of the *multiple nej*, this might have been taken as an attempt to gain the floor, thus overshadowing the affiliative move of producing a *multiple nej*.

By producing only a *multiple nej* here, Ester not only displays that this is an affiliative response in its own right, but that she is orienting to the fact that Fie is yet to complete her turn, by not producing an expansion of the

multiple nej. Furthermore, Fie's turn in L4 by being grammatically dependent on her own prior turn in L2, demonstrates that in this context the *multiple nej* was an adequate or sufficient response to her negatively framed turn, and that she does not expect Ester to add more.

This latter point emphasises that *multiple nej* is a response in its own right and that participants do not see this response as automatically projecting a second turn component.

This is perhaps even clearer in extract (24) where after the *multiple nej* response the speaker continues her turn with the addition of substantial material, the lack of speaker change clearly indicating that both speakers are orienting to the *multiple nej* as a perfectly adequate response in the context.

Extract (24) : TH/S2/140) Krista & Fie II/Neg596

```
((About the possibility that Fie will find a new holiday house after having had
some bad experience with the people she is at the moment co-owning a house with.))


1  Fie:     .hhhhh Så det ve' vi nok h al'så li': kigge på,=
            .hhhhh So that will we probably y-k ju:st look at,=
            .hhhhh So we'll probably you know consider that,=


2  Kri:     =Jah men (det [forstår  jeg godt)]
            =Ja  but (that[understand I well)]
            =Yes but (I ca[n understand that)]


3  Fie:                   [D e t '  ikk'  si]kkert a[t at  v]i
                          [ I t's   not   ce]rtain t[hat  we]
                           [ It's    not    ce]rtain t[hat  we]


4  Kri: →                                         [Nej=nej]
                                                  [Nej=nej]
                                                  [No=no  ]


5  Fie:     ka' [få ]noget te' vores pengepung someh .glskhhhh
            can [get] something to out wallet thateh .glskhhhh
            can [get] anything that we can afford thateh


6  Kri:        [nej]
               [nej]
               [no ]


7  Fie:     Al'så som som ka' restaureres inden for en
            You-know that that can restored-be inside of a
```

```
                 You know that that can be restored within a

8                rime- Du ved g- Al'så m- se'fø'li' ka'
                 fair- You know g- You-know m- of course can
                 reas- You know g- You know m- of course we can
```

Here, Fie has stated that she and her husband will look for a new holiday house, because they have had so many problems with the co-owner. In L2 Krista overtly demonstrates and displays her affiliation with Fie, by explicitly stating that she can well understand why looking for a new house is an (and perhaps the only) option for Fie.

Fie however only meant that looking for a new house was a possibility, and in L3 she begins to express this by marking the uncertainty as to whether they will in fact end up buying a new house, through her *Det' ikk' sikkert.* In this way, Fie's turn in L3 may be understood as marking that Krista's response in L2 was too strongly affiliating. To rectify this, Krista in response to this comes in early in L4, at a point at which Fie's turn in L3 is neither pragmatically nor intonationally complete. Krista's *multiple nej* in this way displays her to be affiliating with Fie and showing understanding as early as possible, in accepting the fact that Fie might not actually buy a new house.

Again, by producing her utterance all through the *multiple nej* and continuing to do so after this, Fie displays both that her utterances wasn't complete at the point at which the *multiple nej* was produced, and that she does not expect a second component of talk from Krista after the *multiple nej*.

Multiple nej as a response on its own terms does not however only occur in overlap with ongoing turns, or before a projected turn has been completed. When the participants are in the midst of a specific sequence, the speaker producing the *multiple nej* as a response can show his or her orientation to this on-going sequence by not producing a continuation after the *multiple nej*. This is the case in extract (25), where Kaj is giving directions to Jens.

Extract (25) : TH/S2/13/Kaj & Jens/Neg187

```
((Giving directions))

1  Kaj:        Du ve' godt e:h h- henne ve' møllen
               You know well e:h h- over by mill-the
               You do know e:h  h- over by the mill
```

```
2              ska' du ikk'- Du ska' ikk' køre ne' a'
               shall you not- You shall not drive down of
               you shouldn't- You shouldn't drive down

3              Møllemarksvejen.
               Mill-field-way-the.
               Millfieldway.

4   Jens: →    Nej=nej=
               Nej=nej
               No=no=

5   Kaj:       =Så den næste vej hen (.) Der drejer du
               =So the next road over (.) There turn you
               =Then the next road down (.) There you

6              li': om (.) Ne' a' Mosevej.
               just about (.) Down of Moorroad.
               just turn (.) Down Moorroad.
```

Kaj initially constructs his direction giving in L1 as being almost superfluous information, by including *du ved* 'you know', thus implying that the information about to be provided is already known to Jens.

This construction is however repaired and constructed as a negatively framed directive, directly instructing Jens in what not to do. This type of construction, particularly as a repaired replacement strongly implies that Kaj does in fact expect not only that the information was not known to Jens, but that had the information not been provided, Jens would in fact have turned down Millfieldroad.

By responding with a *multiple nej* in this context, Jens not only accepts the information provided by Kaj, but marks the obviousness of this information, protesting against the implications made.

Producing a second turn component after the *multiple nej* in this context, for instance by explicating why Jens wouldn't have done so in the first place, or why he knew not to do that, might be just as relevant for Jens here as in the other cases above where this is in fact done. However, a second turn component in this sequential position, where the participants are in the midst of giving and receiving directions, could have delayed or even interrupted the direction giving sequence. By not producing a second turn component, Jens orients to the ongoing

sequence as overriding any relevance for explicating or strengthening the interactional features of his *multiple nej* response.

The three extracts above show that it is not necessary for speakers to produce a second turn component after a *multiple nej* response; and that even when this is in fact not done, the interactional features of the *multiple nej* nevertheless displays strong affiliation with the prior turn, specifically by protesting against the implications made in that turn.

The participants in these cases clearly display that this understanding of the *multiple nej* response is not dependent on it being followed by a second turn component. Rather, such a component will only be produced in contexts where no other interactional or sequential relevance overrides that of supporting or strengthening the features of the *multiple nej*.

Taking into consideration the cases where various types of second turn component were produced, as discussed in the prior sections, the following pattern emerges: *multiple nej* can be followed by a second turn component, orienting either to the affiliation displayed by the *multiple nej*, or to the protesting features of the *multiple nej*, strengthening or supporting these features.

On the other hand, a second turn component that is not part of the responding action, but is instead orienting to another prior turn or aspect of the talk, as is done for instance through formatting a second turn component as a [men]-construction, may also be produced. In these cases neither the affiliating nor the protesting features of the *multiple nej* are supported.

This support is also 'lacking' when *multiple nej* is produced as a response on its own, in contexts where other interactional or sequential relevancies are present.

These variations shows, that for the participants, a *multiple nej* is an affiliative response in its own right, and that the production of a second turn component after the *multiple nej* is merely an *optional* resource through which speakers may support or strengthen the interactional consequences of their response. How and whether this is done depends on the context in which the *multiple nej* response is produced, in particular what type of action the negatively framed turn responded to is implementing. Thus, a second turn component is produced only when no sequential or interactional relevancies are present to override the potential for strengthening the interactional features of the *multiple nej* response.

All of this taken together demonstrates that for the participants producing a second turn component after the production of a *multiple nej* is an optional feature of the interaction and as such that *multiple nej* in its own right is an adequate, highly affiliating response to a negatively framed utterance, marking the obviousness of the prior turn as well as protesting against any implication made in this same turn.

In the following I will discuss how this latter feature of a *multiple nej* is oriented to also when this is used as a response to – or in the context of – positively framed utterances.

4.5 Multiple nej *in non-negative environments: further evidence*

The various interactional features of *multiple nej* described above can be used in non-negative contexts; that is *multiple nej* can be produced as a response to a *positively framed* utterance. When this is done, *multiple nej* generally follows the pattern of other negatively framed responses in seldom being a straightforward response of disagreement proper. And, as with other negatively framed responses, even as a response to positively framed utterances *multiple nej* is frequently a preferred, or highly affiliative response, occurring for instance as a preferred disconfirmation as in extract (26) or as a 'friendly', preferred disagreement, as in extract (27).

Extract (26) : TH/S2/30/Ester & Fie/Neg287

```
((Ester has requested to speak to Mathias, Fie's son.))

1   Fie:         Jeg henter ham li' Ester,
                 I collect him just Ester,
                 I'll just get him Ester,

2   Ester:       Er han langt væk¿
                 Is he  long away¿
                 Is he far away¿

3   Fie: →       ↑Nej=nej han a' u[d e   ] på sit værel[se]
                 Nej=nej he is  o[u t   ] on his    ro[om]
                 ↑No=no   he is  [  in  ]   his     ro[om]

4   Ester:                        [  Nåh.]             [ O]kay.
                                  [Right.]             [ O]kay.
                                  [Right.]             [ O]kay.

5   Fie:         Jerh. .tch Et øjeblik.
```

```
            Ja.  .tch One moment.
            Yeah. .tch One moment.
```

Though disconfirming a positively framed utterance, Fie's *multiple nej* (L3) provides Ester access to Mathias, and so is clearly the preferred response.[132] The *multiple nej* in this case orients to the implication that Mathias will be far away, disclaiming this and assuring Ester that it is easy to get Mathias, thereby further implementing an affiliative move.

Likewise, in extract (27), though the *multiple nej*'s are part of a correction or disagreement, this is done as a highly co-operative move protesting against Jens's potential deprecation of his own son, by providing information about how the latter does in fact answer questions about Jens's whereabouts when answering the phone.

Extract (27): TH/S2/5/AnneMie & Jens/Neg169

```
((Jens and AnneMie are trying to arrange a later call. Jens points out that his
children never knows where he is, so it's no help having AnneMie call and ask for
him.))

1  Jens:   jeg a' henne, Jeg har sagt te' knægten a' han
           I am    at ,  I have said  to  boy-the that he
           I'm at, I have told the boy that for Gods sake he

2          må for Guds skyld ikk' si': te' nogen hvis
           must for Gods sake not say: to someone if
           can't tell anybody if

3          specielt ikk' hvis det' piger der ringer .hh A'
           specially not if it's girls that calls   .hh That
           especially not if it's girls calling .hh That

4          jeg' på arbejde. Det ku' jo være (.)
           I'm at   work.   It could you-know be (.)
           I'm at work.    You know it could be  (.)the

5          arbejdsløshedskassen       jo   ghhehheh[ hehe- -]
           unemployment-insurers-the y-k   ghhehheh[hehe- -]
           unemployment insurers you know  ghhehheh[ hehe- -]

6 Mie:                                      [Nårhjah.]
                                            [Oh ja.  ]
```

---

[132] It may even be that lexical items such as *langt væk* 'far away' conveys this preference for a negatively framed response as well, in a similar fashion to what was discussed in chapter 2, section 2.2.4 for items such as *da* 'then' and *for meget* 'too much'.

```
                                                     [Ohyes.   ]

7 Jens:      - - - [- - - - - .hhh ikk'. Hvor' ] din far. Han
             - - - [- - - - - .hhh not. Where's]your father. He
             - - -  [- - - - - .hhh right.Where']s your father.


8  Mie:            [Nårhja   for   fanden Jaja]
                   [Oh ja for devil-the   Jaja]
                   [Ohyes goddamnit   Yesyes  ]


9  Jens:    a' taget på arbejde. n[NÅhh! Hehe  - - - ]
            is gone  to  work .  o[Ohhh! Hehe  - - - ]
            He's gone to work.   O[Ohhh! Hehe  - - - ]


10 Mie: →                        [Nej=nej.Nej=nej. H]an a' ude
                                 [Nej=nej.Nej=nej  H]e is out
                                 [No=no. No=no.    H]e's out


11 Mie:     å' rejse, [(                  ) Han si'r Te'
            to travel [(                  ) He says  To
            travelling[(                  ) He says, To


12 Jens:             [ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
                     [ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
                     [ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
```

Here, AnneMie's *multiple nej*'s produced in L11 protest against Jens's description of his son as being incapable of answering the phone properly, telling people who call that Jens is working even though Jens has told him not to. Deprecating remarks about a speaker's own children are generally treated as self-deprecations and responded to with disagreement. Though AnneMie basically disagrees with or corrects what Jens has described his son as doing, this should be seen in the light of the deprecating nature of Jens's remark as being a preferred disagreement.

Thus responding to positively framed utterances through the production of a *multiple nej* can clearly be done as a preferred action, as was also shown to be the case for negative responses to some similar types of positively framed utterances in chapter 2.

Considering the protesting features implemented through the production of a *multiple nej*, and the force which this lends to the response as a whole, this pattern is perhaps not surprising: if a *multiple nej* was produced as a response to a positively framed turn, implementing a directly dispreferred action such as disagreement or disconfirmation, it

would implement an extremely forceful protest against the prior turn, marking the disagreement or disconfirmation as obvious and as such displaying the prior speaker as being obviously wrong.

As shown above, a *multiple nej* as a response to a negatively framed utterance implements a particular type of affiliation, one that is stronger than other types implemented through the more general, type-conforming format of initiating a turn with a single nej followed by a second turn component.

This strength of a *multiple nej* appears to be a consequence specifically of the multiple production of *nej*, and it could perhaps be predicted that a *multiple nej* as a dispreferred response to a positively framed utterance would in a similar way embody a particular type of disaffiliation, one that is stronger than other types of disaffiliate responses, and as such perhaps even more dispreferred than these. Unfortunately the data for this study did not provide any examples of a *multiple nej* used as a straightforward and dispreferred disagreement, so this prediction will have to stand as it is, unconsolidated, but also unchallenged.

Thus, the closest we can get to *multiple nej* embodying a dispreferred action is the following extract, where a *multiple nej* is used as a correctional device, and is as such doing a dispreferred action. This is however done in a context in which such an action can perhaps be understood as less threatening, as the recipient of the corrective *multiple nej* has already admitted to being wrong.

Extract (28) : TH/S2/45/Jens & Martin/Neg321

```
((About the location of a house Martin and Jens are going to look at. Jens has
been to the house earlier, whereas Martin only knows the postcode. In Denmark, a
postcode is associated with a town, though the code can cover a much larger area.
Martin has assumed that the house is close to Augustenborg because of the
postcode, but has realised that he was wrong: the house is much closer to another
town, Mommark.))
```

```
1   Martin:    Nå:h Okay det' li' (ve' [der) Jeg troed'
               O:h Okay it's just (by t[here) I thought
               O:h Okay it's right (by [there) I thought

2   Jens:                             [>.hhh< Det' li'
                                      [>.hhh< It's just
                                      [>.hhh< It's right

3   Martin:    det var-]
               it was- ]
```

```
                        it was- ]

4  Jens:  →     ve'- ]N[ej=ne]j. Det a' per Augustenborg
                by-  ]N[ej=ne]j.  It is per Augustenborg
                by-  ]N[o=no ].  It's  per Augustenborg

5  Martin:              [(   )]
                        [(   )]
                        [(   )]

6  Jens:    men det'    postdistriktet   .h[h h h h ]
            but that's postal-district-the .h[h h h h ]
            but that's the postal district .h[h h h h ]

7  Martin:                                  [(Nåhnåh)]
                                            [(Oh oh )]
                                            [(Oh oh )]

8  Jens:  →  Ne:j=nej=n[ej. D]et er:e:hm Det er en tre fire
             Nej=nej=n [ej  I]t  is:e:hm It is a three four
             No:= no= n[o.  I]t ise:h:m It's about three or four

9  Martin:             [(   )]
                       [(   )]
                       [(   )]

10 Jens:    kilometer fra Mommark'
            kilometers from Mommark
            kilometers from Mommark
```

In L1-3 Martin explicitly acknowledges the mistake he has made. When Jens in L4-6 produces the *multiple nej* as a correction or disconfirmation of Martins assumptions, this is done subsequent to Martin's own realisation and as such is perhaps not as threatening as it might have been had Jens responded with a *multiple nej* before Martin had realised his own mistake.[133] Indeed though disconfirming Martin's assumption, the *multiple nej* seems to mark this incorrectness as unproblematic or even understandable and thus as a less serious mistake (see also Jens's second turn component explicating the reason for why Martin might have got it wrong).

---

[133] This should cover both occurences of *multiple nej*, both in L4 and L8.

Though a negatively framed response such as a *multiple nej* would be expected to be dispreffered when following positively framed utterances, it is evident from the three examples above that this is not the case.

As was discussed in chapter 2 it is indeed very frequently the case that negatively framed responses, even in positive contexts, are produced exactly as the preferred response.

Not only is this the case for *multiple nej* responses as well, but the *multiple nej* produced in positive environments displays the same features and interactional consequences as when it occurs as a response to negatively framed utterances: *multiple nej* is used as a way to mark the obviousness of the prior turn (as in extract (26) and (28)), to display the prior turn as being unproblematic (as in extract (26)), and in particular to protest against any implications made in the prior turn (as in all of the above), in the same way as has been shown to be the case for a *multiple nej* response in its most common context, when used as a response to negatively framed utterances.

In the following I will demonstrate how these interactional effects of the *multiple nej* can be exploited by the participants, to achieve certain goals.

4.5.1 Exploiting the interactional features of multiple nej

The use of *multiple nej* described in the prior section highlighted the fact that *multiple nej* implements a protest against the (implications of the) prior turn, in this way marking some features of that turn as being 'obvious'. In the cases where *multiple nej* is used as a response to positively framed utterances, it is explicitly the *incorrectness* of that turn which is being marked. These features can be exploited by the participants in ways which further emphasise this aspect of the *multiple nej* response, as in extract (29) below.

Extract (29) : TH/S2/86/Mathias & Claus/Neg452

```
((About a play-day planned by Claus. Mathias was not invited. On the day, at a
time when the others should presumably have arrived at Claus's place, Claus has
called Mathias for a chat about computer games.))

1   Mathias:      Må jeg li' høre a' de ander' der nu,
                  May I just hear are the otheres there now,
                  Just tell me are the others there now,

2                 eller hvad?
```

```
            or what?
            or what¿

3   Claus: →   Nej=nej der' ikk' no'en.
            Nej=nej there's not someone.
            No=no there's nobody (here).

4   Mathias:   Der' ikk' kommet no'en¿
            There's not come someone¿
            Nobody has arrived¿

5             (.)
            (.)
            (.)

6   Mathias:   Men det blev måske ikk' te' no'et
            But that became maybe not to something
            But nothing became of that maybe

7             eller hvad¿
            or what¿
            or what¿

8   Claus:    Ne:j. det blev det ikk'.
            Nej. that became it not.
            No:. nothing became of that.

9   Mathias:   Nåh.
            Oh.
            Oh.

10  Claus:    Fordi min mor ska' på arbejd' i
            Because my mum shall at work
            Because my mum is working

11            morgen ti'li' så
            tomorrow early so
            tomorrow morning so
```

Due to the circumstances of the call, it may well be that Mathias has realised that Claus's play day was cancelled, as early as when he poses his question in L1-2. Thus, even though his question is positively framed, designed to prefer a yes-response, the question is designed as an *eller-*

construction[134] which as a minimum allows for the production of a no-response.

By producing a *multiple nej* response however, Claus marks his own disconfirming response in L3 as being the obvious outcome, in effect displaying that it was Mathias who framed his question incorrectly.[135]

Mathias first attempts to account for the fact that nobody is there (at Claus's place), by suggesting that this is because they haven't arrived – yet. Getting no response to this, in L6 he provides a different account; that nobody is there because the thing was called off. This latter account is a direct orientation to the obviousness with which Claus marked his response in L3, that is that though Claus had planned to have people over this plan did not come off, which is why there's no-one around, and in particular why there's *obviously* no-one around. That this was the correct understanding of Claus's *multiple nej* response in L3 is displayed by Claus in L8 where he confirms that the thing was called off, and then in L10-11 where he accounts for why this is the case.

In this way Claus exploits the aspect of *multiple nej* as marking the obviousness of this type of response, to which Mathias orients strongly, thereby displaying that these features are relevant for the participants even in contexts where the *multiple nej* is not produced as a preferred, affiliative response.

This exploitation of *multiple nej* to mark the obviousness of something is also used in extract (30), a rather different sequential context from that of extract (29). Nevertheless it should still be obvious that by producing the *multiple nej* the speaker manages to convey a particular attitude towards his own response and as such to the other participant's prior turn.

Extract (30) : TH/S2/67/Mathias & Claus/Neg416

```
((Bragging about their knowledge of various computer games.))

1   Mathias:    Jeg har nemli' prøvet å' spille det.
                I have you-see tried and play it.
                I've tried playing it you see.

2   Claus:      Mm,
                Mm,
                Mm,
```

---

[134] See chapter 2, section 2.2.2 for a discussion of these constructions as possibly making a *nej*-response less dispreferred.
[135] This effect is similar to what Heritage (1998) has shown for *oh*-prefaced answers to questions.

```
3   Mathias:    .hh Å' jeg nåed' på: femte level me'
                .hh And I reached o:n fifth level with
                .hh And I reached fifth level with

4               min (.) paladine
                my (.) paladine
                my (.) paladine

5   Claus:      Jerh.
                Ja.
                Yeah.

6               (.)
                (.)
                (.)

7   Claus:      (M' så) Nåede du å' få den der hedder
                (But then) Reached you to get that there is-called
                (But then) Did you managed to get the one called

8               Holy fire,
                Holy fire,
                Holy fire,

9               (.)
                (.)
                (.)

10  Mathias:    Nej,
                Nej,
                No,

11  Claus: →    Nåh-=>Nejnej< den- den kommer først på sjette
                Oh-=>Nejnej< that- that comes first on sixth
                Oh-=>Nono<that-that one doesn't arrive until sixth

12  Mathias:    Kommer først på sjette
                Comes first on sixth
                Doesn't arrive until sixth
```

Here, the *multiple nej* is used as a self-repair in L11, the self-repair orienting to the question posed in L7, as well as the same speaker's initial surprise marking (in L11) upon receiving a disconfirming response.

The role of *multiple nej* here is however not merely to initiate self-repair, but to convey this self-repair as being *obvious*: Mathias has explicitly

stated which level in the computer game he has reached when Claus enquires whether he gained a specific feature. As can be seen from the repair however, Claus very well knows that this feature is not available until the player has reached the sixth level. This is what he specifically orients to through the production of the *multiple nej*; the of courseness of Mathias not having gained the feature, as he has just revealed that he only managed to get to the fifth level.

Thus, the *multiple nej* displays Claus's own question as having been unnecessary, while managing to sneak in the information that he himself has actually gone further in the computer game than Mathias: by being a person who has gone further than the fifth level (and thus further than Mathias) Claus ought to have known that 'Holy fire' does not occur until the sixth level and thus he should also have known that Mathias would not gotten the 'Holy fire'.

Thus, instead of producing a bragging comparison in L5, stating to have reached a level higher than Mathias, through the production of a *multiple nej* Claus manages to sneak in the information that this is indeed the case, in a much more refined way.[136] This is done by using a combination of interactional tools, repair being one of them, and displays the speakers' orientation to *multiple nej* implementing an *obvious protest* in this context.

Likewise, in extract (31) another repair is initiated through a *multiple nej* production, in this case however the *multiple nej* and the repair is orienting to the implications of the same speakers response to a question.

Extract (31) : TH/S2/81/Niels & Mathias/Neg448

```
((About a computer game in which Mathias has found a way in which to score a large
amount of points.))

1  Niels:        Har du så skudt en t(h)ank
                 Have you then shot a t(h)ank
                 Have you shot a t(h)ank

2                eller så no'et i stykker
                 or   so some   in pieces
                 or something to pieces then

3  Mathias: →   °.h° Nejh. Ikk' en tank. Nej=nej det' ikk'
                 °.h° Nej.  Not  a tank. Nej=nej it's not
                 °.h° Noh.  Not a  tank. No=no it's not
```

---

[136] This way of revealing being better than Mathias also doesn't state exactly how much better, after all, having reached the sixth level makes it possible that Claus got even further than that.

```
4              no'et me' å' skyde i stykker.=Det'
               something with and shoot in pieces.=It's
               anything to do with shooting to pieces.=It's

5              no'et me' å' stige ind i no'et å' så
               something with to get in in something and then
               something to do with getting inside something and

6              bare køre.
               just drive.
               then just drive.
```

Here, Mathias's initial response in L3 disconfirms the assumption made by Niels in L1-2, that Mathias has shot something to get the points. By specifically disconfirming that he didn't shoot a tank, Mathias however implies that he shot something else; that is that this part of Niels's question was right.

Mathias, discovering his mistake consequently produces a *multiple nej*, protesting against this implication and furthermore produces a continuation which orients to this aspect of the production of the *multiple nej*.

The previous three extracts have in common that a *multiple nej* is produced to do other actions than affiliation or agreement. Despite this difference between these latter cases and the extracts discussed above, it is evident that the participants even here understand and orient to the *multiple nej* as displaying obviousness, as well as protesting against the implication of a prior turn. These aspects are thus demonstrated to be stable, core features of *multiple nej* and is done independently of whether the prior turn is negatively or positively framed and irrespectively of what other actions might be implemented by this prior turn.

4.6 Conclusion

As with most other negatively framed responses in Danish, the *multiple nej* is most recurrently produced as a preferred, fitted response to other negatively framed utterances.

Because a *multiple nej* response consists of more than one response token, it is furthermore used and understood to be an affiliative response in line with the more common, type-conforming format where *nej* is used as a turn-preface and followed by a second turn component in which affiliation and agreement is demonstrated, as discussed in chapter 3.

Multiple nej responses however constitute a particularly strong type of affiliation or agreement, in that it marks the prior turn as obvious or easily agreed with, while protesting against any implications to the contrary.

These effects of the *multiple nej* can be specifically oriented to through various types of turn components produced after the *multiple nej*: generalisations explicate overtly why the prior turn was so obviously agreed with through the *multiple nej*, whereas anaphoric repetitions and counters orient to the implications made in the prior turn, strengthening the protest against these implications initially implemented through the *multiple nej*.

Such turn components and the actions they embody merely emphasise specific aspects of the *multiple nej*, but they are not necessary for a *multiple nej* to be understood as being a highly afilliative response that agrees with the obvious and protests against any implications to the contrary. That *multiple nej* in and by itself constitutes such a response is evident from the fact that a second turn component does not necessarily orient to the prior turn at all, as is for instance the case for *multiple nej's* followed by [*men*]-constructions. Furthermore, a *multiple nej* can be produced as a response on its own, particularly in contexts where the *multiple nej* is being produced before a turn or even a larger sequence has been completed. In such cases, the speaker producing the *multiple nej* will display his/her orientation to an action as being yet incomplete by producing a *multiple nej* response on its own, but even here the features of obviousness and protest are evident.

That these are core features of *multiple nej* is emphasised when looking at *multiple nej* used outside its most recurrent context for instance as a response to positively framed utterance or as a repair initiator or correctional device. In the former case, the protesting features of *multiple nej* limit the contexts in which this item can be used: because a *multiple nej* would mark the prior turn as being obviously wrong in contexts where a *multiple nej* implements dispreferred actions such as disagreement or disconfirmation, these actions are mainly implemented in contexts where a dispreferred action is preferred, for instance as a response to pre's or as a disagreement with self-deprecations.

When this is not the case, the marked obviousness or protest implemented by the *multiple nej* response is oriented to by the participants as being somehow relevant, thus displaying that these general features of *multiple nej* can be exploited by the participants to achieve certain actions or convey specific assumptions as being incorrect.

This exploitation of the protest implemented by a *multiple nej* is also present when used as a repair initiator or correctional device, where speakers through repairing their own turn with a *multiple nej* can protest against the implications made in that turn.

Overall then, the *multiple nej* marks a prior or ongoing turn as in some way conveying something so obvious - or so obviously wrong - that it need not have been stated in the first place. In its various contexts, this makes the *multiple nej* implement a particularly forceful type of action, in essence upgrading whatever action it implements, whether this is a preferred or dispreferred action. What specific type of action is being implemented through a *multiple nej* can however still be seen as being reflected in the more general pattern of negatively framed responses: when used in the context of positively framed utterances, the *multiple nej* most commonly implement preferred dispreferreds and as such is an upgraded version of the more general preferred dispreferreds as discussed in chapter 2.

When *multiple nej* is used as an affiliative, fitted and preferred response to an immediately prior negatively framed utterance, again such a response can be seen as being an upgraded, particularly strong type of affiliation. Thus, the *multiple nej* in general follows the same pattern as other negatively framed responses, the difference merely being that because of the multiple production of the response token, whichever action is being implemented, is upgraded or emphasised.

There is however one major contrast between *multiple nej* and other negatively framed responses. The *multiple nej* upon production implements two actions: first, through its negatively framed format it claims alignment with the immediate prior (negatively framed) turn by reflecting the polarity of that turn. Second, the *multiple nej* implements 'protesting', the protest being directed at the implications made in that prior turn.

This latter action is particularly evident in the less recurrent deployment of the *multiple nej* as a response to positively framed utterances (or in positively framed contexts). Though in most cases even here the *multiple nej* is deployed and oriented to as the preferred response, the actions done (correction, disagreement etc.) are nevertheless *negative*; that is they are actions that are more generally associated with dispreference.

As was noted in chapter 2, section 2.2 such 'preferred dispreferreds' constitute the very few cases (in addition to straight forward dispreference) where the implementation of a negative response can be

directly associated with 'negative' actions such as disagreement, correction, disconfirmation or disaffiliation in general.

In contrast to most other negatively framed responses (such as the ones discussed in chapter 2 and 3) this association between negation and 'negative' actions is maintained at all times in the deployment of the *multiple nej*: even when a *multiple nej* is produced as an affiliative response to a negatively framed utterance, this utterance's *positively framed implication* is protested against through the production of the *multiple nej*. Thus, the action of protesting that is implemented through the production of a *multiple nej* is a direct reflection of a mismatch in polarity between the negative *multiple nej* and the prior turn, a turn which can either be negatively framed but contain a positively framed implication (as in section 4.4) or positively framed overall (as in section 4.5).

Even in its principle deployment as an affiliative response to a negatively framed utterance then, the *multiple nej* as a negatively framed response can be directly associated with the implementation of a 'negative' action, i.e. that of 'protesting'.

5 Concluding discussion

This chapter is divided into three sections. First I present a summary of the main findings of this study, before in the second section addressing some of the more general implications of this study. Finally, I briefly discuss some of the things not addressed in this study, but could be in future research.

5.1 Summary

This study has explored the way in which negative responses are used in Danish interaction, how these responses are formatted and the kinds of actions they embody.

Throughout the study it has been demonstrated that negative responses most frequently embody preferred actions and are most typically used in response to other, negatively framed utterances.

This was the main focus of chapter 2; here it was shown that in the context of negatively framed utterances, various preferred actions such as agreement, confirmation, affiliation, acknowledgement and continuation are done through the production of a negative response.

In contrast, when negatively framed utterances are for instance disconfirmed or disagreed with, this is done through the production of a positive response.

It was argued that this pattern demonstrate that in Danish interaction there is a structural or grammatical preference for mirroring the polarity of the prior turn in the response, in addition to the interactional preference for agreement.

It was further demonstrated that these preferences typically coincide; but that when they do not, the interactional preference for agreement will be treated as being the most relevant or important. Thus, if an utterance because of its negative framing is designed for a negative response, but at the same time, because of interactional relevancies, in interactional terms prefer a positive response, then it will be a positive, rather than a negative response that is produced.

Nevertheless, it was argued that participants will orient to the negative polarity of the prior turn, even when a positive response is produced for interactional reasons. This is done through producing the marked positive response particle *jo*, rather than *ja*.

In chapter 3 the format of negative responses was discussed. It was demonstrated that though there are various grammatical formats for constructing a negative response in Danish, negative responses are recurrently done through initiating the response with the negative response particle *nej*.

It was argued, that this is the preferred, type-conforming format for responding to negatively framed utterances, and that in contrast, a response that is not initiated with *nej* is produced only for cause, to mark that the prior turn was in some way problematic to the recipient, and that his/her turn should not be understood as directly responsive to the prior.

Based on this difference between type-conforming and nonconforming responses to negatively framed utterances, it was argued that the negative response particle *nej* serves as a way of marking that some factual information in the prior turn has been heard understood and accepted, and to project that a potential continuation after the *nej* will be done in orientation to this.
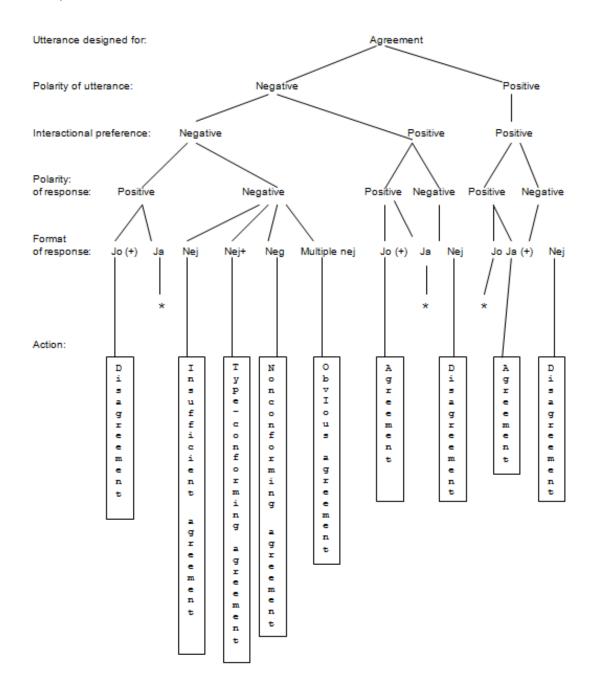
That the negative response particle in this way serves only as a claim of alignment was then further explored by looking at the contrast between a free-standing *nej* and a more extended response initiated with *nej*.

It was demonstrated that whereas a free-standing *nej* can be used for continuation, acknowledgement and confirmation, to do for instance agreement or affiliation, an extended response, initiated with *nej* must be produced, for this type of action response to be treated as sufficient.

Chapter 4 dealt with the use of a specific negative construction; the *multiple nej*. This construction, as most other negative responses is typically used as a response to negatively framed utterances, in this way being grammatically preferred by mirroring the negative polarity of the turn responded to. In addition, the *multiple nej* was shown to be an interactionally preferred response, embodying actions such as agreement and affiliation.

Part of this affiliation was argued to be due to the *multiple nej* being a grammatically preferred response, but it was also noted that in the case of *multiple nej*, this negative response also appears to be used as a negative or dispreferred action, that of countering or rejecting the positively framed implications of the prior turn, hence protesting against these. As a consequence of this, it was argued that the *multiple nej* response displays not only that the prior turn was agreed with, but that it was agreed with as being obvious.

Thus, besides supporting the overall pattern of negative responses embodying preferred actions, the *multiple nej* further demonstrates how the way in which a type-conforming and grammatically preferred response is constructed has consequences for the type of preferred actions it embodies.

The findings of the three chapters are summarised in the four trees below, where the relationship between the format of response and the action it embodies is demonstrated to be dependent on the kind of action an utterance is designed to receive, the polarity of that utterance, and whether this utterance is interactionally designed to receive a positive or a negative response.

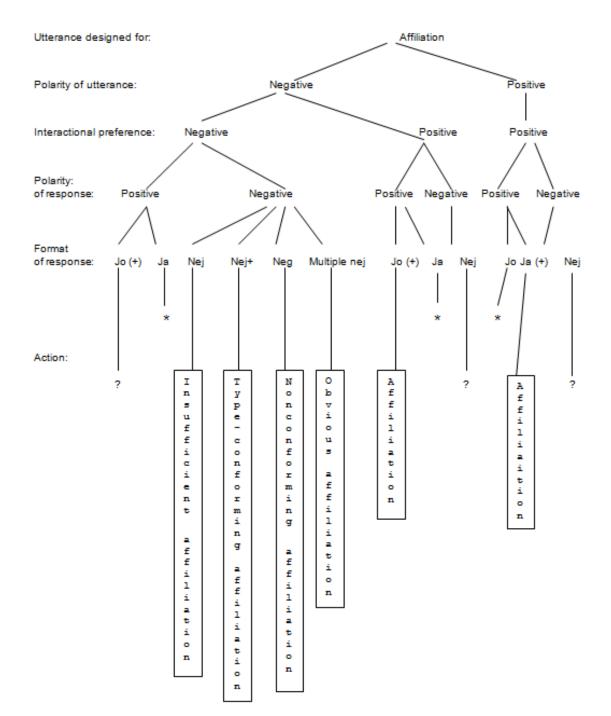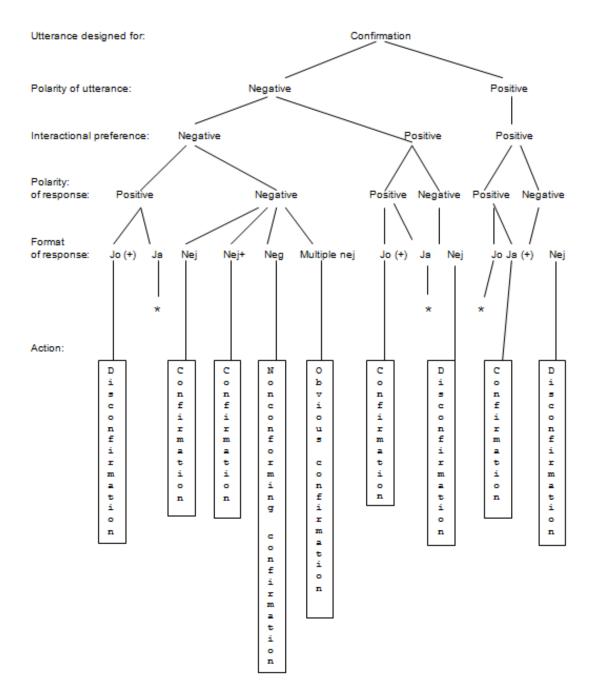Tree 5.1: The relationship between agreement/disagreement and response format.

Table 5.2: The relationship between affiliation/disaffiliation and response format.

Table 5.3: The relationship between confirmation/disconfirmation and response format.
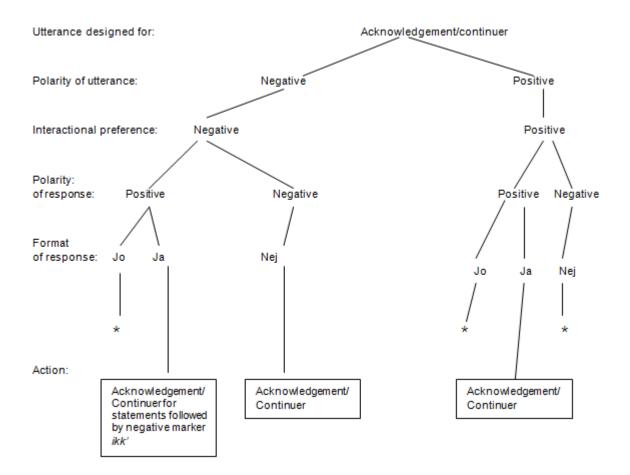
Utterance designed for:	Confirmation								
Polarity of utterance:	Negative						Positive		
Interactional preference:	Negative				Positive		Positive		
Polarity of response:	Positive		Negative			Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Format of response:	Jo (+) Ja	Nej	Nej+ Neg Multiple nej			Jo (+) Ja Nej		Jo Ja (+)	Nej
		*					*	*	
Action:	Disconfirmation	Confirmation	Confirmation	Nonconforming confirmation	Obvious confirmation	Confirmation	Disconfirmation	Confirmation	Disconfirmation

Table 5.4: The relationship between acknowledgement/continuer and response format.

The trees should be read as follows: at the top of the tree, the type of action an utterance is designed to receive is noted, agreement in tree 1, affiliation in tree 2, confirmation in tree 3 and acknowledgement/continuer in tree 4.

The second set of branches determine whether the utterance is positively or negatively framed, whereas the third set allows for the fact that a negatively framed utterance can for some actions and constructions be interactionally designed to prefer either a positive or a negative response, independently of its negative framing (this was shown to be the case for instance for negative interrogatives in chapter 2, section 2.3).

The fourth step splits the tree further into the possible polar responses that may be produced in response to the utterance, whereas the fifth set

of branches describes the various formats for responding that has been described in chapters 2 to 4.

The last set of branches determines the kind of action that the various formats for responses embody, based on the relationship between these and the utterance they are used as responses to.

In the cases where a specific type of response does not reach the bottom level, this is either because this format of responding does not exist - in this particular context - in the data (this is marked by a star (*)), or because it has not been discussed in any detail in the preceding chapters (this is marked by a question mark (?)). When a response particle is followed by a (+), then this indicates the possibility that the response particle may not be enough to do the action on its own, but should be followed by a second turn component. Where this has been established to be the case, the + is not in parentheses.

Should one for instance wish to determine what type of response embodies agreement when produced in response to a negatively framed utterance that is designed to prefer a 'yes'-response interactionally, tree number one should be consulted. Here, the first left-branching establishes the negative framing of the utterance, at the second step, the right-branching establishes that the utterance is interactionally designed to receive a positive response, and as can be seen the only type of response that embodies agreement at this point is the positive response particle *jo*; *ja* in contrast is not used in this context and *nej* embodies disagreement.

Should one on the other hand wish to determine what kind of actions the positive response particle *jo* can embody or the type of contexts it may be used in, all of the trees should be consulted. Then, by seeking out all the places in the fifth level at which *jo* occurs one can see that *jo* can be used for disagreement with a negatively framed utterance that interactionally prefers a 'no'-response and for agreement with a negatively framed utterance that interactionally prefers a 'yes'-response, but that it cannot (or at least haven't been found to) be used for agreeing with a positively framed utterance. A similar pattern can then be found for confirmation in tree number 3. From tree 2, however it can be seen that *jo* can be used as an affiliating response to negatively framed utterances that are interactionally designed for a 'yes'-response, but that though there is a possibility that *jo* can be used as a disaffiliating response to negatively framed utterances that are interactionally designed to prefer a 'no'-response, this has not been exemplified or discussed in this data. In tree 4 it can be seen that *jo* cannot be used as an acknowledgement token

or a continuer, independently of whether it is produced in response to a negatively or a positively framed utterance.

5.2 Contributions of study

The complexity of the trees above reflects the complexity of the findings made in this study and as such also the complexity of interaction. Thus, this study has demonstrated that there are no simple answers to questions such as 'Do positive (or negative) responses embody interactionally preferred or dispreferred actions?', or 'How do you agree with something a prior speaker has said?'. On the other hand, the fact that the findings in this study can be captured in a fairly specific way in these trees demonstrate that the way in which things are done in interaction are not random, but rather grounded in definable interactional and grammatical patterns.

Thus, this study, besides providing a typological description of how negative responses (and to some extent also positive responses) are used in one language, Danish, also offers some more general observations about language, grammar and interaction and is as such of relevance to several fields. Here, I will briefly address its relevance for some of them, including the study of negation, the study of response particles, the study of preference organisation and the study of interaction and grammar.

The study of negation within conversation analysis is rather underdeveloped, in that only a few studies focus specifically on this aspect of language, and those that do focus on very different types of actions embodied by negative items, mainly in English. In this environment, the current study is a first in that it explores in more detail the use of one negative item, the response particle *nej* in Danish, and discusses a variation of actions that this item may be used for.

By identifying negatively framed utterances as being the home-environment for negative responses in Danish, further demonstrating that negative responses are in this context typically used for interactionally preferred actions such as agreement and confirmation, this study provides a platform from which other uses of negative responses also in other languages can be explored.

The findings in this study thus point to the relevance of exploring whether negatively framed utterances also constitute the home-environment for negative responses in other languages; whether they also typically embody preferred actions, and if they do, to what extent this is the case.

Throughout this study I have already indicated how the pattern described for Danish may be found also in languages such as English, Swedish, Dutch and Italian, though to various degrees. These are all Indo-European languages that use the yes/no system when responding to yes/no questions, as described by Sadock and Zwicky (1985), that is they all belong to the same typological category.

An interesting development of the use of negative responses would be to focus specifically on languages that are typologically different from these, for instance a language such as Japanese, that uses the agree/disagree system in answer to yes/no questions. Thus, according to Sadock and Zwicky (1985) in such languages 'no' always means 'no, I disagree with you", whereas 'yes' always means 'yes, I agree with you.'. This is so independently of whether the question is negatively or positively framed and it would be very interesting to see whether this is the case in general for answers or responses to utterances that are not grammatical interrogatives.

Based on this, I would expect that in languages such as Japanese, neither positive nor negative responses have a home-environment that reflects the polarity of the response, but rather, that a 'no'-response in these languages can in fact be directly associated with interactional dispreference and the implementation for instance of disagreement and disconfirmation.

These predictions are of course something that will have to await further studies of negation in various languages, for which the present study could thus serve as a platform from which to compare the usages of negative responses and the actions they embody in various languages.

By establishing that negative responses are typically used as interactionally preferred responses to negatively framed utterances, this study has also demonstrated that the Danish negative response particle *nej* is used in similar – if not identical – ways as those that have been described for positive response particles in other languages, for instance English and Finnish.

The negative response particle can in Danish be used as an acknowledgement token, a continuer, a confirmation marker and as a closing-implicative device. It can in addition be used as a claim of alignment, projecting agreement or affiliation. In describing these various uses of *nej*, this study clearly is of relevance to studies of response particles or response tokens, in that it contributes to this area with a description of yet another particle or token, in yet another language.

That a negative response particle can in one language such as Danish be used for instance acknowledgement and continuation further suggests that studies of response particles or tokens in other languages should include also negative particles or tokens.

For studies in this area, the use of the negative response particle *nej* as described in chapter 3 is perhaps the most interesting. Here, it was demonstrated that *nej* serves only as a claim of alignment, but that it is in itself too 'weak' to be used for instance as an agreeing or affiliating answer. As discussed in the conclusion of chapter 3, similar limitations in use have been demonstrated for *positive* response particles for instance in Finnish by Sorjonen (2001) and in Swedish by Lindström (1999). The 'weakness' of response particles thus appears to be at least to some extent a generic feature of interaction, across cultures and languages, neither specific to – or exclusive of – negative response particles.

Jefferson (2002) suggests that when a negative response particle can be used for acknowledgement and continuation, it can no longer be used as an affiliating or agreeing response as well, because this would make a 'no'-response interactionally ambiguous between doing merely acknowledgement on the one hand, and doing a stronger, more affiliating or agreeing action on the other. Whether this is the reason for why the negative response particle *nej* can in Danish not be used as an agreeing or affiliating response has been left largely unexplored in this study, but a detailed comparison between *nej*, the Swedish *ja* and the Finnish *joo* that can all be treated as insufficient responses to a prior turn may begin to shed some light on what it is that make response particles 'weak' in this sense.

Another of the more general observations that can be made form this study is, that there is no one-to-one mapping between negation, between the negative response particle *nej*, and the type of action being implemented by this negative response. Rather, this study as a whole demonstrates how tightly intertwined are preference organisation and grammar, in that whether an action is preferred or dispreferred can be seen to be directly dependent on whether the polarity of an utterance is mirrored in the response, or not.

Polarity – and thus grammar – is in this way part and parcel of what makes a response embody a preferred or a dispreferred action, the mirroring of polarity being one of the ways in which an interactionally preferred action is done in Danish. Thus, this study demonstrates one way

in which participants can draw and rely on grammatical resources in shaping their utterances.

By establishing the tie between grammatical and interactional preference this study contributes in an important fashion to our knowledge of doing preferred and dispreferred actions in interaction, in that it provides the empirical evidence for the observations (or suggestions) made by for instance Raymond (2000) and Schegloff (1995), that the polarity of an utterance can establish a second locus of preference, in addition to the interactional preference for agreement.

Though this grammatical preference has been observed or predicted, it has typically not been proven to exist, something which this study does for one language, Danish. Again, further studies of negation in other languages are needed before it can be established whether this grammatical or polar preference is language specific, or a more generic feature of interaction.

Finally, this study has demonstrated that languages may vary to a large extent with regard to the way in which particular linguistic or grammatical items are used in interaction. Because negation is a feature present as well as easily identifiable in all languages (at least the languages discussed in this study) it is perhaps easy to assume that it is used in the same kind of sequential contexts, to do the same kind of actions across languages, so that if one kind of action has been described in one language, then this can be assumed to be a more generic reflection of how negation is used in interaction.

However, this study has clearly demonstrated that just because negative responses typically embody dispreferred actions in American English (if this is in fact the case), or because the negative response particle cannot be used for acknowledgement in that same language, this does not mean that this is the case for all other languages as well.

On the contrary, I have demonstrated that in Danish, negative responses typically embody preferred actions and that the negative response particle can in fact in Danish be used for acknowledgement. Further, throughout this study I have discussed various studies that indicate that other languages such as Italian, Dutch, British English, Swedish and Norwegian to a large extent follow the same pattern as Danish. This suggests that if American English does indeed differ from Danish with regard to the application and use of negation, then it is American English, rather than Danish that is exceptional or special in this regard.

As such, the current study emphasises the relevance and importance of looking at other languages than American English – and in particular accepting that interactional studies of such languages can change or at the very least develop our overall understanding of interaction, rather than merely supporting findings already made in studies of American English.

5.3 Future directions

The trees drawn above, representing the findings made in this study also point out some of the areas that have not been subjected to any detailed analysis or discussion in this study, but which may prove to be of relevance for a more detailed and wider description of the intersection between grammar and interaction in Danish.

Thus, throughout this study it has been demonstrated that negative responses (and in particular the negative response particle *nej*) are used in a fashion similar to that of positive responses, the main difference being whether the turn responded to is negatively of positively framed. It has for instance been demonstrated that the negative response particle can be used as a confirmation, an acknowledgement token, a continuer and as a closing implicative device. This parallel between negative and positive responses has however not been fully explored in the current study. Whereas I have described how the negative response particle *nej* is treated as an insufficient response to negatively framed utterances that are designed to receive for instance an agreeing or affiliating response, I have not investigated whether this is the case for the positive response particle *ja*, as well.

Similarly, the *multiple nej* discussed in chapter 4 could have been compared to its positive equivalent, the *multiple ja*, as this type of positive response does occur in Danish.

In making such comparisons it might have been possible to establish whether responses particles are in Danish generally treated as 'weak' responses, or whether this is a feature connected only with the negative particle, and whether the affiliating but protesting features of a *multiple nej* are found also in the use of a *multiple ja*.

These comparisons then might shed some light on the differences and similarities of negative and positive response: to what extent are negative responses simply mirrored polar images of positive responses (or vice versa), and to what extent are the negative features of negative responses

relevant for the type of action such a response can do, for instance when used as a *multiple nej*?

Another feature that has not been explored seem to be less relevant for the overall study of negation, but more so for the individual construction discussed: for instance it was noted for the case of *multiple nej* that the number of particles produced may have an effect on the strength of the affiliation as well as the protest. Exploring this aspect would without doubt benefit our understanding of the *multiple nej* phenomenon; but would require more cases than my data provided. One way of getting around this could be to explore multiple productions also of the positive response particles.

A final and very important issue that has not been discussed in much detail in this study is the format of the negatively framed utterances themselves, that is, the turns that are responded to. Of course, looking at responsive actions cannot be done without any consideration of what these actions are responsive to. Thus it was noted for instance in chapter 4, that negatively framed utterances may carry implications that need to be oriented to in the response.

Negatively framed utterances are in this way not parallel to positively framed utterances, and this is reflected also in their distribution, negatively framed utterances are by far less frequently produced than are positively framed utterances.

On a similar note, the fact that negative interrogatives and statements followed by negative tags can interactionally prefer a 'yes'-response despite their negative framing has not been discussed in this study. An interesting development of this study would be to investigate whether negatively framed utterances are produced for cause, and whether negative interrogatives are ambiguous because of the positioning of the negative marker in relation to the verb.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions

The symbols used in the transcriptions in this dissertation belong to the system Gail Jefferson has developed for conversation analytic research in general. However, for the sake of limitation only the symbols used in the extracts at hand will be included here.

1. Temporal and sequential relationships

[Separate left square brackets, one above the other on two successive lines

[with utterances by different speakers, indicates a point of overlap onset.

]   Separate right square brackets, one above the other on two successive lines

]   with utterances by different speakers, indicate a point at which two overlapping utterances both end, or where one ends while the other continues.

=   Equal signs come in pairs – on at the end of a line and another at the start of the next line. They are used to indicate two things.

> (a) If the two lines connected by the same speaker, then there was a single continuous utterance with no break or pause, which was broken up to accommodate the format of the transcription.

> (b) If the lines connected by the two equal signs are by different speakers, then the second follows the first with no discernible silence between them, i.e. is 'latched'.

(0.4)   Numbers in parentheses indicate silence, approximately represented in tenths of a second.

(.)   A dot in parentheses indicates a 'micro-pause', hearable but not readily measurable; less than 2/10 of a second.

2. Aspects of speech delivery

.	The punctuation marks are used to indicate intonation. The period indicates
?	a falling, final intonation contour. Similarly, a question mark indicates rising
,	intonation, a comma 'continuing' intonation and the inverted question mark
¿	indicates a rise stronger than the comma but weaker than the question mark.

::	Colons are used to indicate the prolongation or stretching of sound just preceding them. The more colons the longer the stretching.
-	A hyphen after a word or part of the word indicates a cut-off or self-interruption.
n<u>e</u>j	Underlining is used to indicate emphatic stress.
NEj	Upper case indicates loud talk.
°nej°	The degree sign indicates that the talk is markedly softer and lower than the talk around it.
>nej<	Indicates that the talk is markedly faster than the surrounding talk.
*	Indicates 'creaky' voice.
↑↓	The up and down arrows mark sharp rises or falls in pitch.
hh	Audible aspiration is shown by the letter 'h'
.hh	Indicates an audible inhalation
.nej	Indicates that the word is said with an inbreath
(h)	h in brackets within a word indicates aspiration, often laughter

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3. Other markings

((cough))   Double parentheses are used to mark the transcriber's description of events, rather than real representations.

(bodel)   Words within single parentheses indicates that this is the likely hearing of that word.

(   )   Empty parentheses indicate that something is being said, but no hearing can be achieved.