

## Turn-Initial No

### *Collaborative Opposition among Latina Adolescents*

**T**raditional language and gender research has focused on investigating the correlations between gendered speech and pragmatic styles such as cooperativeness and interactional supportiveness. Some important exceptions to this trend (Eckert 1993; Modan 1994) have illustrated a complex relationship between gender and pragmatic style and between apparently cooperative or competitive surface structures and their actual effects in interaction. It is therefore crucial to examine speakers' own interactional categories, as well as speaker identities, in order to better understand apparently cooperative or conflictive language use.

The aim of the present study is to explore the relationship between stance-taking in conversation and the use of discourse markers with regard to the linguistic and social practices of a group of Spanish-speaking adolescent Latina girls living in Northern California. I define *linguistic stance taking* as a pragmatic function whereby the speaker's type and degree of commitment, or stance, on the propositions being expressed is reflected through linguistic means. Stance taking has been studied as an integral part of meaning making, where meaning making is construed as going beyond propositional meaning to include speaker's meaning. It is also central to the production of identity. On the local level, stances display interactional identities as speakers align or disalign with one another by expressing agreement or disagreement with one another's propositions. On the wider social level, stances reflect and construct aspects of social identity as speakers take up positions associated with particular social categories and groups. And *how* they take up these positions—the pragmatic systems they use—may also be closely tied to identity, for such systems are cultural in origin and may therefore index particular regional, class, or national identifications. Insofar as stances mark disaffiliation as well as affiliation, their investigation serves as yet another corrective to overgeneralized claims about women's and girls' interactional cooperativeness.

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Cary, NC, USA: Oxford University Press, 1999. p 273.

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Stance taking is manifest in all areas of language. Metalinguistic and interpersonal uses of specific lexemes—stance adverbs such as *actually*, *roughly*, *exactly*—were investigated by Mava Jo Powell (1992). In phonetics, an example of a study of stance taking is the California Style Collective's (1993) study of a white California teenage girl's manipulation of the extreme variants in her vowel space for strategic purposes. Marjorie Goodwin (chapter 20, this volume) describes how gesture, intonation, and physical action are deployed in concert to embody stance in girls' conflictive evaluation of one another's turns at hopscotch. Studying conflict and its expression among girls and women has become an important avenue in linguistic and anthropological challenges (M. Goodwin 1990; chapter 20, this volume; Thorne 1993) to scholarly accounts of gendered behavior that polarize women as cooperative and men as conflictive and specifically link these discourse patterns to patterns of socialization and childhood interactions (Maltz & Borker 1982).

However, these newer and more careful studies go beyond simply maintaining that girls are in fact capable of engaging in conflict; they further demonstrate that cooperation and conflict are both at work in girls' and women's interactions. Such revisions of earlier work are important means of bringing previously overlooked groups, such as Latina children and adolescents, into focus and understanding their practices and identities. Thus in this volume Marjorie Goodwin debunks the myth of Latina submissiveness and Marjorie Faulstich Orellana (chapter 3) shows how Latina student writers construct brave and even "bad" selves through stories. In both cases the authors show how the poles of conflict and cooperation, "badness" and "goodness," mutually implicate each other in Latina girls' productions of interactional and social identity.

In a similar vein, this study explores how Latina adolescents interactionally exploit the polysemy of an apparent marker of negation. I examine how turn-initial *no* can have properties of strict semantic negation, mark oppositional stance, and contain elements of collaboration, all coexisting within the meaning of a single surface form. Although this form appears unambiguously oppositional and invites an interpretation of conflict, I will show by looking at the local context that in fact turn-initial *no* serves as a complex resource that modulates evaluation and stance in the girls' conversation about social class.

For this study I will focus specifically on the use of *no* where it is a discourse marker—that is, where it does not have strict semantic properties as a negative operator (see example (1)):

(1)

A: Olga se junta a veces con nosotras, pero más con ellas.

*Olga hangs out with us sometimes, but more with the others.*

L: No, ps::, nomás, o sea, tú sabes, **no**?, a veces echa relajo por aquí, tú sabes como son las cosas, **no**?

*No, ps::, just, o sea, you know, no?, sometimes she comes to have a good time over here, you know how things are, no?*

In this example, L uses a turn-initial *no* to provide further explanation of A's assertion. What follows A's assertion is a repetition and elaboration rather than a contra-

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diction. Given this fact, why did L begin with what appears to be an overt negation? It is the conversational uses of this kind of discourse-marker *no* that I will consider. I will also touch on the role of other kinds of *no*, like the sentence-medial or sentence-final, question-intonational *no*? also illustrated in L's utterance. In the process I will demonstrate the stances that speakers assume and the identities that they display by virtue of their use of this socially meaningful discourse marker. Such identities, as I will show, have much less to do with gender or ethnicity alone than with the complex interplay of these categories with speakers' interactional, personal, and social histories (see also Sawin, chapter 12; Tannen, chapter 11, both this volume).

#### Discourse markers and social meaning

Although researchers have not reached a clear consensus as to the definition of *discourse marker*, most of the research in this rapidly expanding area treats discourse markers as signposts of discourse coherence (Fraser 1992; Schiffrin 1987) rather than as carriers of a social message. Also known under such aliases as *discourse connectives* and *conversational markers*, discourse markers have only recently been conceptualized as separate, patterned units of talk. Stephen Levinson suggests that the crucial features of discourse markers are that they "indicate the relationship between an utterance and the prior discourse" and that they "resist truth-conditional treatment" (1983:87). The conceptualization of discourse markers as primarily serving to indicate sequential relations between units of talk is one that has dominated the research since Levinson's original observation.

Deborah Schiffrin defines discourse markers as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (1987:31). These brackets can be initial, medial, or final in position, but they always serve to signal both anaphoric and cataphoric relations between the units of talk. By *sequential dependence* Schiffrin means that these units work with reference to the larger discourse coherence level and thus depend on sequencing of clauses for their meaning. The meaning of discourse markers (henceforth DMs) is consequently independent of the syntactic, semantic, and phonological levels of talk. For instance, devices like *well*, *now*, *but*, *right*, and *you know* do not signal syntactic relations, but they do provide information at the level of discourse content.

Bruce Fraser characterizes DMs by breaking down the various components of sentence meaning (figure 14.1). In this framework, basic pragmatic markers signal the speaker's basic illocutionary intention (for example, declarative and interrogative structures are basic pragmatic markers). Commentary pragmatic markers signal an entire separate message consisting of the speaker's comment on the utterance (such as sequential relations or speaker's attitude). Parallel pragmatic markers also signal a message separate from but concomitant with the basic message (for example, politeness).

In Fraser's framework DMs are lexical adjuncts, units syntactically and phonologically independent of the well-formed sentence, which are a type of commentary pragmatic marker. They function as a comment on how the sentence is to be interpreted by adding contextual coherence—tantamount to Schiffrin's sequential dependence—with respect to the surrounding discourse.

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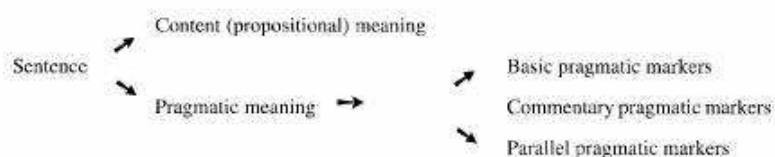


Figure 14.1. Types of discourse markers in sentence meaning. SOURCE: Fraser 1992:21

Fraser does not consider stanceful commentary pragmatic markers such as *frankly* to be DMs, whereas Schiffrin (1987) does, as her analysis of *I mean* shows. Both researchers, however, hold that DMs are incapable of carrying social meaning. The following analysis of *no* and other devices for stance taking and disagreement will attempt to show how interpersonal, stance-taking uses of DMs cannot be excluded from functional typologies, since in addition to bearing and deploying a variety of social meanings, they are also part of a continuum of sometimes multiple meanings for their homophones. Thus an instance of *no* can have overlapping meanings as a negative sentential operator, a postresponse request for response, a turn-initial collaborative marker, or a general signal of speakers' oppositional stance. Moreover, since the stance-taking functions of DMs are inevitably socially meaningful, they also provide insight into the moment-by-moment production of identity at multiple levels. In order to look at patterned uses of *no* in Latina adolescents' discourse, I will first introduce the discourse setting:

#### Research context: Sor Juana High School

My study emerges out of ethnographic fieldwork conducted for two years in a Northern California urban public high school, which I will call Sor Juana High School (SJHS). SJHS is located in a small urban setting, and like many other schools in the area, the majority of the students (62 percent) are students of color, and over half of that majority is Latino. Located in Santa Clara County, which has the fourth largest Hispanic population in the state of California (Camarillo 1985), SJHS has changed in the past 10 years from a predominantly white school serving one of the wealthiest communities in the Bay Area to a predominantly "minority" school that draws many of its students from nearby ethnic neighborhoods.

One of my main data-collection methods is participant observation. This involves participating in adolescent girls' single-sex and mixed-sex social networks and observing the organization of social structure and language use in their groups. In collaboration with the girls themselves, I have been mapping out their social networks and attempting to observe as many different networks as possible. In the following section, I summarize those networks at Sor Juana High School that are relevant to this chapter. I also provide a brief explanation of the high school's social situation, as understood both by the girls and by me.

The group of girls who are participants in the interaction I will analyze are representative of the diversity in the "minority" populations of many schools. These girls,

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who would be classified under one census category—the monolithic “Hispanic” category—come from many different countries, social-class backgrounds, and prior educational experiences. In order to better understand social organization in general it is necessary to know more about the participants than simply their age, country of origin, and gender. Although the teens in this interaction can all be classified as recent Latina immigrants, their backgrounds are crucially important in the unfolding of their interaction, in motivating their choices on everything from what kind of syntax to use to what floor-taking strategies are available and licensed. For the researcher of conversational and social organization, ethnographic background is essential in understanding how features of language that go beyond the purely propositional might enter into the construction of stance and social meaning. And for the scholar of language and gender, an ethnographic approach is vital in producing analyses of women’s and girls’ talk that are grounded in the specific practices of local communities (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992) and thus reflective of the speakers’, rather than the analyst’s, view of the role of gender and other identities in daily life.

### The interaction

#### Background

The interaction I analyze here consists of an unstructured conversation among five teenage high school girls who are best friends and me, a researcher in my mid-20s; I had known the girls for about a full school year at the time of the interview. In order to illuminate the social dynamics at play in the conversation, I will give a short description of each of the participants.

Three of the girls come from the central region of Mexico and are from middle-class backgrounds that have given them access to the prestigious Greater Mexico City dialect. Of these girls, one (Laura) is from Mexico City proper, and the other two (Andrea and Marisol, who are sisters) are from Puebla, an outlying city. Although they all use the phonology and syntax of the prestige dialect, they have very different attitudes toward class issues among Latinas/os in their high school. Laura and Marisol are central members of their group, which I call the Mexican Urban Middle Class (abbreviated MUMC throughout this chapter). Andrea, on the other hand, has multiple group memberships. She is part of MUMC but also part of the Mexican Rural Class (MRC) by virtue of her friendship networks and her developing views about social class (she repeatedly champions the working class over the middle class, as can be seen in this interview). In many ways she travels between groups: In the year after the interview her friendship networks came to be based more in the MRC than in the MUMC group. She has little tolerance for *fresas*, the upper-class end of the MUMC—the spoiled rich kids, as it were—who are the antithesis of the MRC. In this interaction, a large part of the argument centers around the status of *fresas* vis-à-vis *los de barrio* ‘people from the barrio’.

Also in the conversation is Graciela, a girl who was born in Los Angeles but spent her formative childhood years in rural Michoacán (western Mexico), only to return to the United States at the age of 13, three years prior to the taping of this

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conversation. She is a dominant Spanish speaker and in the past adopted the identity of a *Sureña*, a Mexican-identified gang girl. At the time of the interview she had been trying to move out of the gang for a few months and had traveled from her former networks to a completely different part of the spectrum of the Spanish-speaking social world in the school: the MUMC. Graciela's participation in the interaction is very important, because she is peripheral in the group. There are two primary reasons for her peripherality: (1) She is an atypical member who does not share the urban-teen tastes and orientation of the others; and (2) she is a speaker of the Michoacán dialect of Spanish rather than a "standard" urban dialect. This latter feature distinguishes her in this conversation primarily by virtue of her pragmatics and underscores her social peripherality.

The fifth participant is Yadira, an adolescent from Perú who, despite her different nationality and background, is very similar to the MUMC girls. She lived in Lima, the capital of Perú, before coming to the United States, and in this respect shares in the broader Latin American urban teen style. Because in many instances Latin American urban dialects are closer to each other cross-nationally than to rural dialects within their own countries (Canfield 1981), Yadira's conversational style and pragmatics are actually more similar to the MUMC core patterns than are Graciela's, even though Graciela is from Mexico.

I am the last participant in the conversation. I am in some ways similar in background to the core MUMC girls, being an urban young person from Mexico City, but I am 10 years older and in many respects an adult figure. Although at the time I would socialize and interact with these girls on a daily basis, they also saw me as a kind of older sibling and would, in times of conflict, try to get me to take sides or settle disputes. It is in this role that I enter into the interaction toward the end of the transcript.

### Analysis

For the purposes of economy of space and clarity of explanation, I will not reproduce the entire transcript of the conversation here but will instead ask the reader to review and refer to appendix 1 for transcription conventions and other notation and to appendix 2 for the complete transcript. In the analysis I will quote relevant parts of the transcript as necessary.

The segment of conversation begins with Graciela speaking simultaneously with Andrea in lines 1 and 2 (see example (2)). Andrea, the louder speaker, wins out, and Graciela gives up her attempt to get a turn. Although this interactional sequence may look like an uninteresting and common conversational occurrence, it begins a pattern for Graciela's participation in the interaction: Her bids for the floor are repeatedly ignored (see lines 4, 23, 25, 27, to be discussed later). Her unwillingness to fight for the floor in a conversation where everyone else does so through loudness and overlap coincides with her peripherality as a speaker of rural, nonstandard Spanish in a community of practice dominated by standard-Spanish, urban-teen pragmatics.

In line 2, Andrea puts forth her opinion about the relationship between people from the *barrio* and *fresas*: 'the atmosphere is better with people from the *barrio*'. She speaks loudly but with a modulated epistemic stance—the phrase *yo creo que* serves as a stance marker and signals a less-than-total degree of speaker commitment to the assertion

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(Powell 1992; Traugott 1995). But why would Andrea modulate her epistemic stance if she feels so strongly about the issue? One answer is that several people who consider themselves *fresas* are among her interlocutors. Laura does, for instance, and she latches onto Andrea's utterance and disagrees with it (line 3):

(2)

- 1 Graciela: [Yo- e:hh- ahh:]
- 2 Andrea: [YO CREO QUE] HACEN MÁS AMBIENTE: UNOS DE BARRIO  
que todos unos pinches fresas, me caen bien mal.=  
*I THINK THAT THE ATMOSPHERE IS BETTER WITH PEOPLE  
FROM THE BARRIO than with a (expletive) bunch of fresas, they get  
on my nerves.=*
- 3 Laura: =Bueno, > depende no? porque si estás e<n:: (.) >depende como te  
sientas tu a gusto<, no, porque si te sientes a gusto en la Tonda de: (.)  
de con los de barrio, pus - se te [va-]=  
*=Well, it depends no?, because if you're in (.) it depends where you  
feel comfortable no?, because if you feel comfortable with the, the  
barrio thing, then [you're-]*
- wa L X A
- 4 Graciela: [Pero-]  
[But-]
- 5 Laura: =s'te va a hacer lo máximo.  
*=then you'll think it's the best.*

In disagreeing with Andrea, Laura points out tactfully and indirectly the relativity of her statement: *If you are comfortable with people from the barrio then you will think it's great. There is a very strong inference here that if you are not comfortable with people from the barrio, if you are a lone fresa among those from the barrio, then you won't think it's great.*

Laura's indirectness is key: She sets up a whole possible world of a solitary *fresa* who is uncomfortable in the barrio by actually saying the opposite and allowing her scenario to be inferred. This type of indirectness is accompanied by hedging—the use of contrastive DMs such as *bueno* and *depende*. Also present is *no?* in the capacity of a postresponse pursuit of response (as in Jefferson's [1980] analysis of the similar German particle *ne?*, also termed a request for feedback in Oliveira and Tavares's [1992] analysis of Brazilian Portuguese *né*). Interestingly enough, this postresponse pursuit of response can actually have no response because the speaker accelerates her rate of speech and leaves no room for the interlocutor to come in. What we might ordinarily otherwise call a tag question has undergone routinization and lexicalization and can now function as a DM, needing no response, with hardly a rising intonation left in it.

Following Laura's response, Marisol (Andrea's sister), aligns herself with Laura by making fun of people from the barrio. She does this by uttering the phrase 'I'm from the barrio' with a set of linguistic devices, intended to be comical, that subvert the



meaning of the utterance: She uses creaky voice, a drastically lower pitch, and an exaggerated trilling gesture on the word *barrio* to take a stance in line 6 of example (3):

- (3)
- 6 Marisol: ↓~Yo soy del ba:RRio:~=  
 ↓~I'm from the baRRio:~=  
 ⚡M → L  
 7 Laura: =Aha:,=  
 =Aha:,=  
 ⚡L ✓ M, L → M

In line 7 Laura utters a confirmation of Marisol's subtextual message. She has understood her and mutually aligns with her. This gesture from Marisol is a slight to her sister Andrea. Andrea does not respond to it right away; she must deal with Laura's challenge to her proposition, which is sequentially first in order. But we will see that she returns to her sister several turns later by denying her space on the conversational floor.

Let us now examine Andrea's response to Laura in line 8 (example 4):

- (4)
- 8 Andrea: =NO, ↓no, ↓no, ↑yo no digo que si están  
 revueltos los dos, yo digo que- [(0.3) que (.) ve-]  
 =NO, no, no, I'm not talking about when  
 they're both together, I'm saying that- [(0.3) that (.) see-]  
 ⚡A ✗ L

Andrea begins with a series of *nos* that are clearly of the sentential negative-operator meaning. She returns to the possible world set up by Laura in line 3 and begins to say that this is not the scenario that she meant. 'I'm not talking about when they're both together' is the best evidence that we could have to confirm that Laura's inference-derived possible world was taken up: It was explicitly rejected. Andrea is about to give her own version of the scenario (with *fresas* considered separately from people from the barrio and independently evaluated) when Laura overlaps her. Laura forcefully takes the turn by means of a loud turn-initial *no* and displays her understanding by attempting to finish Andrea's sentence with an insertion of the noun phrase *cada quien* (line 9) that latches on to the *que* uttered by Andrea (line 8):

- (5)
- 9 Laura: [NO, pero, no, pus,] o sea, tu sabes, no, cada quien,=  
 [NO, but, no, pus,] o sea, you know, no, each one,=  
 ⚡L ✗ A

Remarkably, Laura's syntactically and semantically noncontentious contribution to Andrea's sentence is preceded by a string of seven DMs, three of which are tokens of *no* and two of which are also oppositional in meaning (*pero* and *pus*). The others are *o sea*, which has been analyzed by Scott Schwenter (1996) as a marker of



politeness, and *tu sabes*, in this case analogous to *you know*, a DM analyzed by Schiffrin (1987) as establishing a participation framework or ratifying listenership. It is no accident that Laura's contentful contribution is delayed until it is free of overlap; the string of DMs here serve the function of holding her turn. After uttering the collaborative noun phrase, Laura herself is reinterrupted by Andrea (example (6)):

- (6)
- |    |         |                            |
|----|---------|----------------------------|
| 10 | Andrea: | =no, claro, propia onda=   |
|    |         | =no, of course, own thing= |

Andrea here displays her understanding of Laura's meaning, quickly latching after the first noun phrase (*cada quien*) to finish the sentence that she already knows Laura is helping her to construct: *Cada quien tiene su propia onda*. She takes the turn with *no* and follows it immediately with the agreement DM *claro*. A simplified version of Andrea and Laura's twice coconstructed sentence is as follows:

... yo digo que	cada quien	(tiene su)	propia onda.
Andrea	Laura	ellided	Andrea

Even as we understand that the speakers agree on the emergent syntax and semantics of this sentence under construction (cf. C. Goodwin 1979), it is striking that this agreement takes place amid the lush flora of oppositional DMs. Their agreement and coconstruction does not resemble the harmonious collaborations found in some of the prior coconstruction literature (cf. C. Goodwin 1979, 1995). What functions, then, are these oppositional DMs serving? Here I advance the proposal that, in this case, although there is syntactic and semantic collaboration in the construction of the sentence, at a pragmatic level there is conflict. Neither Laura nor Andrea allows the other to finish a turn, and they repeatedly interrupt each other to contentiously display their understanding. In this case one can even construe coconstruction as hostile and the coconstructed sentence as frustrating: None of the speakers can "get a word in edgewise."

Both lines 9 and 10 (examples (5) and (6)), in which the instances of coconstruction occur, begin with a turn-initial phonologically independent *no*, which has no trace of its strict semantic meaning as a negative sentential operator. What follows these turn-initial *nos* remains positive in polarity, and as seen in line 10 (example (6)), a marker of agreement can even occur: *claro*, 'of course'. I will call this use of *no*, which bids for the floor and inserts an explanation, a *turn-initial collaborative expansion*. This phenomenon has also been documented for Italian by Carmen Licari and Stefania Stame (1992), and there is strongly suggestive evidence for it in Marjorie Goodwin (chapter 20, this volume) as well. A similar meaning is operative in the use of the English construction *yeah but*, as in example (7), in which Nancy is talking to Hyla about what her doctor said in reference to acne:

- (7)
- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| Nancy: | He says 't's all inside you it's 'n emotional thing'n, |
|        | *hɦɦ e[ːn, ]   |
| Hyla:  | [Yeah] buh whatchu ea:t if you eat greasy foo:d=       |

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Here Hyla is agreeing with Nancy and adding her own contributory explanation (greasy food) to Nancy's doctor's explanation of acne (that it is psychosomatic). It is possible that European American English speakers' preferences for agreement are satisfied with *yeah but* whereas other speakers may be following different rules and may perform the same function—turn-initial collaborative expansion—with a negative instead of a positive marker. I have also made some casual observations of this phenomenon among Jewish American speakers of English. In example (8) S is a Jewish American woman:

- (8)
- A: Why don't you do it like this, it's better that way.  
 S: No, yeah, you're right.

Immediately following the utterance I inquired as to its status with S, who informed me that it was common in her repertoire and *not* a repair. This may be related to collaborative disagreement among Jewish Americans (cf. Modan 1994; Schiffrrin 1984). Such examples remind us that early claims about women's collaborative styles do not reflect the practices of all women.

One interesting consequence of the finding that turn-initial collaborative expansions have surface disagreement shapes in Spanish is that it requires an elaboration of one of the most important concepts in conversation analysis: the *agreement preference*, that is, that agreement is preferred and negation is dispreferred. Emanuel Schegloff, Gail Jefferson, and Harvey Sacks (1977) postulate that disagreement between parties in a conversation is strongly dispreferred. Conversation-analytic research has borne this prediction out for American and British speakers (Davidson 1984; Pomerantz 1984; Yaeger-Dror 1986, among many others) and has been shown to be an important dimension in patterning the behavior and distribution of such phenomena as request, invitation, repair, and assessment sequences.

I suggest that agreement preferences may be gradient rather than categorical and that different speech communities, speakers, or individual situations may have a weaker or a stronger form of this preference rule. A weak form of the rule would allow speakers to display agreement through what may look on the surface like an opposition marker, such as the turn-initial *no*, or to express conflict and disagreement through apparently collaborative strategies such as coconstructions. Based on these data, it is also possible that speakers with a weaker form of the preference rule would be more tolerant of overlap. The copatterning of these behaviors in additional communities would provide a confirmation of this hypothesis.

Resuming the analysis of the Latina girls' interaction, we find that after line 10 and with the end of the coconstructed segment, both Marisol and Laura try to take the floor. By this time, there has been so much careful posturing, hesitation, taking of negative stances, and use of DMs that very little is being said, and speakers are interrupting each other before any of them get to say anything. In line 13, Andrea erupts in a scream (example (9)):

- (9)
- 11 Marisol: =Yo digo que[:  
               =I say that[:

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- 12 Laura:    =[O sea, [no creo que-]  
              =[O sea, [I don't think that-]
- 13 Andrea: [GRITA]  
            [SCREAM]

This scream is directed at no one in particular and releases enough tension that all participants laugh heartily. At this point (example (10), line 15), after pitch, volume, and tempo are reset to normal—a sort of cleaning of the conversational slate—Andrea returns to settle accounts with her sister, who slighted her in line 3 (example (2)). This is interesting in that it shows how speakers can keep track, even after several sentences, of unfinished conversational business. Andrea retroactively turns down her sister's prior bid for a turn (in line 11 of example (9)), and Marisol reacts with a denial and reassertion of her previous position (line 17 of example (10)). Note that in both of these instances *no* is turn-initial and phonologically separate, as in the collaborative uses in examples (5) and (6). In the first instance (line 15), *no* is clearly negative in its semantics: It is a denial of the previous speaker's assertion (that is, Andrea denies that Marisol has something to say) and also functions as a negative operator that has scope over the whole sentence, with a NEG marker on the verb as well:

- (10)
- 15 Andrea: [No:], ella no dice nada.= ((acerca de Marisol))  
            [No:], she doesn't say anything.= ((about Marisol))
- ☞ A S< M
- ...
- 17 Marisol: =[ No, si digo algo, no?=  
              =[No:, I do say something, no?=  
☞ M X A

In line 17, however, despite its similarity in morphological, phonological, and syntactic shape with line 15, the intonationally separate *no* is not a negative sentential operator, since it is immediately followed by a positive-polarity sentence over which it does not have scope (for an intonational-theoretic discussion of the status of DMs, see Hirschberg & Litman 1987). It is impossible in this case to assign a single meaning to *no*. From the example it is clear that it is both a negation of the previous speaker's assertion and a bid for the floor followed by the speaker's own assertion. Thus from the context, both interpretations are not only possible but necessary. Table 14.1 summarizes some of the possible uses for *no* as a DM as they emerge in the data. These show that the intonationally bound uses of *no* are those in which strict syntactic and semantic relations of scope are best preserved and that those that are intonationally free are the discourse-marking uses which do not necessarily preserve strict semantic relations. Thus we explain the absence of intonationally bound *no* at the end of a turn, because by virtue of its position it cannot have scope over the clause. One apparent exception to the lack of preservation of syntactic/semantic relations in the intonationally free DMs is that of the turn-initial, free *no*, which appears to pre-

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Table 14.1. Positions and functions of *no*

No position	No function	
	<i>Intonationally free</i>	<i>Intonationally bound</i>
Turn-initial	Negation of prior assertion (Semantic NEG operator) Bid for the floor Turn-initial collaborative expansion	Semantic NEG operator
Medial	Postresponse pursuit of response/ Request for feedback	Semantic NEG operator
Final	Postresponse pursuit of response/ Request for feedback	

serve some of the semantics of the operator. The reason for this preservation is that, as a consequence of its function as an opposition to the previous speaker's statement, the intonationally free *no* will reverse the polarity of the matrix clause when it is a repetition or paraphrase of the previous speaker's statement.

For example, in the following triad of oppositions (repeated as example (11)) the first turn-initial *no* shifts the polarity from positive (line 11) to negative (line 13), and the second shifts it again from negative (line 13) to positive (line 15). The underlying proposition is "Marisol says something." Marisol advances the proposition as part of her turn, but her sister negates it and she reasserts it again:

(11)

- 11 Marisol: =Yo digo que[:  
              =I say that[:
- ... ..
- 15 Andrea: [No:], ella no dice nada.= ((acerca de Marisol))  
              {No:}, she doesn't say anything.= ((about Marisol))
- ... ..
- 17 Marisol: =[ No, sí digo algo, no?=  
              ={No:, I do say something, no?=  
... ..
- 19 M X A

It is apparent that by line 19 the tension continues to escalate as Marisol threatens to terminate her participation in the conversation and later embodies a display of her conflict stance by slamming her papers three times on the desk (line 21). Laura in

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the meantime uses an oppositional DM (*pus*) in an attempt to redirect the conversation (example (12)):

(12)

- 19 Marisol: =Para eso no hablar.=  
=In that case I won't talk.
- 20 Laura: =Ay, pus.  
=Oh, come on.
- 21 Marisol: No, vaya, ((papeles contra el escritorio 3x))=  
No, well, ((slaps paper on table 3x))=

As the two sisters argue between lines 15 and 21, they start almost all their utterances, whether positive or negative, with *no*. It is possible to conceptualize this as an example of format-tying, in which a speaker incorporates a feature (or more) of the previous speaker's discourse into her or his own speech to show simultaneous understanding and similar orientation (cf. M. Goodwin 1990). Here the sisters orient to each other's disagreement; through their use of turn-initial *no*, they display for each other their oppositional stance.

At this point Graciela, the ex-*Sureña*, makes a bid for the floor. She does so in line 23 (example (13)) not by using a turn-initial *no* as the rest of the speakers did but by making an overt request for the floor in the form of a verb of locution. This type of bid is very different from what the Central Mexican dialect speakers are used to:

(13)

- 23 Graciela: =Di:go[ohh::]  
=I say::

So involved are the other speakers in the arguments and their mutual posturing that they do not listen to, or do not recognize, or in any case ignore, Graciela's bid for the floor, partly because its form is not transparent to them as such. She makes two more attempts (Example (14)):

(14)

- 25 Graciela: DH::G[OHH::=  
I S{AY:::
- 26 All: [Hhbn[hhh::]
- 27 Graciela: =[Digo,] ((quedito))  
=[I say,] ((softly))

After these bids are ignored and even Yadira (who has been silent until this time) manages to get a turn (line 28 of example (15)) through the characteristically loud

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turn-beginning that we saw before, Graciela finally, exasperatedly, takes the floor and explicitly complains to her friends for not letting her talk. It is significant that she has had to resort to such an overt form, a metalinguistic complaint (with marked pitch, intensity, and intonation) regarding the structuring of turns and the rules of talk. The overtness of this criticism, along with the markedness of her use of an expletive, produces what is for this group a very long silence, during which all participants look at one another in surprise at her utterance:

- (15)
- 28 Yadira: SEGÚN LAS NOVELAS . . según mis novelas,=  
 ACCORDING TO THE SOAP OPERAS . . , according to my soap operas,=  
 29 Graciela: =No dejan HA↑BLA:R, ↓fregado, ((quejándose))  
 =You're not letting me TALK, (expletive), ((plaintively—whining))
- ☞ G ☞ L,A,M,Y,N  
 (1.0)

After this silence, Laura negotiates with Graciela over the status of her utterance (example (16)). She does not understand why Graciela is upset, and she utters a lengthened and high-pitched request for clarification:

- (16)
- 30 Laura: O::YY:: QUE::::?

Graciela chooses not to take this up but instead suddenly turns to me, and in example (17) asks me to leave the room with her, ostensibly to make photocopies. I do not have a photocopy card, however, and I turn down her request:

- (17)
- 31 Graciela: Ve:n a copia:r. ((a Norma))  
 Come make some copies. ((to Norma))
- 32 Norma: No puedo.  
 I can't.

Why does Graciela ask me to go away with her immediately following her aggravated complaint to her friends? It may be because throughout this conversation I have not taken sides or because she is trying to get me to align with her and to display this by leaving with her. On the other hand, she may also be trying to avoid disagreement. Based on her avoidance of overt disagreement shapes to take a turn or to provide expansions, I postulate that Graciela's tolerance for disagreement is much lower than that of the other participants and that, having been forced to make a strong overt disagreement, she is now trying to exit this sequence, to open up a closing (Schegloff & Sacks 1973), in order to save face in front of her interlocutors.

Yadira's better understanding of the MUMC conversational rules is evident when she gives Graciela some very explicit metalinguistic advice (example (18)) designed

to address the problem raised by Graciela, as well as to explain to her why she was not being let into the conversation before:

(18)

- 33 Yadira: Métete, Graciela:  
*Interrupt, Graciela:*  
 34 Y → G

It is interesting to note that this explanation does not come from a core member of the MUMC. Yadira, as a relative outsider from a different country's urban teen culture, is the one to articulate the shape of the preferred turns for the other relative outsider. In the next turn, syllable by syllable, all participants gradually join in a chanting chorus of Graciela's name, erupting in laughter and hugs in line 35 (example (19)):

(19)

- 34 All except Graciela, joining in gradually: GRA:-CI:-E:-LA:::  
 34 A,M,L,Y,N → G  
 35 All including Graciela: HhhhhHhhhh: ((hugging))

After they have all laughed and hugged and done their best to repair the conflict caused by Graciela's complaint, they move on to another conversational topic altogether.

What emerges from an overview of this interaction is how individual turn-taking behaviors directly correlate with central and peripheral social status in the group. Graciela appears to have a different system for turn-taking, with more highly preferred overt agreement and dispreferred overlaps. In fact, she seems to be observing the norms held as prototypical in Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974). Unfortunately, it is also the case that in this group those norms are not the standard, and following them serves to reinforce her marginality: She has a very difficult time entering a conversation in progress.

This analysis reveals the multiple identities that girls bring to interaction. Their linguistic practices cannot be adequately explained merely by invoking global categories such as 'female' or 'Latina'. Instead, we must appeal to the variety of resources of which speakers avail themselves: friendship patterns, sibling relationships, regional and social-class backgrounds, and personal beliefs and opinions. It is only by recognizing the diversity of such resources—and of the speakers who use them—that we can come to understand their role in the formation of identity.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to show how conflict is managed in the conversation of a group of Spanish-speaking Latina adolescents. I have looked at opposition, collaboration, and stance enacted through the use of DMs, especially the different uses of *no*, as well as through other devices like overt complaints, denials of requests for the floor, and even paralinguistic banging on the table. This clustering of resources

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to show speakers' evolving orientations to and evaluations of their interlocutors and their actions are all components of what I call *stance*. I have given examples of oppositional coconstruction and also collaborative denials and have tried to expand conversation-analytic notions of preference by showing that what is highly dispreferred in one setting can be the norm in another.

A substantial body of research on adolescent girls' interactions reveals that neither a cooperative nor a conflictive paradigm is sufficient to capture the details of talk in context (cf. also Coates, chapter 6, this volume). Penelope Eckert (1993) has found a model of "cooperative competition" useful in her analysis of white teenage girls' conversations. Similarly, the present study points to the possibility of both collaborative opposition and what might be termed *conflictive corroboration* in the use of turn-initial *no* by Latina adolescents. The carefully calibrated alignments that speakers produce by means of this DM interact with other, more enduring facets of identity. Together they help to complete a picture of Latina adolescent girls' interactional practices in all their social complexity.

#### APPENDIX 1

##### Transcription conventions

In my transcript I follow standard conversation-analytic transcription procedures, pioneered by Gail Jefferson and widely adopted in the field:

<b>Bold, italics, underline</b>	Text in bold, italics, or underlining receives special emphasis.
:::	Colons indicate lengthening of segments.
(1.2)	Numbers in parentheses mark gaps—silences in seconds and tenths of seconds.
> <	The combination of "less than" and "more than" symbols indicates that the talk between them is compressed or rushed.
↑ ↓	Upward and downward arrows mark sharp intonation rises and falls or resettings of pitch register.
~talk~	Talk between tildes is spoken with creaky voice, or laryngealization.

The following punctuation symbols are used to mark intonation rather than as grammatical symbols:

.	A period indicates a falling contour.
?	A question mark indicates a rising contour.
,	A comma indicates a fall-rise.
-	A dash indicates a cutoff of the current sound.
[ ]	A left bracket marks the precise point at which an overlap begins. When the end of the overlap is itself overlapped, a right bracket defines the ends of the overlapped segments.

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=	An equal sign indicates "latching," that is, when there is no interval between units of talk by the same or different speakers.
hh	Hearable aspiration counted in pulses; the more aspiration, the more <i>hs</i> . Also used for laughter. When the laughter has a vocalic quality, it is indicated by an approximate vowel. When nasal, it is indicated by an <i>n</i> as in <i>hnh</i> .
*hh	If the aspiration is inhalation, it bears a dot or asterisk before it.
{talk}	Transcriber doubt.
((comment))	Transcriber comment.

## Other notation

As an aid in understanding the interaction, I have made a simple and preliminary attempt to mark some of the stance taking of the various speakers. After the relevant utterance, I use a pointer ( $\epsilon^*$ ) and the speaker's initial, along with the following symbols for four basic relationships:

- ✓ agrees with
- aligns with
- ✗ disagrees with
- ≍ dissociates from

So for example:

$\epsilon^* A \checkmark Y$  = Andrea agrees with Yadira

## APPENDIX 2

## The transcript

- 1 Graciela: [Yo- e:hh- ahh:]
- 2 Andrea: [YO CREO QUE] HACEN MÁS AMBIENTE: UNOS DE BARRIO que todos unos pinches fresas, me caen bien mal.=  
*I THINK THAT THE ATMOSPHERE IS BETTER WITH PEOPLE FROM THE BARRIO than with a (expletive) bunch of fresas, they get on my nerves.=*
- 3 Laura: =Bueno, > de↑pende no? porque si estás e<n: (.) >depende como te sientas tu a gusto<, no, porque si te sientes a gusto en la ↑onda de: (.) de con los de barrio, pus - se te [va-]=  
*=Well, it depends no?, because if you're in (.) it depends where you feel comfortable no?, because if you feel comfortable with the, the barrio thing, then [you're-]*
- $\epsilon^* L \times A$
- 4 Graciela: [Pero-]  
*[But-]*

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- 5 Laura: =s'te va a hacer lo máximo.  
=then you'll think it's the best.
- 6 Marisol: ↓~Yo soy del baRRio:~ =  
↓~I'm from the baRRio:~ =
- ⇨ M → L
- 7 Laura: =Aha:~ =  
=Aha:~ =
- ⇨ L ✓ M, L → M
- 8 Andrea: =NO. ↓no, ↓no, ↑yo no digo que si  
están revueltos los dos, yo digo que- [(0.3) que (.) ve-]  
=NO, no, no, I'm not talking about  
when they're both together, I'm saying that- [(0.3) that (.) see-]
- ⇨ A ✕ L
- 9 Laura: [NO, pero, no, pus.] o sea, tu sabes, no, cada quien,=  
[NO, but, no, pus,] o sea, you know, no, each one, =
- ⇨ L ✕ A
- 10 Andrea: =no, claro, propia onda=  
=no, of course, own thing=
- 11 Marisol: = Yo digo que[:::  
= I say that[:::
- 12 Laura: = [O sea, [no creo que-]  
= [O sea, [I don't think that-]
- 13 Andrea: **[GRITA]**  
**[SCREAM]**
- 14 Graciela, Andrea, Laura: Hhnhh Hhnhh .Hhnhh [Hhh Mmm:]
- 15 Andrea: [No:], ella no dice nada.= ((acerca de Marisol))  
[No:], she doesn't say anything.= ((about Marisol))
- ⇨ A ⇨ M
- 16 Graciela: =|Hhnhh::
- 17 Marisol: =| No, si digo algo, no?=  
=|No:, I do say something, no? =
- ⇨ M ✕ A
- 18 Andrea: =>Aha, aha, aha.<=
- 19 Marisol: =Para eso no hablar.=  
=In that case I won't talk,
- ⇨ M ⇨ A
- 20 Laura: =Ay, pus.  
=Oh, come on.
- 21 Marisol: No, vaya, ((papeles contra el escritorio 3x))=  
No, well, ((slaps paper on table 3x))=
- 22 Laura: =Oye,=  
=Hey, =
- 23 Graciela: =Di:go[ohh::]  
= I say::
- 24 Laura: [No, de una vez,]  
[No, let's have it right now,]

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- 25 Graciela: **DII::GIOHH::=**  
**LSIAY:::**
- 26 All: [Hhhha[hhh::]]
- 27 Graciela: =[Digo,] ((quedito))  
 = [I say,] ((softly))
- 28 Yadira: SEGÚN LAS NOVELAS . . según mis novelas,=  
 ACCORDING TO THE SOAP OPERAS . . , according to my soap operas,=
- 29 Graciela: =No dejan HA↑BLA:R, ↓fregado. ((quejándose))  
 =You're not letting me TALK, (expletive). ((plaintively—whining))
- ☞ G ☞ L,A,M,Y,N  
 (1.0)
- 30 Laura: O::YY:: QUE::::?
- 31 Graciela: Ve:n a copia:r. ((a Norma))  
 Come make some copies. ((to Norma))
- 32 Norma: No puedo.  
 I can't.
- 33 Yadira: Métete, Graciela:  
 Interrupt, Graciela:
- ☞ Y → G
- 34 All except Graciela, joining in gradually: **GRA:-CL:-E:-LA:::**
- ☞ A,M,L,Y,N → G
- 35 All including Graciela: HhhhhHhhhh:: ((hugging))

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