

Projection in interaction and projection in grammar*

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Abstract

In this paper, I argue that there are fundamental common features shared by interaction and grammar that suggest some kind of interdependence between the two and a nonautonomy of the language faculty; one of these fundamental common features is that of 'projectability'. Human interaction rests on the possibility of projection; the grammars of human languages provide interlocutors with sedimentated and shared ways of organizing them.

Empirical evidence for this view comes from structural homologies between action projection and grammatical projection. In particular, it is shown (on the basis of conversational examples from German) that in both cases: (1) the strength of the projective force can vary; (2) emerging gestalts can be framed by weakly projecting introductions; (3) projections can be interrupted; (4) full gestalts can be expanded; and (5) projections can be abandoned.

The projectability of syntactic as well as sequence structures suggests an approach to syntax that takes into account the temporal unfolding of speech in time. It also suggests looking at the indeterminate areas between syntax and conversational structure in which the borderline between grammar and interaction can only be drawn on an ad hoc basis.

Keywords: projection (grammar); projection (conversation); prefatory activities; insertions; expansions; syntax and interaction.

1. Introduction

One of the central theoretical concerns of present-day linguistics is the question of whether grammatical knowledge represents an autonomous component of the human mind and is therefore independent of

interactional (or any other nongrammatical) competence. I will argue in this paper that there are fundamental common features shared by interaction and grammar that suggest some kind of interdependence between the two. One of them is projectability. Human interaction rests on the possibility of projection; the grammars of human languages provide interlocutors with sedimentated and shared ways of organizing projection in interaction.

I will propose a homologous mechanism of projection in interaction and in grammar (in the sense of syntax and morphosyntax). The argument is based on examples from German (whose surface syntax is that of a mixed verb-second and verb-final language) but can be easily transferred to other languages of a similar syntactic type (particularly verb-second languages have been shown to behave similarly). The application to consistent verb-final languages is outside the scope of this paper (but see Auer 1990 for Turkish; Couper-Kuhlen and Ono 2003; as well as Tanaka 2000 for Japanese).

2. Projection

By projection I mean the fact that an individual action or part of it foreshadows another. In order to understand what is projected, interactants need some kind of knowledge about how actions (or action components) are typically (i.e., qua types) sequenced, i.e., how they follow each other in time.

Each projection has a time span. Investigating projection as a fundamental feature of language therefore forces us to foreground its temporality (cf. Auer et al. 1999: ch. 1). An action (or action component) may project onto the timing slot immediately following it and make some next activity (component) expectable in this slot. But it may also allow other things to happen ‘in between’, before the projected unit legitimately can or should occur, and it may project more than one ‘next’ in a sequence. The term *trajectory* of a projection will be used to refer to the time course over which it develops and comes to closure or resolution.

Projection contrasts with determination. A projection may fail to be realized, and the emerging structure fail to come to orderly completion by being either broken off or changed midway. In interaction, participants are essentially *co-involved* in deciding over the fate of a projected ‘next’. As Streeck puts it, projections ‘prefigure the next moment, allowing the participants to negotiate joint courses of action until, finally, a communication problem is solved collaboratively’ (1995: 87). It is exactly this feature that makes projection so essential. Communication without

projection would be restricted to behavioral segments that are either independent events or chained to each other as stimulus–response sequences, beyond the control of a speaker and recipient. The first alternative would be equal to saying that communicational events have no internal structure. As a consequence, complex verbal activities (monological or dialogical) would be impossible. The second alternative would allow for complex utterances but imply that the course of events is entirely beyond coparticipants' control; it would enable them to predict the response following the stimulus, but it would not enable them to act with foresight (or 'Vor-Sicht'), for there would be nothing they could do to prevent the course of events from happening.

The cognitive advantages of projection are also blatantly clear: while participants go through a phase of maximal planning during the early parts of a trajectory, in which emerging structures have to be constructed and understood, the amount of processing effort decreases during its course; usually, the final parts can be predicted. Projection therefore establishes some kind of cognitive rhythm: phases of maximal attention in the early phase of a trajectory alternate with phases of minimal attention in its later phase (cf. Auer et al. 1999: 15–16).

Projection has been one of the main foci of research in conversation analysis (cf. Schegloff et al. 1996; Ford and Thompson 1996; Goodwin 2002). Various scales are involved and have been investigated. On the largest level, there is action projection, which plays a prominent role in research on conversational 'pres' (prefatory activities). In addition, there are pres to pres that open up a conversational space in that preliminary materials can be included that are necessary for the proper understanding of the focal utterance itself (cf. Schegloff 1980). Story prefaces, preinvitations, preannouncements, etc., all share the ability to foreshadow an action (usually by the same speaker). They typically do the job of projecting something that may be rejected or receipted in a dispreferred way and that thereby is potentially face-threatening; through the use of pres, participants have a chance to avoid this kind of embarrassment before it actually occurs, i.e., projection is the basis of prevention. Note that although the pre and the action itself are often produced by the same participant, the format routinely involves both participants, the 'announcer' and 'doer' of the focal activity, and the recipient who is required to provide at least some kind of minimal response to the pre or pre-pre (such as *sure* after *can I ask you a question?*).

Pres project by noticeably being subsidiary (subordinated) to some focal activity (which may not always be produced). However, action projection goes far beyond this and includes relations between 'coordinated' (instead of 'subordinated') activities as well. Most obviously, projection is

involved in all adjacency pair formats, since the first pair part makes the second conditionally relevant. Needless to say, sequential formats may also include more than two elements (for instance, three-step sequences in classroom interaction: teacher's question–pupil's answer–teacher's evaluation). Multiple and complex projections are simultaneously in operation in the production of an extended turn such as a story (Goodwin 2002).

Below this larger scope, projection is involved in the sequencing of smaller units that do not (in their own right) represent self-contained actions;¹ it plays a central role in Sacks and coworkers' well-known paper on turn-taking (1974). Here, so-called sentential turn constructional units² are described as being organized in such a way as to provide the recipient with a resource for projecting their (possible) completion; this means that they have an internal (linguistic: syntactic, semantic, prosodic) structure that projects their termination (see Auer 1996b). Lerner (1991, 1996) has shown that in addition to projectable turn completion, smaller units (which he calls compound TCUs) within a turn have projectable terminations, which may invite 'conditional entry' into the turn by another participant. Jefferson (1974), in a paper on error correction, studies the use of the phonologically determined allophones of the English definite article ([ðə] ~ [ði:]). Here, projections on an even smaller level (word junctures) are involved. Jefferson is able to demonstrate that the projection of *thee* to a following vowel-initial word (and of *the* to a following consonant-initial word) can be used for interactional purposes in those cases in which the projected word beginning is not delivered.

Both in the case of the sentential TCUs and in the case of phonological (segmental) projection, projection is no longer based on action type knowledge, but rather on grammatical knowledge (knowledge about structural regularities of a given language) (see Section 3 below). In order to clarify the difference between interactional and grammatical projection, consider the following extract:

(1) ALLEIN³

((psychotherapeutic intervention in radio phone-in show; caller [A] has been describing her conflict with her mother to host [B]))

1 B *GIBT es: noch ANdere verWANDte und FREUNDe*

die sie haben;

'Do you have any other relatives or friends;

2 *äh die diesen fall ähm=öh mit ihnen beSPREChen können; (--)*

uh who could uhm uh talk about this with you;

3 *Oder?*

or?'

- 4 *sind sie ganz mit der mutter alLEIN hier (-) im konflikt;*
 ‘Are you entirely alone against your mother here in this conflict;’
 5 (0.8)
 6 A *wissen sie mei GSCHWISter, .h*
 ‘You know my brothers and sisters,
 7 *die halten ALle zu mei MUDDa;*
 they all stand by my mother;
 8 B *mm*
 9 A *(-) und aso:-*
 and well:
 10 *ich hab eigentlich sonst NIEmand;*
 I don’t really have anyone else;’
 11 B *<<p>ja>*
 ‘yes’

On the largest level of action projection, we are undoubtedly dealing with an adjacency pair here in which lines 1 to 4 can be heard as a question and lines 6 to 10 as an answer to this question. The caller to this therapeutic phone-in show has described the conflict between her mother and herself. In the institutionalized framework of the show, the counselor (in the studio) can be expected to provide advice, which will bring the call to orderly completion. Within this larger framework, the counselor’s question as to whether the caller has other people to turn to in order to talk about her problem can be heard as ‘inserted’ between problem description and advice giving (counseling).

However, both the counselor’s question and the caller’s answer have a complex internal structure and are composed of smaller units that do not individually constitute accountable actions but rather are part of such an action. One way of showing this internal structure is to identify intonation phrases (IPs) in the two actions, each of which is bounded by a terminal contour movement and contains at least one (nuclear) accent movement. In (1), these IPs are marked by line numbers, i.e., the question contains four IPs (lines 1 to 4) and the caller’s ‘answer’ in turn is made up of three full IPs (lines 6, 7, and 10) and one broken-off IP (line 9), which has neither nuclear pitch nor terminal pitch movement.

These intonational phrases do not necessarily coincide with the syntactic constructions used in the structuring of the two actions, however. For instance, IP 1 has an internal syntactic boundary between *gibt es noch andere Verwandte und Freunde* and *die sie haben*, which is camouflaged by prosody (nuclear pitch accent on *FREUN(de)*, i.e., the relative clause is integrated into the coda of the intonational phrase); the same applies to IPs 6 and 7 where the syntactic boundary between *wissen sie* and *meine*

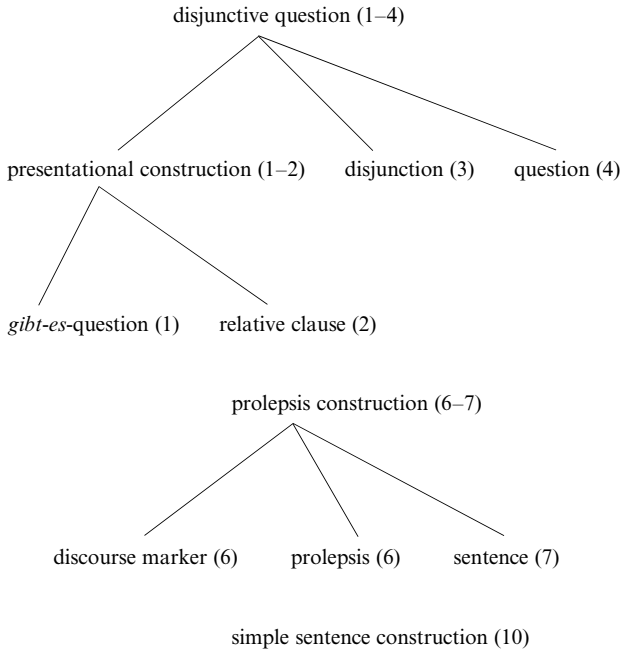


Figure 1. *Syntactic and prosodic segmentation of extract (1)*

GSCHWISter is covered by prosodic integration into one IP. On the other hand, *Oder* in IP 3 is exposed prosodically (it constitutes a minor prosodic phrase of its own) but is integrated syntactically into the following sentence. IPs 1 and 2 integrate into one construction (a presentational construction) and so do IPs 6 and 7 (a sentential construction with a prolepsis or ‘left dislocation’). Finally, IPs 1 to 4 combine into one disjunctive question. The prosodic segmentation of the extract therefore maps onto the syntactic segmentation as shown in Figure 1 (numbers refer to IPs).

Between some of these utterances, there are projective links of various strength and various types. For instance, 6/7 projects 9/10 based on content/activity but not on grammatical structure. The turn is expanded by an additional construction that makes explicit the point already inferable from the previous one.

This is arguably different when it comes to the relationship between 6 and 7. *Mei GSCHWISter* ‘my brothers and sisters’ neither is a self-contained unit (syntactically, the noun phrase is, in its local context, incomplete), nor is the way it is linked to the following *die halten Alle zu mei MUDda* ‘they all stand by my mother’ based on contents alone.

Rather, the construction is that of a syntactic prolepsis or ‘left dislocation’, in which the ‘dislocated’ noun phrase is tied to the following utterance via a coreferential pronoun *die*. The initial (‘dislocated’) noun phrase projects something else to come, with only two major options: either a predicate phrase (... *halten Alle zu mei MUDda*) or, as it happens to be the case, a coreferential pronoun introducing a full clause (*die halten Alle zu mei MUDda*). Here, then, we are on the level of grammatical projection.

The same applies to 1 and 2. IP 1, being the first part of a presentational construction, projects on syntactic grounds IP 3, and the first part of 6 (*wissen sie* ‘you know’), a turn opener/discourse marker that occupies the pre-front field of the sentential construction (see below), projects something else to come on syntactic grounds, without specifying the type of syntactic construction to follow.

Extract (1) additionally contains a relative clause *die sie haben* ‘who you have’ in IP 1. It does not qualify as a self-contained IP, but rather as an expansion of the previous one (Auer 1996b) into which it is retrospectively integrated. (Note the lack of a prosodic break and the absence of a nuclear pitch movement; instead, the relative clause is part of the coda/tail of the IP started in unit 1.) This relative clause is not projected grammatically (nor interactionally). Semantically, the expansion adds no meaning to the construction.

In sum, extract (1) contains action projection (1–4 → 5–10), content-based projection from one syntactical construction to another within these actions (6–7 → 9–10), and syntactic projection within constructions (e.g., 6 → 7).

3. Projection in grammar

As outlined above, projection in interaction (such as in the case of prefatory activities or adjacency pairs) is based on interactional knowledge. It works because we recognize, in its context, the type of a particular utterance, and because we know how such a type of activity is handled in sequential terms. It is not based on explicitly naming the upcoming activity (although this is sometimes the case: such as when the telling of a joke or a newsworthy event is announced); nor is it based on grammatical knowledge.

However, as the discussion of extract (1) has shown, projection can also be based on grammatical, and particularly on syntactic, knowledge.⁴ In grammatical research, the idea of looking at language as an on-line production, i.e., in terms of emerging syntagmatic chains, is still relatively

marginal.⁵ The dominant theories of (generative) syntax imply a hierarchical (vertical) production mode, by expanding higher nodes in some kind of tree into lower ones, and they fail to take into account the temporal unfolding of a linguistic construction. In fact, the very notion of projection has become associated with this ‘vertical’ thinking in formal theories of syntax such as government and binding theory (GB), i.e., with the proliferation of morphological information such as case or number upwards along the lines of a syntactic stemma. Only recently have approaches to on-line syntactic processing in speech recognition and synthesis altered the picture somewhat.

Against this approach, the notion of on-line processing of grammar suggests that syntax is a formal(ized) way of human language to make projection in time possible. Syntax structures speech formally by regulating government (dependency), constituency, adjacency, and serialization. Constituency restricts the possibilities of concatenating simple into complex constructions; e.g., a relative clause may combine with a noun phrase in order to form another noun phrase, but not with an inflected (predicate) phrase in German. Government (dependency) relates syntactic nuclei (heads) to their satellites, specifying both their number and kind; for instance, an adposition in German specifies the number and case of the noun phrases it requires. Serialization imposes restrictions on the order of constituents within a domain; e.g., an adjective may precede but not follow a noun in German. Finally, adjacency regulates the distance between the elements in a constituent, particularly between head and satellites; for instance, the adjective in German may not be separated from the noun it modifies other than by other adjectivals.

Syntactic projection thus depends on syntactic hierarchy. A flat concatenation of constituents that are all on the same hierarchical level does not permit projection beyond the immediately following item; the deeper a syntactic structure (i.e., the more hierarchically it is organized), the more projections tend to be in play, and the longer the stretches of speech over which speakers may project. (This is a very simplified description, of course. The length of a projection’s trajectory depends in important ways on the branching direction of the hierarchical relationships it contains.)

With this in mind, let us have another look at the internal structure of the syntactic construction in extract (1) *mei GSCHWISter, die halten Alle zu mei MUDda* = standard German *meine Geschwister, die halten alle zu meiner Mutter* ‘my brothers and sisters, they all stand by my mother’. The syntactic representations used in current generative models of syntax do show hierarchical relationships (usually by \bar{X} -notation), but they obscure, and thereby mystify, on-line projection by ‘rules’ that underspecify

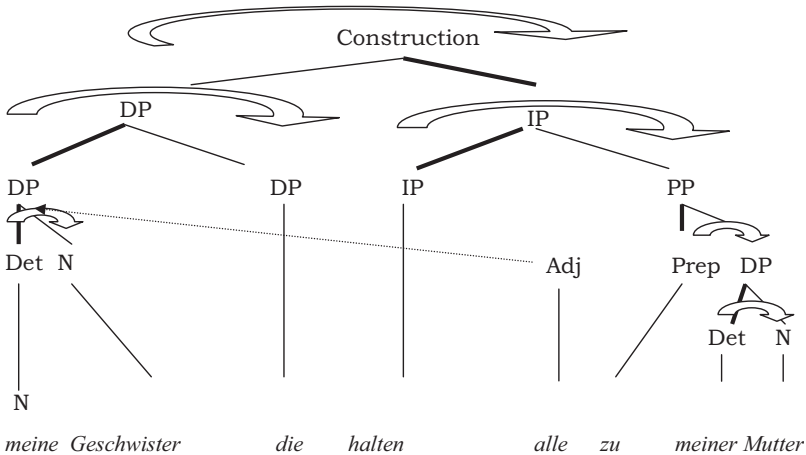


Figure 2. Syntactic hierarchy and projection

serialization and/or by movements (such as ‘left dislocation’), which change the serialization of the so-called underlying structure on its way to the ‘surface’. For instance, Haegeman (1994: 407) generates left and right dislocations by one common rule, $XP \rightarrow XP; YP$, which leaves serialization open. A representation of projection-relevant hierarchies in on-line syntax might instead look like Figure 2 (heads/governors marked by boldface).

In the course of the emergence of this structure in real time, hierarchical structures achieved by government and constituency allow projections such as the following (marked by left-to-right arrows in Figure 2):⁶

- the determiner (the possessive pronoun *mei/meiner*) projects a noun;
- the preposition *zu* projects a noun (determiner) phrase;
- according to German sentence topology, the determiner phrase *die* projects a finite verb (inflected phrase);
- slightly more complicated is the initial determiner phrase *meine Geschwister* since it projects a finite verb (inflected phrase) or an expansion of the phrase by a coreferential pronoun (i.e., in a prolepsis/left dislocation), i.e., there are two competing projections in play that are indicative of different constructions on the sentential level (a simple XV ... pattern with the subject in the pre-verbal position and a ‘left dislocation’);
- the finite verb *halten* equally leaves a number of options open; it may project a prepositional phrase introduced by *zu* (... *halten zu meiner Mutter*) as in the example, an object noun phrase (... *halten meiner*

Mutter die Stange), or a reflexive pronoun that agrees with the subject (. . . *halten sich im Hintergrund*).

4. Projection in interaction and projection in syntax: Structural parallels

When syntax is approached in this way, it is easy to see the structural parallels with projection in interaction.

4.1. *Strength of projective force*

Both in conversation and in syntax, projections vary in strength. The strongest projection in interaction prestructures a conversational slot uniquely by making one specific next utterance conditionally relevant. This is the case in some adjacency pair formats, such as in B's question in extract (1), which makes exactly one type of 'next' predictable; no other action type than an answer would do here. Other first actions such as invitations project a next activity but leave at least two options—acceptance and declination. Less effectively, first compliments project next activities, but allow rejection, acceptance, acknowledgement, countercompliment, etc., in the subsequent sequential position. Even weaker are the projections on more distant sequential positions achieved by certain unspecific pre-pres (*you know what?, can I interrupt you?*), which project a (potentially face-threatening) activity by the same speaker in the third slot (after the recipient's response token, such as *what?* or *sure?*) but leave a wide array of options for this activity open. It may also be the case that activities project one specific next activity, but do so in a less compelling way as, say, a summons projects a response; a case in point are the denial and account sequences discussed by Ford (2001a, 2001b) in which the link between the two is only weak.

On the syntactic side, we find a similar continuum. In German, for instance, a preposition prestructures the following slot in a highly compelling way (a noun phrase is bound to follow), while a syntactic pattern starting with a noun phrase leaves at least the choice between an interpretation as prolepsis and an interpretation as a front-field noun phrase. Some words, such as conjunctions like *und* 'and' or *oder* 'or', produced after a syntactic closure, leave all options open apart from *not* continuing, i.e., they project syntactic continuation in an extremely vague manner.

4.2. *Pre-positioning*

A conversational activity may be prefaced by another activity leading on to (foreshadowing) it, as we have seen. In the same vein, grammatical

constructions can be preceded by subordinated ones that could not stand on their own and that by virtue of not being full constructions attach themselves in structurally looser or tighter ways to the subsequent main construction. They may consequently exert a weaker or stronger constraint on the syntactic structure to follow.

In addition to the prolepsis already discussed in the last section, a variety of German pre-front field structures are relevant in this context, some with phrasal, some with clausal syntax. In the following example, the proposed syntactic unit is an adverbial phrase (cf. Auer 1996a for details):

(2) HAUSRAT 4, 4 (Stern)

((Telephone conversation with the representative of an insurance company [V]; and a client/caller [Kd]. The client has problems finding a new household insurance after several burglaries at her house, which made her old company terminate the insurance contract))

- 1 Kd: *da muß man jetzt natürlich professioNELL rangehen;*
‘Of course now one has to approach this in a professional way;
- 2 *ich als privatmann habe KEIne chance mehr;*
I myself as a private person don’t have any other chance;’
- 3 V: *ja=ja; nee=nee; professioNELL KÖNnen wir da rangehen,*
‘Sure sure; no no; professionally we can approach it,
- 4 *DAzu sind wir lange genug am MARKT;*
we’ve been in the market long enough for that;
- 5 *das ist also eigentlich KEIN (-) KEIN problem was man*
nicht lösen könnte;
this is not really a—a problem that can’t be resolved;’
- 6 Kd: *mhm,*
- 7→ V: *NUR;*
‘Only;
- 8 *das ist mit nem finanziellen AUFWand verbunden;*
this implies a financial effort;
- 9 *[und ich mein; Sie haben natürlich irgendwo RECHT*
((...))
and I mean; of course you are right somehow’
- 10 Kd: *[mhm.*

German *nur* is mostly used as a scalar adverbial and as part of a noun phrase. It then projects a following noun phrase ([*nur* Peter] *kam wie immer zu spät* ‘only Peter was late as always’). It can also be used as part of a predicate (*ich kann nur schwimmen, nicht tauchen* ‘I can only swim not dive’). In both cases, the adverb is firmly integrated into the sentence

structure. In extract (2), however, *nur* is preposed to a full-fledged German sentence, i.e., to *das ist mit 'nem finanziellen Aufwand verbunden* 'this implies a financial effort'. Semantically speaking, pre-front field constituents of this kind are framing devices for the following utterance; syntactically, they project little more than the fact that something else is going to follow (for *nur* on its own is syntactically incomplete). This 'next' may be a noun phrase, a sentence (as in extract [2]) or even a finite verb element (when *nur* occupies the front field, as in *nur ist das mit einem finanziellen Aufwand verbunden*).⁷

In the following extract we find a similar pre-front field constituent, but this time the preposed syntactic structure has clause status:

(3) KN 2:7

((role-played job interview, applicant [B], interviewer [IF]))

1 B: *das IS ja grade das REIZvolle an der aufgabe. (-)*
'This is exactly the appeal of the job.'

2 [*also:*
'you see:']

3 IF: [*<<pp>mm>*]

4→ B: *(-) MICH: hat beSONders angesprochen (-)*
'I found particularly appealing

5 *ah sie: (-) sie lEgen wert auf (-)FÜHrungsqualitäten,=*
ehm you: you emphasize leadership qualities,

6 *=aber .hh ich hatte den EINDruck dass es eben im WEsentlichen auch (.) um die zuSAMmenarbeit mit anderen gruppen geht, .hh ((etc.))*

but I had the impression that basically what is involved is also the cooperation with other teams,'

Once more, the syntagma *mich hat besonders angesprochen* 'I found particularly appealing' is not a self-contained syntactic construction. It projects, in this case, a rather precisely defined constituent, i.e., a subject clause required by the verb *ansprechen*. On the other hand, *Sie legen besonderen Wert auf Führungsqualifikationen* 'you emphasize leadership qualities' is a full-fledged and complete German sentence. The first (incomplete) clause is prepositioned to the second, complete one.⁸

4.3. Insertions

Although conversational activities may, and often do, project others, the next activity can be delayed for the sake of an insertion (= internal expansion, side sequence; cf. Jefferson 1972). The very notion of an insertion

constellation knocking at the door or ringing the phone, coffee being spilled on somebody's trousers, and so on (see Bergmann 1990 for further discussion). Here is an example:

(5) N.2

((job interview, early phase; applicant B is about to answer the interviewer's [I1] first question, why he, in his own view, is particularly suited for the job of the director of the municipal archives of X-town))

- 1 B: *und ich (.) bin also (.) diplomhisTORiker,*
 'And I have a degree in history,
- 2 *(-) TUE also (-) FACHlich (-) und WISSenschaftlich,*
(-) mit der (.) geschICHte, (-) beschÄftigen?
 which means I do in my field and academically I have to do
 with history?
- 3 *(-) also ich (.) eh*
 'well I uhm'
- 4→ ((telephone rings))
- 5 B: *speziELL (.) ist es jetzt momentan deutsch*
JÜdische geschichte?
 'Especially it is Jewish history at the moment?'
- 6 *also; (-) ich habe jetzt EINiges zu: leipzig (-)*
[auch publiZIERT?]
 'Well; I have also published several things now on the city of
 Leipzig?'
- 7→ (((telephone rings)))
- 8 B: *(-) jetzt vor KURzem is nen AUFSatz erschienen,*
 'Recently an article appeared,
- 9 *(.) in dem [X-ZEITSCHRIFT?]*
 in the X-journal?'
- 10→ (((telephone rings)))
- 11 B: *(-) von MIR? (-)*
 'By me?'
- 12 *zum dritten REICH?*
 'On the Third Reich?'
- 13 *(-) leipzig im dritten REICH?*
 'Leipzig in the Third Reich?'
- 14 *(-) und von [DAher,]*
 'And therefore,
- 15→ (((telephone rings)))
- 16 B: *sag ich natürlich erstmal mein anknüpfungspunkt is (.)*
 I first of all would say my starting starting point is'

- 17→ I1: <<p> e[ntSCHULDigung;>
 ‘I’m sorry’
- 18→ B: [ja=ja;
 ‘Yes yes;
- 19 *is natürlich die verbIndung; IXberg, LEIPzig, ((etc.))*
 is of course the relationship between X-town and Leipzig,’

In this example, an ongoing job interview is disturbed by the ringing of the telephone in the office of the interviewer where it takes place. The phone rings four times without being attended directly (indirectly, certain disfluencies in the applicant’s turn can be attributed to its influence); only then does the interviewer apologize for it. The excuse *Entschuldigung* (line 17) occurs in the middle of the applicant’s turn, as an aside that is set off by reduced loudness. After having acknowledged it, the applicant continues the interrupted utterance. Neither topically nor sequentially is it integrated into the main line of the conversation.

There are, then, sequence expansions that are nonprojected but nonetheless occur in a ‘legitimate’ position (such as Q–A sequences inserted into Q–A sequences) and asides that are equally nonprojected but in addition disruptive to the ongoing activity. The same can be observed in syntax, where we find a continuum between nonprojected but syntactically licensed utterance segments to equally nonprojected but audibly interruptive parentheticals.

A good example for a fully licensed internal expansion that is neither projected nor projecting is the ‘floating’ quantifier *alle* in extract (1) above, *meine Geschwister die halten alle zu meiner Mutter* ‘my brothers and sisters, they all stand by my mother’. It is inserted within the trajectory of a syntactic structure that, at this point, calls, e.g., for the production of the prepositional phrase governed by the verb *halten*, but does not need *alle* to become audibly complete. Nevertheless, the production of a quantifier that retrospectively attaches to the constituent *meine Geschwister*, is part of the possibilities provided by German syntax to expand a structure before formal closure is reached. This cannot be said in the same way of the following example:

(6) BULIMIA

((bulimia therapy session, beginning of narrative by one female participant [M]))

- 1 M: *aso ich hab ma mit einer zuSAMMgewohnt,=*
 ‘You see I once lived with a girl,
- 2 *und .h die hab ich EH nich so leidn könn*
un sie mich AUCH nich,
 and I couldn’t stand her anyway and neither could she me,

4.4. (External) expansions

After a sequential or syntactic trajectory has reached its termination, further materials can be added by way of an (external) expansion of the already complete sequence or construction. Expansion means more than that something is said ‘afterwards’; rather, what is added needs to bear some kind of relationship to the preceding structure.

A simple example for the external expansion of a sequence, i.e., for expansion in interaction, is the following:

(7) S/H

((two friends [S and H]; start of a new topic, a public debate at the university))

- 1 S: *KOMM*se heut in die diskusSION?
 ‘Will you come to the discussion today?’
 2 H: =*mHM*.
 3→ *ich KOM*me.
 ‘I will.’
 4 (1.5)
 5→ *bin auch UNheimlich ge[SPANNT] drauf*.
 ‘And I’m really curious about it.’
 6 S: [hmHM]
 7 *ich AUCH*.
 ‘So am I.’

The exchange starts with a question–answer sequence in which S inquires whether H is going to go to a debate in the evening of the same day. H answers positively (*mhm*) and thereby closes the sequence. Beyond this already complete question–answer sequence, she adds a nonprojected explicit paraphrase of her *mhm* (*ich komme* ‘I will’), and after a silence, a comment on her own expectations regarding this event (*unheimlich gespannt drauf*). This comment provides an assessment of the event that opens another conversational sequence because it invites a second assessment; this is indeed produced by S. Both the reformulation of the answer and the assessment (sequence) build on and expand the prior question–answer sequence but are not projected by it.

In syntax as well, there are a variety of possibilities to expand a complete syntactic construction beyond its projectable end. An instance of a clausal expansion was already mentioned in the discussion of extract (1), unit 2: *die sie haben* ‘which they have’. Both clausal and phrasal expansions are involved in the following extract from a telephone conversation in which one participant tries to describe a TV connecting cable to the

other (cf. Auer 1992, 1996b; Schegloff 1996; Ford et al. 2002 for a further discussion of such expansions or ‘increments’):

(8) ANTENNENKABEL
((telephone conversation))

- 1 M: *des auf der EInen seite is also AUSsen sonne HÜlse,=*
‘That is on the one side is kind of a sheath on the outside,’
- 2 F: =j[a,
‘yes,’
- 3→ M: [rund,
‘Round,
- 4 ((1.0; gulps))
- 5 *und in der MITte is bei dem ein n DOCHT,*
and in the middle this one has a wick,
- 6→ *n masSIver do[cht,*
a solid wick,’
- 7 F: [m
- 8→ M: *n DÜNner,*
a thin one,
- 9 *un auf der ANdern seite vom selben kabel*
and on the other side of the same wire
- 10 ((1.0, gulps))
- 11 *is n docht der HOHL is.*
is a wick which is hollow.’
- 12 (1.0)
- 13→ *der m bissl DICker is.*
‘Which is a little bit thicker.’
- 14 *des sin die des sin die KAbel.*
‘These are they these are the wires.’

All arrowed structures are preceded by complete syntactic constructions, each of them forming a syntactic construction of its own; to these, and beyond a syntactic trajectory, further elements are added whose syntactic relationship with this preceding construction takes various forms: *rund* ‘round’ is an apposition to *sonne Hülse* ‘kind of a sheath’, *n massiver Docht* ‘a solid wick’ is a repair on the previous phrase *n Docht* ‘a wick’, which adds a further specification (the adjective *massiv*), *n dünner* ‘a thin one’ is another expansion on *Docht* ‘wick’, which retrospectively introduces an attributive adjective into the noun phrase, and finally, *der m bissl dicker* ‘which is a little bit thicker’ is, syntactically speaking, a paradigmatic repair of the previous relative clause *der hohl is* ‘which is hollow’.

4.5. *Abandoned/Broken-off projections*

Finally, both interactional and syntactic projections can fail. In interaction, a sequentially projecting activity may be followed by a nonfitting activity that visibly cancels the projection. An example can be found in extract (4), where the second inserted question *weiss ers NEDde?* ‘does he not know’ (Q3) starts an embedded sequence that is visibly non-attended to, and the sequence broken off, since the following answer to the superordinated question (Q1) makes a return into the embedded sequence impossible.¹⁰ Other than in such broken-off sequences, participants may ‘lose’ coherence after internal expansions and disattend the projection that occurred before the expansion. It is unclear when individual disattention to projections turns into an interactionally ratified abandonment of a projection, i.e., a recipient may wait for a projected second to come even though the speaker has abandoned the project (or vice versa). What is clear though is that some projecting activities remain unattended to although this is not (as in the case of break-offs) evident in the position immediately following them. In the following extract, the projected next is a reciprocal declaration of love after the female participant’s first:

(9) MONDFAHRT

((two lovers [F and M]))

- 1 F: *.thhh norbertchen ich hab dich WAH:N SIN NIG LIEB;*
 ‘My little Norbert, I love you madly;’
- 2→ M: *(-) wie KOMMT das;*
 ‘Why is that;’
- 3 F: *nja:: ich w h (-) .hh n=hast DU schuld*
 ‘I kn h you are to blame’
- 4 M: *(-) <<low> ?m;>?m*
<<high pitch register> irgendWO muss ich da ja
wohl schon beTEIlligt sein (oder,)>
 ‘Somehow I must be involved mustn’t I;’
- 5 F: *<<whispering> ja,>*
 ‘yes;’

((etc., continues without a declaration of love by M being produced))

The male participant fails to produce a ‘second’ after F’s declaration of love, and instead embarks on what can be heard as a subordinated sequence investigating into the reasons for F’s statement. The discussion of who is to blame for F’s loving M continues for a while until the initially noticeable absence of a second declaration of love becomes (at some indeterminate point) interactionally irrelevant.¹¹

In syntax, a case of a syntactic break-off is observed, for instance, in extract (5):

(5)'

- 1 B: *und ich (.) bin also (.) diplomhisTOriker,*
 ‘And I have a degree in history,
 2 (-) TUe also (-) FACHlich (-) und WISSenschaftlich,
 (-) mit der (.) geschICHte, (-) beschAftigen?
 which means I do in my field and academically I have to do
 with history?’
 3→ (-) also ich (.) eh
 ‘well I ehm’
 4 ((telephone rings))
 5 B: *speziELL (.) ist es jetzt momentan deutsch*
JUdische geschichte?
 ‘Especially it is Jewish history at the moment?’

The matter is too obvious to need further exemplification and discussion.

Abandoned syntactic projections are relatively frequent after parentheticals or self-repairs. Take, for instance, the following extract:

(10) KS22 (from Stoltenburg 2001: 76, SFB541)

((interview, interviewee [DH], interviewer [BS]))

- 1 DH: *und dann wurden die SCHUlen auch anders Umstrukturiert,*
 ‘And then the schools were restructured differently,
 2 *wieder NEU, Alles,*
 again new, everything,’
 3 BS: *ja:,*
 ‘yes,’
 4 DH: *weil namlich jetzt das gymnasium eben*
mit anderen klassen (-)
 ‘Because now the grammar school with other forms
 5 *also von was=weiß=ich von (-) von der*
achten klasse oder wie das is oder siebte, oder so (-)
 well with I don’t know from the eighth form or whatever it is
 or seventh or something like that
 6→ *und dann warn wir zu viele klassen,*
 and then we were too many forms,’

In this extract, the speaker tries to explain the reorganization of the school system in his youth. After a syntactically complete introductory statement, DH goes into a description of what actually changed, for

which he chooses the grammatical format of a subordinated *weil*-('because'-) clause. However, this clause is not completed since it lacks the projected clause-final finite verb form. Instead, the speaker inserts a parenthetical remark after *mit andern Klassen* 'with other forms', which specifies what is meant by this noun phrase (i.e., form seven or eight) (arrow). After this parenthesis, no return into the superordinated matrix clause takes place.

Since memory for form is much shorter than memory for content, there may be psycholinguistic reasons for which speakers do not usually succeed in keeping ongoing syntactic projects alive for a very long time. (Other than in the abandoned activity projections in extracts [8] and [9], it is difficult in [10] and many similar examples to give an interactional account of why the speaker tacitly abandoned his syntactic project.)

5. Ambiguities and transitions: Between interaction and syntax

So far, I have argued that syntax and conversational structure share a central organizational feature, i.e., that of projection. Syntax is a formal means to organize projection, while interactional projection is based on knowledge about the sequencing of activities. To the extent that this is true, the idea of an autonomous grammar becomes less likely: similarities between the organization of grammar and that of some other capacity of the human mind such as interactional competence weaken, for instance, the Chomskian position of Universal Grammar as separate from other domains of the mind (cf. Hauser et al. 2002) and strengthen the idea of interactional structure becoming sedimentated into grammatical structure (which in this sense can be said to emerge—sometimes—from it; cf. Ford et al. 2003).

As expected in such an approach, the dividing line between grammatical and interactional projection is not always unambiguous. For instance, with regard to extract (2), it may be asked whether *nur* projects on the basis of its syntactic status or on the basis of being a (subsidiary) verbal activity in its own right that foreshadows disagreement. Clear cues for syntactic projection are, as argued above, rules of government, constituency, adjacency, and serialization. There can, for instance, be few doubts that the German preposition *zu* 'to' projects a dative noun phrase in this sense, even more so since the morphological case marking in the noun phrase (in the determiner: *zu meiner Mutter* 'to my mother') makes this syntactic relationship explicit. *Nur* in extract (2), however, occurs at the periphery of the German sentence topology, and there is no overt morphological marking for the syntactic relationship between *nur* as a pre-front

field constituent and the following structure. Finally, as outlined above, the projection achieved by a pre-front field constituent such as *nur* is not very forceful in structural terms: while we know what kind of activity it introduces (namely, in the present case, a counterargument), we do not know what kind of syntax will be used in the following: any sentence-type will do.

Clear cues for activity projection, on the other hand, would be that the utterance in question can be responded to by a coparticipant's next action, that it can be contended, defeated, and cancelled. For instance, second parties can refuse to produce a projected second activity by questioning the justification of the first, projecting one; first parties can give accounts, excuses, or explanations for their activity, etc. But again, these criteria do not apply to our example: neither can the *nur* be responded to as such (since it does not constitute a turn constructional unit), nor can it be defeated, rejected or accounted for.

Although in that particular case a detailed analysis makes the pendulum swing toward the syntax side, the example shows that there is no clear separation between syntax and interaction: in some cases activity type *and* syntactic type project at the same time.

In other cases, the same linguistic element can either constitute an independent action to be dealt with and responded to or be a grammatical element of a syntactic construction. There is reason to believe that the second is a grammaticalized version of the first. Vocatives (such as address terms; cf. Auer 1997 for details) are a case in point.

Address terms may constitute actions (summons) and then represent first pair parts in a sequence, which, qua activity type, project and usually receive a matching response from the addressed party:

(11) BIG BROTHER 1-5-77

((reality TV show, Jürgen [Jrg] and Sabrina [Sbr] are talking to each other in different rooms of the house))

- 1 → Sbr: <<f>JÜRgen?>
'Jürgen?'
- 2 → Jrg: <<f>ja->
'yes'
- 3 Sbr: <<f>was MACHST du?>
'What are you doing?'
- 4 Jrg: (-)<<f>FENsterputzen (.) im SCHLAFzimmer.>
'Cleaning the windows in the bedroom.'
- 5 Sbr: (--)<<f>ach SO.
'I see.'

The interactional function of an address term when used as a summons is to establish a focused interaction, i.e., to assure mutual availability for interaction. In extract (11), Sabrina uses Jürgen's name as an address term for this purpose, and her summons is responded to by the summoned party.

But the same type of address term may also occur in the pre-front field in German:

(12) (Ro I,1)

((role-played job interview, interviewers [I1 and I2], applicant [A]))

- 1 I1→I2: *ich würd Sie (ganz/dann) vielleicht mal BITten,
(-) bitten die <<dim> erste FRAge zu stellen.*
'I would like to ask you perhaps, ask you to ask the first question.'
- 2 (2.0)
- 3 I2→A: *herr LOHmann eh (-) ich hab mich natürlich
mit ihren unterlagen beSCHÄFtigt?*
'Mr Lohmann eh of course I have read your application?'
- 4 *vielleicht könnten=se GANZ kurz noch mal zuSAMmenfas-
send; eh (-) DARlegen; (-)
eh ihre (.) berufliche entWICKlung?*
'Maybe you could summarize in a few words eh eh your professional career?'

In (12), where the address term *Herr Lohmann* is used as a pre-front field element (and turn opener), there is no need, and indeed no space, for the recipient to respond. The sequential sequence summons–answer–continuation is condensed into one syntactic pattern and its responsive component elided: the address term does not constitute a conversational move on its own any longer. Since co-presence was established beforehand, the original function of the summons is also no longer valid; the pre-front field vocative can now take on a variety of contextualizing functions, such as to mark topic shifts or to introduce central or critical conversational moves. It remains a projecting device but one that has moved from the domain of action projection to that of grammatical projection.

A look into language history shows that this 'layered' use of the same linguistic structure both as an activity and as a syntactic constituent may reflect a pathway of grammaticalization: dialogical patterns can indeed be grammaticalized into syntactic patterns (cf. Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson 2000 for concessivity in English). A good example is the use of verb-initial clauses (yes/no questions and imperatives) in order to introduce the protasis in a conditional construction. In particular, many pres

function as a kind of protasis in a larger pattern. This is also true for German. Consider the following examples:

(13) MONDFAHRT

((two lovers [F and M], telephone conversation, closing section))

- 1 F: *.th also PASS=auf;=*
‘now listen;
2 *ich möcht so bis um: (-) eh bis (.)*
I want to around ehm until’
3→ *gehst du dann GLEICH ins bett?*
go-2.Sg.you then immediately into-the bed
‘Will you go to bed immediately afterwards?’
4 M: *ich HOFFe;*
‘I hope so;’
5 F: *du HOFFST;=*
‘You hope so;’
6 M: *=<<p>ja.> (-)*
‘yes’
7→ F: *na dann kann ich nicht mal n WHISKi trinken mit dir heute;*
‘Well then I won’t even be able to drink a whiskey with you
today;’
8 M: *DOCH:*
‘Yes you will:’
9 F: *ja?*
‘really?’

(14) SCHWARZWALD (courtesy of S. Günthner)

((family interaction))

- 1→ Eva: *holsch du dir en teller?*
get-2.Sg. you-NOM you-DAT a plate
‘Will you get yourself a plate?’
2 (0.5)
3→ *dann kannst noch was mitessen.*
‘Then you can join us for dinner.’
4 Uwe: *ja okay.*
‘Yes okay.’

In extract (13), F asks M (in the first arrowed line) whether he will go to bed right after a scheduled meeting with his business partners this evening. This question and its subsequent positive answer are clearly preliminary activities foreshadowing (projecting) something else to come on

the conversational plane (cf. the pre-pre ‘now listen!’). In fact, the answer leads F to conclude (with a slight reproach) that she won’t be able to have her usual imaginary glass of whiskey with M this evening. Semantically, this conclusion is the apodosis in a conditional construction; its protasis follows from the prefatory question–answer sequences: ‘if you go to bed immediately afterwards, I can’t have my whiskey with you today’. But clearly, the conditional relationship is established through a series of self-contained conversational activities (question–answer–conclusion–challenge), each projecting the next.

Extract (14) at first sight seems to be organized in the same way. Again, a syntactic question is used as a first step in a sequence, but its function is quite different: Eva does not solicit information by it that is later used in the production of a different activity, but rather, the question in this case can be heard (and is heard) as a request or suggestion to get a plate; the subsequent activity *dann kannst noch was mitessen* ‘then you can join us for dinner’ is formally marked as an apodosis (*dann*) but functions as an account for the request. The fact that Uwe does not answer the ‘question’ supports the interpretation that this sequence is more tightly organized and comes closer to a monological format used by one speaker.

Pursuing this line further, German has grammaticalized the sequential (interactional) format of a sequence-based conditional into a purely syntactic format.¹² In addition to the more usual present-day construction in which *wenn* introduces the protasis, the language has another conditional construction in which the protasis is marked by verb-initial syntax alone—the very same grammatical format in which (grammatical) yes/no questions and imperatives are expressed. In the following historical example (from Paul 1920: 276–277) the question format is still relatively transparent (and the conditional meaning not yet stable), but it is clear that a grammatical construction is used, not an interactional (sequential) format:

(15) (MHG: Nibelungen)

Gîst *du mir* *dîn swester*, *sô will ich* *ëz tuon*
give-2.Sg. you me-DAT your sister so will I it do
‘If you give me your sister (for marriage), I will do it.’

(16) (MHG: Wolfram)

schamt *ër sich* *gestern* *sêre*,
feel-embarrassed he himself yesterday a-lot
dës wart *hiute* *zwir* *mêre*
of-that became-he today double more
‘If he felt embarrassed yesterday, he felt double embarrassed today.’

(17) (Mod. Std. German, Goethe 6, 137, 14)

*Bist du der verdammten Geister Einer, wohl! ich
be-2.Sg. you of-the damned ghosts one alas I
bin der andere
am the other*

'If are you one of the damned ghosts, alas! So I shall be the other.'

The reconstructed interactional format on which these constructions build is based some next conversation activity by the questioner, such as, in (15):

A: Will you give me your sister for marriage?

B: Yes.

A: So I will do it.

In (16):

A: Did he feel embarrassed yesterday?

B: Yes.

A: He will feel double embarrassed today.

And in (17):

A: Are you one of those damned ghosts?

B: Yes.

A: Alas! I shall be the other.

This three-step sequence is grammaticalized into one complex sentence in the written version. However, the question format (verb-initial) is maintained in the protasis of the conditional construction.

6. Conclusion

The relationship between interactional and grammatical structure is looked upon by many grammarians and conversation analysts as additive and complementary: linguistic constructions (the 'output' of some kind of grammatical device) are considered to be the building blocks of turns and sequences. According to this view, grammarians analyze the construction principles of this device without considering how its 'output' becomes instrumental for interaction, while conversation analysts take their existence for granted and can proceed directly to their employment in interaction. There is a neat division of labor.

The counterproposal put forward in this paper is based on the assumption that grammatical structure and interactional structure are much more intimately intertwined. In order to argue for this assumption, it

is necessary to search for the underlying principles that are relevant in both domains. In this paper, I have argued that projection is such a principle. The conclusion suggested by this parallel is that syntax can be seen (among other things) as the historical result of a sedimentation and (partly normative) regularization of certain interactional projection techniques.

Notes

- * This article goes back to a paper presented at the first EURESCO conference on *Interactional Linguistics* held at Spa in September 2000. Special thanks to Susanne Günthner and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen for helpful comments and corrections on a previous version.
1. The notion of an action is notoriously ill-defined in conversation analysis; however, in line with its ethnomethodological roots, a preliminary definition might be that an action is accountable whereas components of actions are not. The relationship between form and accountability is flexible. For instance, grammatical and even more so prosodic features of an utterance/action are not normally accountable. However, there are exceptions to this. Couper-Kuhlen (1996: 395–399) discusses a pertinent example: a speaker who speaks in a hushed and subdued voice may be scolded for ‘not being cheerful’ by the moderator in a radio phone-in program; in this case, a contextualization cue is foregrounded and becomes accountable. Accountability then is a feature of the situation itself.
 2. As Selting (2000, 2001) points out, the notion of a TCU is ambiguous. In a first sense, which is exclusively related to turn-taking, it is restricted to those units of speech that allow for turn-transition when complete. In another sense, also found in the literature, and advocated by Selting herself, TCUs are conceptualized as the linguistic building blocks of a turn, which are defined by their internal structure but not their capacity of occasioning turn-transition. Because of this ambiguity, the term will not be used in the following discussion of projection.
 3. Transcription conventions follow GAT (see Selting et al. 1998). Note that capital letters indicate stress and a hyphen at the end of a line a ‘hovering’ pitch (nonmovement). Hyphens in brackets indicate pauses.
 4. Other levels of linguistic structure can have projecting force as well, of course. For prosodic (in addition to syntactic) projection in concessive sequences, see for instance Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson (2000: 398–400); for prosodic projection around possible turn completion see, for instance, Local and Kelly (1986). Streeck and Knapp (1992) discuss an example of projection during the production of a single word, as well as gestures projecting future activities.
 5. There are some notable exceptions, to be sure, such as Ono and Thompson (1995), whose idea of an on-line syntax is linked to both constructional schemes and in-time emergence.
 6. The ‘floating’ quantifier *alle* is retrospectively attached to the initial noun phrase *meine geschwister* and therefore does not link upwards to the inflected phrase. Note that an on-line approach to syntax does not permit right-to-left movement. However, ‘late’ placement (‘left-to-right movement’) is possible, and *alle* is such a case. It retrospectively attaches to a nonadjacent element. This account is different from the generative

syntacticians' account of floating quantifiers in which it is not the quantifier but the noun phrase which is 'moved' (to the left). I'm grateful to Susanne Uhmann for comments on quantifier floating.

7. A short outline of German sentence structure is given in Auer (1996b). In contrast to English SVO, any constituent may precede the finite verb; however, the pre-verbal position (front field) accommodates only one such constituent. Apart from those structures that can occupy the pre-front field, the pre-verbal position is therefore highly restricted in German.
8. For a discussion of this construction which is located between hypotaxis and parataxis, cf. Auer (1998). Note that canonical subordination in German is organized differently. In this case, the first part of the construction has main clause syntax (verb second), while the second one is introduced by the complementizer *dass* 'that' and has subordinate (verb-final) syntax. The written version of the crucial construction in extract (3) is therefore: *mich hat besonders angesprochen, dass Sie Wert auf Führungsqualitäten legen* . . . In this construction, both elements are incomplete syntactic units, and a higher degree of syntactic integration is reached.
9. Cf. Lerner (1996) for conditional clauses and their interactional unfolding and Stoltenburg (2001) for additional comments on parentheticals in conversational speech. Other than internal expansions, they are not syntactically integrated into the emerging syntactic pattern; on the other hand, certain restrictions (and above all preferences) for their positioning hold.
10. One of the interactional reasons for which such break-offs occur can also be taken from the example: the answerer has at this moment various, conflicting obligations. In addition to Q3, Q1—the initial, superordinated question of whether Thomas is going to the wine festival—needs to be taken care of. A could have chosen to answer the questions in turn: 'yes he does know, and he thinks that Thomas won't go'. Alternatively, she can skip the embedded question and leave the answer to it to be inferred from the answer to the superordinated question.
11. Again, there are many reasons for which such 'distractions' should be systematic after a first declaration of love. It seems that, on the one hand, seconds after such events have to occur without delay; otherwise, the second party will miss his or her chance to do a proper second (as does M in our extract). On the other hand, declarations of love are potentially embarrassing events, and M's way of delaying an answer by asking a subordinated question would seem to be one way of dealing with this embarrassment, by shifting attention away from the interpersonal level. Cf. Auer (1988) for further remarks on declarations of love.
12. The same phenomenon can also be observed in other languages such as Turkish (Auer 1990). Also cf. Givón (1979) for the same argument and further empirical support, as well as Haiman (1978) for linking topic introduction and conditional sentences.

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