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**Emergent grammar for all practical purposes:
the on-line formatting of left- and right dislocations in French conversation**

Simona Pekarek Doehler, University of Neuchâtel

“An utterance is a piece of behavior that unfolds in time” (Paul Hopper, FRIAS workshop, 2008)

“[T]ime in the form of sequential organization is a pervasive intrinsic component of both talk and action” (Charles Goodwin, 2002: 24)

1. The temporality of language and the temporality of action¹

One of the fundamental properties of both social action (including talk-in-interaction) and language is that they unfold across time. Conversational openings and closings, repair or disagreement, for instance, are configured on a moment-by-moment basis as talk evolves, so that in the course of their unfolding their organization can be re-oriented, a sequence re-opened, expanded or closed down. The same is true for the syntactic trajectory of utterances. This is most clearly manifest in the expandability of units of talk and of their syntactic shapes (cf. Auer, 1996). This expandability is configured in real time incrementally, allowing participants to prolong syntactic trajectories or to revise them, and, thereby, to accomplish varied social actions (e.g. Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007; Ford, Fox & Thompson, 2002; Schegloff, 1996). In this way, the temporality of language is indissociably linked to the temporality of action.

One central underpinning of this inextricable embeddedness of language and action, of the moment-by-moment deployment of language along the moment-by-moment configuration of action, is that the structures of language are used as a resource for organizing and coordinating actions and are in turn shaped in response to this organization: they are made and put to work to accommodate local interactional needs. In his paper “Time in Action”, Goodwin empirically documents how “orientation toward diverse forms of time organization is built into the units and tools used to construct human action” (Goodwin, 2002: 34), such as language, gesture and gaze. Within an argument more centrally concerned with the nature of language, Auer (2005, 2007 and 2009) defines the grammar of spoken language as an *on-line* grammar: inscribed in the temporal unfolding of talk-in-interaction and the synchronization of mutual actions, syntax is a process whose constructions are configured in real time. In an earlier statement, Hopper (1992) points out the thoroughly temporal character of grammar, suggesting that “language owes the way it is to its temporal unfolding through [...] spoken interaction” (p. 236). This temporal character implies two empirically validated and theoretically consequential properties of linguistic constructions: *projection*, on the one hand, and *emergence* on the other.

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1.1 Projection

How language configures the temporal sequential unfolding of actions has persuasively been documented in empirical work emanating from conversation analysis and interactional linguistics around the notion of projection. In his papers on on-line grammar (cf. *supra*), Auer argues that projection is at the heart of the inscription of language in the temporal unfolding of actions (for a related argument see Goodwin, 2002). Projection refers to the property of one segment of discourse (an action or part of an action, or a grammatical structure or part of it) to prefigure possible trajectories of the next (grammatical or actional) segment (cf. Auer, 2005; Goodwin, 2002; Schegloff, 1996).

In their seminal paper on the turn-taking machinery, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) document the role of syntax for projecting transition relevance places (TRPs). The *hic et nunc* recognizability by the participants of the syntactic (but also prosodic and pragmatic) trajectory of a turn represents the *sine qua non* of turn-taking: minimization of gap and overlap is possible only due to the fact that participants can anticipate turn-ends before these actually occur – and they do this on the basis of projections emanating from the grammatical (syntactic, prosodic) and actional (pragmatic) dimensions of talk-in-interaction (*ibid.*). This is perhaps the most classic example of grammar serving as a resource for the organization of talk-in-interaction.

The notion of projection has since attracted the attention of many scholars in conversation analysis and interactional linguistics as a basic organizational principle of talk-in-interaction. Action projection relates to the sequential organization of actions (a question, for instance, projects an answer as a relevant next), while grammatical projection relates to the sequential moment-by-moment deployment of linguistic units (a determiner, for instance projects a noun as a relevant next, an *if*-clause projects a *then*-clause as a relevant next; level pitch projects more to come in the same turn construction unit [TCU] and final pitch drop projects a new TCU). Projection does not determine what follows, but foreshadows a range of possible upcoming trajectories. It hence provides for the possibility of utterance co-construction (Lerner 1991, 1996; cf. 3 *infra*) or the recognizability of (and reaction to) try-marking (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; cf. 3 *infra*); it is one – if not the central – resource for floor-holding and for the construction of complex, multi-unit turns (Hopper & Thompson, 2008; Pekarek Doehler, to appear). Also, projection implies that participants have some sense of how both actions and linguistic structures are organized sequentially (cf. Auer, 2005), that is: how they are deployed on a moment-by-moment basis in real time. Most importantly for our purpose here, some grammatical formats can be interpreted as emergent products of partially routinized interactional projection practices, as has been argued in recent work on “projector constructions” (Hopper & Thompson, 2008; Günthner, 2006; Pekarek Doehler, to appear). The inextricable intertwinedness of the temporal unfolding of language and of action condenses in these properties of projection. As Auer has put it: “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” (Auer, 2005: 14).

1.2 Emergent grammar

A second consequence of the thoroughly temporal character of language and action (or more precisely: of language-as-inscribed-in-action) bears on the very nature of linguistic patterns or

constructions.² As language is a central tool for the coordination of the temporal and sequential unfolding of actions, its structures cannot but be continually adapted to the contingencies of social (inter)actions. This point has persuasively been documented in Goodwin's (1979) analysis of how the construction of a single sentence is formatted in real time in response to local contingencies such as recipient actions or absence of these. It has also been demonstrated in Ford & Thompson's (1996) and Selting's (2001) analysis of TCUs as emergent entities. This work empirically documents the fundamental contingency of both linguistic and interactional units. Linguistic constructions, then, are not mere prefabricated, static resources for actions, but they are continually adapted in the very course of their production in response to locally emergent interactional needs. The grammatical constructions participants use for the collaborative organization of talk in real time are hence adaptive, flexible, contingent. They do involve (partially) sedimented constructional schemata, but these are also object to in-time emergence (cf. Ono & Thompson, 1995).

This point is at the core of Paul Hopper's notion of emergent grammar (Hopper 1987, 1992, 2001, 2004, *inter alia*). Grammar, Hopper argues, is not a fixed code, a static set of structures and combination rules enclosed as abstract representations in the individual's mind. Rather it is the ever evolving inventory of constructions for discourse that are (partially) sedimented through repeated use:

“Grammar” is an epiphenomenon of frequent combinations of constructions. Because grammar is a result of interactions rather than a prerequisite to them, it is not a fixed code but is caught up in a continual process of local adaptation (emergence)” (Hopper, 2004, p. 153)

A central part of this emergent nature of grammar, as Hopper convincingly demonstrates (e.g. Hopper, 2001 and 2004), is the “openness” of the forms (or: constructions) that make up grammar: any grammatical construction is in principle ‘open’, i.e. it materializes different yet related constructional schemata that may be only partially sedimented. This point has empirically been corroborated by an important body of research investigating how grammar is deployed in talk-in-interaction. Several studies have radically put into question classic conceptions of canonical grammatical patterns, such as pseudoclefts (for English see Hopper, 2001, 2004, Hopper & Thompson, 2008; for French see Müller, 2006) or extrapositions (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2006, for English). Others have destabilized well established categorical boundaries between constructions that have traditionally been treated as strictly distinct (see for instance Pekarek Doehler & Müller, 2006, for pseudoclefts and left-dislocations in French). Yet others have deconstructed widespread conceptions of basic patterns of clause-combining, revising established notions of subordination (Thompson, 2002, following Matthiessen & Thompson, 1988) or hypotaxis and parataxis (Auer, 1998). The quoted body of research provides an empirically robust counter-evidence to classic fixed-code conceptions of grammar of various kinds.

² I will use the term ‘construction’ in line with usage-based approaches to grammar to refer to patterns of language use of various size (e.g. NP, clause, clause-combination) comprising multiple linguistic items and whose meaning or function cannot be derived from the sum of their constituents. Constructions are (more or less) sedimented patterns for accomplishing communicative functions/actions.

The emergent character of grammar is a crucial correlate of the inscription of language in action; it is a fundamental trait of grammar's nature as "a result of interactions rather than a prerequisite to them" (cf. Hopper, quoted *supra*). The openness of grammatical constructions results from the fact that participants use these structures as local solutions to interactional contingencies (cf. Ford, 2004) that emerge in real time. *Mutatis mutandis*, it is due to this plasticity that language can and does serve as a "shared matrix" (Ford, 2004: 31) for the management of interactional contingencies.

1.3 Object and purpose of this paper

In this paper, I wish to explore what this conception of grammar implies for our understanding of a given construction, and what type of empirical evidence as regards a (or possibly: any) construction is apt to corroborate such a conception. I will take participants use of so called left- and right-"dislocated" constructions in French conversation as one microcosm which allows us to track down how grammar is deployed and configured moment-by-moment, for all practical purposes, along the temporal unfolding of turns and sequences of actions. My aim is to demonstrate how participants use left-dislocations and right-dislocations as partially sedimented constructional schemata in a contingent, adaptative way, so that a given grammatical format, once initiated, can be reconfigured moment-by-moment to yield another format as a practical solution to some locally occasioned interactional need. The analysis will concentrate on a series of things that have been documented in research as testifying to the processual and contingent nature of grammar, such as collaborative utterance construction, increments or pivots. But – and this is important for my purpose here – rather than analyzing how completions, increments or pivots materialize in different grammatical shapes, I will examine them through the lens of two constructions: left- and right dislocation. This focus is designed to highlight the fact that even 'classic' constructions, i.e. constructions that are considered to be highly grammaticized, are molded in real time to accommodate locally emergent interactional needs.

This is an important point for my purpose here. Rather than tracking the occurrence of new or 'unusual' construction formats, I will explore how, once a (sedimented) construction is initiated, its concrete trajectory is shaped on a moment-to-moment basis for all practical purposes, to a point that it can be expanded or revised to yield another (sedimented) construction. This process of recalibration, independently of the 'canonical' or less 'canonical' shape of the resulting grammatical format, represents a practical solution for dealing with recurrent interactional contingencies. The continual process of local adaptation (cf. Hopper 2004, quoted *supra*) is hence in no sense limited to 'newness' of grammatical shape, but reflects the omnipresence of the dynamic, processual features of grammar. This, I hope, will feed into a larger body of current empirical work documenting what the established objects of an *a priori* grammar become as part of an emergent, on-line grammar (cf. 1.2 *supra*).

In what follows, I will first specify the grammatical constructions under analysis and propose a critical comment on terminology (pt. 2). After a brief presentation of the data (pt. 3), I will analyze the emergent character of dislocated constructions, following two interconnected empirical lines of argumentation. The analysis will show how the syntactic trajectories of dislocated constructions are configured on-line and provide evidence for the distributed nature of grammar; these constructions are distributed across speakers and spread out across several interactional moments (pt. 4); also, they are expanded (pt. 5) or revised (pt. 6) in the very course of their production. Simultaneously, the analysis will demonstrate that each quoted occurrence

testifies to a grammatical practice for getting some interactional business done. On the basis of this empirical evidence, I will conclude that the patterns documented in this paper represent recurrent grammatical formats³ that respond to locally occasioned yet recurrent interactional contingencies (pt. 7). As such, both LD and RD will be shown to be part of an emergent grammar for all practical purposes.

2. Left- and right-dislocation

2.1 A critical word on terminology

Before turning to a detailed presentation of the constructions under analysis, a critical word on terminology is in order. In this paper, I use the terms left-dislocation (LD) and right-dislocation (RD) for the sake of clarity, in accordance with the dominant literature concerned with these constructions. I believe, however, that the terms themselves are utterly misleading. They have their roots in a generativist tradition, which understands dislocated constructions as resulting from transformations applied to a basic clause structure, namely SVO for languages such as French or English (e.g. Ross, 1967). This epistemological embeddedness of the notions of LD and RD has had profound repercussions on the way these constructions have been conceptualized in the literature – and this is the case far beyond the generativist tradition: LD and RD are typically understood as ‘marked constructions’, measured against the so-called canonical word order.

I would like to argue that such a view is both pragmatically and cognitively implausible. Most importantly for our purpose here, it disregards the fundamental moment-by-moment temporal unfolding of talk, and hence its sequential character. It is symptomatic with this regard that LD and RD have typically been treated in the literature as being tightly related, both formally and functionally (cf. 2.2 *infra*). However, LD and RD drastically differ in how they shape utterances on-line, that is: how they configure the temporal grammatical unfolding of talk, including the projections emanating from such talk. LDs (along with topicalizations and hanging topics) are resources that allow participants to display TCU-beginnings in specific ways, while RDs do the same to TCU-ends (Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher, in preparation). This is significant insofar as TCU-beginnings and TCU-ends are interactionally sensitive places for doing very different things: the former are particularly relevant places for configuring projections (Auer, 2005; Lerner 1991, 1996; Schegloff, 1996), for dealing with turn-taking issues (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, 1974), for displaying on-topic talk (Jefferson, 1978) or for managing the preference for agreement (Pomerantz, 1984). TCU-ends, on the other hand, are particularly sensitive places for marking transition relevance places (Sack, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974), for dealing with issues of reciprocity, and they can lead into different kinds of turn-extension (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007; Ford, Fox & Thompson, 2002; Schegloff, 1996). In the further course of this paper, we will see that these properties of TCU-beginnings and TCU-ends are crucially relevant for how participants treat LDs and RDs on-line and what interactional jobs these constructions accomplish.

³ In recent work in interactional linguistics, formats are defined as „instruments for contingently building turns at talk and implementing actions“ (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen, 2005, 483; see also Thompson, 2002).

2.2 Forms and functions of left- and right-dislocation in French

Excerpt (1) provides an illustration of dislocated constructions in French, where LD and RD are much more frequent than in English (hence, they often do not translate into English).⁴ Line 1 shows a LD of the NP *ma mère*, and l. 3 shows a RD of the NP *votre mère*:

(1) FNRS C, l. 159-163 «*ma mère*»

- 1 Jul **ma mère elle arrive pas à me parler en allemand.**
my mother_i she_i can not to me speak in German
,my mother (she) can't manage to speak in German to me'
- 2 Mar mhm
mhm
- 3 Int **elle est germanophone votre mère?**
she_i is German-speaking your mother_i
,is your mother German speaking'

In his detailed discussion of dislocated constructions across several languages, including French, Lambrecht (2001) provides the following definition:

A dislocation construction (also called detachment construction) is a sentence structure in which a referential constituent which could function as an argument or adjunct within a predicate-argument structure occurs instead outside the boundaries of the clause containing the predicate, either on its left (left dislocations) or on its right (right dislocations) (p. 1050).

This resonates with the common understanding of a dislocated construction as a sentence structure in which a referential element (most often a NP, in ex. 1: *ma mère*, *votre mère*, respectively) is located to the left or to the right of a matrix clause containing a pronoun (*elle*, in ex. 1) that is co-referential with that element (for French see e.g. Barnes, 1985, and Blasco-Dulbecco, 1999). In the above quote, Lambrecht (2001) specifies that the pronoun does not need to be strictly speaking co-referential, but can be co-indexical (in the case for instance of associative anaphora/cataphora). In French, the pronoun is a clitic, while in English it is a free morpheme (cf. Givón, 1983).

The extra-clausal element can cover a range of grammatical functions and syntactic categories (see Lambrecht, 2001, for a detailed discussion). By far the most recurrent cases documented in the literature (cf. Ashby, 1988) as well as in the data analyzed here are detached pronominal or lexical subjects (as illustrated in excerpt 1, l. 1), followed by objects – direct (ex. 1, l. 3) or indirect. The NP are typically referentially definite (that is, they are definite NP, but can be indefinite NP in the case of generic reference, cf. Givón, 1983). The data suggest that the prosodic properties of LD and RD are highly sensitive to their sequential environment (but see Barnes, 1985, for French; Selting, 2005, for German; Geluykens, 1992, for English – who identify typical prosodic profiles, but whose results contrast with each other). This has been

⁴ Lambrecht (1987) argues that SVO is far from being the basic word-order in spoken French. Rather, "the vast majority of nouns appear neither in object nor in subject position but in prepositional and adverbial phrases, in extra-clausal topic phrases and in phrases that have no syntactic connection with the proposition at all" (219). Lambrecht thereby pinpoints the comparatively high frequency not only of dislocations or topicalizations, but also of clefts, presentatives and hanging topics in French. Lambrecht relates this to typological reasons: where other languages use word-order variations or accentuation for marking e.g. topics of foci, French uses these constructions.

exemplified by De Stefani (2007) who documents that LDs in specific sequential locations, where they are involved in the closing of episodes or topics, show rhythmic profiles that enhance their closing effect.

As to their discourse functions, both LD and RD are said in the dominant discourse-functionalist literature to be used for topic promotion: they serve to promote an accessible yet not active referent (i.e. assumed by the speaker not to be in the current cognitive state of attention of the interlocutor) to the status of topic (cf. Ashby, 1988; Chafe, 1976; Givón 1983; Lambrecht, 1987). RD, thereby, is generally considered to presuppose a higher state of activation of the topic element (cf. Givón 1983). Also, LD can be used for establishing contrast (Geluykens, 1992) and so can RD (Ashby, 1988). Finally, RD is often associated with a repair function ('afterthought', Chafe, 1976, see also Geluykens, 1994).

While much of the work on dislocations is based on the study of monologic data, topic-promotion functions have been attested for conversational data as well (Ashby, 1988; Geluykens, 1992; Horlacher & Müller, 2005; Pekarek Doehler, 2004). However, there exists a small number of studies of talk-in-interaction which document across several languages that dislocations do much more than organizing information structure: they are used by participants as a resource for organizing actions, and for making that organization mutually recognizable. LDs serve as turn-entry devices (Duranti & Ochs, 1979; Mondada, 1995; Pekarek Doehler, 2001, 2004); they are a frequent format for definition-requests (De Stefani, 2005) and for the construction of lists (Geluykens, 1992; Pekarek Doehler & Müller, 2006; see also Barnes' 1985 more classic study). Also, they participate in the sequential organization of actions (including preference organization) and in the mutual positioning of participants (Pekarek Doehler, 2001, 2004). RDs, in turn, present a privileged format for evaluative statements (Horlacher & Müller, 2005) and they are used to deal with issues of reciprocity, most typically calling for co-participants' display of agreement (Horlacher, 2007; cf. pt. 5 *infra*). We will return to some of these interactional dimensions of LD and RD in the analysis section.

3. Data and Analysis

The present study is part of a larger research project⁵ investigating the interactional functioning of what has traditionally been called 'topic' and 'focus' constructions (dislocations, clefts, presentatives, etc.) (cf. Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher, in preparation). The database for the project consists of children's interactions in their first language, interactions with language impaired children and, most centrally, around 15h of French conversational interviews among adult native speakers. Most of the data was collected in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. This paper is drawing from the 15h of conversational interviews, completing these with some data from everyday conversations, classroom interactions and media debates. The data have been transcribed following the Jeffersonian transcription conventions (see annex). Prosody has been noted intuitively (i.e. through listening) and, where necessary, checked against a prosodic interpretation generated through Praat. The dislocated constructions are highlighted in

⁵ The project, entitled "Topic and focus constructions as interactional resources. A grammar-in-interaction account", has been generously supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation for the periods 2003-2007 (no. PP001-68685) and 2007-2009 (no. FN 100012-117938/1). <http://www2.unine.ch/cla/page12871.html>. The reflections presented in this paper have greatly profited from many discussions with the members of the research team: Elwys De Stefani, Anne-Sylvie Horlacher, Stéphane Jullien and Gabriele Müller, who have also substantially contributed to establishing the transcriptions of the main body of data used for this study.

devil') produced by the first speaker. The excerpt bears the typical traits of utterance co-construction as defined by Lerner (1991, 1996):

- syntactic break-off or hesitations by speaker A (the latter being the case here, l.1);
- anticipatory completion by speaker B (l. 2), which is designed as syntactic continuation of speaker A's utterance;
- speaker A's display of acceptance or refusal (the former being the case here, l.3).

The result is a collaborative establishment of a dislocated construction, where the preliminary component consists of a lexical NP produced by speaker A, and the final component consists of a matrix clause, produced by speaker B, comprising a clitic pronoun that is co-indexical with that NP. The broken off utterance by speaker A (l.1) clearly shows that both speakers orient to the same constructional pattern.

Another example is provided in (3), showing a complex extra-clausal constituent:

(3) FNRS A, 1942 «le seul mot»

- 1 Ral **le- le seul mot que je comprends pas**
 the the only word that I do not understand
- 2 **eh:[:h >il est il]=**
 it is it
- 3 Bri **[il est en allemand?]**
 it is in German
- 4 Ral **=est< (mais oui.) il est germanique.**
 is well yes it is Germanic

In l. 1, Ralph initiates a turn by means of *le seul mot* 'the only word' plus a restrictive relative clause, followed by slight hesitation. The initial component here again shows a [def. NP + hesitation]-pattern. The NP, however, is complex and the projection force emanating from this component strongly hinges on *seul* 'only' plus the relative clause. This initial complex NP not only projects a limited range of possible syntactic follow-ups (cf. infra); it also projects the possible pragmatic-praxeologic nature of the follow-up: what is expected next is a specification of the initial complex NP 'the only word that I do not understand'. This property, while bringing the LD here interestingly near to the pragmatics of pseudo-cleft constructions (see Pekarek Doehler & Müller, 2006, for a discussion of the fuzzy boundaries between LDs and pseudo-clefts in French), also provides for the second speaker's possibility to present his contribution as not only syntactically, but also pragmatically fitted to the first component.

This is done by Brigitte at l.3, where she takes up the initial complex expression by means of the subject clitic *il* (here: 'it'), just a micro-second earlier than Ralph himself, who pursues his turn (l. 2). Brigitte, thereby, provides a completion that is both syntactically and pragmatically fitted to the initial complex component. Her completion can be read as a guess, providing one possible specification of what 'the only word that [Ralph] cannot understand' is, and at the same time calling for confirmation (see the rising intonation on *allemand*). The confirmation is immediately provided by Ralph's 'well yes it is Germanic' (l.4). Interestingly, by doing so, Ralph uses a more technical term (*germanique*, referring to a language family) to point to the origin of the word he does not know, a term which he clearly accentuates. Thereby, he possibly displays his theoretical knowledge about languages, despite admitting that he does not understand German. Note also that Ralph's own turn is competing with Brigitte's completion, as evidenced by his accelerated tempo and the repetitions at l. 2/4, clearly showing his attempt to maintain the floor.

(5) FNRS, D, 2265 «les gens»

[talking about plurilingualism and code-switching]

- 1 Hel quand on parle une autre lan- .hh
 when you speak another lan-
- 2 là on: (1.2) on- on mélange tout. on fait un- (.) et-
 there you you you mix up everything you make a- and
- 3 et **les gens ils s'y- (r-) enfin-**
 and the people they well
- 4 (1.0)
- 5 Ren **ils ont plus de [grammaire.**
 they have no more PARTIT grammar
- 6 Hel *[il me semble qu'il y a plus d'identité.*
 it seems to me that there is no more identity

In both excerpts, the first speaker produces a lexical NP plus a clitic pronoun (and more, ex. 5) that can be read as co-indexical with the preceding NP. The construction-in-progress, which is broken off in both cases by speaker 1, can thus be unambiguously read as a LD construction – and is in fact read as such by speaker 2 in both excerpts. However, the second speaker fits his contribution not to the very end of the first speaker's unfinished utterance, but rather recycles the initial elements of the matrix clause following the left-peripheral constituent.

Through these co-constructions of the left-dislocated grammatical format, a range of social actions is being implemented. For instance, in excerpt (2) the second speaker visibly collaborates in explaining the meaning of *le diable*. The completions in (3), (4) and (5), in turn, can be read as anticipatory displays of understanding or guessing of what the first speaker is about to say. This interpretation is enhanced by the fact that, in (4), the first speaker is proffering some kind of conclusive comment on what he has just elaborated through a lengthy stretch of talk, which he introduces by means of the conclusive marker *donc* 'so' and which is then both co-constructed and confirmed by the second speaker. In (5), by contrast, the completion (l. 5) appears to proffer a second speaker's own interpretation on what people do when they switch from one language to the other, which is then refused by the first speaker, who proposes an alternative interpretation (l. 6)

In sum, the quoted excerpts show three points:

First, LDs represent a recurrent object of utterance co-construction, possibly due to syntactic and praxeological projections emanating from the TCU initial constituent, together with its sequential embeddedness. In these cases, the left-dislocated format itself results from a co-construction process that is spread across two adjacent speaker contributions. The resulting syntactic construction, which we call LD, is hence *distributed* across two speakers; it is a joint product. Interestingly, there is no occurrence of co-constructed RD in our data. This can be related to the different ways in which LD and RD shape utterances along the temporal unfolding of talk (cf. 2.1 supra), the left-peripheral constituent in LD giving place to syntactic (and other) projection, which is not the case for the right-peripheral constituent in RD, nor obviously for the preceding matrix-clause taken as a whole.

Second, this co-construction is based on a minute synchronization of mutual actions. As Auer (2005: 14) has argued in his paper on syntax as process, such synchronization is only possible

because *participants closely monitor emergent grammatical structures*; they jointly orient toward a syntactic trajectory that is configured moment-by-moment, across the temporal unfolding of talk. In the cases quoted here, the second speaker, in particular, exhibits his or her orientation to the specific compositional scheme of a left-dislocated construction, treating the left-peripheral element as a preliminary component, and the following matrix clause as a subsequent component. Here, then, we not only see the detailed on-line processing of emerging syntactic patterns by participants to talk-in-interaction, but we possibly also have a glance at the cognitive reality of the compositional scheme of left-dislocated constructions for participants. The recurrence of these features suggests that participants orient in several regards similarly to LD as they do to the compound TCUs discussed by Lerner (1991, 1996).

Third, thereby, a range of interactional business is being accomplished: providing help, displaying knowledge or involvement, enacting alignment or disalignment, etc. This shows one working of *grammar as a resource for organizing action*.

4.2 The left-periphery as try-marker

A second type of evidence for LD as emanating from distributed syntax is provided by excerpts (6) and (7), where the left peripheral constituent is marked as a try.

(6) FNRS F, 912 «l'acqua»

- 1 Xav mais (...) on connaît jamais un mot (...) qu'est-ce qu'il veut dire
 but we never know a word what it means
- 2 vraiment.
 really
- 3 (0.6)
- 4 du genre^euh: (.) l'acqua?
 like l'acqua
- 5 Mar ouais
 yeah
- 6 Xav euh: enfin, (.) >on sait que c'est de l' eau<.
 well one knows that it's PARTIT DET water
- 7 Mar ouais
 yeah

Here, the talk turns around problems of translating words from one language into the other. Lines 4 and 6, taken together, can be read as showing a LD construction: *l'acqua_i ... on sait que c'_i'est de l'eau* 'l'acqua_i ... one knows that it's water', where the clitic *c'* = *ce* 'it' in *on sait que c'est de l'eau* is co-indexical with the preceding NP *l'acqua*. The unfolding of this LD is articulated around three sequentially organized moments:

- the first speaker, Xavier, produces a referential element that is try-marked (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979)⁷: it shows rising intonation, calling for confirmation of its recognizability by the addressee;

⁷ According to Sacks & Schegloff, 1979, try-marking is a procedure for securing referential common ground. It relates to the fact that a participant produces a recognitional form (a referential element coded as being accessible, e.g. a name, a definite NP) carrying an upward intonation contour, and then pauses momentarily, thereby making co-participant confirmation of the referent relevant.

- the second speaker, Marina, then displays the non-problematic status of the element by means of her *ouais* 'yeah' (l. 5), thereby giving a go-ahead signal; this is in line with what Sacks & Schegloff (ibid.) have pointed out for try-markers in the specific context of reference to persons, where recognition is displayed by such things as 'uh huh' or nods;
- in a third step, the first speaker, Xavier, pursues his utterance by means of a full clause, containing a clitic pronoun (*c'* = *ce* 'it') that is co-indexical with the preceding referential expression (*l'acqua* 'water'); his very way of pursuing his turn without any break can be read as displaying his acknowledgment of referent recognition by his co-participant.

Taken together, steps 1 and 3 can be read as a LD construction. Similar cases have been discussed by Geluykens (1992) for LD in English. In our data, the try-marked constituent of what then becomes a left-dislocated construction is either a simple lexical NP (as in 6) or a more complex constituent. Excerpt (7) shows a complex constituent consisting of determiner plus noun followed by a restrictive relative clause:

(7) FNRS A, 1244 «des lésions»

- 1 Eri je crois qu' on a: on on on a vu ça,
I believe than we have we have seen this
- 2 par exemple **des gens qui avaient des des lésions?**
for instance DET people who had DET lesions (= cerebral lesions)
- 3 Mar ouais
yeah
- 4 Eri .h euh tout à coup ils parlaient anglais, mais ils savaient
all of a sudden they spoke English but they didn't know
- 5 +plus parler ((slightly laughing)) la- (.) leur première langue.
anymore to speak the their first language
- 6 Mar mhm
- 7 Cel oui tout à fait, tout à- tout à fait.
yes absolutely absolutely

Eric has just brought up the notion of additive bilingualism, stating that in additive bilingualism the two languages are not located in exactly the same place in the human brain. He then goes on exemplifying this point by bringing up the case of 'people who had suffered cerebral lesions' (l. 2), which is then co-indexed by the *ils* 'they' in the subsequent clause (l. 4). As in (6), what retrospectively appears as the left-peripheral element of a LD (l.2), is shaped as a typical try-marker, as defined by Sacks & Schegloff (1979). While it cannot be excluded that there is more at play than simple referent recognition (in ex. 6, in particular, Xavier's pausing might be interpreted as a rhetoric device used to strengthen his point), the co-participants' *ouais* 'yeah' in both excerpts embody claims of recognition of the referent (cf. Heritage, 2007), indicating that he or she orients to the preceding stretch of talk as calling for referent acknowledgement. Also note that, in both excerpts, the try-marked elements are pronounced distinctly, with clear accentuation.

Excerpt (8) shows a particularly interesting example of a similar type:

(8) FNRS A/B, 3178 «cette image du mur»

[speaking of 'the wall' as a metaphor for student's difficulty with language learning]

- 1 Rol **cette image du mur?**
this image of the wall

- 2 Mar ouais?
yeah
- 3 Rol **c'est eu::h (...) qui c'est qui construit ce mur. (.) c'est**
it's who is it that constructs this wall is it
- 4 l'enseignant ou c'est l'apprenant?
the teacher or is it the student
- 5 Ber ah oui bonne question
oh yes good question

In this excerpt, the syntactic trajectory changes from what starts off as a LD (*cette image du mur c'est* 'this image of the wall it's', l. 1/3) to what is formatted as a hanging topic construction⁸: *cette image du mur ... qui c'est qui construit ce mur* 'this image of the wall ... who is it that constructs this wall'. The initial constituent *cette image du mur* 'this image of the wall', once its recognizability is displayed by the co-participant (l. 2), becomes re-explored by the same speaker, changing retrospectively its status from a left-detached element to a hanging topic (although at l. 3 there is a hesitation signal and a pause between the abandoned LD and the 'new' trajectory initiated by *qui*, there is no prosodic break: the intonation is flat and there is no new prosodic onset). In section 6 we will come back to such re-explorations of syntactic constituents as evidence for grammar re-formatted on-line.

Try-marking, then, is not only clearly recipient designed; it also projects a recipient's display of (non)recognition as relevant next, thereby projecting whatever follows that display as contingent on the very nature of that display. In other words, the pursuit of the first speaker's communicative project, including the concrete syntactic shape it takes, crucially hinges on whether recognition is or is not made manifest by his or her co-participant. For the cases discussed here, this means that the pursuit of the first speaker's turn as a left-dislocated construction (which in ex. 8 is then revised) depends on the fact that recognition has been displayed. If non-recognition was displayed, the first speaker might engage further work to assure referent recognition (see the examples quoted in Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; see also Heritage, 2007, ex. 10). As a consequence, what *a posteriori* appears as a left-peripheral element in the quoted excerpts, is in fact *retrospectively* wrapped into a LD (or a hanging topic) *as a response* to an intervening display of recognition. Therefore, neither the left-dislocated construction in ex. 6 or 7 nor the hanging topic construction in ex. 8 can be interpreted as the result of some predefined syntactic project on behalf of the speaker, but appear to be the contingent products of the temporal unfolding of participants' actions for assuring and displaying recognition.

This observation can further be consolidated in the light of what Heritage (2007) has called the "conflict" between two basic principles of talk-in-interaction, namely intersubjectivity, involving the establishment of referential common ground, and progressivity, as materialized in the moving forward of talk-in-interaction, both at the level of turn construction and of sequence structure (cf. Schegloff, 2007). Heritage (2007: 260 sq.) analyzes participants' dealing with referential issues as essentially creating a conflict between these two principles: referential repair or clarification, for instance, involve that the principle of intersubjectivity (assuring referential common ground) invades the principle of progressivity, as it momentarily suspends the moving forward of talk. In

⁸ A hanging topic (also called *nominativus pendens*) is commonly defined as a syntactic construction comprising a detached referential element and a juxtaposed clause; unlike in LD, the detached element is not referentially co-indexed within the clause and does not function as an argument of the verb in that clause; rather, that element is semantico-pragmatically related to the clause, providing a frame of interpretation (Lambrecht, 2001: 1058).

this light, the temporal unfolding of the LD as documented in this section provides one practical solution for checking referent recognition in an embedded way: by minimizing the disruption of the turn-in-progress, this grammatical practice allows maximizing the compatibility between the principles of intersubjectivity and of progressivity. A simple SVO structure, where the try-marked lexical S would be first followed by a ratification and then by a VP, might clearly appear more discontinuous, as would the simple repetition of the lexical NP in an independent clause. Also, in our data, try-marked subjects are typically parts of LDs and not of SVO structures. The fact that this is the case for LD subjects rather than for objects can be accounted for by the sequential placement of subjects in TCU initial or medial position. In the case of the try-marking of subjects, the TCU is typically still in progress. In this environment where dealing with referential problems might be particularly disruptive, the up-take of the referential element by means of a co-indexical clitic after recipient's display of referent recognition provides for a smooth pursuit of the TCU in progress. For objects, the case is different, as they tend to occur at possible end-points of TCU, i.e. at points of the TCU in progress where there is no pursuit of the TCU projected on syntactic grounds: with a try-marked object, the speaker can simply end his turn or TCU with a rising intonation.

In sum then, the production of LD constructions (or parts of these, ex. 8) is spread across 3 interactional moments (A-B-A) that are articulated around the actions of two different participants (A and B). By the same token, the interactional work of presenting a candidate referent and ratifying it is distributed across two speakers before any predication is proffered about it. Such cases do typically show topic-promoting function of LD as documented in discourse functional literature (cf. 2 *supra*), but this topic-promoting work is collaboratively established: a referent is first proposed for ratification (lexical try-marked NP), and it is only promoted to sentence topic status (as clitic subject in the subsequent 'matrix' clause) after ratification has been provided.

Like in the collaborative utterance completions documented in section 4.1, the left-dislocated construction is thus *distributed* across several interactional moments; its syntactic and prosodic patterning is *contingent* upon that distribution, as shown for instance by the (prospectively oriented) prosodic properties of the try-marked initial constituent as well as the (retrospective) wrapping up of that constituent into a LD construction. The LD construction, thereby, provides a *grammatical resource* for interaction: it minimizes the disruptive effect of checking common referential ground, hence maximizing the compatibility between the principles of intersubjectivity and progressivity.

4.3 On-line configured syntax: a case of recipient design

Such locally contingent syntactic and prosodic patternings of utterances are not unique for LDs that spread across different speakers; they also occur within one single speaker's turn or TCU. One case in point for this is provided by a recurrent constructional format of LD, namely constructions involving post-periphery inserts, i.e. inserts occurring between the left-peripheral element and the 'matrix' clause. Due to the projection property of the initial NP, post-periphery inserts allow speakers to attend to some additional business, while momentarily deferring, in mutually recognizable ways, the completion of the syntactic project under way. As we will see, LDs including post-periphery inserts provide recipient designed means for constructing turns and organizing actions in a way that is recognizable for the co-participants. They hence present another case of distributed syntax.

A recurrent phenomenon in the course of the production of LD in our data is the occurrence of different kinds of syntactically independent inserts (parentheticals) or syntactically linked expansions (appositive relative clauses, for instance). These show highly regular sequential patternings, such as consistent placement following the left-peripheral constituent and the occurrence of an in-breath or a hesitation phenomenon just after the insert or expansion, initiating the matrix clause. This is shown in the following excerpts, where the inserts are highlighted in grey.

(9) FRSN, D, 532 «les suisses alémaniques»

- 1 Noa parce que **les suisses alémaniques**=et j'ai pu
because the Swiss Germans and I was able to
- 2 **le constater** ..h euh eux **veulent surtout**
witness it they (stressed PRO) want above all
- 3 **pas être confondus non [plus avec des allemands.**
not to be confused either with the Germans
- 4 Cec [mh

(10) FNRS, B, 668 «le prof de langue»

- 1 Mar pensez que vous devez aller au delà,
think that you need to go beyond that
- 2 parce que **pour le prof de langue**
because for the language teacher
- 3 s- (.) **d'une certaine manière** euh i:: (.)
in some way he
- 4 **il DOIT souvent aller au-delà** j'imagine.
he needs often to go beyond that I imagine
- 5 Lau [ouais
yeah
- 6 Ger [mhm

In both of these excerpts, the current speaker halts an ongoing TCU, inserts a parenthetical element and then returns to the halted TCU to continue its trajectory. In (9), the insert is placed immediately following a NP. After the insert, the already projected turn is resumed by a clitic pronoun that is co-indexical with the initial NP and followed by a predication. Retrospectively, what surrounds the insert appears as a LD construction.

Excerpt (10) shows a similar pattern, with the notable difference that the initial element is a prepositional phrase (*pour le prof de langue* 'for the language teacher'). Only part of this phrase, namely the referential expression *le prof de langue* 'the language teacher', is then taken up by the subsequent co-referential clitic *il* 'he'. This might be indicative of an on-line revision of the initial syntactic trajectory of the ongoing utterance (cf. pt. 6.1 infra): what retrospectively appears as a LD might be a post-hoc solution for dealing with the continuity of talk across a parenthetical insert.

Duvallon & Routarinne (2005) and Mazeland (2007) have recently discussed parentheticals as resources allowing the speaker to orient to additional activities while preserving both the sentence structure and the activity that has been projected initially. In excerpt (9), the parenthetical underlines the evidential character of the speaker's statement ('I was able to witness that'), in 10, by contrast, it hedges that statement ('in a certain way').

More importantly for our purpose here, in his detailed account of parenthetical inserts, Mazeland (2007) comments:

Inserts that exploit clausal or phrasal structure occur at positions in which a syntactically projected next element is still due. The TCU will remain recognizably incomplete as long as the speaker has not produced it. The insert is placed at a position at which the speaker has maximum grammatical control over the TCU's projected trajectory (p. 1824).

Mazeland provides examples of how this works with what Lerner (1991, 1996) calls compound TCUs. In these cases, inserts typically occur after the preliminary component. Mazeland notes: "Interestingly, parentheticals are inserted in compound TCUs at the very same places that co-participants may treat as position for conditional entry" (p. 1826). This is intriguingly identical to what we observe for LD. Both turn-completion by another speaker (cf. pt. 4.1 supra), and parenthetical inserts occur after the completion of the left-peripheral lexical NP. It is significant in this regard that in (9) and (10) there are no recipient actions at the end of the inserts, nor more generally in the course of the production of the LD, which indicates that recipients monitor the inserts as suspending but not ending the projected TCU. And this very possibility crucially hinges on the projection emanating from the initial NP as well as on the precise placement of the inserts after that NP.

What is particularly interesting in all this is again the fact that the initial trajectory is resumed by a co-indexical clitic pronoun, yielding a left-dislocated construction (and not a SVO). Identical patterns can be observed for the insertion of syntactically related material, such as complex adverbial clauses (ex. 11) or appositive relative clauses (ex. 12).

(11) FNRS, E, 1600, «l'italien»

- 1 Ber parce que: moi je trouve que bon l'italien comme on l'apprend
because I think that well DET Italian as you learn it
- 2 maintenant en direct, euh .hh dans des phrases quoi, sans apprendre
now directly in DET sentences PRT without learning
- 3 euh le vocabulaire, .hh ça passe encore, mais si on (avait fait le)
the vocabulary it works just fine but if you (had done the)
- 4 même avec l'allemand là on aurait été complètement paumé.
same with DET German there you would have been totally lost

(12) FNRS, C, 1483 «l'école»

- 1 Mar mais l'école là qui doit aller au-delà du du du choix individual,
but DET school_i there which needs to go beyond the individual choice
- 2 qui doit faire u:n un programme en fait un peu pour tout le monde,
which needs to make a program as a matter of fact a bit for everyone
- 3 .hh vous pensez qu'elle a cette responsabilité? (.) de: donner
do you think that it_i has this responsibility to give
- 4 eu:h (..) aux élève:s eu:h l'occasion de se former eu:h dans
the students the occasion to acquire
- 5 plusieurs langues.
several languages
- 6 (..)

7 Ger mais oui
but yes

We thus identify a consistent pattern across the quoted examples:

[NP_i + insert/expansion + .hh/hesitation + clause containing a clitic_i subject]

This pattern provides interesting evidence for the on-line deployment of syntax. The initial NP projects more to come, and this projection helps recipients to monitor across the insert or expansion. However, as noted earlier (pt. 4.1), the projection emanating from an initial lexical NP leaves in principle a limited range of possible syntactic follow-ups open (VP, full clause, S+V+Ø). So, why do we regularly find, immediately after the insert, an uptake of the initial NP by means of a clitic pronoun, yielding a LD construction? The uptake by a clitic pronoun in the subsequent clause has the effect of minimizing the distance between the verb and the constituent that functions as its subject and hence possibly facilitates the ‘reading’ of the whole construction across a complex insertion. Such minimization of Subject-Verb distance by means of LDs has been noted earlier. Cadiot (1992), in particular, comments: "when the subject lies so far from the verb that it is difficult to establish an agreement relation, the subject NP has to be bound with a clitic-anaphoric device" (75, my translation). Given the in-principle endless (unit-internal or final) expandability of units (see for instance the sequence of two relative clauses in ex. 12), the LD can be understood as providing a recipient design way for dealing with a practical interactional need, namely formatting an utterance in a recognizable way for the co-participants. In this sense, the LDs appear to be configured in the course of their production for all practical purposes: they are in some sense the *post hoc* products of dealing with the continuity of talk across an insert. As such, they accommodate the needs of on-line processing of utterances and warrant the recognizability of complex structures by the co-participants. The on-line configuration of LDs including inserts or expansions provides hence further evidence for the distributed nature of syntax – a syntax that is not only collaboratively established or spread across several interactional moments, but also designed to help recipients monitor the complex architecture of turns.

4.4 Summary

In this section, I have discussed three recurrent patterns of LD in talk-in-interaction that provide evidence of the distributed nature of this construction. The cases that have been reported demonstrate that grammar is distributed among speakers: it is both configured in response to co-participants actions or needs and monitored by co-participants in the course of its production. Also, it is based on participants’ joint orientation to syntax-in-process and anchored in the temporal-sequential unfolding of their talk. In particular, the analysis has provided the following observations: (1) Co-constructions of LD are resources for exhibiting alignment or disalignment and for doing a range of other things; (2) try-markings of the left-peripheral constituent are part of the recipient design of utterances and the ensuing LDs provide resources for minimizing the disruption of the progressivity of talk during the checking of referential common ground; (3) LDs in the case of complex turns including parenthetical inserts or syntactic expansions after the initial NP presents again a case of recipient design, helping co-participants to monitor through complex turns and TCUs. In all these cases, the syntactic trajectory initiated by a NP is quite open until the moment where that NP is taken up by a clitic. The ensuing LD format is motivated by local contingencies, typically intervening at one specific sequential moment, namely just after the production of the initial NP. Therefore, the LD format, while clearly implementing a sedimented grammatical schema, appears as a contingent product that is configured for all

practical purposes in the course of the temporal-sequential unfolding of talk. This does not question the existence of more or less regular patterns of utterance organization that we call LDs. Rather, it stresses the idea that these patterns emerge step-by-step as practical solutions for dealing with recurrent kinds of interactional work. They are instrumental in the social coordination of talk-in-interaction and as such they are part of grammar as a resource for organizing action.

5. On-line extended syntax: right-dislocations and increments

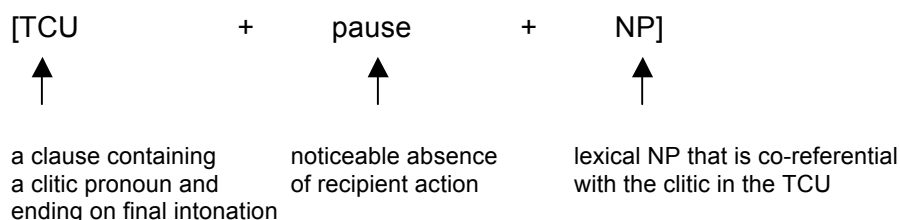
So far, we have looked at LD as a contingent product, in the sense that the follow up on an initial NP by means of a matrix clause containing a co-indexical clitic pronoun is configured in response to locally occasioned interactional needs. In this section, I will look at how a once produced syntactic structure, namely SVO, is extended incrementally to yield a RD.

In the introduction to this paper, I have pointed out the expandability of utterances and of their syntactic shapes. It follows from this property that “syntactic completion is evaluated incrementally”, as Ford & Thompson (1996: 145) put it. That is, a syntactic end-point of a stretch of talk is configured step-by-step in real time, allowing participants to prolong syntactic trajectories or to revise them. This property has in recent years been intensely discussed under the heading of ‘increment’. Increments are defined as segments of talk that occur after a completion point of a TCU, but that are “grammatically fitted” to that TCU (Schegloff, 1996: 495). Typical examples are adverbial phrases that extend the syntactic trajectory-so-far of an utterance.

In a recent paper on the incremental nature of French RD, Horlacher (2007) points out that RD have not been treated in the literature as increments; rather, the so called right-detached constituent, when it is a lexical NP (as opposed for instance to a pronoun), is often considered to repair a referential underspecification provided by the clitic in the preceding clause. In Couper-Kuhlen & Ono’s terms (2007: 519), for instance, RD belongs to the category of ‘replacement’ and not ‘increment’:

[t]he category of replacement involves prosodically disjunct added-on material which replaces or repairs one or more elements in the host. [...] The category includes Geluyken’s (1994) ‘right-dislocations’ produced with a prosodic break, when the completion of the host creates a TRP (quoted in Horlacher 2007: 122).

While this interpretation is in line with a common understanding of RD as a repair mechanism (cf. Geluykens 1994; see also the classic notion of *afterthought*, Chafe, 1976), and while it does correspond to some (though rare) instances of RD in our data, right dislocated constructions cannot by far be reduced to a (self)repair mechanism. This has convincingly been argued by Horlacher for French, on the basis of the same database as used for the present study. Horlacher shows that RDs are a privileged format for assessments (Horlacher & Müller, 2005) and for closing down conversational episodes (Horlacher, 2008). More importantly for our purpose here, Horlacher (2007) argues that RD can provide a second TRP and thereby increase the relevance of next-turn display of agreement. In our data, we observe recurrent occurrences of the following sequential pattern:



A TCU containing a clitic pronoun reaches a TRP, is followed by a pause showing absence of recipient action, which in turn is followed by a referential element that could function as an argument of the verb in the preceding TCU and is co-indexical with its clitic pronoun. An illustration is provided in the following excerpt:

(13) CODI L1-secII-EO-03, 502 «ton parent »

- 1 Cat franchement (...) je pense que: c'est: (1.0) si: t'as vraiment un parent
frankly I think that it's if you really have a parent
- 2 qui a: (1.4) dévié,
who has gotten off the track
- 3 Els ((laughter 6.4s))
- 4 Cat qui a vraiment pris un très mauvais chemin,
who has really taken a very bad path
- 5 (1.0) euh: (1.5) soit (...) tu prends le même chemin que lui? (1.1)
either you take the same path as him/her
- 6 soit tu vas à l'opposé et tu le détestes.
or you go in the opposite direction and you hate him
- 7 (1.0)
- 8 euh: ton: parent qui a- (1.2) dé[vié.
your parent who has gotten off the track
- 9 Els [(dévié)
gotten off the track

Catherine and Elsa are involved in a classroom discussion on the relation between children and their parents. In 1.1-4, Catherine initiates an if-then construction, starting her turn with markers of epistemic stance and then formulating the if-part: *si tu as vraiment un parent qui a dévié* 'if you really have a parent who got on the wrong track'.⁹ This if-part frames the peak of Catherine's argument, which is presented in the subsequent then-part (1. 5-6). This then-part is shaped as an either-or argument : *soit tu prends le même chemin que lui soit tu vas à l'opposé et tu le détestes* 'either you take the same path as her/him or you head in the opposite direction and you hate

⁹ The excerpt provides a nice illustration of the strong projection emanating from the preliminary part of an if-then construction: after Catherine's formulation of what can be read as the preliminary component (i.e. the if-part, 1. 1/2), ending on continuing intonation, there is long intervening laughter 1.3, but no attempt at turn-taking by another participant; the syntactic project, however, is not immediately completed by a final component, but is continued in 1. 4 by an extension of the if-part (a second restrictive relative clause is added), coming to a second possible completion point of the preliminary component, which again ends on continuing intonation (1. 4). This is followed by long pausing and a hesitation phenomenon (1. 5: (1.0) euh: (1.5)), without any co-participants' attempt at taking the turn. It is only at this moment that the final then-part is delivered, under the form of an either-or argument (1. 5-6/8). The lack of co-participants' attempts at taking the turn, both after the first possible completion point of the preliminary component (1. 2), and after its extension leading into a second completion point (1. 4), clearly shows how co-participants orient to the strong projection emanating from the preliminary component as to an upcoming final component.

her/him'. With this strong affirmation, her turn reaches a TRP. Although prosody here is not very conclusive (there appears to be slightly falling pitch at the end of l. 6, but no notable new onset in l.8), the turn's first potential end-point is clearly marked by both syntactic and pragmatic completion. Subsequent to this TRP, however, there is a noticeable absence of recipient action, as evidenced in the 1.0s pause at l. 7. In the face of this absence, Catherine resumes her turn, incrementally adding *euuh: ton parent qui a dévié* 'eh your parent who has gotten off the track'. This last constituent presents itself as a complex referential NP (comprising a restrictive relative clause) that is co-indexical with the clitic object *le* 'him/her' in the preceding clause. In other words, the TCU and the subsequent NP together form a right detached format. Thereby, the added-on NP syntactically extends and revises not only the immediately preceding clause (what first appears as an SVO is retrospectively wrapped into a RD), but it also extends the whole complex if-then construction.

Now, what is the interaction work that is being done through this patching together of a RD in real time? Note that the object clitic in *tu le détestes* 'you hate him' (l. 6) refers to a highly accessible entity that has been introduced in l. 1/2 and is maintained as an active referent throughout the subsequent talk (l. 4/5). In this light, Catherine's added-on *ton parent qui a dévié* (l. 8) cannot be read as repairing a referential underspecification. Rather, the excerpt shows typical traits of increments, as discussed in the literature (cf. supra): a segment of talk that is grammatically fitted to the preceding TCU is incrementally added to that TCU after the TCU has reached a TRP. This incremental extension accomplishes an interactionally relevant job: here, it creates a second relevant place for recipient reaction, after a first absence of such reaction (see Schegloff, 1996, on increments as re-occasioning possible completion). Thereby, the syntactic project is not simply extended, but revised: what started off as an SVO ends up as a RD.

A similar case is presented in excerpt (14), which is taken from a discussion between a researcher, Marina, and four pupils (we have discussed this excerpt in more detail in Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher, in preparation):

(14) FNRS F, 52 «une discipline»

- 1 Ver c'est pas dit qu' on sera: que ceux qui parlent italien sont
it's not a given that you will be that those who speak Italian are
- 2 plus intelligents que ceux qui parlent français?
more intelligent than those who speak French
- 3 Mar ouais (...) d'accord.
yeah okay
- 4 Ver c'est comme l'histoire et puis le reste des branch:es.
it's like history and then the rest of the school subjects
- 5 (0.6)
- 6 Mar voilà. (.) donc **c'est une^eu:: une discipline parmi d'autres?**
there you go so it's one one discipline among PARTIT others
- 7 (0.4)
- 8 Ver ouais=
yeah
- 9 Mar **=le::: euh la langue [quoi.**
DET-m DET-f language PRT
- 10 Ver [mmh

11 Mar *c'est pas quelque chose de différent.*
it's not something different

12 Ver non.
no

13 Mar d'accord. (...) et puis TOI (.) Julie?
okay and then you Julie

At l. 4 Vera brings to an end a presentation of her view according to which learning or speaking several languages does not make a person cleverer than others; she specifies that those who learn/speak Italian don't necessarily turn out to be more intelligent than those who speak only French, their first language. Marina's subsequent turn at l. 6 can be read as summing up Vera's opinion and asking for confirmation: the turn is introduced by the conclusive marker 'so', preceded by the particle *voilà*, which in this context clearly foreshadows closing; also, the turn is formatted as a question, ending with interrogative rising intonation. The turn hence ends with a complex TRP, marked by syntactic and pragmatic completeness and final intonation, and it projects a confirmation by Vera as a relevant next. Vera's response (l. 8), however, comes in late and weakly (the French *ouais* 'yeah' is less affirmative than a straight *oui* 'yes'); it is visibly treated as insufficient by Marina, who incrementally extends her turn, adding *la langue* 'the language' (co-referential with the clitic subject *ce* 'it' of her previous turn). Most likely, as Marina's turn extension comes in almost simultaneously with Vera's *ouais* (l. 8), Marina actually orients to the absence of recipient action as materialized in the preceding pause (l. 7). In any case, her increment (l. 9) occasions a second possible point for recipient action. Vera's confirmation, however, still does not occur, which in turn leads Marina to further search for recipient reaction by rephrasing her question in the negative *c'est pas quelque chose de différent* 'its not something different' (l. 11). It is only at this point that she receives a clear answer from Vera (l. 12), which she shortly acknowledges (l. 13) and then immediately turns to another participant.

This excerpt again shows how the absence of recipient action structures an emergent syntactic trajectory: what so far has appeared to be a SVO structure, ending on a TRP, is repackaged as a RD. The resulting RD is an instrumental part of the speaker's pursuit of confirmation by the recipient, creating a second relevant place for recipient action.

This incremental formatting of RDs has not been accounted for in the rich literature on increments, possibly due to typological reasons (French, along other Latin languages, is clearly underexplored in interactional linguistics), or due to the fact that the interactional functioning of RD has so far remained largely unexplored. Yet, this incremental formatting of RDs is a theoretically compelling issue, as it clearly demonstrates how a syntactic format emerges as a response to local interactional needs. Most importantly, the cases under discussion play on the simultaneous presence of both, a SVO structure that comes to a completion point, and a RD which re-opens the syntactic trajectory of the SVO to lead into a second completion point, this time of the RD construction: it is not the case that the one construction is corrected or replaced by the other; rather, the first is used as a stepping stone to construct the second, each of them doing – at a given moment in time – their own interactionally relevant and locally contingent work. Such evidence provides a strong case for the idea that what the analyst interprets a posteriori as a RD emerges step-by-step through the process of interaction.

6. On-line reconfigured syntax

So far we have been mainly looking at how the grammatical formatting of LDs and RDs responds – on a moment-by-moment basis – to local interactional contingencies. We have thereby seen that the temporal unfolding of grammatical constructions is mapped onto the sequential deployment of actions in response to issues of reciprocity and the coordination of mutual actions.

In this last section, I wish to go one step further. The excerpts quoted in what follows testify to locally *reconfigured* syntax: the data illustrate how given sentential constructions, once initiated, are revised and reshaped in the course of their production so as to yield different constructions. Two types of such moment-by-moment reconfigurations of syntactic trajectories will be documented: on-line revisions of once initiated construction-types (6.1) and pivots (6.2).

6.1 On-line revisions of syntactic trajectories

Excerpt (15) provides an initial illustration of an on-line revision of a syntactic trajectory:

(15) CODI, SPD 19 «les autres»

[talking about Swiss Germans' need to be able to speak standard German]

- 1 Ger moi je trouve que ce n'est pas nécessaire parce que: en allemand
 me I think that it isn't necessary because: in German
- 2 (.) ou en Allemagne on peut aussi parler suisse allemand,
 or in Germany one can also speak swiss german
- 3 et les autres ils: (2.2) on les comprend. (.) quand même.
 and the others they we understand them anyway

Excerpt (15) shows a case where the grammatical status of the peripheral constituent changes: the speaker starts off a TCU as a LD format where *les autres* 'the others' is co-indexed by the subsequent clitic subject *ils* 'they' (1. 3). This syntactic project is then given up and, after a 2.2 second pause, another project is initiated, which re-exploits *les autres* by means of the clitic object '*les*'. Thereby, the left-detached constituent remains available for a second, yet grammatically different exploitation: *les autres* changes its status from LD subject to LD object: *les autres ils...* 'the others they...' is now rephrased as *les autres ... on les comprend* 'the others we understand them'. This possibility hinges on a syntactic property of LD, namely the relative syntactic independence of the detached constituent – as evidenced in French by the absence of case-marking on that constituent. In addition, excerpt (15) also illustrates the strong projection emanating from the initial NP plus clitic complex, that visibly functions here as a floor-holding device across a lengthy 2.2s pause.

More interestingly, perhaps, excerpt (16) shows how what starts as a LD format is recast as a topicalization.¹⁰ Patricia and Séverine are talking here about their high-school language learning experience.

(16) PNR33, Corpus CD/GE 16-12-93ent. «la littérature»

- 1 Sev je veux dire que la formation n'est peut-être (de) pas seulement
 I want to say that the instruction is maybe not only

¹⁰ A topicalization construction is commonly defined as a clause structure in which a referential element (typically a NP) that functions as a complement (direct or indirect object) of the verb is placed in pre-verbal position, as an initial element of the clause; unlike in LD, the detached element is not referentially co-indexed within the clause (Lambrecht, 2001: 1052).

- 2 destinée à faire parler des gens mais c'est vrai qu'il faut aussi
intended to make people speak but it's true that one must also
- 3 avoir une visée pratique.
have a practical aim
- 4 Pat oui bon **la littérature c'est moi je n'ai jamais tellement**
yes well DET literature it's me I have never really
- 5 **aimé**, mais c'est bien sûr c'est bien si on fait ça.
liked but it's for sure it's good if we do that

At l. 4, Patricia starts off with *la littérature c'est*, initiating a LD, but then revises her project (there is no audible cut-off on *c'est*). Note that the subsequent segment, *moi je n'ai jamais tellement aimé* 'I've never really liked', in itself has no object; rather, it mobilizes as its object *la littérature* 'literature' from the precedingly abandoned construction: *la littérature*, hence, retrospectively changes its grammatical function from left-detached subject to topicalized object ('literature I have never really liked'). This example provides a particularly strong argument for the fact that the recyclings we are looking at are not a mere matter of co-referentiality (and hence anaphora), but involve a two-fold *syntactic* exploitation of one and the same constituent.

A similar case is shown in excerpt (17):

(17) FNRS C, 149 «la mère»

- 1 Myr là j'ai commencé à demander à ma maman qu'elle me parle en italien
no I have started to ask my mom to speak Italian to me
- 2 à la maison. et puis ben elle elle a même beaucoup de peine à- à
at home and well she she has even a very hard time to
- 3 parler en italien. (.) vu qu'elle a l'habitude de parler
speak in Italian given that she's used to speak
- 4 français, donc
French so
- 5 Jea ouais mais aussi si **la mère elle a pas la: ça vient pas**
yeah but also if the mother she has not the it does not come
- 6 **naturellement [dans une autre langue** eu:h [on arrivera pas
naturally in another language one won't manage
- 7 Myr [mhm
- 8 Cec [mhm
- 9 Jea à (lui) parler.
to speak to her

Here, an initially left-dislocated *la mère* 'the mother' (in *la mère elle a pas* 'the mother she has not') is recycled as a hanging topic (see footnote 8, supra) with regard to the subsequent '*ça vient pas naturellement dans une autre langue*' 'it does not come naturally in another language' (the two together meaning something like 'to your mother another language doesn't come naturally'). Note that these constructions or construction fragments are themselves part of an initial if-component of an if-then pattern (l. 5-7), and that the if-frame of the preliminary component is maintained across the revised syntactic project (and in fact leads into a then-part starting at l. 6 and complete in 9).

In the quoted excerpts, syntactic constituents are retrospectively recycled, changing their grammatical status within an on-line movement. The reconfigurations of syntactic trajectories resulting from this self-repair are built so as to minimize disruption; the absence of cut-offs,

onto the temporal unfolding of talk, starting with the deictic *ça* ‘this’. The pivot construction is expressed as a single intonation phrase, showing a rhythmic pattern with three regular beats, on *ça*, *prendre* and *feuilles*. While the highly recurrent *ça*-B-*ça* pattern documented in (18) possibly represents a sedimented format for evaluative statements, it is probable that the by far less frequent pivots such as illustrated in excerpt (19) are configured *ad hoc*, in the course of their production, and for all practical purposes. This is clearly manifest in excerpt (20), which shows an incremental composition of a pivot:

(20) FNRS B, 863 «le futur»

- 1 Ger je voulais dire qu’après je vais PAS les interroger, (...)
 I wanted to say that afterwards I am not going to test them
- 2 euh sur le même travail sur le present, le passé, et le futur?
 in the same exam on the present the past and the future
- 3 Leo ouais
- 4 Ger **le futur ça sera pour dans un mois disons.**
 the future_i it_i will be for in a month let’s say
- 5 Leo d’accord
 okay
- 6 Ger **le contrôle euh[: où] je vais évaluer.**
 [the test where I’ll evaluate]_i
- 7 Leo [ouais] oui
 yeah yes
- 8 Ger °plutôt°.
 rather
- 9 (1.2)
- 10 Leo ouais
 yes

Géraldine, a teacher, is explaining her way of testing students’ competencies in a foreign language. She first states that she will not examine the students on both the past and the future in the same test (l. 1-2) and then adds that the test for the future will be in a month (l. 4/6). Her wording is interesting. Line 4 appears as a LD construction including a metonymic use where *le futur* ‘the future’ stands for ‘the test about the future’. The turn comes to a possible end (l. 4), marked by complex TRP (syntactic and pragmatic completion; final falling intonation), and receives an acknowledgement by Léonie (l. 5). The turn is then incrementally expanded by means of the complex NP *le contrôle où je vais évaluer* ‘the test where I will evaluate’. This incrementally added-on referential expression recasts the preceding *le futur* to express the referent literally; it possibly functions as a self-repair mechanism for referent clarification, along the lines of what Chafe (1976) has termed ‘afterthought’ (see also Geluykens, 1994). This interpretation is corroborated by the Géraldine’s accentuation on *contrôle* (l.6) as well as by her additional incrementally added hedge *plutôt* ‘rather’ (l. 8), which functions as a post-positioned self-repair marker and actually ends her turn. The excerpt hence again shows a LD-RD pivot construction, yet with a prosodic break between the pivot-part and the following B-part. Such prosodic properties, while contrasting with some understandings of pivot constructions (e.g. Walker, 2007), have been reported in recent studies by Betz (2008: 31, for German) and Norén (2007: 131/2 and 146, for Swedish) specifically for the case of pivot constructions resulting from turn-expansions, as is the case in excerpt (20).

We thus see the speaker configure the syntactic trajectory of her utterance by means of local adaptations. What *a posteriori* appears as a pivot construction, amalgamating LD and RD, is configured on-line, in part incrementally, following an emergent trajectory that is adapted to local interactional contingencies.

6.3 Summary

Under the headings of on-line revision and pivots we have observed how self-repair or issues of reciprocity structure emergent syntactic trajectories so as to revise them in the course of their very production. Thereby, a once initiated syntactic project is reshaped: what initially appears as a given construction type ends up as another construction type. This is in several regards similar to what we have observed in the preceding section for increments, where an initial SVO is extended to become a RD.

In LD-RD pivots (as in RD), the peripheral element to the right can be added incrementally, for all practical purposes, creating for instance a second relevant place for recipient action or functioning as a self-repair mechanism. In the case of on-line revisions of LDs, as an utterance unfolds moment-by-moment, the grammatical function of a left-peripheral element is transformed through self-repair: what starts off as a left-peripheral subject, for instance, is re-explored and hence retrospectively re-analyzed as object, or what starts off as an LD ends up as a hanging topic.

The two types of on-line reconfigurations of syntactic constructions discussed in this section as well as the excerpts discussed under the heading of increments in the preceding section provide particularly strong evidence for an understanding of dislocated constructions, even if produced by a single speaker, as processual products, resulting from moment-by-moment adaptations as talk unfolds, open to revisions or extensions in real time. Thereby, the dislocated format, while it clearly implements a sedimented constructional pattern, also emerges step-by-step as one grammatical choice amongst others in response to interactional needs and along the temporal unfolding of interaction. As this on-line formatting of the constructions clearly responds to issues of recipient design and is done in response to recipient actions – or absence of these –, these cases provide further evidence for the distributed nature of grammar.

7. Conclusion: an emergent grammar for all practical purposes

In this paper, I have not looked at emergence across time, but configuration in real time. The excerpts that have been analyzed provide some evidence for the emergence of new patterns (e.g. the pivot constructions discussed in section 6.2). Mostly, however, they demonstrate how speakers use (partially) sedimented constructional schemata in contingent, adaptive ways, so that a given grammatical format, once initiated, can be reconfigured moment-by-moment to yield another format as a practical solution to some local interactional business.

The temporal character of language and action – or rather: of language-as-inscribed in action – implies the omnipresence of local adaptations of syntactic trajectories. At times, this local adaptation yields ‘new’ or ‘unusual’ patterns, at others, it just yields ‘classic’ construction formats, which yet emerge in real time as a result of interactionally contingent changes or reorientations in the ongoing syntactic trajectories. At any moment in time, the unfolding of utterances normatively projects a series of possible follow-ups, providing for the speaker’s possibility to implement a *limited range* of ‘standard’ grammatical constructions. In the course of the unfolding of utterances and actions, speakers chose among these options, and their choices are structured by locally occasioned interactional needs. As a result, even classic constructions

appear at times to be patched together within a moment-by-moment temporally organized process.

In this paper, the empirical evidence corroborating this view comes from the analysis of LD and RD in talk-in-interaction. Results show that LDs and RDs are grammatical practices which are distributed across speakers and situated in action:

- They are *emergent constructions*: Although they are clearly mapped onto sedimented constructional schemata in the language, their concrete occurrence in talk is often configured on-line, in a step-by-step movement that involves revisions and expansion of ongoing syntactic trajectories.
- These revisions are done for all practical purposes, such as displaying (dis)alignment, minimizing disruption or inviting a recipient action. In this sense, LD and RD are not simple ready-made interactional resources: while in some cases they may be used as ready-made resources, in the excerpts quoted here their grammatical formatting responds to interactional contingencies on a moment-to-moment basis. In this sense, LD and RD constructions are part of an *emergent grammar for all practical purposes*.
- Thereby, they evidence the *distributed nature of grammar*: LD and RD are shaped by explicit or implicit collaborative processes that are most importantly deployed through recipient design and the collaborative construction of utterances. They provide evidence for a syntax that is (a) spread across participants and sequentially organized interactional moments, and (b) analyzed by co-participants in the very course of its production.

Emergent grammar hence appears as distributed grammar, as a shared yet adaptative resource for action. As such, it is an integral part of the social coordination of talk-in-interaction.

While the analysis has used dislocated constructions as one microcosm that allows us to zoom in onto the emergent and distributed nature of grammar, it also has provided insights into the specifics of these very constructions. In the light of the temporal unfolding of actions, rather than representing two shades of what is called dislocation, LD and RD appear to be substantially different constructions. They respond to different sequential logics: LDs are recognizable early in a TCU and hence present a privileged site for projection; RDs are recognizable late in the TCU, they follow a syntactically complete constituent and hence provide potential materials for turn expansion. Accordingly, LD and RD accomplish different jobs, and respond to different local contingencies. While this paper was not designed to identify the interactional functions of these constructions, it still provides observations that may complete what has so far been documented in the literature (cf. pt. 2.2 *supra*). The analysis in particular suggests that participants use LDs as recipient designed means for minimizing disruption in the case of try-marking, self-repair and parenthetical inserts (in the latter case also warranting the recognizability of complex turns), while they use RDs as instrumental means in the pursuit of recipient reaction.

In the light of these results, what we commonly call LD and RD appear to be the linguists' *a posteriori* interpretations of constructional schemata that are deployed by speakers on a moment-by-moment basis as solutions to recurrent needs in real time. These needs structure emergent syntactic trajectories; the concrete formats of these trajectories result from *ad hoc* adaptations to local contingencies. The fact that such adaptations are not restricted to yielding new or 'unusual' forms, but can imply the local reconfiguration of (sedimented) constructions to yield other (partially) sedimented constructions, is highly significant: it suggests that it is these recurrent interactional needs – rather than internalized grammatical rules or prefabricated formulas – that

provide for a certain *stability* of the grammatical practices that we have observed, or perhaps for some more abstract but flexible constructional schemata which underlie these practices, yet are open to being reshaped by them. In other words: even classic patterns are caught in a continuous process of both sedimentation and possible reconfiguration in response to interactional needs. The left-dislocated and right-dislocated constructional schemata analyzed here are possibly the (partially) sedimented products of such recurrent needs that arise as actions and utterances unfold in time.

Symbols used in transcripts

[]	onset, and, if relevant, end of overlap
=	intra- and inter-turn latching
&	turn continuation after overlap
(.) (..) (...)	unmeasured (micro-)pauses up to ca. 1s
(1.5)	measured pauses
coul-	cut-off
ce:	lengthening of preceding sound
chemin?	rising intonation
temps.	falling intonation
train,	continuing intonation
besoin	accentuation
NON	louder
.h	in-breath
°ça fait tout°	soft voice
>et ça ça<	faster
<tout ça coûte>	slower
((laughing))	transcriber's comment
+	indicates the onset of a stretch of talk to which a comment relates

Symbols used in the gloss/translation

PRT	particle
PARTIT	partitif (as in <i>beaucoup de choses</i> = 'many PARTIT things')
DET	determiner (DET-m= masculine; DET-f = feminine)
CLI	clitic
PRO	pronoun
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
il _i	_i indicates co-referentiality or co-indexicality

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