

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

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

“Time in the form of sequential organization is a per-
vasive intrinsic component of both talk and action”
(Charles Goodwin 2002: 24).

1 The temporality of language and the temporality of action

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, and 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 reoriented, and a sequence can be 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 their syntactic shapes (cf. Auer 1996). This expandability is configured incrementally in real time, allowing participants to prolong or revise syntactic trajectories, and thereby to accomplish various social actions (e.g. Couper-Kuhlen and Ono 2007; Ford, Fox, and 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. Goodwin (2002) empirically documents how “orientation toward diverse forms of time organization is built into the units and tools used to construct human action” (34), such as

* I thank Peter Auer, Elwys De Stefani, and Anne-Sylvie Horlacher for their insightful and inspiring comments on a previous version of this paper.

language, gesture and gaze. In an argument more centrally concerned with the nature of language, Auer (2005, 2007, 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 in which 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” (236). This temporal character implies two empirically validated and theoretically consequential properties of linguistic constructions: *projection* and *emergence*.

1.1 Projection

How language configures the temporal sequential unfolding of actions has been persuasively documented in empirical conversation analytic and interactional linguistic research on the notion of projection. In his papers on on-line grammar, Auer (2005, 2007, 2009) 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) to prefigure possible trajectories of the next (actional or grammatical) segment (cf. Auer 2005; Goodwin 2002; Schegloff 1996).

In their seminal paper on the turn-taking machinery, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) document the role of syntax for projecting transition relevance places (TRPs). The participants’ ability to recognize 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 they 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 (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974). 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]). Projection does not determine what follows, but foreshadows a range of possible upcoming trajectories. Hence, it offers the possibility of utterance co-construction (Lerner 1991, 1996; cf. section 3) and it is one – if not the central – resource for floor-holding and for the construction of complex, multi-unit turns (Hopper and Thompson 2008; Pekarek Doehler 2011). 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” (Günthner 2006; Hopper and Thompson 2008; Pekarek Doehler 2011). The inextricability of the temporal unfolding of language and action condenses in these properties of projection. As Auer puts 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 constructions.¹ 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 been documented in Goodwin’s (1979) classic analysis of how the construction of a single sentence is formatted in real time in response to local contingencies such as recipient actions or the absence thereof. It has also been demonstrated in Ford and Thompson’s (1996) and Selting’s (2001) analyses of TCUs as emergent entities. This work empirically documents the fundamental contingency of both linguistic and interactional units. Linguistic constructions, then, are not merely prefabricated, static resources for actions; rather, they are continually adapted in the very course

¹ 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.

of their production in response to locally emergent interactional needs. The grammatical constructions that participants use for the collaborative organization of talk in real time are hence adaptative, flexible, and contingent. They involve (partially) sedimented constructional schemata, but these are also subject to in-time emergence (cf. Ono and Thompson 1995).

This point is at the core of Hopper's notion of emergent grammar (e.g. 1987, 1992, 2001, 2004). 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: 153).

A central part of this emergent nature of grammar, as Hopper demonstrates (e.g. Hopper 2001, 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 questioned classic conceptions of canonical grammatical patterns, such as pseudoclefts (for English, see Hopper 2001, 2004; Hopper and Thompson 2008; for French, see Müller 2006) or extrapositions (Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson 2006, for English). Others have destabilized well-established categorical boundaries between constructions that have traditionally been treated as strictly distinct (see e.g. Pekarek Doehler and 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; Matthiessen and Thompson 1988) or hypotaxis and parataxis (Auer 1998). The quoted body of research provides empirically robust counter-evidence to classic fixed-code conceptions of grammar.

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" (Hopper 2004: 153). 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 is apt to corroborate such a conception. I will examine participants' use of so-called left and right "dislocated" constructions in French conversation. My aim is to demonstrate how participants use left and right dislocations as partially sedimented constructional schemata in a contingent, adaptive 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 phenomena that have been documented in research as testifying to the processual and contingent nature of grammar, such as collaborative utterance constructions, increments, and pivots. But rather than analyzing how completions, increments, and 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 construction formats, this paper sets out to explore how, once a construction is initiated, its concrete trajectory is shaped moment-to-moment for all practical purposes, to a point such that it can be expanded or revised to yield another construction. The analysis will show that this process of recalibration, whether it yields a "canonical" or "less canonical" grammatical format, represents a practical solution for dealing with recurrent interactional contingencies. The findings suggest that the "continual process of local adaptation" (Hopper 2004: 153) is in no sense limited to the "newness" of grammatical shape, but reflects the omnipresence of the dynamic, processual features of grammar. This, I hope, will contribute to 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. section 1.2).

In the following, I will first specify the grammatical constructions under analysis and propose a critical comment on terminology (section 2). After a brief presentation of the data (section 3), I will analyze the emergent character of dislocated constructions. The analysis will show how the syntactic trajectories of dislocated constructions are configured on-line, how they are distributed across speakers and spread out across several interactional mo-

ments (section 4), how they are expanded (section 5) or revised (section 6) in the very course of their production. The analysis will also demonstrate that these on-line adaptations are grammatical practices by means of which speakers get some interactional business done. On the basis of this empirical evidence, I conclude that the patterns documented in this paper represent recurrent grammatical formats² that respond to locally occasioned yet recurrent interactional contingencies (section 7). As such, both left and right dislocations are 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 – even far beyond the generativist tradition: LD and RD are typically understood as “marked constructions”, measured against the so-called canonical word order.

I 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. In this regard, it is noteworthy that LD and RD have typically been treated in the literature as being tightly related, both formally and functionally (cf. section 2.2). However, LD and RD differ drastically 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

² In recent work in interactional linguistics, formats are defined as “instruments for contingently building turns at talk and implementing actions” (Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen 2005: 483; see also Thompson 2002).

do the same to TCU-ends (Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani, and Horlacher 2011). 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), dealing with turn-taking issues (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974), displaying on-topic talk (Jefferson 1978), or managing the preference for agreement (Pomerantz 1984). TCU-ends, on the other hand, are particularly sensitive places for marking transition relevance places (Sack, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974), dealing with issues of reciprocity, and they can lead into different kinds of turn-extension (Couper-Kuhlen and Ono 2007; Ford, Fox, and Thompson 2002; Schegloff 1996). In the course of this paper, we will see that these properties of TCU-beginnings and TCU-ends are crucially relevant to how participants treat LDs and RDs on-line and what interactional tasks these constructions accomplish.

2.2 Forms and functions of left and right dislocation in French

LD and RD are much more frequent in French than in English.³ Hence, they often do not translate into English. Excerpt (1) provides a first illustration of dislocated constructions in French. Line 1 shows an LD of the NP *ma mère*, and line 4 shows an 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.*
 2 my mother_i she_i succeeds not PREP to me speak in German
 ‘my mother (she) can’t manage to speak in German to me’
- 3 Mar *mhm*
 ‘mhm’
- 4 Int *elle est germanophone votre mère?*
 she_i is German-speaking your mother_i
 ‘is your mother German-speaking’

³ 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). He 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: French uses these constructions, while other languages use word-order variations or accentuation, for marking e.g. topics of foci.

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)” (1050). This resonates with the common understanding of a dislocated construction as a sentence structure in which a referential element (most often an NP, in example 1: *ma mère, votre mère*) is located to the left or right of a matrix clause containing a pronoun (*elle*, in example 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 necessarily need to be co-referential, but can be co-indexical (e.g. in the case 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 example 1, line 1), followed by objects – direct (example 1, line 3) or indirect. The NPs are typically referentially definite (that is, they are definite NPs, but can be indefinite NPs 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 contradict each other). This has been 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 non-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, however, is generally considered to presuppose a higher state of activation of the topic element than LD (cf. Givón 1983). LD is also used for establishing contrast (Geluykens 1992), as is 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 and Müller 2005). However, there are a small number of studies of talk-in-interaction which document across several languages that dislocations do much more than organize 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 and Ochs 1979; Mondada 1995; Pekarek Doehler 2001, 2004); they are a frequent format for definition requests (De Stefani 2005) and the construction of lists (Geluykens 1992; Pekarek Doehler and Müller 2006; see also Barnes' 1985 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 and Müller 2005) and are used to deal with issues of reciprocity, most typically calling for a display of co-participants' agreement (Horlacher 2007; cf. section 5). 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 project⁴ investigating the interactional functioning of what have traditionally been called "topic" and "focus" constructions – dislocations, clefts, presentatives, etc. (cf. Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani, and Horlacher, in preparation). The database for the project consists of children's interactions in French (their first language), interactions with language-impaired children and, most centrally, approximately 15 hours of French conversational interviews among adult native speakers. Most of the data was collected in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. This paper draws from the 15 hours of conversational interviews, along with some data from everyday conversations, classroom interactions, and media debates. The data were transcribed following the Jeffersonian

⁴ 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/cms/pid/10617.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 also contributed substantially to establishing the transcriptions of the main body of data used for this study.

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 bold in the quoted excerpts. For the sake of clarity, and due to their frequency, the analysis will concentrate on the “dislocation” of lexical and pronominal NPs. Also, the focus will explicitly be on cases that highlight the on-line deployment of the constructions, without addressing the more classic occurrences of dislocations in the data.

4 Distributed syntax

Within the conceptual framework adopted in this paper (cf. section 1), constructions are not seen as the mere product of the exteriorization of representations stored in a single speaker’s mind. Rather, constructions are shared adaptative resources for action. An empirically strong case in point for this view is the fact that constructions can be distributed between speakers and spread out across two or three interactional moments. For instance, they can be collaboratively established on the basis of utterance co-construction (section 4.1). Also, in their course of production, speakers can design the initial part of a construction so as to invite recipient reaction before proffering the subsequent part(s) (section 4.2). Finally, constructions can be adapted on-line as part of the recipient design of complex turns (section 4.3). These recurrent features of dislocated constructions provide evidence for what we might call “distributed syntax”.

4.1 Co-constructed left dislocations

Due to the property of projection and its recognizability for co-participants, an emerging utterance opens up the possibility of completion by another speaker. This has been demonstrated in Lerner’s (1991) classic discussion of the “syntax of sentence-in-progress” (see also Lerner 1996), showing how, in compound TCUs such as if-then sentences, the preliminary component (“if X”) projects the format for the final component (“then Y”), and hence enables the possibility of a second speaker producing the final component. As projections can emanate from any level of grammar, co-construction too can occur at different levels (Lerner 1991 provides an example of a co-constructed spelling of a name). In our data, LDs appear as one recurrent object of utterance co-construction. Here, the left-peripheral element provides a preliminary component, projecting the occurrence of a final component. This is almost exclusively the case with lexical NPs, which are most typically

taken up by a co-indexical subject clitic in the subsequent clause. An initial illustration is provided in example (2).

(2) CODI sec II SPD 22 “le diable”

- 1 A (alors que) le (.) diable (.) eh: c' [est:
 'whereas the devil_i it_i's'
- 2 B [c'est
 'it_i's
- 3 tout ce qui est mauvais.
 all that is bad'
- 4 A oui
 'yes'

The first speaker, A, produces a simple lexical NP and then hesitates; at that very moment the second speaker, B, produces a sequence of talk that can be interpreted (and indeed is interpreted by A, line 3) as completing the initial component to yield a co-constructed utterance. Although the first speaker has already started to pronounce *c'est* 'it's' (line 1), the second speaker's onset is almost simultaneous; as a consequence, it appears highly unlikely that the second speaker's clitic *c'* ('it' line 2) is mapped onto the first speaker's *c'* (line 1). Rather, the second speaker's turn can be read as displaying a fine-tuned fitting of a final component (*c'est tout ce qui est mauvais* 'it's all that's bad') onto a preliminary component (*le diable* 'the 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, line 1);
- anticipatory completion by speaker B (line 2), which is designed as a syntactic continuation of speaker A's utterance;
- speaker A's display of acceptance or refusal (the former being the case here, line 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 the NP.

Another illustration is provided in example (3), showing a complex extracausal 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 line 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. This time it consists of a complex NP, which projects not only a limited range of possible syntactic follow-ups (cf. *infra*), but also the possible pragmatic-praxeological 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 brings this LD interestingly near to the pragmatics of pseudo-cleft constructions (see Pekarek Doehler and Müller 2006 for a discussion of the fuzzy boundaries between LDs and pseudo-clefts in French).

The specification is then provided by Brigitte (line 3) by means of a completion that is both syntactically and pragmatically fitted to the initial complex component. Brigitte takes up the initial complex NP by means of the subject clitic *il* (here: ‘it’) just a micro-second earlier than Ralph himself. Her completion can be read as a guess, providing one possible specification of what *le seul mot que [Ralph] comprend[s] pas* (‘the only word that [Ralph] cannot understand’) is. This interpretation is corroborated by the rising intonation on the end of Brigitte’s turn, suggesting that she is calling for confirmation. The confirmation is then provided by Ralph’s *mais oui. il est germanique* (‘well yes it is Germanic’, line 4). Note that Ralph’s own turn is competing with Brigitte’s completion, as evidenced by his accelerated tempo and the repetitions in lines 2–4, clearly showing his attempt to maintain the floor.

The fine-tuned syntactic and temporal fitting of the final component onto the TCU in progress shows how participants monitor the on-line unfolding of syntactic patterns. As Lerner (1991) puts it: “Because a second speaker can produce an instance of the final component and initiate it at a place it could be due, it suggests the sequential availability of these features from an inspection of the utterance-in-progress” (445). Interestingly, the projection emanating from an NP, whether simple or complex, does not fully specify the possible format of the subsequent component. While an if-clause, for instance, normatively projects a then-clause to follow (although the “then” may be omitted), a TCU initial-simple or complex NP normatively projects several possible follow-ups (at least in languages such as English and French): a VP (yielding an SVO), a full clause (yielding an LD

or hanging topic) or a S+V+Ø combination (yielding a topicalization construction).⁵ This is significant as it clearly shows that grammatical projection and its interpretation are highly context sensitive, depending heavily on the local sequential environment. In examples (2) and (3) the participants display joint orientation to the relevance of a dislocated construction within this specific moment of talk-in-interaction, despite the fact that other follow-ups would be grammatically possible.

Even when the speaker has formulated his or her utterance beyond what can be interpreted as the preliminary component, other-completion is possible. This provides further evidence that participants analyze syntactic structures during their course of production. In the course of such late-placed anticipatory completion, the other-completion typically recycles the subsequent component from its start (Lerner 1996). Examples are provided in (4) and (5). As opposed to examples (2) and (3), the second speaker's completion is initiated here at a sequential moment and within a time span that clearly allows him to map the onset of his completion onto the first speaker's start of the final component. In particular, it allows the second speaker to "copy" the subject clitic from the first speaker's turn and use it as a starting point for his own completion.

(4) FNRS, A, 330 "la notion de perfection"

- 1 Mar *donc pour moi la notion de [per]fection ça:: (.) ((smack))*
 'so for me the notion of perfection it'
- 2 Int
 [°eh°]
 °e-° (.) *ça [veut rien dire.*
 'it doesn't mean anything'
- 3 Mar
 [V:IA col ventito.=
 'gone with the wind'
- 4 Int =(ah) *si ((laughter))*
 'oh yes'

(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'

⁵ Of course, other follow-ups are possible and, depending on the sequential environment, can even be expected. For instance, depending on its concrete sequential embeddedness, the NP alone can accomplish an action, such as providing an answer. In such a case, no grammatical follow-up is projected.

- 3 et **les gens ils s'y- (r-) enfin-**
 'and DET 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
 'it seems to me that there
- 7 plus d'identité.
 is no more identity'

In both excerpts, the first speaker produces a lexical NP plus a clitic pronoun (and more, example 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 an 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.

By means of these co-constructions of the left-dislocated grammatical format, a range of social actions are being implemented. For instance, in example (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 as guessing what the first speaker is about to say. This interpretation is supported by the fact that, in (4), the first speaker is proffering some kind of conclusive comment on what he has just elaborated on through a lengthy stretch of talk, which is then confirmed by the second speaker's completion. In (5), by contrast, the completion (line 5) appears to proffer the second speaker's own interpretation of 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 (line 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 may be related to the different ways in which LD and RD shape utterances along the temporal unfolding of talk (cf. section 2.1): The left-peripheral constituent in LD incorporates syntactic (and other) projection, which is not

the case for the right-peripheral constituent in RD, nor 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) argues 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 final component. The recurrence of these features suggests that participants orient in several regards similarly to LDs as they do to the compound TCUs discussed by Lerner (1991, 1996).

Third, a range of interactional business is being accomplished by means of the final component of the co-constructed LDs: providing help, displaying knowledge or involvement, enacting alignment or disalignment, etc. This shows one use of grammar as a resource for organizing action.

4.2 The left-periphery as a try-marker

A second type of evidence for LD as emanating from distributed syntax can be seen in examples (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'*
 'but we never know a word what'
- 2 *il veut dire vraiment.*
 'it means 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 PART water'
- 7 Mar *ouais*
 'yeah'

Here, the participants discuss problems of translating words from one language into the other. Lines 4 and 6, taken together, can be read as an LD construction: *l'acqua ... on sait que c'est de l'eau* 'l'acqua; ... 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'eau*. The unfolding of this LD is articulated around three sequentially organized moments:

- the first speaker, Xavier, produces the element *l'eau* that is try-marked (Sacks and Schegloff 1979)⁶: It shows rising intonation, calling for confirmation of its recognizability by the addressee;
- the second speaker, Marina, then displays the non-problematic status of that element by means of *ouais* 'yeah' (line 5); this is in line with what Sacks and Schegloff (1979) point 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'eau* 'water'); his way of pursuing his turn without any break can be interpreted as displaying his acknowledgment of referent recognition by his co-participant.

Taken together, steps 1 and 3 can be read as an LD construction. Similar cases have been discussed by Geluykens (1992) for LD in English. In our data, the try-marked constituent is either a simple lexical NP (as in 6) or a more complex constituent. Example (7) shows a complex constituent consisting of a 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 that 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*
'all of a sudden they spoke English but they'
- 5 *savient +plus parler ((slightly laughing))*
'didn't know anymore to speak'
- 6 *la- (.) leur première langue.*
'the their first language'

⁶ According to Sacks and 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.

7 Mar *mhm*
 8 Cel *oui tout à fait, tout à- tout à fait.*
 'yes absolutely absolutely'

Eric has previously 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 to exemplify this point by mentioning *des gens qui avaient des lésions* ('people who had [cerebral] lesions', line 2), which is then co-indexed by *ils* 'they' in the subsequent clause (line 4). As in example (6), what retrospectively appears to be the left-peripheral element of an LD (line 2) is shaped as a typical try-marker, as defined by Sacks and Schegloff (1979). While it cannot be ruled out that there is more at play than simple referent recognition (in example 6, in particular, Xavier's pause might be interpreted as a rhetoric device used to strengthen his point), the co-participants' *ouais* 'yeah' in both examples points to recognition of the referent (cf. Heritage 2007); this indicates that the co-participants interpret 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.

Example (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 students' difficulties 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.**
 'it's who is it that constructs this wall'
 4 (.)
 5 Rol *c'est l'enseignant ou c'est l'apprenant?*
 'is it the teacher or is it the student'
 6 Ber *ah oui bonne question*
 'oh yes good question'

In this excerpt, the syntactic trajectory changes from what starts off as an LD (*cette image du mur c'est* 'this image of the wall it's', lines 1–3) to what is formatted as a hanging topic construction⁷: *cette image du mur [...]* *qui c'est qui*

⁷ A hanging topic (also called *nominativus pendens*) is commonly defined as a syntactic construction comprising a detached referential element and a juxtaposed clause; unlike LD, the detached element is not referentially co-indexed within the clause

construit ce mur ‘this image of the wall [...] who is it that constructs this wall’. Once its recognizability is displayed by the co-participant (line 2), the initial constituent *cette image du mur* ‘this image of the wall’ is re-explored by the same speaker, changing its status retrospectively from a left-detached element to a hanging topic. (Although in line 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 reformatted on-line.

Try-marking, then, clearly projects the addressee’s display of (non)recognition as the next relevant step, thereby projecting whatever follows that display as contingent on the very nature of the addressee’s reaction. In other words, the pursuit of the first speaker’s communicative project, including the concrete syntactic shape it takes, hinges crucially on whether or not recognition is made manifest by the 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 example 8 is then revised) stems from the fact that recognition has been displayed. If non-recognition was displayed, the first speaker might engage further to assure referent recognition (see the examples quoted in Sacks and Schegloff 1979; see also Heritage 2007, ex. 10). As a consequence, what *a posteriori* appears to be a left-peripheral element in the quoted excerpts is in fact *retrospectively* wrapped into an LD (or a hanging topic) *as a response* to an intervening display of recognition. Therefore, neither the left-dislocated constructions in examples (6) and (7) nor the hanging topic construction in example (8) can be interpreted as the result of some predefined syntactic project on behalf of the speaker, but rather 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 (cf. Schegloff 2007). Heritage (2007: 260) analyzes participants’ dealing with referential issues as essentially creating a conflict between these two principles. The principle of intersubjectivity (assuring referential common ground) invades the principle of progressivity when participants

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).

deal with referential repair or clarification. This is so because referential repair or clarification momentarily suspend the moving forward of talk. In this light, the temporal unfolding of 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 speakers to maximize the compatibility between the principles of intersubjectivity and progressivity. A simple SVO structure, where the try-marked lexical S is followed first by a ratification and then by a VP, might appear considerably 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 uptake of the referential element by means of a co-indexical clitic after the recipient's display of referent recognition provides for a smooth pursuit of the TCU in progress. For objects, the case is different, as objects tend to occur at possible end-points of TCUs, i.e. at points where there is no pursuit of the current TCU projected on syntactic grounds: With a try-marked object, the speaker can simply end his or her turn or TCU with a rising intonation.

In sum, the production of LD constructions (or parts of these, example 8) is sometimes spread across three interactional moments (A-B-A) that are articulated around the actions of two different participants (A and B): A produces a NP which is try-marked, B provides a ratification, and then A pursues her turn with a clause containing a clitic pronoun that is co-indexical with the preceding NP. 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. Such cases typically show topic-promoting functions of LD as documented in discourse functional literature (cf. section 2), 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 an 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 utterance patternings are not unique to LDs that spread across different speakers; they also occur within a single speaker's turn or TCU. One case in point for this is provided by a recurrent constructional format of LDs, 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 current syntactic project. As we will see, LDs which include post-periphery inserts provide a recipient-oriented 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 feature in the production of LDs in our data is the occurrence of different kinds of syntactically independent inserts (parentheticals) or syntactically linked expansions (appositive relative clauses, for instance). These LDs show highly regular sequential patternings that can be summarized as follows:

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

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. The TCU is produced as one intonation phase, without any prosodic break. In (9), the insert is placed immediately following an 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 an 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. section 6.1): What retrospectively appears to be an LD-like pattern might be a post-hoc solution for dealing with the continuity of talk across a parenthetical insert.

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

More importantly for our purpose here, in his detailed account of parenthetical inserts, Mazeland 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 (2007: 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” (2007: 1826). This is intriguingly identical to what we observe for LD. Both turn-completion by another speaker (cf. section 4.1), and parenthetical inserts occur after the completion of the left-peripheral lexical NP. It is significant in this regard that in (9) and (10) no recipient actions occur at the end of the inserts, nor more generally in the course of the production of the LD. This indicates that recipients monitor the inserts as suspending but not ending the projected TCU. This very possibility crucially hinges on the projection emanating from the initial NP as well as the precise placement of the inserts after that NP.

Identical patterns can be observed for the insertion of syntactically related material, such as complex adverbial clauses (example 11) or appositive relative clauses (example 12).

(11) FNRS, E, 1600, “l’italien”

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

(12) FNRS, C, 1483 “l’école”

- 1 Mar *mais l’école là qui doit aller au-delà de ce qu’il*
 ‘but DET school_i there which needs to go beyond the
- 2 *choix individuel,*
 individual choice’
- 3 *qui doit faire s:0 un programme en fait un peu*
 ‘which needs to make a program as a matter of fact a bit’
- 4 *pour tout le monde,*
 ‘for everyone’

- 5 *.hh vous pensez qu'elle a cette responsabilité?*
 'do you think that it_i has this responsibility'
- 6 (.)
- 7 *de: donner*
 'to give'
- 8 *eu:h (...) aux élève:s eu:h l'occasion de se former eu:h*
 'the students the occasion to acquire'
- 9 *dans plusieurs langues.*
 'several languages'
- 10 (..)
- 11 Ger *mais oui*
 'but yes'

This recurrent patterning of LD 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 (section 4.1), the projection emanating from an initial lexical NP in principle leaves 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 an 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 theoretically endless (unit-internal or final) expandability of units (see for instance the sequence of two relative clauses in example 12), the LD can be understood as providing a recipient-oriented 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 are recipient-designed means for accommodating the on-line processing of utterances and warranting the recognizability of complex structures by co-participants. The on-line configuration of LDs, including inserts and expansions, therefore provides 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. (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 by which the speaker can minimize the disruption of the progressivity of talk while checking for referential common ground; (3) LDs including parenthetical inserts and syntactic expansions after the initial NP again present a case of recipient-design, helping co-participants to navigate through complex turns and TCUs. In all these cases, the syntactic trajectory initiated by an NP is quite open until the moment where the 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 to be a contingent product that is configured for all practical purposes over the temporal-sequential unfolding of talk. This does not disprove 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

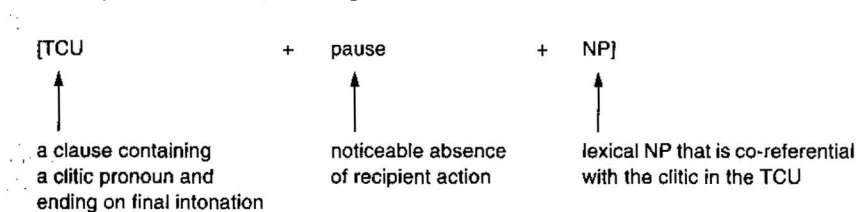
In the introduction to this paper, I pointed out the expandability of utterances and their syntactic shapes. It follows from this property that "syntactic completion is evaluated incrementally", as Ford and Thompson (1996: 145) put it. That is, a syntactic endpoint of a stretch of talk is configured step-by-step in real time, allowing participants to prolong or revise syntactic tra-

jectories. 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 TCU completion point, but 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 RDs 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 said to repair a referential underspecification provided by the clitic in the preceding clause. In Couper-Kuhlen and Ono’s terms (2007: 519), for instance, RD belongs to the category of “replacement” and not “increment”:

The category of replacement involves prosodically disjunct added-on material which replaces or repairs one or more elements in the host. [...] The category includes Gelyuken’s (1994) ‘right-dislocations’ produced with a prosodic break, when the completion of the host creates a TRP (quoted in Horlacher 2007: 122).

This interpretation is in line with a common understanding of RD as a repair mechanism (cf. Gelyukens 1994; see also the classic notion of *afterthought*, Chafe 1976), and corresponds to some (albeit rare) instances of RD in our data. However, right dislocated constructions cannot by any means be reduced to a (self) repair mechanism. This has convincingly been argued by Horlacher for French, drawing on the same database that was used for the present study. Horlacher shows that RDs are a privileged format for assessments (Horlacher and 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 a next-turn display of agreement. In our data, we observe the following recurrent sequential pattern:



A TCU containing a clitic pronoun reaches a TRP, 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*
 'frankly I think that it's if you really have'
- 2 *un parent qui a: (1.4) dévié,*
 'a parent who has gotten on the wrong 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*
 'either you take the same path as'
- 6 *lui? (1.1) soit tu vas à l'opposé*
 'him/her or you go in the opposite direction'
- 7 **et tu le détestes.**
 'and you hate him'
- 8 (1.0)
- 9 **euh: ton: parent qui a- (1.2) dé [vié.**
 'your parent who has gotten on the wrong track'
- 10 Els [(dévié)
 'gotten on the wrong track'

Catherine and Elsa are involved in a classroom discussion on the relationships between children and their parents. In lines 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 gotten on the wrong track’.⁸ This if-part frames the peak of Catherine’s argument, which is presented in the subsequent then-part (lines 5–7). This then-part is shaped as an either–or argument: *soit tu prends le*

⁸ 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, lines 1–2) ending on continuing intonation, there is long intervening laughter (line 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 line 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 (line 4). This is followed by a long pause and a hesitation phenomenon (line 5: (1.0) *euh: (1.5)*), without any co-participants attempting to take a turn. It is only at this moment that the final then-part is delivered, in the form of an either–or argument (lines 5–7, 9). The lack of co-participants’ attempts at taking a turn, both after the first possible completion point of the preliminary component (line 2) and after its extension leading into a second completion point (line 4), clearly shows that co-participants orient to the preliminary component as strongly projecting an upcoming final component.

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 her/him'. With this strong affirmation, her turn reaches a TRP. Although her prosody here is not very conclusive (there appears to be slightly falling pitch at the end of line 7, but no notable new onset in line 9), 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 1.0 second pause in line 8. In the face of this absence, Catherine resumes her turn, incrementally adding *euh ton parent qui a dévié* 'eh your parent who has gotten on the wrong 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. The TCU and the subsequent NP together form a right dislocated format. The added-on NP thereby syntactically extends and revises not only the immediately preceding clause (what first appears to be an SVO is retrospectively wrapped into an RD), but also extends the whole complex if-then construction.

Now, what interactional work is being accomplished by such a patching together of an RD in real time? Note that the object clitic in *tu le détestes* 'you hate him' (line 7) refers to a highly accessible entity that has been introduced in lines 1–2 and is maintained as an active referent throughout the subsequent talk (lines 4–5). In this light, Catherine's added-on *ton parent qui a dévié* 'your parent who has gotten on the wrong track' (line 9) cannot be read as repairing a referential underspecification. Rather, the excerpt shows typical traits of increments, as discussed in the literature (cf. Couper-Kuhlen and Ono 2007; Ford, Fox, and Thompson 2002; Schegloff 1996): 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 an initial absence of reaction (see Schegloff 1996 on increments as re-occasioning possible completion). The syntactic project is not simply extended, but revised: What started off as an SVO ends up as an RD.

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

(14) FNRS F, 52 “une discipline”

- 1 Ver *c'est pas dit qu' on sera: que ceux qui parlent*
'it's not a given that you will be that those who speak'
- 2 *italien sont plus intelligents que ceux*
'Italian are' more intelligent than those
- 3 *qui parlent français?*
'who speak French'
- 4 Mar *ouais (...) d'accord.*
'yeah okay'
- 5 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'
- 6 (0.6)
- 7 Mar *voilà, (.) donc c'est une^euh:: une discipline parmi*
'there you go so it's one one discipline among'
- 8 *d'autres?*
'PARTIT others'
- 9 (0.4)
- 10 Ver *ouais=*
'yeah'
- 11 Mar *=le:: euh la langue [quoi.*
'DET-m DET-f language PRT'
- 12 Ver *[mmh*
- 13 Mar *c'est pas quelque chose de différent.*
'it's not something different'
- 14 Ver *non.*
'no'
- 15 Mar *d'accord. (...) et puis TOI (.) Julie?*
'okay and then you Julie'

In line 5, Vera's presentation of her view, according to which learning or speaking several languages does not make a person cleverer than others, comes to an end; 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 in line 7 can be read as summing up Vera's opinion and asking for confirmation: The turn is introduced by the particle *voilà*, which in this context clearly foreshadows closing, and the conclusive marker *donc* 'so'; also, the turn is formatted as a question – or at least a confirmation request –, 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 from Vera as a relevant next action. Vera's response (line 12), however, comes in late and

weakly (the French *ouais* ‘yeah’ is less affirmative than a straight *oui* ‘yes’); it is clearly 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). As Marina’s turn extension comes in almost simultaneously with Vera’s *ouais* (line 10), Marina most likely orients here to the absence of recipient action as materialized in the preceding pause (line 9). Her increment (line 11) 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* ‘it’s not something different’ (line 13). It is only at this point that she receives a clear answer from Vera (line 14), which she briefly acknowledges (line 15) before turning 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 an SVO structure, ending on a TRP, is repackaged as an 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.

The incremental formatting of RDs has not been accounted for in the rich literature on increments. This is possibly due to the fact that French (a language where dislocated constructions are particularly frequent) has garnered only very limited attention in interactional linguistics. It may also be due to the fact that the interactional functioning of RD in general 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 discussed here play on the simultaneous presence of both an SVO structure that comes to a completion point and an RD which reopens the syntactic trajectory of the SVO to lead into a second completion point. It is not the case that 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 – 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 an RD emerges step-by-step through the process of interaction.

6 On-line reconfigured syntax

So far, we have mainly been looking at how the grammatical formatting of LDs and RDs responds – on a moment-by-moment basis – to local interactional contingencies. We have seen that the temporal unfolding of grammatical con-

structions is mapped onto the sequential deployment of talk-in-interaction 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 *re*configured 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:*
 ‘me I think that it isn’t necessary because:’
- 2 *en allemand*
 ‘in German’
- 3 *(.) ou en Allemagne on peut aussi parler suisse allemand,*
 ‘or in Germany one can also speak Swiss German’
- 4 *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 an LD format where *les autres* ‘the others’ is co-indexed by the subsequent clitic subject *ils* ‘they’ (line 4). 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 peripheral 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 + clitic complex that visibly functions here as a floor-holding device across a lengthy 2.2 second pause.

More interestingly, perhaps, excerpt (16) shows how what starts as an LD format is recast as a topicalization.⁹ Patricia and Séverine are talking 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*
'I want to say that the instruction is maybe not'
- 2 *seulement destinée à faire parler des gens*
'only intended to make people speak'
- 3 *mais c'est vrai qu'il faut aussi*
'but it's true that one must also'
- 4 *avoir une visée pratique.*
'have a practical aim'
- 5 Pat *oui bon la littérature c'est moi je n'ai jamais tellement*
'yes well DET literature it's me I have never really'
- 6 *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'

In line 5, Patricia starts off with *la littérature c'est* ‘literature it’s’, initiating an 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 previously abandoned construction. *La littérature* hence retrospectively changes its grammatical status from left-detached subject to topicalized object (‘literature I have never really liked’). This example offers a particularly strong argument for the fact that the recycled elements we are looking at are not merely a 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*
'now I have started to ask my mom'
- 2 *qu'elle me parle en italien à la maison.*
'to speak Italian to me at home'
- 3 *et puis ben elle elle a même beaucoup de peine à-* à
'and well she she has even a very hard time to'

⁹ A topicalization construction is commonly defined as a clause structure in which a referential element (typically an NP) that functions as a complement (direct or indirect object) of the verb is placed in preverbal 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).

- 4 parler en italien. (.) vu qu'elle a l'habitude de parler
 'speak in Italian given that she's used to speak'
- 5 français, donc
 'French so'
- 6 Jea ouais mais aussi si la mère elle a pas la:
 'yeah but also if the mother she has not the'
- 7 ça vient pas naturellement
 'it does not come naturally'
- 8 [dans une autre langue eu:h [on arrivera pas
 'in another language v one won't manage'
- 9 Myr [mhm
- 10 Cec [mhm
- 11 Jea à (lui) parler.
 'to speak to her'

Here, the initial NP of what starts of as an LD *la mère* 'the mother' (in *la mère elle a pas* 'the mother she has not') is recycled as a hanging topic (see footnote 8) 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 the initial if-component of an if-then pattern (lines 6–8), and that the if-frame provided by the preliminary component is maintained across the revised syntactic project (it leads into a then-part, starting in line 6 and completed in 10).

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, reformulation signals, or up/down-step of pitch is significant in this regard. The use of constructions such as LDs, topicalizations and hanging topics is instrumental in this minimization of disruption, as it allows the speaker to restart a syntactic trajectory (with or without a clitic pronoun) that is continuous, both syntactically and pragmatically, with the lexical NP in the previously abandoned structure, while proffering a retrospective reanalysis of the grammatical function of that NP. This highlights the processual character of grammatical constructions, which can be reconfigured moment-by-moment as talks unfolds across time.

6.2 Pivots

A second case in point for the on-line reconfigured nature of syntactic constructions is provided by certain types of pivots. A pivot is commonly understood as a construction of the type [A + B + C] where B is part of the syntactic trajectory projected by A and, together with C, simultaneously forms another syntactic trajectory, typically without a prosodic break or parenthetical insert between the three parts (cf. Norén 2007; Scheutz 2005; Walker 2007). While pivots are frequently formed by means of adverbials in A or C positions (these make up 50% of Scheutz's Austro-Bavarian data), in our data we find several such structures formed as LD and RD simultaneously. In these cases, B (i.e. the pivot part) is a clause containing a clitic pronoun, and both A and C (i.e. the pre- and post-pivot, cf. Walker 2007) consist of referential elements that can be read as arguments of the verb of the clause and are co-indexical with the clitic pronoun in that clause. An initial example is provided in (18), where the B-part (i.e. the pivot-part) is underlined in grey.

(18) FNRS, L1, Laet “ça c’est ... ça”

Lae ça c’est pas possible ça.
 DEM_i CLI_i is not possible DEM_i
 ‘that’s not possible’

This excerpt shows a highly recurrent format in French talk-in-interaction, namely [*ça c’est X ça*]. This format is often used for (strong) assessments, sometimes comprising a tone of indignation or enthusiasm. It typically mobilizes the neutral demonstrative pronoun *ça*, co-indexed by the neutral clitic pronoun *ce* (here: *c’*) in the “matrix” clause, where it is often combined with a copula. This is shown in (18). Syntactically, (18) can be read as both an LD (*ça c’est pas possible*) and an RD (*c’est pas possible ça*). It represents one intonation phrase, subsumed under an encompassing intonation contour.

A different case is shown in (19), where the left-peripheral deictic pronoun *ça* ‘that’ and the right-peripheral NP *les feuilles* ‘the papers’ explore the same pivot-clause within a question format:

(19) FNRS E, 789 “les feuilles”

[*les feuilles* refers to sheets of paper that are spread out on the table between the participants]

1. (0.4)

2 Mar .hh d’accord (.) eh ben merci? (.)
 ‘o.k well thanks’

3 euh ça je veux les prendre les feuilles?
 this_i I want them_i take the papers_i
 ‘I want to take the papers’

- 4 (...)

5 Mar voilà.

 'there you go'

The pivot structure does not translate well into English. While content-wise it means something like 'I want to take (them) the papers', its pivotal configuration maps that content in a specific way 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 exemplified in (18) possibly represents a sedimented format for evaluative statements, it is probable that other types of pivots, such as illustrated in excerpt (19), are configured *ad hoc* in the course of their production. This is clearly illustrated in excerpt (20), which shows the incremental composition of a pivot:

(20) FNRS B, 863 "le futur"

- 1 Ger je voulais dire qu'après je vais PAS

 'I wanted to say that afterwards I am not going'
- 2 les interroger, (...) euh sur le même travail

 'to test them in the same exam'
- 3 sur le présent, le passé, et le futur?

 'on the present the past and the future'
- 4 Leo ouais
- 5 Ger le futur ~~ça sera pour dans un mois disons~~

 'the future, it_i will be for in a month let's say'
- 6 Leo d'accord

 'okay'
- 7 Ger le contrôle euh[: où] je vais évaluer.

 '[the test where I'll evaluate]_i'
- 8 Leo [ouais] oui

 'yeah yes'
- 9 Ger "plutôt".

 'rather'
- 10 (1.2)
- 11 Leo ouais

 'yes'

Géraldine, a teacher, is explaining her way of testing students' competence 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 (lines 1–3), then adds that the test for the future will be in a month (lines 5–6). Her wording is interesting: Line 5 appears to be an 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 (line 5), marked by a complex TRP (syntactic and pragmatic completion, final falling intonation), and receives an acknowledgement by Léonie (line 6). 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 may function as a self-repair mechanism for referent clarification, along the lines of what Chafe (1976) has termed “after-thought” (see also Geluykens 1994). This interpretation is corroborated by Géraldine’s accentuation on *contrôle* (line 7) as well as her additional incrementally added hedge *plutôt* ‘rather’ (line 9), which functions as a post-positioned self-repair marker and actually ends her turn. The excerpt hence again shows an 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: 131–132, 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 and issues of reciprocity structure emergent syntactic trajectories so that speakers revise these trajectories in the course of their production. What initially appears to be a given construction type ends up as another construction type. In the case of the on-line revision of LDs, as an utterance unfolds moment-by-moment, the grammatical function of the left-peripheral element is transformed through self-repair: What starts off as a left-peripheral subject, for instance, is re-explored and hence retrospectively reanalyzed as an object, or what starts off as an LD ends up as a hanging topic. In the case of LD–RD pivots, the peripheral element to the right can be added incrementally, for various practical purposes, for instance creating a second relevant place for recipient action or functioning as a self-repair mechanism. In several ways, this is similar to what we have observed in the preceding section for RDs based on increments, where an initial SVO is extended to become an RD.

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 when 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. The dislocated format, while clearly implementing a sedimented constructional pattern, also emerges step-by-step as one grammatical choice among others in response to interactional needs and along the temporal unfolding of interaction. This on-line formatting of the constructions clearly responds to issues of recipient design and is done in response to recipient actions – or absence thereof. It hence provides further evidence for the distributed nature of grammar.

7 Conclusion: an emergent grammar for all practical purposes

This paper has analyzed dislocated constructions as one microcosm that allows us to zoom in on the emergent and distributed nature of grammar. The focus was not on emergence across time, but on configuration in real time. The excerpts that have been analyzed provide possibly 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, adaptative 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 simply yields “classic” construction formats, which still emerge in real time as a result of interactionally contingent changes or reorientations in the ongoing syntactic trajectories. This is so because, at any moment in time, the unfolding of utterances normatively projects a series of possible follow-ups, providing the speakers with the possibility to implement a limited *range* of “standard” grammatical constructions. In the course of the unfolding of utterances and actions, speakers choose 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, as part of the “continual process of adaptation (emergence)”

(Hopper, 2004: 153). This hints at the *pervasively* dynamic and processual nature of grammar.

In this paper, the empirical evidence corroborating this view comes from the analysis of LD and RD in talk-in-interaction. Results show that LD and RD 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 process that involves revisions and expansions of ongoing syntactic trajectories.
- These revisions are done for various practical purposes, such as displaying (dis)alignment, minimizing disruption, or inviting recipient action. In this sense, LD and RD are not simply 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*.
- As such, they provide evidence of 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 bear testimony to 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 to be distributed grammar – a shared-yet-adaptive resource for action. As such, it is an integral part of the social coordination of talk-in-interaction.

Now, what do these properties tell us about the specific constructions that have been analyzed throughout this paper? In light of the temporal unfolding of actions, rather than representing two shades of dislocation, LD and RD appear to be substantially different constructions. They respond to different sequential logics. LDs are recognizable early in a TCU and therefore present a privileged site for projection and co-construction. RDs are recognizable late in the TCU; they follow a syntactically complete constituent and therefore 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 fill in existing gaps in our understanding of the functioning of LD and RD (cf. section 2.2). The analysis in particular suggests that participants use LD as a recipient-designed means for minimizing disruption in the case of try-mark-

ing, self-repair, and parenthetical inserts (in the latter case also warranting the recognizability of complex turns), while they use RD as instrumental means in the pursuit of recipient reaction.

In light of these results, what we commonly call LD and RD appear to be the linguist's *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 configure 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 re-configuration 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 a certain *stability* for 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. Thus, 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

CLI	clitic
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
DET	determiner (DET-m= masculine; DET-f = feminine)
PARTIT	partitif determiner (as in <i>il boit du lait</i> 'he drinks PARTIT milk')
PRT	particle
PREP	preposition
PRO	pronoun
i1 _i	i indicates co-referentiality or co-indexicality

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