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Projection in interaction and projection in grammar*

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In recognition of the enthusiasm he has brought to all aspects of the study of spoken verbal interaction, we dedicate this series to Professor Dr. Aldo di Luzio, University of Konstanz.

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1. Introduction

One of the central theoretical concerns of present-day linguistics is the question of whether grammatical knowledge represents an autonomous component of the human mind and is therefore independent of interactional (or any other non-grammatical) competence. I will argue in this paper that there are fundamental common features shared by interaction and grammar which suggest some kind of interdependence between the two. One of them is projectability. Human interaction rests on the possibility of projection; the grammars of human languages provide interlocutors with sedimentated and shared ways of organising projection in interaction.

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

2. Projection

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

Each projection has a time-span. Investigating projection as a fundamental feature of language therefore forces us to foreground its temporality (cf. Auer, Couper-Kuhlen & Müller 1999 Ch. 1). An action (or action component) may project onto the

timing slot immediately following it, and make some next activity (component) expectable in this slot. But it may also allow other things to happen 'in-between', before the projected unit legitimately can or should occur, and it may project more than one 'next' in a sequence. The term <u>trajectory</u> of a projection will be used to refer to the time-course over which it develops and comes to closure or resolution.

Projection contrasts with determination. A projection may fail to be realised, and the emerging structure fail to come to orderly completion by being either broken off, or changed mid-way. In interaction, participants are essentially <u>co</u>-involved in deciding over the fate of a projected 'next'. As Streeck puts it, projections "prefigure the next moment, allowing the participants to negotiate joint courses of action until, finally, a communication problem is solved collaboratively" (1995: 87). It is exactly this feature which makes projection so essential. Communication without projection would be restricted to behavioural segments which are either independent events, or chained to each other as stimulus-response sequences, beyond the control of a speaker and recipient. The first alternative would be equal to saying that communicational events have no internal structure. As a consequence, complex verbal activities (monological or dialogical) would be impossible. The second alternative would allow for complex utterances, but imply that the course of events is entirely beyond co-participants' control; it would enable them to predict the response following the stimulus, but it would not enable them to act with fore-sight (or *Vor-Sicht*), for there would be nothing they could do to prevent the course of events from happening.

The cognitive advantages of projection are also blatantly clear: while participants go through a phase of maximal planning during the early parts of a trajectory, in which emerging structures have to be constructed and understood, the amount of processing effort decreases during its course; usually, the final parts can be predicted. Projection therefore establishes some kind of cognitive rhythm: phases of

maximal attention in the early phase of a trajectory alternate with phases of minimal attention in its later phase (cf. Auer/Couper-Kuhlen/Müller 1999: 15-16).

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

"Pres" project by noticeably being subsidiary (subordinated) to some focal activity (which, however, may not always be produced). However, action projection goes far beyond this and includes relations between 'coordinated' (instead of 'subordinated') activities as well. Most obviously, projection is involved in all adjacency pair formats, since the first pair part makes the second conditionally relevant. Needless to say that sequential formats may also include more than two elements (for instance

three-step sequences in classroom interaction: teacher's question – pupil's answer – teacher's evaluation).

Below this larger scope, projection is involved in the sequencing of smaller units which do not (in their own right) represent self-contained actions.[1]; it plays a central role in Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's well-known paper on turn-taking (1974). Here, "sentential" turn constructional units[2] are described as being organized in such a way as to provide the recipient with a resource of projecting their (possible) completion; this means that they have an internal (linguistic: syntactic, semantic, prosodic) structure which projects their termination.[3] Jefferson (1974), in a paper on error correction, studies the use of the phonologically determined allophones of the English definite article ([ðə★] ~ [ði:]). Here, projections on an even smaller level (word junctures) are involved. Jefferson is able to demonstrate that the projection of *thee* to a following vowel-initial word (and of *the* to a following consonant-initial

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1 The notion of an "action" is notoriously ill-defined in conversation analysis; however, in line with its ethnomethodological roots, a preliminary definition might be that an action is "accountable" whereas components of actions are not. The relationship between form and accountability is flexible. For instance, grammatical and even more so prosodic features of an utterance/action are not normally accountable. However, there are exceptions to this. Couper-Kuhlen 1996:395ff discusses a pertinent example: a speaker who speaks in a hushed and subdued voice may be scolded for "not being cheerful" by the moderator in a radio phone-in programme; in this case, a contextualisation cue is foregrounded and becomes accountable. Accountability then is a feature of the situation itself.
2 As Selting 2000, 2001 points out the notion of a TCU is ambiguous. In a first sense which is exclusively related to turn taking, it is restricted to those units of speech which allow for turn transition when complete. In another sense also found in the literature, and advocated by Selting herself, TCUs are conceptualised as the linguistic building blocks of a turn which are defined by their internal structure but not their capacity of occasioning turn-transition. Due to this ambiguity the term will not be used in the following discussion of projection.
3 Cf. Auer 1996 for a more recent account.

word) can be used for interactional purposes in those cases in which the projected word beginning is not delivered.

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

(1) (ALLEIN)[4]
((psychotherapeutic intervention in radio phone-in show; caller has been describing her conflict with her mother))

```
1   B    GIBT es: noch ANdere verWANDte und FREUNde die sie haben;
         are there any other relatives or friends who you have;

2        äh die diesen fall ähm=öh mit ihnen  beSPREChen können; (--)
         uh  who could uhm uh talk about this case with you; (--)

3        Oder?
         or?

4        sind sie ganz mit der mutter alLEIN hier (-) im konflikt;
         are you entirely alone with your mother here (-) in conflict;

5        (0.8)

6   A    wissen sie mei GSCHWISter, .h
         you know my brothers and sisters, .h

7        die halten ALle zu mei MUDda;
         they all stand by my mother;

8   B    mm

9   A    (-) und aso:-
         (-) and well;
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[4] Transcription conventions follow GAT (see Selting et al. 1998). Note that capital letters indicate stress and a hyphen at the end of a line a 'hovering' pitch (non-movement). Hyphens in brackets indicate pauses.

```
10          ich hab eigentlich sonst NIEmand;
            I don't really have anyone else ;

11    B     <<p>ja>
            yes
```

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

However, both the counsellor's question and the caller's answer have a complex internal structure and can be segmented into smaller units which do not individually constitute accountable actions but rather are part of such an action. One way of segmentation is to identify intonation phrases (IPs) in the two actions, each of which is bounded by a terminal contour movement and contains at least one (nuclear) accent movement. In (1), these IPs are marked by line numbers, i.e. the the question contains four IPs (1-4) and the caller's 'answer' in turn is made up of three full (6, 7, 10) and one broken-off (9)[5] IP.

These intonational phrases do not necessarily coincide with the syntactic constructions used in the structuring of the two actions however. For instance, IP 1 has an internal syntactic boundary between *gibt es noch andere Verwandte und Freunde* and *die sie haben* which is camouflaged by prosody (nuclear pitch accent

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[5] *und aso:-* has no nuclear pitch and no terminal pitch movement.

on *FREUN(de),* i.e. the final relative clause is integrated into the coda of the intonational phrase); the same applies to IPs 6 and 7 where the syntactic boundary between *wissen sie* and *meine GSCHISter* is covered by prosodic integration into one IP. On the other hand, *Oder* in IP 3 is exposed prosodically (it constitutes a minor prosodic phrase of its own) but is integrated syntactically into the following sentence. IP 1 and 2 integrate into one construction (a presentational construction), and so do IP 6 and 7 (a sentential construction with a prolepsis or 'left dislocation'). Finally, IPs 1-4 combine into one disjunctive question. The prosodic segmentation of the extract therefore maps onto the syntactic segmentation as follows (numbers refer to IPs):
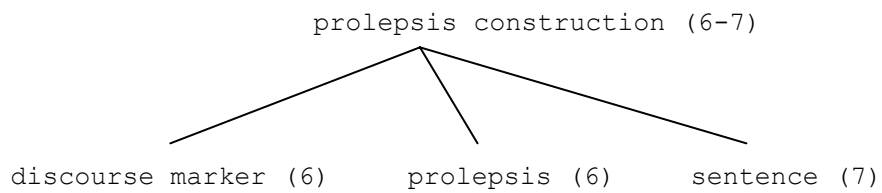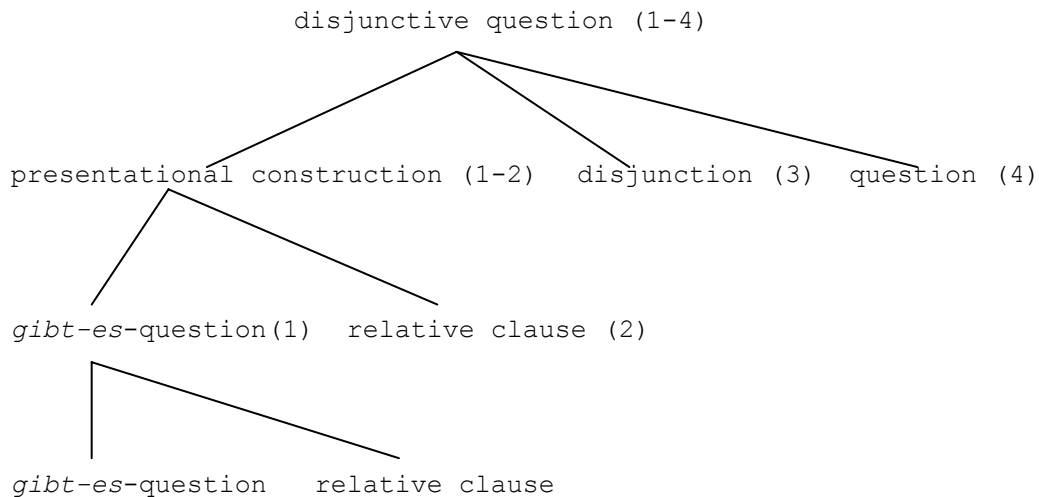
```
                    disjunctive question (1-4)


presentational construction (1-2)   disjunction (3)   question (4)



gibt-es-question(1)   relative clause (2)



gibt-es-question    relative clause




                    prolepsis construction (6-7)



      discourse marker (6)     prolepsis (6)      sentence (7)



                simple sentence construction (10)
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Fig. (1): syntactic and prosodic segmentation of extract (1)

Between some of these syntactic constructions, there are projective links of various strength and various types. Projections 1/2→ 3/4 and 6/7 → 9/10 are based on content/activity, and not on grammatical structure, although in some cases grammatical means are used retrospectively to link the next IP to the previous one (the disjunctive coordinator *oder* in 3). In both cases, the turn is expanded by an additional construction which makes explicit the point already inferrable from the previous construction.

This is arguably different when it comes to the relationship between 6 and 7. *Mei GSCHWISter* 'my brothers and sisters' neither is a self-contained unit (syntactically, the noun phrase is, in its local context, incomplete), nor is the way it is linked to the following *die halten Alle zu mei MUDda* 'they all stand by my mother' based on contents alone. Rather, the construction is that of a syntactic prolepsis or 'left dislocation', in which the 'dislocated' noun phrase is tied to the following utterance via a coreferential pronoun *die*. The initial ('dislocated') noun phrase projects something else to come, with only two major options: either a predicate phrase *(...halten Alle zu mei MUDda)* or, as it happens to be the case, a coreferential pronoun introducing a full clause (*die halten Alle zu mei MUDda*). Here, then, we are on the level of grammatical projection.

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

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

In sum, extract (1) contains action projection, content-based projection from one syntactical construction to another within these actions, and syntactic projection within constructions.

3. Projection in syntax

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

However, as the discussion of extract (1) has shown, projection can also be based on grammatical, and particularly on syntactic knowledge.[6] In grammatical research, the idea of looking at language as an on-line production, i.e. in terms of emerging

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6 Other levels of linguistic structure can have projecting force as well, of course. For prosodic (in addition to syntactic) projection in concessive sequences, see for instance

syntagmatic chains, is still relatively marginal.[7] The dominant theories of (generative) syntax imply a hierarchial (vertical) production mode, by expanding higher nodes in some kind of tree into lower ones, and they fail to take into account the temporal unfolding of a linguistic construction. In fact the very notion of projection has become associated with this 'vertical' thinking in formal theories of syntax such as government & binding theory (GB), i.e., with the proliferation of morphological information such as case or number upwards along the lines of a syntactic stemma. Only recently have approaches to on-line syntactic processing in speech recognition and synthesis altered the picture somewhat.

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

Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2000:398ff; for prosodic projection around possible turn completion see, for instance, Local & Kelly 1986.

Syntactic projection thus depends on syntactic hierarchy. A 'flat' concatenation of constituents which are all on the same hierarchical level does not permit projection; the 'deeper' a syntactic structure (i.e., the more hierarchically it is organised) the more projections tend to be in play, and the longer the stretches of speech over which speakers project may become.[8]

With this in mind, let us have another look at the internal structure of the syntactic construction in extract (1) *mei GSCHWISter, die halten Alle zu mei MUDda* = std. German *meine Geschwister, die halten alle zu meiner Mutter* 'my brothers and sisters, they all stand by my mother'. The syntactic representations used in current generative models of syntax do show hierarchical relationships (usually by $X\#$-notation), but they obscure, and thereby mystify, on-line projection by 'rules' that underspecify serialisation[9] and/or by movements (such as 'left dislocation') which change the serialisation of the so-called underlying structure on its way to the 'surface'. A representation of projection-relevant hierarchies in on-line syntax might instead look like Fig. 2 (heads/governers marked by bold-face):

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7 There are some notable exceptions, to be sure, such as Ono & Thompson 1995 whose idea of an on-line syntax is both linked to constructional schemes and in-time emergence.

8 This is a very simplified description, of course. The length of a projection's trajectory depends in important ways on the branching direction of the hierarchical relationships it contains.

9 For instance, Haegeman 1994:407 generates left and right dislocations by one common rule XP → XP; YP which leaves serialisation open.

meine Geschwister   die   halten   alle   zu   meiner Mutter
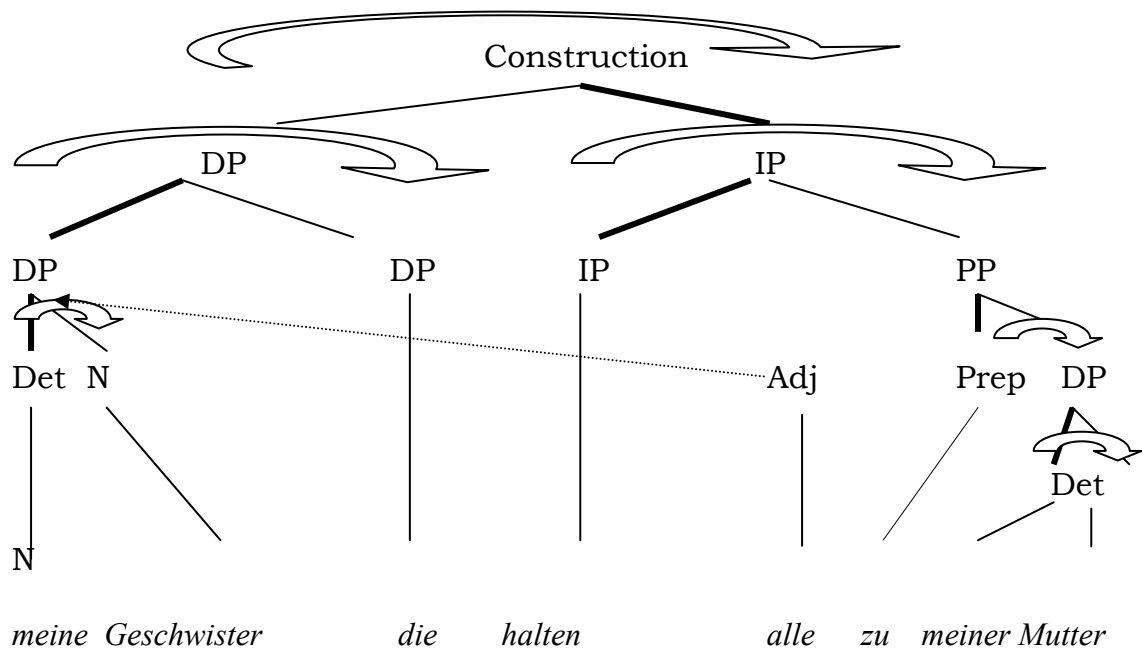
Fig. (2)

In the course of the emergence of this structure in real time, hierarchical structures achieved by government and constituency allow projections such as the following (marked by left-to-right arrows in Fig. 2):[10]

- the Determiner (the possessive pronoun *mei/meiner*) projects a Noun;

- the Preposition *zu* projects a noun (Determiner) Phrase;

- the finite verb (*zu jemand*) *halten* projects a Prepositional Phrase introduced by *zu*;

- according to German sentence topology the Determiner Phrase *die* projects a finite verb (Inflected Phrase);

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10 The 'floating' quantifier alle is retrospectively attached to the initial Noun Phrase *meine geschwister* and therefore does not link upwards to the Inflected Phrase. Note that an on-line approach to syntax does not permit right-to-left movement. However, 'late' placement ('left-to-right movement') is possible, and *alle* is such a case. It retrospectively attaches to a non-adjacent element. This account is different from the generative syntacticians' account of

- slightly more complicated is the initial Determiner Phrase *meine Geschwister* since it projects a finite verb (Inflected Phrase) or an expansion of the Phrase by a coreferential pronoun (i.e. in a prolepsis/'left dislocation'), i.e. there are two competing projections in play which are indicative of different constructions on the sentential level (a simple XV... pattern with the subject in the pre-verbal position and a 'left dislocation'.

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

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

4.1. Strength of projective force

Both in conversation and in syntax, projections vary in strength. The strongest projection in interaction prestructures a conversational slot uniquely. This is the case in some adjacency pair formats, such as in B's question in extract (1), which makes exactly one type of 'next' predictable; no other action type than an answer would do here. Other first actions such as invitations project a next activity but leave at least two options – acceptance and declination. Even less effectively, first compliments project next activities, but allow rejection, acceptance, acknowledgement, counter-compliment, etc. in the subsequent sequential position. Even weaker are the projections achieved by certain unspecific pre-pres (*you know what?, can I interrupt you?*) which can foreshadow any (potentially face-threatening) activity. It may also

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

be the case that some activities project just one next activity, but do so in a less compelling way as, say, a summons projects a response; a case in point are the denial & account sequences discussed by Ford (MS).

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

4.2. Pre-positioning

A conversational activitity may be prefaced by another activity leading on to (foreshadowing) it, as we have seen. In the same vein, grammatical constructions can be preceded by subordinated ones which could not stand on their own, and which by virtue of not being full constructions attach themselves in structurally looser or tighter ways to the subsequent main construction. They may consequently exert a weaker or stronger constraint on the syntactic structure to follow.

In addition to the prolepsis already discussed in the last section, a variety of German pre-front field structures are relevant in this context, some with phrasal, some with clausal syntax. In the following example, the pre-posed syntactic unit is an adverbial phrase:[11]

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11 See the discussion in Auer 1996.

(2)   Hausrat 4, 4 (Stern)

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

    Kd: da muß man jetzt natürlich professioNELL rangehen;
         of course now one has to approach this in a professional way;

         ich als privatmann habe KEIne chance mehr;
         I myself as a private person don' t have another chance;

    V: ja=ja; nee=nee; professioNELL KÖNnen wir da rangehen,
         sure=sure; no=no; professionally we can approach it,

         DAzu sind wir lange genug am MARKT;
         we have been long enough on the market for that;

         das ist also eigentlich KEIN (-) KEIN problem was man
         nicht lösen könnte;
         this is not really a - a problem that could not be resolved;

    Kd: mhm,
→   V: NUR;
         only;
         das ist mit nem finanziellen AUFwand verbunden;
         this implies a financial effort;

         [und ich mein; Sie haben natürlich irgendwo RECHT
         ((...))
         and I mean; of course you are right somehow...

     Kd:[mhm.

German *nur* is mostly used as a scalar adverbial, and as part of a noun phrase. It then projects a following noun phrase ([*nur Peter*] *kam wie immer zu spät* 'only Peter was late as always'). It can also be used as part of a predicate (*ich kann nur schwimmen, nicht tauchen* 'I can only swim not dive'). In both cases, the adverb is firmly integrated into the sentence structure. In extract (2), however, *nur* is preposed

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

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

(3) Bewerbungsgespräch KN 2:7
    ((role played job interview, B= applicant, IF = interviewer))

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

           [also:
           you see:

      IF: [<<pp>mm>

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

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

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

           but .hh I had the impression that basically what is involved is also (.) the cooperation with other teams,

Once more, the syntagma *mich hat besonders angesprochen* 'I found particularly appealing' is not a self-contained syntactic construction. It projects, in this case, a rather precisely defined constituent, i.e. a subject clause required by the verb

ansprechen. On the other hand, *Sie legen besonderen Wert auf Führungsqualifikationen* 'you emphasize leadership qualities' is a full-fledged and complete German sentence. The first (incomplete) clause is prepositioned to the second, complete one.[12]

4.3. Insertions

Although conversational activities may, and often do project others, the next activity can be delayed for the sake of an insertion (=internal expansion, side sequence).[13] The very notion of an insertion presupposes that a projection is in play, and at the same time, that it is temporarily suspended. Well-known examples of conversational expansions are question insertions into question-answer sequences, as in extract (4):

(4) SEGLERINNEN

((telephone conversation; A and B are two women, B is the caller, Theo is A's husband))

Q1 B: ah un wei' weisch du denn ob der thomas heut abend
        zum WEINfest geht?
        ehm and do do you know whether thomas will go to the wine festival this evening

Q2 A: theo, geht der thomas zum WEINfest? (2.5)
        theo, is thomas going to the wine festival?

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12 For a discussion of this construction which is located between hypotaxis and parataxis, cf. Auer 1998. Note that canonical subordination in German is organised differently. In this case, the first part of the construction has main clause syntax (verb second), while the second one is introduced by the complementiser *dass* 'that' and has subordinate (verb final) syntax. The written version of the crucial construction in extr. (3) is therefore: *mich hat besonders angesprochen, dass Sie Wert auf Führungsqualitäten legen...* In this construction, both elements are incomplete syntactic units, and a higher degree of syntactic integration is reached.
13 Cf., e.g., Jefferson 1972.

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                       ((speaking to Theo in the background))
Q3     B:    weiss ers NEDde?=
             he doesn't know?

A1     A:    =der theo meint er glaubt es NICHT bei dem wetter.
             theo says he doesn't think so with this weather

       B:    bei dem WETter ((etc.))
             with this weather ((etc.))
```

Here, two inserted questions occur before the initial question by A (whether Thomas will go to a wine festival in the evening) is answered by B. Although the adjacency pair format question/answer requires an adjacent response, the extract shows that there are legitimate ways to postpone it. In the present case, B draws this justification from her ignorance: in order for her to answer the question, it is necessary to ask a third person (her husband Theo in the background). Theo's answer is not audible on the tape, and neither does it seem to be for the caller. The second inserted question is employed by B to organise her re-entry into the conversation (being a repair on Theo's inaudible answer which is addressed, however, to B: *weiss er's nicht?*). Only now, three (or four, if we include Theo's presumed answer) positions after the expected one, is the initial question answered.

Internal sequence expansions of this type are not projected; however, they are topically coherent with and fitted into the sequence as it evolves. There are other non-projected nexts in conversation, which are much more disruptive to the on-going talk. For instance, on-going displaced talk may be interrupted temporarily in order to deal with situational happenings (situated talk) - babies starting to cry, outsiders to the participant constellation knocking at the door or ringing the phone, coffee being spilled on somebody's trousers, and so on.[14] Here is an example:

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14 Cf. Bergmann 1990 for a discussion.

(5) (N.2)

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

        B: und ich (.) bin also (.) diplomhisTOriker,
             and I have a degree in history

             (-) TUe also (-) FACHlich (-) und WISsenschaftlich,
             (-) mit der (.) geschICHte, (-) beschÄFtigen?
             which means I do (-) in my field (-) and academically (-) I have to do with
             history

             (-) also ich (.) eh
             well I   ehm

→   ((telephone rings))

        B: speziELL (.) ist es jetzt momentan deutsch JÜdische
             geschichte?
             especially it is jewish history at the moment

             also; (-) ich habe jetzt EIniges zu: leipzig (-)
             [auch publiZIERT?]
             well; I have also published several things now on the city of Leipzig

→   [((telephone rings))]

        B: (-) jetzt vor KURzem is nen AUFsatz erschienen, (.) in dem
             [X-ZEITSCHRIFT?   ]
             recenttly an article appeared in the X-journal

→   ((telephone rings))]

        B: (-) von MIR? (-)
          by me

           zum dritten REICH?
           on the Third Reich

           (-) leipzig im dritten REICH?
           Leipzig in the Third Reich

           (-) und von [DAher,   ]
           and therefore,

```
→                        [((telephone rings))]

     B:    sag ich natürlich erstmal mein anknüpfungs•anknüpfungspunkt
           is (.)
           I first of all would say my starting starting point is

→    I1:   <<p> e[ntSCHULdigung;>
            I'm sorry
→    B:          [ja=ja;
                  yes yes

           is natürlich die verbIndung; IXberg, LEIPzig, ((etc.))
           is of course the relationship between X-town and Leipzig
```

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

There are, then, sequence expansions which are non-projected but nonetheless occur in a 'legitimate' position (such as Q-A sequences inserted into Q-A sequences), and asides which are equally non-projected but in addition disruptive to the on-going activity. The same can be observed in syntax, where we find a continuum between non-projected but syntactically licensed utterance segments to equally non-projected but audibly interruptive parentheticals.

A good example for a fully licensed internal expansion which is neither projected nor projecting is the 'floating' quantifier *alle* in extr. (1) above, *meine Geschwister die*

20

halten alle zu meiner Mutter 'my brothers and sisters, they <u>all</u> stand by my mother'. It is inserted within the trajectory of a syntactic structure which, at this point, calls for the production of the prepositional phrase governed by the verb *halten*, but does not need *alle* to become audibly complete. Nevertheless, the production of a quantifier which retrospectively attaches to the constituent *meine Geschwister*, is part of the possibilities provided by German syntax to expand a structure before formal closure is reached. This cannot be said in the same way of the following example:

(6)   ((bulimia therapy session, beginning of narrative by one female participant))

```
  M:   aso ich hab ma mit einer zuSAMMgewohnt,=
       you see I once lived with a girl

       und .h die hab ich EH nich so leidn könn un sie mich AUCH nich,
       and I couldn't stand her anyway and neither could she me

       und dann hab ich IMmer so .h (0.5)
       and then I always like

       und (-) DIE: is schon wesentlich DICker als ich;=
       and she really was a lot fatter/chunkier than I was

       und dann hab ich ECHT immer gedacht (0.5)
       and believe me I always thought

       ich hab so alles des (-) AUF se projeziert
       I projected everything on her

       und wenn se viel geGESsn hat,
       and when/if she ate a lot,
```

→   =die hat sich .h SAHne n ganzn becher SAHne mit
         Apfelschnittchen drin gegessn.
         she put cream a whole cup of cream she ate with slices of apple in it

→   =und das war für mich ECHT der ABscheu.=
         and to me that was really disgusting.

```
       <<presto>n hab ich gedacht> .h des is ja wohl (1.0) des is
       FURCHTbar
       then I thought .h isn't that (1.0) that is really appalling
```

> ```
> (1.0) wie KAMmer denn sowas ESsn un auch noch mit gUtm geWISsn.
> ```
> *how can you eat anything like that and without even feeling guilty*

This speaker is telling a story which is supposed to show how she projected her own feelings of guilt for eating too much onto her flatmate. In the 7th line of the extract, a *wenn*-clause (temporal/conditional clause) is produced (*wenn sie viel gegessen hat* 'when/if she ate a lot') which clearly projects a main clause ('then...'). The speaker does not immediately deal with this projection (by producing the apodosis), however, but rather starts to give details about the room mate who 'ate a lot', and about how she herself reacted to that emotionally (cf. the two arrowed lines). Only then does the projected *(dan)n*-clause follow ((*da)nn hab ich gedacht*... 'then I thought...').

The speaker here employs the projecting force of the first clause in order to claim conversational space for herself. The inserted materials are not attached syntactically to either the adverbial subordinated nor to the main (matrix) clause. They are free-standing parentheticals intervening between the projecting and the projected unit.[15]

4.4 (External) expansions

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

---

15 Cf. Lerner (1996) for conditional clauses and ther interactional unfolding and Stoltenburg 2001 for additional comments on parentheticals in conversational speech. Other than internal expansions, they are not syntactically integrated into the emerging syntactic pattern; on the other hand, certain restrictions (and above all preferences) for their positioning hold.

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

(7) S/H
((two friends; start of a new topic, a public debate at the university))

```
        S:      KOMMse heut in die diskusSION?
                will you come to the discussion today?

        H:      =mHM.

→               ich KOMme.
                I will.
                (1.5)

→               bin auch UNheimlich ge[SPANNT] drauf.
                and I'm really curious about it.

        S:                              [hmHM  ]

→               ich  AUCH.
                so am I.
```

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

In syntax as well, there are a variety of possibilities to expand a complete syntactic construction beyond its projectable end. An instance of a clausal expansion was already mentioned in the discussion of extract (1), unit 2: *die sie haben* 'which they have'. Both clausal and phrasal expansions are involved in the following extract from a telephone conversation in which one participant tries to describe a TV connecting cable to the other:[16]

(8) ANTENNENKABEL
((telephone conversation))

```
        M:    des auf der EInen seite is also AUSsen sonne HÜlse,=
              that is on the one side is kind of a sheath on the outside,=

        F:    =j[a,
                yes,

→       M:     [rund,
                round

              ((1.0; gulps))

              und in der MITte is bei dem ein n DOCHT,
              and in the middle this one has a wick,

→             n masSIver do[cht,
              a solid    wick,
        F:                  [m

→       M:    n DÜNner,
              a thin one,

              un auf der ANdern seite vom selben kabel
              and on the other side of the same wire

              ((1.0, gulps))

              is n docht der HOHL is.
```

```
          is a wick which is hollow.

          (1.0)

→         der m bissl DICker is.
          which is a little bit thicker.

          des sin die des sin die KAbel.
          these are they these are the wires.
```

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

4.5 Abandoned/broken-off projections

Finally, both interactional and syntactic projections can fail. In interaction a sequentially projecting activity may be followed by a non-fitting activity which visibly cancels the projection. An example can be found in extract (4), where the second inserted question *weiss ers NEDde?* 'does he not know' (Q3) starts an embedded sequence which is visibly non-attended to, and the sequence broken off, since the following answer to the superordinated question (Q1) makes a return into the

embedded sequence impossible.[17] Other than in such broken off sequences, participants may lose coherence after internal expansions, and in a sense 'forget about' the projection which occurred before the expansion. It is unclear when individual forgetting turns into an interactionally ratified abandonment of a projection, i.e. a recipient may wait for a projected second to come even though the speaker has long forgotten about it (or vice versa). What is clear though is that some projecting activities remain unattended to although this is not (as in the case of break-offs) clear from the position immediately following them. In the following extract, the projected next is a reciprocal declaration of love after the female participant's first:

(9) (MONDFAHRT)
((two lovers))

```
       F:    .thhh norbertchen ich hab dich WAH:N SIN NIG LIEB;
             my little Norbert, I love you madly


→      M:    (-) wie KOMMT das;
             why is that


       F:    nja:: ich w h (-) .hh n=hast DU schuld
              I kn h      you are to blame


       M:    (-) <<low> •m;>•m <<high pitch register> irgendWO muss ich
             da ja wohl schon beTEIligt sein (oder,)>

             somehow I must be involved mustn't I


       F:    <<whispering> ja,>
```

---

17 One of the interactional reasons for which such break-offs occur can also be taken from the example: the answerer has at this moment various, conflicting obligations. In addition to Q3, Q1 - the initial, superordinated question of whether Thomas is going to the wine festival - needs to be taken care of. A could have chosen to answer the questions in turn: 'yes he does know, and he thinks that Thomas won't go'. Alternatively, she can skip the embedded question and leave the answer to it to be inferred from the answer to the superordinated question.

yes

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

The male participant fails to produce a 'second' after F's declaration of love, and instead embarks on what can be heard as a subordinated sequence investigating into the reasons for F's statement. The discussion of who is to blame for F's loving M continues for a while until the initially noticeable absence of a second declaration of love becomes (at some indeterminate point) interactionally irrelevant.[18]

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

(5)'   B: und ich (.) bin also (.) diplomhisTOriker,
and I have a degree in history

             (-) TUe also (-) FACHlich (-) und WISsenschaftlich, (-) mit der (.) geschICHte, (-) beschÄFtigen?
which means I do (-) in my field (-) and academically (-) I have to do with history

→   (-) also ich (.) eh
well I   ehm

    ((telephone rings))

    B: speziELL (.) ist es jetzt momentan deutsch JÜdische geschichte?
especially it is jewish history at the moment

---

18 Again, there are many reasons for which such 'distractions' should be systematic after a first declaration of love. It seems that on the one hand, seconds after such events have to occur without delay; otherwise, the second party will miss his or her chance to do a proper second (as does M in our extract). On the other hand, declarations of love are potentially embarassing events, and M's way of delaying an answer by asking a subordinated question would seem to be one way of dealing with this embarrassment, by shifting attention away from the interpersonal level. Cf. Auer 1988 for further remarks on declarations of love.

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

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

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

> DH: und dann wurden die SCHUlen auch anders Umstrukturiert,
> *and then the schools were restructured differently*
>
> wieder NEU, Alles,
> *again new, everything,*
>
> BS: ja:,
> *yes*
>
> DH: weil nämlich jetz das gymnasium eben mit anderen klassen
> (-)
> *because now grammar school with other forms*

→   also von was=weiß=ich von (-) von der achten klasse oder
     wie das is oder siebte, oder so (-)

     well with I don't know (-) from the eight form or whatever it is or seventh or something like that (-)

     und dann warn wir zu viele klassen,
     and then we were too many forms

In this extract, the speaker tries to explain the reorganisation of the school system in his youth. After a syntactically complete introductory statement, DH goes into a description of what actually changed, for which he chooses the grammatical format of a subordinated *weil-* ('because'-) clause. However, this clause is not completed since it lacks the projected clause-final finite verb form. Instead, the speaker inserts a parenthetical remark after *mit andern klassen* 'with other forms', which specifies what is meant by this noun phrase (i.e. form seven or eight) (arrow). After this parenthesis, no return into the superordinated matrix clause takes place.

Since memory for form is much shorter than memory for content, speakers do not usually succeed in keeping on-going syntactic projects alive for a very long time. Extract (10) demonstrates that longish parentheticals can be enough to detract the speaker from his syntactic project which is tacitly abandoned.

5. Ambiguities and transitions: between interaction and syntax

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

As expected in such an approach, the dividing line between grammatical and interactional projection is not always unambiguous. For instance, with regard to extr. (2), it may be asked whether *nur* projects on the basis of its syntactic status or on the basis of being a (subsidiary) verbal activity in its own right which foreshadows disagreement. Clear cues for syntactic projection are, as argued above, rules of government, constituency, adjacency and serialisation. There can, for instance, be few doubts that the German preposition *zu* 'to' projects a dative noun phrase in this sense, even more so since the morphological case marking of the noun phrase (in

the determiner: *zu meiner Mutter* 'to my mother') makes this syntactic relationship explicit. *Nur* in extr. (2), however, occurs at the periphery of the German sentence topology, and there is no overt morphological marking for the syntactic relationship between *nur* as a pre-front field constituent and the following structure. Finally, as outlined above, the projection achieved by a pre-front field constituent such as *nur* is not very forceful in structural terms: while we know what kind of activity it introduces (namely, in the present case, a counter-argument), we do not know what kind of syntax will be used in the following: any sentence-type will do.

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

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

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

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

(11) Big Brother 1-5-77 (reality TV show)
((Jürgen and Sabrina are talking to each other in different rooms of the house))

→   Sbr: `<<f>JÜRgen?>`
             Jürgen?

→   Jrg: `<<f>ja->`
             yes

          Sbr: `<<f>was MACHST du?>`
             what are you doing there

          Jrg: (-)`<<f>FENsterputzen (.)im SCHLAFzimmer.>`
             cleaning the windows   in the bedroom

          Sbr: (--)ach SO.
             I see

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

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

(12) (Ro I,1)
((role played job interview, I = interviewers, A = applicant))

       I1→I2:   ich würd Sie (ganz/dann) vielleicht mal BITten,
                   (-) bitten die `<<dim> erste FRAge zu stellen.>`
                   I would like to ask you perhaps, (-) ask you to ask the first question.

                 (2.0)

       I2→A: <u>herr LOHmann</u> eh (-) ich hab mich natürlich mit ihren
                   unterlagen beSCHÄFtigt?

Mr Lohmann eh (-) *of course I have read your application?*

```
vielleicht könnten=se GANZ kurz noch mal
zuSAMmenfassend; eh (-) DARlegen; (-) eh ihre (.)
berufliche entWICklung?
```

maybe you could summarize in a few words eh (-) eh your (.) professional career?

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

A look into language history shows that this 'layered' use of the same linguistic structure both as an activity and as a syntactic constituent may reflect a pathway of grammaticalisation: dialogical patterns can indeed be grammaticalised into syntactic patterns. A good example is the use of verb-initial clauses (yes/no-questions and imperatives) in order to introduce the protasis in a conditional construction. As Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2000 show for English, conditional relationships can be coded in the format of interactional sequences. In particular, many pres function as a kind of protasis in a larger pattern. This is also true for German. Consider the following examples:

(13) MONDFAHRT

((telephone conversation, closing section))

```
        F:      .th also PASS=auf;=
                now listen

                ich möcht so bis um: (-) eh bis (.)
                I want to around (–) ehm until (.)

→               gehst du dann GLEICH ins bett?
                go-2.Sg. you then immediately into-the bed
                will you go to bed immediately afterwards?

        M:      ich HOFfe;
                I hope so;

        F:      du HOFFST;=
                you hope so;

        M:      =<<p>ja.> (-)
                yes

→       F:      na dann kann ich nicht mal n WHISki trinken mit dir
                heute;
                well then I won't even be able to drink a whiskey with you today;

        M:      DOCH:
                yes you will

        F:      ja?
                really?
```

(14) (courtesy of S. Günthner/ "Schwarzwald", family interaction)

```
→       Eva:    holsch du      dir    en teller?
                get-2.Sg.  you-NOM you-DAT a    plate
                will you get yourself a plate?

                (0.5)

→               dann kannst noch was mitessen.
                then you can join us for dinner.
```

```
Uwe:  ja okay.
        yes okay.
```

In extract (13), F asks M (in the first arrowed line) whether he will go to bed right after a scheduled meeting with his business partners this evening. This question and its subsequent positive answer are clearly preliminary activities foreshadowing (projecting) something else to come on the conversational plane (cf. the pre-pre 'now listen!'). In fact, the answer leads F to conclude (with a slight reproach) that she won't be able to have her usual imaginary glass of whiskey with M this evening. Semantically, this conclusion is the apodosis in a conditional construction; its protasis follows from the prefatory question-answer sequences: 'if you go to bed immediately afterwards, I can't have my whiskey with you today'. But clearly, the conditional relationship is established through a series of self-contained conversational activities (question – answer – conclusion – challenge), each projecting the next.

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

Pursuing this line further, German has grammaticalised the sequential (interactional) format of a sequence-based conditional into a purely syntactic format.[19] In addition to the more usual present-day construction in which *wenn* introduces the protasis, the language has another conditional construction in which the protasis is marked by verb-initial syntax alone - the very same grammatical format in which (grammatical) yes/no-questions and imperatives are expressed. In the following historical examples[20] the question format is still relatively transparent (and the conditional meaning not yet stable), but it is clear that a grammatical construction is used, not an interactional (sequential) format:

(15) (MHG: Nibelungen)

```
gîst   du mir   dîn swester, sô will ich ëz tuon
give-2.Sg. you me-DAT your sister,    so  will   I  it   do
```
 if you give me your sister (for marriage), I will do it

reconstructed interactional format:

A: will you give me your sister for marriage?
B: yes
A: so I will do it

(16) (MHG: Wolfram)

```
schamt     ër sich gestern sêre, dës wart   hiute zwir mêre
feel-embarrassed he  himself yesterday a-lot,   of-that became-he today  double more
```
if he felt embarrassed yesterday, he felt double embarrassed today

reconstructed interactional format:

A: did he feel embarrassed yesterday?
B: yes
A: he will feel double embarrassed today

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

---

19 The same phenomenon can also be observed in other languages such as Turkish (Auer 1990). Also cf. Givón 1979 for the same argument and further empirical support.
20 All examples from Paul 1920, IV; 276f.

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

reconstructed interactional format:
A: are you one of those damned gosts?
B: yes
A: alas! I shall be the other

6. Conclusion

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

The counterproposal put forward in this paper is based on the assumption that grammatical and interactional structure are much more intimately intertwined. In order to argue for this assumption, it is necessary to search for the underlying principles which are relevant in both domains. In this paper, I have argued that projection is such a principle. The conclusion suggested by this parallel is that syntax can be seen (among other things) as the historical result of a sedimentation and (partly normative) regularisation of certain interactional projection techniques.

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