

What is this?

On the following pages, you can read a preliminary version of the entry about *Syntax* that we plan to upload to the webpage samtalegrammatik.dk. The fact that this is a text for a grammar and not, for instance, a journal article, means that the text does not contain references, instead, there are suggestions for “further readings” at the end of the text, which is the way that entries in the grammar are constructed.

[Samtalegrammatik.dk](http://samtalegrammatik.dk) is a grammar of Danish talk-in-interaction. It is, as yet, incomplete because we are building it step by step. In the *Syntax* text, you will find links to other parts of the grammar on the webpage. When possible, we have linked to entries in English. But quite a few entries are, at this point in time, only in Danish, so some of the links will lead you to entries in Danish. Our aim is to write the entire grammar in both Danish and English. This text exists only in English right now, but after we have worked it through, we will translate it into Danish so that we can upload both a Danish and an English *Syntax* to the webpage.

The syntax is a description of Danish *talk-in-interaction*. We consider this a “lesser described” language because no previous grammars have had talk-in-interaction as their scope. There are plenty of grammars available on Danish language, but none of them use interactional data as the basis of their description. All our claims are based on what we find in our corpus of recordings of naturally occurring interactions in Danish (see [Data](#)). Furthermore, we have tried to stay clear of syntactic models constructed for the description of written Danish. We have instead used concepts and descriptions that take into consideration the fact that syntactic structures occur in real time and in order to do social actions. In doing this, we rely on descriptions of local practices for doing social actions, many of which are to be found under [Expressions and Phenomena](#) on the webpage. The difference between those local descriptions of practices and this syntactic description is that in the *Syntax*, we put the formats used to do local practices into a more systematic description.

We also emphasize that this description makes absolutely no claim of universality. It is a description of syntactic formats and processes that we find in our data, and which we believe can be found in Danish talk-in-interaction more generally. We do not know if it covers all variants of Danish. It is, of course, possible that the description can be used for describing talk-in-interaction in other languages, but such descriptions must build on investigations of social action formats in those languages.

The text is the product of a collaborative effort between members of the [DanTIN group](#) and the [GEL research group](#). It is our first attempt at writing a syntax and we are, therefore, very open to comments and suggestions for improvement.

Syntax in Danish talk-in-interaction

Working with syntax often means describing the word order or relationship between constituents in a phrase, clause or sentence. In our description of the syntax of Danish talk-in-interaction, we expand that scope. Our aim is to describe the syntactic choices interaction participants are faced with when they produce and react to utterances. This means that we incorporate the description of the immediate interactional (sequential) environment of the phrase, clause or sentence, while also relating the description of syntactic relations to the fact that everyday conversation, language and its production takes place in real time. The ability to predict what can happen next in a unit or between units is termed projection. An important part of describing the syntax is, thus, to describe the projection as it happens on a moment-by-moment basis. We also build the description of prosodic features and embodied conduct into our grammar to the extent that such features have a systematic relation to the ordering of elements and the construction of social actions (see Functions).

Our description distinguishes projection happening at the intra-unit and projection happening at the inter-unit level. Such a unit roughly corresponds to an element doing an action, often a turn construction unit (TCU). We focus, on the one hand, on how the projection happens in real time, what we will call a process syntax, and, on the other, on the knowledge or interactional competence that interactants must share in order for this projection to take place, what we will call a product syntax.

In what follows, we first explain the terms intra-unit and then inter-unit syntax. After this comes the actual syntactic description. This is organized according to sequential positions – first, second and third – and then some positions in what may be called omnipositions.

1. Intra-unit

The intra-unit level of description handles the relations between the elements of a unit relative to each other, and what these relations or the order of elements means for the projectability and parsing of the unit as it is being created.

Analysis takes place bit by bit. As the first element is produced, the number of possible outcomes is strongly narrowed down. Danish is an early projection language, which means that elements occurring early in units strongly project what can or should come next. As a unit is produced, it becomes clearer to potential next speakers how the final unit will be shaped, that is, both what the format of the unit will be and which social action it will carry out. Recipients use this information to time their next turn.

The grammatical features of the units can be whether it is a one-word construction, phrasal, clausal or whether it has interrogative, declarative or other word order. It can also be in terms of relations to the previous turn, such as material that is reused or formats that must be understood in relation to the features of the previous turn (such as [jo \(response token\)](#) responding to units with negation).

It is on the basis of this, that potential next speaker can judge whether a short period of silence is because a speaker has no more to say, or is about to do self-repair or the like.

However, the relations between those elements are not enough to describe what is going on within turn construction units, because the overall shape is also restricted by occurring in a specific sequential slot – that is, by the inter-unit syntax.

2. Inter-unit

The inter-unit relations are those reflecting sequence organization and action. This reflects how language is position sensitive. Each unit that we examine occurs as part of a series of turns, and its placement herein will be essential for the way it is formatted. Only a limited number of actual practices and their formats are relevant in a specific sequential slot, since a previous unit has set up expectations to a unit. During its production, listeners will continuously evaluate what action is done by the unit: is it a first or a second pair part? A base sequence or an expansion? Is it doing a preferred or dispreferred action?

Sequences restrict the possible relevant next actions that interactants can produce . The restrictions can vary from relatively loose to very tight (conditional relevance), but in any case, there will be a limited set of relevant next actions in each sequence, at least in the sense that actions that deviate from the relevant next ones will be marked as deviating and/or be understood as irrelevant to the sequence or as a potential misunderstanding.

Thus, we propose that interactants use their “knowledge” of relevant next practices, as well as their knowledge of concrete social action formats, to make projections and actively parse utterances as they emerge in interaction. The elements of these sedimented practices are what a listener compares with a unit under production to interpret its action.

3. Actions in specific sequential positions

In this section, we describe particular intra-units in their inter-unit position, that is, we describe units performing specific social actions in their sequential context. The descriptions include both the process and product syntax. It is not (yet) a complete description, but our goal is to describe all relevant intra-unit formats and to cover all inter-unit positions. Furthermore, we aim at describing the dependencies and relevancies on both inter- and intra-turn level as precisely as possible.

3.1 First position

In the inter-unit syntax, this position is characterized by being “first”. This firstness can occur in two ways: (1) It can be the first turn in an interaction, or (2) it can come after another sequence has been completed and, thus, be first in a sequence (see [Sequences](#)).

3.1.1 First position in entire interaction: Greetings

This position comes after no interaction has taken place between the parties of the now starting interaction. This is the case when an entirely new encounter begins, or when there is a major change in the participation, for instance, if a new character arrives on the scene. This does not mean that all new interactions begin with a first-position-in-entire-interaction practice, it is, of course, possible for participants to treat an interaction beginning after a “no interaction phase” as a continuation of something prior.

If we look at the actions usually performed in this position, the most obvious ones are greetings and summonses. They specifically mark that they are not tied to, or dependent on, something prior, and both initiate a sequence with a strong projection of what should be the next action. This projection is most evident with greetings, so we will show an instance of this action, which exemplifies both the inter-unit and the intra-unit syntax of greetings.

Extract 1 comes from a recording of people cooking a meal together. Mette (ME) and Tine (TI) have been on camera for 11 minutes, when Tom arrives and the exchange in the extract occurs.

```
(1) [Samtalebank: kartofler_og_broccoli] 'hi Tom' ((everyday, video))
01      €(5 mins, 2.9 secs)
      me      €walks away, comes back, arranges items, walks tow camera -->
01      ME:   hej Tom.
           hi Tom.
02      TO:   he:ːj.€
           hi:ː.
      me      -->€walks out of camera frame-->>
03      (1.1)
04      TO:   <mange gange> undskyld forsinkelsen.
```

<many times> sorry for the delay.

3.1.1.1 The process syntax

The newly arrived Tom is out of camera here, and we cannot really see what Mette is doing as she walks by and out of camera, but we can hear that Mette greets Tom in line 2 with a *hej* plus the recipient's name. As argued above, the options available when people initiate a new encounter are limited to greetings or summonses. This means that there is a paradigmatic choice between items that can be greetings and summonses. So, what the intra-unit syntax must provide at this point is an indication of whether the turn is a greeting or a summons. When it then turns out, that the action is a greeting, the actual format of that action will also suggest what kind of relationship the speaker invokes.

Greetings can be done with a limited number of words and short phrases. Apart from *hej* ('hi'), it can be items like *goddag* (lit. 'good day') and other phrases beginning with *go'* ('good') and the time of day. *Dav* (an abbreviated and regional/ideolectal version of *go'dag* 'good day') is an option, and there are also jocular items used for initial greetings, such as *hallo*, *halløj*, *halløjsa* (colloquial versions of 'hello').

Summonses can be done by calling out the recipient's name, by using imperatives and other terms that instruct the recipient about what actions should be done (for instance, *hør* ('listen'), *hør lige her* ('listen here'), *vent* ('wait'), *øjeblik* ('a moment'), and with the word *hey* [hej̥]. Versions of *hallo* can also be used as summonses, which means that there can be a certain overlap between greeting items and summonses.

The greeting word *hej* ('hi') is pronounced [hæj̥], the other words mentioned above that start with a [h] has a different vowel after [h], which means that the greeting word *hej* must be recognizable from the outset.

The intra-turn syntax of a greeting beginning in this way may consist of just the greeting item or the greeting item plus a name or an endearment term directed at the recipient. So, on the occurrence of a [hæ] (the first two sounds of *hej* [hæj̥]) in this position, it is clear that the action is a greeting. It projects a possible name or endearment term and it strongly projects a return greeting in next turn. A lack of return greeting may be treated as a breach of social norms.

The choice of greeting item also suggests that the speaker treats the relationship with the recipient(s) as being on "hej" basis: *hej* belongs to the more informal greeting terms, and its prosody can further indicate affective and other relationship aspects.

3.1.1.2 The product syntax

The pattern that participants rely on in order to be able to make the projections described above is as shown in figure 1 and 2.

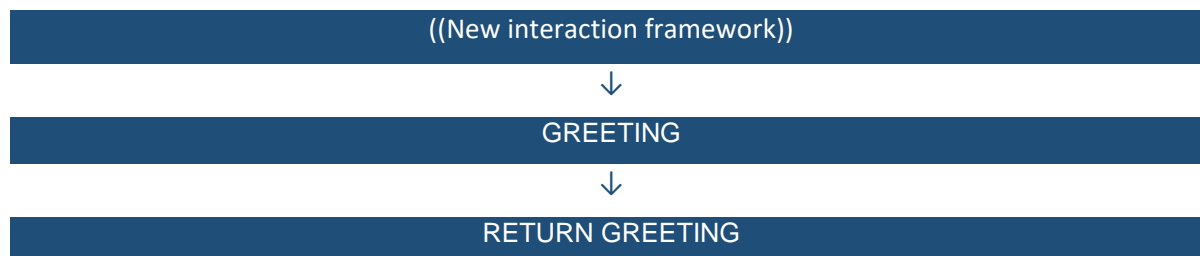


Figure 1: Inter-unit syntax of greetings

Figure 1 shows a robust connection between the three steps. A new interaction framework is a strong predictor for a greeting, and a greeting demands a return greeting. Figure 2 shows the intra-unit format for greetings in first positions.

Greeting item	Addressing term
<i>hej</i>	<i>Tom</i>
hi	NAME

Figure 2: Intra-unit syntax of greetings

3.1.2 First position in sequence: The case of modal interrogative requests

Most of the first position actions, however, occur inside an interaction, that is, they are not first in an absolute sense. Extract 2 shows an instance of a request for an immediate action being carried out in a modal interrogative format. The recording is made in Lina's (LIN) home and Sisse (SIS) is there to help dye Lina's hair. The extract comes from two minutes into the recording. At the point when it starts, Sisse is walking around while Lina is sitting on a chair combing her hair. Behind Lina, there is an open window.

```

(2) [AULing:haarfarvning1] "shut the window" ((everyday, video))
01  LIN:  &Ejeg kommer ikk te' å ku holde te' i morgen,E
      I won't be able to last until tomorrow,
      lin  &combs her hair-->>
      sis  &walks behind lin and stops-----E

02          (0.2)

03  SIS:  € °°hmg-°°
      sis  €makes shrugging/shivering movements w both shoulders-->

04          (1.7)

05  SIS:  &↑↑hu:w.=€
  
```

```

sis          -->€
lin  &.....
06  LIN:  =>>ej ve' du< lukk' &vinduet,
        PRT will.PRS you.SG close.INF window-DEF
        =>EJ will you< close the window,
lin  &turns head tow window-----&turned tow. open window-->

07          (0.2)

08  SIS:  €mjahah
        yes1
        myehes
sis  €turns tow window, walks tow. it-->

09          (0.4)&(2.0)€
lin  -->&looks tow door on her r side&
sis  -->€

10          &€(3.1) €
lin  &turns tow mirror-->>
sis  €reaches for window handle€

11          €(1.4) €
sis  €closes window€

12          €(1.5)
sis  €walks back-->>

13  LIN:  jeg ved ikk om det er lidt fedtet.
        I don't know it is a little greasy.

```

Line 1 turns out to be the end of a telling by Lina, with no visual or verbal uptake from Sisse. In lines 3-5, Sisse is standing behind Lina. Sisse first makes a shivering movement with her shoulders (line 3), which Lina may be able to see even though Sisse is standing behind her, because Lina is looking into a mirror in front of her. Then Sisse utters a sound that can be heard as expressing that she is cold (line 5). Already while Sisse is uttering her sound, Lina starts turning her head towards the open window (and Sisse), and immediately after Sisse has finished her sound, Lina produces a modal interrogative, *>ej ve' du< lukk' vinduet* ('EJ will you close the window'). After a very short break, Sisse turns around, walks to the open window and closes it (lines 8-11). After Sisse has done this, she walks back towards Lina again, and now starts talking about her hair, that is, she returns to stuff which is relevant to the business of getting her hair dyed.

3.1.2.1 Process syntax

Let us look closer at the inter-unit syntax here. Sisse's movements and sounds in lines 3-5 may or may not be directed at Lina. However, Lina treats them as making some kind of action relevant. So, we have something in the surroundings and in Sisse's behavior which may call for action, but without it being requested. Lina may now choose to react, or not react. If she reacts to what Sisse is doing, she will have to do it as a first position utterance. It could be a question, like, 'are you cold', which might pave the way for some action, or a more open one, like, 'what are you doing', or she could use Sisse's

actions as the basis for doing an independent noticing, for instance through assessing the temperature, as in ‘it’s a bit cold’. Finally, Lina could initiate an action to solve Sisse’s problem. It could be a suggestion, like ‘maybe you should put on some more clothes’, an offer like ‘do you want me to close the window’ or a request (as it turn out to be). The point here is that this is a very open slot, the paradigm of actions that could go into this slot is big.

The inter-unit projection at this point can be shown diagrammatically as in figure 3.

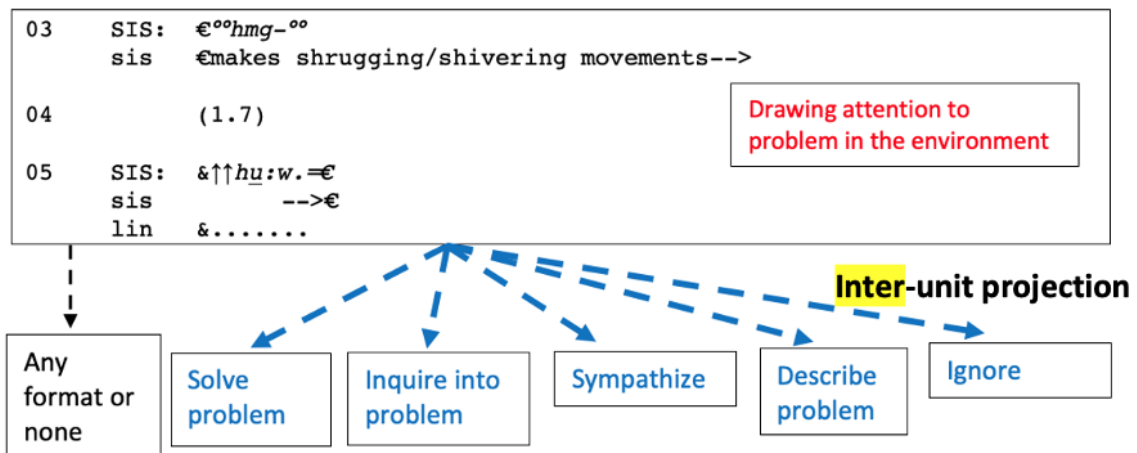


Figure 3: Inter-unit projection occurring before the request in extract 2

Given the openness of what can go into this position in the inter-unit syntax, it becomes important for participants to listen for cues pointing to which action is being done. That is, we (and participants) need to look at the intra-unit syntax, or, how the unit is designed bit by bit.

It begins with the intranslatable turn-initial particle *ej*. This particle, at least pronounced as it is here with a short vowel, projects more to come. This “more” can be an assessment or another action that is designed as occasioned by something in the environment (or in the talk). At this point, the projected options are narrowed a bit, as shown in figure 4.

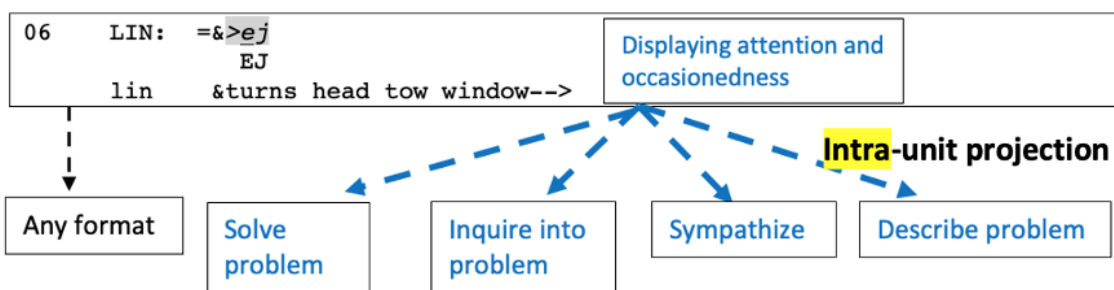


Figure 4: The projected options in the intra-unit syntax after *ej* in line 6 in extract 2.

What becomes clear at this point is that Lina will say something, and that it will deal with Sisse's situation. But the rest of the options shown in figure 4 are still relevant.

After this, and spoken quickly and prosodically integrated with *ej*, comes *ve'* [vɛ]. It is unstressed, and in this context, the possible Danish words it could be are either the preposition *ve'/ved* 'by, at' or the modal verb *ve'*, which is the present tense of a verb that can indicate willingness or future action. Figure 5 shows the former option.

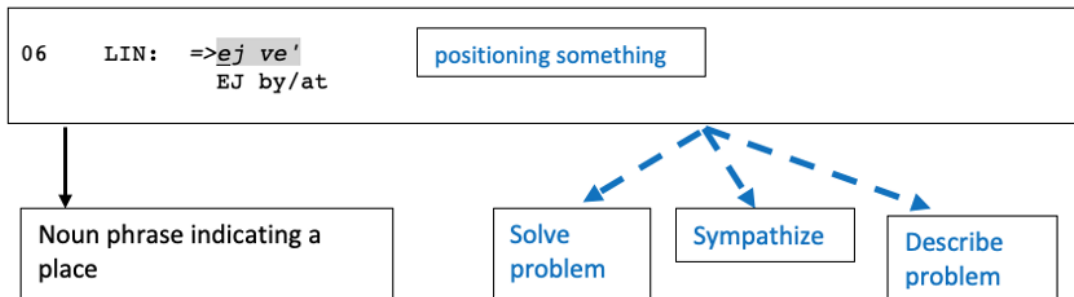


Figure 5: One possible projection in the intra-unit syntax after *ej ve'* in line 6 in extract 2.

If *ve'* is a preposition, the next item could be a noun phrase that would point out a position in the room as the basis for a reaction to Sisse's shivering, such as 'by the window', 'by the drawer', which could be followed by an utterance using this to solve the problem, like 'there is a sweater you can put on', or for sympathizing or describing the problem, like 'there it's really cold'. This is still a rather open projection, both in terms of unit type and action.

If, however, *ve'* is the modal verb, the projection is stronger. If a clause begins with a finite verb (present or past tense), it means that the clause has interrogative syntax. This projection relies on an exception-less ordering rule in Danish syntax, which is followed in talk-in-interaction as well as in other modalities. And according to this rule, the next item must be the syntactic subject. In this situation, the projection is even stronger, the subject can only be the word *du* 'you.SG': There are only two persons present, the *ej* has already projected that the utterance will deal with the recipient's situation, and now we have an interrogative beginning with a word that can indicate that the person expressed by the syntactic subject is willing to do something or is supposed to do something in the future. What is not clear at this point is whether the *du* 'you.SG' will be the agent of a future action or the recipient of it. These options are shown in figure 6.

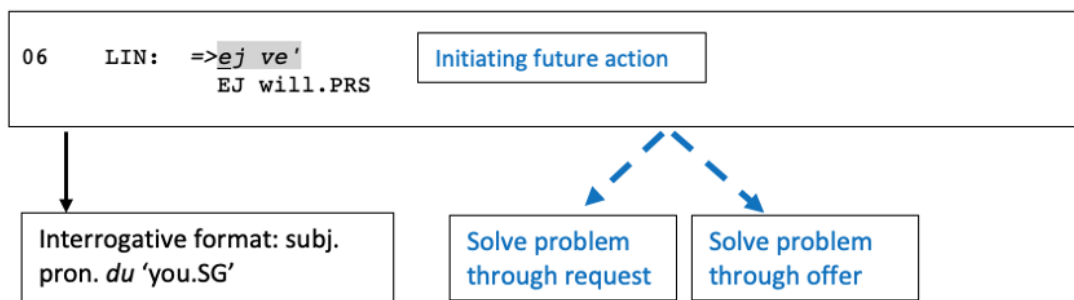


Figure 6: Another possible project in the intra-unit syntax after *ej ve'* in line 6 in extract 2.

When the expected *du* occurs, in an unstressed version, we get a secure indication of what kind of unit is being produced. It is, unambiguously, a modal interrogative, in which the next obligatory item will be predicate, consisting of a main verb and its complements. This predicate will indicate whether the communicative action is a request or an offer. The difference between these two actions can be thought of in terms of who benefits from the action (who is the “beneficiary”). A request is an action that the speaker benefits from and an offer is an action that the recipient benefits from. This is, however, not so straightforward, as we will see. Figure 7 shows the projections from this point in time.

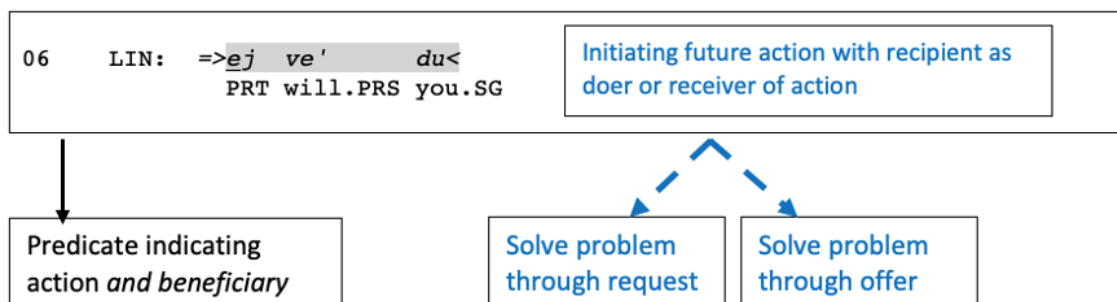


Figure 7: The projected format and actions of *>ej ve' du<* in line 6 in extract 2.

As projected, the next item is a main verb and its complement, *lukk' vinduet*, ‘close the window,’. This shows that it is the recipient who has to do the action. It is not indicated who stands to benefit from it, probably both parties. In terms of the wording of the predicate, we see this as more in the direction of a request than an offer. If it were formulated as an offer, we would expect a formulation that positioned the recipient as the receiver or undergoer of the future action.

The predicate also marks the possible completion of the unit. Optional elements might be added (for instance, adverbial items indicating time, place or circumstances), but the turn-taking systematics call for a response to such a first pair part as soon as possible after the possible completion.

This means that we are now in the inter-unit syntax. A request for an immediate action has a strong projection of what should normatively happen next: That the requested action be done, possibly with a verbal commitment. In terms of inter-unit syntax, we get a projection as shown in figure 8.

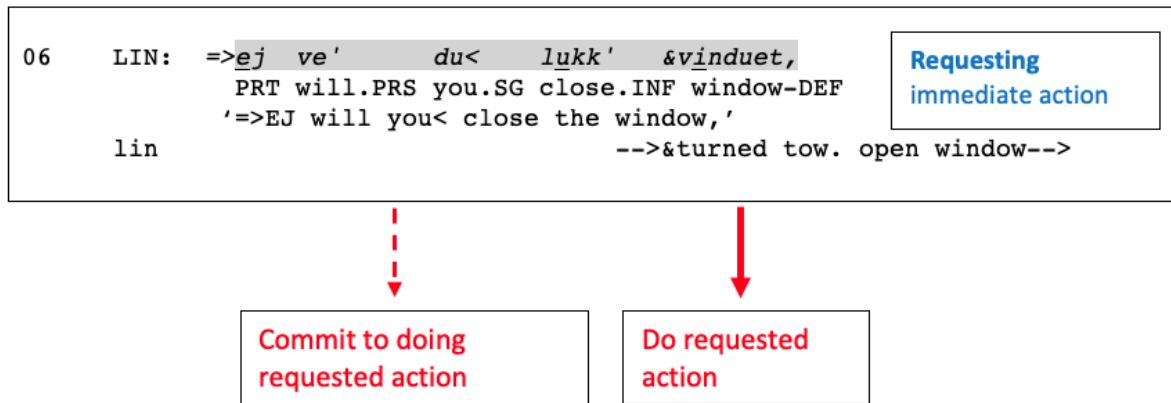


Figure 8: The inter-unit projection from the request uttered in line 6 in extract 2.

In the extract, we get both a verbal commitment and a doing of the action. Sisse utters a version of 'yes' and then immediately proceeds to performing the requested action.

3.1.2.2 Product syntax

The formats and norms that interactants rely on in order to be able to make the projections described above is as shown in figures 9 and 10.

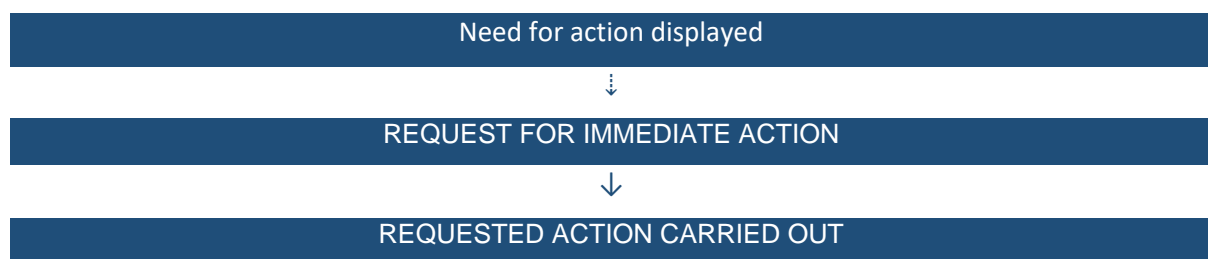


Figure 9: Inter-unit, product syntax of request for immediate action

Figure 9 shows the inter-unit pattern that participants end up producing in the example of a request for immediate action exemplified above. The displayed need for action (that Sisse shows that she is cold) does not project any specific action, but requesting that something be done about it is one option. When the request has been produced, there is, however, a very strong projection and demand

that the action be carried out. This syntactic pattern is not particular to Danish talk-in-interaction, many other languages seem to work with the same sequential norms.

Turn-initial particle	Modal verb	Subject 2 person pron. Agent of action	Predicate Action done by recipient
<i>ej</i>	<i>ve'</i> will	<i>du</i> you	<i>lukk' vinduet</i> close the window

Figure 10: Intra-unit syntax for modal interrogative request formats.

Figure 10 shows the intra-unit syntax of the request produced in extract 2, but it does not tell the whole story however. The production of extract 2 relies on a more abstract format, which includes this format for requests for immediate action but also a very similar format for offering or inviting. As we saw in the account of the process syntax above, both a request and an offer could be relevant actions in the actual situation. The decision as to which one is carried out happens in the last position in the intra-unit format, the predicate. If the predicate turns out to be one that has the subject (du 'you') as the agent, the action will be request-like, and if the predicate turns out to place the subject as the receiver or beneficiary of the future action, the resulting social action will be an offer or an invitation. Figure 11 shows the more abstract syntactic format that interactants rely on in order to produce and project the social action in extract 2, line 6.

Turn-initial particle	Modal verb, <i>ve</i>	Subject 2 person pron. Agent or receiver of action	Predicate describing future action and disambiguating the role of the syntactic subject	ACTION
<i>ej</i>	<i>ve'</i> will	<i>du</i> you	<i>lukk' vinduet</i> close the window	REQUEST
	<i>ve'</i> will	<i>du</i> you	<i>være me'</i> be with ((join))	INVITATION
	<i>ve'</i> will	<i>du</i> you	<i>ta min jakke eller tæppe på</i> put my jacket or blanket on	OFFER

Figure 11: Intra-unit syntax of modal interrogative formats for requests, invitations and offers.

Figure 11 shows examples from our data of utterances that all occur in the same inter-unit position as the immediate request we have looked at here, and they all have in common that they begin with *ve' du* 'will you' (with no stress on either word). It is not until the occurrence of the predicate (which contains a stressed syllable in all cases) that it can be seen exactly which social action is being

Lars' first request that Anita calls in again comes in line 1. It is answered by Anita in line 3 with a prolonged version of *ja* 'yes'. Lars clearly treats this as not being a full commitment in that he pushes for more commitment in line 5. In response to this, Anita now says *jə. det ve' je' godt, hh* 'yes. I will do that, hh'. In lines 8-12, we get another round: Lars asks for a promise in line 8, Anita first says 'yes' in line 9, but Lars pushes for more commitment with *æe:jɛ* 'rightɛ' in line 11, to which Anita immediately responds *det ska ja' nok*, literally 'that shall I enough' or 'I shall certainly do that,'.

In terms of inter-unit syntax, we can see that the request goes for a commitment to do the remote action. This is, thus, the same inter-unit patterns as the one we saw for requests for immediate actions in section 3.1 above. The request demands a specific response, a complying and committing action in this case. All other responses occurring in the slot will be understood as deviating from the projected course of action.

We can also see that a 'yes' on its own does not do the job of providing the required response: the two versions of 'yes' are followed by a pursuit of a more committed response. The resulting commitments have an intra-unit format that consists of a complying response token (which is *ja* after requests with positive polarity and *jə* after requests with negative polarity, see entry on "[jo \(answer token\)](#)"). This is followed by *det* 'it/that', which refers back to the requested action, a modal verb (here, *ska* 'shall, must, have to' and *ve'* 'will'), the subject *jeg* 'I' and a modal particle, which carries stress. The action format is, thus, as shown in figure 12.

Response token	Anaphoric pro-term	Modal verb in present tense	'I' in subject case	Modal particle that corresponds with modal verb
<i>jə.</i>	det that/it.N	<i>ve'</i> will.PRS	<i>jeg</i> I	<i>godt</i> good/well
<i>jaer.</i>	det that/it.N	<i>ska</i> shall/must.PRS	<i>jeg</i> I	<i>nok</i> enough
<i>ja,</i>	<i>det</i> that/it.N	<i>ka</i> can.PRS	<i>jeg</i> I	<i>godt</i> good/well

Figure 12: Format for complying and committing responses to requests for remote action

Even though a positive response token may be sufficient to do a positive response in some cases, it is not enough in this inter-unit syntactic slot, after a request for a remote action. Here, the response token is regularly followed by the modal construction shown in figure 12. The stress pattern is regular as well: The response token is stressed, either *det* or the modal verb is stressed and the modal particle is stressed. There is a fixed correspondance between the modal verb and the modal particle: *ve'* and *ka* go together with *godt* and *ska* goes together with *nok*.

Not all units occurring in second positions have such a fixed format as is the case with these responses. But there is a tendency across the practices we have investigated so far that actions in second position have quite fixed and predictable formats.

3.3 Third position

Following base adjacency pair sequences, there are often post-expansion sequences of varying length. These may contain receipts or reactions to the second action in the pair – sometimes not consisting of more than a *nå* ‘oh’ or *okay* – so called sequence closing thirds. However, in this position it is also possible to initiate longer post-expansion sequences instead of closing the sequence (see [Sequences](#)).

3.3.1 Third position in sequence: The case of proform questions

Extract 4 shows an instance of a well-described practice that takes this position. Data is from a conversation between three elderly ladies drinking coffee. A few minutes before the extract begins, one of the ladies – Anna – has left the table, and one of the students recording the conversation – Dina – has joined for a cup of coffee instead. Dina finishes her coffee, then chats with the other ladies for a while. The transcript begins just as Anna has reentered the frame and sat down.

```
(4) [AULing: Genbrugs1 (07:43)] "coffee" ((everyday, video))
01      (0.7) ⌘(.)
ann      -->⌘ turns gaze tw kitchen -->

02      ANN:  de:r da endnu ka:ffe?
           'there's DA still coffee?'

03      (.) ⌘(.)
ann      -->⌘ gaze tw DIN's cup, arm on chair -->

04      ANN:  s[ka du ikk-]
           shall you not-

05      DIN:  [m: jeg har] ⌘fået?
           but I have had (some)?
ann      -->⌘ gaze at DIN -->

06      ANN:  £har du de[tf_
           have.PRS you.SG that.N
           £have you£_

07      DIN:  [£ja:,£
           '£ye:s,£'

08      ANN:  [nå;
           oh;
           ⌘ gaze/body turns tw CEC, arm lifts...-->

09      DIN:  [mh:: >hmh.<
10      (0.6)
11      ANN:  Cecile ska du ikk ha mer kaffe;
           NAME shall you not have more coffee?
```

As Anna reenters, she gazes at the table, then turns her gaze towards the kitchen where the coffee pot is (line 1). Seemingly orienting to a lack of coffee in the cups on the table, she makes a pre-offer of more coffee (line 2), using the inapposite marker *da* to underline that the lack of coffee is an easily remedied problem. The offer is not directed at anyone specific, but in line 3, Anna orients her gaze towards Dina's cup and places an arm on her chair, thus selecting her as a potential recipient. Anna initiates an actual offer in line 4, but Dina, orienting to the selection of her, rejects the pre-offer by informing Anna that she has already had coffee. Anna reacts to this informing with a proform-question. In Danish, using proform-questions such as this one is a way of registering the previous informing as counter to the questioner's expectations and ask for a reconfirmation of it. Asking a proform-question can be used to challenge the informer and hold them accountable for the information they deliver, or to account for the proform questioner's own misconceptions or wrong assumptions. The latter use is at play here: as it turns out, Anna offers coffee to someone who didn't need it, and she does this after having been away from the table, unaware of what has happened while she was gone. We see Anna's orientation to the proform question as accounting in her smiling production of it – this is also picked up on by Dina, who laughs in line 09 as Anna produces a *nå*-receipt of a counter-to-expectation informing.

3.3.1.1 Process syntax

Let's first consider the inter-unit syntax at play. Anna produces a pre-offer (line 02), then selects Dina as a recipient through embodied action – this makes it relevant for Dina to accept or reject the offer, which she does in line 5. We thus have a full adjacency pair of (pre)offer-rejection. The next relevant action would be for Anna to react to the rejection in third position. Several of these possibilities have easily recognizable, sedimented formats. For example, Anna could receipt the rejection with an 'oh' or 'okay', thus accepting the information and closing the sequence, or she could open a slightly longer post-expansion sequence by receipting, but not accepting the informing with the proform-question 'have you'. Compared to the possibilities presented in section 3.1.2 on modal requests in first position, these possible next actions all have closed formats without room for much variation. However, we could also imagine more open, flexible formats as reactions in this particular third position, though they might be slightly more unlikely. For example, Anna could offer an account such as 'oh I hadn't noticed'. Finally, we could imagine new offers like 'don't you want another cup of coffee then', or other similarly open-formatted actions that might start longer post-expansion sequences. These possibilities are illustrated in figure 13.

Potential third-position reactions to rejection					
05	DIN:	[m: jeg h <u>ar</u>] ɱfæt?			
	ann	'but I have had (some)?'			
		-->ɱ gaze at DIN -->			
POTENTIAL NEXTS:	Sequence closing third	Proform-question	Account	New offer	Other

Figure 13: Potential third-position reactions to rejection

Anna's reaction begins before the rejection is even completed: At the production of the rejection's stressed *har* 'have', it is projectable what is underway, and Anna shifts her gaze from Dina's cup to Dina herself. Though this might signal that she will indeed react to the rejection, this embodied action in itself is not enough to project exactly what social action Anna will do next. The space of possibility will only begin to narrow down as the turn is actually produced.

With that, let us begin to consider the intra-unit projection in Anna's reaction turn. As the utterance starts with *har*, single-word receipts such as 'nå' or 'okay' are immediately excluded as what is potentially coming up. This is illustrated in figure 14.

Intra-unit syntax of line 6, part 1					
05	DIN:	[m: jeg h <u>ar</u>] ɱfæt?			
	ann	'but I have had (some)?'			
		-->ɱ gaze at DIN -->			
06	ANN:	ɛh <u>ar</u>			
		have.PRS			
POTENTIAL ONGOING ACTION	Sequence closing third	Proform-question	Account	New offer	Other

Figure 14: First step in reaction to rejection

The turn is verb-initial, which tells us a few things: unless this is a case of auditory repair by repetition of the trouble source, this turn is not finished, and we can project at least an upcoming subject. Furthermore, the turn will have interrogative syntax. This in itself does not single out any potential next among the relevant options. However, if we look closer at the actual verb, it might already be projecting the upcoming action. It is a copy of the auxiliary verb from the previous sentence – since we know this, as well as interrogative word order, to be a feature of proform questions (see next section), this particular format might be on the interactants’ radar already. Add to this that the verb is stressed. This is always the case for positively framed proform questions.

However, most new offers or accounts we could imagine beginning with *har* in this slot instead would most likely not carry stress this initial verb, but rather on another contrastive element in the turn. Possible examples include e.g. *har du også fået kage* ‘have you also had cake’ or *har du tænkt på om du vil have en (kop) mere så* ‘have you thought about whether you would like another cup then’. These points, as well as the fact that something counter-to-expectation has just happened that should be attended to, leaves an upcoming proform question as a highly likely next action. However, the format – or indeed the clause – is not complete without at least a subject.

Intra-unit syntax of line 6, part 2					
05	DIN:	[m: jeg <u>har</u>] ɹfået?			
	ann	'but I have had (some)?'			
		-->ɹ gaze at DIN -->			
06	ANN:	ɛ <u>har</u> du			
		have.PRS you.SG			
		'ɛhave youɛ_'			
POTENTIAL	Sequence-closing	Proform-ques-	Account	New offer	(Other)
ONGOING	third	tion			
ACTION					

Figure 15: Second step in reaction to rejection

As the subject conforms to the prosodic and lexico-syntactic structure of a proform-question, the minimal possible version of a proform question’s format is complete, and it continues to be a highly likely ongoing action, as illustrated in figure 15. In the example, we see Dina orient to this as she produces

the requested reconfirmation token in overlap with the final, optional *det* - this detail is repeated below in extract 4.1.:

(4.1) [AULing: Genbrugs1 (07:43)] "coffee" - detail ((everyday, video))
 06 ANN: ɛhɑr du de[tɛ_
 have.PRS you.SG that.N
 ɛhave youɛ_
 07 DIN: [ɛjɑ:, ɛ
 ɛye:s, ɛ

3.3.1.2 Product syntax

Proform-questions have a rather fixed format. They are partial repeats of the previous utterance, minimally repeating the verb, subject and negation (if relevant). The verb of the repeat is either an anaphorical copy of a previous modal or auxiliary verb, or the pro-verb *gøre* 'do'. The subject is pronominal. Furthermore, there are optional elements to the practice in the shape of turn-initial particles, e.g. *nå*, and a *det* 'that', which can stand in for everything in the previous utterance that is not the verb, subject or negation. While there are different intonation patterns, the stress pattern is relatively fixed – the verb is always stressed in positive proform-questions. Often it is also stressed in negative versions, although the negation often carries the primary stress. The subject is always unstressed. A number of examples from our data serve to illustrate the format features in figure 16 below.

	Uptake	Pro- or copy verb	Subject pro-noun	Possible negation	Optional <i>det</i> 'that.N'
(1)		e↑:r is	det:. that.N		
(2)	.hhh	*hɑr* have	i you.PL		de:t? that.N
(3)	nå oh	vɑr was	der there		det_ that.N
(4)		GØR does	DET it	IKK? not	

Figure 16: The intra-unit format of proform-questions

This practice has an embodied component that supports its sequentiality. This component consists of head, eye and/or eyebrow movements that begin right before or at the onset of the question, and are 'resolved' only as the requested reconfirmation is delivered. Apart from registering the informing, this

also embodies the delay of acceptance of the informing until the reconfirmation is given. In our, the beginning movement is seen in line 5, and the resolution is concurrent with the receipt token *nå* in line 8 - this detail is repeated below in example 4.2.

(4.2) [AULing: Genbrugs1 (07:43)] "coffee" - detail ((everyday, video))
 05 DIN: [m: jeg har] ʌfæt?
 but I have had (some)?
 ann -->ʌ gaze at DIN -->
 06 ANN: ɛhar du de[tf_]
 have.PRS you.SG that.N
 ɛhave youɛ_
 07 DIN: [ɛja:,ɛ
 ɛye:s,ɛ
 08 ANN: [ʌnå;
 oh;
 ʌ gaze/body turns tw CEC, arm lifts...-->

3.3.2 Okay as a receipt in third position

The instance of *okay* in third position below comes from an interaction between four women chatting and eating cake. Crystal has been looking for a new place to live, and at this point in the interaction, Ani has just asked Crystal (CRY) about an apartment Crystal has viewed. Crystal has been talking about the apartment, telling a few things and including that “it was really not very big” (immediately before the excerpt). She goes on to specify the size of the apartment in line 1. Our focus is on the inserted question–answer sequence launched by Ani in lines 5 and 7 and closed by *okay* in line 12.

(5) [AULing: KC] "one-bedroom" ((everyday, video))
 01 CRY: .hnh >de havde jo< sagt den var fyrre kvadratmeter;
 .hnh >they had PRT< said it was forty square meters;
 02 (0.3)
 03 CRY: men det var faktisk hele
 but that was actually all the
 04 CRY: underetag[en () (særlig) meget)]
 lower floor () (particularly much)
 05 ANI: [+å sâ var det +en] to[er;] ikko]ss,+=
 and then it was a "two"; right,=
 ani +.....+points down-----+
 06 BIA: [khrm:,]
 07 ANI: =&+en to+værelseslejl[ighe+]
 =a two-bedroom apartment
 08 CRY: [m-&]
 ((negative mm))
 ani +.....+full hand gesture-+
 cry &chews-----&
 cry ɛshakes head-->
 09 (0.2)ɛ
 cry -->ɛ
 10 CRY: =etværel[+ses.=

11 BIA: =one-bedroom.=
 ani [+°khrm°
 +nods once-->

12 ANI: = okay;+
 ani -->+

13 (0.2)

14 BIA: °nå:, °=
 °oh:, °

15 DIA: =mm↓hm_

16 CRY: å det vil sige det sted hvor stuen der var
 and that is to say the place where the living room was

In line 1-4, Crystal is telling about the apartment. Then Ani initiates a sequence in line 5, formulated as a statement about Crystal's situation, and presents it as a next part in Crystal's account: 'and then it was a "two" (colloquial for a two-bedroom apartment); right, '. In line 7, she adds a more elaborate version: 'a two-bedroom apartment', with an accompanying gesture. This amounts to a request for confirmation. Ani does not finish the word *lejlighed* ('apartment'), because Crystal starts shaking her head once Ani has completed *to-værelses* 'two-bedroom'. Then Crystal answers Ani's request for confirmation with a negative 'mm' (i.e. a cut-off *m-* in line 8), and follows up with the correct description of the apartment, 'one-bedroom', in line 10. Thus, Ani's incorrect formulation was rejected, and this rejection is receipted in line 12 with okay, which indicates her revised understanding. Note that the okay line 12 has stress on its first syllable and falling pitch toward being slightly louder and longer than the second. After Ani's okay, the two other participants also display that they have been informed, Bia with the change-of-state token °nå:° and Diana (DIA) with an acknowledging *mm↓hm_* (lines 14 and 15). After this, Crystal returns to her telling about the apartment, which was abandoned in line 4.

3.3.2.1 Inter-unit syntax

Receipts in third position are tied closely to this position, and many of them have a simple form: one word constructions. Any answer to some question (or other first position action) opens the opportunity for a sequence closing third, such as a receipt. The alternative is that the questioner pursues further information or otherwise displays insufficiency of the answer. It may be worth noting that receipts (or anything in third position) are not always produced. But by closing the sequence, a receipt can let the interactional trajectory continue (if the specific answer or question makes more activity relevant). In the case above, the *okay* closes the sequence, which was inserted into a telling about an apartment, and thereby the *okay* makes it relevant to return to the telling, which is what Crystal does in line 16, because the projected course of such a telling is more telling. The *okay* in question has

falling pitch, which is in contrast to *okay* with rising pitch, which indicates unresolved matters in this position, and that there is more to do before the answer is fully sufficient.

3.3.2.2. *Intra-unit syntax*

The format in the intra-unit syntax is a one-word construction, consisting of an interjection. This is very expected in this position, and that type of word can also be freestanding and do not need to project more (but they can also be turn-initial). Projection can also be indicated phonetically or prosodically during the production of the word.

3.4 Actions in non-specific sequential positions

Some actions may occur anywhere in interactions. Such actions are not limited to a specific sequential slot. Here, we shall look at two such actions: Storytelling, which may be initiated through a number of different sequential trajectories and other-initiated repair, which can occur in all sequential positions.

3.4.1 The syntax of storytelling

In everyday conversation, participants routinely produce turns consisting of more than one turn-construction unit – i.e., multi-unit turns. Stories are one example of multi-unit turns, other multi-unit turns could be jokes, instructions, complaints, news updates etc.

Multi-unit turns require that the co-participants position themselves as recipients and generally allow for the speaker to produce a longer turn. For them to do so requires that a multi-unit turn is recognizable as such early in its production as co-participants – unlike the analyst – do not have the luxury of waiting until the end in recognizing a story as such. Importantly, their participation is required during its production.

In the following, we will provide examples of how multi-unit turns are constructed from both an inter- and intra-unit syntactic perspective. For our inter-unit syntactic analysis, we will focus on how a story is introduced and established as a common project by the interactants. Conversely, our intra-unit analysis will focus on the bit by bit production of a story and the local trajectories projected by its linguistic packaging.

Our observations are built on an analysis of a larger set of data, but for the current purposes, we will use extracts 6 and 7 below as a point of departure. They are both taken from a conversation between two women in their late teens (Astrid and Britt).

3.3.1.1 The inter-unit syntax of storytelling

In our first example, Astrid (A) produces a multi-unit turn in the form of what can be considered a story. Our focus will be on how this multi-unit turn is initiated and how it, early in its production, is recognizable as the beginning of a longer turn at talk as opposed to a single utterance. It is worth noting that some stories emerge incrementally as stories, but for our current purposes we will focus on stories that are designed and recognized as such from their onset.

```
(6) [AULing | Sofasladder | 13:28] "before right" ((everyday, video))
01  *A:  Δnåja du borΔ derinde.
      oh yes you live down there
      a   Δpoints      Δ

02      (0.4)

03  ?*:  ·mt

04  *B:  [dehe he he he      ]
05  *A:  [Δdet fandme +snYd?Δ]      +
      that's bloody unfair
      a   Δgazes at B      Δlooks down--->
      b   +rh to mouth+

06      Δ(0.2)Δ
      a   Δ.....Δpoints at B--->

07  *A:  ↑førΔ Δ↓ikk åΔ der havde jeg altid ↓været ↑sn_
      before, right, I had always been like
      a   -->Δ
      a   ---->Δgazes Δ
           at B
```

In line 1, Astrid makes a noticing. Something in Britt's (B's) previous talk has reminded Astrid that Britt is living in the city having moved out of her parents' house. This makes Britt's moving away from home tellable.

This is not picked up by Britt herself who, rather, chuckles in line 4. In overlap with Britt's chuckling, Astrid produces an assessment of Britt's situation: *det fandme snYd?* ('that's bloody unfair'). Assessments like this are routinely used the beginning of stories to project an upcoming conclusion to the story (in this case, Britt being in an unfairly advantageous position).

Obviously, an assessment does not always project an upcoming story. Depending on the nature of what is being assessed, an assessment might receive a second assessment, agreement or disagreement as a response. However, the assessment in extract 6 is not oriented to by the participants as requiring either of those types of responses.

Here, Britt repositions herself by moving her right hand towards her mouth in overlap with *snYd*. In this way, she takes up a position as listener (her hand covering her mouth being a clear indication that she is currently not going to take the floor). Response is not mobilized by Astrid either as she looks down at the end of line 5 indicating more to come.

This “more to come” continues in line 7, in which Astrid begins what will become her story proper. This is done by grounding the story in time with $\uparrow f\ddot{o}r \downarrow ikk\ddot{a}$ (‘before IKKÅ’). The particle *ikkå* and variants thereof is often used for grounding referents in everyday spoken Danish. The *før* projects an upcoming *nu* (‘now’), *i dag* (‘today’) or similar. In this way, a larger turn at talk is projected.

Based on the observations above, the initiation of this multi-unit turn can be summarized in the following steps:

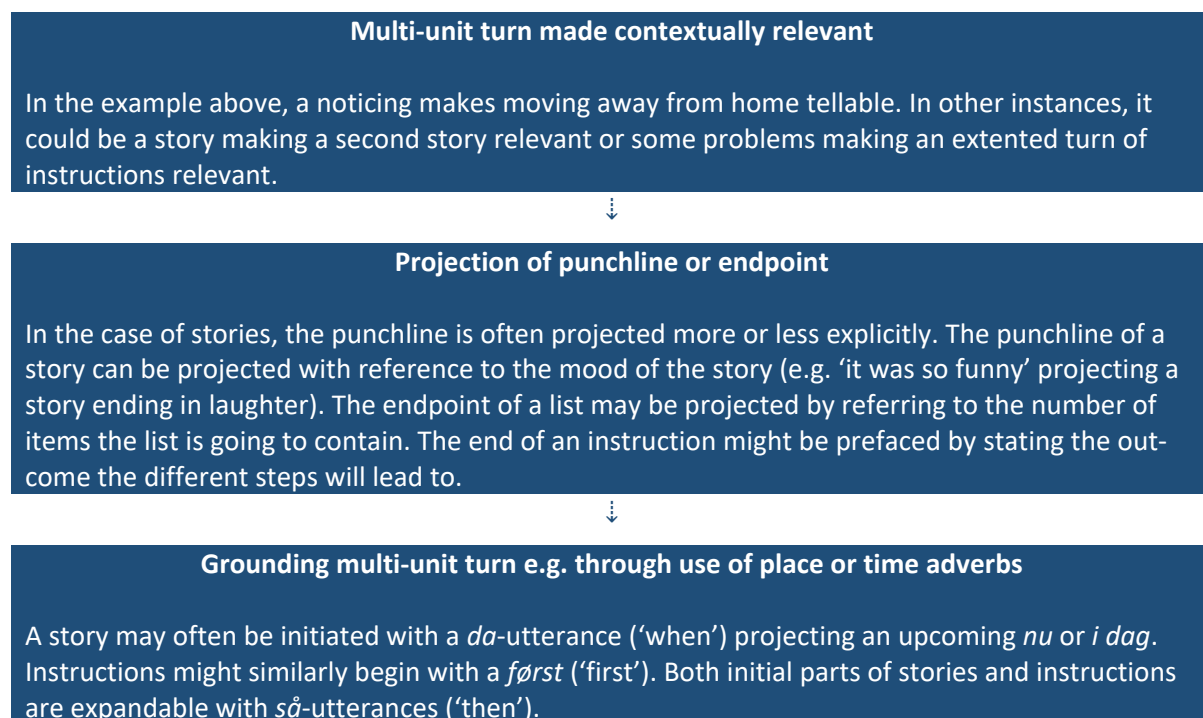


Figure 17: Inter-unit syntax of storytelling

From the inter-unit perspective provided in the table above, we can see how beginning a multi-unit turn involves several sequential steps. Larger projects take some work to set up, and – as exemplified by extract 6 – also requires for the co-participants to align with them. From having examined how a story is initiated from an inter-unit syntactic perspective, we will now turn to its intra-unit syntax as it emerges word-for-word.

3.4.1.2 The intra-unit syntax of storytelling

Extract 7 starts during a storytelling by Britt. Line 1 comes after a 1.7 seconds pause during which Astrid has nodded. Here, a likely next move is a continuation of the story.

(7) [AULing | sofasladder | 31:01] "fucking lie" ((everyday, video))

01 *B: så jeg gad jo ikk ligne noget d*er var* (.) altså
 so I wanted.to PRT not look.like something that was (.) well
 (0.2)

02 *B: °var° fucking l(h)øgn [e he he
was fucking lie ((=bad))

03 *A: [ne̞j:he he
No

04 (0.4)

05 *B: så-
so-

06 (0.8)

07 *B: mig å luna vi sku ud å finde en ↑kjole å sånoget
me and Luna we should ((go)) out to find a dress and such

Britt starts a turn in line 1 by uttering *så* ('so, then'). At this point (after the *så*), it may project action-wise that Britt does not obviously do something else than continue her story. Since *så* is not a free-standing format by itself, it projects more talk. *Så* is able to be the first element of many structures, and it may create a turn together with elements such as response tokens (*så ja*), clauses (*så det er [...]* 'so it's', *så er det [...]* 'then it's) and potentially others. In this context, however, it is not clear what a response token would respond to, and since a likely next move is story continuation, which is a common multi-unit element, then the most likely choice is that there will be several words together creating what we would commonly call a clause or sentence.

And with the next word *jeg* ('I'), Britt confirms that the turn continues past *så*. The *jeg* also projects more, as it specifies the actor of some state-of-affairs that has not been introduced in the preceding turn or general context. On the action level, this unit begins to look more like a continuation of the story as Britt – i.e., the person *jeg* is referring to – is a regular actor in this story.

At this point, though, it is not clear just where Britt's story is heading. It could simply be a continuation of the already ongoing story, but the story could also be nearing its climax or take a more affective turn. For Astrid, this has implications for how she will (be expected to) participate in the production of the story. Since this unit is still early its production (cf. for the intra-unit analysis), the trajectory of the story is not clearly projected yet. But within the next couple of words, Astrid may be able to narrow down the potential trajectories of the story and to time an appropriate response accordingly.

The next word *gad* ('want, bother') specifies a state-of-affairs, but is itself likely to be followed by further specification of the state-of-affairs in the form of a main verb to the utterance. It is also likely to (but absolutely not required to) have a negation, and has a slightly assessing property, especially if such negation is present. This affects what action is made relevant next. After the *jo*, Britt does deliver such a negation. A *jo* in this position typically implies shared knowledge or stance.

A further specification of the state-of-affairs comes with the main verb *ligne* ('look like'), which projects the specification of something to look like. The next word *noget* ('something') could do that

– i.e., fill most word-specific projections and finish the turn – however, it is very unspecific to the point that it is not really specifying, and it is therefore likely to be followed by further modifiers. Action-wise, *noget* also does not fit with the assessing activity done or projected with *gad...ikk*.

At this point, though, Astrid may already begin to recognize the expression *ligne noget der er løgn* ('look like something that is (a) lie' – i.e., to look awful), and the following *der* ('that') only adds to this hypothesis while also projecting more. The expression *at ligne noget der er løgn* is a set phrase in Danish which again enhances the predictability of the utterance. At *der*, Astrid begins to smile as well. But in terms of action, Britt is doing a story-telling part that seems to add an assessment of her looks which could make agreement from Astrid relevant.

Astrid's choice of format may have to take into account Britt's use of a negation and/or the specific lexical choices. Agreement can be made with an equal or upgraded assessment (which would depend on the assessment term which has not been produced yet) or a matching response token (i.e., *nej* 'no' due to the *ikk* 'not').

The next word *var* ('was'), in line 2, satisfies the need for a state-of-affairs, but still makes more talk relevant in the of some descriptive or assessing term. Action-wise, it also fits the assessment format by being a "X is [assessment term]"-formulation, but in past tense as appropriate for the story setting. The next word *fucking* is usually used to modify another term, and thus projects more talk. However, it is a very affectively loaded term and thus feeds the assessment interpretation. The word *løgn* then fulfills the constructional expectations by adding the final element to the recognizable idiom *ligne noget der er løgn*.

While Britt appends some laughter syllables (further adding to or specifying the assessing properties), Astrid responds with a *nej*, confirming and thus agreeing with Britt's assessment, and appropriately – due to the perfect timing of her response – also laughs afterwards in overlap with Britt's laughter.

After a brief pause, Britt then continues her storytelling. This confirms the appropriateness of Astrid's response.

3.4.1.3 Main findings on the syntax of storytelling

From extract 6 above, we have seen how the action of telling a story is initiated at the inter-unit level. While telling a story is an action in its own right, it also consists of several micro-actions. These are smaller chunks of talk that invite the co-participant to do something in order to advance the telling of the story. In the case of extract 7, we see Britt producing an utterance that is clearly evaluative. Both through her choice of words and packaging with laughter tokens, she invites Astrid to share this evaluative stance. Astrid does this both non-verbally through smiling and verbally in line 3. However, this

action carried out by Britt is a unit of talk, but it is not itself the final unit of the story. Rather, it is one unit of several, making up the story. Astrid's recognition of this unit is part of the advancement of the story that unit-by-unit leads to its completion. In this way, our intra-unit analysis helps show how one single unit is constructed and oriented to by the co-participants. It is, however, difficult to boil stories down to a single format like in the previous sections. Stories are, by their nature, more open in terms of how they are constructed. This is unlike, for instance, proform questions which are very fixed in terms of their construction. In a similar way, during stories and other multi-unit turns the co-participants play a significant role with regards to the production and they are in this way a clearly interactional achievement that is not as easily condensed.

3.4.2 Other-initiated repair

Other-initiated repair is an omni-relevant action in a different sense: It can, literally, occur everywhere. Every just-produced action can be turned into a trouble-source if an interactant chooses to initiate repair on it. The most frequent type of other-initiated repair is other-initiated self-repair, that is, utterances that point out a trouble in a prior utterance/action but leaves it up to the producer (the "self") to solve the problem.

When it comes to other-initiated *self*-repair, there are specific, and, therefore recognizable, formats for doing this action:

- Open class repair words: *hvar, hvad, ...*
- Question words (fitted to the utterance they seek to repair)
- Repeats
- Certain proform-based interrogative formats
- Candidate understandings

There is evidence that prosody is crucial for recognizing these formats *as* repair initiation. For Danish, we know that repetitions of entire utterances or parts of them can be treated as repair initiation with certain pitch contours and as confirmations with other contours. We will here focus on open class repair initiation.

In extract 8, the participants, Anna (Ann), Britta (Bri) and Cecilie, have just sat down to be recorded. They are sitting at a table, on which there are several cakes and buns and coffee. Britta comments on the abundance of servings in line 1.

```
(8) [AULing: GenbrugsStart2:2:36] "starve today " ((video, everyday))
01 Bri: +&de:t altså ikk meningen vi ska sulte& idhag.h
      it's not the intention that we should starve to
      bri +looks tow. Ann-->>
      ann &looks down and then to her right----&looks tow. Bri-->
```

02 (0.7)

03 Ann: *hvar*,
huh,
ann ->&leans forward tow. Bri, still looking tow. Bri-->

04 (0.3)

05 Bri: *ej vi sk' ikk sidde& å sulte her&(u[de)*
(No) we should not sit and starve (out) here

06 Ann: [NE::J?
No::?
Ann -->& &looks to her r.-->>

After Britta’s initial comment, there is a silence of 0.7 seconds, during which Ann is looking at Britta. In line 3, Ann then says *hvar*, which seems to correspond to the English *huh*, that is, it is designed to initiate repair, indicating that the speaker has *some* problem with the previous utterance, without indicating precisely what the problem is – it is an “open class” repair. Upon hearing this, Britta repeats the contents of her utterance in line 5, but with a different wording, and Ann then responds to the comment, and by doing that, she demonstrates that it is now no longer a trouble-source, the repair has been successful.

In terms of *inter-unit* syntax, the pattern is as shown in figure 18.

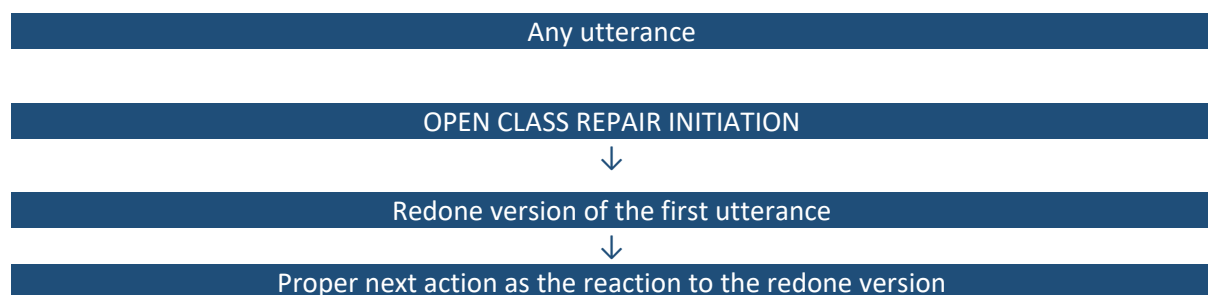


Figure 18: Inter-unit syntax for successful open class repair.

The fact that repair can occur anywhere means that at the outset of the production of a repair format (the *intra-unit* syntax), a recipient cannot know that a repair is about to be produced. There may be hints, such as the fact that a response to the first utterance is delayed or the prospective repair producer looks baffled, but repair can also occur without such signs.

In this case, the repair initiator, Ann, is looking towards Britta, but it is not until the middle of her production of the repair initiator *hvar* in line 3 that she gives an embodied demonstration of her problem. She leans forward, perhaps indicating that she needs to get closer to hear.

The most used formats for doing open class repair initiation in Danish talk-in-interaction are:

- *hvar* ‘huh’,

- *hvad* [ʊæð] ‘what’ (or a more “marked” version of *hvar*)
- *hva for noget* [ˈʊæfɛnɔːð], lit. ‘what for something’
- *hva siger du* [ʊæˈsiːɛdu], lit. ‘what say you.SG’ or ‘what are you saying’

Only *hvad* is immediately recognizable as a repair word, designed to stand alone and initiate repair. The other formats are ambiguous at the outset: The format used here, *hvar*, is homophonous with ‘be.PST’, *var*, so, on occurrence, line 3 could be the beginning of a yes/no-interrogative unit. The question word *hva* [ʊæ] ‘what’ can also be used to initiate information seeking questions, so more of the unit needs to be said before it can be heard that an open class repair initiation is being produced. This may mean that embodied displays of, for instance hearing problems, as we saw it in extract 8, are used more consistently with these repair formats.

4. Conclusion

In our account of the syntax of Danish talk-in-interaction, we have shown that:

- The sequential position of a unit has consequences for which actions can be carried out and which formats can be used.
- The production and reception of units in talk-in-interaction happens bit by bit, in what we have termed the process syntax.
- Sedimented formats, or what we have called the product syntax, make it possible to project what can come next.
- The projection between units (inter-unit syntax) and inside units (intra-unit syntax) show similarities.
- Danish talk-in-interaction is an “early projection” language, which means that the array of possible next steps is quickly narrowed down in the intra-unit syntax.
- The described formats have recognizable prosodic features. The description of these features must be a part of the syntax.
- Some of the described formats have regular embodied actions accompanying and supporting them. Such features must be a part of the syntax.

This syntax only deals with formats that have been investigated. The final syntax will include many more formats. We aim to expand the scope as we investigate more formats, but we will try to organize it as we have done here, in accordance with the inter-turn syntax, that is, ordered after where a social action format occurs in a sequence of actions.

Further reading

Auer (2005) argues that the processes of what we have called inter-unit syntax and intra-unit syntax are similar. The data are from German talk-in-interaction.

Garly (2016) investigates Danish open class repair initiations.

Heinemann (2017) investigates the use of *nå* 'oh' as a change-of-state token in Danish talk-in-interaction.

Hepburn & Bolden (2013) provides conventions for making conversation analytic transcriptions.

Mondada (2019) is a guide to making multimodal transcriptions.

Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974) describes turn-taking and how projection works in turn construction. The data are from (American) English talk-in-interaction.

Schegloff (2007) is a thorough presentation of sequence organization, which in our presentation forms the basis of our inter-unit syntax. The data are from (American) English talk-in-interaction.

Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks (1977) is the basic presentation of repair in talk-in-interaction. The data are from (American) English talk-in-interaction.

Steensig & Heinemann (2014) describes modal formats for responding to requests for remote actions in Danish talk-in-interaction.

Sørensen & Steensig (2021) compares the use of *okay* with falling and with rising intonation in third position in Danish talk-in-interaction.