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Towards a dialogic construction grammar: *Ad hoc* routines and resonance activation

Abstract: In this paper, we take a Construction Grammar approach to Du Bois' concept of resonance activation. We suggest that the structural mapping relations between juxtaposed utterances in discourse, described in terms of diagraphs in dialogic syntax, can acquire the status of *ad hoc constructions* or locally entrenched form-meaning pairings within the boundaries of an ongoing conversation. We argue that the local emergence of these ad hoc constructions involves the same cognitive mechanism described for the abstraction of conventional grammatical constructions from usage patterns. Accordingly, we propose to broaden the scope of Construction Grammar to include not only symbolic units that are conventionalized in a larger speech community, but also a dimension of *online* syntax, i.e. the emergence of grammatical patterns at the micro-level of a single conversation. Drawing on dialogic data from political talk shows and parliamentary debates, we illustrate the spectrum of these ad hoc constructional routines and show their local productivity, which we take as an indication of their (micro-)entrenchment within a given conversation.

Keywords: dialogic syntax, Construction Grammar, the usage-based model, local routines, ad hoc constructions, micro-entrenchment

1 Introduction

Dialogic syntax presents a novel approach to grammar within cognitive-functional linguistics because of its focus on online syntax in dialogic language use and the implications of a dialogic approach for grammatical theorizing. Rather than

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taking the complex internal structure of individual symbols (from morphemes over lexical items to abstract constructions) and their combinatorial constraints as the focus of grammatical analysis, dialogic syntax gives centre stage to structural relations *between* pairs of utterances and the potential of these relations for interpersonal engagement. In doing so, dialogic syntax bears similarities to a number of current developments in linguistics (including cognitive-functional approaches) that renounce the traditional view of grammar associated with generative linguistics: "dialogic syntax has developed out of a cognitive-functional perspective on grammar (Du Bois 2003, 2014) combined with an orientation to the role of language in social interaction (Du Bois 2007)" (this issue).

As Du Bois' paper is generally concerned with laying out the foundations of a theory of dialogic syntax, however, he does not enter at length into the issue of how and to what extent the theory is compatible with the above-mentioned new grammatical concepts (except for the issue of priming in relation to resonance). In order for dialogic syntax to gain further ground in the (cognitive) linguistic community, its position vis-à-vis some of the ongoing theoretical developments may be explored more fully. In the present paper, we take one of the main branches of cognitive linguistics, viz. Construction Grammar, as a basis for a more systematic inquiry into the position of dialogic syntax in the field of linguistics and more generally in cognitive science. More specifically, we suggest that the type of structural mapping relations between juxtaposed utterances as described in dialogic syntax, can acquire the status of *ad hoc constructions* or locally entrenched form-meaning pairings within the boundaries of an ongoing interaction.

Example (1), taken from Du Bois' position paper (this issue), displays a structural parallelism between the two consecutive turns through the use of the phrase *he's still*. The repetition of the formula by the second speaker, with the verbal *walking around* replacing the adjective *healthy*, triggers a context-specific interpretation (with *walking around* not implying that one is *healthy*). Formulas such as *he's still* in (1) typically function as structural templates within an ongoing interaction, with varying degrees of lexical fixedness and variability. We argue that Construction Grammar (henceforth CxG) can naturally account for such phenomena as it views language essentially as a taxonomically organized repertoire of patterns, from abstract to (semi-)fixed and spanning the different dimensions of linguistic organization. The idea that grammar consists of "intricate networks of overlapping and complementary patterns that serve as 'blueprints' for encoding and decoding linguistic expressions of all types" (www.constructiongrammar. org) is adequate for the description of local routines at the micro-level of an ongoing discourse sequence exactly because it allows for idiosyncrasies and (creative) extensions.

(1) JOANNE: yet he's still healthy
                he reminds me [of my brother]
       LENORE: [He's still walking] around
                I don't know how healthy he is
(Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, Appease the Monster, Part I)

In accounting for resonance in dialogic syntax in terms of ad hoc construc-
tions in CxG, we aim to broaden the scope of the latter framework to include not
only conventionalized symbolic units that are part of a larger speech community,
but also a dimension of *online* syntax, i.e. the emergence of grammatical patterns
at the micro-level of a single discourse sequence. Simultaneously, from the per-
spective of dialogic syntax, the incorporation of insights from other cognitive
frameworks may generate specific hypotheses on the cognitive reality, processing
and representation of structural coupling in interactional discourse. The main
arguments presented in this paper are:

1. Speakers in an ongoing interaction jointly set up local constructional rou-
    tines with varying degrees of flexibility and fixedness. These ad hoc construc-
    tions at the same time produce a strong effect of structural parallelism
    (coherence) and allow for (creative) lexical-semantic variation between
    speakers.
2. The processes involved in setting up these ad hoc constructions are compara-
    ble to the mechanisms described for the abstraction of conventional gram-
    matical constructions from usage patterns in CxG.
3. Ad hoc constructions are different from the form-meaning pairings tradition-
    ally described in CxG only in the scope and impact of the process. Whereas
    CxG focuses on community-wide conventionalizations, ad hoc constructions
    are temporary routines set up as part of a conceptual pact between speakers
    in an ongoing interaction.

The paper is structured as follows. We start with a positioning of dialogic
syntax in the broader field of usage-based theories in linguistics (Section 2). We
sketch a turn in cognitive linguistics towards the analysis of actual usage data
and the resulting interaction with other usage-oriented traditions such as conver-
sation analysis. In the following section, we describe how the notions of parallel-
ism and resonance in dialogic syntax are – at least partly – compatible with work
in (discourse) psychology on conceptual pacts or shared conceptualization (Clark
and colleagues) (Section 3.1) and local routinization processes in ongoing interac-
tions (as part of Pickering and Garrod's interactive alignment theory) (Section
3.2). The main argument of this paper, viz. that dialogic syntax and Construction
Grammar can fruitfully interact in studying online syntax, is laid out in Section 4.

First, we briefly sketch the basic assumptions of Construction Grammar (Section 4.1). We specifically focus on the recent application of Construction Grammar to spoken language phenomena and the (potential) synergies between Construction Grammar and Conversation Analysis. We then present an argument in favour of an extension of this application to include a dimension of online syntax and local routinization (Section 4.2). More specifically, we argue that speakers set up *ad hoc constructions* at the micro-level of an ongoing interaction. In the empirical section of the paper, we illustrate how these ad hoc constructions emerge in dialogue, at which linguistic levels the phenomenon can be identified and which communicative purposes it may serve (Section 5.1). We argue that through persistent use in the ongoing interaction, these local constructional routines acquire a degree of micro-entrenchment (Section 5.2) and contribute to the establishment of a local constructicon (Section 5.3). We close off with some concluding remarks on the theoretical repercussions of a *dialogic Construction Grammar*, or the integration of dialogic syntax and Construction Grammar (Section 6).

2 Dialogic syntax and usage-based linguistics

Although the framework of dialogic syntax does not explicitly subscribe to one theoretical tradition in linguistics, it does adopt a number of assumptions that are typically associated with cognitive-functional linguistics. This particularly holds for the central tenet that language structure emerges from language use or the assumption of a *usage-based linguistics* (Langacker 1987, 1988; Goldberg 1995, 2006; Tomasello 1998, 2003; Barlow and Kemmer 2000; Taylor 2002; Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007; and many others). The usage-based hypothesis in fact functions as the main epistemological basis that is shared by the various theories that constitute the cognitive-functional family in linguistics. Tomasello (2003: 5) defines this basic philosophy as follows:

> Usage-based theories hold that the essence of language is its symbolic dimension, with grammar being derivative. The ability to communicate with conspecifics symbolically (conventionally, intersubjectively) is a species-specific biological adaptation. But, in contrast to generative grammar and other formal approaches, in usage-based approaches the grammatical dimension of language is a product of a set of historical and ontogenetic processes referred to collectively as *grammaticalization*. When human beings use symbols to communicate with one another, stringing them into sequences, patterns of use emerge and become consolidated into grammatical constructions [. . .]. As opposed to conceiving linguistic rules as algebraic procedures for combining words and morphemes that do not themselves contribute to meaning, this approach conceives linguistic constructions as themselves meaningful linguistic symbols – since they are nothing other than the patterns in which meaningful linguistic symbols are used in communication.

The usage-based postulate entails a *recontextualizing approach* to linguistics (Geeraerts 2006: 27), in comparison and contrast to formalist and generativist traditions. As language structure, according to the hypothesis, emerges from language use, and language use applies and extends the available repertoire of grammatical constructions, the object of linguistic investigation can no longer be restricted to the context-free, invented examples traditionally associated with grammatical analysis. Rather, the study of linguistic structure should be based on *contextualized instances of language use, fully invested with meaning*. In recent years, cognitive and functional linguists subscribing to a usage-based perspective have increasingly adopted a strongly empirical perspective: the discursive grounding and function is considered central to the analysis at all levels of linguistic organization. In doing so, it takes a step towards bridging the traditional gap between a cognitive science perspective, which has largely ignored the discursive-interactional dimension, and fields concerned with the study of (interactional) discourse, which often avoid strong statements on cognitive processing and production issues (cf. also Barlow and Kemmer 2000: xvii; Deppermann 2002).

The studies that fit in with the recent development of a usage-oriented cognitive-functional linguistics focus on the *in vivo* (Nerlich and Clarke 2001, 2003) or *online* (Coulson 2000, 2006; Fauconnier and Turner 2002; Brône and Coulson 2010) character of meaning construction in language, and aim to gain further insights into the interaction of language structure and dynamically evolving discourse. This broadening of the traditional cognitive linguistic focus to include a larger discourse perspective (Langacker 2001, 2008; Steen 2005; Brône and Zima, forthcoming) yields a dynamics in two ways. On the one hand, cognitive linguists are drawing attention to the active process of meaning construction in longer stretches of discourse, which is apparent in cognitive linguistic studies on discourse coherence, the dynamic construction of discourse representations, perspectivity and polyphony in different text types, and other discourse related topics (Langacker 2001; Zwaan 2004; Chilton 2005; Coulson 2005; Kihara 2005; Dancygier 2005; Vandelanotte 2009; Brône 2008, 2010; Langlotz, forthcoming, among others.). On the other hand, there is a growing consensus that the prototypically interactive nature of language use as a negotiation process between two or more participants needs to be treated as an inherent part of a usage-based cognitive language theory (Chafe 1994; Clark 1996; Langacker 2001, 2008; Deppermann 2002; Du Bois 2007; Verhagen 2005; Brône and Oben 2013; Zima, 2013, Brône and Zima, forthcoming).

With its focus on the online and interactive nature of grammatical structuring, dialogic syntax may play a significant role in bridging the gap between usage-based cognitive linguistics and interactional linguistics (including conversation analysis). As cognitive linguists increasingly draw on discourse data (both

written and spoken) as a basis for linguistic theorizing, scholars working in interactional linguistics make a strong plea in favour of an incorporation of proven (grammatical) concepts in conversation-analytical work so as to achieve an adequate *grammar of spoken language* (Deppermann 2007; Biber et al. 2003; Auer 2006; Auer and Pfänder 2011; Günther 2011; Imo 2011). This appeal for a stronger theoretical modelling of interactional language use is grounded in the observation that spoken language is to a large extent shaped by routines with a specific semantic-pragmatic value, which can not be simply attributed to a rule-based combination of atomic syntactic units. For a linguistic explanation of this highly prominent process of routine building, the above-mentioned usage-based linguistic models provide a promising starting point, since they account for grammatical structures in terms of a result of a *bottom-up* process of schematization or construction building on the basis of recurrent patterns in specific linguistic usage events (Langacker 1987; Goldberg 1995, 2006). Hence, at least some branches of cognitive and interactional linguistics share the basic assumption that a linguistic system is to a large extent idiomatic and usage-based.

The common ground between the two traditions has recently led to a number of joint research avenues. First, there is a growing body of research that aims to uncover the repertoire of specific grammatical routines for spoken language. If grammar emerges on the basis of recurrent patterns in fully contextualized language use, then these usage patterns may be tied to different usage contexts (e.g. spoken vs. written). Both conversation analysts and cognitive linguists are increasingly drawing on Construction Grammar to account for spoken language phenomena, including pragmatic particles (Fried and Östman 2005; Fischer 2006; Deppermann 2009; Imo 2009; Schoonjans et al., in press), discourse patterns (Östman 2005), infinitive constructions (Deppermann 2006, 2007) and many more. Second, there is a growing interest in the relation between interpersonal engagement and grammatical choice (Clark 1996; Verhagen 2005; Pickering and Garrod 2004, 2006; Du Bois 2007; Langacker 2001, 2008; Auer 2007). For the purpose of the present paper, we will mainly focus on the latter development, which has been argued for most forcefully in the paradigm of 'dialogic syntax'.

3 Dialogic syntax and distributed cognition

3.1 Conceptual pacts in dialogue

The effect of dialogic syntax is claimed to be most clear when discourse participants array their utterances parallel to an immediately co-present utterance of a

dialogic partner. Through the relationship between a conversational turn and a preceding utterance, a complex coherent structure arises across two or more discourse units. An example of cross-turn parallelism was given in (1) above, discussed in more detail in Du Bois (this issue). The parallelism in this example is structural rather than purely lexical. The dialogic juxtaposition of *he's still healthy* and *he's still walking around* renders the adjectival *healthy* and the verbal *walking around* categorically equivalent, which out of context is not the case. Out of context, *walking around* and *healthy* do not seem to be semantically related, but in the context of the ongoing interaction "the dialogic framing invites an analogical interpretation of healthy and walking around as two distinct values along an ad hoc scale of health" (this issue). The example in (1) illustrates that in dialogic contexts, grammatical framing (or the use of constructional patterns) may guide the semantic framing of successive turns and contributes to the expression of intersubjective stance (Du Bois 2007).

Dialogic syntax assumes that the use or reuse of an interlocutor's linguistic resources is not simply a matter of mimicking the other, but rather about interpersonal engagement and coordination between and through utterances. Through structural parallelisms, speakers activate *resonance*, which is defined in dialogic syntax as "the catalytic activation of affinities across utterances" (Du Bois, this issue). Resonance, in other words, is to be considered as an effect of formally arraying words parallel to each other: formal engagement enhances intersubjective engagement and cognitive coordination between speakers (Verhagen 2005, 2007). Speakers who activate resonance achieve intersubjective engagement, which can range from full agreement to strong pragmatic differential, as will become apparent in Section 5.

The focus on the coordination processes involved in setting up interactive discourse is reminiscent of a line of research in psychology that focuses on conceptual coordination processes in distributed cognition (Brennan and Clark 1996; Clark and Schaefer 1989; Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; Schober and Clark 1989). Clark and colleagues provide an account of the phenomenon of *lexical entrainment*, i.e. the tendency of participants in conversation to use the same linguistic means to refer to the same objects, states or events. Rather than assuming that this choice is primarily determined by ahistorical factors such as informativeness, availability or perceptual salience, they argue for an account that revolves around conceptual coordination. An account based on informativeness would assume that co-participants determine their expression irrespective of the ongoing (previous) discourse sequence (and each other), but on the basis of conciseness and efficiency (following Grice's 1975 maxim of quantity). For instance, when referring to a red car that is standing next to a van, a truck and a bicycle, speakers would tend not to use a label like *vehicle*, which is not informative

enough for referential purposes (distinguishing one vehicle from the other), or *red car*, which is too informative in the given situation. Rather, they should opt for the informatively most efficient and concise *car*. Informativeness may compete with other ahistorical principles such as (lexical) availability and perceptual salience. First, basic level categories (*dog* as opposed to *animal* and *bulldog*) are more readily available, independent of their degree of contextual informativeness. A second factor that may override informativeness is perceptual salience. Brennan and Clark (1996: 1482) refer to a series of studies which show that speakers may highlight perceptually salient information (e.g. *bright red car*, *fat black bulldog*) even if this generates overinformativeness.

Instead of approaching the phenomenon of conceptualization and linguistic choice from the perspective of the ahistorical principles mentioned above, Clark and colleagues adopt a strong interactional approach that takes partner-specific conceptualizations or *shared conceptualizations* as a driving force in dialogue. In other words, reference is argued to be designed to a large extent with regard to the past interaction with co-participants. The starting point for this line of reasoning is the observation that out of context, there is still a high degree of variability in linguistic construal of events or objects, despite the range of ahistorical principles. For instance, an experimental study by Furnas et al. (1987, cited in Brennan and Clark 1996: 1483) shows that when test subjects are asked to name a specific action (e.g. a computer command), the likelihood of two subjects using the same linguistic construal is only about 7–18%. In other words, ahistorical principles alone cannot explain the high degree of lexical entrainment typical of dialogue.

In a series of experiments, Brennan and Clark (1996) show that lexical choices indeed reflect the ongoing joint activity. Instead of the above-mentioned ahistorical principles, they suggest an interaction between other, more discourse-based parameters, including recency, frequency of use, and partner specificity. The results of the experiments show that conceptualization in interaction is subject to a process of interactive grounding: specific sets of partners reach a temporary agreement about a given construal. These *conceptual pacts* are not directly transferable to other new addressees. The upshot is a strong interactional rather than ahistorical account of conceptualization: speakers and addressees jointly set up conceptual pacts or shared conceptualizations for the purpose of the ongoing interaction, which result in local routines (see Section 3.2).

Although the scope of the data described in Brennan and Clark (1996) is restricted to lexical choice and does not make any specific claims on the impact of conceptual pacts at the level of grammatical choice, the example in (1) seems to suggest a similar process. Within the boundaries of the ongoing interaction, conversational partners set up local grammatical routines as part of an interactive grounding process. By explicitly drawing on a co-participant's linguistic choices

and reusing parts of that input for one's own utterance, a speaker signals engagement and (an at least partly) shared conceptualization. In this paper, we provide an account of the conceptual mechanisms underlying this process of grammatical routinization, using insights from Construction Grammar. In the following section, we first introduce the notion of ad hoc or local routinization.

3.2 Local routines in dialogue

The notion of conceptual pacts or temporary agreements on lexical choice, as described by Clark and colleagues, essentially involves the establishment of local routines in dialogue. At first sight, the notion of an *ad hoc* or *local* routine may appear as a contradictio in adjecto, as routinization is generally associated with a long-term, stable process rather than an online production feature. For instance, at the lexical level, the mental lexicon is traditionally viewed as a stable resource – as part of a speaker's acquired linguistic system – that consists of small units (words, morphemes), and the special case of idiomatic expressions. Construction Grammar approaches to linguistic categorization have substantially broadened the scope of the mental lexicon to include conventionalized form-meaning pairings (or symbols) at different levels of linguistic organization and abstraction (see Section 4.1 for a brief introduction). A strict distinction between lexicon and syntax is abandoned in favour of a continuum based on the varying degree of internal symbolic complexity. The repository of conventionalized grammatical constructions (or the lexicon of constructions) that lies at the heart of a speaker's grammar is referred to as the *constructicon* in Construction Grammar. Although this view significantly stretches the boundaries of the traditionally defined mental lexicon, the various incarnations of Construction Grammar still (implicitly) assume that these form-meaning pairings need to be conventional in order to achieve a construction status (Sag 2010; Kay 2002; Goldberg 1995, 2006).

Routinization processes are not, however, restricted to the development of a relatively stable constructicon. Recent research in cognitive psychology suggests that interlocutors in dialogue in fact make use of (semi-)fixed expressions during a conversation "with meanings that are established through that conversation. [. . .] They 'routinize' these expressions by storing them in the mental lexicon, normally for that conversation alone" (Pickering and Garrod 2005: 86). This view has its roots in a branch of psychology that has a different take on dialogue from the 'joint action' approach of Clark and colleagues. Pickering and Garrod (2004, 2006) have developed the so-called interactive alignment model, which is not primarily interested in language use as such, but rather in a mechanistic psychology of dialogue. Whereas Clark focuses on (intentional) interactive grounding

strategies and the establishment of common ground, Pickering and Garrod inquire into the automatic process of aligning situation models in discourse:

> "In contrast to 'intentional' views of conversation, where interlocutors are regularly inferring what they believe their listener knows or does not know and are trying to work out what they should say in order to be informative to their listeners, we assume that alignment proceeds in a largely automatic manner. Although we do not deny a role to intentional processes, and certainly accept that people are in principle capable of extensive modelling of their partners' mental states, we believe that the pressures of actual conversation [. . .] mean that in practice interlocutors perform very little 'other modelling' " (Pickering and Garrod 2005: 87)[1]

According to the interactive alignment model, interlocutors are primed to use the linguistic input of immediately preceding utterances they have just processed (i.e. parity of production and comprehension). Alignment at different levels of linguistic representation (phonological, semantic, syntactic) enhances alignment of situation models. This explains the high degree of repetition typical of interactive language use in comparison to written texts or monologues (see Section 3.1 above). This repetition goes well beyond the simple repetition of lexical items or grammatical constructions that are an integral part of a speaker's (or a speech community's) mental lexicon or constructicon (as in (2) with the double object construction and lexical items *guy*, *bag*, etc.). Rather, Pickering and Garrod (2004, 2005) argue that speakers set up local routines: "Most discussion of routines refers to the long-term development of fixed expressions that may well be lexicalized [. . .]. But they may also be established for the purpose of a particular interchange. [. . .] In other words, routines are set up 'on the fly' during dialogue" (2005: 91). In one of their experiments, the so-called maze-game dialogue, two test subjects were asked to communicate their respective position in a maze. In the ensuing dialogue (represented in (3)), one of the participants refers to the

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1 In its focus on automatic processes of dialogue based on unconscious priming mechanisms, the interactive alignment model differs from dialogic syntax as well. Dialogic syntax, like Clark's joint action hypothesis, essentially draws on (conscious) strategies of interpersonal engagement rather than a mechanistic psychology. Despite their different focus, both views are not irreconcilable. A series of experimental studies has shown that priming mechanisms enhance the (re)use of linguistic input at the level of automatic discourse processing (see Gries 2005 for an overview). Speakers, however, may exploit this primitive priming mechanism to produce intended pragmatic meanings and effects (Sakita 2006: 473; cf. also Tannen 1987). In other words, priming as an automatic and unconscious process does not exclude the exploitation of primed linguistic resources for opportunistic or other purposes.

right-most box in the maze as *a right indicator*. This expression takes on a situation-specific meaning ("a box protruding from the maze") that then becomes a fixed routine (i.e. a form-meaning pairing) within the boundaries and for the purpose of the ongoing interaction. Importantly, the establishment of such local routines can only be fully explained by reference to an interactive mechanism such as alignment. Pickering and Garrod (2005: 91–98) stress that local routinization in dialogue is not identical to interactive alignment, but rather presupposes it.

(2) A: That guy just handed the other a bag filled with booze
    B: No, the guy handed him a bag with books

(3) A: You know the extreme right, there's one box
    B: Yeah right, the extreme right it's sticking out like a sore thumb
    A: That's where I am
    B: It's like a right indicator?
    A: Yes, and where are you?
    B: Well I'm er- that right indicator you've got
    A: Yes
    B: The right indicator above that.
    (Pickering and Garrod 2006: 207)

The evidence presented in favour of the existence of temporary or ad hoc routines in dialogue also suggests that local routinization essentially involves the same type of entrenchment processes as in language acquisition (Pickering and Garrod 2005: 99) and grammaticalization. In the following sections, we want to lay down the foundations for a linguistic model of ad hoc routinization, using insights from dialogic syntax and Construction Grammar. More specifically, we argue for the extension of current insights in local routinization with an explicit dimension of online syntax (Auer 2007). We coin the concept of an *ad hoc grammatical construction*, a grammatical pattern that emerges in the course of an ongoing interaction through the known processes of schematization, instantiation and extension. In dialogic sequences, local grammatical templates are construed (schematization), with varying degrees of lexical fixedness and variability, that are used productively (instantiation) by the interlocutors that share the local routine (cf. conceptual pacts, as discussed above). These ad hoc constructions may be instantiations of conventional grammatical constructions with specific slot-filler constellations (allowing for variation across conversational turns) or complex gestalts at the clause or sentence level. In other words, although they are

'local' in the specific patterning that emerges as part of an ongoing interaction, ad hoc constructions are very much rooted in conventional usage patterns.[2]

4 Extending Construction Grammar to dialogue

4.1 Premises of Construction Grammar

Within the broad category of usage-based linguistics, one of the central accounts of the representation of grammatical knowledge is Construction Grammar (henceforth CxG). CxG in fact is an umbrella term for a family of approaches that all take grammatical patterns (with a varying degree of specificity/schematicity) rather than abstract syntactic rules as the basis of grammar. For the purpose of the present paper, we will only highlight some key aspects of CxG, particularly in relation to the study of spoken language and routinization (for more general introductions to the framework, see among others Fillmore et al. 1988; Goldberg 1995, 2006; Michaelis and Lambrecht, 1996; Kay 2002; Croft 2001, 2007; Fried and Östman 2004, 2005; Östman and Fried 2005; Fried and Boas 2005; Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013).

Construction Grammar views language as a repertoire of more or less abstract grammatical constructions. These constructions are generally defined as conventional pairings of form and meaning, similar to the symbolic nature of lexical items (Figure 1). Both at the formal and the semantic pole of a symbolic pairing, the maximalist non-reductionist view typical of Cognitive Linguistics holds. For instance, at the formal pole a construction's formal properties may pertain to patterns at different levels of linguistic organization (phonological, morphological, syntactic patterns) and may exhibit varying degrees of internal complexity and fixedness (which then leads to the assumption of a continuum between lexical items and syntactic constructions). At the semantic pole, a construction incorporates as part of its semantics not only traditional semantic information, but also any other recurrent features, including pragmatic function and discourse structure. By including this usage information as part of the conventional symbolic unit, CxG strongly adheres to the usage-based doctrine.

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2 It was rightly pointed out by one of the reviewers of this article that the creative extension of conventional usage patterns may in fact revive and reinforce the entrenchment of these patterns. For a cognitive account of creativity based on the interplay between conventionality and innovation, see Giora's optimal innovation hypothesis (Giora 2003; Giora et al. 2004).
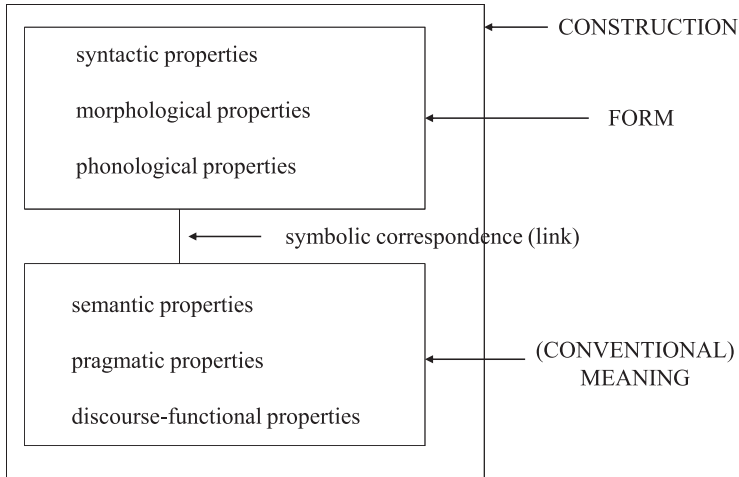
Fig. 1: Grammatical constructions as form-meaning pairings (Croft 2007: 472)

As a consequence of the assumption that the basic grammatical building blocks are pairings of form and meaning, grammar or a speaker's knowledge of his/her language according to CxG consists of a repository of constructions, organized as a network of taxonomic relations: "Any construction with unique idiosyncratic morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic, or discourse-functional properties must be represented as an independent node in the constructional network in order to capture a speaker's knowledge of their language" (Croft 2007: 477). On this view, the intricate constructional network may reveal varying degrees of overlap. Croft (2007) illustrates this interrelatedness with the following examples: the idiomatic expression [Sbj *kick the bucket*] constitutes an independent node in the construction taxonomy because it has a fixed idiosyncratic (non-compositional) meaning. On a more schematic level, the verb-specific construction [Sbj *kick* Obj] again forms an independent node and at a fully schematic level, the transitive clause structure construction [Sbj TrVerb Obj] constitutes a node. Constructions at a lower level in the taxonomy inherit specific features of their parent nodes (which can be more than one).

Specific usage patterns acquire the status of a construction on the basis of their receptive or productive frequency, and the resulting degree of cognitive entrenchment (see Goldberg 2006: 45–67 and Langacker 2008: 16–17 for discussion). Fully specified expressions give rise to abstract constructional schemas through a process of schematization or "the process of extracting the commonality inherent in multiple experiences to arrive at a conception representing a higher level of abstraction" (Langacker 2008: 17). Conversely, the network of

schematic constructions (*types*) acquired through schematization processes accounts for the specific tokens or *constructs* of a language (constructs as instantiations of schematic constructions).

But what makes CxG attractive as a theory for explaining grammatical patterns typical for spoken language? Fried and Östman (2005: 1754–1757) discuss a range of commonalities and potential fruitful synergies between CxG and the fields traditionally associated most strongly with the study of spoken language, viz. Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics.[3] Most importantly, both CxG and CA take specific patterns or 'chunks' as the basis of analysis. The concept of a construction in CxG is compatible with the notion of a *turn-constructional unit* (TCU, also referred to as turn-type unit) in CA, which refers to basic building blocks out of which conversational turns are constructed. Like constructions, these TCUs are argued to have a symbolically connected form and meaning and can show varying degrees of complexity (from lexical to phrasal to clausal chunks). And again like constructions, TCUs emerge from usage patterns. The fact that CxG's basic assumption of linguistic patterning is commensurable with the work on discourse chunks in CA explains the growing interaction between both traditions in the description of a grammar of spoken language (see Section 2 above).

Despite the strong compatibility between CxG and CA, they obviously have a different agenda and focus in approaching the phenomenon of patterning. Whereas CA holds that the meaning of an utterance can only be studied in the context of an actual interaction and in its effect on the addressee, CxG is primarily interested in conventionalized meaning aspects of grammatical constructions. The emphasis on *online processes* of meaning negotiation in CA is also reflected in its focus on emergence rather than long-term stability: "CA is primarily concerned with the emergence of grammatical patterning in on-line production, dialogically, and as a cooperative achievement. In contrast, CxG has focused mostly on that which appears relatively stable" (Fried and Östman 2005: 1756). In other words, even in the growing body of literature on grammatical constructions of spoken language, the focus is primarily on the relatively fixed repertoire of form-meaning pairings, rather than on the relation between grammar and interactional dynamics.

In the present paper, we want to take CxG's turn towards the description of spoken language phenomena one step further. More specifically, we want to argue that in dialogic engagement, speakers set up *ad hoc constructions* at the micro-level of an ongoing interaction. These local gestalt structures build on and partially instantiate conventional constructions. They emerge on the basis of the

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3 Cf. also Fischer (forthcoming) for a similar line of argumentation.

same principles as conventional constructions, but their life span is generally limited to a single interactional sequence and a restricted community (interlocutors rather than a speech community, cf. conceptual in Section 3.1). As speakers in an interaction can (collaboratively) form local constructional templates (schematization), which are used productively within the dialogic sequence (instantiation), a degree of local routinization (or strength of activation) occurs between the interlocutors. For the interlocutors, these templates are temporarily part of the shared linguistic repertoire and can thus be treated as ad hoc constructions.

4.2 Ad hoc constructions in dialogue

Local routinization processes hinge strongly on the emergent nature of online structure building and meaning construction. In the example (3) above, the NP *a right indicator* adopts a context-specific meaning, shared by the co-participants in the interaction, and acquires the status of a locally established symbol that resonates throughout the interaction. These routinization processes are not, however, restricted to lexical items or fixed expressions but can involve more complex constellations of partially specified constructions. Du Bois (manuscript: 3) analyzes one such example as a case of creative resonance, where affinities between elements in co-occurring turns are not pre-existing but are rather a result of the dialogic juxtaposition:

(4) (*Risk* SBC024: 1452.231–1461.613)
    JENNIFER;   We're gonna pa:ss,
                the king of (Hx) **spades**.
    DAN;   **King of** (0.7) **puppy-dogs' feet**.
                (0.6)
                @
                (1.2)
                (H) How come you don't pass **the king of: clubs**.

In the excerpt in (4), the relational formula *the X of Y* is used as a conventional way to name a suit of cards in *the king of spades* and *the king of clubs*.[4] One of the speakers, however, exploits the formula to construe a creative and unconventional

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4 When resonance involves highly frequent items or strings, it may be debatable whether the cross-turn parallelism is a result of dialogic engagement or simply the result of contextual or system demands. The examples discussed in this paper, however, can all be categorized as motivated stance-taking acts, as they all involve local form-meaning constellations.

instantiation *the king of puppy-dogs' feet*. Out of the specific dialogic context, the intended meaning of this phrase would be difficult to recognize. However, the parallel structure forces a mapping between *puppy dogs' feet* on the one hand, and *spades* and *clubs* on the other, yielding a likely interpretation of the novel phrase as referring to a suit of cards as well. Importantly, within the interaction, the semi-fixed phrase *king of* ____ partly instantiating the more abstract relational phrase *X of Y*, is used as a locally productive template within which a creative interaction is organized.

In Construction Grammar terms, the semi-fixed phrase *king of* ____ becomes a locally entrenched construction with a self-contained meaning component (viz. the highest-ranked card of a particular suit). Elements that fill the y-slot in the construction, including novel or radically unexpected ones, are automatically categorized as card suits. Underlying this phenomenon is, according to Du Bois (this issue), an analogical process rooted in the actual dialogic environment. As noted above in Section 4.1, Construction Grammar posits that grammatical constructions emerge on the basis of a schematization process that extracts commonalities and enables a higher-level representation. In the case of ad hoc constructions, this schematization process takes places *in vivo* on the basis of commonalities (pre-existing or not) between specific tokens in the ongoing discourse. Sakita (2006) was the first to point at the similarities and different focus between the cognitive network theory (Sakita takes Langacker's Cognitive Grammar as a basis) and dialogic syntax. Whereas Cognitive Grammar models (including CxG) generally take concrete tokens as instantiations of a schematic (constructional) category, dialogic syntax focuses on the same process at the micro-level of a single interactional sequence. Structural parallelisms in dialogue show that speakers derive schemas from priming utterances, reinstantiate those schemas in their own conversational turns and in doing so create an effect of resonance between the primer and its extension. The schema in Figure 2,
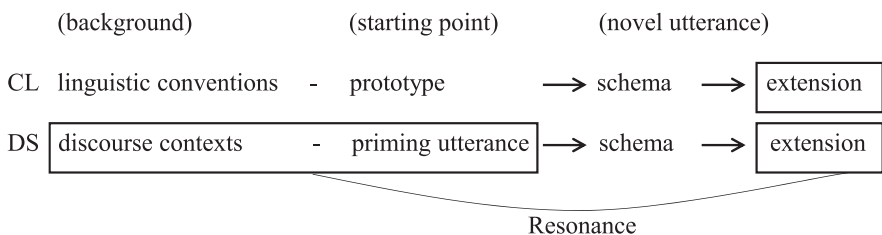

Fig. 2: Schema, prototype and extension in cognitive-linguistic models and dialogic syntax (Sakita 2006: 493)

introduced in Sakita (2006: 493), represents the comparison between the two approaches.

In example (4), the priming utterance *the king of spades*, in itself an instantiation of a conventional schematic construction X OF Y (relational), triggers the abstraction of a local semi-fixed schema KING OF Y, with a specified meaning. The ad hoc construction, in other words, takes up a position between a conventionalized abstract construction and a lexically specified expression and has a partly specified semantics. This local schema is then extended, yielding the effect of creative resonance. In addition, we argue that the conversational dynamics as such is part of the semantics of ad hoc constructions. Resorting to resonance and local routines often serves an intersubjective function, which can range from establishing common ground (example 3), to conversational one-up-manship (example 4) to a strong statement of stance differential (example 2).

In the following section, we explore the spectrum and variability of ad hoc construction building and point at its intersubjective functions and effects. We argue that the emergent local constructional routines may gain the status of micro-entrenched units through their repeated use in the ongoing interaction and thus contribute to the establishment of a local constructicon.

5 An empirical analysis of ad hoc constructions

5.1 The spectrum and variability of local template structures

Dialogic syntax posits that the scope of structural engagement is not limited a priori, neither with respect to the linguistic levels it concerns (syntax, lexicon, morphology, intonation, cf. Sakita 2006; Zima et al. 2009; Brône and Oben 2013) nor the abstractness of the mapping relation or the degree of variation involved. This also holds for ad hoc grammatical routines, which differ considerably with respect to the syntactic variability and level of abstraction, ranging from constructions that get reinstantiated with only little lexical-syntactic modification to complex extensions of constructional schemes and constructional blends. In this section we illustrate the spectrum of ad hoc grammatical routines by means of selected examples from a corpus of political interactions.[5] It should be stressed

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5 The corpus is a self-compiled collection of transcriptions from political talk shows (304 minutes; 45.894 words) and a corpus of 600 resonance sequences extracted from 29 debates held in the Austrian Parliament between 2003 and 2009.

that the aim is not to present a quantitative assessment but rather an overview of the variability of the phenomenon.[6]

We start the overview with the relatively simple exchange in (5), taken from an Austrian parliamentary debate with a plenary speaker and multiple hecklers aiming to undermine the speaker. The example involves a partially-lexically filled grammatical template that resonates across speakers with little modification. The logically straightforward aligned representation (or diagraph) in Figure 3, displaying the cross-turn structural parallelisms, illustrates that the second heckler, Lackner, aligns his comment with the first heckler at the lexical, syntactic as well as pragmatic level. Importantly however, he does not simply repeat the previous utterance but performs a syntactic variation, replacing the NP *keine Antwort* ("no answer") by an adjective *(unglaublich)* ([*das ist* NP] → [*das ist* ADJ]). A third speaker joins in and parallels the constructional template, realizing resonance with the preceding two speakers. This resonance pattern is particularly apparent between Lackner's and Bauer's utterance as Bauer – in addition to the lexical-syntactic resonance – also parallels the morphological structure of the adjective *un-glaub-lich* ('unbelievable') in *un-geheuer-lich* ('outrageous'), producing a stronger degree of affinity. We argue that this exchange involves the abstraction of an ad hoc constructional template [das ist ADJ *un-X-lich*], which is then reinstantiated by Bauer. By setting up such local partially fixed constructions and reinstantiating them for opportunistic or other purposes, speakers activate a high degree of resonance between utterances.

(5) Austrian National Assembly, 10/12/2004

01	HAUPT	ich darf sie darauf hinweisen
02		dass mir von meiner eigenen fraktion
03		und auch von der grünen fraktion
04		niemand bekannt ist, der das pflegegeld in frage stellt
05	LAPP	**das ist keine antwort**
06	LACKNER	**das ist unglaublich**
07	BAUER	**das ist ungeheuerlich**

Plenary speaker:	Minister of Social Affairs Herbert Haupt
Hecklers:	Christine Lapp, MP (SPÖ, Social Democrats)
	Manfred Lackner, MP (SPÖ)
	Hannes Bauer, MP (SPÖ)

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6 See Brône and Oben (2013) and Zima (2013) for a discussion of the problems involved in the quantification of resonance patterns. These problems are partly due to the nature of the phenomenon, as dialogic syntax does not impose a priori restriction on the level of schematicity involved.

English translation:

Haupt, MP:	I may make you aware of the fact
	that from my own party
	and also from the green party
	I do not know anyone who is questioning attendance allowances
Lapp	that is no answer
Lackner	that is unbelievable
Bauer	that is outrageous

5 LAP;	das	ist	keine Antwort
6 LAC;	das	ist	unglaublich
7 BAU;	das	ist	ungeheuerlich

Fig. 3: Diagraph for example (5)

The examples (4) ([king of X]) and (5) ([das ist un-X-lich]) involved the emergence of local routines at the morphological (5), phrasal (4) and clausal level (5). Example (6), taken from another debate in the Austrian National Assembly, revolves around creative play within the boundaries of a conventional idiomatic expression, viz *auf Sand gebaut sein* 'to be built on sand'. To contextualize this example, the plenary speaker (a Social Democrat) is criticizing the government's budgetary plans, arguing that the budget is "built on sand", i.e. lacks a solid foundation and is going to collapse. Resonance activation, in this case, coincides with an online and dialogic process of idiomatic creativity (or creative idiom variation), as described in detail by Langlotz (2006) and others. More specifically, the locally established template within which the creative variation is generated, is the prepositional phrase of the idiom (*auf Sand* 'on sand').

(6) Austrian National Assembly, 01/03/2006

01	SCHASCHNIG	ein budget zu debattieren
02		das auf sand gebaut ist
03		auf blau-orangem sand
04		das ist schon mehr als seltsam
05	PIRKLHUBER	auf treibsand
06	SCHASCHNIG	und das möchte ich schon eingangs auch festgehalten wissen
07		was sie uns hier zumuten ist ein starkes stück
08	PARTIK-PABLÉ	auf schwarzem sand auch

Plenary speaker:	Beate Schaschnig, MP (SPÖ, Social Democrats)
Hecklers:	Wolfgang Pirklhuber, MP (die Grünen, the Green Party)
	Helene Partik-Pablé, MP (Freiheitliche, Liberty Party)

English translation:	
Schaschnig:	to discuss a budget
	that is built on sand
	on blue-orange sand
	that is more than weird
Pirklhuber:	on quicksand
Schaschnig:	and I would like to say right at the beginning
	what you are asking from us is pretty steep
Partik-Pablé:	on black sand too

The diagraph in Figure 4 shows that it is first the plenary speaker herself who resonates with her own constructional template, extracting the PP [*auf* X *Sand*] from the idiom embedded in the relative clause *"das auf Sand gebaut ist"* and extending this PP-construction into *auf blau-orangem Sand* ("on blue-orange sand"). In the specific parliamentary setting, the adjective "blue-orange" is used as a metonymic reference to the junior partner in the government which units MPs from the "Alliance for the Future of Austria", whose party colour is orange, and Austria's Liberty Party, who have blue as their colour. Note that in resonating with her own utterance, the plenary speaker is not only reinstantiating the lexical-syntactic construction but also the metaphoricity of the idiomatic expression "to be built on sand". This also applies to the two subsequent heckles. In commenting *auf Treibsand* ("on quicksand"), the first heckler Pirklhuber reinstantiates the ad hoc grammatical construction [auf X Sand]. However, he extends the construction not by an adjective, as the preceding speaker did, but modifies the noun into the compound "quicksand". In doing so, Pirklhuber does not only align with the stance taken by the plenary speaker but elaborates her critique by means of the ironic, not lexicalized extension of the idiom "to build on sand" into

2 SCH;		das	auf		Sand	gebaut	ist	
3 SCH;			auf	blau-orangem	Sand			
5 P;			auf	Treib	sand			
8 P-P;			auf	schwarzem	Sand			auch

Fig. 4: Diagraph for example (6)

"to build on quicksand". The intended metaphorical meaning of "instable" is hence enforced in the comment, given that quicksand is an even less reliable ground to build on. The second heckler, Partik-Pablé from the (blue) Liberty Party, then provides one more instantiation of the schema, which relates more closely to the plenary speaker's original variation. Here again, an adjective is inserted in the slot before the head noun of the PP, and more specifically an adjective referring to a party colour (*schwarz* 'black', the colour of the Christian Democrats).[7]

Whereas the preceding two exchanges involve constructional resonance at the level of a main clause (5) and a reduced PP (6), in the following exchange, the ad hoc construction involves a lexically-fully instantiated main clause and a partially schematic subordinate clause: [DET *lebensmittelpunkt hat man in österreich wenn man* VP(LOC (ADV/PP) V(3rd; Sg)]. The exchange in (7) hence illustrates the impact of constructional resonance at a higher level of syntactic abstraction.

(7) Austrian National Assembly, 10/12/2008

01	ÖLLINGER	einen lebensmittelpunkt hat man in österreich
02		wenn man hier lebt
03		wenn man eine wohnung hat
04		wenn man hier arbeitet
05		wenn man sich so wie die österreicherinnen und österreicher über einen längeren zeitpunkt hier aufhält

( )[8]

10	GRAF	den lebensmittelpunkt hat man in österreich auch
11		wenn man im häfn sitzt

Plenary speaker:	Karl Öllinger, MP (die Grünen, the Green Party)
Heckler:	Martin Graf, MP (FPÖ, Liberty Party)

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7 It is somewhat surprising that a member of the Liberty Party is joining in the resonance without contradicting the two preceding speakers, as one might expect, but rather arguing that the critique should not only concern her party but also the Christian Democrats ("black" party). Within the genre of parliamentary debates, heckles that involve self-blame are rather extraordinary (the vast majority of the heckles in our corpus of parliamentary debates are adversarial towards MPs of other parties (92,16%)).

8 For the sake of representational clarity, we leave out four intonation units from the original transcript. None of these intonation units display a structural parallelism with preceding utterances.

Einen Lebensmittelpunkt	hat	man	in Österreich	wenn	man	hier			lebt
				wenn	man		eine Wohnung		hat
				wenn	man	hier			arbeitet
				wenn	man	{hier}		sich so wie die Österreicherinnen und Österreicher über einen längeren Zeitraum	aufhält
Den Lebensmittelpunkt	hat	man	in Österreich	auch wenn	man	im Häfn			sitzt

Row labels (left of table): 1, 2 ÖLL; — 3 ÖLL; — 4 ÖLL; — 5 ÖLL; — 10,11 GRA;

Fig. 5: Diagraph for exchange (7)

English translation:

Öllinger:　　　　one's centre of life is Austria
　　　　　　　　if one lives here
　　　　　　　　if one has got an apartment here
　　　　　　　　if one works here
　　　　　　　　if one – like any Austrian – spends a certain time here
Graf:　　　　　one's centre of life also is Austria
　　　　　　　　if one is in jail

　　　The diagraph in Figure 5 shows that the exchange is characterized by a strong syntactic parallelism, which nevertheless allows for creative lexical-semantic variation. At the start of the excerpt, the plenary speaker abstracts a schema of his own *if*-clause (2nd intonation unit within his conversational turn). This schematic ad hoc construction [*wenn man* VP $_{V(3rd; Sg)}$] is reinstantiated three times with lexical-syntactic variation in the VP spot. This constructional self-resonance serves to specify the legal regulations applying to the conditions formulated in the main clause *einen Lebensmittelpunkt hat man in Österreich* ("one's centre of life is Austria"). By reinstantiating this constructional pattern four times for explanatory rhetorical purposes, one may get the impression that the plenary speaker is building up and instantiating an ad hoc *list-construction*, or combinations of two or more units of the same type realizing one constructional slot (on list-constructions, see also Jefferson 1991 and Lerner 1994). This list-construction is further extended in the ironic-sarcastic heckle that again reinstantiates the whole constructional pattern, i.e. the lexically specified main clause and the partially schematic *if*-clause: *den Lebensmittelpunkt hat man in Österreich auch wenn man im Häfn[9] sitzt* ("one's centre of life also is Austria if one is in jail"). Semanti-

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9 Colloquial Austrian expression for Gefängnis 'jail' (Duden 2006).

cally, this heckle seems to predominantly resonate with the preceding if-clause *wenn man hier lebt* ("if one lives here") and *wenn man sich hier so wie die Österreicherinnen und Österreicher über einen längeren Zeitraum aufhält* ("if one – like any Austrian – spends a certain time here"), which both activate the frame of long-term RESIDENCE. The reference to a jail, however, evokes a radically different image of the circumstances of living within the RESIDENCE frame, an image that is diametrically opposed to what the plenary speaker intended to convey. This instance of constructional resonance can hence be categorized as an instance of what Brône (2008) labels *hyperunderstanding,* or the skilful subversion of another participant's viewpoint by reflecting (parts of) his/her utterances and simultaneously assigning a radically different interpretation to that echoed utterance. In doing so, the verbal 'aggressor' communicates the superiority of his/her own viewpoint to that of the other participant. In this example, the heckler Graf opportunistically exploits the potential of a radically different construal of *residence* to subvert the plenary speaker's communicative goal.

Up to this point, the examples of ad hoc construction building all revolved around the abstraction of a semi-fixed template that is used productively (and sometimes creatively) as a symbolic resource in the ongoing interaction. In some cases, this process involves a more complex combination of online *de- and re-composition* of ad hoc constructional routines. As an example we take the sequence in (8), from an interview of the German talk show host Reinhold Beckmann with former chancellor Helmut Schmidt. The passage presented here is preceded by a short conversation on the medical situation of Helmut Schmidt's wife Loki who was hospitalized at the time the interview took place.

(8) Helmut Schmidt bei Beckmann, 22/09/2008

01	BECKMANN	waren sie denn sehr besorgt?
02		wars ein schreck?
03		als sie hörten
04		in berlin
05	SCHMIDT	es war ein großer schreck und ich war sehr besorgt
06		ja
07	BECKMANN	ja ja
08		ist es denn ein kleiner trost für sie
09		dass ihr freund siegfried lenz ganz in der nähe ist?
10		er liegt ein zimmer weiter
11	SCHMIDT	dass er in der nähe ist
12		ist ein trost
13		dass er auch krank ist
14		ist kein trost

English translation:

Beckmann:	have you been very anxious?
	was it a big shock?
	when you heard
	in berlin
Schmidt:	it was a big shock and I was very anxious
	yes
Beckmann:	yes yes
	is it a comfort to you
	that your friend siegfried lenz is very close by?
	he is lying in the room next to her
Schmidt:	that he is close by
	is a comfort
	that he is ill too
	is not a comfort

The diagraph in Figure 6 illustrates that Beckmann's initial questions *Waren sie denn sehr besorgt?* ('Have you been very anxious?') and *War's ein Schreck?* ('Was it a shock?') draw on a comparable structural schema: $[\text{COP}_{\text{IMP}}\ \text{PRON}_{\text{PERS}}\ \text{PART}_{\text{GRAD}}\ \text{ADJ}]$ vs. $[\text{COP}_{\text{IMP}}\ \text{PRO}_{\text{PERS}}\text{NP}[\text{ART ADJ N}]$. In his reply, Schmidt reuses the lexical-syntactic structure of both preceding utterances and blends them into a novel one, however changing the order and performing a syntactic modification conditioned by the change of utterance type: *es war ein Schock und ich war sehr besorgt* ("it was a shock and I was very anxious"). This formal engagement with multiple elements from the immediate discourse context has a strong intersubjective effect (see also Kärkkäinen 2003, 2006; Haddington 2007; Englebretson 2007; and Du Bois 2007). In terms of *stance taking*, the lexical-syntactic blend serves to convey agreement while at the same time communicating to the talk show host that cooperation on the topic will be limited, as Schmidt is not willing to go more

01 BE		waren	Sie	denn	sehr besorgt	
02 BE	{s} [10]	war			ein Schreck	
05 SCH	es	war			ein großer Schreck	und
	ich	war			sehr besorgt	

Fig. 6: Diagraph for the first part of exchange (8)

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10 { } in diagraphs indicate that the original position of the resonating element was changed as to highlight the cross-turn similarities in the diagraph (see Du Bois, this issue).

deeply into the issue. In what follows, this limited willingness to continue on the topic of his wife's illness becomes even more apparent. When asked whether it is a comfort to know that his friend Siegfried Lenz is lying in the room next to his wife Loki and is thus close by, Schmidt once again strongly echoes the question but profiles an – unintended – inference (people that are hospitalized are sick, hence Siegfried Lenz is also ill, which cannot be considered a blessing): *dass er in der Nähe ist, ist ein Trost. Dass er auch krank ist, ist kein Trost* ("that he is close by is a comfort. That he is ill too, is no comfort"). This example illustrates one of the central principles of dialogic syntax, viz. that "the meaning of an utterance can be changed by what comes after it, not only by what comes before. Like it or not, speakers may find their meanings recontextualized in ways they did not intend. Still, they may have to end up dealing with the retrospectively introduced implications of their words" (Du Bois, manuscript: 9).

To conclude our overview of the different manifestations of ad hoc constructions, we take one final example that combines the type of conceptual pact described in the work by Clark and colleagues with a dimension of online syntax. The exchange in (9), taken from a pre-election TV-debate, opens with Alexander van der Bellen (Austrian Green Party) referring to political issues of secondary importance (according to him) with the phrase *Mickey mouse-Probleme*. The classifier *mickey mouse* with the locally defined meaning 'marginal' becomes a lexically entrained term within the boundaries of the ongoing discussion, as is apparent from Haider's reaction. The shared conceptualization between the interlocutors and its reflection in the resonating turns with connected meanings once again serves a function in achieving interpersonal engagement. In this case, the purpose is radically adversarial. The diagraph in Figure 7 shows the structural parallelism across turns, which again serves to ground the ongoing interaction. Haider's retort resonates both lexically and syntactically (X SEIN *micky mouse*(*-probleme*)) with van der Bellen's previous turn and contains an elliptical reference (*ka mickey mouse = ka mickey mouse-problem*) which relies on the structural symmetry between the turns. Haider's intra-turn repetition of the locally established construction (X SEIN *mickey mouse-probleme*) with hyponymic varation in the X-slot (*Schule > Schulverwaltung*: 'school' > 'school administration') seems to be intended as a form of rhetorical amplification (conduplicatio).

01 VDB	Der Rest	das	sind	doch	Mickey Mouse-Probleme
05 HAI	Schule		ist	ka	Mickey Mouse
	Die Schulverwaltung		ist	ka	Mickey Mouse

Fig. 7: Diagraph for example *9*

(9) Pre-election TV-debate, 25/09/2008

01	VDBELLEN:	der rest das sind doch mickey mouse-probleme
02		also mit allem respekt vor der mickey mouse ja
03		ah
04		ob man jetzt [. . .]
05	HAIDER:	[schule ist ka mickey mouse
		[die schulverwaltung ist ka mickey mouse

English translation:

Van der Bellen: the rest are just mickey mouse problems

with all due respect for mickey mouse yeah

ah

whether we now [. . .]

[school is not a mickey mouse

[school administration is not a mickey mouse

The overview of examples involving ad hoc constructions served as an illustration of the various linguistic levels (from morphological to complex sentence structure) that are tapped into in building up shared representations in dialogue. At each of the levels, we showed that the locally established routines allow for various degrees of variability and creativity, and may serve a range of intersubjective functions. In the following section, we zoom in on the question how dialogic resonance and ad hoc constructions relate to the notion of cognitive entrenchment.

5.2 Local routinization, persistence and micro-entrenchment

As mentioned in the introductory part of the paper, Construction Grammar generally assumes that constructions are entrenched cognitive units, i.e. conventionalized symbols or form-meaning pairings that are part of a speaker's (or speech community's) relatively stable symbolic repertoire. In the case of ad hoc constructional routines, however, the criteria of entrenchment and conventionalization posited by Construction Grammar do not necessarily apply. We do not wish to argue that resonating ad hoc constructions necessarily obtain the status of a new cognitively entrenched unit of a speech community, although in theory we cannot exclude the possibility that these local gestalts may trigger linguistic change and the emergence of new conventional constructions (see Du Bois, this issue). Rather, we would like to argue that by virtue of getting reinstantiated re-

peatedly in the course of an interaction, these resonating constructional patterns become a highly salient, locally entrenched means to express a particular content (cf. the frequency parameter in the accounts of conceptual pacts, see Section 3.1 above). In other words, the conceptual pact that interlocutors set up in an ongoing interaction manifests itself in the local salience of these grammatical constructions. They become local routines that serve interlocutors as productive schematic resources within a given stretch of conversation. A similar idea was proposed by Szmercsanyi (2006: 22), who considers entrenchment to be a long-term effect of persistence, i.e. repetition. As for the micro-level of local meaning constitution and co-ordination, he argues that persistence within a given conversation leads to micro-entrenchment, i.e. the establishment of a locally entrenched routine. In the case of ad hoc constructional routines, repeated resonance hence leads to micro-entrenchment. The ad hoc grammatical patterns are locally entrenched parts of the repertoire (or *mini-langue*, Du Bois, p.c.) of the specific interaction from which they emerge.

The example in (10), again taken from a debate in the Austrian National Council, illustrates the local productivity and persistence of ad hoc constructional patterns over a longer stretch of discourse proving their status as a local, micro-entrenched resource. By virtue of getting reinstantiated and extended multiple times over a longer stretch of discourse, the pattern comes to be established as a micro-entrenched, productive routine. Prior to the presented excerpt, the plenary speaker Pilz from the Austrian Green Party has argued that the system for compulsory civilian service (in lieu of military service) is ineffective and that both military as well as civilian service needs to be abolished.

(10) Austrian National Assembly, 01.03.2006
01.03.2006, 18:55
Abg. PILZ:
        [. . .] weil die bundesregierung und die regierungsparteien ihnen einen teil der notwendigen kalorien für die ableistung von <u>zwangsarbeit</u> zwangs-arbeit im dienste des österreichischen staates verweigern
Abg. MOLTERER:
        <u>was heißt zwangsarbeit?</u>
Abg. PILZ:
        und das ist ein erfolg der bundesregierung?
Abg. SCHEUCH:
        <u>was verstehen sie unter zwangsarbeit?</u>
Abg. PILZ:
        so und jetzt reden wir
        und jetzt reden wir noch weiter

zwangsdienste meine damen und herren

zwangsdienste sind laut menschrechtskonvention verboten

Abg. MOLTERER:

zivildienst bezeichnen sie als zwangsarbeit?

Abg. NEUDECK:

ihre rede ist eine zwangsbeglückung [. . .]

(selbe Rede, 18:57)

Abg. PILZ:

der zivildienst wird jedoch gemeinsam mit dem präsenzdienst abge-
schafft werden

werden müssen

und der zivildienst ist derzeit nichts anderes als eine notdürftige
kaschierung eines längst existierenden pflegenotstandes durch
einen sozialen zwangsdienst

das ist das problem

Abg. MOLTERER:

zwangsarbeit haben sie vorhin gesagt!

Abg. PILZ:

und wenn der soziale zwangsdienst weg ist

dann haben wir von einem tag auf den anderen einen akuten
pflegenotstand.

Abg. SCHEIBNER:

was für ein pflegenotstand?

[. . .]

Abg. PILZ:

das ist kein erfolg

sondern das verdanken wir dem verfassungsgerichtshof dass die
leute bei einem ohnehin schlecht bezahlten zwangsdienst wenig-
stens anständig

unter dem maß irgendwie zufrieden stellend verpflegt werden

(selbe Debatte 19:17)

Abg. MURAUER:

herr präsident

herr staatssekretär

hohes haus

herr doktor pilz

es ist unwahrscheinlich

auch wenn Sie jetzt vielleicht vor lauter Freude grinsen

dass Sie uns heute erklären dass wehrpflicht zwangsarbeit sei

dass zivildienst zwangsdienst sei.

1. Plenary speaker: Peter Pilz, MP (die Grünen, the Green Party)
2. Plenary speaker (at 19:17): Walter Murauer, MP (ÖVP, People's Party)
Hecklers: Wilhelm Molterer, MP (ÖVP, People's Party)
              Uwe Scheuch, MP (BZÖ, Alliance for the Future of Austria)
              Detlev Neudeck, MP (FPÖ, Liberty Party)
              Herbert Scheibner, MP (BZÖ, Alliance for the Future of Austria)

English translation:
18:55:
Pilz: because the federal government and the parties of the governmental
              coalition refuse to give them a part of the calories necessary to actu-
              ally do this forced labour for the Austrian state.
Molterer: what does forced labour mean?
Pilz: and that is supposed to be the success of the federal government?
Scheuch: what do you mean by forced labour?
Pilz: ok, and now let's talk; let's go on talking. Forced labour ladies and
              gentlemen is forbidden by the Convention of Human Rights.
Molterer: you are calling alternative civilian service forced labour?
Neudeck: your speech is a forced blessing

Same speech, 18:57:
Pilz: civilian service will be abolished together with military service; will
              need to be; right now civilian service is nothing more than a poor
              means to deal with the shortness of nurses by means of a compul-
              sory social service
              that is the problem
Molterer: forced labour you said earlier
Pilz: and once forced civilian service is abolished we suddenly will have
              to deal with this pressing shortage of nurses
Scheibner: what shortage of nurses?

[. . .]

Pilz: that is no success
              we have to be grateful to the Constitutional Court that the people doing
              this badly-paid forced service are at least provided with enough food

Same debate, 19:17:
Murauer: Mister President, Mister State Secretary, dear Assembly, Mister Pilz,
              it is unbelievable, even though right now you may be grinning
              broadly, that you are telling us today that military service is forced
              labour and that civilian service is compulsory service

In this longer exchange, the effect of resonance is most apparent at the morpholexical and syntactic level. The starting point for the rich resonance sequence, in which ad hoc grammatical patterns remain productive for over 20 minutes, is plenary speaker Pilz' use of *Zwangsarbeit* ('forced labour') to categorize Austrian civilian and military service. This categorization is immediately picked up and questioned by the hecklers Molterer and Scheuch. In doing so, both heckles display a highly similar structural make up: *Was heißt Zwangsarbeit? Was verstehen Sie unter Zwangarbeit?* ('What does forced labour mean? What do you mean by forced labour?'). Presumably in response to the critique coming from the floor, Pilz continues on the lexical resonance (*Zwangsarbeit*) but performs a morpholexical extension, blending *Zivildienst* ('civilian service') – the topic of his speech – with *Zwangsarbeit* ('forced labour') into *Zwangsdienste* ('forced services'). 'Forced service' is supposed to be a less controversial categorization as it is probably less associated with war and dictatorial regimes. Molterer then interprets Pilz' extension of the lexical construction under scrutiny as an admission of guilt: he goes on to tease the plenary speaker by reminding him and the audience of his unfortunate choice of words: *Zivildienst bezeichnen Sie als Zwangsarbeit*? ('You are calling alternative civilian service forced labour?') and *Zwangsarbeit haben Sie vorher gesagt!* ('Forced labor you said earlier!'). This strategic dissociative use of resonance is also driving the next heckle by Neudeck, MP, who performs yet another morpholexical variation on the constructional template. As was the case with the previous morpholexical blend by Pilz (*[Zwangs]-[arbeit] – [Zivil]-[dienst] – [Zwangs]-[dienste]*), Neudeck exploits the compound status of the noun *Zwangsarbeit* and replaces the compound head by *-beglückung* ('blessing'). This juxtaposition of the modifier *Zwangs-* and the head *-beglückung* results in an ironic semantic clash (a feeling of joy per definition cannot be forced), which again puts the word choice of the plenary speaker into the joined focus of attention.

The lexical compound noun construction stays productive for some more minutes as the plenary speaker goes on to extend the ad hoc schema in the NPs *[einen sozialen Zwangsdienst]* ('a social forced service'), *[der soziale Zwangsdienst]* ('the social forced service') and *[einen ohnehin schlecht bezahlten Zwangsdienst]* ('a badly-paid forced service'). At the same time, Pilz is introducing another topic that he is putting in causal relation to the criticized civilian service: the shortage of nurses that, so he argues, becomes even more apparent once civilian service is abolished. This topic once again is framed within similarly structured NPs: *[(Kaschierung) eines längst existierenden Pflegenotstandes]* ('(the hiding of) an already existing shortage of nurses') and *[einen akuten Pflegenotstand]* ('a pressing shortage of nurses'). As in the case of *Zwangsarbeit*, the topic is immediately picked up by hecklers from the floor. In doing so, they draw on the already established structural pattern: *Was für ein Pflegenotstand?* ('What short-

age of nurses?') (in resonance with the preceding rhetorical questions *Was heißt Zwangsarbeit? Was verstehen Sie unter Zwangsarbeit?*). According to the micro-entrenchment hypothesis, once constructions are established as local routines through repeated resonance by different speakers, they remain active in the memory of discourse participants for some time. This hypothesis is validated by Murauer who reinstantiates the ad hoc construction under scrutiny some twelve minutes and three speeches later on: *Herr Pilz, es ist unwahrscheinlich [. . .], dass Sie uns heute erklären, dass Wehrpflicht Zwangsarbeit sei, dass Zivildienst Zwangsdienst sei* ('Mister Pilz, it is unbelievable [. . .] that you are telling us today that military service is forced labour and that civilian service is compulsory service').

With respect to our central claim on ad hoc grammatical routine building, example (10) illustrates two important aspects. First, ad hoc constructions may remain productive for a longer stretch of discourse.[11] They are established in joint negotiation between speech participants as the local, salient means to express a particular content. These constructions are hence part of the conceptual pact set up by interlocutors as they engage with each other. Second, these ad hoc constructions resonate across turns with some degree of variation. This allows for the conclusion that speakers indeed do abstract more or less abstract [*Was V(dicendi) NP?] → [Was Prep NP?*] or lexically semi-fixed schemas [Zwangarbeit, Zwangsdienst], which are part of the local inventory of a conversation and which serve as local resources that may be reinstantiated and extended as discourse unfolds. Hence, we argue that in the ongoing interaction a network of constructions with overlapping properties is established incrementally. In the following closing section of the paper, we briefly elaborate on that hypothesis.

5.3 The online emergence of a local constructicon

Persistence through resonance leads to micro-entrenchment of a particular construction. At the same time resonance is enhanced by micro-entrenchment as a construction's higher activation status facilitates its reinstantiation in language

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11 It should be noted that the productivity of ad hoc constructions may extend beyond the boundaries of a single discourse sequence and continue across several speech or writing events. Nerlich (2008) describes the specific case of a metaphorical expression ('crossing the Rubicon'), which figured prominently and in many variations in a debate on stem cell research that spanned several months.
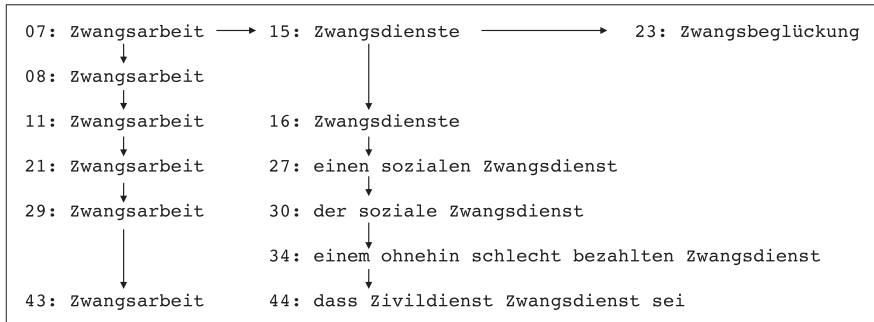
```
 07: Zwangsarbeit ──────▶ 15: Zwangsdienste ──────────────▶      23: Zwangsbeglückung
     │                                      │
 08: Zwangsarbeit                           │
     │                                      │
 11: Zwangsarbeit         16: Zwangsdienste │
     │                                      │
 21: Zwangsarbeit         27: einen sozialen Zwangsdienst
     │                                      │
 29: Zwangsarbeit         30: der soziale Zwangsdienst
                                            │
                          34: einem ohnehin schlecht bezahlten Zwangsdienst
                                            │
 43: Zwangsarbeit         44: dass Zivildienst Zwangsdienst sei
```

Fig. 8: Morpholexical resonance and micro-entrenchment in example (10)

use. Figure 8 illustrates this bidirectionality of micro-entrenchment, drawing on the previous example (10) and the constructional template NP$_{[Zwangs-N]}$ as instantiated in [*Zwangsarbeit*], [*Zwangsdienst(e)*], [*Zwangsbeglückung*] and its various grammatical extensions, as (particular elements of) constructions get repeated, their level of micro-entrenchment is assumed to increase. Arrows indicate which constructions serve as an ad hoc schema for a given reinstantiation.

However, as we have seen in the preceding analysis of example (10), the resonance involved in this complex exchange is not restricted to the morpholexical resonance displayed in Figure 8. Figure 9 displays the incremental interweavement and entrenchment of the ad hoc constructions involved in the example, i.e. the combination of morpholexical, semantic (the use of verba dicendi within the rhetorical question frame) and syntactic resonances. In doing so, we argue that during conversation, speakers jointly build up a local constructicon, i.e. a network of constructions with overlapping properties. In the course of this process of online network building, new constructional patterns emerge from already established ones, reinstantiate them with more or less variation or get embedded in other constructions.

6 Conclusion

The starting point for the present paper was the observation that various traditions concerned with the relationship between language use and linguistic representation have turned their attention to grammatical features of dialogue. Within the broadly defined field of cognitive linguistics, this is most notably the case in Construction Grammar and dialogic syntax. The framework of Construction
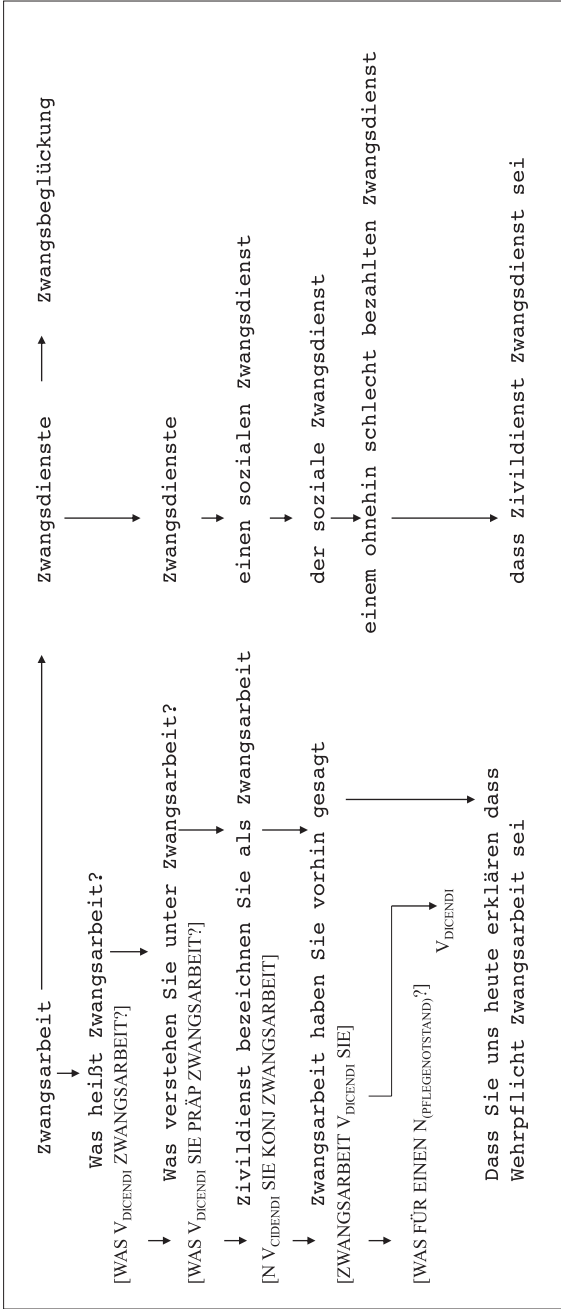
Zwangsarbeit ——————→ Zwangsdienste ——————→ Zwangsbeglückung

Was heißt Zwangsarbeit?
[WAS V$_{DICENDI}$ ZWANGSARBEIT?]

Was verstehen Sie unter Zwangsarbeit? → Zwangsdienste
[WAS V$_{DICENDI}$ SIE PRÄP ZWANGSARBEIT?]

Zivildienst bezeichnen Sie als Zwangsarbeit → einen sozialen Zwangsdienst
[N V$_{CIDENDI}$ SIE KONJ ZWANGSARBEIT]

Zwangsarbeit haben Sie vorhin gesagt → der soziale Zwangsdienst
[ZWANGSARBEIT V$_{DICENDI}$ SIE]
→ einem ohnehin schlecht bezahlten Zwangsdienst

[WAS FÜR EINEN N$_{(PFLEGENOTSTAND)}$?]
V$_{DICENDI}$

Dass Sie uns heute erklären dass → dass zivildienst Zwangsdienst sei
Wehrpflicht Zwangsarbeit sei

Fig. 9: The emergence of the local construction

Grammar has proved to be a useful model to account for the phenomenon of 'chunks' or conventional patterns typical for spoken language. As the definition of a grammatical construction allows for a high degree of unique idiosyncratic features at the formal and semantic pole, it can incorporate specific characteristics of the discourse context in which it is typically used. As a result, a fruitful interaction is taking shape between conversation analysts and Construction Grammar in a joint attempt to chart an 'adequate grammar of spoken language'. Dialogic syntax focuses more strongly on the online features of grammatical structure building and how grammatical choice shapes and is shaped by the choices of co-participants in dialogue. It provides a framework for the analysis of structural parallelisms between turns in dialogue, their function in establishing and negotiating common ground, and their effect in terms of resonance between utterances and speakers. And importantly, dialogic syntax argues that focusing on this dimension of online syntax may shed a new light on traditional linguistic questions such as the semantics-pragmatics interface, abstractness of linguistic structure, language acquisition and language change.

In the present paper, we connected the above two strands that have turned their attention to spoken language by zooming in on the emergence and persistence of local constructional patterns in dialogue. Recent research in cognitive discourse psychology has suggested that speakers in dialogue establish conceptual pacts (or temporary construal agreements) and local routines that facilitate a fluent coordination. This is reflected in the high degree of lexical entrainment (Brennan and Clark 1996) or alignment at different levels of linguistic representation (Pickering and Garrod 2004). Using insights from dialogic syntax, we explored how these local routines emerge, how they acquire the status of local template structures that allow for various degrees of variability and what functions they serve in the ongoing interaction. As part of the central claim of this paper, we aimed to show that the development of local routines involves a process of ad hoc construction building. According to Construction Grammar, grammatical constructions at different levels of linguistic representation arise as a result of schematization and extension processes. As the corpus data have shown, speakers locally abstract specific grammatical routines, with varying degrees of schematicity and internal structural complexity, which are reinstantiated several times (and by several speakers) in the course of an ongoing interaction. Within the boundaries of such an interaction, these ad hoc constructions acquire the status of a symbolic unit, and are part of the emergent linguistic repertoire shared by the participants in the interaction. The repeated reinstantiation of ad hoc schemas leads to a degree of micro-entrenchment or increased activation.

The upshot of the integration of dialogic syntax and Construction Grammar is that – despite their different focus – a fruitful symbiosis is possible, partly on

the basis of their shared roots in usage-based linguistics. Construction Grammar to date has focused nearly exclusively on conventional form-meaning pairings that have emerged from language use, whereas dialogic syntax zooms in on the emergence of structural mapping relations in ongoing discourse. However, as we have shown, dialogic syntax may provide a valuable gateway to the study of the well-known modes of categorization in dialogic real-time.

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