

Construction Grammar and language contact

An introduction

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1. Introduction

Language contact is everywhere. However, while at least some degree of multilingualism and related phenomena – such as code-switching, synchronic lexical and structural transfer, and contact-induced language change – are and have been part of most humans' communicative behaviour for at least the last couple of millennia, the predominant grammatical frameworks of the 20th century, such as generative-transformational grammar, have been remarkably reluctant to approach multilingual phenomena as an ordinary aspect of human language. On the contrary, those grammatical frameworks rely on the explicit presupposition that prototypical language systems reflect the language use of homogeneous speech communities, which in turn reflect the linguistic knowledge of individual monolingual speakers (as embodied in the oft-quoted phrase by Chomsky [1965: 3]: “Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community”). Language contact has, as a consequence, been established as the subject of a special discipline (contact linguistics) rather than as an integrated part of the larger field of linguistics where usual models and frameworks would apply, thus making contact phenomena appear more exotic than they actually are.

In contrast, Construction Grammar (CxG) has over the past decades gained a reputation for being able to integrate linguistic aspects that have traditionally been treated as lying on the fringe of the language system, such as idiomatic expressions of various kinds, grammaticalization phenomena, or interactional aspects. At the same time, CxG still offers a coherent model of lexical and grammatical structures and even goes hand in hand with a compatible semantic approach (Frame Semantics [Fillmore 1982]).

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From this point of view, it stands to reason that applying CxG to language contact phenomena looks particularly promising. Recent years have seen a slow but steadily increasing interest in CxG and multilingualism, resulting in a small, but growing body of literature (e.g. the contributions in Hilpert & Östman 2016, Höder 2012, 2014ab, 2016, Wasserscheidt 2014, Ziegler 2015; for a more extensive overview see Höder, this volume) as well as workshops in related fields, such as the workshop on *Constructions across Grammars* (held at the University of Freiburg in 2012), organized by Martin Hilpert and Jan-Ola Östman, and the workshop on *Construction Grammar and Language Contact* at the *8th International Conference on Construction Grammar* (ICCG-8, held at the University of Osnabrück, 2014), organized by Hans C. Boas and Steffen Höder.

The present volume, mostly based on papers given at the ICCG-8 workshop, combines both theoretical and empirical studies on language contact from a CxG perspective. While the contributions mainly deal with language contact situations involving Germanic languages, the volume as a whole also aims to demonstrate and explore the possibilities of a CxG approach in general, and to inspire similar research on other language contact situations, too. As the volume is aimed at contact linguists as well as construction grammarians, this introduction starts with a (fairly short) overview of classic approaches to language contact and problems that these approaches typically encounter, focusing on structural contact phenomena (Section 2), followed by a sketch of the key concepts of CxG and Frame Semantics (Section 3), before discussing how a CxG approach can alter and improve the way we view language contact phenomena (Section 4). Finally, Section 5 provides an overview of the chapters in this volume.

2. Theoretical approaches to language contact phenomena

Since the pioneering work by Haugen (1950ab, 1953) and Weinreich (1953), contact linguistics has developed a range of analytical approaches to structural language contact phenomena (for extensive surveys and discussions, see Thomason 2001, Winford 2005, Matras 2009, Hickey 2010). Some of the models focus on code-switching phenomena (for an overview, see Gardner-Chloros 2009), i.e. broadly speaking the use of lexical material from different languages within the same utterance or discourse, most notably Poplack's (1980) Two-Constraints Model & Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002) Matrix Language Frame Model, whereas others also include other types of contact phenomena, such as Muysken's (2000) Bilingual Speech model, or Clyne's (2003) broader approach to interlingual transference in general. Some of these approaches, such as Johanson's (2002) Code-Copying Model, also link the analysis of synchronic contact phenomena to contact-induced

diachronic change, a field in which Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) work has been extremely influential over the past decades, especially in the way it systematically relates different possible outcomes of language contact to structural as well as sociolinguistic factors, an approach refined and elaborated by many others (cf. Aikhenvald 2007, Trudgill 2011).

The theoretical assumptions and objectives underlying the different approaches to structural contact phenomena differ widely. Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002) Matrix Language Frame Model, for instance, aims at identifying and explaining universal principles that delimit possible types of code-switching. According to this approach, code-switching is basically conceptualized as the interaction between a dominant Matrix Language (ML) and an Embedded Language (EL), with the ML supplying grammatical and functional elements and the EL providing content morphemes, except in EL 'islands', i.e. chunks where both system and content morphemes are taken from the EL. While this approach has been widely criticized in several respects (and, in response to the criticism, amended in different ways; Gardner-Chloros 2009: 100–104), it continues to be used as a descriptive tool in the analysis of bilingual data. From this perspective, the nouns in the bilingual utterance in (1) can be analyzed as belonging to the EL English, embedded in a sentence with German as ML, while the English phrase in (2) constitutes an EL island within an Spanish ML sentence:

- (1) English-German (Australia; Clyne 2003: 76)
Die Apricots in unserem Backyard sind so beautiful.
 'The apricots in our backyard are so beautiful.'
- (2) English-Spanish (Texas; Pfaff 1979: 296)
Yo anduve in a state of shock por dos días.
 'I walked in a state of shock for two days.'

Muysken's (2000) Bilingual Speech model, in contrast, is not concerned with universal constraints, but rather categorizes code-switching (in his terms, 'code-mixing') into three different types which are claimed to prototypically occur in specific types of language contact situations. He distinguishes insertions (the use of words or chunks from language A in an utterance that otherwise uses B, as in examples (1) and (2) above) and alternations (the alternate use of material from languages A and B, as in (3) below) from congruent lexicalization (as in (4)), i.e. structural units in which the grammatical structures in A and B are (nearly) isomorphous and lexical items from both languages are used.

- (3) English-German (Australia; Clyne 1991: 194)
Wenn ich mich so fühle, geh' ich 'raus in den Garten und / well look after my flowers.
 'When I feel like that, I go into the garden and, well, look after my flowers.'
- (4) English-German (Australia; Clyne 2003: 75)
Der Farmer's got Schafe.
 'The farmer's got sheep.'

Particularly the latter category has proved useful in studies on code-switching between closely related and hence typologically similar languages, which often cannot be captured by more formally oriented approaches such as the Matrix Language Frame model.

However, there is often ambiguity between code-switching and other types of contact phenomena, specifically lexical and grammatical borrowing. A single lexical item from one language in an utterance in another language, for example, can either be an instance of insertional code-switching (then often referred to as an 'ad hoc loan' or 'nonce-borrowing'), or it can reflect contact-induced language change. Similarly, instances of congruent lexicalization can also reflect contact-induced grammatical change rather than merely lexical code-switching. This is addressed by, among other approaches, Johanson's (2002) Code-Copying Model. The model basically distinguishes between global copying, in which a lexical or grammatical unit from one language is inserted as a whole from a donor into a recipient language (or 'copied' from a 'model code' into a 'basic code', in Johanson's terms), and selective copying, in which only certain (sets of) properties are transferred from one language to another, namely formal (e.g. morpho-syntactic), semantic, combinational or frequency-related properties. Therefore, this model can not only analyze lexical borrowing (such as in (1)) as global copying, but it can also cope with structurally more complex contact phenomena. For instance, (5) and (6) represent selective code-copying. In (5), only semantic properties are copied (the meaning of English *grade* is transferred to German *Grad*, which normally means 'degree'), while (6) represents selective copying of formal properties (English SVO word order after a clause-initial adverb instead of genuine German verb-second word order):

- (5) Texas German (1-76-1-19)¹
Meine Grossmutter iss in die zweite Grad gegang.
 'My grandmother went to second grade.'

1. Examples from Texas German come from the Texas German Dialect Archive (Boas 2006, Boas et al. 2010), which can be found at <http://www.tgdp.org>. The file names are unique numbers that allow the user to find the examples (audio with transcription and translation) in the archive.

- (6) Texas German (10-93-1-3)
Gestern ich bin gegang zum store.
 ‘Yesterday, I went to the store.’

This view can be applied synchronically to individual instances of code-copying as well as diachronically to cases of contact-induced change. By adopting an integrative view of lexical and grammatical contact phenomena, the Code-Copying Model resembles, among others, Heine & Kuteva’s (2005) approach to contact-induced grammaticalization, which focuses on the diachronic development of lexical (or less grammatical) sources into (more) grammatical elements in contact situations. Heine & Kuteva (2005: 80ff.) distinguish between two types of contact-induced grammaticalization. So-called ‘ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization’ is a grammaticalization process in language A triggered by the existence of some grammatical structure in language B, such as the emergence of the Tok Pisin pronominal dual marker *-tu(pela)-* (grammaticalized from the numeral *tu*, ultimately from English *two*), resulting in structural isomorphism in the number system between Tok Pisin and Oceanic contact languages (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2005: 80–81). The second type, ‘replica grammaticalization’, refers to grammaticalization processes in language A that emulate a model process in language B. In this case, what is transferred is not a structural element, but an entire diachronic process. An example is the emergence of de-allative future constructions in Pennsylvania German (Burridge 1995: 61), based on the English *going-to* future:

- (7) Pennsylvania German (Burridge 1995: 61)
Ich hab geglaubt – es geht ihm happene
 ‘I thought it’s going to happen to him.’

In summary, it is fair to say that although various approaches to morphological and syntactic effects of language contact have been developed, and contact linguistics is, in many respects, a thriving field, studies are employing different methodologies and analyses for different structural levels. However, it seems uncontroversial that contact effects with different degrees of structural complexity can rather be conceptualized as a continuum than in discrete categories (cf. the distinction between matter and pattern loans proposed by Sakel 2007). This is also reflected in, for example, Clyne’s (2003: 76–79) proposal for a comprehensive (descriptive) terminology for different types of contact phenomena (in his terms, ‘transference’), as also indicated by some of his labels, as the following table illustrates:

Table 1. Different types of transference phenomena according to Clyne (2003)

Label	Transference of ...
lexical transference	lexical items in form and content
multiple transference	a number of collocated lexical items
morphemic transference	bound morphemes
morphological transference	morphological patterns
semantic transference	meanings from lexical items in one language to formally or semantically similar items in another language
syntactic transference	syntactic patterns
lexicosyntactic transference	one or more lexical items and corresponding syntactic constructions
semanticsyntactic transference	meaning and syntactic construction of idiomatic expressions
pragmatic transference	pragmatic patterns
phonological/phonetic transference	phones, phonemes, phonological processes, phoneme-grapheme relations, prosodic features, ...

This continuum entails both formal and functional/semantic aspects (except for phonological/phonetic transference, which can normally be understood as lacking semantics) as well as different degrees of structural schematicity. Therefore, in our view, it would be more adequate to describe and analyze such contact phenomena in an integrative, non-modular approach. Such an approach has to provide a relatively uniform framework for the description of both the structural units that are affected by language contact and what is happening to them in contact-induced language change, including more abstract semantic and pragmatic patterns. We argue that Construction Grammar is well suited for this task.

In the following section we first provide a general introduction to some of the core principles and concepts of Construction Grammar and its corresponding sister theory of Frame Semantics. Then, we discuss how and why Construction Grammar is an ideal framework for analyzing language contact phenomena in a systematic way.

3. Construction Grammar and Frame Semantics

A core idea of Construction Grammar is that, unlike other theories, it does not assume a strict separation between syntax and the lexicon. Instead, construction-based accounts argue for networks of constructions to capture grammatical knowledge of language from the most abstract to the most idiosyncratic patterns

(see Fried & Östman 2004, Goldberg 2006, and Boas 2013a for an overview). There are different versions of CxG, such as Berkeley Construction Grammar (Fillmore & Kay 1993, Fillmore 2013), Cognitive Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006), Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001, 2013), and Sign-based Construction Grammar (Boas & Sag 2012).² While each of these different flavors of CxG differ with respect to the degree of formalization of constructions, the cognitive status of constructions, or the typological status of constructions, they all subscribe to a core set of concepts regarding the organization of linguistic knowledge. These include, among others, the following: First, speakers rely on constructions, i.e. pairings of form with meaning/function for building linguistic expressions. The term construction is defined by Goldberg (2006: 5) as follows:

Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency.³

Figure 1 below illustrates the basic architecture of constructions, pairings of form with meaning. Note that both “form” and “meaning” stand for various types of form and meaning. For example, a particular conventionalized meaning can be coupled not only with one type of form, but with many different types of form at the same time. Thus, a question in English such as *Could you open the door?* can be thought of as being licensed by a specific type of question construction (besides other constructions) coupling one particular meaning, e.g. a request, with two (or more) types of form: a specific type of word order and a rising intonation at the end of the sentence.

Second, linguistic expressions reflect the effects of interaction between constructions and the linguistic material, such as words, which occur in them. This point is important when we consider relatively complex sentences that are licensed by a number of different constructions, from relatively abstract constructions such as the , different types of word order constructions, argument structure constructions, (partially filled) idiomatic constructions, multi-word expressions, or words and morphemes (Goldberg 2006, Michaelis 2012, Fillmore et al. 2012, Boas 2014). As Goldberg (2006: 18) points out: “It’s constructions all the way down.”

2. For an overview, see the different contributions in Hoffman & Trousdale (2013).

3. See Croft (2001: 17–21), Fried & Östman (2004: 18–23), and Goldberg (2013), among others, for other definitions of the term. For an earlier definition of “construction” that does not take into account the notion of frequency, see Goldberg (1995).

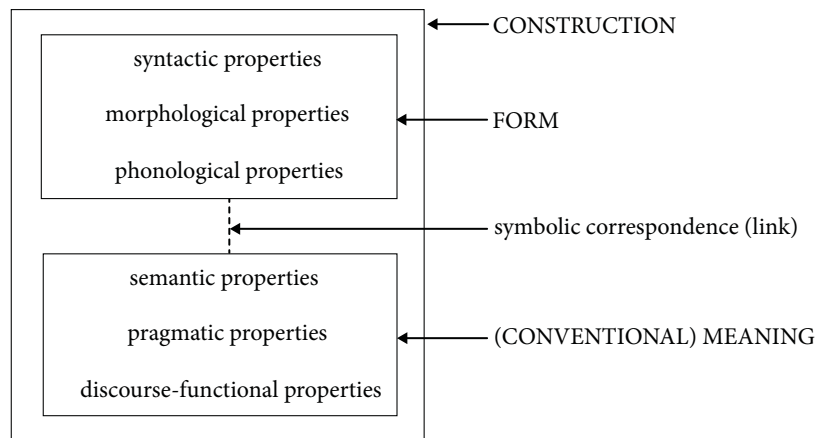


Figure 1. The symbolic structure of a construction (Croft 2001: 18)

Third, constructions are organized into networks of overlapping patterns related through shared properties. The architecture of constructional networks allows researchers to model how constructions sharing particular aspects of form and meaning are related to each other, and it also allows researchers to use inheritance hierarchies to arrive at different levels of abstraction and generalization (see Goldberg 1995, Langacker 2000, Boas 2011, Sag 2012). This approach has the advantage of capturing not only high-level generalizations between constructions of similar forms and meanings, but it allows researchers to also state specific exceptions and mid-level generalizations within the same constructional network. For details, see, for example, Ackerman & Webelhuth (1998), Langacker (2000), Croft (2003), Iwata (2008), Sag (2010), Boas (2010b), Lasch (2016), and Lyngfelt et al. (2018).

Fourth, representations of grammatical knowledge do not rely on derivations or multiple levels of representation, which eliminates the need for stating rules or constraints that regulate interactions between different linguistic modules and levels. More specifically, constructionist approaches are built on the idea that constructs are licensed simultaneously by different types of constructions. Consider, for example, a construct such as *Kim doesn't like citrus fruit, let alone grapefruit*. A construct is a linguistic form that instantiates one or more constructions (see Boas 2017). In this example, the construct instantiates the *Let-aLone* construction,⁴ in which the phrase *let alone* functions as a conjunction with very specific semantic-pragmatic constraints on the pieces that it joins (Fillmore et al. 1988). The construct also instantiates other constructions, such as the non-lexical *Subject-predicate*

4. Following Fillmore et al. (2012), names of constructions are represented in an italicized monospaced font.

and *Negation* constructions and the individual words (except *let alone*), which are lexical constructions (i.e. lexical units evoking a particular semantic frame). Not having to state multiple levels of representation as in other frameworks helps constructionist approaches avoid the problem of restricting mechanisms that map between different levels of representation. As we will see below, this aspect of CxG makes it particularly appealing for analyzing language contact phenomena.

Finally, the parts of language that have traditionally been thought of as syntax and the lexicon are not strictly separated in CxG (see Fried & Östman 2004, Goldberg 2006, Boas 2008, 2013a). Instead, the same notational format of constructions, i.e. pairings of form with meaning as shown in Figure 1 above, is used to identify, document, and analyze linguistic units with different levels of complexity and abstraction. The idea of no strict separation between the lexicon and syntax is, in part, due to the fact that CxG comes with a corresponding sister theory of Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982, 1985), which employs semantic frames for the analysis and classification of different types of meanings. Semantic frames can be thought of as structuring devices capable of capturing different types of meanings evoked by specific kinds of linguistic forms. Traditionally, meanings of words and how they are organized in the lexicon have received the greatest deal of attention in Frame Semantics. The central idea regarding the status of semantic frames for the understanding of words and texts is summarized by Fillmore & Atkins (1992: 76–77) as follows:

A word's meaning can be understood only with reference to a structured background of experience, beliefs, or practices, constituting a kind of conceptual prerequisite for understanding the meaning. Speakers can be said to know the meaning of the word only by first understanding the background frames that motivate the concept that the word encodes. Within such an approach, words or word senses are not related to each other directly, word to word, but only by way of their links to common background frames and indications of the manner in which their meanings highlight particular elements of such frames.

Since 1997, the theoretical concepts of Frame Semantics have been applied to a large-scale research project, FrameNet (FN), which investigates the lexicon of English. We now turn to a brief discussion of the types of lexical information contained in the FrameNet database, because we think that it is important to highlight the amount and detail of lexical information contained in FN. More specifically, we would like to make researchers aware of the fact that the level of detailed information contained in FN is important when it comes to analyzing different types of linguistic phenomena, including language contact phenomena. To this end, we are focusing here only on English data, but it is important to keep in mind that for analyses of language contact phenomena one would ideally have access to similar

rich and detailed types of lexical (and constructional) information for all languages involved in a contact situation.

The Berkeley FrameNet project (<http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>) is in the process of constructing a lexical database for thousands of English words classified according to the types of semantic frames they evoke (Boas 2005a, Fillmore & Baker 2010). Based on corpus data, FrameNet researchers identify and annotate example sentences illustrating the use of a lexical unit (LU; a word in one of its senses) in its particular contexts. These data are then used to define semantic frames such as the Taking frame in Figure 2, which is defined as: An Agent removes a Theme from a Source so that it is in the Agent's possession.⁵

Taking

Definition:

An **Agent** removes a **Theme** from a **Source** so that it is in the **Agent**'s possession.
 Milton **TOOK** the can of beer **out of the refrigerator**.

FEs:

Core:

Agent [] Semantic Type: Sentient	The person who takes possession of the Theme . Milton TOOK the can of beer out of the refrigerator.
Source [] Semantic Type: Source	The location of the Theme prior to the taking. Milton TOOK the can of beer out of the refrigerator .
Theme [] Semantic Type: Physical_object	The Agent takes possession of the Theme . Milton TOOK the can of beer out of the refrigerator.

Figure 2. Frame and (a portion of) frame element definitions of Taking in FrameNet.

Each frame description includes a definition of the frame itself together with specific definitions of the various frame elements (FEs) such as Agent and Theme, which are frame-specific semantic roles, together with annotated corpus sentences

5. Parts of this section are based on Boas & Dux (2017).

exemplifying the use of specific FEs in context.⁶ Each frame also lists all of the LUs that evoke it (verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc.). FN users can search the database in many different ways. One prominent search method involves typing a word into the search interface of FN. For example, a search for *take* results in a list of different LUs evoking different types of semantic frames, including the verbal LUs *to take* in the frames *Removing*, *Ingest_Substance*, *Taking*, *Bringing*, *Ride_Vehicle*, *Taking_time*, *Conquering*, *Capacity*, and *Sex*, among others, the nominal LUs *take* in the frame *Opinion*, and so-called multi-word expressions such as *to take after* (*Similarity*), *to take a piss* (*Excreting*), *to take on* (*Hiring*), *to take out* (*Killing*), and *to take place* (*Event*), among others.

Users can now click on the name of a specific frame evoked by one LU involving *take*, such as the *Taking* frame. This results in the display of the frame definition together with the FEs (as in Figure 2 above) and the list of LUs evoking the frame, including, for example, *to take*, *to seize*, and *seizure*. Users can now click on a specific LU such as *to take* to see its lexical entry which includes (1) a definition, (2) a realization table listing the various syntactic realizations of each FE in terms of grammatical function and phrase type, and (3) a valence pattern table illustrating how various frame element configurations are realized syntactically.

Figure 3 shows a portion of the valence table of *to take* in the *Taking* frame. The various combinations of FEs are known as frame element configurations (FECs). Figure 3 contains three combinations of Frame Elements, the first of which includes the core FEs *Agent*, *Source*, and *Theme*, and the non-core *Place* FE, as in the sentence *The Ottomans took land in what is now Turkey*. The grammatical function and phrase type of each FE is listed below the FE name, e.g. the *Theme* is a nominal object. The labels *DNI* and *INI* refer to FEs that are not overtly expressed and are interpreted under definite or indefinite null instantiation, respectively (Fillmore 1986, Ruppenhofer et al. 2010, Lyngfelt 2012). The numbers in the left-hand column refer to the number of annotated corpus sentences bearing each FE configuration (FEC). Users can click on the number to see the corpus sentence(s) for each FEC, and all annotated corpus sentences can also be accessed on the annotation page of the lexical entry (Boas & Dux 2017). For further details on the types of frame-semantic information contained in FN, see Fillmore (2007),

6. Frames are organized in a structured frame hierarchy that can be viewed using the *FrameGrapher* tool (<https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/FrameGrapher>). Various frame-to-frame relations such as *Inheritance*, *Subframe*, *Using*, and *Precedes* are employed to capture how frames are related to other frames. For details, see Fillmore & Baker (2010), Ruppenhofer et al. (2010), and Boas (2017).

Fillmore & Baker (2010), Boas (2013b,2017), and Ruppenhofer et al. (2013).⁷ Note that we briefly discussed only one lexical entry of one LU evoking one specific frame. Similar types of detailed information in FN are available for 1,222 frames, more than 13,000 LUs, together with more than 174,000 annotated corpus sentences (as of June 2017).⁸ This brief discussion of FN serves as an illustration of the wealth of detailed information one has to take into consideration when analyzing a range of different linguistic data. For the purpose of our discussion of language contact phenomena we would like to point out that, depending on the type of phenomenon under analysis, one may have to rely on similar types of information from the relevant languages involved in a language contact situation.

The discussion of FrameNet is important for our greater understanding of how CxG and Frame Semantics can be applied to the study of language contact phenomena. This is not only because the two theories are closely linked to each other, but also because the information contained in semantic frames (and the entries of the LUs evoking them) represents, in most cases, the meaning pole of constructions, including LUs. Using semantic frames as systematic structuring devices to catalogue and analyze constructions of various types will allow us to approach our investigations of the range of different language contact phenomena listed in Table 1 above more systematically.

At a more abstract level, semantic frames also capture the meaning of constructions that are traditionally thought of as non-lexical. In 2008, this insight led to a pilot project in which the FrameNet lexical database was expanded to also

7. Each entry is also linked to a complete list of annotated corpus example sentences on which the information in the lexical entry is based.

8. Over the past 15 years, several projects for other languages, including Japanese, German, Swedish, Brazilian Portuguese, and Spanish, investigated how semantic frames derived on the basis of English can be reused for the description and analysis of the lexicons of other languages. The resulting FrameNets for these other languages demonstrate that a very large amount of semantic frames derived on the basis of English can be reused for other languages. See Boas (2005b, 2009), Lyngfelt et al. (2012), and Torrent et al. (2018) for details. The lexical information contained in FrameNets of different languages are potentially extremely useful when it comes to studying language contact phenomena that involve particular aspects of meaning and form. For example, Boas (2001) provides a frame-semantic account of the polysemy of motion verbs in English and German. While English *to run* evokes a greater deal of semantic frames than its German counterpart *rennen*, certain German contact varieties exhibit instances of what Clyne (2003) labels semantic transference as in *Sie rennt ein Geschäft* ('She runs a store') which is a clear influence from English *to run a business*. This type of lexical transference can be nicely modeled by pointing to the semantic frame evoked by *to run a business* and then showing how the semantic overlap of *to run* and *rennen* eventually facilitates and triggers the lexical transference based on the similarity of semantic frames evoked by both verbs in the regular motion domain (Self_motion, Cotheme_motion, Caused_motion).

1 TOTAL	Agent	Place	Source	Theme
(1)	NP Ext	PP[in] Dep	INI --	NP Obj
2 TOTAL	Agent	Source	Theme	
(1)	DNI --	DNI --	NP Obj	
(1)	NP Ext	PP[from] Dep	NP Obj	
1 TOTAL	Agent	Theme		
(1)	NP Ext	NP Obj		

Figure 3. Portion of valence table of lexical entry of *to take* in the Taking frame

describe and analyze grammatical constructions using the same methodology and format used for the analysis of LUs. Based on corpus data, FrameNet researchers compiled more than seventy entries of constructions of different types, including argument structure constructions such as the *Way-construction* (Goldberg 1995), word order constructions such as *Subject Auxiliary Inversion* (Fillmore 1999, Goldberg 2006), partially filled idiomatic constructions such as the *Let Alone* construction (Fillmore et al. 1988), and many other types of constructions. The expansion of the FN database and the methodology for cataloguing and analyzing constructions of various levels of abstraction was led, among other things, by the insight that more schematic types of constructional phenomena were very much like the types of lexical phenomena covered in FN. Consider Table 2 below, which compares the categories underlying lexical FrameNet with the categories of the so-called construction.

Recall that in FrameNet, the frame-evoking LU is already identified in a sentence. In construction annotation, the so-called construction-evoking element (CEE) is of central importance as it is specific lexical material central for evoking the construction, such as the phrase *let alone* in the *Let Alone* construction. Similar to the identification of FEs, constructions have construction elements (CEs) as constituent parts of a construction such as, in the case of the *Let-alone* construction, *First_conjunct* and *Second_conjunct*. In some cases, however, there may not be any CEE, as in abstract schematic constructions such as *Subject_Predicate*, *Gapping*, and *Right_Node_Raising*, which have no overt lexical material signaling the presence of a construction. In such cases, annotators only employ the CE labels to identify the different parts of the construction. Besides the identification of CEs, annotations on different layers may also include information about grammatical functions and phrase types, parallel to FN's lexical annotation.

Table 2. Comparison of categories in Lexical FrameNet with those in the Constructicon (Fillmore 2008: 9)

Lexical FrameNet	Constructicon
Frame descriptions describe the frames and their components, set up FE names for annotation, and specify frame-to-frame relations; lexical entries are linked to frames, valence descriptions show combinatory possibilities, entries link valence patterns to sets of annotated sentences.	Constructicon entries describe the constructions and their components, set up construction elements (CEs, the syntactic elements that make up a construct), explain the semantic contribution of the construction, specify construction-to-construction relations, and link construction descriptions with annotated sentences that exhibit their type.
The FEs are given names according to their role in the frame, and provide labels for the phrases in the annotations that give information about the FE.	The CEs are named according to their function in the constructs, they provide the labels on words and phrases in annotated sentences.
The syntactic properties – grammatical functions and phrase types – are identified for all constituents that realize frame elements.	Phrase types are identified for constituents that serve as CEs in a construct; for constructions that are headed by lexical units, grammatical function labels will also be relevant.
Example sentences are selected that illustrate the use of the lexical units described.	Example sentences are selected and annotated for the ways in which they illustrate the use of the construction.
Annotations identify the LU, the FEs, and the GFs and PTs of the segments marked off.	Annotations contain labels for the CEs and identify, for lexically marked constructions, the relevant lexical material.
Valence patterns are identified, and linked to the annotations.	Varieties of construct patterns are identified and linked to the annotations.
Frame-to-frame relationships are documented and displayed in a separate resource.	Construction-to-construction relationships are identified and (will eventually be) displayed.

These added annotation layers are intended to capture possible variations in the realization of a construction (see Boas 2017 and Boas & Dux 2017). The process of construction identification and annotation eventually leads to a construction entry in the FrameNet constructicon. Consider, for example, the construction entry for the *Way_manner* construction in Figure 4.

Each construction entry is headed by the name of the construction, together with information about what semantic frame a construction evokes (if any) and from which other constructions it inherits information. Figure 4 shows that the *Way_manner* construction evokes the *Motion* frame and it inherits the *Way_neutral* construction. In addition, the *Way_manner* construction entry contains (1) a prose description of the construction, including its semantics and pragmatics,

Way_manner

Evokes the Motion frame.

Inherits Way_neutral,

- A verb exceptionally takes *one's way* (the CEE) as a direct object, where *one's* is a possessive pronoun coindexed with the external argument of the verb. Together, they indicate that some entity moves while performing the action indicated by the manner verb. The manner verb is either transitive or intransitive, and thus labeled either Transitive_manner_verb or Intransitive_manner_verb). Following *one's way* is an obligatory frame clement indicating some core aspect of motion (Source, Path, Goal, Direction).
- The semantics of this construction is identical (or at least very close) to that of the frame Motion: A Theme moves under its own power from a Source, in a Direction, along a Path, to a Goal, by a particular means. In many cases the path traversed by the Self_mover is also created by them as they go, in a particular manner (i.e., while performing some temporally coextensive action) (as in *he whistled his way through the plaza*).
- [Theme^{she}] [Manner^{whistled}] [cee^{her way}] [Path^{down the lane}] [Goal^{to the silo}].
- References:
- Goldberg, Adele E. 1995 *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Kuno, Susumu & Takami Ken-ichi. 2004. *Functional Constraints in Grammar: On the Unergative-Unaccusative Distinction*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Figure 4. Part of Construction entry for the *way_manner* construction

(2) the definitions of construction evoking elements and construction elements (which in some cases are identical with the FEs of the semantic frame evoked by the construction), (3) a summary of how the construction elements are realized syntactically, (4) some annotated example sentences illustrating the use of the construction in context, and, where appropriate (5) references to prior works. The resulting inventory of construction entries in the so-called constructicon is similar in structure as the inventory of lexical entries, which allows researchers to study the interactions between constructional and lexical materials more systematically. More specifically, while the types and granularity of information displayed differs from construction to construction, they are still parallel to the valence tables found the FN lexical entries for LUs (see Fillmore et al. 2012, Boas 2017).⁹ The uniform representation format of constructions (and their semantics represented by frames) of various levels of schematicity are particularly useful when it comes to the analysis of language contact phenomena as we will now see.

9. For constructicon projects focusing on other languages see Boas (2014) and Ziem & Boas (2017) for German, Lyngfelt (2018) for Swedish, Laviola et al. (2017) for Brazilian Portuguese, and Ohara (2013) for Japanese.

4. Constructions in contact

Returning to the various types of language contact phenomena discussed in Section 2 above, we now turn to the advantages of employing CxG for the analysis of language contact phenomena.¹⁰ Without going into too many details (for more details please see the individual chapters in this book), we first discuss how the notion of construction can be used to analyze a variety of phenomena labeled as transference by Clyne (2003). Recall that a construction is a conventionalized pairing of form with meaning. In examples such as in (8), we are interested in accounting for the presence and distribution of the English-origin progressive morpheme *-in* (the reduced form of *-ing*) on the stem of the Texas German verb *jagen* ('to hunt').¹¹

- (8) Morphemic transference
Sie sind Waschbärn jachtin. (Guion 1996)
 'They are hunting raccoons.'

Varieties of German do not have a single progressive morpheme similar to English *-ing*. Instead, German has a variety of strategies for marking progressive aspect, including (1) the regular present tense marking as in *Sie jagen* ('They hunt/They are hunting'), which can also receive a progressive interpretation, (2) lexical markers such as the particle *gerade* as in *Sie jagen gerade* ('They are hunting (right now)'), and (3) a mixed verbal form headed by *am* as in *Sie sind am jagen* ('They are hunting') (for dialectal differences, see Zifonun et al. 1997, Krause 2002, Van Pottelberge 2004, and Flick & Kuhmichel 2013). The question arising in the context of examples such as in (8) is how to account for the transference of the English progressive *-ing* marker into Texas German (see Blevins, this volume, for more details).

To address this question, we first need to recall the constructional status of the progressive morpheme *-ing* in English, where it attaches to the stem of a verb in order to provide it with a progressive meaning. From the view of CxG, both the verb stem and the progressive marker are constructions, i.e. pairings of form with meaning. In other words, the English *-ing* construction is conventionally associated with the meaning of progressive aspect and has an open slot for a verb,

10. For previous research applying constructional insights to language contact phenomena, see e.g. Pietsch (2010) and Hilpert & Östman (2016).

11. Of course we are interested in accounting for other aspects of (8), but we are focussing our attention here on the most relevant contact phenomenon, namely the morphemic transference.

representing its ability to select for a verb stem construction in order to provide it with its specific meaning.¹²

While the nature of progressive marking in English is pretty well understood, it does not directly help us understand how and why the English progressive marker *-ing* occurs in Texas German examples such as in (8) above. To address this point, we take a look at prior research by Höder (2014a) on Diasystematic CxG, which proposes that one can think of language contact phenomena as resulting from situations in which the linguistic knowledge of multilinguals consists of a common ‘repertoire’ of elements and structures, i.e. constructions, for all of their languages and varieties. From this repertoire they then chose whatever is appropriate (conventionalized, acceptable, common) in the current communicative context. On this view, the two (or more) language systems may influence each other in certain ways. The multilingual repertoire can then be seen as a set of linguistic structures consisting of idiosyncratic subsets on the one hand (containing elements that solely belong to one language or variety) and common subsets on the other (containing elements that are common to several or all languages within the repertoire). Figure 5 illustrates the idiosyncratic and common subsets of a multilingual repertoire (see Höder, this volume).

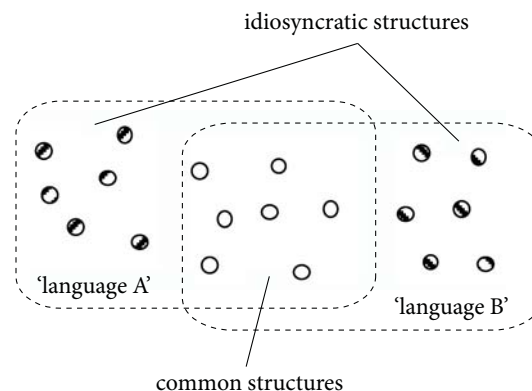


Figure 5. Multilingual repertoire: idiosyncratic and common subsets (Höder, this volume)

Applying Höder’s proposal to the analysis of the English progressive marker in Texas German, we propose, following Guion (1996) and Blevins (this volume) that both English and Texas German have certain common structures such as

12. Note that not any verb can occur in the open verb slot of the progressive construction. Instead, there are specific restrictions on the types of verbs, for details, see Blevins (this volume).

verbs.¹³ At the same time, English, but not Texas German, has an idiosyncratic construction, the progressive *-ing* marker. However, in situations in which Texas German speakers are bilingual with English, they not only have the common verb structures shared by both languages, but they may also choose to pick idiosyncratic structures from English and combine them with Texas German structures, because both idiosyncratic and common structures are part of the overall bilingual repertoire.¹⁴ In other words, given the right context and the proper overlap in form and meaning, Texas German speakers may combine the idiosyncratic progressive marker *-ing* to mark a Texas German verb with progressive aspect. Moreover, at least for some speakers, progressive *-ing* in certain structural contexts seems no longer to be idiosyncratic, but to have developed into a common structure within their bilingual repertoire. This can be seen as an instance of contact-induced constructional change (Hilpert 2013). A simplified representation of the outcome of this process, which results in what Clyne (2003) calls morphemic transference, is illustrated in Figures 6 and 7 below.

13. The label “common structures” does not necessarily imply that a language shares one of its constructions *as a whole* with another language; the two languages might also just share some of the constructions’ properties, potentially resulting in a common construction at a higher level of abstraction. Hence, it remains an open question of how commonality between structures should be defined and measured. For example, at the lexical level it is possible to have extensive overlap in form-meaning pairings, as in the case of *table* and German *Tisch* (‘table’). When dealing with verbs, however, things already become more complicated as the example of *to run* and German *rennen* (‘to run’) illustrates. While both words are verbs that evoke the *Self-Motion* frame, among others (see Boas 2001), they differ in how the semantics of the frame are realized syntactically. That is, the different frame element configurations in the valence tables of the lexical entries of the two verbs show some degree of overlap, but also significant differences (Boas 2003). This means that they share a certain degree of commonality, but they also exhibit distinct differences. Recent research on contrastive issues suggests that the degree of commonality exhibited by more abstract non-lexical constructions is smaller than at the lexical level (Boas 2010a, Dux 2016, Ziem & Boas 2017, Bäckstrom et al. 2018). Future research needs to address how commonalities between constructions can be measured and compared across languages and where different types of constructions fall on the continuum of commonality (and equivalence).

14. Up to the 1960s most TX German speakers were monolingual, but as early as the late 19th century there were already some bilingual TXG – English speakers. At the beginning of the 21st century, there are no monolingual TXG speakers left. This makes it often difficult to distinguish between borrowing and code-switching (see Boas & Pierce 2011), which makes it also difficult to determine exactly when an English lexical item or other construction “entered” the inventory of Texas German.

From	[AUX <i>to be</i> + [v] <i>-ing</i>]
	↕
Meaning	“in process / ongoing”

Figure 6. The English progressive construction¹⁵

From	[AUX <i>sein</i> + {XP, XP} + [v] <i>-ing</i>]
	↕
Meaning	“in process / ongoing”

Figure 7. English progressive marker *-ing* attaching to Texas German verb stem

The English progressive construction in Figure 6 is a pairing of a form, more specifically a form of *to be* followed by a verb stem, to which the progressive *-ing* attaches, with a specific meaning, namely “in process / ongoing.”¹⁶ While this construction is a part of a bilingual speaker’s set of idiosyncratic structures of English (compare Figure 5 above), there is one important part of it that also allows the bilingual speaker to potentially interpret this idiosyncratic English construction as being accessible through the set of common structures shared by both English and Texas German. Following Blevins (this volume), we suggest that the open verb slot in the English progressive construction provides this access point through which a bilingual speaker of Texas German may recruit the English progressive construction in order to mark progressive aspect on German verb stems. In this view, the category verb is a shared common structure for bilingual Texas German speakers, and as such it serves as the access gate to the inventory of English-idiosyncratic structures. It is through this common structure that in a particular context the English progressive construction can be recruited to mark Texas German verbs with the *-ing* form expressing progressive meaning. The result of this process is illustrated in Figure 7.

Comparing the construction in Figure 7 with the construction in Figure 6 above shows that the Texas German construction differs from its English counterpart above in that it has a different auxiliary verb and in that it allows additional NPs and PPs to occur between the auxiliary and the main verb. Based on these differences one would characterize the constructions in Figures 6 and 7 as

15. Only certain types of verbs can occur in the verb slot of the progressive construction (see Blevins, this volume)

16. Ideally, we would like to provide a more detailed frame-semantic analysis of the meaning side of the English progressive construction, but given the limited amount of space, we leave this up to further research. A cursory glance at FrameNet suggests that the *Process_continue* and *Ongoing_activity* frames might be suitable candidates for characterizing the meaning side of the English progressive construction.

idiosyncratic structures. However, there are also two important similarities shared by both constructions. First, the meaning side of both constructions can be characterized as “in progress / ongoing.” Second, both constructions contain on their form sides an open slot for a verb to which an *-ing* suffix attaches. The most crucial aspect of this comparison is the open verb slot that is shared by both, and which allows a speaker of Texas German to recruit an otherwise idiosyncratic construction of English to mark verbs in Texas German, because both languages share a common set of structures, i.e. verbs. It is because of this overlap in form/meaning that the conventionalized meaning associated with the English progressive construction may be transferred to mark German verbs, too. Blevins (this volume) presents a more in-depth analysis of the English progressive marker in Texas German.¹⁷

The results of our short discussion of how and why English progressive markers can be attached to Texas German verbs can also be applied to other types of transference phenomena discussed by Clyne (2003) and reviewed in Section 2 above. As in the case of English progressive marking, other types of transference phenomena, too, rely on recruiting particular idiosyncratic structures from one language in order to apply them to another language. This is made possible because of a considerable amount of overlap in form-meaning correspondences between constructions in two languages. As such, other types of transference phenomena rely on very similar types of mechanisms, but they differ from our example of the English progressive construction in that they apply at other linguistic levels. For example, in the case of syntactic transference discussed in (6) above (*Gestern ich bin gegang zum Store*), we are dealing with a contact-induced adaptation of a syntactic construction from English, which does not require the German-type verb-second positioning of the finite verb in declarative main clauses (see also Fuchs [2017] and Dux [this volume]). From a contrastive perspective, we would assume that the English declarative clause construction [ADVP NP V PP] belongs to the set of idiosyncratic constructions of English, while at the same time it shares certain commonalities with the idiosyncratic Texas German declarative clause construction [ADVP V_{fin} NP PP V_{part}]. For (at least some) bilingual speakers of Texas German, though, the English construction appears to have developed into a common structure that can be used in either language. Unfortunately, space

17. The details of how German-origin verbs in Texas German can adapt English progressive markers (and other markers, too) can also be modeled in terms of analogy through semantic frames (as in Boas 2003). On this view, both English and German verbs evoke the same semantic frames and because of this similarity in meaning, similarities in form may result. See also Kay's (2013) patterns of coining, which provide a way of analyzing one-shot extensions based on existing conventionalized form-meaning pairings. It may well be that from a diachronic perspective the progressive marker *-ing* was only a one-shot extension for some speakers. Over time, the type and token frequency increased, until it became a more regular pattern.

constraints prevent us from a more in-depth discussion of where to locate the two constructions.

Instances of semantic transference such as those in (5) above (*Meine Grossmutter ist in die zweite Grad gegang* ('My grandmother went to second grade')), in which the word *Grad* is used with the form and meaning of the English word *grade*, can be analyzed along similar lines. In this case, there is almost identical overlap in the form sides of *Grad* and *grade*, which could lead to Texas German speakers associating the two forms with each other and categorizing them in terms of common (lexical) constructions/structures, if not identical ones. However, each of the overlapping form sides are associated with different types of semantic frames. While the German-origin *Grad* evokes the Temperature frame ('degree'), English *grade* evokes the Education frame (besides other frames such as the Assessing frame). Because of the great overlap in form, speakers of Texas German may regularly use German *Grad* to mean English *grade* instead of using German *die Klasse* ('the class'). As such, semantic transference can be characterized constructionally in terms of an overlap of forms together with different semantic frames evoked. As was the case of morphosyntactic and syntactic transference, semantic transference is made possible by a certain degree of overlap in form or similarities in form-meaning pairings that let the speaker interpret them as similar, which then in turn leads to the speaker adopting one specific construction from one language and using it in the same way in the other language. Other types of transference discussed by Clyne (2003) and reviewed in Section 2 above, such as lexico-syntactic transference, phonological transference, pragmatic transference, and framal transference, follow similar strategies as those discussed in this section.

The examples discussed in this section illustrate the potential of CxG as a framework in which different types of synchronic language contact phenomena as well as contact-induced language change can be analyzed. In our view, there are mainly three arguments in favour of applying CxG to language contact. First, the structural outcome of language contact is rarely restricted to only one level of linguistic structure, but usually involves what is traditionally thought of as belonging to different parts of the language system. The non-modularity of CxG facilitates capturing such contact phenomena as, say, lexico-syntactic transference (in Clyne's terms) in a unified framework, providing an analysis that is theoretically sound and empirically valid. Second, language contact often has an impact on both the form and the meaning of linguistic elements (as in Clyne's semantico-syntactic transference), which implies that it is virtually impossible to fully understand and analyze language contact phenomena without taking both aspects into account. As CxG is built around the idea that the language system consists of constructions which are defined as form-meaning pairs, it is evident that CxG is apt to deal with both the form and the semantics (including grammatical and

pragmatic functions) of contact phenomena. Third, CxG makes it possible to analyze not only the structural results of language contact, but at the same time also to delve into the transfer mechanisms that are at work in contact situations. One way of modeling the mechanisms themselves is the application of CxG to linguistic repertoire of multilingual speakers as in Diasystematic CxG (discussed above).

5. Overview of the chapters

The papers in this volume cover a wide span of language contact phenomena from a constructional perspective. The first paper by Steffen Höder (*Grammar is community-specific: Background and basic concepts of Diasystematic Construction Grammar*) proposes a socio-cognitively adequate descriptive model of language contact based on Construction Grammar. It assumes that multilingual speakers and communities organize their grammatical knowledge on the basis of the available input via processes of interlingual identification, abstraction, generalization, and categorisation, regardless of language boundaries. Such processes result in multilingual constructions that consist in part of language-specific constructions ('idioconstructions') and in part of constructions that are unspecified for language ('diaconstructions'). While language-specificity can normally be interpreted as part of the pragmatic meaning of a construction, diaconstructions are associated with different degrees (and types) of formal and functional schematicity. Besides introducing the main ideas behind Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG) Höder's paper also offers a discussion of some more general implications for usage-based constructional approaches in general, particularly those constructional approaches that put an emphasis on psychological plausibility (Goldberg 1995, 2006) and the non-universality of constructions (Croft 2001).

The ensuing contributions by Margo Blevins, Kathrin Weber, and Timothy Colleman deal with cases of constructional variation in contact and change. Blevins's paper (*Towards a constructional analysis of the progressive aspect in Texas German*) discusses a variety of constructions to express progressive aspect such as the *am*-construction (e.g. *Ich bin am Arbeiten* 'I am working'). Based on data from Guion (1996) as well as Gilbert (1972) and from 67 speakers from Gillespie County contained in the Texas German Dialect Archive (<http://www.tgdp.org>), Blevins provides a constructional analysis of the various progressives in Texas German. While some of the progressive constructions clearly have their roots in some of the German donor dialects brought to Texas since the 1840s, the *-ing* progressive marker has been borrowed from English, according to Blevins. To provide a constructional account of how English *-ing* has been borrowed into Texas German, Blevins first discusses the various form and meaning properties of

English progressive *-ing*, including the various restrictions as to what types of verbs *-ing* can attach to. These insights are then taken to show how the corresponding German-origin verbs evoking the same semantic frames can also be marked with English progressive *-ing*. The different constructional properties of the various progressive constructions are modeled in terms of constructions (form-meaning pairings), which have specific sets of restrictions as to the types of verbs to which they can attach.

In her paper on *Tense and aspect marking in (Low) German perfect constructions based on variety contact*, Weber applies constructional insights to investigate the variation of auxiliary constructions in the Westphalian Low German dialect area surrounding Münster, Germany. Based on interviews with 54 dialect speakers, Weber first presents statistical computations and then discusses the emergence of a regional dialect which combines features of the regional standard with dialectal forms. More specifically, she shows how the different types of auxiliary constructions can be analyzed in terms of CxG (using exogenous and endogenous variables), especially in terms of frames of reference. Her analysis demonstrates how constructional principles can be fruitfully applied to analyzing language variation, specifically when it comes to determining how the constructional organization of multilectal speakers can be analyzed using sociodemographic variables.

Timothy Coleman's paper (*Distributional assimilation in constructional semantics: On contact-related semantic shifts in Afrikaans three-argument constructions*) analyzes two cases of ongoing post-constructionalization and constructional change in the area of ditransitive complementation in Afrikaans that may or may not be contact-induced. Using data from a corpus of Afrikaans newspaper texts spanning more than 30 years, Coleman first discusses a formal property of the Afrikaans ditransitive, namely the linking of the recipient role (rather than the theme) to subject function in the passive version of the ditransitive. Based on frequency data, Coleman shows that this phenomenon is increasing over time, which leads him to investigate the possible causes of this development (e.g. influence from English [Ponelis 1993]). The second part of his paper focuses on the Afrikaans ditransitive construction encoding different "caused reception" scenarios. The semantic range is, according to Coleman, an ongoing change, and some of these changes are analyzed in terms of constructional cases of distributional assimilation, similar to cases discussed by Gast & Van der Auwera (2012).

The following two contributions discuss instances of item-based patterns and constructional generalizations in contact. In *Constructions as cross-linguistic generalizations over instances: Passive patterns in contact*, Jan-Ola Östman proposes that constructions are not by definition language specific. Using data from language contact in Finnish and Swedish (as well as dialectal variation in both languages), Östman argues that constructional approaches to language inherently

have an advantage over other approaches, because they are capable of coping with varieties of language (and thus varieties of structures) that have emerged from contact situations. To illustrate his main idea, Östman first presents the properties of different types of passive constructions (periphrastic vs. morphological) in Finnish and Swedish. Besides discussing formal aspects of these constructions, Östman also looks into the semantic and pragmatic aspects of passive constructions in the two languages, as well as other types of agent-demoting constructions, which leads him to propose a systematic distinction between so-called “passive patterns” and so-called “active patterns.” Based on this inventory of different types of constructions in Finnish and Swedish, Östman analyzes data from the Solv dialect of Swedish spoken in Finland, which has been in contact with Finnish for several centuries. The resulting passive constructions are interesting, because, among other things, the Solv passive system as a whole has been influenced by its close contact with Finnish, specifically at the morphological level. Östman takes these data, among others, to argue that it may not be possible to make a conceptual distinction between traditional morphological passives, periphrastic passives, and impersonal-generic actives.

Ryan Dux’s paper (*Texas German and English word order constructions in contact*) shows how CxG can be applied to account for the differences in word order constructions in Standard German and Texas German. Using data from the Texas German Dialect Archive (<http://www.tgdp.org>), Dux shows that Texas German exhibits a number of word order constructions that differ from the corresponding Standard German word order constructions in that they do not put the finite verb in V2 position and in that they do not realize the finite verb in V-last position in dependent clauses. To account for these differences, Dux identifies a number of verbs and idiomatic constructions that have been borrowed from English into Texas German, eventually leading to low-level grammatical change, which is not always immediately identifiable as resulting from contact with English. This investigation leads Dux to three different types of constructional analyses of non-standard word order in Texas German: First, word order is due to general changes in Texas German. Second, word order differences in Texas German are due to contact with English, specifically to borrowing of English verbs. Third, word order differences may be the result of general language attrition and are thus generally unpredictable.

The last two contributions focus on semantic frames in language contact. Hans C. Boas’ paper (*A constructional account of the modal particle ‘ja’ in Texas German*) investigates the various senses of polysemous German-origin modal particles. Focusing on German *ja* (‘really’), Boas shows that each sense implies distinct types of background knowledge on the part of the speaker and the hearer. Boas proposes to account for the different types of background knowledge in terms

of the semantic frames evoked by the different senses, including Astonishment, Marveling, Threatening, and Assertion. These different senses are compared and contrasted with the English discourse particle *you know*, which has been borrowed into Texas German, and which also evokes different types of semantic frames. Using insights from Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982) and Implicit Anchoring (Östman 2006), Boas argues that each of the individual senses of particles evoke not only distinct semantic frames, but that these specific senses also go hand in hand with particular discourse patterns that in turn make reference to specific grammatical constructions.

In *Frames change in language contact environments: a case study of schleichen 'to sneak' and kommen 'to come'*, David Hünlich discusses how speakers of ethnic and linguistic minorities exhibit different linguistic features than those of mainstream varieties. Using the principles of Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982) to analyze experimental data on how children structure lexical meaning, Hünlich discusses the influence of other linguistic factors as well as social background. His data come from lexical sorting experiments with school children with migration and without migration background at an elementary school in a mid-sized German city. Focusing on the semantic domains of motion and communication, Hünlich demonstrates considerable differences in how children with and without migration background structure their verbal lexicons. Applying insights from Frame Semantics to the statistical evaluation of his experimental data, Hünlich shows that the best predictors for linguistic competence are (1) speaking another language (primarily Turkish and Arabic), (2) living in a certain part of town, and (3) engaging in specific language practices at home. According to Hünlich, these differences directly influence how children interpret verbs like *schleichen* ('to sneak') and *flüstern* ('to whisper'), whose meanings are expanding from a manner-oriented Self-motion and Communication_manner frame to a more directionally focused Arriving and Request frame under linguistic influences and because of different social networks.

6. Conclusions

Construction Grammar and contact linguistics can benefit from each other in various ways. As discussed above, CxG is well suited as a framework for analysing contact phenomena, primarily because it is non-modular, because it integrates form and meaning, and because it can capture not only the structural outcome of language contact, but also the transfer mechanisms that are at work in contact situations. We have suggested in this chapter – and the contributions in this volume show this as well – that CxG can be successfully applied to a range of contact

phenomena, and will hopefully increasingly be recognised as a useful tool for all kinds of contact linguistic research.

Conversely, CxG can also benefit from its application to language contact. First, if CxG is based on the assumption that “it’s constructions all the way down” (Goldberg 2006: 18), i.e. if all components of speakers’ linguistic knowledge are entirely contained in the constructicon, then it is essential that all parts of the language system and all aspects of language use can be shown to fit into this model in a straightforward, socio-cognitively realistic way, including both formal and semantic aspects. Studies on language contact can thus corroborate key claims of CxG. Second, if the application of CxG to language contact phenomena reveals new (i.e., previously unknown or underinvestigated) ways in which constructions work, emerge, or interact with each other, then this is highly relevant to further research in CxG in general. Language contact situations make an ideal testing ground for CxG hypotheses on, for instance, constructional productivity, learnability, and change, and findings from language contact situations can in many respects be generalised to hold for other contexts as well, provided that contact phenomena are not seen as some kind of interference from outside the language system.

As we said at the beginning of this chapter: Language contact is everywhere, and Construction Grammar at least claims that constructions are everywhere, too. If this volume can contribute to an increasing insight into *both*, it has achieved its goal.

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