

What makes Construction Grammar relevant for contact linguistics – and vice versa?

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1. Language change, language contact, and Construction Grammar

One of the major advances in historical sociolinguistics over the past half century comes from insights about the role of language contact in language change. For example, Weinreich, Labov & Herzog's (1968) seminal paper "Empirical Foundations for a Theory of Language Change" pointed out that the 'actuation problem' is one of several problems to be solved by any theory of language change. The actuation problem refers to the question of what triggers or initiates a specific linguistic change within a speech community. It focuses on identifying the various factors leading to the adoption of a new linguistic variant or innovation by speakers. When seeking to understand the stimulus for the adoption of a new linguistic feature, Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968) point out that linguistic change is not arbitrary, but that it is rather influenced by different social, cultural, and cognitive factors, including speakers' social networks, social prestige, and their motivation to conform to particular speech patterns.

One of the situations leading to language change, according to Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968), is contact between speakers with different languages or varieties: "[I]t will be necessary to analyze the processes which occur in such contact situations in terms of how a speaker can understand and accept as his own the structural elements in the speech of others" (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968, p.155). But language contact is not only relevant as a trigger of language change. Among other things, it also determines possible directions of development through, say, cognitive and social preferences for some innovations over others in language contact situations (the 'constraints problem', Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968, pp.183–184); this was reflected in later theoretical work resulting in, for example, various borrowing hierarchies, e.g. Thomason & Kaufman (1988, pp.74–76), Matras (2022, pp.604–605), and it limits possible trajectories for tran-

sitional stages in language change (the ‘transition problem,’ Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968, p.184).

Since Weinreich’s (1953) and Haugen’s (e.g. 1953) pioneering work, contact linguistics has developed into a multifaceted discipline that covers a wide range of topics, including historical, sociolinguistic, acquisitional, pragmatic, and cognitive aspects. Outside its rather specialist niche, however, linguistic theory in general has tended to neglect or marginalize language contact instead of properly integrating it. Theoretical frameworks and models that were developed with monolingual situations in mind – including, but by no means limited to, generative grammar with its focus on the “ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community” (Chomsky, 1965, p.3) – were applied to multilingual situations and, whenever necessary, supplemented with additional, more or less sophisticated theoretical machinery to make them fit in with the reality of multilingualism. A theoretical approach that could handle language contact phenomena without treating it as a special case and without invoking extra devices remained a desideratum for a long time.

Construction Grammar (henceforth CxG), especially in its usage-based flavors, seems particularly suitable for filling this gap (Boas & Höder, 2018, pp.25–26): First, the non-modularity of Construction Grammar facilitates the analysis of structurally complex contact phenomena that involve both lexicon and grammar within a unified framework. Second, with form-function pairs (‘constructions’) as its central unit, CxG provides a holistic perspective on contact-related phenomena that typically have an impact on both formal and functional aspects. Third, usage-based CxG is a socio-cognitively realistic approach that allows – or at least should allow – for an integrative view of language contact phenomena that takes both structural and social aspects into account, ranging from multilingual practices such as code-switching to contact-induced change.

CxG, in turn, has a vital interest in being successful in the modeling of contact phenomena for its own reasons. One of its central tenets is, in Goldberg’s (2006, p.18) words, that “it’s constructions all the way down” – or, as rephrased by Boogaart, Coleman & Rutten (2014), “all the way everywhere” –, i.e. CxG commits itself to accounting for all kinds of linguistic phenomena as long as they involve form-function pairs. This is a very programmatic claim, and a risky one at that (as all scientific claims ought to be; cf. Cappelle, 2024): In our view, if CxG fails in its application to language contact, it fails as a whole. However, and fortunately, CxG has already made a virtue of using the periphery to (also) explain the core – similarly to the Labovian approach of using the present to explain the past (the ‘apparent-time construct’; Labov, 1974) in sociolinguistic models of language change. Hence, early studies focused on the properties of idiomatic expressions and multi-word units (cf. Fillmore, Kay & O’Connor, 1988, on the *let alone* con-

struction) – which then paved the way for reconceptualizing the lexicon and the grammar of a language as forming a continuum rather than belonging to different modules. Language contact phenomena provide another good testing ground for CxG as a whole, because they put to the test a number of central concepts of constructional research: (1) It's constructions all the way down, i.e. CxG aims for a comprehensive coverage of linguistic phenomena within a single theoretical framework (it is non-modular and non-derivational, i.e. what you see is what you get); (2) A construction is a pairing of form with meaning/function; (3) CxG is usage-based; (4) There is no (strict) separation between the lexicon and grammar.

Over the past decade, construction grammarians have become increasingly aware of the theoretical relevance of language contact phenomena (cf. the contributions in Boas & Höder, 2018; 2021). More specifically, Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG; cf. Höder, 2018; 2019) was designed as a usage-based constructionist framework that is dedicated to language contact and multilingualism. While there is, by definition, nothing in DCxG that is incompatible with other constructionist approaches, the framework systematically integrates insights from contact linguistics (including cognitive contact linguistics) and sociolinguistics with usage-based CxG and thus leads to relevant and innovative questions for the study of language contact from a constructionist perspective. The key insight is that 'language', from a usage-based point of view, should be viewed as an optional property at the level of the construction rather than as a property of the whole constructicon. 'Language', in this view, forms part of the pragmatic meaning of individual constructions, while leaving room for constructions that are shared by two or more languages. On this basis, DCxG also introduces useful terminology in calling language-specific constructions *idioconstructions* and language-unspecific ones *diaconstructions*. By means of idio- and diaconstructions, multilinguals are assumed to organize their linguistic knowledge into a single, multilingual constructicon instead of separate ones for each language.

DCxG has developed into somewhat of a standard approach to language contact phenomena within usage-based Construction Grammar (for more details, see Boas & Höder, this volume). While DCxG naturally benefits from progress made by other constructionist approaches and also shares the challenges that CxG is facing in general, some topics are of particular importance when it comes to the analysis of language contact and multilingualism.

First, for example, scholars such as Dąbrowska (2019; 2020) and De Smet (2020) emphasize that different speakers of the same language do not converge on identical cognitive representations of that language's grammar, but that there are observable, non-negligible differences between individuals. Of course, language is both a cognitive and a social phenomenon – but what does that imply for the ontological status of constructions? What is it that CxG studies: collective gram-

mars, individual knowledge, or both? This is a general question, and an open one at that, but it is particularly relevant in multilingual contexts: Multilingual speakers' linguistic knowledge of one of their languages is even more likely to differ than monolinguals' knowledge from what could be described as a 'standard' collective representation of the same language, as observable in aggregate data found in large representative corpora. This is also reflected in the way multilingual phenomena are shared and conventionalized within multilingual communities; hence, "grammar is community-specific" (Höder, 2018). Koch & Günther (this volume) contribute to this discussion by investigating how the role of verbs in caused-motion constructions in three different age groups of German-French bilingual children lead to low-level generalizations. They show, among other things, that it is important to consider both a general community-level grammar while at the same time not losing sight of the high degree of inter-individuality, in which prototypical verbs appear to represent certain event types.

Second, some analyses carried out within DCxG arrive at diaconstructions that, at first glance, appear to exhibit rather high degrees of schematicity, reflecting the fact that they capture recurring interlingual patterns that are less likely to be lexically or even phonologically filled than monolingual schemas. Theoretically speaking, there is no inherent upper limit to schematicity (cf. the contributions in Hilpert, 2019). Whether or not highly schematic constructions are realistic in terms of cognitive entrenchment and social conventionalization is thus an empirical question. This puts the question of evidence center stage: What kind of evidence could allow us to postulate or reject highly schematic constructions, and what types of data and methods can be employed to gather such evidence? Wiesinger (this volume) contributes to this discussion by presenting a usage-based analysis of self-motion constructions in Guianese French Creole. More specifically, she identifies at least two broad classes of constructions, namely (1) verb-framed intransitive motion constructions with path verbs of (Colonial) French origin, which are by far the most frequent and productive construction type, and (2) hybrid self-motion constructions, which can be related to contact-induced and/or convergence-driven development involving multiple source constructions.

One type of evidence in favor of schematic constructions is productivity, often operationalized in terms of type and token frequencies in language corpora. While generally definable as "the likelihood that a construction will apply to a new item" (Bybee, 2010, p. 94), productivity is often understood as being primarily related to language *production*. As a rule, however, speakers can employ a much larger proportion of their linguistic knowledge receptively than they use productively. This is even more relevant in multilingual situations, as evident in interlingual modes of communication that require speakers to actively use one language

while also being able to decode interlocutors' utterances in other languages (cf. Hagel, 2023). Especially in such scenarios, the receptive application of schematic constructions plays an important role as well. It is therefore natural that DCxG should place a stronger focus on what can be called *receptivity* (in addition to productivity) as well as experimental data obtained using psycholinguistic methods, such as reaction time measurements (in addition to corpus data; cf. Olofsson & Prentice, 2023).

Third, the application of CxG to language contact situations forces us to look at certain linguistic phenomena that have traditionally been considered rather marginally or not at all. For example, linguistic creativity and extravagance are topics that have only recently been addressed in work by, among others, Bergs & Kompa (2020), Hoffmann (2022), and Ungerer & Hartmann (2020). However, many multilingual speakers and communities *routinely* utilize their linguistic repertoires in ways that are very similar. Multilingual modes of communication are typically characterized by large numbers of ad hoc interlingual innovations and the creative use of interlingual schemas that resemble rather playful uses of extravagant constructs in monolingual communication (see, e.g., Clyne, 2003; Dux, 2020). Similarly, while CxG perspectives on discourse-level phenomena have been discussed in the literature (e.g. Östman, 2005; 2015; Enghels & Sansiñena, 2021), the ubiquity of multilingual practices in multilingual communication makes it obvious that phenomena such as code-switching must be accounted for in constructional terms as well. Finally, work by Höder (2019), Hagel (2023; this volume), and Warmuth (this volume) sheds light on the role of phonological patterns and schemas in multilingual contexts. Everything to do with phonology has traditionally been shunned by CxG, as phonology typically falls outside the traditional scope of grammar. Yet, many such patterns are found to be pragmatically functional, and hence potentially qualify as constructions (cf. Morin, *forthc.*).

This brief discussion shows that CxG and contact linguistics can benefit considerably from each other. It also suggests that applying CxG to language contact phenomena both requires and fosters an extended perspective on the nature of the construction itself so as to include a wider range of linguistic patterns.

2. Constructions and patterns

Readers of this volume might wonder why its title includes the term “patterns”. There are a number of reasons for this. First, the two concepts “patterns” and “constructions” are related in various ways. The term “constructions” had been an established concept in descriptive and prescriptive grammars for quite some time

even before the advent of the framework we know today as CxG.¹ Grammatical constructions can thus be seen as a cover term that refers to patterns or structures in language that govern how words are arranged to form phrases, clauses, and sentences. Typically, constructions encompass different aspects of language, including syntax, morphology, and semantics and they provide the framework for communication. Starting in the late 1980s and 1990s, constructions became the perhaps most prominent concept of CxG, known as units that pair form with meaning/function (Fillmore et al., 1988; Fillmore & Kay, 1993; Goldberg, 1995). Given one of the main claims of CxG, namely that a language consists of a structured inventory of constructions (“it’s constructions all the way down”), one can regard patterns and constructions as related concepts as both involve rules and structures in language.

Second, since constructions are the most fundamental concept in CxG, one can regard constructions as a more general concept that also includes patterns as a type of construction. This view is based on the historical development and terminological differences between constructions in CxG and patterns. Recall that the early phase of CxG started out with a commitment to account for all aspects of language, i.e. from the most general (syntactic) phenomena to the most specific and idiosyncratic phenomena. This view of language was at least partially based on previous linguistic insights showing that even idiomatic linguistic structures exhibited certain types of syntactic regularities.

For example, Fraser (1970) categorizes idioms based on the number of syntactic operations they allow in different classes, leading to a “frozenness hierarchy” of idiomatic expressions. Subsequently, Bolinger (1976, p.1) argues for paying more attention to idiomatic aspects of language rather than focussing almost exclusively on general aspects: “I want to take an idiomatic rather than an analytic view, and argue that [...] our language [...] provides us with an incredibly large number of prefabs.” In our view, these proposals can be regarded as direct precursors to Fillmore et al.’s (1988, p.36) early definition of grammatical constructions in the framework that later became known as (Berkeley) Construction Grammar: “any syntactic pattern which is assigned one or more conventional functions in a language.” This definition of “construction” was later picked up by Goldberg (1995) and subsequently updated by Goldberg (2006, p.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.”²

1. See also Haspelmath (2023) for a broader definition of the term “construction” and for an overview of the historical development of the term “construction” and its use for linguistic description and analysis.

In the remainder of this section, we propose to integrate the results of various strands of research that is compatible with a constructionist view of language (in particular insights from Pattern Grammar) into a coherent constructional format as in Figure 1 that makes the relationship between form and meaning explicit. This step will allow constructionists to address the role and status of many more linguistic phenomena than previously analyzed in CxG more generally and holds the promise for advancing our understanding of more contact phenomena specifically. On this view, if it is not possible to clearly identify a specific meaning of a “pattern” (in the narrow sense of Pattern Grammar; Hunston & Francis, 2000) we will still be able to describe its form and analyze it using constructional terminology while remaining silent about the (potential) meaning side of it.³

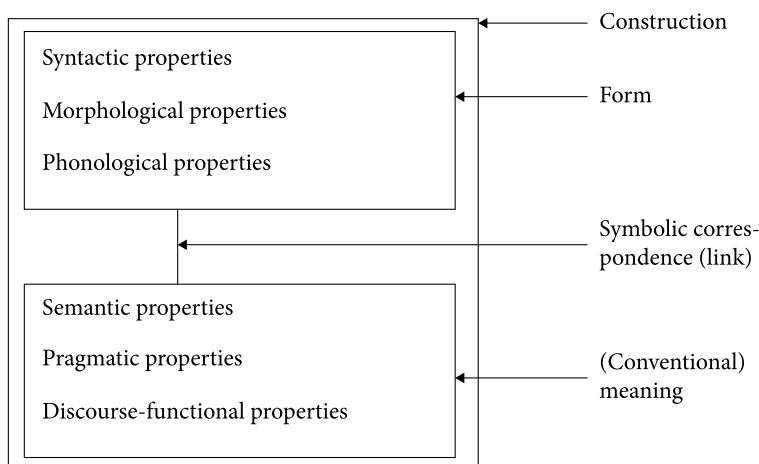


Figure 1. Types of information in constructions (Croft, 2001, p.18)

2. Croft (2001, p.46) offers a related but slightly different view of the analytical usefulness of constructions. In his view “constructions, not categories and relations, are the basic primitive units of syntactic representation.”

3. We are aware that constructions without (any discernible) meaning do not as such fit the “traditional” concept of “construction” as a pairing of form with meaning. Our own thinking on the matter is that constructions can be associated with different types of meaning, including no meaning, as argued by Fillmore (1999) and Boas (forthc.). If we wanted to remain extremely rigid, constructions without meaning would not be considered constructions in the narrow sense, but rather as patterns (in the narrow sense) as in Pattern Grammar (Hunston & Francis, 2000).

In our view, constructions can be regarded as a type of patterns since not all patterns fully realize all conceptual elements of constructions in the sense of CxG.⁴ To understand the similarities and differences, we should take another look at the historical development of both concepts, constructions and patterns. While one of the most fundamental ideas of CxG is that all of language consists of constructions (pairings of form with meaning), it is not entirely clear whether all constructions do in fact carry meaning. Fillmore (1999), for example, proposes that the set of English Subject-Auxiliary-Inversion (SAI) constructions can be accounted for without having to posit a specific meaning side of the constructions. In contrast, Goldberg (2006) claims that SAI constructions do in fact have meaning and that their constructional network is motivated by a number of different semantic and pragmatic factors. Building on these proposals, among others, Fillmore et al. (2012, pp. 325–328) offer an empirical classification of constructions that also explicitly points out the existence of constructions without meaning, i.e. constructions that have a clear form side, but no discernible meaning side that is paired with the form side.⁵ There appears to be a difference of opinion among constructionist researchers with respect to the existence of meaningless constructions.⁶

However, in our view, the idea that there are also constructions that have no specific meaning comes as no big surprise as much of a compatible framework

4. The architecture of patterns typically consists only of a form side, while constructions are assumed to (almost always) combine a form with a meaning/function. Thus, constructions can be regarded as more specific units than patterns. This technically means that if patterns were augmented with additional information about their form and function that they could then also be regarded as constructions. See Perek & Patten (2019) and Hunston (2024).

5. See Willich (2022) for an empirical methodology for classifying grammatical constructions and identifying their meanings using semantic frames. See Cappelle (2024) for a proposal to test the claim that all constructions are meaningful. This test might involve nonsense words embedded in non-existing sentence patterns. The expectation is that if these respect certain regularities (e.g. verb before complements in English), these creations will be found less unacceptable than creations with clear violations of such regularities. (In both cases, the creations remain meaningless, it could be argued, so all that distinguishes them is a difference in form.) On the other hand, radical coercion (Audring & Booij, 2016, p. 625; Höder, 2023) shows that some constructions allow for specific slots to be filled with random, and hence meaningless, material.

6. The idea that all constructions have meaning is a working hypothesis held by many constructionist researchers, but not by all, as Boas, Leino & Lyngfelt (2024) point out. Hilpert (2019, p. 57) regards the dogmatic adherence of certain constructionist researchers to the idea that all constructions should have meaning as problematic: “The worst that Construction Grammar could do would be to look the other way, towards nice meaningful patterns such as *THE X-ER THE Y-ER* or the *WAY* construction, and pretend that the problem of meaningless constructions does not exist.” We share Hilpert’s view.

known as Pattern Grammar (Hunston & Francis, 2000) focuses primarily on the form side of so-called patterns (in the narrow sense), which we regard as a sub-type of constructions, many of which do not come with any specific meaning, see below. Hunston & Francis' (2000) Pattern Grammar is the result of analyzing large amounts of corpus data to arrive at descriptions of lexical items and the specific phraseological and grammatical patterns in which they occur. This corpus-driven research primarily resulted in the collection of two impressive Collins COBUILD pattern dictionaries, one focusing on verbs (Francis et al. 1996), the other focusing on nouns and adjectives (Francis et al., 1998). Francis & Hunston's (2000) Pattern Grammar is based on the extensive documentation of the two earlier pattern dictionaries, which were an offshoot of the COBUILD English Dictionary project (Sinclair, 1991). Similar to CxG, Francis & Hunston (2000) show that no strict distinction can be made between lexicon and grammar, because lexical items should be characterized in terms of their distributions in grammatical patterns (see also Faulhaber, 2011, and Hunston, 2014). On this view most patterns occur with specific classes of lexical items and must be learned, because they are often specific and conventional (similar insights are offered by Levin, 1993, about English verb classes).

One example of a verb pattern is **V n of N**, which corresponds to a verb followed by a direct object noun phrase and a prepositional phrase headed by *of*, as in *They convicted him of theft* (Francis, Hunston & Manning, 1996, p.399). As pointed out by Hunston & Su (2019), patterns are very similar to constructions in CxG, because of two main features. First, patterns are structured as single coherent grammatical units that exist somewhat independently of the words with which they combine. Second, they consist of both fixed parts and open slots. On this view, each pattern entry lists specific lexical sense information in which lexical items are listed as a part of so-called (somewhat) intuitive "meaning groups." For example, as Francis et al. (1996, p.400) point out, the second sense of the verb *suspect* in the COBUILD English dictionary is a member of the 'acquit and convict group' in the **V n of N** pattern.

While the patterns of Pattern Grammar thus share a great deal of commonalities with the constructions of CxG, there is at least one major difference, according to Patten & Perek (2022, p.189). That is, patterns are not semantically motivated and are not explicitly paired with meaning or semantic role information that would correspond to the meaning side of most constructions in CxG. Despite the absence of explicit meaning representations paired with pattern (i.e. form) information it is obvious how close Pattern Grammar is to CxG. This close relationship between the two approaches and their basic concepts, patterns and constructions, leads us to propose that the patterns (in the narrow sense) of Pattern Grammar

should be regarded as a specific sub-type of constructions in the sense of CxG, except for that patterns typically lack explicit meaning representations.⁷

Interestingly, the patterns documented by Hunston & Francis (2000) can be taken as the basis for developing full-scale construction descriptions in a constructionist format that explicitly pairs form with meaning. Perek & Patten's (2019) pioneering research demonstrates how every lexical item in each of a particular COBUILD pattern entry can be matched to corresponding FrameNet entries (Fillmore & Baker, 2010), which allows Perek & Patten (2022, p.189) to "describe the general meaning(s) conveyed by the pattern, turning it into one or more constructions." Their study develops a systematic methodology for developing construction entries that consist of a pairing of a pattern with a FrameNet frame or some other type of general frame-semantic information.⁸

The third reason for including the concept of "pattern" in the title of this volume goes beyond the Pattern Grammar view of patterns, because the concept of "pattern," in our view, should also be applicable to cover other constellations of individual lexical items in combination with other units that are idiosyncratic to different degrees. Here, we are thinking specifically of phraseological combinations of words that have been systematically investigated by different researchers working on the phraseology of a variety of languages over the past one hundred years or so, most notably Bally (1909), Cowie (1998), Lipka (1990), Granger & Meunier (2008), Hanks (2013), Steyer (2015), and many others. At the core of these phraseological investigations is the phraseological unit, which, according to Gläser (1998) can be characterized as follows: "A lexicalized, reproducible bilexic or polylexemic word group in common use, which has relative syntactic and semantic stability, may be idiomatized, may carry connotations, and may have an emphatic or intensifying function in a text."

This definition is, in our view, very close to Fillmore et al.'s (1988, p.501) definition of a construction: "The realm of idiomaticity in a language includes a great deal that is productive, highly structured, and worthy of serious grammatical investigation. [...] Constructions may be idiomatic in the sense that a large construction may specify a semantics (and/or pragmatics) that is distinct from what

7. Boas (forthc.) proposes that not all constructions in CxG necessarily have a clearly discernible meaning, and that constructional meanings can be represented by semantic frames as well as other types of semantic representations.

8. Perek & Patten (2019) illustrate their approach by showing how the **V that** pattern can occur with verbs evoking a variety of different semantic frames in FrameNet, including *Statement*, *Request*, and *Commitment*. Perek & Patten (2019) show how this particular pattern can lead to the identification of a variety of constructions with different levels of abstraction that are related with each other in a network of constructions.

might be calculated from the associated semantics of the set of smaller constructions that could be used to build the same morphosyntactic object.” Goldberg & Casenhiser (2006) also see the close relationship between constructions in CxG and other types of “patterns” that are structurally (and often semantically) very similar to constructions. As can be seen in Figure 2, they propose a much more inclusive family resemblance view of constructions that centers around the prototype concept of constructions in CxG of the late 1990s and early 2000s (“unusual, productive phrasal patterns”).

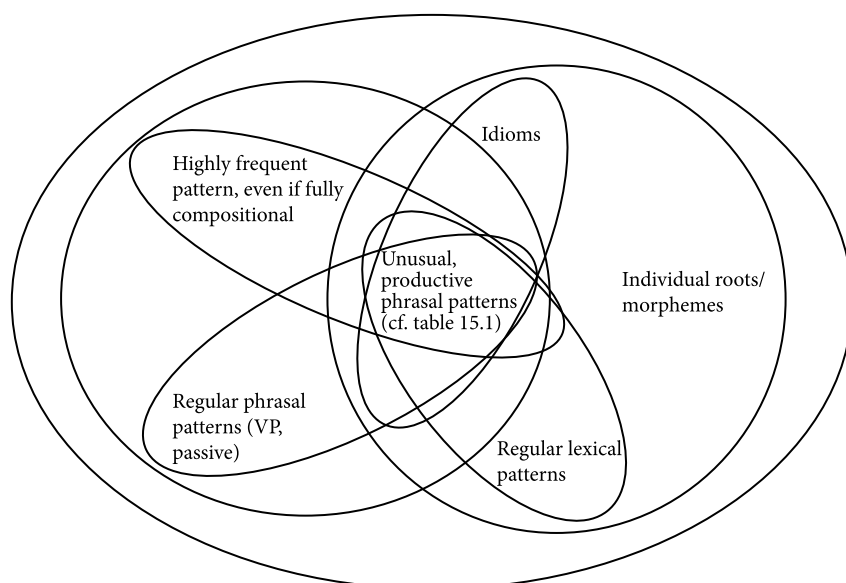


Figure 2. Possible conceptions of what should count as a construction (Goldberg & Casenhiser, 2006, p.351)⁹

This more inclusive view thus suggests that constructions in the CxG sense should be thought of as the most general concept integrating different types of closely related structures analyzed by different approaches under various types of names, including patterns (Hunston & Francis, 2000) and valency patterns (Eroms, 2003), patterns of coining (Kay, 2013), phraseological units (Cowie, 1998), entrenched combinations of words (‘usuelle Mehrwortverbindungen’; Steyer,

9. The “unusual, productive phrasal patterns” referred to in Figure 1 include the time away construction, the incredulity construction, the covariational conditional construction, the what’s x doing y? construction, the stranded preposition construction, the NPN construction, and the *to* N construction. We follow Goldberg & Casenhiser (2006) by assuming that individual roots and morphemes also belong to the concept of “constructions.”

2000), multi-word units (Masini, 2005), idioms (Nunberg et al., 1994; Taylor, 2012), and argument structure patterns (Engelberg et al., 2011; Engelberg, 2015; Engelberg et al., 2018; Zeschel & Proost, 2019).¹⁰

The fourth reason for including the term “pattern” next to the term “constructions” in the title of this volume has to do with a hitherto underexplored aspect of constructions, namely phonological properties of constructions, which are at the center of the two contributions by Hagel and Warmuth in this volume. Since its inception in the 1980s, constructional research has primarily focused on morpho-syntactic properties of constructions. In contrast, constructional analyses of phonological phenomena remain relatively rare (for exceptions, see Bergen, 2004; Boas, 2004; Taylor, 2012; Ward, 2019; Höder, 2023).

For example, Taylor (2012) proposes a specific category of phonological constructions that are schematic in nature, capturing the commonalities between instances. One of Taylor’s examples is a syllable consisting of a consonant, a vowel, and a consonant that specifies the kinds of entities that are eligible to occur in the construction. According to Taylor, more specific constructions such as [kæt], [pæt], etc. count as syllables because they instantiate the construction. One interesting aspect of Taylor’s phonological constructions is that they lack meaning, similar to the way that many of Francis & Hunston’s (2000) patterns lack meaning, see above. However, this lack of apparent meaning does not pose any problems, because we can still clearly identify specific (phonological) form aspects of syllable constructions while at the same time linking them to other syllable forms in English (thereby establishing a network of constructions) and stating (structural) phonotactic constraints on syllable structure (where each part of the syllable can be regarded as an open slot with specific constraints), which themselves have no discernable meaning component.

The contribution by Hagel (this volume) also argues for a constructional analysis of phonological patterns in terms of constructions. To this end, Hagel discusses a type of submorphemic pattern that is thought to play a major role in (receptive) multilingualism, namely sound correspondence patterns. She proposes that sound correspondence patterns can be analyzed in terms of different types of phonological constructions that differ in their levels of schematicity. Warmuth’s (this volume) account of Texas German diphthongs is based on statistical analyses of diphthongization data, demonstrating that age, but not gender, correlates with how Texas German speakers pronounce their diphthongs. His analysis shows that the phonological form of a construction (i.e. use of different types of diphthongs) can also be interpreted as having specific meaning. In the

10. See Bucker (2015) and Boas & Ziem (2017) for more details regarding the similarities between the different concepts.

case of Texas German diphthongs, the meaning side of the construction can be viewed through the lens of variationist sociolinguistics, i.e. as signifying the age of a speaker.

3. The papers in this volume

This volume consists of an overview chapter and three thematic sections. In the opening chapter *Diasystematic Construction Grammar at work: the need for a non-modular, data-driven approach to multilingual grammar*, Boas & Höder first discuss how Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG) developed as an alternative to other approaches to contact linguistics. More specifically, they provide an overview of various approaches to language contact during the 19th and 20th centuries and then show research in the early 21st century aimed to integrate more insights from cognitive linguistics into contact linguistics. Then, Boas & Höder review some of the basic concepts of DCxG such as idioconstructions and diaconstructions and they show how DCxG can be used as a tool for linguistic analysis more generally. This leads them to discuss how insights from DCxG can contribute to constructionist research. In the remainder of their chapter, Boas & Höder review a number of theoretical and practical challenges for DCxG, including (1) the question of how the non-modular architecture of DCxG can be integrated into both a diachronic and synchronic view of language contact phenomena, (2) the question of how to systematically conduct constructionist analyses of language contact phenomena, and (3) what insights analyses of language contact phenomena may provide to research in CxG more generally. To illustrate how these questions can be tackled in a systematic way, the authors apply insights from constructicography (Fillmore et al., 2012; Lyngfelt et al., 2018) to the full-text annotation of a sentence containing several language contact phenomena. They show how frame-semantic information can be used to formulate construction entries that are needed to account for the licensing of a sentence containing several language contact phenomena.

The first group of papers deals with the structure and restructuring of argument structure constructions (ASCs) in language contact situations. Marianne Hundt and Laetitia van Driessche's paper *Prepositions in English argument structure constructions: Gauging the importance of language contact for diachronic and regional constructional variation* analyzes diachronic and diatopic regional variation in English Argument Structure Constructions with one and two non-subject arguments. More specifically, the authors discuss the competition between prepositional and bare noun phrase arguments that are apparently influenced, among other things, by language contact. Focusing on the role of diachronic evi-

dence, Hundt and van Driessche seek to answer the question of whether an Argument Structure Construction in a post-colonial variety of English constitutes an instance of structural nativization or not. Their paper presents the first case study of a sizeable number of Romance verbs that compete in different complementation patterns across time and space. Employing evidence from corpora of Early and Late Modern English, contemporary British English, and three Postcolonial English (PCE) varieties with typologically different substrate languages leads the authors to argue that Romance verbs with one and two non-subject complements behave very differently, both diachronically and regionally. While on a macro-level, there is no simple trajectory of diachronic change and the patterns of variation in PCEs defy a simple answer in terms of language contact or substrate influence. On the micro-level of individual verbs and their complementation patterns, Hundt and van Driessche's findings can be viewed from the perspectives of Diachronic and Diasystematic Construction Grammar in terms of analogical thinking.

In *Language contact and creolization: Motion event encoding in Guianese French Creole*, Evelyn Wiesinger first observes that research on the (re)structuring of argument structure constructions (ASCs) in creole languages has been strongly biased towards the search for a so-called African 'substrate' influence. To overcome this issue, Wiesinger proposes a more nuanced perspective that is consistent with findings from usage-based and/or constructionist studies on motion encoding among bilingual speakers and in second language learning. Wiesinger argues that these show the adoption or retention of L2 lexical items and of (both lexically bound and more abstract) ASCs, but also fine-grained constructional differences in comparison to monolingual speakers. The core of Wiesinger's paper draws on lexicographic sources and quantitative corpus data from oral folktales, which allows her to develop a usage-based and cognitive-constructionist analysis of self-motion constructions in Guianese French Creole, which emerged at the turn of the 17th to the 18th century from contact between French-speaking colonists and the (predominantly) West-African slave population. Wiesinger's study shows that verb-framed intransitive motion constructions with path verbs of (Colonial) French origin are by far the most frequent and productive construction type, similar to present-day Standard French. In addition, Wiesinger identifies more subtle 'hybrid' characteristics in Creole self-motion constructions (e.g. with regard to prepositional uses and restrictions on specific lexical fillers) that can be related to contact-induced and/or convergence-driven developments involving multiple source constructions. Wiesinger's findings are in sharp contrast to previous research suggesting that Creole ASCs are overwhelmingly of non-French origin and they show interesting parallels with research on typological tendencies and bilingual speakers and learners.

The second group of papers addresses the structural influence of verbs on ASCs. Timothy Coleman's paper *A French connection? The presence of French loan verbs among the earliest dative-alternating 'transfer' verbs in Early Modern Dutch* investigates the presence of French loan verbs in *-eren* among the earliest dative-alternating verbs in 16th century Dutch. The paper thus sheds light on present-day Dutch, which has a productive dative alternation that bears a large degree of similarity to the English dative alternation. Building on earlier research by Ingham (2017) and Trips & Stein (2019), Coleman analyzes the possible role of French-based loan verbs and discusses a test set of 94 *-eren* verbs that was compiled based on what appears to have the "right" semantics for potentially occurring in the ditransitive constructions at stake. To this end, Coleman employs a four-step procedure for querying the 16th century sources (digitally) available for instances of these verbs in the double object construction and/or in the "new" pattern with *aan*. Coleman identifies 22 verbs that occur in both patterns and argues that the import of such verbs brought along a substantial increase in the number of verb types shared between the two constructions and that, thus, French influence was a catalyst in the process leading to the establishment of a horizontal link between them.

In *Patterns in (bilingual) language acquisition: The role of verbs in low-level generalizations*, Nikolas Koch and Katharina Günther discuss how in usage-based approaches, constructions become more abstract as language acquisition progresses, resulting in (more) abstract argument structure constructions. At the center of their paper is the question of how far the extent to which abstract structures are used may be determined by lower-level generalizations that emerge around concrete verbs. Koch and Günther first point out that in bilingual language acquisition, children deal with the challenge of having to learn two sets of non-equivalent constructions and might thus show differences in the abstraction process compared to monolinguals. This leads the authors to argue that due to a possible higher cognitive load and reduced vocabulary, one could expect bilinguals to show even stronger low-level generalizations. Koch and Günther then investigate the use of verbs in caused-motion constructions in three different age groups (4, 6, and 8 years old) of German – French bilingual children and monolingual control groups. In a first step, the authors determine the proportion of general-purpose verbs in relation to specific verbs. Koch and Günther show that the number of general-purpose verbs decreases with age and is significantly higher for bilinguals than for monolinguals at all ages. In a second step, Koch and Günther examine the variation within the verb slot for the individual subjects. Finally, the authors argue that although a high degree of inter-individuality was found here, prototypical verbs can be identified for some event types, indicating generalizations at a lower level of generalization.

The third group of papers addresses phonological aspects of language contact, a to date rather under-researched area of constructional research. Mathias Warmuth's paper *Construction Grammar and Phonology? Diphthongization of /e:/ and /o:/ in New Braunfels German* provides a constructionist account of the diphthongization of long vowels /e:/ and /o:/ in Texas German (TxG), a set of New World varieties spoken in Texas. Warmuth first reviews earlier studies on TxG, e.g. Eikel (1966) and Gilbert (1972), which generally report long vowels in words such as *geht* 'goes' or *Kohl* 'cabbage'. In contrast, Warmuth argues that the presence of a significant amount of diphthongization from /e:/ and /o:/ to [eɪ] and [oʊ] in present-day Texas German data collected by the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP) shows that diphthongization must be acknowledged as a variable phonological feature of present-day TxG. Based on statistical analyses of diphthongization data, Warmuth demonstrates that age, but not gender, correlates with this phenomenon. The phenomenon marks an example of pro-diasystematic change, i.e. a mechanism that turns language-specific constructions into diaconstructions. Finally, Warmuth proposes that language attrition and language death appear as the driving forces of this process.

In *Schemas all the way down? Exploring the notion of intra-word phonological schematicity in intercommunicative decoding*, Anna Hagel observes that in most constructional research, the phonological form of constructions is often mentioned only in a side note. She points out, however, that phonology plays an important role at all structural levels, including one that has hardly been acknowledged outside a phonological context, namely the submorphemic level. Hagel discusses the insights from a growing body of research suggesting that submorphemic patterns are highly relevant for the cognitive organization of linguistic knowledge and that the syntax-lexicon continuum ought to be extended to include them. This observation leads her to argue that submorphemic patterns and the closely related notion of phonological schematicity seem to make a general re-evaluation of schematicity necessary. Hagel's paper makes a number of theoretical contributions to this discussion and illustrates the potential complexity of a type of submorphemic pattern that is thought to play a major role in (receptive) multilingualism, namely sound correspondence patterns. Hagel proposes that sound correspondence patterns can be modeled as constructions which can be phonologically schematic to different degrees on different dimensions below the word level.

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