

Constructional Approaches
to Language 24

Constructions in Contact

Constructional perspectives
on contact phenomena in
Germanic languages

edited by

Hans C. Boas
Steffen Höder

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Constructions in Contact

Constructional Approaches to Language

ISSN 1573-594X

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The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

DOI 10.1075/cal.24

**Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress:
LCCN 2018032951 (PRINT) / 2018056885 (E-BOOK)**

ISBN 978 90 272 0171 3 (HB)

ISBN 978 90 272 6330 8 (E-BOOK)

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Preface

The last two decades have seen an ever-increasing interest in Construction Grammar and its contributions to our understanding of language. At the same time, research on language contact has grown quite a bit, too, resulting in new models of how languages change when in contact with other languages. However, despite a growing interest among linguists in both constructional research and research on language contact, very little research exists that seeks to combine both strands of inquiry. We decided to address this research gap by proposing a special session on constructions and language contact for the *8th International Conference on Construction Grammar*, which took place at the University of Osnabrück in September 2014. The special session, like the conference more generally, was, in our view, a great success, so we decided to approach some of the presenters to see whether they would be interested in publishing extended versions of their papers to be contributed to an edited volume on “Constructions in Contact.” The result of this effort is the present collection of papers that illustrate how constructional insights can be fruitfully applied to our understanding of a variety of language contact phenomena.

Our warmest thanks go to the many colleagues and friends who helped us with the reviewing process: Alexander Bergs, Gabriele Diewald, Eckhard Eggers, Martin Hilpert, Kerstin Fischer, Johanna Flick, Alexander Lasch, Benjamin Lyngfelt, Marc Pierce, Paul Roberge, Josef Ruppenhofer, Graeme Trousdale, Alfred Wildfeuer, Alexander Ziem, and two anonymous reviewers. Discussions with various colleagues also helped us to clarify a number of important points, specifically with respect to typological considerations and the role of language variation more generally. We gratefully acknowledge the ideas, insights, and comments of Barbara Bullock, Lars Hinrichs, Jan-Ola Östman, Jacqueline Toribio, Heike Wiese, and Walt Wolfram. We are thankful to Kyoko Hirose Ohara who as co-editor of the *Constructional Approaches to Language* series helped us with the various stages of putting this volume together. We also want to thank Esther Roth for her guidance at John Benjamins and for seeing this volume through to publication.

Austin and Kiel, November 2018

Hans C. Boas & Steffen Höder

PART I

Constructions in contact

A theoretical overview

Construction Grammar and language contact

An introduction

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University of Texas at Austin / Kiel University

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]).

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 in 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 Aprikots 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) isomorphic 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 *Subject-Predicate Agreement Construction*, 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).

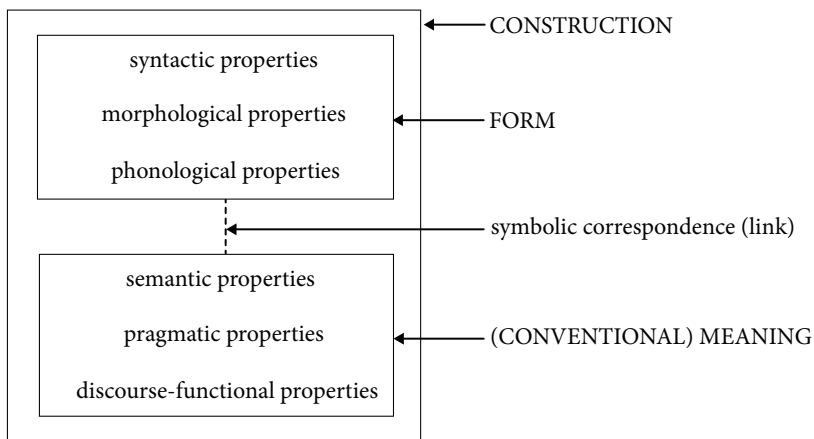


Figure 1. The symbolic structure of a construction (Croft 2001: 18)

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 element 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 in 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).

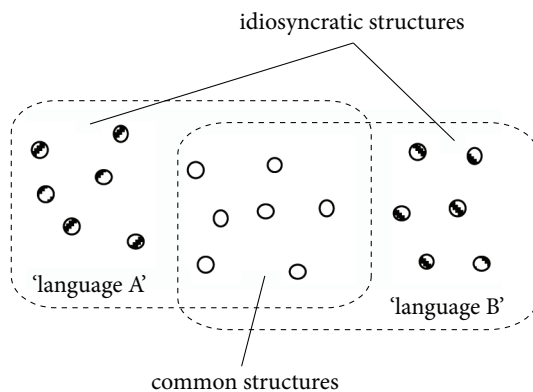


Figure 5. Multilingual repertoire: idiosyncratic and common subsets (Höder, this volume)

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 gegangen 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 gegangen* ‘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 constructicons 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 construction, 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.

Acknowledgment

For very helpful feedback we thank Martin Hilpert and Peter Maitz.

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Grammar is community-specific

Background and basic concepts of Diasystematic Construction Grammar

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Mainstream grammatical theory and traditional grammaticography concentrate on single languages or varieties, which are conceptualised as pre-existing, distinct entities and analysed in terms of coherent, static, ideally variation-free language systems. This is in stark contrast to actual language usage, where various kinds of structural contact phenomena are the rule rather than the exception. In line with recent insights from contact linguistics, Diasystematic Construction Grammar assumes that multilingual speakers and communities organise their grammatical knowledge on the basis of the available input via processes of interlingual identification, abstraction, generalisation, and categorisation, regardless of language boundaries. This results in a community-specific multilingual construction, comprising both language-specific constructions (restricted to certain communicative contexts associated with a particular language) and constructions unspecified for language.

Keywords: Diasystematic Construction Grammar, language contact, Construction Grammar, contact-induced change

1. (Why) Yet another approach?

Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG)¹ is a Construction Grammar (CxG) approach to language contact phenomena. One may ask whether we really

1. 'DCxG' is also used as an abbreviation for 'Diachronic Construction Grammar', which is conceptually unrelated. – The name of the approach is derived from Weinreich's (1954) notion of 'diasystem' (a system consisting of a set of systems with structural similarities), developed in his well-known attempt to introduce a structuralist approach into dialectology. Weinreich (1954: 390) emphasises that a diasystem is not "always a scientist's construction only: a

need yet another approach, and if so why, because, after all, quite a lot of contact linguistic theories have already been proposed and implemented, and the theory market has also seen a proliferation of different flavours of CxG (see the contributions in Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013).

Therefore, while it will take the remainder of this contribution to sketch out what DCxG is, an attempt to give a short answer should probably start by stating what it is not: DCxG is not meant to be a new variety of CxG. On the contrary, DCxG can be defined as common usage-based CxG as applied to language contact situations. Its rationale is to take the basic principles of usage-based CxG seriously and to unify them with findings from contemporary contact linguistic research. In doing so, DCxG also aims to yield insights into the organisation of linguistic knowledge that are relevant to the CxG enterprise in general.² At the same time, DCxG intends, at least partially, to fill a gap within contact linguistics, caused by the lack of a theoretical approach capable of modelling the effects of language contact from a structural perspective in a realistic and unbiased manner, i.e. by treating multilingualism and language contact as an inherent fact of human language rather than an interfering factor.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 outlines the contact linguistic background of DCxG and discusses the need for a grammatical approach that covers contact phenomena. Section 3 argues that the integration of contact phenomena is not only possible, but in fact inevitable if the principles of usage-based Construction Grammar are taken seriously. Section 4 brings both perspectives together in the presentation of basic concepts of DCxG. Section 5 contains concluding remarks.

2. Insights from contact linguistics: Language contact and its status in linguistic theory

Language contact inarguably exists. It has, however, always been controversial whether it should be taken into account in the analysis and description of language systems in a non-trivial, more than superficial way, and, moreover, how this could be achieved. This controversy can still be illustrated today by the 19th-century dualism between Schuchardt's (1884: 5) classic statement that "es gibt keine

'diasystem' is experienced in a very real way by bilingual [...] speakers", i.e. it forms part of their linguistic knowledge and is used in language processing. The importance of Weinreich's view in the development of DCxG is discussed in Höder (2016b).

2. For earlier work on DCxG, cf. Höder (2012, 2014ab, 2016ab); see also the contributions by Coleman and Weber (this volume).

völlig ungemischte Sprache [there is no totally unmixed language]” as opposed to Müller’s (1994: vol. 1 [1861], 69) claim that “languages are never mixed” or, more to the point, Schleicher’s (1983 [1850]: 27) axiomatic view that “es giebt keine gemischte Sprache, so wenig als ein Individuum, ein Organismus jemals Anderes ist als eine strenge Einheit [there is no mixed language, nor can an individual or an organism ever be anything but a strict unity]”. The argument here is not about the existence of contact, which has of course never been doubted, but about the conceivability and importance of language contact from a theoretical point of view. The question was, and still is: Is it feasible to model language contact as something that has a place *within linguistic structure*, or is it to be treated as an additional, extra-linguistic phenomenon that may change linguistic structure, but can never become part of it (even if contact-induced innovations self-evidently do)?³

Müller’s and Schleicher’s emphasis on the monolingualism of language systems – reified as objects in their own right, as reflected in, amongst other things, Schleicher’s use of organicist metaphors (cf. Morpurgo Davies 1998: 86–88) – represents a view that is firmly grounded in the tradition of modern Western linguistics. Language contact and multilingualism never figured prominently in linguistics before the establishment of contact linguistics as a full-fledged discipline in the wake of the ground-breaking studies by Weinreich (1964 [1953]; cf. also Höder 2016b) and Haugen (1950ab, 1953, 1956).⁴ In particular, the development of what has come to be known as ‘core linguistic’ theories – evolving from and building on historical and comparative linguistics, Indo-European studies, and the emerging national philologies in the 19th century – has been characterised by a monolingual bias, which has remained prevalent at least far into mainstream 20th-century linguistics.⁵ Both structuralism and generative linguistics identify a

3. This is reminiscent of the traditional view, as expressed by Bloomfield (1965 [1933]: 347), of language change as an undeniable and yet unobservable process – a claim famously debunked by Labovian sociolinguistics.

4. Starting with Weinreich’s and Haugen’s pioneer work, contact linguistics has developed into covering a wide range of different aspects, such as code-switching (e.g. the approaches by Poplack 1980, Myers-Scotton 2002, and Muysken 2000; cf. the extensive survey by Gardner-Chloros 2009), contact-induced language change (e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2010; Clyne 2003; Johanson 2002, 2005, 2008; Heine & Kuteva 2003, 2005), and multilingual language processing (e.g. de Groot 2011; Grosjean 2008; Grosjean & Li 2013; Kroll et al. 2015; Bialystok et al. 2009; Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008), to name but a few (for a more general survey, cf. Matras 2009 and the contributions in Hickey 2010; cf. also Clyne 2004 on the history of contact linguistics).

5. In fact, the monolingual bias appears to have already been established in the pre-19th-century precursor disciplines of linguistics. On the one hand, medieval and early modern grammaticography concentrated on the linguistic description of particular languages – either the

coherent, ideally homogeneous and thus essentially monolingual language system as the object of grammatical theory.⁶ This system is considered the core subject matter of linguistics itself. Anything outside the system proper is relegated from the domain of core linguistics into more peripheral disciplines such as psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, or indeed contact linguistics. From a traditional perspective, language contact is thus located at the periphery of linguistics and analysed in terms of interaction between the putatively prototypical monolingual systems. Consequently, multilingualism⁷ at the individual or community level is usually described by means of coexisting and potentially interfering monolingual systems that are accessed, processed, and used by multilingual speakers (cf. Figure 1).⁸

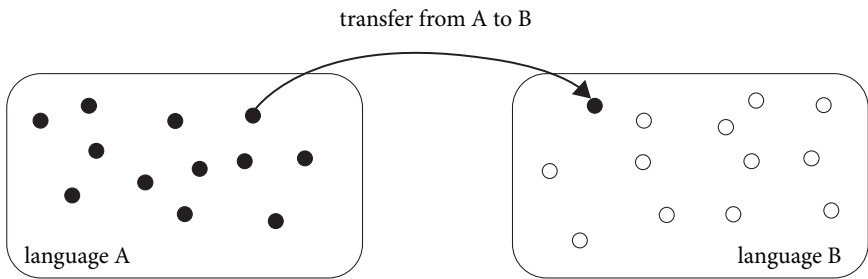


Figure 1. Monolingual view on language contact

classical languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew), European vernaculars, or ‘exotic’ languages –, which was needed as a practical tool for translation or foreign language teaching. On the other hand, language philosophy considered language as an abstract, universal, logical system, as in the Aristotelian tradition. (For an overview, see the contributions in Lepschy 1998.) It is obvious that multilingualism and language contact, even as everyday phenomena, had to fall through the cracks under such premises.

6. Some approaches, most notably structuralism, will indeed associate the term ‘system’ with a very specific idea of how linguistic structures are organised into coherent wholes, while others use it as a more loosely defined term referring to the totality of linguistic structures that are used in a specific language, in a specific context or by a specific speaker group. DCxG employs the term in this latter sense.

7. In this contribution, no distinction is made between bi- and multilingualism, as the difference is considered gradual, not categorical.

8. A telling example is Roeper’s (1999) generativist concept of ‘universal bilingualism’, which assumes a distinct ‘mini-grammar’ for each language spoken by a multilingual speaker or, in fact, each of a given language’s varieties as far as they exhibit grammatical traits that are irreconcilable with the grammar that is assumed for the whole language (for an older similar proposal cf. Lightfoot 1991: 136–137). Regardless of whether one accepts such an idea, it is evident that its application leads to an “enormous number of discrete grammars for any actual speaker’s competence” (Croft 2000: 52).

While in this view the language systems may influence each other, and while this may lead to rather substantial linguistic change, the language systems themselves are always conceived as separate, never as inherently multilingual, and effects of language contact are usually viewed as extralinguistic phenomena, not as part of linguistic structure itself.

There are several reasons, though, why the traditional view is unreasonable and should be given up in favour of an approach that integrates multilingualism as a prototypical feature of human language instead of treating it as an anomaly. At least the following arguments should be considered:

Argument 1: Language contact is everywhere

Though understandable from the history of linguistics, the peripheral status of language contact in linguistic theory is rather striking, considering that language contact is by no means a peripheral affair. On the contrary: As an epiphenomenon of multilingualism at the individual and, what is equally important, the community level, language contact is enormously widespread, measured on a global and historical scale. Most people and most regions today are to some degree multilingual (Lüdi 1996: 234–240). In fact, multilingualism has always been, and in most cases still is, the rule in most societies across the globe, including Europe. Of course, this does not have to mean that in such societies each individual is a fully proficient native-like speaker of two or more languages, as envisaged by, for instance, Bloomfield (1965 [1933]: 56). As a rule, though, multilinguals are sufficiently competent to use different languages for a range of different communicative purposes (Oksaar's [1980: 43] 'functional multilingualism').

Argument 2: Languages interact in multilingual speakers' cognition

The locus of language contact can be defined as "the language processing apparatus of the individual multilingual speaker and the employment of this apparatus in communicative interaction" (Matras 2009: 3). As for the cognitive side of multilingualism, the claim that language contact cannot be modelled adequately by assuming a set of coexistent but separate grammars is supported by psycholinguistic research. As Grosjean (1989: 4) famously puts it, "the bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person". That is to say, the linguistic knowledge of multilingual speakers cannot be described by means of adding up individual monolingual competences (what Grosjean calls the 'fractional view' of multilingualism), but has to be modelled in a different way (Grosjean's 'wholistic view' [sic] of multilingualism). On top of that, there is psycholinguistic evidence that multilinguals do not store or process their different languages in cognitive isolation from each other, but rather with all of their languages jointly activated (cf., for example, Bialystok et al. 2009: 92–97; Kroll et al. 2015: 380–382). This evidently entails

some type of cognitive interaction between the languages, whatever the neuroscientific details.

Argument 3: Language contact affects language structure

There is plenty of historical evidence pointing to the fact that the structural impact of language contact is far from chaotic or unpredictable, but typically results in some type of convergence, i.e. an increase in interlingual similarity (cf. Matras 2010), although other types of change may be expected under certain circumstances (for an overview, cf. Kühl & Braunmüller 2014). The potential endpoint of contact-induced convergence can be described as structural isomorphism. Among Aikhenvald's (2007: 26–36) list of structural factors that are relevant to contact-induced grammatical change, the observed “tendency to achieve word-for-word and morpheme-per-morpheme intertranslatability” (Aikhenvald 2007: 28; cf. Höder 2014a: 149: “construction-per-construction intertranslatability”) captures this effect nicely. In complementary combination with the rather obvious possibility of “pre-existing structural similarity” (Aikhenvald 2007: 32), it leads through stages of grammatical restructuring such as Ross's (2007) ‘metatypy’ to what Heine & Kuteva (2005: 179–180) label ‘exact structural equivalence’ between different languages. Such diachronic changes evidently reflect the way in which languages interact cognitively: the cross-linguistic tendency towards interlingually similar structures suggests that there is a cognitive preference for similarity.

Argument 4: Multilingualism serves a community's needs

Languages have different functions in multilingual communities⁹ and are used for different purposes in different communicative contexts (the ‘complementarity principle’, cf. Grosjean 2008: 22–34). In smaller networks of speakers, this may amount to an association of a given language with, among other things, specific constellations of interlocutors or particular topics, well-known from sociolinguistic studies on the functions of code-switching and language choice (cf. Gardner-Chloros 2009: 42–59 for a survey as well as the seminal studies by Blom & Gumperz 1972

9. The term ‘multilingual community’ (not to be confused with ‘speech community’; for a discussion of related concepts, cf. Raith 2004; Patrick 2002) is used here in a broad sense so as to include all groups of speakers that engage in the same social network(s) (cf. Milroy 2002) and share common multilingual communicative practices (*sensu* Meyerhoff 2002). Communities are thought of as ‘stable-ish’ groups, i.e. groups that are stable enough in terms of their spatial, temporal, and social structure as to allow for linguistic conventions to emerge and stabilise. Consequently, individual speakers can be part of more than one community simultaneously. This broad definition is not altogether unproblematic, of course – however, the existing problems are not specific to language contact situations, but also apply to any sociolinguistic analysis of a heterogeneous (i.e., non-idealised) speaker group.

and Eckert 2000; for a cognitive perspective cf. Geeraerts, Kristiansen & Peirsman 2010, Kristiansen 2008, and Geeraerts & Kristiansen 2015). In larger communities, linguistic complementarity is reflected on a large scale by the polyglossic distribution of languages and varieties in society, in which they are associated with different communicative functions more generally by community-wide convention (as famously studied by Ferguson 1959 and Fishman 1967 and in subsequent work on the association between languages/varieties and domains; cf. the survey in Werlen 2004). Hence, multilingual speakers and communities do not merely have alternative ways of verbalising information, but language choice itself can carry additional information by marking the utterance as belonging to a particular set of communicative domains.

Argument 5: What is a language, anyway?

It is important to bear in mind that there is no sound way of defining a ‘language’ in structural terms in contrast to a variety or even a register of a ‘language’. Max Weinreich’s (1945: 13) well-known quote that “a shprakh iz a dialekt mit an army un flot [a language is a dialect with an army and a navy]” still nicely illustrates that the languagehood of a variety is based on its social functions – including cultural, economic, political, and religious aspects – rather than properly linguistic factors.¹⁰ It follows that multilingualism cannot be strictly delimited from what can be called ‘multilectalism’, i.e. the knowledge and use of different varieties (such as geographical and social dialects) and registers. Multilectalism, however, is not only a frequent, but literally a ubiquitous phenomenon: as a rule, everybody is multilectal to some extent (Höder 2014c: 217). If we take ‘multilingualism’ in a wider sense to include multilectalism, then indeed multilingualism is without any alternative; monolingualism in the correspondingly narrower sense of ‘monolectalism’ is purely notional.

As a consequence of these arguments, some contact linguists take the apparently radical view that multilinguals do not categorically distinguish between separate language systems at all, but that their linguistic knowledge consists of a common ‘repertoire’ of elements and structures – or, put in CxG terms, constructions, including their formal and semantic characteristics – for all of their languages and varieties (cf. Matras 2009: 208–209). From this repertoire they then choose whatever is appropriate in the current communicative context. The repertoire approach thus does away with the idea that linguistic structures belong to a particular

10. This is particularly evident in ‘diffuse’ situations, to use the term coined by Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985), in which speakers do not have a strong awareness that their language is different from other varieties, unlike ‘focused’ situations where people are very much aware of cross-varietal differences.

language system *a priori* and that languages are pre-existing entities at all (cf. Höder 2014c: 218). Rather, language-specificity within a multilingual community reflects the pragmatic association of a linguistic element with particular communicative settings, which eventually results in a conventionalised restriction to specific contexts. Language-specificity, then, is a property of an element that speakers have to acquire as part of the pragmatic meaning of that element. However, this is an *optional* property, as there are also unspecific linguistic elements that, while forming part of a multilingual community's repertoire, are not restricted to a particular set of contexts and, hence, do not belong to a specific language (but they are certainly not universal either, cf. the discussion in Section 3). As a consequence, the multilingual repertoire can be conceptualised 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 hand (containing elements that are common to several or all languages within the repertoire; cf. Figure 2).

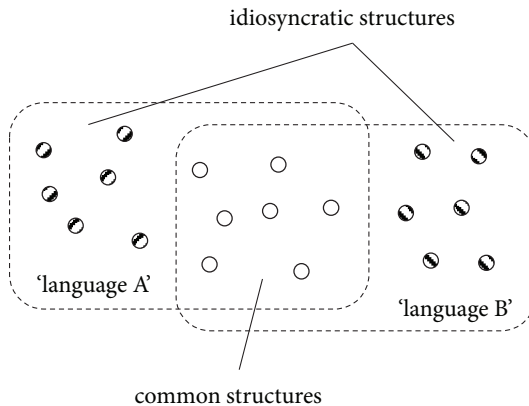


Figure 2. Multilingual repertoire: idiosyncratic and common subsets

Summing up:

- a. Language contact is ubiquitous, it should not be regarded as a marginal phenomenon.
- b. Contact phenomena cannot be modelled adequately by means of monolingual systems.
- c. A socially and cognitively (short: socio-cognitively) more realistic approach has to account for the structural interaction of different language systems in a more integrative way.
- d. The notion of a linguistic repertoire can be taken as a promising starting point for a model of multilingual structures, which then has to involve both idiosyncratic and common structures.

3. Taking usage-based CxG seriously: Towards socio-cognitive realism

One of the basic concepts that sets usage-based CxG approaches such as Cognitive Construction Grammar (CCxG; Goldberg 1995, 2006) or Radical Construction Grammar (RCxG; Croft 2001) apart from other frameworks, is the idea that constructions are acquired, stored, and processed

- a. on the basis of the available linguistic input,
- b. in the context of actual language usage, and
- c. according to general cognitive principles (“Knowledge of language is knowledge”, Goldberg 2006: 59)

and, in principle, nothing else.

In CCxG in particular, linguistic knowledge is not viewed as some abstract *sui generis* system, but rather as a network of constructions whose internal structure is motivated by speakers’ communicative practice in social interaction as well as general mechanisms of human cognition (Boas 2013: 242–244). This network is considered to contain the entire linguistic knowledge of a speaker or a community, or, as Goldberg (2006: 18) phrases it, “*it’s constructions all the way down* [emphasis original]”. An important aspect of CCxG is *cognitive realism*, i.e. the claim that a model of speakers’ linguistic knowledge should be psychologically plausible. This principle has priority over more formalist objectives such as minimising redundancy in the constructional network (Boas 2013: 248), the consequence being that strict non-compositionality is not a necessary condition for assuming a construction if its existence can be motivated on cognitive grounds. Goldberg’s (2006: 5) much-quoted definition, for instance, allows redundant constructions provided that the corresponding items are sufficiently frequent and, hence, can be assumed to be cognitively entrenched (cf. also Divjak & Caldwell-Harris 2015, Hilpert & Diessel 2017).¹¹

Cognitive realism is also one of the reasons why usage-based CxG rejects the assumption of pre-established universal categories in linguistic structure unless they are either motivated by general cognitive principles or can be established on a cross-linguistic empirical basis. Similarly to Haspelmath’s (2007) claim that “pre-established categories don’t exist”, Croft (2005: 278–282) argues that linguistic categories can only be established in a bottom-up manner for individual languages, and while cross-linguistic generalisations are in principle possible and typologically revealing, they are irrelevant to the grammatical analysis of a particular

11. In usage-based CxG, entrenchment of constructions is not a dichotomous notion, but rather a gradual one, i.e. the distinction between an entrenched construction and a non-conventional form-meaning pair is a matter of degree.

language. Accordingly, Croft (2013: 212) claims that RCxG is a framework-free grammatical theory *sensu* Haspelmath (2010), i.e. a theory not taking any pre-established categories for granted. This is also reflected in Croft's (2005: 277) metaphorical depiction of RCxG as “[v]anilla construction grammar, with no toppings”, i.e. a theory whose main characteristic is its rejection of any additional assumptions beyond what all CxG approaches have in common.

While Croft's argument focuses mainly on grammatical categories, it can also be extended to the very notion of ‘language’ itself. In a usage-based approach, the relevance of ‘language’ as a category would have to be empirically or theoretically founded, not taken for granted. The idea that linguistic knowledge is organised in terms of ‘languages’ is, in itself a theoretical framework of sorts: the axiom that what a grammar describes is a ‘language’. This notion of ‘language’, however, is a pre-scientific, traditional concept, reflecting of course interesting and relevant aspects of the social, ideological, cultural and sociolinguistic history of many (but not all) speaker communities, but it is not a self-evident or self-explanatory concept in relation to a socio-cognitively realistic model of linguistic knowledge (cf. the discussion in Section 2). By extending Croft's ice-cream metaphor, then, the habit of treating ‘language’ as a pre-established category can be described as the ‘Procrustean corset’ around ‘vanilla’ grammatical theory (Höder 2014c: 216).

Admittedly, most studies in CxG so far have centred on monolingual phenomena.¹² There is, however, nothing in the basic principles of usage-based CxG that actually requires a language system to be restricted to only one language. On the contrary: If we take the key ideas of usage-based CxG seriously, language boundaries within the system not only need not, but *must* not have any axiomatic status. There are no *a priori* language boundaries in the input, in language usage, or in the general cognitive principles that govern the organisation of constructional networks. This is where Diasystematic Construction Grammar comes into play. Its ‘creed’, if you like, can be formulated in the following way (Höder 2014a: 140):

The grammatical description of a language system in a multilingual environment – i.e. the socially conventionalised set of all structural elements shared by a specific speaker group as well as cognitively stored and processed by the individual speakers – must include structures of all languages or varieties involved, and the social establishment and individual acquisition of such a system must be inherently multilingual.

12. Notable exceptions include studies of different language contact situations by Pietsch (2010), Doğruöz & Backus (2009), Hilpert & Östman (2014), Doğruöz (2014), Wasserscheidt (2014), and Ziegeler (2015), as well as work on second language acquisition (cf. Ellis 2013) and analyses from a contrastive perspective (cf. the contributions in Boas 2010).

From a socio-cognitively realistic viewpoint, describing and analysing the grammar of ‘languages’ is rather pointless, unless they coincide with the entire set of linguistic structures used by a particular community. Strictly speaking, this will hardly ever be the case, given the discrepancies between the linguistic knowledge of individual speakers even within monolingual groups, but it is most definitely not true for *multilingual* communities. Therefore, though DCxG obviously agrees with, for example, Croft’s anti-universalist stance regarding the status of grammatical categories, it disagrees with the inference that ‘non-universal’ equals ‘language-specific’: Grammar is neither universal nor language-specific, it is community-specific, and a multilingual community’s grammar of a given language may be essentially different from a monolingual community’s grammar of the same language (cf. Höder 2014c: 220–221).

Summing up:

- a. Language is not an abstract semiotic system, but exists in and is shaped by speakers’ cognition and social interaction; this is acknowledged in usage-based approaches to CxG.
- b. In a socio-cognitively realistic approach to grammar in language contact situations, there is no reason to assume that ‘languages’ have any *a priori* status. If a constructionist analysis assumes that linguistic structures are organised in terms of ‘languages’, this must be based on actual evidence or inferred from general cognitive mechanisms rather than being taken for granted.
- c. Getting rid of the ‘Procrustean corset’ – i.e. the idea of ‘language’ as a pre-existing category – is the main aim of DCxG. In multilingual communities, grammar is not language-specific, but rather community-specific.

4. An integrated approach: The repertoire as constructicon

If grammar is community-specific rather than language-specific, then this must be reflected in the organisation of speakers’ constructional knowledge: their constructicon – i.e. the structured inventory of all structural elements – must cover all constructions used by the multilingual community. The following sections sketch out how the multilingual repertoire is modelled by means of a multilingual constructional network in DCxG.

4.1 Language-specificity as a constructional property

Construction Grammar assumes that “the network of constructions captures our grammatical knowledge *in toto* [emphasis original]” (Goldberg 2006: 18). If

language-specificity is part of multilinguals' constructional knowledge and if constructions, in turn, are defined as form-meaning pairs as in the oft-quoted definitions by Goldberg (1995: 4, 2006: 5), then language-specificity must be included in some way on either the formal or the functional side of constructions. In DCxG, language-specificity is interpreted as part of the pragmatic meaning of a construction (cf. the remarks on Argument 4 in Section 2).

This principle can be illuminated by the example of the community of the German-Danish bilinguals that form the major part of the Danish minority in the region of South Schleswig (part of the federal state of Schleswig-Holstein) in Northern Germany; this community will be used as a running example throughout the following sections.¹³ Members of this community have both different structural ways of expressing roughly the same information and unique ways of expressing certain concepts, as illustrated by the lexical examples in (1) :

- (1) a. Danish *barn* 'child', German *Kind* 'child'
 b. Danish *uge* 'week', German *Woche* 'week'
 c. Danish *hygge* 'friendly/cosy/homely atmosphere, created on purpose'
 [no German equivalent]

As a consequence, all of the lexemes or, to use a more specifically CxG term, lexical constructions given in (1) are language-specific, unique combinations of form and meaning. However, only (1c) has both a language-specific form and a language-specific referential meaning, whereas the lexemes in (1a) and (1b) pair language-specific forms with meanings that are not language-specific within the bilingual community. All examples in (1), however, differ in terms of their pragmatic

13. The Danish minority (with an estimated population of 50,000) has come into existence as the final outcome of a centuries-long struggle for political power between Denmark and Germany (and its predecessor states) over the territory of the former Duchy of Schleswig, located in the middle of the Cimbrian Peninsula. Schleswig was eventually divided between Denmark and Germany in 1920, with considerable parts of the local population on either side of the border identifying themselves ethnically or culturally with the respective neighbouring state. This situation has remained more or less unchanged, with the Danish minority in South Schleswig running their own pre-school and school system and various other institutions. The majority of the people identifying themselves as belonging to this group are to some extent bilingual and use both Danish and German on a regular basis, with Danish as an in-group variety associated mostly with the minority's institutions. Typically, South Schleswig Danish is described as a variety of Danish with considerable structural impact from German, which makes it noticeably different from Denmark Danish. For the history of the region in general, cf. Bohn (2006) and *Sønderjyllands historie* (2008–2009); for the history and present status of the minorities in the former Duchy of Schleswig, cf. Kühl & Bohn (2005); for the linguistic history and the present status of the languages in the border region, cf. Winge (2004), Pedersen (2003), Fredsted (2009), and Kühl (2015: 44–49).

properties: their occurrence is restricted to different pragmatic contexts, i.e. the communicative settings that are conventionally associated with either language within the bilingual community. They thus have a pragmatic function of marking the current context as belonging to a specific set of settings, in line with the fundamental assumption of CxG that differences in form go along with differences in function.¹⁴ In DCxG, this function is analysed as part of the pragmatic meaning of a construction within a multilingual constructicon, resulting in a (somewhat simplified) analysis such as in (2), with angle brackets indicating non-referential meaning and $C_{\text{abbreviated glottonym}}$ standing for the communicative settings associated with a particular language:¹⁵

- (2) a. Danish/German Child Constructions
[*barn* ‘child’ $\langle C_{\text{Da}} \rangle$], [*Kind* ‘child’ $\langle C_{\text{Ge}} \rangle$]
- b. Danish/German Week Constructions
[*uge* ‘week’ $\langle C_{\text{Da}} \rangle$], [*Woche* ‘week’ $\langle C_{\text{Ge}} \rangle$]
- c. Danish Hygge Construction
[*hygge* ‘friendly/cosy/homely atmosphere, created on purpose’ $\langle C_{\text{Da}} \rangle$]

This analysis of language-specificity as part of the pragmatic meaning of a construction, however, entails more than a mere shift in terminology, as not every construction that occurs in C_X specifically marks C_X . This difference is more obvious with schematic constructions, such as the Verb-Initial Interrogative Construction. In both Danish and German, polar questions can be expressed by verb-initial finite clauses, as exemplified in (3):

14. This type of pragmatic meaning – along with other semantic properties of constructions – can be modelled in different ways. In particular, it can be included in a Frame Semantic (cf. Fillmore 1982 and subsequent work) description of a construction’s meaning, relating the pragmatic context to different communicative frames (cf. Fischer 2010). This approach is, however, not spelled out in this contribution.

15. The use of glottonyms is just a convenient shorthand way of referring to a specific set of communicative settings; it would be equally acceptable to refer to different sets of communicative settings by, say, alphabetical identifiers (C_A , C_B) or plain-text descriptions (C_{home} , C_{work}). – The following notational conventions apply throughout this contribution: *italics* = lexical form, SMALL CAPITALS = schematic form, *ITALIC SMALL CAPITALS* = paradigmatic form, ‘ ’ = lexical meaning (indicated by approximate translation), $\langle \rangle$ grammatical/pragmatic meaning (indicated by approximate description), ... (ellipsis) = other components of a construction (left out in the description), X_{number} = relative position of an element X within a construction.

- (3) a. Danish
Sover du allerede?
 sleep-PRS 2SG.NOM already
- b. German
Schläfst du schon?
 sleep-IND.PRS.2SG 2SG.NOM already
 ‘Are you already asleep?’

These clauses (like all utterances) instantiate plenty of different constructions providing lexical material, inflectional morphology, syntactic patterns, prosodic patterns and so forth, many of which are undoubtedly language-specific. The syntactic pattern marking illocutionary force, however, can be said to be isomorphic between the two languages. Consequently, although the same pattern might be captured by a specifically, say, Danish construction as in (4a) in some language contact situations (such as the contact in Greenland between Danish and Greenlandic, which marks polar questions by means of inflectional morphology), the Verb-Initial Interrogative is not represented by two language-specific constructions within the community-specific grammar of Danish-German bilinguals in South Schleswig. Rather, it has to be analysed as a single, language-unspecific construction (as shown in (4b)), as it cannot potentially mark an utterance as belonging to a specific set of communicative settings within the community.

- (4) a. Danish Verb-Initial Interrogative
 [FINITE₁, ... ⟨polar question⟩ ⟨C_{Da}⟩]
- b. Verb-Initial Interrogative
 [FINITE₁, ... ⟨polar question⟩]

Unspecific constructions can of course be combined with more specific ones. For instance, the FINITE slot in (4b) can be filled by either Danish or German finite verbs, which involves both lexical and morphological constructions accounting for the concatenation of verbal stems and inflectional suffixes as in the (Danish) utterance illustrated in Figure 3 (cf. (3a)).

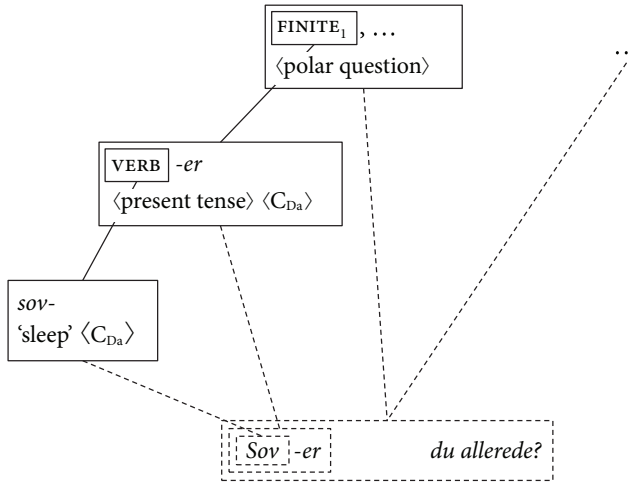


Figure 3. Interaction of language-specific and unspecific constructions

4.2 Constructions without borders: Idi constructions and dia constructions

From a DCxG perspective, the multilingual constructicon comprises both language-specific and language-unspecific constructions, or, as they are labelled in DCxG terminology, idi constructions (short for ‘idiosyncratic constructions’) and dia constructions (short for ‘diasystematic constructions’). The interaction between these two types of constructions is not restricted to their instantiation in actual utterances, but also pertains to their organisation within the constructional network. As in CxG approaches in general, DCxG assumes constructions to be organised along inheritance links connecting more specific and more schematic constructions. Since language-specificity is analysed as a semantic property of a construction, the lack of language-specificity in dia constructions is interpreted as one type of semantic schematicity. (Of course, idi constructions can also specify other formal or functional properties in addition to a language-specific set of communicative contexts.) Correspondingly, idi constructions and dia constructions are interconnected by inheritance links. Formally, this general principle can be represented as shown in Figure 4.

Note that neither ‘idi construction’ nor ‘dia construction’ are absolute concepts. Rather, they allow for different degrees of schematicity and different inter-construction relations. A dia construction W (cf. Figure 5) can be linked to a partially schematic construction X that is pragmatically restricted to a set of communicative settings associated with language A . For instance, if W pairs a grammatical concept with some type of formal marker, X specifies that the concept is expressed by a suffix in A . This makes X an idi construction in relation to W , just

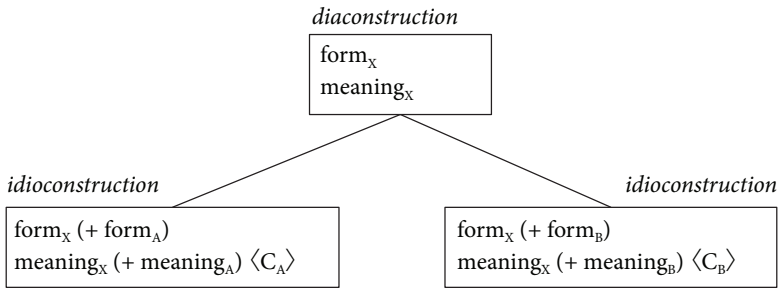


Figure 4. Diaconstructions and idioconstructions in the constructional network

as *W*, conversely, is a diaconstruction in relation to *X* (as indicated by the arrows in Figure 5). At the same time, *X* is also linked to two even less schematic constructions *Y* and *Z*, specifying different suffixes such as *-u* and *-i* that are restricted to different subsets of C_A , e.g. C_{Aa} and C_{Ab} . In this case, *X* is also a diaconstruction in its relation to *Y* and *Z* (as, again, indicated by the arrows).

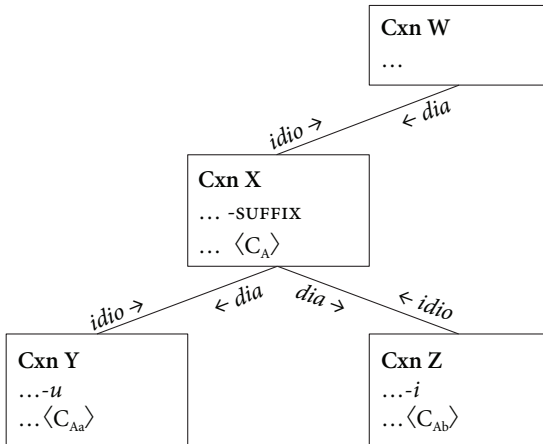


Figure 5. Diaconstructions and idioconstructions as relational concepts

Constructional networks of this type may be found where the multilingual construction involves different varieties of two or more languages, or in cases where two languages with similar communicative domains share a construction not found in a third one. An example is the Inchoative Pseudo-Coordination Construction in (5), which is shared by Low German (the traditional German dialects of Northern Germany) and North High German (the regiolectal variety), but not Standard High German. This is illustrated in Figure 6 (cf. Höder 2014a: 147–149).

- (5) a. Low German
Un denn gaht se bi un maakt Kaffe.
 and then go-PRS.PL 3PL.NOM at and make-PRS.PL coffee
- b. North High German
Und denn gehen sie bei und machen Kaffe.
 and then go-IND.PRS.3PL 3PL.NOM at and make-IND.PRS.3PL coffee
 ‘And then they start making/proceed to make coffee.’

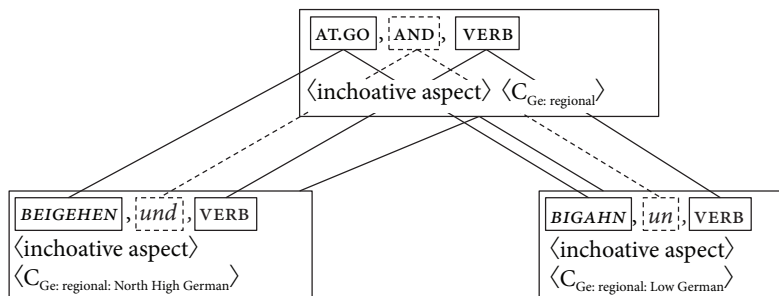


Figure 6. Inchoative Pseudo-Coordination Constructions in regional German varieties

4.3 Language-specific input vs. diasystematic construction?

A possible objection against the diasystematic view on the constructional organisation of multilinguals' grammar concerns language acquisition: How can language-unspecific constructions be acquired on the basis of the speaker's linguistic input, if all input is language-specific? There are, however, at least two important arguments against this objection:

Firstly, *language-specific lexical material in the input does not imply language-specific schematic patterns*. It is commonly assumed that, during language acquisition, a speaker will keep the amount of information interpreted as a construction's meaning to a cognitively useful minimum of contextually relevant knowledge, reasonable cases of redundancy notwithstanding (cf., for example, Goldberg 2006: 67–126 and specifically on first-language acquisition Tomasello 2006ab). The reason is that, without such a limit, any construction would include on its functional side countless irrelevant aspects of, for instance, the communicative settings in which it is encountered by a speaker during acquisition. Consequently, the categorisation of linguistic input as idioconstructional – which implies a specific pragmatic meaning – has to be motivated by contextual cues. Lexical and morphological constructions will in many (if not most) cases be filled with lexical or phonological material from one language and only be observable in that language's conventional domains, and they will consequently be acquired as idioconstructions. However, this is not generalisable to more schematic constructions

such as syntactic patterns that are observable across two or more languages and their domains in a multilingual community. Such constructions will be acquired as language-unspecific from the outset.

Secondly, *what starts out as an idioconstruction can turn into a diaconstruction*. When diaconstructions are not acquired immediately but via the initial establishment and subsequent connection of idioconstructions (for example in the successive acquisition of constructions from different L1s), this requires procedures of abstraction and generalisation at a later stage. However, these are not essentially different from what is assumed to be going on anyway in monolingual acquisition and in the (re-)organisation of pre-existing constructional knowledge. The central organisational process in a multilingual context is the mechanism known in contact linguistics as ‘interlingual identification’ (Weinreich 1964: 7; cf. Höder 2014a: 141), i.e. the establishment of equivalence relations between structural elements in different languages. Interlingual identification is not a fully predictable process, but reflects a partially creative activity of the speakers: equivalence is not pre-determined by formal or functional properties of the relevant elements, but rather emerges as a result of speakers’ communicative practice in multilingual communities. Hence, two elements are perceived, increasingly used, and eventually conventionalised as interlingual equivalents (for the notion of interlingual equivalence cf. the discussion by Heine & Kuteva 2005: 219–234). Yet, interlingual identification is not fully arbitrary either, as it is usually motivated by similarity on the formal and/or functional side, including such different (and potentially conflicting) criteria as phonic, semantic, morphosyntactic, pragmatic, and frequential properties.

For example, it is assumed that successively bilingual L1 speakers of German and Danish who have already acquired a Danish Verb-Initial Interrogative Construction (as in (4a) above) will

- a. interlingually identify this construction with the newly encountered German Verb-Initial Interrogative Construction on the basis of both functional (polar question marker) and formal (verb-initial finite clauses) features,
- b. establish a diaconstruction based on the generalisation of the shared functional and formal properties, and
- c. reorganise their construction by replacing the language-specific constructions with the newly acquired diaconstruction.

This process is illustrated (in an idealised way) in Figure 7:

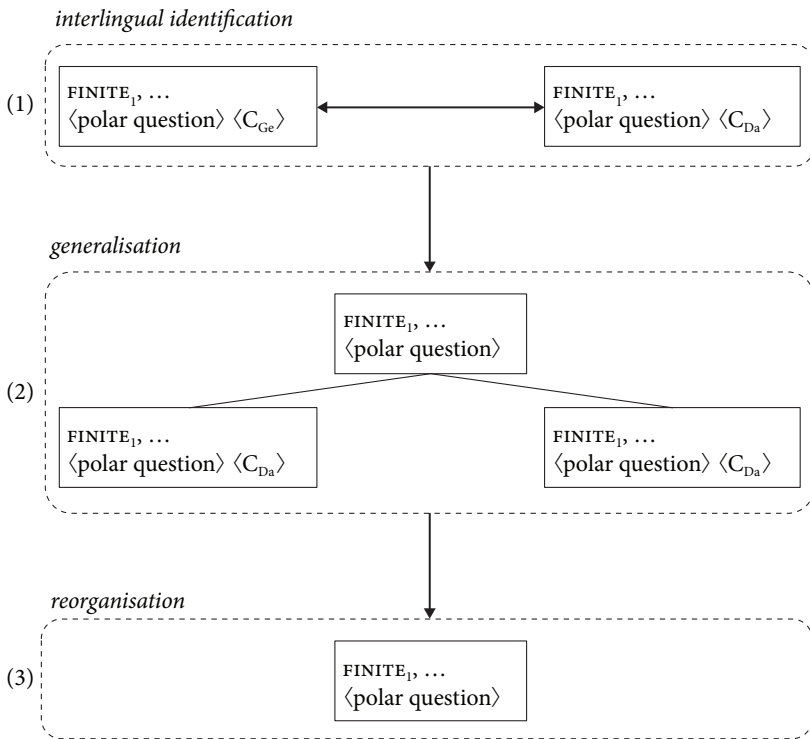


Figure 7. Diasystematic reorganisation

Diaconstructions and the diaconstructional (re-)organisation of constructional knowledge are, however, not limited to syntactic constructions such as the Verb-Initial Interrogative or Aspectual Pseudo-Coordination, but can also apply to, say, lexical or morphological constructions. For example, a DCxG analysis will assume that the Danish and German *Week* constructions (cf. (2)) in South Schleswig are interconnected via a diaconstruction that specifies the language-unspecific lexical concept ‘week’ as well as certain morphological properties of the corresponding lexemes (e.g. word class, morphological non-compositionality) and phonological features (e.g. phonological wordhood) as in Figure 8. Similarly, it will assume that the strategy shared by both languages of marking the plural by adnominal suffixation is reflected in a *Plural Suffix* diaconstruction that is linked to the individual plural idioconstructions as in Figure 9.

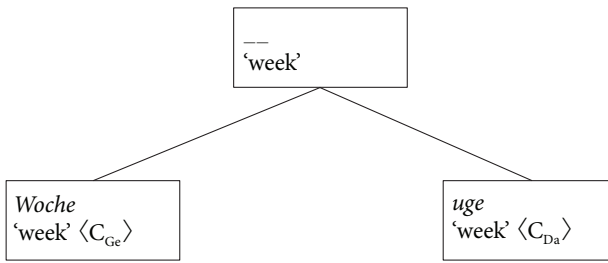


Figure 8. Lexical diaconstruction

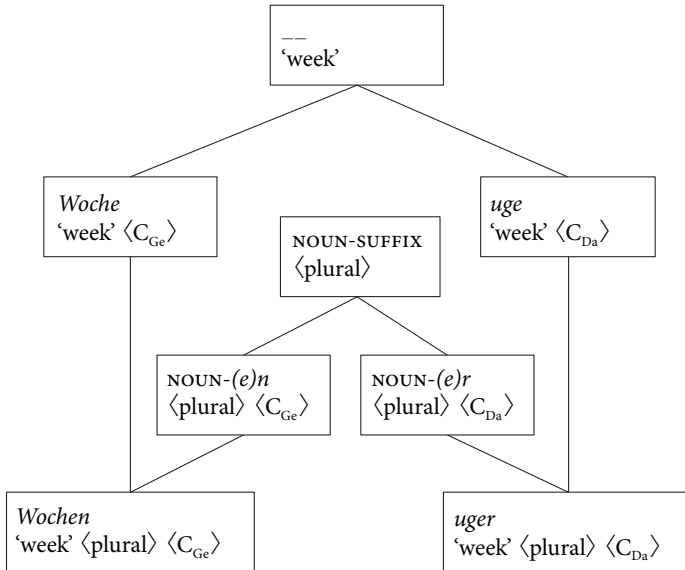


Figure 9. Lexical and morphological diaconstructions¹⁶

Furthermore, diaconstructions can also be (partially) filled with lexical or phonological material. For instance, both Danish and the local variety of German in South Schleswig share a De-Obligative Future construction, illustrated in (6) and shown in Figure 10, consisting of a finite verb usually denoting obligation and an infinitive (cf. Höder 2016a); this construction is lexically filled as it involves an Obligative Verb Diaconstruction which in turn can be instantiated by inflectional forms of either Danish *skulle* or German *sollen*.

16. The morphological constructions have to be formalised in a different way if their phonological or phonetic form (*Woche* [ˈvɔxə], *uge* [ˈuːə, uː]) is taken into account (for a discussion on the importance of defining the phonological form of constructions cf. Höder 2014c: 207–215). As for the diasystematic analysis of the example given here, the difference between the phonological forms and their more convenient orthographical representation is marginal (but see below).

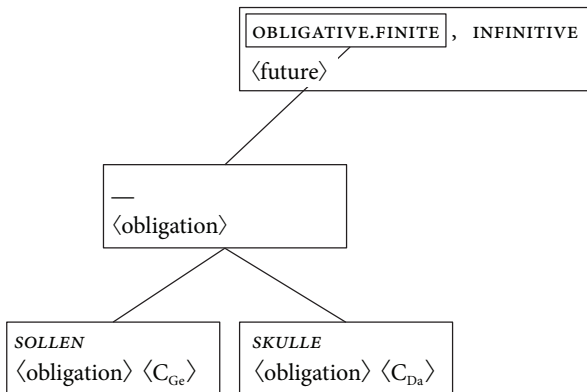


Figure 10. Lexically filled diaconstruction

(6) a. Danish

Jeg skulle købe rundstykker.
 1SG.NOM shall.PST buy-INF bread.roll-PL
 ‘I was going to buy rolls.’

b. local German

Die sollen noch nach Flensburg fahren.
 DEM.PL.NOM shall-IND.PRS.3PL still to [place name] drive-INF
 ‘They’re going to drive to Flensburg later.’

Similarly, even phonologically filled constructions can arguably qualify as diaconstructions, such as the verbal stem in Danish *arbejde* (*arbejd-*) and German *arbeiten* (*arbeit-*) ‘work’, which is by most South Schleswig speakers pronounced indiscriminately as [‘a:ɓaɪ̯d-] in both languages.¹⁷ This can be represented by a language-unspecific Work Construction as illustrated in Figure 11.

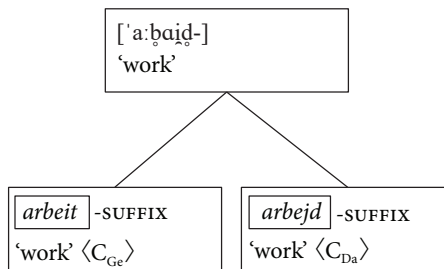


Figure 11. Phonologically filled diaconstruction

Moreover, DCxG assumes that different degrees of formal schematicity even allow for diasystematic links between submorphemic sound forms of individual

17. Standard German has [‘aɪ̯bʏt̪-], Standard Danish [‘ä:ɓäi̯d̥-]. The deviations from the standard pronunciation are typical features of the respective regional varieties.

constructions, especially in the cases of (a) cognates in pairs of closely related languages or (b) common or mutual loanwords in any related or unrelated language pair. For example, the German diphthong /au/ frequently corresponds to monophthongal /u(:)/¹⁸ in semantically equivalent Danish lexemes, as illustrated in the sets of examples in (7).¹⁹

(7) a. German

Haus [haʊs] ‘house’, *Gebrauch* [ɡəˈbr̥ʌʊx] ‘use (noun)’, *braun* [br̥ʌʊn] ‘brown’, *Frau* [fr̥ʌʊ] ‘Mrs’, *Haut* [haʊt] ‘skin’, *Strauß* [ʃtr̥ʌʊs] ‘ostrich’

b. Danish

hus [hu:s] ‘house’, *brug* [br̥ʌu:] ‘use (noun)’, *brun* [br̥ʌu:n] ‘brown’, *fru* [fr̥ʌ] ‘Mrs’, *hud* [huð] ‘skin’, *struds* [sdr̥ʌs] ‘ostrich’

In such cases, two observations can be made as to the phonological form of the corresponding lexical constructions. Firstly, the form is only partially language-specific. For instance, in the House Constructions, the only sound segment that Danish and German do not have in common is the stem vowel, while the consonants are language-unspecific. In a DCxG analysis, this can be captured by linking the House idioconstructions to a phonologically schematic diaconstruction specifying the consonantal onset and coda while leaving the vocalic slot open (/h__s/). Secondly, the language-particular stem vowels are not arbitrary, but governed by a regular correspondence between German /au/ and Danish /u(:)/. As language-specificity is interpreted as part of a construction’s pragmatic meaning, such regular sound correspondences can also be captured by phonologically schematic diaconstructions in a DCxG analysis (cf. the extensive discussion in Höder 2014c: 223–228). In short, such diaconstructions specify a set of possible sounds from different languages in a given context and are linked to phonologically filled idioconstructions that represent the actual phonological form in a particular language (‘phonological language markers’). The interplay of phonological diaconstructions and idioconstructions is illustrated in Figure 12.

18. In the standard variety, long [u:] is often – particularly in monosyllables – combined with so-called *stød*, a phonologically distinctive suprasegmental feature, transcribed as [ʔ], e.g. *brug* [br̥ʌu:ʔ]. The *stød*-less forms given here are typical of the regional pronunciation in South Schleswig.

19. The regular correspondences between German /au/ and Danish /u(:)/ in words inherited from Proto-Germanic as well as in older loanwords is a consequence of the so-called Early High German Diphthongisation, a sound change which turned long close vowels into rising diphthongs; the Danish forms thus represent the older form.

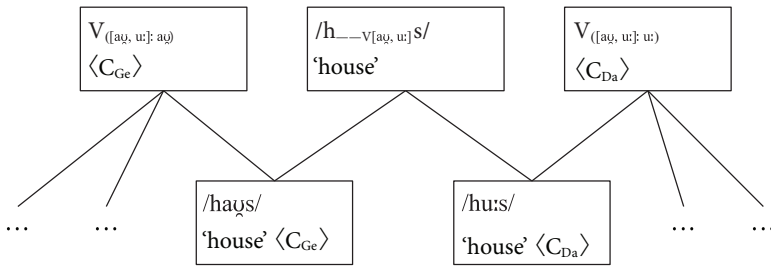


Figure 12. Phonological language markers

4.4 Pro-diasystematic change

The diachronic aspect has always been a major focus of contact linguistics, as contact-induced structural changes are the most conspicuous outcome of language contact. While traditional analyses view contact-induced change as a result of interaction between separate systems (as do, for instance, the in many ways untraditional usage-based approaches by Johanson [2005, 2008] or Heine & Kuteva [2003, 2005]), DCxG has to account for contact-induced changes in terms of innovation and reorganisation within the multilingual system.

One type of innovation is due to *ad hoc* interlingual productivity (on productivity as evidence in DCxG, cf. Höder 2014c: 221–223). As all schematic constructions, diaconstructions are productive in the sense that they allow for the production of fully intelligible constructs that do not represent constructions of their own. For example, South Schleswig speakers of Danish may produce the innovation *regnskærm* ‘umbrella’, a non-conventional form that is unintelligible to speakers of Standard Danish (cf. Standard Danish *paraply* ‘umbrella’; *regnskærm* as a technical term means ‘rain protection’). This construct instantiates (a) the Determinative Compound Diaconstruction [NOUN-NOUN (determinative compound)], whose nominal slots are filled by (b) the lexical diaconstructions [__ ‘rain’] and [__ ‘screen’], which in turn are instantiated by (c) the lexical idioconstructions [*regn* ‘rain’ <C_{Da}>] and [*skærm* ‘screen’ <C_{Da}>] (cf. their German equivalents [*Regen* ‘rain’ <C_{Ge}>] and [*Schirm* ‘screen’ <C_{Ge}>] as instantiated in the German compound *Regenschirm* ‘umbrella’). To bilingual South Schleswig speakers, decoding such *ad hoc* calques (‘diasystematically anchored innovations’) does not pose a problem, even though speakers with sufficient metalinguistic knowledge of the more prestigious standard variety might evaluate them as incorrect, which in turn can inhibit their conventionalisation within the bilingual community. Nonetheless, such forms – if only as occasionalisms or hapaxes – are not only frequent in everyday speech and observable in corpus data (cf. the corpus analysis

by Kühl 2008), but their occurrence is also predictable and their intelligibility is experimentally testable.

In the long run, innovations can be conventionalised, resulting in language change. The most frequent and (from a DCxG perspective) the most relevant type of change is what is called ‘pro-diasystematic change’ (for an extensive discussion cf. Höder 2012, 2014a). Pro-diasystematic change is defined as a type of change that simplifies the multilingual system by reducing a construction’s language-specificity. This process entails a reorganisation of the constructional network and a reduced amount of constructional knowledge within the system as a whole, as sets of two or more idioconstructions are replaced by newly emerging diaconstructions containing fewer pragmatic restrictions and, hence, carrying less information. Counter-diasystematic change, in contrast, leads to an increasing number of idioconstructions and, thus, complexifies the multilingual system.²⁰

Pro-diasystematic change can be illustrated by the Nominal Benefactive Construction occurring in South Schleswig Danish (while absent from Standard Danish). In South Schleswig, one may encounter utterances such as (8) (Kühl & Petersen 2009: 118):

- (8) Danish
Pia åbner ham.
 (name) open-PRS 3SG.MALE.OBL
 ‘Pia opens the door for him.’

The use of a bare pronoun in the oblique case (or, more generally, a bare noun phrase) to express the beneficiary of an action can be formalised by a construction [NP_{nom} , VERB, NP_{obl} ⟨benefactor, action, beneficiary⟩]. Such a construction does not exist in Standard Danish, which exclusively uses a Prepositional Benefactive Construction ([NP_{nom} , VERB, *for*- NP_{obl} ⟨benefactor, action, beneficiary⟩]) as in (9a); the utterance in (8) would be interpreted as an instance of a transitive construction, i.e. as meaning ‘Pia opens him up’.²¹ In German, however, there is a very similar Nominal Benefactive Construction [NP_{nom} , VERB, NP_{dat} ⟨benefactor, action,

20. In most cases, pro-diasystematic change coincides with structural convergence and counter-diasystematic change is equivalent to divergence, although there is also the rather exceptional possibility of pro-diasystematic divergence (Höder 2014b). On the notion of ‘stable diasystematicity’ cf. Höder (2012: 252).

21. Another factor involved here is null instantiation (for a CxG analysis, cf. Lyngfelt 2012) of the object argument (as in (9a): *Pia åbner [døren] for ham*, (9b) *Pia åbner [die Tür] for ham* ‘Pia opens [the door] for him’). Null instantiation can be lexically or constructionally licensed, but either way this is unconnected to the choice of Nominal or Prepositional Benefactives.

beneficiary)], as illustrated in (9b), pointing to a contact-induced innovation in South Schleswig Danish.

- (9) a. *Pia åbner for ham.*
 (name) open-PRS for 3SG.MALE.OBL
- b. German
Pia öffnet ihm
 (name) open-IND.PRS.3SG 3SG.M.DAT
 ‘Pia opens the door for him.’

The contact-induced emergence of a Nominal Benefactive Construction in South Schleswig Danish can be modelled (in a somewhat idealised manner) as a three-step process (cf. Figure 13):

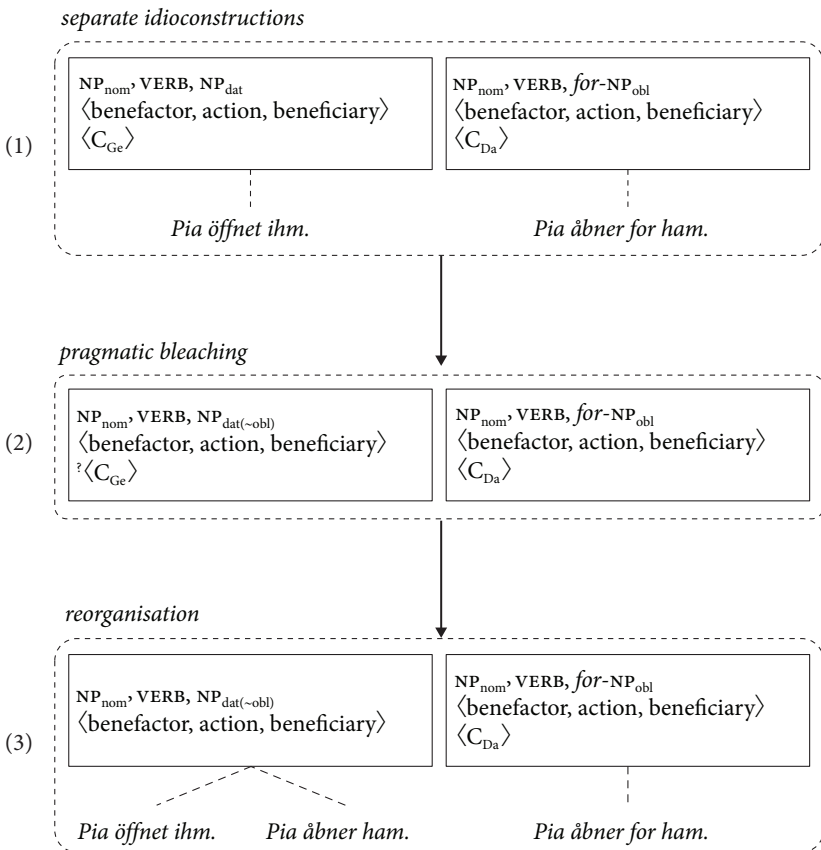


Figure 13. Pro-diasystematic change

- a. Stage 1 (separate idioconstructions): The bilingual system contains both the German Nominal Benefactive and the Danish Prepositional Benefactive Idioconstructions.
- b. Stage 2 (pragmatic bleaching): The Nominal Benefactive loses its pragmatic restriction to communicative contexts associated with German, eventually becoming a diaconstruction.²²
- c. Stage 3 (diasystematic reorganisation): The Nominal Benefactive Diaconstruction coexists with the Danish Prepositional Benefactive Idioconstruction.

The final stage allows for the Nominal Benefactive to be filled with lexical material from either language.

4.5 Generalisation gone wild?

At first glance, some of the implications of DCxG may look like generalisation gone wild, and, in places, relatively far from the cherished ‘What you see is what you get’ principle of CxG, considering the assumption of e.g. extreme phonological schematicity and the abundance of dia- and idioconstructions that can be posited within a bilingual grammar. However, all of these arguably follow from applying principles of usage-based CxG to language contact situations, without any extra assumptions.

Diaconstructions are constructions. They do not represent a *sui generis* layer or a special category of interlingual constructions, but are part of multilinguals’ linguistic knowledge, set apart only by the type of pragmatic information they carry. Diasystematic constructional networks are organised according to the same cognitive mechanisms as monolingual networks. There are – or so it is assumed – limits to the feasibility of generalisation across constructions, their forms and their functions, but none of these are particular to multilingual networks. For example, assuming maximally schematic forms for lexical diaconstructions is not bolder than assuming maximally schematic forms for [SUBJECT] or [VERB] constructions in the grammar of a single language. Similarly, introducing phonological language marker constructions in order to capture regular phonological correspondences is not more audacious than introducing phonaesthetic constructions (cf. Höder 2014c: 205–207; Bergen 2004). It is, of course, a legitimate question to what extent multilinguals in fact do generalise over the idiosyncrasies in the constructions of their languages and by which factors this process is governed. However, these are

22. This step presupposes that the Danish Oblique Case and the German Dative Case are (in certain grammatical contexts such as prepositional phrases) established as interlingual equivalents; this equivalence can be taken for granted, but will, for reasons of space, not be elaborated here (cf. Höder 2012: 250–251 for a similar case).

the same (eternal) questions – the division of labour between filled and schematic constructions, economy vs. redundancy, the role of cognitive entrenchment and preemption, frequency effects etc. – that are also discussed in non-diasystematic CxG, and there is at present no reason to assume that the answers will be any different.²³ For example, the question of how multilinguals learn when to prefer free-floating idioconstructions over non-conventional diasystematically anchored forms is very similar to the question how speakers acquire irregular forms in, say, monolingual derivational morphology (cf. Boyd & Goldberg 2011; Goldberg 2011).

Finally, a challenging question is this: Is DCxG applicable in all types of contact situations, or are the languages in contact required to meet specific criteria in order to make DCxG work? So far, most work in DCxG has been devoted to pairs (or sets) of relatively closely related languages, mostly within the Germanic group (exceptions are Höder 2012 on the contact between Latin and Old Swedish and Hendriks, Van Goethem & Meunier 2015 on French and Dutch), and these languages are of course structurally very similar. Yet, it seems hard to imagine a multilingual community where even semantically identical lexical concepts are organised purely idioconstructionally, leaving no room for at least some diaconstructional knowledge. More importantly, however, there is no logical reason why DCxG should not be applicable to *any* type of contact situation. As discussed above, the basic mechanism of DCxG, interlingual identification, is based on the establishment of interlingual equivalence, which in turn is guided by the existence of (perceivable) formal and/or functional similarities between the languages. While it is evident that structural similarity strongly facilitates interlingual identification (cf. Thomason 2014 on the role of ‘typological congruence’), the process itself does not depend on, as it were, objective similarity relations, but on similarity *as perceived by speakers*, which can vary considerably (cf. Babel & Pfänder 2014; Palacios & Pfänder 2014): the degree of diasystematicity within a given community’s grammar is not simply a function of the structural isomorphisms that a linguist may

23. The division of labour between higher-order and lower-order structures has been the subject of some debate in the CxG and, more generally, in the cognitive linguistics literature, with much emphasis on the importance of lower levels of schematicity as opposed to higher ones (cf. Langacker 2008: 237–239; Goldberg 2002). It is indeed crucial for any usage-based approach to focus on low-level schemas as far as possible and restrict generalisations to instances where there is evidence in favour their cognitive relevance. These, however, are by no means a negligible quantity, but rather a central aspect of CxG. Higher-level schemas can, for instance, be demonstrated to be motivated (Goldberg 2006: 166–182), to carry meaning (as in the case of argument structure constructions; Goldberg 1995), and to be productive (cf. Barðdal 2008: 34–54). Moreover, recent CxG research shows that there is a cognitive need for at least some kind of higher-order schemas in other cases as well, such as Perek’s (2015: 145–174) approach to syntactic alternations via higher-order schemas.

observe in their languages. Ultimately, then, the applicability of DCxG to different types of contact situation is less a theoretical question than an empirical one: the question is not whether DCxG is applicable, but what multilingual speakers in specific multilingual communities actually do.

5. Conclusion

Taking usage-based CxG seriously and applying it to language contact situations means making no difference between the languages at the disposal of a multilingual community – at least not axiomatically. As Section 4 illustrates, this insight leads to a view of the multilingual construction as consisting of both language-specific and unspecific constructions, interdependent on each other both in terms of constructional organisation and in the actual production of (both monolingual and multilingual) utterances. While this view, as embodied in DCxG, has a number of intriguing implications for the organisation and reorganisation of multilingual knowledge, some of those are also relevant for the further development of CxG in general (such as the role of phonological elements in CxG). While many – if not most – consequences of this approach still remain to be fleshed out, it seems evident that DCxG provides not only a socio-cognitively more realistic perspective on multilingual structures, but also a useful analytical tool for both contact linguists and construction grammarians. Moreover, DCxG makes predictions about both *ad hoc* and conventionalised innovations within multilingual speaker groups that can be tested empirically.

Acknowledgment

I wish to thank to thank the anonymous reviewers for the helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper, as well as numerous colleagues who have been willing to discuss DCxG with me.

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PART II

Constructional variation and change in contact

Towards a constructional analysis of the progressive aspect in Texas German

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This paper provides a constructional analysis of progressive aspect in Texas German (TxG) in present, indicative, active, non-negative sentences. TxG speakers used the present tense (progressive), *am*-progressive, *tun*-progressive, and the adverb *jetzt* to translate English sentences containing the present tense progressive *be + -ing* into TxG. This paper compares translation elicitation data from TxG speakers from Gillespie County from Gilbert's (1972) *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German*, Guion (1996), and the present-day Texas German Dialect Project. It demonstrates that there is still a range of constructions available to TxGs to express progressivity, with the present tense being the most commonly used construction, followed by the temporal adverb *jetzt* (38%), the *am*-progressive (7%), and the *tun*-progressive (4%).

Keywords: Texas German, German progressive, *am*-progressive, *tun* periphrasis, contact language varieties, speech islands, Construction Grammar

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the range of constructions that Texas German has to realize progressive aspect. Texas German has a variety of ways to express the progressive because it developed from multiple German donor dialects,¹ and has been in contact with English for over 150 years (Boas 2009). None of the progressive forms,

1. It is nearly impossible to determine the exact Texas German donor dialects. Speakers may not know exactly where their ancestors came from or when their ancestors left Germany. In addition, the regions indicated by speakers when asked to name where their ancestors came from may encompass a range of dialects (e.g., Prussia, Germany). It is also possible that, over the years, Texas German speakers from different areas of Texas (with different original donor dialects) have come into contact with one another and mixed, further complexifying Texas German.

however, are fully grammaticalized. Compare, for example, the following range of translations of the English progressive into Texas German.²

- (1) He's helping me now.³
- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>Er helft mich jetzt.</i> | (1-56-2-31) |
| b. | <i>Der ist mich am Helfen.</i> | (58-371-1-31) |
| c. | <i>Er tut mir helfen.</i> | (11-126-2-31) |

In contrast to Texas German, English is considered to have a single progressive construction: *be + -ing*, e.g., *The boy is running*.⁴ Thus, Texas German offers the opportunity to investigate the following questions:

- If a language composed of multiple donor dialects with non-grammaticalized aspect systems (Texas German) is in contact with a language with a fully grammaticalized aspect system (English) for more than a century, how does the resulting contact language express progressive aspect?
- How does the realization of the progressive in contemporary Texas German differ from that of earlier generations of Texas German as discussed by Gilbert (1972) and Guion (1996)?
- How can the various progressive constructions in Texas German be accounted for in Construction Grammar, according to which a difference in form is supposed to entail a difference in meaning?

In order to answer these questions, this paper compares Gilbert's (1972) and Guion's (1996) accounts of the progressive aspect in Texas German with contemporary data from the Texas German Dialect Archive (Boas et al. 2010) and offers a preliminary constructional account of progressive constructions in Texas German.

The following section provides a brief introduction to the progressive aspect and how it is expressed in English, Standard German, and various German dialects within central Europe. Section 3 gives a short overview of Construction Grammar's

2. While this example also shows the variability of case assignment in present-day Texas German, that and other grammatical or morphological variation that may occur is beyond the scope of this paper.

3. The data in (1) come from the Texas German Dialect Archive (TGDA) [tgdp.org/dialect-archive/]. Each example is followed by its unique file number in the archive. The file number can be read as follows: Interviewer ID-Speaker ID-Interview #-Interview Section#. For example, (1a) was spoken by Speaker 56 when being interviewed by Interviewer 1. This sentence is the 31st section of Interview 2 (here, the 31st elicitation of the Gilbert translation interview).

4. Progressivity in English can be expressed via other means as well, such as context (e.g., saying *I'm on my way home* in the context of driving home). In addition, not all *-ing* forms denote progressivity (cf. Scheffer 1975).

main principles and provides a description of the formalized English progressive construction with the form *be + -ing*. Section 4 discusses how the present tense (progressive), *am*-construction, and *tun*-construction have been used to express progressive aspect in Texas German over the past 50 years, based on data from Gilbert (1972), Guion (1996), and the Texas German Dialect Project (Boas et al. 2010).⁵ Each of these three works includes translation elicitation in which Texas Germans are asked to translate English sentences into Texas German. This paper discusses translations of present, indicative, active, non-negative, non-emphatic progressive English elicitation sentences. At the end of each subsection of Section 4, I propose a preliminary formalized construction for each Texas German progressive form. Finally, Section 5 offers a summary of the findings and ideas for future research.

2. The progressive aspect in English and German

2.1 Progressive aspect

In general, aspect refers to the internal structure of a situation or event.⁶ Aspect can be expressed through the inherent semantics of a verb (i.e., lexical aspect, sometimes synonymous with *Aktionsart* [cf. Rothstein 2007: 60]), and/or via morphological markers attached to the verb (i.e., grammatical aspect [cf. Filip 2012]). For the purposes of this paper, I maintain a broad definition of aspect, including periphrastic constructions and adverbs, thereby not restricting aspectual markers solely to morphological markers.

Progressive aspect is a particular type of imperfective aspect,⁷ and describes an action in progress (Hewson 2012: 540, cf. Scheffer 1975: 1). According to Mair (2012: 803), how various languages formally express progressivity, and whether or not the marking of progressivity is obligatory, varies across languages. In English,

5. I limit the discussion to these three constructions because they are the constructions that appear in the translation elicitation discussed in Section 4. Thus, other German progressive forms such as the *beim*-progressive, *im*-progressive, and *dabei zu*-progressive (cf. Ebert 1996; Krause 2002) are not discussed in this paper.

6. Definitions of aspect are far from unified (cf. Comrie 1976: 11f.; Klein 2008: 9f.; Rothstein 2007: 58). Rothstein (2007: 62f.) claims that aspect is a subcategory of *aspectuality*, along with other aspectual markers such as *Aktionsarten*, adverbs, and context.

7. The *imperfective* aspect “looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation,” e.g., *While John was reading the book, the postman came*. In contrast, *perfective* aspect, “looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation,” e.g., *John read that book yesterday* (Comrie 1976: 4).

verbs are conjugated according to person, number, tense, mood, and aspect, while in German, verbs are conjugated according to person, number, tense, and mood, meaning that sentences can be ambiguous in terms of perfectivity or progressivity (cf. Ramelli 2012: 383).⁸

For the purposes of this paper, I investigate lexical and periphrastic expressions of the progressive aspect in Texas German. More specifically, I examine how sentences containing the English progressive morphological marker *-ing* are translated into Texas German, regardless whether the translations utilize lexical, periphrastic, or other methods to translate the progressive meaning contained in the original English sentence. These translations allow one to investigate which progressive constructions are present in Texas German. I now turn to a brief discussion of the various types of progressive markers in English and varieties of German.

2.2 The progressive aspect in English, Standard German, and dialectal German

In English, the progressive is expressed by an inflected form of *to be* (marked for tense and number) together with the suffix *-ing*, which attaches to the stem of the lexical verb, as in *I am working* (Filip 2012: 275). The progressive aspect in English is fully grammaticalized, which means that it can be combined with every tense, and it is necessary to distinguish progressive meaning from non-progressive meaning by using (non)progressive forms (Gast & König 2007: 85).

Unlike English, Standard German does *not* have a fully grammaticalized aspect system (Gast & König 2007: 85). In fact, according to Lehmann (1991: 513), German might be “one of the poorest languages as regards to the category of aspect,” while other scholars debate whether German has an aspectual system at all (e.g., Rothstein 2007: 4).⁹ While there is no standard morphological marking for the progressive aspect in Standard German, there are several colloquial and dialectal constructions that can be used to express progressivity, or something similar to it. Some constructions are more widespread than others. For example, one can

8. It is important to note, however, that “[e]ven in languages with fully grammaticalized progressives, there is no tidy correspondence between progressive aspectuality (as a semantic notion) and the progressive aspect (as a grammatical category)” (Mair 2012: 803). For example, in English, not all uses of ‘*be + -ing*’ are truly progressive (Comrie 1976: 37). Scheffer (1975) provides certain guidelines as to when ‘*be + -ing*’ is being used progressively and when it is not.

9. Rothstein’s (2007: 68) conclusion that German does not have an aspectual system is based on the fact that there is not a perfective/imperfective opposition pair in contemporary German. Because Rothstein defines aspect purely in terms of grammatical aspect, it would be more accurate to say that he argues that German does not express *grammatical* aspect.

use an adverb such as *gerade* (e.g., *Sie liest gerade* ‘She is reading now’) or the *am*-construction (e.g., *Ich bin am Arbeiten* ‘I am (at) work(ing)’) to express progressivity. In Section 4 below, I discuss the use of the present tense (progressive), the *am*-construction, and the *tun*-construction. Although other progressive forms exist in German, such as the *beim*-progressive (*sein* + *beim* + V_{inf} ; *Er ist beim Arbeiten* ‘He is working’ / ‘He is at work’), *im*-progressive (*sein* + *im* + V_{inf} ; *die Preise sind im Steigen* ‘The prices are rising’), and *dabei zu*-progressive (*sein* + *dabei* + something + *zu* + V_{inf} ; *Sie ist dabei einen Kuchen zu backen* ‘She is baking a cake’) (cf. Ebert 1996; Krause 2002), they are not discussed in this paper because they do not appear in the translation elicitations discussed in Section 4. Before discussing the data, however, Section 3 provides a brief introduction to the theory upon which the analysis in this paper is based – Construction Grammar.

3. A Construction Grammar approach to progressive aspect

The central idea behind Construction Grammar (henceforth CxG) is that language – not just words and morphemes, but rather “all levels of grammatical description” – is made up of form-meaning pairs, i.e., ‘constructions’ (Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013: 1). As such, language consists of an inventory of constructions. For example, the construction “apple” consists of the phonetic form [æpl] (i.e., a combination of sounds), which is paired with the meaning ‘hand-sized fruit; usually red, green, or yellow; a singular noun; etc.’ A slightly more abstract example of a construction would be the construction used for comparisons, as in *Jack is bigger than Max*. The form of the construction used here is [X BE Adj_{comparative} ðən Y], i.e., something (X, in this example X = *Jack*) + a conjugated form of ‘to be’ + a comparative adjective (in this example, *bigger*) + [ðən] + something else (Y, in this example Y = *Max*). The meaning that is associated with this form is the concept ‘X is more Adj than Y’ (i.e., Jack is more big than Max) (Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013: 2).

According to CxG, all constructions are considered to be “part of a lexicon-syntax continuum” (Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013: 1), ranging from concrete constructions such as morphemes, words, and idiomatic expressions, to more abstract constructions such as argument structure constructions and word order constructions, to even more abstract constructions such as the (for an overview, see Croft 2001; Goldberg 2006; Boas 2013; Ziem & Lasch 2013).¹⁰

10. Where (German) aspectual constructions lie on the spectrum of abstractness (and productivity), and whether all progressive constructions lie at the same point on the spectrum, remains an open question (see Ziem & Lasch 2013: 96 for an example of a productivity/abstractness spectrum).

As noted above, one of the central ideas that sets CxG apart from other theories is the idea that all of language consists of constructions, i.e., pairings of form with meaning. In addition to a (phonological) form and a (semantic) meaning, each construction can contain morphological, syntactic, pragmatic, and discourse functional information (cf. Croft 2008). For example, the English progressive could be depicted informally as in Figure 1. Below, I discuss the form side first, followed by the meaning side.

Form:	$[_{\text{Aux}} \textit{be} + [_{\text{V}} \]\textit{-ing}] + \text{CONTEXT}$
	↓
Meaning:	ONGOINGNESS (+ aspecto-temporal extensions) (+ (inter)subjective connotations)
1-state situation:	--[-----]--- (e.g., <i>He is running.</i>)
2-state situation:	--[-----]---+++++ (e.g., <i>He is fixing the problem.</i>)

Figure 1. The English progressive construction

The form side of the English progressive construction in Figure 1 is $[_{\text{Aux}} \textit{be} + [_{\text{V}} \]\textit{-ing}]$. It consists of two fixed parts: the auxiliary verb *to be* (marked for tense and number)¹¹ and the suffix *-ing*, which requires a verb stem to which it attaches (indicated in Figure 1 by the open slot for the verb in square brackets), plus context. Specific restrictions on the verb slot constrain the types of verbs that are able to occur in this slot. For example, it is generally agreed that stative verbs such as *to believe* and *to know* are incompatible with the progressive aspect in English (e.g., **He is knowing the answer*) (Hamm & Bott 2014; Filip 2012: 728). In fact, the “*-ing* test” is often used to identify stative verbs – if the verb in question does not tolerate an *-ing* in English, it is stative, and if it tolerates an *-ing*, it is not stative (Klein 1994: 34). Thus, stative verbs cannot occur in the verb slot of the progressive construction in Figure 1. It is also generally agreed that punctual verbs such as *to find* typically do not permit a progressive reading.¹²

The meaning side of the construction in Figure 1 is based on Klein (1994) and De Wit & Brisard (2014). Klein (1994) distinguishes between Time of Utterance (TU), Time of Situation (TSit), and Topic Time (TT).¹³ TU refers to the time at which an utterance is made, TSit refers to the time for which the situation

11. Note that the tense and number inflection of *to be* are also constructions, pairing a particular form with a particular meaning. For ease of exposition, I leave out further discussion of the tense and number inflection constructions here.

12. It is not the case, however, that *all* stative and punctual verbs cannot appear in the progressive (Filip 2012: 729, cf. Dowty 1977; Mourelatos 1978).

13. Klein’s TU, TSit, and TT are similar to Reichenbach’s (1947) speech point (S), event point (E), and reference point (R) respectively (cf. Ritz 2012: 888).

described in an utterance can be said to hold, and TT refers to the time span referred to in an utterance.¹⁴ Klein also distinguishes between 0-state, 1-state, and 2-state situations. A 1-state situation has a TT contrast to both sides (before and after TT). For example, in the sentence *The book is on the table*, the TT could conceivably be contrasted with another TT in which the book is *not* on the table. In other words, some other TT could potentially lay outside the realm of the TSit. On the other hand, the sentence *The book is in Russian* does not allow for such a contrast. If a particular book is written in Russian, it always has been and always will be in Russian. The TT will always fall within the TSit. The former is an example of a 1-state situation, while the latter is an example of a 0-state situation.¹⁵ 2-state situations involve a shift from a “source state” to a “target state,” for example, from awake to asleep (‘fall asleep’) or from lost to found (‘find’) (Klein 1994: 8).

Aspect refers to the ways TT can relate to TSit: TT can contain, follow, precede, or be included in TSit. The English progressive form indicates that “the TT is properly contained in the first state of the situation (which is the only one for 1-state situations [...])” (Klein 1994: 9). For 1-state situations, the progressive “indicates that TSit extends beyond TT” (Klein 1994: 84). In Figure 1, this relation is illustrated by dashes, pluses, and brackets. The square brackets refer to the TT, and the dashes and pluses refer to the TSit. For 1-state situations, there are only dashes because the situation is homogeneous. For 2-state situations, the dashes refer to the ‘source state’ and the pluses refer to the ‘target state’ (cf. Klein 1994: 8).¹⁶

De Wit & Brisard (2014) investigate (inter)subjective uses of the present progressive marker *-ing* in English and propose a semantic network of its meanings and uses, following the theory of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991).¹⁷ They list several uses of the English present progressive: CURRENT ONGOINGNESS (the most prototypical and most frequently used aspecto-temporal usage-type),

14. Borrowing from Klein (1994: 3ff.), if a judge asked a witness “What did you notice when you looked into the room?” and the witness replied “There was a book on the table,” the TT for the utterance *There was a book on the table* refers to the time during which the witness looked in the room. The TSit refers to all of the (uninterrupted) time that the book was on the table. The book could have been there for an extended or a short period of time before and after the TT – it is not possible to know with the given context. In this example, the TT is contained within the TSit.

15. Because none of the elicitation sentences in Section 4 represent 0-state situations, I have not included 0-state situations in Figure 1.

16. Sometimes, using certain verbs progressively may change how they are interpreted. For example, verbs such as *to blink* and *to cough* are often thought of as punctual. However, the progressive form of these verbs leads to an iterative reading. For example, *The light was blinking* can only mean that it blinked repeatedly, not that it was caught mid-blink (cf. Klein 1994: 96f.).

17. Cf. Ljung (1980), Calver (1946), Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger (1982), and Williams (2002).

HISTORICAL PRESENT, FUTURATE, TEMPORARY VALIDITY, LIMITED DURATION, ITERATION, and HABITUAL (all of which are aspecto-temporal usage types that, in one way or another, are extensions of the meaning CURRENT ONGOINGNESS), and the (inter)subjective connotations SURPRISE, TENTATIVENESS, IRRITATION, and INTENSIFICATION (cf. Anthonissen, De Wit, & Mortelmans 2016: 10–13). While the more specific aspecto-temporal extensions of ONGOINGNESS and the various (inter)subjective connotations do not always accompany the use of the English present progressive, they are common enough to be included in the frame construction in Figure 1.

Lastly, the vertical double arrow between the form and meaning in Figure 1 indicates that the form is paired with a specific type of meaning, i.e., they constitute a construction. The outer box surrounding the entire Figure represents the construction as a whole, with the combination of form and meaning (see Croft 2001: 18).¹⁸

With this brief introduction to Construction Grammar and the English progressive construction, let us begin to look at the Texas German translation data.

4. Progressive marking in Texas German

Texas German (hereafter TxG) refers to “a set of varieties of German spoken in Texas which have descended from the dialects of German brought to Texas in the 19th century” (Boas 2009: 34).¹⁹ Although neither Standard German nor other varieties of German require the overt use of a grammatical marker to express the progressive aspect, there are several ways available to express it, or something similar to it. For example, in Standard German, progressive aspect is usually implicit or lexically expressed, e.g., via an adverb such as *gerade* ‘now, presently’ (Mair 2012: 804).²⁰ Non-standard varieties of German offer several constructions for expressing the progressive aspect, such as the *am*-construction and the *tun*-con-

18. While constructions contain morphological, syntactic, pragmatic, and discourse functional information (cf. Croft 2008), the purpose of Figure 1 is to present a basic depiction of the English progressive, and as such does not include additional information beyond form and meaning.

19. TxG has been the subject of investigation by several studies, such as Eikel (1949, 1954), Gilbert (1963, 1972), Wilson (1977, 1986), Salmons (1983), Guion (1996), Salmons & Lucht (2006), and Boas (2009).

20. There is not a consensus, however, as to whether temporal adverbs such as *gerade* or *jetzt* (in combination with a finite lexical verb) mark the progressive. For example, Ebert (1996: 49), Flick & Kuhmichel (2013: 54f.), and Kuhmichel (2016: 73) argue that *gerade* does not represent a situation as in progress, but rather as fixed to a particular moment in time (Kuhmichel 2017,

struction. The different progressive constructions form a family of constructions (cf. Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004) that could be modeled using a network with inheritance hierarchies (Langacker 2000; Sag 2012).²¹ This causes complications when translating the English progressive *-ing* into German. Not only is there no simple 1:1 translation – as translation is rarely, if ever, that simple – but there is also a wide range of German constructions that express a meaning similar to the meaning of the English progressive *-ing*, and each of these constructions has a different range of grammatical, semantic, and dialectal restrictions. The question therefore arises – how do Texas Germans translate the English progressive *-ing* into Texas German?

To address this question, I investigate the TxG uses of present tense (progressive) construction (Section 4.1), the *am*-construction (Section 4.2), and the *tun*-construction (Section 4.3). For each construction, I first discuss previous research on uses of that construction in standard and non-standard varieties of German. Then, I address the constructions' prevalence in TxG according to translation data from Gilbert (1972), Guion (1996), and the Texas German Dialect Archive (TGDA) [tgdp.org/dialect-archive/], and propose a preliminary depiction of each construction. Because of space limitations, I only discuss elicited TxG translations of English present tense, indicative, active English sentences with a 'be + *-ing*' construction (for details about the elicitation process, see Boas [2009: 8ff.]). While Gilbert (1972) and the TGDA include data from multiple counties, Guion (1996) only discusses data from Gillespie County. In order to make the data discussed in this paper as comparable as possible, I therefore also restrict my dataset to elicitations from Gillespie County.

As mentioned above, the data for this paper comes from three sources: Gilbert (1972), Guion (1996), and the TGDA. The first source, Gilbert's (1972) *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German*, is based on 273 interviews conducted in 31 counties in central Texas between 1961 and 1965.²² These interviews include, among other things, elicited translations of English words, phrases, and sentences. Within Gillespie County, 25 TxG informants were interviewed: 12 men and 13 women, ages 18–82. Seven of Gilbert's linguistic maps depict TxG translations of the English progressive *be + -ing*, as listed in Table 1.

see also Reimann 1996: 176). That being said, Ebert (1996: 49) claims that *gerade* can disambiguate between progressive and non-progressive intended meanings.

21. A network analysis of these constructions is, however, beyond the constraints of this paper.

22. These counties are: Austin, Bandera, Bastrop, Bexar, Blanco, Burleson, Burnet, Colorado, Comal, De Witt, Fayette, Fort Bend, Gillespie, Goliad, Gonzales, Guadalupe, Harris, Hays, Kendall, Kerr, Lavaca, Lee, Llano, Mason, Medina, Menard, Travis, Washington, Wharton, Williamson, and Wilson.

Table 1. English present tense progressive elicitation sentences used in Gilbert (1972)

(Gilbert elicitation #)	Elicitation sentence
(23)	It's lying down there on the floor.
(77)	He's helping me now.
(78)	He's sleeping now.
(80)	He's washing his hands.
(82)	He's running now.
(83)	You're ruining the food!
(90)	They're taking it away.

Thirty years later, Guion (1996) interviewed 16 TxG speakers from the Fredericksburg area who had been born in Gillespie County and were at least third generation Texas Germans.²³ The interviews, conducted in 1992, include a translation task in which speakers translate English sentences into TxG.²⁴ Rather than grouping all of her TxG informants together, as Gilbert (1972) does, Guion differentiates between fluent speakers and semi-speakers. Following the classification of speakers of endangered languages proposed by Dorian (1973), Guion describes fluent speakers as “characterized by a comfortable, non-halting use of German” who “use German on a daily basis” (Guion 1996: 448), while semi-speakers

have a halting delivery and use many idiosyncratic forms recognized by the fluent speakers as ‘mistakes.’ [They] only use German rarely, usually with older, fluent relatives, [...] and have never been fluent in German; English is without a doubt their dominant language. (Guion 1996: 448)

Although Guion categorizes speakers into these two groups, she does not explicitly state which speakers or how many speakers fall into either of these categories. Guion’s translation task includes three sentences that exhibit English progressive *-ing* in the present tense (Table 2).

Table 2. English present tense progressive elicitation sentences used in Guion (1996)

(Guion elicitation #)	Elicitation sentence
(5)	The buzzard is eating the dead skunk.
(11)	My brother’s friend is walking around the ranch to check up on the sheep.
(16)	He is cutting the hedge with Herbert’s tools.

23. Guion does not provide information about the gender or age of the speakers.

24. Guion’s interviews are included in the Texas German Dialect Archive (TGDA). The translations elicited by Guion are not included in my discussion of TGDA data (below).

In 2001 – approximately a decade after Guion interviewed her speakers – Hans C. Boas founded the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP, www.tgdp.org) (Boas et al. 2010). The goal of the TGDP is to document and archive the remnants of the TxG dialect. The resulting Texas German Dialect Archive (TGDA) (tgdp.org/dialect-archive/) is an online archive with recordings, transcriptions, and translations of interviews of roughly 600 speakers of present day TxG from 12 counties. It contains, among other things, TxG translations of English words, phrases, and sentences, based on the English word lists from Gilbert (1972) and Guion (1996). The TGDA currently contains data from 34 fluent TxG speakers from Gillespie County, 13 women and 21 men. The data used in this section comes from the translations for the 11 Gilbert and three Guion present tense elicitation sentences that contain ‘*be + -ing*’ (Table 3).

Table 3. Present tense elicitation sentences containing *be + -ing* in the TGDA, based on Gilbert (1972) and Guion (1996)[†]

	(Elicitation #)	Elicitation sentence
Gilbert (1972)	(2)	He’s running now.
	(23)	It’s lying down there on the floor.
	(31)	He’s helping me now.
	(53)	He’s sitting under the tree.
	(54)	He’s putting the chair beside the tree.
	(55)	He’s sitting over there beside the tree.
	(78)	He’s sleeping now.
	(80)	He’s washing his hands.
	(83)	You’re ruining the food!
	(90)	They’re taking it away.
	(144)	He’s going to town now.
Guion (1996)	(5)	The buzzard is eating the dead skunk.
	(11)	My brother’s friend is walking around the ranch to check up on the sheep.
	(16)	He is cutting the hedge with Herbert’s tools.

[†] Some sentences have more than one sentence number because they were elicited more than once in TGDP interviews. For the purposes of this paper, I only discuss data from the first elicitation of each sentence. Of the instances in which TxG speakers were asked to translate the same sentence multiple times, there are only 10 instances in which TxG speakers changed the progressive construction they used in their translation (see Appendix 1). Not all TxG speakers translated all elicitation sentences. Translations or recordings that were incomplete (i.e., did not contain a verb) or unintelligible are not included in this analysis.

In the TGDA data, the vast majority of the translations produced by the TxG speakers contained one of three progressive constructions: the present tense (progressive), the *am*-progressive, and the *tun*-progressive, cf. Table 4.

Table 4. Progressive constructions used by Texas German speakers in TGDA data

Progressive construction	Form	Example
present tense (progressive)		<i>Fritz arbeitet (jetzt).</i>
<i>am</i> -progressive	<i>sein</i> + <i>am</i> + V_{-inf}	<i>Fritz ist (jetzt) am Arbeiten.</i>
<i>tun</i> -progressive	<i>tun</i> + V_{-inf}	<i>Fritz tut (jetzt) arbeiten.</i>

With this brief introduction to the data, let us first look at the construction that the majority of TxGs used to translate the English present tense progressive: the present tense with an optional adverb.

4.1 The present tense (progressive) construction with an optional adverb

In Standard German, progressive aspect is usually implicit or lexically expressed (e.g., by using optional adverbial modifiers such as *gerade*) (Mair 2012: 804). Utterances in the present tense in German are generally ambiguous with regards to progressivity, and context is necessary in order to distinguish between progressive and non-progressive meanings. For example, (2) below could be translated as ‘He’s working / writing a letter’ or ‘He works / writes a letter,’ depending on the context.

- (2) *Er arbeitet/schreibt einen Brief.*
 He work/write-PRESENT-3rd PERSON a letter.
 ‘He’s working / writing a letter.’
 ‘He works / writes a letter.’

(Mair 2012: 804, second translation alternative mine [MB])

As mentioned above, Standard German can also explicitly lexically mark progressivity by using an adverb such as *gerade*, *jetzt*, *dabei*, *nun*, *allmählich*, *noch*, *tatsächlich*, *eben*, or *nun* (cf. Brown & Putnam 2015: 144; Gross 1974: 73),²⁵ as in (3).

- (3) a. *Thomas singt gerade.*
 Thomas sings at the moment
 ‘Thomas is singing at the moment.’

²⁵ All of these adverbs have a slightly different meaning and can be used in slightly different contexts. Providing a constructional account of each adverb, however, is beyond the scope of this paper. Each adverbial modifier would be part of a separate but related construction forming a constructional family (network of constructions) (cf. Langacker 2000; Sag 2012).

- b. *Thomas singt jetzt.*
 Thomas sings now
 ‘Thomas is singing right now.’ (Brown & Putnam 2015: 144)

Of these adverbs, *gerade* has received the greatest amount of attention. Dahl (1985: 90) goes so far as to call *gerade* a systematic progressive marker.²⁶ With this short overview of the present progressive construction in Standard German, let us now turn to a discussion of its distribution in TxG.

4.1.1 *The present tense (progressive) construction in Gilbert (1972), Guion (1996), and the TGDA*

As in Standard German, the present tense (progressive) construction (hereafter pres(prog)) is a common construction to express the progressive aspect in Texas German. In fact, in Gilbert’s (1972) translation data, it was the *only* construction used (cf. Table 5). For example, of the total 22 TxG speakers in Gillespie County who Gilbert asked to translate the sentence ‘It’s lying down there on the floor,’ all 22 of them used the present tense form of the verb *legen* ‘to lay’ to translate ‘is lying,’ i.e., they used the pres(prog) construction.

Table 5. The pres(prog) construction in Gillespie County according to Gilbert (1972)[†]

Elicitation sentence	TxG translation	Pres(prog)	Σ
It’s lying down there on the floor.	<i>Es liegt dort unten auf dem (Fuß)boden.</i>	22	22
He’s helping me now.	<i>Er hilft mir jetzt.</i>	25	25
He’s sleeping now.	<i>Er schläft jetzt.</i>	24	24
He’s washing his hands.	<i>Er wäscht sich die Hände.</i>	24	24
He’s running now.	<i>Er rennt jetzt.</i>	24	24
You’re ruining the food!	<i>Du verdirbst das Essen!</i>	17	17
They’re taking it away.	<i>Sie nehmen es weg.</i>	22	22
Total		158 (100%)	158

[†] For all of the sentences listed in Table 5, Gilbert’s linguistic maps only depicts the verbs that the TxG speakers used to translate the verbs in the corresponding English sentence (e.g., help, run) and any variation thereof (e.g., *hilft* vs. *helft*, *lauft* vs. *loift*). Whether or not speakers used *jetzt* is not specified in the linguistic maps. The TxG translation listed in Table 5 comes from Gilbert’s gloss of each sentence.

The fact that all of the Gillespie County TxG speakers interviewed by Gilbert used the pres(prog) construction could indicate that approximately 50 years ago, TxG speakers in Gillespie County exclusively employed the pres(prog) construction to express the progressive aspect. This is somewhat surprising, given the broad

²⁶ This opinion, however, is not universal (cf. Ebert 1996: 49; Flick & Kumichel 2013: 54–55; Kuhmichel 2016: 73; Reimann 1996: 176).

range of possible progressive constructions that are available in modern varieties of German, and that were presumably also available in the donor dialects of TxG brought to Texas in the 19th century. It is possible that this is simply a sampling issue – there are 55 instances (between 17 counties) of *am-* and/or *tun-*constructions in Gilbert's (1972) linguistic atlas.²⁷ It just so happens that the *am-*progressive and *tun-*progressive never occurred in any of his data from Gillespie County. However, an investigation into the distribution of these progressive constructions in counties other than Gillespie county is beyond the scope of this paper.

According to Guion (1996: 450f.), who collected her data in 1992, older fluent speakers translated the English sentences with progressives “without any progressive form.” This presumably means that these speakers used the *pres(prog)* construction, but it remains unclear whether her speakers used temporal adverbs to further specify progressivity. We now turn to the distribution of the progressive constructions in the TxG data in the TGDA.

The recent TGDA data follows a similar pattern as the Gilbert (1972) data and Guion (1996) – the *pres(prog)* construction is by far the most common progressive construction (cf. Table 6). As can be seen in Table 6, for eleven of the fourteen elicitation sentences, over three-quarters of the TxG speakers used the *pres(prog)* construction. In total, this construction accounts for 87% of the TGDA translations of English progressive *-ing*. The one sentence that appears to be an outlier is ‘You’re ruining the food!’ which seems to be a particularly challenging sentence for many of the TxG speakers to translate. Translations of this sentence often include long pauses, false starts, and multiple translations (e.g., *schlecht machen*, *verderben*, *ruinieren*, etc.). By using progressive forms that place the infinitive verb at the end of the sentence, speakers had more time to think of the correct verb. The difference in use of the *pres(prog)* construction for this sentence may therefore be related to how salient the relevant vocabulary is for a given speaker rather than a particular preference for alternative constructions.

The next question is: how often did TxG speakers use a temporal adverb in combination with the *pres(prog)* construction to explicitly mark progressivity? The TGDA data provides evidence of TxG speakers using the temporal adverb *jetzt* ‘now’ to mark progressivity (cf. Table 7). Table 7 can be read as follows: of the 26 uses of the *pres(prog)* construction to translate the sentence *He’s sleeping now*, all 26 translations contained *jetzt* as well. Of the total 30 translations of the sentence *He’s running now*, all 30 included *jetzt*.

27. Instances of *tun-*progressive: Bastrop (1), Bexar (3), Burleson (2), Burnet (4), De Witt (4), Fayette (7), Goliad (1), Gonzales (1), Guadalupe (3), Hay (1), Lavaca (2), Lee (3), Mason (3), Medina (8). Instances of *am-*progressive: Comal (1), Harris (1), Kerr (16), Medina (4). Note: These amounts come from Gilbert maps 77, 78, 80, 82, and 90.

Table 6. Pres(prog) in Gillespie County in the TGDA[†]

Elicitation sentence	Speaker #s	Pres(prog)	Σ
He's sitting over there beside the tree.	56, 149, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 210, 211, 212, 216, 224, 226, 305, 306, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371	27	27
The buzzard is eating the dead skunk.	7, 177, 559, 561	4	4
My brother's friend is walking around the ranch to check up on the sheep.	7, 177, 561	3	3
He is cutting the hedge with Herbert's tools.	177, 561	2	2
He's sleeping now.	56, 149, 176, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 199, 210, 212, 214, 216, 224, 226, 306, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371	26	30
They're taking it away.	56, 149, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 210, 211, 212, 214, 216, 224, 226, 305, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371	28	29
He's going to town now.	56, 149, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 210, 211, 212, 214, 216, 224, 226, 305, 306, 365, 366, 367, 369, 370	27	28
He's sitting under the tree.	56, 149, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 210, 212, 214, 216, 224, 226, 245, 305, 306, 365, 367, 369, 370, 371	25	26
He's putting the chair beside the tree.	56, 177, 178, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 199, 210, 212, 216, 224, 226, 305, 306, 365, 367, 369, 371	21	23
It's lying down there on the floor.	56, 149, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 185, 186, 187, 210, 211, 212, 214, 216, 224, 226, 306, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371	26	29
He's helping me now.	56, 149, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 210, 211, 212, 216, 224, 226, 305, 306, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370	26	30
He's washing his hands.	56, 176, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 210, 212, 214, 216, 224, 226, 305, 365, 366, 367, 369, 370	22	29
He's running now.	56, 149, 176, 178, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 210, 212, 214, 224, 226, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370	21	30
You're ruining the food!	56, 176, 180, 182, 185, 224, 305, 306, 365, 366, 369, 370, 371	13	21
Total		270 (87%)	311

[†] For the translations given by each speaker, see Appendix 2.

Table 7. Uses of *jetzt* in TGDA data from Gillespie County

Elicitation sentence	pres(prog) + <i>jetzt</i> / Σ pres(prog)	Σ <i>jetzt</i> / Σ
He's sleeping now .	26 / 26	30 / 30
He's helping me now .	26 / 26	27 / 30
He's running now .	20 / 21	26 / 30
He's going to town now .	25 / 27	27 / 28
They're taking it away.	5 / 28	5 / 29
He's washing his hands.	2 / 22	3 / 29
My brother's friend is walking around the ranch to check up on the sheep.	0 / 3	0 / 3
The buzzard is eating the dead skunk.	0 / 4	0 / 4
You're ruining the food!	0 / 13	0 / 21
He's putting the chair beside the tree.	0 / 21	0 / 23
He's sitting under the tree.	0 / 25	0 / 26
He's sitting over there beside the tree.	0 / 27	0 / 27
It's lying down there on the floor.	0 / 26	0 / 29
He is cutting the hedge with Herbert's tools	0 / 2	0 / 2
Total	104 / 270 (39%)	118 / 311 (38%)

As can be seen in Table 7, most of the instances of *jetzt* in the TGDA data occurred when the English word *now* was in the elicitation sentence. This could possibly be a side-effect of the translation task – *now* is often directly translated as *jetzt*, although *jetzt* may not be the most appropriate Standard German adverb in a given context.²⁸ Note that *jetzt* was the only temporal adverb Gillespie County TxG speakers used in their translations of these sentences, even though other adverbs such as *gerade* or *momentan* would be equally viable or potentially more fitting translations.²⁹ It is also possibly a consequence of *jetzt* being significantly more

28. This is most likely due to the elicitation methodology (“reverse translation”), which often leads to translations that are word-for-word rather than naturalistic (cf. Chelliah & de Reuse 2011: 377f.). That being said, reverse translation allows speakers to use a range of variants, which can then be cross-checked against open-interview data. Also, asking speakers to translate words, phrases, and sentences allows the researcher to be sure that the input given to different speakers is constant, thereby making comparison easier.

29. Speaker 180 translated ‘He’s helping me now’ as *Der hilft mich gerade jetzt*, but they are the only speaker to use *gerade*, and they did not use *gerade* or *gerade jetzt* in any of their other translations. *Gerade* here appears to be acting as an intensifier for *jetzt* (e.g., the difference between ‘now’ and ‘right now’).

frequently used in TxG than *gerade* (as demonstrated in the open-ended interviews in the TGDA).

Not only were TxGs far more likely to use *jetzt* when the elicitation sentence contained *now*, but most speakers placed *jetzt* where it would correctly go in Standard German, that is either sentence initially or directly following the conjugated verb (or reflexive particle, if there is one). This may have been a coincidence, because in three out of four of the Gilbert sentences containing *now*, the standard word order in English and in German are the same. There are a handful of examples, however, in which English sentences were translated by the TxG speaker word for word (and thus had a non-Standard German word order), such as *Er geht nach Stadt jetzt* ('He's going to town now,' 11-72-3-144, Standard German *Er geht jetzt in die Stadt*). This pattern, however, was by far in the minority.

To sum up the results of this section: the pres(prog) construction has been and continues to be the most commonly used construction when TxG speakers translate present tense English sentences containing *-ing*. 100% of Gilbert's speakers from Gillespie County and 87% of the TGDA speakers from Gillespie County used this construction. It is unclear how frequently Guion's speakers used the pres(prog) construction. If Gilbert's and the TGDA's speakers chose to use an adverb, it was always *jetzt*, and speakers were far more likely to use *jetzt* if English 'now' was in the elicitation sentence. Before turning our attention to the second most common progressive construction in TxG, I first propose a formalized version of the pres(prog) construction that seeks to capture our observations so far.

4.1.2 A TxG pres(prog) construction

Figure 2 below provides a proposed formalization of the TxG pres(prog) construction.³⁰ Because the TxG data available for distinguishing between minute details of progressive meaning and the restrictions of the pres(prog) construction use are limited (for example, TxGs have not provided any acceptability judgements comparing various forms), the construction below is predominantly based on standard and colloquial German (cf. Section 4.1). This holds also true for the constructions proposed in Sections 4.2.2 and 4.3.2.

30. Note that the representation of the meanings of the constructions in this section focus only on the relevant tense-aspect properties. However, the meaning side of each of the constructions is much richer since it also captures knowledge about register, regional variation, and specific types of emphasis (i.e., overt lexical material such as *jetzt*, *gerade*, *am*, and *tun* more clearly evoke progressive meaning than the regular German present tense construction).

Form:	[[v] + pres. (<i>jetzt</i>)]] + CONTEXT
	↕
Meaning:	ONGOINGNESS (+ aspecto-temporal extensions) (+(inter)subjective connotations)
	1-state situation: --[-----]--- (e.g., <i>Er läuft</i> ‘He is running’)
	2-state situation: --[-----]---+++++ (e.g., <i>Sie nehmen das weg</i> ‘They are taking it away’)

Figure 2. The Texas German present tense (progressive) construction

As can be seen in Figure 2 above, the meaning side of the TxG pres(prog) construction has the same progressive meaning as that of the English progressive construction in Figure 1. That is, that the progressive expresses ONGOINGNESS, and that the TT is fully contained in the first stage of the situation, cf. Section 3. The form side of the TxG pres(prog) construction specifies that it consists of a verb stem marked with present tense along with an optional *jetzt*. The open verb slot of the construction appears to allow 1-state and 2-state situations (as can be seen in the translations in Table 6), but it is unclear whether 0-state situations are also compatible with the pres(prog) construction. Context is also necessary in order to distinguish a progressive use of the present tense from a non-progressive use of the present tense. For example, if a speaker responds to the question *Was machst du gerade?* (‘What are you doing now?’) with *Ich laufe* (‘I’m running’), it is clear from context that the speaker intends a progressive use of the present tense.

4.2 The *am*-progressive

We now turn to the *am*-construction. I first discuss several non-standard aspects of the *am*-construction in continental German before turning to its distribution in TxG. The *am*-construction consists of the preposition *am* (*an* (‘on, at’) + *dem* (‘the-M/N-DAT’)) in combination with the copula *sein* (‘to be’), and a nominalized infinitive of the relevant verb (Krause 1997: 53), as in (4):

- (4) *Diese Sorte ist am Aussterben.*
 this species is on out.dying
 ‘This species is dying out.’ (Brown & Putnam 2015: 144f.)

This construction has recently received much attention, in part because of the belief that “the development and current spread of the *am*-progressive serves as an example of a grammaticalization process that is happening before our eyes” (Leuschner, Mortelmans, & De Groot 2005: 171, translation mine [MB]).³¹

31. The wide-spread interest in the *am*-construction can also be seen in the popular media (e.g., Sick 2005; *Der Spiegel* 2005).

In fact, according to Elspaß (2005: 82), “the *am*-construction [is ...] common in almost the entire [German] language area” (translation mine [MB]) and studies have shown that the *am*-progressive is present, if not prevalent, in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland (cf. Reimann 1996; Krause 2002; Elspaß & Möller 2011; Pottelberge 2004). That being said, Krause (1997: 51f.) admits that, while the *am*-construction is not purely restricted to certain regional or colloquial contexts, there continues to be regional and stylistic differences pertaining to the *am*-construction and the use of the *am*-construction is still generally associated with spoken language (Duden 2005: 434). Although scholars generally agree that the *am*-construction has semantic, regional/dialectal, and register-related restrictions, they do not agree on what those restrictions are (cf. e.g., Andersson 1989: 97; Flick & Kuhmichel 2013).

According to Flick (2016), certain Aktionsarten are semantically more compatible with the *am*-construction than others. The *am*-construction is most compatible with activities, followed by accomplishments, and least compatible achievements and states (Flick 2016: 181ff.). Activity verbs such as *lesen* ‘to read’ are particularly suited for the progressive aspect, because they are dynamic events that do not have a change of state, nor are they restricted to a particular amount of time. Thus, activities can be split into homogenous phases, each of which can be equally emphasized via the progressive (cf. Flick 2016: 175).

In contrast, while telic verbs also depict dynamic events, they differ from activity verbs in that they have a complex internal structure during which, at some point, a change of state occurs (e.g., *absterben* ‘to die off’) (a gradual change, i.e., an accomplishment) or *aufwachen* ‘to wake up’) (a punctual/abrupt change, i.e., an achievement). When the *am*-progressive construction combines with telic verbs, the time period directly before the state change is emphasized and conceptualized as lasting for an extended period of time. The state change itself is outside of the time frame being emphasized, and whether or not the (implied) final state was reached remains unspecified (Flick 2016: 176). Because achievement verbs such as *aufwachen* are [- durative] while accomplishment verbs such as *absterben* are [+ durative], Flick (2016: 176) argues that less cognitive “*Umwandlungsaufwand*” (‘transformation effort’) is necessary to process a progressive reading of accomplishments in comparison to achievements. This leads her to propose that accomplishments are more likely than achievements to fill the verbal slot in the progressive *am*-construction.

When the *am*-progressive construction is combined with verbs denoting states (e.g., *to believe*), this leads to a new interpretation of the event (Flick 2016: 177). State verbs, being non-dynamic and non-telic, cannot be interpreted as a process. In combination with the *am*-construction, state verbs are thus perceived as dynamic-continuous processes.

In addition to the lexical restrictions listed above, the *am*-construction also has register-related constraints. Andersson (1989: 97) distinguishes between varying degrees of the construction's colloquial usage. If used with "telic intransitive verbs where there is a certain stress on the switch into a new state," the *am*-construction is considered to be "neutral" (e.g., *Ich war am Erwachen* ('I was waking up')). This has parallels with Flick's observation that the use of the *am*-progressive with telic verbs emphasizes the time period directly before the state change. If used with other verbs (e.g., *Ich bin am Lesen* ('I am reading')), the *am*-construction is often "regarded as more or less colloquial although very widely spread and developing" (Andersson 1989: 97). This observation is partially in contrast with Flick's finding that the *am*-progressive was particularly compatible with activities.

The *am*-construction has regional/dialectal restrictions as well. According to Andersson (1989: 95f.), the *am*-construction has "different degrees of generalization" in Standard German, Low German, and Ruhr German, with Ruhr German placing the fewest restrictions on the *am*-construction, while in Standard German it is highly restricted. For example, the usage of the *am*-construction with an object (e.g., *Ich bin das Buch am Lesen* ('I am reading the book')) is "not Standard German [...] but characteristic of the Rhineland dialect and the Ruhr regional variety of German" (Andersson 1989: 97).³²

With this introduction to the *am*-construction in Standard and dialectal German, we now turn to its use in TxG.

4.2.1 *The am-progressive in Gilbert (1972), Guion (1996), and the TGDA*

Gilbert's (1972) linguistic atlas contains no instances of the use of the *am*-progressive in Gillespie County as translations of present tense progressive English sentences containing 'be + -ing'.³³ Guion (1996: 450) claims that "the older Texas German

32. This can be seen in Elspaß & Möller's (2011, Zweite Runde, Frage 18) *Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache* ('Atlas of Everyday German Language') maps of the acceptability of the sentences *Sie ist noch am Schlafen* 'She is still sleeping' and *Ich bin gerade die Uhr am Reparieren* ('I am repairing the clock right now'). See Elpaß & Möller (2011) for an overview of regions that allow the *am*-progressive to take direct objects.

33. However, the *am*-construction is used in several other counties (Comal, Harris, Kerr, Medina) in Gilbert's (1972) linguistic atlas. See footnote Instances of *tun*-progressive: Bastrop (1), Bexar (3), Bureson (2), Burnet (4), De Witt (4), Fayette (7), Goliad (1), Gonzales (1), Guadalupe (3), Hay (1), Lavaca (2), Lee (3), Mason (3), Medina (8). Instances of *am*-progressive: Comal (1), Harris (1), Kerr (16), Medina (4). Note: These amounts come from Gilbert maps 77, 78, 80, 82, and 90.

progressive construction *an* + verb[inf]³⁴ is being replaced by “the English progressive marker *-ing* in the form [-In],” but she does not discuss the *am*-construction’s prevalence (other than saying that it is becoming less frequent).³⁵ I therefore primarily rely on TGDA data for my investigation of the *am*-progressive in TxG.

The *am*-construction was the second most commonly used progressive construction in the TGDA data, as shown in Table 8 below (compare with the data in Table 6 above, summarizing the distribution of the pres(prog) construction with these sentences). Like the pres(prog) construction, the *am*-construction can also be used with the adverb *jetzt*.

Table 8. *Am*-construction in the TGDA

Elicitation sentence	Speaker #	<i>am</i> -construction	Σ
He’s running now.	179, 181, 211, 216, 305, 306, 371	7	30
He’s washing his hands.	149, 179, 306, 368, 371	5	28
He’s sleeping now.	179, 181, 211, 305	4	30
You’re ruining the food!	187, 211	2	21
He’s sitting under the tree.	179	1	26
He’s helping me now.	371	1	30
They’re taking it away.	306	1	29
He is cutting the hedge with Herbert’s tools.	n/a	0	2
The buzzard is eating the dead skunk.	n/a	0	4
My brother’s friend is walking around the ranch to check up on the sheep.	n/a	0	3
It’s lying down there on the floor.	n/a	0	29
He’s putting the chair beside the tree	n/a	0	23
He’s sitting over there beside the tree.	n/a	0	27
He’s going to town now.	n/a	0	28
Total		21 (7%)	311

34. For the purposes of this paper, I assume that ‘*an* + verb[inf]’ and ‘*am* + verb[inf]’ represent the same progressive construction.

35. She notes that semi-speakers and younger fluent speakers use *sein* + /-in/ with different frequency and word order, see Table 10. The mixed German-English ‘*sein* + [In]’ that Guion proposes is phonetically similar to the German absentive construction ‘*sein* + VINF’ in that the the German infinitive marker *-en* [(ə)n] in the absentive construction and the agglutinated English progressive marking *-in’* [In] in Guion’s proposed construction sound quite similar. Indisputable examples of *-in’* [In] or of the absentive in the TGDA data are rare.

Although the *am*-construction was the second most commonly used construction to mark the progressive in TxG, it only accounts for 7% of the relevant TGDA translations, while *pres(prog)* was used for 87% of the TGDA translations (cf. Table 6). Thus, although Guion (1996: 450) suggests that the *am*-progressive form was slowly dying out, the *am*-construction appears to still be a salient part of TxG. Based on our insights so far, I now turn to an informal formalization of the *am*-construction in TxG.

4.2.2 A TxG *am*-progressive construction

As with the *pres(prog)* construction, the TxG *am*-progressive construction depicted below is based on Standard and colloquial German. It has a different form side than the TxG *pres(prog)* construction, but a similar meaning side. The *am*-construction has two fixed lexical items (*am* and a form of the auxiliary verb *sein* ‘to be’), and an open verb slot that requires a verb in its nominalized infinitival form. As was the case with the TxG *pres(prog)* construction, there is a restriction on the open infinitive slot, cf. Section 4.2. In general, the *am*-progressive depicts the same meaning as the English progressive *-ing*, that is the TT is completely situated within the TSit.

Form:	[_{Aux} <i>sein</i> + <i>am</i> + [_{V-inf}]]
	↑
Meaning:	ONGOINGNESS (+ aspecto-temporal extensions) (+ (inter)subjective connotations)
1-state situation:	--[-----]--- (e.g., <i>Er ist am Laufen</i> ‘He is running’)
2-state situation:	---[-----]+++++ (e.g., <i>Sie sind das am Wegnehmen</i> ‘They are taking it away’)

Figure 3. The TxG *am*-progressive construction

In general, researchers agree that the *am*-progressive portrays a situation as ongoing or in progress (Zifonun, Hoffmann, & Strecker 1997: 1877ff.; Reimann 1996: 10; Krause 2002: 25; Pottelberge 2009: 359; Behrens et al. 2013; De Wit & Brisard 2014: 70; Anthonissen, De Wit, & Mortelmans 2016: 24; Flick 2016: 164; Kuhmichel 2017: 121). Anthonissen, De Wit, and Mortelmans (2016) provide additional insight into the meaning(s) of the *am*-progressive. Building on De Wit & Brisard’s (2014) previous research on aspect-temporal and (inter)subjunctive uses of the English present progressive *-ing*, Anthonissen et al. (2016) investigate the different aspecto-temporal and (inter)subjunctive uses of the German *am*-progressive. In their findings, based on 419 examples from the German Reference Corpus (DeReKo, IDS-Mannheim), they state that the *am*-progressive has several aspect-temporal and (inter)subjunctive uses. Aspecto-temporally, the *am*-progressive construction “prototypically indicates ONGOINGNESS. More specific extensions of this

meaning give rise to other aspect-temporal categories: HABITUALITY, ITERATIVITY, TEMPORARY VALIDITY, LIMITED DURATION, and FUTURATE” (Anthonissen et al. 2016: 27). In approximately 40% of their corpus, they found that the *am*-progressive had (inter)subjective connotation – “[t]he notions INTENSIFICATION, IRRITATION and EVASIVENESS account for 95.83% of all (inter)subjective readings, whereas the categories SURPRISE and INTERPRETATIVE are only marginally attested” (Anthonissen et al. 2016: 27). It is important to note that Anthonissen et al. (2016) placed their examples of the *am*-progressive into these various usage categories based on the context surrounding the *am*-progressive utterances. In the TxG translation data, however, context is not available to make similar distinctions.

In addition, if the TxG *am*-progressive construction follows the same pattern as the *am*-progressive construction in German as depicted by Flick (2016), that would mean that certain Aktionsarten are more compatible with the *am*-construction than others (from most to least compatible: activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states). It is therefore not surprising that ‘He is running now’ – a particularly prototypical activity – is the sentence that is most often translated using the *am*-progressive. It is also possible that, following Flick, the *am*-progressive emphasizes a phase of an activity (i.e., a 1-state situation), and emphasizes and, in a sense, elongates, the time period directly before the state change with telic verbs (i.e., 2-state situations). Both Flick (2016) and Klein (1994) would agree that, with telic verbs, the state change itself is outside of the TT referred to when using the *am*-progressive, i.e., whether or not the (implied) final state was reached remains unspecified. Whether or not the *am*-progressive is compatible with states in TxG remains unclear, but based on colloquial German data, it is unlikely.

It is additionally important to note that the *am*-progressive construction is, in fact, a construction rather than simply a combination of lexical items. That is to say, following one of the central ideas of CxG, namely that a difference in form represents a difference in meaning (and vice versa) (Goldberg 1995), if any of the components of the *am*-construction are absent or changed to something else (e.g., switching *am* to *beim*), then the meaning of the construction fundamentally changes (cf. Ebert 1996; Flick 2016: 168f.). Following Goldberg’s (1995) definition of a construction, the *am*-construction therefore has constructional status. We now turn to the third and final construction discussed in this paper, the *tun*-progressive construction.

4.3 The *tun*-progressive

The *tun*-construction is a combination of the auxiliary verb *tun* (‘to do’) with a verb in the infinitive (Langer 2000: 269) as in (5):

- (5) a. *Er tut lesen*
 he do-PRS.2SG read
 ‘He is reading’
 b. *Er tut tischlern*
 he do-PRS.2SG carpenter
 ‘He is carpentering’ (Kuhmichel 2017, cf. Fischer 2001: 148)

There is a disparity of opinions as to whether or not the *tun*-construction expresses the progressive aspect in German (Kuhmichel 2017, cf. Abraham & Fischer 1998: 39; Eroms 1998: 151; Langer 2000: 268–271; Fischer 2001: 148; Maiwald 2002: 141, 2004: 239–240; Kölligan 2004: 431).³⁶ It has been shown to express progressivity in Pennsylvania German, Zurich German, Bavarian, and Riparian (Kuhmichel 2017, cf. Costello 1992: 243; Langer 2000: 269; Kölligan 2004: 435–448; Meier 2015: 79–81). In her discussion of progressives forms in Germanic, Ebert (2000: 631) argues that the use of *tun* is not restricted to progressive contexts, but rather can also be used in habitual contexts (e.g., Rhineland German *Sie tut putzen* [...] (lit. ‘she does clean [every Saturday]’)) and stative verbs (e.g., Rhineland German *Peter tut die Antwort wissen* (lit. ‘Peter does the answer know’)). She therefore argues that *tun* is not a progressive marker. Even Abraham & Fischer (1998: 39f.) admit that, in their example sentences, the progressive meaning is already inherent in the meaning of the main verb, but they note that that does not eliminate the possibility that periphrastic *tun* could have imperfective properties (cf. Maiwald 2002: 141). Although the *tun*-construction may not exclusively mark the progressive, it is included in the present discussion because several TxG speakers used it to translate the English progressive *-ing*. With this brief overview of the *tun*-progressive in colloquial German, let us now look at TxG speakers use of the *tun*-construction.

4.3.1 *The tun-construction in Gilbert (1972), Guion (1996), and the TGDA*

None of the Gilbert (1972) elicitation from Gillespie County used the *tun*-construction in their translation of English present tense sentences containing the progressive marker *-ing*.³⁷ Guion (1996) briefly mentions that TxG speakers use *dun* (Standard

36. *Tun* periphrasis is particularly polysemous, and is in no way limited to marking progressivity (cf. Fischer 2001). Each of its functions, however, occurs with differing frequency in different dialect areas (cf. Kuhmichel 2016, 2017).

37. However, the *tun*-construction is used in several other counties (Bastrop, Bexar, Burleson, Burnet, De Witt, Fayette, Goliad, Gonzales, Guadalupe, Hay, Lavaca, Lee, Mason, Medina). See footnote Instances of *tun*-progressive: Bastrop (1), Bexar (3), Burleson (2), Burnet (4), De Witt (4), Fayette (7), Goliad (1), Gonzales (1), Guadalupe (3), Hay (1), Lavaca (2), Lee (3), Mason (3), Medina (8). Instances of *am*-progressive: Comal (1), Harris (1), Kerr (16), Medina (4). Note: These amounts come from Gilbert maps 77, 78, 80, 82, and 90.

German *tun*, ‘to do’) as an auxiliary to mark habitual, iterative, and progressive aspect, but she only provides examples of the first two uses (Guion 1996: 459).

While the *tun*-construction was the third most commonly used construction in the TGDA data, it was rarely used, i.e., it only occurred in 4% of the TGDA elicitations (cf. Table 9).

Table 9. The *tun*-construction in the TGDA

Elicitation sentence	Speaker #	<i>tun</i> -construction	Σ
You're ruining the food!	177, 183, 214, 368	4	21
He's helping me now.	126, 177, 214	3	30
He's running now.	126, 177	2	30
He's putting the chair beside the tree	179, 180	2	23
He's washing his hands.	211	1	28
It's lying down there on the floor.	126	1	29
He is cutting the hedge with Herbert's tools.	n/a	0	2
The buzzard is eating the dead skunk.	n/a	0	4
My brother's friend is walking around the ranch to check up on the sheep.	n/a	0	3
He's sitting under the tree.	n/a	0	26
He's sitting over there beside the tree.	n/a	0	27
He's sleeping now.	n/a	0	30
They're taking it away.	n/a	0	29
He's going to town now.	n/a	0	28
Total		13 (4%)	311

The low use of the *tun*-construction in TxG could be due to the fact that few of the German immigrants who moved to Texas in the mid-1800s and early 1900s came from regions that used *tun* progressively in a widespread manner (e.g., southern Bavaria) (cf. Boas 2009). It is, however, particularly difficult to trace back and identify the exact dialects that the original German settlers brought to Texas.³⁸ With this discussion of the *tun*-construction in TxG, we now turn to a proposed formalization of the *tun*-progressive.

4.3.2 A TxG *tun*-progressive construction

As with the *am*-progressive, the formalization of the TxG *tun*-construction depicted below is based on colloquial German. The *tun*-construction's form-side

38. See footnote 1, p. 74.

consists of one fixed slot, namely a conjugated form of the auxiliary *tun* ('to do'), and an open verb slot that requires a verb in its infinitival form (see Figure 4). The restrictions to the verbal slot remain relatively speculative.

Form:	[Aux <i>tun</i> + [V-inf]]
	↑
Meaning:	ONGOINGNESS (+ aspecto-temporal extensions) (+ (inter)subjective connotations)
1-state situation:	--[-----]--- (e.g., <i>Er tut laufen</i> . 'He is running')
2-state situation:	----[-----]+++++ (e.g., <i>Sie tun das wegnehmen</i> . 'They are taking it away')

Figure 4. The TxG '*tun* + infinitive' construction

As was the case for the aforementioned constructions, the *tun*-progressive depicts the TT as being completely situated within the TSit.

The data available are unfortunately too limited to comment on semantic differences in meaning or restrictions between the *tun*-progressive, *am*-progressive, and pres(prog) constructions.³⁹ It appears that these constructions can be used interchangeably, as there is not a complementary distribution in their use, but whether or not they truly can be used interchangeably remains to be tested.⁴⁰

5. Summary and conclusion

This paper investigates how Texas Germans express the progressive aspect; more specifically, which progressive constructions Texas Germans use to translate English present tense progressive sentences into TxG. As described in Section 2, progressive aspect is fully grammaticalized in English and is generally marked by 'be + -ing'. In German however, progressive aspect is not fully grammaticalized. Instead, there are a variety of ways to encode progressivity, including the pres(prog) construction, *am*-construction, *tun*-construction, and the use of an adverb.

Section 3 provided a brief introduction to Construction Grammar. Constructions are pairs of form and meaning. Section 4 discussed the three

39. It is possibly relevant to note, however, that many TxG speakers use auxiliary *tun* when forming the subjunctive, e.g., *Wir haben über, um, ich tät sagen, zweihunderttausend Quadratfuß* ('We have over, um, I would say, two hundred thousand square feet') (1-32-1-23-a). The prevalence of this use of auxiliary *tun* may in turn impact the progressive use of auxiliary *tun*.

40. As mentioned above, the progressive constructions discussed in this paper form a family of constructions (Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004) that could be modeled using a network with inheritance hierarchies (Langacker 2000; Sag 2012). A network analysis of these constructions is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

progressive constructions that TxG speakers from Gillespie County used to translate present tense English sentences containing *-ing*: the pres(prog)-construction, the *am*-construction, and the *tun*-construction. In Gilbert's (1972) data, all 22 of his TxG speakers used the pres(prog)-construction. Guion (1996) mentions all three constructions, but it is unclear exactly how many of her speakers used each of the constructions. In the TGDA data, 87 of the translations of the progressive used the pres(prog) construction, 7% used the *am*-construction, and 4% used the *tun*-construction. 38% of all the TGDA translations contained the adverb *jetzt*,⁴¹ but this may have been a direct translation of English 'now' in the elicitation sentence.

Thus, the overall distribution of the various progressive constructions in Gillespie County TxG can be summarized below (Table 10):

Table 10. Overview of progressive constructions in Gilbert (1972), Guion (1996), and the TGDA

	Gilbert (1972)	Guion (1996)	TGDA (2001 +)
present tense (progressive)	✓	✓ (older & younger fluent speakers)	✓
<i>an</i> + V _{INF} / <i>am</i> + V _{INF}		✓ (unspecified speakers, dying out)	✓
<i>dun</i> + V _{INF} / <i>tun</i> + V _{INF}		✓ (unspecified speakers)	✓
<i>jetzt</i> + one of the abovementioned progressive forms + context	✓		✓

When looking at Table 10, the variety of progressive constructions used by TxG speakers appears to grow from the 1960s (Gilbert 1972), to 1992 (Guion 1996), to present day (TGDA). This is, of course, possible. Perhaps increased contact with other TxG speaking communities within Texas lead TxG speakers in Gillespie County to add more progressive constructions to their linguistic repertoire. It is also possible that this apparent increase in variance is due to sampling – perhaps all of the abovementioned constructions could have been used to express the progressive aspect in Gillespie County in the 1960s, but the TxG speakers that Gilbert interviewed in Gillespie County coincidentally did not explicitly mark the progressive aspect. After all, as noted above, the *am*- and *tun*-constructions were produced in other central Texas counties at that time.

The relative frequencies of the above constructions in present day TxG are summarized in (6) below.⁴²

41. In comparison to Standard German, in which *gerade* is primarily used to mark the progressive aspect.

42. Note that the percentages do not add up to 100% because *jetzt* could be used in combination with any of the other constructions.

- (6) pres(prog) construction (87%) > *jetzt* (38%) > *am*-construction (7%) > *tun*-construction (4%) > other (2%)⁴³

There are two main conclusions one can draw from these results. First, the strong preference for the pres(prog) constructions as was seen in Gilbert (1972) and acknowledged in Guion (1996) still appears to be present. Guion's claim that the *am*-construction is being replaced by the *sein* + *-ing* progressive form is not supported by the TGDA data – the *am*-construction is the second most commonly used construction, excluding the use of an adverb.

Second, although the pres(prog) construction is the most prevalent, the other progressive forms that Guion mentions, namely the *am*-construction and the *tun*-construction, are present in the TGDA data from Gillespie County. That is to say, although the pres(prog) construction is by far the most common progressive form, there is still a variety of progressive forms that are available to and used by contemporary TxG speakers.

If we are to take the tenants of CxG as true, then that would indicate that the different progressive construction forms would indicate different meanings. Using the TxG data available, it is unfortunately not possible to give any concrete judgements as to semantic differences between the progressive constructions discussed here (in TxG). The fact that these different constructions could be used to translate the same English sentence may indicate that they are interchangeable. None of the constructions discussed here appear to be in complementary distribution. In order to determine whether there is a difference between the in TxG constructions, acceptability judgements would need to be conducted. Unfortunately, it is impossible to have all of the speakers whose data appears here complete an additional acceptability judgment survey because several of them have passed away.⁴⁴

What the data in this paper could suggest is that TxG exhibits semantic-syntactic variation (i.e., different progressive forms) in the same way it exhibits lexical variation (cf. e.g., Boas & Pierce 2011). Both the lexical and semantic-syntactic variation potentially come from TxG's donor dialects. The variety of available forms may also simply be an effect of TxG being an endangered dialect. Its system

43. The 'other' category includes *Da is' an die Fussboden* [incomprehensible] (1-179-2-23-a), *Er ist [umm] die Hände waschen* (17-181-1-80-a), *Er ist jetzt nach in die Stadt gehen* (58-371-1-144-a), *Das ist auf'm Fussboden gelegt* (17-183-2-23-a), *Du hast das Essen ruiniert* (17-178-2-83-a), and *Du hast das Essen schlecht gemacht* (1-179-2-83-a).

44. Determining the exact range of meanings of each progressive construction in TxG is further complicated because the *am*- and *tun*-constructions are also used to translate sentences that do not contain the English progressive *-ing*. For example, the *tun*-construction is used several times in Gilbert's (1965) linguistic atlas to (79) *He eats too much*. The *am*-construction has also been used in translations of present tense non-progressive sentences in the TGDA.

(if there had been a clear set of patterns in the first place) is slowly deteriorating, leading to the loss of clear patterns (similar to case syncretism in TxG, Boas 2009).

The observations made in this paper simply scratch the surface of the aspectual system of TxG. Further research is necessary. For example, how is progressive aspect expressed in TxG German in other tenses and moods? How is the progressive conveyed in data from Gilbert (1963) and TGDA free conversation interviews? What is the distribution of progressive constructions in other Texan counties? How does the progressive aspect in TxG compare with the progressive aspect in other German speech islands such as Pennsylvania German or Wisconsin German, or non-US varieties, such as in Brazil or Italy? How might language external factors such as L1 or age account for different uses of different constructions? Do TxG speakers perceive a difference in meaning when different progressive constructions are used? These and other questions need to be addressed by future research in order to form a better understanding of the TxG aspectual system.

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Appendix 1

Speaker	(Gilbert sentence #) TxG translation	2nd elicitation	3rd elicitation	1st Cxn → 2nd Cxn (→ 3rd Cxn)
177	(2) Der dut <i>jetzt</i> laufen	(82) Der lauff <i>jetzt</i>		<i>tun</i> + adv → pres(prog) + adv
181	(2) Der ist <i>jetzt</i> am Laufen	(82) Der ist <i>jetzt</i> Laufen		<i>am</i> + adv → absentive + adv
183	(23) Das ist auf'm Fußboden gelegt	(58) Das liegt dahinten auf dem Fußboden	(122) Das liegt <i>jetzt</i> auf'm Fußboden	past → pres(prog) → pres(prog) + adv
179	(31) Der hilft mich <i>jetzt</i>	(77) Der is' mich an Helfen <i>jetzt</i>		pres(prog) + adv → <i>am</i> + adv
181	(31) Der is jetzt um der helft mich <i>jetzt</i>	(77) Der is' am Hel- an mi' Helfen		pres(prog) + adv → <i>am</i>
305	(31) Der helft mich <i>jetzt</i>	(77) Der is' mich <i>jetzt</i> an Helfen		pres(prog) + adv → <i>am</i> + adv
179	(53) Der ist under'n Baum an Setzen	(55) Der setzt da besides der Baum		<i>am</i> → pres(prog)
179	(54) Der dut den Stuhl besides Baum stellen	(115) Der dut den Stuhl gegen den Baum da		<i>tun</i> → pres(prog)
181	(90) Die nehmen's <i>jetzt</i> fort	(94) Die nehmen sie fort		pres(prog) + adv → pres(prog)
186	(90) Die nehmen's weg	(94) Die tun's wegnehme		pres(prog) → <i>tun</i>

Texas German speakers who used a different construction when asked to translate the same sentence multiple times (TGDA)

Appendix 2a

Construction	(2) He's running now.	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Er/Der läuft/lauft <i>jetzt</i>	56, 149, 176, 178, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 210, 214, 224, 226, 365, 367, 368, 369, 370
	<i>Jetzt</i> läuft er	212
	Sie läuft	366
am-Cx	Er/Der ist jetzt am/an laufen	181, 211, 216, 306, 371
	Er ist an laufen <i>jetzt</i>	179
	Der ist an laufen	305
tun-Cx	Er tut laufen	126
	Der dut <i>jetzt</i> laufen	177

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Gilbert sentence 2 (TGDA)

Appendix 2b

Construction	(23) It's lying down there on the floor.	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Das liegt da auf die Erd' / die Boden / den Boden / dem/den/die Fussboden / die Stube	56, 149, 176, 178, 180, 181, 182, 185, 187, 210, 211, 214, 216, 224, 226, 306, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371
	Das liegt da unten auf dem floor	177, 212
	Das liegt on Fuss- Fussboden	365
	Das ist liegt tot auf die Erd'	186
tun-Cx	Es tut an die Boden schlafen	126
other	Da is' da an die Fussboden	179
	[incomprehensible]	183
	Das ist auf'm Fussboden gelegt	

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Gilbert sentence 23 (TGDA)

Appendix 2c

Construction	(31) He's helping me now.	Speaker #
pres(prog)	Er/Der hilft /hilft mich <i>jetzt</i> .	56, 149, 176, 178, 179, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 211, 224, 226, 305, 306, 365, 367, 368, 369
	Er hilft mir <i>jetzt</i>	216
	Die hilft mich <i>jetzt</i>	370
	<i>Jetzt</i> hilft er me	212
	Der hilft mich now- <i>jetzt</i>	210
	Der is' <i>jetzt</i> um der hilft mich <i>jetzt</i>	181
	Der hilft mich <i>gerade jetzt</i>	180
	Und <i>jetzt</i> hilft er mich	366
am-Cx	Der ist mich an hilfen	371
tun-Cx	Er tut me helfen	126
	Der dut mich <i>jetzt</i> helfen	177
	Der dut mich helfen	214

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Gilbert sentence 31 (TGDA)

Appendix 2d

Construction	(53) He's sitting under the tree	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Er/Der sitzt unter/under den/das/der Baum	56, 149, 177, 178, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 212, 216, 224, 226, 305, 306, 365, 367, 369, 370, 371
	Der sitzt da unter den Baum	180
	Er sitzt unter den tree – under den Baum	210, 245
	Der sitzt danebe den stu- nebe den Baum	214
am-Cx	Der ist under'n Baum an setzen	179

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Gilbert sentence 53 (TGDA)

Appendix 2e

Construction	(54) He's putting the chair beside the tree.	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Er stellt den Stuhl nebe(r) den Baum	56, 216
	Der/Er dut den/das Stuhl nebe(n) den/dem Baum	177, 182, 185, 186, 187, 199, 210, 224, 226, 306, 367, 371
	Der dut den Stuhl nehs't de Baum	305
	Er/Der dut den/das Stuhl -uh- next to den Baum	183, 212
	Er zieht das Stuhl nebens Baum	178

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Gilbert sentence 54 (TGDA)

Appendix 2f

Construction	(55) He's sitting over there beside the tree.	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Er/Der sitzt da nebe(r/n) de'/den/das/dem Baum	56, 186, 211, 216, 306, 367, 369, 371
	Hier sitzt de' nebe' den Baum	368
	Er/Der sitzt da bei dem Baum	176, 365, 305
	Der sitzt it bei den Baum [...] neben den Baum	366
	Der sitzt da hinter bei den Baum	180
	Der/Er sitzt dahinten nebe(n) den Baum	182, 187, 226
	Er sitzt da druben neber de' Baum	224
	Der sitzt dort druben bei den Baum	185
	Er sitzt dort nebe' den/das Baum	177, 178
	Er sitzt hinten next to den Baum	183
	Der sitzt next to dem Baum	212
	Der setzt da bei'm Baum	149
	Der setzt da besides der Baum	179
	Er setzt da neben'm Baum	210
	Er se- setzt next zu – next to – next to the Baum	370

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Gilbert sentence 55 (TGDA)

Appendix 2g

Construction	(78) He's sleeping now.	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Er/Der <i>schlaft/schläft jetzt</i>	56, 149, 176, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 199, 210, 214, 216, 224, 226, 306, 365, 367, 368, 369, 370
	<i>Jetzt schlaft/schläft er</i>	212, 366
	[...] er <i>schlaft jetzt</i>	371
am-Cx	Der <i>ist an schlafen jetzt</i>	179
	Er/Der <i>ist jetzt am schlafen</i>	181, 211, 305

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Gilbert sentence 78 (TGDA)

Appendix 2h

Construction	(80) He's washing his hands.	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Er/Der <i>wascht seine Händ(e)</i>	56, 176, 177, 178, 180, 182, 185, 187, 210, 214, 216, 224, 226, 365, 367, 369
	Er <i>wäscht</i> seine Hände	366
	Der <i>wascht</i> seine Hand	370
	Er is- <i>wascht</i> seine Händ	186
	<i>Jetzt wascht</i> er sein Händ	212
	Der <i>wasche</i> seine Händ <i>jetzt</i>	183
	Der <i>wascht</i> sich die Hände	305
am-Cx	Der <i>ist an</i> seine Hände <i>an waschen</i>	149
	Der <i>ist an</i> Händ <i>an waschen</i>	179
	Er <i>ist</i> seine Hände <i>am/an waschen</i>	306, 371
	Der <i>ist jetzt</i> seine Hände <i>an waschen</i>	368
tun-Cx	Der <i>tut</i> sein Händ <i>waschen</i>	211
other	Er <i>ist</i> [umm] die Hände <i>waschen</i>	181

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Gilbert sentence 80 (TGDA)

Appendix 2i

Construction	(83) You're ruining the food!	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Du versaust das Essen	56, 182
	Du verderbst das Essen	176, 185, 224, 371
	Du verderbst die Frucht	366
	Du ruinierst das (ganze) Essen	305, 369
	Du machst das Essen schlecht/ schlimm	180, 306, 365
	Du machst dein Esse schlimmer	370
am-Cx	Du bist das Esse am versauen	187
	Du bist das Essen am ruinieren	211
tun-Cx	Du tust das Essen verderben	177
	Du tust das Essen ruinieren	183
	Du tust das Essen versauen	214, 368
other	Du hast das Essen ruiniert	178
	Du hast das Essen schlecht gemacht	179

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Gilbert sentence 83 (TGDA)

Appendix 2j

Construction	(90) They're taking it away.	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Die nehmen's fort	56, 179, 210, 371
	Die nehmen das fort	177, 178, 180, 183, 224, 226
	Die nehm's alle fort	305
	Die nehmen's jetzt fort	176, 181
	Die nehmen das jetzt fort	367
	Jetzt nehmen sie es fort	212, 366
	Die nehmen's weg	149, 186, 368
	Die/Sie nehmen das weg	182, 185, 187, 211, 214, 216, 365, 369
	Die nehmen sich weg	370
am-Cx	Sie sind das am weg neh'm	306

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Gilbert sentence 90 (TGDA)

Appendix 2k

Construction	(144) He's going to town now.	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Der/Er geht <i>jetzt</i> nach (die/der) Stadt	56, 176, 177, 180, 181, 183, 185, 186, 187, 210, 211, 214, 216, 224, 226, 305, 306, 369
	Der geht nach die Stadt <i>jetzt</i>	182, 367
	<i>Jetzt</i> geht er nach die Stadt	212
	Der geht – geht <i>jetzt</i> nach die Stadt – oder fährt <i>jetzt</i> nach die Stadt [...]	178
	Er geht- fährt <i>jetzt</i> zum Stadt	366
	Der geht <i>jetzt</i> in die Stadt rein	365
	Die geht zu die Stadt <i>jetzt</i>	370
	Der geht nach die Stadt	149, 179
other	Er ist <i>jetzt</i> nach in die Stadt gehen	371

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Gilbert sentence 144 (TGDA)

Appendix 2l

Construction	(5) The buzzard is eating the dead skunk.	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Der Assgeier frisst die dode Stinkkatz	177, 561
	Der Buzzard der ... esst ... der fresst die Stinkkatz	7
	Der Assgeier frisst denen die dode Stinkkatz	559

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Guion sentence 5 (TGDA)

Appendix 2m

Construction	(11) My brother's friend is walking around the ranch to check up on the sheep.	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Mein Bruder sein Freund geht in ... auf Platz wo er an die Schaf [incomprehensible] zu gucken	177
	Mein Bruder ... Mein Bruders Freund, der lauft rum um mein Land	7
	Mein Bruder sein Freunde walkt um die Platz und guckt nach die Schaf	561

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Guion sentence 11 (TGDA)

Appendix 2n

Construction	(16) He is cutting the hedge with Herbert's tools	Speaker #s
pres(prog)	Der schneit den ... die Bisch mit Herbert's tools ...	177
	Er schneit der Range mit der Herbert seine- mit der Herbert seine Scher oder was immer	561

Texas German (Gillespie County) translations for Guion sentence 16 (TGDA)

Tense and aspect marking in (Low) German perfect constructions based on variety contact

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Synchronic variability is an essential characteristic of all human languages. However, issues of linguistic variation have only recently become a popular topic within the framework of construction grammar (cf. Hoffmann 2011), cognitive sociolinguistics (Geeraerts et al. 2010) and variety contact (Höder 2014). This paper investigates synchronic variation of perfect auxiliary constructions with the verb *anfangen* ('to start/to begin') in variety contact of Low- and High German in the Westphalian and Emslandic areas. Based on qualitative and quantitative data analysis, we provide a model of the constructions within Cognitive Linguistics in the form of a two-dimensional geometric analysis of aspectual construals (Croft 2012) and Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995).

Keywords: perfect tense, variety contact, Low German, synchronic variation, two-dimensional geometric analysis, aspectual contours

1. Introduction

Although Labov (1966) at the latest proclaimed variation in language to be the normal state, grammatical variability and (diatopic) variation has only recently become a central topic in the most important linguistic theories (cf. Henry 2012; Geeraerts & Kristiansen 2015). Within Construction Grammar, Goldberg emphasizes at a very early stage that variation is a central part of the language network:

Facts about the use of entire constructions, including register (e.g. formal or informal), dialect variation and so on, are stated as part of the construction as well. Because they specify a surface form and a corresponding function, constructionist approaches provide a direct way of accounting for these facts.

(Goldberg 2003: 221; cf. also Goldberg 2006: 10)

However, most studies in the framework of Construction Grammar have been largely based on standardized forms of languages, rather than the more variable forms of naturally spoken language. Combining the research fields of variety contact and Construction Grammar, Höder (2014) recently developed an alternative approach, called *Diasystematic Construction Grammar* (DCxG), which expanded the monolingual view expressed in traditional Construction Grammar (cf. Goldberg 1995; Croft 2001).

In this line, we study contact phenomena of perfect auxiliary constructions in Low German and the regional standard language in the Westphalian and Emslandic speaking area. In these areas the following phenomenon is frequently met in spoken language of (regional) High German (see Example (1)):

- (1) *Ich bin im Mai angefangen, dort zu arbeiten.*
 I be-AUX in May started-PP, there to work.
 ‘I’ve started working there in May’

This is remarkable, because in the German standard system, the telic verb *anfangen* (‘to start/begin’) is only standard-compliant with the auxiliary *haben* (‘have’). There is no exception or variation for this in the standard system neither for transitive animate constructions nor for intransitive inanimate constructions (see Example (2)).

- (2) a. *Ich habe eine Lehre angefangen*
 I have-AUX an apprenticeship started-PP
 ‘I started an apprenticeship.’
 b. *Das Spiel hat um vier Uhr angefangen*
 The game has-AUX at four o’clock started-PP
 ‘The game started at four o’clock.’

Concerning the question whether the phenomenon is a regional peculiarity of the Westphalian-speaking area, we can refer to the results of the *Sprachatlas der Deutschen Alltagssprache*.¹ This atlas tested different grammatical and lexical structures in the regiolect of German-speaking countries and suggests that the phenomenon is prevalent in German areas located near the Dutch border.²

In what follows, we describe the phenomenon in terms of diatopic variation and variety contact. We therefore take the assumption of Weinreich that the transfer

1. See the following link: <http://www.atlas-alltagssprache.de/runde-4/f01c/> [last accessed 2018.07.25]

2. A historical influence of Dutch *beginnen* (‘to start’) on the Westphalian selection with *sein* (‘to be’) in terms of *anfangen* (‘to start/to begin’) seems highly likely. In Dutch, *telicity* serves as a more reliable cue for the perfect construction of the *be*-type than in German (cf. Rooij 1988).

of grammatical structures from one variety to another tends to be based on some kind of interlingual identification (Weinreich 1953: 8) that is also part of DCxG.

The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 2 begins with a brief introduction to the perfect tense in German. Section 3 gives some insights into the dialect areas Westphalia and Emsland, whereas Section 4 outlines the survey design. Section 5 proceeds with the qualitative analysis of some stylized patterns of variation within the tested phenomena in two registers – variation in the dialect variety (5.1) and variation in regional standard variety (5.2). The discussion of quantitative empirical results follows in Section 6. The analysis of aspectual contours of both lexical and grammatical aspects is contained in Section 7. In Section 8 we provide a modelling approach in the framework of Construction Grammar, which will be based on the results from a quantitative and qualitative analysis. Finally, Section 9 summarizes the results and hints at some potential directions for future research in the area of Construction Grammar, variety contact and grammaticalization.

2. Introduction to the German split auxiliary system

Before presenting the phenomenon in question, we will provide a short introduction to conventionalized patterns of perfect tense constructions within the standard written system and the most recent empirical studies. While in the case of English the stronger mental representation of the *have*-type has fueled its spread within the language, the empirical evidence for German suggests a very stable state of perfect tense constructions with the auxiliaries *sein* ('be') or *haben* ('have'). Thus, the German language has a so-called *split auxiliary system* (Aranovich 2007: 1).

From a diachronic perspective, Gillmann (2015: 337; see also Bybee & Dahl 1989: 70) shows that the perfect constructions with *be* and *have* emerged from two opposite resultative source domains:

[...] have + [PP] from telic transitive sentences and be + [PP] from telic intransitives. Crucially, have + [PP] extended faster than be + [PP] in the history of all West Germanic languages and gained terrain over more contexts earlier [...]

According to Bybee & Dahl (1989) and Bybee et al. (1994) the (typological) grammaticalization process of perfect tense and aspect develops unidirectional: from the expansion of resultative grams (*He is gone*), which are only construable with verbs denoting a change of state or an action that produces a change of state to the reanalysis of resultative constructions as present perfect tense (*anterior*s in the terminology of Bybee et al. 1994: 61–63). Within this process, the construction gradually broadens its functional domain and spreads to atelic verbs (*I've just*

eaten dinner). A shift from the resultant state to the previous event takes place. To display the relevance for the current moment these constructions are not combinable with temporal adverbs that indicate a specific time in the past (like *yesterday*, *last semester*). The next development for anteriors along their diachronic path is the change from anterior to past or perfective.

Hengeveld (2011: 590) illustrates this development with the support of Reichenbach's tripartite time scheme, consisting of point of the event (E), point of reference (R) and point of speech (S):

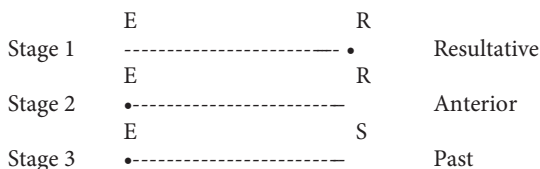


Figure 1. Development of tense-aspect system by Hengeveld (2011: 590)

In many Indo-European languages and especially in German the perfect tense has moved into an area of the tense system where it mainly signals a perfective (past) category (cf. Dentler 1997; Welke 2005: 315; Dammel et al. 2010: 246–350). As a result, the perfect tense has a higher frequency in German compared to those languages in which the semantic domain of the perfect tense is more limited, i.e., to resultative and anterior uses (e.g., English, Spanish and Swedish). Bybee & Dahl (1989: 74) observe this development especially in the Southern German dialects. This is accompanied by the phenomenon of *preterite decay* in Upper German, currently spreading from Southern to Northern German dialects (German *Präteritumschwund*; cf. Abraham & Conradie 2001).

The extant theoretical approaches attempting to explain the regularities of using different auxiliaries in the perfect tense include *inter alia* purely syntactic explanations as suggested by the Universal Alignment Hypothesis and government binding theory (cf. Burzio 1986; Perlmutter 1978; Abraham 1993; Grewendorf 1989), mainly semantic explanations (cf. Dowty 1991; Sorace 2000; Diedrichsen 2002; Keller & Sorace 2003), and Shannon's (1995) constructional approach.

While there is an overall tendency for selecting *sein* ('be') with intransitive telic verbs and *haben* ('have') with transitive and atelic intransitive verbs in the synchronic German perfect-system, there are a number of exceptions for the auxiliary selection in the Standard system (cf. Diedrichsen 2002: 38; Duden 2006: §§ 659–661).³ Moreover, a few authors examine regional differences in the aux-

3. As in the case of the perfect forms of *anfangen* – provided in the introduction – neither agentivity, nor transitivity or telicity act as *cues* for variation between *haben* ('have') and *sein* ('be'), unlike in other Germanic languages like Dutch (see Gillmann 2015).

iliary selection (cf. Gronvik 1986: 43–46; Keller & Sorace 2003). In the Southern German Standard (SGS)⁴ verbs of existence of state (positional), such as *sitzen* ('to sit'), *stehen* ('to stand'), *liegen* ('to lie'), are constructed with the auxiliary *sein* ('be'), while in the Northern German Standard (NGS) the *have*-type is conventionalized (see Example (3)).

- (3) a. *Ich bin auf der Wiese gelegen*
 I be-AUX on the grass lay-PP
 'I was lying in the grass.'
 b. *Ich habe auf der Wiese gelegen*
 I have-AUX on the grass lay-PP
 'I was lying in the grass.'

Gronvik (1986) considers the imperfective interpretation of the existence of state verbs (*sitzen* ('to sit'), *stehen* ('to stand'), *liegen* ('to lie')) as crucial for the construction with the auxiliary *sein* 'be' in the SGS.

However, synchronic and diachronic research on regional differences in auxiliary selection and related issues like variety contact is still a desideratum. For the purpose of analyzing the transfer of perfect concepts due to variety contact, we test regional peculiarities in auxiliary selection in the Westphalian and Emslandic speaking area both in the regional (spoken) standard and dialect variety. We start with an overview of the situation of Low German in Westphalia and Emsland along with a description of the methods used in field research.

3. Situation of Low German in Westphalia and Emsland

The geographic focus of our field research is the area of Westphalia and Emsland located near the Dutch border north of the isogloss of Benrath, which divides the German dialects into northern and southern dialects. The result of this division is not only the existence of northern and southern dialectal varieties, but also the existence of northern and southern standard languages, both of which are regional and spoken varieties. With regard to the vitality of Low German in the study areas of Westphalia and Emsland, the results of different language surveys (cf. Stellmacher 1987; Möller & Windzio 2008) indicated the gradual decrease of Low German in Westphalia and Emsland and a convergence of the language system toward the standard language. Specifically, the tendencies of these questionnaires show a sharp decline in active and passive dialect competence, resulting in a

4. For more details regarding the Northern and Southern Standard in German see inter alia Berend (2005).

situation of individual multilingualism. The primary domains (cf. Fishman 1972) in which Low German is used today are related to informal family settings. As for socio-demographic variables such as age and rural-urban contrast, Low German today is mainly spoken in rural areas and especially by older people.

The language situation in Westphalia is – generally speaking – no longer a traditional diglossic one, but constitutes a so-called *doppeltes Varietätenkontinuum* ('double variety continuum') (Höder 2011: 115). Low German is used particularly by speech communities characterized by family ties and can therefore be classified as a group language. The contact of Low German and High German in the Westphalian area provokes the gradual development of a regional language where a high convergence of regional standard forms and dialectal forms is observable. Furthermore, the variety contact results in a transfer of Low German constructions into the regional High German variety and vice versa (cf. Hansen-Jaax 1995).

4. Method – Field research and survey design

Concerning the underlying survey design, our choice of villages is based on a grid that we placed on a phonologically determined map of the Westphalian-speaking area. We were oriented less towards phonological isoglosses, since the distribution of morpho-syntactic and phonological structures of the dialects may differ. Specifically, we chose one village from every square of the grid to obtain a consistent distribution. Additional criteria for the selection of villages were population size (not more than 3,000 inhabitants) and agricultural characteristics. The map in the Appendix (Figure 9) summarizes the distribution of the eight survey locations included in the data sample.

In each of these eight locations we collected data from six dialect speakers. One key socio-demographic variable of the tested persons was *age*, where we chose a tripartite classification from 20–40, 41–60 and 61–80 years. This classification scheme ensures that dialectal speaking is not restricted to “base dialects”, i.e., the most rural, ancient and conservative dialects of the oldest generation (cf. *NORMS*, Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 29). In addition, *sex* (gender) and *profession* were crucial variables in the sample compilation.

The goal of this data collection process is to find evidence for synchronic, contact-induced grammatical features in this region that are relevant for language in use. Language systems are regarded – in line with usage-based approaches – as dynamic systems where cognitive representations are built upon the basis of encoded language experience. Language use and language knowledge thus always have an impact on each other. Accordingly, my test design draws on naturally

spoken language data that offers a qualitative view in terms of authentic inter- and intra-speaker variation of structural features.

The chronological order of collecting and analyzing the data was motivated by the fact that no previous research exists on morpho-syntactic or syntactic features of the Westphalian and Emslandic region. Therefore, we first conducted interviews with the test persons to examine their speaking behavior in a more formal register. Afterwards we transcribed half an hour of each interview.⁵ Additionally, we requested that the speakers record approximately one hour of conversation with a person they normally communicate with in the Low German variety in everyday life. The conversation with a person who is very familiar with the informant typically displays a more informal register, resulting in language structures that are conventionalized within *speech communities* (cf. Rampton 2010).

Testing different registers – speaking in terms of greater or smaller formality – provides an insight into the test person’s *linguistic repertoire* (cf. Pütz 2008). The recordings display a tension between dialect speaking and rather standard-oriented regional language, thereby offering a range of variation in a vertical perspective (cf. “*vertikale Variationsbreite*”, Auer 1986: 98).⁶ The complete dataset of spoken data encompasses approximately 55 hours of transcribed spoken language.

5. Qualitative characterization of the phenomenon in contact

To improve the understanding of the functional differences between the *haben* ‘have’ and *sein* ‘be’ construction with *angefangen* (‘to begin’), we first provide a sequential analysis and examine the variation of different perfect auxiliary constructions within interactional contexts in Low German and the regional standard language. Afterwards, we will investigate the functional differences of the variants suggested by the qualitative analysis in the framework of a quantitative multivariate regression analysis.

5. All transcriptions were transliterated with the software EXMARaLDA on the basis of *GAT2* conventions (cf. Selting et al. 2009). These are common transcription conventions in German developed for interactional linguistics.

6. To address the issue of the correlation between dialect and morpho-syntactic constructions, we tagged each sequence of the spoken data on the basis of certain phonological and morphological features. We relied on the principle of co-occurrence of different phonological features associated with different subsets (cf. Paradis 1985) in determining each speaker’s variety. This procedure thus avoids any circularity of the analysis and circumvents problems associated with the categorization of constructions and varieties.

5.1. The phenomenon in the dialect variety

The first examples are part of an audio sample of conversations in Low German among speakers in the youngest generation. The constructions in question are marked in bold letters.

1. LOW GERMAN (PRF construction [_(hebben_{AUX})](_(anfangen_{PP}))])

Context: The sister of the young woman speaking (LEV09) tells her siblings about a problem with her computer. LEV09 suggests asking a friend of the family for help who is very proficient at computer repair and was referred to in earlier sequences.

- 001 LEV09⁸ *KÖNN wohl den,*
 ‘(we) will send’,
 002 *(NAME) vor di schicken;*
 ‘(NAME) to you’;
 003 *de kann dich van de technik so viele vertelln,*
 ‘he can tell you much about the technique’,
 004 *de kürt di schwindlich;*
 ‘He talks you dizzy’;
 005 *do hes de scho no THEIN minuten weer vergeten,*
 ‘you will have forgotten after ten minutes’,
 006 → *womit de **ANfangen heff**⁹;*
 what-COMP he-3SG PRF[started-PP have-AUX];
 ‘what he has started with’;

2. LOW GERMAN (PRF construction [_(sien_{AUX})](_(anfangen_{PP}))])

Context: In another discussion with her siblings, LEV09 has just finished working in the garden. After being asked about the time, LEV09 discusses the time relations from the beginning of work (10 a.m.) to the end.

- 001 LEV09 *ik GLöve,*
 ‘I believe’,

7. The past participle in Low German in contrast to High German is marked in the form without the infix *-ge-* (*anfangen* vs. *angefangen*).

8. An interlinear morpheme translation (IMT) (see Lehmann 1982; Croft 2003) will only be provided for the sequences that imply the construction in question. The other sequences are only presented with a free translation in the line underneath.

9. The perfect construction [_(hebben_{AUX})](_(anfangen_{PP})) in the example is combined with a relative clause construction, which determines the final position of the auxiliary *hebben* (‘have’) (inflected form: *heff*) in the construction.

002		<i>wi hebbt jetzt au GOUT wat schafft;</i> 'we got a lot done';
003		<i>es SESS uhr; = ne?</i> 'It's six o'clock now; =isn't it?'
004	LEV08	<i>(1.8) SIEbn;</i> 'Seven';
005	LEV09	<i>JA jetzt is_t siebn;</i> 'Yes, it's seven now';
006		<i>wi SINT ja nu oLL_n moment [ower];</i> 'We've now finished for a while';
007	LEV01	<i>[ja;]</i> 'Yes';
008	LEV09	<i>wenn ma jetzt beDENget,</i> 'Considering',
009		<i>un dann bit THEIN,</i> 'and then until ten o'clock' ¹⁰ ,
010		<i>ham wer großzügig REJket,</i> 'we calculated generously',
011	→	<i>dat wer ANfangen sint,</i> 'that-COMP we-1PL PRF[started-PP be-AUX]'; 'that we have started',
012		<i>mit PAUse,</i> 'with a break',
013		<i>awer TROTZdem;</i> 'but anyway';

If we compare these two extracts within the terms of traditional variational linguistics, we observe intra-speaker variation of LEV09 with regards to the perfect constructions [_(hebben_{AUX})_(anfangen_{PP})_] and [_(sien_{AUX})_(anfangen_{PP})_] in Low German conversation.

The construction in transcript 1 [_(hebben_{AUX})_(anfangen_{PP})_] is embedded in a narration about the behaviour of a friend of the family. It is constructed with deictic reference to the past, where the personality traits of the friend became obvious. In transcript 2, the speaker specifies that she has just completed work. The speaker construes the work process backward looking from the present – where work has just been completed – to the point of beginning at ten o'clock in the morning. Hence, the profiled process does not overlap with the moment of the speech act, but rather directly precedes it. The speaker constructs a past event with

10. Context: This sequence refers to the point of the beginning of work. They started working at 10 o'clock in the morning.

a present time orientation, and therefore the *origo* of the speaker in the sense of Bühler (1999 [1934]).

The hypothesis that the [_(sien_{AUX})_(anfangen_{PP})_]-construction in contrast to the *have*-type denotes a current relevance, can also be observed in Excerpt 3:

3. LOW GERMAN (PRF construction [_(sien_{AUX})_(anfangen_{PP})_])

Context: WER07 tells about his new employee working only a few weeks for him. The employee wants an advance payment on his salary within a few working days. WER07 wants the advance payment to wait until the employee is better integrated.

- 001 WER07 *ower de mutt sik ers INarbeiden;*
 ‘but he must familiarize himself only’;
- 002 → (--)*der is jetzt im MAI anfangen,* = ne?
 (--)*he be-AUX now in May started-PP, =ne?*
 ‘He has just begun (working) in May, (question tag)’
- 003 (--)*un JEDENfalls,* ‘Anyway’,
- 004 *wenn DENN sowiet is,*
 ‘when the time has come’
- 005 *dat he sich do UTkennt;*
 ‘that he is familiar with it’,
- 006 *köö we ja_n vorschuss maken;*
 ‘we can make an advance payment;

WER07 explains his decision not to grant an advance payment by arguing that the employee has not been employed for a long time and has yet to be integrated (line 001). In line 002 he constructs the [_(sien_{AUX})_(anfangen_{PP})_]-construction with the temporal adverb *jetzt* (‘now’) and specifies the exact time of the beginning in the past (*im Mai* (‘in May’)). He thus highlights the ongoing relevance of the recently created employment relationship.

As stated by Bybee & Dahl (1989), the construction of anterior and perfect tense with simple past meaning only occurs with certain temporal adverbs. While perfect forms with simple past meaning are often constructed with adverbs that display an event in the past (e.g., *gestern* (‘yesterday’)), the anterior tense is constructed with adverbs that emphasize the relevance for the present (e.g., *jetzt* (‘now’)). Unlike transcript 1, the construction is not used here in a narrative context, but rather in an evaluative context.

In summary, the use of the *anfangen*-constructions in Low German shows that the *have*-type is used in narrative, past related sequences, while the *be*-type is primarily used in non-narrative, origo-related sequences. Thus, the *have*-type

works similar to the preterite in interaction, while the *be*-type works in the sense of the present perfect tense.

5.2. The phenomenon in the (regional) standard variety

In the following analysis we will compare the constructions presented in Section 5.1 with two different systems of reference. First, a comparison with the written standard system, which is the system of reference for most variational investigations; and second, a comparison with the speaker's different varieties in the form of intra-speaker language contact as a point of reference.

When the German written standard system is chosen as system of reference, a clear deviation is observable (cf. Examples 2ab). Most structures are then classified as "dialectal" based merely on the distinction made by the written system.

In contrast to this, for the second system of reference, the variety dependency of the constructions, there is no difference in the selection with regards to different varieties. Excerpt 4 will show that there is also the possibility of variation in the spoken (regional) standard system.

4. HIGH GERMAN (PRF construction [_(_{AUX}haben)_(_{PP}angefangen)_])

Context: The interviewer (INT01) and the informant (LEV06) talk about the role of Low German in the life of LEV06. In the presented segment of the conversation, they talk about the informant's career after he graduated from high school. In particular, he talks about the special role that Low German played in his profession.

- 001 INT01 (1.1) *ähm*,
'ähm (hesitation marker)',
- 002 *wie gestaltete sich dann die zeit NACH ihrem schulabschluss;*
'what did you do after graduation?'
- 003 LEV06 (1.0) *ja GUT;*
'yes okay';
- 004 → *ich hab ne LEHRE angefangen,*
I have-AUX an apprenticeship began-PP
'I began an apprenticeship',
- 005 *[(1.1) groß un] trau (.) äh AUSSENhandelskaufmann gelernt,*
'as a wholesale and export clerk',
- 006 INT01: *[hm = hm,]*
(agreeing)

- 007 LEV06: *und bin DORT in der firma,*
 ‘and I’m still working in the company’,
 008 *in der finANZverwaltung bis heute noch;*
 ‘in the financial management until today’;

5. HIGH GERMAN (PRF construction [_(sein_{AUX})-(angefangen_{PP})_])

Context: Earlier in the interview, the speaker describes the situations in which Low German is the more appropriate variety.

- 001 LEV06 *(--)* *und äh HINZU kam natürlich,*
 ‘add to this’,
 002 *äh,*
 ‘äh (hesitation marker)’,
 003 → *ich bin natürlich vor GUT zwanzig jahnr angefangen,*
 I be-AUX of course a good twenty years started-PP
 ‘Of course, I started a good twenty years ago,’
 004 *theAter zu spielen,*
 ‘doing theater,’
 005 *(---) auf PLATT.*
 ‘in Low German’.

Similar to the examples in Low German, intra-speaker variation in (spoken) High German constructions is observable. This suggests that morpho-syntactic processing of perfect constructions works beyond variety subsets. Hence, when variation is observable, constructing perfect auxiliary constructions of *anfangen* (‘to start/begin’) with *haben* (‘have’) or *sein* (‘be’) is not a matter of style or register. Thus, the advantage of relying on different varieties related to one single speaker as points of reference avoids the comparison of two different medial systems (like comparing written and spoken structures), thereby circumventing the issue of (written) bias.

Similar to the constructions in Low German (cf. transcripts 1, 2 and 3), in transcript 4 the speaker constructs the point of beginning of his apprenticeship within narrative modality and therefore uses the construction ([_(haben_{AUX})-(angefangen_{PP})_]) in High German. At the date of the interview, he is no longer in an occupation that requires training. In aspectual marking the construction refers back to a state in the past. That the speaker still works in the company, but in a different position, is constructed in line 007–008. To emphasize the relevance for the presence, the speaker does not employ a perfect construction but he uses a lexical phrase like *bis heute noch* (‘until today’) (line 008) and he makes use of the present tense. Construals of past events in terms of perfect tense design and construals of current relevance are constructed in different turn-construction units. They receive their temporal function by the contrast to each other.

However, in transcript 5 the speaker constructs the process of doing theater by first denoting the point of beginning (*vor GUT zwanzig jahn* ('a good twenty years ago'), line 4). The speaker has already remarked in the preceding sequences that he still does acting in Low German. By using this construction, the speaker shows that he has specific assumptions about the shared *common ground* (cf. Clark & Brennan 1991) with the listener (interviewer). He assumes that the information about him doing theater given earlier in the conversation is still available for the interviewer as expressed by the modal used adverb *natürlich* ('of course') (line 003). The construction is thus designed by the speaker on the basis of *recipient design*¹¹ (cf. Sacks et al. 1974). Recipient design is indexical by providing assumptions that the speaker possesses about the cognitive, motivational and emotional states of the listener.

The foregoing analysis establishes that both the dialect and the regional standard variety show the same form-function pairing with regards to the auxiliary constructions with *sein* ('be') or *haben* ('have') with *anfangen*. Within the concept of interlingual identification by Weinrich, we hypothesize that there has been a transfer of the grammatical and conceptual opposition from dialect variety to regional standard variety. These remnants of Low German structures in the regional standard are called *niederdeutsches Substrat* ('Low German substrate'). However, the reasons why some structures are borrowed from the Low German into the regional standard are debatable. Traditional research on this topic only considers the form. This example in synchronic use shows that there is a functional advantage of using both perfect constructions with *anfangen* 'to start/begin' because it enables a greater differentiation with respect to aspectual expression. In Section 6 this functional difference will be tested statistically.

6. Quantitative empirical analysis

On the basis of the qualitative analysis, we conduct a quantitative analysis of the phenomenon using the collected data. We tested the constructions with *haben* ('have') or *sein* ('be') plus the past participle of *anfangen* ('to start/begin'). To this end, we use the multivariate statistical methodology of generalized linear mixed effects models (*glmer*; cf. Fox 2016) to analyze the relationships between auxiliary

11. "[...] a multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are co-participants. In our work, we have found recipient design to operate with regard to word selection, topic selection, admissibility and ordering of sequences, options and obligations for starting and terminating conversations etc." (Sacks et al. 1974: 727).

variation and a number of endogenous variables. The selection of endogenous variables follows semantic and syntactic parameters influencing auxiliary variation in perfect constructions that were found in previous literature. These include semantic features like ‘perfectivity/boundedness’ (grammatical boundedness), and grammatical categories like ‘sentence type’, ‘variety’ (model 1). Transitivity was thus tested as a syntactic and semantic feature following the criteria assumed by Hopper & Thompson (1980). Therefore, in model 2 transitivity is tested with regard to different formal objects (‘intransitive’, ‘prepositional object’, ‘direct object’) that differ with regard to their transitive prototypicality. Table 1 shows the results of performing the *glmer*-methodology in R (version 3.4.1).

Table 1. Statistical results of *glmer*-methodology – correlating endogenous variables with spoken data

Estimation results of <i>glmer</i> regression model		
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	[_(<i>sein</i> ‘be’ _{AUX})_(<i>angefangen</i> ‘have’ _{PP})_]	
	(1)	(2)
<i>Endogenous variables:</i>		
Aspectual-temporal boundedness	-2.560*** (0.838)	
transitivity	-1.837** (0.871)	
variety (regional standard language)	0.642 (0.681)	
sentence type (main clause)	0.256 (0.729)	
object type	intransitive	1.792** (0.905)
	prepositional object	2.234** (0.883)
constant	2.000** (1.009)	-0.981 (0.677)
observations	64	64

Note: With the exception of ‘object type’ all variables are binary variables. The relative reference value for the variable ‘object type’ is ‘direct object/accusative case’. Positive (negative) values indicate a positive (negative) correlation between the *sein* ‘be’ auxiliary construction and the respective independent variable. *, **, *** indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent level, respectively.

Looking at the endogenous variables, aspectual-temporal BOUNDEDNESS¹² (Estimate: -2.560^{***}) and TRANSITIVITY (Estimate: -1.837^{**}) show the highest impact on the behavior of the perfect auxiliary constructions. Depending on the variable, the statistical tests indicate different levels of significance. It comes as no surprise that these two factors have a joint impact on the different constructions, because BOUNDEDNESS is often described in traditional literature as displayed in syntactic transitivity. This finding complies with the “idea that event structure is the primary semantic determinant of argument realization” (Croft 2012: 3). It is therefore more likely that the construction with the auxiliary *sein/sien* (‘be’) is chosen when the process or activity is ongoing in the moment of the speech act or is still relevant for the present time. The event process is from a deictic perspective origo-inclusive and implies a progressive character of the started process/activity. The origo-reference of the *sein* (‘be’)-variant is less surprising considering the overall resultative semantic of the *sein* (‘be’) auxiliary (see also the tripartite time scheme in Section 2). Conversely, the construction with *haben/hebben* (‘have’) is more likely when the activity or process is not relevant for the present, therefore temporally bounded in the past and – from a deictic perspective – origo-exclusive. In sum, the functional difference between the two variants is a temporal-aspectual one.

With regards to TRANSITIVITY, the constructional variant with the auxiliary *sein* (‘be’) is significantly associated with non-prototypical transitive objects like intransitive types (Estimate: 1.792^{**}) or constructions with prepositional object (Estimate: 2.234^{**}). By contrast, the *haben/hebben* (‘have’) construction is highly conventionalized with prototypical transitive objects like the direct object. This is in line with the overall tendency in the German language presented in Section 2 that there is a high association between transitive verbs and the auxiliary *haben* (‘have’). Moreover, in the linguistic system of Westphalian speakers TRANSITIVITY is the cue factor of the auxiliary variation that determines the use of the *haben* (‘have’) or *sein* (‘be’) variant.

In sum, the influence of the BOUNDEDNESS concept on the choice of auxiliary construction is twofold: (i) First, there are functional differences in the syntax. The functional difference triggered by the concept of BOUNDEDNESS is reflected in the use of different auxiliaries within the perfect constructions in the form. (ii) Second, this difference of functional display in the form may be interpreted as a difference in the cognitive time construal in the sense of Taylor (2003) in the minds of speakers of different regions. Temporal BOUNDEDNESS and TRANSITIVITY seems to provide a high cue prominence in the regions with both constructions, which is also shown by the qualitative analysis in Section 6.

12. In line with Croft (2012) we will use capitalized terms for terminology that refers to conceptual structures, rather than language-specific grammatical structures in the form.

As for the exogenous variables, we abstain from including them in the regression model as this would lead to an excessive number of parameters to be estimated and hence would result in a poor model fit. But if we look at the regional distribution of the auxiliary constructions as shown in Figure 2, we observe that *region* has an impact on the use of different perfect auxiliary constructions. As the diagram shows, there are three different sub-divisions with respect to region. Our findings show that there are regions in which only the construction with auxiliary *sein* (HG)/*sien* (LG) ('be') is observable, regions where both constructions are in use, and one village – Neger (Olpe) – where only the construction with the *haben* (HG)/*hebben* (LG) -type ('have') is observable.

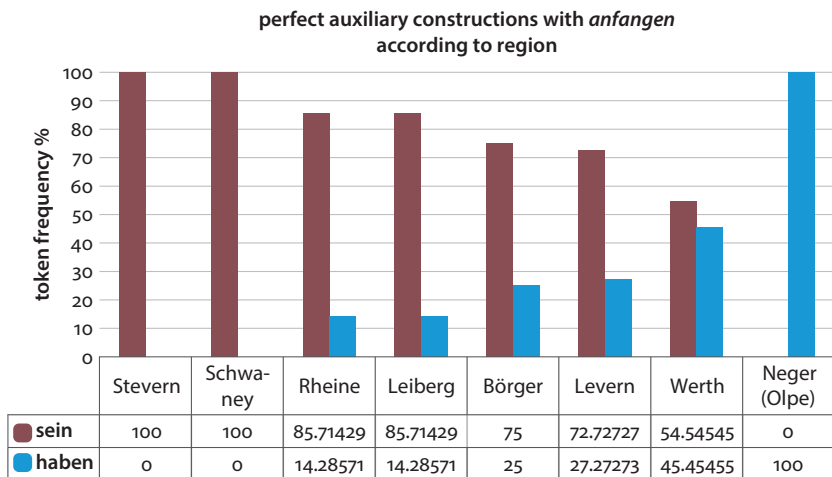


Figure 2. Regional distribution of different perfect auxiliary constructions with *anfangen* ('to begin')

Neger (Olpe) is a village which lies in the belt of the so called *Benrather Linie*, a linguistic border that divides the northern Low German varieties from the High German varieties. For this construction a structural affiliation of Neger (Olpe) to the middle German and southern dialects is visible, although from a phonological perspective this region is part of the Low German-speaking area. In what follows, we provide a modelling of the results in the framework of Construction Grammar. Since *aspect* plays a crucial role for the functional difference of the auxiliary perfect variants with *anfangen* ('to begin'), we base our modeling on the approach of *aspectual contours* by Croft (2012). Therefore, Section 7 will provide a short introduction into the theoretical concept.

7. Aspectual contours of lexical and grammatical aspect

How can theories of Cognitive Linguistics and Construction Grammar explain these results? As shown by the qualitative and quantitative analyses, the differences in meaning of both tense-aspect constructions lie in their aspectual differences profiling different phases of an event. The most widely cited definition of aspect comes from Comrie (1976: 3) who defines it as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”.

The following considerations about lexical and grammatical aspect of the target constructions will be based on the two-dimensional geometric analysis of aspectual construals proposed by Croft (2012: 53–57).

An ASPECTUAL TYPE/CONSTRUAL consists of a particular profiled phase (or phases) on a particular aspectual contour, where the aspectual contour is defined by geometric properties of the defined points on the *q* dimension (e.g. that there are only two defined points on the *q* dimension), rather than specific values on that dimension. (Croft 2012: 56)

Events are defined as a two-dimensional geometric representation,¹³ with a time dimension (*t*) and a qualitative state dimension (*q*) and thus provide two-dimensional aspectual contours of the events. The *q* dimension is conceived by analogy with what is called a *lexical constant* or root.

In the representations of Levin and Rappaport Hovav and others, the root is taken to be a semantic primitive. The *q* dimension represents the lexical root as a complex semantic structure, made up of multiple states, and thus provides one way to analyze the lexical root. Some basic properties of lexical roots will be derived from the *q* dimension. (Croft 2012: 53–54)

Each predicate has a range of possible aspectual types or construals it allows. Different meanings of the same verb therefore depend on different profiled phases on the *aspectual contour* (Croft 2012: 54). Predicates may belong to different aspectual types depending on the grammatical and discourse context in which they occur.

German *anfangen* (‘to start/begin’) is semantically mutative and denotes a punctual transition. A *transition* can be defined as “an event identifying a semantic expression, which is evaluated relative to its opposition” (Pustejovsky 1992: 56). However, *anfangen* (‘to start/to begin’) is also a phasal verb and therefore related

13. “In unidimensional approaches, the semantics of grammatical aspect is the same as the semantics of lexical aspect: grammatical aspect interacts with lexical aspect, but the result is of the same semantic type as lexical aspect. In bidimensional approaches, grammatical aspect is semantically distinct from lexical aspect; its semantic structure is of a different type” (Croft 2012: 31).

to boundaries of temporal phases of events. In contrast to previous studies on phasal analysis of aspect in the framework of decompositional analyses (cf. Bickel 1997; Klein 1994), Croft (2012: 106) models the aspectual contour of *anfangen* as a phasal verb within the q dimension as follows (cf. Figure 3¹⁴):

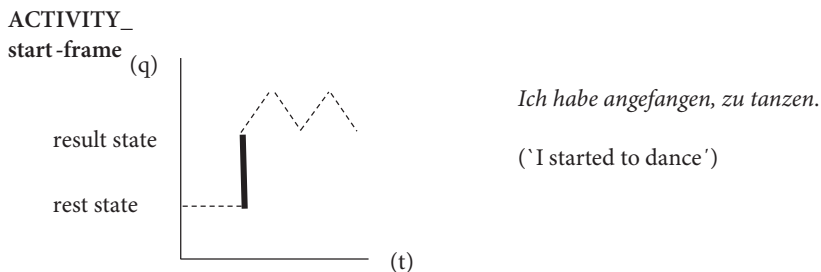


Figure 3. Aspectual contour of verb *anfangen* ‘to start/ begin’ in the style of Croft (2012: 53)

The two-dimensional model of aspect is aligned parallel to the approach of frame-semantic meaning of representation (cf. Fillmore 1976). The advantage of the combination of the two-dimensional approach and Frame Semantics is that “[p]hases that precede the profiled phase are presupposed to have held or taken place in the time interval preceding the time of the profiled phase” (Croft 2012: 55). *Anfangen* (‘to start/begin’) profiles an ACTIVITY_START-frame at the q dimension. Within the contour, there is a lexical presupposition regarding the lack of a state or activity before the point of beginning (cf. rest state, indicated by the first dashed line), then the point¹⁵ of beginning (indicated by the bold dashed vertical line) and thereafter the inceptive state or activity (indicated by the second dashed zigzag line). Altogether, the predicate *anfangen* (‘to start/begin’) has different aspectual potentials depending on the constructions it is fused with.

The aspectual type of *anfangen* ‘to start/begin’ is not to be equated with the event profiled by the perfect auxiliary constructions as a whole. Croft (2012: 79) describes the difference of BOUNDEDNESS of lexical and grammatical aspect as Q-BOUNDEDNESS – profiling the existence of a result state on the q dimension,

14. The dashed zigzag line indicates unidirected activities, which “are typically construed as a succession of cyclic (undirected) achievements” (Croft 2012: 61). The line in bold indicates the profiled phases.

15. The assumption that *anfangen* (‘to start/to begin’) in German only denotes a punctual event is questioned by Engerer (2010). The possibility of combining *anfangen* with adverbials denoting a course of time (*Ich habe langsam angefangen, mich vorzubereiten* (‘I slowly started preparing’)) suggests that the predicate itself denotes a process – and thus a durative transition as in the case of accomplishments – rather than a punctual event.

and T-BOUNDEDNESS – profiling boundedness on the time dimension. We have already seen that reference to the speaker's origo plays a crucial role in the meaning of the constructions. Modeling the event structure for the construction [_(haben/hebben_{AUX})-(an)(ge)fangen_{PP}]_(t) in a two-dimensional geometric representation would look as follows (see Figure 4):

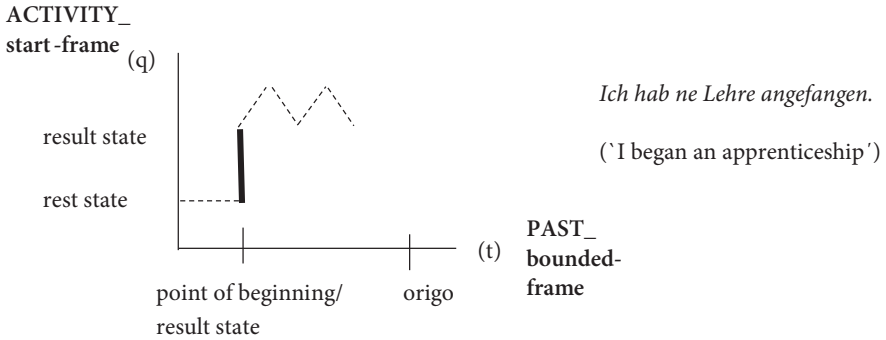


Figure 4. Event structure of ‘have’-type + *anfangen*, bounded, origo-exclusive

Like in English simple past meaning, the construction with the *have*-type + *anfangen* (PP) (Figure 4) profiles a punctual transition in a PAST_BOUNDED-frame, whereby the result state of the event lies in the past. Thus, the construction is both q- and t-bounded. There is no relevance of the activity or state being started for another time dimension. Conversely, the event structure of the [_(sein/sien_{AUX})-(an)(ge)fangen_{PP}]_(t) construction in transcript 3 and 5 (cf. transcript 3: *der is jetzt im MAI anfangen, = ne?* ‘He has just begun (working) in May’)) profiles a PAST_UNBOUNDED-frame with relevance of the event for the origo. Figure 5 depicts this temporal-aspectual contour:

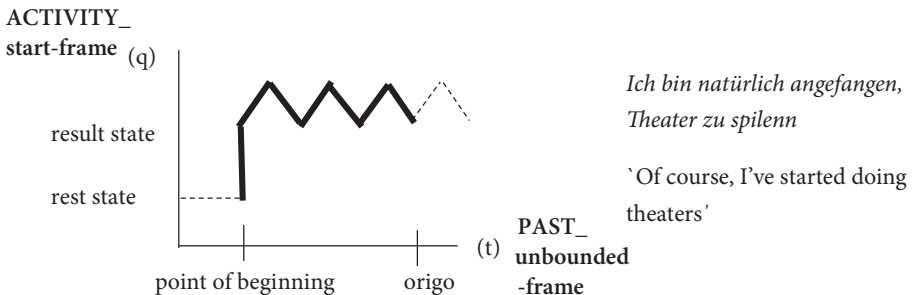


Figure 5. Event structure ‘be’-type, unbounded, origo-inclusive

In contrast to the *have*-type, the *be*-type + *an(ge)fangen* in the first instance does not profile a result state in the time dimension, but only in the qualitative dimension. It is q-bounded but not t-bounded. Figure 5 is therefore similar to the present

perfect tense in English, where no boundary transition phases are profiled. The aspectual contour profiles the process/activity being started with a present time orientation and is therefore still relevant for the moment of the speech act (zigzag lines to the origo in Figure 5). Within the PAST_UNBOUNDED-frame it presupposes the activity as being relevant for the future as well (dashed zigzag lines in Figure 5). However, the analysis of transcript 2 in Low German shows that the construction of the present time may not be congruent with the actual ontological presence.

The activity profiled with the *be*-type construction is not ongoing anymore in the present, though it is constructed as still being relevant to the origo. This is why the result state of the objective process is not profiled in the construction of the subjective perception of time in Figure 6 (bold zigzag lines).

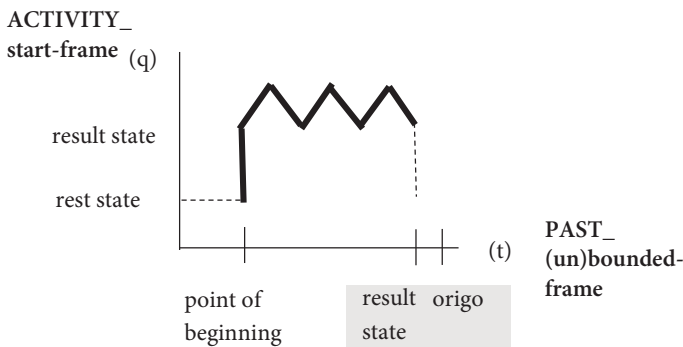


Figure 6. Event structure *be*-type, origo-related

These types of event reference show that especially the question of *current relevance* has to be redefined depending on the construction in each interaction situation (for further discussions about *current relevance* see Dahl & Hedin 2000).

8. Modeling in the framework of Construction Grammar

In this section we use the modeling conventions of Goldberg (1995) in combination with the two-dimensional geometric representation by Croft (2012) to show how the influence of abstract concepts impacts the form.

In regions where both perfect constructions with *anfangen* ('to start/begin') are possible, auxiliaries work as temporal-aspectual markers in the form. For the construction of [_{(haben/hebben)_{AUX}}-(an(ge)fangen)_{PP}]_() as in *Ich hab ne Lehre angefangen* ('I began an apprenticeship') in transcript (4), the construction shows an aspectual contour of both a past and a bounded frame that is marked in the form by the *haben/hebben* ('have') auxiliary (cf. Figure 7).

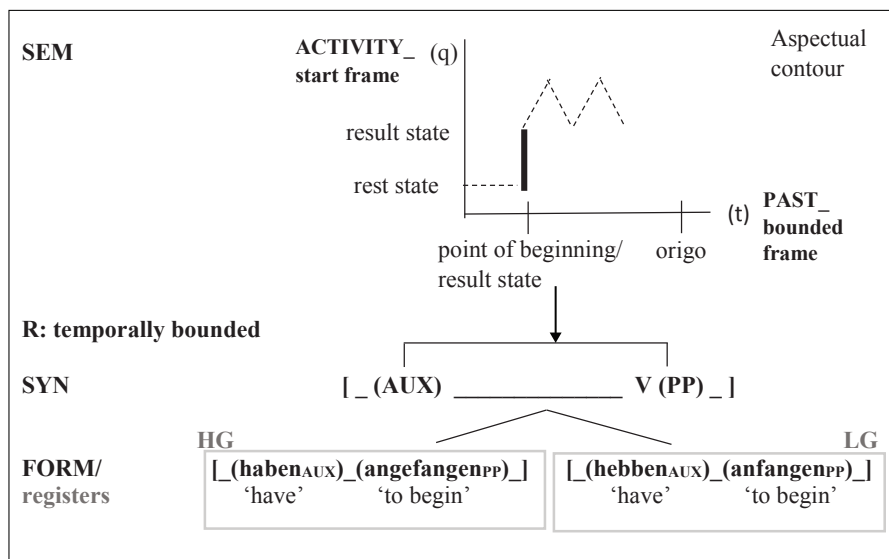


Figure 7. Construction model of [_(haben/hebben_{AUX})_(anfangen_{PP})_] construction

Within the construction of [_(sein/sien_{AUX})_(anfangen_{PP})_] in Figure 8, *bin* ('be') in the first person singular serves as an aspectual marker for unboundedness. This function of marking (UN)BOUNDEDNESS in the form of perfect constructions with *anfangen* ('to start/begin') is absent in the written standard language and the tested research location Neger (Olpe) in the southern Westphalian-speaking area. In regions where this aspectual marking within perfect constructions is not observable, the verbalization of the PAST_UNBOUNDED frame does not work via grammatical aspect in the form of varying auxiliaries in tense-aspect constructions. Current relevance has to be construed in other ways (e.g., with additional utterances that contain phrases like *bis heute noch* ('still; until today'), see transcript 4, line 008). The concept of BOUNDEDNESS within a perfect tense construction with *anfangen* ('to start/begin') is construed only by the temporal contours in Figure 8.

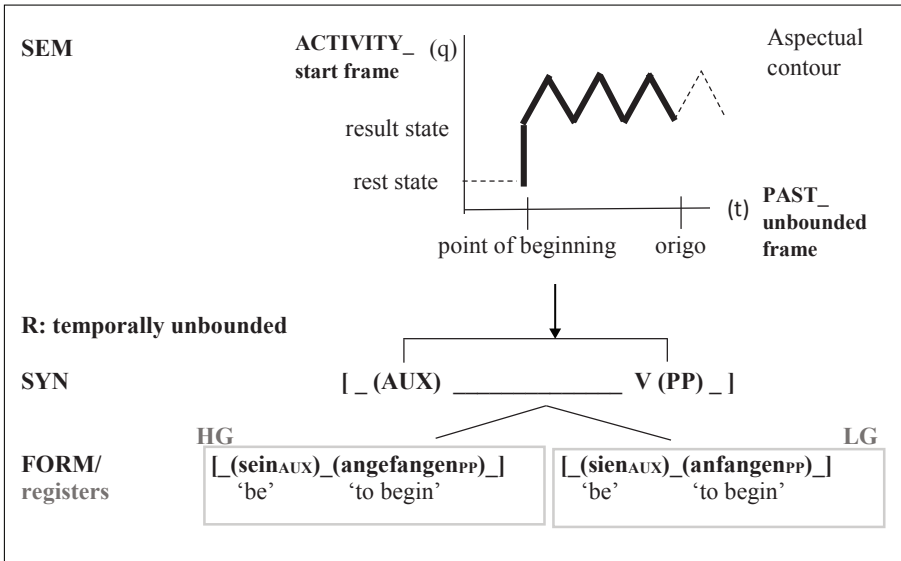


Figure 8. Construction model of [_(sein/sien_{AUX})_(anfangen_{PP})_] construction

In sum, while the PAST_UNBOUNDED frame is verbalized by tense-aspect constructions in regions where [_(sein/sien_{AUX})_(an(ge)fangen_{PP})_] and [_(haben/hebben_{AUX})_(an(ge)fangen_{PP})_] are observable as autonomous entrenched units in speakers' knowledge, such aspect constructions are not construable in the region of Olpe and the (written) standard system.

9. Conclusion

This paper investigated the usage of the perfect auxiliaries *sein* ('be') and *haben* ('have') with the verb *anfangen* in the context of diatopic variation. We showed that the variation of the two perfect auxiliaries in German – though being a frequently addressed issue in German linguistics – still needs to be further investigated with regard to grammem variation. Variety contact and the transfer of grammatical concepts from the dialect variety to the regional standard variety play an important role.

Different regional time construals within perfect auxiliary constructions containing the verb *anfangen* ('to start/begin') are observable. Perfect constructions with *anfangen* in the southern Westphalian area (Olpe) are constructed solely with the *haben/hebben*-type ('have') in both the standard and dialect spoken variety. Like in Standard German and in Southern German dialects the grammaticalization path for the perfect tense with *anfangen* has been developed into a

general past. However, in the northern regions of the Westphalian area functional variation is observable. This variation is determined by the temporal concept of BOUNDEDNESS, acting as a cue for marking aspectual differences in the form. In contrast to traditional grammar, auxiliaries in the perfect construction with *anfangen* ('to start/begin') serve as aspectual markers in the form both in Low German dialect and in regional spoken standard. These perfect constructions have proved to work beyond code-specific subsets and are determined by higher conceptual influence. Analogous to the present perfect tense in English the *sein/sien-angefangen* construction is characterized by a certain amount of current relevance and therefore not developed into a general past category.

These differences in perfect constructions of German spoken language are first and foremost a result of language contact between Low varieties and the regional standard. However, the evaluation of the situation in *anfangen* depends on knowledge about the opposition in the perfect auxiliaries in other verbs. Questions about the entire perfect system of Westphalian and Emslandic speakers are beyond the scope of the present paper.

Furthermore, questions on the status of grammaticalization of these patterns remain open for future research:

1. Are we dealing with a grammaticalized opposition that is lexically restricted to *angefangen* or is there an expansion of the already existing opposition to more (telic) verbs?
2. Is the opposition between *sein/haben* with *angefangen* in the dialect a case of stronger grammaticalization as compared to the standard variety? To provide an answer to this question it is essential to conduct a comprehensive quantitative analysis.

An analysis of both diachronic and synchronic data can give a better insight into grammaticalization and areal grammem variation.

Acknowledgment

I thank the editors for the organization and the efforts they had with the publication. Thank you for the opportunity to publish the article here. I would also like to thank both reviewers and the participants of the International Construction Grammar Conference 2014 for their helpful comments.

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A. Appendix



Figure 9. Distribution of survey locations

Distributional assimilation in constructional semantics

On contact-related semantic shifts in Afrikaans three-argument constructions

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This paper brings a contact linguistic perspective to the investigation of variation and change in the semantic structures of schematic argument structure constructions, i.e. diachronic constructional semasiology. The empirical focus is on three clusters of ongoing change in the lexical and semantic possibilities of three-argument constructions in Afrikaans that can plausibly be related to interlingual identification with formally and functionally similar English argument structure constructions. The main theoretical argument is that the concept of distributional assimilation as introduced by Gast & van der Auwera (2012) can be fruitfully extended to constructional semantics.

Keywords: distributional assimilation, polysemy copying, constructional semantics, diachronic constructional semasiology, ditransitive construction, secundative construction, Afrikaans, English

1. Introduction

This paper explores a kind of contact-related constructional change that has hardly received linguistic attention before from either construction grammarians or contact linguists, viz. changes in the lexical and semantic ranges of argument structure constructions (or other schematic grammatical constructions, for that matter) under the influence of language contact. Its empirical focus is on a number of ongoing changes in Afrikaans three-argument constructions that can plausibly be related to the lexical and semantic ranges of the equivalent argument structure constructions of English. As such, it fits into a small but growing body of research in Diachronic Construction Grammar with a primarily *semasiological*

focus (see, e.g., Barðdal 2007, Barðdal, Kristoffersen & Sveen 2011; Hoffmann & Mukherjee 2007; Colleman & De Clerck 2008, 2011; Colleman 2011, 2015). The main theoretical claim of the present paper will be that the concept of *distributional assimilation* introduced in Gast & van der Auwera (2012) can be fruitfully extended to argument structure semantics. The paper is structured as follows. The next section first briefly elaborates on the position of diachronic constructional semasiology within the larger field of (diachronic) Construction Grammar and then outlines Gast & van der Auwera's (2012) mechanism of distributional assimilation, relating it to other theoretical concepts from the field of contact linguistics such as *polysemy copying* (Heine & Kuteva 2003, 2005) and *semantic loans* (Haugen 1950, Weinreich 1953, *inter alia*). Then follows a section which offers some background on the present-day contact situation between English and Afrikaans. Section 4 presents and discusses corpus data on three (clusters of) ongoing changes in selected Afrikaans three-argument constructions that can plausibly be linked to English influence. Section 5 is a general discussion section and Section 6 the conclusion.

2. Theoretical preliminaries

2.1 Diachronic constructional semasiology

The last decade or so has seen a surge of studies which adopt an explicitly construction-based theoretical perspective to the investigation of aspects of language variation and change, to the effect that Diachronic Construction Grammar (sometimes abbreviated DCxG) has become a thriving field of research in its own right. For introductions to the basics of Diachronic Construction Grammar, including reflections on what it is that sets the framework apart from other current approaches to language change, as well as many references to existing diachronic case studies, see Fried (2013), Barðdal & Gildea (2015), Hilpert (2013) and Traugott & Trousdale (2013), among others. Recently, building on previous work by both authors, Traugott & Trousdale (2013) have introduced the theoretical distinction between *constructionalization* on the one hand and (*other*) *constructional changes* on the other, where the former term refers to the establishment in the grammar of a new form/meaning-pairing (i.e., the emergence of a new construction) and the latter to changes affecting one of the internal dimensions of an extant construction (i.e., its form, its semantics, or its pragmatics). Many existing studies in DCxG focus primarily on constructionalization phenomena, possibly including the formal and/or semantic shifts that lead up to the actual constructionalization or that follow shortly after it (*pre-* and *post-constructionalization constructional*

changes in Traugott & Trousdale's terminology). Though not specifically aimed at the investigation of semasiological change, such studies may still provide relevant data on the semantic evolution of the constructions in question.

For an example, in the framework of investigations into the establishment of the English *way*-construction as an independent argument construction, both Israel (1996) and Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 76–91) offer detailed accounts of the way in which the collocational range of the newly emerging construction was progressively extended to include increasingly more verbs, which can be seen as a series of semasiological constructional changes. In addition, there are a number of studies which have focused on semasiological constructional change as an interesting area of investigation in its own right. Examples include Barðdal's work on changes in the lexical and semantic range of the ditransitive construction in several (North) Germanic languages (Barðdal 2007, Barðdal et al. 2011) and Coleman & De Clerck (2008, 2011) and Coleman (2011) on semantic specialization in the ditransitive constructions of English and Dutch. Note that these studies are concerned with constructions that have *not* recently constructionalized: on the contrary, the ditransitive constructions of English, Dutch and other Germanic languages have been part of the respective grammars for centuries: they can be traced back to the constructions with overtly case-marked direct and indirect objects that were around from the oldest stages of the languages in question (on ditransitive constructions in Old English, see, e.g., De Cuyper 2015, on similar constructions in Old Dutch, see Van der Horst 2008: 51; also see Barðdal 2007: 24–27 for a reconstruction of the semantic space of the Dative-Accusative ditransitive construction in Proto-Germanic). This means that the changes in the semantic ranges of these constructions observed in recent centuries can hardly be considered a side-effect or concomitant of constructionalization: even the semasiological structure of long-established constructions is vulnerable to change. Coleman & De Clerck (2011) emphasize the theoretical importance of such case studies in diachronic constructional semasiology for the field of construction grammar at large. One of the basic tenets of constructionist approaches to language is that there is no fundamental distinction between complex schematic (or "grammatical") constructions on the one hand and words and morphemes (or, in constructionist parlance, *atomic substantive constructions*) on the other: both are to be seen as stored form/meaning-pairings (see, e.g., Goldberg's often-quoted catchphrase "It's constructions all the way down", Goldberg 2003: 223 and 2006: 18). It is well-known from diachronic lexicology, however, that the semantic structures of words are subject to various mechanisms of semantic change: see, e.g., Geeraerts (1997) for extensive discussion of several examples. Obviously, change in the lexicon is not limited to the emergence of new words and the loss of others but also includes changes in the array of senses of existing lexical items, or in their organization.

While the above-mentioned case studies corroborate that schematic grammatical constructions can undergo semasiological change, too, there is obviously a lot that we do not yet know about the nature and extent of such changes: further research is needed to document the various ways in which schematic constructions change their semantic properties and to explore the degree of parallelism to attested mechanisms and pathways of change in lexical semantics. The present paper aims to contribute to this broader research program by exploring the possibility of contact-related semasiological change, a topic that has hitherto not been addressed in the DCxG literature.¹

2.2 Distributional assimilation

Gast & van der Auwera (2012) introduce the concept *distributional assimilation* in a critical discussion of what exactly can be assumed to have been transferred in cases of grammatical convergence discussed under the rubric of *contact-induced grammaticalization* by Heine & Kuteva (2003, 2005). It refers to changes which roughly proceed along the following steps:

At a first stage, two markers from different languages have overlapping functions, or one of the markers is more specific than the other ... As a consequence of language contact, one or both of the markers may change their range of meanings. Accordingly, the functions of the two markers may be “assimilated”, i.e. their distributions may become more or less identical.

(Gast & van der Auwera 2012: 386)

The authors give several examples of the process, mostly involving TAM markers. They also observe that distributional assimilation is basically equivalent to the phenomenon that Heine & Kuteva (2003, 2005) call *polysemy copying*, i.e. the replication of polysemy patterns.² The main difference, according to them, is that distributional assimilation may imply changes occurring in *both* languages, while polysemy copying suggests an asymmetric transfer (Gast & van der Auwera

1. The lack of attention for contact phenomena does not only pertain to the literature on diachronic constructional semasiology but to the DCxG literature at large. Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 35, fn 24), for instance, explicitly exclude contact-induced change from their analysis, while acknowledging that it is an important issue (also see Nicolai 2007 on language contact as a “blind spot” in a lot of present-day work in linguistics).

2. Heine & Kuteva consider polysemy copying a rather marginal phenomenon, however, arguing that the large majority of cases that seemingly involve the simple replication of polysemy patterns are better interpreted as instances of grammaticalization (see esp. Heine & Kuteva 2003: 555–559). This discussion need not concern us here, as we will be dealing with changes that clearly do not involve the development of “more grammatical” functions.

2012: 386). A second difference, not highlighted by the authors, is that distributional assimilation also leaves open the possibility that one or both markers *lose* some of their original meanings/functions, whereas polysemy copying as described by Heine & Kuteva (2003, 2005) seems to refer to meaning *extensions* only.

Note that an important prerequisite for distributional assimilation or polysemy copying is *interlingual identification* (cf. Weinreich 1953): speakers need to perceive some degree of equivalence between the two markers involved in terms of pre-existing functions in order for assimilation to be possible; also see Höder (2012) for further discussion of the mechanism of interlingual identification and how it can be integrated in a construction grammar model of “shared” constructions (also see Section 5).

Distributional assimilation and polysemy copying are reminiscent of the much older concept of *semantic loans* as described by Weinreich (1953: 48–50) and Haugen (1950: 220), *inter alia*, viz. extensions of the semantic range of an existing lexical item as a consequence of interlingual identification with a word in a contact language – or, in terms of Haspelmath (2009: 39), *loan meaning extension*, “an extremely common (and often unnoticed) process whereby a polysemy pattern of a donor language word is copied into the replica language”. Indeed, if we assume that there is no principled distinction between “lexical” and “grammatical” items, it follows that *distributional assimilation*, *polysemy copying*, and *loan meaning extension* all refer to basically the same process. I will use the former term in the present paper because I judge it to be the most precise one available: it has no “asymmetrical” undertones and it leaves open the possibility of contracting rather than expanding functional ranges.

In Coleman & Noël (2014), it is argued that the extension of the Dutch substantive nominative-and-infinitive patterns *geacht worden te* (‘be considered/supposed to’) and *verondersteld worden te* (‘be supposed to’) from evidential to deontic meanings represents such a case of distributional assimilation/polysemy copying, on the model of English *be supposed to*. The present paper turns to schematic argument structure constructions, such as the ditransitive construction. Since, on a construction grammar approach, such schematic constructions are form-meaning pairings as well, we would expect their semantic ranges to be amenable to this kind of contact-related change, too.

3. The contact situation Afrikaans–English

Afrikaans is a West Germanic language spoken primarily in the Republic of South Africa and in Namibia, by 7 to 8 million native speakers from various social and ethnic backgrounds (and by some 15 million L2 and L3 speakers). The story of the

formation of Afrikaans is a complex and highly debated one: it developed from seventeenth-century varieties of Dutch in the Cape Colony, through extensive contact with a mixed bag of languages spoken by the indigenous population of the colony or by imported slaves and cheap labour force, including several Khoisan languages, Malay, Asian Creole Portuguese, etc. (see Raidt 1983; Ponelis 1993; Roberge 1995; Deumert 2004; and many others). The present-day relation between Dutch and Afrikaans is characterized as “post-pluricentric” by Van Rooy & Van den Doel (2011). On the one hand, the differences between both languages are larger than the differences attested in typical pluricentric relations, e.g. between metropolitan and postcolonial varieties of English: Afrikaans went through a standardization process of its own and was firmly established as a separate language in the early twentieth century. On the other hand, until quite recently, Dutch still functioned as an official yardstick of comparison for spelling norms and a useful source of new vocabulary. It is sometimes estimated that 90 to 95% of the Afrikaans lexicon can be traced back to a Dutch origin (e.g. Carstens 2011: 129; but see Bosman 2013 for a qualification of such estimates) and the two languages are to a large extent mutually understandable (though the relation is somewhat asymmetric, see Gooskens & van Bezooijen 2006).

English arrived on the scene relatively late: the Cape Colony came under British colonial rule in 1795 and English was proclaimed the only official language in 1822, replacing Dutch in that capacity. Especially in the so-called “philological school” of research into the origins of Afrikaans, it was often emphasized that, because of this late arrival, English did not play a major role in the formation of Afrikaans:

Die invloed van Engels wat eers van die negentiende eeu ’n rol speel, dus nadat die Afrikaanse taalstruktuur alreeds ontwikkel het, het nog die morfologiese nog die sintaktiese struktuur van Afrikaans aangetas. [The influence of English which has only come into effect from the nineteenth century onwards, so after the linguistic structure of Afrikaans had already developed, has not affected the morphological structure of Afrikaans, nor its syntactic structure.]

(Raidt 1975: 52, translation TC)

Such views are not uncontested: Donaldson (1995: 223), for instance, states that “the linguistic transformation that would take place after the British occupation of the Cape in 1795 was to be as great as, if not eventually greater than, all the changes that had taken place hitherto.” In any event, whether or not English has played a significant role in the actual formation of the language, it is indisputably the case that for over 200 years now, Afrikaans and English have been in a relation of intense contact. Deumert (2004) discusses many examples of code-switching and code-mixing between English and Dutch/Afrikaans in personal letters from

the nineteenth century, indicating that bilingualism was already widespread by then.³ Today, the large majority of Afrikaans speakers, especially in urban areas, has a fluent command of English and uses the language on a more or less daily basis (see, e.g., Donaldson 1991: 35–45, 1995; Deumert 2005; Stell 2009, 2010; and many others, for discussions of the contemporary Afrikaans–English contact situation). Several authors have recognized that this extensive period of intense contact with English has not only produced large-scale lexical borrowing but has influenced the grammar of Afrikaans, too; see, e.g., the quote from Ponelis (1993) below; also see Donaldson’s (1991) monograph on the influence of English on Afrikaans for the discussion of many examples.

Borrowing from English is by far the most sweeping linguistic change affecting present-day Afrikaans. Both the standard and the colloquial varieties of Afrikaans have been influenced deeply on all levels of linguistic structure: phonology, grammar and lexicon. (Ponelis 1993: 113)

On the lexical level, this large-scale borrowing is partly obscured by a strong tradition of language purism, at least in formal written registers of language (though Van den Berg 2005 observes that from the last quarter of the twentieth century onwards, the general attitude towards English loanwords has become more tolerant). The instances to be discussed in the following sections represent a more subtle kind of linguistic transfer, however, which does not involve borrowing in the strict sense of the word, and which has, to my knowledge, stayed largely under the radar of both descriptive and prescriptive work on “anglicisms” in Afrikaans.

4. Three possible cases of contact-related change in Afrikaans three-argument constructions

4.1 Introducing the English and Afrikaans ditransitive constructions

In her seminal work on the semantics of argument structure constructions, Goldberg (1995, 2002, etc.) presents the English ditransitive construction, which combines a verb with a subject and two bare NP objects as a prime case of constructional polysemy. Rather than a single abstract sense, the construction displays a family of ‘caused reception’ senses built around a central sense ‘Agent successfully causes Recipient to receive Patient’. The central sense is instantiated by ditransitive clauses with verbs of giving, verbs of ballistic motion, and verbs of

3. In a nineteenth-century context, the difference between Dutch and Afrikaans is a matter of degree rather than kind.

bringing and taking – as in (1) below – whereas the combination of ditransitive syntactic structure with verbs of refusing, for instance, as in (2), instantiates the extended sense ‘Agent causes Recipient *not* to receive Patient’.

- (1) John has given/handed/sold/thrown/brought/taken his brother a shovel.
- (2) John has refused/denied his brother a drink.

In all, Goldberg (1995) distinguishes six senses, each of which is associated with one or more semantic verb classes; Goldberg (2002) adds a seventh sense. In addition, there are a number of metaphorical extensions, including the use of the construction to denote a communicative transfer, which may but need not involve the use of a specialized communication verb (e.g. *John told his brother the news* but also *John gave his brother the news*). Goldberg’s polysemous model of argument structure semantics is not uncontested, not even within the constructionist framework. Croft’s (2003) alternative account, for instance, does not distinguish six or seven senses, but takes the ditransitive construction to be a cluster of different (monosemous) *verb-class-specific* or even *verb-specific sub-constructions*. Interesting as these different views on constructional polysemy may be from a theoretical point of view, Goldberg’s and Croft’s analyses are crucially similar in that both accept that the ditransitive construction is conventionally associated with a relatively small number of verb classes and that the combination of the construction with verbs from these different verb classes results in slightly different meanings. In fact, outside of construction grammar, too, studies of the ditransitive construction often include a list of compatible verb classes as a key part of the overall analysis (see, e.g., Green 1974; Gropen et al. 1989; Hunston & Francis 2000, etc.).

Afrikaans displays a ditransitive argument structure construction with two bare NP objects as well, and, just like in English, this construction cannot only be combined with the basic ‘give’ verb and its hyponyms but also accommodates verbs from a number of other, related verb classes so that, besides prototypical ‘giving’ events, it can also be used to encode future transfers, blocked transfers (i.e., in combination with verbs of refusal), communicative transfers, and so on. The verbs quoted in a series of articles on indirect object constructions in Afrikaans by de Stadler (1995a, 1995b, 1996) give a good impression of the ditransitive’s overall semantic range in present-day Standard Afrikaans. The real-language examples in (3) to (6) are from the corpus of the Language Commission of the South African Academy for Science and Arts (the “Taalkommissiekorpus”, abbreviated TK). In all Afrikaans corpus examples quoted throughout the paper, the relevant verb is in bold. The Taalkommissiekorpus can be queried through the Virtual Institute for Afrikaans at <viva-afrikaans.org>.

- (3) *Haastig neem ek die sak met die bottels by Franklin en gee elke kind 'n bottel.*
(TK, Fiction)
'In haste I fetch the bag with the bottles from Franklin and give every child a bottle.'
- (4) *Ek beloof haar 'n dans, maar eers nadat ek klaar met Ouma Japaldjarri gesels het.*
(TK, Fiction)
'I promise her a dance, but only after I've finished talking to Grandma Japaldjarri.'
- (5) *... maar laat 'n vreemdeling net verskyn, dan sluit hulle die geledere en weier hom 'n visum.*
(TK, Non-fiction, Non-academic)
'... but just let a foreigner appear and they will close ranks and refuse him a visa.'
- (6) *Iemand moes hom iets warm uit 'n fles aangebied het om te drink.*
(TK, Fiction)
'Someone must have offered him something warm to drink from a bottle.'
- (7) *Toe sy na L'Agulhas vertrek het, het sy hom nie veel agtergrond oor haar besluit meegedeel om Adri en Carine te vergesel nie.*
(TK, Fiction)
'When she left for L'Agulhas, she hasn't given him much background about her decision to accompany Adri and Carine.'

The Afrikaans construction in (3) to (7) and the English construction in (1) and (2) are obviously quite similar, both functionally and formally. This makes them excellent candidates for interlingual identification.

4.2 'Ballistic motion' uses

One of the differences between the ditransitive constructions of English and Dutch briefly discussed in Coleman (2009) is that the Dutch construction does *not* combine with morphologically simplex verbs of ballistic motion, such as *gooien* ('throw'), *werpen* ('throw'), *slinger* ('fling'), *schoppen* ('kick'), etc. Barðdal (2007) also notes that 'ballistic motion' uses of the ditransitive construction occur in English but not in several other Germanic languages, leading her to the conclusion that 'ballistic motion' fell outside of the semantic range of the ditransitive construction in Proto-Germanic. Relevantly, for present purposes, there are no signs that the situation was different in seventeenth-century Dutch. The extensive lexicographic descriptions of the above-mentioned verbs in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* [Dictionary of the Dutch Language] (De Vries, Te Winkel et al. 1882–1998; in what follows: WNT) do not mention the possibility of occurring with an NP indirect object. In addition, the database of over 3,500 ditransitive instances culled

from a corpus of seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century Dutch in the framework of Colleman (2011) does not include a single instance with *gooien* ‘throw’ or another simplex verb of ballistic motion.⁴ For the sake of completeness, it should be added that the Dutch construction does accommodate *complex* verbs consisting of the spatial particle *toe* (‘towards’) plus a verb of throwing, such as *toegooien* (‘towards-throw’), see the contrast in (8) below (a similar situation obtains in German with *werfen* vs. *zuwerfen*). Such formations with *toe* occur with other subtypes of ‘caused motion’ verbs as well: e.g. **iemand iets schuiven* ‘to slide someone something’ but *iemand iets toeschuiven* ‘to slide something towards someone’.

- (8) a. *?*Ik heb hem de bal gegooid.*
 ‘I threw him the ball.’
 b. *Ik heb hem de bal toegooid.*
 ‘I threw the ball towards him.’

Afrikaans has these complex verbs with the particle *toe* (‘towards’) plus a ballistic motion verb as well, but, in real language, they are hardly ever used to encode events of possessional transfer via ballistic motion, let alone with ditransitive syntax. The 47 million word Taalkommissiekorpus includes a single instance of ditransitive *toegooi* (lit. towards-throw), shown in (9) below.⁵ The clause does not really seem to encode an event of possessional transfer via ballistic motion; rather, it seems as if *toegooi* is used as a synonym of *gee* ‘give’ here.⁶

- (9) “Goed, oom, ek sal help.” “Dankbaar, Jerrie. Ek sal jou darem iets *toegooi* vir jou hulp.” (TK, Fiction)
 “O.K. Uncle, I will help you.” “I’m thankful, Jerrie. I will surely give you something for your help.”

4. Verbs of ballistic motion do occur in cases such as (i) below, where the indirect object is a possessive dative referring to the owner of the body part mentioned in the PP later in the clause: ‘to throw someone something to the body’ = ‘to throw something to someone’s body’. Any verb of caused motion would do here, i.e. a verb need not be compatible with the ditransitive construction to be used in such possessive dative contexts.

- (i) *Soo worp ik haer de beurs van boosheyd weer naer het lijf.*
 (example from van Paffenrode, *Hopman Ulrich*, 1661)
 ‘Thus, out of anger, I threw the purse back to her body.’

5. *Toegooi* is a separable complex verb. I manually checked all instances of *toegooi* and *toegegooi*, plus all instances retrieved by a query for combinations of *gooi* or *gegooi* with the form *toe* within a six word span. The overall token frequency of the verb in the Taalkommissiekorpus is 147.

6. A reviewer notes that this may in fact also be a case of English influence: the use of *toegooi* to mean ‘give’ in (9) may reflect the English expression *to throw something someone’s way* for ‘to present someone with something’. Many thanks for this suggestion.

The large majority of *toegooi* instances in the Taalkommissiekorpus instantiates *non-transfer* senses of the verb, such as ‘fill’ (e.g. *’n gat toegooi* (‘to fill a hole’)) or ‘cover’ (e.g. *iemand toegooi met ’n kombers* (‘to cover someone with a sheet’)). Tellingly, the most recent edition of the *Handwoordeboek Afrikaanse Taal* [Desk Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language] (Luther, Pheiffer & Gouws 2015; in what follows: HAT) no longer includes a ‘ballistic motion’ sense for *toegooi* – if the verb was *ever* widely used in such a sense in Afrikaans, this has definitely become obsolete by now.^{7,8}

As for the simplex verb *gooien* ‘throw’, it can be observed that while the lexicographic descriptions in the HAT and the comprehensive *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* [Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language] (Schoonees et al. 1950–; in what follows: WAT) make no mention of ditransitive uses, it is fairly easy to find examples in which the verb is used with ditransitive syntax in informal texts on the Internet, via Google queries for strings of *gooi* followed by – or the participle form *gegooi* preceded by – the object form of a personal pronoun plus a frequent determiner such as the definite article *die* or the indefinite article *’n* (e.g. *gooi hom ’n* (‘throw him a’) or *my die *gegooi* (‘me the * thrown’)). (10) shows a number of real language examples retrieved in this way. (11) is a similar example featuring *skiet* (‘shoot’) – which is in this context better glossed as ‘toss, fling’.

- (10) a. “Sit!” *Beveel Oom Jors. Die hond gaan sit. Hy gooi hom ’n stukkie biltong.*
 <<http://blogs.litnet.co.za/>>
 ‘Sit, Uncle George orders. The dog sits up. He throws him a piece of biltong.’
- b. *ek staan hie oppie stasie en ek tokkel my kitaar, hulle gooi my ’n paar sente en ek maak ’it bymekaar.*⁹ <www.oulitnet.co.za/klank/huistoe.asp>
 ‘I’m standing here at the station and I’m playing my guitar, they throw me some coins and I gather them together.’
- c. *Gooi hom ’n peanut hy sê mos hy’s bobbejaan se kind.*
 <<http://praag.co.za/?p=18787>>
 ‘Throw him a peanut, as he says he’s a baboon’s child.’

7. Earlier editions of the HAT did include a sense *in iemand se rigting gooi* ‘to throw in someone’s direction’ but labeled it as infrequent; see, e.g., the third edition of 1994.

8. Further corroboration for this comes from the complete absence of ditransitive uses among the results from Google queries for “*my/hom/haar *toegooi/toegegooi*” launched on 20/04/2015.

9. This example is from a song by David Kramer, a singer-songwriter who is known for the use of Cape Afrikaans sociolect in his lyrics – indeed, the instance shows several characteristics of Cape Afrikaans, such as *hie* rather than *hier* for ‘here’ and the form *oppie* for *op die* (‘on the, at the’). The Cape Afrikaans sociolect is characterized by a large degree of code-switching between English and Afrikaans.

- d. *Gooi hom 'n kortbal, kyk of hy 'n beter "hooker" as sy ma is ...*
 #cricketchirps <<https://twitter.com/>>, tweet of 17/08/2012
 'Throw him a short ball, let's see if he's a better "hooker" than his mom.'

- (11) *Ons skiet hom 'n pakkie twak en suiker. Hy smile weer.*
 <<http://www.overland.co.za/phpBB3/viewtopic.php?f=6&t=1261>>
 'We toss him a packet of tobacco and sugar. He returns to smiling.'
 (all Web examples last accessed 19/04/2015)

(12) lists a number of additional examples which, unlike those quoted above, do not encode a material transfer of possession via ballistic motion, but various kinds of abstract transfers.

- (12) a. *Jy ken mos gooi hom n mooi middel finger.*¹⁰
 <https://twitter.com/Wilma_JN/status/>
 'You can indeed throw him a nice middle finger.'
- b. *Zoë gooi hom 'n vuil kyk. "Dis Anton, man. Hy stuur my op'n skattejag. Hy los oral vir my clues en goed!"*
 (Marion Erskine, *Donatello en Volksie*, retrieved via Google Books)
 'Zoë throws him a nasty look. "It's Anton, man. He's sending me on a treasure hunt. He's dropping clues for me everywhere.'
- c. *Die papegaai gooi my 'n hallo – hy is beslis vriendeliker as sy baas.*
 <blogs.litnet.co.za/elizac/2013/01/>
 'The parrot throws me a hello – he is friendlier than his boss, for sure.'
- d. *Sy gooi hom 'n reddingstou van "Kan ek help, Meneer Swanepoel?"*
 <<http://www.bcnet.co.za/EgAfrikaanse/RassisteOpRooiberg.htm>>
 'She throws him a lifeline going "Can I help, Mr. Swanepoel?"'
- e. *So ontmoet ek toe een van die vroue-skoolhoofde, en toe ek my hand uitsteek met 'n "Aangename kennis" het sy my die koudste skouer gegooi.*
 <<http://m.news24.com/nuus24/MyNuus24/Kultuurmonster-of-kultuursnob-20130114>>
 'Thus I then met one of the female headmasters, and when I extended my hand with a "Nice to meet you", she threw me the coldest shoulder.'
- f. *Jy kan my n e-mail gooi dan stuur ek jou n leke file oor Grootdraai wat aan my gestuur is.*
 <http://www.sealine.co.za/view_topic.php?id=54713&forum_id=80>
 'You can throw me an e-mail, then I'll send you a nice file about Grootdraai that was sent to me.'

10. Throughout the article, all Internet examples are represented exactly as found, including typos and unconventional spellings, such as the spelling of the indefinite determiner 'n without the apostrophe in (12a), (12f) and (12g)

- g. *Ek praat Afrikaans, skiet my n lyn!*
 <<https://forums.tdiclub.com/showthread.php?t=132363>>
 ‘I speak Afrikaans, shoot me a line.’
- h. ... *die ou gryp my aan my kraag en swaai my ’n goeie loesing.*
 ‘The dude grabs me by the collar and tosses me a good beating.’
 (lyrics from Jack Parow, Brackenfell Boys Choir)
 (all Web examples last accessed 19/04/2015)

In somewhat more formal text genres, ditransitive examples of this kind are much harder to come by. Through queries of the kind referred to above, I was able to find a single instance of ditransitive *gooi* (‘throw’) in a 95 million word sample from the 2000 to 2003 volumes of the broadsheet newspaper *Die Burger*, viz. (13) – the example is from a reported speech context. The manual inspection of all occurrences of *gooi* and *gegooi* in a 16 million word sample from the 2012 and 2013 volumes of the tabloid *Die Son* revealed a mere two unequivocal ditransitive instances, including (14), out of a total of over 1500 occurrences of the verb. (14) is similar to the instances in (12) in that it denotes an abstract rather than a material transfer event.

- (13) *Selfs nie die oorverdowende geraas van 110 000 toeskouers in die Olimpiese Stadion kon gisteraand verhinder dat die hekkiesatleet Llewellyn Herbert ’n toeskouer Afrikaans hoor praat het nie. “Llewellyn, gooi my die skoën, asseblief,” het die gewese Port Elizabethse sakeman mnr. Russel Sheppard geskreeu toe hy ’n ereronde gedraaf het nadat hy ’n bronsmedalje in die 400 m gewen het.* (Die Burger 28/09/2000)
 ‘Not even the deafening roar of 110,000 spectators in the Olympic Stadium could prevent hurdler Llewellyn Herbert from hearing someone in the crowd speak Afrikaans. “Llewellyn, throw me the shoe, please”, the former Port Elizabeth businessman Russel Sheppard yelled as he [i.e., Herbert, TC] was running a lap of honour after having won a bronze medal in the 400m event.’
- (14) *My kop pyn baie van die hou wat die ou my gegooi het.* (Die Son 10/04/2013)
 ‘My head aches severely from the punch the guy threw me.’

The infrequency of such uses in corpora of newspaper language suggests that the combination of the Afrikaans ditransitive construction with verbs of ballistic motion cannot, at this time, be considered a conventionalized usage pattern in Standard Afrikaans. Still, there is enough textual evidence to suggest that, at least in their colloquial language use, some speakers have extended the semantic range of the Afrikaans construction to include ‘ballistic motion’ events and that, relevantly, they use *simplex* verbs of throwing to encode such events of possessional transfer via ballistic motion – rather than “reviving” near-obsolete *toe*-formations

such as *toegooi* ('throw towards'). Gast & van der Auwera (2012) point out that in distributional assimilation, too, as in other types of language change, there is a difference between innovation and propagation: in their terms, ditransitive *gooi* would qualify as an instance of a creative new *use* that has not (as yet) developed into a conventionalized *routine*. On the basis of Internet data, it is of course impossible to tell how large the group of innovators is compared to the overall population of Afrikaans speakers and to what extent the innovative use will strike other speakers as somewhat unconventional. Such questions are beyond the scope of the present paper.

An important question that needs to be addressed here, however, is how certain we can be that the innovative extension of the semantic range of the Afrikaans ditransitive construction to 'throwing' is modelled on the occurrence of *throw*, *toss*, *fling*, etc. in the formally and functionally equivalent construction of English. Heine & Kuteva (2005: 21) stress that in cases where there is no transfer of phonemic substance – or, in terms of Matras & Sakel (2007), of *pattern replication* rather than *matter replication* – it is often hard to provide solid evidence for the position that a change observed in the replica language was triggered by language contact. This becomes even more difficult when the model and the replica language are closely genetically and typologically related, as is the case for English and Afrikaans. Donaldson (1991, 1995), in his work on the influence of English on Afrikaans, observes that the contact relation between Afrikaans and English is unique in that (1) there is a vast wealth of common structures that the two languages share by virtue of Dutch and English being such closely related West Germanic languages and that (2) in addition, Afrikaans and English have independently undergone a good degree of "grammatical stripping" (e.g. loss of gender distinctions, loss of verbal inflection, etc.). Such commonalities make it notoriously difficult to separate genuine cases of English influence from what he labels "pseudo-anglicisms" (see e.g. Donaldson 1995: 222–223). Poplack & Levy (2010) are highly critical of a lot of work on contact-induced linguistic change because many case studies simply equate variability observed in present-day data with ongoing change: according to them, what is really needed to bring home the point that a particular case of variability is an instance of ongoing contact-induced change is an extensive comparison with *pre-contact* and/or *non-contact* varieties of the language. For Afrikaans, such a comparison is simply impossible: a present-day non-contact variety of Afrikaans does not exist, and for a pre-contact variety, one would have to go back to the proto-Afrikaans vernacular(s) spoken in the Cape Colony pre-1795, of which there is no textual record.

Still, in the present case, we can point to several pieces of circumstantial evidence for the position that the use of *gooi* etc. in the Afrikaans ditransitive construction is modeled on English ditransitive uses with *throw* etc. First, in many

of the observed instances quoted above, there is English lexical material in the immediate context: we can refer to *peanut* in (10c), *hooker* in (10d), *smile* in (11), *clues* in (12b), etc. Most of the examples in (10) to (14) are from texts which are characterized by a strong presence of English loanwords. Second, nearly all of the “abstract” uses in (12) and (14) are calques of English expressions: *to throw someone a punch*, *to throw someone a (nasty, longing, etc.) look/glance*, *to throw someone a lifeline*, *to throw/shoot someone an e-mail/a line/a message/etc.*, *to throw someone the cold shoulder*, etc. The use of a ‘ballistic motion’ verb here in English – as an alternative to *give* which is possible in most cases as well¹¹ – is clearly idiomatic: it is not as if *throw* can be substituted for *give* or another basic verb of giving in any ditransitive expression which denotes some kind of abstract or metaphorical transfer. The fact that ditransitive *gooi* in colloquial Afrikaans – as attested in blogs, discussion boards and other mostly informal texts on the WWW – covers a similar range of abstract meanings would be hard to explain without reference to English influence.

In all, it seems plausible that the extension of the Afrikaans ditransitive to *gooi* and other verbs of ballistic motion represents a contact-induced innovation. From the perspective of the individual verbs, this can be seen as a case of *loan valency*: a new structural pattern is added to the range of valency patterns associated with *gooi* etc. (which of course includes several other three-place patterns as well, such as *iets gooi na iemand* (‘to throw sth to/at sb’) and *iemand gooi met iets* (‘to throw sth at sb, to pelt sb with sth’)). From the perspective of the ditransitive argument structure construction, it can be seen as a case of distributional assimilation: the semantic range of the Afrikaans construction is being expanded to include a cluster of meanings that was formerly outside of it but that is inside the semantic range of application of the equivalent argument structure construction in English.

11. With *the cold shoulder*, *give* is even the preferred verb in the English expression; however, *throw someone the cold shoulder* occurs as well, as in example (i) below. In the Afrikaans version of the idiom, both *gooi* (‘throw’) and *gee* (‘occur’), see (ii).

- (i) She stomped out her cigarette with her red, high-heeled shoe, said goodnight, and then **threw** him the cold shoulder like only a stripper, hooker, or truly gorgeous woman ever could. (Sean Phelan, *Coming of Age*, retrieved via Google Books)...
- (ii) Ai, kon Eva nie maar net daai slang die koue skouer **gegee** het nie? <<http://www.fanieosoppiejas.com/2016/01/26/oor-ontsluitings-kraamkamers-en-n-stortvloed-trane/>>
‘Ouch, if only Eve could just have given that snake the cold shoulder!’

(Web examples last accessed 05/05/2016)

4.3 Dispossession uses: A case study of *ontneem* ('take away')

The second case study is concerned with 'dispossession' uses of the ditransitive construction. Malchukov, Comrie & Haspelmath (2010: 50) observe that it is quite common crosslinguistically for a ditransitive construction to accommodate verbs of dispossession such as 'steal' or 'take away, snatch' – which is why Malefactive source is included in their semantic map of basic indirect object functions. In both English and (present-day) Dutch, the lexical and semantic possibilities of the respective ditransitive constructions for encoding 'dispossession' events are limited. The English construction accommodates *cost* (e.g. *That mistake cost him his job*), which is why Goldberg (2002) adds 'X causes Y to lose Z' to her list of ditransitive subsenses. Similarly, the Dutch construction is compatible with *kosten* ('cost'). In older stages of both languages, their ditransitive constructions were compatible with a broader range of verbs of dispossession, including verbs of stealing such as *rob* for English and *roven* ('rob'), *stelen* ('steal') and *nemen* ('take') for Dutch, but such uses have long disappeared (see Colleman & De Clerck 2011, Colleman 2011 for examples and elaboration). A difference between Dutch and English, however, is that in the former language, the ditransitive construction is still compatible with two classes of morphologically complex verbs of volitional dispossession, viz. (1) verbs with the prefix *ont-* ('away'), such as *ontnemen* ('take away'), *ontroven* ('rob away'), *ontfutselen* ('purloin from, fish out of'), etc., and (2) separable complex verbs with the particle *af* ('off'), such as *afnemen* ('take away'), *afpakken* ('snatch'), *afroggelen* ('wheel out of'), etc. Research by Dhondt (2014) shows that by the second half of the seventeenth century, ditransitives with *ont*-verbs had already clearly overtaken ditransitives with simplex verbs of dispossession in token frequency.

Afrikaans has these complex 'dispossession' verbs with *ont-* and *af* as well, though most of them are infrequent in actual usage. The verbs with *af* ('off') do not seem to occur in the ditransitive construction at all, though the first volume of the WAT, which appeared in 1950, includes made-up ditransitive example clauses for several of these verbs: e.g. *Die misdadiger het ons al ons besittings afgeroof* (lit. The criminal has away-robbed us all our possessions) for the verb *afroof* ('off-rob') and *Hy het my al my geld afgesteel* (lit. He has away-stolen me all my money) for *afsteel* ('off-steal'). Most probably, these are "Dutchisms" which have never been part of "real" Afrikaans (on Dutchisms in Afrikaans dictionaries, see, e.g., Van Houwelingen & Carstens 1998). In any event, such verbs are not attested in the ditransitive construction in modern corpora: to the extent that they are used in a three-argument construction at all, this is a so-called *indirective* construction with a Theme direct object and the Malefactive source marked by the prepositions *van*

(‘from, of’) or *by* (‘at, from’) – (15a) and (15b) are examples with *afpers* (‘defraud of, extort from’) and *afneem* (‘take away’), respectively.¹²

- (15) a. *Here, ek gaan die helfte van my goed vir die armes gee, en waar ek iets van iemand afgepers het, gee ek dit vierdubbel terug.*
(TK, Non-fiction, religious texts)
‘Lord, I’m going to give half of my possessions to the poor, and if I have extorted something from somebody, I’ll pay it back fourfold.’
- b. *Dit is die derde wyk wat ons in ’n baie kort tydperk by die ANC afgeneem het.*
(TK, Newspapers)
‘This is the third quarter that we have taken from the ANC in a very short time span.’

The *ont*-verbs do occur in the ditransitive construction, see (16) below for an example with *ontneem* (‘take away’), which is clearly the most frequent of these *ont*-verbs; other verbs displaying the same possibility include *ontroof* (‘rob away from’), *ontpers* (‘force out of’), *ontruk* (‘snatch away’), and *ontsê* (‘deprive, deny’).¹³

- (16) *Trist het bygevoeg dat die toeriste ontwrig is deur Mike Hesson (afrigter) se besluit om Ross Taylor die kapteinskop voor die toer te ontneem en met Brendon McCullum te vervang.*
(Beeld 16/1/2013)
‘Trist added that the tourists are destabilized by coach Mike Hesson’s decision to take the captaincy away from Ross Taylor for the tour and replace him with Brendon McCullum.’

However, in present-day language, *ontneem* is also used in another three-argument construction, illustrated in (17). In typological terms, this is a *secundative* (Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie 2010) or *Theme-oblique* (Margetts & Austin 2007) construction: it features the same preposition as the *afpers* (‘extort’) instance in (15a), viz. *van* ‘from, of’ but the linking of thematic roles to syntactic functions is different in that, here, it is the Source that is encoded as a NP object whereas the Theme is marked with a preposition. This is the same structural pattern attested

12. I checked the Taalkommissiekorpus for ditransitive instances with four *af*-verbs: *afneem* (‘take from’), *afpers* (‘extort from’), *afroof* (‘rob from’) and *afsteel* (‘steal from’). For the latter three verbs, all non-separated occurrences were checked. For *afneem*, which is a lot more frequent, a sample of 1,000 non-separated instances was manually checked. This did not produce a single ditransitive instance. For comparison: the sample of 1,000 *afneem* instances contained 44 indirective instances with *van* or *by*.

13. *Ontse* is different from the other examples in that it is mostly used as a verb of refusal (‘not-giving’) rather than as a verb of dispossession (‘taking away’) – in real language contexts, the difference between the two is not always easy to tell, though.

with verbs such as *rob*, *deprive*, *strip*, *divest*, etc., in English: cf. *to rob someone of something* etc.

- (17) *Om 'n maatskappy van sy mynreg te ontnem, berus nie suiwer op die minister se diskresie nie.* (Beeld, 17/01/2013)
 'It does not lie in the sole discretion of the minister to strip a company of its mining rights.'

Interestingly, the variation between the patterns in (16) and (17) is commented upon in Spies (1988), an installment of a column on Afrikaans language and style in the newspaper *Die Burger*, where it is noted that the competition between them has not been decisively settled yet but that there is a strong tendency to use *van*:¹⁴

Binne 'n paar reëls van mekaar skryf 'n koerant nou die dag in 'n hoofartikel "die kind word van oefening ontnem" (met *van*) en "ons kan mense die voorreg ontnem" (sonder *van*). Dit toon die onsekerheid in Afrikaans oor die gebruik van woorde soos *ontnem*, *ontlok*, *ontpers*, *ontroof*. Ontroof jy iets van iemand of ontroof jy hom iets? Dit lyk of daar 'n sterk neiging is om *van* in te voeg, anders as in Nederlands, wat 'n ouer vorm van Afrikaans is, maar Afrikaans het blykbaar nog nie beslissend gekies nie. Dan moet ons, soos die koerant bo, die verskillende vorme kans gee tot daar 'n duidelike voorkeur kom. [Within the space of a couple of lines, a newspaper now writes in a head article "die kind word van oefening ontnem" 'the child is deprived of exercise' (with *van*) and "ons kan mense die voorreg ontnem" 'we can take the privilege from people' (without *van*). This illustrates the uncertainty in Afrikaans about the use of words such as *ontnem*, *ontlok*, *ontpers*, *ontroof*. Do you "ontroof iets van iemand" [away-rob something from someone] or do you "ontroof hom iets" [away-rob him something]? It looks as if there is a strong tendency for using *van*, unlike in Dutch, which represents an older version of Afrikaans, but apparently, Afrikaans has not made a decisive choice yet. In such cases, one has to give both forms a chance, as the above newspaper does, until a clear preference emerges.] (Spies 1988; English translation TC)

In order to investigate whether there is indeed a strong (and increasing) tendency to use the *van*-construction rather than the ditransitive construction in present-day language, I extracted three sets of *ontnem* instances from the Media 24 digital newspaper archives: a set of 358 instances from the 1986 and 1987 volumes of *Die Burger*, a set of 542 instances from the 2003 volumes of *Die Burger*, *Beeld*, and *Volksblad*, and a set of 282 instances from the 2013 volumes of the same three

14. Note that Spies (1988) simply talks about constructions with and without *van*, overlooking (or abstracting away from) the difference between indirective and secundative alignment. The first *van* instance he quotes represents the secundative construction of (17), the second one (with *ontroof*) represents the indirective construction of (15).

newspapers.¹⁵ *Die Burger*, *Beeld* and *Volksblad* are all broadsheet newspapers representing a fairly formal register of written Standard Afrikaans. Table 1 shows the observed frequencies of both constructions in the three samples.¹⁶

Table 1. Observed frequencies of ditransitive vs. secundative *ontneem* in newspaper data

	Ditransitive	Secundative <i>van</i>	Total
Period 1: <i>Die Burger</i> 1986&1987	292	56	348
Period 2: <i>Die Burger/Beeld/Volksblad</i> 2003	311	197	508
Period 3: <i>Die Burger/Beeld/Volksblad</i> 2013	132	142	274
Total	736	396	1132

The frequencies in Table 1 show a steady increase in the relative frequency of the secundative construction: whereas this construction accounted for a mere one out of six relevant instances in the earliest investigated period, it is as frequent as the ditransitive construction in the most recent data. The computation of a gamma coefficient reveals a statistically significant linear increase of the secundative construction over the three periods under investigation (effect of secundative versus ditransitive uses: $\gamma = 0.48$, ASE = 0.0419).¹⁷

In other words, the use of *ontneem* in the ditransitive construction seems to be gradually giving way to a competing secundative three-argument construction with *van*. If this trend continues, this might eventually well lead to the complete

15. The Media 24 web archives used to be available via <<http://www.koerantargiewe.media24.com>>.

16. The totals reported in the righthand column do not completely correspond to the overall frequencies mentioned above: *ontneem* sporadically occurs in a number of other constructions, too. One of these is the indirective construction with a *van*-PP encoding the Source, as in (i). This construction accounts for 20 instances across all three sub-periods.

(i) *Moenie dat hy u eendag verwyf vir dit wat u van hom ontneem het nie.*

(*Die Burger* 4/7/2003)

‘You have to avoid that one day he reproaches you for that which you have taken from him.’

17. The gamma coefficient characterizes the strength of the association between two variables of which at least one is ordinal (in this case the period variable is inherently ordered, from period 1 to period 3). Values range from -1 (perfect negative linear association) to +1 (perfect positive linear association), with a value of zero indicating the absence of association. A .95 confidence interval (CI) is computed around the gamma coefficient as follows: CI = gamma +/- 1.96 * ASE (= Asymptotic Standard Error). For the distribution of ditransitive vs. secundative *ontneem* uses over time, the confidence interval is [0,39; 0,56]. This interval clearly excludes the zero value, so we can be 95% certain that there is a positive linear association: the number of secundative as opposed to ditransitive uses of *ontneem* increases over time.

marginalization of the ditransitive use in question. The examples in (18) show that other *ont*-verbs are attested in the secundative *van*-construction as well, though it remains to be seen whether in these cases *van*-uses are gradually overtaking the ditransitive construction in frequency, too.

- (18) a. *Waar die bos te ruig word, draai ek om, want 'n gekweste buffel is stellig gevaarliker as 'n leeuwyfie wat ontroof is van haar kleintjies.* (PUK-Protea Boekhuis corpus)
 'I turn around where the bush becomes too rough, for an injured buffalo is definitely more dangerous than a lioness that has been robbed of her cubs.'
- b. *Dit kan Afrikaanse universiteite ook ontsê van die oorsese finansiële bronne wat beskikbaar is om 'n gelykwaardiger opleiding vir almal in die land te bevorder.* (Beeld 26/09/91)
 'This can also deprive African universities of the overseas funds that are available for enhancing equal education for everyone in the country.'

Such a scenario in which *ont*-verbs are increasingly used in other structural patterns than the ditransitive construction could arguably count as a case of distributional assimilation, too.

In Dutch, the ditransitive use of *ontnemen* ('take away') is not similarly under pressure, on the contrary: 3993 out of the 4220 three-argument instances of *ontnemen* culled from several large present-day newspaper corpora of present-day Dutch by Delorge, Plevoets & Colleman (2014) represent the ditransitive construction, which amounts to 94.6 %. In nineteenth-century data from the 1850 to 1899 volumes of the periodical *De Gids*, this was only 1023 out of 1720 instances, or 59.4%. In other words, in Dutch, instead of giving way to prepositional competitors, the ditransitive construction is increasingly becoming the only argument structure construction used with *ontnemen* (see Delorge, Plevoets & Colleman 2014: 45 and 53, for overview tables of the observed corpus frequencies, also for other Dutch *ont*-verbs).

The examples of distributional assimilation given by Gast & van der Auwera (2012) all involve cases where the semantic range of a grammatical marker is *extended* as a consequence of language contact. However, there is nothing that by definition rules out the reverse scenario: if the semantic ranges of two interlingually identified linguistic items are assimilated, this assimilation process may also involve the gradual *loss* of meanings or functions that are not shared between the two markers or constructions (cf. Gast & van der Auwera 2012: 386: "As a consequence, one or both of the signs may change their range of meaning, adopting part of the meaning covered by the sign from the contact language, *or perhaps losing some of their original uses*" [my italics, TC]). Applied to the presently discussed phenomenon: while, as is argued in Colleman & De Clerck (2011), 'dispossession'

uses of the ditransitive construction are diachronically vulnerable anyway by virtue of their atypical semantics – the large majority of ditransitive clauses encode a transfer that proceeds in the canonical direction from subject to indirect object – the strikingly rapid decrease in relative frequency observed for ditransitive *ontneem* in Afrikaans may very well be partly due to the fact that such uses are not “backed up” by English ditransitive clauses with similar semantics – as we have seen above, the English construction does not accommodate volitional verbs of dispossession at all. Such an explanation would be consistent with the contrast observed between Afrikaans *ontneem* and Dutch *ontnemen*, i.e. the lack of a similar contact-related catalyst could explain why, in Dutch, ditransitive *ont-*uses are more resilient.

Another striking difference between Afrikaans and Dutch is in the form of the alternative construction. Not only is ditransitive *ontneem* giving way to a prepositional construction, it is giving way to a secundative construction with *van* marking the Theme, which is completely unattested with Dutch *ontnemen*. Neither in Delorge, Plevoets & Colleman’s (2014) data on nineteenth-century and present-day Dutch, nor in Dhondt’s (2014) data on seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century Dutch is *ontnemen* ever attested in such a secundative construction: instead, it is used in an *indirective* construction, in which the Malefactive source is marked with *aan* (‘on, to’), the default preposition of the Dutch prepositional-dative, as in (19a). In present-day language, it is sporadically also used with *van* ‘from, of’, as in (19b), but relevantly, this is still an indirective construction, with *van* marking the Source role.

- (19) a. ... maar ze mogen geen kansen *ontnemen* aan een nieuwe generatie.
 ‘... but they may not deprive opportunities of a new generation.’
 b. Wij willen winsten die zijn gerealiseerd door handel met voorkennis kunnen *ontnemen* van de dader.
 ‘We want to be able to take profits resulting from inside trading away from the perpetrator.’ (examples from the newspaper component of the CONDIV corpus quoted in Delorge 2009: 143)

Interestingly, this indirective construction is also the only *van*-pattern mentioned in the lemma for Afrikaans *ontneem* in the WAT, which quotes an instance very similar to the indirective *ontneem* example quoted in footnote 17 above.

So where does the secundative *van*-pattern come from? As was mentioned above, it is the same pattern attested with English verbs such as *rob*, *deprive*, *strip*, etc. However, this is not to say that the pattern itself is a calque from English, for the same pattern exists in Dutch, too, though it has a fairly restricted lexical and semantic range there: it is the default pattern for *beroven* (‘rob’) (lit. be-rob) and other complex verbs of dispossession with the applicative prefix *be-*, such as

bestelen ('steal') and *benemen* ('take') – and it was already attested with such verbs in seventeenth-century Dutch (see Delorge 2009: 176–180 and 199–202).

In other words, the secundative *van*-pattern itself was already available in Afrikaans, see (20) for an example with *berooft* ('rob'): the innovation in Afrikaans was its extension to *ontneem* and other volitional verbs of possessional deprivation with the prefix *ont-*.

- (20) ... *net soos daardie dag toe hy as kleutertjie moes aanskou hoe die see hom van sy ouers berooft.* (TK, Fiction)
 'Just like on that day when, as a small child, he had to witness how the sea robbed him of his parents.'

Whether or not English influence was at stake in this particular innovation is hard to tell. On the one hand, the pattern was already available for the encoding of 'dispossession' events in the Dutch base and it is but a small step from *berooft* 'rob' to *ontneem* 'take away': no external influence *needs* to be invoked to account for such a natural extension. On the other hand, it can definitely not be ruled out either. It can be observed that the number of verbs of dispossession that occurs in a secundative argument structure construction in English is quite large (Levin 1993: 126 cites 48 different verbs) and that the closest Afrikaans equivalents of several of those verbs are occasionally attested in a secundative pattern as well. (21) lists instances with *stroop* 'strip', *plunder* 'plunder, pillage' and *roof* 'rob'.

- (21) a. *Regstellende aksie in sy huidige vorm maak van wit mans tweedeklasburgers deur hulle hul waardigheid te ontneem op dieselfde manier waarop apartheidswetgewing swart mense van hulle waardigheid gestroop het.* (TK, Non-fiction, Academic)
 'Affirmative action in its current form turns white people into second rank citizens by taking away their dignity in the same way in which apartheid legislation stripped black people of their dignity.'
- b. *Die eenvoudige inwoners van die land se eenvoudige blyplekke is geplunder van hulle karige besittings.*
 <<http://mymeringe.blogspot.be/2014/02/dood-in-afrika.html>>
 'The simple inhabitants of the country's simple places to stay have been plundered of their meagre possessions.'
- c. *'n Melk-boer moes sy eie lewe red toe hy deur vier aanvallers in sy huis aangeval en van al sy besittings geroof is.*
 'A dairy farmer had to save his own life when he was attacked in his home by four assailants and robbed of all his possessions.'
 <<https://es-la.facebook.com/Streeknuus/posts/boer-red-sy-eie-lewe/2106388629379026/>> (Web examples last accessed 25/04/2015)

The Dutch cognates of these verbs do *not* occur in such a construction, and, judging by the extensive lexicographic descriptions in the WNT, they have never done so. Unlike the verbs in (21), *ontneem*, *ontroof*, etc. do not have a close formal and semantic match among the secundative ‘dispossession’ verbs of English on which their secundative use could have been directly modeled. It is possible, however, that the more productive use of the secundative ‘dispossession’ construction with *van* in Afrikaans started out with verbs for which there was such a direct lexical model, such as (*kaal*)*stroop* (‘strip (bare)’), and that, in a second step, this formerly fairly marginal construction was also extended to ‘dispossession’ verbs *without* a direct equivalent in English. Diachronic data on the emergence of the *van*-construction with several subclasses of ‘dispossession’ verbs would be needed to corroborate such a scenario. The next section turns to similar secundative uses with verbs of giving rather than taking away.

4.4 Secundative patterns with verbs of giving

English and Dutch both have verbs of giving which are used in a secundative pattern, too, i.e. with the Recipient encoded as an NP object and the Theme marked by a preposition: examples include *provide*, *entrust*, *supply*, *award*, etc. in English and *voorzien* (‘provide’), *bedenken* (‘give, endow’), and *begiftigen* (‘give, endow’) in Dutch. De Clerck, Bloem & Coleman (2012) present a preliminary contrastive investigation of such verbs in English, Dutch, and French. They note that, in Dutch, the class of secundative verbs of giving is more marginal and isolated than in English: it mostly consists of low-frequency verbs which are exclusively found in this particular construction. In English, by contrast, there is a fair number of verbs that are frequently used secundatively in everyday language and there is a larger degree of constructional flexibility: in many cases, the secundative pattern alternates with the ditransitive construction and/or the *to*-dative (see, e.g., *provide*, which is attested in all three constructions in present-day usage).

Turning to Afrikaans, de Stadler (1996: 280–282) discusses secundative verbs of giving under the rubric of “prepositional verbs with an indirect object NP” – a label that underscores that the NP object in clauses with such verbs has typical indirect object semantics, i.e. refers to the Recipient of a possessional transfer – and he gives six examples: *bedeel met* (‘endow with’), *bedien met/van* (‘serve with, give’), *begiftig met* (‘endow with’), *begunstig met* (‘favour with’), *trakteer op* (‘treat on/with’) and *voorsien van* (‘provide with’). These are all verbs the Dutch cognates of which are used in the secundative construction as well. However, de Stadler’s list is not exhaustive: Afrikaans has several other verbs of giving that occur with secundative alignment, too, as shown in (22).

- (22) a. *Smith wat in September as 2012 se Speler van die Jaar vereer is, is ook later weer met die kapteinskap **toevertrou**.* (Volksblad, 24/12/2013)
 ‘Smith, who was honoured as Player of the Year in 2012, was entrusted with the captaincy again later.’
- b. *Mnr. Du Preez is **toegeken** met ’n navorsingsbeurs om die projek te behartig.*
 <<http://www.republikein.com.na/politiek-en-nasionale/buffels-se-bewegings-fyn-dopgehou.71656.php>>
 ‘Mr. Du Preez was awarded with a scholarship to carry out the project.’
- c. ***Verskaf** ons met die volgende inligting op die besprekingsvorm aangeheg: ...*
 ‘Provide us with the following information on the attached review form: ...’
<http://www.roodekrans.net/sites/default/files/gesinsnaweek.pdf>
- d. *Sy gestremdheid **laat** hom met min opsies. Een daarvan is om te bedel.*
 <<http://etd.uovs.ac.za/ETD-db/theses/available/etd-09182009-083806/unrestricted/FourieJ.pdf>>
 ‘His handicap leaves him with few options. One of these is to beg.’
- e. *Die dowwe berge en die kwaai see het my met heimwee **besorg**.*
 <<https://papierkindjacomari.wordpress.com/2012/10/07/>>
 ‘The bare mountains and the wild sea have given me a feeling of nostalgia.’ (Web examples last accessed 19/04/2015)

The Dutch cognates of these verbs do *not* occur in similar secundative patterns; nor, again, are there any indications in the extensive lexicographic descriptions in the WNT that they have *ever* been used secundatively in Dutch, so that it is most unlikely that such patterns were present in the Dutch base of Afrikaans. This situation mirrors the one observed in the previous sub-section: the secundative uses of *toevertrou* (‘entrust’), *verskaf* (‘provide’), etc. represent innovations in Afrikaans which may or may not be related to English influence. The *besorg* (‘give, furnish’) example in (22e) is probably a case of creative language use built by analogy with the expression *iemand met heimwee vervul* (‘to fill someone with nostalgia’). In the other cases, it is natural to see a link with the well-established secundative uses of the corresponding English verbs *entrust*, *award*, *provide*, and *leave*, respectively. The added effect of such lexically-based innovations is that the secundative *met*-construction covers more semantic ground in Afrikaans than in Dutch. To the extent that this increase in the construction’s lexical and semantic range is related to English influence, it can be seen as a case of distributional assimilation. Note that, since the type frequency of the secundative ‘give’ construction is much lower than that of the “default” ditransitive construction, the extension of the former construction towards verbs which were formerly only found in the latter represents a

fairly unlikely diachronic evolution in terms of Barðdal's (2008) usage-based view of constructional productivity: the reverse scenario would be much more natural. This makes it all the more likely that language-external factors were involved.

Before we move on, it should be noted that not all of the secundative uses illustrated in (22) are equally well-entrenched in Standard Afrikaans. For *verskaf* 'provide', for instance, the manual inspection of the results from a query for all occurrences of *verskaf* and *met* combined within a seven word span in the complete Taalkommissiekorpus produced a mere 5 secundative instances; by comparison, the same sample of instances already contained 13 ditransitive instances and 120 instances of the prepositional-dative construction with *aan*. This means that, though not completely unattested there, secundative *verskaf* is quite infrequent in formal registers of written Afrikaans. Secundative *toevertrou*, by contrast, seems fairly well-entrenched, at least in newspaper language: I extracted all occurrences of the form *toevertrou* from the 2013 volumes of *Die Burger*, *Beeld* and *Volksblad* from the Media 24 web archives and this sample was found to contain 26 secundative *met*-instances vs. 46 *aan*-instances (and not a single ditransitive instance), so the secundative construction accounted for over one out of three occurrences with three arguments.¹⁸ Still, even in case of *toevertrou*, the secundative construction is not represented in the example clauses listed in the HAT, in contrast to the ditransitive construction and the prepositional-dative construction with *aan*. Whether this is because this use is not frequent enough to have struck the attention of the compilers or because they did not consider it suitable for inclusion in a dictionary of Standard Afrikaans is impossible to tell (the fact that *toevertrou met* is included in the prescriptive dictionary SAAZ suggests the latter, however; see the end of Section 5 for details).

5. General discussion

I would like to stress that the discussion in the preceding sub-sections should not be taken to suggest that the one and only source of lexico-grammatical innovation and change in present-day Afrikaans is English influence: argument structure constructions can expand or contract their semantic ranges in various ways and triggered by various internal and/or external factors. For just a single instance of change in the

¹⁸ It should be added, though, that in the Taalkommissiekorpus, this distribution is much more skewed: manual inspection of all occurrences of the form *toevertrou* revealed 11 secundative instances vs. 241 *aan*-instances. Even if we only include newspaper language, this is still 8 vs. 65, respectively. I leave it to future research to further investigate this contrast: it might be that, as in the case of *ontneem*, the secundative use of *toevertrou* is rapidly increasing in relative frequency. For *verskaf*, the verb's much larger text frequency precluded a similar comparison with 2013 newspaper data on the basis of the web archives.

area of three-argument constructions where there is no obvious link with English, take the case of the use of the ditransitive construction to encode events involving a Beneficiary rather than a prototypical Recipient as the third participant. In older stages of Modern Dutch, up until the nineteenth or even early twentieth century, this cluster of uses was still highly productive. In Afrikaans, however, such uses have all but disappeared: as observed by de Stadler (1996: 283), Beneficiary indirect objects are obligatorily marked with the preposition *vir* ('for'): e.g. *Amanda het vir my 'n trui gebreid* ('Amanda knitted me a sweater'), *Ek koop vir jou 'n geskenk* ('I buy you a present'), *Sal jy vir ons tee bestel?* ('Will you order us a cup of tea?') etc. In English, by contrast, the ditransitive construction can be freely used with verbs of creation or obtainment to encode such scenes of benefaction, as shown by the above glosses. Hence, whatever the reasons behind the semantic retraction of the Afrikaans ditransitive construction from the benefactive domain, it can hardly have been triggered by English influence (note that the same change has taken place in Netherlandic Dutch, though not in Belgian Dutch; see Colleman 2010 for further elaboration).

In the present article, I have merely discussed three cases of ongoing change in Afrikaans three-argument constructions where there does seem to be a link with the lexical and semantic possibilities of the corresponding argument structure constructions in English, in order to bring home the general point that distributional assimilation may affect schematic argument structure constructions just as well as lexically substantive constructions.

As has been repeatedly emphasized in the above, outside of cases of actual borrowing which involve the transfer of phonemic substance, it is notoriously difficult to provide solid empirical evidence for the claim that an observed change is contact-induced. Heine & Kuteva (2005: 32) state that in many of the cases of contact-induced grammaticalization they are dealing with in their book, the observed changes are due to a *combination* of internal and external causes: either the new pattern was replicated from a model language but this process was supported by a universal grammaticalization strategy, or the new pattern emerged on the basis of a universal grammaticalization strategy but the process was accelerated by language contact. The same applies to the kind of semasiological shifts under discussion here, which is why the title of the article consciously refers to *contact-related* rather than *contact-induced* shifts: in the above sub-sections, I have tried to make a case for the position that English influence has *contributed* to the observed innovation or ongoing change, possibly in tandem with other factors. It would have been unlikely for the observed processes of change to proceed in the direction they do, or with the speed they do, *outside* of a situation of intense contact with English.

One of the many categories of anglicisms briefly discussed in Donaldson's (1991: 223–225) monograph on the influence of English on Afrikaans is *semantic shifts*, where "the semantic fields of two words which were only partially synonymous

have moved closer together so that the degree of overlapping has increased” (p. 224) (cf. the brief discussion of semantic loans/loan meaning extension in Section 2.2). Donaldson only mentions a number of lexical examples – e.g. Afrikaans *prop* which has come to express a more or less similar range of meanings as English *plug* – but if we substitute *argument structure constructions* for *words* in the above quote, it describes exactly what has happened: the lexical and semantic ranges of the Afrikaans ditransitive and secundative constructions and their respective English equivalents have moved closer together, i.e. the degree of overlap in the types of three-participant events they can and cannot be used to encode and the verbs they can and cannot be combined with has increased. Or, in terms of Gast & van der Auwera (2012), the argument structure constructions in question have undergone a degree of distributional assimilation. Thus, distributional assimilation/polysemy copying would indeed seem to qualify as a mechanism of semasiological change that can affect complex schematic constructions as well as lexically substantive constructions.

In terms of Höder’s (2012, 2014) Diasystematic Construction Grammar, at least some of the observed changes imply a reduction in the proportion of language-specific idiosyncrasy in the combined diasystem of three-argument constructions. Central to Höder’s approach is the assumption that bilingual speakers form so-called diaconstructions which generalize over interlingually identified constructions so that a degree of syntactic, semantic and sometimes even phonological information can be language-unspecifically stored. As we have seen, by virtue of their large degree of formal and semantic overlap, the Afrikaans and English ditransitive constructions are excellent candidates for interlingual identification and hence for the establishment of such a diaconstruction, which of course does not obviate the need of storing language-specific formal and semantic properties, too. The appearance of verbs of ballistic motion in the Afrikaans ditransitive construction in the speech of some bilinguals signals that, for them, the eligibility of such verbs for use in the ditransitive construction has “crossed over” to the language-unspecified ditransitive diaconstruction and is no longer an idiosyncratic property of the English construction.

Tables 2 and 3 represent a first attempt at formalizing this semantic change, on the basis of the notation introduced in Höder (2012) in which separate columns are distinguished for the unspecified and the language-specific properties of a given diaconstruction. The construction’s *formal* representation is in the language-unspecific column, as in both languages the construction consists of a subject slot, a verb slot and two bare NP object slots. Of course, there are subtle formal differences between Afrikaans and English ditransitive clauses, for instance with regard to the canonical position of the main verb: before the objects in English (*The man has given the woman a book*), after the objects in Afrikaans (*Die man het die vrou ’n boek gegee*). However, this contrast need not be stipulated at the level of

the ditransitive argument structure construction as it falls out from more general word order constructions.

Table 2. The Afrikaans and English ditransitive constructions (pre-change)

	unspecified	Afrikaans	English
FORM	[Subj V Obj Obj]	–	–
MEAN- ING	‘giving’ ‘lending’ ‘sending’ ‘instrument of sending’ ‘paying’ ‘future transfer’ ‘bringing’ ‘telling, teaching and showing’ ‘allowing’ ‘refusing’	+ ‘taking’ + ‘say- ing’(+ ...)	+ ‘ballistic motion’ + ‘creat- ing and obtaining’(+ ...)

Table 3. The Afrikaans and English ditransitive constructions (post-change)

	unspecified	Afrikaans	English
FORM	[Subj V Obj Obj]	–	–
MEAN- ING	‘giving’ ‘lending’ ‘sending’ ‘instrument of sending’ ‘paying’ ‘future transfer’ ‘bringing’ ‘telling, teaching and showing’ ‘allowing’ ‘refusing’ ‘ballistic motion’	+ ‘taking’ + ‘say- ing’(+ ...)	+ ‘creating and obtain- ing’(+ ...)

Turning to the meaning pole, the construction can be used to encode a variety of ‘transfer’ scenarios, which are represented informally in Tables 2 and 3 using the labels from the semantic maps of ditransitive space in Barðdal (2007) and Malchukov, Comrie & Haspelmath (2010). As was observed in sub-Section 4.1, these can alternatively be taken as representing different constructional subsenses (as in Goldberg 1995, 2002) or as constituting distinct verb-class-specific subconstructions (as in Croft 2003). Many of these scenarios are shared across the two languages and are thus included in the unspecified column of Table 2. However, the respective language-specific columns list a number of additional semantic possibilities, including, for Afrikaans, the use of the construction with (some) verbs

of taking, such as *ontneem* ‘take away’, and, for English, the use of the construction with verbs of ballistic motion such as *throw*, *kick*, etc. The other language-specific uses included in the table are, for English, the use of the ditransitive pattern with verbs of creation and obtainment that was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this sub-section and, for Afrikaans, the use of the construction with the basic verb of saying *sê*, as in (23) – in English, the verb *say* is famously ruled out in the ditransitive construction, see, e.g., Stefanowitsch (2011: 280–281 for discussion). There may be additional language-specific uses.

- (23) *Ons weet almal wie u is, maar ek het hom niks gesê nie. Dis nie nodig dat hy weet nie, hy is sommer ’n losbol.* (NWU-LAPA corpus, accessed via the Virtual Institute for Afrikaans at viva-afrikaans.org)
 ‘We all know who you are, but I haven’t told him anything. We don’t need him to know, he’s just a rake.’

Table 3 shows the result from the semantic changes discussed in Subsections 4.2 and 4.3 above: the ‘ballistic motion’ use has moved from the English column to the unspecified column, and, in the Afrikaans column, the ‘taking’ use seems to be fading, the ditransitive uses of *ontneem* and similar verbs gradually giving way to the alternative three-argument construction with *van* ‘from, of’. The combined result is a reduction in the amount of language-specific information that has to be included in the ditransitive’s constructional representation.

For a final note before we turn to the conclusions, it can be observed that, to the extent that the new uses discussed in Section 4 are noted in the prescriptive literature on Afrikaans at all, they are treated as isolated cases, i.e. as improper uses of *individual verbs*. For instance, of all the verbs discussed above, only *ontneem* and *toevertrou* are included in the SAAZ prescriptive dictionary, where their secundative uses are barred from Standard Afrikaans, though without an explicit reference to English influence (SAAZ 2011: 198 and 249, respectively). These uses are not linked to similar other emerging *met* or *van* uses, however, nor is there a reference to such uses in the lemmas for the respective propositions. Of course, *iemand toevertrou met iets is* a lexical calque of *to entrust s.o. with sth*, but there is more to it than just that: the added effect of several such lexically-based innovations is an increase in the lexical range of the secundative *met*-construction. Such generalizations are not generally made in the prescriptive literature.

6. Conclusion and outlook

The present article has brought a contact linguistic perspective to the investigation of variation and change in the semantic structures of schematic constructions,

i.e. diachronic constructional semasiology. It has discussed three cases of ongoing semasiological change in Afrikaans three-argument constructions which can be plausibly linked to the lexical and semantic possibilities of the corresponding argument structure constructions in English. I have argued that these changes qualify as cases of distributional assimilation in the sense of Gast & van der Auwera (2012): as a consequence of interlingual identification, the Afrikaans constructions have adopted some of the uses of the equivalent English constructions, or they are (possibly) in the process of shedding uses *not* shared with the equivalent English construction – in terms of Höder's (2012, 2014) Diasystematic Construction Grammar, such shifts can be seen as the reduction of the amount of language-specific information that needs to be stored alongside a shared diaconstruction.

Similar effects of distributional assimilation have long been noted for lexical items in research on lexical borrowing, where they have gone under the rubric of semantic loaning, loan meaning extension, etc. As such, the investigation provides additional corroboration for the basic constructionist tenet that schematic argument structure constructions are not fundamentally different from lexically substantive constructions: their semasiological structures are sensitive to the same mechanisms and processes of semantic change, including change under the influence of language contact.

At the same time, it should be noted that we have only scratched the surface of the pathways and implications of contact-related change in constructional semantics. For one, the discussion has been mostly limited to cases of newly emerging uses, in the sense of uses that most probably were not part of the Dutch base of Afrikaans but that were introduced fairly recently, possibly under English influence. In lexical items, language contact may lead to semantic shifts more subtle than the extension of the word's semantic range to *new* uses: another possibility is that the balance between existing uses shifts, because of a boost in frequency of those uses which are shared with a formally similar word in the contact language (cf. Donaldson 1991: 225: "Sometimes English influence manifests itself in the semantics of Afrikaans by the frequency with which a word is used with a certain meaning").¹⁹ It remains to be investigated to what extent similar shifts in the relative frequency of uses/meanings can occur in constructional semantics. Another interesting question for future research is to what extent the observed changes are typical of contact situations involving closely genetically and typologically related languages like English and Afrikaans: can similar distributional assimilation effects be observed in contact situations with a larger linguistic distance between the languages involved?

19. The example cited by Donaldson (1991: 252) is Afrikaans *skaars*, which, under the influence of English *scarce(ly)* is more frequently used meaning 'seldomly' than Dutch *schaars* is, though the Dutch word has the meaning in question as well.

Acknowledgment

The author is affiliated with the GLIMS research unit at Ghent University and with the Ghent Centre for Afrikaans and the Study of South Africa. Thanks are due to Ilse Feinauer of the University of Stellenbosch and two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on an earlier version of the text. The usual disclaimers apply.

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PART III

Item-based patterns and constructional generalizations in contact

Constructions as cross-linguistic generalizations over instances

Passive patterns in contact

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The study takes the position that constructions (as form–meaning–function constellations) are not by definition language specific. This position is supported and illustrated with a case where different types of passive constructions in one language come in contact with ways of expressing comparable meanings and functions in another language. The functions of the constructions in the languages are in many respects similar, albeit that the languages express these functions differently in form. This opens up the very question of what is to be counted as “the same form” in two different languages, which leads to an approach where semantic and pragmatic features are given a more central place in the constructional analysis.

The two languages and their contact features investigated are Finnish and Swedish, and in particular the Solv dialect of Swedish, *i.e.*, languages that are both typologically and genetically very different from each other. Actives and passives are seen as constituting different *patterns* that speakers orient to and use; patterns are not constructions in the traditional sense of form–meaning pairs, but constructions as meaning–function constellations. The study suggests that what we may interpret as Swedish dialects having borrowed features from Finnish in their passive constructions is rather the result of a long-standing cultural give-and-take situation between Finnish and Swedish in the Solf community.

Keywords: Finnish, Swedish, passive, patterns, language contact, Construction Grammar

1. Introduction

Language contact overall is typically seen as a process taking place in comparable ways across languages, and the factors and stages involved are seen as being similar irrespective of the languages and speech communities concerned. Recent foci on globalization in our late and liquid modern times have, however, had a strong impact on, and clearly shown a need for reevaluating, classical structuralist approaches to language contact as two or more essentialistically defined system-languages being in, or coming into contact. Only in very specific, often monitored situations, the argument goes, are system-language approaches to language contact useful.

One of the threads of discourse in the present study is, however, that aspects of what is today fashionably talked about as “superdiversity”, “translanguaging” and “polylinguaging” have always been at work in language contact situations – and language contact situations themselves are, of course, nothing new. We constantly use emergent resources, but respectable grammatical descriptions naturally also need to be able to capture and explicate these resources. And because of their strict adherence to and requirement of being usage-based, constructional approaches to language have a great advantage in being able to cope with varieties of language that have emerged from contact situations.

Issues of language contact¹ and generalizations across languages have been dealt with in constructional approaches to language from different perspectives, in particular, from the point of view of contrastive linguistics (see the chapters in Boas 2010), from typological (*cf.* Croft 2001), from cross-linguistic, universal perspectives (see chapters in Hilpert & Östman 2016), from areal points of view (Hölzl 2018); and new theoretical advances have been suggested, e.g., Höder (2012, this volume) on Diasystematic Construction Grammar. I align myself with Höder in seeing grammar as community specific (and my main focus will be on one very specific speech community, Solf), but I will not be concerned with language contact as it takes place “on-line”, and I see semantic and pragmatic aspects of language as central to a deeper understanding of what happens in language contact – especially in languages not (closely) related, but where the speakers have been in long-standing contact.

When languages, or varieties of languages, come in contact with each other (through their respective speakers, naturally), structures² from these languages logically also come into contact. If we stick to an essentialist view of language,

1. Handbook overviews of causes, factors, processes and stages of language contact can be found in Li Wei (2008) and Meeuwis & Östman (2009).

2. I use *structure* to stand for unanalyzed forms, comparable to phones, morphs, and words. Once a structure has been analyzed, it can be referred to as a *construction* (*cf.* phoneme, morpheme,

structural contacts will be seen as the results of temporary (usually recurring) contact phenomena, and our task would be to unwrap each contact structure and to etymologically find where, in what system, every part of a token utterance “really” belongs.³ If, however, we take the idea that constructions are usage-based seriously, we start out with what we see and hear up front, and try on an inductive basis to come up with a generalization of what lies behind an expression – cognitively, interactionally, culturally, and linguistically.

In this view, constructions are not by definition language specific, which does not mean that everything flows – no more than it means that each and every one of us can go ahead and make up our individual language or variety and expect to be understood.

The foci of this study are the *patterns* that keep things together, and ensure that communication can take place even across languages. Patterns are (perspectives on) constructions that focus on one salient feature of similarity in a *set* of constructions and in this manner cognitively, and thus conceptually, tie together the constructions that share this feature. Patterns are complementary perspectives on constructions⁴, what some scholars see as higher-level resources, as meta-constructions (cf. J. Leino & Östman 2005); for a concrete operationalization, see Section 3.

In the present study, this approach is illustrated with an analysis of the *Active pattern* and the *Passive pattern* in two typologically and genetically very different languages, Finnish and Swedish. The two languages have a long history of areal and cultural contact (cf. e.g. Östman 2011 for an overview), and I will show how this contact is manifested in the Solv dialect of Swedish in Finland with respect to the *Passive pattern*.

On a more general level, the study seeks to elucidate what it would mean to say that constructions are not language specific, but general (human) linguistic resources, and how we in that case should go about finding a *tertium comparationis*

lexeme, respectively), and – in general constructional parlance (cf. e.g. Fried & Östman 2004) – instantiations of constructions are *constructs* (cf. allophones, allomorphs, word forms).

3. This is also, ultimately, what approaches to code-switching that distinguish between matrix and embedded language attempt to do. Recent research (see Matras 2009; De Groot 2011), however, shows that a bilingual person does not keep languages separate in different “boxes” or as different networks, but rather as repertoires available when called upon, including as repertoires that are available in and for other system-languages.

4. I take the position that what I here call patterns *are* constructions – in an approach where a construction is a form–meaning–function constellation, but since the traditional view of constructions is that they are form–meaning pairs, I have for the sake of clarity used the term “pattern” in this study (in the spirit of Leinonen & Östman 1983).

in relation to constructions across languages – in a view where constructions are form–meaning–function constellations. The study will also touch on the question of how we get to terms with the idea (cf. Östman 2015) that cognition (*i.e.*, semantics) and interactional, social and cultural function (*i.e.*, pragmatics) are not external to, but “inside” grammar. And, finally, how we need to approach language change and language contact (and variability generally) in this scenario.

2. Passives – a brief overview

One of the initial, and most convincing arguments in favor of transformational-generative grammar (TGG) was for Chomsky (1957) to show that the immediate constituency (IC) analyses that American structuralism would make of, say, *The boy kissed a dog.*, and *A dog was kissed by the boy.*, in no way showed that these two sentences were semantically related, while – at the same time structurally similar but semantically different structures (like *Bill is easy to please.* and *Bill is eager to please.*) received the same IC-analysis. IC-analysis in the hands of structuralism perfected the basics of phonological and morphological analyses, and the addition of componential analysis completed our understanding of linguistics as a science even further. Still, in IC-type analyses, (explicit) references to meaning (and “mentalism”) were not endorsed.⁵ The base component of TGG, on the other hand, generated the basis for an active sentence, and a passive transformation served as the link between actives and passives – without (supposedly) any change in meaning.

Relational grammar (Perlmutter & Postal 1977) and early typologically oriented studies (Keenan 1975; Comrie 1977) questioned TGG’s focus on phrase structure markers (basically, word class categories) and linear order as important for the characterization of passives, and endorsed analyses that made reference to grammatical functions (subject, object, *etc.*; similar analyses had been made in Jespersen 1937), pointing out that in many languages “passivization” involves no change in word order, and that many languages have several passives, in particular, periphrastic passives and morphological passives. In Pike’s (1967) tagmemics, tagmemes consist of both word class categories and grammatical function specifications, and argument structures are represented as constructional formulae. Despite their differences in many other respects, all these approaches see similarity in meaning between actives and their “corresponding” passives as central.

In text linguistic and discourse analytic studies, the tradition of seeing actives and passives as closely related has continued – all in the Firthian spirit of “meaning

5. Except in tagmemics (cf. Pike 1967), where the mixing of levels was not seen as a crucial breach of principles.

implies choice⁹: for instance, why would a news reporter use a passive rather than an active sentence in a particular case? To hide the agent? For a better theme–rheme flow? In order rhetorically to put the focus on the comment? To get the posed and the presupposed properly waged against each other? Etc. And although universal, typological, areal, and genetic relationship studies almost took the similarity in meaning of actives and passives as a *sine qua non*, more pragmatically attuned studies started to question whether actives and passives really do mean the same thing. In generative semantic terms meaning was central, and issues of responsibility came in, *e.g.* in R. Lakoff’s (1971) early analysis of the difference between *be*-passives and *get*-passives. The distinction between periphrastic passives and morphological passives was typologically important and (slightly) different meanings could be attached to each; and notions like impersonal structures, indefinite-person structures, and generic structures were introduced to cater for similarities in meaning that did not show up as “transformational” correspondences in form.

The linguistic literature on passives is huge, and I will not make any effort to try to cover the debates and discussions that have surfaced during the last 30–40 years. A most important classic in the field is Siewierska (1984). Discussions of passives in constructional approaches can *e.g.* be found in Goldberg (1995), Ackerman & Webelhuth (1998), and Lasch (2016).

In order to advance a detailed, discourse-constructional analysis of passive in the two very dissimilar languages under analysis, the present study first looks in detail at the different *kinds* of passives we find in Finnish and Swedish, and in the Solv dialect of Swedish, not only in terms of periphrastic *vs.* morphological passives, but since constructional approaches also encompass semantic and pragmatic aspects, other types of “agent-demoting” constructions in the two languages also need to be considered. A detailed analysis of the data suggests that a distinction needs to be made between a Passive pattern and its corresponding Active pattern. After the different possibilities in the languages under study have been established, the study embarks on the next step of matching and comparing the patterns and the different language specific structures and constructions to each other – across the languages.

3. Passives and actives as linguistic resources

In consonance with Fillmore’s (*e.g.* 1988, 1989, Fillmore, Kay & O’Connor 1988; see also Fried & Östman 2004) view on Construction Grammar (CxG), I see constructions as generalizations (*i.e.* abstractions) over instances of usage, where generalizations can be expressed in terms of parameters (attributes) and their respective values. One of the clear strengths of CxG is that the attributes and their values

need to be properly defined – but still constantly refinable in order to cater for possibilities as linguistic realizations that are found in at least one natural language. However, having clear definitions of attributes and values does not mean that all attributes in an actual analysis have to receive a value for every language instance: there is, for instance, no need to introduce concepts like ellipsis just in order to satisfy a system. Generalizing over instances is an inductive process: you take what you need from what attributes are on offer, but if, say, an attribute like “word class” (cat) is irrelevant for the description of an instance, that attribute plays no role in the generalization-as-construction. In this sense, CxG has no primitives except the constructions themselves: everything in language can, however, and should, be expressible as licensed by constructional resources.

One of Charles Fillmore’s original tenets for CxG is that it should be consistent with what we know about cognition and social interaction. (For discussion, see Östman & Fried 2005.) In *Construction Discourse* (CxD; cf. Östman 2005) I add to this that constructional analyses should also be consistent with what we know about the cultural background and the types of discourse. On this basis I see constructions not only as form–meaning pairs, but as form–meaning–function constellations where all contextual (*i.e.*, external) attributes and their values are not outside of grammar, but part of grammar (*cf.* Östman 2015). In the vein of structuralism (with focus on similarities, differences, relations, choices, and systems) CxD argues that the variability, flexibility and emergence of language and entrenchment in language can be accounted for by simultaneous choices (*i.e.*, of values) on different attributes, providing an indefinitely large number of constellations to account for the interpretation of actual instances of language use. The contextual attributes are in this sense perspectives on understanding – as are, ultimately, all attributes.

CxD is a “maximalist” (rather than a minimalist) grammar, where constructions are form–meaning–function resources (*i.e.*, abstractions over (frequently used) instances) that we utilize, interact with, and co-construct. Constructions in CxD are flexible prototypes and adaptable (and adapting). This is important not least when we analyze contact scenarios, and the importance of this view has strongly come to the fore in attempts to account for language use in the rapidly changing linguistic sub- and superdiversity of everyday polylinguaging. Late modern humans use emergent resources that a constructional description – since it should always be usage-based – needs to be able to capture cross-linguistically – if it is to be consistent with what we know about cognition, social interaction and culture.

A maximalist view also suggests that there is no reason to see constructions as by definition language specific. In principle, if CxG is to be truly usage-based and the analysis is to proceed inductively, we should not (be able to) set up a *tertium*

comparationis beforehand. But in order to get anywhere – and for practical purposes – we need to start with something that circumscribes our object of interest, which is why I still find that the structuralist system-and-value perspective is methodologically a good starting point. Detailed analyses may show we are not on the right track, in which case it is totally acceptable within CxG to take a different turn midway in an analysis. The ultimate question is obviously at what level we can compare inventories or networks of all constructions (as form–meaning–function constellations) in each language we investigate.

Comparing a passive structure in one language to one in another language only makes sense if we have a common – yet general – platform to start with. For my present purpose I will take the notion of “(responsible-)agent demotion” as the common feature for the joint form–meaning–function aspects of “passives”.⁶ Still, we have to keep in mind that passive is part of a larger system, and the structuralist dogma about the system as a whole changing once you alter or replace or reanalyze one little part of it is still valid.

Traditionally, for English, a distinction between Active (*Simon opened the door.*), Middle (*The door opened.*) and Passive (*The door was opened (by Simon).*) has been made. (See also Table 4.) But what do we find in other languages?

4. Patterns and constructions: Swedish

Traditionally⁷, in Swedish research on diathesis we find on the active side intransitive clauses (*Simon springer.* ‘Simon runs’); *Simon undervisar.* ‘(Simon teaches/is a teacher’)), transitive clauses (*Simon öppnar dörren.* ‘(Simon opens the door’); *Simon undervisar elever.* ‘(Simon teaches pupils’)), and predicate complement clauses (*Simon är/blir lärare.* ‘(Simon is/becomes a teacher’); *Dörren är öppen.* ‘(The door is open’)). Swedish has a periphrastic passive consisting of the copula *bli* ‘(become)’ and the past participle of the verb (*Simon blir undervisad/vald.* ‘(Simon is taught/chosen’)) and a morphological passive, formed with the suffix *-s* on the finite verb (*Simon undervisas.* ‘(Simon is taught’)). If we look only at the

6. I am aware that the word *demotion* has connotations I would like to avoid, but I use it here as shorthand for expressions where the specific agent responsible for the activity expressed in the main verb is less relevant. I find Nikanne’s (1997) concept of “arbitrary agent” quite neutral and appealing.

7. The Swedish Academy grammar (Teleman *et alii* 1999) is still the most comprehensive grammar of Swedish. The second edition of Holmes & Hinchliffe, published in 2008, gives the basics of Swedish grammar in English.

form of these sentences, we can see a number of similarities *across* the active and the passive – as depicted in Table 1.

Table 1. Active and passive forms in Swedish

Active	Passive
N + copula + Subject complement <i>Simon är/blir lärare.</i>	Periphrastic passive: <i>bli</i> <i>Simon blir undervisad.</i>
Intransitive clause <i>Simon springer.</i> <i>Simon undervisar.</i>	Morphological passive: -s <i>Simon undervisas.</i>
Transitive clause <i>Simon öppnar dörren.</i> <i>Simon undervisar elever.</i>	

Two immediate features stand out in this scheme: (i) the similarity of the copula in the predicate complement clauses and in the periphrastic passive: *bli* (‘become’); and (ii) the lack of passive form in the slot horizontally corresponding to transitive clauses in the active.⁸ Semantically and functionally, native speakers of Swedish will immediately see that the Swedish *man*-construction fits well in the empty slot. Swedish *man* is comparable to German *man*, French *on*, and to English *you*, *one* and *people* used generically: *Man öppnar dörren.* (‘One is opening the door’); *Man undervisar Simon.* (‘One teaches Simon’).

If we continue looking at the form only, we should also ask whether the copula *vara* (present tense *är*) (‘be’) can be used in the periphrastic passive: *Simon är undervisad.* This would not traditionally be seen as a passive in Swedish grammar, but as an adjectival past participle (in contradistinction to the supine in *Simon har undervisat.* (‘Simon has taught’)), and it has a more stative meaning than the *bli*-passive. Furthermore, the Swedish past participle form would be an active form, comparable to adjectives (*Dörren/Simon är öppna.* (‘The door/Simon is open’)). If we add these aspects to Table 1, we get the result as depicted in Table 2. (The letters A, B and C have been added in a left-hand column for later easy of reference.)

8. Deponents like *andas* (‘breathe’) are simply verbs ending in -s having an active meaning; cf. *Alla människor andas luft.* (‘All people breathe air’). Verbs in -s denoting reciprocity, *Flickorna retas medan pojkarna umgås.* (‘The girls tease each other while the boys socialize (with each other)’), do not demote the agents involved. If one wants to take the s-form as a passive marker, these could possibly be characterized as comparable to Middle constructions.

Table 2. Diathesis patterns in Swedish

	The Active pattern	The Passive pattern
A.	N + copula + Subject complement <i>Simon är/blir lärare.</i> <i>Simon är undervisad.</i> <i>Dörren är öppen.</i>	Periphrastic passive: <i>bli</i> <i>Simon blir undervisad.</i> <i>Simon blir vald.</i>
B.	Intransitive clause <i>Simon springer.</i> <i>Simon undervisar.</i> <i>Simon utvecklas.</i>	Morphological passive: <i>-s</i> <i>Simon undervisas.</i> <i>Simon utvecklas.</i>
C.	Transitive clause <i>Simon öppnar dörren.</i> <i>Simon undervisar elever.</i>	Impersonal, generic structures: <i>man</i> <i>Man öppnar dörren.</i> <i>Man undervisar Simon.</i>

In Table 2 I have also added another *s*-form on the Passive side, that in *Simon utvecklas*. ('Simon is being developed'). The *s*-forms in Swedish are also used for reflexive and reciprocal functions, and some intransitive verbs also come with the *s*-form in the infinitive (see fn 8); thus *Simon utvecklas*. can also be – and typically is – interpreted as ('Simon is (himself) developing').

I want to suggest that when we systematically try to relate the instances mentioned above to each other, we get a better understanding of what is going on if we talk about the active and the passive in Table 2 as two different diathesis *patterns*: the Active pattern and the Passive pattern. Since constructional approaches (and especially CxD) also take into account and include in their descriptions semantic and pragmatic aspects as equally important as formal structure, all types of agent-demoting constructions in different languages (and, *mutatis mutandis*, all types of agent-promoting constructions) need to be related to, and discussed on a par with each other in order to get a full picture of the relevant network. Irrespective of whether we want to use generative, relational grammar notions or not,⁹ characterizations like agent-demotion and agent-promotion are comparable to frames in Frame semantics (cf. Fillmore 1982; Fillmore & Baker 2009; FrameNet), *i.e.*, semantic frames that are typically associated with words and structures whenever these are used. But since my conception is somewhat different from that of frames in Frame semantics, I will in this study talk about them as “patterns” – patterns would thus be elements of what could be called “Frame pragmatics”.

The term “pattern” is here used in a similar sense to how it is used in Leinonen & Östman (1983), and to how it is used to refer to discourse patterns in Östman

9. However, if we do, we might drag with us some unwanted associations of transformations that do not belong to CxG or CxD.

(2005).¹⁰ Within CxD, which sees constructions as form–meaning–function constellations, I operationalize the notion of a “pattern” as referring to *a set of constructions that show similar meaning–function constellations*. This does not preclude the forms of the constructions in this set from being similar¹¹, but the decisive aspect is that a pattern is crucially defined by, and circumscribes, elements in language that are licensed by the same meaning–function constellation.

Thus, when we focus on the structural, vertical similarities in the two columns in Table 2, respectively, we find in the Active pattern structures that have a subject that is typically an agent or an experiencer, a finite verb that is in what is known as traditional active form, and the typical, default word order is subject–predicate(–object/complement), *i.e.*, SV(C). The passive pattern in the right-hand column has a subject that is typically an experiencer, patient, benefactor, or (generic) agent, followed by a finite verb in passive – or active – form, and an SV(C) order. This way of presenting the Active pattern and the Passive pattern undoubtedly gives us some information, but just as interesting as the differences between the left-hand and right-hand columns, are the similarities “horizontally” in Table 2, across the Active and Passive patterns. What we then find is represented as Table 3.

Table 3. “Horizontal” similarities across structures in the Active and Passive patterns

A.	S + Aux + N/Adj
B.	S + V
C.	S + V + C/O

Similarity in form has semantic and cognitive repercussions – even to the extent that (following Bolinger 1974) there is a one–to–one relationship between form and meaning. In line with this view, I claim that at some abstract level, the structures on the same horizontal plane (as depicted in Tables 2 and 3) are cognitively “similar enough” to count as *related* abstract constructions. All this also tallies well with the construction grammar credo that CxG should be consistent with what we know about cognition. The insight about horizontal similarity will furthermore be useful, important, and necessary when we make proper cross-linguistic analyses. Once patterns (here: the Active and the Passive patterns) have been established,

10. It is thus very different from the corpus-driven use of “pattern” that we find in Pattern Grammar; *cf.* Hunston & Francis (2000). My use of “pattern” is also different from *e.g.* Kuzar’s (2012) sentence patterns, but it has much in common with Höder’s (this volume) concept of schematic patterns, albeit that I focus mostly on semantic-pragmatic aspects.

11. The structures are very often similar if we focus on patterns in one language. *Cf.* the discussion of discourse patterns in Östman (2005), where iconicity based on speech community members’ similar cultural background has an important role to play.

the analysis can focus on what happens when (structures, *i.e.*, constructs licensed by the respective) constructions in two or more languages are in contact.

Even though this study is not concerned with English *per se*, it is easy enough to see the applicability of the idea of patterns to English – as depicted in Table 4.

Table 4. Diathesis patterns in English

The Active pattern	The Passive pattern
N + copula + Subject complement <i>Simon is/becomes a teacher.</i> <i>The door is open.</i>	Periphrastic passive: <i>be/get</i> <i>Simon is/gets taught/chosen.</i> <i>The door is opened.</i>
Intransitive clause <i>Simon runs.</i> <i>Simon teaches.</i>	Morphological passive ~ Middle <i>The door opens.</i>
Transitive clause <i>Simon opens the door.</i>	Impersonal, generic structure: <i>one, they, people</i> <i>One opens the door.</i> <i>People teach Simon.</i>

Granted, the English middle does not have passive morphology, and it is possible that one would need to create a third pattern, a Middle pattern in order to account for structures like this one.¹² This is naturally an area where future research will be invaluable.

5. The Finnish “passive”¹³

The first thing to notice in relation to passive constructions in Finnish is that the very existence *vs.* non-existence of “passive” in Finnish has been studied and debated widely over the years (*cf. e.g.* Östman 1981, Shore 1988), primarily because Finnish word order restrictions and allowances can cater for functions indicating that the Agent is arbitrary or irrelevant. What has traditionally (in grammar books and by native speakers) been regarded as the Finnish passive (with the *-(t)AAn*

12. If a third column were to be added, the place of some of the Swedish *s*-forms might also have to be reevaluated, even though the “middle” in Swedish would typically be expressed with the reflexive pronoun *sig*: *Dörren öppnar sig*. (‘The door opens (lit. itself)’). The thin line between an *s*-form and a *sig*-construction can easily be seen in the pair *Simon utvecklas. ~ Simon utvecklar sig*. (‘Simon is developing ~ Simon develops (himself)’). I leave it open how the Middle could be depicted – as a third column; or as something perpendicular to the Active and Passive patterns; or in some other network fashion.

13. Karlsson (2017) is a good overview of the basics of Finnish grammar in English.

as periphrastic passives (cf. the *on* and *tulee*, respectively, in (3a)), but the derivational (*johdos-*) passive in (3b) (with what is traditionally regarded as reflexive morphology) is not commonly seen as a “passive”; structurally, (3b) functions like an intransitive clause (cf. the Swedish *s*-form).

- (3a) Asia *on/tulee johtokunnan käsiteltävänä/käsiteltäväksi*.
 matter.SG.NOM. is/becomes board.SG.GEN. deal.with.-(*t*)AAn.va-participle.
 essive/translative
 ‘The matter is/will be dealt with by the board.’
- (3b) Kaikki järjestyä.
 everything.NOM.SG be-in-order.3P.SG
 ‘Everything will be ok.’

Agent-demotion (or the arbitrariness of the Agent) can also be achieved simply by using the third person singular active form of the finite verb without the otherwise obligatory third person (both singular and plural) personal pronoun, as in (4); in Finnish grammars this is called the zero-person (*nollapersoona*) construction. The big Finnish grammar defines this as the interpretation of a grammatical function that is not made explicit, and that can refer to anybody, including – and very often – the speaker him/herself.¹⁷ Interestingly though, this indefinite, generic structure is not regarded as a passive.¹⁸

- (4) Parvekkeelta [Ø] näkee kauas.
 balcony.SG.ablative see.3P.SG.PRES. far
 ‘You can see far from the balcony.’

The Active pattern in Finnish is fully comparable to the Active patterns in Swedish and English; cf. Table 5 for Finnish.

Placing passive structures in Finnish as realizations of a Passive pattern is, however, somewhat challenging. Examples like those in (3a) would, for structural reasons, be prototypical periphrastic passives: cf. *Simo tulee opetetuksi/valituksi*. (‘Simo will be taught/chosen’); *Simo on opetettavana*. (‘Simo is being taught’). As

17. “Nollapersoonaksi kutsutaan ilmipänemattoman lauseenjäsenen tulkintaa silloin, kun tarkoitetaan ketä hyvänsä ihmistä, usein myös tai nimenomaan puhujaa itseään”.

18. My account of what is regarded as passive in Finnish lacks many details. There is, for instance, an intricate system of (*-UtU-* and *-sTU-*) reflexives that I have barely touched upon in this study. Similarly, my accounts of the passives in Swedish and English are wanting. I am, however, not trying to say anything new about the details of language specific grammars, but rather make a theoretical point about the usefulness of talking about a Passive pattern in languages generally. In a sense, the big Finnish grammar has actually implicitly conceptualized passive as a semantic-pragmatic frame, as what I have called a pattern, by focusing on “Agent demotion”.

Table 5. The Active pattern in Finnish

A.	N + copula + Subj complement	
	<i>Simo on opettaja.</i>	'Simo is a teacher.'
	<i>Ovi on auki.</i>	'The door is open.'
B.	Intransitive clause	
	<i>Simo juoksee.</i>	'Simo runs.'
	<i>Simo opettaa.</i>	'Simo teaches.'
C.	Transitive clause	
	<i>Simo avaa oven.</i>	'Simo opens a door.'

we see in (3a), in this structure the Agent can also be expressed (with a genitive: lit. 'the Board's dealing ...'). "Horizontally", this structure has a comparable structure in the Active pattern, cf. *Simo tulee opettajaksi*. ('Simo becomes a teacher').

The $-(t)AAn$ structure can best be put under morphological passives – despite the restrictions mentioned above. If we were to be confident putting the English middle in this category¹⁹, the $-(t)AAn$ structure is comparable. Another type of structure that might fit into the morphological passive slot is the structure exemplified in (3b): if things will be put into order, then the *kaikki* can be seen as the semantic object, and we can even think of a corresponding active as *Järjestämme kaiken*. ('We'll organize everything'), where *kaiken* is in the accusative, object case, which could then be seen as having been promoted to subject in the nominative in (3b). The form, however, is the same as that for reflexives, as in *Simo kehittyy/peseytyy*. ('Simo develops/washes (himself)'), in which case the agent is not in any way demoted, but is comparable to the Swedish reflexive.

Example (4) is also difficult to put into our scheme: the agent is semantically demoted, but the structure is otherwise active.²⁰ Is this to be placed in the impersonal, generic slot, or does it indicate that the idea of an Active and a Passive pattern needs to be further refined? At the same time, the $-(t)AAn$ structure has "active" uses as we shall see below, and it can therefore (also) typically be placed in the generic, impersonal slot. Does this indicate that the slots constitute a too rigid model that we are now using deductively rather than letting the data speak for itself?

19. But see the discussion of Table 4 above.

20. The structure can also be used in the plural, cf. $[Ø]$ *Sanovat, että olen tullut vanhaksi.*, 3P.PL. say that I.am become old.translative 'They/People say I've grown old'.

6. Patterns, language contact, and language change

It is a given in linguistic scholarship that the only thing constant in human language is change: change is definitional of languaging and of what it means for something to be a natural language. A language that is not changing is a dead language.

Even though there are of course external sources like demography, explicit borrowing of words and phrases that influence the direction in which languages change, I see linguistic change as primarily governed by implicit attitudes and thus that (long-lasting) change takes place subconsciously (*cf.* on this subject, studies and references in Kristiansen 2006 and in Kristiansen & Grondelaers 2013). One important facilitator of change is clearly language contact and, more generally, contacts between different speech communities. The question then is how subconscious, implicit contact is realized through language.

The typical and basic way of approaching language contact analytically is to start by seeing to it that the Causes of language change, the Processes of language change, and the Results of language change are analytically kept apart. (For an overview, see Li Wei 2008.) The Results are what we see as the linguistic manifestations after a change has taken place, the Processes of language change are typically talked about in terms of grammatic(al)ization, pragmatic(al)ization, and in constructional approaches, construction(al)ization.

Causes of language change are typically talked about in terms of external causes (*e.g.*, demographic, mobility, ethnicity, gender, occupation and other sociolinguistic variables) and language internal causes (in terms of analogy, system requirements *etc.*). Internal causes in this sense are hard to keep apart from the Processes of constructionization – and in my way of looking at these issues, I would indeed think of internal causes as processes of language change. But there is another kind of internal cause that we need to take into account, and which has its effect implicitly, on what I referred to as the implicit, subconscious level. I want to call this type of cause the *Reasons* for linguistic change. Thus, rather than seeing language change as going through the process in (5), I see it as depicted in (6).

(5) Cause > Process > Result

(6) Cause (external) > Reason (implicit) > Process
(constructionization) > Result

The Reasons for change in this sense are manifold: issues of ideology and responsibility (*cf.* *e.g.* Verschueren 2015; Östman & Solin 2016), general political and communal attitudes, different cultural ways of approaching tasks, different discourse patterns (*cf.* Östman 1999, 2005, 2015; Östman & Trousdale 2013), *etc.* And I want to add to this list the notion of functional pattern that I have illustrated and argued

for in relation to the difference between Active and Passive patterns in Swedish, Finnish, and English.

The general details of how all of this works will have to be dealt with and worked out in detail, but my central point so far is that by introducing a generalizable distinction between an Active pattern and a Passive pattern, we have added a new perspective with which we can analytically approach language and linguistic structure. In effect, with respect to cognitive repercussions, this perspective suggests that speakers are making generalizations across constructions, across active constructions *vs.* passive constructions; but not solely on the basis of linguistic form, but also: by making these kinds of generalizations, speakers see meaning and function as equal to form and as equal determinants of what *is* a construction.

7. Solf Swedish

Solv (or Solf Swedish²¹) is a dialect of Swedish spoken in central Ostrobothnia, on the west coast of Swedish-language Finland. Until 1973, the region was the center of the municipality Solf and a close to 100% Swedish-language community; now it is a speech community consisting of a number of smaller villages and part of the larger municipality Korsholm. What today can be counted as Solf has some 2,000 inhabitants. The traditional population was almost exclusively farmers; nowadays a considerable proportion of the inhabitants are commuters who work in the nearby town Vaasa. The dialect is still very much visible and audible in the region, and it is enhanced by recurring local activities and a strongly felt pride in the region and in the dialect among members of the traditional local population; this has among other things given birth to the open-air museum Stundars, a local center of culture and art.

Linguistic aspects and phenomena in the dialect have been dealt with extensively in my previous writings (cf. Östman 1986, 1991, 1995, 1996, 2002, 2006a, 2006b, 2008a, 2016, 2017; Raukko & Östman 1994; Laakso & Östman 2004; Fried & Östman 2005). In several of these writings, I have argued that many system changes in Solf Swedish have been influenced by Finnish. This is not a straightforward issue, however, since there are very few surface indications that would suggest an influence from Finnish on Solv – partly due to the structural differences between Solv as a North Germanic language and Finnish as a Finno-Ugric language, partly because of language political issues, where it has become a tradition

21. In line with research in Swedish dialectology, I use “Solv”, abbreviated as “sv” in dialect studies, for the dialect; the community and former municipality nowadays uses the spelling <Solf> to refer to the village.

(especially during the last 150 years) to keep Swedish in Finland as “pure” and as similar to the Swedish spoken in Sweden as possible.

Thus, the similarities between Solv (and other dialects in the area) and Finnish have had to be sought in the semantic and pragmatic systems, *i.e.* in the ways the traditional population in Solv potentially conceptualizes the world in a similar manner to Finnish-language Finns, without this being clearly seen in the explicitly visible structure of Solv. For instance, I have argued (Östman 1995, 1996; Raukko & Östman 1994) that the much richer system of demonstrative adverbs in Solv (as compared to Swedish generally) is due to Finnish influence: no lexical elements have as such been borrowed, but the distinctions in Solv have most likely been influenced by the close contact to Finnish over the centuries. That is, the semantic make up of the demonstrative system as a whole has been influenced.

Another area where I have argued (Östman 1986, 1991; Raukko & Östman 1994) that we can find similar kinds of implicit contact influence is that of pragmatic particles (a.k.a. discourse markers) and modality (*i.e.* epistemic, deontic, and dynamic) markers, where Solv admits several particles in one idea unit (unlike Sweden Swedish) in order to make up for the less prominent use of prosody in Solv – to mark attitudinal and politeness distinctions. Oversimplifying, Solv (like Finnish) utilizes a slowly falling F0 and lacks the typical Swedish lexical accent (I/acute *vs.* II/grave) distinction, whereas Finnish makes abundant use of clitics and free-standing particles. We find negative, positive and interrogative particles in Solv and in Finnish – initially and finally. In Solv we also find initial negative particles – as ordinary yes-no questions; *cf.* the Solv rendering of ‘Do you have a pen’ in (7)²² and the Finnish comparable rendering in (8).

(7) Int haar dö in penno, int?
not have.PRES you.SG a pen not

(8) Ei sull’ ois kynää?
not you.SG.adessive be.conditional pen.partitive²³

Other examples where Solv is more like Finnish than what you would expect (*i.e.*, than how it is similar to standard Swedish) include Wellerisms (where the situation specification is typically in the form of a temporal adverbial clause, rather than paratactically adjoined or as a relative clause; *cf.* Östman 2002, 2006b), word

22. I use the spelling conventions for dialects of Swedish in Finland as described and argued for in Wiik & Östman (1983) and Östman (2008b). Thus, the starting point is broad IPA transcription, but with *e.g.* length being marked by doubling letters. Special conventions in this study include <ɫ> for [ɾ], and <tj> for the affricate [tʃ].

23. One might even be so bold as to suggest that the partitive in *kynää* in Finnish, affected by the negative *ei*, is comparable to the sentence-final *int* in Solv in (7).

order allowances (which are more extensive in Solv than in Swedish), phrasal verbs, adverbial placement, extractions, and subject and topic doubling.

What I want to argue in the present study is that the dissimilarities in the Passive pattern in Solv as against that in standard Swedish becomes more reasonable and understandable when we compare it to the Passive pattern in Finnish.

8. Constructional pattern contact

One of my claims in view of the examples and the discussions in Sections 4 and 5 is that if the similarity in form (cf. the “horizontal” perspective in Tables 2 and 4) in the realization of a structure affects the meaning of the instances, and is thus part of the meaning and function of the ensuing construction, then similarity in form–meaning–function constellation is also a most relevant factor in explaining contact phenomena.

If we take a closer look at the morphological passives and the impersonal structures in Finnish as compared to what we have established for Swedish in Table 2, we find that what we placed under morphological passive, i.e. *Simoa opetetaan*. (‘Simo is being taught’), actually has active morphology, as has the structure in (3b), *Kaikki järjestyä*, and in that respect they could from a structural point of view just as well have been placed under “intransitive” in the Active pattern. This would be comparable to the Swedish *s*-forms for reflexives (*skingras* (‘disperse, scatter’)), reciprocals (*träffas* (‘meet (one another)’)), and intransitives (*hoppas* (‘hope’)). But I also argued that the *-(t)AAn* forms cover what we have in Swedish as *man*-structures: *Man öppnar dörren*. ~ *Ovi avataan*. ‘The door is being opened’; *Man undervisar Simon*. ~ *Simoa opetetaan*. (‘Simo(n) is being taught’). I also hinted earlier at the fact that the *-(t)AAn* form can be used to refer to the 1pl. This has to do with the fact that we find two verbal paradigms in Finnish, the standard (written-language) paradigm and the more informal, spoken-language paradigm; cf. Table 6.

Table 6. Verbal paradigms in Finnish; example case *mennä* ‘go’.

	Standard written		Spoken, informal
1sg	(minä) menen	1sg	(mä) meen
2sg	(sinä) menet	2sg	(sä) meet
3sg	hän menee	3sg	se menee
1pl	(me) menemme	1pl	(me) mennään
2pl	(te) menette	2pl	(te) meette
3pl	he menevät	3pl	ne menee

In the spoken, informal paradigm the first person plural (*mennään*) has the *-(t)AAn* morphology. If we look a little bit closer at the *mennään* ('go') form, we find that it can be used generically, as an impersonal structure, *i.e.* as a passive in the Passive pattern, *cf.* (9). It can also be used, as we see in Table 6, as the first person plural form in the spoken-language paradigm, *cf.* also (10). And it can be used – and this is reportedly the origin of why this form can be used generally as the 1pl form – as the first person plural imperative form, *cf.* (11). Furthermore, it can be used as the first person singular form in spoken, informal contexts, as exemplified in (12).

- (9) Talvisin mennään aina hiihtämään.
winter.PL.instructive go.PRES.-*(t)AAn* always ski.*ma*-infinitive
'In the winter people always go skiing.'
- (10) Me mennään nyt kapakkaan.
we go.PRES.-*(t)AAn* now pub.SG.illative
'We're now leaving for the pub.'
- (11) Mennään jo kotiin!
go.PRES.-*(t)AAn* already home.illative
'Let's go home!'
- (12) Kyllä sitä mennään joka päivä
yes it.partitive=pragm.particle go.PRES.-*(t)AAn* every.NOM day.NOM
saunaan!
sauna.illative
'Of course I take a sauna every day!'

Since the *-(t)AAn* morphology (which is generally referred to as the "passive" by Finns) can be used as a marker of genericity, impersonality, and indefiniteness, and also as the first person (plural) marker in the informal paradigm, we do well to ask how central a structural distinction between active and passive morphology is in such cases.

We also need to note that the zero-person construction exemplified in (4) has, indeed, active morphology and it could therefore naturally be placed in the C-slot in the Passive pattern – horizontally aligned with transitive clauses. But although it refers to what anybody can do – *i.e.*, in (4) that "you" in the sense of 'people generally' can see far from the balcony – it has the additional feature that it most often includes the speaker him/herself.

In addition to the suggested split in the verb system for Finnish into formal and informal (*cf.* Table 6), there are other changes taking place in the system. In fact, it is not inconceivable to think that the system as a whole is reorganizing itself – in particular, that the Passive pattern is reorganizing itself. Thus, the impersonal, generic slot in Finnish is attracting what might seem like Germanic-language

structures as exemplified in (13), cf. P. Leino & Östman (2008), and in (14), cf. Engelberg (2016).

- (13) Sä vain ajat
you.SG only drive.2SG
'You just drive!'
- (14) Mies vaan ajaa!
man.SG only/but drive.3SG
'You just drive!'

A summary of the discussion of Finnish in terms of patterns is given in Table 7.

Table 7. The diathesis patterns in Finnish

	The Active pattern	The Passive pattern
A.	N + copula + Subj complement <i>Simo on opettaja.</i> 'Simo is a teacher.' <i>Ovi on auki.</i> 'The door is open.'	Periphrastic passive <i>Simo tulee opetetuksi/valituksi.</i> <i>Simo on opetettavana.</i> 'Simo is (being) taught/chosen.'
B.	Intransitive clause <i>Simo juoksee.</i> 'Simo runs.' <i>Simo opettaa.</i> 'Simo teaches.'	Morphological passive <i>Simoa opetetaan.</i> 'Simo is being taught.' <i>Simo näkyy.</i> 'Simo is being/can be seen.'
C.	Transitive clause <i>Simo avaa oven.</i> 'Simo opens the door.' <i>Simo opettaa oppilaitaan.</i> 'Simo teaches his pupils.'	Impersonal structures <i>Täältä näkee kirkonkin.</i> 'From here one can even see the church' <i>Sä vain ajat.</i> <i>Mies vaan ajaa.</i> 'You/One just drive(s).'

Language contact generally is a challenging matter, and often the "direction" of influence is difficult to ascertain – especially when we are concerned with implicit Reasons, rather than with external Causes of change as such. But as we have seen, the quest for a "direction" of contact influence is itself tied to a particular view of language and language contact that is not endorsed here. Direction of influence is as such not of central importance; when two language communities are in contact, we do not have two stable, static systems in contact, but two dynamically adapting flexibles²⁴ communicating with each other.

24. I use the noun *flexible* to stand for amoebic-like entities that have a prototypical core, but vary and adapt considerably at the fringes.

We have already seen that the Finnish system by itself is in a flux, but rather than thinking that this is a temporary stage in Finnish, we should see Finnish as an example of how languages generally “are”. With this as background, I will next introduce the Active and Passive patterns in Solf Swedish in Table 8.

Table 8. The diathesis patterns in Solv

The Active pattern	The Passive pattern
A. N + copula + Subject complement <i>Siimon vaar läärar.</i> ‘Siimon becomes a teacher.’ <i>Dören jer ypin.</i> ‘The door is open.’	Periphrastic passive: <i>vaat</i> <i>Siimon vaat viisa/välja.</i> ‘Siimon is shown/chosen.’ <i>Siimon vool välja.</i> ‘Siimon was chosen.’
B. Intransitive clause <i>Siimon springär.</i> ‘Siimon runs.’ <i>Siimon talar.</i> ‘Siimon speaks.’	Morphological passive: <i>-s</i> (?) <i>Siimon ondäviisas.</i> ‘Siimon is (being) taught.’ <i>Siimon yytvecklas.</i> ‘Siimon develops.’
C. Transitive clause <i>Siimon steengär dören.</i> ‘Siimon shuts the door.’	Impersonal structures: <i>man, an</i> <i>Man kan steeng dören.</i> ‘The door can be shut. / One can close the door.’ <i>An kan noo läär Siimon</i> ‘One/I can for sure teach Simon.’

The reason why there is a question mark in front of the morphological passive in Table 8 is the fact that the *s*-passive is extremely rare in Solf Swedish. The *-s* morph is typically reserved for reflexives, reciprocals and ordinary intransitives in Solv. That is, it is questionable whether there is really anything similar in Solv to the morphological passive we find in standard Swedish. The clause *Siimon yytvecklas*. (‘Siimon develops’) is typically interpreted as a reflexive (cf. the discussion of Swedish *Simon utvecklas* in connection with Table 2), and it is virtually impossible to interpret it as a morphological passive where somebody else would be involved in developing Simon.

At the same time we note that impersonal structures (i.e. structures that belong to the C slot in the Passive pattern) are abundantly used in conversations in Solf. That is, Finnish and Solv do not have clear B and C slots in their Passive patterns – albeit that there are other differences between the two languages. In order to evaluate whether contact has been at work, we first need to see what the similarities are between the two languages’ Passive patterns.

A fairly obvious similarity is that both languages have a limited number of agent-demoting constructions: constellations that can be characterized as

periphrastic passives on the one hand; and on the other hand, a kind of conflation of what typologically would be called the morphological passive and the generic, impersonal construction(s). In Solv we primarily find the impersonal *man/an* construction that demotes the agent. In Finnish we find, on the one hand the *-(t) AAn* and (3b) constructions (both of which are used to demote the agent, but have active morphology), and on the other hand the zero-person construction which typically includes the speaker. As such, this conflation might seem trivial, but I want to argue that it is not. Rather, this is a similarity of the implicit kind that has been found in other areas across the two languages.

True, finding similarities or even correlations across languages does not imply a cause-effect relationship, and similarities as such do not prove that contact is the reason behind the similarities. But in a view where the direction of influence is not the crucial aspect, diversity and variability themselves constitute the core. Minority language speakers and dialect speakers have always lived with, and lived in, diversity if and when they have found the need to communicate with people outside their own immediate speech community.

Secondly, irrespective of present-day political divergent views in Finland in relation to Swedish and Finnish, Finnish and Swedish have always been in contact in the countryside. In the Solv area Finnish speakers (from the inland) hunted seal in the winters at sea and spent long stretches of time in the close vicinity of the farming Solv speakers that lived in the coastal areas. It is at least conceivable that this physical closeness affected their ways of living and thinking, or at least grew to be rather similar.²⁵ Although historical issues and their linguistic implications have been, and need to be analyzed in much more detail, I take it that the direction of contact influence is – and has been – largely irrelevant in these situations. And, more generally, I take it that the similarities we find “under the surface” across Solv and Finnish are not coincidental.²⁶

25. Readers familiar with the history of Finland will know that what is today Finland was part of Sweden until 1809, and Finnish was spoken in the kingdom of Sweden also outside what is today Finland. In the 19th century a large number of Swedish speakers changed their names into Finnish names and went over to speaking Finnish – in the national romanticism vein of one language–one people–one nation – in order to get other nations to support Finland’s struggle for independence from Russia; an independence that was declared in 1917, and thereafter granted. All through its independence, Finland has had two national languages, Finnish and Swedish.

26. Indeed, proof of contact-induced language change or influence could in principle be sought for and found in old documents or the like, but in the countryside there are no such documents – except for what was kept by the clergy or “elite” citizens, in which case it is not representative of what we want to get at in the first place. Even if such documents were to be found they would be wanting and occasional.

What we are faced with is thus – from a theoretical point of view – a “conflation” of what we have called the B and C types of structures. If this were to be turned into a discussion about directionality, we would end up discussing the unlikely possibility of one of the languages (Solv) “borrowing” the non-existence of a type of construction (type B) in another language (Finnish).

What is striking, though, is that both Solv and spoken Finnish have later added the second person singular form as a generic, impersonal form – as a C-form in our overview table; cf. (13) for Finnish, here repeated; and in Solv we find the corresponding (15).

(13) Sä vain ajat
you.SG only drive.2SG
‘You just drive!’

(15) Dö bara tJöör!
you.SG only drive
‘You just drive!’

Whether these are independent developments – or, indeed spurred on by anglicization – has been discussed fairly extensively in the literature; in the case of Finnish, see P. Leino & Östman (2008). It is noteworthy, though, that Finnish *mies* ‘man, i.e. male person’ according to Engelberg (2016) is showing signs of getting grammaticized as a general generic pronoun (cf. Example (14)), in direct correspondence with the generic pronoun *man* (indefinite pronoun, and also ‘man, i.e. male person’) in Swedish. And it does not seem as if this is a borrowing as such from Germanic languages, but rather an indication of presumed male supremacy as representing the whole of *homo sapiens*.²⁷ Interestingly, in Solv, we do not only find examples with *man* or *an* (as displayed in Table 8), but we also find cases where what seems like the actual noun for ‘man’, even together with the standard Swedish definite article, can be used in a generic sense; cf. (16).

(16) Mannen bara tJöör!
man.the only drive
‘One just drives!’

My general claim is thus that in a similar manner to the way the close presence of Finnish has influenced the demonstrative adverb system, the function of pragmatic particles, the position of positive and negative markers, and the wider acceptability of word order modifications in Solv Swedish, the close presence of Finnish has also played an important – albeit implicit – role in shaping the passive-generic pattern in Solv, in particular, in the neutralization of what is expressed by

27. On attested grammaticalization paths for generic pronouns, see Heine & Kuteva (2002).

the “morphological passive” and the impersonal *man*-construction, so that both of these (the B and C slots in the Passive pattern) are expressed with the *man*-construction in Solv. The *man*-construction in turn inherits its structural characteristic from the active (usually) transitive construction as well as inheriting its functional characteristics from the Passive pattern. A further differentiation between *man* and *an* may be taking place at present, with *man* becoming restricted to first person singular, “non-responsible”, agent-demotion. This is also in line with what we saw with respect to the use of both the *-(t)AAAn* structure and the (3b) structure to designate the first person singular speaker in Finnish; cf. Example (12), footnote 17; and Table 8 for Solv.

9. Implications

By setting up a general, joint Passive pattern for the languages discussed I have in this study, on a theoretical level, also wanted to question the feasibility of taking the distinction between morphological passives, periphrastic passives and impersonal-generic actives as a primary conceptual distinction. And thus questioned, whether this distinction can be the basis for a proper *tertium comparationis*. Is this distinction too much of an Indo-European or even Germanic-centered view? As we have seen, for Swedish and English the system works fine, but for Finnish, even what we found to be periphrastic passives are not typically considered to be passives by native speakers, *i.e.* are not seen as corresponding to what we find in other languages as passives. We can naturally disregard non-experts’ views on what is, in this case, a “passive”, but if we take pragmatic and cultural aspects into consideration in the study of language, we cannot disregard the speakers of the language under scrutiny. And for Finnish speakers, the *-(t)AAAn* construction *is* a passive.

Typologically, other – semantic and pragmatic – factors are at work, which separate these three types of constructions. On the basis of what we know about other languages, we can at least separate out the following semantic aspects.²⁸

- a. patient-orientation ~ agent-orientation
- b. state ~ activity
- c. perfective ~ imperfective
- d. affective ~ effective
- e. agent responsibility ~ lack of agent responsibility

28. I am here following and making extensive use of the distinctions and suggestions presented in Leinonen & Östman (1983).

Discussions of these can be found in the vast literature on passives; for central references to support the argumentation here, see Leinonen & Östman (1983). To illustrate (following Leinonen & Östman 1983: 190) how I see these semantic distinctions taking up space in – i.e. as being superimposed onto – our three-way distinction into A, B, and C, we get the picture in Figure 1.

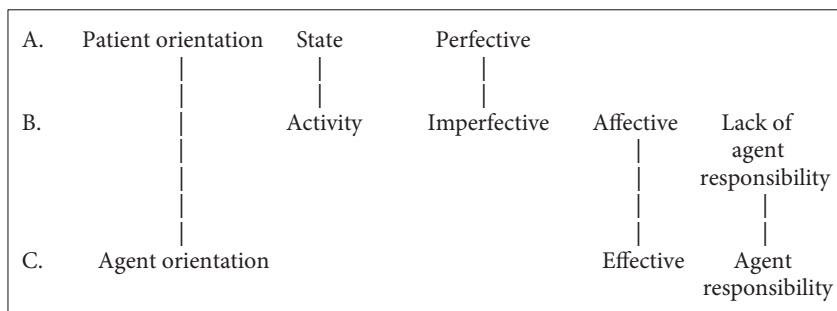


Figure 1. A schematic picture of the semantic and pragmatic factors at work that influence the distinction between the three slots in the Passive pattern.

The vertical lines in Figure 1 indicate that the relationships between the “end points” as categories are of a scalar nature, and the space they are placed in, in Figure 1, indicates how they are related to each other. The point is that the three slots in the Passive pattern are abstractions, but abstractions that I see as being grounded in our conceptualization of the Passive pattern. The Passive pattern – like the Active pattern – is an abstraction like constructions in general. But it is an abstraction that is in conformity with what we know about conceptualizations.²⁹ Thus, semantic and pragmatic aspects influence whether something is expressed in an Active pattern or in a Passive pattern, and also whether it is expressed as an A, B or C structure.

As a further theoretical point, I want to question the relevance of thinking that active and passive morphology are necessarily licensed by separate constructions. That is, in a generalized Passive pattern the linguistic realizations can vary, but the frame itself is one *tertium comparationis* – carried by its semantic and pragmatic features and not by the syntactic features. In contradistinction to the general conception in constructional approaches of the importance of form–meaning pairs, I have wanted to talk about form–meaning–function constellations, and I have furthermore wanted to argue that we should not just start out with the form or structure and let that determine what is similarity in constructions, but see other aspects (in CxD, contextual attributes) as equally central. Ultimately, I have

²⁹ Pre-analytically, we may see “passive” as a label of convenience, but from a constructional point of view the Passive pattern is indeed a resource that speakers have access to.

wanted to indicate that constructions can come in contact with other constructions, and can be borrowed without the(ir) explicit syntax having to be borrowed.

Taking this perspective has a number of important implications for construction grammar analysis and for construction discourse analysis. The implications for *universalia* and *tertia comparationis* are first of all that actives and passives are based on, and thus inherit the same Subject-Predicate construction. But in addition, we need a distinction between, on the one hand, a Passive pattern (a pragmatic Agent-demoting frame), and on the other hand an Active pattern. Each can be inherited by all the (semantically) different passive and active constructions, respectively. Furthermore, the “horizontal” similarity between members of the Active and Passive patterns need to be established as resources, i.e. as constructions.

We also need to establish (at least three) different types of Subject-Predicate constructions which inherit the most general Subject-Predicate construction. These three are the Copular construction, the Intransitive/Middle construction, and the Transitive construction. Other constructions will have to be established for ergative languages.

Language specifically, we need to include specifications of the meaning potentials and function potentials in lexical constructions for “periphrastic-passive” elements: *bli*, *vaal*, *be*, *get*, etc.; for morphological passive elements: *-s*, etc.; and for generic, impersonal lexical words like *man*, *an*, *one*, *they*, *people*, *mies*, etc.

We also need to specify values for selected external attributes *vis-à-vis* different structural possibilities, e.g., for the *be*-passive vs. *get*-passive in English (with specifications as different values *vis-à-vis* the *responsibility* attribute), and for the *man* vs. *an* in Solv (with different values in the *involvement* and *application* attributes). (For an overview of different contextual attributes in construction discourse, see Östman 2005, 2015.) And all of this is particularly important when we are dealing with language contact phenomena which start out subconsciously – as all contact-induced changes do.

Acknowledgment

I am very grateful to Urpo Nikanne, and to the editors of this volume for extensive comments and suggestions on an earlier version of the study. Remaining inadequacies are naturally mine.

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Texas German and English word order constructions in contact

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After reviewing previous accounts of Texas German (TxG) syntax, I define the basic word order constructions of English and German and identify which are identical across the languages (i.e. diaconstructions). Next, I analyze 300 TxG utterances and determine whether their syntax corresponds more closely to German, English, or German-English diaconstructions. Finally, I discuss sentences exhibiting unusual word order and how they demonstrate the need for a (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar approach.

Keywords: word order, Texas German, code-switching, Diasystematic Construction Grammar

1. Introduction

This contribution provides a (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar account of Texas German (TxG) word order constructions, as well as how they compare and interact with English word order constructions in TxG discourse. Previous analyses (Boas 2009a, Fuchs 2018) suggest that TxG syntax largely corresponds to that of Standard German, as seen in the complex, yet well-formed sentence in (1). However, English lexical transference is frequent in TxG, and while English items are sometimes easily integrated into German syntax, as in (2), in other cases they may lead to significant syntactic interference, as in (3).

- (1) *Da einses, was geändert war, ist, dass mehr fremde Leute in*
 the only what changed was, is, that more foreign people in
Friedrichsburg warn (1-45-1-6-a)
 Fredericksburg were ¹
 ‘The only thing that has changed is that more foreign people (outsiders) are
 in Fredericksburg.’
 Das Einzige, was sich geändert hat, ist, dass mehr fremde Leute in
 Friedrichsburg waren. (StG)
- (2) *Du musst den Clutch drehen, for es Gear zu schiff.* (1-43-1-3-a)
 you must the clutch turn in-order the gear to shift
 ‘You must turn the clutch to shift the gear.’
 Man muss die Kupplung treten, um den Gang zu wechseln. (StG)
- (3) *Wir waren supposed kein Deutsch zu sprechen in die Schul.* (1-21-1-5-a)
 we were supposed no German to speak in the school
 ‘We were not supposed to speak German in school.’
 Wir sollten in der Schule kein Deutsch sprechen. (StG)

This contribution seeks to increase our understanding of TxG word order, and, more generally, of word order constructions in contact languages. From an empirical perspective, I test previous findings on TxG word order (esp. Boas 2009a) on a much larger dataset, with a particular focus on utterances containing English lexical transference (code-switching, loan translation). From a theoretical perspective, I develop a constructional account of word order constructions and how they interact with other aspects of language (i.e. other construction types) such as the lexicon, semantics, and information structure. From a contrastive perspective, I identify how word order constructions compare across German and English, how they are used in TxG utterances, and how English lexical interference impacts the syntax of TxG utterances.

After introducing TxG and previous accounts of (Texas) German word order in Section 2, I develop a Construction Grammar approach to word order constructions in Section 3. Section 4 presents the methodology of the analysis, focusing on the definition of German word order constructions and the identification of clause types with identical word order in German and English – potential “diaconstructions” in Höder (2012, 2014, this volume). The analysis in Section 5 tests whether TxG speakers maintain German syntax or prefer English word order

1. Examples from the Texas German Dialect Archive (see Section 2.1) are anonymized and associated with file numbers denoting the interviewer, informant, the number of the interview with that informant, the file identifier, and a letter to indicating whether the file contains only audio or both audio and video (Boas 2009a: 22).

constructions or German-English diaconstructions, drawing on both non-English TxG utterances and those including lexical transference from English verbs, and concluding with a (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar account of several examples exhibiting highly unusual syntax. Section 6 summarizes the findings and points to avenues for future research.

2. Previous accounts of Texas German word order

2.1 Texas German(s)

TxG refers to the dialect(s) spoken by Germans immigrants to Texas and their descendants. The large-scale migration of Germans to Texas began in the 1840s and accelerated throughout the 19th century, so that by 1940 the TxG population was estimated to be 159,000 (Kloss 1977). Most immigrants came from the western and northern regions of present-day Germany, but other regions contributed to the TxG population, resulting in a situation of dialect contact and (partial) dialect leveling. Although TxG was widely spoken well into the 20th century, few children learned the language after 1940, resulting in a situation of drastic language shift. Today, only an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 speakers remain, nearly all of whom are in their 70s or older. In an effort to document the language before it is entirely lost, the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP; Boas 2009a; www.tgdp.org) was initiated by Hans C. Boas in the early 2000s. To date, project affiliates have conducted interviews with over 650 TxG speakers, which involve linguistic translation tasks, open-ended ethnographic interviews, and biographical surveys eliciting sociolinguistic and attitudinal information. A large portion of the interview data is available online through the Texas German Dialect Archive, which forms the basis for the present analysis (see Boas et al. 2010 for an overview).

TxG is largely mutually intelligible with modern Standard German (StG),² but exhibits many characteristics of German contact varieties, including numerous borrowings from English (Boas & Pierce 2011, Dux 2017) and simplifications in phonology (Boas et al. 2004, Pierce et al. 2015) and morphosyntax (Boas 2009b, Boas et al. 2014). The only investigation of TxG word order (Boas 2009a) suggests it has undergone few changes in the current contact situation, but that analysis draws on a limited amount of data and highly coarse-grained word order

2. Although TxG is not identical to StG, the two varieties are largely mutually intelligible and previous analyses point to the maintenance of (Standard) German word order in TxG. Where non-standard or dialectal German constructions that differ from “proper” StG are discussed, this will be noted in the discussion.

categories. Here, I seek to provide a richer and more nuanced view of TxG word order constructions in contact with English using principles of (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar. First, I briefly discuss the general properties of German word order in order to better explicate the findings of Boas (2009a).

2.2 German word order

The most prevalent and theory-neutral formulation of German word order is the topological field model (see Eisenberg [2006: 394–420], Eisenberg & Gallmann [2016: 871–899], and Imo [2016: 199–226]), which represents German sentences by means of fields and brackets, shown in Table 1, that are filled by specific phrase types.

Table 1. Topological fields in German word order

Prefield (VF)	Left Sentence Bracket (LS)	Middle Field (MF)	Right Sentence Bracket (RS)	Final Field (NF)
---------------	----------------------------	-------------------	-----------------------------	------------------

The left sentence bracket (German: “linke Satzklammer”, LS) and right sentence bracket (“rechte Satzklammer”, RS) generally define the position of verbal elements, while the prefield (“Vorfeld”, VF), middle field (“Mittelfeld”, MF) and final field (“Nachfeld”, NF) define positions of non-verbal elements.

In yes/no questions and certain subjunctive sentences, the prefield is left empty and the left bracket hosting the finite verb is the first constituent of the sentence, resulting in a V1 ordering, as in (4a) below. Declarative sentences and *wh*- questions exhibit V2 ordering, with the finite verb in the left bracket and any other verbal elements (e.g., infinitives, participles, separable verb prefixes) in the right bracket (4b). Subordinate clauses exhibit VE (verb-end) ordering, in which the subordinating conjunction fills the left bracket and all verbal constituents occur in the right bracket, with the finite verb following any non-finite verbs (4c).³ In V2 sentences, both the prefield and middle field host non-verbal constituents, and in V1 and VE sentences, the middle field hosts non-verbal constituents. The final field may optionally include further constituents in all three of the major sentence types, typically in colloquial registers or with heavy clausal constituents (e.g. infinitival or relative clauses), in a phenomenon known as *Ausklammerung*

3. I use the term “non-finite verb” or “non-finite form” to refer to infinitive verb forms (*machen* ‘to make’), participles (*gemacht* ‘made’), as well as separable verbal prefixes (*macht aus* ‘makes out’).

(‘extraposition’). These major word order types are summarized in Table 2, in which obligatory items are italicized and infrequent items are in parentheses.⁴

Table 2. German word order types

Sentence type	Prefield	Left bracket	Middle field	Right bracket	Final field
V1		<i>Finite Verb</i>	Constituents	Non-finite Verb	(Constituent)
V2	<i>Constituent</i>	<i>Finite Verb</i>	Constituents	Non-finite Verb	(Constituent)
VE		<i>Conjunction</i>	Constituents	Non-finite Verb, <i>Finite Verb</i>	(Constituent)

Sentences demonstrating each of the three major word order types are given in (4).

- (4) a. V1: *Hat Hans ein Lied gesungen?*
 ‘Did Hans sing a song?’
 b. V2: *Hans hat ein Lied gesungen.*
 ‘Hans has sung a song.’
 c. VE: ..., *dass Hans ein Lied gesungen hat.*
 ‘..., that Hans has sung a song.’

2.3 Word order in TxG

Before discussing the theoretical treatment of word order in the next section, I briefly present the findings of Boas’s (2009a: 218f.) investigation of word order in New Braunfels German.⁵ His analysis draws on four criteria used in Louden’s (1988) account of Pennsylvania German word order, namely the word order of subordinate clauses, infinitival (*zu* (‘to’)) complements, and of prefixed verbs in main and subordinate clauses. These clause types are selected because they differ in word order across German and English, as demonstrated in (5)–(8).

- (5) Subordinate clause
 a. ..., *dass Jan das Zimmer putzt.*
 b. ..., that Jan *cleans* the room.

4. The ordering of non-verbal constituents is relatively free, though some restrictions and tendencies, particularly related to phrase length and information structure, govern their placement. The combination of the main sentence types and non-verbal constituents results in a much higher number of word order configurations than the three identified here (e.g. Wöllstein-Leisten et al. [1997: 55] identifies 28 different configurations). While a complete account of German word order is beyond the scope of this paper, a richer classification of word order types is given in Section 4.

5. Boas (2009a) focuses on the TxG of speakers in New Braunfels, one of the earliest-established and most prominent German settlements in the TxG dialect area.

- (6) *zu*-Clause
- Jan beginnt, das Zimmer *aufzuräumen*.
 - Jan begins *to clean up* the room.
- (7) Prefix verb in Main Clause
- Jan *räumt* jeden Tag das Zimmer *auf*.
 - Jan *cleans (up)* the room *(up)* every day
- (8) Prefix verb in subordinate clause
- ..., dass Jan das Zimmer *aufräumt*.
 - ..., that Jan *cleans (up)* the room *(up)* every day

Boas finds relatively little English influence on TxG word order in most, but not all cases. Specifically, TxG speakers use German word order most frequently for infinitival clauses (as in (6a) above; with the *zu* + Infinitive Verb in final position), prefixed verbs in main clauses (as in (7a) above; with the conjugated stem in second position and the prefix in clause-final position), and prefixed verbs in subordinate clauses (as in (8a) above; with the prefix preceding the stem in clause-final position). For subordinate clauses, however, Boas finds a discrepancy in word order depending on the subordinating conjunction used: clauses introduced with *dass* and “*wh-*” complementizers (e.g., *wo*, *wann*, *wer* (‘where, when, who’)) maintain the German word order as in (5a) above, with the finite verb in clause-final position. In contrast, subordinate clauses introduced with *weil* (‘because’) or *bis* (‘until’) tend to occur with English-like ordering as in (5b) above, with the finite verb in second position (or more accurately, between the subject and direct object, as in SVO languages). The findings of Boas (2009a: 218f.) are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Summary of Boas’s (2009a: 218f.) findings on TxG word order

Clause/verb type	Word order	# examples used
Subordinate clauses (<i>weil, bis</i>)	primarily SVO (English)	12
Subordinate clauses (<i>dass, wh-</i>)	primarily SOV (German)	19
Infinitival (<i>zu</i>) complements	SOV (German)	5
Prefixed verbs – declarative	SOV (German)	5
Prefixed verbs – subordinate	SOV (German)	4

Boas’s account of TxG word order, however, is rather limited for various reasons. For one, it draws on a limited amount of data – with only 45 total sentences from 25 different speakers. The binary classification of word order types between SVO (English) and SOV (German) is also too coarse-grained to account for the full range of word order constructions used in TxG and English, and a more sophisticated classification of word order types may give a more detailed picture of TxG

word order and its relation to StG and English.⁶ The analysis could also be expanded to account for the word order of utterances including English lexical items, particularly conjunctions and verbs, as code-switching and loan translation have been shown to be prevalent in TxG speech (Boas & Pierce 2011, Dux 2017) and have been found to influence syntax in other German speech islands (see Clyne [1994] for Australian German and Fuller [1997] for Pennsylvania Dutch). Boas himself claims that “further research [...] should investigate the frequencies for each item, including the different contexts in which the two types of word order are found” (2009a: 221).

3. Word order in (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar

Turning to the theoretical treatment of (German) word order, mainstream generative syntactic approaches to German word order draw on large-scale typological features (i.e. SVO vs. SOV languages) and posit that languages have a ‘basic’ underlying word order and non-canonical word orders are derived through transformations of the basic order. In the case of German syntax, the VE sentence type (SOV) is assumed to be the basic order for German sentences, while the V2 and V1 orders are derived through transformations on the basic SOV order.⁷ There are, however, several issues with such an approach. For one, the binary classification of a language as either SOV or SVO is difficult to ascertain when the full range of its structures is taken into account, suggesting that languages may prefer one type or another but the types do not determine the syntax of all possible structures, (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993: 51). Furthermore, there are no empirically valid tests for determining whether a language is SVO or SOV (see Ziem & Boas 2017). The binary distinction also is not detailed enough to account for all orderings of constituents across contexts and clause types. More generally, the assumption that an

6. Fuchs (2018) documents the word order of a much higher number of TxG examples, but also only uses the binary V2/VE (SVO/SOV) distinction and focuses primarily on subordinate clauses and the potential reasons for divergences between TxG and StG syntax. For related studies on word order in other German speech islands, see Burrige 1992, Loudon 1992, Nützel 1998, Riehl 2004, and Hopp & Putnam 2015.

7. Specific analyses of word order have been proposed in numerous syntactic theories, such as Government and Binding/Minimalism (Reis 1980, den Besten 1983, Webelhuth 1992), Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (Jacobs 1986, Uszkoreit 1987), Lexical Functional Grammar (Berman 2003), and Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Kathol 2000, Meurers 2000, Müller 2005). Further analyses have been proposed for non-canonical word order phenomena, including infinitive clauses (Haider 1986), left dislocation (Haider 1990), topicalization (Fanselow 1989, Haider 1990), passives (Grewendorf 1989), and relative clauses (Riemsdijk 1985).

entire language has a specific order overlooks the interactions between purely syntactic principles and other aspects of language, such as lexicon and pragmatics.⁸

Constructional approaches⁹ differ from those above in that they are surface-oriented and thus cannot assume (a priori) that a given surface form is derived through transformations of a more basic form which does not surface as such. They also do not assume a strict distinction between the various ‘modules’ of language (e.g. syntax vs. semantics) found in mainstream frameworks, but instead recognize and appreciate the interaction of different constructions types in language production.

Most work in CxG focused on peripheral constructions that were not easily accounted for in generative frameworks, beginning with highly idiomatic constructions such as *let alone* (Fillmore et al. 1988) and only recently progressing to more ‘prominent’ constructions that are nonetheless highly irregular, such as resultatives (Boas 2003) or ditransitives (Goldberg 1995, Kay 2005). To date, there are very few CxG studies investigating word order constructions in their own right (Leino & Kuningas 2006), though some work has been done on their historical development (Barðdal et al. 2015) and acquisition (Goldberg 2006).

Taking the CxG approach that all linguistic structures are constructions (i.e. form-meaning pairings), word order constructions – like all constructions – pair a given form with a specific type of meaning. In this case, the form side of word order constructions specifies the (relative) ordering of phrase types and grammatical functions, while the meaning side indicates (at least) the clause type, such as polar question, main-declarative clause, or subordinate clause. For example, German has a word order construction associating polar question(s) with the V1 order discussed above. This can be formally represented as in Figure 1.

German polar question word order construction

Form = [Vfin, Subject, (...), (Vinf)]

Meaning = polar question

Figure 1. Representation of German polar question word order construction

The construction specifies that the semantics of a polar question must be structured formally such that the finite verb occurs first and is followed by the subject

8. In fact, the World Atlas of Language Structures categorizes 189 of 1377 languages (13.7%), including German, as “lacking a dominant word order” (Dryer 2013).

9. For an overview of Construction Grammar, see Boas & Höder (this volume), as well as Goldberg (1995, 2006), Croft (2001), Boas & Sag (2012), and Hoffmann & Trousdale (2013).

(with commas representing sequential order), and – if they occur – that non-finite verb forms are in clause-final position.¹⁰

Word order constructions thus differ from other construction types only in that they are extremely frequent, have highly abstract meanings, and are very schematic in that they do not specify which or how many lexical items (or constituents) can fill their open slots. This observation points to another important concept in CxG, namely the interaction of constructions in language production. The highly schematic word order constructions interact with the constructional properties of lexical items filling their schematic slots and with discourse-level properties, such as information-structure and pragmatic context. For instance, the finite verb may be a modal or a prefix verb, which would then require the clause-final placement of the non-finite main verb or prefix, respectively.

On this constructional view, word order constructions are not parameter-based, across-the-board characterizations of entire languages, as is the case with the SOV/SVO distinction in generative-transformational frameworks. Rather, they are on par with all other construction types (lexical, idiomatic, argument-structure) in their nature (as form-meaning pairings) and interact with phonological, pragmatic, and lexico-grammatical features of the elements (or constructions) which fill them.

In a constructional view of language contact, the linguistic knowledge of speakers in multilingual communities (such as in TxG) is not necessarily compartmentalized according to (each of) the languages they command.¹¹ Instead, these speakers command a full inventory of constructions they are exposed to in any language – a *constructional repertoire*. An important tenet of Diasystematic CxG

10. The question arises whether the construction in Figure 1 may also need to specify the relative positions of objects and adverbial phrases (which should occur in the middle field but are only marked with ellipses in parentheses here). However, it is more likely that the ordering of these elements can be captured by a separate construction from the V1 construction defined here, since their ordering is not specific to the V1 polar question construction, but applies uniformly to the other word order categories discussed in this paper (thanks to Steffen Höder for this observation).

Theoretically, German also has a construction that pairs the same formal characteristics (i.e. V1 word order) with other functions, such as commands and subjunctives. The different interpretation of V1 sentences can be attributed to the form of the verb in 2nd position (e.g. imperative for commands) and different intonation patterns (e.g. *Wäre er doch gekommen?* vs. *Wäre er doch gekommen!* ‘If only he had come.’).

11. The prominent assumption of traditional work in CxG – that language is the sum of its constructions – is extended in Diasystematic CxG, which argues that there are no a priori languages and speakers only have constructions. Höder (2014, this volume) reformulates this assumption by proposing that a multilingual speaker may (in some cases) not mark a construction as belonging to one language or another.

is that constructions are not inherently language-specific: constructions are form-meaning pairings in every language and differ cross-linguistically primarily in that a given meaning may be associated with a different form due to conventions of the particular language community. As such, multilingual interlocutors may indeed associate a construction with one (or a subset) of the languages they use, but this is not necessarily the case. Höder (2014, this volume) proposes a distinction between *idioconstructions* – which speakers associate with a specific language (or more aptly, with a specific communicative context) – and *diaconstructions* – which speakers view as similar/identical across multiple languages (or communicative contexts). Höder argues, for example, that polar question constructions in German and Danish are viewed as diaconstructions by German-Danish bilingual speakers in North Germany, because they fulfill the same function and exhibit the same form (i.e. finite verb in initial position, etc.). One question that arises in light of these observations is whether multilingual speakers prefer to use diaconstructions over language-specific idioconstructions, given that diaconstructions are likely more frequently encountered and used and thus more entrenched in the speakers' multilingual constructional repertoires.

4. German word order constructions and German-English diaconstructions

In this section, I first offer a refined classification of German word order types (constructions) and identify overlapping word order constructions in German and English – potential “diaconstructions” in the sense of Höder (2014, this volume). This classification guides the analysis in Section 5, in which I document the word order of numerous examples of different clause types in order to determine whether TxG speakers show a preference for German- or English-specific (word order) idioconstructions or the diaconstructions overlapping in German and English. Finally, I account for several utterances with highly irregular syntax using concepts of (Diasystematic) CxG, in order to examine how word order constructions interact with other construction types in the TxG-English language contact situation.

4.1. German word order constructions

The previous discussion of German word order types showed that there are three major types for the placement of verbal elements, namely V1, V2, and VE. More general categorizations of syntactic properties across languages distinguish languages in terms of the relative placement of subject, verb, and object (e.g. SVO vs. SOV). It was argued that these broad-scale categorizations are too coarse-grained

to account for the full range of German word order constructions, let alone a detailed comparison of clause types with identical word order across German and English – “diaconstructions” in (Diasystematic) CxG terms. Before discussing the analysis of TxG word order, I thus provide a more detailed (though not full-fledged) classification of German word order construction types – in order to more accurately and succinctly describe the word order of TxG utterances – and identify such overlapping diaconstructions – in order to determine whether TxG speakers prefer to use these rather than German-specific idioconstructions.

The German word order constructions are defined with respect to their function (e.g. declarative vs. interrogative) and/or clause type (main vs. subordinate), as well as to the number of verbs within the clause and the occurrence and placement of (non-subject) phrases. These are then cross-classified according to their grammaticality in StG, distinguishing between “proper” and colloquial or non-standard constructions. The constructions are labeled to indicate the position of the finite verb (“V1”, “V2”, “VE”), whether there is a bracket structure separating finite and non-finite verb forms (“B”), and whether there is *Ausklammerung* of constituents (“+ AK”). Other labels are described below where needed.

V1-type word order constructions serve the function of forming polar questions, imperatives, and subjunctive/irrealis clauses. When these clauses contain only one (finite) verb, the construction specifies that this verb occurs in clause-initial position. This construction is labeled “V1” and exemplified in (9). When multiple verbs occur in the clause, the finite verb again occurs in first position and non-finite forms occur in clause-final position.¹² This construction is labeled “V1B”, where the “B” stands for the bracket structure separating finite and non-finite verb forms (10). While the V1 and V1B constructions are considered proper in StG, colloquial registers (in some contexts) allow non-verbal elements (typically adverbial phrases) to occur after the clause-final non-finite verbs (*Ausklammerung* ‘extraposition’). Verb-first sentences exhibiting *Ausklammerung* are labeled “V1B + AK”. These constructions are non-standard but acceptable in colloquial registers, which is indicated by the asterisk preceding the label in (11). In sum, (at least) three word order constructions can be employed for the formation of polar questions, imperatives, and subjunctive/irrealis clauses: V1 for clauses with a single verb, or V1B and V1B + AK for those with multiple verbs.

12. This analysis focuses primarily on word orders defined by the position of finite and infinitive verbs, with some (peripheral) observations about the placement of adverbial elements, verbal prefixes, and the core grammatical relations (e.g. subject, direct object). It does not account for other syntactic phenomena, such as the combination of clauses, word order within the noun phrase, the relative ordering of adverbials, or ‘non-canonical’ orderings found in colloquial speech (e.g. dislocation, topicalization).

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|---|-------------|
| (9) | V1 | <i>Singt Hans?</i> | (1 verb) |
| (10) | V1B | <i>Hat Hans gesungen?</i> | (2 + verbs) |
| (11) | *V1B + AK | <i>Hat Hans gesungen in der Kirche?</i> | (2 + verbs) |

V2-type word order constructions serve the function of forming main declarative clauses and *wh*-questions. They differ from V1-type constructions in that the finite verb occurs in the second position, but otherwise they largely parallel V1-type constructions discussed above. Main declarative clauses with a single verb specify only that it occurs in second position and are labeled “V2” (12). Such clauses with multiple verbs require, in StG, that the non-finite forms occur clause-finally to form a bracket structure (“V2B”, (13)), and may also exhibit *Ausklammerung* in colloquial registers (“V2B + AK”, (14)). In another, less frequently-occurring construction identified in the data, the non-finite verb occurs in clause-initial position preceding the finite verb. This construction is labeled “ViV2” (where the “i” stands for infinitive) and is marked as non-standard as it is most frequent in colloquial or literary registers (15). The V2-type word order constructions are summarized as:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|--|-------------|
| (12) | V2 | <i>Hans singt.</i> | (1 verb) |
| (13) | V2B | <i>Hans hat (ein Lied) gesungen.</i> | (2 + verbs) |
| (14) | *V2B + AK | <i>Hans hat (ein Lied) gesungen in der Kirche.</i> | (2 + verbs) |
| (15) | *ViV2 | <i>Gesungen hat Hans (in der Kirche).</i> | (2 verbs) |

VE-type constructions are most commonly associated with subordinate clauses and infinitival clauses and specify that all verbs occur in clause-final position. The construction “VE” refers to clauses that include one or more verbs in clause-final position, with the finite verb following any non-finite verbs (16). In certain registers and contexts, there is *Ausklammerung* of adverbial elements, in the “VE + AK” construction (17). Some dialects allow for the placement of the finite verb before non-finite forms (most frequently when there are three verbs), as in (18), and this construction is represented as “VEfi” (where “fi” represents the ordering of finite and non-finite verbs).

- | | | |
|------|----------|---|
| (16) | VE | <i>dass Hans (ein Lied) gesungen hat.</i> |
| (17) | *VE + AK | <i>dass Hans (ein Lied) gesungen hat in der Kirche.</i> |
| (18) | *VEfi | <i>dass Hans (ein Lied) hat gesungen.</i> |

Note that there are instances in which the word order is identical across certain instances of V2- and VE-type constructions (when the complementizer for the VE-types is ignored), particularly when there is no direct object to distinguish

between SOV and SVO. Specifically, a clause such as that in (19) contains only the subject and verb, in that order, and can thus be viewed as either V2 or VE + AK. This is also the case for clauses such as (20), which differ from (19) only in that an adverbial phrase is extraposed. In the data analysis, I treat such orderings as instances of the V2 construction when they occur in main declarative clauses, but as VE or VE + AK when they occur in subordinate clauses.¹³

(19) *(dass) ich singe.* (ambiguous between V2 and VE)

(20) *(dass) ich singe in der Kirche.* (ambiguous between V2 and VE + AK)

The German word order constructions exemplified in (9)–(18) are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. German word order constructions

WO Cx	Function(s) and examples	# verbs (if relevant)
Function: Polar question, imperative, subjunctive		
V1	<i>Singt Hans (ein Lied)?</i>	1 verb
V1B	<i>Hat Hans (ein Lied) gesungen?</i>	2 + verbs
*V1B + AK	<i>Hat Hans (ein Lied) gesungen in der Kirche?</i>	2 + verbs
Function: Main declarative clause		
V2	<i>Hans singt (ein Lied).</i>	1 verb
V2B	<i>Hans hat (ein Lied) gesungen.</i>	2 + verbs
*V2B + AK	<i>Hans hat (ein Lied) gesungen in der Kirche.</i>	2 + verbs
*ViV2	<i>Gesungen hat Hans (in der Kirche).</i>	2 verbs
Function: Subordinate clause		
VE	<i>dass Hans (ein Lied) gesungen hat.</i>	
*VE + AK	<i>dass Hans (ein Lied) gesungen hat in der Kirche.</i>	
*VEfi	<i>dass Hans (ein Lied) hat gesungen.</i>	

4.2 English-German word order diaconstructions

Having established a list of German word order constructions, it is now possible to identify potential diaconstructions for German-English bilinguals, which exhibit

13. Word order can also be identical between V2B and Vefi in examples such as: *(dass) ich habe gesungen*, and between V2B + AK and Vefi + AK, as in: *(dass) ich habe gesungen in der Kirche*. I categorize these cases as instances of V2B and V2B + AK, respectively, rather than the Vefi-type constructions, because Vefi constructions are extremely rare in TxG and most German varieties.

the same word order across the two languages, such as the sentence *Hans singt*. Earlier, I hypothesized that TxG speakers may prefer to use these diaconstructions because they use English more frequently than TxG on an everyday basis and these constructions may thus be more entrenched in their mental ‘constructicon’ (i.e., the inventory of grammatical constructions the speaker commands) and therefore more accessible than German (idio-)constructions that differ from English.

Four major principles of English word order inform the comparison of German and English word order constructions and allow for the identification of utterance types that may be potential diaconstructions, as they exhibit identical word order in both languages. As I present these, I discuss to which of the German constructions they may apply.

(A) *Subject precedes verb*

The first principle of English word order is that (as a SVO language) the subject precedes the verb in declarative and subordinate clauses. Therefore, the German V2-type and VE-type constructions may only represent diaconstructions when the subject precedes the verb, which is not a requirement of all German constructions of these types. English polar questions and certain subjunctive constructions exhibit subject-auxiliary inversion, in which the subject occurs between the finite verb and non-finite verbs, so German V1-type constructions may represent German-English diaconstructions if the subject directly follows the finite verb (and no constituents occur after the subject and before non-finite verbs; see B below).

(B) *All verbs occur together*

The second major English word order principle is that all verbal elements appear together, so the German bracketed construction types are only identical when no constituents (for V2- and VE-type constructions) or only the subject (for V1-type constructions) occur between the finite and non-finite verb. This principle does not apply in cases of “subject-auxiliary inversion” as with polar questions or subjunctives with auxiliary verbs, e.g. *Had I done that...*

(C) *Finite verbs precede non-finite verb forms*

English word order requires that the finite verb occur before non-finite verb forms, so the German VE-type constructions are only identical to English when there is only one verb, unless the StG requirement that the finite verb follows non-finite forms is not followed (as in the Vefi construction in (18) above).

(D) *Polar questions require do support*

Finally, English polar questions require the auxiliary *do* when there is only one main verb, whereas main verbs in German polar questions are inflected and in first

position (*Does he sing?* ~ *Singt er?* ‘sings he?’).¹⁴ As such, polar questions with only one verb cannot represent diaconstructions between English and StG, except in infrequent instances in which the main verb is omitted and only a modal or auxiliary verb appears (e.g. *Kann er?* ‘can he?’). However, the V1-type construction for polar questions may represent diaconstructions when two verbs are present (i.e. a modal or auxiliary verb is used along with the main verb: *Kann er singen?* ‘can he sing?’), provided the above principles are fulfilled. V1-type constructions for imperatives (*Sing ein Lied!* ‘Sing a song!’) or subjunctives (*Hätte ich gesungen...*, ‘Had I sang...’) may represent diaconstructions when only a single main verb is used.

Table 5. Potential German-English word order diaconstructions

WO Cx	Function(s) and examples	# verbs (if relevant)	What principles must be filled for diaconstruction
Function: Polar question, imperative, subjunctive			
(21a) V1	<i>Kann Hans? / Sing ein Lied! / Hätte er gesungen!</i> <i>Can Hans? / Sing a song! / Had he sang!</i>	1 verb	ABCD
(21b) V1B	<i>Hat Hans gesungen?</i> <i>Has Hans sung?</i>	2 + verbs	ABCD
(21c) *V1B + AK	<i>Hat Hans gesungen in der Kirche?</i> <i>Has Hans sung in church?</i>	2 + verbs	ABCD
Function: Main declarative clause			
(21d) V2	<i>Hans singt (ein Lied).</i> <i>Hans sings (a song).</i>	1 verb	A
(21f) V2B	<i>Hans hat gesungen.</i> <i>Hans has sung.</i>	2 + verbs	AB
(21g) *V2B + AK	<i>Hans hat gesungen in der Kirche.</i> <i>Hans has sung in church.</i>	2 + verbs	AB
(21h) *ViV2	<i>Gesungen hat Hans (in der Kirche).</i> -no English equivalent	2 verbs	X
Function: Subordinate clause			
(21g) VE	<i>dass Hans singt.</i> <i>that Hans sings.</i>		ABC
(21h) *VE + AK	<i>dass Hans singt in der Kirche.</i> <i>that Hans sings in church.</i>		ABC
(21i) *VEfi	<i>dass Hans hat gesungen.</i> <i>that Hans has sung.</i>		AB

14. Some German dialects employ a similar construction with the verb *tun* (*Tut er singen?* ‘Does he sing?’), but no such examples were found in the primary data analysis.

It is noteworthy that the German-English diaconstructions do not correspond directly to the German-specific constructions defined above, but rather to sub-types of them, depending on the clause's function, number of verbs, and occurrence of non-subject phrases. Table 5 summarizes which of the German constructions (from Table 4 above) may be diaconstructions and, if so, which of the constraints/principles for English word order must be followed for identical word order across the languages. The table shows, for instance, that the V1B + AK construction is only identical when no elements such as objects or adverbials separate the subject and non-finite verb forms (Principle B), the finite verb precedes the non-finite forms (Principle C), and the clause is in imperative or subjunctive voice, or the main verb is omitted in polar questions (Principle D).

5. Analysis of TxG word order

5.1 Data selection and limitations

I now present the results of the TxG word order analysis, beginning with 50 sentences each for *müssen*, *dass*, and *weil* clauses with TxG verbs and then moving on to 141 clauses (of various types) with English-origin or loan translated verbs. The results are presented according to the word order constructions and potential diaconstructions proposed in Table 4 and Table 5, respectively.

The data were accessed using the concordance function of the Texas German Dialect Archive (<http://tgdp.org/dialect-archive>), which allows one to search for specific expressions and/or characters in transcribed interview segments. For the analysis of clauses with German-origin verbs in Section 5.2, I entered the specific German word characterizing the clauses under analysis, namely *dass*, *weil*, and *muss*.¹⁵ I then extracted the first two to three relevant sentences for 23 to 25 different speakers (or only one sentence, when no more were available), in order to decrease effects of interspeaker variation. To get the English-verb data analyzed in Section 5.3, I searched for a closing square bracket (“]”), as instances of English transference are marked with brackets in the TGDP transcriptions. I then extracted all sentences with English code-switched or loan-translated verbs for 15 speakers who produced a significant amount of annotated interview material, suggesting they are still competent speakers of TxG with minimal levels of

15. The string *muss* was searched due to technical issues with entering umlaut characters at the time of the search. While this search only captures some forms of the verb, but it should not affect the analysis, assuming that verbal inflection does not affect word order.

attrition.¹⁶ Incomplete sentences and those exhibiting significant hesitation or lack of clarity were excluded from the analysis.

My approach employs more detailed categories of word order types than the traditional SVO/SOV distinction employed in previous work on TxG word order, and it focuses on identifying idio- and diaconstructions and assessing their use in the German-English contact situation of TxG. As such, this study is more qualitative than quantitative, and although nearly 300 total clauses are analyzed, more data is required to verify the findings of this analysis and address other issues arising from this investigation. Furthermore, the analysis does not focus on the ordering of German verbal prefixes/particles or of adverbial elements, which are only mentioned if they influence the data categorization. Future research must investigate these aspects of word order, determining their characteristics in TxG speech and, more generally, their relation to the word order constructions investigated here.

5.2. TxG clauses with German-origin verbs

Müssen ('to have to')

I begin with the analysis of main clauses with *müssen*, in order to assess the degree to which TxG speakers maintain the German bracket structure, in which the finite verb (modal verb in this case) is in second position and the infinitive main verb is clause-final. The construction expected for such clauses in StG is V2B: with the modal *müssen* in second position and the main verb(s) in final position. Colloquial German also allows for the extraposition of adverbial elements (construction V2B + AK). Potential “diaconstructions” in which the StG and English word orders align include instances of the V2B (21f) or V2B + AK (21g) constructions which do not contain any elements in the Middle Field between the conjugated modal and the main verbs. The results and examples are provided in Table 6.¹⁷

Indeed, all of the 50 sentences exhibit word order characteristic of German: 42 have the V2B expected in StG (22), while eight exhibit the colloquial V2B + AK constructions (24).

16. Most of the data in the primary analysis come from a related investigation of English verbs in TxG (Dux 2017).

17. In the following tables, the first column lists the word order construction used, the second lists the number of examples with that construction, the third column shows the percentage of examples exhibiting this word order, and the final column provides an example. Diaconstructions with identical word order are marked with (*dia.*) after their label, while utterances exhibiting word order that is not identical across the languages do not have this label.

Table 6. Word order of TxG *müssen* clauses

Cx	#	%		Example
V2B	41	82%	(22)	Un man musst Sonntags nach die Kirche gehen. and one must Sundays to the church go 'And one must go to church on Sundays.' (1-45-1-10-a)
V2B (dia.)	1	2%	(23)	Ich muss zurickgehn I must back-go 'I must go back.' (1-25-1-6-a)
V2B + AK	8	16%	(24)	Und Wasser mussten ma pumpen bei Hand. and water must.PAST we pump by hand 'And we had to pump water by hand.' (1-2-1-4-a)

Only one sentence (23) exhibits a potential “diaconstruction” with word order characteristics of both German and English. This sentence displays the V2B construction with no elements separating the modal and main verb, as in (21f) above. However, the main verb includes a prefix/particle, which exhibits the StG ordering of verb-prefix, rather than the English ordering with the prefix/particle following the main verb. As such, when only the verbs are taken into account, this example is a potential diaconstruction, but the syntax of the prefixed verb suggest that this example is less like English and more like German.¹⁸

In sum, all of the 50 main clauses with *müssen* exhibit word order characteristic of German, with 84% exhibiting the StG bracketed word order and 16% including extraposition. This suggests that the bracketed structure with support and main verbs is highly stable in TxG, and there is no evidence that TxG speakers prefer German-English diaconstructions when forming main declarative clauses with *müssen*.¹⁹

Dass (*that*)

I now turn to subordinate clauses, beginning with those headed by *dass*. The word order expected in StG is VE: all verbs appear clause-finally with the finite verb following non-finite verbs. Other non-standard or colloquial constructions

18. As noted above, this analysis does not address the ordering of verbal prefixes. However, it should be noted that only one utterance with a prefixed verb (of several dozen found in the analyzed data) exhibited non-StG ordering. For instance, within the *müssen* data, eight of the 39 single-verb sentences involve prefixed verbs, all of which exhibit StG ordering: the prefix precedes the clause-final main verb, as in (23).

19. Of course further analysis of other modal verbs and auxiliaries may exhibit wider variation than *müssen*.

that occur in this dataset are VE + AK – which is not uncommon in colloquial German – and V2 and V2B – which are considered non-standard or “incorrect” (Duden 2006, Fuchs 2018).

Potential diaconstructions with these clauses include clauses with V2 order and only one verb as in (21d) above, clauses with only the subject and a single finite verb, in that order (21g), and clauses with [subject – finite verb – non-finite verb] ordering (21h) – in which case it can be viewed as a V2B construction or a VE construction with inverted finite and non-finite verbs. The results are summarized in Table 7.

36 of the 50 *dass* clauses analyzed exhibit the VE ordering expected in StG (25), and three have the VE + AK construction, which is also acceptable in colloquial German (27). Ten *dass* examples exhibit V2-type constructions, including five with the V2 construction (28) and five with the V2B construction (29). One other clause was labeled V1B (30), which is not expected in StG or colloquial registers and may be the result of a production error in rapid speech. Seven of the 50 examples represent potential diaconstructions: five of these exhibit V2 with only one verb following the subject (28; cf. 21d). Two are classified as VE constructions

Table 7. Word order of TxG *dass* clauses

WO Cx	#	%		Example
VE	34	68%	(25)	[...], dass ich Deutsch sprechen konnte . that I German speak could '... that I could speak German.' (1-62-1-17-a)
VE dia.	2	4%	(26)	[...], dass se wussten, wer de Unterschied war . that they knew who the difference was '... that they knew what the difference was.' (1-7-1-3-a)
VE + AK	3	6%	(27)	[...], dass du n gleich nach Haus kommen dust na de Schul. that you then direct to house come do after the school '...that you come right home then after school.' (1-21-1-4-a)
V2 dia.	5	10%	(28)	[...], dass wir gehen nach Hause. that we go to home '...that we go home' (1-42-1-16-a)
V2B	5	10%	(29)	[...], dass sie wollen ein Schullehrer haben . that they want a schoolteacher have '...that they wanted to have a schoolteacher.' (1-36-1-2-a)
V1B	1	2%	(30)	[...], dass war ein flood hier gewesen that was a flood here was '...that there had been a flood here.' (1-33-1-26-a)

(26) (but could also be viewed as V2 constructions, as they have no constituents besides the subject and finite verb), as in (21g) or (21d) above.

In sum, subordinate *dass* clauses in TxG most frequently exhibit the VE or VE + AK word order constructions expected in StG, which comprise 78% of the data. V2 ordering, however, is not infrequent in the data, comprising 20% of all analyzed examples. However, despite having V2 ordering, the bracket structure is primarily maintained in subordinate clauses. A total of seven examples (14%) exhibit potential diaconstructions with identical word order across German and English.

Weil ('because')

I now turn to *weil*-clauses in order to assess the word order constructions used by TxG speakers with a different subordinating conjunction. In StG, the “proper” word order construction for *weil* clauses is also VE, but they may also appear in the VE + AK construction and occur more frequently in the non-standard V2 or V2B constructions than *dass* clauses (Duden 2006, Fuchs 2018). Potential diaconstructions are similar to those discussed for *dass* clauses above, as well as V2B + AK sentences with no elements in the middle field, as in (21f) above. The results for the analysis of TxG *weil* clauses is given in Table 8.

Unlike *dass* clauses, only 14 of the 50 examples exhibit the VE word order expected in StG (31), while 36 examples exhibit V2 word order, with 12 in the V2 construction (32)–(33): 19 in the V2B construction (34)–(35), and five in the V2B + AK construction (36)–(37).

Among the clauses exhibiting V2-type constructions, 14 exhibit word order identical to that of English and thus represent potential diaconstructions. Nine of these have V2 with one verb (33; cf. 21d), three have V2B with no elements other than the subject and two verbs (35; cf. 21f), and two have V2B + AK with no elements separating the subject and verb(s) (37; cf. 21g). That the ratio of diaconstructions to non-diaconstructions for V2 examples (9/12) is much higher than that for V2B and V2B + AK examples (5/24) points again to the stability of the German bracket structure in TxG, whereby finite verbs are separated from non-finite forms.

In sum, *weil* clauses differ more significantly from StG than *dass* clauses and *müssen* sentences. They occur more frequently in V2-type constructions than in the expected VE construction. These clause types also more frequently exhibit potential diaconstructions, at a rate of 28%, than the other clauses investigated thus far (2% for *müssen*; 14% for *dass* clauses). This is likely due to the preponderance of V2-type orderings over VE-type orderings, which are less susceptible to being diaconstructions (see discussion at the end of this section).

Table 8. Word order of TxG *weil* clauses

Cx	#	%		Example
VE	14	28%	(31)	[...], weil ich Deutsch sprechen kann . because I German speak can '...because I can speak German.' (1-2-2-9-a)
V2	3	6%	(32)	[...], weil er muss Mondach nach die Arbeit. because he must Monday to the work '...because he has to go to work on Monday.' (1-44-1-1-a)
V2 dia.	9	18%	(33)	[...], weil die waren Deutschen. because they were German '...because they were German.' (1-59-1-2-a)
V2B	16	32%	(34)	[...], weil meine Mutter hatte uns immer was geneht . because my mother had us always something sewed '...because my mother always sewed us something.' (1-34-1-14-a)
V2B dia.	3	6%	(35)	[...], weil die hamm gesag , [...]. because they have said '...because they said, ...' (1-28-1-8-a)
V2B + AK	3	6%	(36)	[...], weil ich konnt Deutsch sprechen mit de. because I could German speak with them '...because I could speak German with them.' (1-27-1-12-a)
V2B + AK dia.	2	4%	(37)	[...], weil ich hab gearbeit fir mein Bruder. because I have worked for my brother '...because I worked for my brother.' (1-21-1-10-a)

Because

The discussion of the German-origin complementizers *dass* and *weil* begs the question of what types of word order constructions are used with English-origin complementizers. While a detailed discussion of such utterances is beyond the scope of this paper, here I briefly discuss a cursory analysis of TxG clauses introduced with English *because*. A search of the TGDA corpus reveals 89 clauses introduced with *because* and followed by TxG discourse. All 89 of these occur with V2-type word order constructions, rather than the VE-type constructions expected with subordinate clauses in StG.²⁰ Similar observations of SVO-type word order with *because* clauses have been made by Fuller (1997) for Pennsylvania German, who argues that the use of the English lexical item *because* triggers English-type word order within German (dialect) discourse (see also Wild [1994] for similar

20. The *because* clauses investigated are not categorized according to the specific (dia)constructions presented in Table 4 and Table 5.

findings on Fulda German spoken in Hungary). If this is in fact the reason for divergence from StG word order, then it stands to reason that the transference of other English-origin lexical items may also lead to an increase in the use of diaconstructions or other types of syntactic interference.

5.3 TxG utterances with English verbs

I now investigate TxG utterances that include lexical transference (Clyne 2003) from English, in order to determine whether (and if so, how) the code-switching or loan translation of English verbs influences TxG word order. In addition to the evidence from TxG *because* clauses, previous research on German speech islands such as Australian German (Clyne 1994) or Pennsylvania Dutch (Fuller 1997) has also shown that most instances of non-standard word order occur in utterances containing English lexical influence. The sentences used in Boas's (2009a) investigation of TxG word order did not include data with English lexical interference, which is prevalent in TxG data (Gilbert 1972, Boas & Pierce 2011, Dux 2017), further motivating the analysis of such utterances. These types of data also serve as a testing ground for (dia-)constructional analyses, as the constructional properties of English lexical items must be embedded into German grammar and may interact in unexpected ways. The analysis focuses on transferred verbs, because verbs (or verbal lexical constructions) often exhibit more grammatical complexity, such as complex argument realization patterns or conventionalized verb-object collocations, and may thus more easily lead to syntactic interference than other parts of speech (see Dux 2017).

The primary data include 141 sentences from the TGDA corpus.²¹ These are subcategorized into 105 code-switches, 24 loan translations, and 12 loan hybrids (cf. Haugen 1950), which are compound verbs (typically verb-prefix combinations) including both German and English morphemes (e.g. *aufpicken* ('pick up'), lit. up-pick).²² I first present the combined results of all transfer types, grouping them according to clause types (infinitive, polar question, subordinate, main), before briefly discussing differences between each type.

21. The data selection method is introduced in Section 5.1. The present data was taken from Dux (2017), which included 189 examples of English transferred verbs in TxG. The number of examples is smaller in this study, because examples were excluded if they were incomplete sentences or did not contain enough information to make a judgment about the word order construction employed. Some of the excluded examples are discussed in Section 5.5.

22. See Backus & Dorleijn (2009) and Dux (2017) for more on the relation between these types of lexical transference.

Infinitival clauses

Only one infinitival clause occurred in the data. This clause includes a loan hybrid prefixed verb in the expected VE structure with the infinitival marker *zu* following the (German-origin) prefix and preceding the (English-origin) main verb. As such, it does not represent a German-English diaconstruction.

- (38) *Es ist leichter, in Englisch loszurattlen.* (VE; 1-51-1-15-a)
 it is easier in English away-to-rattle
 'It is easier to rattle away in English.'

Polar questions

Two polar questions occurred in the data, including one code-switch and one loan translation. The code-switching example contains two verbs and exhibits the V1B word order construction (39), while the one-verb loan translation example occurs in the V1 construction (40).

- (39) *Willst du die Farm runne [...]?* (V1B; 1-21-1-7-a)
 want you the farm run
 'Do you want to run the farm?'
- (40) *Gleichen Sie Kochkäse?* (V1; 1-8-1-2-a)
 like you cooked-cheese
 'Do you like cooked cheese?'

Both examples exhibit word order expected for polar questions in StG and differ from that found in English. Specifically, in (39) the direct object separates the subject and the non-finite verb, whereas in English the main verb must directly follow the subject and precede the direct object. In (40), the only (and main) verb is in first position, while English requires that such clauses employ the auxiliary *do* and the main (non-finite) verb follows the subject. As such, these two examples do not represent German-English diaconstructions.

Subordinate clauses

A total of 10 subordinate clauses occur in the data, whose word order constructions are documented in Table 9.

Seven of these (5 CS, 1 H, 1 LT)²³ exhibit the expected VE construction (41), and one code-switching example exhibits the non-standard VEfi construction (42). Two code-switching examples exhibit the VE + AK structure (43), with

23. When presenting the results in this section, I use the abbreviations CS (code-switching), H (loan hybrid), and LT (loan translation) to indicate how many examples of each transfer type are used in a given construction type.

Table 9. Word order of TxG subordinate clauses with English verbs

Cx	#	%	Example
VE	7	70%	(41) [...], was se nicht <i>geliked hat</i> . what she not liked has '... which she did not like.' (10-171-3-33-a)
VEfi	1	10%	(42) Wo Pearl Harbor <i>attacked is worden</i> where Pearl Harbor attacked is was '...when Pearl Harbor had been attacked.' (1-55-1-25-a)
VE + AK	1	10%	(43) [...], oder wenn man sich nicht <i>behaved hat</i> mit die Klassen or when one oneself not behaved has with the classes '...or if you didn't behave yourself in class.' (1-8-1-4-a)
VE + AK dia.	1	10%	(44) Und denn wenn wir auch <i>believed in</i> Santi-Clause [...] and then when we also believed in Santa Clause 'And then when we also believed in Santa Clause...'. (1-40-1-18-a)

one showing word order that is identical across German and English (44). Thus, only one of the 10 subordinate clause Example (44) represents a German-English diaconstruction.

Main clauses

I now turn to the 128 TxG main clauses with English verb transfers, summarized in Table 10. 21 examples show the expected V2 ordering (15 CS, 1 H, 5 LT) (45), including 15 examples (11 CS, 4 LT) with overlapping English-German word order (46). Among the 92 sentences with V2B ordering (68 CS, 8 H, 16 LT) (47) are 6 code-switches representing German-English diaconstructions, as in (48). Eleven examples (9 CS, 1 H, 1 LT) show the non-standard V2+AK construction (49), with three of these code-switched examples representing German-English diaconstruction (50). Two (CS) examples exhibit the infrequent ViV2 construction with the participle in first position before the finite verb (51). Two other (CS) examples exhibit unusual word order, with one exhibiting a V1B construction (52) that is acceptable in spoken German but not (proper) StG and one exhibiting a VE type construction that is ungrammatical in this context in StG (53). In summary, main clauses are the most frequent clause type in this dataset (128 total examples) and also the most frequent with potential German-English diaconstructions, with 24 such examples, or 18.8% of all main clauses investigated.

Table 10. Word order of TxG main clauses with English verbs

Cx	#	%		Example
V2	6	5%	(45)	Un denn ceasar Reis <i>liken se</i> . and then Caesar rice like they 'And then they like Caesar rice.' (10-171-3-27-a)
V2 dia.	15	12%	(46)	Das <i>nemmt</i> beinah ein Jahr that takes nearly a year 'That takes nearly a year.' (1-78-1-5-a)
V2B	86	67%	(47)	Der <i>wollt</i> nich nach die Stadt <i>move ...</i> he wanted not to the city move 'He did not want to move to the city.' (1-40-1-4-a)
V2B dia.	6	5%	(48)	Wir <i>sind</i> alle <i>gebaptized</i> , [...]. we are all baptized 'We have all been baptized.' (1-85-1-5-a)
V2B + AK	8	6%	(49)	Wir <i>haben</i> Tomates <i>geraised</i> zum Verkaufen we have tomatoes raised to sell 'We raised tomatoes to sell them.' (10-171-3-21-a)
V2B + AK dia.	3	2%	(50)	Un ich <i>bin retired</i> von der Air force reserve [...]. and I am retired from the Air Force reserve 'And I am retired from the Air Force reserve.' (1-78-1-6-a)
ViV2	2	2%	(51)	Und <i>gebaptized sind</i> wir alle hier in die Kirche. and baptized are we all here in the church 'And we have all been baptized in the church here.' (1-85-1-5-a)
V1B	1	1%	(52)	<i>Kannst</i> du so frame. can you so frame 'You can frame it this way.' (1-85-1-2-a)
VE	1	1%	(53)	Die community nach Doss <i>gemoved is</i> , [...]. the community to Doss moved is 'The community has moved to Doss.' (1-55-1-1-a)

5.4. Summary of TxG word order

The results of word order constructions used in TxG utterances with English verbs are summarized in Table 11. The columns are separated according to code-switches (CS), loan hybrids (H), and loan translations (LT). The rows are separated according to clause type, with the first of each row pair listing the total number of examples with a given clause type and the second listing the number of these exhibiting diaconstructions.

With respect to clause types, infinitival clauses, and polar questions are highly infrequent in the data (3/141) and exhibited no instances of potential

Table 11. Summary of word order in TxG utterances with English verbs

	CS	H	LT	Total	% dia.
Infinitive total	0	1	0	1	
Infinitive dia.	0	0	0	0	0%
Polar total	1	0	1	2	
Polar dia.	0	0	0	0	0%
Subordinate total	8	1	1	10	
Subordinate dia.	1	0	0	1	10%
Main total	96	10	22	128	
Main dia.	20	0	4	24	18.8%
Total	105	12	24	141	
Total dia.	21 (20%)	0 (0%)	4 (16.7%)	25 (17.8%)	

diaconstructions. Subordinate clauses are also infrequent, and only one of the ten subordinate clauses analyzed displays a potential diaconstruction, as in (44) above. Main clauses, on the other hand, are the most frequent clause type overall and the most frequent in exhibiting potential diaconstructions.²⁴

Turning to the summary of each type of lexical transference, the results show that none of the loan hybrid examples – which combine a German prefix with an English root, or vice versa – exhibit diaconstructions. This is likely due to the stability of German syntax for prefix verbs, whereby prefixes are either placed in the final field (with one finite verb in second position) or before the finite verb in final position, and its difference from English ordering (cf. (6)-(7) above). TxG utterances with code-switching, in contrast, exhibit diaconstructions most frequently among the three transfer types, with 21 of 105 examples (20%) representing diaconstructions. Loan translation examples exhibit diaconstructions nearly as frequently as code-switching examples, with four of 24 examples (16.7%) showing word order identical across the two languages. However, as will be shown in the next section, TxG utterances with loan translation from English frequently exhibit constituent ordering and other structural properties that are highly unusual and unable to be subsumed under the word order categories/constructions defined at the start of this section.

Turning to the summary of all analyzed TxG sentences, Table 12 shows how many examples exhibit StG vs. non-StG ordering (e.g. V2-type ordering with subordinate clauses, or instances of *Ausklammerung*), as well as how many examples

24. In the summary of the full results below, I discuss why main clauses are more likely to exhibit diaconstructions where German and English word order is identical than other clause types.

Table 12. Summary of analysis – Standard vs. Non-standard and Diaconstructions

Clause type	StG	StG Dia.	Non-StG	Non-StG Dia.	Dia. total
<i>müssen</i> (50)	42 (84%)	4 (2%)	8 (16%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
<i>dass</i> (50)	36 (72%)	2 (4%)	14 (28%)	5 (10%)	7 (14%)
<i>weil</i> (50)	14 (28%)	0 (0%)	36 (72%)	14 (28%)	14 (28%)
German Total (150)	92 (~61%)	3 (~2%)	58 (~39%)	19 (~13%)	22 (~15%)
English Total (141)	123 (~87%)	21 (~15%)	18 (~13%)	4 (~3%)	25 (~18%)

of each type can be characterized as diaconstructions. The first column lists the number and percentage of examples for a given clause type that exhibit word order expected in StG, the second column lists the number and percentage of examples exhibiting both StG word order and representing a diaconstruction. The fourth and fifth columns show the number exhibiting non-standard word order and both non-standard word order and diaconstructions, respectively. The final column lists the total number of examples for the respective clause type which represent diaconstructions. The top four rows describe the German-language data, while the final row describes the English-verb data.

Among the German-verb examples, main clauses with *müssen* occur most frequently in word order constructions expected in StG (namely V2B) and least frequently in diaconstructions. Subordinate *dass* clauses occur somewhat less frequently in the expected StG construction (namely VE) and more frequently in diaconstructions (14%) than *müssen* clauses. In contrast, subordinate *weil* clauses are the least frequent in the expected StG word order (VE) and most frequent in diaconstructions, not only among the German-verb data, but also in comparison with the English-verb data. This discrepancy can be attributed to the high frequency of *weil* with V2 ordering in TxG, as also attested by Boas (2009a) and Fuchs (2018), and to the high susceptibility of V2-type ordering to coincide with that of English relative to V1-type and VE-type ordering.

This explanation is further supported by a critical comparison of the German-verb and English-verb datasets. At first glance, the comparison does not (strongly) support the hypothesis that TxG utterances with English verbs are more frequent in non-StG constructions and in the diaconstructions proposed in Table 5: 87% of the English-verb examples but only 61% of the German-verb examples exhibit StG constructions, and the English-verb examples are only slightly more frequent in diaconstructions (17.7%) than all German-verb examples (14.7%) but much less frequent than *weil* examples (28%).

These figures, however, are skewed due to the data selection method employed in the analysis and the general character of word order constructions in German and English. Specifically, the English-verb data comprise a significantly higher

percentage of main clauses (~91%) and also include main clauses with a single verb, which were not included in the German-verb data. Main clauses are associated with V2-type constructions in StG, and V2-type constructions are more susceptible to allowing identical ordering with English than other construction types. As pointed out in Table 5 and the surrounding discussion, in order to exhibit word order identical across German and English, V2 constructions only require that the subject precede the verb (Principle A), and V2B and V2B + AK constructions further require that no constituents occur in the middle field to separate the finite and non-finite verbs (Principle B). In contrast, VE-type constructions require not only that these two principles are filled, but also that the finite verb precede non-finite verbs (Principle C). V1-type constructions for polar questions are even less susceptible to exhibiting diaconstructions, as they must not only fulfill the aforementioned principles, but also Principle D, which accounts for the English requirement of *do*-support in the formation of polar questions with only a single verb.

In addition to the susceptibility of V2 constructions to be identical across the two languages, the brief discussion of *because* clauses also suggests that TxG utterances with English lexical items exhibit more non-StG ordering than the primary dataset investigated here. Furthermore, the analysis of English-verb subordinate clauses showed that three of the 10 sentences (30%) exhibited non-StG ordering, a figure closer to that for German-verb *weil* clauses and much higher than the combined German-verb *dass* and *weil* clauses. Furthermore, the examples discussed in the following section were not included in the main analysis, but show how English lexical transference can affect German syntactic structures more drastically. In sum, a closer and more sophisticated analysis may in fact support the hypothesis that English-verb TxG utterances differ more drastically from StG and result in more frequent use of word order diaconstructions than TxG utterances with German verbs.

5.5. (Diasystematic) constructional account of divergent TxG syntax

While the word order properties of the TxG utterances discussed above could be categorized according to the German word order constructions identified in Section 4.1, several examples exhibit syntax that cannot clearly be ascribed to English or German. These examples require a more nuanced perspective of syntactic structures, with an appreciation for their relation to other aspects of language (e.g. semantics, lexicon, etc.) and the potential influence of English interference. In this section, I show how a Diasystematic CxG approach supports such an analysis: The basic principles of CxG allow for a more explicit account of how constructions of different types interact within a single utterance, and the Diasystematic CxG perspective helps us understand how multilingual speakers draw on their

full constructional repertoire and must somehow map the (lexical) constructions of one language (here, English) onto the (grammatical) constructions of another language (here, TxG). This section only provides a survey of different types of ‘non-standard’ utterances and potential explanations for their irregularity, and it should not be taken as a full-fledged account or categorization of such utterances.

Multiple lexical transference

One category of TxG utterances differing significantly from StG subsumes utterances that include multiple instances of English lexical transference, yet largely maintain German-style syntax, as in (54).

- (54) *Du musst den Clutch drehen, for es Gear zu schiff.*
 you must the clutch turn in-order the gear to shift
 ‘You must turn the clutch to shift the gear.’
 StG: *Man muss die Kupplung treten, um den Gang zu wechseln.*

This example comes off as rather unusual to a (non-English-speaking) StG speaker not because of its structural properties per se, but because of the high number of English lexical items. This is seen in the code-switching of *clutch*, *gear*, and *shift*, as well as the loan-translation of *du* ‘you (inf.)’ (StG *man* ‘one’) and *drehen* (‘turn’) (StG: *treten* (‘step on/kick’)). Despite the slight structural interference in that the infinitival clause is introduced by *for*²⁵ rather than the expected *um* (‘in order to’), the general syntax of the utterance largely follows that expected in StG. From a constructional perspective, such utterances can be understood as instances of German syntactic (i.e. word order) constructions whose schematic slots are filled in with English lexical items (i.e. lexical constructions). These cases only differ from normal instances of lexical transference with respect to the amount of transferred material.

(Inaccurate) complex German structures

Other examples represent another type of divergent TxG utterance, namely those in which complex German structures (e.g. infinitival or relative clauses) are formed inaccurately (from the perspective of StG). One such type of utterance is given in (55).

- (55) *denn is er in saloon gegangen zum sein [...] etwas Bier trinken.*
 then is he in saloon gone to his some beer drink
 ‘Then he went into the saloon to drink some/his beer.’
 StG: *Dann ist er in die Kneipe gegangen, um sein/etwas Bier zu trinken.*

25. The word *for* in this example, and in Example (55) below, can be viewed as either a loan translation or a code-switching of English *for*, depending on its pronunciation.

Like the previous example, (55) also exhibits multiple lexical transference, seen in the code-switching of *saloon* and (potentially) of *drinken* (which could also be a phonological variation on German-origin *trinken*). In this example, however, the structural formation of the infinitival clause appears to influence the foreign-sounding character of the utterance. Specifically, in StG, the clause should begin with the complementizer *um*, the infinitival marker *zu* should precede the infinitive verb, and *zum* should not appear with the *-m* case ending.²⁶

Like the two sentences above, (56) includes both English lexical interference as well as multiple complex structures, which are formed even more inaccurately (from the perspective of StG) than that above.

- (56) *Und wie sonst hat man extra Welli wo se hiren konnst, for
and as otherwise has one extra some-people, where you hire could, for
die zu schern.*²⁷

them to sheer

And otherwise one had some extra (people) whom one could hire to sheer them.

StG: Und sonst hatte man zusätzliche (Leute?), die man anstellen konnte, die Schafe zu scheren.

The first embedded clause (*wo se hiren konnst*) is a relative clause introduced with the non-inflected *wo* ('where/which') rather than the inflected relative pronoun *die* ('whom' plural, accusative). It also includes the code-switched *hiren* (StG *anstellen/beauftragen*) and a subject form (*se*, StG *Sie*, 'you' formal) that differs from that in the main clause it depends on (*man*, 'one'). The final infinitival clause also differs from StG in that it is introduced with *for* rather than *um*, and in that the equivalent German verb, *anstellen* ('hire') does not employ an infinitival complementizer.²⁸ Examples such as (55)-(56) demonstrate how speakers combine specif-

26. This utterance is also divergent due to the hesitation and restarting within the infinitival clause of *sein* and *etwas*, which is a feature characteristic of natural rapid speech and not directly related to the interaction of constructions.

27. Though it is pronounced and transcribed rather unusually, the word *Welli* is translated as StG *welche* ('some (people)'), as it likely refers to the people who could be hired. In any case, the meaning of this word does not affect the word order analysis.

28. Another example of inaccurate formation of complex structures is seen in: *Denn hab ich so viel Stimmen gekricht wie die andere drei zusammen was gegen mich gelaufen*. (1-42-1-12-a). Here, the final relative clause from StG in several respects: the clause is introduced with *was* ('what/which') rather than the inflected relative pronoun (i.e. *die*), it employs the verb (*ge*)*laufen* ('run') which is loan-translated from the English collocation 'run for election', and the inflected perfect auxiliary (*haben* or *sind*) should appear in clause-final position but is omitted altogether by the speaker.

ic features (e.g. word order, complementizer choice) of both German and English constructions in the formation of complex syntactic structures.

Transferring complex verb constructions with lexicogrammatical interference

While the syntax of the examples above differs somewhat from StG, it is not clear that the transference of English lexical constructions is responsible for this difference. Instead, the high number of lexical transfers themselves or the inaccurate (though not purely English-based) formation of complex structures – or a combination thereof – gives them a foreign character. In contrast, other TxG utterances more clearly exhibit syntactic effects of transferred English lexical constructions.

One way that this comes about is the code-switching or loan translation of an English lexical item (especially verbs or adjectives) along with its associated grammatical “baggage” – such as its collocational or argument realization properties – which are imposed onto German grammar. This is demonstrated in (57)–(58), in which English verbs are simply code-switched while the surrounding constituents are formed using features of both German and English constructions.

- (57) *Ich like's zu essen.* (10–171–3–28–a)
 I like it to eat
 ‘I like to eat it.’
 Ich mag es essen. (StG)
- (58) *Wir waren supposed kein Deutsch zu sprechen in die Schul.* (1–21–1–5–a)
 we were supposed no German to speak in the school
 ‘We were not supposed to speak German in school.’
 Wir sollten in der Schule kein Deutsch sprechen. (StG)

In (57), the speaker uses the English verb *like* and combines specific features of the English “*like* + VP” construction and the German “*mögen* + VP” construction, as shown in Figure 2:

ENG: [SBJ + <i>like</i> + <i>to</i> V + OBJ]	<i>I like to eat it.</i>
TXG: [SBJ + <i>like</i> + OBJ + <i>zu</i> V]	<i>Ich like es zu essen.</i>
STG: [SBJ + <i>mögen</i> + OBJ + Vinf]	<i>Ich mag es essen.</i>

Figure 2. ‘like’ constructions in TxG, StG, and English

ENG: [SBJ + <i>be</i> + <i>supposed</i> + <i>to</i> V + OBJ + ADV]	<i>We were supposed to speak no German in school.</i>
GER: [SBJ + <i>sollen</i> + ADV + OBJ + Vinf]	<i>Wir sollten in der Schule kein Deutsch sprechen.</i>
TXG: [SBJ + <i>sein</i> + <i>supposed</i> + OBJ + <i>zu</i> V + ADV]	<i>Wir waren supposed kein Deutsch zu sprechen in die Schul</i>

Figure 3. ‘supposed to/sollen’ constructions in TxG, StG, and English

In the English *like* construction, the subject is followed by the verb *like*, which is followed by an infinitival main verb (e.g. *to eat*) that precedes the object. The most closely related StG construction uses the verb *mögen* ('to like'), which occurs in second-position (following the subject, in canonical cases) and is followed by the object (*es* ('it')), but it differs from English in that the main verb (*essen* ('to eat')) occurs in its bare infinitive form rather than with the infinitival marker *zu*.²⁹ In forming the TxG utterance in (57), the speaker employs the word order from the StG construction but follows the English construction in omitting the dummy object *es* and in using the infinitival marker *zu*.³⁰

In (58), the English "semi-modal" construction with *supposed to*, along with its grammatical features, is imposed upon TxG structures, resulting in an utterance with both English- and German-style syntax. English has a "supposed to do X" construction, which contains slots for the following constituents, in this order: [subject – support verb (*be*) – semi-modal (*supposed*) – main verb with the *to* infinitival marker – any objects – any adverbial phrases]. In StG, the construction with the most similar meaning employs *sollen* as a (normal) modal verb and the bracket structure (V2B), with the object following any adverbial phrases in the middle field and the main verb in its bare infinitival form in clause-final position.

Here again, the TxG speaker combines aspects of both constructions. For one, the support verb of the English construction is loan-translated into German (*war-en*), the modal *supposed* is code-switched from English, and the English infinitival marker is translated into German (*zu*). The placement of object (*kein Deutsch* ('no German')) before the main verb adheres to the StG construction, but the placement of the adverbial phrase (*in die Schul* ('in school')) after the main verb adheres to the English construction.

Loan Translation of more general and 'central' constructions

While the grammar of utterances such as those above are closely linked to the properties of the lexical constructions for *like to* and *supposed to*, other TxG

29. German may also express this meaning with the verb *gefallen* ('to please'), but this verb exhibits a different argument structure, namely that the liked entity is subject and the experiencer is a dative object. TxG speakers also frequently use loan-translated *gleichen* ('to like') in this context. See Keel (2014) and Dux (2017) for more on how the concept of 'to like' is expressed in German-American varieties.

30. A similar case is seen in the utterance *Die wären sehr hart gewesen to clear* (1–51–1–2-a), in which the German verb *hart* is loan-translated from English *hard* ('difficult'), the infinitival marker *to* is directly code-switched from English, and the word order combines properties of both English and German syntax.

utterances exhibit grammatical properties that represent broader and more central structural differences between German and English. A detailed account cannot be offered here, but some grammatical features that may undergo constructional interaction in TxG utterances include the use of *make* as a causative verb in English (59), the correspondence between German dative experiencer and English subject experiencer (60), and the use of prefixed and particle verbs (61).

- (59) *Das hat mich denken machen vor 'ne masse Dinge.* (1-55-1-5-a)
 That has me think make before a mass-of things
 'That made me think about a lot of things.'
 Das brachte mich dazu, über viele Sachen nachzudenken. (StG)
- (60) *weil ich langweilig war* (1-85-1-6-a)
 because I bored was
 'because I was bored.'
 weil es mir langweilig war. (StG)
- (61) *weil ich find aus davon anyway.* (1-21-1-4-a)
 because I find out of-that anyway
 'because I will find out about that anyway.'
 weil ich das sowieso herausfinden werde. (StG)

Multiple transference and interference in a single clause

To conclude this section, I describe the two highly divergent examples in (62)–(63). These examples demonstrate how a single utterance may exhibit multiple types of traditionally recognized language contact phenomena (e.g. code-switching, loan translation) and of multilingual constructional interference described in the preceding pages (e.g. inaccurate structure formation, structural interference). Such examples cannot be fully described within approaches that focus on a single type of language contact phenomenon or that assume a division between so-called language modules, but require a more unified and comprehensive approach, such as that offered by Diasystematic CxG.

- (62) *ICH like's hier besser because ich hab immer mein Deutsches verpasst*
 I like-it here better because I have always my German-ADJ missed
 'I like it here better, because I always missed my German.'
 Ich mag es hier besser, weil ich immer mein Deutsch vermisst habe.
 (10-171-3-18-a)

- (63) *Aber sonst tue ich noch ganz gut, except tu' die (Maria) auch phonen,*
 but otherwise do I still quite good, except do the Maria also phone,
wenn ich langweilig wär.
 when I bored am
 But otherwise I'm still doing quite well, except I call Maria, when I am/get
 bored.
 Aber sonst geht es mir ganz gut, ausgenommen, dass ich auch Maria anrufe,
 wenn es mir langweilig ist.³¹ (1-85-1-6-a)

Example (62) exhibits lexical transference in the code-switching of the verb *like* and the conjunction *because* and in the loan translation of *verpasst* ('to miss'), which is used in StG for missing appointments or transportation (e.g. buses) but not in the sense of longing or lacking something one previously had. The object *es* ('it') has also been contracted and attached to the verb *like*, as frequently occurs in rapid German speech but not in English. Syntactically, the second clause exhibits V2 word order (which is not expected in StG but common for *because* clauses in TxG), but it maintains the German bracket structure with the non-finite verb in clause-final position. The noun *Deutsches* is also assigned a German adjective ending which is not used in StG when referring to a language.

Example (63) exhibits lexical transference in the code-switching of the conjunction *except* and the verb *phonen*. The initial clause shows the loan translation of the English expression 'be doing well', in the sense of being in a good state, which would be expressed in StG with the verb *gehen* and a dative experiencer (*es geht mir gut*). The final clause exhibits similar structural interference, as the dative experiencer expected in StG (*mir ist langweilig*) is expressed as nominative subject as in English (*I am bored*). Furthermore, the middle clause employs the 'habitual *tun*' construction found in some non-standard German dialects, and its subject (*ich* 'I') appears to have been omitted, likely due to the naturalistic speech setting.

These two examples demonstrate quite clearly how speakers draw on their *constructional repertoire*, which does not always compartmentalize individual constructions to specific languages. Instead, multilingual speakers may employ and combine individual constructions of all types (e.g. lexical, syntactic, morphological, phraseological), which are typically associated with one "language" or another. From a diachronic perspective, it may well be the case that prolonged use of such combined structures can lead to significant structural differences between a contact language and non-contact varieties of the same language (as may be seen in the development of languages that are disconnected from their donor dialect over centuries, such as the German dialects of sectarian Pennsylvania Dutch).

31. The name "Maria" is used in place of the actual personal name uttered by the speaker for reasons of privacy.

Such structural changes, however, are not due to a “parametric” shift of large-scale typological character (such as SOV to SVO), but can instead be attributed to the interaction of more item-specific constructions, including those associated with individual lexical items.

6. Conclusion

This paper presented a detailed analysis of Texas German (TxG) word order drawing on recent developments in research on (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar. In Section 2, I discussed how previous research on word order – both in Texas German and of broader datasets – relies primarily on broad categories such as SOV/SVO which may be relevant in large-scale typological comparisons but cannot adequately account for the full range of word order phenomena among bilingual speakers of closely related languages. I then described how word order is accounted for in Construction Grammar in Section 3. In Section 4 I identified German word order constructions (focusing primarily on verb placement) that are more specific than those employed in previous studies (e.g. verb-second vs. verb-final), as well as German-English word order “diaconstructions” in which constituent ordering is identical in the two languages and the broader syntactic principles of each language that play into the comparison of word order constructions.

The analysis in Section 5 sought to assess previous findings on TxG word order, which are largely confirmed: subordinate clauses headed by *dass* largely maintain the expected German word order with the finite verb in clause-final position, those headed by *weil* are more frequent with the finite verb in second position, and speakers almost always maintain the relative placement of finite and non-finite verbs found in German. The analysis also tested the hypothesis that TxG speakers would use the cross-linguistically identical diaconstructions more frequently than German-specific constructions, especially when verbs are code-switched or loan-translated from English. The data suggested that German-specific constructions are preferred overall, but German-English diaconstructions are slightly more frequent in clauses with English verbs than in those with German-origin verbs. However, a closer analysis showed how the data selection method may have skewed the results, as certain clause types are more likely to exhibit diaconstructions than others. The paper concluded by discussing several utterances with structures that cannot clearly be ascribed to English or (Texas) German and showing how a (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar approach helps to account for how German and English structures interact within a single utterance.

The application of (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar principles to contrastive analyses of word order offers a radically new perspective on cross-linguistic

grammatical research compared to traditional syntactic analyses, which seek to describe entire languages and/or traditional clause types (e.g., declarative, interrogative) using a limited set of predetermined syntactic categories (e.g., V2, SVO, SOV). The TxG data, particularly the utterances discussed in Section 5.5, emphasize that word order – the trademark feature of syntax in modular frameworks – cannot be treated independently but exhibits intricate interactions with other traditional “modules” of language, most notably the lexicon, pragmatics, and phraseology. These findings thereby support the non-modular approach of Construction Grammar. Of course, a constructional approach such as that demonstrated here certainly increases the complexity of word order analyses, as seen for instance when one compares the 10 word order types identified in Section 4 against the traditional three-way distinction between V1, V2, and VE. (Furthermore, the 10 word order types would increase substantially if the ordering of other elements besides subject and verbs is accounted for). However, the word order of the TxG data discussed here demonstrates that TxG speakers’ linguistic knowledge is not compartmentalized clearly into such categories but depends on numerous non-syntactic factors. Thus, the increased complexity and multi-dimensionality of (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar methods is necessary if we seek to fulfill the ultimate goal Construction Grammar research, namely an adequate and empirically account of “the entirety of language” – including messy data such as that produced by bilingual Texas German speakers.

The present analysis must, of course, be applied to a much wider range of data to arrive at a full and empirically valid account of TxG word order. Such an analysis should also account more systematically for sociolinguistic variables, such as speakers’ age, fluency level, and degree of exposure to English, TxG, and StG. Another avenue of future research is the identification of other types of potential (German-English) diaconstructions, such as those involving verbal inflection, case assignment, or phonology. Another important question arising from this analysis of (German) word order is the relation between word order constructions identified here (focusing on the placement of verbal elements and core grammatical functions) and other aspects of word order, such as those involving with prefix/particle verbs the relative placement of adverbial phrases.

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PART IV

Semantic frames in contact

A constructional account of the modal particle ‘ja’ in Texas German

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The last decade has seen the expansion of systematic study of spoken language within Construction Grammar (Fried & Östman 2005, Östman 2006, Günthner 2006, Imo 2007). While most studies have only noted that a specific syntactic pattern may have different manifestations in spoken language and in ‘standard’ grammar, the emphasis in these studies has been on the domain of the sentence/utterance as the appropriate context of analysis (e.g. Lambrecht & Lemoine 2005). To overcome this bias, this paper presents a case study of a constructional representation and analysis of a regular patterning in natural discourse, namely the modal particle *ja* in Texas German, a critically endangered dialect (see Boas 2009, Boas & Pierce 2011).

Keywords: modal particle, language contact, Construction Grammar, Texas German

1. Introduction

Speakers of Texas German employ modal particles (MPs) such as *doch*, *mal*, and *ja* to express their stance and attitude in conversation (Salmons 1990, Boas & Weibacher 2007, Boas 2010). This paper presents a constructional account of the MP *ja* as in the following examples.¹

1. In this study I use the term “modal particle” for *ja* (and *mal*, *eben*, etc.). Terms like “discourse marker”, “pragmatic particle”, or “contextualization cue” are also used in the literature. I do not wish to make any theoretical assumptions associated with the use of any of these terms. For an in-depth study of discourse particles, see Fischer (2000).

- (1) Die Kleinste must mir ja noch dragen und alles.
 the smallest had-to we actually still carry and everything
 ‘The smallest we actually had to carry and everything.’ (1-28-1-3)²
- (2) Die bringen ja gudes Geld mit, bauen Häuser, schöne neue Häuser.
 they bring really good money with build houses beautiful new house
 ‘They really bring good money (along), they buy new houses, beautiful new
 houses.’ (1-45-1-6)

In (1), the MP *ja* (‘actually’) signals assertion on the part of the speaker.³ In (2), *ja* (‘really’) signals astonishment or marveling on the part of the speaker. Both examples illustrate how MPs are employed to signal the speaker’s stance towards the content of their statement. But what are the exact differences and similarities between *ja* in (1) and (2)? Are they really the same MP, or should they be classified as different senses with distinct functions and distributions? Based on examples such as (1) and (2), this paper examines how the notion of *construction* can be extended in a dialogical direction to account for some of the complexities of spoken language. Furthermore, this paper aims to show how the notion of construction can help to account for the distribution of MPs such as *ja* in contact languages.

The paper is structured as follows. Part two provides a short summary of the history of Texas German, including on-going documentation efforts by the Texas German Dialect Project at the University of Texas at Austin. Part three summarizes the distribution of some German-origin MPs such as *ja*, *mal*, and *doch*, and some borrowed Discourse Particles (DPs) from English such as *you know*, *well*, and *so*. Based on corpus examples, we show that they are polysemous and that each of the different senses of a DP and MP implies distinct types of background knowledge

2. Numbers following examples are unique file IDs that point to the location of the examples in the Texas German Dialect Archive. For details, see Boas (2006) and Boas et al. (2010).

3. Throughout this paper I cite examples containing the relevant DPs and MPs without discussing the entire dialogue sequence in which these sentences are embedded. An anonymous reviewer points out that this methodology is less than ideal because it does not apply truly dialogical criteria (Bakhtin 1981, Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998) for the analyses of the different functions of DPs and MPs in TxG. While a discussion of longer dialogical sequences would certainly be ideal, it is impractical given the space constraints of this paper (each dialogue sequence is about a half page long). Because the functions of DPs and MPs in TxG are equivalent to those of Standard German (see Salmons 1990), I relied on my own native speaker intuitions when analyzing their use and functions in my corpus of TxG. To this end, I applied the definitions of individual senses of MPs as described by Weydt et al. (1983) (see Section 3) for Standard German. In addition, I checked my native speaker intuitions with five other native speakers of German. Note that each corpus example cited in this paper contains a unique file ID number which enables the interested reader to find the individual sentence and the entire dialogue sequence in the freely available on-line archive of Texas German (<http://www.tgdp.org>).

on the part of the speaker and the hearer. For example, some of the functions of *ja* include marveling and astonishment, warning and threatening, assertion, and short commentary (Weydt 1989). Similarly, *you know* is used to indicate awareness of shared knowledge, to clarify common knowledge, to indicate hesitation, and to appeal for a hearer's understanding (Schiffrin 1987).

Part four presents a brief overview of some of the principles of Construction Grammar (CxG), which aims to account for all linguistic tokens of a language. CxG sees itself as a grammar of language as a whole – both of its “core” structures (what traditional grammars, including most generative grammars, have aimed for) and of its so-called “periphery” (including what traditional grammars call sentence fragments, and various non-clausal phrases).

Part five of the paper presents a constructional analysis of *ja* as in (1) and (2). I show that this MP constitutes a rich inventory of distinct senses, each of which is associated with a particular cluster of properties, amounting to distinct pragmatic functions that are highly context-dependent. Based on insights from Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982) and Implicit Anchoring (Östman 2006), I argue that each of the individual senses of a MP evoke different semantic frames, together with distinct discourse patterns that make reference to grammatical constructions. Part six summarizes the main findings of the paper and presents suggestions for further research.

2. Texas German: History and documentation

Texas German is a mixed dialect that is the result of German immigrants bringing different dialects of German to Texas beginning in the 1840s. One of the crucial features that sets TxG apart from other German-American dialects is that it is a mix of at least four or five different German dialects, including Hessian, Palatinate, Low German, Thuringian, and Saxon (see Gilbert 1972, Boas 2009).

From the 1840s to the early 1900s, Texas Germans were relatively isolated, thanks to a number of political and social factors, ranging from the anti-slavery views held by most German settlers to deliberate attempts at self-sufficiency. German immigrants and their descendants maintained their language and culture through a variety of German-speaking institutions, including churches, schools, social organizations, and newspapers (Nicolini 2004, Salmons & Lucht 2006, Boas 2009, Kearney 2011). By the early 20th century there were approximately 100,000 Texas Germans (Eichhoff 1986).

This situation changed dramatically with the entry of the U.S. into World War I in 1917 and the resulting increase in anti-German sentiment, along with the passage of an English-only law for public schools (Salmons 1983: 188), which led to

the stigmatization of Texas German and the beginning of its decline. World War II reinforced the stigmas attached to Germany, Texas Germans, and the German language. As a result, institutional support for the widespread maintenance and use of German in public venues was largely abandoned, with devastating consequences for TxG. German-language newspapers and periodicals stopped publishing, some German-language schools closed and German instruction was dropped in others; and German-speaking churches replaced German-language services with English-language ones (Nicolini 2004, Boas 2009, Boas & Pierce 2011).

After World War II, the increasing migration of non-German speakers to the traditional German enclaves and the general refusal of these newcomers to learn German led to the large-scale abandonment of German in the public sphere. The increased use of English in the public domain pushed German even further into the private domain. Texas Germans also increasingly married partners who could not speak German, and in such linguistically mixed marriages, English typically became the language of the household.

In the 1960s approximately 70,000 TxG speakers remained in the “German belt” of central Texas. Today, however, only an estimated 8–10,000 Texas Germans, primarily in their sixties or older, still speak the language of their forbearers fluently (Boas 2003, 2009), and English has become the primary language for most Texas Germans in both private and public domains. With no signs of this language shift being halted or reversed and fluent speakers almost exclusively above the age of 60, Texas German is now critically endangered and is expected to become extinct within the next 30 years.

TxG is not only interesting because of its various donor dialects (see above) and its heavy contact with English over the past century. It is also special in that it never evolved into a focused new-world variety, preserving significant dialectal features from its original donor dialects up to the present day. Boas (2009) discusses the emergence and formation of TxG in detail by applying Trudgill’s (2004) model of new-dialect formation to TxG. He comes to the conclusion that TxG as spoken in the 21st century is essentially a koiné, not much different from what it sounded like in the early 20th century. Because of the considerable variation in the phonology, morpho-syntax, and the lexicon, TxG cannot be conceived as a homogenous variety (in contrast to Standard German) (Boas 2009, Boas & Pierce 2011, Roesch 2012). Even though TxG exhibits significant variation today, it is almost mutually intelligible with Standard German, depending on the pronunciation of individual speakers (which varies considerably) and the topic of conversation: about 5–7% of TxG vocabulary has been borrowed from English (see Boas & Pierce 2011 for details), and if a Standard German speaker does not know any English, it might be difficult to completely understand a speaker of TxG.

In 2001, Hans Boas founded the Texas German Dialect Project (TGDP) at the University of Texas at Austin to record, document, and archive the remnants of TxG before it dies out. Over the past 17 years, members of the TGDP have interviewed close to 700 speakers of TxG, resulting in about 1,200 hours of recordings. Besides eliciting TxG words, phrases, and sentences based on the lists in Eikel (1954) and Gilbert (1972), TGDP members collect biographical data (in English) capturing speakers' use of language throughout their lives, their language attitudes, and other relevant personal information. The main bulk of data collected by the TGDP consists of open-ended sociolinguistic interviews conducted in German. Using ELAN (<http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>), these interviews are transcribed and translated into English and then stored in the Texas German Dialect Archive (<http://www.tgdp.org>), together with the other interview data, where they are freely accessible.

The archived interviews are associated with only minimal meta-data, such as age of speaker, gender, place of birth, and language spoken at home before entering elementary school. We hope to be able to enlarge our electronic metadata inventory in the not too distant future.⁴ The archive is used for teaching, research, and outreach activities. For more details, please see Boas (2006) and Boas et al. (2010). The data in this paper come from the open-ended interviews stored in the Texas German Dialect Archive.

Before turning to the distribution of *ja* in TxG, a word about the speakers of TxG is in order. The recordings in the Texas German Dialect Archive are based on interviews with roughly equal percentages of male and female speakers ranging in age from 54 to 98 years. Texas German was their first language and about a fourth of the speakers had some knowledge of English before entering elementary school. All speakers are bilingual TxG – English speakers. Almost all of the speakers grew up on farms, attending rural country schools before going to work on the farm or transferring to high school in larger towns such as New Braunfels, Fredericksburg, San Antonio, Weimar, or Seguin. A quarter of speakers finished 7–9 years of school before beginning with full-time work, three quarters graduated with a high school degree, and only 8% graduated from college. A quarter of our TxG speakers had formal German instruction in high school or college, and about 5% have traveled to Germany. The speakers have a variety of occupational backgrounds: ranchers, farmers, semi-skilled workmen, technicians, teachers, house

4. Since the interviews are not extensively tagged with the relevant sociolinguistic variables, this paper does not offer any insights into the correlation between linguistic performance and the sociolinguistic stratification of our speakers. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the use of DPs and MPs in TxG is roughly the same among our speakers. Clearly, this point needs to be addressed in more detail by future research.

wives, business owners, mayors, professionals, and members of the armed forces. Based on Campbell & Muntzel's (1989) scale, our group can be characterized as consisting of roughly 50% strong speakers and roughly 50% imperfect speakers. With this overview, we now turn to the distribution of *ja* in TxG.

3. Distribution of English and German DPs and MPs in Texas German

Particles are often borrowed in language contact situations, thereby affecting the particle marker system of the recipient language (Matras 1998, Fuller 2001). Depending on the intensity and length of contact, only selected DPs and MPs are borrowed. In other cases, entire discourse-marking systems can be borrowed from one language into another (Fuller 2003, Clyne 2003, Maschler 2000). Like many other German-American dialects, TxG exhibits a mixed particle system consisting of both German-origin DPs and MPs as well as DPs borrowed from English (Salmons 1990, Boas & Weilbacher 2007, Boas 2010).

First, consider the distribution of German-origin MPs, which do not have direct English translation equivalents such as *mal* ('once'), *halt* ('just'), *ja* ('really'), *eben* ('even/just'), and *doch* ('really'). Table 1 summarizes the distribution of these MPs in a pilot study of the distribution of MPs in TxG.

Table 1. Distribution of German-origin MPs in TxG corpus (Boas & Weilbacher 2006)*

Modal particle	Number of occurrences	Number of speakers	Number of functions
<i>mal</i>	115	26	3/3
<i>halt</i>	150	25	2/2
<i>ja</i>	142	19	2/4
<i>eben</i>	171	3	1/3
<i>doch</i>	108	38	3/4

* An anonymous reviewer points out that the data in Table 1 is not very informative because they do not contain actual analyses of excerpts leading to decisions concerning the number of functions for each MP TxG vs. Standard German. While this is certainly an important point, it is important to remember that the data in Table 1 are a summary of the analyses of MPs carried out by Boas & Weilbacher (2006). The interested reader can consult the extensive data in Boas & Weilbacher (2006), which also contain unique file IDs that enable the retrieval of the entire sequence in which the individual MPs are embedded.

Present-day TxG appears to have a well-functioning, if somewhat limited, system of German-origin MPs, whose functions and meanings are similar to those found in Standard German today (see Boas & Weilbacher 2006/2007).⁵ More

5. See Salmons (1990) for a different view of the TxG system and Durrell (2002) or Donahue (2009) for overviews of DPs in Standard German.

specifically, the functions of TxG MPs match up nicely with their different functions in Standard German (cf. Weydt 1989, who calls them *Abtönungspartikel*). These include request, reminder, assertion, prompting, marveling, astonishment, warning, threatening, objection, supposition, and wishful thinking, among others (see Boas 2010). The column for “number of functions” indicates how many functions the German-origin MP fulfills in TxG vis-à-vis its Standard German counterpart. For example, *mal* in TxG has three different functions as in Standard German, namely to indicate a request for a small favor, to elicit a particular type of information, and to mark an event as having already occurred once. In contrast, German-origin MPs such as *ja* and *eben* have a somewhat more limited distribution of functions than their counterparts in Standard German.

Consider, for example, *ja*, which in Standard German has four different functions as a MP (besides its obvious function as the affirmative ‘yes’-word). The first function identified by Weydt et al. (1983) is to express marveling and astonishment as in *Du hast ja ein neues Auto!* (‘You really do have a new car!’). Second, it can be employed as a part of a warning or a threat as in *Mach das ja nicht noch einmal!* (‘Don’t think of doing that ever again!’). Third, it can be used to express assertion as in *Du weißt ja, dass ich morgen Geburtstag habe* (‘Of course you know that my birthday is tomorrow’). Fourth, it can mark a sentence as a short commentary about what has been said previously as in *Soll ich dir mal ‘La Paloma’ vorsingen? Ja nicht!* (‘Should I sing ‘La Paloma’ for you once? Absolutely not!’) (see Weydt et al. 1983: 166). Of these four functions of *ja* in Standard German only two are attested in our TxG corpus, namely assertion and short commentary.⁶

Next, consider English DPs in TxG that have no direct German translation equivalent, such as *well* in (3). When translating such DPs into German, the choice of translation equivalents depends on the context and the content of the utterance. Bublitz (1978) and Johansson (2006) show that *well* has between 10 and 15 different German translation equivalents (often depending on context), for example:

- (3) Well, you know, da waren andere Kinder ...
 well you know there were other children
 ‘Well, you know, there were other children.’ (1-94-1-11-a)

Finally, certain English DPs have been borrowed into TxG despite the presence of a German-origin counterpart. Boas & Weilbacher (2007) discuss the distribution of

6. Even though the two other functions of *ja*, marveling/astonishment and warning/threatening, do not occur in my corpus, we have heard them used in conversations among speakers of TxG on several occasions. I suspect that the absence of these two functions in our corpus might be attributed to the fact that they do typically not occur in normal open-ended sociolinguistic interviews of the type that form the basis for our corpus.

you know and its German counterpart *weisst du/weisste*. They show that although both DPs exhibit the same range of senses and functions as shown in Table 2, *you know* is much more widely used than its German counterpart.

Table 2. Summary of pragmatic contexts in present-day TxG (Boas & Weilbacher 2007)

	You know	Weisst(e)/weisst du
Aware of knowledge shared	539	2
Clarification of common knowledge	22	2
Indication of hesitation	1	0
Self-repair	12	0
Appeal for understanding	25	1

So far we have shown that there are three categories: (1) German-origin MPs with no English counterparts, (2) English DPs with no German counterpart, and (3) DPs that have equivalents in both languages. The following section provides an overview of the main principles of Construction Grammar, the framework used for formalizing our insights about the meanings and functions of MPs in TxG. Section 4 presents our constructional analysis of the German-origin MP *ja*.

4. Construction Grammar and Frame Semantics

One of the main tenets of Construction Grammar (CxG) is that constructions are the basic building blocks of language. Constructions are regarded as pairings of form with meaning, which means that any difference in form typically indicates a difference in meaning (and vice versa).⁷ Figure 1 illustrates the basic architecture of constructions, where the form side of a construction may consist of syntactic, morphological, and phonological properties, while the meaning side of a construction may consist of semantic, pragmatic, and discourse-functional properties.

7. Goldberg's (1995: 4) defines 'constructions' as follows: "C is a CONSTRUCTION iff_{def} C is a form-meaning pair $\langle F_i, S_i \rangle$ such that some aspect of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions." For a different definition that also considers frequency information, see Goldberg (2006).

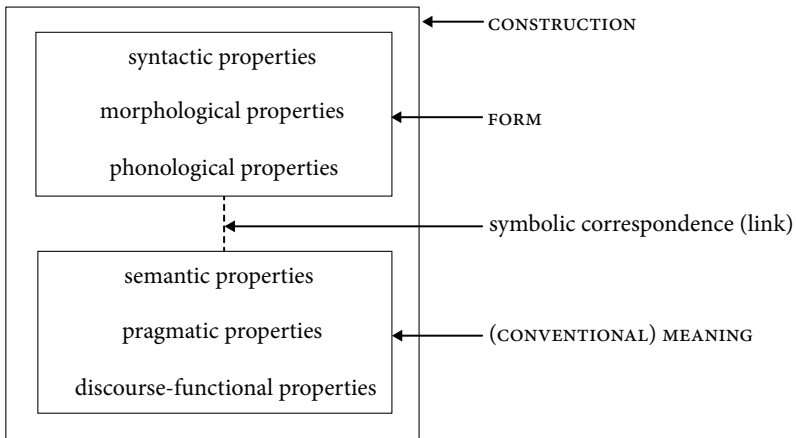


Figure 1. Anatomy of a construction (Croft 2001: 18)

CxG is a declarative, non-derivational approach that integrates all levels of linguistic structures. It is non-modular and does not differentiate between core and periphery, employing a uniform representation of all grammatical knowledge. In this view, any type of linguistic structure can be regarded as a construction, including complex and (mostly) schematic constructions such as subject-predicate constructions, passives, double object constructions, resultative constructions, support verb constructions, idioms of different types, and words and morphemes (see Croft & Cruse 2004, Boas 2011, and the contributions in Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013 for overviews of CxG). Constructions are not an unordered set, but rather form a structured inventory of a speaker's knowledge of the conventions of their language. This inventory is represented in terms of a taxonomic network of constructions where each construction constitutes a node in the taxonomic network of constructions (see Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004).

While most constructional analyses focus on morpho-syntactic, pragmatic, and discourse-functional properties of more schematic grammatical constructions, very few account for semantic differences of word-level constructions, or, more specifically, particles.⁸ We see the relative neglect of the influence of lexical semantic information within CxG as one of the possible reasons for this lack of research, and therefore we propose to pay more attention to Frame Semantics (Fillmore 1982), a theory that complements CxG by providing systematic means of describing and analyzing the meanings of words and constructions.

The basic idea behind Frame Semantics is that “a word's meaning can be understood only with reference to a structured background of experience, beliefs, or practices” (Fillmore & Atkins 1992). In other words, in order to understand the

8. Fried & Östman (2005) and Östman (2006) are notable exceptions to this generalization.

meanings of words in a language we must have first knowledge about the conceptual structures, or semantic frames, which are evoked by words (see Petruck 1996). In practice, the principles of Frame Semantics have been applied to the creation of FrameNet (<http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>), a lexical database that aims to provide, for a significant portion of the vocabulary of contemporary English, a body of semantically and syntactically annotated sentences from which reliable information can be reported on the valences or combinatorial possibilities of each item targeted for analysis (Fillmore & Baker 2010). The method of inquiry is to find groups of words whose frame structures can be described together, by virtue of their sharing common schematic backgrounds and patterns of expressions that can combine with them to form larger phrases or sentences. In the typical case, words that share a frame can be used in paraphrases of each other. The general purposes of the project are both to provide reliable descriptions of the syntactic and semantic combinatorial properties of each word in the lexicon, and to assemble information about alternative ways of expressing concepts in the same conceptual domain (Fillmore & Baker 2010, Boas 2017).

Based on the frame concept, FrameNet researchers follow a lexical analysis process that typically consists of the following steps, according to Fillmore & Baker (2010: 321–322): (1) Characterizing the frames, i.e. the situation types for which the language has provided special expressive means; (2) Describing and naming the Frame Elements (FEs), i.e. the aspects and components of individual frames that are likely to be mentioned in the phrases and sentences that are instances of those frames; (3) Selecting lexical units (LUs) that belong to the frame, i.e. words from all parts of speech that evoke and depend on the conceptual background associated with the individual frames; (4) Creating annotations of sentences sampled from a very large corpus showing the ways in which individual LUs in the frame allow frame-relevant information to be linguistically presented; (5) Automatically generating lexical entries, and the valence descriptions contained in them, that summarize observations derivable from them (see also Fillmore et al. 2003, Ruppenhofer et al. 2010).

To illustrate, consider the sentence *Joe stole the watch from Michael*. The verb *steal* is said to evoke the Theft frame (it is the target (<tgt>) lexical unit, see [4]), which is also evoked by a number of semantically related verbs such as *snatch*, *shoplift*, *pinch*, *filch*, and *thieve*, among others, as well as nouns such as *thief*.⁹ The Theft frame represents a scenario with different Frame Elements (FEs) that can be regarded as instances of more general semantic roles such as AGENT, PATIENT, INSTRUMENT, etc. More precisely, the Theft frame describes situations in which a PERPETRATOR (the person or other agent that takes the GOODS away) takes GOODS

9. Names of Frame Elements (FEs) are in small caps.

(anything that can be taken away) that belong to a VICTIM (the person (or other sentient being or group)) that owns the GOODS before they are taken away by the PERPETRATOR). Sometimes more specific information is given about the SOURCE (the initial location of the GOODS before they change location).¹⁰ The necessary background information to interpret *steal* and other semantically related verbs as evoking the Theft frame also requires an understanding of illegal activities, property ownership, taking things, and a great deal more (see Boas 2005, Bertoldi et al. 2010, or Dux 2011 for additional relevant discussion). Employing the FE names from the frame descriptions for annotating sentences, we see how they are distributed in our example from above.

(4) [_{<PERP>}Joe] *stole*^{<tgt>} [_{<GOODS>}the watch] [_{<VICTIM>}from Michael].

In the following section I show how frame-semantic principles can be applied to the description and analysis of the MP *ja* in TxG.

5. Formalizing the distribution of *ja* in TxG

The first step in applying the principles of Frame Semantics to our analysis of MPs in TxG concerns the identification of the frame-evoking lexical unit(s). Then, based on corpus evidence, we arrive at a frame-semantic description of the semantic frame evoked by the target LU and determine the presence of relevant FEs. After identifying the four different frames evoked by *ja*, I discuss their pragmatics of implicit anchoring and formalize our insights in terms of a discourse-level construction.

5.1 Frame-evoking senses of *ja*

Consider the first sense of *ja* in TxG as in *Du hast ja eine neue Shotgun!* ('You do have a new shotgun!'). Without using *ja* such statements would be simple descriptions of a particular circumstance. By adding *ja*, the speaker expresses astonishment about what he is expressing, informing the hearer that he perhaps did not expect him to have a new shotgun (as opposed to his old one), or that he did not expect him to have a shotgun at all. In frame-semantic terms, we view *ja* as a target LU that evokes a particular frame, in this case the Emotion_directed frame as in (5).

10. Besides so-called core Frame Elements, there are also peripheral Frame Elements that describe more general aspects of a situation, such as MEANS (e.g. *by trickery*), TIME (e.g. *two days ago*), MANNER (e.g. *quietly*), or PLACE (e.g. *in the city*).

(5) Frame: *Emotion_directed*

The words in this frame describe an EXPERIENCER who is feeling or experiencing a particular emotional response to a STIMULUS or about a TOPIC. There can also be a CIRCUMSTANCES under which the response occurs or a REASON that the STIMULUS evokes the particular response in the EXPERIENCER. (frame definition adopted from FrameNet [<http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>])

- (6) [_{<Stim>}Du] [<sub><Sup></sub>hast] **ja**^{<target>} [_{<Stim>}eine neue Shotgun]! [_{<Exp>}DNI]
 you have do a new shotgun
 ‘You do have a new shotgun!’

A frame-semantic analysis of our example in (6) shows how the individual FEs are distributed. Note first that *ja* (in bold) is the frame-evoking target LU with *hast* (‘have’) acting as a support verb (Sup). The discontinuous FE STIMULUS consists of *Du* (‘you’) and *eine neue Shotgun* (‘a new shotgun’), while the FE EXPERIENCER is null instantiated, i.e., it is not overtly realized, but instead implicitly understood within the context of the utterance (see Fillmore 1986, Ruppenhofer & Michaelis 2010).

We now turn to the second sense of the MP *ja* in TxG as in *Mach das ja nicht noch einmal!* (‘Don’t you dare do that again!’). Without *ja*, this example is interpreted as a regular imperative in which the speaker tells the hearer not to repeat his action(s). By adding *ja*, the speaker signals that not following his instructions could have potentially negative consequences for the hearer. In such contexts, *ja* is typically stressed and occurs with a rising then falling intonation. In a sense, the addition of *ja* underlines the speaker’s seriousness regarding his request not to repeat the previous action. As in (5) above, this particular sense of *ja* evokes its own frame, in this case the *Commitment_Threatening* frame as in (7).

(7) Frame: *Commitment_Threatening*

A SPEAKER makes a commitment to an ADDRESSEE to carry out some future action. This is an ACTION not desirable (as with *threaten*) to the ADDRESSEE and may also mention the CAUSE. Some of the words in this frame allow an ADDRESSEE to be expressed. (definition adopted from FrameNet [<http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>])

- (8) [_{<Cau>}Mach das] **ja**^{<tgt>} [_{<Cau>}nicht noch einmal]! [_{<Spkr>}DNI] [_{<Add>}DNI]

A frame-semantic analysis shows that *ja* is the target LU; however, in this case it is not evoking the *Emotion_directed* frame, but rather the *Commitment_Threatening* frame, as the labeling of the FEs illustrates. Thus, the discontinuous phrase *mach das* (‘make that’) and *nicht noch einmal* (‘not yet again’) represents the FE CAUSE. Since neither the SPEAKER nor the ADDRESSEE of the utterance are

overtly mentioned in (8), these FEs are null instantiated, i.e. they are understood based on the context in which the sentence is uttered.

Next, consider the third sense of *ja* as in *Du weißt ja, dass mir morgen jachten gehen* ('You surely know that we're going hunting tomorrow'). Without *ja*, the meaning of the sentence would only indicate that the speaker is telling the hearer a piece of pertinent information. However, *ja* in this context signals that the speaker wants to make certain that the hearer knows about the information so that there is no room for misinterpretation. Thus, *ja* in this context evokes yet another frame, namely the *Certainty* frame as in (9). As we see in (10), *ja* is the frame-evoking target LU, while *Du* ('you') is the FE *COGNIZER*, and *weißst* ('know') together with *dass mir morgen jachten geht* ('that we'll go hunting tomorrow') constitute the FE *CONTENT*.

(9) Frame: *Certainty*

This frame concerns a *COGNIZER*'s ability about the correctness of beliefs or expectations. It only includes uses where a *COGNIZER* is expressed. (definition adopted from FrameNet [<http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>])

- (10) [_{<COGNIZER>}Du] [_{<CONTENT>} weißst] ja^{<tgt>}, [_{<CONTENT>}dass mir morgen jachten gehen].

Finally, consider the fourth meaning of *ja* when used as a MP as in *Soll ich dich mal 'Muss' I denn?' vorsingen? Ja nicht!* ('Should I sing "I'll have to" for you? Surely not!'). The use of *ja* in this context differs from the other uses discussed above in that it is part of a multi-word-expression, together with *nicht* ('not'). In other words, both words together constitute the frame-evoking target LU *ja nicht* ('surely not'), which evokes the *Attitude_description* frame in (11).¹¹ As we can see in the frame-semantic analysis in (12), the multi-word-expression *ja nicht* is the frame-evoking target LU, and the previous sentence constitutes the FE *STATE_OF_AFFAIRS*. Both FEs (*ATTITUDE* and *COGNIZER*) are null instantiated as they are understood based on the context.

(11) Frame: *Attitude_Description*

The lexical units in this frame are descriptions of a *COGNIZER*'s *ATTITUDE* about or outlook on a *STATE_OF_AFFAIRS*. (definition adopted from FrameNet [<http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu>])

- (12) [_{<STATE_OF_AFFAIRS>}Soll ich dich mal "Muss' I denn?" vorsingen?] Ja nicht^{<tgt>}!
[_{<ATTITUDE>}DNI] [_{<Cognizer>}DNI]

11. *Ja* is also part of a similar type of multi-word-expression, namely *ja doch!* ('yes, surely!'), which also evokes the *Attitude_description* frame.

Thus far we have shown that the MP *ja* in TxG has four different senses, each evoking a separate semantic frame. These frames help us with understanding and analyzing the immediate scenes evoked by the different senses of MPs such as *ja*. However, the frame-semantic analysis by itself does not reveal much more about the broader context in which these MPs are used and what the broader implications are for the discourse. My analysis so far also has relatively little to say about the syntactic distribution of MPs such as *ja*. To address these points, we first review how speakers interpret utterances in discourse, then we propose a unified constructional representation of *ja* that combines aspects of both meaning and form.

5.2 Pragmatics of Implicit Anchoring (PIA)

To facilitate our discussion of the various contexts in which MPs are used in their various senses, I adopt Östman's (2006) principles of the Pragmatics of Implicit Anchoring (PIA). The main idea underlying PIA is that utterances must be interpreted in the context of the larger discourse. Thus, it is necessary "to distinguish between meaning as the explicit in language (what has been codified: the lexical, propositional, semantic, and discourse-level 'meaning') and the function as the implicit in language (what takes place 'between the lines' of what one says: the implicated, and – primarily – aspects that the speaker is not accountable for propositionally)" (Östman 2006: 239).

This view of language leads Östman to propose that speakers make interpretations in relation to (i) their cultural coherence, their tradition and history, the society they live in, and its institutions; (ii) the interactive restraints, the conversations and norms of politeness and tact that they have to take into account when they are in interaction with other speakers; and (iii) the constraints on emotions, feelings and opinions, on the expressions of affect and attitudes, and the prejudices that surround them as interactants and speakers. Östman refers to these three points as "patterns of constraints – parameters" and proposes the following three abbreviations to represent them: C stands for coherence, P for politeness, and I for involvement. In this view, all expressions are "anchored" to C, P, and I in the sense that these three parameters constrain the use of linguistic expression. They are not anchored in a static fashion, but contain dynamic cues that indicate how they are to be interpreted and understood (see also Östman 2004, Fried & Östman 2005).

Applying Östman's proposals to our TxG data, I propose that each sense of *ja* not only evokes its own semantic frame as shown in Section 5.1, but that each sense is also anchored within separate discourse patterns whose Pragmatics of Implicit Anchoring are different from each other (each sense is thus contextually

triggered).¹² Consider the following table, which summarizes the discourse pattern in which the sense of *ja* evoking the Emotion_directed frame as in (6) above is anchored.

Table 3. Discourse pattern (dp) for anchoring the Emotion_directed sense of *ja* together with its form side together with its form constraints

Discourse pattern (dp)	}	Coherence	Introduced topic Expected reaction: No
		Politeness	Camaraderie or Distance
		Involvement	Positively or negatively involved
Form	}	Syntax	“Mittelfeld”
		Phonology	No specification

The first constraint (coherence) on the discourse pattern in which this sense of *ja* is anchored requires that the topic of the conversation is being introduced by the speaker and that the speaker does not require the hearer to react in any specific way. The second constraint (politeness) is not specific with respect to the level of politeness, i.e. the use of *ja* can either be anchored in a context where the speaker and hearer are friends (camaraderie) or where they do not know each other (distance). The last constraint, involvement, does not impose any particular restriction on the use of *ja* in discourse, i.e., the involvement can either be positive or negative. Besides the constraints on the discourse pattern there are also form constraints on this sense of *ja*. The constraint on its syntax requires that it occur somewhere in the so-called *Mittelfeld* (“middle field”)¹³ of the sentence, not at the beginning or the end. With respect to its phonology, there are no particular constraints imposed on the discourse pattern to which *ja* is anchored.

Next, consider a different type of discourse pattern, namely that in which *ja* is anchored when it evokes the Commitment_Threatening frame. Table 4 shows that in contrast to the Emotion_directed sense of *ja* the Commitment_Threatening sense of *ja* requires that the topic of the discourse in which the sentence containing *ja* occurs is already known (see (8) above). The discourse pattern is also different from that in Table 3 in that it expects some type of reaction on the side of the hearer, i.e. compliance. The constraint on politeness is also different in that the

12. An anonymous reviewer suggests that there should not be a sharp dividing line between semantics and pragmatics. We share this view completely. The reason why some readers might be led to believe that there is such a difference is because our formalization requires us to make a distinction between discourse patterns and semantic frames. This apparent dividing line can be blurred when our constructional analysis is translated into other constructional frameworks with less formalization (for details see Sag, Boas & Kay 2012).

13. See Zifonun et al. (1997) on the *Mittelfeld*.

Commitment_Threatening sense of *ja* requires there to be two opposing opinions and that the involvement on the part of the speaker is negative. The constraint on the syntax of this sense of *ja* is the same as the one in Table 3 above, namely that it occur in the “Mittelfeld”. One crucial difference, however, is the restriction on the phonology of this sense of *ja*, which is required to follow a rising and falling intonation.

Table 4. Discourse pattern (dp) for anchoring the Commitment_Threatening sense of *ja* together with its form side

Discourse pattern (dp)	}	Coherence	Known topic Expected reaction: Yes
		Politeness	Opposition
		Involvement	Negatively involved
Form	}	Syntax	“Mittelfeld”
		Phonology	Rising and falling intonation

Table 5 summarizes the discourse pattern for the third sense of *ja*, which evokes the Certainty frame. The restrictions on coherence require this sense of *ja* that the topic be known while at the same time no reaction is expected on the part of the hearer. The constraint on politeness states that both speaker and hearer share the same common ground, i.e. that they know the same information. The constraint on the involvement of the speaker specifies positive involvement. Perhaps the biggest difference between this sense of *ja* and its other senses discussed so far lies in its syntactic and phonological specifications. At the syntactic level, the syntactic restrictions require *ja* to be part of the “Mittelfeld”, which precedes the “Nachfeld” containing the subordinate clause.¹⁴ This syntactic restriction is also reflected by a phonological restriction, namely that there be a short intonation break after *ja*, and the beginning of the subordinate clause in the “Nachfeld.”



Table 5. Discourse pattern (dp) for anchoring the Certainty sense of *ja* together with its form side

Discourse pattern (dp)	}	Coherence	Known topic Expected reaction: No
		Politeness	Common ground
		Involvement	Positive involvement
Form	}	Syntax	“Mittelfeld”, requires “Nachfeld”
		Phonology	Short intonation break before subordinate clause in the “Nachfeld”

14. See Zifonun et al. (1997) for additional relevant discussion.

Finally, we turn to the fourth sense of *ja*, which evokes the *Attitude_description* frame. The discourse pattern in which this sense of *ja* (as part of the multi-word-expression *ja nicht* ('surely not')) is embedded in sentences such as (12) above differs significantly from the previous three, as Table 6 illustrates. First, the coherence parameter constrains the topic to be known and also requires an expected reaction. Thus, if the speaker does not expect the hearer to react in some way to his exclamation, then the use of *ja* in this context would be inappropriate. The parameters for politeness require that this use of *ja* expresses non-solidarity, while the one for involvement requires the speaker to be negatively involved. On the form side we see that there is no particular syntactic constraint except that *ja* must precede *nicht*, the second member of the multi-word-expression *ja nicht*. The phonological constraint on this discourse pattern in which *ja* is anchored requires that *ja* receive primary stress and be uttered with a raised pitch.

Table 6. Discourse pattern (dp) for anchoring the *Attitude_description* sense of *ja* together with its form side

Discourse pattern (dp)		Coherence	Known topic Expected reaction: Yes
		Politeness	Non-solidarity
		Involvement	Negatively involved
Form		Syntax	Precedes <i>nicht</i>
		Phonology	Primary stress and raised pitch on <i>ja</i>

Our discussion of the discourse patterns that *ja* is anchored to has shown that they are quite distinct, in addition to the different semantic frames evoked by the four senses of *ja*. So far, I have said relatively little about the syntactic properties of *ja* except that it occurs in particular syntactic positions. I have also remained relatively quiet on how the semantic-pragmatic properties of the different senses of *ja* are linked to the different form-requirements. In the following section I address these points.

5.3 Formalizing discourse patterns as constructions

Combining our insights from the previous two subsections into a constructional analysis I postulate that each sense of the MP *ja* makes reference to a different semantic frame in combination with a discourse pattern. However, these four separate discourse patterns are not isolated semantic-pragmatic entities, but are instead tied to very specific form-constraints at the syntactic (and the phonological) level, some of which we have already discussed above. Adopting the key principles of CxG as outlined in Section 4, I propose that DPs are constructions, i.e. pairings of form with meaning, with their own specific constraints as outlined above.

I adopt Kay & Fillmore's (1999) box notation for representing constructions. To introduce this notation, I present Kay & Fillmore's example of the verb phrase construction, which consists of two entities, namely a head and a filler as in Figure 2. The VP construction is part of a larger network of constructions each of whose members inherits from a more abstract head plus complements construction. The VP construction specifies that the syntactic category of the head is verbal (*cat v*) and that none of the filler daughters bears the grammatical function (*gf*) subject (*subj*). The two boxes within the larger box (the VP construction) illustrate that the VP construction specifies a phrase consisting of a lexical head daughter (the left box) followed by one or more filler daughter, where filler is a phrasal role played equally by complements which appear as sisters to a lexical head and those that don't (Kay & Fillmore 1999: 7).

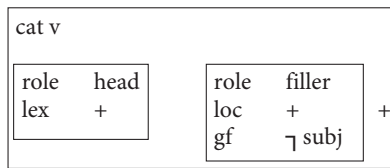


Figure 2. Verb phrase (VP) construction (Kay & Fillmore 1999: 8)

We now turn to the overall constructional representation of discourse patterns. Consider Figure 3, which shows the architecture of the construction entry for the MP *ja*. Together the three boxes make up the MP-*ja*-construction. Note that Figure 3 is rather abstract in that it does not specify which sense of *ja* is captured by the construction entry. In fact, there are a total of four separate construction entries for *ja*, each specifying the four different senses as discussed above.

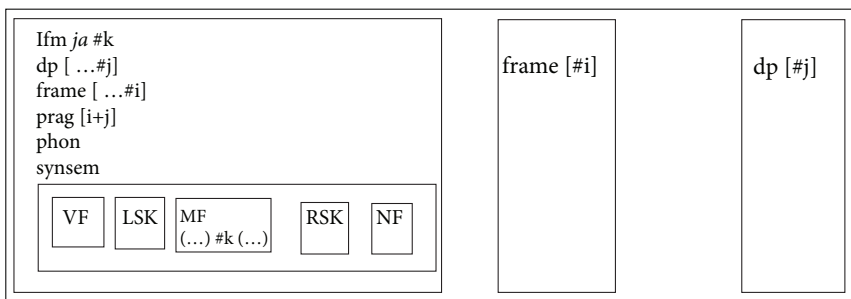


Figure 3. Constructional entry for MP *ja* (underspecified)

The leftmost box contains the relevant information for the head of the MP-*ja*-construction. The lexical form (*lfm*) is specified as *ja* and is followed by the pound sign and a variable *k*. The pound sign indicates that the value shared by the lexical form is co-indexed and is re-occurring at some other place in the

construction, in this case the attribute *synsem* (syntax and semantics) represented by the box at the bottom of the box containing the lexical form. The box at the bottom is a part of the syntactic specification and is a simplified representation of the basic linear order of groups of constituents in German declarative clauses, whose details are not directly relevant for our discussion. Within the box we find several smaller boxes that are ordered according to the groups of constituents, starting with VF (Vorfeld ('field in front')), LSK (Linke Satzklammer ('left sentence bracket')), MF (Mittelfeld ('middle field')), RSK (Rechte Satzklammer ('right sentences bracket')), and NF (Nachfeld ('field behind')) (see Zifonun et al. 1997 and Boas & Ziem 2018 for details). Of relevance to our discussion is that the #*k* occurs in the MF, preceded by and followed by other lexical materials, indicated by (...). The #*k* is co-indexed with the lfm *ja* at the top of the box, which ensures that relevant information needs to be specified only once in a constructional notation, and that information can be shared across different levels of a construction's architecture.

Next, consider the second line in the box on the left hand side, which contains the attribute *dp* (discourse pattern) with a list consisting of an underspecified number of discourse patterns (indicated by ...) and the discourse pattern *j*. This *dp* comes with an index #*j*, which refers to a specific discourse pattern specified elsewhere in the construction's entry. The rightmost box in Figure 3 represents the specific discourse patterns, where *j* is a variable that can be filled by any of the four separate discourse patterns discussed in Section 5.3, where each of the discourse patterns comes with its own constraints on the pragmatics of implicit anchoring and the form constraints on the DP *ja*.

The third attribute in the left box is *frame*, with a list of an underspecified number of frames (indicated by ...) and the frame *i*. This frame is co-indexed with the middle box of the construction, which represents the actual frame evoked by one of the senses of *ja*. Figure 3 does not specify any particular frame; the variable *I* stands for any of the frames discussed in Section 4.1 above.

The fourth attribute *prag* (pragmatics) is the combined meaning of the frame *i* and the discourse pattern *j*. The combination of the two meanings together represent the differences between each of the four senses of the MP *ja*. The fifth attribute *phon* (phonology) specifies any particular phonological constraints on the use of *ja*. It is left blank intentionally since not all four senses have specific phonological requirements. In the three cases discussed in the previous section, the attribute *phon* would be specified with either rising-falling intonation, intonation break, or primary stress and raised pitch.

My constructional analysis has the advantage that it integrates several levels of linguistic information, including syntactic, phonological, frame-semantic, and pragmatic information. It is important to remember that Figure 3 is an

underspecified construction entry and that depending on the sense of *ja* as discussed in Sections 5.1 and 5.2 different values need to be filled in for the variables *i* and *j*, which in turn point to the specific semantic frames and discourse patterns. Another crucial difference between the four senses is the difference in phonological properties, including rising pitch, stress, etc. These will also be different depending on the type of discourse pattern associated with a particular semantic frame evoked by a specific sense of *ja*.

6. Conclusions and outlook

In this study I provided a constructional analysis of a regular patterning found in natural discourse, namely the MP *ja* in Texas German. The nature of this MP is intriguing because its distribution is uniquely tied to spoken language and as such has different manifestations from what one would expect in ‘standard’ grammars. Based on corpus data as well as previous analyses I argued that *ja* in Texas German has four distinct senses, each of which evokes a separate semantic frame and is anchored within a distinct discourse pattern that constrains its use with respect to its coherence, politeness, involvement, and sometimes its phonological properties.

To formalize my insights I adopted the notion of *construction* and extended it in a dialogical direction to account for some of the complexities of spoken language. This step has allowed me to show how the notion of construction helps us with understanding how MPs such as *ja* are distributed in contact languages. What I have not done in this study is to apply our methodology to the analysis of other MPs of German origin (with no English equivalent) such as *mal* (‘once’), *halt* (‘just’), *eben* (‘even/just’), and *doch* (‘really’), English DPs (with no direct German-origin equivalent) such as *well*, or DPs that have equivalents in both languages and are equally distributed in Texas German, such as *you know* and *weisste*. Future research is required to investigate the distribution of these other particles in TxG, and the way in which their discourse-functional properties can be captured by a constructional approach to language. One finding that may well emerge is that some particles evoke similar semantic frames and discourse patterns as the different senses of *ja* discussed in this paper. If this turns out to be the case, then it is possible to provide a unified treatment of DPs and MPs in TxG by integrating their construction entries into a larger network of DP constructions. In this connection it will be interesting to find out whether the borrowing of English DPs has any influence on the distribution of German-origin DPs as in Pennsylvania German (see Fuller 2001). Furthermore, future research needs to provide a contextually-sensitive analysis for determining the grammaticization paths undergone by particles from their usage patterns (Traugott & Dasher 2002,

Keevallik 2006).¹⁵ This step will help us understand the relations between the various functions of particular DPs in language contact. Finally, we need to arrive at a better understanding of the sentence type restrictions on modal particles as discussed by Alm et al. (in press).

Acknowledgment

Parts of this research were presented at the University of Göttingen, the Humboldt University of Berlin, and the University of Texas at Austin. I thank the audiences for their valuable feedback. Many thanks also to Ryan Dux, Kerstin Fischer, Benjamin Lyngfelt, and Marc Pierce for their very helpful comments. The usual disclaimers apply. I wish to thank the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Germany) for supporting this research with a fellowship for advanced researchers.

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Frames change in language contact environments

A case study of *schleichen* ('to sneak') and *kommen* ('to come')

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Based on the empirical data of 97 fourth-graders from three districts of Braunschweig in Germany, this paper investigates the possibility of changing semantic frames in multilingual communities. The focus of study is the verb field of self-motion. In a free-sorting task involving 52 verbs, Turkish-speaking students, in particular, placed the verbs *schleichen* ('to sneak') and *kommen* ('to come') in the same group. When explaining the perceived similarity they also used the word *schleichen* ('to sneak'), in a specific grammatical construction that is not found in Standard German. This paper suggests that semantic frames may change along with grammatical constructions when typologically distinct languages come into close contact.

Keywords: Frame Semantics, language contact, semantic change, free-sorting, migration linguistics

1. Introduction

Viewing language contact through the lens of Construction Grammar, as this volume does, inevitably leads to considerations about the effect of contact situations on semantic frames. Like Construction Grammar, Frame Semantics is rooted in Fillmore's (1968) work on case grammar, and espouses a view of language that emphasizes "a continuity between grammar and lexicon," in which "each lexical item carries with it instructions," specifying its place in the "larger semantic-syntactic structure" (Fillmore 2008: 49). While constructions refer to linguistic elements consisting of form-meaning pairs, frames (henceforth simply 'frames') focus on the broader conceptual representations these constructions operate on. Recent research

on text corpora has shown that although constructions and frames approach language from different directions, they can help explain each other (cf. Fillmore & Atkins 1992, Fillmore 2008, Croft 2009). This mutual relationship likely also holds for multilingual environments. Exploring this relationship from a frame-semantic perspective, based on test-data from multilingual speakers, is the goal of this paper.

The starting point of the paper is that conflicting semantic frames would be problematic to handle for an integrated bilingual language system such as Höder's (2012) suggestion of a Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG). For the example of Standard German and Low German, Höder (2014) suggests that bilingual constructions undergo change over time at the morphological and lexical surface in order to reach a more homogenous representation across languages. In support of this suggestion, one could also consider the possibility of frames moving closer together and possibly even merging in the future. The data presented in this paper can be interpreted as an indication that such change is underway in German, specifically where lexical units evoking the *Self_Motion* and *Arriving* frames are in contact with Turkish.

Data for this paper come from sorting tests conducted at three schools with a total of 97 fourth graders in three socioeconomically distinct districts of Braunschweig, a medium-sized city in Germany with around 250.000 inhabitants. By freely ordering the lexical field of German self-motion verbs the participants revealed differences in the way monolinguals and multilinguals perceive the meaning of certain 'descriptive verbs' (Snell-Hornby 1983), such as the verb *schleichen* ('to sneak'). German contains an abundance of such verbs, which encode the manner of motion directly in the verb stem instead of qualifying manner by means of a modifying attribute (e.g. 'silently, secretly'). Turkish has many fewer verbs of this type, so there is reason to believe language contact could play a role in the way certain frames change. At the same time, there are grammatical constructions that occur in newly emerging vernaculars of German that may also trigger the phenomenon of changing frames.

This paper is structured as follows. The next section provides some background on Frame Semantics and on the expression of motion events across languages. The third section describes the methodology employed in the study and introduces the speaker groups and the relevant background data. The results of the free-sorting task are presented in the fourth section in the form of dendrograms and with help of a regression analysis. A video-guided feedback session in Section 5 served to examine some peculiar properties of the verb *schleichen* ('to sneak') in its relationship to the verb *kommen* ('to come'). Section 6 discusses a possible novel frame in light of the properties of the *Self_Motion* and *Arriving* frame. The final section summarizes the findings and underscores the importance for future research on language contact not only in terms of constructions, but also in terms of frames.

2. Background

2.1. Frame Semantics and FrameNet

Fillmore (1982: 111) describes the frame-semantic approach as being “most akin to ethnographic semantics, the work of the anthropologist who moves into an alien culture and asks such questions as ‘What categories of experience are encoded by the members of this speech community through the linguistic choices that they make when they talk?’” Accordingly, pinpointing categories of experience, so-called *frames*, is the key to understanding the meaning of words. Frames are the “conceptual prerequisite for understanding the meaning” of words and speakers know the “meaning of the word only by first understanding” the frame it is embedded in (Fillmore & Atkins 1992: 76–77).

A practical project resulting from this theory is the frame-based, lexicographic database FrameNet, an annotated, searchable online corpus that serves to exemplify and explore frames and lexical units within the British National Corpus (BNC) (Baker et al. 1998). Lexical units (LUs) are words thought to evoke certain frames. Over 13,000 such lexical units evoking over 1,200 frames have been annotated thus far.¹ A central part of FrameNet is a representation of its frame elements (FEs), or the semantic roles that constitute the particular frame. Consider the definition of the *Self_Motion* frame which is evoked by LUs such as *amble*, *climb*, *crawl*, *hike*, *hop*, *run*, *saunter*, *sneak*, *stumble* and *walk*:²

The Self-mover, a living being, moves under its own direction along a Path.

She WALKED along the road for a while.

Gloss: Self-mover (Core) Lexical Unit Path (Core) Duration (Non-Core)

Many of the lexical units in this frame can also describe the motion of vehicles (e.g., as external arguments). We treat these as belonging in this frame.

The cars SCOOTED slowly towards the intersection.

Gloss: Self-mover (Core) Lexical Unit Speed (Non-Core) Direction (Core)

Self_motion most prototypically involves individuals moving under their own power by means of their bodies. Many words also specify the manner of motion (*swim*, *walk*). This frame contains mostly words that fit this prototypical scenario, but the frame itself does not specify whether a separate vehicle is impossible, necessary, or unspecified. Lexical units that involve separate vehicles are associated with FEs that are not appropriate for the more general case of motion, so they are

1. <http://www.paulallen.ca/documents/2015/10/framenet-1-6-general-release-notes-2015.pdf>

2. Instead of the typical color-coding in FrameNet, I am using a gloss here to point out which of the FEs are core and non-core elements.

placed in the Operate_vehicle or Ride_vehicle frames (e.g., *He drove across the country, She flew to Europe*).³

The definition and examples make clear that the Self_Motion frame refers to a self-moving person or object as one of its core components. Motion events that would violate this principle are excluded (e.g. driving, etc.). The examples contain a number of FEs that can occur with the Self_Motion frame. (All FEs of the frame are listed online below the initial definition.) FEs fall into the categories ‘Core’ and ‘Non-core.’ Core FEs are central to the specific frame defined, while non-core FEs are also shared by other frames and are not mandatory for the frame to function (e.g. TIME, MANNER, etc.).

In addition to this fundamental information on the frame, Lexical Entry Reports index the over 9,000 LUs defined in FrameNet. Each of these reports has three parts: the first is a short definition of the LU, such as the definition of the verb *sneak*: to “move, go, or convey in a furtive or stealthy manner.”⁴ Next, the report lists the exact number of every type of FE that occurs with the LU in the annotated corpus instances. For example, the role of the ‘self-mover’ is evoked by *sneak* in 72 sentences (so, actually, in every sentence containing the verb). Given the definition of the Self_Motion frame that contains a SELF-MOVER as a core-FE, this distribution is expected. The non-core-FE MANNER, by contrast, occurs in only seven frames evoked by *sneak*. Since MANNER is counted as a peripheral FE, a low count of realizations is not surprising.⁵

The final and perhaps most important part of the Lexical Entry Report is a presentation of valence patterns that occur across the examples. This view reveals how and in what order each FE of the frame is realized syntactically with the LU in question. For the LU *sneak*, it stands out, for instance, that the SELF-MOVER is an NP in 70 cases. In two cases, however, the SELF-MOVER is not instantiated due to an infinitive construction, as in Example (1) below. While the ‘Sneaker’ is implied, there is no lexical representation.

- (1) *I imagine it would be virtually impossible to SNEAK up on an owl.*

In sum, FrameNet is a powerful illustration of how frame semantics can be applied to natural language corpora. However, the BNC is a monolingual resource

3. https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Self_motion

4. <https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/lu/lu1227.xml?mode=lexentry&banner=>

5. Note, however, that the presence or absence of a ‘MANNER’ element does not tell us whether manner is a semantic property of the sentence. The Lexical Entry Report simply tells us whether ‘MANNER’ is realized by its own lexical element in sentences with *sneak*. See the discussion in 2.2 for more detail on this question.

and there are many open questions on frame-relations in a multilingual setting that FrameNet cannot answer. The next section highlights some of these challenges for Frame Semantics. For this purpose we will imagine a hypothetical corpus of mixed language data involving the two typologically distinct languages Turkish and German.

2.2 Moving across languages

A considerable minority of Turkish guest workers and their families immigrated to Germany in the 1960s through the 1980s, such that today bilingual Turkish-German speakers make up between 20% and 80% of the population in certain neighborhoods of many large and medium-sized German cities. In our imaginary project, we would record everyday language data with the help of portable clip-microphones from many bilingual individuals in these communities over the course of one year.⁶ In the process of reviewing the data, we would find many sentences evoking the *Self_Motion* frame in both Turkish and German due to the ubiquitous nature of the frame. While annotating these instances using FrameNet methods, we would notice some important structural differences between Turkish and German. The German self-motion events would often involve Lexical Units that encode *MANNER* in the verb stem. The verb *schleichen* ‘to sneak,’ for instance, does not only account for a motion event, but highlights the manner with which the motion is performed. Examples (2) and (3) below illustrate this. Sentence (3) can be seen as a semantic decomposition of (2).

(2) *Der Mann schleicht*
 the.m man sneaks.
 ‘The man is sneaking.’

(3) *Der Mann bewegt sich leise, vorsichtig und langsam.*
 the.m man move himself quietly carefully and slowly.
 ‘The man is moving quietly, carefully and slowly.’

In contrast, we would find that Turkish encodes the directional information of the motion event in the verb itself with an additional case marker on the noun, while *MANNER* is always optionally expressed through an adverb, as in (4), below. Here, the word *gizlice* (‘secretly’) expresses the manner of motion.

6. Currently there is no such corpus available to the knowledge of the author. There are several bilingual corpora, but they are not community-based, bridging age groups and they usually only involve few individuals. A breadth of bilingual data even vaguely comparable to the BNC is not available at this point.

- (4) *O gizlice ev-e gir-di*
 3 secretly house-DAT go.in-PST
 ‘S/he snuck into the house.’
 Literally: ‘S/he secretly entered the house.’

At this point, our annotation team would have to confront a rather difficult question: if MANNER is encoded as an optional frame element in Turkish but as part of the Lexical Unit in German can we assume that the SELF_MOTION frame is the same in its conceptual nature and scope across the two languages? It seems unlikely.

Research in linguistic typology also suggests a negative answer. Snell-Hornby’s (1983) study of ‘verb descriptivity’, for instance, shows that languages such as German and English possess many verbs that Turkish does not have. In German numerous verbs consist of an ‘act-nucleus’ and a modifying complex of elements. The modifying elements *leise* (‘quiet’), *vorsichtig* (‘careful’) and *langsam* (‘slow’) in (3), for instance, are all implied by the verb *schleichen* (‘to sneak’). These semantic elements are not mandatory for the expression of the motion event in (2), but they are an essential part of its meaning because they are part of the ‘descriptive verb’ *schleichen*. So far, FrameNet does not have a means by which these meaningful components of a Lexical Unit like *schleichen* (‘to sneak’) could be teased apart. Through the verb, the manner of motion becomes a core element of the frame – perhaps rightly so, because the use of descriptive verbs also has constructional implications.

Languages with many descriptive verbs, like German and English, typically encode the direction of a motion outside the verb stem. A prepositional phrase or additional particle usually fulfil this function, as the *aus dem Haus* (‘out of the house’) and *hinaus* (‘out’) in (5) below.

- (5) *Sie schlich aus dem Haus hinaus.*
 3f sneak.PST out DET.dat house out
 ‘She snuck out of the house.’

Due to the distinctive property of encoding the direction of a motion with help of a **satellite** vs. a **verb**, Talmy (1985, 2000) distinguishes ‘S-languages’ (such as German) and ‘V-languages’ (such as Turkish) in a typological framework. The Lexical Units of V-languages often encode the direction of motion but do not include information on MANNER and vice versa. Table (1) summarizes the differing distributions seen in (4) and (5).

Several studies show that the properties of S- and V-languages exert distinct influences on the communicative thought process (cf. Slobin 1996, Özçalışkan & Slobin 1999, Slobin 2000). For a bilingual FrameNet, this raises important questions: How do speakers unify two different ways of thinking about the same event? How should one deal with conflicting definitions of the same frame? At first

Table 1. Syntactic-Semantic Alignment in Turkish and German Motion Events

German (S-language):						
Grammatical Function:	Subject	finite verb	PP		particle	
Semantic Information:	AGENT	MOTION & MANNER	DIRECTION & SOURCE/GOAL		DIR.	
	<i>Sie</i>	<i>schlich</i>	<i>aus</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>Haus</i>	<i>hinaus.</i>
	3sf	sneak.PST	out	DET.dat	house	out
	'She snuck out of the house.'					
Turkish (V-language):						
Grammatical Function:	adverb	indirect object	finite verb			
Semantic Information:	MANNER	GOAL & DIRECTION	MOTION & DIRECTION & AGENT			
	<i>gizlice</i>	<i>ev-e</i>	<i>gir-di.</i>			
	secretly	house-DAT	go.in-PST			
	'She snuck into the house.'					
	Literally: 'She secretly entered the house.'					
	DIRECTION		MANNER	MOTION		
German (S-language):						
	particle	prepositional phrase	verb	verb		
	<i>hinaus</i>	<i>aus dem Haus</i>	<i>schlich</i>	<i>schlich</i>		
Turkish (V-language):						
	verb	indirect object	adverb	verb		
	<i>girdi</i>	<i>ev-e</i>	<i>gizlice</i>	<i>girdi</i>		

glance, a solution arises from the literal translation of the Turkish example: the verb *girmek* is similar in meaning to the English verb 'to enter'. FrameNet suggests to treat verbs such as 'to come' and 'to enter' in a frame separate from the concept of *Self_Motion*. English verbs that have an inherently directional component are thought to evoke frames for which directionality plays a central role, such as *Arriving* or *Departing*. The same would hold for the German verb *kommen* ('to come'). Together with *Self_Motion*, the *Arriving* frame inherits properties from the greater *Motion* frame. Turkish motion verbs could also be viewed as evoking the *Arriving* (or *Departing*) frame thus eschewing the problem of a conflicting definition of *Self_Motion*. However, such a solution raises an intriguing question: is it perceivable and sensible that a bilingual speaker's same "category of experience" (Fillmore 1982: 111) is associated with two separate and yet closely related frames? This is a dilemma not only for a hypothetical application of Frame Semantics on a bilingual corpus, but also for the current structure of FrameNet: if the proposed frames (resulting from corpus analysis and a multistage decision process among

experts) cannot represent the same experience across languages – could they be inherently flawed?

An answer to this apparent quandary may lie in recent research on German-Turkish bilinguals. Goschler et al. (2013), for instance, also indicate Turkish influences on the German of bilingual speakers: focusing on differences in the structuring of motion events between monolingual German and bilingual Turkish-German speakers in the *Kiezdeutsch* corpus⁷ they find that Turkish-German bilinguals use the generic German verbs *gehen* ('to go') and *kommen* ('to come') more often than Snell Hornby's (1983) 'descriptive verbs.' They argue that this is due to an avoidance strategy: Turkish-German bilinguals appear to avoid 'descriptive verbs' when employing directional (PATH) satellites. In a frequency analysis including the variables 'language (German/Turkish-German)', 'verb type (Manner/Generic)', and 'presence or absence of a directional satellite', they find that German monolinguals use manner verbs with satellites at rates significantly higher than the expected frequency, while Turkish-German bilinguals use such patterns significantly less frequently. This leads the authors to conclude "that the effects reported are due exclusively to the fact that bilingual Turkish-German speakers avoid the combination of MANNER verbs with PATH satellites, while monolingual German speakers actually prefer this combination" (Goschler et al. 2013: 246). This discrepancy attested by Goschler et al. opens up a new possibility: assuming there is only one frame at work when speakers encode the concepts attributed to a motion event, could it be that the bilinguals are homogenizing the *Self_Motion* frame from German with the *Arriving* frame from Turkish leading to a unique frame that only operates for bilinguals? The experiment I conducted with children in Braunschweig points in this direction. The next section describes the method I employed.

3. Methodology

3.1 The Free Sorting Method

In her treatment of the 'core' meaning and modifying elements of 'descriptive verbs,' Snell-Hornby (1983) constructed field diagrams plotted over two dimensions to approximate the similarities and differences of verbs in German and English. Figure (1) below is taken from a subfield of self-motion verbs, which she labels 'nimble, with energy': the word *hüpfen* ('to hop') is closely aligned with *springen* ('to jump'). The arrow is a simple way of indicating a semantic relationship.

7. The *Kiezdeutsch* corpus is a mainly monolingual corpus of German representing youth language data from multicultural neighborhoods of Berlin. It is accessible on demand.

There appears to be no immediate relationship between the ‘jumping’ verbs to the right and to the left, which include *klettern* (‘to climb’) and *krabbeln* (‘to crawl (on hands and feet)’).

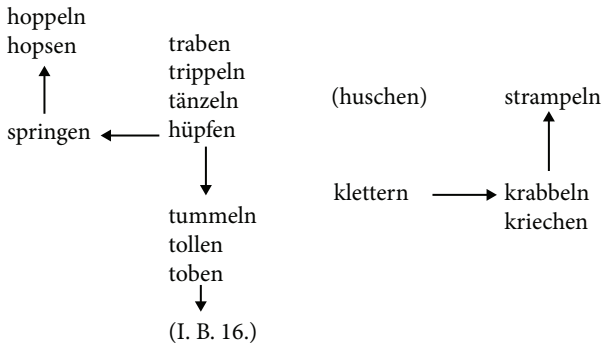


Figure 1. Subfield ‘Nimble, with energy’ (Snell-Hornby 1983: 140)

Snell-Hornby justifies the relationships she posits with help of Standard German dictionary entries, a small corpus of texts and judgments from three native speakers. While her project clearly differs from FrameNet, it can be interpreted from a frame-semantic perspective: Snell-Hornby is investigating the relationships between Lexical Units (LU) that are associated with a certain frame, namely *Self_Motion*. The problem of arriving at semantic relations is the same as in FrameNet: it is ultimately the researcher’s intuition (supported by a process of consultation) that suggests what the lexical field looks like.

In order to develop a method to empirically test the way multiple speakers would actually organize the word field, I was inspired by Snell-Hornby’s (1983) metaphor of word fields as comparable with the color continuum (Snell-Hornby 1983: 68).⁸ Could fields of lexical meaning be tested in a fashion parallel to the way relativity researchers have been testing color perception across languages? In seeking to better understand possible focal points and borders in color perception and color terminology, Roberson et al. (2005) conducted a free-sorting task of color squares with speakers of 17 distinct languages. Participants freely grouped color terms “so that ones that looked similar were placed together in the way that members of a family go together” (8). The free-sorting method was used because it allowed for an unrestrained grouping of colors as well as a comparison of naming practices and potential relationships between colors across speaker groups. Roberson et al. (2005) found strong variability between individual speakers, but also a genuine influence of sorting behavior based on learned color categories.

8. For a more detailed description of the free-sorting methodology and its application to semantic fields, see Huenlich (2015).

At the same time, the existence of focal colors was confirmed due to universal characteristics of sorting behavior across participants and languages. In other words, there is an interaction of individual, sociolinguistically acquired and universal influences on sorting behavior.

While Roberson et al. (2005) used free-sorting to assess the non-verbal perception of their participants, the method can be adapted to test the perception of lexical categories in a language. It requires the use of written phrases printed on cards, but is nevertheless viable. Potential issues with transferring this method include that written texts are processed in fundamentally different ways than spoken language, or that categorization tasks might not be representative of lexical categorization. Conducting the test with students in a school setting circumvents some of these obvious problems to a certain degree: students are familiar with categorization tasks that use written words referring to spoken language, and they frequently make distinctions based on categories of meaning. While keeping in mind that the results will be approximations and not exact representations of mental categories, they very likely still align more closely with speakers' cognitively rooted decisions than a process relying heavily on the opinion of a few researchers and text sources. The next subsection introduces the districts in which I conducted a free-sorting test at local schools with 97 students. It also elaborates on the background data of 39 multilingual participants.

3.2 Participants: Districts and background data

Braunschweig is a city with a population of 250,000 in the German Federal State of Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony), about two hours west of Berlin. The larger Braunschweig metropolitan area includes Salzgitter and Wolfsburg, and is known for the prominent economic role of the Volkswagen corporation. Many guest workers from Turkey and other countries came to this region in the 1960s and 1970s, and 16 % of Braunschweig's population has a migration background, meaning that the person in question or his/her parents immigrated to the area from another country. In the 1990s, a large number of Eastern Europeans with German roots came to Braunschweig. As in other German cities of the same size, migrants are concentrated in working class neighborhoods. Often, the need for housing also caused municipalities to develop new neighborhoods from the bottom up. The *Weststadt* of Braunschweig, for instance, was built for the purpose of accommodating a growing population in the 1960s and 1970s. The make-up of neighborhoods with a migration history is highly diverse, but certain groups, such as the Turkish and Polish minorities, form socially salient and visible communities.

I found participants for my free-sorting test in schools of three districts – two with a prominent migration history located in the *Weststadt* and *Nordstadt* – as

well as in the middle-class neighborhood of *Lehndorf*, which is located in the Northwest of the city. The map in Figure (2) shows the three districts. Pins in different shades of grey represent the three participant groups in their respective housing area.

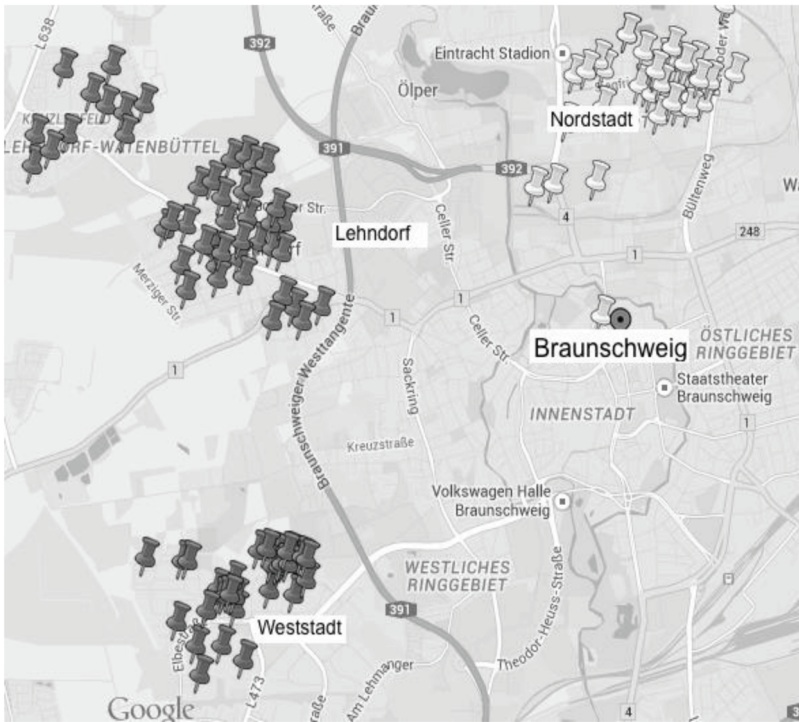


Figure 2. The three districts and the proximity of participants

Tables (2) and (3) illustrate some main differences between the three districts. The Weststadt and Nordstadt are both rather large districts with populations of around 23,000, while Lehndorf has around 11,000 inhabitants. The Weststadt is socioeconomically the lowest of the three neighborhoods with an unemployment rate of 9.6 % and a quarter of the population on welfare. Children are particularly affected by the latter statistic. Having been developed only 50 years ago, the Weststadt is also the youngest of the three districts. In accordance with its original purpose, it still has the largest proportion of inhabitants with a migrant background today (36.9%).

Table 2. Welfare and unemployment rates in three districts of Braunschweig (Data provided by Statistics Institute of Braunschweig)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Category:	Population2012	Unemployed		On welfare		Children on welfare	
Districts:		Overall	Foreigners	Overall	Foreigners	Overall	Foreigners
Braunschweig	246 742	9 165	1 500	21.345	3.772	5.266	552
%	100	5.5	9.3	11.5	17.7	17.7	10
Weststadt	23 537	1 365	328	4.499	977	1.398	164
%	100	9.6	16.0	25.7	21.7	42.6	11.7
Lehndorf ^e	11.025	268	23	515	71	100	11
%	100	4.0	6.8	6.4	13.8	7.9	11.0
Nordstadt	23 514	1 124	197	2.666	509	654	74
%	100	6.7	7.9	13.8	19.1	27.4	11.3

* *Alt-Lehndorf, Lehndorf Siedlung, Kanzlerfeld and Ölper Holz*

Table 3. Inhabitants with “migration background” in three districts of Braunschweig

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Category:	Population2011	Germans		Foreigners		Migration background(4 + 5)
Districts:		Total(3 + 4)	w/o dual citizenship	w/ dual citizenship**		
Braunschweig total	244 806	226 206	203 803	22 403	18 600	41 003
%	100	92.4	83.3	9.2	7.6	16.7
Weststadt	23 268	20 852	14 688	1 642	6 416	8 580
%	100	89.6	63.1	26.5	10.4	36.9
Lehndorf ^e	10 978	10 582	10 065	517	396	913
%	100	96.4	91.7	4.7	3.6	8.3
Nordstadt	22 027	19 372	17 425	1 947	2 655	4 602
%	100	87.9	79.1	8.8	12,1	20.9

** *Alt-Lehndorf, Lehndorf Siedlung, Kanzlerfeld and Ölper Holz*

Lehndorf represents a strong contrast to the Weststadt: it was a self-governed village before it became a part of Braunschweig in the 1930s, and there are long-standing ties of local families to the district. It is also the district with the lowest

unemployment (4%) and welfare rates (6.4%). The social fabric of the district is mainly middle class, and more recent additions to the area, like Kanzlerfeld, did not change this composition. Lehndorf has the least pronounced migration influence with only 8.3% of its inhabitants with migration background (which is only half of the average rate in Braunschweig).

Several characteristics make the Nordstadt district demographically and economically distinct from the other two. It was developed in the 1920s for a growing working class population. When guest workers and their families were contracted after WWII the Nordstadt only offered limited space for new inhabitants. The percentage of inhabitants with a migrant background today is 27.4% which is 16% lower than in the Weststadt. Its 6.7% unemployment rate is a bit higher than in Lehndorf but not quite as high as in the Weststadt. The number of welfare recipients are about double the number of Lehndorf and half the number of the Weststadt.

For logistical reasons, I had to restrict data collection in Lehndorf to monolingual speakers, thereby excluding five students. Since the schools in the Weststadt, Lehndorf and Nordstadt are not equally diverse, this decision does not pose a threat to the representativeness of the data. 35 fourth graders were tested from the Nordstadt (NS; 18 monolingual, 17 multilingual), 31 from Lehndorf (LD, all monolingual), and 31 from the Weststadt (WS; 9 monolingual, 22 multilingual). All participants were born in Germany, were between 10–12 years of age at the time, and came from the immediate neighborhood of the schools involved. Overall, 58 participants were monolingual and 39 were at least bilingual. The following parent languages are represented in the sample: Turkish (17), Polish (5), Russian (4), Arabic (3), Thai (2), Italian (1), Kurdish (2), Aramaic (1), Albanian (1), Cantonese (1), English (1), Greek (1), Indonesian (1), Mandarin (1), Ukrainian (1), and an unidentified African language (1).⁹ Of the 39 multilingual participants, five were trilingual (students with African, Chinese, Kurdish, and Ukrainian background, as well as an Indonesian-Thai student). All speakers of Eastern European languages came from the WS, the Turkish students came from both the WS and the NS. Monolingual students provided basic background data (age, gender, nationality, place of birth, number of years living in the district, household size), but all multilinguals completed an extensive language questionnaire.

The goal of the background questionnaire was to quantify the potential influence of multilingual students' language environments. Each interview lasted between 20 and 45 minutes, and was conducted by my assistant or myself with two to

9. It was not possible to further differentiate these languages into dialects or other varieties. Having grown up in Germany, students have difficulties categorizing their parents' language in terms of regional or social dialects.

three students at a time. The questionnaire elicited all languages spoken at home, the mixing of languages, the age of acquisition, place of acquisition, the number of years of speaking specific languages, as well as the amount of time spent in the parents' country of birth and the language use there. Students also completed a subjective family language assessment with regard to the quality and frequency of German and any other language(s) in the family. The frequency measure consisted of five values (from 1 = "hardly ever" to 5 = "almost always"), allowing children to indicate the perceived frequency with which different interlocutors directed different languages at them in their environment. Students provided a more nuanced subjective assessment of their language environment by naming the most important interlocutors after school, specifying the language use with them, and listing the usual conversation topics. Table (4) below contains the results of the frequency assessment with these primary interlocutors. The top row indicates the language for which participants assigned a frequency value between 1 and 5. The columns are split into the Weststadt and the Nordstadt, respectively. Lehdorf is not included because the data there only included monolinguals. The rows contain the average values for the German and parent language usage that participants assigned to primary interlocutors. The standard deviation next to the average values gives a feeling for the distribution of values. The average rating for primary interlocutors is presented below each group.

Table 4. Students' frequency rating of (unidirectional) use of German and the parent language

Question:	How often does/do your... speak German to you? (1 = hardly ever, 5 = almost always)		How often does/do your ... speak the parent language to you? (1 = hardly ever, 5 = almost always)	
	Nordstadt	Weststadt	Nordstadt	Weststadt
primary interlocutor I	3.59 (s.d. 1.42)	3.55 (s.d. 1.36)	3.06 (s.d. 1.34)	3.05 (s.d. 1.46)
primary interlocutor II	3.93 (s.d. 1.33)	4.15 (s.d. 1.20)	2.73 (s.d. 1.58)	2.1 (s.d. 1.31)
primary interlocutor III	2.89 (s.d. 1.69)	3.71 (s.d. 1.19)	3.8 (s.d. 1.48)	2.94 (s.d. 1.41)
Primary communication:	3.56 (s.d. 1.47)	3.81 (s.d. 1.29)	3.12 (s.d. 1.48)	2.68 (s.d. 1.47)

Friends play a limited role as primary interlocutors after school. Rather, mothers (44%), older siblings (18%), fathers (15%), and younger siblings (15%) are perceived as the most important interlocutors. The second most important interlocutors in the eyes of students are mothers (23%), friends (22%), older siblings (22%),

younger siblings (13%), fathers (10%) and extended family members (5%). Two students indicated no second most important interlocutor (5%). Overall, the data on primary interlocutors is largely based on family communication.

The backbone of data provided by the language questionnaire served the analysis of factors that are potentially predictive of students' free-sorting behavior. Five independent variables were chosen for a later factor analysis:

1. **district:** given the social differences between the districts, district values served as predictors reflecting the impact of the socio-economic environment of students.
2. **primary language environment:** the perceived primary language in students' environment could play a crucial role if language contact was responsible for certain verb clusters. Based on the primary interlocutor ratings students gave me for German and their parent language, German or the parent language was dominant or the languages were equally relevant.
3. **language dominance:** not knowing enough German could perhaps influence the performance in the free-sorting task. Therefore I quantified students' assessment of their language dominance based on grades they gave themselves during the interview. Again three categories resulted from this: either German or the parent language was dominant, or the two were equal. For monolinguals in the three districts, German is by default the dominant language both in their language environment and in their self-assessment.
4. **parents born abroad:** Both, one or no parent could be born abroad. This general categorization was created to gauge the influence of migration more generally (not only limited to language).
5. **being a Turkish speaker:** this is a fundamental category for testing a relationship between new lexical structures and being a Turkish speaker. Goschler et al. (2013) argued that language contact with Turkish is responsible for the patterns they found in their analysis of motion verbs in the Kiezdeutsch Corpus. Similar patterns could emerge in the free-sorting data.

These five factors were used in binomial logistic regression modelling in order to examine an intriguing co-occurrence of *kommen* ('to come') and *schleichen* ('to sneak') in the free-sorting results of certain students. The next section gives an overview of all the verbs involved in the free-sorting task.

3.3 The List of motion verbs

Table (5) below lists the 52 self-motion verbs and three pseudo-verbs used in the free-sorting test. To keep the free-sorting task manageable, only 38 self-motion verbs in the list were descriptive verbs, although Snell-Hornby (1983) identifies

over 60 such verbs. To make the task more approachable for children, words that are not strictly descriptive, but frequent in relation to athletics and school sports were also added (e.g. *sprinten* ('to sprint'), *spurten* ('to spurt')). The generic verbs *kommen* ('to come') and *gehen* ('to go, walk') were relevant in Goschler et al.'s (2013) research and are also of interest to the broader question of Turkish-German language contact. The verb *kommen* ('to come') has an inherently directional meaning

Table 5. List of 52 verbs and 3 pseudo-verbs used for free-sorting

German verb	Translation	German verb	Translation
bummeln	'to saunter'	schlendern	'to saunter'
eilen	'to hurry'	schlurfen	'to shuffle'
flanieren	'to stroll'	schreiten	'to stride'
flitzen	'to whisk'	spazieren	'to stroll'
gehen	'to walk, go'	springen	'to jump'
hasten	'to hasten'	sprinten	'to sprint'
hechten	'to jump' (like a pike)	spurten	'to spurt'
hinken	'to limp'	stampfen	'to stomp'
hoppeln	'to scamper'	stapfen	'to trudge, tramp'
hopsen	'to skip'	steigen	'to mount, rise'
hüpfen	'to hop'	stiefeln	'to march'
humpeln	'to hobble'	stolzieren	'to strut'
huschen	'to whisk'	tappen	'to toddle'
joggen	'to jog'	taumeln	'to totter'
klettern	'to climb'	tippeln	'to pad'
kommen	'to come'	torkeln	'to stagger'
krabbeln	'to crawl'	traben	'to trot'
kraxeln	'to scramble'	trampeln	'to trample, stomp'
kriechen	'to creep'	trotten	'to tread heavily'
latschen	'to shamble'	wandern	'to hike'
laufen	'to go, walk, run'	wanken	'to reel'
marschieren	'to march'	watscheln	'to waddle'
purzeln	'to somersault, tumble'	wetzen	'to speed, race'
rasen	'to race'		
rennen	'to run'		
robben	'to crawl' (like a seal)	Pseudo-verbs:	
rollen	'to roll'	<i>schlopern</i>	
sausen	'to dash'	<i>somen</i>	
schleichen	'to sneak'	<i>workeln</i>	

in German, while *gehen* ('to come') can be used both directionally (in the sense of ('to leave')) and neutrally to describe an unmarked pedestrian motion type.

3.4 Sorting procedure & analysis

Participants received instructions as a group. They learned that their goal was (a) to sort verbs into groups that "fit" together, and (b) to sort out invented or unknown verbs from the set. If a student did not understand the instructions, they were repeated. The instructions were illustrated with help of the concrete example of the German verbs *lachen* ('to laugh'), *heulen* ('to weep'), *grinsen* ('to grin'), *weinen* ('to cry'), *lächeln* ('to smiles'), and an invented verb *bammern* which has no real meaning but could be a German verb due to its phonotactic structure.¹⁰ All verbs for the sorting task were printed on white business cards and presented in a sentence frame, e.g. *Sie rennt*. ('She is running'). Working on their own, students proceeded to sort their cards on large school tables. Enough space was provided to arrange clusters without interfering or interacting with others. Copying and cooperation were prohibited. All students were observed by my assistant, the German teacher or myself during the task. A colored sticker indicated where students had to place the verbs they perceived as non-existing. If students felt that a verb did not fit in any group (and raised the concern), they were encouraged to place it on the table alone. Each student had 30 minutes to complete the task but none took longer than 20 minutes.

Students used different strategies: Some spread the cards out on the table, sorting out perceived pseudo-verbs first and organizing the other cards afterwards. Others sorted the cards by working from a stack, subsequently creating new stacks. The method students used for sorting did not enter my analysis. We only took pictures of the final result on each table. Figure 2 contains an example of such a free-sorting result.

Table 6. Example co-variation matrix

	marschieren	schleichen	schreiten	traben	trotten
marschieren		0	1	0	0
schleichen	0		0	0	0
schreiten	1	0		0	0
traben	0	0	0		1
trotten	0	0	0	1	

10. 'Pseudo-verbs' were included in the task to control for the overall lexical scope of speakers. The present article deals exclusively with lexical field structure within the group of known verbs. For a discussion of lexical scope, see Huenlich (2016).

Through binary coding, all pictures of students' desks were coded as co-variation matrices, with co-occurring verbs marked, as in Table (6) above. The "1" in certain table cells indicates that *marschieren* ('to march') and *schreiten* ('to stride') as well as *traben* ('to trod') and *trotten* ('to trudge') co-occur in Figure (3), below. *Schleichen* ('to sneak') stands alone in Figure (3) and remains unmarked.



Figure 3. A student's free-sorting result

In the analysis, all results from a sample (by school, or by language background) were added up and divided by the number in the sample. The normalized matrices were then loaded into R as data frames and subjected to a cluster analysis which is a useful tool in locating trends in numerical tables (Baayen 2008: 138f.). Because the goal was to pinpoint relationships of perceived similarity, the method of hierarchical cluster analysis (HAC) offered itself. HAC results are usually represented in hierarchical dendrograms. Distances in these dendrograms represent a measure of similarity between two items (or groups of items). General patterns in the sorting outcomes of students can be identified and compared this way, before certain clusters or pairs of verbs can be examined more closely with help of linear regression analysis.

4. Results

4.1 Dendrograms

Cluster analysis was performed five times: in a first step, the data were analyzed by district. In a second step, the two working class districts were separated by multilingual vs. monolingual speakers across districts. The resulting dendrograms

in Figures (4), (5) and (6) reveal general commonalities and some striking differences across districts that can eventually be explained by exceptional sorting decisions among multilinguals, as presented in Figure (8).

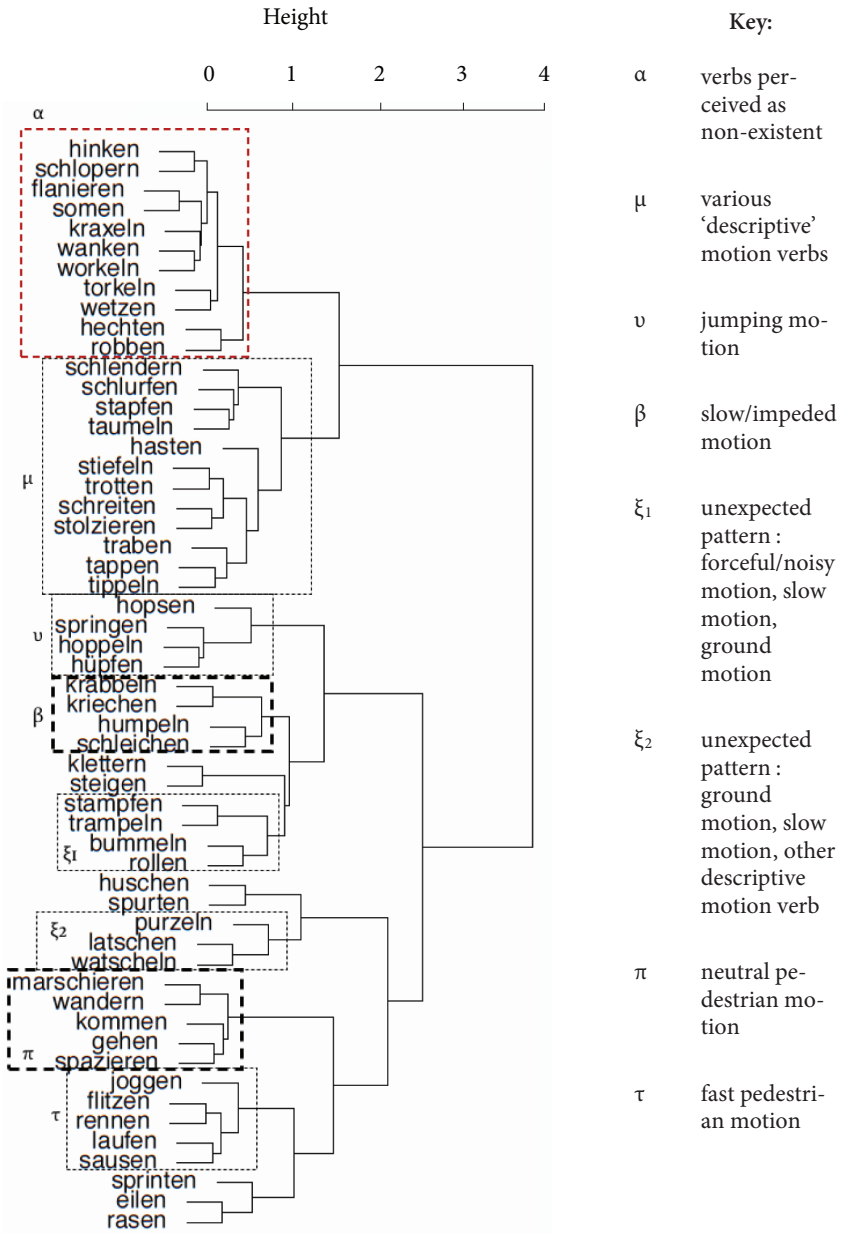


Figure 4. Dendrogram Weststadt

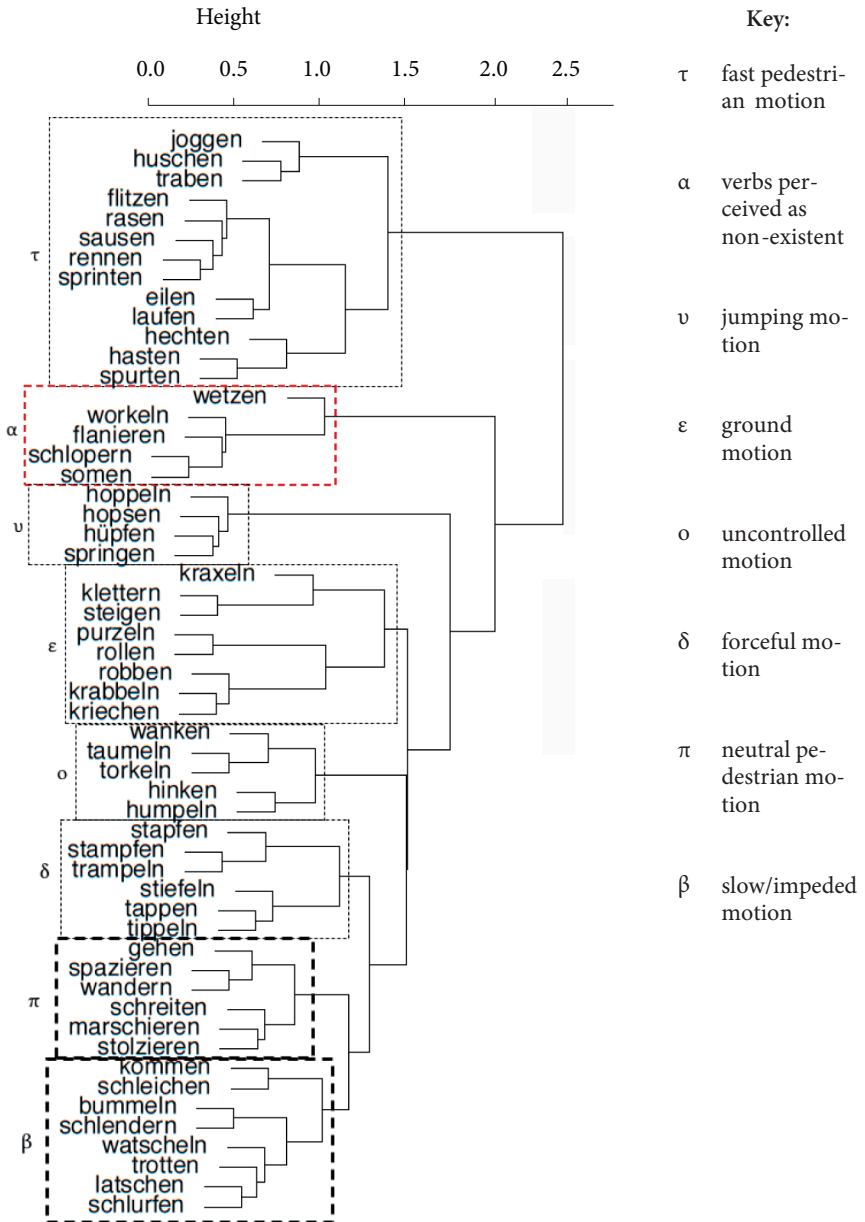


Figure 5. Dendrogram Lehndorf

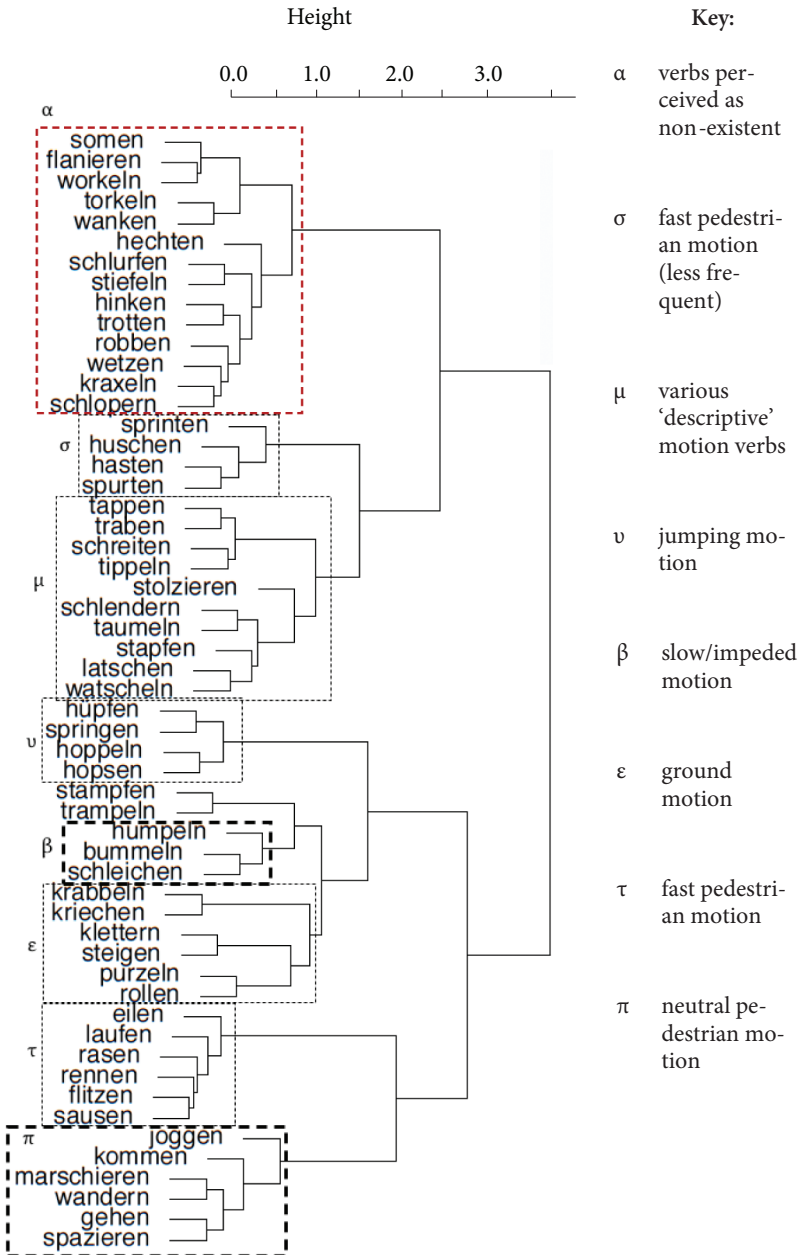


Figure 6. Dendrogram Nordstadt

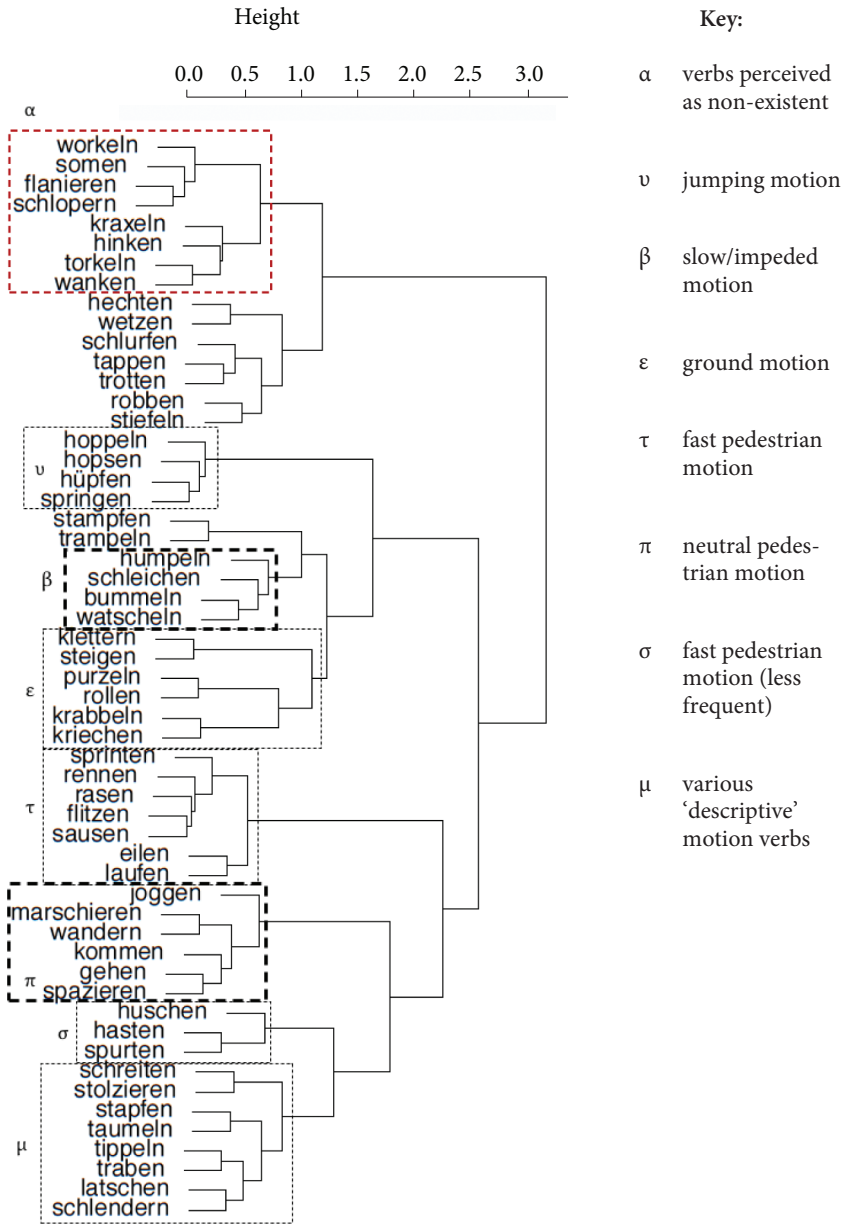


Figure 7. Dendrogram Monolinguals (WS and NS)

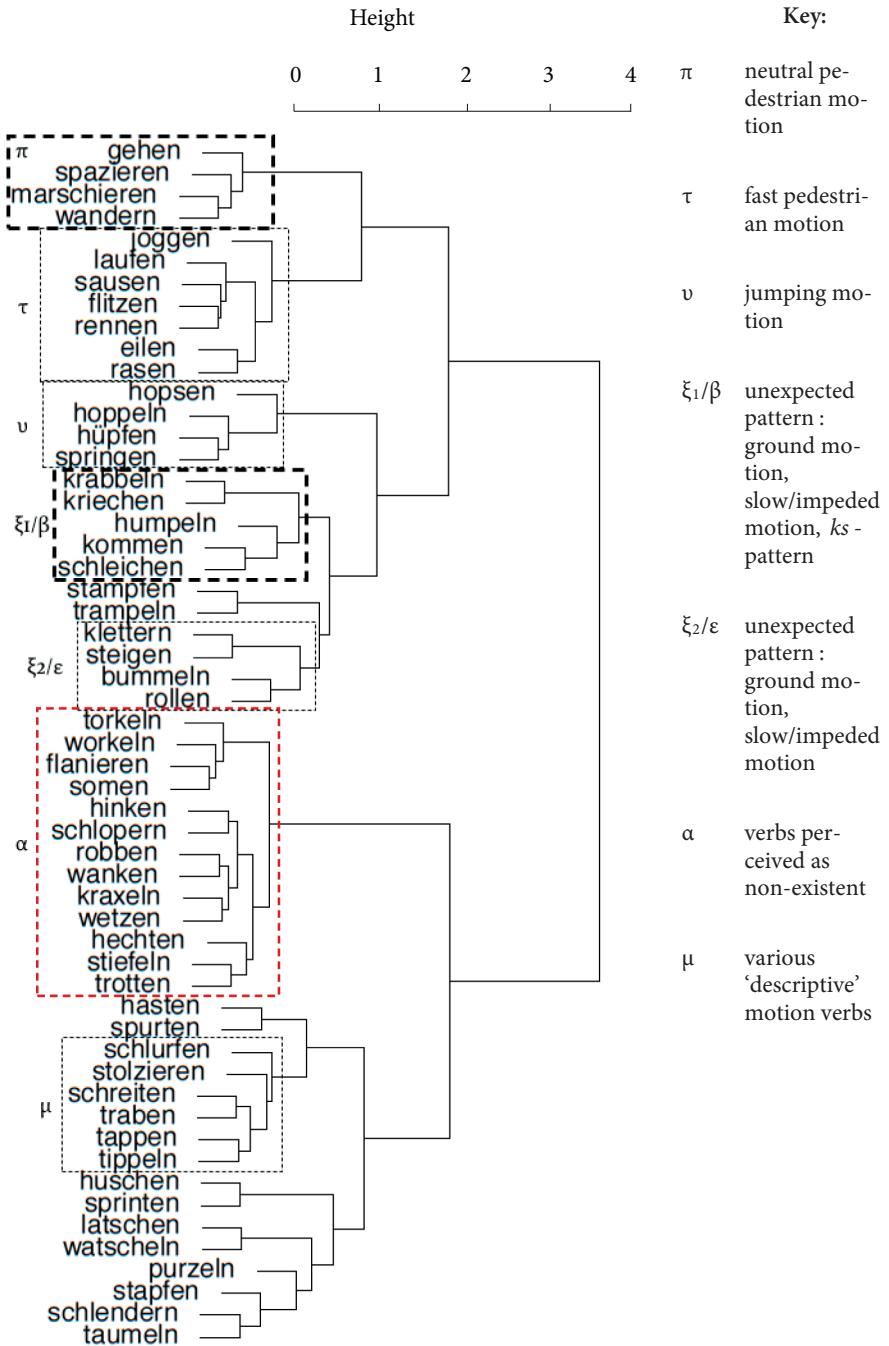


Figure 8. Dendrogram Multilinguals (WS and NS)

All districts and speaker groups identify a neutral or leisurely group of motion verbs around *gehen* ('to go, walk') (π), a group of fast verbs surrounding the verb *rennen* ('to run') (τ), and a group of verbs with the general meaning ('to jump') (ν). There also is a group of slow motion verbs (β) in every sample.

Major differences between districts exist with regard to the size of clusters: (τ) and (β) are very detailed large groups in Lehndorf (Figure 5), and are much narrower in the Weststadt (Figure 4) and the Nordstadt (Figure 6). The perceived pseudo-verb cluster (α) which contains the three pseudo-verbs *somen*, *schlopern*, *workeln* along with all verbs that students could assign no meaning to are substantially larger in the Weststadt and Nordstadt. A highly variable cluster (μ) that contains descriptive verbs of different types occurs in the Weststadt and Nordstadt but not in Lehndorf. The Lehndorf students create two clusters of descriptive verbs from (μ): a cluster (\omicron) which describes uncontrolled motion types often connected to drunkenness or injury like *torkeln* ('to stagger') and *humpeln* ('to hobble'), and a cluster (δ) which contains noisy and forceful ways of walking such as *stampfen* ('to stomp') and *stiefeln* ('to march') (literally ('to boot')). A cluster that the Nordstadt and Lehndorf share but that does not occur in the Weststadt is (ϵ). It denotes ways of moving that differ in the agents trajectory of motion and body positioning, such as *klettern* ('to climb'), *krabbeln* ('to crawl'), and *rollen* ('to roll'). All of these verbs describe motion events that take place close to the ground and involve quadrupedal motion. In the Weststadt, where (ϵ) does not occur, the verbs *krabbeln* and *kriechen* which both can mean ('to crawl') are part of the slow cluster (β) which also includes *schleichen* ('to sneak') and *humpeln* ('to hobble'). Another peculiarity of the Weststadt data is that there are several pairings of verbs that apparently have very little in common – at least in the eyes of a speaker of Standard German: *rollen* ('to roll') and *bummeln* ('to saunter') co-occur in cluster (ξ_1), for instance. Such idiosyncrasies suggested to me that the data from the Weststadt and Nordstadt should also be separated by the criterion of multilingualism. Figures (7) and (8) contain the resulting two dendrograms for all monolingual and all multilingual speakers in the two districts. A peculiar finding emerges in that *kommen* ('to come') occurs together with *schleichen* ('to sneak') for Lehndorf students and for the multilingual students of the Weststadt and Nordstadt. Being the only verb in the data set with an inherently directional sense, the attachment of *kommen* ('to come') to *schleichen* ('to sneak') in a middle class environment and in the multilingual environment is initially puzzling. Regression analysis highlights the best predictor behind this outcome, however, thereby clarifying whether language contact can actually be considered to influence this cluster – which seems unlikely at first glance since all participants in Lehndorf are monolinguals.

4.2 Logistic regression analysis

While there seems to be a relationship between *kommen* ('to come') and *schleichen* ('to sneak') for the Lehndorf monolinguals and for the multilingual students in other parts of Braunschweig, it is also the case that *kommen* and *schleichen* appear immediately adjacent to the neutral cluster (π) in Figure (5) but not in Figure (8). This means that there is an overall closer relationship between (π) and (β) for the students in Lehndorf than for those in Weststadt and Nordstadt. Indeed, when checking the pictures of each desk, it appears that the Lehndorf students often grouped *kommen* ('to come') and *schleichen* ('to sneak') with the neutral verbs in this sample. Multilinguals appear to associate the verb *kommen* ('to come') with a more active group of descriptive verbs in (β/ξ_1).

A way to uncover the predicting factors that determine the association of *kommen* with *schleichen* would be to treat potential co-occurrences as a binomial dependent variable, and to use the background data of students in a regression analysis to discover a possible relationship between co-occurrences and certain background factors. If a student's district best explains the sorting result, for instance, Lehndorf students would most frequently associate *kommen* with *schleichen*. If the language environment explains the association more conclusively, other predictors may prevail. Interactions between different factors are also possible.

As mentioned in Section 3.2, the predictors 'district,' 'dominant language environment,' 'subjective self-assessment of language dominance,' 'parents born abroad (one, both, none),' and 'speaking Turkish' were tested. Of these predictors, being a speaker of Turkish offers the single best explanation for the association of *kommen* with *schleichen* ($p = 0.000^{***}$). No other predictors or interactions with other predictors offer a better explanation. A summary of the binomial logistic regression model is given in Table 7, below. Turkish speakers group together *kommen* and *schleichen* significantly more often than others in the overall sample. This can help explain at least one of the observable differences in the sorting data.

The clustering results of this section showed that there are differences in the way speakers from various districts and language backgrounds perceive the field of German motion verbs, containing lexical units (LUs) from the *Self_Motion* and *Arriving* frames. The frequency with which Turkish-speaking bilingual students clustered together the verbs *schleichen* ('to sneak') and *kommen* ('to come') confirms that language contact between German and Turkish is a possible and likely reason for the differences between the fields. The two verbs are frame-evoking Lexical Units in Standard German for the *Self_Motion* and *Arriving* frames, respectively. A re-ordering of frame-relations might be underway due to contact with Turkish: Bilinguals may be associating Lexical Units that evoke the *Self_Motion* frame with the *Arriving* frame due to the inherent directional property

Table 7. Summary of the best binomial logistic regression model.

 Call: glm(formula = ks.cluster ~ Turkish, family = "binomial", data = group1)

Deviance Residuals:

Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
-1.2858	-0.5134	-0.5134	-0.5134	2.0454

Coefficients:

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-1.9601	0.3378	-5.803	6.51e-09 ***
Turkish(yes)	2.2114	0.6067	3.645	0.000267 ***

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

(Dispersion parameter for binomial family taken to be 1)

Null deviance: 95.959 on 96 degrees of freedom

Residual deviance: 82.479 on 95 degrees of freedom

AIC: 86.479 Number of Fisher Scoring iterations: 4

of Turkish motion verbs. Alternatively, the two frames may be merging into a new frame in a contact variety of German.

But which frame elements would be part of such a new frame? While it is not possible to replicate the density of a corpus-based analysis in the framework of my study, the next section presents a video-guided feedback session I conducted with participants which revealed a constructional change that potentially induces the observed phenomenon and that would have immediate consequences for a possible merged frame.

5. Follow-up measure: Participant Feedback

In 2013, the year following the free-sorting test, I organized a video-guided feedback session with several students that had grouped together the verbs *kommen* ('to come') and *schleichen* ('to sneak') (henceforth, *ks*-cluster). Instead of discussing the test, I presented video stimuli to the students this time and asked them to provide suitable descriptions of the videos. Six of fifteen students who had previously produced the *ks*-cluster were available for the follow-up interview (WS, four students; NS, two students). I also included students who had not produced the *ks*-cluster in the previous year. Overall, fourteen participants offered feedback.

5.1. Video stimuli and Procedure

To produce the stimuli, I filmed an actor silently performing different motion types, namely jumping, doing a summersault, crawling, stomping, jumping across two benches, climbing over a fence, walking normally, walking lazily and walking quietly. Five of these motion types were recorded twice from different directions. Each video was 3–5 seconds long. Two videos of deliberate, quiet and slow motion typically expressed with the verb *schleichen* ('to sneak') in Standard German were used as target stimuli (although I was also interested in other clusters at the time). I asked the actor to look back deliberately in one of the sneaking-videos, in order to emphasize that he was 'sneaking away'. My reasoning was that a trajectory away from a source location might trigger a different association than with *kommen* ('to come, arrive'). Images taken from the sneaking videos are given below in Figures 9a and 9b.

All stimuli were presented in random order to the students. Due to time restrictions, they participated in pairs. To get an impression of possible contrasting perceptions, I paired target students who had produced a *ks*-cluster a year prior to the interview with observing students who had not produced the *ks*-cluster. The target student of each pair stood in front of a laptop screen while the observing student video-recorded the target student.¹¹

In addition to the video clips, fifteen verb cards were placed on the table next to the laptop. These cards gave students the chance to reconnect to the free-sorting experiment in the past year. I first asked each of the target students to describe in their own words what the screen showed. After they commented on the video clip, I directed the attention to the cards on the table and had the student choose one or more cards that best described the video. Some students associated many verbs with the motion event shown, while others only chose a single verb. I also asked students to explain their choices. After the target students commented on all fourteen videos, laid out the verbs they found fitting and commented on the target words, I asked the observing student behind the camera whether they would have made the same choices as the target student. Observing students sometimes offered interesting additions or made clear where they would not have made the same choice.

5.2 Student feedback

Given a year had passed between the free-sorting test and the second meeting and video task with the students, I was skeptical that students would reproduce

11. By employing the observing students as camerapersons the task gained their interest and I was free to focus on the target student and assist where necessary.

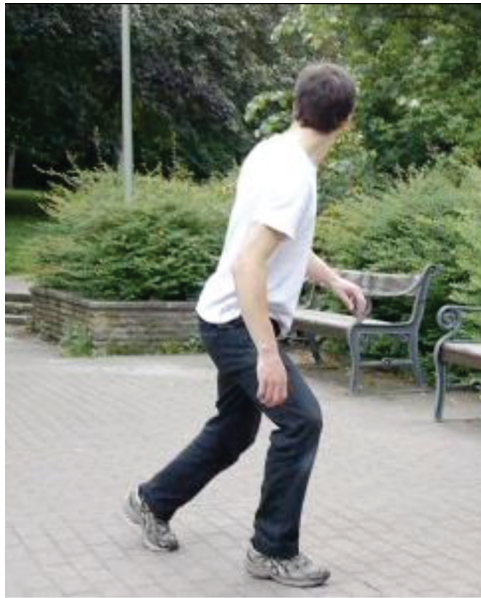


Figure 9a. schleichen-video 1, looking back



Figure 9b. schleichen-video 2, looking ahead

the cluster of *kommen* ('to come') and *schleichen* ('to sneak') from the sorting data. However, the patterns did resurface when I presented participants with the videos. In four instances, the target students chose *Er schleicht* ('he is sneaking')

and *Er kommt* ('he is coming') as the best descriptions for Pictures 9a and 9b, respectively. The first student of Turkish origin in the Nordstadt described the two ('sneaking') clips as follows.

For (9a):

- (6) *Der Mann schleicht und schleicht sich und guckt nach hinten.*
 3sm man sneak.3s and sneak.3s REFL and look DIR back
 'The man is sneaking and sneaking (reflexive) and looking back'

For (9b):

- (7) *Er schleicht sich wieder!*
 3sm sneak.3s REFL again
 Standard German: *Er schleicht sich wieder an!*
 'He is creeping up [on someone/somebody] again!'

Interestingly, (6) and (7) contain a peculiar construction syntactically speaking: the reflexive construction *sich schleichen* ('to sneak oneself') does not exist in Standard German without a directional complement. A similar construction only exists in Southern German dialects, where it means that someone ('makes off'). But it is unlikely that students are familiar with this meaning due to the geographical distance to Southern German dialects. Rather, it seems that the student is actually omitting words or parts of the sentence – a phenomenon well documented in studies of ethnic varieties of German (cf. Dirim & Auer 2004, Keim 2007). As mentioned in Section 2.2, descriptive verbs in Standard German are always combined with directional particles when a directional motion event is described. The particles *an* ('at/toward'), *ein* ('in/into'), and *weg* ('away'), when added to *schleichen*, for instance, result in the composite verbs *anschleichen* ('sneak up, creep up'), *einschleichen* ('sneak in') and *wegschleichen* ('sneak away'). In a Standard German main clause, the stem of these verbs would stand in the second position and the particles would appear in the last position of the sentence. In sentence (8), below, the main clauses with the verb *hingehen* ('to go to') and *anschleichen* ('sneak up') exemplify this: the verbs separate and flip their order to *geht...hin* and *schleicht ... an*. In contrast, *hingehen* remains connected because the verb is in a subordinate clause.

Some composite forms actually require a reflexive pronoun in German, such as *sich anschleichen* ('sneak up or') *sich einschleichen* ('sneak in'). An omission of the directional particle would then yield *sich schleichen* which is not Standard German but which appears to be what the student in (6) and (7) is doing.

Example 8 confirms this: another Turkish speaker intensely focused on the card reading *Er kommt* after selecting *Er schleicht* the best fit to the second video. I asked what the student was looking at. She gave me the following explanation

of why *kommen* was actually part of her perceptual experience when seeing this video. In her explanation, she uses a directional composition of *hin* ('towards') and *gehen* ('to go'):

- (8) *Wenn er schleicht, dann geht er irgendwo hin, er schleicht sich an weil er leise sein möchte und irgendwo hingehen möchte, beispiel so erschrecken. Dann schleicht man sich oder irgendwas*
 If he sneaks then goes he somewhere DIR he sneaks REFL DIR
weil er leise sein möchte und irgendwo hingehen möchte, beispiel so
 because he quiet be want.3s and somewhere DIR-go want.3s example FOC
erschrecken. Dann schleicht man sich oder irgendwas
 scare then sneak 3s REFL OR something
 Last sentence in Standard German: *Dann schleicht man sich an oder irgendwas*
 'If he sneaks, then he is going somewhere. He creeping up on [someone] because he wants to be quiet and wants to go somewhere – for example to scare [someone]. Then you sneak yourself (reflexive marker) or something.'

From these comments, there appears to be an inherently intentional and directional understanding of the action of *sneaking*. Also, *sich schleichen* occurs once with and once without a particle in (8). It is therefore very likely, that there is variation with respect to the omission of the directional particle. Directionality is grammatically still evident from the remaining reflexive pronoun *sich* (which only occurs with *schleichen* in a directional sense) so it is actually a redundant feature here.

The possible constructional change documented in (6), (7) and (8) can be summarized as follows: *schleichen* ('to sneak') is a non-directional descriptive verb in Standard German that can combine with different directional prefixes. It turns into a reflexive verb when combined with some of these particles in Standard German. Due to the frequent omission of directional separable prefixes in certain German vernaculars, however, it appears that an inherently directional sense of the *sneaking*-event is now associated with the verb stem and that, in addition, the reflexive marker *sich* fulfils the function of the directional marker. Similar to Turkish motion event descriptions, there is no directional marker in the form of a satellite particle in the constructions in (6), (7) and (8). Unlike Turkish, however, the new construction encodes manner and direction. Although the lexical material has been reduced it maintained the semantic properties of a descriptive verb. The question remains whether this phenomenon of inherent directionality also holds for other descriptive verbs or not. Omissions of separable prefixes were not evident for the other verbs in the follow-up measure, as the present test focused on the observations made for the verb *schleichen*. It is thus necessary to test other verbs in a different setting.

6. The suggested frame change

Given the constructional change described in the previous section, we may now formalize the frame that could be equally evoked by *kommen* ('to come') and *schleichen* ('to sneak'). Due to the limited representativeness of my data, I will focus on the core frame elements (FEs). An important observation when comparing the FEs of Arriving with those of Self_Motion is that both frames conceptualize MANNER as a Non-core FE. This is due to the circumstance that the verb itself often encodes MANNER in the Self_Motion frame while MANNER is generally left unencoded in the Arriving frame. This difference is bridged by the novel use of the verb *schleichen* but it does not materialize in the FEs of Self_Motion and Arriving. The omission of a particle in sentences (6), (7) and (8) has a direct effect on the FEs, however. First, the FE GOAL which is a Core element of Self_Motion changes in nature. The description of Arriving in FrameNet states that the GOAL is always "conceptually present and specific," but sometimes also "understood from context rather than expressed by any separate constituent." Based on the data above, certain FEs of Self_Motion are tentatively less crucial for the newly emerging frame. The same contextual cues that define the GOAL often also specify the

Table 8. A comparison of Frame Elements

Core FEs	Self_Motion	Arriving	Frame causing ks-pattern
Agent	Self_mover is the living being which moves under its own power. Normally it is expressed as an external argument.	Theme is the object that moves. It may be an entity that moves under its own power, but it need not be.	Agent is a living being which moves under its own power. Normally it is expressed as an external argument.
Goal	Refers to where the Self_mover ends up as a result of the motion. Some particles imply the existence of a Goal which is understood in the context of utterance.	Refers to where the Theme ends up as a result of the motion. Although always conceptually present and specific, Goal may sometimes be understood from context, rather than expressed by any separate constituent.	Refers to where the Agent ends up as a result of the motion. Although always conceptually present and specific, Goal may sometimes be understood from context, rather than expressed by any separate constituent.
Path	Path is used for any description of a trajectory of motion which is neither a Source nor a Goal . This includes "middle of path" expressions.	-	Path is a description of a trajectory of motion. It is neither a Source nor a Goal .

direction of motion. The FEs AREA and SOURCE are currently not confirmed in my data. The trajectory, however, does not vanish from the surface representation: The FE PATH is obligatory for Self_Motion and the reflexive pronoun *sich* in sentences (6), (7) and (8) has a very similar function: because it refers to the moving agent, then by definition it is neither an expression of a GOAL or SOURCE. Nevertheless it implies a trajectory of motion. What emerges from all these observations is a mixed picture with traits from both frames. A summary of the similarities and differences between the three frames is given in Table 8.

7. Conclusion

The goal of this paper was to make initial observations on the way frames operate across languages in contact and how they may be influenced by changing constructions. Language contact between German and Turkish in immigrant neighborhoods of Germany served as a potential case for such changes. The sorting-test at schools in Braunschweig and the video-guided feedback session resulted in the following observations.

First, the dendrograms in Figures (4) to (8) showed that the differences in perception of motion verbs across the three districts involved are substantial. They become even more pronounced when multilingual and monolingual speakers in the working class neighborhoods are compared in their sorting choices.

Second, the dendrogram of multilinguals and of the middle class neighborhood revealed an association of the verbs *schleichen* ('to sneak') and *kommen* ('to come') which are thought to evoke the Self_Motion and Arriving frame, respectively, in Standard German. The pairing of these LUs is therefore rather surprising.

The third observation arose from an investigation of the co-occurrences of *schleichen* ('to sneak') and *kommen* ('to come') (*ks*-cluster) by means of binomial logistic regression using five predictors from participants background questionnaires to see what the best possible explanation of the co-occurrence may be. The results showed that being a speaker of Turkish is by far the most predictive variable for this pairing ($p = 0.000^{***}$). The German Self_Motion and Arriving frame could be restructuring or homogenizing under the influence of Turkish. Given that the *ks*-cluster also occurs in the middle class neighborhood, however, it is also possible that the pairing is due to an effect of frequency: *schleichen* might occur more often in contexts of arrival than other descriptive verbs. Investigating frequency effects was beyond the scope of my study, but is an important aspect to explore in future work.

An observation in favor of the interpretation that frame changes are underway came from the feedback which participants offered when they watched the video with the sneaking actor: in four cases, participants who had produced the *ks*-cluster

earlier used both the verbs *schleichen* ('to sneak') and *kommen* ('to come') to describe the video. From the description it became clear that direction was a crucial component to all participants. However, the construction students used to describe the event was also missing the separable prefixes that usually encode direction in Standard German and its dialects. The new construction is different in that the verb stem and a reflexive marker serve to encode directional information rather than the expected particle or prepositional phrase. This finding corroborates Goschler et al.'s (2013) observation that speakers of Turkish background avoid directional particles when using manner verbs. If morphosyntactic omissions of directional particles (perhaps under the influence of the V-language background of Turkish) leave a mark on the lexicon of Turkish-German speakers, the association of *schleichen* ('to sneak') and *kommen* ('to come') seems less surprising than if it would occur in a middle class neighborhood of monolingual German-speakers. It seems, however, that there is an inherent directionality to the verb *schleichen* ('to sneak') that also influenced the sorting choice of German monolinguals in Lehnendorf.

While the findings of this paper are not conclusive in nature, they suggest that in the process of language contact, frames are not exempt from language change. It makes sense to assume a single linguistic system in which frames initially may conflict but eventually 'reframe' the conceptual experiences of speakers. Future research must further explore the nature of frames across stages of homogenization or reduction. Establishing large bilingual FrameNet corpora across generations of bilinguals may prove useful in investigating these phenomena and may lead to claims of broader validity.

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The last three decades have seen the emergence of Construction Grammar as a major research paradigm in linguistics. At the same time, very few researchers have taken a constructionist perspective on language contact phenomena. This volume brings together, for the first time, a broad range of original contributions providing insights into language contact phenomena from a constructionist perspective. Focusing primarily on Germanic languages, the papers in this volume demonstrate how the notion of construction can be fruitfully applied to investigate how a range of different language contact phenomena can be systematically analyzed from the perspectives of both form and meaning.

“Language contact used to be a blind spot in Construction Grammar. This exciting volume demonstrates that it is now taking its rightful place in constructional research. The articles in this volume cover argument structure constructions, verbal inflections, split auxiliary systems, modal particles, word order, and motion verbs in languages such as Danish, Afrikaans, Swedish, Turkish, and Texas German. With its broad outlook, the volume not only pushes the boundaries of current constructional research; it also makes it relevant to researchers from other theoretical backgrounds.”

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“A timely contribution from Construction Grammar to the current discussion on language contact and multilingualism. The case studies in this volume are united by a perspective on multilingualism as normalcy that brings language contact phenomena into the mainstream of linguistic analysis where they belong, thus setting a challenge one hopes will be taken up by other frameworks.”

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ISBN 978 90 272 0171 3



John Benjamins Publishing Company