Additional language acquisition as emerging multilingualism

A Construction Grammar approach

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Recent years have seen an increasing interest in applying Construction Grammar to additional language (AL) acquisition as well as in constructionist approaches to language contact and multilingualism, in particular Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG; Höder, 2018). This paper combines both perspectives by proposing a usage-based constructionist model of AL acquisition as emerging multilingualism. In line with earlier work on DCxG, we assume that multilingual speakers store and process all of their languages in terms of constructions that are organized into one common constructicon. From that perspective, AL learning amounts to an extension and reorganization of the constructicon, resulting not only in the gradual entrenchment of new constructions that represent (a learner variety of) the AL, but also in modifications of previously acquired constructions and the links between them. The model is illustrated by examples from different kinds of AL acquisition scenarios and also discussed in relation to current key concepts within non-constructionist research in the field of AL acquisition.

Keywords: Diasystematic Construction Grammar, additional language acquisition, multilingualism, entrenchment

1. Introduction: Why a constructional approach?

Non-native speakers typically use linguistic elements in ways that differ from native speakers' usage. The production of non-canonical utterances is usually assumed to reflect the fact that non-native speakers have a mental representation of the language's grammar that is different from native speakers' linguistic knowledge. Typically (though by no means necessarily), non-canonical utterances appear to follow grammatical patterns of a speaker's first language (L1) rather than the canonical

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patterns of the additional language (AL).[1] In (1), for example, a speaker whose L1 is Macedonian produces a clause in her AL Swedish that is non-canonical in that it, traditionally speaking, violates a syntactic rule:

(1) Swedish, L1 Macedonian (SW1203-uppsatser)[2]
Därför mitt förslag till kommunen ***är*** *en ny belysning.*
therefore my proposal to municipality-DEF is a new illumination
'So, my proposal to the municipality is a different illumination.'

In Swedish declarative main clauses, the finite verb always follows immediately after the first constituent (verb-second word order). Therefore, the finite verb would be expected after the initial adverbial (Standard Swedish: *Därför är mitt förslag till kommunen …*). In the actual utterance, however, both the adverbial and the subject precede the finite verb (*Därför mitt förslag till kommunen är …*), following a conventional pattern in Macedonian, namely subject-verb word order.

While one could argue that the match between subject-verb word order in the speaker's AL Swedish and the L1 Macedonian is accidental and that the use of this word order pattern might also be explained by, for example, a tendency towards using 'unmarked' rather than 'marked' structures (Eckman, 2010; cf. Haspelmath, 2006, for a critical discussion of markedness), other cases are clearer, such as (2):

(2) English, L1 Norwegian (Johansson, 2008, p. 144)
Here ***is*** *probably* ***an abortion*** *a good solution.*
'Here, abortion is probably a good solution.'

The speaker, a learner of English with Norwegian as her L1, produces a clause that follows a subject-finite inversion pattern that would be obligatory in Norwegian declarative main clauses with a topicalized adverb but is restricted to auxiliary verbs in specific contexts in English (Goldberg, 2006, pp. 166–182).

Similarly, the speaker in (3), who has Finnish as an L1, produces a noun phrase, *Finlands nationaldagen* 'Finland's national day', that contains both a prenominal possessive (*Finlands* 'Finland-POSS') and a definite noun (*nationaldagen* 'national-day-DEF'), whereas prenominal possessives are usually combined with

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1. We prefer the terms *additional language* (AL) over *second language* (L2), *third language* (L3) and so on, since it is unclear whether there is any categorical difference between L2s and L2+*n*s in terms of acquisitional processes (if indeed there are categorical differences between L1s and L1+*n*s at all). This terminology is not new, but has gained increasing popularity in recent years (see e.g. Ortega 2009).

2. *SW1203-uppsatser* is a subcorpus of the *Swedish Learner Language corpus* (SweLL), consisting of student essays by advanced learners of Swedish as an AL (Volodina et al., 2016). It is available (access restricted) through the Swedish corpus tool *Korp* (spraakbanken.gu.se/korp).

indefinite nouns in Swedish (Standard Swedish: *Finlands nationaldag*). This reflects the fact that Finnish, unlike Swedish, does not inflect nouns for definiteness and, hence, there are no structural restrictions pertaining to definiteness as an inflectional category:

(3) Swedish, L1 Finnish (SW1203-uppsatser)
Därför ska jag gärna ta del svenska traditioner – och fira
therefore shall I gladly take part Swedish traditions and celebrate
***Finlands nationaldagen** i December.*
Finland-POSS national-day-DEF in December
'That's why I'll gladly participate in Swedish traditions – and celebrate Finland's National Day [Independence Day] in December.'

Traditionally, non-canonical utterances such as in (1)–(3) would often be classified as containing different types of *transfer phenomena*, loosely definable as the application of grammatical structures that originally belong to a speaker's L1 to the production of an utterance in her AL, due to her (as of yet) imperfect acquisition of AL grammar. The learner's incomplete knowledge, as it were, of the AL corresponds to what is often called her *interlanguage* (a term originally introduced by Selinker, 1972) – an idiosyncratic and changing variety of the AL, reflecting the learner's current hypotheses about the language system that she is acquiring (cf. Section 2.3). In this view, the L1 and the AL form two separate grammatical systems, and the AL learner gradually accumulates linguistic knowledge in the AL, striving for (and possibly in the end achieving) native-like language competence.

In contrast, current theoretical approaches to AL acquisition conceptualize the learner as an *emerging multilingual speaker*, whose knowledge of the AL does not evolve independently of previously acquired languages, but rather builds upon her prior linguistic knowledge, in particular in her L1. Usage-based research within the field of language acquisition has drawn attention to the fact that *exposure* to input is crucial for language attainment, leading to the gradual *entrenchment* of linguistic units (Divjak & Caldwell-Harris, 2019, Schmid, 2017). While L1 acquisition typically involves a much higher degree of exposure to L1 material than AL acquisition, both ultimately rely on the same cognitive mechanisms at the level of individual structural elements, regardless of the order of acquisition, and are processed in essentially the same way.[3] From this perspective, then, the process of acquiring *linguistic material in the AL* is fundamentally the same as the acquisition of some new set of linguistic material in, say, a specific register in the L1, and both entail some type of *reorganization* of the learner's overall linguistic knowledge. On

3. This view is confirmed by neuroscientific findings (e.g. Perani & Abutalebi, 2005), which suggest that AL processing involves the same type of brain activity as L1 processing.

the functional side, specifically, the acquisition of additional linguistic material is usually related to the learner becoming familiar with new referential meanings, grammatical functions, or socio-pragmatic aspects such as specific domains or communicative settings. This view of language acquisition resonates well with usage-based and Construction Grammar (CxG) approaches to the organization and acquisition of linguistic knowledge in general (cf. Tomasello, 2003, Diessel, 2013, 2019, Ellis & Wulff, 2019, Hilpert, 2019, pp. 241–243, Matthews & Krajewski, 2019) and current constructionist approaches to language contact and multilingualism in particular (Boas & Höder, 2018), most importantly Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG; cf. Section 2.1).

This paper does not present an empirical study, but is theoretical in nature, primarily motivated by the constructionist claim that "it's constructions all the way down" (Goldberg, 2006, p. 18) – which must also be assumed to hold for AL learners' linguistic knowledge –, and additionally by the need to capture the details of emerging multilingualism in coherent terms. Our aim is to propose a *model for the constructional organization of learners' emerging multilingual knowledge* that extends DCxG so as to be applicable to AL acquisition. The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 discusses previous approaches to AL acquisition (constructionist and otherwise) that are relevant to the proposed model, focussing on DCxG (Section 2.1), CxG work on AL acquisition (Section 2.2), and key insights from non-constructionist research (Section 2.3). Our proposed model is spelled out in Section 3, focusing on the nature of entrenchment (Section 3.1) in AL acquisition, the internal structure of the emerging multilingual constructicon (Section 3.2), and the details of the reorganizational processes that are assumed to be at work when AL knowledge is integrated into the constructicon (Section 3.3). Finally, Section 4 gives a summary.

2. Building on previous research

2.1 A constructionist approach to multilingualism: Diasystematic Construction Grammar

Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG; Höder, 2012, 2014ab, 2018, 2019) is a usage-based Construction Grammar approach to language contact situations, including a wide range of types and degrees of individual as well as collective multilingualism. While the development of DCxG focused mainly on phenomena that are related to contact-induced language change (e.g. Höder, 2012, 2014a), it has more recently also been applied to other types of contact phenomena, such as synchronic

multilingual practices (cf. the papers by Bourgeois, Namboodiripad, Lepic, and Urban, this volume). Drawing on insights from current contact linguistics, DCxG differs from more traditional linguistic approaches (including constructionist ones) in assuming that 'languages' do not have any *a priori* status in the organization of grammar, neither in individual speakers' linguistic knowledge nor in the social conventions that represent the grammar shared by a specific speaker group. Rather, speakers organize their linguistic knowledge in its entirety into one constructicon, which, consequently, may contain constructions that are used in different languages. From a contact linguistic perspective, this reflects the well-established concept of the *linguistic repertoire* (Matras, 2009, pp. 208–209), from which multilingual speakers choose the elements that they deem to be appropriate in a given communicative situation. From a CxG perspective, the existence of multilingual constructicons is motivated by the general claim that the acquisition and organization of linguistic knowledge is exclusively governed by domain-general cognitive factors and mechanisms, such as input frequency, saliency, and abstraction and generalization based on perceived similarity. If these do not lead to a differentiation between distinct 'languages' in the constructicon, then there is no reason to assume that such a differentiation is cognitively real.

On the other hand, multilinguals do not normally use constructions from different 'languages' randomly, but rather according to specific patterns that reflect conventionalized associations between (sets of) linguistic elements and (sets of) communicative contexts, defined by, for instance, discourse topics, interlocutor constellations, or – in a broader sense – communicative domains. These patterns, which have been investigated in countless studies on what is often labelled 'code choice' and 'code-switching' (cf. Gardner-Chloros, 2009, pp. 42–59), reflect a more general principle in multilingual communication known as the Complementarity Principle (Grosjean, 2008, p. 22–34): multilinguals tend to use their different languages for different purposes. In DCxG, this is reflected in terms of pragmatic meaning: a linguistic element – i.e. a construction – that 'belongs to language A' carries a specific type of pragmatic meaning that restricts its use to a specific set of communicative contexts that are conventionally associated with 'language A', and at the same time it marks the current communication as belonging to this set of contexts.[4] If, for example, a German-Swedish bilingual family living in Sweden has

4. This is in line with the view expressed by e.g. Cappelle (2017), who argues that both (referential) semantics and pragmatics should be included on the functional side of constructions and that pragmatic information should not be treated as extra-constructional. Similarly, Goldberg (2019, p. 7) views constructions as "emergent clusters of lossy memory traces that are aligned within our […] conceptional space on the basis of shared form, function, and contextual dimensions".

established a convention to use German at home and Swedish at work or at school, the language-specificity of the German word *Küche* 'kitchen' is represented as a pragmatic restriction on the functional side of the corresponding construction. This can be formalized as [*Küche* 'kitchen' ⟨C_{home}⟩], with a shorthand notation specifying the communicative context (C_{home}) in angle brackets, as opposed to the Swedish equivalent [*kök* 'kitchen' ⟨$C_{work;\ school}$⟩]. Constructions carrying pragmatic meaning of this type (⟨C_x⟩) are called *idioconstructions* in DCxG.

Language-specificity is, however, an *optional* property of constructions, since there are constructions that are not restricted to specific communicative contexts in this way. More schematic constructions, in particular, can often be used across all communicative contexts. For example, polar questions as illustrated in (4) share the same syntactic structure in both German and Swedish in that they contain an initial finite verb, followed by a subject (typically a noun phrase in the nominative case, if applicable), and optionally other elements (whose presence and order are governed by additional constructions). They also encode the same type of functional information (illocutionary force):

(4) a. German
Kommst du *bald nach Hause?*
come you soon to home

b. Swedish
Kommer du *hem snart?*
come you home soon
'Are you coming home soon?'

This corresponds to a schematic construction that can be formalized as [V_{finite}[1] SBJ[2] … ⟨polar question⟩]. While the construction does not specify any additional pragmatic meaning for the schema itself, pragmatically unspecified constructions of this kind (*diaconstructions*) are, of course, often instantiated along with idioconstructions. In (4), for example, language-specific lexical constructions fill the finite verb and subject slots in the polar question diaconstruction.

Particularly schematic diaconstructions can, in principle, be posited at fairly high levels of abstraction and schematicity (cf. Höder, 2018, pp. 62–64, 2019). As DCxG aims to model multilinguals' linguistic knowledge in a socio-cognitively realistic fashion, the question whether highly schematic constructions actually exist in speakers' cognition is highly relevant. While there is a broad consensus in the constructionist (and cognitivist) literature that the organization of linguistic knowledge depends more on lower-level schemas than constructions with a higher degree of schematicity (e.g. Hilpert, 2019, pp. 67–72), it also follows from common assumptions about rich memory representations in usage-based linguistics (Bybee,

2010, pp. 14–32) that representations at different levels of schematicity need not be mutually exclusive.[5]

As a consequence, DCxG assumes that schematic diaconstructions and less schematic idioconstructions coexist in the multilingual constructicon, and are connected via inheritance links (Figure 1; cf. Höder, 2019, pp. 341–342). Formal and functional properties can, but need not be specified both at the diaconstructional and at the idioconstructional level; the only categorical difference between the two levels is the type of pragmatic information that idioconstructions carry.

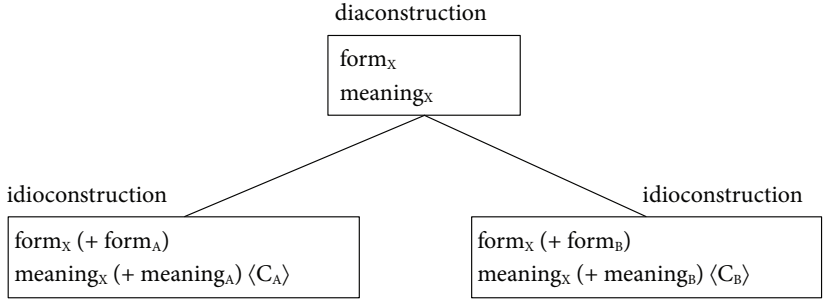

Figure 1. Diaconstructions and idioconstructions within the multilingual constructicon

Furthermore, the constructions that are used in a particular 'language' are not necessarily specific to it. Rather, the linguistic knowledge that is needed in order to represent and process 'language A' is composed of both diaconstructions and idioconstructions.

Previous work on DCxG has focused on multilingualism within what has been characterized as *'stable-ish' multilingual communities*, 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" (Höder, 2018, p. 42, fn. 9), such as communities that are traditionally diglossic, with relatively firmly established conventions on the association between domains and 'language' choice. Consequently, "the object of inquiry is defined as the set of cxns shared by a specific (multilingual) speaker community" (Höder, 2019, p. 340), i.e. the multilingual constructicon is viewed as having both a cognitive side at the individual level and a conventional side at the collective level (*community-specific grammar*).

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5. Furthermore, the assumption of diaconstructions is supported by different types of empirical evidence, such as findings pointing to *interlingual productivity* (Höder, 2018, pp. 59–60, 2019, pp. 347–348), i.e. the productive use of a construction in one of the languages involved when it results in non-canonical, but perfectly comprehensible utterances (cf. Hilpert, 2019, pp. 151–153).

When it comes to AL acquisition by individual speakers that are not part of a stable(-ish) multilingual community, it is evident that community-specific linguistic conventions and individual linguistic knowledge do not mirror each other in the same way as in multilingual communities with shared social conventions about when to use what language. It is, indeed, often the case that learners are isolated in the sense that no one else in their social network uses the same set of languages in the same type of distribution across communicative settings as they do. Therefore, applying DCxG to AL acquisition as emerging individual multilingualism requires a slightly different view of the ontological status of the constructicon and, indeed, specific constructions, namely one that focuses primarily on the cognitive organization of linguistic knowledge at the individual level. So, instead of defining constructions as "conventional, learned form-function pairings" (Goldberg, 2013, p. 17), it is sufficient to just define them as cognitive units, i.e. *learned form-function pairings in the learner's emerging multilingual constructicon*, whether or not they reflect conventional units within the AL speaker group or some community that the learner belongs to.[6]

2.2 Additional language acquisition and Construction Grammar

As Ellis (2013, p. 365) points out, "[i]f the units of language are constructions, then language acquisition is the learning of constructions. So L2A [L2 acquisition] depends upon learners' experience of language usage and upon what they can make of it." Consequently, there has been an increasing interest in usage-based and in particular constructionist approaches within the field of AL acquisition over the past decades; constructionists have also, conversely, been increasingly interested in AL acquisition (for an overview cf. Ellis, 2013, and De Knop & Gilquin, 2016). Among the abundant studies in the field, many findings suggest major differences in language usage and, more crucially, the cognitive organization of linguistic knowledge between L1 and AL speakers. Such findings include the observation that AL speakers appear to be relying more on schematic patterns in language processing than L1 speakers (e.g. Gries & Wulff, 2005). Structural interaction between L1 and AL constructions has also been the focus of numerous studies, pointing to the possibility of

6. Findings from related fields also suggest that the cognitive representation of grammar can be fairly independent of linguistic conventions, including in (nearly) monolingual communities, even though it is of course shaped by social practices. For example, Dąbrowska (2019, p. 231), in her survey article, refers to the idea that (first) language acquisition leads to identical mental grammars for all speakers as a 'myth', and Sabino (2018, pp. 75–99) even speaks of the 'illusion of shared grammar'.

analysing them in terms of constructional transfer mechanisms, as opposed to 'mere' lexical or grammatical transfer (e.g. Römer, O'Donnell & Ellis, 2014).

Such findings fit in with Ellis's (e.g. 2006, p. 184) emergentist view of the initial disposition of the mind in AL acquisition as a *tabula repleta* ('replenished table', in contrast to the *tabula rasa* in L1 acquisition): Since the learner already possesses linguistic knowledge, consisting of L1 constructions, AL acquisition differs from L1 acquisition in that the learner does not build up her mental constructicon from scratch, eventually leading to the establishment of constructions emerging from usage, but rather integrates newly acquired knowledge into what is already there.

On the other hand, constructionist studies also find similarities between L1 and AL acquisition, particularly with regard to the role of linguistic input (cf. Ellis & Wulff, 2014). For example, several recent studies investigate high school students with various degrees of access to AL input. Hendrikx (2019) and Van Goethem & Hendrikx (this volume) study the effects of a *Content and Language Integrated Learning* model (CLIL) on the acquisition of specific constructions in English and Dutch as ALs. Loenheim (2019) investigates Swedish compounds as interpreted by L1 and AL speakers with varying ages of onset, reflecting different amounts of exposure to the AL. Both studies show that learners' ability to use their linguistic knowledge (productively and receptively) similarly to L1 speakers correlates with the amount of exposure to the AL. This includes, in Loenheim's (2019) study, the accessibility of more abstract schemas as opposed to lexically filled constructions. Such findings point to the importance of individual constructions in AL acquisition, as opposed to the role of languages as *a priori* categories.

2.3 From interlanguage to the multilingual turn: Insights from non-constructionist research

It has, of course, long been acknowledged in AL research that L1 structures have an impact on AL acquisition. One of the first and most well-known theoretical models that take L1 influence into account was the notion of *interlanguage* (IL), introduced in Selinker's (1972) oft-quoted article. Interlanguage is understood as a learner's linguistic system at any given point in time during the acquisition of a new language (the *target language* [TL] in Selinker's terminology) in addition to the L1 (in Selinker's terms, the *native language* [NL]) or, more broadly, any previously acquired language(s). Originally, the concept was developed within the framework of the *Interlanguage Hypothesis*, which involves a set of theoretical postulates, one of them being that a learner's IL can be characterized as a "separate linguistic system based on observable output" (Selinker, 1972, p. 214). IL is thus viewed as a system in its own right, building on a basic system of hard-wired language universals (what

Selinker [1972, p. 212] calls a "latent language structure"), rather than an erratic product of the learner's deficient knowledge in the TL.[7] AL production involves five fundamental processes in language learning, viz. (a) transfer from the NL, (b) transfer of training, (c) strategies of language learning, (d) strategies of second language communication, and (e) overgeneralization of TL material. The theory also includes the concept of fossilization, which denotes non-TL structures in advanced or possibly final states of language acquisition. The five processes are different in kind: While transfer of training, strategies of language learning, and strategies of second language communication (processes (b)–(d)) are based on general learning or coping strategies employed in language learning, transfer from the NL (process (a)) and overgeneralization of TL material (process (e)) explicitly involve the cognitive processing of pre-established linguistic knowledge and TL input, respectively.

In mainstream, present-day AL research, the term *interlanguage* is still used to refer to the learner's variety of her AL, but in many cases the concept is used in a way that is theoretically underspecified. Regardless of whether the term is understood in its original context or as a more widely applicable tool, more recent dynamic views on language learning and language practices (cf. Cook & Li Wei, 2016, García, 2009, Ortega, 2009, Larsen-Freeman, 2011) challenge some of the underlying theoretical assumptions of the concept, since it presupposes that AL acquisition is merely an *accumulative* process, in which new linguistic material is added to existing knowledge. As a consequence, the term also implies a one-dimensional process leading from a starting point (at which the learner has no knowledge of the AL) towards a hypothetical endpoint, at which the learner has acquired the TL system in its entirety, resulting in her ability to use the TL in a native-like way.

The notion of interlanguage, even in its original sense, deserves credit for emphasizing the systematicity of learner language, including systematic influence from the L1. However, it is obvious that, firstly, Selinker's fundamental claim that the interlanguage builds on universal structures does not resonate well with a usage-based view. Secondly, while the view that the IL constitutes a separate system in the sense that it differs from native varieties of the TL is obviously true, viewing the IL as a *separate system in cognitive terms* is irreconcilable with the DCxG assumption that the mental constructicon of multilingual speakers, including emerging multilinguals, is not partitioned into different languages. However, Selinker's (1969, 1972) discussion at least in part already suggests that the accumulative and, at any given point in time, static nature of interlanguage may not have been entirely intended by the original design of the concept: "… we can speculate that as part of a definition of 'learning a second language', 'successful learning' of a second language for most

7. The "latent language structure" is related to the Chomskyan notion of universal grammar and understood as a pre-existing arrangement in the brain.

learners, involves, to a large extent, the reorganization of linguistic material from an IL to identity with a particular TL", Selinker (1972, p. 224) states, but explicitly refers to future research for the implications of such a belief. This more nuanced view could be seen as (compatible with) an embryonically emergentist position, which allows us to avoid thinking of the IL as reflecting a transitional process between an L1 and the (imagined) final state of the TL in the learner and, instead, to conceive of the IL as representing a *subset of constructions within an evolving multilingual constructicon*: In a (potentially) ever-growing network, there is no need to identify a starting point and an endpoint – there is only an expansion, in many directions, involving both L1 and AL material. Thus, it is possible to reinterpret the notion of IL in terms of a dynamic, changing, and growing constructional network representing the learner's AL within her mental constructicon.

The same holds true for other key concepts in AL research, such as the notion of *transfer*, which has also changed from being seen as a rather static and unidirectional mechanism to more dynamic definitions. In current research on cross-linguistic influence (CLI), transfer is viewed as a "highly complex cognitive phenomenon that is often affected by language users' perceptions, conceptualizations, mental associations, and individual choices" (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 13). While transfer in earlier days was often seen as a mechanism of interference of L1 in AL production and, hence, a major obstacle for AL acquisition (e.g. Selinker, 1972, Lado, 1957), today's view includes all of the languages a language user has knowledge of and their influence on each other (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008, p. 13), including influence of the AL on the L1. Findings supporting this view were already published decades ago (e.g. Ringbom, 1978, Weinreich, 1953) but have, like other findings indicating the complexity of transfer effects, only reached full recognition in more recent years (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, p. 12).[8]

On a larger scale, the field of AL acquisition has seen two major paradigm shifts in recent decades, often referred to as the *multilingual turn* (or bilingual turn) and the *social turn* (cf. May, 2013, Ortega, 2009, 2019). The motivation shared between the two turns is the shift of focus from cognitive and linguistic structure alone to a sociolinguistically more realistic perspective, contemplating the AL learner as an active individual within a social context. While the social turn is also highly relevant for AL acquisition in general, it is obvious that the multilingual turn is more crucial with regard to a usage-based approach to AL acquisition as emerging multilingualism.[9] The multilingual turn opposed the *monolingual bias*, the notion

8. This also entails the insight that CLI not only affects formal but also semantic or functional aspects (see Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008, pp. 11–13).

9. The social turn has raised awareness of how the multilingual individual is often socially disadvantaged. Eliminating the traditional dichotomy between native and non-native speakers,

that it is "normal" for an individual or a society to speak one language only. This notion affected not only the general view on language, language learning, and language planning, but also had an impact on linguistic theory, including AL theory. Prior to the multilingual turn, the field of AL acquisition, perhaps surprisingly, did not challenge the monolingual norm as such, but instead, in most cases, built upon monolingual theories of language and language acquisition and introduced add-ons in order to describe the acquisition of ALs and the mind of the multilingual speaker. Thus, the multilingual turn has, as May (2013, p. 1) puts it, "usefully foregrounded multilingualism, rather than monolingualism, as the new norm of applied linguistics". The foregrounding of multilingual competence(s) is not entirely revolutionary, though, as the term *paradigm shift* may imply.

For example, the concept of *multicompetence* (e.g. Cook, 1991, 1993, Cook & Li Wei, 2016), originally developed within Universal Grammar theory, refers to a "compound state of a mind with two grammars" (Cook, 1991, p. 112), which is described as different from a mere coexistence of two monolingual systems, echoing Grosjean's (1989, p. 4) oft-quoted claim that "the bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person". In Cook's (1993, p. 3) metaphor, "an L2 user does not just have a second L2 competence tacked on the original L1 competence, an extension built on at the back of the house; rather, the L2 user's mind is different as a whole – the whole house has been rewired".

This rewiring of the entire linguistic setup is also at the core of Li Wei's and García's extensive work on *translanguaging* (cf. Li Wei, 2011, 2018, García & Li Wei, 2014). While the process of translanguaging is given different definitions for various purposes, Li Wei (2011, p. 1223) defines translanguaging as including "the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation of systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships."

Similarly, *complexity theory* (cf. Larsen-Freeman, 2011) offers a framework that views language as emerging from usage; all patterns, or constructions, are products of language use, and, hence, "[t]he system changes every time a form is used" (Larsen-Freeman, 2011, p. 53). The system itself is thus ever-changing: "in short,

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Pavlenko (2003) suggests, is beneficial for language learners who are unable or unwilling to identify themselves as either learners or native speakers. In order to experience ownership of and to invest in (cf. Peirce, 1995) a (new) language, learners need an 'imagined community' in which mastering the new language is meaningful. When identification with neither a community of native speakers nor a community of learners is possible or desirable for the learner, there is a void of imagined communities. Offering an imagined bilingual community fills that void and makes it possible for the learner to invest in the new language in order to become a full member of that community.

language learning is not just about adding knowledge to an unchanging system. It is about changing the system" (Larsen-Freeman, 2011, p. 57). The categories within the system are not discreet, but rather gradual, and Larsen-Freeman (2011, p. 53) refers to the granularity of constructions to illustrate this point.

To sum up, a constructionist approach to AL acquisition that views AL learners as emerging multilinguals is not only consistent with current thinking about multilingualism in Construction Grammar, but also compatible with recent developments in the field of (non-constructionist) research on AL acquisition.

3. Modelling AL acquisition in Diasystematic Construction Grammar: A proposal

3.1 Gradual entrenchment of constructions

From a cognitive perspective, the acquisition of linguistic material amounts to the establishment of units of linguistic knowledge on the basis of linguistic input. In usage-based linguistics, *entrenchment* is seen as a key process in language acquisition, whether in L1 acquisition (cf. Theakston, 2017) or AL acquisition (MacWhinney, 2017; for a general discussion from a constructionist perspective, cf. Hilpert & Diessel, 2017). Schmid (2017, p. 24) defines entrenchment as "the ongoing reorganization and adaptation of individual communicative knowledge, which is subject to exposure to language and language use and to the exigencies of domain-general cognitive processes and the social environment". In his *Entrenchment-and-Conventionalization Model*, Schmid (2015, 2016, 2017) views entrenchment as a dynamic, gradual process, eventually leading to a degree of entrenchment that mirrors a construction's degree of conventionalization within the relevant speaker community.[10] In this view, constructions are not entrenched as ready-made form-function pairings that are represented as static units in the individual's mental constructicon, but rather form "more or less strongly entrenched symbolic associations between forms and meanings" (Schmid, 2017, p. 25). Constructionhood, in this view, is not binary; rather, it reflects a high degree

10. Schmid (2017, p. 25) describes linguistic knowledge as "being available in one format only, namely, associations". While Schmid does not explicitly place the Entrenchment-and-Conventionalization Model within the framework of Construction Grammar, the two are generally compatible; symbolic links between constructional form and function as well as interconstructional links within the constructicon can, in principle, be conceptualized as (different types of) associations.

of entrenchment and conventionalization (cf. Hilpert & Diessel 2017, pp. 67–69; Divjak & Caldwell-Harris, 2019), based on generalizations over recurrent tokens in the input.[11] As dynamic entities, constructions can both be strengthened, whenever they are accessed in language processing, and weakened as a consequence of disuse (*disentrenchment*; cf. Steinkrauss & Schmid, 2017, p. 370). In an AL context, this means that every token of usage strengthens the mental representation of a certain form, its referential or grammatical meaning, and its pragmatic association with the specific context in which the learner uses or encounters the AL, thus enabling the formation of a new construction. However, entrenchment of AL material does not necessarily correspond to any degree of conventionalization, since even completely unconventional, idiosyncratic constructions can be fully entrenched in the learner's repertoire.

Entrenchment, as well as disentrenchment, according to Schmid (2017), does not only involve the symbolic, intraconstructional links between forms and functions, but also interconstructional links, i.e. links between different constructions, and pragmatic links between constructions and extra-linguistic contexts and experiences, i.e. associations between constructions and communicative contexts. The latter are playing an important role in the context of AL acquisition, especially in a model that draws on the theoretical approach of DCxG, which, as mentioned previously, views constructions not as *a priori* language-specific, but rather as context-specific (Höder, 2018, pp. 43–44). The difference between DCxG and Schmid's description of the role of context is that Schmid does not include pragmatic associations within the scope of the symbolic associations between forms and functions, whereas DCxG sees pragmatics as part of constructions' semantic properties, i.e. as an integrated part of their function. This difference is not a theoretical contradiction *per se* but rather due to the fact that DCxG, in line with general tenets of CxG, conceptualizes the language system as consisting of constructions, the links between them, and nothing else. In other words, a more strictly constructionist approach requires a somewhat stronger formalization of the units of language than Schmid's more general socio-cognitive approach to linguistic knowledge in terms of a range of different kinds of associations. The latter is well suited to explain the complexity of the interplay between linguistic and extralinguistic information language users and learners have to be able to process and to acquire. It is, however, harder to capture in a construction-based model of AL acquisition and development, one problem being that the line between

11. This is related to the notion of *exemplars*, i.e. "categories formed from tokens of experience that are judged to be the same" (Bybee, 2013, p. 53). With every token of usage (receptive or productive), the mental representation of an exemplar is strengthened: details of an exemplar's form and usage are registered and stored in memory and can, thus, become part of the mental representation of a construction.

a semantic and a pragmatic function of a construction is as difficult to draw as the one between its lexical and grammatical form. The socio-cognitive reality can, however, be assumed to be the same, whether the pragmatic context is seen as part of the construction or not: the AL learner, on the basis of experience from input, entrenches information about the context in which a certain form is used and about its "social values and meanings" (Schmid, 2016, p. 547).

For the purposes of our model we propose that knowledge about the pragmatic context in which a certain form is used is entrenched as part of constructional meaning, in the same way as other aspects of the same form-meaning pair. There is, in this view, no fundamental cognitive difference between a German learner of Swedish entrenching the link between the target form *tjena* with the semantic meaning 'greeting' and entrenching the link between the form *tjena* and the pragmatic context of, say, 'informal conversation with Swedish-speaking acquaintances' (as opposed to more unmarked or even formal ways of greeting someone, such as *hej* or *god dag*). Hence, the association between the form *tjena*, its referential meaning and its pragmatic function could be described as a construction [*tjena* 'greeting' ⟨$C_{\text{informal, Swedish acquaintances}}$⟩].

A learner, hence, needs to entrench the association between form and function described above, and will do so gradually on the basis of the input, i.e. after a range of experiences of how the form *tjena* is used conventionally. In an acquisitional context, one could imagine a situation where the learner, on the basis of too little and skewed input, draws the conclusion that *tjena* is the unmarked way of saying hello in Swedish and, hence, applicable in all contexts when greeting another person. The learner would then, at least to some degree, entrench an unconventional construction that could be described as [*tjena* 'greeting' ⟨$C_{\text{Swedish interlocutors}}$⟩]. This construction is likely to undergo subsequent pragmatic narrowing, provided the learner also experiences negative evidence in an increasing and more evenly distributed input, i.e. observes a lack of instances of *tjena* in more formal situations. For a German learner of Swedish, acquiring the construction [*tjena* 'greeting' ⟨$C_{\text{informal, Swedish acquaintances}}$⟩] could, then, involve the following steps:

a. the learner is exposed to the form *tjena* in the AL input;
b. the learner encounters recurrent instances of the form *tjena* as a greeting formula in the context $C_{\text{Swedish interlocutors}}$;
c. too little and too skewed input prevents the acquisition of the conventionalized, i.e. more specific, context $C_{\text{informal, Swedish acquaintances}}$;
d. a construction [*tjena* 'greeting' ⟨$C_{\text{Swedish interlocutors}}$⟩] is entrenched gradually; this entails reorganizational processes within the speakers' constructicon (see Section 3.2);

e. the learner is exposed to increased and more evenly distributed AL input, containing
   - experiences that allow the learner to differentiate between contexts like 'formal conversations with Swedish-speaking strangers', 'informal conversations with Swedish-speaking friends' and 'unmarked conversations with Swedish-speaking interlocutors', but
   - no experiences of the form *tjena* used in formal or even unmarked conversations with Swedish-speaking interlocutors, but several encounters with the form *tjena* in informal contexts with Swedish-speaking acquaintances (along with several encounters with other forms used in those contexts, like *god dag* or *hej*);

f. [*tjena* 'greeting' ⟨$C_{\text{Swedish interlocutors}}$⟩] is gradually narrowed to [*tjena* 'greeting' ⟨$C_{\text{informal, Swedish acquaintances}}$⟩].

In addition to the entrenchment and disentrenchment of constructions, AL learning also involves the entrenchment of additional links between already entrenched constructions in the multilingual constructicon and the disentrenchment of links that have been entrenched on the basis of too little or too skewed input, as a cognitive reaction to increased AL experience; these are discussed in detail in Section 3.2.

Summing up so far:

a. A distinction is made between the cognitive dimension (entrenchment) and the social dimension (conventionalization), while still recognizing that they interact.
b. Entrenchment is seen as a gradual and reversible process, and constructionhood is not binary, i.e. a construction is more or less of a construction.
c. Constructions can be (more or less) entrenched in the learner's interlanguage (i.e. her emerging multilingual constructicon) without being conventionalized patterns in native speakers' grammars of the AL.

Entrenchment (along with its opposite disentrenchment) is thus considered the central cognitive process for AL acquisition and development and the driving force behind the development of the learner's emerging multilingual constructicon.

3.2 The emerging multilingual constructicon

In the following we will illustrate and explain the interplay of the different components of the model, i.e. how AL input affects both the (more or less) pre-entrenched linguistic constructions and the (more or less) newly acquired ones within the learner's constructicon.

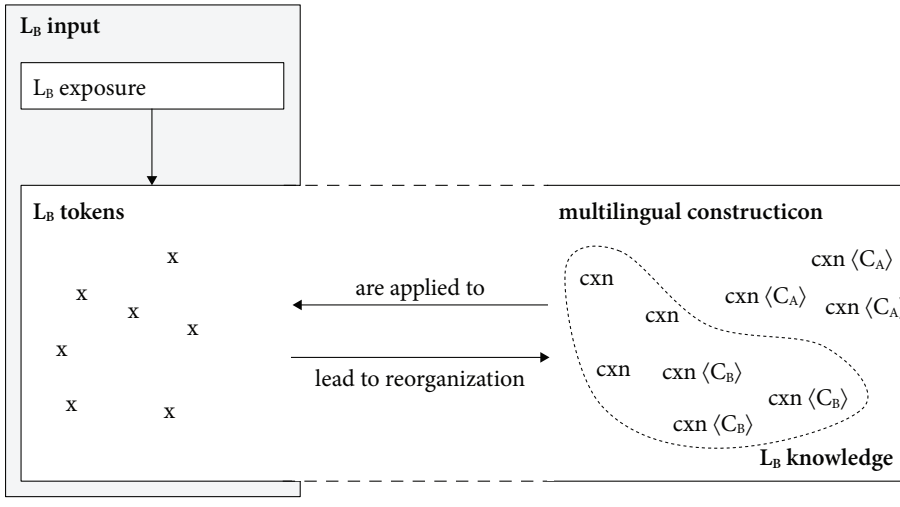

Figure 2. The emerging multilingual constructicon

As illustrated in Figure 2, the AL input can be described as resulting from the learners' exposure to linguistic material in the AL, which in part can be processed by applying pre-existing constructions, whereas other AL tokens lead to the establishment and reorganization of the learner's linguistic knowledge. This can be exemplified by an imagined speaker S who, up to this point, has been monolingual in language A (L_A in Figure 2) and is now acquiring language B (L_B) as an AL. Exposure to AL material implies a need to process tokens in language B. A subset of these tokens can be processed as instances of pre-existing constructions (*cxn*), i.e. constructions in language A that S has acquired at an earlier stage. Note that while S has acquired these constructions in communicative contexts where language A was used, none of them can be used to mark these contexts as different from anything else – the fact that, from a linguist's perspective, these constructions 'belong to language A' has no counterpart in S's mental constructicon. In technical DCxG terms, this means that they do not carry pragmatic meaning of the type ⟨C_A⟩. Therefore, no reorganization of linguistic knowledge is required: The pre-existing constructions can simply be applied to AL material as well, i.e. they function as diaconstructions in the emerging multilingual constructicon. For example, a German-speaking monolingual who acquires Swedish does not need an additional Polar Question Construction to process Swedish polar questions; the construction that she already uses in German is sufficient for both languages (see Example (4) in Section 2.1).

Other cases, however, require a reorganization of S's pre-existing linguistic knowledge. Some structural patterns that she encounters in language B will not match any of the pre-existing constructions in her constructicon. As they occur exclusively in communicative contexts that are (coming to be) associated with B, they are entrenched as constructions carrying, among other things, pragmatic meaning of the type ⟨C_B⟩. In technical terms, they are idioconstructions (*cxn*⟨C_B⟩). Simple examples are AL words that do not have cognates in the learner's L1.

Finally, S will recognize that while some pre-existing constructions can be applied to AL material, others cannot. In order to prevent using instances of such constructions in inappropriate contexts, S will have to acquire a pragmatic restriction that specifies the set of communicative contexts in which they can be used, i.e. contexts that are associated with language A. This corresponds to the acquisition of a pragmatic meaning of the type ⟨C_A⟩ for a subset of the pre-existing constructions (*cxn*⟨C_A⟩).

Eventually, the emerging multilingual constructicon comprises

a. pre-existing, strongly entrenched constructions that function as diaconstructions;
b. newly acquired, weakly entrenched constructions restricted to C_B;
c. pre-existing, but modified constructions that now are restricted to C_A.

Crucially, though, none of these subsets correspond to S's knowledge of language B in its entirety. Rather, 'language B' is represented partly by diaconstructions, partly by C_B idioconstructions. Note that not all constructions that represent language B have actually been acquired during AL acquisition. On the contrary – and paradoxically, from a linguocentric point of view –, the acquisition of AL material involves as much modification of pre-existing constructions as the entrenchment of new ones.

3.3 Reorganizational processes

From a DCxG perspective, as discussed above, AL acquisition may also require a reorganization of pre-existing constructions. Such reorganizational processes can be modelled in terms of the addition and removal of information at three different levels, reflecting the gradual entrenchment or disentrenchment of linguistic knowledge:

a. *Constructions:* Whole constructions are added to or removed from the multilingual constructicon. AL idioconstructions are added whenever the learner's input contains AL structures that cannot be processed via pre-existing constructions. Moreover, abstraction from and generalization over formally or

functionally similar idioconstructions result in the addition of diaconstructions that encapsulate the forms and functions that are shared across different communicative contexts. Conversely, progress in the acquisition process may render an already established construction superfluous or useless, which is then removed from the constructicon (in a process of gradual disentrenchment).

b. *Interconstructional links:* Links between different constructions are added to or removed from the constructicon. For example, a construction can become linked to a more schematic construction via an inheritance link if the learner's input indicates that the two constructions are formally and/or functionally similar. The removal of an inheritance link may reflect the learner's insight that two constructions are not as similar as previously assumed.

c. *Constructional properties:* Formal and/or functional properties are added to or removed from pre-existing constructions. If, for instance, a pre-existing construction undergoes a type of pragmatic specialization in that it becomes pragmatically restricted to a particular set of communicative contexts that are conventionally associated with 'language A', then this amounts to the addition of pragmatic information ($\emptyset \rightarrow \langle C_A \rangle$). The opposite process, i.e. the kind of pragmatic bleaching that leads to a construction being used in a wider range of contexts, implies the loss of information on pragmatic context ($\langle C_A \rangle \rightarrow \emptyset$). In addition to or independently of the addition or removal of functional information, even formal properties can be added or removed. These processes reflect the entrenchment or disentrenchment of intra-constructional links (i.e. symbolic links between form and function, including pragmatic links *sensu* Schmid [2017]).

AL acquisition typically involves reorganizational processes at all three levels, often combined into more complex *reorganizational sequences*. A relatively straightforward case is the addition of an AL idioconstruction. Consider Example (5):

(5) L1 Swedish
De tycker att ***det är roligt med fotboll****.*
they think that it is fun with football
'They think that football is fun.'

The formal side of the Swedish construction exemplified in (5) can be represented as [SBJ[*det*], *VARA*, $\text{ADJP}_{\text{pred}}$[$\text{ADJ}_{\text{indef.n.sg}}$, (…)] PP[*med* NP]], i.e. an expletive third-person neuter subject pronoun *det* with an inflectional form of the copula *vara* and a predicative adjective phrase containing an adjective in the indefinite singular neuter form, followed by a prepositional phrase containing the preposition *med* 'with' and a noun phrase. The meaning of this construction can be described as an

evaluation of the NP's referent as having the property referred to by the adjective (cf. the entry for *det_är_AP_med_NP* in the Swedish Constructicon, SweCcn).[12]

An isomorphous construction does not exist in German (**es ist lustig mit Fußball*). Hence, an L1 speaker of German acquiring Swedish as an AL will find that there is no equivalent construction in her constructicon that could be used to interpret constructs such as in (5) and that there is not even a formally or semantically similar construction that could function as a starting point for generalizing across the two languages and form a diaconstruction based on structural similarities. The only option, then, for the learner to store and process this new piece of linguistic knowledge will be to establish a new idioconstruction [SBJ[*det*], *VARA*, ADJP$_{pred}$[ADJ$_{indef.n.sg}$, (…)] PP[*med* NP] ⟨C$_{Swedish}$⟩].[13]

Similarly, (6abc) are examples of constructions that require reorganization in the constructicon of an L1 speaker of English acquiring Swedish as an AL:

(6) a. Swedish
*Han **vet** mycket om mig.*
he knows much about me
b. Swedish
*Jag **känner** hans bror.*
I know his brother
c. English
*He **knows** much about me.*

A learner with limited experience in the AL will possibly identify tokens of the Swedish verb *veta* 'know' as in (6a) with the English verb *know*, i.e. the construction [SBJ *KNOW* OBJ 'know'], as instantiated in (6c), leading to the assumption that the slots in the pre-existing construction can also be filled with Swedish material. However, Swedish *veta* is more restricted than *know*, since it is not conventionally used with animate objects in the same sense. Instead, this is expressed by the verb *känna* (as in (6b)), whereas *veta* with animate objects means 'know of sb., know that sb. exists, know who sb. is'. Consequently, separate idioconstructions are needed for processing the different form-function pairings in both languages (e.g. [SBJ *KNOW* OBJ 'know' ⟨C$_{English}$⟩], [SBJ *VETA* OBJ$_{inanimate}$ 'know sth.' ⟨C$_{Swedish}$⟩] and [SBJ *KÄNNA* OBJ$_{animate}$ 'know sb.' ⟨C$_{Swedish}$⟩], although the similarities may also lead to

12. SweCcn (spraakbanken.gu.se/swe/sweccn) treats this construction on a slightly more schematic level, as even other copula verbs (such as *bli* 'become', *låta* 'sound', *verka* 'seem') and similar verbal expressions (such as *passa bra* 'fit well') are included in the constructional description in addition to the copula *vara*. While it is clear that the variant with *vara* forms part of a family of constructions, we will restrict the discussion to its most prominent member.

13. C$_{glottonym}$ is use as a shorthand notation indicating contexts that are associated with the respective language.

the entrenchment of a more schematic diasystematic construction such as [SBJ KNOW-VERB OBJ 'know (in a wider sense)'].

The reorganizational processes involved in other scenarios are far more complex, though. One case in point is the acquisition of Swedish subordinate clause patterns by learners with German as an L1. While word-order patterns in both languages can be considered to be fairly complex, not least with respect to subordinate clauses, a common feature is that both Swedish and German differentiate main and subordinate clauses systematically by means of word-order patterns. The different patterns are usually described based on the relative position of the finite verb and other constituents: While the default word order in main clauses (including declarative main clauses and wh-questions) is verb-second (V2) in both languages, the finite verb tends to occupy a later position in subordinate clauses. In German, subordinate clauses are canonically verb-final, although extraposition can result in constituents being placed to the right of the finite verb (in the so-called *Nachfeld* 'post-field'). Example (7) shows main clause verb-second order in contrast with verb-final word order (VF) in a subordinate clause as well as a variant with an extraposed adverbial:

(7) L1 German
  a. *Ich* ***möchte*** *jetzt ein Bier trinken.*
     I want now a beer drink
     'I'd like to drink a beer now.' (declarative main clause; V2)
  b. *…, dass ich jetzt ein Bier trinken* ***möchte****.*
     that I now a beer drink want
     '… that I'd like to drink a beer now' (subordinate clause; VF)
  c. *…, dass ich ein Bier trinken* ***möchte*** *jetzt.*
     that I a beer drink want now
     '… that I'd like to drink a beer now'
     (subordinate clause; VF with extraposed adverbial)

Swedish subordinate clauses, in contrast, possess only one pre-verbal slot that is optionally filled by certain types of adverbials (*mittfältsadverbial* 'central field adverbials'), in particular sentence adverbials, negations and other fronted elements (this is called adverbial-finite word order, AF, in Swedish grammaticography), often resulting in the finite verb occupying the third (instead of the second) position (V3). Example (8) shows verb-second word order in main and subordinate clauses as opposed to adverbial-finite word order (AF) in a subordinate clause containing a negation:

(8) L1 Swedish
  a. *Vi* ***kommer*** *dricka öl i kväll.*
     we will drink beer in evening
     'We're gonna drink beer tonight' (declarative main clause; V2)

b. … *att vi* ***kommer*** *dricka öl i kväll.*
that we will drink beer in evening
'… that we're gonna drink beer tonight' (subordinate clause; V2)

c. … *att vi inte* ***kommer*** *dricka öl i kväll.*
that we not will drink beer in evening
'… that we aren't gonna drink beer tonight'
(negated subordinate clause; AF)

For the sake of simplicity, we will now focus on subjunctional subordinate clauses with canonical verb-later word-order patterns. In terms of constructional form, the German pattern can be described as [SUBJN$^{\text{initial}}$, SBJ, (…), V$_{\text{finite}}$$^{\text{final}}$], i.e. as containing a clause-initial subjunction, a subject, (optional) additional elements, and a clause-final finite verb. The Swedish pattern, on the other hand, has the constructional form [SUBJN$^{\text{initial}}$, SBJ^{1}, (CFA^{2}), V$_{\text{finite}}$^{3}, (…)], i.e. it contains a clause-initial subjunction, followed by a subject in the first position, (optional) central field adverbials (CFA) in the second position, the finite verb in the third position, and, post-verbally, (optional) additional elements.

While the patterns obviously differ substantially, an L1 speaker of German acquiring Swedish as an AL will be able to process many constructs in the Swedish input using the pre-existing constructions in her constructicon. A learner will be exposed to Swedish utterances such as the one in (9), which are instantiations of the Swedish construction [SUBJN$^{\text{initial}}$, SBJ^{1}, (CFA^{2}), V$_{\text{finite}}$^{3}, (…) ⟨subjunctional subordinate clause⟩]; however, they can be decoded using the pre-existing German construction [SUBJN$^{\text{initial}}$, SBJ, (…), V$_{\text{finite}}$$^{\text{final}}$ ⟨subjunctional subordinate clause⟩] because of the structural overlap between the two patterns and the lack of additional elements (cf. the German equivalent in (10)).

(9) L1 Swedish
De sa att nätet inte ***funkade.***
they said that internet-DEF not worked
'They said that the internet didn't work.'

(10) L1 German
Sie sagten, dass das Internet nicht ***ging.***
they said that the internet not worked
'They said that the internet didn't work.'

Input such as in (9) does not provide any cues indicating that the Swedish pattern is any different from the German one. As a consequence, the learner will continue to use the genuinely German verb-final construction as a diaconstruction, i.e. across all communicative contexts including the ones where she speaks Swedish, as long as she is not exposed to a sufficient amount of input that does not match the

entrenched verb-final pattern. In AL production, this may lead to overgeneration, i.e. the learner will produce non-canonical utterances with verb-final clauses such as in (11):

(11) AL Swedish
*De sa att nätet hela veckan inte **funkade**.*
they said that internet-DEF whole-DEF week-DEF not worked
'They said that the internet didn't work all week.'

However, additional input will gradually lead to a differentiation of word-order patterns. For example, the learner will be exposed to canonical variants of the pattern in (11) that do not match the pre-existing construction. This includes Swedish utterances as in (12) (cf. the German equivalent in (13)):

(12) L1 Swedish
*De sa att nätet inte **funkade** hela veckan.*
they said that internet-DEF not worked whole-DEF week-DEF
'They said that the internet didn't work all week.'

(13) L1 German
*Sie sagten, dass das Internet die ganze Woche nicht **ging**.*
they said that the internet the whole week not worked
'They said that the internet didn't work all week.'

This then prompts a reorganizational sequence within the constructicon that can be represented in an idealized fashion as follows (cf. Figure 3):

a. The pre-existing construction [SUBJN$^{\text{initial}}$, SBJ, (…), V$_{\text{finite}}^{\text{final}}$ ⟨subjunctional subordinate clause⟩] undergoes a constructional split, resulting in two different constructions, namely a C$_{\text{German}}$ idioconstruction on the one hand and a diaconstruction on the other hand. The emerging idioconstruction is formally identical to the previous one, but with an added functional property specifying a pragmatic restriction to C$_{\text{German}}$ ([SUBJN$^{\text{initial}}$, SBJ, (…), V$_{\text{finite}}^{\text{final}}$ ⟨subjunctional subordinate clause; C$_{\text{German}}$⟩]). The emerging diaconstruction is functionally identical to the previous one, but does not specify word order except for the clause-initial position of the subjunction; this reflects the removal of a formal property: [SUBJN$^{\text{initial}}$, SBJ, (…), V$_{\text{finite}}$ ⟨subjunctional subordinate clause⟩].
b. An additional idioconstruction is established representing both the Swedish pattern and the pragmatic restriction to C$_{\text{Swedish}}$: [SUBJN$^{\text{initial}}$, SBJ^{1}, (CFA^{2}), V$_{\text{finite}}^{3}$, (…) ⟨subjunctional subordinate clause; C$_{\text{Swedish}}$⟩].
c. Interconstructional links are added to the constructicon, reflecting the fact that both idioconstructions are instantiations of the diaconstruction.

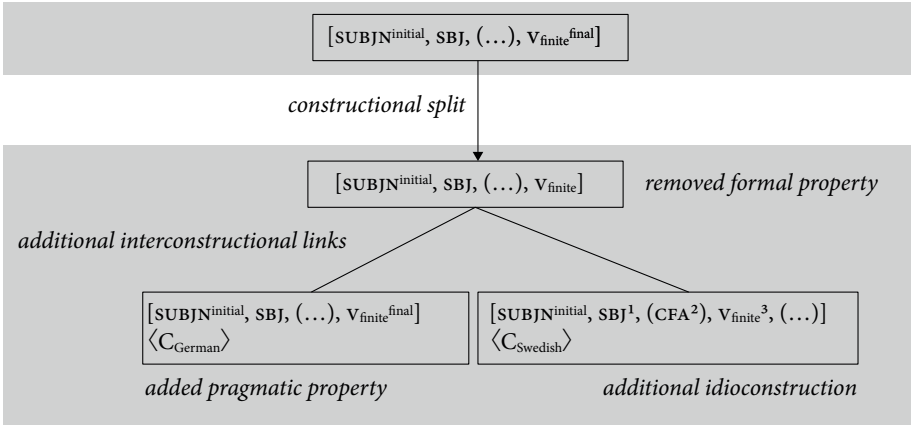

Figure 3. Reorganizational sequence for German and Swedish subordinate clause word patterns

While the amount and the composition of reorganizational sequences involved in language acquisition differ, depending on the structural ingredients (not least the degree of diasystematicity and the diasystematic potential of the AL and previously acquired languages; cf. Höder, 2018, pp. 63–64), we propose that the integration of AL material in the emerging multilingual constructicon boils down to the same basic types of reorganizational processes across all kinds of scenarios.

To conclude, from a DCxG perspective, the acquisition of AL material not only results in the entrenchment of constructions that specifically represent AL structures, but it also involves the reorganization of previously acquired linguistic knowledge, including the addition of pragmatic restrictions to pre-existing constructions.

4. Summary and outlook

In this contribution, we introduced a Construction Grammar approach to AL acquisition as emerging multilingualism. The model builds on an earlier constructionist approach to language contact and multilingualism, DCxG (e.g. Höder, 2018), as well as more general usage-based concepts of entrenchment and disentrenchment (as in Schmid's [2017] Entrenchment-and-Conventionalization Model). At the same time, the model aims at compatibility with current non-constructionist approaches that embrace what has come to be known as the multilingual turn in AL research, while also drawing on the more traditional notion of interlanguage (e.g. Selinker, 1972).

Our contribution, so far, consists in the attempt to provide a detailed theoretical framework of several of the reorganizational processes that are involved in the complex cognitive task of additional language acquisition. The main statements that our model seeks to emphasize can be summarized as follows:

a. The learner's linguistic knowledge, including her interlanguage variety of the AL, can be redefined in terms of an emerging multilingual constructicon.
b. The process of AL acquisition does not only pertain to the processing of AL material or the establishment of AL constructions, but affects all language(s) in the constructicon.
c. Reorganization in the constructicon is determined by general (i.e. not AL-specific) cognitive processes, including the modification of pre-existing constructions, the addition of necessary idioconstructions and the entrenchment and disentrenchment of diaconstructions and interconstructional links.
d. Before AL acquisition, a monolingual speaker's linguistic knowledge consists of (strongly entrenched) diaconstructions only, i.e. of constructions that are not restricted to any specific set of communicative contexts. Language-specificity first becomes relevant as a consequence of AL acquisition, with an emerging differentiation between dia- and idioconstructions. To put it more simply: *You do not have one language in your constructicon until you have two*.

While this model primarily targets linguists working within the framework of Construction Grammar, non-constructionist scholars working on AL acquisition should also find it useful. With its built-in multilingual baseline and the focus on individual constructions in the learner's repertoire and reorganizational processes at the constructional level instead of different language systems, the DCxG approach offers an architecture that is open for whatever new linguistic material the learner acquires, without any need for an *a priori* distinction between different languages within individual learners' repertoires. While this approach certainly resonates well with work that emphasizes multilingual speakers' freedom and creativity in using and combining linguistic material from different languages, it by no means implies that it would be somehow useful to completely abandon the notion of 'languages' (including acquiring or using different 'languages') in a more general sense, as long as the term refers to conventionalized communicative practices that are socially relevant for speaker communities as well as AL learners. The monolingual bias in research on both multilingualism and AL acquisition has certainly contributed to the misunderstanding – from a cognitive point of view – that keeping languages apart is somehow more natural than, for example, combining linguistic elements from different languages into multilingual utterances (cf. Sabino, 2018, for a discussion of the ideological aspects). The DCxG approach does not provide any cognitive

argument for such a view. However, linguistic knowledge also entails knowledge about social conventions on language use: using one language at a time means sticking to linguistic material that, by convention, belongs to the same set of communicative contexts within a speaker community. How and why such conventions are or are not acquired, how L1 speakers of the learner's AL react to violations of such conventions, and whether or not groups of emerging multilinguals may establish divergent conventions (e.g. by conventionalizing translanguaging patterns) – these are questions of a normative kind for societies and educators, but rather empirical questions for linguists. To address these empirical questions, it is, in turn, crucial to discuss and, if necessary, challenge linguistic norms and to acknowledge that there are many contexts where the use and cognitive processing of several languages at the same time are relevant (cf. Ortega, 2019).

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