

**Contrastive is the new black:
A cross-linguistic study of a “snowclone” in English, German, and Spanish**

Keywords: Extravagance, snowclones, Construction Grammar, collostructional analysis

Recent research in Construction Grammar has seen increased interest in language contact and contact-induced change (see e.g. Pietsch, 2010; Van de Velde & Zenner, 2010; Wasserscheidt, 2014; Coleman, 2016; Zenner et al., 2018; Boas & Höder [eds.] 2018, 2021; De Psacale et al. 2022). In this paper, we present a contrastive corpus-based analysis of [X *BE the new* Y] and its equivalents in German and Spanish. This construction instantiates a type of semi-fixed idiomatic formulae known as “snowclones” (Traugott & Trousdale, 2013; Hartmann & Ungerer, 2024), which are originally derived from a more lexically fixed source (in this case, fashion slogans such as *pink is the new black*), but which have developed open slots that can be filled by variable lexical items. While the construction is particularly well documented in English, as illustrated in (1), it also occurs in German (Weber 2019), as shown in (2), and it is further attested in Spanish, cf. (3) (all examples are taken from the COW web corpora, Schäfer & Bildhauer 2012).

- (1) *Thursday is the new Friday. Sleep is overrated.*
- (2) *Teilen ist das neue Besitzen. Wer Dinge nicht mehr braucht, gibt sie weiter.*
‘Sharing is the new owning. If you no longer need things, you pass them on’
- (3) *Hoy las drogas son el nuevo alcohol.*
‘Nowadays, drugs are the new alcohol’

We use collostructional analysis techniques (see Stefanowitsch 2013) to investigate which words the pattern combines with in the three languages, drawing on data from the COW web corpora (Schäfer & Bildhauer 2012, Schäfer 2015). Our results show that the construction is most frequent in English but productive in all three languages. reveal parallels among the lexemes that the pattern combines with in each language, but also differences in the degree of semantic variability. At least in Spanish, the variability of the slot fillers appears to be somewhat more constrained than in English: Apart from color terms, the Spanish construction does not typically combine with adjectives, and it seems to rely more heavily on recurrent semantic domains such as age (e.g., *30 is the new 20*). This lower degree of formal and semantic flexibility suggests that the Spanish pattern is used more conservatively than its English model.

Finally, specific (semi-)lexicalized subtypes are shared by all three languages: This includes fully lexicalized instances (e.g., *data is the new oil*) as well as the subpattern [X *BE the new black*], which may qualify as a subconstruction in its own right. The fact that these exact patterns are attested in each language suggests that they are the result of constructional borrowing (Coleman 2016) from a common source. In an alternative scenario in which [X *BE the new Y*] developed independently in each language, rather than through contact, such close lexical correspondences would not be expected (see Weber, 2019, for a similar argument).

Together, the results reflect the role of constructional borrowing in the emergence of the German and Spanish constructions, which can be modeled via links in the mental network of multilingual speakers.

References

- Boas, Hans C. & Steffen Höder (eds.). 2018. *Constructions in contact: Constructional perspectives on contact phenomena in Germanic languages*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Boas, Hans C. & Steffen Höder (eds.). 2021. *Constructions in contact 2: Language change, multilingual practices, and additional language acquisition*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Colleman, Timothy. 2016. “A reflection on constructionalization and constructional borrowing, inspired by an emerging Dutch replica of the ‘time’-away construction”. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 30(1): 91–113. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1075/bjl.30.05col>
- De Pascale, Stefano, Dirk Pijpops, Freek Van de Velde & Eline Zenner. 2022. Reassembling the pimped ride: A quantitative look at the integration of a borrowed expression. *Frontiers in Communication* 7. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2022.777312>.
- Hartmann, Stefan & Tobias Ungerer. 2024. Attack of the snowclones: A corpus-based analysis of extravagant formulaic patterns. *Journal of Linguistics* 60(3). 599–634. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226723000117>.
- Pietsch, Lukas. 2010. “What has changed in Hiberno-English: Constructions and their role in contact-induced change”. *STUF - Language Typology and Universals* 63(02): 118–145. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1524/stuf.2010.0010>
- Schäfer, Roland. 2015. Processing and querying large corpora with the COW14 architecture. In Piotr Bański, Hanno Biber, Evelyn Breiteneder, Marc Kupietz, Harald Lungen & Andreas Witt (eds.), *Challenges in the Management of Large Corpora (CMLC-3)*, 28–34. <http://corpora.ids-mannheim.de/cmlc.html>.
- Schäfer, Roland & Felix Bildhauer. 2012. Building Large Corpora from the Web Using a New Efficient Tool Chain. In Nicoletta Calzolari, Khalid Choukri, Terry Declerck, Mehmet Uğur Doğan, Bente Maegaard, Joseph Mariani, Asuncion Moreno, Jan Odijk & Stelios Piperidis (eds.), *Proceedings of LREC 2012*, 486–493.
- Stefanowitsch, Anatol. 2013. Collostructional Analysis. In Thomas Hoffmann & Graeme Trousdale (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Construction Grammar*, 290–306. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs & Graeme Trousdale. 2013. *Constructionalization and Constructional Changes (Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics 6)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van de Velde, Freek & Zenner, Eline. 2010. Pimp my Lexis: het nut van corpusonderzoek in normatief taaladvies. In Hendrickx, Els; Hendrickx, Karl; Martin, Willy; Smessaert, Hans; Van Belle, William & Van der Horst, Joop (eds.), *Liever meer of juist minder? Over normen en variatie in taal*. Gent: Academia Press, 51–68.
- Wasserscheidt, Philipp. 2014. “Constructions do not cross languages: On cross-linguistic generalizations of constructions”. *Constructions and Frames* 6(2): 305–337. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1075/cf.6.2.07was>
- Weber, Tilo. 2019. “Das Wechselspiel zwischen Lexikon und Diskurs: So genannte Antisprichwörter und die X ist das neue Y-Konstruktion”. *Linguistik Online* 96(3): 133–156. doi: <https://doi.org/10.13092/lo.96.5535>
- Zenner, Eline; Heylen, Kris & Van de Velde, Freek. 2018. “Most borrowable construction ever! A large-scale approach to contact-induced pragmatic change”. *Journal of Pragmatics* 133: 134–149. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2018.05.004>