

# Tracing language contact in the Duchy of Schleswig

A (re-)constructionist approach to grammatical areality

# Structure

Background | Geography, History, Contact

(Re-)Constructing arealisms | DCxG

Discussion | Selected features

#1 | De-Obligational Future

#2 | Animacy-Based Pronominalization Split

#3 | Interposed Linking Possessive

#4 | De-Additive Infinitive Marker

Conclusion

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#1 | De-Obligational Future

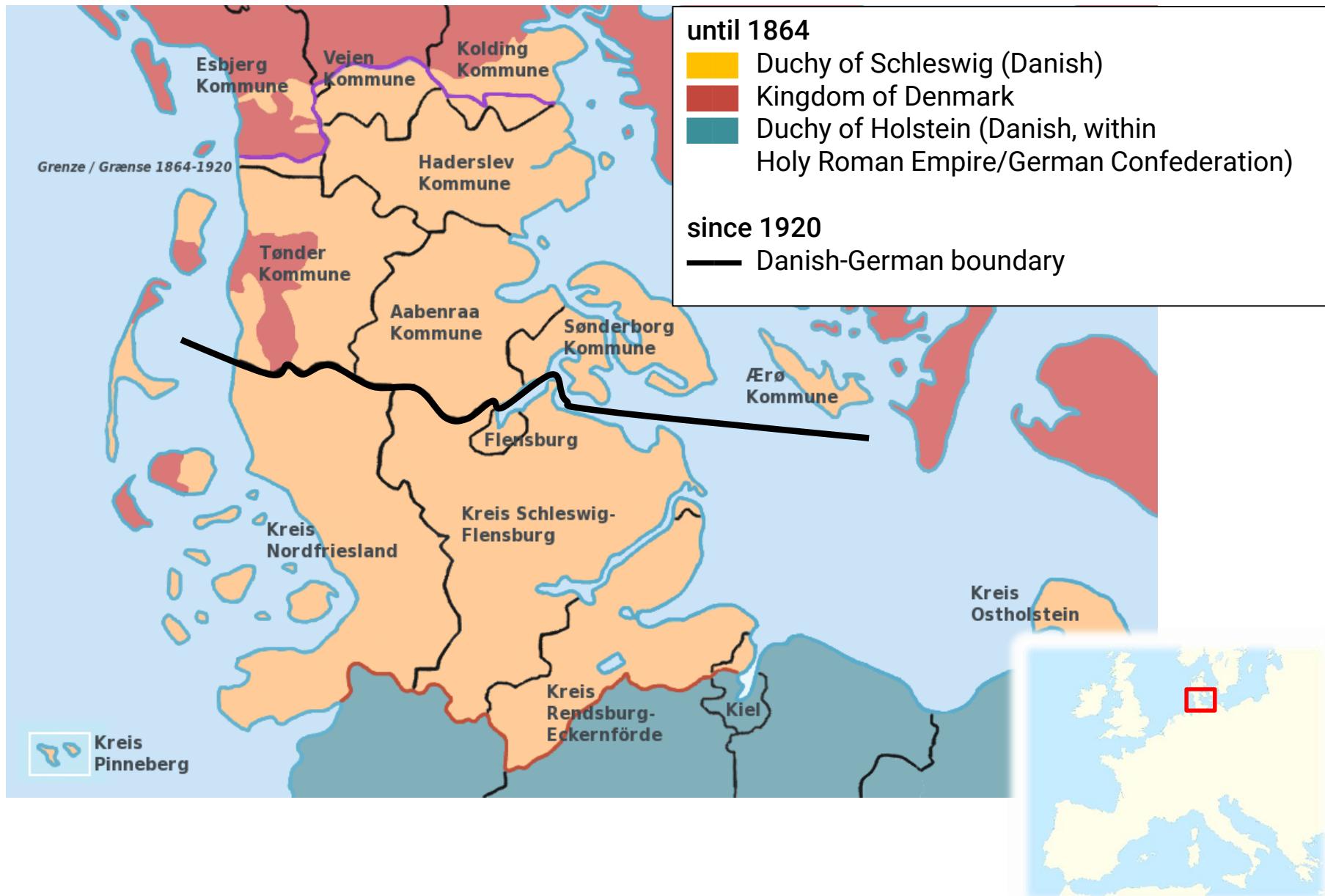
#2 | Animacy-Based Pronominalization Split

#3 | Interposed Linking Possessive

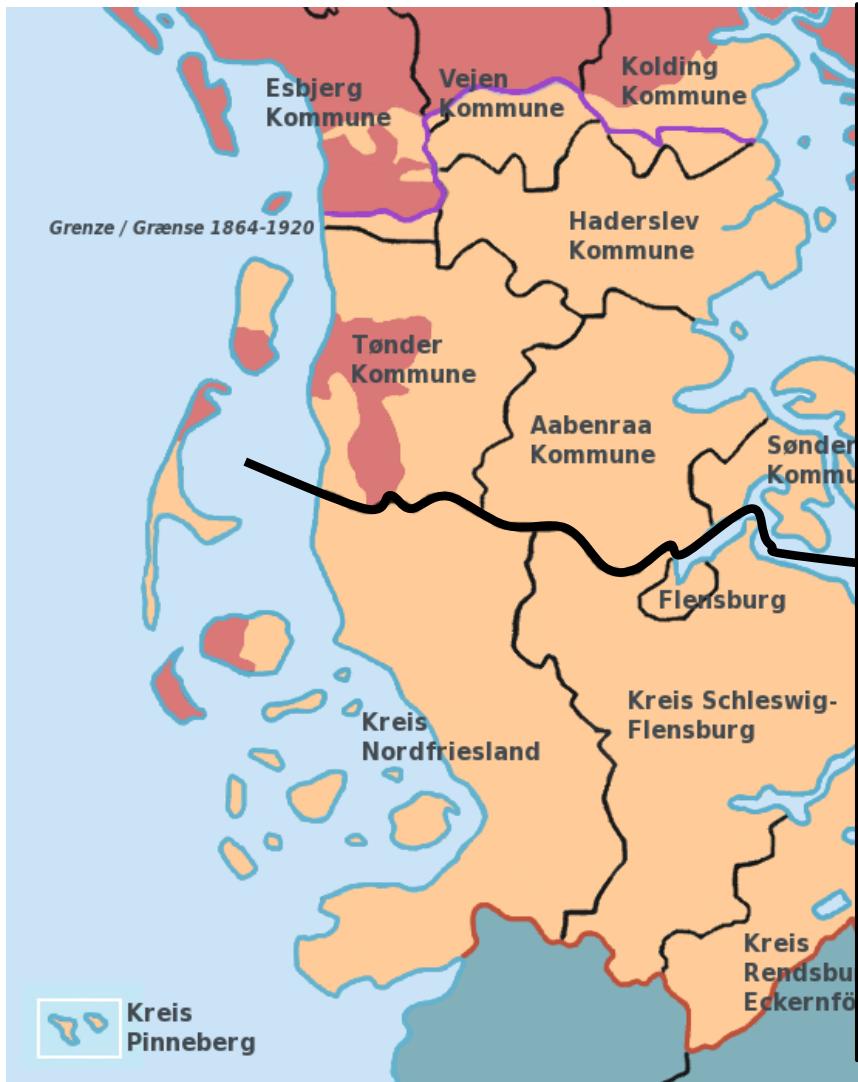
#4 | De-Additive Infinitive Marker

Conclusion

# Border region | Former Duchy of Schleswig



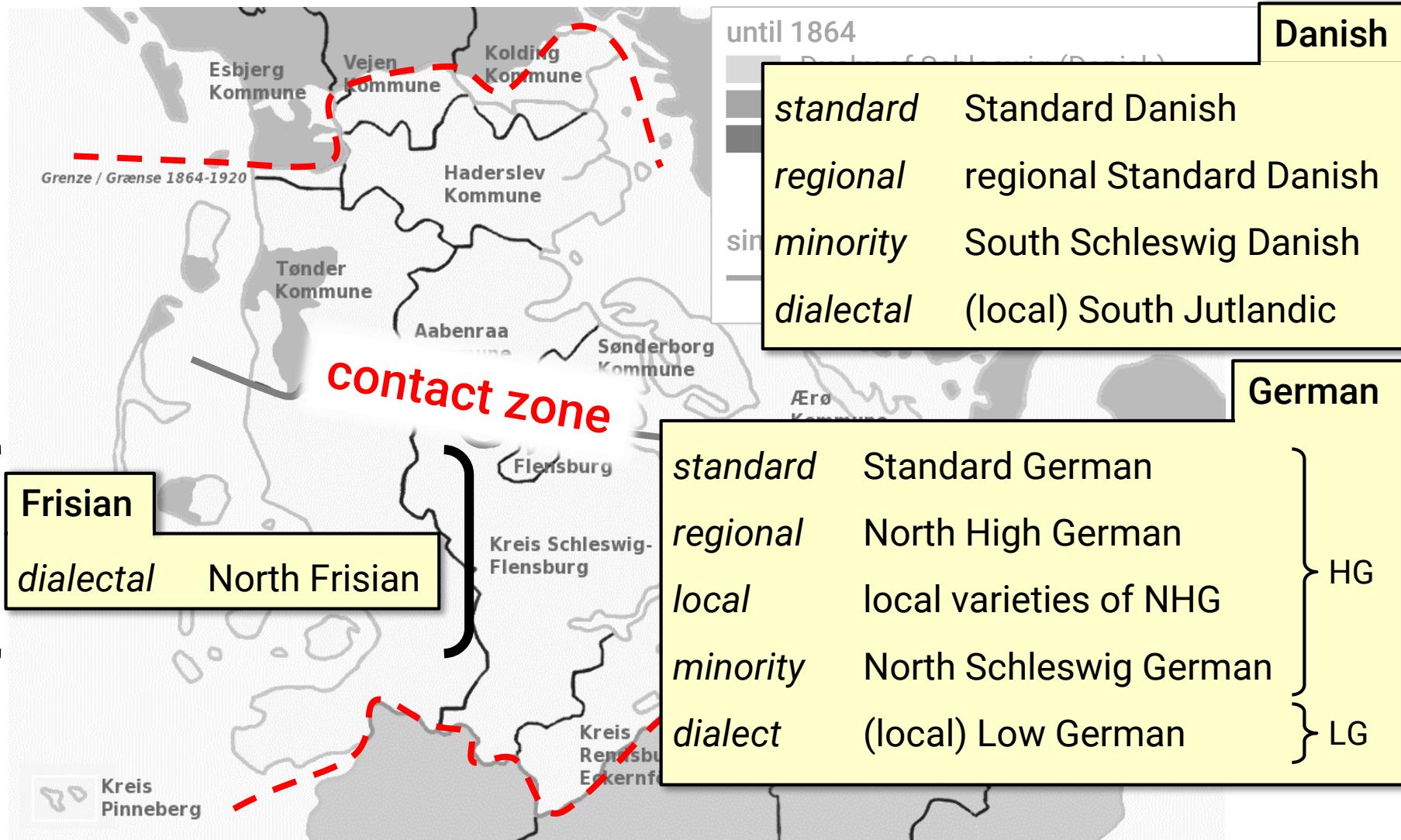
# Border region | Former Duchy of Schleswig



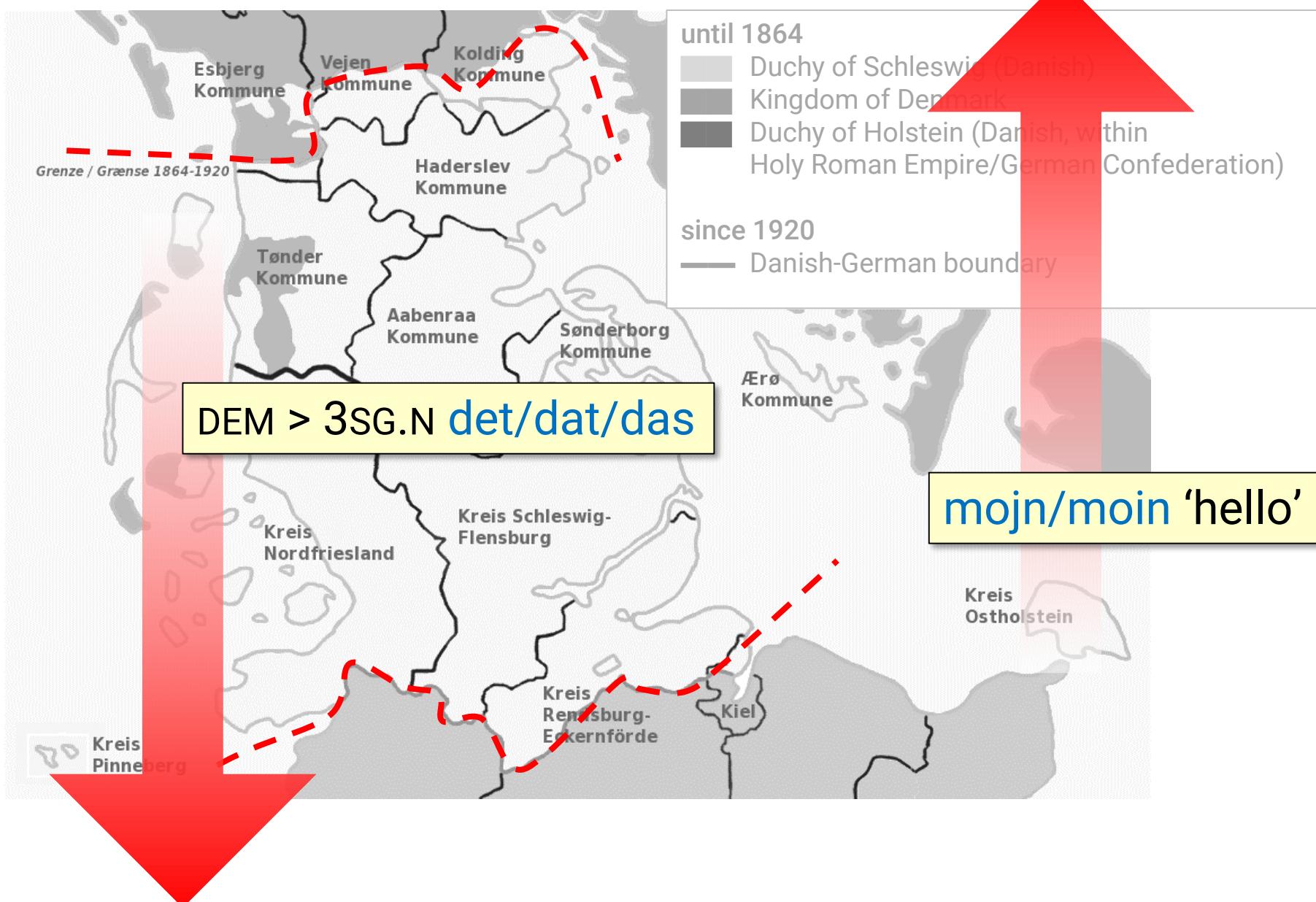
## German-Danish contact

- same macro-scenario for more than 1,000 years  
*same languages (language families)*
- different contact scenarios  
*language shifts,  
emergence of national minorities,  
2L1 or L2 acquisition,  
multilingual practices, ...*
- different varieties  
*dialects,  
regiolects,  
minority varieties, ...*
- polyglossia

# Border region | Indigenous languages



# Arealisms | Areal expansion both ways



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# Arealisms | Cognitive dimension

- Stable, intense, long-term contact typically increases (or inhibits a decrease in) **structural similarity** between the varieties involved.
- In contact areas, **individual bi- or multilingualism** is widespread or has been widespread at some point in history.

In usage-based terms:

Speakers prefer, evolve, and retain structures that are applicable in more than one language, i.e. structures that are **shared** by several varieties.

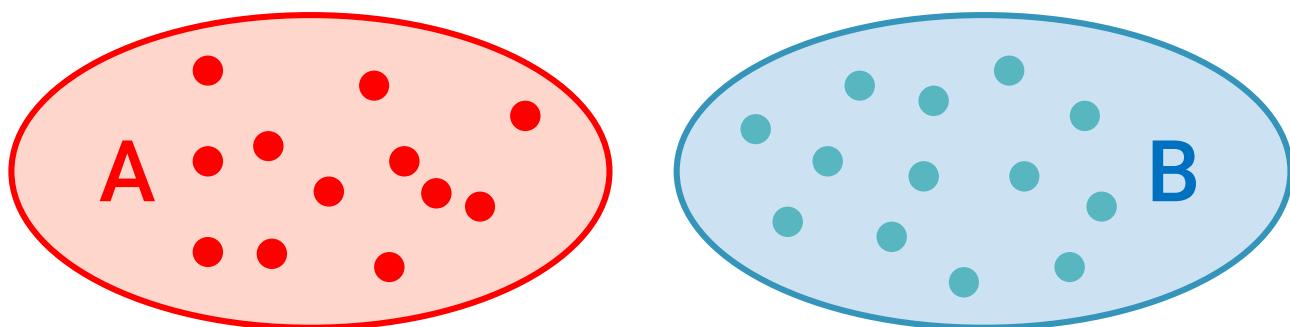


Present-day **arealisms reflect cognitive preferences** of multilingual communities in (different layers of) the past.



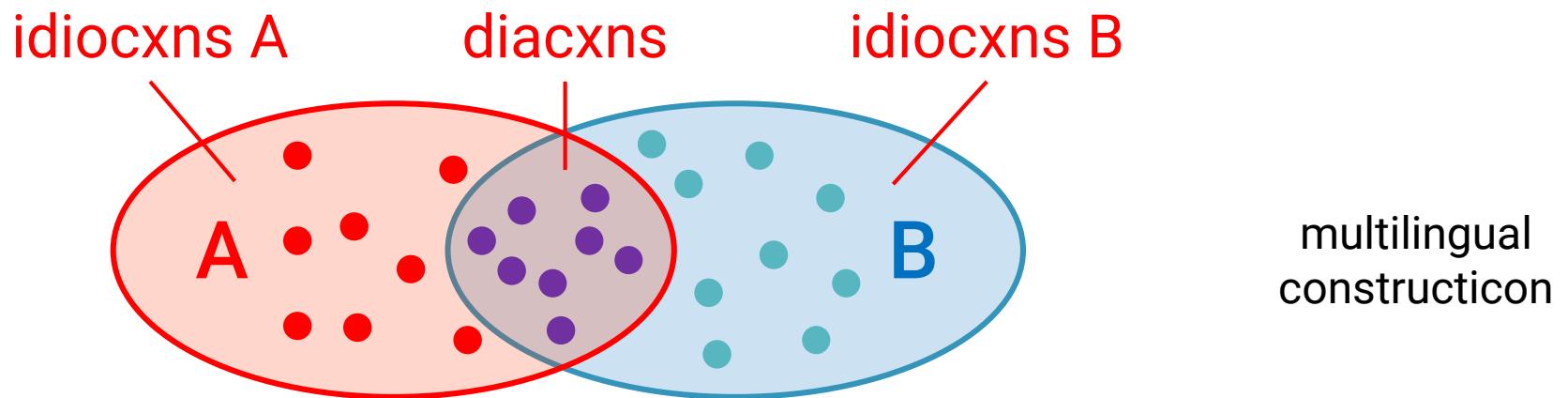
**reconstruction of contact mechanisms**

# DCxG | Multilingual constructicon



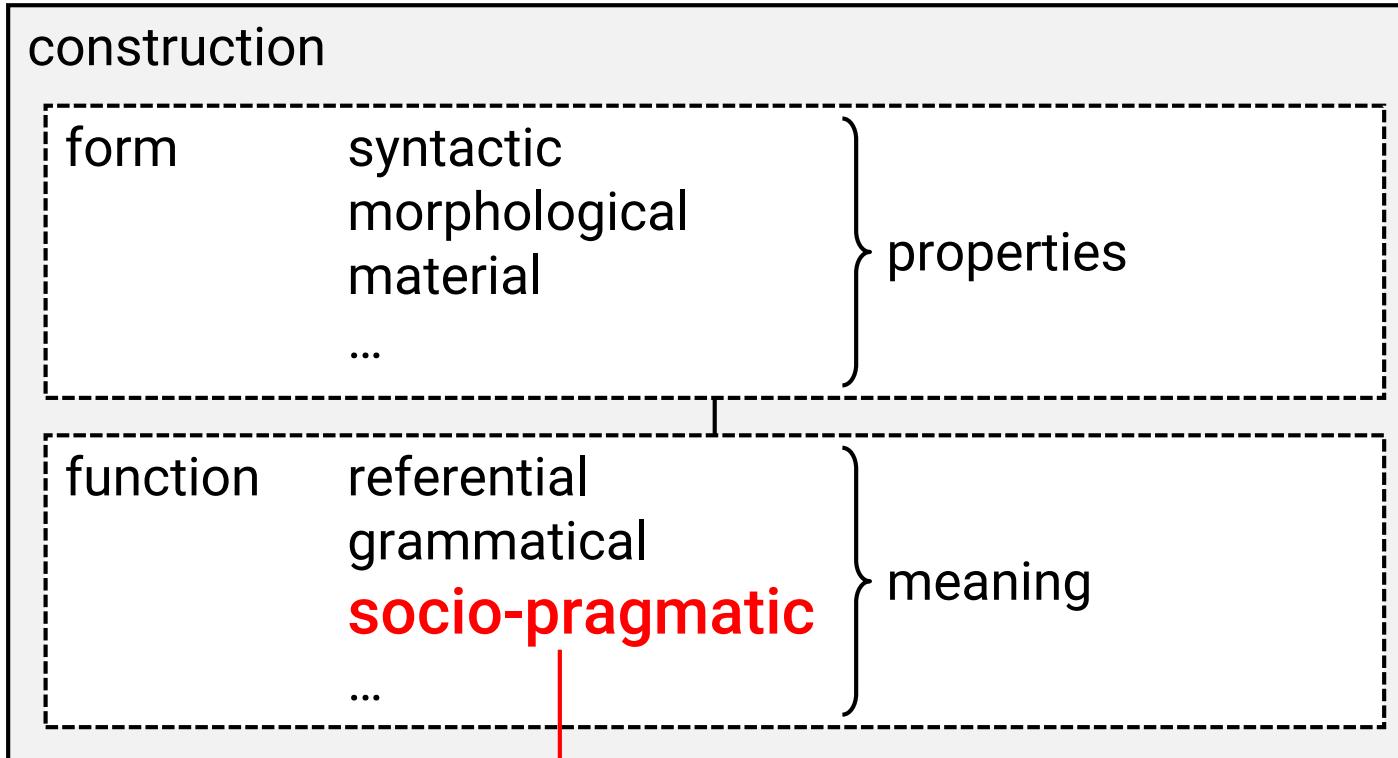
coexisting,  
but separate  
constructicons

# DCxG | Multilingual constructicon



[Höder 2018 etc.]

# DCxG | Multilingual construction



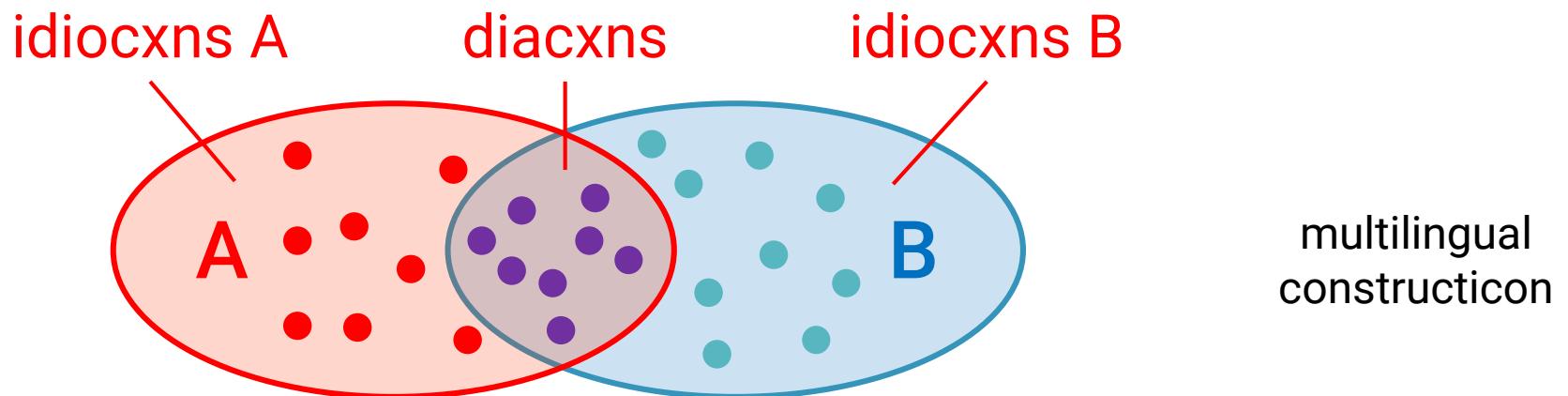
## Idiocxns

mark the current context as belonging to a specific set of communicative settings

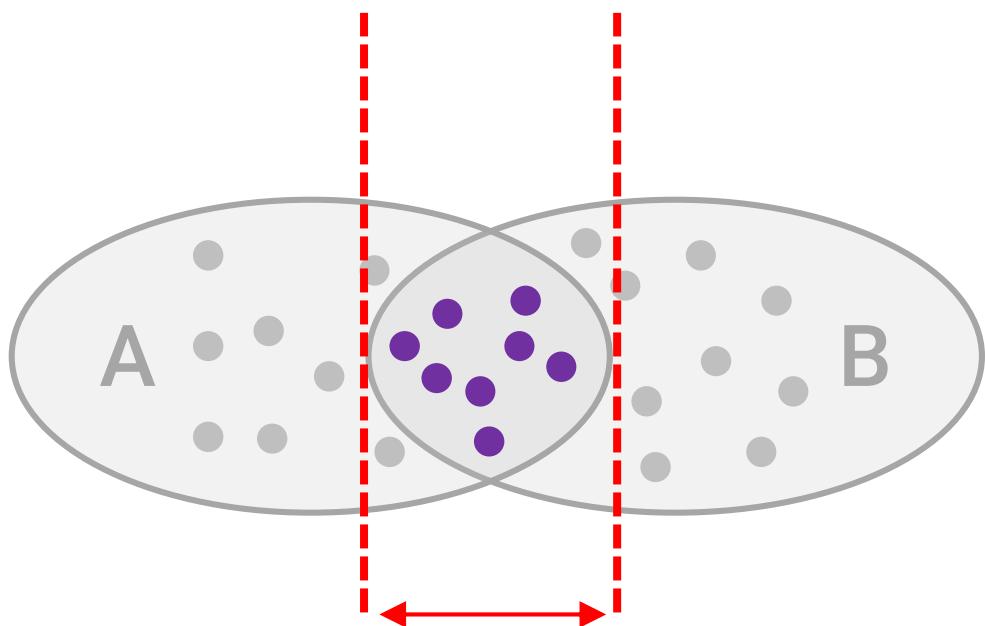
## Diacxns

do not

# DCxG | Multilingual constructicon

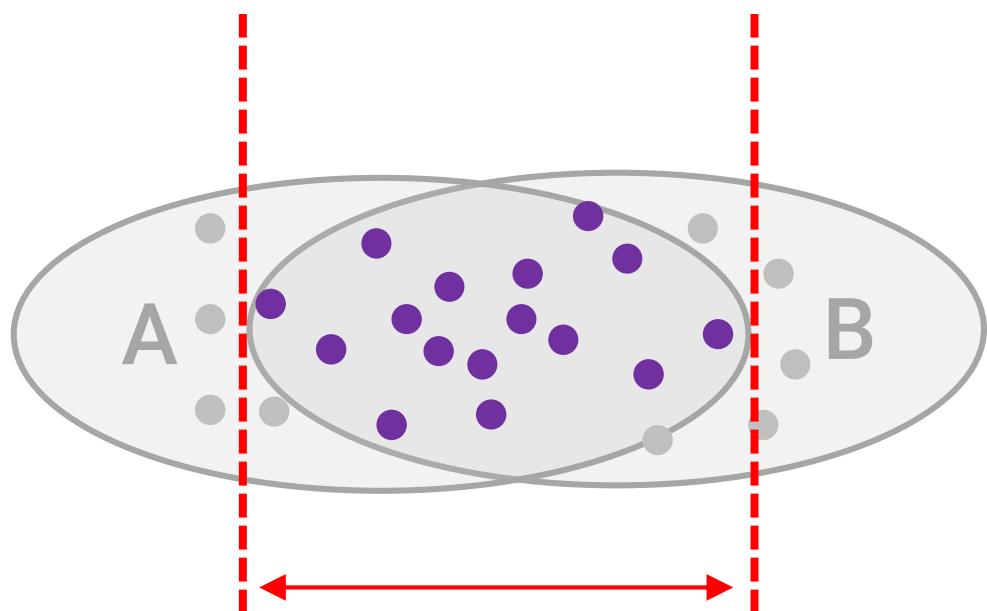


# DCxG | Multilingual construction



degree of diasystematicity

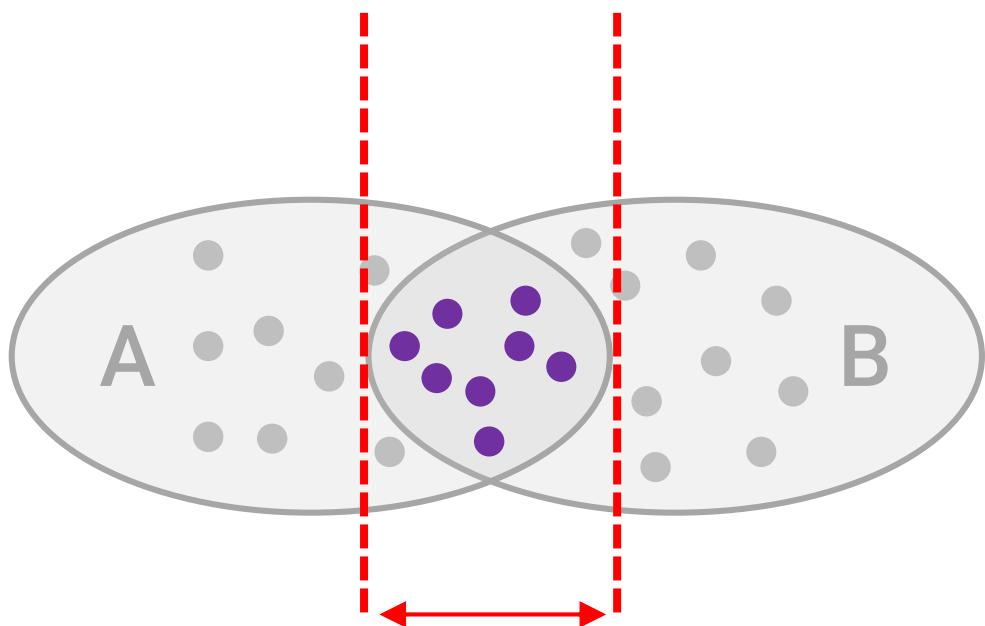
# DCxG | Multilingual constructicon



degree of diacyclicity

more diacxns = higher DoD

# DCxG | Multilingual construction



degree of diasystematicity

fewer diacxns = lower DoD

# DCxG | Diaconstructions

$V_{fin}^1$  – SBJ ...  
(polar question)

language-  
unspecific  
schema

diacxn

Kunne I      høre mig?

language-  
specific filling

Danish

Ku I      hye mæ?

South Jutlandic

Kunnen ji      mi hören?

Low German

Konntet ihr      mich hören?

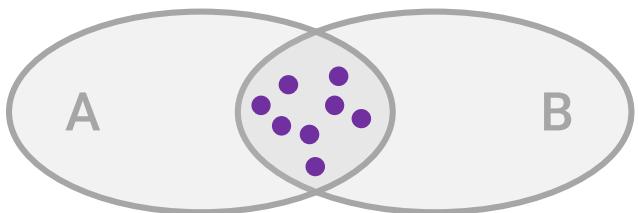
idiocxns

Standard German

# DCxG | Areal conspiracy


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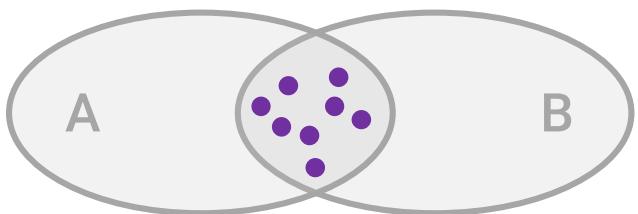
1



genealogically related &  
typologically similar  
→ overall high DoD

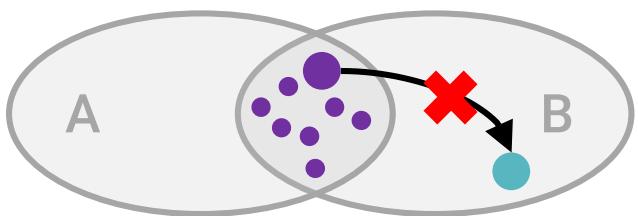
# DCxG | Areal conspiracy

1



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typologically similar  
→ overall high DoD

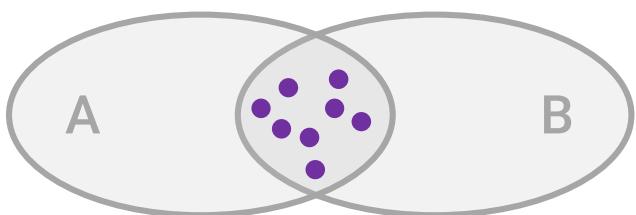
2



diasystematic stability

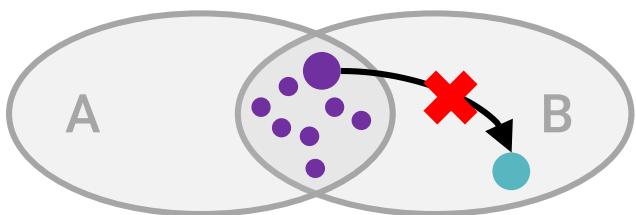
# DCxG | Areal conspiracy

1



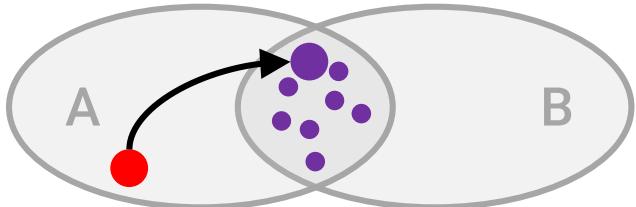
genealogically related &  
typologically similar  
→ overall high DoD

2



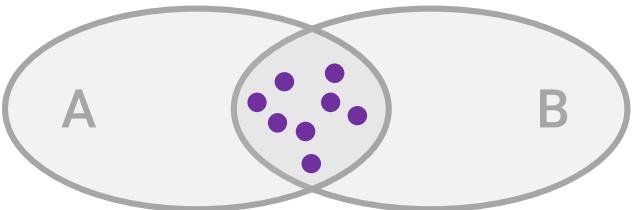
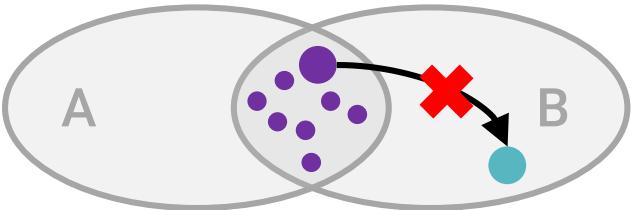
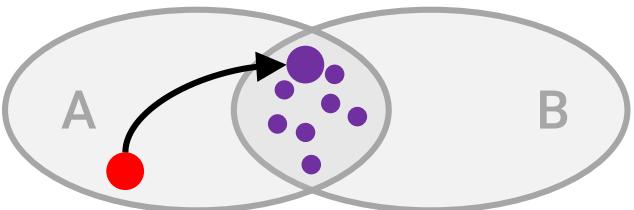
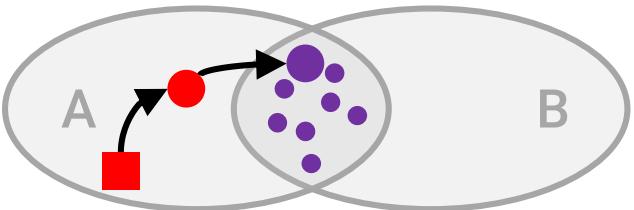
diasystematic stability

3



pro-diasystematic change

# DCxG | Areal conspiracy

1		genealogically related & typologically similar → overall high DoD
2		diasystematic stability
3		pro-diasystematic change
4		diaconstructionalization

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 feaAnimacy\_PronominalizationSplit | feaArticle | feaArticle\_Definite | feaArticle\_Definite\_Ad-adjectival\_Proposed | feaArticle\_Definite\_Adnominal\_Proposed | feaArticle\_Definite\_Preposed |  
 feaArticle\_Specific\_Definite\_Ad-adjectival\_Proposed | feaArticle\_Indefinite | feaArticle\_Indefinite\_Preposed | feaArticle\_Indefinite\_Proposed\_Double | feaArticle\_Preposed | feaCase  
 feaCase\_Adjectival | feaCase\_Binary | feaCase\_Nominal | feaCase\_Nominal\_Binary | feaCase\_Nominal\_Quaternary | feaCase\_Nominal\_Ternary | feaCase\_Pronominal\_PersonalPronouns  
 feaCase\_Pronominal\_PersonalPronouns\_Binary | feaCase\_Pronominal\_PersonalPronouns\_Quaternary | feaCase\_Pronominal\_PersonalPronouns\_Ternary | feaCase\_Quaternary | feaCase\_Ternary  
 feaDe-demonstrativePersonalPronoun | feaDe-demonstrativePersonalPronoun\_3PI | feaDe-demonstrativePersonalPronoun\_3PI\_Feminine | feaDe-demonstrativePersonalPronoun\_3PI\_Masculine |  
 feaDe-demonstrativePersonalPronoun\_3PI\_Neuter | feaDe-demonstrativePersonalPronoun\_3SG | feaDe-demonstrativePersonalPronoun\_3SG\_Neuter | feaDe-demonstrativePersonalPronoun\_3SG\_Uter  
 feaDeclarativeMainClauseWordOrder\_V2 | feaDefinitenessMarker | feaDefinitenessMarker\_Definite | feaDefinitenessMarker\_DoubleDefiniteMarker | feaDefinitenessMarker\_Indefinite  
 feaDefinitenessMarker\_Specific | feaDefinitenessMarker\_SpecificDoubleDefiniteMarker | feaDefinitenessMarker\_Suffix\_Definite\_Ad-adjectival | feaDefinitenessMarker\_Suffix\_Definite\_Adnominal  
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 feaExperiencer\_Dative | feaExperiencer\_Nominative | feaExperiencer\_NonNomative | feaExperiencer\_Oblique | feaGender | feaGender\_Adjectival | feaGender\_Articles  
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 feaGender\_Articles\_Proposed | feaGender\_Binary | feaGender\_Binary\_Adjectival | feaGender\_Binary\_Articles | feaGender\_Binary\_Articles\_Definite\_Ad-adjectival\_Proposed  
 feaGender\_Binary\_Articles\_Definite\_Adnominal\_Proposed | feaGender\_Binary\_Articles\_Definite\_Proposed | feaGender\_Binary\_Articles\_Indefinite\_Proposed | feaGender\_Binary\_Articles\_Proposed  
 feaGender\_Binary\_Nominal | feaGender\_Nominal | feaGender\_Ternary | feaGender\_Ternary\_Adjectival | feaGender\_Ternary\_Articles | feaGender\_Ternary\_Articles\_Definite\_Ad-adjectival\_Proposed  
 feaGender\_Ternary\_Articles\_Definite\_Adnominal\_Proposed | feaGender\_Ternary\_Articles\_Definite\_Proposed | feaGender\_Ternary\_Articles\_Indefinite\_Proposed  
 feaGender\_Ternary\_Articles\_Proposed | feaGender\_Ternary\_Nominal | feaNegativeConcord | feaNegatedIndefiniteWords | feaNegatedIndefiniteWords\_Determiners  
 feaNegatedIndefiniteWords\_Pronouns | feaNegativeIndefiniteWords | feaNegativeIndefiniteWords\_Determiners | feaNegativeIndefiniteWords\_Pronouns | feaPolarQuestion | feaPolarQuestion\_Mood  
 feaPolarQuestion\_WordOrder\_V1 | feaPolarQuestion\_WordOrder\_V1\_InterrogativeParticle | feaPossessive\_Adposition | feaPossessive\_Case | feaPossessive\_Case\_PossessorFinal  
 feaPossessive\_Case\_PossessorFinal\_AppellativePossessor | feaPossessive\_Case\_PossessorInitial\_ProprialPossessor | feaPossessive\_Case\_PossessorInitial  
 feaPossessive\_Case\_PossessorInitial\_AppellativePossessor | feaPossessive\_Case\_PossessorInitial\_ProprialPossessor | feaPossessive\_Critic | feaPossessive\_Critic\_Postposed  
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 Generalizing\_Hybrid | feaRelativizer\_Non-Generalizing\_Pronoun | feaRelativizer\_Non-Generalizing\_Subjunction | feaRelativizer\_Non-Generalizing\_Zero | feaSubordinateClauseWordOrder  
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 feaSentenceBracket\_SubordinateClause\_NegativeObject | feaSentenceBracket\_DeclarativeClause | feaSentenceBracket\_DeclarativeClause\_NegativeObject  
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 feaPrepositionalPhrase\_Discontinous\_Interrogative | feaPrepositionalPhrase\_Discontinous\_Relative | feaDirectionalModal\_Modal\_VerbOfMovement\_Goal | feaDirectionalModal\_Modal\_Goal |

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 feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_2Pl | feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_2Sg | feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_3Pl | feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_3Sg  
 | feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_3Sg\_F | feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_3Sg\_Female | feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_3Sg\_M  
 feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_3Sg\_Male | feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_3Sg\_N | feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_3Sg\_U  
 feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_Plural | feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_Reflexive | feaPossessiveWord\_PossessumAgreement\_Singular  
 feaPossessive\_PossessiveWordInitial\_PossessumFinal | feaPossessive\_PossessiveWordInitial\_PossessumFinal\_Definite | feaPossessive\_PossessiveCritic\_PossessumFinal\_Definite  
 feaPossessive\_PossessiveWordFinal\_PossessumInitial | feaPossessive\_PossessiveWordFinal\_PossessumInitial\_Definite | feaPossessive\_PossessiveWordFinal\_PossessumInitial\_Indefinite  
 feaPossessiveWord\_PronounDeterminerDistinction | feaPossessiveWord\_Reflexivity | feaPossessiveWord\_Reflexivity\_Plural | feaPossessiveWord\_Reflexivity\_Singular | feaRelativizer\_Non-Generalizing\_Hybrid  
 | feaRelativizer\_Non-Generalizing\_Pronoun | feaSubordinateClauseWordOrder\_VerbFinal | feaSubordinateClauseWordOrder\_VerbFinal\_DeAdditive\_VerbFinal | feaVerb\_Mood\_Binary  
 feaVerb\_Mood\_Quaternary | feaVerb\_Mood\_Ternary | feaVerb\_Passive\_Participial\_Delnchoative | feaVerb\_Perfect\_Decopulative | feaVerb\_Perfect\_Deposessive | feaVerb\_Person | feaVerb\_Person\_Plural | feaVerb\_Person\_Singular | feaVerb\_Voice  
 feaVerb\_Voice\_Binary | feaAdjective\_Comparison\_Two | feaAdjective\_Comparison\_Two\_Comparative | feaAdjective\_Comparison\_Two\_Superlative | feaCopulaClauses\_Predicative  
 feaCopulaClauses\_Predicative\_PersonalPronouns\_Nominative | feaCopulaClauses\_Predicative\_PersonalPronouns\_Non-Nominative | feaCopulaClauses\_Predicative\_PersonalPronouns\_Non-Nominative\_Oblique  
 | feaCopulaClauses\_Predicative\_NounPhrase\_Non-Nominative\_Oblique | feaVerb\_Perfect\_Decopulative\_SubjectInfiniteVerbAgreement  
 feaVerb\_Passive\_Participial\_Delnchoative\_SubjectInfiniteVerbAgreement | feaVerb\_Passive\_Participial\_Decopulative\_SubjectInfiniteVerbAgreement | feaExpletive | feaExpletive\_3Sg  
 feaExpletive\_3Sg\_Neuter | feaExpletive\_3Sg\_Masculine | feaExpletive\_LocalAdverb | feaDitransitives\_IOC | feaDitransitives\_IOC\_Adposition | feaDitransitives\_IOC\_Preposition  
 feaDitransitives\_IOC\_Case | feaDitransitives\_TwoObjects | feaDitransitives\_DOC | feaAdjectiveAgreement | feaAdjectiveAgreement\_Predicative | feaAdjectiveAgreement\_Predicative\_Plural  
 feaAdjectiveAgreement\_Attributive | feaAdjectiveAgreement\_Attributive\_Plural | feaPronouns\_ReflexivesIntensifiersDistinction | feaPronouns\_ReflexivesReciprocalsDistinction | feaVerb\_Future  
 feaVerb\_Future\_De-an | feaVerb\_Future\_De-volitional | feaPseudocoordination | feaPseudocoordination\_Aspectual  
 feaPseudocoordination\_Short | feaPseudocoordination\_Argumental | feaSentenceBracket | feaSentenceBracket\_SubordinateClause  
 feaSentenceBracket\_Short | feaPseudocoordination\_NegativeObject | feaPseudocoordination\_NegativeObject  
 feaSentenceBracket\_DeclarativeClause\_Aspectual | feaModalParticles | feaPrepositionalPhrase\_Discontinuous | feaPrepositionalPhrase\_Discontinuous\_Demonstrative  
 feaPrepositionalPhrase\_Discontinuous\_Interrogative | feaPrepositionalPhrase\_Discontinuous\_Relative | feaDirectionalModal\_Modal\_VerbOfMovement\_Goal | feaDirectionalModal\_Modal\_Goal |

# Areal features | Selection

#1	<b>De-Obligational Future</b> feaVerb_Future_De-obligational
#2	<b>Animacy-Based Pronominalization Split</b> feaAnimacy_PronominalizationSplit
#3	<b>Interposed Linking Possessive</b> feaPossessive_LinkingPossessiveWord_Interposed
#4	<b>De-Additive Infinitive Marker</b> feaVerb_Infinitive_DeAdditive

# #1 | De-Obligational Future

<b>Standard Danish</b>	Jeg skal spise noget.
<b>South Jutlandic</b>	Æ ska spis naue.
<b>Local Low German</b>	Ik schall wat eten.
<b>Local North High German</b>	Ich soll was essen.
<b>North Low German</b>	Ik will/mutt/... wat eten.
<b>North High German</b>	Ich will/muss/... was essen.

## #1 | De-Obligational Future

OBLIG.MODAL, V<sub>inf</sub>  
⟨future⟩

'SHALL future'

Standard Danish	Jeg <b>skal spise</b> noget.
South Jutlandic	Æ <b>ska spis</b> naue.
Local Low German	Ik <b>schall</b> wat <b>eten</b> .
Local North High German	Ich <b>soll</b> was <b>essen</b> .
North Low German	Ik will/mutt/... wat eten.
North High German	Ich will/muss/... was essen.

# #1 | De-Obligational Future

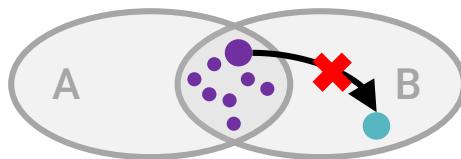
**Grammaticalization path OBLIGATION > FUTURE is well-attested.**

- Similar cxns are known from most West Germanic languages and Continental Scandinavian.
  - Including Middle Low German.
- But not found in most varieties of present-day German, including North Low German outside the contact zone.

# #1 | De-Obligational Future

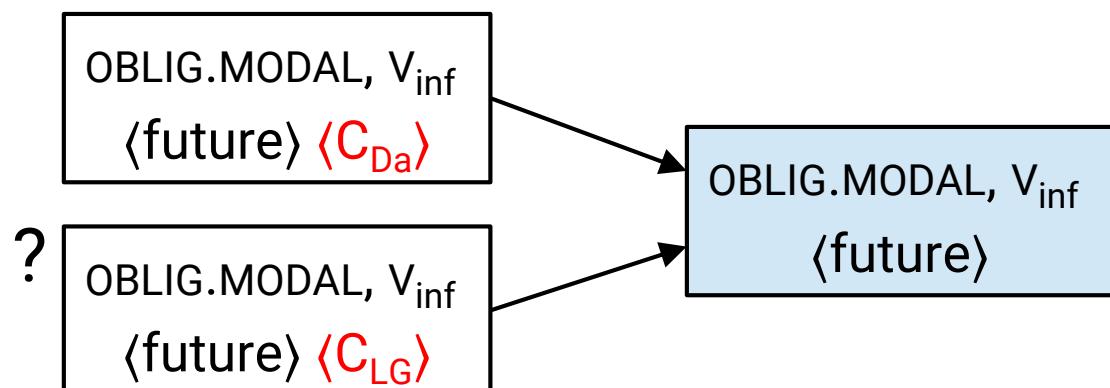
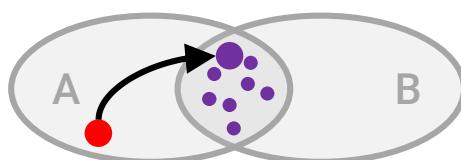
Could be diasystematic stability:

- Genuine Low German feature retained as a diacxn in a multilingual community.



Could also be pro-diasystematic change

- Danish cxn > diacxn.



## #2 | Animacy-Based Pronominalization Split

<b>Standard Danish</b>	<i>manden</i>	han	agreement in sex
	<i>kvinden</i>	hun	
<b>Standard German</b>	<i>døren</i>	den	agreement in gender
	<i>huset</i>	det	
<b>Standard German</b>	<i>der Tisch</i>	er	agreement in gender
	<i>die Tür</i>	sie	
<b>Standard German</b>	<i>das Haus</i>	es	

# #2 | Animacy-Based Pronominalization Split

animacy sex/gender	ANIMATE		INANIMATE		
	MALE	FEMALE	UTER	NEUTER	
Standard Danish	han <i>manden</i>	hun <i>kvinden</i>	den <i>døren</i>	det <i>huset</i>	
South Jutlandic	hanj <i>æ manj</i>	hon <i>æ kvinj</i>	dæn <small>j</small>	n <i>æ dør</i>	de <i>j</i> <i>æ hus</i>

Animacy-based pronominalization split in the singular:

- Animate NPs are pronominalized according to sex.
- Inanimate NPs are pronominalized according to gender.

NP<sub>number:sg,animacy:+,sex:a</sub>, PERS.PRON<sub>number:sg,sex:a</sub>  
 (pronominalization)

NP<sub>number:sg,animacy:−,gender:a</sub>, PERS.PRON<sub>number:sg,gender:a</sub>  
 (pronominalization)

# #2 | Animacy-Based Pronominalization Split

animacy sex/gender	ANIMATE		INANIMATE		
	MALE	FEMALE	UTER	NEUTER	
<b>Standard Danish</b>	han <i>manden</i>	hun <i>kvinden</i>	den <i>døren</i>	det <i>huset</i>	
<b>South Jutlandic</b>	hanj <i>æ manj</i>	hon <i>æ kvinj</i>	dæn <small>j</small> <i>n</i> <i>æ dør</i>	de <i>j</i> <i>æ hus</i>	

gender	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
<b>Low German</b>	he <i>de Mann de Disch</i>	se <i>de Fru de Döör</i>	dat <i>dat Huus</i>
<b>Standard German</b>	er <i>der Mann der Tisch</i>	sie <i>die Frau die Tür</i>	es <i>das Haus</i>

# #2 | Animacy-Based Pronominalization Split

animacy sex/gender	ANIMATE		INANIMATE	
	MALE	FEMALE	UTER	NEUTER
<b>Standard Danish</b>	han <i>manden</i>	hun <i>kvinden</i>	den <i>døren</i>	det <i>huset</i>
<b>South Jutlandic</b>	hanj <i>æ manj</i>	hon <i>æ kvinj</i>	dæn <sub>j</sub> n <i>æ dør</i>	de j <i>æ hus</i>

<b>Local Low German (Anglia)</b>	hē <i>de Mann</i>	sē <i>de Frau</i>	en <i>ŋ</i> <i>de Disch</i> <i>de Döör</i>	dad <i>id</i> <i>dat Huus</i>
----------------------------------	-------------------	-------------------	--	----------------------------------

gender	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
<b>Low German</b>	he <i>de Mann</i> <i>de Disch</i>	se <i>de Fru</i> <i>de Döör</i>	dat <i>dat Huus</i>
<b>Standard German</b>	er <i>der Mann</i> <i>der Tisch</i>	sie <i>die Frau</i> <i>die Tür</i>	es <i>das Haus</i>

# #2 | Animacy-Based Pronominalization Split

animacy sex/gender	ANIMATE		INANIMATE	
	MALE	FEMALE	UTER	NEUTER
<b>Standard Danish</b>	han <i>manden</i>	hun <i>kvinden</i>	den <i>døren</i>	det <i>huset</i>
<b>South Jutlandic</b>	hanj <i>æ manj</i>	hon <i>æ kvinj</i>	dæn <small>j</small> <i>næ dør</i>	de <i>jæ hus</i>

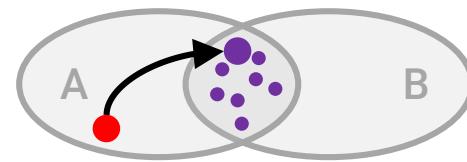
<b>Local Low German (Anglia)</b>	hē <i>de Mann</i>	sē <i>de Frau</i>	en <i>ŋ de Disch de Döör</i>	dad <i>id dat Huus</i>
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gender	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
<b>Low German</b>	he <i>de Mann de Disch</i>	se <i>de Fru de Döör</i>	dat <i>dat Huus</i>
<b>Standard German</b>	er <i>der Mann der Tisch</i>	sie <i>die Frau die Tür</i>	es <i>das Haus</i>

# #2 | Animacy-Based Pronominalization Split

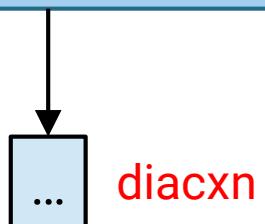
## Pro-diasystematic change

- Danish cxn > diacxn.



$\text{NP}_{\text{number:sg,animacy:+,sex:a}} \text{ PERS.PRON}_{\text{number:sg,sex:a}}$   
 $\langle \text{pronominalization} \rangle \langle C_{\text{Da}} \rangle$

$\text{NP}_{\text{number:sg,animacy:-,gender:a}} \text{ PERS.PRON}_{\text{number:sg,gender:a}}$   
 $\langle \text{pronominalization} \rangle \langle C_{\text{Da}} \rangle$



# #3 | Interposed Linking Possessive

<b>Standard Danish</b>	Vi bor på mandens gård.
<b>South Jutlandic</b>	Vi bo o æ manj sin går.
<b>Low German</b>	Wi wahnt op den Mann sienem Hoff.
<b>North High German</b>	Wir wohnen auf dem/n Mann seinem/n Hof.
<b>Standard German</b>	Wir wohnen auf dem Hof des Mannes/...

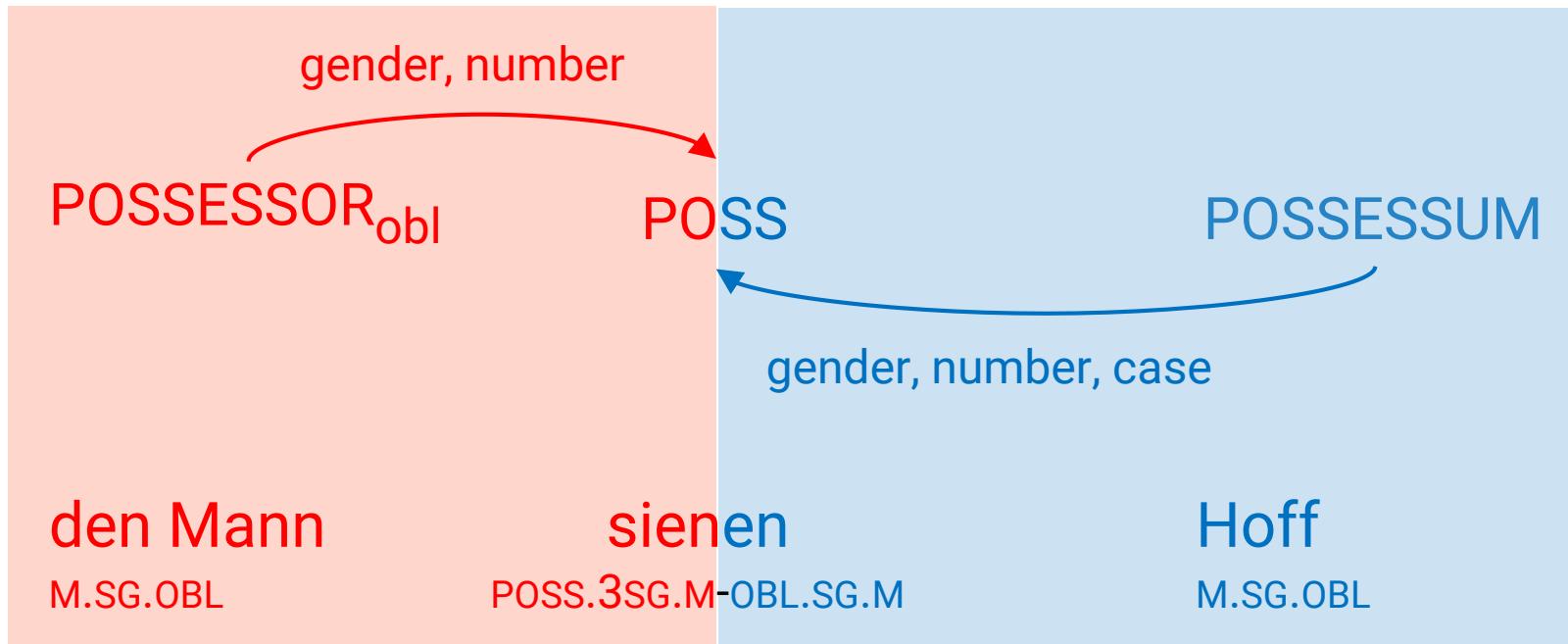
# #3 | Interposed Linking Possessive

$\text{NP}_{\text{case:obl,gender:a,number:\beta,ref:i}}$  —  
 $\text{POSS}_{\text{gender1:a,number1:\beta,gender2:\gamma,number2:\delta,case:\varepsilon}}$  —  
 $\text{NP}_{\text{gender:\gamma,number:\delta,case:\varepsilon,ref:j}}$   
 $\langle \text{possessor}_i, \text{possessum}_j \rangle$

Standard Danish	Vi bor på mandens gård.
South Jutlandic	Vi bo o <b>æ manj sin gāe.</b>
Low German	Wi wahnt op <b>den Mann sienem Hoff.</b>
North High German	Wir wohnen auf <b>dem/n Mann seinem/n Hof.</b>
Standard German	Wir wohnen auf dem Hof des Mannes/...

# #3 | Interposed Linking Possessive

$\text{NP}_{\text{case:obl}, \text{gender:a}, \text{number:\beta}, \text{ref:i}}$   
 $\text{POSS}_{\text{gender1:a}, \text{number1:\beta}, \text{gender2:y}, \text{number2:\delta}, \text{case:\varepsilon}}$   
 $\text{NP}_{\text{gender:y}, \text{number:\delta}, \text{case:\varepsilon}, \text{ref:j}}$   
 $\langle \text{possessor}_i, \text{possessum}_j \rangle$



# #3 | Interposed Linking Possessive

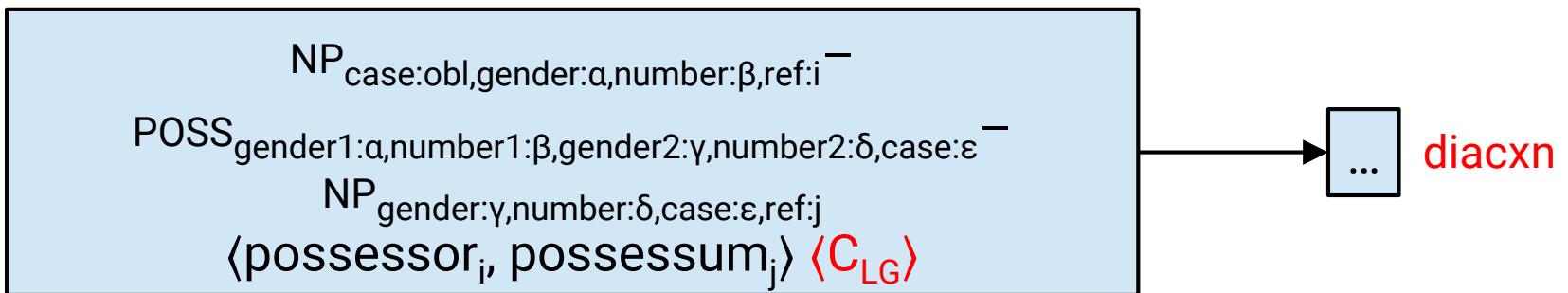
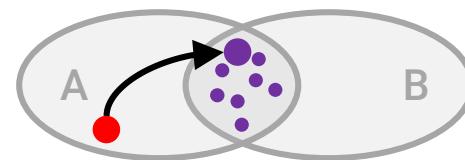
**Found in most Continental West Germanic varieties.**

- Lacking from Standard German and most Nordic varieties.
- But found in Low German and some Nordic varieties,
  - South Jutlandic
  - some West Jutlandic dialects
  - many Norwegian varieties
  - including the Nynorsk standard
- Areal distribution and sociolinguistic history suggest Low German origin.

# #3 | Interposed Linking Possessive

## Pro-diasystematic change

- Low German cxn > diacxn.



# #4 | De-Additive Infinitive Marker

<b>Standard Danish</b>	Det var dumt at sige det.
<b>South Jutlandic</b>	De va dumt a sej er.
<b>Local Low German</b>	Dat weer dumm un seggen dat.
<b>Local North High German</b>	Das war dumm und sagen das.
<b>North Low German</b>	Dat weer dumm, dat to seggen.
<b>North High German</b>	Das war dumm, es zu sagen.

# #4 | De-Additive Infinitive Marker

ADD.CONJ  $V_{inf}^1 \dots$   
 ⟨infinitive⟩      ‘AND infinitive’

Standard Danish	Det var dumt at sige det.
South Jutlandic	De va dumt <b>a</b> <b>sej</b> er.
Local Low German	Dat weer dumm <b>un</b> <b>seggen</b> dat.
Local North High German	Das war dumm <b>und</b> <b>sagen</b> das.
North Low German	Dat weer dumm, dat to seggen.
North High German	Das war dumm, es zu sagen.

## #4 | De-Additive Infinitive Marker

Highly unusual innovation, probably contact-induced.

- Hardly attested grammaticalization path (AND > INFINITIVE MARKER).
- Suspicious word order pattern (verb-initial infinitive phrase).

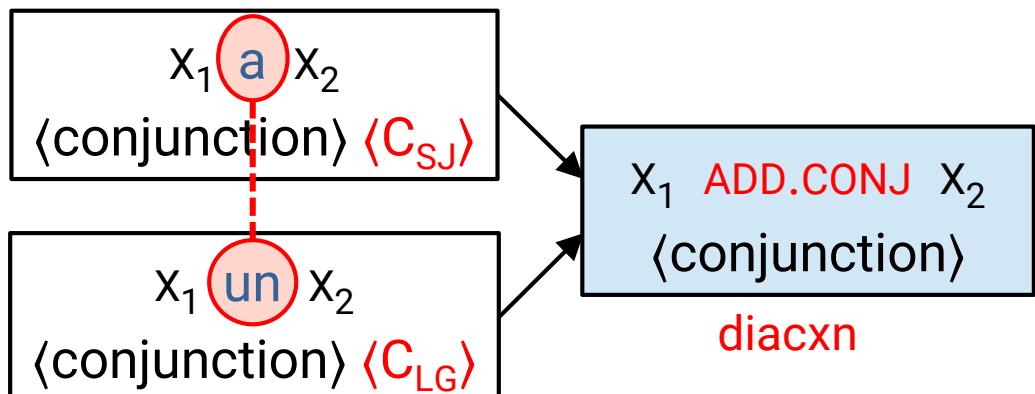
Also suspicious:

- Homophonous infinitive markers  
and additive conjunctions in South Jutlandic: *a*
  - *dumt a sej er* ‘stupid to say it’
  - *æ manj a æ pich* ‘the man and the girl’

→ Think usage-based CxG ...

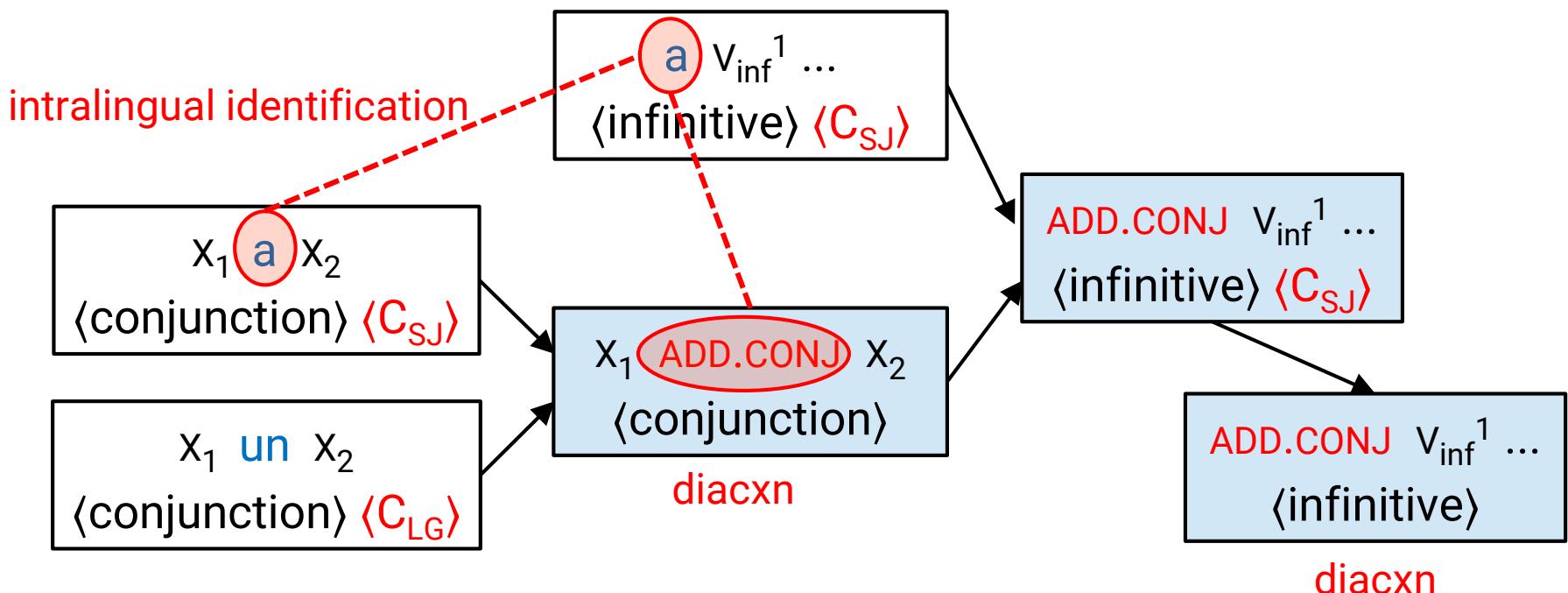
(There are no pre-established categories!)

## #4 | De-Additive Infinitive Marker

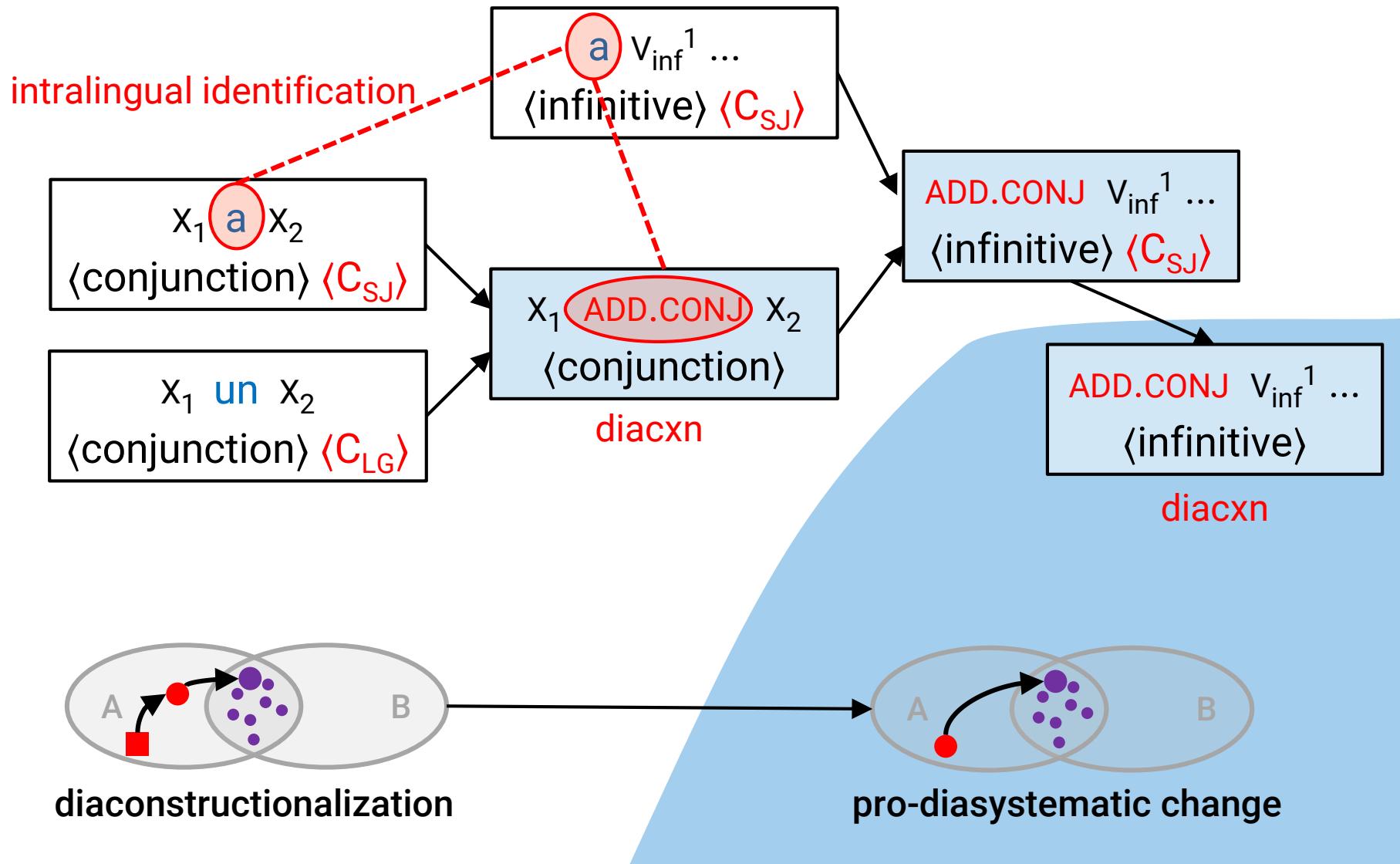


interlingual identification

## #4 | De-Additive Infinitive Marker



## #4 | De-Additive Infinitive Marker



# Structure

Background | Geography, History, Contact

(Re-)Constructing arealisms | DCxG

Discussion | Selected features

#1 | De-Obligational Future

#2 | Animacy-Based Pronominalization Split

#3 | Interposed Linking Possessive

#4 | De-Additive Infinitive Marker

Conclusion

# Structure

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Conclusion

# Summing up

#1	De-Obligational Future	diasystematic stability
#2	Animacy-Based Pronominalization Split	pro-diasystematic change
#3	Interposed Linking Possessive	
#4	De-Additive Infinitive Marker	diaconstructionalization

# Summing up

- From a DCxG perspective, **areal features** in the contact zone can be understood in terms of **emerging diaconstructions** in historical or extant multilingual communities.
  - Once established, contact-induced arealisms continue to exist even when speakers no longer are multilingual, and areal patterns often reflect historical contact situations rather than present-day multilingualism.
- There is a kind of **areal 'conspiracy'** involving different mechanisms of constructional change.
- Even if the **multilingual communities** cannot be **reconstructed** in sufficient detail, the **simplification of the multilingual construction** can.
  - Yet, as with all types of linguistic reconstruction: caution is advised!

# Thank you for your attention.



Takk fyrir!

Takk fyri!

Mange takk!

Tack så mycket!

Tusind tak!

Schönen Dank ok!

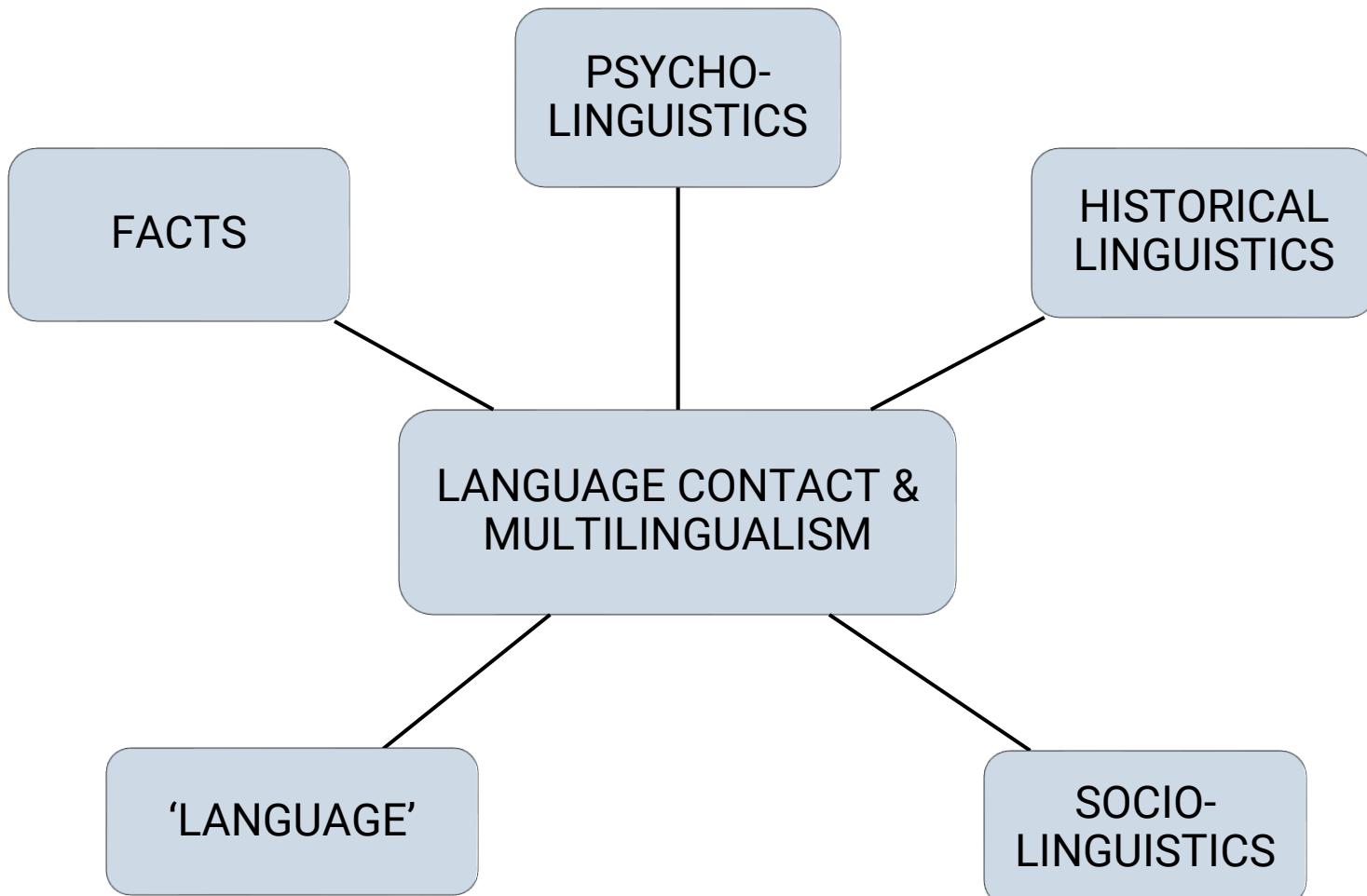
Vielen Dank!

Steffen Höder  
s.hoeder@isfas.uni-kiel.de  
steffenhoeder.de

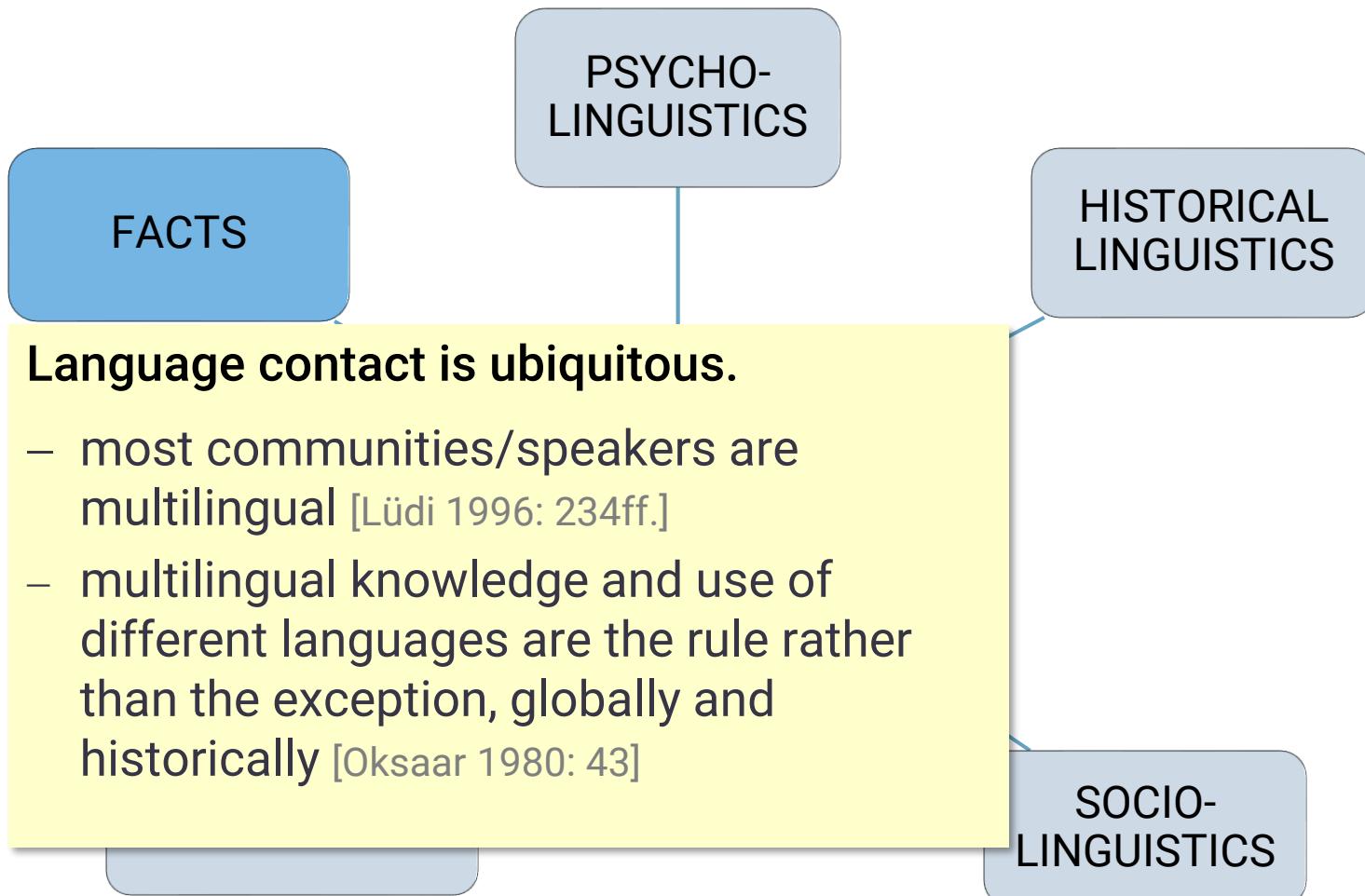
# Constructional organization

- **Usage-based perspective**
- general cognitive mechanisms shape organization of constructional knowledge
- diacxns established via the same mechanisms as any other cxn
  - instance-based
  - similarity-based
- ‘interlingual identification’ of (subjectively, conventionally) equivalent structures in the input
  - based on (perceived) similarity of form and/or function
- cognitive preference for generalization [cf. Goldberg 2006: 67ff.]
  - reasonable cases of redundancy notwithstanding
- **... as with all constructions**
- diacxns are ordinary cxns, no extra layer of sui generis elements

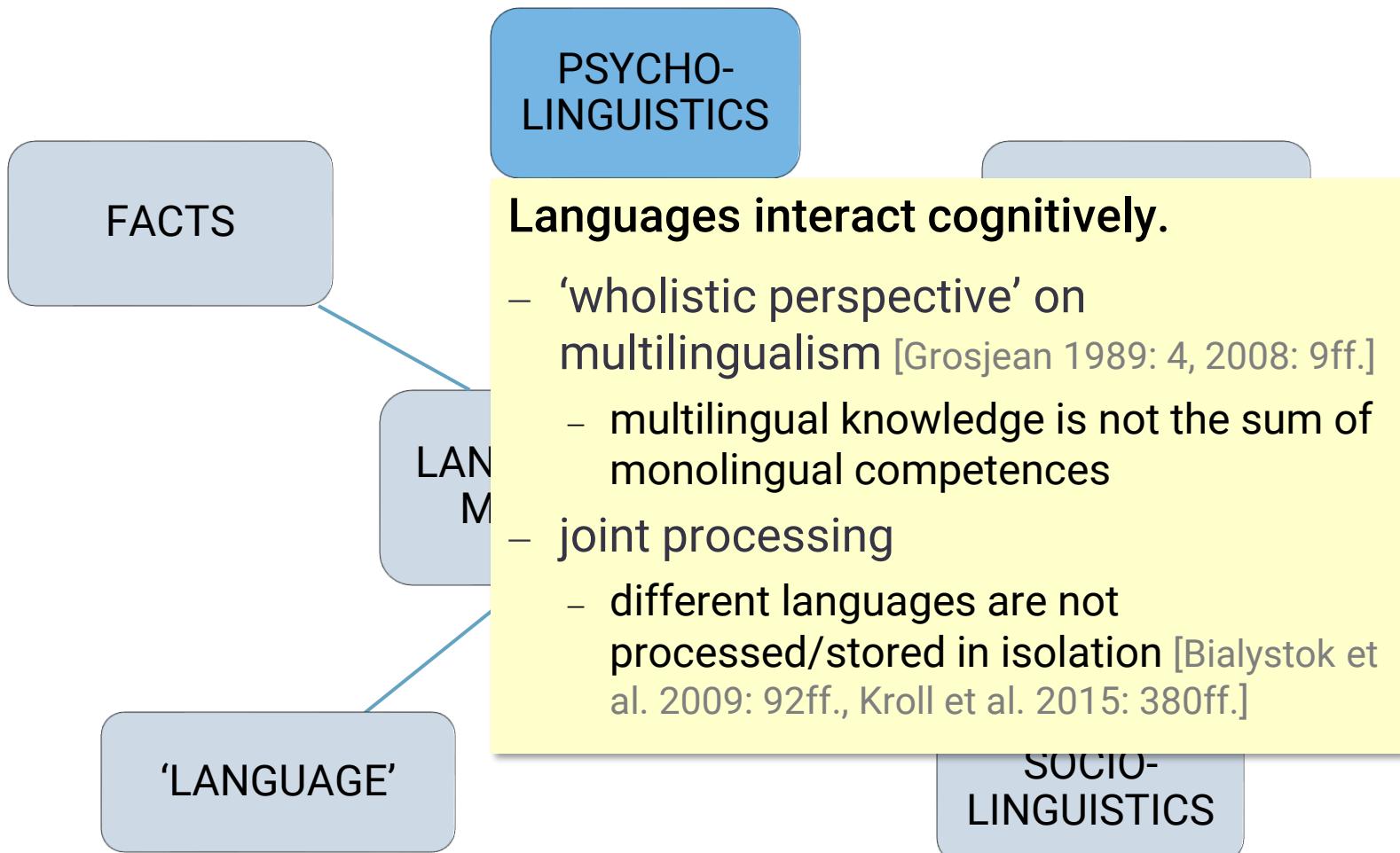
# Insights from contact linguistics



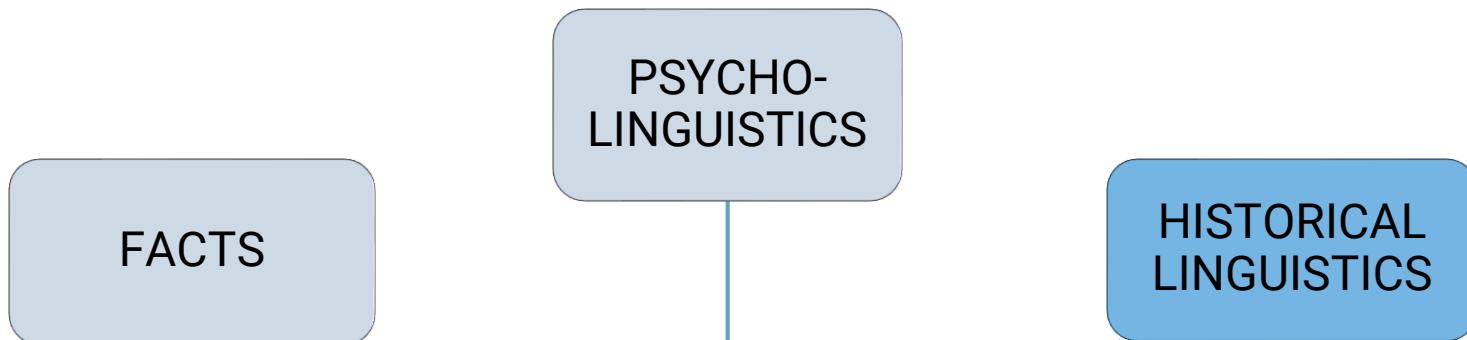
# Insights from contact linguistics



# Insights from contact linguistics



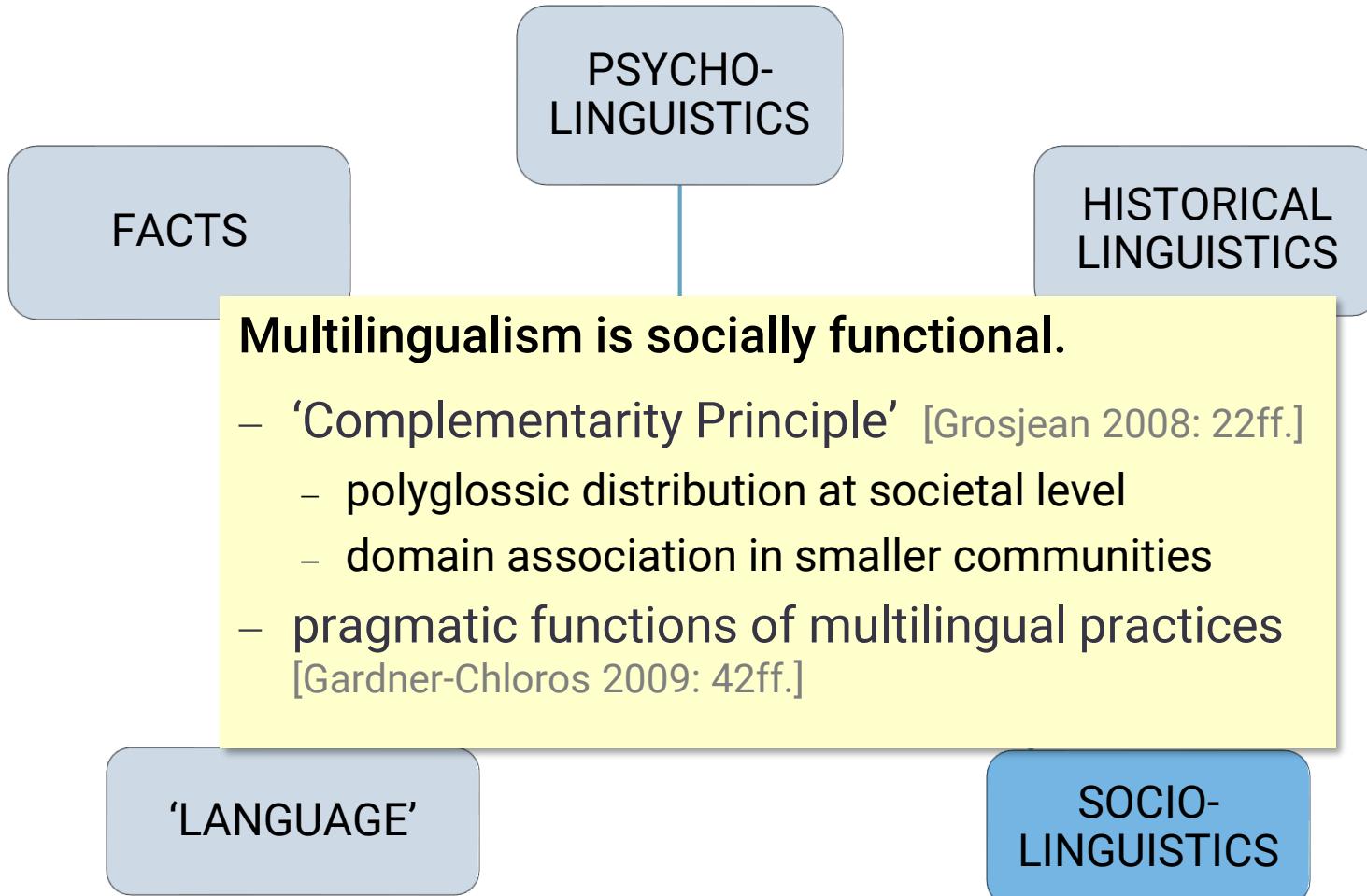
# Insights from contact linguistics



## Language contact affects language structure.

- typical outcome: convergence [Kühl & Braunmüller 2014]
- potential endpoint: isomorphism
  - ‘morpheme-per-morpheme intertranslatability’ [Aikhenvald 2007: 28ff.]
  - ‘construction-per-construction intertranslatability’ [Höder 2014a: 149]
  - ‘exact structural equivalence’ [Heine & Kuteva 2005: 179f.]
  - ‘metatypy’ [Ross 2007]

# Insights from contact linguistics



# Insights from contact linguistics

PSYCHO-  
LINGUISTICS

## What is a 'language', anyway?

- “a shprakh iz a dialekt mit an armey un flot” [Weinreich 1945: 13]
- fuzzy language boundaries in ‘diffuse’ situations [Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985]
- no one is *monolectal* [Höder 2014a: 137]
- infinite number of mental grammars
  - one discrete grammar per language/dialect/variety leads to an enormous number of coexisting grammars [Croft 2000: 52]

‘LANGUAGE’

SOCIO-  
LINGUISTICS

# Relevant basics | ‘Construction’

## Constructions as learned form-function pairs

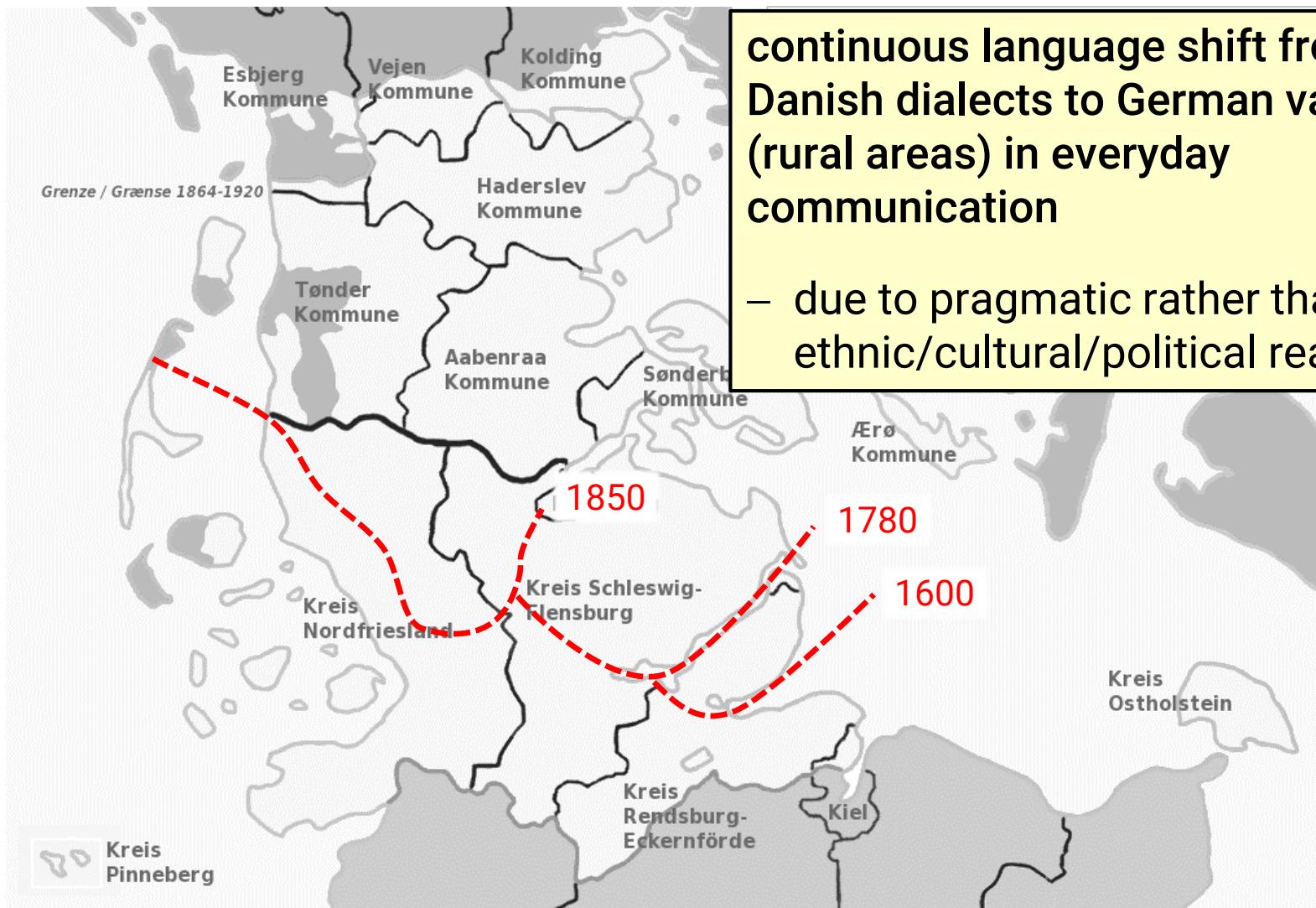
“ Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as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

[Goldberg 2006: 5]

# Language change

1	idio-constructions	<p>form X meaning X <math>\langle C_A \rangle</math></p> <p>utterances<sub>A</sub></p>	<p>form Y meaning Y <math>\langle C_B \rangle</math></p> <p>utterances<sub>B</sub></p>
2	pragmatic bleaching	<p>form X meaning X <math>\langle C_A \rangle</math></p> <p>utterances<sub>A</sub></p>	<p>form Y meaning Y <math>\langle C_B \rangle</math></p> <p>utterances<sub>(A)B</sub></p>
3	reorganisation	<p>form X meaning X <math>\langle C_A \rangle</math></p> <p>utterances<sub>A</sub></p>	<p>form Y meaning Y</p> <p>utterances<sub>AB</sub></p>

# Border region | Language shifts



continuous language shift from Danish dialects to German varieties (rural areas) in everyday communication

- due to pragmatic rather than ethnic/cultural/political reasons

# Border region | Language shifts

## Language shift chains

