Wiewohl daß der Türck in Polen eingefallen. The loss of the German connector-dass-construction

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Based on a study using 17th to 18th Century German corpora, the paper sketches the loss of the schematic construction [connector + *dass*] (or doubly-filled comp). It contains a variable slot filled with different types of connectors or interrogative pronouns and a fixed position containing the subjunctor *dass* 'that' (*ob dass* 'if that', *wie dass* 'how that'). While the construction was rather type frequent in the 17th Century, it has been restricted to a few lexicalized instances such as *anstatt dass* 'instead of'; today it is productive only in certain dialects (e.g. Bayer 1984).

The type frequency of the construction decreased until the end of the 18th Century. Strikingly, its token frequency developed inversely during the same period, which suggests that only single highly automatized instances remained by the end of the 18th Century (Bybee e.g. 2002).

The rise and loss of the connector-dass-construction took place in a period when the formal distinction between main and subordinate clause had not been fully established. For instance, the verb final position had not been entirely fixed by the beginning of the 18th Century (Schildt 1976). In this period, different means of marking subordinate clauses competed. Next to the connector-dass-construction, the afinite construction characterized by the drop of the finite verb (als er geendet 'when he had finished') was frequent. The paper examines the loss of the connector-dass-construction in the context of these competing constructions. Next to type and token frequency, the consideration of competing constructions in the linguistic network and stigmatization processes turn out to be crucial to describe the loss of a construction.

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