

Chapter 1

Introduction: Morphosyntactic change in Late Modern Swedish

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The chapters in this volume are concerned with morphosyntactic change in Late Modern Swedish, i.e. the period from the beginning of the 18th century onwards. Although the period is interesting (considering, for instance, standardization processes), it has previously received fairly little attention in the syntactic literature. The contributions in this volume cover several grammatical domains, including case and verbal syntax, word order and agreement, and grammaticalization in the nominal domain. In this introduction to the volume, we give a background to Late Modern Swedish. We briefly discuss the external factors that are particularly relevant for morphosyntactic change during this period and give an overview of the morphosyntax of Late Modern Swedish. Finally, we provide a summary of the chapters that follow.

Keywords: Late Modern Swedish, morphosyntactic change, standardization, historical corpora, word order

1 Introduction

This volume deals with morphosyntactic change in Late Modern Swedish (LMS). In the traditional periodization of the history of Swedish, LMS is the last of four periods. The other three are Early and Late Old Swedish (EOS, LOS), and Early Modern Swedish (EMS); see (1) below.¹

¹Traditionally, two older periods are also included: Ancient Nordic –800 (in Swedish: *urnordiska*) and Runic Swedish 800–1225 (in Swedish: *runsvenska*) (Wessén 1958: 7–43; Bergman 1968: 13–



- (1) a. Early Old Swedish (EOS) 1225–1375
- b. Late Old Swedish (LOS) 1375–1526
- c. Early Modern Swedish (EMS) 1526–1732
- d. Late Modern Swedish (LMS) 1732–

The two earliest dates (1225, 1375) are approximations. 1225 represents the introduction of the Latin alphabet for writing Swedish, a process which started at the beginning of the 13th century. 1375 represents a period of demographic and political change in Scandinavia due mainly to the devastating effects of the Black Death, and the growing influence of the Hanseatic League in northern Europe. The two modern periods (EMS, LMS), on the other hand, both have starting dates that coincide with the year of appearance of an important publication: *Thet Nyia Testamentit på Swensko*, ‘The New Testament in Swedish’ (printed in 1526), and the ground-breaking weekly journal *Then Swänska Argus*, ‘The Swedish Argus’ (first issued in 1732), respectively.

Linguistic change can, in other words, be studied in texts going back to the early 13th century (and even further if we include the runic inscriptions). The oldest preserved Swedish text in the Latin alphabet is a medieval law, the *Elder Westrogothic law* (EWL, in Swedish: *Äldre Västgötalagen*). The EWL is the oldest of the laws of the provinces (Sw. *landskap*) that later became the Swedish kingdom.² It begins with a section on the role of religion in society, the beginning of which is given in (2).

- (2) Her byriarz laghbok væsgöta
 here begin.PRS.REFL law.book.M.SG.NOM westrogoth.M.PL.GEN
 Krister ær fyrst i laghum warum þa
 Christ.M.SG.NOM be.PRS.SG first in law.M.PL.DAT our.M.PL.DAT then
 ær cristna var oc allir
 be.PRS.SG Christendom.F.SG.NOM our.F.SG.NOM and all.M.PL.NOM

29). More recently, it has been suggested that LMS should be followed by a third period starting around 1880: *modern nysvenska* (lit. ‘Modern New Swedish’); cf. the Swedish labels for EMS and LMS: *äldre* (‘Elder’) and *yngre* (‘Younger’) *nysvenska* (‘New Swedish’) (Thelander 1988; Malmgren 2007). However, *modern nysvenska* has hardly become a standard period label, but is part of an ongoing theoretical discussion of periodization in Swedish historical linguistics (see Ralph 2000; Johansson 2007, 2010). Here, we use LMS in its traditional sense, viz. as a period starting in 1732 and leading up to the present. Throughout this volume, the language of today – i.e. the language that present-day native speakers have intuitions about – is referred to as present-day Swedish (PDS).

²There are medieval laws (as well as other texts) from regions that did not become part of Sweden until the middle of the 17th century (viz. Gotland and Skåne). Traditionally, early texts from these areas have been excluded from the history of Swedish.

cristnir konongær. böndær oc allir
 Christian.M.PL.NOM king.M.SG.NOM farmer.M.PL.NOM and all.M.PL.NOM
 bocarlær biscupær oc allir
 resident.man.M.PL.NOM bishop.M.SG.NOM and all.M.PL.NOM
 boclærðir mæn. Varþær barn til
 book.learn.PTCP.M.PL.NOM man.M.PL.NOM become.PRS.SG child.N.SG to
 kirkiu boret oc beþiz
 church.F.SG.GEN carry.PTCP.N.SG and ask.PRS.SG.PASS
 cristnu. þa scal faþir ok
 christening.F.SG.ACC. then shall.PRS.SG father.M.SG.NOM and
 moðer fa guðfæþur oc guðmoþor
 mother.F.SG.NOM get.INF godfather.M.SG.ACC and godmother.F.SG.ACC
 oc salt oc uatn. þæt scal bæra til
 and salt.N.SG.ACC and water.N.SG.ACC it.N.SG.ACC shall.PRS.SG carry.INF to
 kirkiu þa scal a prést kallæ
 church.F.SG.GEN then shall.PRS.SG on priest.M.SG.ACC call.INF
 han skal a kirkiu bole boæ.
 he.M.SG.NOM shall.PRS.SG on church.F.SG.GEN farm.N.SG.DAT live.INF
 ‘Here begins the law book of the West Goths. Christ is first in our law.
 Thereafter comes our Christian faith and all Christians, king, farmers and
 all resident men, bishop, and all learned men. If a child is carried to
 church, and christening is asked for, then father and mother should get
 godfather, and godmother, and salt, and water. One should carry that to
 church. Then one should call for a priest. He should live at the parsonage.’
 (EWL, 1220s; from FTB)³

The language of the Swedish medieval laws differs from present-day Swedish (PDS) in many ways. Among other things, EOS had a rich case system (e.g. *a kirki-u bol-e* ‘at church-GEN farm-DAT’), post-nominal possessives (*laghbok væs-göta* ‘law book of West Goths’, *laghum warum* ‘laws our’), and lacked indefinite articles (*barn til kirkiu boret* ‘child to church carried’, *a prest kalla* ‘on priest call’). Moreover, overt pronominal subjects were quite rare: although referential pronouns were only occasionally omitted (see for instance the overt *han* referring

³Many older Swedish texts are available through *Fornsvenska textbanken*, ‘the text bank of Old Swedish’: <https://project2.sol.lu.se/fornsvenska/>, which we will refer to as FTB. The same texts can be accessed through the corpus infrastructure Korp (Borin et al. 2012): https://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/?mode=all_hist. In the following, we do not provide a page number for examples taken from electronic sources.

to *prést*, ‘priest’, in the last sentence), there were neither expletive nor generic pronouns (e.g. *þa skal a prést kallæ* lit. ‘then [one] shall on priest call). As for the position of verbs, EOS still had OV order (*han skal a kirkiu bole boæ* lit. ‘he shall on land of church live’), and sentence adverbials followed the finite verb in both main and embedded clauses (although there are no such examples in (2); see §3.1.1 below).

Five centuries after the EWL, the grammatical system had undergone dramatic change on all levels. Consider the introduction to *Argus* in (3) below, which, as noted, represents the beginning of the Late Modern Swedish period.⁴

- (3) THEN SWÄNSKA ARGUS N:o I. Ingen lærer kunna
the.C.SG Swedish.DEF Argus no 1 no.one.C.SG shall.PRS.SG be.able.to.INF
neka, at ju sådane Skriffter hafwa stor nytta med
deny.INF that PART such.PL writing.PL have.PRS.PL large.C.SG benefit with
sig, som, på ett angenämt och lustigt sätt,
REFL that on a.N.SG pleasant.N.SG and amusing.N.SG manner
föreställa Lärdomar och Wettenskaper; Derföre hafwa och
present.PRS.PL learning.PL and science.PL therefore have.PRS.PL also
de gamla, under roliga Dikter, liufliga
the.PL ancient.PL during entertaining.PL poem.PL delightful.PL
Samtahl eller nöysamma Historier, underwisat
conversation.PL or diverting.PL tale.PL instruct.PTCP
Folket om Dygden, och likasom skiämtewijs
people.DEF.N.SG about virtue.DEF.C.SG and almost jokingly
förehållit dem alfvarsamma Sede-Lärör. I nyare tider,
impart.PTCP 3PL.OBJ grave.PL moral-lesson.PL in new.COMP time.PL
och än i dag, se wi äfwen, hos kloka Nationer, sådane
and even to day see.PRS.PL we also at wise.PL nation.PL such.PL
Skriffter med mycken nytta utgifwas och älskas
writing.PL with much.C.SG benefit publish.PRS.PASS and cherish.PRS.PASS
‘The Swedish Argus No 1. No one can deny that such writings are indeed
beneficial, that, in a pleasant and amusing manner, administer learning
and science. So the ancients have instructed the people on virtue

⁴In the glosses, C refers to common gender; see more in §3.3 on the change from a three-gender system to a system with two genders. Present-day Swedish has a morphological distinction between the participial verb form used in perfects, the so-called supine form (SUP), and perfect participles (PTCP) used e.g. in passives, but since this distinction is not yet established in the 18th century, the participles in examples like (3) are glossed as PTCP; see more in §3.1.2 below.

through entertaining poems, delightful conversations and diverting tales, and imparted grave lessons of morality in an almost jocular manner. In more recent times, and even today, we still find writings of this kind, useful and cherished, published in wise nations.’ (*Argus*, 1730s; from FTB)

Here, very little is left of the old case system (some forms linger in the pronominal system, e.g. *dem* ‘them’, which is an old dative, but in (3), and still today, it functions as a general object form), the modern article system is fully in place (e.g. *ett angenämt och lustigt sätt* ‘a pleasant and amusing manner’), and possessives are pronominal. Moreover, referential *pro*-drop was no longer possible, and expletives were increasingly becoming the rule in the 18th century. Late Modern Swedish was a VO language (e.g. *underwisat Folket om Dygden* ‘instructed the people about virtue’), and in embedded clauses, the finite verb generally remained in the verb phrase, and it therefore followed sentence adverbials. However, some things have remained stable over time. For instance, both EOS and LMS are V2 languages, which means that in main clauses, the finite verb is always inverted with the subject, unless the subject itself is topicalized. This results in either SV- or (X)VS-initial word order, i.e. a surface order where V never comes later than second position. Thus, we find SV (e.g. *han skal* ‘he shall’ in (2), and *Ingen lärer* ‘No one should’ in (3)) and (X)VS (e.g. *Varþær barn* ‘becomes child’ in (2), and *Derföre hafwa och de gamla* lit. ‘therefore have also the old’ in (3)) in both the EOS and the LMS texts.⁵

Many of the substantial grammatical changes that took place in the period between the texts in (2) and (3) have been investigated in the historical records. There are for instance studies of the shift from OV to VO word order (e.g. Delsing 1999; Petzell 2011; Sangfelt 2019), the loss of *pro*-drop (Håkansson 2008) and the emergence of expletives (Falk 1993), changes in embedded word order (Platzack 1988; Falk 1993; Håkansson 2011), the grammaticalization of auxiliaries (Andersson 2007; Bylin 2013) and complementizers (Rosenkvist 2004), the loss of case morphology (Delsing 1991, 2014, 1991; Norde 1997; Falk 1997; Skrzypek 2005) and the grammaticalization of (in)definite articles (Skrzypek 2009; Brandtler & Delsing 2010; Stroh-Wollin 2016). These studies typically consider the development of Swedish from the Old Swedish period until the early Late Modern Swedish period (i.e. the middle of the 18th century). They also concern changes that to a large extent can be observed in all of the Mainland North Germanic languages (see e.g. Holmberg & Platzack 1995).

As is specified in (1), LMS continues into the present. Thus, in a way, it indicates the end of the history of Swedish. It is, of course, an absurd idea that history

⁵Many instances of the XVS structure are obscured in (2) due to the lack of overt subjects.

should have an endpoint. Nevertheless, the impression that LMS is too close to the present to be of interest or importance for historical linguistics has indeed shaped the output of this discipline in Sweden. Its main focus has always been on the earliest stages of the language (Wollin 1988; Haapamäki 2010). Naturally, such an inclination towards the archaic is understandable when the main objective is the reconstruction of a proto-language. However, even diachronic research set in a generative framework, where the age of the linguistic source is irrelevant, has shown a strong tendency towards addressing the grammatical structure of old rather than recent Swedish, despite the fact that the latter is much more robustly documented in texts of various types. An important reason for this is simply that, as we have already seen, many interesting (and quite dramatic) things happened in the grammar of Swedish towards the end of the Middle Ages.

History clearly did not end in 1732, but to date we know considerably less about morphosyntactic change from the middle of the 18th century onwards than we do about earlier periods. The present volume aims to remedy this. As we will see in the following, there were changes in word order, in the abstract case system, in the distribution of adverbials, and so on, that took place in the Late Modern Swedish period, and there are grammaticalization processes that continue into the present day. Moreover, the Late Modern Swedish period is interesting for a number of reasons. This was when Swedish was established as a national standard language. New genres emerged, and the written language became more generally available to all speakers. We also sometimes find diverging developments in the different Mainland North Germanic languages, and some of the much-discussed differences between Danish, Norwegian and Swedish (e.g. in argument placement, passives, particles, and participle morphology) were established during this period. In addition, during the 19th and 20th centuries, the traditional dialects underwent more dramatic changes than ever.

This anthology contains a collection of papers that all discuss morphosyntactic change in Late Modern Swedish. Some of the articles aim to complete our knowledge of previously studied phenomena, addressing the last remnants of a medieval system (e.g. lexical case or verbal agreement in archaic dialects). Others instead focus on changes that began in Early Modern Swedish or even later (e.g. the development of quantifiers). However, the authors of both of these sets of articles engage in the task of analysing linguistic developments that are still ongoing, reflected in unstable and varying present-day usage. The papers shed new light on both internal and external factors in language change; we will see effects of morphological change and of standardization processes, as well as of syntactic economy principles.

In this introduction, we provide some background to the Late Modern Swedish period. The main aim is to set the stage for the papers in the volume, but since there is currently no accessible overview of Late Modern Swedish, we also briefly provide some details about Late Modern Swedish grammar. §2 gives an overview of some of the external factors that are relevant for morphosyntactic change during the period. In §3, we present some central aspects of the morphosyntax of Late Modern Swedish. §4 gives an overview of the papers in the volume.

2 External factors in Late Modern Swedish

As noted above, the outer prerequisites for Swedish changed in the Late Modern Swedish period. In this section we give an overview of the external factors that have affected the development of Swedish morphosyntax during the period. §2.1 is concerned with the standardization of Swedish. In §2.2, we briefly discuss the inter- and intra-individual variation that can be observed in the 18th and 19th centuries. §2.3 gives a short overview of the sources on Late Modern Swedish, with particular focus on the available electronic corpora that are used by the authors in this volume.

2.1 Standardization and education

As shown in §1, there are Swedish texts written with the Latin alphabet from the 13th century onwards. However, the development of a standard language came much later (for a thorough description of this process, see Teleman 2002). It was not until the publication of the New Testament in Swedish in 1526 and its natural continuation with the entire Bible in 1541, that one uniform way of writing Swedish reached all the parishes of the realm. Spreading the Bible in Swedish by employing the Gutenbergian printing technique was an important item on the agenda of the centralized Swedish state, which began to be implemented at the beginning of the 16th century. In order to consolidate the emerging nation state, clearly distinguishing it from other similar states (in particular from Denmark, with which Sweden had been in a union since the late 14th century), the governing elite (with King Gustav Vasa in the lead) resorted to both practical and spiritual means. In a way, the new Bible embodied both strategies. By adopting the reformed religion, the state gained full control of the church, which had to cut its ties to Rome, including all its institutions and, not least, its long-established presence in all local communities: men of the church now answered to the king in Stockholm, not to the pope in Rome. Of course, the primary objectives of the state when distributing a printed Bible were not linguistic – the point was

rather to execute and demonstrate the power of a new and centralized Sweden (see Kouri 1994 for discussion). Nevertheless, the linguistic consequences for the written language were immense (Ståhle 1970).

As late as the early 18th century, the Bible of 1541 was still the most relevant prototype for written Swedish. There had been new editions of the Bible issued both in 1618 and in 1703, but the form of the original was kept more or less intact, with only minimal revisions (see Platzack 2005). By contrast, the state took quite radical measures in the domain of civil law towards the end of the EMS period, resulting in a new, albeit linguistically quite archaic (Wessén 1965) code of law for the nation – *Sveriges Rikes lag*, ‘the law of the kingdom of Sweden’ – from 1734, which is still in effect in parts. However, neither law nor Bible came to play any significant role in the shaping of the written standard during the 18th century. Instead, new genres that emerged through the Age of Enlightenment arose as preferred models for Standard Swedish. Although this new and secular standard was eventually codified in dictionaries (e.g. Sahlstedt’s *Swensk Ordbok*, ‘Swedish Dictionary’, from 1773) and normative pamphlets (e.g. Leopold’s *Afhandling om svenska stafsättet*, ‘Treatment of the Swedish orthography’, from 1801), it was through the distribution of new texts that the modern way of writing Swedish reached a wider audience. Consequently, the productive publishers of the time had a massive impact on the spread of linguistic norms; one of the most prominent was Lars Salvius, whose efforts are described at length by Santesson (1986).

Exactly how many people had direct access to written texts during the Late Modern period is hard to say. Although text consumption certainly increased during the 18th century, most people lived in the countryside and were probably relatively unaffected by the development of intellectual life in the city. But, based on the detailed census conducted by the church (by means of the so-called *husförhör*, lit. ‘house interrogations’), most people were already listed as “being able to read” by the end of the 17th century. However, this was probably a very rudimentary form of literacy, comprising reading from the Bible (or perhaps reciting it by heart) but not writing (Johansson 1981; Berg 1994). In the early years of the 19th century, general education programmes were launched, resulting in free schooling for all children from 1842, but school did not become obligatory until 1882.

Still, the mastering of the written code by the many was very much a matter of the 19th and especially the 20th century. Even with mandatory primary education, many left school only partially literate (as in the 1600s). For example, in a recording from the 1950s, part of which is transcribed in (4) below, an old Viska-

dalian⁶ woman (A) tells the interviewer (S) of her time in school at the end of the 19th century. She recalls that they would read various religious texts, but she never did learn how to write – it was simply not on the curriculum.

- (4) a. A: Vi fingem läsa i testamentet å i kattjesen å
 we get.PST.1PL read.INF in testament.DEF and in catechism.DEF and
 i bibelska ... men att Dyber ... han lärde inte å skriva ...
 in Biblical but that Dyberg he teach.PST not to write.INF
 ‘We got to read from the Testament, and the Catechism and the
 Biblical ... but Dyberg, he didn’t teach us to write’
- b. S: Vem lärde det då?
 who teach.PST that then
 ‘Who taught you that, then?’
- A: Nä ja kan inte skriva nöe
 No I can.PRS.SG not write.INF anything
 ‘No, I can’t write anything’ (Öxn)

As we will see in the chapters that follow, standardization had consequences for morphosyntactic change in the Late Modern Swedish period. The papers by Valdeson and Kalm suggest that schooling may have played a role in the development of double object constructions and adverbial infinitives, respectively. Using the non-standardized variety of Övdalian as a point of comparison, Kalm argues that the elaboration of the written language led to the development of new grammatical possibilities. Standardization processes also clearly affected the direction of change, as well as the spread and establishment of new patterns (e.g. the new word order in particle constructions discussed in the paper by Larsson & Lundquist). The spread of the standard language also had consequences for the dialects. For instance, in his chapter on morphosyntactic variation in Viskadalian Swedish, Petzell argues that verbal person agreement was reanalysed as part of tense, and that one of the driving forces behind this reanalysis was the introduction of the new standard word order in embedded clauses, which was incompatible with richly agreeing verbs. Finally, standardization naturally came with normative grammarians promoting or advising against certain constructions (see Teleman 2002, 2003, and references therein, for a discussion of language planning and policy in LMS). In her chapter on passive ditransitives, Falk relates the actual usage of these constructions to contemporary recommendations in normative dictionaries.

⁶Viskadalen is a dialect area in the southwest of Sweden, along the southern reaches of the River Viskan (see Petzell 2017, 2018 and 2022 [this volume] for more details).

2.2 Variation

Grammatical change in the development from Old to Late Modern Swedish led to considerable linguistic variation both within and across speakers, on all linguistic levels. Since there was no fully established standard yet, there was still considerable variation even in the written language at the beginning of the Late Modern Swedish period. As for the spoken language, the late 1700s and early 1800s stand out as a pinnacle of dialectal diversity. However, already towards the end of the 19th century, dialect levelling and the spread of a spoken standard had more or less wiped out the varying linguistic landscape of old in just a few generations (Nilsson & Petzell 2015).

In the development of the standard language, the spoken language of the upper classes in the area around Stockholm (Central Sweden) played an important role. The 17th century author Georg Stiernhielm states explicitly that he prefers this variety to other dialects, and in his treaty on Swedish, Sven Hof (1753) makes similar comments (see Widmark 2000: 26). Language change in Early and Late Modern Swedish can also often first be observed in informal texts by authors of Central Swedish origin. Many innovations have early attestations in the memoirs of Agneta Horn (born 1629), an upper-class woman without formal education. For instance, she is the first to show evidence of a change in the word order in particle constructions, discussed by Larsson & Lundquist (2022 [this volume]). Moreover, she has a stronger preference for the auxiliary *ha* ‘have’ (rather than *vara* ‘be’) in participle constructions with unaccusative verbs than many of her contemporaries (see Larsson 2009 and below); in the written standard, *ha* became established as the norm in the second half of the 18th century (see Johannisson 1945; Larsson 2009: 247, Table 7.4). With respect to clause structure, Horn is also fairly modern. In her memoirs, there are only sporadic occurrences of the old OV order (Petzell 2011), and subordinate clauses generally have the modern order of finite verb and sentence adverbial (Falk 1993; see also §3.1.2 below). In addition, one of the earliest examples of an inverted expletive (as in PDS), indicating true subjecthood, comes from her (Falk 1993: 268).⁷

Texts like Horn’s memoirs give us good insights into the contemporary spoken language. The variation also shows up in theatre plays from the time (see

⁷The example, quoted from Falk (1993: 268), is given in (i) with the inverted expletive in italics.

- (i) Och när *thet* snöga, så lågh *thet* stora snödrifwan i kamaren
and when it snow.PST so lie.PST EXPL big snowdrift.DEF in chamber.DEF
‘And when it was snowing, there was a big snowdrift inside the room.’

e.g. Widmark 1970 and below). In the play *Några mil från Stockholm* ‘A few miles from Stockholm’ by Adolf Fredrik Ristell (1787), we can, for instance, observe that the subject form of the third person plural pronoun is *de* in the stage directions, in line with the PDS written standard, but in the dialogue, the form *di* is used. The object forms of the first and second person singular pronouns are *mäj* ‘me’ and *däj* ‘you’ in the dialogue – as in the present-day spoken standard – and not *mig* and *dig*, which is the written standard. Moreover, forms like *trägåln* ‘garden’ for PDS *trädgården* and *Dränningholm* for the name ‘Drottningholm’ (‘the queen’s islet’), as well as *vanlia* ‘usual’ for PDS *vanliga*, reflect the pronunciation of the upper classes in Central Sweden at the time. Assimilated forms like *dränning* rather than *drottning* ‘queen’ and *trägål* rather than *trädgård* ‘garden’, used by Ristell (as well as Horn a century before), are considered highly dialectal in the present-day language. During the 20th century the unmarked pronunciation has changed to one that is closer to the written language. Today, the *ttn*-sequence is pronounced as two segments ([t]+[n]) rather than one ([n:]), and the *-rd*-sequence is pronounced as a retroflex *d* ([d̥]) rather than a retroflex *l* ([l̥]).

According to the guide to Swedish pronunciation by Lyttkens & Wulff from 1889, many of the forms used by Horn and Ristell that are perceived today as highly dialectal (or rural) were still considered unmarked in the late 1800s.⁸ However, during the 20th century, a new spoken standard emerged. Lacking access to the prestigious spoken language of high society in Stockholm, primary school teachers had started to promote a way of speaking that was very close to the written letter, and was thus easy to acquire. Previously, such written-like speech, as it were, had been reserved for public announcements (Widmark 1970), and was considered unfit for everyday conversations by contemporary intellectuals (Cederschiöld 1897; Noreen 1903). Nevertheless, the strategy of the schoolteachers was successful (Widmark 2000). At the same time, they discouraged the use of traditional dialects, aiming at a common spoken code for all in the modern and equal social-democratic Sweden. As a consequence, spoken Swedish of the late 20th century was probably less varied than it had ever been before; see Nilsson & Petzell (2015) for more details (including comparison with Norwegian and Danish). However, dialectal diversity was by no means eliminated altogether, as can be seen in the papers by Kalm and Petzell, where archaic dialects of today (or at least of a quite recent yesterday) that deviate considerably from the standard language play an important role.

⁸Thus, assimilating various dental clusters into geminate *nn* (as *drottning* → *dränning* ‘queen’, *vändning* → *vänning* ‘turn’) was considered perfectly natural. However, the *l*-pronunciation of the sequence *rd* (indicated by the spelling *trägål*) appears to have been outdated in the spoken language of educated people already by the 18th century (Hof 1753).

2.3 New genres and more data

The Late Modern Swedish period offers substantially more data for the historical linguist than earlier periods: old genres remain, new emerge, and more texts are preserved. In letters and diaries from the 18th century, we can observe the linguistic variation of the time. In addition, there are, as noted, a growing number of plays containing dialogue that attempts to mimic the spoken language (see e.g. Widmark 1970, 2000, Thelander 2007). The project *Swedish drama dialogue over three centuries* (Melander Marttala & Strömquist 2001) has collected a corpus of 45 plays from the period 1725–2000, divided into intervals of 25 years, with a total of more than 800,000 words. For the study of morphosyntactic change, it is clearly useful to have access to sources which reflect the spoken language as closely as possible (see Magnusson 2007: 69–74 for discussion), and the corpus of Swedish drama dialogue provides us with perhaps the best possible sample. Several of the papers in this volume use this corpus.

The production of non-fiction flourished during the 18th century, with texts about science, gardening, cooking, and so on. In the 19th century, the production of fiction underwent a veritable explosion. Some of these texts can be accessed in the corpus of Swedish prose fiction 1800–1900 (the SPF corpus). This corpus includes all Swedish original novels and short stories published in separate editions in the years 1800, 1820, 1840, 1860, 1880 and 1900, and includes altogether more than 16 million tokens.⁹ The SPF corpus can be accessed through the language infrastructure Korp (Borin et al. 2012), which also contains letters, newspaper prose, and older laws, as well as other older and modern corpora (of varying quality) with older fiction and non-fiction.¹⁰ Here there is, for instance, a corpus of 56 novels from the period 1840–1930 (Äldre svenska romaner, ÄSv, ‘older Swedish novels’). The corpora make new methods available, the possibilities of which are explored in Valdeson (2022 [this volume]). Valdeson uses the Korp infrastructure to investigate the frequencies of double object constructions at different times. Among other things, he uses a measure of productivity, referred to as *lexical variation*, which considers how many different verbs occur in the double object constructions and how many different objects can occur with a specific verb.

Another important source for Early and Late Modern Swedish is the Swedish Academy Dictionary (SAOB),¹¹ which provides a thorough description of the Swedish vocabulary from 1526 to the present. In this volume, data from SAOB

⁹Texts from a few additional years are also included in the corpus, specifically 1841–1844, 1898–1899, and 1901.

¹⁰<https://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp>

¹¹SAOB can be accessed here: www.saob.se

are used in Falk's discussion of passivization of ditransitive verbs, as well as in Delsing's account of the grammaticalization of the quantifier *mycket* 'much'. We also give examples taken from SAOB in §3 below.

In addition to the written sources of Late Modern Swedish, there are various types of sources to the spoken language. There is a large number of recordings of traditional dialects from the middle of the 20th century: the Institute for Language and Folklore has approximately 25,000 hours of dialect audio from all over Sweden, the Americas (mostly from the North), Finland, and Estonia. In the Americas, Swedish is a heritage language (see e.g. Larsson 2015). In Estonia it was a minority language until the 1940s (see Rosenkvist 2018), and in Finland it still is a minority language. Most of these early recordings are digitized, but they are only sporadically transcribed and therefore searchable to a very limited extent (Berg et al. 2019). In this volume, Petzell investigates word order in recordings of Viskadalian Swedish from the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s simply by listening to the audio files. The Institute also harbours a vast collection of phonetically precise, handwritten dialect texts from the late 1890s and early 1900s (Sellberg 1993: 431–432; SOU 1924/1927: 30–33). In this introduction, we give some examples from such a dialect text to illustrate (among other things) morphosyntactic archaisms (see §3.4). Recently, promising attempts have been made to transfer the handwritten texts to a digital (and therefore searchable) format by employing so-called HTR (handwritten text recognition) techniques (see Petzell 2019, 2020).

3 Late Modern Swedish Morphosyntax

In this section, we give a very brief overview of the morphosyntax of Late Modern Swedish, as a backdrop to the studies in the following chapters. We focus on central aspects of the grammar, particularly on phenomena that are relevant in the chapters that follow, and on phenomena that have previously been shown to change during the Late Modern Swedish period. Among other things, we will not discuss V2 order or binding of reflexives, which seem to have been stable throughout the Modern Swedish period.¹² For clarity, we employ a fairly standard model of phrase structure, where the clause is divided into three domains: the verbal domain (VP), the inflectional domain (IP), and the C-domain (CP), where features relating to finiteness, clause type, and illocutionary force are found (see Platzack 2010; Faarlund 2019).

¹²Tingsell (2010) shows that there is some inter- and intra-individual variation in the distribution of reflexives in 18th century Swedish, and that the variation is very similar to what is found in multilingual urban settings in present-day Swedish.

3.1 Verbal morphology and verb placement

§3.1.1 is concerned with verb placement in embedded clauses and subject-verb agreement. In §3.1.2, we give a summary of some changes in the Swedish tense system that took place partly in the Late Modern Swedish period. §3.1.3 gives a brief overview of the history of Swedish infinitival structures headed by *att*.

3.1.1 Embedded word order and agreement

As stated above, the V2 word order of Swedish main clauses has been stable for many centuries (see also Alving 1916). By contrast, in subordinate contexts, the position of the finite verb has changed since the Middle Ages. In EOS, the verb preceded sentence adverbials as in (5a) below, indicating verb movement out of the VP to somewhere in the I-domain. In present-day Swedish, the finite verb of subordinate clauses instead remains in the VP, where it is preceded by sentence adverbials as in (5b). Today, V can move out of the VP in a subordinate clause only in a limited set of *that*-clauses where the complementizer can take an entire CP as its complement. Such embedded V-to-C movement is possible only when the content of the subordinate clause can be interpreted as being asserted by the speaker, as in (5c); see Julien (2015), Petzell (2022 [this volume]) and Sangfelt (2022 [this volume]) for more details.

- (5) a. ther the *måg*ho äy aff gånga V-to-I (EOS)
 where they may.3PL not off go.INF
 ‘from where they must not deviate’ (K-styr, 14th c.)
- b. huset där vi *inte ville* bo V in situ (PDS)
 house.DEF where we not want.PST live.INF
 ‘the house where we didn’t want to live’
- c. hon sa att han *ville inte* äta den emb. V-to-C (PDS)
 she say.PST that he want.PST not eat.INF it
 ‘she said that he did not want to eat it’

According to Falk (1993: 176), the modern subordinate clause word order of (5b) becomes the dominant order in Swedish texts towards the end of EMS, reaching over 80% with the generation of authors who were born during the last decades of the 16th century. Then, in LMS, the proportion stabilizes above 90%.

Starting with Kosmeijer (1986), many scholars have argued that the order in (5a) (which is still the normal order in Icelandic) is dependent on the presence of agreement morphology on finite verbs (which Icelandic has); this is usually

labelled the Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH). As for Old Swedish, the RAH makes the correct prediction (V-to-I should occur), since finite verbs agreed in both person and number with their subjects: for instance, a weak verb like *läsa* ‘read’, had four forms in the present tense in OS: *läser* (SG), *läsum* (1PL), *läsin* (2PL), and *läsa* (3PL).

In the dominant Swedish dialects (i.e. those surrounding Stockholm), the person distinction seems to have been lost towards the end of the 15th century (Neuman 1925), and the number distinction during the 17th century (Larsson 1988). In other words, the rapid spread of the modern word order reported by Falk (1993) coincides with the final loss of (number) agreement in the spoken language of most Swedish writers. Consequently, Falk takes number agreement to be a necessary prerequisite for V-to-I movement. In addition, and drawing on earlier work by Platzack (1985) and Platzack & Holmberg (1989), she ties the loss of (number) agreement to two other syntactic changes that took place towards the end of EMS, namely the loss of stylistic fronting and the loss of verbal licensing of null expletives.¹³

Others, most notably Rohrbacher (1999) and Koenenman & Zeijlstra (2014), have maintained that the number agreement of EMS would not have been enough to trigger V-to-I. Based on what we know of other varieties that employ V-to-I, the crucial threshold is expected to be the loss of person agreement. If V-to-I was lost with person agreement, the old word order that still lived on until the 17th century must have been derived by some other mechanism. Koenenman & Zeijlstra (2014) suggest that an increased use of embedded V-to-C (as in 5c) could have been one way of holding on to the old word order when it was no longer possible to generate it by moving V to I (cf. Heycock et al. 2010 for a similar approach to archaic word order in Faroese).

However, as stressed by Gärtner (2019), in order for the V-to-C analysis to be more than just an ad hoc solution to save the RAH, it must be shown that embedded V-to-C was a much more widespread phenomenon in EMS than it is today. After all, in PDS, embedded V-to-C is possible only in a subset of all subordinate clauses, whereas V-to-I came with no such restrictions. In fact, embedded V-to-C was indeed possible in EMS in contexts where it is completely ungrammatical today (see §3.2.1 below for examples). This lends support to Koenenman & Zeijlstra’s (2014) proposal that the old word order lived on for quite some time in a new guise.

¹³ Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002) instead argue that stylistic fronting of adverbials was reanalysed as an instance of the new word order. Such a reanalysis was originally proposed by Pettersson (1988), whose paper (which is in Swedish) Alexiadou and Fanselow were clearly unaware of.

In this volume, Petzell argues that the 19th century development of the southern Viskadalian dialect is a mirror image of the development of Standard Swedish. In this dialect, the original person agreement is still intact. Nevertheless, the standard word order has been the dominant order since the 19th century. At first, this appears to falsify the RAH. However, what has happened (according to Petzell) is that the agreement morphology has been reanalysed as part of tense. Thus, elements of the old grammar are preserved, but within a new category.

3.1.2 The Swedish perfect

Present-day Swedish has the rather exotic possibility of omitting finite forms of the temporal auxiliary *ha* ‘have’ in all types of non-V2 clauses (see e.g. Julien 2002; Andréasson et al. 2004; Bäckström 2019, and references therein); an 18th century example is given in (6), where the position of the missing auxiliary is marked by \emptyset . As far as is known, this option of auxiliary omission is impossible in all of the other North Germanic languages.

- (6) Det ser nu så rasande förnämt ut i Sverige ... sedan det
it look.PRS.SG now so terribly pretentious out in Sweden since it
 \emptyset blifwit ont efter penningar
 become.PTCP pain after money
 ‘It now looks so terribly pretentious in Sweden, since there has been a
 shortage of money’ (*Argus*; from Johannisson 1945: 172)

There are a few scarce examples of *ha*-omission from the 15th century, but it did not become common until the 17th century. It is frequent in texts from the beginning of the Late Modern Swedish period, and in some texts (e.g. *Argus*) a large majority of the relevant examples lack an overt finite auxiliary (see Johannisson 1945: 184; Bäckström 2019: 87). In a recent study by Bäckström (2019), *ha*-omission is viewed as a syntactic loan from German (cf. Johannisson 1945, and see Breitbarth 2005 on older German). Larsson (2009) and Sangfelt (2019) tie the possibility of *ha*-omission to the loss of V-to-I movement (cf. the change in embedded word order above).

There were a couple of other changes in the temporal-aspectual system during the Late Modern Swedish period which also resulted in differences between Swedish and the other North Germanic languages. Firstly, Swedish developed a particular participial form only used with the auxiliary *ha* ‘have’ to form the perfect tense; this form is often referred to as the *supine* (Sw. *supinum*). In present-day Swedish, strong verbs have supine forms that are morphologically distinct

from the neuter singular of past participles; compare the passive in (7a) with the perfect in (7b). The supine form was gradually established in the 18th century, but it was not fully in place in the written language until the 19th century (see Platzack 1981; Larsson 2009: 422–423; Bäckström 2019). Not all present-day dialects make the distinction between supine and past participle morphology.

- (7) a. *det var skrivet*
 it was write.PTCP.N.SG
 ‘it was written’ (ÄSv, 20th century)
- b. *fastt du inte har skrivit på så länge*
 although you not have write.SUP for so long
 ‘although you haven’t written for so long’ (SPF, 19th century).

In the 17th century, the possibility of having *vara* ‘be’ + a participle of an unaccusative verb became more restricted (see Johannisson 1945; Larsson 2009, 2015; cf. McFadden & Alexiadou 2005 for a similar development in English). This possibility still remains in Norwegian and Icelandic, and in Danish the construction has grammaticalized into a *be*-perfect (see Larsson 2021). *Vara* ‘be’, was still (marginally) grammatical with some groups of unaccusatives at the beginning of the 18th century; examples from the 16th and 17th centuries are given in (8). In present-day Swedish, *ha* ‘have’ is the only option with active participles of all types of verbs (although subject to some dialectal variation, see e.g. Larsson 2014, and §3.4 below). Both *ha* and *vara* were possible with unaccusatives in older Swedish; the examples in (9) have *ha*.

- (8) a. *Så seer man här tilgått wara*
 so sees one here about.go.PTCP be
 ‘one sees that things have happened in this way here’ (16th century;
 from Larsson 2009: 156)
- b. *Jost Cursel ... och andra lifländare mera, som vore aff*
 Jost Cursel and other Livonians more who were of
 godh villia medh redne
 good will with ride.PTCP
 ‘Jost Cursel ... and several other Livonians who had ridden along out
 of free will’ (17th century; from Larsson 2009: 262)
- (9) a. *Kan man wel merkia huru thå haffuer tilgått*
 can one well notice how then has about.go.PTCP
 ‘One can well notice how things then have happened’ (16th century;
 from Larsson 2009: 156)

- b. *haffver* herr Nils Bielke ... *rididt* till herttigen
 has sir Nils Bielke ride.PTCP to duke.DEF
 ‘has Sir Nils Bielke ridden to the duke’ (17th century; from Larsson 2009: 263)

3.1.3 Infinitivals

In PDS, the infinitive marker *att* is more or less restricted to control infinitives; it does not occur in ECM contexts and only with a limited set of raising verbs (Teleman et al. 1999/3: 572, 597).¹⁴ This restriction appears to hold for earlier stages as well, although there are sporadic examples from OS and EMS where *att* occurs in the complement of a modal verb (Lagervall 2014: 149–157; Kalm 2016: 133–134), as well as in ECM constructions (Kalm 2016: 136–137). However, compared to the other North Germanic languages, the implicature *att* + infinitive → control infinitive seems fairly robust in Swedish. By contrast, in Icelandic, some modals are obligatorily constructed with *að* (the Icelandic equivalent to *att*), and in Norwegian, both raising constructions and ECM constructions involve *å* (the Norwegian equivalent); see Kalm (2016: 45) and Faarlund (2019: 248–251) for more comparative details.

In OS, *att* (often spelled *at*) formed a tight unit with the infinitive, presumably cliticizing to the left of the verb (Falk 2010a). This unit could be preceded as well as followed by other elements, as shown in (10). Here, the object (*gest* ‘guest’) precedes the infinitival complex (*at=husla*), and the comparative adverbial (*sum bondæ* ‘like a farmer’) follows it.

¹⁴For instance, with *verka* ‘seem’, *förefalla* ‘appear’, as well as with passives like *ses* ‘see.PASS’ and *förmodas* ‘presume.PASS’, there is never an *att* involved; see (i). However, with *börja* ‘start’ (see ii), *att* is optional, and with *se ut* ‘look like’, *att* is even mandatory (iii).

- (i) Hon verkade/föreföll/sågs/förmodades (*att) springa i den
 she seemed/appeared/see.PST.PASS/presume.PST.PASS to run in that
 riktningen
 direction.DEF
- (ii) Det har börjat (att) sitta fåglar på staketet där
 it has begun to sit birds on fence.DEF there
- (iii) Det ser ut *(att) regna vid horisonten
 it sees out to rain by horizon.DEF

- (10) *præster ær skyldugher gest at husla sum bondæ*
 priest is required guest to give.communions as farmer
 ‘it is the duty of the priest to give the communion to a guest as he does to
 a local farmer’ (EWL; from Falk 2010b: 33)

In early EMS, it became increasingly common for elements to intervene between *att* and the verb, as in the example in (11) below, where there is a PP between *att* and the infinitive. Such interventions can be seen as an indication that *att* had been reanalysed as heading a non-finite clause rather than an infinitival phrase. This development from infinitive marker to non-finite complementizer appears to affect the realization of *att*: in OS, *att* was optional in many contexts where it is mandatory today. The stricter demand for an overt *att* started manifesting itself in texts at around the same time as the reanalysis from proclitic to complementizer would have taken place (Falk 2010a: 35).

- (11) *lustigt att om sommersz tydh spaszera.*
 amusing to in summer.POSS time stroll
 ‘amusing to stroll in the summer time’ (17th century; from Kalm 2016: 144)

However, the categorical status of *att* is hardly the only factor determining whether it can be omitted or not. Neither in Danish, where *att* is still a proclitic, nor in Norwegian, where *att* can be either a proclitic or a complementizer, is *att* optional. Compared to these two languages, PDS is very liberal when it comes to *att*-omission (see Faarlund 2019: 248–251 for details). For the better part of the EMS period, proclitic and complementizer *att* co-existed (just as they still do in Norwegian). According to Kalm, the proclitic *att* (as in 10) became obsolete towards the end of EMS (Kalm 2016: 145).

A recent development in the history of Swedish control infinitives regards the possibility of embedding the infinitival structure under a preposition. Such embedding did occur already in OS under the directional preposition *till*, at least partly in order to reinforce a purposive reading (Kalm 2016: 204–208); eventually, *till* developed into an alternative infinitive marker (Kalm 2016: 210). However, it was not until LMS that control infinitives started combining with different kinds of prepositions, thus conveying a wide variety of adverbial meanings. The emergence of these adverbial infinitives in LMS is the topic of Kalm’s paper in this volume.¹⁵

¹⁵There were also other changes in infinitival constructions in the Modern Swedish period. In particular, ECM constructions appear to have had a wider distribution in older Swedish than they do in the present day. However, this remains to be investigated further.

3.2 Argument placement

In this section, we look in turn at the placement of subjects (§3.2.1) and objects (§3.2.2) in Early and Late Modern Swedish.

3.2.1 Subject placement

As argued by Håkansson (2008), spec-IP has been a dedicated subject position since Late Old Swedish, although it is not until the end of Early Modern Swedish that spec-IP is obligatorily filled (Falk 1993, 2022 [this volume]). However, EMS subjects could still surface in a position where we do not find them anymore, viz. after the finite verb, resulting in surface VS order in certain embedded contexts; see (12) below. In (12a), the VS string appears in the second conjunct of a *that*-clause, and in (12b), it follows a relative pronoun. Both these uses of VS are ungrammatical today. The difference is presumably linked to a more liberal use of embedded V-to-C in EMS (see §3.1.1 above). The present-day system was established during the beginning of the Late Modern period (Petzell 2013).

- (12) a. [han] sade at hon nu har någ råt om migh och
he said that she now has enough care.PTCP about me and
skule hon nu inte längre inbila sig något herewäle
should she now not longer imagine.INF REFL any dominance
öfwer mig.
over me
'he said that she has now cared for me enough and she shouldn't
imagine that she could dominate me any longer.' (Horn, b. 1629)
- b. Hwilket skall Mahomet 2:[secun]dus hafwa giort
which shall M second have done
'which Mahomet the second is supposed to have done' (Rålamb, b. 1622, p. 125)

We move on now to the ordering of subjects and sentence adverbials. Here, the order in earlier Late Modern Swedish varied, much as it does in the present-day language: non-initial subjects could either precede or follow a sentence adverbial; the order subject–adverbial is often referred to as involving *subject shift* (see e.g. Holmberg 1993; Svenonius 2002; Andréasson 2007). Weak pronominal subjects almost always shifted across the adverbial:

- (13) Herr Baron, kiänner I intet Lars Lustig?
Sir Baron know you not Lars Lustig
'Baron, don't you know Lars Lustig?' (Gyllenborg, b. 1679)

However, on occasion, weak pronouns could follow negation; (14a) has a non-referential *det* after negation, and (14b) has a non-shifted generic pronominal subject. Examples like these are admittedly rare in the historical texts, and they hardly occur in present-day Swedish (but see Bentzen 2014 on dialect variation in present-day North Germanic).

- (14) a. så börjar Frökne-namnet låta så flatt så flatt, at I gifwa
 so starts maiden-name.DEF sound so flat so flat that you give
 Er ingen ro, för än I fått byta bårt det samma, är
 REFL no peace before than you get.SUP change PART it same is
icke det så
 not it so
 ‘so the maiden-name starts to sound so flat, so flat, that you give
 yourself no peace until you have exchanged it, isn’t it so’ (Gyllenborg,
 b. 1679)
- b. FREDRIC: En sjö utan fiskar å en skog utan foglar,
 Fredric a lake without fish and a forest without birds
 maschär mär ja vill inte gå på Opran.
 ma.chère mère I want not go to Opera.DEF
 CLAS: jo, ja vill si dä där regne som *inte man* blir våt åf.
 Clas yes I want see that there rain that not one is wet by
 ‘Fredric: A lake without fish and a forest without birds, ma chère
 mère, I don’t want to go to the Opera. Clas: But I want to see the rain
 that you don’t get wet from.’ (Ristell, b. 1744)

Non-pronominal subjects, on the other hand, could either precede or follow the adverbial:

- (15) a. Men min Gu-Far, har *intet Fru Lotta* orsak at wara swartsuik
 but my god-father has not Madam Lotta reason to be jealous
 ‘But my godfather, doesn’t Madam Lotta have reason to be jealous?’
 (Gyllenborg, b. 1679)
- b. så är *Juncker Torbjörn* *intet* mas
 so is nobleman Torbjörn not miser
 ‘Noble Torbjörn is not a miser’ (Gyllenborg, b. 1679)

The frequency of subject shift with non-pronominal subjects varies somewhat between texts, and it fluctuates over time (Larsson & Lundquist 2021). However,

in the present-day language, there is still variation between speakers and texts (see e.g. the data in the Nordic word order database; Lundquist et al. 2019; cf. Andréasson 2007).¹⁶

3.2.2 Object placement

As shown by Delsing (1999), the change from OV to VO word order had already started during EOS. However, we still find quite a lot of OV examples well into the 18th century (Petzell 2011; Sangfelt 2019). In fact, even the very symbol of modernity, *Argus*, sometimes displays OV order. The text in (3) above continues like this:

- (16) Men fast än hwarken de gamla *sådane* Läro-sätt skulle
but although than neither the ancient such lessons would
älskat eller nyare frägdade Folckeslag *dem* *älska*
love.PTCP or newer esteemed people.PL them love
‘But although neither the ancient nor newer esteemed peoples would
have loved such lessons’ (*Argus*)

These rather late examples of OV order do not indicate an underlying OV structure in the VP (as has been suggested for EOS; see Delsing 1999: 189, 211–214). Instead, the position of the object to the left of the entire verbal complex in a subordinate clause suggests that it has moved out of the V-domain into the I-domain (Petzell 2011).

Whereas the possibility of creating OV by moving O over a finite verb in situ (in V) disappeared during the 18th century, weak pronominal objects and reflexives can still shift across a sentence adverbial today when the main verb is in C; this is commonly referred to as *object shift*.¹⁷ The EMS word orders in (17) below are, in other words, acceptable even in present-day Swedish (see e.g. Holmberg 1986; Andréasson 2008; Bentzen 2014; Erteschik-Shir & Josefsson 2017).

¹⁶The Nordic word order database is available here: <https://tekstlab.uio.no/nwd>

¹⁷Non-pronominal object shift across negation is not possible in present-day Swedish, and it does not seem to have occurred in older Swedish either, with a small number of exceptions in Old Swedish (Falk p.c.). One rare example is given in (i).

- (i) For thy at the *thz första bodhordh* *ekke* hioldo
for that that they the first commandment not kept
‘because they didn’t keep the first commandment’ (15th c.; from Falk p.c.)

- (17) a. Ammiral, Jag kiände Er *intet*.
Admiral I knew you not
'Admiral, I didn't recognize you.' (Gyllenborg, b. 1679)
- b. jag tror *dig* *intet*, för än jag får smakat
I believe you not before than I get taste.it
'I don't believe you until I get to taste it' (Modée, b. 1698)

Contrasted pronominal objects and objects with a non-nominal (or type) antecedent do not shift (see Andréasson 2008):

- (18) a. Utan vidare ceremonier, herr öfverste, gif mig åter min
without further ceremonies sir colonel give me back my
fostersyster. Hon tillhör *inte* er.
foster.sister she belongs.to not you
'Without further ceremonies, Colonel, give me back my foster sister.
She does not belong to you.' (Jolin, b. 1818)
- b. Nej, maschär mär, ja vill *inte* *dä*
no ma.chère mère I want not it
'No, ma chère mère, I don't want that' (Ristell, b. 1744)

As in present-day Swedish, object shift in LMS is not completely obligatory even with weak pronouns (see e.g. Erteschik-Shir & Josefsson 2017):

- (19) MAGISTERN: *dä* sant att Baron Fredric ha slaje gässen.
teacher.DEF it true that Baron Fredric has beaten boy.DEF
FREDRIC: Ja, men hvar före lydde han *inte* *mäj*, när ja befalte.
Fredric yes but where fore obeyed he not me when I commanded
'The teacher: is it true that Baron Fredric has beaten the boy? Fredric: Yes,
but why didn't he obey me when I commanded?' (Ristell, b. 1744)

In this volume, object shift is discussed in the paper by Larsson & Lundquist. They show that although there is perhaps some variation both within and across texts, there is no change in the distribution of object shift across negation, with the exception of object shift in particle constructions: objects could shift across verb particles in older Swedish (as they do in the other North Germanic languages), but this is no longer a possibility.

Unlike the other North Germanic languages, present-day Swedish has the possibility of shifting a weak object pronoun or reflexive across a non-pronominal subject to a position immediately after the finite verb; this is often referred to as

long object shift (see e.g. Holmberg 1986; Heinat 2010). Long object shift mostly occurs with reflexives (20a), but at least some speakers allow long object shift with pronouns if they have a distinct object form. For instance, the first person singular pronoun *mig* ‘me’ can shift across the subject (20b), but the third person *dom* ‘they, them’ cannot, since it does not have a distinct object form; consequently, in (20c), *dom* can only be interpreted as the subject. Long object shift is impossible across a pronominal subject; cf. (20d).

- (20) a. I morse rakade sig Kalle. (PDS)
in morning shaved REFL Kalle
‘This morning, Kalle shaved.’
b. Idag erbjöd mig Lisa en glass.
today offered me Lisa an ice.cream
‘Today, Lisa offered me an ice cream.’
c. Idag erbjöd dom Lisa en glass.
today offered they/them Lisa an ice.cream
‘Today, they offered Lisa an ice cream.’
NOT: ‘Today Lisa offered them an ice cream.’
d. *I morse rakade mig jag.
in morning shaved me I

Long object shift is attested with both reflexives and pronouns throughout the Modern Swedish period (and it occurs also in Old Swedish; Falk p.c.). Examples from *Argus* are given in (21).

- (21) a. på rätt grundar sig ett folks Sällhet
on right founds REFL a people.POSS bliss
‘A people’s bliss is founded on righteousness’ (*Argus*)
b. Anledningen gaf mig Herr Ehrenmenvet
possibility.DEF gave me Mr Ehrenmenvet
‘Mr Ehrenmenvet gave me the possibility’ (*Argus*)

3.3 Double objects and passives

In this section, we first look briefly at double object and benefactive constructions (in §3.3.1), and then, in §3.3.2, we turn to passives.

3.3.1 Double objects

Swedish has the well-known alternation between a construction with two objects on the one hand, and a double complement construction (with object + PP-adverbial) on the other. In the present-day language, few verbs require double objects, and many alternate, depending e.g. on whether the recipient/benefactive argument is pronominal or not. The same type of alternation can be observed throughout the history of Swedish; examples of the verb *giva* ‘give’ from the 18th and 19th centuries (taken from Valdeson 2016) are given in (22) below.

- (22) a. Hon har gifvit *mig den aftalta vinken*
 she has given me the agreed.upon wave.DEF
 ‘She has waved at me as we agreed.’ (19th century; from Valdeson 2016: 280)
- b. Och hwilken Fader som gifwer *sin Dotter til en Man som*
 and what father who gives POSS.REFL daughter to a man that
hon icke kan tåla
 she not can stand
 ‘And what a father, who gives his daughter to a man that she can’t stand’ (18th century; from Valdeson 2016: 284)
- c. om vi skulle ge *rum åt vår vän*
 if we would give room for our friend
 ‘if we would give room to our friend’ (18th century; from Valdeson 2016: 280)

In (22a), *giva* takes a pronominal indirect object and a non-pronominal direct object. In (22b), there is a non-pronominal object and a PP introduced by the preposition *til* ‘to’. In (22c), there is also a non-pronominal object and a PP, but here the preposition is (the less common) *åt* ‘to, toward’.

Since EOS, the alternative with a PP has gradually gained ground. In EMS and LMS, the choice between the different constructions depends on lexical and information structural factors, as in the present-day language. However, as is clear from Valdeson (2022 [this volume]), the use of the construction with two objects changed in the Late Modern Swedish period, with the double object construction becoming both less frequent and lexically more restricted. In present-day Swedish, the construction with a direct object + PP is often preferred.

Swedish still has the possibility of so-called free benefactives, as in (23). In the present-day language, free benefactives are rather restricted, and they are not

always possible even with verbs of production, bringing, or ballistic motion (see Lundquist 2014 and references therein).

- (23) Jag stickade henne en tröja.
I knitted her a sweater
'I knitted her a sweater.'

The group of verbs that could take two nominal objects has gradually grown smaller in the Late Modern Swedish period (see Valdeson 2017). For instance, fewer verbs of communication (e.g. *berätta* 'tell'; see Silén 2005) can now occur with double objects, and verbs of hindrance (e.g. *hindra* 'hinder') no longer do; compare the LMS examples in (24) with the present-day Swedish ones in (25).

- (24) a. berätta henne det samma
tell her the same
'tell her the same' (Gyllenborg, b. 1679)
b. Republiken ville hindra honom det
republic.DEF wanted hinder him that
'The Republic wanted to hinder him from that.' (18th century; from SAOB)
- (25) a. *berätta henne något – berätta något för henne (PDS)
tell her something tell something for her
b. *hindra honom det – hindra honom från det
hinder him that hinder him from that

Moreover, there have also been changes in the word order possibilities in double object constructions. In present-day Swedish, the order of the indirect and the direct object is invariable, with few exceptions: the indirect object always precedes the direct object in the verb phrase. In OS and EMS, the opposite order was also possible, as in the example in (26). This possibility largely disappeared around the end of EMS; Valdeson (2016) finds no examples in texts from the 18th century onwards. However, with a small number of verbs, there is still some variability, as with *tillägna* 'dedicate' in (27).

- (26) ok gaf gul ok self fatøco folke.
and gave gold.N.SG.ACC and silver.N.SG.ACC poor.DAT people.N.SG.DAT
'and gave gold and silver to poor people' (EOS; from Valdeson 2016: 280)
- (27) a. Stevie Wonder tillägnade konserten sin hustru. (PDS)
Stevie Wonder dedicated concert.DEF POSS.REFL wife

- b. Stevie Wonder tillägnade sin hustru konserten.
 Stevie Wonder dedicated POSS.REFL wife concert.DEF
 ‘Stevie Wonder dedicated the concert to his wife.’ (Lundquist 2014: 137)

In present-day Swedish, either of the objects can be promoted to subject in passives, but the indirect object is most often chosen (see Lundquist 2004). Examples are given in (28). In (28a), the indirect object has been promoted to subject in the passive, whereas in (28b) the direct object has been promoted to subject.

- (28) a. Hon erbjöds ett jobb. (PDS)
 she offer.PST.PASS a job
 ‘She was offered a job.’
 b. Jobbet erbjöds henne.
 job.DEF offer.PST.PASS her
 ‘The job was offered to her.’

In older Swedish, only the direct object could be promoted to subject. The possibility of passivizing the indirect object (as in 28a) arose in the Late Modern Swedish period. This development is the topic of the paper by Falk in this volume.

3.3.2 Passives

Swedish has two ways of forming passives, both of which already existed in Old Swedish. Firstly, there is a periphrastic passive with *vara* ‘be’ (this gives a stative passive) or *varda/bli* ‘become’ (yielding an eventive passive) + a passive participle. The eventive passive auxiliary was *varda* until around the Early Modern Swedish period, when *bli* (a loan from Low German) gradually took over. From the second half of the 18th century, *bli* was the rule in the standard language, but some dialects still use *varda* in the past tense (i.e. *vart*). In addition, Swedish has a morphological passive formed with the verbal suffix *-s*. The example in (29) includes both a periphrastic passive and a morphological passive.

- (29) Men ehwad flit och möda här wid *fordras*, och ehwad
 but what diligence and hardship here by require.PRS.PASS and what
 öde Wårt Arbete nu *blir underkastat*
 destiny our work now is subjugate.PTCP
 ‘but what diligence and hardship is hereby required, and what destiny our work is now subject to’ (*Argus*)

Norwegian and Danish have both periphrastic and morphological passives too, but the distribution varies between the languages (see e.g. Engdahl 2006; Laanemets 2012; Faarlund 2019). In short, the *s*-passive has a wider range of uses in present-day Swedish than in the other languages. To some extent, this also holds for older stages. In Norwegian and Danish, the *s*-passive is for instance generally not possible in the past tense. In Swedish, preterite forms with passive morphology can be found early on, as shown in (30).

- (30) j samu stund *førþes* døþ vt af staþenom
in same moment bring.PST.PASS dead out of town.DEF.M.SG.DAT
‘in the same moment [a woman] was brought dead out of the town’ (Leg, EOS, p. 151)

In present-day Swedish, the morphological passive can be used in all tenses, including in the perfect. This possibility first emerged in Early Modern Swedish (see e.g. Holm 1952; Platzack 1989; Larsson 2009: 412); one example is given in (31). In the 18th and 19th centuries, normative grammarians still disapproved of this use of the *s*-passive (see Platzack 1989).

- (31) när waran har *fördts* in, så ha namne kom[m]it in
when product.DEF has bring.PTCP.PASS in so has name.DEF come.PTCP in
mä.
too
‘when the product has been brought in, the name has come too’ (17th century; from Larsson 2009: 412)

With respect to the periphrastic passive, it appears to have been less restricted in older Swedish than in the present-day language. The examples in (32) below (from Falk p.c.) show that the 17th century edition of *Nils Mattsson Kiöpings resa*, ‘The journey of N. M. K.’, has periphrastic passives (see 32a), whereas the 18th century edition of the text, revised by the influential publisher Lars Salvius (see §2.1 above), instead has the *s*-passive (see 32b). In the present-day language, an *s*-passive would indeed be used in this context; the *s*-passive tends to be the unmarked choice (see e.g. Engdahl 2006).

- (32) a. Then yterste Barcken är grå, *blifwer aff-skurin* och
the outermost bark.DEF is grey becomes off-cut.PTCP and
bort-kastat: Then innerste är askefärgader, *blifwer* uthi
away-throw.PTCP the innermost is ash.coloured becomes in

fyrkantige stycken *skuren*, och sådan *sammanrullader*
 square pieces cut.PTCP and then together.roll.PTCP
 ‘The outermost bark is grey, is cut off and thrown away: the
 innermost is ash-, is cut in square pieces and then rolled together’
 (Kiöping, b. 1621)

- b. [barken] *rensas* först bort och *kastas* sin kos.
 bark.DEF clear.PRS.PASS first away and throw.PRS.PASS POSS.REFL way
 Den inre ... *skäres* i fyrkantige stycken, hvilka sedan
 the inner cut.PRS.PASS in square pieces which then
rullas tilhopa
 roll.PRS.PASS together
 ‘The bark is first cleared and thrown away. The inner ... is cut in
 square pieces, which are then rolled together’ (Salvius, b. 1706).

The distribution of the different passives in older Swedish has not been thoroughly investigated (but see Kirri 1975). For an extensive study of the *s*-passive in Old Swedish and the Swedish dialects, see Holm (1952).

3.4 Nominal morphology and the noun phrase

Present-day Swedish has both definite and indefinite articles, and generally requires so-called double definiteness marking in modified noun phrases (see Julien 2005). This system is fully in place in Late Modern Swedish; see the examples from *Argus* given in (33). Determiners are prenominal, and this also includes possessives, except occasionally with some kinship terms; compare (34a) and (34b).

- (33) a. den högmodiga efter-tankan
 the haughty after-thought.DEF
 ‘the haughty after-thought’ (*Argus*)
 b. en så oskyldig afsikt
 a such innocent intention
 ‘such an innocent intention’ (*Argus*)
- (34) a. min Läsare
 my reader
 ‘my reader’ (*Argus*)
 b. Har Swåger min ingen Pinne-Skog til sitt Bruk
 has brother_in_law my no stick-forest to POSS.REFL cultivation
 ‘Has my brother-in-law no stick-forest [‘poor forest’] for his
 cultivation’ (*Argus*)

In Late Modern Swedish, adjectives are no longer inflected for case, but attributive adjectives agree with the noun in gender, number, and definiteness; see (35) below.¹⁸ Predicative adjectives also show agreement in number and gender, as shown in (36).¹⁹ No gender distinctions are made in the plural, or in definite attributive adjectives (setting aside the marginal use of *-e* described in footnote 18).

- (35) a. ett godt ord
 a.N.SG good.N.SG word[N]
 ‘a good word’
 b. en stor Bok
 a.C.SG great.C.SG book[C]
 ‘a great book’
 c. många kloka ord
 many.PL wise.PL word[N.PL]
 ‘many wise words’
 d. utländske Böcker
 foreign.PL book.PL
 ‘foreign books’

¹⁸In PDS, the adjectival ending in definite or plural noun phrases is generally *-a*; *-e* is sometimes used with reference to male human beings (see Bylin 2016). In older Swedish, *-e* had a wider use (depending on author and text); see Larsson (2004) and references therein.

¹⁹PDS has non-agreeing predicatives in so-called pancake sentences (e.g. Josefsson 2009), as in (i).

- (i) Pannkakor är gott.
 Pancake.PL is good.N.SG
 ‘Pancakes are good.’

Simplifying somewhat, the subject here looks semantically like a small clause, and it refers to the eating of pancakes (rather than to a plurality of pancakes). According to Faarlund (1977) and Josefsson (2014), the possibility of pancake sentences arose around 1900, but Haugen & Enger (2019) find Swedish examples from the 1850s; an early example is given in (ii).

- (ii) mjölgröt är södt
 flour.porridge.C.SG is sweet.N.SG
 ‘Flour porridge is sweet’ (Sw. 1850s; from Haugen & Enger 2019: 252)

Pancake sentences are not attested before the 19th century, and it seems clear that the possibility arose in the LMS period.

- e. den stora hopen
the.C.SG large.DEF group.DEF.C.SG
'the large group'
 - f. det magra hufwudet
the.N.SG meagre.DEF head.DEF.N.SG
'the meagre head' (examples from *Argus*)
- (36) a. Menniskian är högmodig.
man.DEF.C.SG is conceited.C.SG
'Man is conceited.'
- b. om en Satz är falsk eller sann
if a.C.SG sentence[c] is false.C.SG or true.C.SG
'if a sentence is false or true'
 - c. detta omdömet är ädelt
this.N.SG opinion.DEF.N.SG is noble.N.SG
'this opinion is noble'
 - d. fast de sielwa icke äro ostraffbare
although they self.PL not be.PRS.PL unpunishable.PL
'although they are not unpunishable themselves' (examples from *Argus*)

The three-gender system of Old Swedish was gradually lost in the period 1500–1900 (see Davidson 1990: 48–50). In the 18th century, a system with two genders (neuter and common gender) dominated in all genres, and this is also what we find in Dalin's *Argus*. However, remnants of the old system are preserved in many dialects, and this can most often be seen in the pronominal system (rather than in the inflection of determiners and adjectives); see §3.4 below for examples. Whereas *Argus* has a pronoun *den* 'it' referring back to inanimate entities with common gender (see 37), other LMS texts use *han* to refer to masculine inanimates and *hon* to refer to nouns with grammatical feminine gender. Examples are given in (38).

- (37) a. annan lärdom, än den som kunde wärkställas
other.C.SG learning[c] than c.3sg which could execute.INF.PASS
'other learnings than that which could be executed' (*Argus*)
- b. En ting wände hon bort med annat tal, när den
one.C.SG thing[c] turned she away with other speech when c.3sg

- bracktes på bahnen
bring.PST.PASS on course.DEF
'One thing she always diverted by talking of something else, when it
was brought up' (*Argus*)
- (38) a. Tag repet och drag *kälken*, så tror far, att
take rope.DEF.N.SG and pull sledge.DEF.C/M.SG so believes father that
han är din.
M.3SG is yours.C/M.SG
'Take the rope and pull the sledge, so Father will believe that it is
yours.' (19th century; from SAOB)
- b. tenckia alt wel om *sin* *öfwerhet*, tala wel om
think all well about POSS.REFL.C/F.SG authority[C/F] speak well of
henne
F.3SG
'think only well of their authority, speak well of it' (18th century;
from SAOB)

There is considerable dialect variation in nominal morphosyntax in North Germanic; see e.g. Delsing (2003) and Dahl (2015).

3.5 A concluding remark on dialect variation

As of today, most of the LMS morphosyntax described in §3 has spread to the entire Swedish speaking area, which (setting aside the heritage varieties in the Americas) includes parts of Finland as well as Sweden. However, there is still variation, and this was the main objective of ScanDiaSyn (Scandinavian Dialect Syntax), a collaborative project that was initiated in the early 2000s, involving participants from all the Nordic countries, and which resulted in a number of digital resources (Johannessen et al. 2009; Lindstad et al. 2009).

Going back a century or so, the dialectal variation within Sweden was substantial (see §2.2 above). Dialects on the peripheries – from a Stockholm perspective – often deviated substantially from Standard Swedish, both because they had held on to archaic traits long gone in Central Sweden, and because they had undergone separate developments, either unique or shared with neighbouring dialects or languages.

Let us consider, for instance, the traditional dialect of Orust in the southwestern province of Bohuslän. In a collection of Orust narratives, phonetically transcribed by dialectologists around 1900 (see §2.3 above), much of the morphosyntax is reminiscent of what we find in texts from the early 18th century. As can

be seen in (39) below,²⁰ this goes for the tense and gender systems, the realization of non-referential subjects, and the syntax of verbal particles. In (39a), the auxiliary is *vara* ‘be’ rather than *ha* ‘have’, as in PDS (see §3.1.2 above). The indefinite article *e* (in *e gran* ‘a pine tree’) indicates feminine gender (distinct from masculine *en* and neuter *ett*; see §3.3). As shown in (39b), anaphoric pronouns also agree in gender with their antecedents: the feminine clitic *ner* refers to *kuärna* ‘mill.DEF.FEM’. As for the syntax of verbal particles, both the position of arguments and the lack of particle incorporation place the Orust dialect closer to EMS than to PDS (see the paper by Larsson & Lundquist in this volume for EMS data). Thus, in (39c) the pronominal object comes before the particle (*henne ud*) rather than after, whereas in PDS it comes after, and in (39d), the particle (*fram*) follows the participle (*sätt*) rather than being attached to its left as in PDS (*fram-satt*).

- (39) a. *å sö lå där e grân, sum vå blåst ikôll*
 and so lay there a.F pine.tree[F] that was blow.PTCP down
 ‘also, there was a pine tree lying on the ground, which the wind had
 blown down’ (Orust 22:2)
- b. *kuärna, um i vell sälje=ner*
 mill.DEF.F.SG if you.PL want.PRS sell.INF=her.CL
 ‘the mill, if you want to sell it’ (Orust 27:9)
- c. *velle nara henne ud*
 want.PST lure.INF her out
 ‘wanted to lure her out’ (Orust 27:3)
- d. *se bLe där sätt fram ett feskefåd*
 so become.PST there put.PTCP forth a.N.SG fish.plate[N]
 ‘then, a fish plate was put on the table’ (Orust 27:2)

Many of the morphosyntactic peculiarities of the Orust dialect could also be taken to reflect the fact that Orust is situated in the peripheral west, closer to both Denmark and Norway than to Stockholm. Up until 1658, Bohuslän was a Norwegian province, dominated by Denmark from the late Middle Ages (as was the rest of Norway). As noted, the Orust particle syntax, the tense system, and the three-gender system is reminiscent of EMS, but much of it is also very similar to what we find in present-day Norwegian. Furthermore, the expletive subject is *där* in (39a) and (39d), just like Danish *der*, and the periphrastic formation of the passive with *bli* in (39d) would be infelicitous in PDS, where the *s*-passive

²⁰The phonetic font is simplified here (see Petzell 2019, 2020 for details).

is preferred, but fine in both Danish and Norwegian. In fact, the preference for the *bli* passive in the Orust sample lacks any correlate in the history of Standard Swedish (see §3.3.2). By contrast, expletive *där* varied with *det* for quite some time in EMS (Falk 1993).

Naturally, many of the traditional dialects exhibit developments of their own, innovations that are not attested in any other variety (standard or non-standard). One example of this comes from the Swedish dialect of the Estonian island of Nuckö, described by Vesterdahl (2018). In this variety, the case system of Old Swedish is all gone, much like in Standard Swedish and in most dialects. Nevertheless, the old nominative-accusative distinction on adjectives lives on, but with a new function. According to Vesterdahl, the Nuckö speakers have reanalysed the distinction as a predicative-attributive distinction, operating within a still intact three-gender system (as in Orust). Consequently, we get pairs like *storan båt* ‘big boat’, and *båten är stor* ‘the boat is big’; the adjective has the old masculine accusative ending (*storan*) when it modifies the noun inside the DP, but the old masculine nominative (*stor*; cf. OS *storer*) when the adjective is used predicatively.

Late Modern Swedish is obviously not the end of history, either. New cases of variation of course arise continually, in the standard language as well as in the dialects. Some of this new variation can be observed as a difference between older and younger speakers in the ScanDiaSyn investigations. For instance, with respect to measureless quantificational exclamatives, Vangsnes (2014) observes that younger speakers in Sweden more often accept a split structure with the *wh*-word in initial position but the rest of the phrase in the base position (*vad det var bilar här!*, lit. ‘what it was cars here!’), whereas older people often only accept fronting of the whole phrase (*vad bilar det var här!*, lit. ‘what cars it was here’). Some recent changes are a consequence of language planning and policy (such as the introduction of a new gender-neutral pronoun with human reference, *hen*; see Ledin & Lyngfelt 2013). Other examples involve familiar types of grammatical change, like the grammaticalization of discourse markers (like *bara/ba* lit. ‘only’, discussed by Eriksson 1995 among others). In fact, several of the changes discussed in the following chapters are possibly still on-going. For instance, the changes in the use of double object constructions discussed by Valdeson will most likely continue in the future, and the relatively new use of adverbial infinitives with a concessive meaning observed by Kalm will possibly gain ground in the coming decades. As pointed out by Falk, the preferences for choice of subject in ditransitives have also shifted recently, and it might be that this change has not yet reached its conclusion. Furthermore, Larsson and Lundquist suggest that there are recent shifts in the preferences for particle constructions (e.g. with

modified particles), which need to be investigated further in the present-day language.

4 The papers in this volume

This volume includes six full-length articles and one squib. The contributions cover different grammatical domains, including case and verbal syntax, word order and agreement, and grammaticalization in the nominal domain.

Firstly, the paper by Cecilia Falk discusses the possibility of promoting an indirect object to subject in a passive; this is referred to as the passivization of an indirect object. Falk shows that only direct objects could be passivized in Swedish before the 17th century, and that a major change in the grammar took place in the second part of the 19th century. She proposes that the indirect object is merged in an inherent case position both in older and present-day Swedish, but that the featural make-up, and, crucially, the case assigning properties of ditransitive verbs have changed. She assumes that before the change, there was no phi-agreement between the indirect object and the verb, whereas after the change, a ditransitive verb carried two sets of phi-features. This difference accounts for the different possibilities in passives. Falk furthermore suggests that the change in passivization possibilities is related to the emergence of a dedicated and obligatory subject position in the I-domain (cf. §3.2.1 above).

Fredrik Valdeson's paper, too, is concerned with double object constructions, albeit from a different theoretical point of view. Valdeson investigates the use of verbs with double objects from a constructional perspective and argues that changes in the double object construction provide evidence for a constructional network where higher and lower levels (more or less abstract constructions) can change in similar ways, but also partly independently. He observes that the double object construction becomes less frequent in the period from the beginning of the 19th century to the present. It also occurs with fewer verbs; in Valdeson's terms there is less *lexical variation*. He looks more closely at the most frequent verbs and shows that some of them also show less lexical variation – they occur with fewer different types of objects. However, some verbs become less frequent in the double object constructions, but still show high lexical variability with respect to object types. Valdeson therefore concludes that productivity is not necessarily dependent on text frequency.

Ida Larsson and Björn Lundquist study the development of a strict order between verbal particles and objects. Up until the middle of the 17th century, Swedish had the same word order possibilities in particle constructions as, for instance, modern English and Norwegian: pronominal objects typically preceded

verbal particles, whereas non-pronominal objects could either precede or follow the particle. Present-day Swedish, on the other hand, differs from all the other Germanic languages by requiring all objects to follow a particle. Larsson and Lundquist show that the change started in the 17th century and that the modern word order was largely established around the end of the 18th century. However, not all particle constructions were affected at the same time, and there is ongoing development into the present day. The authors suggest that the variability in older Swedish had to do with the status of the particle as a phrasal modifier, in combination with the principles of the linearization of phrases. The change, they argue, was due to a reanalysis of the particle from phrase to head; this is not an unexpected development given economy principles such as the Head Preference Principle (van Gelderen 2004).

Mikael Kalm discusses the emergence of different kinds of adverbial infinitival clauses. In Old Swedish, the only type of adverbial infinitival clause that is attested expresses purpose, and other types do not seem to become possible until the 17th century; temporal and instrumental adverbial infinitivals are rare in Kalm's sources, and they are not attested before the 19th century. Kalm ties this development partly to the grammaticalization of the infinitival marker *att*. As in many other Germanic languages, this marker started out as a preposition, but it was not until the 18th century, Kalm argues, that it lost all prepositional content, in effect preparing the ground for the wide assortment of adverbial infinitives that we have today. The development, Kalm suggests, is a consequence of contact-induced grammaticalization, as well as so-called *Verschriftlichung* and language *Ausbau* (Höder 2009, 2010). In other words, the use of adverbial infinitival clauses depends on the development and elaboration of the written code, and the Swedish written code is influenced by other languages. To test this hypothesis, Kalm compares present-day Standard Swedish with translations into Övdalian, which, unlike Standard Swedish, was not codified until recently. The use of adverbial infinitival clauses is therefore expected to be restricted or even non-existent in Övdalian. Kalm shows that although some of the adverbial infinitivals in the Swedish original text are translated with infinitival clauses, Övdalian prefers other constructions (coordination, embedded finite clauses, etc.). Temporal and instrumental infinitival clauses seem to be avoided in the Övdalian translations.

Adrian Sangfelt studies word order in complex VPs, and investigates the possibility of having adverbials (and other constituents) between the separate verbal heads. In general, OV languages (e.g. German) do not allow intervening material in such contexts, whereas VO languages (e.g. English) do (see Haider 2010, 2013).

Sangfelt investigates verbal clusters in Swedish during the period 1725–1850. During this time, the final remains of the old OV system disappeared, and given the cross-linguistic patterns, it is therefore expected that it will be increasingly possible to have material intervening between the verbal heads. Interestingly, Sangfelt's results suggest that Swedish contradicts the generalization: intervening elements become increasingly uncommon. In the end, the link between OV and mandatory clustering turns out to be indirect. More specifically, the only verbal sequence that appears never to be broken is main verb + auxiliary (VAux). Although VAux is restricted to OV languages, OV word order does not need to involve VAux.

Erik Petzell tests the Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH), recently revitalized by Koenenman & Zeijlstra (2014; see also Tvica 2017), on data from Viskadalian Swedish. In this dialect, there is no V-to-I movement, although finite verbs are inflected for all persons in the plural (i.e. rich agreement by any standard). However, the RAH still stands, Petzell maintains, as long as the person endings are analysed as part of [tense], an account that is independently supported by the emergence of the 2SG clitic (*s*)*tä*. Petzell further argues that both the reanalysis of agreement as part of tense (i.e. [tense]-[agr] → [tense_{agr}]), and the clitic development, where the former 2SG suffix *-(s)t* becomes part of the pronominal clitic *ä*, represent instances of syntactic grammaticalization in the sense of Roberts & Roussou (1999, 2003). In both cases, the agreement morpheme climbs upwards in the syntactic tree, as it were, as it becomes associated with T (the locus of tense as well as of subjects), rather than with a lower functional head.

Grammaticalization is discussed in the final contribution as well, where Lars-Olof Delsing studies how the gradable adjectives *mycket* 'much' and *lite* 'little' developed into quantifiers, and the concomitant loss of agreement morphology. Delsing shows that non-agreeing *lite* spread from the 17th century onwards, and that the development of the quantifier *mycket* took place mainly during the 18th and 19th centuries. He further argues that weak forms of *lite* and *mycket* have been reanalysed further, and that they are polarity items in present-day Swedish. There are to date few detailed studies of grammaticalization within the nominal domain in Swedish, and one important contribution of Delsing's squib is to point to questions for future work.

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Abbreviations

ECM	Exceptional case-marking	OS	Old Swedish
EOS	Early Old Swedish	PDS	present-day Swedish
EMS	Early Modern Swedish	RAH	Rich Agreement Hypothesis
HTR	Handwritten Text Recognition	SUP	supine
LMS	Late Modern Swedish	V2	Verb second order
LOS	Late Old Swedish	VO	Verb–Object order
OV	Object–Verb order	VS	Verb–Subject order

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Electronic corpora

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