

Chapter 5

The emergence of adverbial infinitives in Swedish

Mikael Kalm

Stockholm University

Prepositional infinitives are commonly used in present-day Swedish to express a range of adverbial notions, including purposive, abessive, substitutive, temporal, and instrumental meanings. However, only purposive infinitives are attested in Old Swedish. The aim of this article is to give an account of the emergence of adverbial infinitives in the history of Swedish. Other adverbial infinitives emerged from the late 17th century onwards, possibly as a result of contact-induced (replica) grammaticalization. It is furthermore argued that the emergence of adverbial infinitives should be seen as a result of the increasing importance and consequent demands for precision of the written language, and as part of the establishing of a written norm, separate from the spoken language. This assumption is supported by data from the traditional dialect of Övdalian, where adverbial infinitives are not used.

Keywords: adverbial infinitives, prepositional infinitives, Swedish, Övdalian, language Ausbau, grammatical replication, contact-induced change, Verschriftlichung

1 Introduction

The development of Swedish into a literary language is to a large extent characterized by intensive contact with other languages: Latin and Low German in the Middle Ages and High German and French in the Early Modern era. The first steps towards a literary and somewhat standardized written language were already being taken during the late Middle Ages in the monasteries and convents, most importantly at the abbey of Vadstena. The Latin influence on these texts is considerable, not least at a syntactic level, causing a split between written Old



Swedish and the spoken varieties. This has been described as a process of language Ausbau (see Höder 2009, 2010). A more homogeneous written language took shape after the Reformation, with the translation of the Bible into Swedish during the first half of the 16th century as an important landmark. It was not until the end of the 18th century, however, that the standardization process was completed (more or less). As mentioned above, this post-Reformation period is characterized by contact between Swedish and High German and French (as well as Latin, but to a much lesser extent than before). Traces of this influence are clearly visible in the vocabulary even today (see Teleman 2003a,b), but we know considerably less about the syntactic influence from these languages.

This paper investigates a syntactic innovation from the dynamic post-Reformation period in the history of written Swedish, namely the emergence of adverbial infinitives, i.e. prepositional infinitive clauses functioning as adverbial adjuncts. While present-day Swedish has a range of such prepositional clauses, they are not attested in Old Swedish. A few examples of the adverbial infinitives discussed in this article are given in (1) below, all from present-day Swedish.

- (1) a. Purposive
Han gick ut för att få sig lite luft.
he went out for IM get.INF REFL some air
'He went out to get some air.'
- b. Abessive
Hon sålde företaget utan att fråga de anställda.
she sold company.DEF without IM ask.INF the employees
'She sold the company without asking the employees.'
- c. Standardization
Jag satt hemma istället för att gå ut.
I sat home instead for IM go.INF out
'I stayed home instead of going out.'
- d. Temporal
Hon läste medicin efter att ha kommit tillbaka från Berlin.
she read medicine after IM have.INF come back from Berlin
'She studied medicine after having returned from Berlin.'
- e. Instrumental
Han gjorde sig oumbärlig genom att alltid vara steget
he made REFL indispensable through IM always be.INF step.DEF
före.
before
'He made himself indispensable by always being one step ahead.'

Adverbial infinitives (as well as adverbial constructions more generally) have not attracted much attention from Scandinavian scholars. One exception is Holm (1967), who makes several claims about adverbial infinitives in his influential survey of prose styles in the history of Swedish. Firstly, focusing on present-day North Germanic, Holm suggests that adverbial infinitives belong to a written register and are not used in “uneducated” (Sw. *obokligt*) speech, nor in the traditional dialects. He also claims that adverbial infinitives emerged with inspiration from other languages, such as High German and French, and that they are not attested in Old Swedish (Holm 1967: 27). Holm does not present any evidence to support his claims.

The aim of this article is to give a more detailed account of adverbial infinitives in the history of Swedish, and to compare standard Swedish with the non-standardized variety of Övdalian (see §4.3) with regard to the use of prepositional infinitives to express adverbial notions. I will also discuss whether the emergence of adverbial infinitives in Swedish could be an example of contact-induced grammaticalization (see Heine & Kuteva 2003, 2005) and if this, in turn, can be understood as part of an ongoing language Ausbau process (in the sense of Kloss 1967). If so, adverbial infinitives should originally have been part of a written register rather than a spoken register. Important questions are therefore: (1) when adverbial infinitives emerged in Swedish, and (2) whether there is support for the claim that they first appeared as part of a written register. In order to answer the first question, I have investigated Early Modern and Late Modern Swedish texts (ca. 1500–2000) from the digital corpora the Old Swedish Text Bank (Sw. *Fornsvenska textbanken*) and the Swedish Literature Bank (Sw. *Litteraturbanken*), both available through the corpus infrastructure Korp (Borin et al. 2012).¹ In addition to this, the corpus of Swedish drama dialogue (Sw. *Svensk dramadialog*; Melander Marttala & Strömquist 2001), covering the period 1725–2000, has also been investigated in its entirety. To shed light on the second question (i.e. whether adverbial infinitives first appeared as part of a written register), I have conducted a contrastive study of Swedish and the traditional dialect of Övdalian, using translations from Swedish into Övdalian.

The article is organized as follows. In §2, I give a brief introduction to the concept of language Ausbau in relation to the emergence of standardized written Swedish. §3 provides a background to the empirical study, with a survey of the history of the Germanic infinitive and a typological perspective on adverbial infinitives in European languages. In §4, I present my empirical findings, and §5 provides a theoretical discussion. Finally, §6 contains some concluding remarks.

¹<https://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/>

2 Functional expansion and formal elaboration of written Swedish

In the process of codifying a traditionally spoken language or dialect, i.e. transforming it into a written language, the written language will soon differ in certain regards from the spoken varieties. Over time, the use of the written language is normally expanded into new domains. This expansion itself leads to an elaboration of the written language, as it is shaped in more or less deliberate ways to meet certain (communicative or aesthetic) needs. This should be understood as an ongoing process, and is identified by Kloss (1967) as a diachronic process of language Ausbau. It can also be understood as a process of Verschriftlichung (see Fischer 2007: 37–38), i.e. the elaboration of the written language will lead to register-specific developments, such as more complex syntactic constructions. The functional expansion and subsequent formal elaboration of the written language lead to a split between the spoken and written varieties of a language (see Höder 2009). In societies in which a large part of the population has access to the written language (as in most modern Western societies), phenomena originally considered only as part of the written register can spread to the spoken language (Fischer 2007: 37, Weiß 2004).

In Swedish, the language Ausbau process was characterized by influence from other languages. The earliest longer texts in Old Swedish written with the Latin alphabet are the provincial laws (from the 13th century onwards), but it was mainly in the context of Vadstena Abbey that the shaping of Old Swedish into a literary language took place. Since Latin was the predominant language in this environment, the Swedish texts produced there were often heavily influenced by Latin, for instance regarding relativization and other syntactic patterns (see further Höder 2009, 2010, Wollin 1981, 1983). The bulk of the texts were also translations or paraphrases of Latin originals (i.e. not original works in Swedish). Many of these Latin-inspired constructions survived into Early Modern Swedish through the Reformation Bible translations, which were influenced by the Vadstena tradition (see Ståhle 1970, Telemann 2002, 2003a). Outside of the religious context, another language was in more direct contact with Swedish, namely Low German. During the Middle Ages, the Hanseatic League had a strong impact on the Scandinavian countries, in particular in urban settings, where a large part of the population were Low German merchants. Unlike Latin, the Low German influence was not limited to the written language, but also affected the spoken language of the cities (see Braunmüller 1997, 2005). The influence can be observed on all linguistic levels, including numerous grammatical loans, for example conjunctions such as *men* ‘but’, *samt* ‘and’, auxiliaries such as *måste* ‘must’, *bliva*

‘become’, and derivational morphology such as *be-*, *för-*. (See for example Braunnüller 2005 for an overview of Low German (and Latin) influence on Swedish.)

During the Early Modern era (i.e. post-Reformation), written Swedish was used in more contexts (for instance in private letters, diaries, science reports, novels, etc.) and no longer mainly in religious or administrative contexts. The Reformation in the first half of the 16th century marked the end of the text production within the monasteries, since they were closed down. Instead, original production in Swedish increased, and the Latin influence decreased. Simultaneously, the importance of the Hanseatic League diminished, thus leading to less contact between Swedish and Low German. Instead, High German became an important language in Sweden, affecting the emerging written standard, not least with regard to the Bible translation in 1541. The High German influence was not only orthographic and lexical, but also syntactic. For example, it has been suggested that the increasing OV frequency of the time (Petzell 2011) and so-called finite *ha*-drop in subordinate clauses (see Johannisson 1945, who first made the claim, and Bäckström 2019, who puts it to the test) are both due to contact with High German (see also Braunnüller 2005 for an overview). High German continued to be an important language in Sweden throughout the Early and Late Modern Swedish period, but from the 17th century onwards, Swedish was also affected by French. The French influence, however, was not as far reaching as the High German one, affecting mainly the lexicon (see Gellerstam 2005). By the end of the 18th century, a more or less standardized written Swedish was in place (Teleman 2002, see also Larsson & Petzell 2022 [this volume]).

3 Background

In this section, I give a short introduction to the historical origins of the infinitive and the infinitive marker with special focus on North Germanic. Thereafter, I discuss adverbial infinitives from a typological perspective, comparing present-day Swedish with some other European languages, primarily Romance languages and German. I also summarize the historical development of adverbial infinitives in Romance languages.

3.1 The Germanic infinitive: A short introduction

In Swedish, as in many other European languages, the infinitive is considered the basic form of the verb, used for example as the dictionary entry. Unlike in English, where the infinitive is identical to the verb stem, the Swedish infinitive

is an inflected form, at least when the verb stem is consonantal.² The Swedish infinitive is always vocalic; if the stem ends with a consonant, an *a*-suffix is added. However, if the verb stem is vocalic, there is no formal difference between the stem and the infinitive, as illustrated in (2) below.

(2)	stem	infinitive	
a.	<i>läs</i>	<i>läs-a</i>	‘read’
	<i>köp</i>	<i>köp-a</i>	‘buy’
b.	<i>sy</i>	<i>sy-Ø</i>	‘sew’
	<i>hoppa</i>	<i>hoppa-Ø</i>	‘jump’

From a historical perspective, the verbal status of the infinitive is less obvious. The characteristic *a*-ending of the Swedish infinitive is the remnant of an Old Germanic derivational suffix *-an(a)* used in the formation of verbal nouns (Falk & Torp 1900: 193). Originally, the infinitive was thus nominal rather than verbal, and as such it took case endings like any other nominal element. Examples of this can be found in West Germanic, but not in Ancient Nordic (Prokosch 1939: 205). Over time, the deverbal noun was reanalysed as a verb, as the derivational affix was grammaticalized into an inflectional ending. The *-n* was lost at an early stage in North Germanic languages but is preserved in, for example, German and Dutch (see Noreen 1898: 636). The infinitive is thus common to all the Germanic languages. There are infinitives in other Indo-European languages as well, for example in Romance, but these are etymologically distinct from their Germanic counterparts (see Prokosch 1939: 205, Falk & Torp 1900: 193).

In Germanic (and also in Romance), the infinitive came to be associated with prepositions that were later grammaticalized into infinitive markers. While there is a common Germanic infinitive, the infinitival preposition is different in the North Germanic languages than in the Continental Germanic languages (including English). The Nordic preposition is *at* (‘at’, ‘by’), identical to the present-day Swedish preposition *åt*, and with the same semantics (see Hellquist 1948), and the Proto-Germanic is **tō* (‘at’, ‘by’), thus corresponding to Dutch *te*, Eng. *to*, Ger. *zu*, etc. Note that the infinitive markers in Romance languages have similar semantics, for example French *de* and *à* (see Beckman 1934: 15).³ With the deverbal noun as a complement, the prepositional phrase was used to express allative or locative meanings. As the nominal status of the infinitive was gradually lost,

²There are North Germanic dialects in which the verb stem is identical to the infinitive, as in English (see Delsing 2014).

³In Romance, the infinitive markers seem to retain more of their prepositional status than in Germanic. See §3.2 below.

and it was reanalysed as a verb, the prepositional infinitives came to express purposive meanings instead. This can be understood as a semantic change in which the prepositional phrase first expressed a concrete, spatial goal and later a more abstract goal (see Los 2005). In Gothic, for example, there is a regular system in which the infinitival preposition *du* (optionally) can be used in purposive infinitives, while non-purposive infinitives are always bare, i.e. appear without the infinitival preposition. A few examples are given in (3) below. The distribution of the Old High German *ze* seems to be similar to that of Gothic *du* (Haspelmath 1989).

- (3) a. Purposive
 sat du aíthron (Gothic)
 sit.PST.3SG to pray.INF
 ‘he sat down to pray’ (from Wright 1954: 193–194)
- b. Object
 othedun faríhnan ina (Gothic)
 fear.PST.3PL ask.INF him.ACC
 ‘they feared to ask him’ (from Wright 1954: 193–194)
- c. Subject
 ni godh ist niman hláif barne (Gothic)
 not good be.PRS.3SG take.INF bread.ACC child.PL.GEN
 ‘it is not good to take the bread of the children’ (from Wright 1954: 193–194)

Over time, the infinitival preposition spread from purposive to non-purposive contexts in all of the Germanic languages. The results of this process are similar across Germanic languages, but there is also variation between the languages, even within the North Germanic branch (see Haspelmath 1989, Los 2005, Kalm 2016a,b, 2019). The final stages of the spread of infinitival prepositions to non-purposive contexts can partly be traced in Early Old Swedish (EOS, ca. 1225–1375). In many of the earliest Swedish texts (i.e. the provincial laws from the 13th century), *at* is regularly used in purposive infinitives, while its use outside of these contexts is highly irregular (Kalm 2016b: 186; see also Kalm 2019 for a comparison with Old Danish and Old Gutnish). A few examples are given in (4). Note that present-day Swedish requires the infinitive marker in all of the contexts exemplified.

- (4) a. Purposive
Combær han til at köpæ iorþ
comes he there IM buy.INF soil
'He comes there to buy land' (EWL, EOS)
- b. Complement to adjective
siþæn ær han skyldughær kunungær wæræ
then is he obliged king be.INF
'then he is obliged to be king' (UL, EOS)
- c. Subject
Nu ær þæt klokkarans skuld. bæra bok ok stol i
now is it cleric.DEF.GEN obligation carry.INF book and stole in
sokn
parish.DEF
'Now it is the liability of the clerk to bring the Bible and the stole to
the parish' (ÖgL, EOS)

The use of the infinitival preposition/infinitive marker stabilized during the Old Swedish period, and by the beginning of the Early Modern period (the 16th century onwards), its distribution was generally the same as in present-day Swedish (see however Hellquist 1902: 194–195 for some exceptions to this). The prepositional status of the infinitive marker was gradually lost during the Old Swedish period (see further Kalm 2016b: 195–199).

3.2 Typological and diachronic perspectives on adverbial infinitives

As mentioned earlier, the historical development of adverbial constructions has not been a major focus in Scandinavian linguistics. In part, this is probably due to the difficulties associated with defining the adverbial category as such; adverbial notions can be expressed in various ways (see van der Auwera 1998: 3). From a typological point of view, it can be noted that adverbial clauses (finite and non-finite) are common in the languages of Europe, although there is substantial variation with regard to the exact syntactic expression (see Hengenveld 1998 for a comprehensive overview). Focusing on adverbial infinitives, we can note that many of the adverbial notions that are expressed using prepositional infinitives in Swedish correspond to prepositional participles in English (see the examples in (1) above and their respective translations into English). Prepositional infinitives can be used in, for instance, German and French to express some of these notions. See (5) for examples.

(5) Examples of prepositional infinitives in French and German.

a. Purposive

i. German

Sie isst viel, um Gewicht zu gewinnen.

She eats a.lot for weight IM win.INF

'She eats a lot in order to gain weight'

ii. French

Elle mange beaucoup pour prendre du poids.

she eats a.lot for gain.INF PREP.ART weight

'She eats a lot in order to gain weight.'

b. Abessive

i. German

Er ging, ohne etwas zu sagen.

he left without something IM say.INF

'He left without saying anything.'

ii. French

Il est sorti sans rien dire.

he is left without nothing say.INF

'He left without saying anything.'

c. Standardization

i. German

Er blieb vor dem Fernseher, anstatt mit seinen

he stayed in.front.of ART TV instead.of with his

Freunden aus-zu-gehen.

friends out-IM-go.INF

'He stayed in front of the TV instead of going out with his friends.'

ii. French

Il est resté devant la télé au lieu de sortir avec

he is stayed in.front.of ART TV in stead of going.out.INF with

ses amis.

his friends

'He stayed in front of the TV instead of going out with his friends.'

d. Temporal (anteriority)

i. German

-

ii. French

Après avoir réfléchi, elle lui répondit.
after have.INF reflected she him answered
'After having reflected, she answered him.'

Note that the prepositional infinitives in French normally do not contain the equivalent of an infinitive marker (e.g. *att* in Swedish). In German, however, *zu* is used in a similar way to its Swedish counterpart. This is probably due to the fact that the infinitive markers of Romance have retained their prepositional status to a greater extent than in the Germanic languages. As is evident from the examples above, there is no perfect overlap between the languages, i.e. there are differences in the range of prepositional infinitives available (see Hengenveld 1998). Unlike in Swedish, temporal posteriority may be expressed using a prepositional infinitive in French (see 6a below). In Swedish, this would correspond to a finite clause. In some Romance languages, such as Spanish and Portuguese, there is also a concessive infinitive. This would also normally correspond to a finite clause in Swedish. Examples of Romance prepositional infinitives expressing temporal posteriority and concessive meaning are given in (6a) and (6b) respectively.

(6) a. French

Il faut réfléchir avant de parler.
INF must reflect.INF before PREP speak.INF
'One must reflect before speaking.' (from Grevisse 1993: 1298)

b. Spanish

Ambos procesos requieren de las mismas técnicas a
both processes require PREP ART same techniques PREP
pesar de ser totalmente diferentes.
despite PREP be.INF totally different
'Both processes require the same techniques even though they are
totally different.' (from Schulte 2007b: 533)

Conversely, the Swedish instrumental infinitive corresponds to other constructions in both Romance languages and German. In French, a contrastive study shows that *genom* 'through, by' + *att* + infinitive (i.e. what I have called instrumental infinitive; see (1e) above) generally corresponds to the use of the *gérondif* (Hellqvist 2015: 128). It is thus quite evident that the system of using a prepositional infinitive to express certain adverbial notions is common in many languages, but the exact range of prepositional infinitives available varies quite a

lot between different languages. If Holm (1967) is correct in assuming that adverbial infinitives in Swedish developed on the basis of French and/or High German models, it would be the construction as such (i.e., the use of prepositional infinitives as adverbial adjuncts) that was replicated, rather than the individual components.

Adverbial infinitives are not attested in Latin, but are innovations in the vernaculars. In his investigation of adverbial infinitives in the history of Spanish, Portuguese, and Romanian, Schulte (2007a,b) shows that prepositional infinitives emerged independently in each of the three languages. In spite of this, the developments show striking similarities, as the relative chronological order in which the different prepositional infinitives appeared is identical. The order is shown in (7) below.

- (7) purposive > abessive > temporal > substitutive > concessive

The development of adverbial infinitives in Romance can be understood as a gradual process in which one prepositional construction is attested after the other. It should be noted that Romanian has not yet developed a concessive infinitive, in contrast with Portuguese and Spanish. Schulte (2007a) argues that his results show that the emergence of adverbial infinitives is in line with general tendencies in how adverbial categories evolve in languages (cf. Cristofaro 2005; see also §5.1). With regard to Swedish, it can be noted that all of the adverbial infinitives in (7) are attested, with the exception of concessive infinitives. At least, this is the impression given by the Swedish Academy grammar (Teleman et al. 1999/3: 589–591), in which no mention of concessive infinitives is made. Nevertheless, it is possible to find examples of what appear to be concessive infinitives, mainly in informal Swedish. The following examples are excerpted using the present-day Swedish corpora in the corpus infrastructure Korp (Borin et al. 2012).

- (8) a. jag blir (sur) på nära och kära som trots att ha verkat
 I become sulky at close and dear that despite IM have.INF seemed
 vara okej med instruktionen ... kräver att jag ska vara
 be.INF okay with instruction.DEF demand that I shall be
 anträffbar
 available
 ‘I get (sulky) at my loved ones who even though they seem to be okay
 with the instruction ... demand that I be available’ (Blogg 2007)

- b. Men, det känns ändå kul att belönas med drygt 65% trots
but it feels still fun to reward.INF.PASS with fully 65% despite
att ha riddit en ritt jag inte var nöjd med.
IM have.INF ridden a ride I not was pleased with
'But, it is still fun to be rewarded with slightly more than 65% even
though I had ridden a ride I was not satisfied with.' (Blogg 2016)

To sum up, adverbial infinitives of different sorts exist in many European languages, including French and German. It has been suggested that the emergence of adverbial infinitives in Romance follows a general pattern of how adverbial categories evolve in languages. An interesting question is therefore whether this analysis can also be extended to Swedish. In the next section, the empirical investigation of adverbial infinitives in Swedish and Övdalian will be presented.

4 Adverbial infinitives in Swedish

In this section, I present the results of the empirical investigation of adverbial infinitives in the history of Swedish and in the traditional dialect Övdalian. Since purposive infinitives have a somewhat separate history from the other adverbial infinitives, as they are attested even in Old Swedish, they are discussed separately, in §4.1.

4.1 Purposive infinitives

Purposive infinitives are common throughout the history of Swedish, but their form has varied substantially over time. In present-day Swedish, purposive infinitives are normally introduced with the preposition *för* 'for'. In specific contexts, where the purposive reading of the infinitive is implied, it is possible to omit the preposition. An example of such a context is given in (9a) below, where the matrix verb is *skicka* 'send'. In (9b), the preposition is obligatory since it is not a "purposive" context (see Kalm 2016b: 137–138). Note that both constructions are purposive, the difference being that the preposition *för* is obligatory only in (9b).

(9) Present-day Swedish

- a. Vi skickade honom (för) att köpa mjölk.
we sent him PREP IM buy.INF milk
'We sent him to buy milk.'

- b. Jag satte mig på andra sidan gången för att inte vara i
 I sat REFL at other side.DEF aisle.DEF PREP IM not be.INF in
 vägen.
 way.DEF
 'I sat down on the other side of the aisle in order not to be in the way.'

In earlier stages of Swedish, the form of the purposive infinitive varied both diachronically and synchronically (depending on the semantic context of the infinitive clause). In the earliest Old Swedish texts (i.e. the provincial laws from the 13th century), purposive infinitives were normally not prepositional (see Kalm 2016b: 120). As mentioned in §3.1 above, the infinitive marker *at* spread from purposive to non-purposive contexts in the 13th century. A possible explanation as to why purposive infinitives were not prepositional in the earliest or most archaic time might be that *at* itself was considered a marker of the purposive reading and therefore a preposition was not needed. Given the etymological status of *at* as a preposition, it is also possible that it maintained its prepositional status at the time, and that it could not be introduced by yet another preposition.

Leaving the categorical status of the infinitive marker aside, the use of *at* in purposive infinitives was very common in the earliest stages of Old Swedish. It was not completely obligatory, however, and it is possible to find examples of bare infinitives with a purposive reading.⁴ Interestingly, this use of the bare infinitive seems to be restricted to contexts in which the purposive reading of the infinitive clause is implied, typically in combination with verbs of motion, i.e. similar to the contexts in which the preposition *för* 'for' can be omitted in present-day Swedish.⁵ Below, (10a) is a typical example of a purposive *at*-infinitive from the 13th century, and (10b) shows a bare infinitive with a purposive reading. Note that the verb *sænda* 'send' in (10b) is semantically identical to the present-day Swedish verb in (9a) above.

- (10) a. han ær i. sokn farin siukum. at hiælpæ.
 he is in parish gone sick IM help.INF
 'he went to the city to help the sick' (EWL, EOS)
- b. han sænde sina dicipulos vîþa vm væruļdena pradica.
 he sent his disciples wide around world.DEF preach.INF
 'he sent his disciples around the world to preach' (Leg, EOS)

⁴It can be noted that in earlier stages of Germanic languages, the infinitival ending was a case suffix, representing the accusative. Since the accusative itself could denote a goal, neither the infinitival preposition (the infinitive marker) nor a preposition was necessary (see Haspelmath 1989, Jeffers 1975).

⁵The bare purposive infinitive in combination with verbs of motion is also attested in Estonian Swedish (Lagman 1958: 88–89; see also Jörgensen 1970: 38).

In the Late Old Swedish period (LOS, ca. 1375–1526), it became increasingly common to explicitly mark the purposive semantics of the infinitive using the preposition *til* ‘to’, possibly with inspiration from Low German (see also §5.1). The increasing use of prepositional purposive infinitives seems to correlate with the distributional expansion of *at* through which the connection between *at* and the purposive meaning is weakened. Two examples of *til*-governed purposive *at*-infinitives from the Late Old Swedish period are given in (11) below.

- (11) a. Til mykla oglädhi war thu här komin aff franz til at
for much unhappiness were you here come of France to IM
göra nakan wanhedher konungx döttrom
make.INF some dishonor king.GEN daughters
‘to our great displeasure, you came here from France to dishonor the daughters of the king’ (KM, LOS)
- b. jak nidherfoor til Colne til ath thär faa reliquias
I down.traveled to Cologne to IM there get.INF relics
‘I travelled to Cologne to get relics there’ (Måns, LOS, p. 332)

During the Early Modern period (ca. 1526 onward), there is considerable variation in the form of the purposive infinitive.⁶ In addition to the Old Swedish patterns, some purposive infinitives are also introduced by *til* ‘to’ alone, as in (12a) below, or by *til* ‘to’ in combination with the preposition *för* ‘for’, as in (12b). This is a consequence of the grammaticalization of *til* (*at*) as an infinitive marker during the 16th and 17th centuries (see Kalm 2014, 2016a, 2016b: 203–221). In (12c) there is an example of *til at* as a complex infinitive marker in a purposive infinitive introduced by the preposition *för* ‘for’. Not until the late 18th century was the present-day system with a *för*-introduced *at*-infinitive established. An early example is given in (12d).

- (12) a. Men nu ha vi komme hit te gratulera
but now have we come here PREP/IM congratulate.INF
‘But now we have come to congratulate’ (2cKUSINE, 1791)
- b. Ä de inte Ni, som kom te mej för te berätta hur Ni har hört
is it not you that came to me for IM tell.INF how you have heard
‘Is it not you, who came to me, to tell me how you had heard’
(2cKUSINE, 1791)

⁶There is also substantial variation in the form of purposive infinitives in German, both synchronically and diachronically (see Demske 2011).

- c. Häldre ger jag ut min plåt för sådant, än jag går på Operan
 rather give I out my ticket for such than I go to Opera.DEF
 och knuffas, för til at få se et par illa uphängda Gudar
 and jostle for IM IM get.INF see.INF a pair poorly hanged gods
 träta ur Dis dure med hwarandra.
 argue from Dis dure with each.other
 ‘I would rather give away my ticket than go to the Opera and hustle
 in order to see a pair of poorly hanging gods arguing in D-sharp
 major with each other.’ (2aSTERBH, 1776)
- d. Sedan Danske skeep flotten had liggat söder i Callmars
 since Danish ship fleet.DEF had layed south in Kalmar.GEN
 sundh och blockuerat i 2 veckor så gick han åth Gottland för att
 channel and blocked in 2 weeks so went he to Gotland for IM
 forsorga sigh medh wedh och proviant.
 support.INF REFL with firewood and provisions
 ‘Since the Danish fleet had been in the south, blocking the channel of
 Kalmar for two weeks, he went to Gotland to get supplies of firewood
 and provisions.’ (Bol, ca. 1697, p. 78)

The form of the purposive infinitive has evidently varied substantially throughout the history of Swedish: it has been bare, and introduced by different infinitive markers (*at*, *til at*, *til*) and prepositions (*til* ‘to’, *för* ‘for’). In Table 1, I give an overview of the proportions of the purposive constructions in the history of Swedish.

The data in Table 1 show that the purposive infinitive most commonly takes the form of a non-prepositional *at*-infinitive in Early Old Swedish (i.e. 1225–1300 and 1301–1375). There are also examples of bare infinitives and, from the 14th century onwards, *til*-introduced *at*-infinitives. The latter became more common over time, and in the 16th century, this was the dominant pattern.⁷ The variation in form increased during the 17th and early 18th centuries, but decreased during the second half of the 18th century, with the rather sudden shift from *til* ‘to’ to *för* ‘for’ as the general purposive preposition. In the early 18th century, *för* ‘for’ was quite rare in purposive contexts, while it dominated the purposive infinitives in the latter part of the century. It is not quite clear what motivation

⁷This is partly due to the fact that *til at* was grammaticalized into a complex infinitive marker during the 16th century. The use of *til at* was not restricted to purposive contexts, but used more generally by certain writers in the 16th–18th centuries. See Kalm (2016a, 2016b: 203–221) for further details.

Table 1: Distribution of purposive infinitives in the history of Swedish, based on data from Kalm (2016b) and the corpus of Swedish drama dialogue ($N = 1230$).

	bare inf.	<i>at</i>	<i>til at</i>	<i>til</i>	<i>för til at</i>	<i>för at</i>
1225–1300	22%	78%	–	–	–	–
1301–1375	8%	85%	8%	–	–	–
1376–1450	2%	84%	14%	–	–	–
1451–1526	5%	70%	23%	2%	–	–
1527–1600	–	25%	74%	1%	–	–
1601–1675	3%	66%	30%	1%	–	1%
1725–1750	–	43%	55%	–	–	2%
1775–1800	–	15%	1%	8%	2%	74%
1825–1850	–	6%	–	–	–	94%
1875–1900	–	2%	–	–	–	98%
1925–1950	–	1%	–	–	–	99%
1975–2000	–	2%	–	–	–	98%

there was for this shift in purposive preposition.⁸ Other constructions (such as *för te* + infinitive or *för til at* + infinitive) must be considered quite marginal in comparison with these more frequent patterns. From the 19th century onwards, only *för*-introduced *at*-infinitives and bare *at*-infinitives are attested with purposive meaning.

4.2 Other adverbial infinitives

Adverbial infinitives are prepositional in present-day Swedish, with the above-mentioned exceptions of certain purposive infinitives (see example (9) above), and the infinitive marker *att* is obligatory. Prepositional infinitives were already common in Old Swedish, but the prepositions were then part of the lexical construction of a governing verb, noun, or adjective, i.e. they did not introduce adverbial adjuncts. The earliest examples of adverbial (adjunct) infinitives appear in texts from the second half of the 17th century. First attested are abessive infinitives in a text from 1657, and substitutive infinitives in a text from 1675; see (13) below.

⁸As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, one possibility could be influence from the purposive *pour* ‘for’ + infinitive construction in French.

- (13) a. Abessive
 [Då] kom wijd Minans springande en fransos flygandess
 then came at mine.DEF.GEN exploding a Frenchman flying
 och ståendes på föttren mitt ibland Officerarne utan at
 and standing at foot.PL.DEF midst among officer.PL.DEF without IM
 wara på något sätt skadder.
 be.INF at any way hurt
 ‘[Then] came when the mine exploded a Frenchman flying and
 standing on his feet in the midst of the officers, without being in any
 way hurt.’ (Rålamb, 1657)
- b. Standardization
 i stället för at fruckta dem, utbrast han i desse ord: Ju flere
 in place for to fear.INF them exclaimed he in these words the more
 Fijender ju meer ähra.
 enemies the more honor
 ‘instead of fearing them, he exclaimed these words: The more
 enemies, the more glory.’ (Mål-roo, 1675)

Both abessive and substitutive infinitives seem to have been used only sporadically during the late 17th century, but they rapidly become common in texts from the 18th century, especially the abessive infinitives (see Kalm 2016b: 129–130). The first examples of temporal and instrumental infinitives date from much later. The earliest instance of a temporal infinitive is from 1779, and the first instrumental infinitive appears in 1829; see (14) below.

- (14) a. Temporal
 Då jag efter att ha likafullt gått ut ... åter tillbaka
 as I after IM have.INF nevertheless gone.SUP out again back
 kom holt jag före att man borde i så critiqva omständigheter
 came held I for that one should in such critical circumstances
 ej våga dröja längre utan strax gjöra Revolten.
 not dare wait longer but soon make revolt.DEF
 ‘As I, after nevertheless having gone out, came back, I meant that one
 should, in such critical conditions, not dare to wait any longer but
 immediately begin the revolt.’ (Ehrensvärd, 1779, p. 6)
- b. Instrumental
 konsten segrar icke genom att trotsa, utan genom att
 art.DEF prevails not through IM defy.INF but through IM

följa naturen
follow.INF nature.DEF

‘Art will not prevail by defying, but by following nature’ (von Unge, 1829)

In a similar way to the situation in Romance (Schulte 2007a,b), the development of adverbial infinitives in Swedish thus seems to have been a gradual process. Over time, more adverbial notions came to be expressed with prepositional infinitives. In (15) below, I have summarized the order of first appearance for the adverbial infinitives investigated in this article. A comparison with the corresponding process in Romance (see (7) above) shows that the processes are similar, but not identical. As is the case in Romance, purposive infinitives are the first to be attested, followed by abessive infinitives. While substitutive infinitives are attested earlier than temporal infinitives in Swedish, it is the opposite order in Romance. The instrumental infinitive has no equivalent in Romance, and there are no examples of concessive infinitives in the Swedish corpora investigated for this study.⁹

- (15) purposive > abessive > substitutive > temporal > instrumental
(1225) (1657) (1675) (1779) (1829)

In conclusion, we have seen that it became possible to express certain adverbial notions with prepositional infinitives from the second half of the 17th century onwards. The emergence of such adverbial infinitives seems to have been a gradual process in the sense that abessive and substitutive infinitives are attested about a hundred years before the first example of temporal infinitives. Instrumental infinitives are attested during the first half of the 19th century. The process shows similarities with the grammaticalization of adverbial infinitives in Romance (see Schulte 2007a,b).

4.3 The case of Övdalian

As mentioned above, Holm (1967: 27) claims that adverbial (prepositional) infinitives are not attested in traditional dialects. If this is correct, it means that other linguistic resources need to be used to express these adverbial notions. As already mentioned, Holm does not present any data to support his claim, and it can also be difficult to find the relevant data. When comparing standardized languages with each other, it can be fruitful to work contrastively with translations

⁹See, however, the examples from present-day Swedish in (8) above.

between the two languages. This method allows us to find specific constructions in a language and see how they are translated into another language. Dialects and other non-standard varieties are normally spoken, and rarely written down, and the comparison between the variety and the standard language is therefore more difficult to conduct, at least when you are interested in the usage of a specific construction. From a Swedish point of view, there is one important exception to this, namely Övdalian.

Övdalian (Sw. *älvdalska*) is traditionally considered a Swedish dialect, but in recent times there have been attempts to get it acknowledged as a minority language in Sweden because of its distance, linguistically speaking, from standard Swedish. Övdalian is spoken in the northern parts of the province of Dalarna by around 2,500 people (Garbacz 2009: 27). The variety is characterized both by many archaic traits (such as the persistence of a partial case system and subject-verb inflection) and by innovations (for example, secondary diphthongs). It has received considerable attention from linguists in the last decades, with the result that it is fairly well described (see for instance Garbacz 2009, Bentzen et al. 2015). There is also an interest among the speakers of Övdalian in preserving the variety.¹⁰ As a consequence, Övdalian has been codified in dictionaries and grammars in recent years, unlike most other North Germanic dialects or non-standard varieties. An orthographic norm is in the process of being established, and there are at the moment a fair number of texts available in Övdalian, both original works and translations.

It is possible that Övdalian is going through a process of both standardization and *Verschriftlichung* at the moment, but given its relative isolation historically, it has not been influenced by other languages, and not even by standard Swedish to any great extent, it seems. At present, however, it is likely that Övdalian is being affected by Swedish, not least since all of its speakers are bilingual.

For this investigation, I have chosen to use two Övdalian translations from Swedish: the novel *Hunden/Rattsjin* ‘The dog’ and the Gospel of John (in Sw. *Johannesevangeliet*, Joh.; in Övd. *Juanneswaundsjiļa*, Jua.). I have excerpted all of the adverbial infinitives in the Swedish texts and then compared them with their respective translations. The aim is to establish whether Övdalian uses prepositional infinitives or other linguistic resources to express the notions that are expressed with prepositional infinitives in Swedish. My hope is that this contrastive study will give us clues as to how adverbial notions might be expressed in varieties that have not gone through a process of *Verschriftlichung* or language

¹⁰There is, for example, an association for the preservation of Övdalian, *Ulum Dalska*, founded in 1985.

Ausbau, including earlier stages of Swedish. That being said, it is important to remember that the Övdalian texts might be affected by the Swedish originals.

There are in total 79 adverbial infinitives in the two Swedish texts, evenly distributed between them. An overview of the Swedish data is given in Table 2.

Table 2: Adverbial infinitives in the Swedish texts.

	<i>Hunden</i>	<i>Johannesevangeliet</i>	Total
Purposive	28	35	63
Abessive	10	1	11
Instrumental	1	3	4
Temporal	0	1	1
Total	39	40	79

The purposive infinitives are by far the most common. There are only 16 examples of other adverbial infinitives in the two texts; substitutive infinitives are not attested. All of the purposive infinitives are introduced by the preposition *för* ‘for’ in the Swedish texts. These are translated using several different constructions in Övdalian, including prepositional infinitives. An overview is given in Table 3.

Table 3: Övdalian translations of purposive infinitives.

	<i>Rattsjin</i>	<i>Juanneswaundsjiq</i>	Total
<i>fer te</i> -inf. (‘for to’)	7	19	26
<i>og</i> coordination (‘and’)	11	12	23
<i>so</i> clause (‘so’)	5	2	7
<i>fer</i> clause (‘for’)	5	0	5
bare inf.	0	1	1
other ^a	0	1	1

^aIn this one instance, the translation is far from the Swedish original for some reason, and it is difficult to say what part of the translation would correspond to the purposive infinitive.

In the reference grammar of Övdalian (Åkerberg & Nyström 2012), the authors note that the purposive *för att*-infinitive (‘for to’) is somewhat difficult to translate to Övdalian. Apparently, Övdalian would prefer to use a construction with the conjunction *og* ‘and’ + infinitive instead (Åkerberg & Nyström 2012: 539).

However, in the translations I have investigated, prepositional (purposive) infinitives are common (26 instances; see Table 3), and they are used much like in the Swedish original. Note that the Övdalian infinitive marker is *te* (see §4.1 above). In the purposive infinitives in (16) and (17) below, both Swedish and Övdalian have infinitives introduced with the preposition *för/fer* ‘for’ and the infinitive marker (*att/te*).

(16) a. Present-day Swedish

Nu fick han lyfta benen högt för att komma fram i
 now got he lift.INF leg.PL.DEF high for IM come.INF forward in
 snösörjan.
 slush.DEF

‘He now had to raise his leg up high in order to make his way through the slush.’ (Hunden, p. 26)

b. Övdalian

Nu wart an lypt fuätum og fer te tågå sig framm i
 now was he lift feet and for IM come.INF REFL forward in
 våtsnjuäm.
 slush.DEF

‘He now had to raise his leg up high in order to make his way through the slush.’ (Rattsjin, p. 26)

(17) a. Present-day Swedish

Detta sade de för att sätta honom på prov och få något att
 this said they for IM put.INF him at test and get something IM
 anklaga honom för.
 accuse.INF him for

‘They were using this question as a trap, in order to have a basis for accusing him.’ (Joh. 8:6)

b. Övdalian

Edar sagd dier bar fer tä frest an og fer tä fō
 this said they just for IM tempt.INF him and for IM get.INF
 nod tä klågå o an fer.
 something IM complain.INF at him for

‘They were using this question as a trap, in order to have a basis for accusing him.’ (Jua. 8:6)

Og-introduced structures are also common, but they are far from always being non-finite. Rather, *og* commonly introduces a finite clause from which the subject has been omitted, as in example (18) below: *slätsjer* ‘lick’ is the singular form

of the present tense of the verb. Instead of a purposive reading, the construction emphasizes the simultaneity of the two verb actions. In (19), however, the prepositional infinitive in Swedish is translated using *og* + the infinitive: *dsjärå* ‘do, make, create’ is an unambiguous infinitive. Because of the Övdalian tendency to drop vocalic endings (see Åkerberg & Nyström 2012: 532), it is sometimes difficult to establish whether the verb is finite or non-finite. An example of this can be found in (20). There is no way of knowing whether it is the infinitival *a*-ending or the past tense third person plural *e*-ending that is omitted from the form *myöt* ‘meet’.

- (18) a. Present-day Swedish
Ibland stannar han för att slicka på skaren.
sometimes stops he for IM lick.INF at snow.crust.DEF
‘Sometimes he stops to lick the snow crust.’ (Hunden, p. 13)
- b. Övdalian
Millumað stanner an og slätsjer skårån liteð.
Sometimes stops he and licks snow.crust.DEF little
‘Sometimes he stops to lick the snow crust a little bit.’ (Rattsjin, p. 13)
- (19) a. Present-day Swedish
Skulle jag annars säga att jag går bort för att bereda
would I otherwise say.INF that I go away for IM prepare.INF
plats för er?
place for you
‘If that were not so, would I have told you that I am going there to prepare a place for you?’ (Joh. 14:2)
- b. Övdalian
Edd ig sagt ellest, ig far dait og dsjärå ruom ad id?
had I said otherwise I go there and make.INF room at you
‘If that were not so, would I have told you that I am going there to prepare a place for you?’ (Jua. 14:2)
- (20) a. Present-day Swedish
När folk hörde att han hade gjort detta tecken drog de ut
when people heard that he had made this sign went they out
för att möta honom.
for IM meet.INF him
‘Many people, because they had heard that he had performed this sign, went out to meet him.’ (Joh. 12:18)

b. Övdalian

So mes fuotsjed fingg är, an add gart ed teckned, fuor dier aut
 so when people got hear he had done that sign went they out
 og myöt onum.
 and meet.INF/PRES him

‘Many people, because they had heard that he had performed this
 sign, went out to meet him.’ (Jua. 12:18)

There are also twelve instances in which Övdalian has a subordinate clause instead of a prepositional infinitive; ten of these examples are found in Rattsjin. According to Åkerberg & Nyström (2012: 491), both *fer* and *so* are purposive subjunctions (but *so* can also be used to introduce resultative clauses). Two examples are given in (21) and (22).

(21) a. Present-day Swedish

En gång hade han plumsat i för att försöka nå dem.
 one time had he splashed in for IM try.INF reach them

‘Once, he had splashed in in an attempt to reach them.’ (Hunden, p. 51)

b. Övdalian

Iesn add an pulsað åv auti fer an willd biuäð til kum að diem.
 once had he splashed off into for he wanted try to come at them

‘Once, he had splashed in in an attempt to reach them.’ (Rattsjin, p. 51)

(22) a. Present-day Swedish

Själva stannade de utanför, för att inte bli orena
 self stayed they outside for IM not become.INF unclean

‘To avoid ceremonial uncleanness they did not enter the palace’ (Joh. 18:28)

b. Övdalian

og siuover dsjingg dier it in i hlotted, so dier uld it
 and self went they not in in palace.DEF so they would not
 werd uoriener.
 become.INF unclean

‘and to avoid ceremonial uncleanness they did not enter the
 palace, because they wanted to be able to eat the Passover.’ (Jua. 18:28)

Finally, there is one example of a bare infinitive with a purposive meaning, reproduced as (23) below. Interestingly, the bare infinitive appears in what I referred to above as a purposive context, i.e. in combination with a verb phrase expressing motion. In these contexts, we also find bare infinitives in Old Swedish.¹¹

¹¹This also seems to be the case in Estonian Swedish (Lagman 1958: 88–89).

- (23) a. Present-day Swedish
När Maria h rde det, steg hon strax upp och gick f r att m ta
when Mary heard that went she soon up and went for IM meet.INF
honom.
him
'When Mary heard this, she got up quickly and went to meet him.'
(Joh. 11:29)
- b.  vdalian
Snj st Mari fick  r ed, raitt   upp sig og fuor stad
when Mary got hear that raised she up REFL and went along
my t onum.
meet.INF him
'When Mary heard this, she got up quickly and went to meet him.'
(Jua. 11:29)

Abessive infinitives are relatively common in the Swedish texts, especially in the novel *Hunden*. They are generally not translated with a prepositional construction in  vdalian. Instead of using embedding, as in Swedish, the  vdalian translators have normally chosen to use a coordinate negated structure instead, as in (24–25) below. On one occasion, the translator used a finite subordinate structure instead; see (26) below.

- (24) a. Present-day Swedish
Han f ljde dem alltid med blicken men l g kvar utan att
he followed them always with eye.DEF but stayed put without IM
k nna upphetsning.
feel.INF excitement
'He followed them always with his eye, but stayed put without
feeling excitement.' (Hunden, p. 52)
- b.  vdalian
An fygd    iem min ogum olltiett og l g kwer og wart
he followed at them with eyes always and stayed put and became
it ekster.
not excited
'He followed them always with his eye, but stayed put without
feeling excitement.' (Rattsjin, p. 52)

- (25) a. Present-day Swedish
 Han som låg under vindfallet lyssnade utan att
 he who laid under windfall.DEF listened without IM
 förstå.
 understand.INF
 ‘He who was under the windfall listened without understanding.’
 (Hunden, p. 82)
- b. Övdalian
 An so låg under windfelleḡ lydd men bigript it
 he who laid under windfall.DEF listened but understood not
 noḡ.
 anything
 ‘He who was under the windfall listened without understanding.’
 (Rattsjin, p. 82)
- (26) a. Present-day Swedish
 Hunden gick i skogskanten, långa sträckor utan att
 dog.DEF went in forest.edge.DEF long distances without IM
 synas alls.
 see.INF.PASS at.all
 ‘The dog wandered by the edge of the forest, long distances without
 revealing himself at all’ (Hunden, p. 109)
- b. Övdalian
 Rattsjin dsjikk laungg strettsjur i skuägkantem, so int an
 dog.DEF went long distances in forest.edge.DEF so not he
 syndes noḡ.
 see.PST.PASS at.all
 ‘The dog wandered by the edge of the forest, long distances without
 revealing himself at all.’ (Rattsjin, p. 109)

There are two examples (one from each text) in which the translators use a prepositional infinitive just like in the Swedish original. This may be the result of a slavish translation from Swedish. The example from the Gospel of John is given in (27) below.

(27) a. Present-day Swedish

Ty den som Gud har sänt talar Guds ord; Gud ger Anden
for it who God has sent speaks God.GEN word God gives spirit.DEF
utan att mäta.

without IM measure.INF

‘For the one whom God has sent speaks the words of God, for God gives the Spirit without limit.’ (Joh. 3:34)

b. Övdalian

Fer an so Gud ar stsjickad, an glemer Gudes uord, fer Gud
for he who God has sent he speaks God.GEN word for God
dsjäv Andan autq tä mela.

gives spirit.DEF without IM measure.INF

‘For the one whom God has sent speaks the words of God, for God gives the Spirit without limit.’ (Jua. 3:34)

We can therefore conclude that abessive meanings are normally not expressed through prepositional infinitives in Övdalian, but by other means. The most frequent pattern used in the texts investigated is a coordinated finite structure containing a negation, instead of a non-finite embedded structure as in the Swedish original. Even though this is clearly an attempt to convey the same meaning in the translation, it must be noted that the translation has a slightly different meaning than the Swedish original.

Let us turn next to the four instrumental infinitives found in the Swedish texts. Three of them have been translated using a finite subordinate structure, as in (28–29). In (28), the Swedish instrumental infinitive has been translated with a temporal subordinate clause introduced by the subordinator *dar*, and in (29) the infinitive is translated with a *bar*-introduced (‘only’, ‘just’) subordinate clause. In (30), the infinitive has been translated with a relative clause instead. These examples suggest that instrumental infinitives are not used in Övdalian and that there might not be any specialized means to express instrumental meaning.

(28) a. Present-day Swedish

Mycket folk följde efter, därför att de såg de tecken han
much people followed after because that they saw the signs he
gjorde genom att bota de sjuka.

did through IM cure.INF the sick

‘And a large crowd was following him, because they saw the signs he performed on the sick.’ (Joh. 6:2)

- b. Övdalian
 Ed war mitsjid fuok so fygde, fer dier såg teckne an garde,
 it was much people who followed for they say signs.DEF he did
 dar an buoted diem so war kliener.
 when he cured those who were sick
 ‘And a large crowd was following him, because they saw the signs
 that he was doing by curing the sick.’ (Jua. 6:2)

- (29) a. Present-day Swedish
 Det hade hänt mellan några valpar och en grovröstad karl
 it had happened between some puppies and a gruff.voiced man
 som kunde bli hälften så stor genom att ställa sig på
 who could become half so big through IM stand.INF REFL on
 knä.
 knee
 ‘It had happened between a couple of puppies and a man with a gruff
 voice who could halve his size by kneeling.’ (Hunden, p. 86)

- b. Övdalian
 Eð add ennt millø nogum wepum og ienum gruävröstaðum
 it had happened between some puppies and a gruff.voiced
 kalle so wart elptn so stur bar an steld sig ø kniņ.
 man who became half so big only he stood REFL on knees
 ‘It had happened between a couple of puppies and a man with a gruff
 voice who could halve his size by kneeling.’ (Rattsjin, p. 86)

- (30) a. Present-day Swedish
 Men dessa har upptecknats för att ni skall tro att Jesus
 but these have record.SUP.PASS for that you shall believe that Jesus
 är Messias, Guds son, och för att ni genom att tro
 is Messiah God.GEN son and for that you through IM believe.INF
 skall ha liv i hans namn.
 shall have life in his name
 ‘But these are written so that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ,
 the Son of God, and that by believing you may have life in his name.’
 (Joh. 20:31)

- b. Övdalian
 Men ittad ar uort skrievt, so ulid truo att Iesus ir Messias,
 but this has become written so you believe that Jesus is Messiah

Gudes Sun, og so ulid åvå laived i namne onumes, dar
God.GEN son and so you have life.DEF in name his who
truoid.
believes

‘But these are written so that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ,
the Son of God, and that by believing you may have life in his name.’
(Jua. 20:31)

Finally, the only example of a temporal infinitive has been translated with a temporal subordinate clause:

- (31) a. Present-day Swedish
Efter att ha sagt detta fortsatte han: ...
after IM have.INF said this continued he
‘After having said this, he continued: ...’ (Joh. 11:11)
- b. Övdalian
Mes an add sagt edar, fuortsett an: ...
as he had said this continued he
‘As he had said this, he continued: ...’ (Jua. 11:11)

To sum up, the contrastive study shows that Swedish adverbial infinitives are normally translated using other constructions in Övdalian. Purposive infinitives, by far the most common construction in the Swedish originals, are translated in several different ways. Often, a prepositional infinitive is used, much like in Swedish, but another common strategy is to use constructions with the coordinator *og* instead. To a lesser degree, finite subordinate clauses are used, and in one instance a bare infinitive (in combination with a verb phrase expressing motion). Abessive infinitives are most often translated with a finite coordinate clause containing a negation. This means that the translators are trying to convey the abessive meaning using another linguistic construction (coordination instead of embedding). In the case of instrumental infinitives, the translation uses temporal or other subordinate clauses, which leads to a slightly different (and less specific) meaning. The only example of a temporal infinitive has been translated using a temporal finite clause in Övdalian.

The results partly support Holm’s (1967: 27) claim that prepositional infinitives are not found in traditional dialects. In any case, they are not as frequent as in Swedish, and not all types seem to occur. Since adverbial infinitives are not attested in Old Swedish, it is possible that similar (or the same) constructions to those that we find in Övdalian might have been used in earlier stages of Swedish to express the various adverbial notions.

4.4 Summary of empirical findings

This investigation of adverbial infinitives in the history of Swedish takes purposive infinitives as its point of departure since they are the only type attested as early as Old Swedish. In the earliest stages of Swedish, purposive infinitives are not introduced by a preposition, like their present-day counterparts. Over time there is an increasing tendency for purposive infinitives to be prepositional, and by the second half of the 18th century, almost all of them are. The connection between a specific form and a specific meaning is thus strengthened over time. Furthermore, there is a rather sudden change of the purposive preposition from *til* 'to' to *för* 'for' during the second half of the 18th century. The reasons for this shift remain unclear.

Other adverbial infinitives are attested from the second half of the 17th century onwards in a gradual process whereby more adverbial notions are expressed with prepositional infinitives over time. Abessive infinitives are attested first in a text from 1657, and slightly later (in a text from 1675) we find the first example of a substitutive infinitive. Temporal infinitives are not attested until the late 18th century (first example from 1779), and the first instance of an instrumental infinitive is found in a text from 1829. This order of appearance is similar (although not identical) to the corresponding emergence of adverbial infinitives in Romance.

In addition to the historical survey of adverbial infinitives, I have presented a contrastive investigation of Övdalian translations of Swedish texts containing adverbial infinitives. It has been claimed that traditional dialects, such as Övdalian, do not use prepositional infinitives as adverbial adjuncts (see Holm 1967: 27). This investigation gives some support to these claims, since the adverbial infinitives in the Swedish originals are often translated with other constructions in the Övdalian versions. This is especially evident in the case of abessive infinitives, as the translators use a coordinated negated clause (with a few exceptions). It is possible that Övdalian can give us clues as to how these adverbial notions were expressed in earlier stages of Swedish, i.e. before the emergence of adverbial infinitives.

5 Discussion

In this section, the empirical results from the investigation are discussed. I first discuss the role of language contact with regard to adverbial infinitives in Swedish. Thereafter, I turn to the question of whether adverbial infinitives should be seen as part of a process of specialization and elaboration of the written language (i.e. language *Ausbau*).

5.1 The role of language contact

Whereas purposive infinitives are already attested in Early Old Swedish, other adverbial infinitives did not appear until the Early and Late Modern Swedish period. Purposive infinitives were normally introduced by the infinitive marker *at* in Early Old Swedish, and since *at* etymologically is a preposition (see §3.1 above), it could be argued that the (purposive) *at*-infinitive should be regarded as a prepositional phrase at this time (see Kalm 2016b). Non-purposive infinitives were often bare (i.e. not introduced by *at*) in Early Old Swedish, but later on, the use of the *at*-infinitive spread at the expense of the bare infinitive. By the Late Old Swedish period, *at* thus seems to have lost its purposive semantics and its prepositional status, and the *at*-infinitive was used in purposive as well as non-purposive contexts. As a consequence of the lost relationship between the *at*-infinitive and the purposive meaning, it became increasingly common for purposive *at*-infinitives to be introduced by the preposition *til*, possibly as a way of explicitly marking the purposive reading of the infinitive. There is, however, also a general tendency (especially during the Early Modern Swedish period) for infinitive clauses to be introduced by *til*, and it has been argued that *til at* was grammaticalized as a complex infinitive marker during this time (see Kalm 2014, 2016b). It is not unlikely that the promotion of *til* during this time was facilitated by Low German influence in much the same way as Nesse (2002) suggests that the infinitive marker *te* of the Norwegian Bergen dialect emerged as a result of language contact with Low German. The Low German *te* had a double function as both infinitive marker and preposition (just like in present-day German and English).

The first signs of the modern system of prepositional adverbial infinitives appeared by the end of the Early Modern Swedish period. By this time, the Low German influence on Swedish had already come to an end and it is thus not likely that the appearance of the first adverbial infinitives was due to contact with Low German. Instead, Holm (1967) suggests that the constructions emerged as a result of language contact with High German and/or French. Of the two languages, at least High German seems like a possible candidate for such an influence on Swedish, since we know of other syntactic constructions that arose due to influence from High German (see §2 above). (As noted, the French influence on Swedish that we know of today is lexical rather than syntactic.) If the emergence of adverbial infinitives in Swedish was due to language contact, this could be understood as a case of contact-induced (or replica) grammaticalization (see Heine & Kuteva 2003, 2005) in much the same way as Nesse (2002) accounts for the appearance of the infinitive marker *te* in the Norwegian Bergen dialect.

This would mean that the (foreign) system of using prepositional infinitives to express adverbial notions was replicated in Swedish. The fact that the instrumental infinitive is specifically Swedish (i.e. not attested in High German) is not an argument against this analysis, since it is the initiation of the grammaticalization process that is contact-dependent, not the entire process. It is thus expected that you would find language-specific development even in cases of contact-induced grammaticalization.

Even though it cannot be ruled out that the emergence of adverbial infinitives in Swedish should be understood as a contact phenomenon, it is equally possible that they emerged independently in Swedish in much the same way as has been argued for the Romance languages (Schulte 2007a,b). Schulte (2007a,b) shows that new adverbial infinitives appeared in the same relative order in Spanish, Portuguese, and Romanian. The relative order is very similar (albeit not identical) to the corresponding development in Swedish. Compare the Romance cline in (7) and the Swedish in (15), repeated as (32) and (33) below.

(32) purposive > abessive > temporal > substitutive > concessive

(33) purposive > abessive > substitutive > temporal > instrumental

In Romance, as in Swedish, purposive infinitives are attested first, followed by abessive infinitives. Thereafter, the order differs with regard to temporal and substitutive infinitives, and while Swedish developed an instrumental infinitive, Romance has a concessive infinitive. Interestingly, there are examples of concessive infinitives in (informal) present-day Swedish as well (see the examples in (8) above). Since it is not likely that the appearance of concessive infinitives in present-day Swedish is due to contact with Romance languages, it rather seems like the development follows some general pattern of how adverbial constructions evolve in a language. This is also what Schulte (2007a,b) suggests with regard to Romance, and he relates the order to Cristofaro's (2005) typological hierarchy of "deranked" (roughly: non-finite) adverbial clauses. According to Cristofaro, there is a general tendency for deranked constructions to be associated first with purposive meaning (see also Haspelmath 1989) and then later with other semantics. The overall result of the study is that there are cross-linguistic patterns as to how adverbial (non-finite) clauses evolve in languages, and Schulte (2007a,b) shows that Romance languages fit into this description. This paper suggests that the development of adverbial infinitives in Swedish has followed the same general pattern, starting with purposive infinitives and ending with concessive infinitives in a similar way to the Romance languages.

To sum up, it is possible that language contact has affected the emergence of adverbial infinitives in Swedish, but it cannot be ruled out that we are dealing with a “natural” evolution of adverbial categories. It is likely that the use of *til* in combination with purposive (and other) infinitival clauses is due to contact with Low German, but when it comes to other adverbial infinitives, it is less clear that they should be understood as contact phenomena. Since the two explanations are not mutually exclusive, it is possible that the grammaticalization was initiated by language contact, but that the continuation of the process was independent, following general patterns of how adverbial non-finite constructions evolve. In the next section, I will discuss the adverbial infinitives in relation to the ongoing specialization of the written language during the Late Old and Early Modern Swedish period.

5.2 Adverbial infinitives as an Ausbau phenomenon

Simultaneously with the expansion into new domains, a written language normally undergoes formal elaborations of different kinds, visible for instance in syntactic complexity (see Fischer 2007: 38–39, Kloss 1967). During the Middle Ages, when the bulk of the text production in Swedish consisted of translations from other languages, the elaboration of Old Swedish into a literary language was conducted under more or less direct influence from the source language, predominantly Latin (see Wollin 1981, 1983, Höder 2009, 2010). This caused a split between the spoken and written varieties of Old Swedish, since the spoken language was not affected by Latin. In the emerging cities, it was instead influences from Low German that shaped (the spoken and written) Swedish (see §2 and §5.1). The increasing use of participle constructions in Late Old Swedish, for example, is considered to be the result of such a Latin influence (Ahlberg 1942, Höder 2010). Some of these participle constructions seem to be used to express adverbial notions that today could be expressed using prepositional infinitives. In (34) below, the negated participle has an abessive meaning and would correspond to *utan* ‘without’ + *att* + infinitive in present-day Swedish. (Note that English uses a construction similar to the one found in Old Swedish.)

- (34) far iak ... til iherusalem eyg vitande hwat mik skal ouir koma
travel I to Jerusalem not knowing what me shall over come.INF
‘I travel ... to Jerusalem not knowing what shall come over me’ (ApG, ca.
1385, p. 164; from Ahlberg 1942: 163)

Although these Latin-inspired constructions were exclusively part of a written register, i.e. they were not used in the spoken language of the time, many of the

participle constructions survived in the 16th century Reformation Bible translations and remained part of a religious register for centuries (Ståhle 1970: 17–19). For the most part, they have not survived into present-day Swedish (neither spoken nor written).

After the Reformation, text production in Swedish increased rapidly, but not predominantly in religious contexts, as opposed to the situation in the Middle Ages. Texts were also original works in Swedish to a much greater extent than before, i.e. not translations or paraphrases. This means that the elaboration of Swedish during this period was somewhat less directly influenced by other languages than was the case during the late Middle Ages, when the first steps towards a more homogeneous, standardized Swedish were taken. As we have seen, a new abessive construction appeared during the late 17th century. Instead of participles like the one in (34), prepositional infinitives were used to express the same adverbial notion, as in (35) below. The fact that specifically abessive constructions appeared during periods (and in contexts) in which the written language was being elaborated might suggest that they are part of an ongoing process of *Verschriftlichung*. While the first of these processes (during the late Middle Ages) was interrupted by the Reformation, the second process has continued.

- (35) Skulle det wäl wara möjeligit, at jag fått en stiuvmor, utan
 should it well be.INF possible that I get.SUP a stepmother without
 at weta deraf.
 IM know.INF thereof
 ‘Would it be possible that I had got a stepmother without knowing
 anything of it?’ (1dSMUL, 1738)

The emergence of constructions such as the one in (34) above is an example of how the demands of new genres and text types lead to a specialization of the language. In this case, it is quite obvious that the construction in question has emerged with inspiration from Latin, but as we have seen in §5.1, this is not necessarily the case with adverbial infinitives. In spite of this, both the Latin-inspired constructions and the adverbial infinitives can be understood as part of the same process of formal elaboration and specialization that a language undergoes when it is being used in new functional contexts. An important piece of evidence supporting the assumption that the development of adverbial infinitives is part of a written-language specific development is the fact that prepositional adverbial infinitives (with the exception of purposive infinitives) do not seem to be used in the traditional, spoken dialect of Övdalian. Since the linguistic distance between Swedish and Övdalian is substantial, and has been for a long time, Övdalian has

not been influenced by written Swedish in the same way as other regional and local varieties of spoken Swedish have been. Its isolated location also means that contact with other languages has been minimal. Until recently, the dialect has not been used in writing to any large extent, which means that it has not been through processes of *Verschriftlichung* or language *Ausbau*. The empirical investigation showed that the Övdalian translators very often used other constructions to convey the meaning expressed by adverbial infinitives in the Swedish originals. Many of the purposive infinitives were expressed with finite clauses, both coordinated and subordinated. The abessive infinitives, on the other hand, were almost consistently translated with a negated coordinated structure, like the one in (25) above, here repeated as (36).

(36) a. Present-day Swedish

Han som låg under vindfället lyssnade utan att
he who laid under windfall.DEF listened without IM
förstå.
understand.INF

‘He who was under the windfall listened without understanding.’
(Hunden, p. 82)

b. Övdalian

An so låg under windfelleḡ lydd men bigript it
he who laid under windfall.DEF listened but understood not
noð.
anything

‘He who was under the windfall listened without understanding.’
(Rattsjin, p. 82)

Even though both constructions convey roughly the same meaning, the Swedish prepositional infinitive can be understood as a grammaticalized construction expressing abessive meaning, while the coordinated structure in Övdalian is not exclusively used with this meaning. Prepositional infinitives thus offer a more precise way of expressing adverbial notions, which in earlier stages of the language might have been expressed as in Övdalian. This can be understood as a kind of grammaticalization where a specific meaning (in this case abessive) is connected to a specific construction (in this case a prepositional infinitive). When it comes to the abessive meaning, there thus exists a more or less one-to-one relationship between form and function in Swedish (in the sense that the construction *utan* ‘without’ + *att*-infinitive always has abessive meaning), but this

is not the case in Övdalian. This becomes even clearer when we compare instrumental infinitives in Swedish with their Övdalian translations. In these instances, it rather seems like Övdalian lacks the ability to express this precise meaning. Instead, a construction with a temporal meaning is used, as in example (28b) above.

There are thus reasons to assume that adverbial constructions (for example expressing abessive meaning) are part of a process of elaboration and specialization of the written language when it is being used in new domains. Abessive constructions emerged in the late Middle Ages, then clearly under the influence of Latin, as well as in the Early Modern period. Both periods are characterized by an increasing use of the written language. The comparison with Övdalian shows that specialized adverbial constructions are not used in the same way as in present-day Swedish. Since the variety has remained mostly spoken (at least until recently), this supports the assumption that adverbial infinitives emerged as part of a written register.

6 Summary and conclusions

This article traces the development of prepositional infinitives functioning as adverbial adjuncts throughout the history of Swedish, and investigates how present-day Swedish adverbial infinitives are translated into the traditional dialect of Övdalian. The results show that the emergence of adverbial infinitives is a gradual process in many ways similar to the corresponding development in Romance languages. While purposive infinitives were already attested in Old Swedish, other adverbial infinitives emerged during the post-Reformation era, starting with abessive and substitutive infinitives in the 17th century, followed by temporal and instrumental infinitives in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, respectively. This was a dynamic period in the history of Swedish, characterized by a substantial functional expansion of the written language and the subsequent formal elaborations of the written form (i.e. language *Ausbau*). The contrastive investigation of Övdalian translations of Swedish texts suggests that adverbial infinitives are not used in the dialect, with the exception of purposive infinitives. Instead, other strategies are used in order to express the same adverbial notions. As opposed to Standard Swedish, Övdalian has not existed as a literary (written) language until recently. I have taken the absence of adverbial infinitives in Övdalian as an indication that they originally were part of a written rather than spoken register. I take the emergence of adverbial infinitives in Swedish to be part of a process of *Verschriftlichung* and language *Ausbau*.

The article also explores the possibility that adverbial infinitives are the result of language contact with High German and French, as suggested by Holm (1967).

Since we know of other instances of syntactic influence from High German on Swedish, but of mainly lexical influence from French, High German stands out as the more probable candidate in this regard. Moreover, it is quite clear that some of the Old Swedish participle constructions which are used in much the same way as present-day Swedish adverbial infinitives emerged under the influence of Latin. It is, however, not evident that the same is true for the later emergence of infinitival constructions. Adverbial infinitives are common in European languages, and even though it cannot be ruled out that the Swedish constructions are (partly) due to language contact, there is also the possibility that they emerged independently as a result of the elaboration and specialization of the written language during the Early Modern period. The empirical findings of this investigation show that the relative order in which the adverbial infinitives appeared appears to convey a more general pattern of how adverbial constructions tend to evolve cross-linguistically (especially with regard to the initial and final stages of the process). Even if the emergence of the first adverbial infinitives is the result of language contact (in that case an example of replica grammaticalization), the subsequent grammaticalization of other adverbial infinitives could still be independent. In other words, the possibility of language contact does not exclude that the subsequent grammaticalization process was independent and in line with cross-linguistic patterns.

Abbreviations

EOS Early Old Swedish
IM infinitive marker
LOS Late Old Swedish

Quoted texts

1dSMUL: Modée, Reinhold Gustaf (b. 1698). *Håkan Smulgråt* [Håkan Cheap-skate]. Stockholm, 1739. See Melander Marttala & Strömquist (2001). Available through LB.

2aSTERBH: Kexél, Olof (b. 1748). *Sterbhus-kammereraren Mulpus eller Caffehuset i Stora Kyrkobrinken* [The chief accountant of the estate Mulpus or the coffee house in the main church hill]. Stockholm, 1776. See Melander Marttala & Strömquist (2001). Available through LB.

5 The emergence of adverbial infinitives in Swedish

- 2cKUSINE: Envallsson, Carl (b. 1756). *Kusinerna, eller: Fruntimmers-sqvallret* [The cousins or the gossip of the women]. Stockholm, 1807. See Melander Marttala & Strömquist (2001). Available through LB.
- ApG: Apostla Gerningar [Acts of the Apostles]. 1385. In *Klosterläsning*. Edited by G. E. Klemming. (Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftssällskapet 22.) Stockholm, 1877–1878. Available through FTB/Korp.
- Blogg: Bloggmix [A selection of Swedish blogs]. 1998–2017. Available through Korp.
- Bol: Bolinus, Andreas (b. 1642). *En dagbok från 1600-talet* [A diary from the 17th century]. Edited by E. Brunnström. Stockholm, 1913.
- Leg: Stephens, George (ed.). 1847. *Svenska medeltidens kloster- och helgonabok [...]* *Ett forn-svenskt legendarium [...]* [The Swedish medieval book of monasteries and saints ... An Old Swedish collection of legends]. Stockholm: Norstedts. Originally written some time between 1276 and 1307. Earliest manuscript (Codex Bureanus) from ca. 1350. Available through FTB/Korp.
- Ehrensvärd: C. A. *Ehrensvärds brev* [The letters of C. A. Ehrensvärd]. Auth. b. 1745. Edited by Gunhild Bergh. Stockholm, 1916.
- Hunden: Ekman, Kerstin. 1986. *Hunden* [The dog]. Stockholm: Bonnier.
- Joh.: *Johannesevangeliet* [The gospel of John]. In *Bibel 2000*. Gothenburg: Bokförlaget Cordia AB, 1999.
- Jua.: *Juanneswaundsjiq: Johannesevangeliet på älvdalska* [The gospel of John in Övdalian]. Knivsta: Lars Steensland, 1989.
- KM: Karl Magnus saga [The story of Karl Magnus]. End of 14th century. In *Prosadikter från Sveriges medeltid*. Edited by G. E. Klemming. (Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftssällskapet 28.) Stockholm, 1887–1889. Available through FTB/Korp.
- Mål-roo: Columbus, Samuel (b. 1642). *Mål-Roo eller roo-mål* [Language amusement or amusing language]. Ca. 1675. Edited by Bengt Hesselman. (Nordiska texter och undersökningar 6.) Stockholm: Hugo Geegers förlag, 1935. Available through FTB/Korp.

Måns: *Peder Månssons brev på svenska från Rom till Vadstena kloster 1508–1519* [Peder Månsson's letters in Swedish from Rome to Vadstena monastery 1508–1519]. Auth. b. ca. 1460. Edited by Robert Geete. (Småstycken på fornsvenska. Andra serien.) Stockholm, 1915.

Rattsjin: Ekman, Kerstin. 2000. *Rattsjin* [The dog]. Älvdalen: Juts böcker.

Rålamb: Callmer, Christian (ed.). 1963. *Diarium under resa till Konstantinopel 1657–1658* ['Diary during a journey to Constantinople 1657–1658', undertaken by Claes Rålamb (b. 1622)]. (Historiska handlingar 37:3.) Stockholm: Norstedts.

UL: Schlyter, Carl Johan (ed.). 1834. *Samling af Sweriges gamla lagar. Tredje bandet. Uplands-Lagen* [Collection of the old laws of Sweden. Volume three. The law of Uppland]. Stockholm: Norstedts. Originally written in 1296. Available through FTB/Korp.

von Unge: von Unge, Otto Sebastian (b. 1797). *Vandring genom Dalarne, jemte Författarens Resa söderut* [Walk through Dalecarlia, as well as the author's journey to the south]. Stockholm: Z. Hæggström, 1829. Available through LB.

EWL: Collin, Hans Samuel & Carl Johan Schlyter (eds.). 1827. *Samling af Sweriges gamla lagar. Första bandet. Westgötalagen* [Collection of the old laws of Sweden. Volume one. The Westrogothic law]. Stockholm: Z. Haeggström. Originally written in the 1220s. Available through FTB/Korp.

ÖgL: Collin, Hans Samuel & Carl Johan Schlyter (eds.). 1830. *Samling af Sweriges gamla lagar. Andra bandet. Östgöta-Lagen* [Collection of the old laws of Sweden. Volume two. The Ostrogothic law]. Stockholm: Norstedts. Originally written in the 1280s. Available through FTB/Korp.

Electronic corpora

FTB: Fornsvenska textbanken [The text bank of Old Swedish]: <https://project2.sol.lu.se/fornsvenska>

Korp: https://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/?mode=all_hist

LB: The Swedish literature bank: <http://www.litteraturbanken.se>

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5 The emergence of adverbial infinitives in Swedish

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