# The Emergence of Adverbial Infinitives in Swedish

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Abstract: 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 emerge from the late 17th century onwards possibly as the 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 of 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 taken already during the late Middle Ages in the monasteries and convents, most importantly the abbey of Vadstena. The Latin influence on these texts is considerable, not least at a syntactical level, causing a split between written Old Swedish and the spoken varieties. This has been described as a process of language Ausbau (cf. Höder 2009, 2010). A more homogenous written language takes 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 is not until the end of the 18th century, however, that the standardization process is 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 (cf. Teleman 2003a, 2003b), 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]

(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. Substitutive
*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. Intrumental
*Han gjorde sig oumbärlig genom att*
he　made　REFL indispensable　through　IM
*alltid vara steget före.*
always be.INF　step.DEF　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 over prose styles in the history of Swedish. Firstly, focusing on present-day Scandinavian, 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

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[1] I use the gloss IM for the infinitive marker, throughout.

from other languages, such as High German and French, and that they are not attested in Old Swedish (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 Swedish with the non-standardized variety of Övdalian (see section 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 (cf. 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 be part of a written register rather than a spoken register. Important questions are therefore (1) when adverbial infinitives emerged in Swedish and (2) if there is support 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 (c. 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). In addition to this, the corpus of Swedish drama dialogue (Sw. *Svensk dramadialog*; Melander Marttala & Strömqvist 2001), covering the period 1700–2000, has also been excerpted in its entirety. To shed light on the second question (i.e. whether adverbial infinitives first appear 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 section 2, I give a brief introduction to the concept of language Ausbau in relation to the emergence of a standardized written Swedish. Section 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 section 4, I present my empirical findings, and section 5 provides a theoretical discussion. Finally, section 6 contains some concluding remarks.


## 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, which in turn leads to an elaboration of the written variety, in the sense that new communication

needs might also affect the syntactical complexity of the variety. This should be understood as an ongoing process, and is identified as a diachronic process of language Ausbau by Kloss (1967). It can also be understood as a process of Verschriftlichung (cf. Fischer 2007:37–38), i.e. the elaboration of the written language will lead to register-specific developments, such as more complex syntactical 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 (cf. Höder 2009). In societies in which a large part of the population has access to the written language (i.e. most modern Western societies), phenomena originally considered as part of the written register only can spread to the spoken language (Fischer 2007:37, Weiß 2004).[2]

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 is mainly in the context of Vadstena Abbey that the shaping of Old Swedish into a literary language takes place. Since Latin was the predominant language in this environment, the Swedish texts that were produced were often heavily influenced by Latin, for instance regarding relativization and other syntactical patterns (see further Höder 2009, 2010 and Wollin 1981, 1983). The bulk of the texts produced were also translations or paraphrases of Latin texts (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 (cf. Ståhle 1970; Teleman 2002, 2003a). Outside of the religious context, another language is 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 was 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 (cf. 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 Braunmüller 2005 for an overview of Low German (and Latin) influences 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 not mainly in

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[2] It has been suggested that the omission of the auxiliary *ha* 'have' in subordinate clauses (also known as *ha-drop*) in Swedish was originally a written language phenomenon that spread to the spoken language during the 20th century (Andréasson et al. 2004, Bäckström 2019).

religious or administrational contexts. The Reformation in the first half of the 16th century marks the end of the text production within the monasteries, since they were closed down. Instead, the original production in Swedish increased, and since written Swedish was no longer elaborated within the monasteries and convents, influence from Latin was less intensive. Simultaneously, the importance of the Hanseatic league diminished, thus leading to less contact between Swedish and Low German. Instead, High German becomes 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 (Magnusson 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 Braunmüller 2005 for an overview). High German continues to be an important language in Sweden throughout the Early and Late Modern Swedish period, but from the 17th century and onwards, Swedish is also affected by French. The French influence on Swedish is however not as far reaching as the High German one, affecting mainly the lexicon (cf. Gellerstam 2005).

In sum, the development of written Swedish can be described in several steps, starting with alphabetization and the subsequent expansion of the written language into new domains. The expansion leads to an elaboration of the written language, as it is being shaped in more or less deliberate ways to meet certain needs (communicative or esthetical). This is what Kloss (1967) identifies as a diachronic process of language Ausbau. In the history of Swedish, this process is characterized by influence from other languages. During the Middle Ages, when Swedish was first used as a literary language mainly in translations, Latin served as a model for the translators, to some extent, and affected for example the relativization patterns of Old Swedish (Höder 2009). Outside of the religious domain, the late medieval period is characterized by intensive language contact between Swedish and Low German, which affected both the written and spoken Swedish of the time. After the Reformation, both the Latin and the Low German influence on Swedish became less strong. Instead, High German became an important language in Sweden, influencing the language on both a lexical and a syntactical level. Later on, contact with French led to numerous lexical loans. During the Early Modern Swedish period, written Swedish expanded to many new domains and parallel to this, an emerging written standard was eventually codified in dictionaries and grammars. By the end of the 18th century, a more or less standardized written Swedish is in place (Teleman 2002; see also the introduction to 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 what is known about the historical development of adverbial infinitives in Romance.

## *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.[3] 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. *läs*　　　　　*läs-a*　　　　'read'
　　　　 *köp*　　　　　*köp-a*　　　　'buy'
　　　b. *sy*　　　　　 *sy-∅*　　　　 'sew'
　　　　 *hoppa*　　　　*hopp-∅*　　　'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 reanalyzed as a verb, as the derivational affix was grammaticalized into an inflectional ending. The *-n* was lost at an early stage in Scandinavian languages but is preserved in, for example, German and Dutch (cf. Noreen 1898:636). The infinitive is thus common for all the Germanic languages. There are infinitives in other Indo-European languages as well, for example in Romance, but these are

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[3] There are Scandinavian dialects in which the verb stem is identical to the infinitive as in English, see Delsing 2014.

etymologically distinct from their Germanic counterparts (cf. 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 compared to the Continental Germanic languages (including English). The Nordic preposition is *at* ('at', 'by'), identical to present-day Swedish preposition *åt* with the same semantics (cf. 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* (cf. Beckman 1934:15).[4] 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, and it was reanalyzed 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 (cf. 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 Gothic (Haspelmath 1989).

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

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 (cf.

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[4] In Romance, the infinitive markers seem to retain more of their prepositional status than in Germanic. Cf. section 3.2 below.

Haspelmath 1989, Los 2005, Kalm 2016b, Kalm 2019). The final stages of the spread of infinitival prepositions to non-purposive contexts can partly be traced in Early Old Swedish (EOS, c. 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 Gutnic). A few examples are given in (4). Note that present-day Swedish requires the infinitive marker in all the exemplified contexts.

(4)    a. Purposive
*Combær   han   til   at köpæ   iorþ*         (EOS)
comes     he   there IM buy.INF soil
'He comes there to buy land' (ÄVgL 102)

    b. Complement to adjective
*siþæn   ær   han   skyldughær   kunungær   wæræ*      (EOS)
then    is    he    obliged      king         be.INF
'then he is obliged to be king' (UL 89)

    c. Subject
*Nu   ær þæt   klokkarans   skuld.    bæra*
now   is it     clerc.DEF.GEN obligation   carry.INF
*bok     ok    stol    i    sokn*        (EOS)
book   and   stole   in    parish.DEF
'Now it is the liability of the clerk to bring the Bible and
the stole to the parish' (ÖgL 7)

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 and onwards), its distribution is generally the same as in present-day Swedish (cf. 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 (cf. 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 to English). Prepositional infinitives can be used in, for instance, German and French to express some of these notions. See table 1 for examples.

| Purposive | German | *Sie isst viel, um Gewicht zu gewinnen.*<br>she eats a.lot for weight IM win.INF<br>'She eats a lot in order to gain weight' |
|---|---|---|
| | French | *Elle mange beaucoup pour prendre du poids.*<br>she eats a.lot for gain.INF ART weight<br>'She eats a lot in order to gain weight' |
| Abessive | German | *Er ging, ohne etwas zu sagen.*<br>he left without something IM say.INF<br>'He left without saying anything' |
| | French | *Il est sorti sans rien dire.*<br>he is left without nothing say.INF<br>'He left without saying anything' |
| Substitutive | German | *Er blieb vor dem Fernseher, anstatt*<br>he stayed in.front.of ART TV instead.of<br>*mit seinen Freunden aus-zu-gehen.*<br>with his friends out-IM-go.INF<br>'He stayed in front of the TV instead of going out with his friends' |
| | French | *Il est resté devant la télé au lieu de*<br>he is stayed in.front.of ART TV in stead of<br>*sortir avec ses amis.*<br>going.out.INF with his friends<br>'He stayed in front of the TV instead of going out with his friends' |
| Temporal (anteriority) | German | – |
| | French | *Après avoir réfléchi, elle lui répondit.*<br>after have.INF reflected she him answered<br>'After having reflected, she answered him' |

Table 1. Examples of prepositional infinitives in French and German.

Note that the prepositional infinitives in French normally do not contain the equivalent of an infinitive marker (i.e. *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 retain 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 (c.f. Hengenveld 1998). Unlike in Swedish, temporal posteriority may be expressed using a prepositional infinitive in French (see 5a 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 (5) below.

(5)  a. French
  *Il    faut    réfléchir    avant    de    parler*.
  INDF must    reflect.INF before   PRP   speak.INF
  'One must reflect before speaking' (Grevisse 1993:1298)
  b. Spanish
  *Ambos  procesos  requieren  de    las   mismas técnicas*
  both    processes require    PRP   ART  same    techniques
  *a    pesar  de   ser    totalmente diferentes*.
  PRP  despite PRP be.INF totally      different
  'Both processes require the same techniques even though they
  are totally different' (Schulte 2007b:533)

Conversely, the Swedish instrumental infinitive would correspond 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) generally corresponds to the use of 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 constructions.

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, 2007b) shows that prepositional infinitives emerged independently in 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 (6) below.


(6)     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, as opposed to Portuguese and Spanish. Schulte (2007b) 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 section 5.1). With regard to Swedish, it can be noted that all of the adverbial infinitives in (6) are attested with the exception of concessive infinitives. At least, this is the impression that you get from the Swedish Academy grammar (Teleman et al 1999: III: 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).


(7)     a. *[…]jag blir     (sur)   på nära   och   kära*              (present-day Swedish)
             I     become  (sulky) at close   and   dear
             *som   trots     att       ha        verkat   vara      okej   med*
             that   despite   IM       have.INF seemed   be.INF    okay   with
             *instruktionen […]     kräver     att    jag*
              instruction.DEF        demand     that   I
             *ska    vara anträffbar*
             shall  be     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*             (present-day Swedish)
             but    it     feels     still   fun   to      reward.INF.PASS
             *med   drygt 65 % trots     att     ha*
             with   fully 65 % despite   IM     have.INF
             *ridit          en   ritt   jag   inte   var   nöjd    med.*
             ridden        a    ride   I     not    was   pleased  with
             'But, it is still fun to be rewarded with fully 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 also in Old Swedish, they are discussed separately in section 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 by 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 (8a) below, where the matrix verb is *skicka* 'send'. In (8b), the preposition is obligatory since it is not a "purposive" context (cf. Kalm 2016b:137–138).

(8)    a. *Vi  skickade  honom  (för)  att  köpa  mjölk.*      (present-day Swedish)
              we  sent      him    (for)  IM  buy.INF  milk
              'We sent him to buy milk'
    b. *Jag satte  mig på  andra  sidan*          (present-day Swedish)
              I    sat      REFL at    other    side.DEF
             *gången    *(för)  att inte  vara  i    vägen.*
              aisle.DEF  *(for)  IM not  be.INF  in    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 (cf. Kalm 2016b:120). As mentioned in section 2.1 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 oldest/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 is 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. 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] In (9a) below, there is a typical example of a purposive *at*-infinitive from the 13th century, and in (9b) there is a bare infinitive with a purposive reading. Note that the verb *sænda* 'send' in (9b) is semantically identical to the present-day Swedish verb in (8a) above.

(9)  a. *han  ær  i.  sokn       farin  siukum. at  hiælpæ.*                    (EOS)
        he   is   in  parish.DEF gone  sick    IM  help.INF
        'he went to the city to help the sick' (ÄVgL 16)
     b. *han  sænde  sina  dicipulos  viþa  vm       væruldena  pradica.*  (EOS)
        he   sent   his   disciples  wide  around  world.DEF  preach.INF
        'he sent his disciples around the world to preach' (Bur 99)

In the Late Old Swedish period (LOS, c. 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 section 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 (10) below.

(10)  a. *Til  mykla  oglädhi       war   thu  här  komin  aff  franz*        (LOS)
         for  much   unhappiness  were  you  here  come  of   France
         *til    at göra        nakan  wanhedher  konungx  döttrom*
         to   IM make.INF  any    dishonor    king.GEN  daughters
         'to our great displeasure, you came here from France to dishonor
         the daughters of the king' (KM 260)
      b. *jak nidherfoor       til  Colne   til  ath thär  faa        reliquias*  (LOS)

I    down.traveled to   Cologne to   IM   there get.INF   relics
'I traveled to Cologne to get relics there' (Måns 332)

During the Early Modern period (c. 1526 onward), there is considerable variation in the form of the purposive infinitive. In addition to the Old Swedish patterns, some purposive infinitives are also introduced by *til* 'to' alone, as in (11a) below, or by *til* 'to' in combination with the preposition *för* 'for' as in (11b). This is a consequence of the grammaticalization of *til* (*at*) as an infinitive marker during the 16th and 17th centuries (cf. Kalm 2014, 2016a, 2016b:203–221). In (11c) 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 (11d).

(11)   a. *Men   nu   ha   vi   komme hit   te   gratulera*
           but   now   have   we   come   here   PRP/IM   congratulate.INF
           'But now we have come to congratulate' (2cKUSINE, 1791)
   b. *Ä   de   inte   Ni,   som   kom te mej   för   te berätta*
           is it   not   you   that   came to me   for   IM tell.INF
           *hur   Ni   har   hört…*
            how   you   have   heard
           'Is it not you, who came to me, to tell me how you had
           heard…' (2cKUSINE, 1791)
   c. *Häldre ger   jag   ut   min plåt för   sådant,*
           rather give   I   out   my   ticket for   such
           *än   jag   går   på   Operan   och   knuffas,*
           than I   go   to   Opera.DEF and   jostle
           *för til at få   se   et par illa   uphängda Gudar   träta*
           for IM   IM get.INF   see.INF a pair   poorly hanged   gods   argue
           *ur   Dis   dure med   hwarandra*
           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 from Dis dure
           with each other.' (2a STERBH 1776)
   d. *Sedan   Danske skeep   flotten   had   liggat   söder   i*
           since   Danish ship   fleet.DEF had   layed   south   in
           *Callmars   sundh   och   blockuerat i 2 veckor så*
           Kalmar.GEN channel and   blocked   in 2 weeks   so
           *gick han   åth   Gottland för   att   forsorga*
           went he   to   Gotland for   IM   support.INF
           *sigh   medh   wedh   och   proviant.*
           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 78, c. 1697)

The form of the purposive infinitive has evidently varied substantially throughout the history of Swedish: it has been bare, introduced by different infinitive markers (*at*, *til at*, *til*), and prepositions (*til* 'to', *för* 'for'). In table 2, I give an overview of the proportions of the purposive constructions in the history of Swedish.

| | bare inf. | *at* | *til at* | *til* | *för til at* | *för at* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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 % |

Table 2. Distribution of purposive infinitives in the history of Swedish, based on data from Kalm (2016b) and the corpus of Swedish drama dialogue. N = 1 230.

The data in table 2 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 become more common over time, and in the 16th century, this is the dominant pattern.[6] The variation in form increases during the 17th and early 18th centuries, but decreases 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' is quite rare in purposive contexts, while it dominates the purposive infinitives in the latter part of the century. Other constructions (such as *för te* + infinitive or *för til at* + infinitive) must be considered quite

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[6] This 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) and Kalm (2016b:203–221) for further details.

marginal in comparison to these more frequent patterns. From the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, only *for*-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 in (8) above), and the infinitive marker *att* is obligatory. Prepositional infinitives are already common in Old Swedish, but the prepositions are then part of the lexical construction of a governing verb, noun or adjective, i.e. they do not introduce adverbial adjuncts. The earliest examples of adverbial (adjunct) infinitives appear in texts from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. First attested are abessive infinitives in a text from 1657, and substitutive infinitives in a text from 1675, see (12) below.

(12)  a. Abessive
*[Då] kom wijd Minans springande en fransos*
then came at mine.DEF.GEN exploding a Frenchman
*flygandess och ståendes på föttren mitt ibland Officerarne,*
flying and standing at foot.PL.DEF midst among officer.PL.DEF
*utan at wara på något sätt skadder.*
without IM 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, p. 42, 1657)
  b. Substitutive
*[…] i stället för at fruckta dem, utbrast han i desse ord:*
in place for to fear.INF them exclaimed he in these words
*Ju flere Fijender ju meer ähra.*
the more 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 be used only sporadically during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, but they rapidly become common in texts from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially the abessive infinitives (cf. 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 (13) below.

(13)  a. Temporal
*Då jag efter att ha likafullt gått ut […] åter*
as I after IM have.INF nevertheless gone.SUP out again
*tillbaka kom holt jag före att man borde i så critiqva*
back came held I for that one should in such critical

*omständigheter ej våga dröja längre utan strax gjöra Revolten.*
circumstances not dare wait longer but soon make revolt.DEF
'As I, after nevertheless having went out, came back, I meant that one
should, in such critical conditions, not dare to wait any longer but
immediately begin the revolt' (Ehrensvärd, p. 6, 1779)

b. Instrumental

*[…] konsten segrar icke genom att trotsa,*
    art.DEF prevails not through IM defy.INF
*utan genom att följa naturen*
but through IM 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, 2007b), the development of adverbial infinitives in Swedish thus seems to have been a gradual process. Over time, more adverbial notions were being expressed with prepositional infinitives. In (14) 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 (6) 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.[7]

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

The survey above gives us information on when the different adverbial infinitives are first attested in Swedish. It does not tell us anything about the frequency of the prepositional infinitives. Since adverbial infinitives are relatively recent in Swedish, it is relevant to investigate how common it is for the adverbial notions in question to be expressed through prepositional infinitives. I have therefore excerpted all adverbial infinitives in the corpus of Swedish drama dialogue (Melander Marttala & Strömqvist 2001). The result from this investigation is presented in table 3.

| | Purposive | Abessive | Substitutive | Instr. | Temp. | total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Period 1 | 100 | 31 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 134 |

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[7] Cf. however the examples from present-day Swedish in (7) above.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1725–1750 | (75%) | (23%) | (2%) | (–) | (–) | (100%) |
| Period 2 1775–1800 | 110 (81%) | 25 (19%) | 0 (–) | 0 (–) | 0 (–) | 135 (100%) |
| Period 3 1825–1850 | 125 (82%) | 22 (14%) | 2 (1,5%) | 2 (1,5%) | 1 (1%) | 152 (100%) |
| Period 4 1875–1900 | 170 (73%) | 41 (18%) | 8 (3%) | 12 (5%) | 2 (1%) | 233 (100%) |
| Period 5 1925–1950 | 187 (67%) | 62 (22%) | 6 (2%) | 21 (8%) | 2 (1%) | 278 (100%) |
| Period 6 1975–2000 | 124 (71%) | 32 (18%) | 7 (4%) | 10 (6%) | 1 (1%) | 174 (100%) |

Table 3. Adverbial infinitives in the corpus of Swedish drama dialogue. N = 1106.

Since the number and size vary between the periods, it is not the absolute numbers but the relative proportions between the adverbial infinitives that are of relevance for our purposes. The data from the drama corpus seem to confirm the temporal layering of the adverbial infinitives in (14) above. Furthermore, it is evident that the purposive infinitives are by far the most common of the adverbial infinitives. Abessive infinitives are also quite frequent, while the other types are less commonly used. This tells us that there seems to be a relatively strong communicative need to express abessive meanings, and it would be an interesting question to investigate how this meaning was expressed in earlier stages of Swedish, i.e. before the emergence of abessive infinitives. This is beyond the scope of the present paper, but see section 5 below for discussion.

In conclusion, we have seen that it becomes 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 be 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 (cf. Schulte 2007a, 2007b).

## 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 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 to preserve it.[8] As a consequence, Övdalian has become codified in dictionaries and grammars in recent years, unlike most other Scandinavian dialects or non-standard varieties. An orthographic norm is in the process of being established, and there is 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' (Ekman 1986, 2000) and the Gospel of John

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[8] There is for example an association for the preservation of Övdalian, Ulum Dalska, founded in 1985.

(Johannesevangeliet/Juanneswaundsjilą; Steensland 1989). I have excerpted all of the adverbial infinitives in the Swedish texts and then compared them with their respective translation. 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 the 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 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 4.

|  | *Hunden* | *Johannesevangeliet* | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Purposive | 28 | 35 | 63 |
| Abessive | 10 | 1 | 11 |
| Instrumental | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Temporal | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 39 | 40 | 79 |

*Table 4.* Adverbial infinitives in the Swedish texts.

As was the case with the drama corpus, 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 5.

|  | *Rattsjin* | *Juanneswaundsjilą* | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| *fer te*-inf. ('for to') | 7 | 19 | 26 |
| *og*-coordination ('and') | 11 | 12 | 23 |
| *so*-clause ('so') | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| *fer*-clause ('for') | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| bare inf. | 0 | 1 | 1 |

| other[9] | 0 | 1 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|

Table 5. Övdalian translations of purposive infinitives.

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 5), and they are used much like in the Swedish original. Note that the Övdalian infinitive marker is *te* (cf. section 4.1 above). In the purposive infinitives in (15) and (16) below, both Swedish and Övdalian has an infinitive introduced with the preposition *för/fer* 'for' and the infinitive marker (*att/te*).

(15)  a. Present-day Swedish
         *Nu    fick   han   lyfta    benen         högt för   att    komma*
         now   got    he    lift.INF  leg.PL.DEF     high for   IM     come.INF
         *fram    i   snösörjan.*
         forward in  modd.snow.DEF
         'He now had to raise his leg up high in order to make his
         way through the modd snow.' (Hunden 26)
      b. Övdalian
         *Nu    wart    an    lypt   fuätum   og    fer    te tågå*
         now   was     he    lift   feet     and   for    IM come.INF
         *sig    framm    i     wåtsnįuäm.*
         REFL   forward  in    modd.snow.DEF
         'He now had to raise his leg up high in order to make his way
         through the modd snow.' (Rattsjin 26)

(16)  a. Present-day Swedish
         *Detta    sade de       för    att    sätta    honom på      prov*
         this      said they     for    IM     sit.INF  him   at      test
         *och få    något    att    anklaga      honom för.*
         and get   something IM    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*
         this said they just   for    IM tempt.INF    him
         *og fer tä fǫ      nod      tä klågå        ǫ  an    fer.*
         and for IM get.INF  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)

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[9] In 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.

*Og*-introduced structures are also common, but they are far from always non-finite. Rather, *og* commonly introduces a finite clause from which the subject has been omitted, as in example (17) 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 (18), 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 (cf. 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 (19). 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'.

(17)   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 13)
      b. Övdalian
        *Millumað stanner an    og   slätsjer      skårån         liteð.*
        sometimes stops  he   and  lick.PRES.3SG snow.crust.DEF     little
        'Sometimes he stops to lick the snow crust a little bit.' (Rattsjin 13)

(18)   a. Present-day Swedish
        *Skulle  jag  annars    säga    att   jag  går  bort*
        would  I     otherwise  say.INF that  I     go   away
        *för att  bereda     plats för   er?*
        for  IM   prepare.INF 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)

(19)   a. Present-day Swedish
        *När folk     hörde   att   han hade gjort detta tecken*
        when people  heard   that  he   had  made this  sign
        *drog de   ut    för  att   möta       honom.*
        went they  out   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,*
        so when people  got   hear     he    had   done  that  sign

*fuor dier aut og myöt onum.*
went they out and meet.INF/PRES.3PL 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 (20) and (21).

(20)　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 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 51)

(21)　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,*
　　　　and self went they not in in palace.DEF
　　　　*so dier uld it werd ųoriener*
　　　　so they would not become 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 purposive meaning, reproduced as (22) 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 find bare infinitives also in Old Swedish.[10]

(22)　a. Present-day Swedish
　　　　*När Maria hörde det, steg hon strax upp*
　　　　when Mary heard that went she soon up
　　　　*och gick för att möta honom.*
　　　　and went for IM meet.INF him
　　　　When Mary heard this, she got up quickly and went to meet him.' (Joh. 11:29)

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

b. Övdalian

*Snjäst Mari fick är ed, raitt ǫ upp sig*
when Mary got hear that raised she up REFL
*og fuor stad myöt onum.*
and went along 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 Övdalian. Instead of using embedding, as in Swedish, the Övdalian translators have normally chosen to use a coordinate negated structure instead, as in (23–24) below. On one occasion, the translator used a finite subordinate structure instead, see (25) below.

(23)  a. Present-day Swedish
    *Han följde dem alltid med blicken men låg*
    he followed them always with eye.DEF but stayed
    *kvar utan att känna upphetsning.*
    put without IM feel.INF excitement
    'He followed them always with his eye, but stayed put without
    feeling excitement.' (Hunden 52)
    b. Övdalian
    *An fygd ǫ ðiem min ogum olltiett og låg*
    he followed at them with eyes always and stayed
    *kwer og wart it ekster.*
    Put and become.PAST.3SG not excited
    'He followed them always with his eye, but stayed put
    without feeling excitement.' (Rattsjin 52)

(24)  a. Present-day Swedish
    *Han som låg under vindfället lyssnade*
    he who laid under windfall.DEF listened
    *utan att förstå.*
    without IM understand.INF
    'He who was under the windfall listened without understanding.' (Hunden 82)
    b. Övdalian
    *An so låg under windfellę lydd*
    he who laid under windfall.DEF listened
    *men bigript it noð.*
    but understand.PAST not anything
    'He who was under the windfall listened without understanding.' (Rattsjin 82)

(25)  a. Present-day Swedish
    *Hunden gick i skogskanten, långa sträckor*
    dog.DEF went in forest.edge.DEF long distances
    *utan att synas alls.*
    without IM see.INF.PASS at.all

'The dog wandered by the edge of the forest, long distances
without revealing himself at all' (Hunden 109)
b. Övdalian
*Rattsjin dsjikk   laungg  strettsjur   i   skuägkantem,*
dog.DEF went    long    distances   in  forest.edge.DEF
*so int   an   syndes       noð.*
so not   he   see.PST.PASS  at.all
'The dog wandered by the edge of the forest, long distances
without revealing himself at all' (Rattsjin 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 (26) below.

(26)    a. Present-day Swedish
*Ty den som Gud har  sänt talar   Guds       ord;*
for it   who God has  sent speaks  God.GEN    word
*Gud ger Anden        utan   att   mäta.*
God  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.' (Joh. 3:34)
b. Övdalian
*Fer an    so   Gud ar   stsjickad,  an   glemer Gudes      uord,*
for he     who God has   sent        he   speaks God.GEN    word
*fer Gud   dsjäv Andan     autǫ   tä mela.*
for God    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 with other means. The most frequent pattern used in the investigated texts is a coordinated finite structure containing a negation, instead of a non-finite 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 gets 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 has been translated using a finite subordinate structure, as in (27–28). In (27), the Swedish instrumental infinitive has been translated with a temporal subordinate clause introduced by the subordinator *dar*, and in (28) the infinitive is translated with a *bar*-introduced ('only', 'just') subordinate clause. In (29), 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.


(27)  a. Present-day Swedish

*Mycket folk    följde    efter, därför att  de   såg  de   tecken*
much   people  followed  after because that they saw  the  signs
*han gjorde   genom att  bota      de   sjuka.*
he  did       through IM  cure.INF  the  sick
'And a large crowd was following him, because they saw the signs
that he was doing by curing the sick.' (Joh. 6:2)

b. Övdalian

*Ed war mitsjid fuok    so    fygde,    fer  dier  såg  tecknę*
it  was much   people  who   followed  for  they  say  signs.DEF
*an garde, dar  an    buoted diem so    war  kliener.*
he did     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)


(28)  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 knä.*
who  could become  half    so big   through IM stand.INF  REFL    on knee
'It had happened between a couple of puppies and a man with a gruff voice
who could halve his size by kneeling.' (Hunden 86)

b. Övdalian

*Eð  add ennt      millę       nogum  wepum  og   ienum*
it  had happened  between     some    puppies and  a
*gruävröstaðum  kalle so     wart     elptn so stur  bar*
gruff.voiced    man who      became half  so big    only
*an stelld sig   ǫ kninę.*
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 86)


(29)  a. Present-day Swedish

*Men dessa    har upptecknats    för   att   ni    skall tro*
but  these    have record.SUP.PASS for   that  you   shall believe
*att Jesus är Messias,  Guds       son, och för   att   ni*
that Jesus is Messiah   God.GEN     son  and for   that  you
*genom att tro        skall ha  liv   i  hans namn.*
through IM believe.INF 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       namnę      onumes,*
God.GEN   son    and   so you   have  life.DEF in     name       his

*dar        truoid.*
who       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:

(30)  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: (…)'
    b. Övdalian
    *Mes an     add         sagt      edar,    fuortsett   an: (…)*
    as    he      have.PAST said      this               continued  he
    'As he had said this, he continued: (…)'

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 variety in the Swedish originals, are translated in several different ways. Often, a prepositional infinitive is used, much like in Swedish, but it is also a common strategy 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 occur. Since adverbial infinitives are not attested in Old Swedish, it is possible that similar (or the same) constructions that we find in Övdalian might have been used in earlier stages of Swedish to express the different 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 already in 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. This investigation also shows that there is a rather sudden change of the purposive preposition from *til* 'to' to *för* 'for' during the second half of the 18th century.

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 to the corresponding emergence of adverbial infinitives in Romance.

In addition to the historical survey of adverbial infinitives, I have also conducted 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 (cf. 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 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 attested already in Early Old Swedish, other adverbial infinitives do not appear until the Early and Late Modern Swedish period. Purposive infinitives are normally introduced by the infinitive marker *at* in Early Old Swedish, and since *at* etymologically is a preposition (cf. section 3.1 above), it could be argued that the (purposive) *at*-infinitive should be regarded as a prepositional phrase at this time (cf. Kalm 2016b). Non-purposive infinitives are 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 is 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 becomes 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 the time (see Kalm 2014, 2016b). It is not unlikely that the promotion of *til* during the time is 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* has a double function as both infinitive marker and preposition (just as in present-day German and English).

The first signs of the modern system of prepositional adverbial infinitives appear by the end of the Early Modern Swedish period with abessive infinitives, attested in 1657, and substitutive infinitives, in 1675. By this time, the Low German influence on Swedish has already come to an end, but Holm (1967) suggests that the constructions emerge as a result of language contact with High German and/or French. At least High German seems like a possible candidate for such an influence on Swedish, since we know of other syntactic constructions due to influence from High German (cf. section 2 above). (As noted, the French influence on Swedish that we know of today is lexical rather that syntactic.) If the emergence of adverbial infinitives in Swedish is due to language contact, this could be understood as a case of contact induced (or replica) grammaticalization (cf. 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. It would thus 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 emerge independently in Swedish in much the same way as it has been argued for Romance languages (Schulte 2007a, 2007b). Schulte (2007a, 2007b) shows that new adverbial infinitives appear 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 (6) and the Swedish in (14), repeated as (31) and (32) below.

(31)    purposive  >  abessive   >  temporal   >  substitutive  >  concessive
(32)    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 whereas Swedish developed an instrumental infinitive, Romance has a concessive infinitive. Interestingly, there are examples of concessive infinitives in (informal) present-day Swedish as well. Since it is not likely that the appearance of concessive infinitives in Swedish could be due to contact with Romance languages, it rather seems like the development follows some general pattern of how adverbial constructions evolve in language. This is also what Schulte (2007a, 2007b) suggests with regard to Romance, and he relates the order to Cristoforo'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 (cf. 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, 2007b) shows that Romance languages fit into this description. This paper suggests that the development of adverbial infinitives in Swedish follows the same general pattern, starting with purposive infinitives and ending with concessive infinitives in a similar way to 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 is 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 (cf. 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 a more or less direct influence from the source language, predominantly Latin (cf. Wollin 1981, 1983; Höder 2009, 2010). This caused a split between 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 (cf. sections 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 (33) 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.)

(33) *far     iak …   til iherusalem    eyg     vitande*
     travel   I        to Jerusalem      not     know.PTCP
     *hwat mik skal ouir koma*
     what me    shall over come.INF
     'I travel … to Jerusalem not knowing what shall come over me' *(*ApG, p. 164, c. 1385; quoted 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, the 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 homogenous, standardized Swedish were taken. As we have seen, a new abessive construction appears during the late 17th century. Instead of participles like the one in (33), prepositional infinitives are used to express the same adverbial notion, as in (34) below. The fact that specifically abessive constructions appear during periods (and in contexts) in which the written language is 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.

(34)    *Skulle    det   wäl   wara    möjeligit,    at    jag    fått    en    stiufmor*,
        should   it    well  be.INF  possible     that  I     get.SUP  a    stepmother
        *utan    at    weta    deraf*.
        without  IM    know.INF  thereof
        'Would it be possible that I have gotten a stepmother without
        knowing anything of it' (1dSMUL, 1738)

The emergence of constructions such as the one in (33) above is an example of how the demands of new genres and text types leads 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 section 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 the 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 (24) above, here repeated as (35).

(35)    a. Present-day Swedish
        *Han som låg under vindfället lyssnade*
        he  who  laid  under  windfall.DEF  listened
        *utan att förstå*.
        without  IM   understand.INF
        'He who was under the windfall listened without understanding.' (Hunden 82)
    b. Övdalian
        *An so låg under windfellę lydd*
        he  who  laid  under  windfall.DEF  listened
        *men bigript it noð*.
        but  understand.PAST  not  anything
        'He who was under the windfall listened without understanding.' (Rattsjin 82)

Even though both constructions convey roughly the same meaning, the Swedish prepositional infinitive can be understood as a grammaticalized construction to express abessive meaning while the coordinated structure in Övdalian is not exclusively used with this specific 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 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 possibility to express the precise meaning. Instead, a construction with a temporal meaning is used, as in the example (21a) 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 emerge both in the late Middle Ages, then clearly under the influence from Latin, and 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 are attested already in Old Swedish, other adverbial infinitives emerge 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 century, respectively. This is a dynamic period in the history of Swedish, characterized by 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). Although both languages have similar adverbial constructions as in Swedish, there is independent support for syntactic influence on Swedish only in the case of High German. Moreover, it is quite clear that some Old Swedish participle constructions that are used in much the same way as present-day Swedish adverbial infinitives emerge with the inspiration from Latin. However, it is 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 have

emerged independently as a result of the elaboration and specialization of the written language during the Early Modern period. The empirical findings of the investigation show that the relative order in which the adverbial infinitives appear seems to convey to a more general pattern of how adverbial constructions tend to evolve cross-linguistically. 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

\* = Text accessed through the corpus Swedish drama dialogue (Melander Marttala & Strömqvist 2001).

\*\* = Text available through the Old Swedish Text Bank (*Sw*. Fornsvenska textbanken) (https://project2.sol.lu.se/fornsvenska/).

\*\*\* = Text available through the Swedish Literature Bank (Sw. *Litteraturbanken*) (www.litteraturbanken.se).


\*1dSMUL = Modée, Reinhold Gustaf. 1738. *Håkan Smulgråt*. Stockholm.

\*2aSTERBH = Kexél, Olof. 1776. *Sterbhus-Kammereraren Mulpus, eller Caffe-Huset i Stora Kyrko-Brinken*. Stockholm.

\*2cKUSINE = Envallsson, Carl. 1807. *Kusinerna, eller: Fruntimmers-sqvallret*. Stockholm.

\*\*ApG = Apostla Gerningar. In: *Klosterläsning*. Edited by G. E. Klemming. (Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftssällskapet 22.) Stockholm, 1877–78.

Bol = Bolinus, Andreas. *En dagbok från 1600-talet*. Edited by E. Brunnström. Stockholm, 1913.

\*\*Bur = *Ett fornsvenskt legendarium, Codex Bureanus*. Edited by Georg Stephens. (Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftssällskapet 7:1.) Stockholm, 1847.

Ehrensvärd = *C. A. Ehrensvärds brev*. Edited by Gunhild Bergh. Stockholm, 1916.

Hunden = Ekman, Kerstin. 1986. *Hunden*. Stockholm: Bonnier.

Joh. = *Johannesevangeliet*. In *Bibel 2000*. 1999. Bokförlaget Cordia AB: Göteborg.

Jua. = *Juanneswaundsjila: Johannesevangeliet på älvdalska*. 1989. Knivsta: Lars Steensland.

**KM = Karl Magnus saga. In: *Prosadikter från Sveriges medeltid*. Edited by G. E. Klemming. (Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet 28.) Stockholm, 1887–1889.

**Mål-roo = Columbus, Samuel. *Mål-Roo eller roo-mål*. Edited by Bengt Hesselman. (Nordiska texter och undersökningar 6.) Stockholm, 1935.

Måns = *Peder Månssons brev på svenska från Rom till Vadstena kloster 1508–1519*. Edited by Geete. (Småstycken på forn-svenska. Andra serien.) Stockholm, 1915.

Rattsjin = Ekman, Kerstin. 2000. *Rattsjin*. Älvdalen: Juts böcker.

Rålamb = *Claes Rålambs diarium under resa till Konstantinopel 1657–1658*. Edited by Christian Callmer. (Historiska handlingar 37:3.) Stockholm, 1963.

**UL = *Uplands-Lagen*. Edited by Schlyter (Samling av Sweriges Gamla Lagar 3.) Stockholm, 1834.

***von Unge = von Unge, Otto Sebastian. 1829. *Vandring genom Dalarne, jemte Författarens Resa söderut*. Stockholm.

ÄVgL = *Äldre Västgötalagen och dess bilagor i Cod. Holm. B 59. Vol II*. Edited by Per-Axel Wiktorsson. (Skara skrifthistoriska sällskaps skriftserie nr 60.) Skara, 2011.

**ÖgL = *Östgöta-Lagen*. Edited by Collin & Schlyter. (Samling af Sweriges Gamla Lagar 2.) Stockholm, 1830.

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