

EAST SCANDINAVIAN PÅ: A PREPOSITION OF THE “THIRD KIND”

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1. Introduction

A striking difference between contemporary East Scandinavian¹ and West Scandinavian is the presence versus absence of the preposition *på* ‘on’². This preposition developed from the Old Scandinavian preposition *ā*³ reinforced by *upp*. In the Eastern dialects, the adverb and the preposition subsequently merged into a monomorphemic preposition *uppā*, which was eventually reduced to *pā* (modern Danish, Swedish and Bokmål Norwegian *på*⁴). Outside of East Scandinavian it is marginally used in Faroese and Nynorsk Norwegian, but this is probably due to Danish influence. Modern Icelandic lacks an equivalent of *på* altogether – even the combination *up á* is rarely used. In this language, *á* is still by far the most common variant (Sapir 1997:19f.).

It is tempting to relate the (virtual) absence of **pā* in West Scandinavian to other, typological differences between East and West, in particular the loss of inflectional case in East Scandinavian. For in older times, *ā* was a so-called preposition of rest and motion, which governed both the dative and the accusative. The loss of inflectional distinctions would call, it seems, for other means to express rest or motion, e.g. the addition of adverbs. One might thus hypothesize that the rise of *up ā*, *uppā* and *pā* goes hand in hand with the (gradual) loss of the inflectional distinctions between dative and accusative. In order to test this hypothesis, I have examined the use of *ā*, *up ā*, *uppā* and *pā* in Old and Middle Swedish.⁵ Quite to my surprise, *up ā*, *uppā* and *pā*, though initially confined to constructions conveying motion, soon grammaticalized into prepositions of rest and motion themselves, governing both dative and accusative.

The organization of this paper is as follows: I will start by outlining the different types of prepositions that are found in East Scandinavian in section 2, and introduce some basic concepts of grammaticalization studies that can be used to describe them in section 3. In section 3.4 I will discuss the basic characteristics of prepositions of rest and motion. The historical data is presented in 4, and I will summarize my findings in section 5.

¹ In the Viking Age (ca. 700-1100), Proto-Scandinavian broke up into an Eastern branch and a Western branch. East Scandinavian was spoken in Denmark and Sweden, West Scandinavian was spoken in Norway and the Atlantic colonies Iceland, Orkney, Shetland and the Faroe Islands. In present times, the East-West division has been superseded by a far more fundamental split between Insular Scandinavian (Icelandic and Faroese) and Continental Scandinavian (Danish, Swedish and Norwegian). Norway actually has two standard languages which were both developed in the 19th century: *Bokmål* (‘Book Language’) based on upper-class urban speech that was heavily influenced by Danish, and *Nynorsk* (‘New Norwegian’), based on a comparative study of Norwegian dialects. Both Norwegian languages belong to Continental Scandinavian, though *Nynorsk* has preserved some Western traits. “East Scandinavian”, then, refers to the (descendants) of the Viking Age varieties, i.e. Danish, Swedish and *Bokmål* (a good introduction to the evolution of the Scandinavian language family can be found in Torp 1982 and 1998).

² *På* is an extremely common preposition in Continental Scandinavian. For example, in the Swedish *Press 97* corpus (a sample of newspaper texts containing 11,900,570 tokens / 455,893 types) *på* occurs 182,603 times, which makes it no. 7 on the frequency list (source: <http://spraakbanken.gu.se/konk/>).

³ Note that the spelling <*ā*> (with macron) is used in this paper to indicate that the vowel is long. The preposition is not attested as such in the Old East Scandinavian texts — unlike Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian texts, which have <*ā*>, Old Swedish and Old Danish texts generally have <*a*>.

⁴ The vowel [a:] became [o:] in the late Middle Ages (in most Swedish dialects around 1400; Noreen 1904:103).

⁵ The main periods of the Swedish language are: *Runic Swedish* (RSw): 800-1225; *Old Swedish* (OSw): 1225-1375; *Middle Swedish* (MiSw): 1375-1526; *Early Modern Swedish* (EMoSw): 1526-1732; *Modern Swedish* (MoSw): 1732-

2. Prepositions: a typology

At least since Brugmann's *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (1930[1902]) it has been acknowledged that adpositions in the Indo-European languages derive from different sources. Brugmann (459) points out that prepositions governing noun phrases have developed along two different lines: "Ein Teil von ihnen diente von Haus aus zunächst dazu, adverbial die Richtung der durch das Verbum ausgedrückten Thätigkeit näher zu bestimmen [...] Trat nun zu dem so bestimmten Verbum ein Kasus lokalen Sinnes hinzu, so konnte sich zwischen ihm und der Präp. eine nähere Beziehung entwickeln in der Art, dass man den Kasus als von der Präposition abhängig empfand. [...] Präp. dieser Art heißen echte. [...] Dagegen nennt man unechte Präp. solche, deren zugehöriges Nomen von Anfang an als adnominaler Kasus von ihnen abhing" (459f.).

Although Brugmann does not state this explicitly, his "unechte Präpositionen" encompass all prepositions that are of a relatively recent date and are hence restricted to singular branches of IE or indeed a single language. In this paper, I will use the terms "primary prepositions" and "secondary prepositions" (after Wessén 1965:84) instead of Brugmann's German terms.

Primary and secondary prepositions are found in the Scandinavian languages as well. The first and oldest kind are prepositions⁶ such as *at* 'at', *af* 'of', *i* 'in' and *mæþ* 'with', which date back to Proto-Germanic (PGmc) or even Proto-Indo-European (PIE) times. The second kind consists of prepositions that arose more recently and (hence) lack cognates in West Germanic. Among these are such common prepositions as Swedish *mot* 'against', *bakom* 'behind' and *bland* 'among'. Many of these are monomorphemic and hence synchronically indistinguishable from the first type. A few of them, e.g. *hos* 'at, with', *till* 'to, towards' or *mellan* 'between', are so ancient that their historical development is not attested in runic or written documents. The preposition *hos* 'at, with' probably derives from the ACC.SG of *hus* 'house' (cf. the development of French *chez* from Latin *casa*). *Till* 'to, towards' dates back to the ACC.SG of PGmc **tila-* 'goal' (cf. German *Ziel*). The older forms of the preposition *mellan* 'between', RSw *mīpli* and OSw *mællom*, derive from DAT.SG and DAT.PL. of **mīþil* and **mæþal* (< Proto-Gmc **mið-*) 'middle' respectively (more examples can be found in Rydqvist 1874:196ff., Wessén 1965:84ff. and Norde 2000). This group also includes so-called "phrasal" adpositions such as Swedish *i samband med* 'in connection to' or *för* [NP]'s *skull* 'for [NP]'s sake' (SAG II:718ff.). Their development is captured by so-called "grammaticalization chains" which will be discussed in 3.2.

Besides these two types, I will distinguish a third type of prepositions which could be termed "tertiary" prepositions or "prepositions of the third kind". These are prepositions which derive from constructions in which a primary adposition is reinforced by an adverb. The most frequent of these is *på*, but in older Swedish and contemporary dialects, other examples are found as well (see 4.1 and 4.3). The role of reinforcement in grammaticalization will be discussed in general terms in 3.3, the particular case of *på* will be considered in 4.4.

3. Theoretical preliminaries

3.1. Introduction

In this section I will briefly discuss the possible origins of prepositions. Primary prepositions such as *in* or *under* are so old that there is only reconstructed evidence of their development. The

⁶ The term "preposition" is used rather generally. As a legacy from Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Scandinavian possessed both prepositions and postpositions (see Braunnüller 1982:209ff. and references there for general discussion), as did Old Swedish. In addition, Old Swedish also possessed phrasal adpositions such as *fore ... skull* 'for the sake of' (see ...) and in poetic style, prepositions could be postpositive, as in *vēttvangi ā* 'on the battlefield' (Rök stone, Wessén 1965:87n.; see also Falk & Torp 1900:322 and Braunnüller 1982:216f.). However, since this paper is primarily concerned with prepositions, this term is preferred to "adposition".

respective sources of these two prepositions, for example, have been reconstructed as the PIE adverbs **h₁en* ‘in(side)’ and **ndher(i)* ‘down, under’ (Beekes 1990:263f.). Secondary prepositions, on the other hand, are relatively recent and can be traced to a lexical origin, as I will demonstrate in 3.2. Tertiary prepositions, finally, have developed along a different line, as will be seen in 3.3.

3.2. Secondary prepositions: grammaticalization chains

It is generally acknowledged that prepositions do not form a closed class (cf. Sjöström 1985, König & Kortmann 1991 and references there, Lindqvist 1994 and references there), since new members arise with great frequency. Particularly productive patterns are phrasal adpositions, such as *alongside*, *throughout*, *on top of*, *according to*, and participial adpositions such as *concerning* and *considering*. The formation of new prepositions is a type of grammaticalization: the process whereby lexical items such as nouns, verbs or adjectives lose in semantic complexity and syntactic freedom, sometimes accompanied by phonetic reduction (see e.g. Hopper & Traugott 2003). In the case of a shift from noun to preposition, the development may be as follows (Hopper & Traugott 2003:6):

noun → relational phrase → adverb → preposition

Phrasal prepositions may eventually be reduced to monomorphemic prepositions, as is currently happening with Dutch *richting* ‘direction; towards’. Consider the following examples, which reflect the sequence of small semantic and morphosyntactic transitions *richting* has been subject to. In (1)a, it functions plainly as a noun meaning ‘direction’, in (1)b it is used in a relational phrase, in (1)c it is used independently as a preposition, in which the concrete meaning of ‘direction’ is still transparent, and in (1)d, finally, it is used in a more abstract sense.

- (1) a. *Is dit de goede richting?*
 ‘Is this the right direction?’
 b. *Hij rende weg in de richting van de rivier*
 ‘He ran away in the direction of the river’
 c. *Het pad loopt naar beneden richting rivier*
 the trail runs down direction river
 ‘The trail runs down towards the river’
 d. *Het plan moet duidelijk gecommuniceerd worden richting de klanten*
 the plan must clearly communicated be direction the customers
 ‘The plan has to be communicated clearly towards the customers’

Grammaticalization of lexical items is cross-linguistically the most common source of new prepositions, but the preposition *på* has a different origin, as we will see in the next section.

3.3. Tertiary prepositions: reinforcement

Tertiary prepositions arise through a different kind of grammaticalization, i.e. one in which an existing preposition is reinforced by an adverb. It is not uncommon for highly grammaticalized items to be reinforced by semantically richer items. A well-known example is the French negator *ne*, which in Old French could be reinforced by a series of adverbially used nouns. Of these nouns, *pas* ‘step’ was originally used with motion verbs, so in older French *il ne va pas* meant ‘he does not go a step’. At a later stage, *pas* became part of the negator itself, and can now even be used without *ne*, as in *il sait pas* ‘he does not know’. Typically, most of the reinforcing competitors of *pas* have been lost, with the exception of *point* (but this is not a mere negator – *ne ... point* means ‘not at all’);

Hopper & Traugott 2003:65f.; 117f.). Similarly, Latin *aliquis* ‘someone’ was reinforced by *unus* ‘one’, yielding **aliqui-unu*, which become *alcuno* in Italian and *aucun* in French (Lehmann 1995:22).

Tertiary prepositions are not confined to the Scandinavian languages. They are quite widespread in other languages, for instance in French, where a number of common prepositions derive from a Latin preposition reinforced by a following adverb, e.g. *avant* ‘before’ < Lat. *ab ante* ‘from before’; *dans* ‘in(side)’ < Lat. *de intus* ‘from within’; *derrière* ‘behind’ < Lat. *de retro* ‘from backwards’); *envers* ‘against’ < Lat. *in versus* ‘in against’ (Elcock 1961:161f.). Interestingly, a reinforced item may itself be reinforced, even repeatedly so, as in PIE **in* > **en-tos* > Lat. *intus* ‘inside’ > *de intus* ‘from within’ > French *dans* ‘in’ > French *dedans* ‘within’ (Lehmann 1995:22). In this example we even witness the same reinforcing morpheme *de* being used in two subsequent stages of development.

The particular case of East Scandinavian *på* will be further discussed in 4, but for a correct understanding of this development we will first need to consider some general properties of prepositions of rest and motion, and it is to this issue that I now turn.

3.4. Prepositions of rest and motion

Old Swedish *ā* was a so-called dative/accusative preposition, or a preposition of rest and motion. Traditionally, the dative is assumed to convey rest, whereas the accusative is assumed to convey motion towards a certain goal. This is a bit of an oversimplification however – the semantics of these prepositions are far more complex (as we will see in 4.2).⁷ For this reason, more fine-grained descriptive models have been proposed, such as a cognitive model using image-schemas (see Di Meola 2000:155ff. for discussion), but for the present purpose this discussion is not relevant. What is of interest here is the question of whether dative forms are attested in constructions that used to be the domain of the accusative, or vice versa. I will therefore retain the terms “rest” and “motion” as general designations for the semantic relations originally expressed by the dative and the accusative respectively.

In prepositional constructions of rest and motion, a combination of the preposition and the case suffix serves to encode a semantic relation. Such prepositions are commonly found in Indo-European languages — in Latin for instance, the preposition *in* takes the (locative) ablative to signify rest, as in (2)a, whereas the accusative signifies motion, as in (2)b.

- (2) a *in aquā* *vīvere*
 in water-ABL live
 ‘to live in water’
 b *in aquam* *cadere*
 in water-ACK fall
 ‘to fall into the water’

Old Swedish prepositions of rest and motion are *ā*, *fyri* / *firi(r)* / *for*, *ī*, and *undi(r)* (Noreen 1904:336). The dative is used to convey rest, and the accusative is used convey motion, as in the following examples with the preposition *ī* ‘in’:

- (3) a. *Dör han ī klostre.*
 dies he in monastery- DAT
 ‘if he dies in the monastery’

VgL: *ÆB9*

⁷ In addition, there is some variation among languages which possess this kind of prepositions. Gothic, for instance, uses the dative more frequently than do e.g. Latin or Old High German, possibly to emphasize the state of rest after the accomplishment of the action expressed by the prepositional phrase (Van Hamel 1923:173).

- b. *Giuær maþær sik i klostær.*
 gives man himself in monastery- ACC
 ‘if a man joins a monastic order’

VgL: ÆB9

In Old Swedish, the distinction between rest and motion does not consistently determine the choice between dative and accusative complements, as becomes evident from Table 1. Already in the earliest text, *Äldre Västgötalagen* (from the first half of the 13th century), the preposition \bar{i} ‘in’ may have an accusative complement in constructions denoting rest as in (4)a, or a dative complement in constructions denoting motion as in (4)b. The latter case is admittedly rare however (I found only one example), and as the accusative is correctly used in similar examples (even within one and the same sentence, as in (4)c, this might be a writing error.

- (4) a. *Dræpær maþær man i ölbenk mæþ knivi* VgL: ÖM
 kills man-NOM man-ACC in ale-bench-ACC with knife-DAT
 ‘if a man kills somebody on a drinking-bench with a knife’
- b. *Faldær. fæ .i. mans handæværki. [...]* VgL: RB9
 falls cattle in man-GEN handiwork-DAT
 ‘if cattle falls into a man-made piece of work [...]
- c. *[faldær . fæ .i. ...] ællær. annur þylik værk* VgL: RB9
 [...] or another such work-ACC
 ‘[...] or into another such piece of work’

	\bar{i}		\bar{a}	
	<i>motion</i>	<i>rest</i>	<i>motion</i>	<i>rest</i>
<i>n</i>	30	34	26	59
DAT	1	25	1	57
ACC	29	9	25	2

Table 1: : *Motion and rest with \bar{i} and \bar{a} in VgL (n= 64 / 85)*⁸

Such “errors” may be indicative of the incipient collapse of the case system. I will return to this issue in 4.2.

4. The history of \bar{a} , *up* \bar{a} , *upp* \bar{a} and *p* \bar{a} in Old and Middle Swedish

4.1. Etymology

As stated in the introduction, *p* \bar{a} derives from the preposition \bar{a} , which was reinforced by the adverb *upp* ‘up’. \bar{A} itself derives from PGmc **ana* and ultimately from a PIE adverbial **h₂en-*. Cognates are Greek *ανά*, Goth. *ana*, Engl. *on*, Germ. *an*, Dutch *aan* and Icel. *á* (Hellquist 1980:1415). Modern Swedish still has a preposition \bar{a} , but \bar{a} and *p* \bar{a} are now in complementary distribution and the usage of \bar{a} is limited. For example, \bar{a} is used in fixed expressions with abstract meaning, whereas *p* \bar{a} is used in corresponding constructions with concrete meaning (Sapir 1997:8):

- (5) a. [...] \bar{a} *andra sidan vill han tjäna pengar*
 [...] on other side-the wants he earn money
 ‘on the other hand, he wants to make money’
- b. *Han bor p* \bar{a} *andra sidan staden*

⁸ \bar{i} occurs 212 times in VgL (its spelling variant *j* included), \bar{a} 333 times. These are not all prepositions — \bar{i} may also be a verbal particle and \bar{a} a number of other things (see footnote 19). For practical reasons, I only analysed the first 100 constructions in which *i* appears as a preposition. 64 / 85 of these constructions contained unambiguously marked complements (the others were forms that did not inflectionally distinguish between dative and accusative).

He lives on other side-the town-the
 ‘He lives on the other side of town’

Generally speaking, *på* is the preposition that is used productively in natural language, whereas *å* is confined to idiomatic usage and very formal language. This is evidenced by the abundant use of the preposition *å* in the satirical periodical *Grönköpings Veckoblad*⁹ which is characterized by a mocking-archaic style of writing, with long-obsolete verb forms, outdated nouns and, indeed, the preposition *å* instead of *på*.¹⁰

There are a few additional examples of such originally bimorphemic prepositions in Early Modern Swedish, e.g. *ti* ‘in’ (< *ut i*) and *tåf* (< *ut af*)¹¹ (Wessén 1968:219n). *På* is the only one to survive into modern standard Swedish, but in Swedish and Norwegian dialects several more examples can be found (Hellquist 1980:801; Nestor 1996).

4.2. *Ā* in Old Swedish

As we have seen in 4, *ā* (spelled *a* or *aa* in Old Swedish) was a preposition of rest and motion and contrastive pairs of examples are not difficult to come by, especially in older texts. Thus, in (6)a below, the dative is used because the spear on the man’s back does not shift its position, and in (6)b the accusative is used because the man’s hands are being bound on to his back:

- (6) a. *iak. sa at þu rant en firi enom ok hafþi spyut a baki.* VgL: RB5
 I saw that you ran one for one and had spear on back-DAT
 ‘I saw that you were running from (just) one man with your spear (hanging) on your back (unused)’
- b. *bindi handær a bak ok föri sva til þingss.* VgL: Md 8
 bind-3SG.CONJ hands on back-ACC and lead-3SG.CONJ so to assembly-GEN
 ‘his (i.e. the thief’s) hands have to be bound on his back and thus he must be lead to the assembly’

A similar contrast is exemplified in (7):

- (7) a. *Bor smiþær a landi* UL: MB 12
 Lives smith on land-DAT
 ‘If a smith lives on the land [...]’
- b. *Gangær her a land* UL: ÆB 17
 Goes army on land-ACC
 ‘If an army goes ashore [...]’

Rest and motion are however not the only semantic relations expressed by the preposition *ā* and the respective case suffixes. For example, the dative was not only used to denote rest, but also in temporal constructions:

- (8) a. *han taldi wæstgöta lagh al .a enom ðagh.* Vidh 14

⁹ For the online version see <http://www.gronkoping.nu/>.

¹⁰ In addition, both *å* and *på* can be used as a verbal particle, but this usage need not concern us here. For details see Sapir 1997.

¹¹ In 1678, the Swedish poet and linguist Samuel Columbus asks himself: “Should we not write now *åf*, now *tåf*, since this is everybody’s way of speaking?” [my translation]. He is also aware that *tåf* is derived from *utaf* or *utåf* (Stjernström & Noreen 1881:10).

- he told Westgauts-GEN laws all on one-DAT day-Ø¹²
 ‘he declaimed all the laws of the Western Gauts in one day’
- b. *Vardhir tyuffwir dræpen a lyusom daghe-DAT* Mose 261
 Is thief killed on light-DAT day-DAT
 ‘If a thief is killed in broad daylight [...]’

Indeed, it was even possible to use both the dative and the accusative in co-ordinate constructions, as is exemplified in (9). Here *rættæn þinxstaþ* ‘the right location for the assembly’ is accusative because the construction implies movement, whereas *rættum þinx dagh* ‘the right time for the assembly’ is dative because it forms part of a temporal construction.

- (9) *þa a han til þinx föræs. þæs fyrstæ þær ær næst. æptir*
 then has he to assembly-GEN be.led that-GEN first-GEN there is next after
at han tok han. a rættæn þinxstaþ. ok rættum þinx
 that he took him to right-ACC assembly.location-ACC and right-DAT assembly-GEN
dagh. UL: MB39
 time-Ø
 ‘Then he has to be led to the first assembly that will be held after he had been taken, (he has to be led to) the right place (for the assembly) and at the right time (for the assembly)’

And the accusative was not only used to express motion, but also in more general senses, for instance to indicate the *patiens* (For an exhaustive treatment of the semantics of *ā* see Schlyter 1877:1ff. & Söderwall 1884-1918:1ff.):

- (10) a. *þær skulu uitni a han ganga* ÖgL: KE32
 there shall witnesses at him-ACC go
 ‘There, witnesses must stand up against him’
- b. *þa scal a prest kallæ* VgL: KB1
 then shall on priest-ACC call
 ‘then the priest will have to be called’

However, the disintegration of this elegant distribution between dative and accusative can be traced back to the earliest texts already, including VgL. As was the case with the preposition *ī* (see the examples in (4)a-c, the OSw texts witness accusative forms in constructions of rest ((11)a), accusative forms in temporal constructions ((11)b), and dative forms in constructions of motion ((11)c):

- (11) a. *Bor bondi a odmarkær.* VgL: KB20
 ‘Lives yeoman on wilderness(PL)-ACC
 ‘If a yeoman lives in the wilderness [...]’
- b. *tha the drapo guz son. a thæn samma dagh han fōddis j*
 when they killed God-GEN son on that-ACC same-ACC day-ACC he was.born in
modhir liffue Mose 263-4
 womb
 ‘[...] when they killed God’s son, on the same day he was conceived in the womb’
- c. *hwi ledde thu os vt aff egypto lande a ødhmarkom* Mose 251
 why led you us out of Egypt-GEN land-DAT to wilderness-DAT

¹² In Old Swedish, it became increasingly common to inflect only one element in a full NP for case. Thus, in this example only the attributive numeral *enom* is inflected for dative whereas the noun lacks a dative ending (see further Norde 2001).

‘Why did you lead us out of the land of Egypt into the wilderness?’

The last one of the examples above shows that the “errors” are not merely a symptom of deflexion, for in that case, we would expect examples of accusatives replacing datives but not vice versa (in most paradigms, the accusative was not inflectionally marked, whereas the dative was more distinct, especially in the plural, where the suffix was *-um / -om* in all paradigms).¹³ Rather, it seems that the association of dative with rest and accusative with motion becomes less strict.

4.3. Reinforcement of *ā*: adverbs other than *up*

As we have seen in section 3.3, it is not uncommon for prepositions to be reinforced by an adverb,¹⁴ particularly when the meaning of the preposition has been bleached to a large degree, and the OSw preposition *ā* is no exception. In Old Swedish, several adverbs could be used to make the semantic relation expressed by the preposition more specific, yielding *ovan ā* ‘on top of, upon’, *ūt ā* ‘out towards’, *uppe ā* ‘on top of, upon’ or *niper ā* ‘down on’, as in the following examples:

- (12) a. *oc hon hafdhe strøt asko ofwan a gullit* ST 67
 and she had sprinkled ash above on gold-the-ACC
 ‘and she had sprinkled ashes on top of the gold’
- b. *Iacob lægghir sina hændhir wt a kors* Mose 200
 Jacob lays his-PL.ACC hands-ACC out on Cross-ACC
 ‘Jacob puts his hands on the Cross’
- c. *for än min hærä stop uppe a pik* Bur 140
 for that my Lord stood up on you-ACC
 ‘because my Lord ascended you (i.e. the Cross)’
- d. *tha satte hwar thera sin skioll nider a iordena* Did 259
 then put each they-GEN his-ACC shield-ACC down on earth-the-ACC
 ‘then each one of them put his shield on the ground’

These reinforcing adverbs, which were less frequent than *up* (see below), will not be further discussed in this paper.¹⁵

4.4. Reinforcement of *ā*: *up*

By far the most frequent adverb to reinforce *ā* was *up* ‘up’.¹⁶ In the earliest attestations, *up* was written as a separate word, but it soon fuses with *ā* to *uppā* (with several spelling variants) and is later shortened to *pā*. Table 2 summarizes the rise of the respective variants of reinforced *ā* in a selection of Old and Middle Swedish texts.¹⁷

	<i>VgLI</i>	<i>ÖgL</i>	<i>DL</i>	<i>UL</i>	<i>Vidh</i>	<i>Mose</i>	<i>Bur</i>	<i>Bir</i>	<i>ST</i>	<i>Did</i>
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¹³ For an extensive overview of Old Swedish nominal morphology see Noreen 1904:280ff. For a more general discussion of the loss of lexical case (i.e. case governed by verbs and prepositions) see Norde 2001.

¹⁴ It was even possible for a preposition to be reinforced by two adverbs, as is evidenced by 15th century Danish *pon(n)e*, which derives from the adverbs *upp ofan* ‘upon on top of’ + the preposition *ā* (Falk & Torp 1900:233).

¹⁵ For more examples see the respective entries in Söderwall’s dictionary.

¹⁶ The string <up a> can also be a sequence of a particle *up* and a preposition *a*, as in *han for wp a korset* (Mose 203) ‘he ascended the Cross’ <*fara up* ‘ascend’. In these cases *up a* can also be written as one word (*uppa* etc.), but here *uppa* did not become *på* (the Modern Swedish equivalent of OSw *fara up* is *fara upp*, not *fara på*). These constructions are thus of no relevance to the analysis of the development of the preposition *pā*.

¹⁷ For details of these texts see the “Sources” section at the end of this paper. Note that the texts vary considerably in size which may affect the figures in Table 2. For example, *ST* contains more than three times as many words (tokens) as *Did*, so that what may seem as a decrease in the use of *uppā* is actually a rise in terms of relative frequency.

	1220s	1280s	1280s	1297	1325	1330s	1350s	1380s	1460	>1480
<i>up ā</i>	3	2	1	2	1	43	2	0	0	1
<i>uppā</i>	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	48	504	225
<i>pā</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	8	16

Table 2: Reinforced *ā* in Old and Middle Swedish

In the OSw laws (VgL I, ÖgL, UL and DL), reinforced *ā* is still quite rare, especially the fused variants, with *uppā* occurring only twice and *pā* not at all. *Uppā* becomes increasingly frequent from the second half of the 14th century onwards. The oldest text in which *pā* is attested is Mose (the OSw adaptation of the *Pentateuch*) from the 1330s, but in the texts of this sample it appears not to gain ground before the end of the 15th century.

Before I started collecting the data, I hypothesized that *up a* would be primarily used in constructions of motion, to compensate for the obsolescent contrast between dative and accusative inflections, but this was not borne out. Only in the earliest texts did I find *up ā* in constructions of motion — it was not long before *up ā*, *uppā* and *pā* started to behave in exactly the same fashion as bare *ā*, governing the dative when conveying rest, as in (13), and the accusative when conveying motion, as in (14). Moreover, we find reinforced *ā* in a number of other, non-locative constructions, as in (15).

- (13) a. *oc offra han [...] vp a eno bærge iak skal visa tik* Mose 153
and sacrifice him [...] up on a-DAT mountain-DAT I shall show you
‘and sacrifice him (i.e. Isaac) on top of a mountain that I will show you’
- b. *Oc oppa allom hænnan bladhum war scifwit mz gyltom stafwom* ST 118
and on all-DAT her leaves-DAT was written with golden-DAT letters-DAT
‘and on all its pages golden letters had been written’
- c. *Ther sath hans fadher Pa eenom høghum stool* ST 38
There sat his father on a-DAT high-DAT chair-DAT
‘There sat his father on a high chair’
- (14) a. *far vp a thzta bærgh som hetir albarim* Mose 321
go up on this-ACC mountain-ACC that is.called Abarim
‘Get thee up into this Mount Abarim’
- b. *tha han kom först in j swerike. vppa en storan skog* Did 41
when he came first into in Sweden on a-ACC large-ACC forest-ACC
‘when he first came to Sweden, to a large forest’
- c. *Tha saghde lucifer Sætin then herran paa een skønan stool* ST 39
then said Lucifer put that gentleman.the on a-ACC pretty-ACC chair-ACC
‘then Lucifer said: “put that gentleman on a pretty chair”
- (15) a. *ok þær a han laghwinnæs. upp a rætt sin.* UL: MB 47
and there shall he be.sentenced up on punishment-ACC his-ACC
‘and there shall he be sentenced to his punishment’
- b. *oppa konung dari wegna* ST 378
upon king Darius-GEN ways
‘on behalf of king Darius’
- c. *han skall thz well pa tik hempna* Did 95
he will that surely on you-ACC revenge
‘he will surely take revenge on you for that’

As was the case with single \bar{a} , reinforced \bar{a} occasionally governs the accusative instead of dative in constructions of rest, as in (16). Thus far I have not found examples of the opposite, i.e. the dative in constructions of motion (cf. (11)c), but this is rare anyhow (cf. Table 1).

- (16) ther sato two fugla **vppa** en quist Did 158
 there sat two birds upon a branch
 ‘two birds were sitting on a branch’

In temporal constructions, we find both the dative and the accusative, even within one and the same text:

- (17) a. **Oppa** sama daghenom kom biscopen ST 234
 upon same-DAT day-the-DAT came bishop-the
 ‘On the same day, the bishop arrived’
 b. **oppa** thrættande daghen j tolffta manadheno ST 169
 upon thirteenth-ACC day-the-ACC in twelfth-DAT month-DAT
 ‘on the thirteenth day in the twelfth month’

The similar behaviour of bare \bar{a} and reinforced \bar{a} seems to suggest that *up* \bar{a} and its subsequent variants soon ceased to be a combination of an adverb and a preposition, merging instead into a monomorphemic preposition. Another indication that *up* \bar{a} as a whole functions as a preposition, is that it can be “stranded”, i.e. separated from its object:¹⁸

- (18) a. *Firi allum þöm husum þær windögha ær wp a* [...] DL: WP7
 for all-DAT those-DAT houses-DAT where window is up on [...]
 ‘for all those houses which have a window’
 b. *oc en annan häst hade han .*
 and a other horse had he
ther förde han gwll oc kostelighe haffuor vpa Did 2
 there carried he gold and precious goods upon
 ‘and he had another horse, upon which he carried gold and precious goods’

On stranded prepositions see further Delsing 1995.

5. Summary and future research

According to the data amassed thus far, East Scandinavian *på* is a paradigm example of grammaticalization of a tertiary preposition. Several processes that are characteristic of grammaticalization (Lehmann 1995, Hopper & Traugott 2003: 122ff.) have been observed to occur. First, the semantics of a substantially bleached grammatical element (\bar{a}) has been strengthened by several adverbs (*reinforcement*), as we have seen in 4.3 and 4.4. Secondly, one of these reinforcing elements (*up*) gradually adopts the function of the original function word, ousting its competitors (*specialization*). Thirdly, the original function word and the reinforcing element have fused into a single word (*univerbation*). And finally, this new word is shortened to *på* (phonological reduction or attrition).

Needless to say, a larger sample of Old and Middle Swedish texts would yield a much more refined picture, and would hopefully provide a better understanding of the exact relationship (if

¹⁸ In the texts I examined, I found no examples of stranded *på*.

indeed there is one) between the demise of the case system and the increase in reinforcing adverbs.¹⁹

Abbreviations and notes on glosses

[to be added MN]

Sources (in chronological order)

Old Swedish

- VgL I (1220s; approx. 14.830 words): *Äldre Västgötalagen* ed. by Elias Wessén. Stockholm: Norstedts. 1965. Previous edition in: *Corpus iuris Sueo-Gotorum antiqui I* ed. by H.S. Collin & C.J. Schlyter. 1827.
- ÖgL (1280s; approx. 24.475 words): *Östgötalagen*. In : *Corpus Iuris Sueo-Gotorum Antiqui II* ed. by H.S. Collin och C.J. Schlyter. 1830.
- DL (1280s; 15.765 words): *Dalalagen*. In : *Corpus Iuris Sueo-Gotorum Antiqui V* ed. by C.J. Schlyter. 1841.
- UL (1297s; approx. 23.970 words): *Upplandslagen*. In : *Corpus Iuris Sueo-Gotorum Antiqui III* ed. by C.J. Schlyter. 1834.
- Vidh (1325; approx. 6.070 words): *Vidhemsprästens anteckningar*. In: *Corpus iuris Sueo-Gotorum antiqui I* ed. by H.S. Collin & C.J. Schlyter. 1827.
- Mose (1330s; approx. 139.070 words): *Fem moseböcker på fornsvenska enligt Cod. Holm. AI* ed. by Olof Thorell. (= *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapetets samlingar* 212, 218, 223) 1959.
- Bur (1350s; approx. 35.115 words): *Codex Bureanus*. In: *Ett forn-svenskt legendarium* ed. by George Stephens. (= *Svenska Fornskriftsällskapetets Samlingar* 8, 9, 12, 17, 18, 28). 1847-1858.

Middle Swedish

- Bir (1380s; approx. 105.960 words): *Heliga Birgittas uppenbarelser I* ed. by G.E. Klemming. (= *Svenska Fornskriftsällskapetets Samlingar* 29). 1858.
- ST (1460; approx. 132.060 words): *Siælinna thrøst I* ed. by Samuel Henning. (= *Svenska Fornskriftsällskapetets Samlingar* 209) 1954.
- Did (>1480; approx. 48.855 words): *Didrikssagan* ed. by G.O. Hylthén-Cavallius. Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner. 1850-1854.

Electronic versions of these texts were searched automatically using WordSmith concordance software. All texts can be found in the corpus of Old Swedish texts at <http://www.nordlund.lu.se/Fornsvenska/Fsv%20Folder/index.html>. This site also provides more information on the texts. Some of the texts contain a date, in other cases dating is approximate for reasons that fall outside the scope of this paper..

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¹⁹ This, however, will prove a laborious task, because one will need to examine the case government of *ā* in a substantial number of texts, and not only is *ā* a very frequent preposition, it is also homonymous with, among others, a noun meaning ‘water (way)’ and, in the older texts, the third person singular of the exceptionally frequent modal verb *ægha* ‘shall’. Another complication is that *ā* may also be a verbal particle, which is not always easily distinguishable from the adverb *ā* (cf. footnote 16).

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