

9 Swedish

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9.1 Introduction

Swedish is spoken by more than 8 million native speakers. Most of them live in Sweden, but there is also a Swedish population of 300,000 native speakers in Finland. In addition, there are Swedish-speaking persons in other countries, for instance, descendants of about 1,400,000 Swedish emigrants from the turn of the century onwards (1870–1930), mostly in the United States and Canada, but very few of them have Swedish as their first language today. Swedish populations have existed in Estonia on some of the islands and the Ukraine (Gammalsvenskby), but they are now almost extinct. Swedish is to some extent studied abroad as a foreign language, especially in Finland, where all pupils in the comprehensive schools learn some Swedish. Finland belonged to the Swedish kingdom before 1809 and is still officially bilingual between Finnish and Swedish. The Swedish population (6 per cent, with roots from the twelfth century) lives along the southern and western coast, and has strong minority rights in the constitution.

Sweden used to be an almost monolingual country until some decades ago, the main exceptions being 40,000 Finns living mostly along the Finnish border in Tornedalen in the north, and 7,000 people in the Saami population closer to the Norwegian border. Now there are about 750,000 immigrants in Sweden, half of them with Swedish citizenship, speaking Finnish, Spanish, Arabic, Polish, Serbian or Croatian, Persian, English, Turkish, German, Greek, Danish, Hungarian, etc. The number of bilingual speakers in these groups exceeds 1 million, if children of immigrants are included. So far, the immigration wave has not influenced the Swedish language to any greater degree, but there is linguistic borrowing from international languages, mainly English, but also French and German.

Old dialects are still spoken in rural areas, especially in northern Sweden, including Dalecarlia, in Gotland and in Finland, but most dialects have been levelled out to a considerable degree. There are also urban dialects, closer to the central standard. However, regional variation is a conspicuous trait in the Swedish-speaking area, more important, maybe, than social variation.

There are regional variants, especially for pronunciation, although a central

super-regional norm originally found in the Stockholm area has had the strongest social status, and has spread to other areas at least in formal contexts. A deviant regional variant is used at all levels of communication in Finland. Another fairly strong regional norm is used in southern Sweden (Skåne, Halland and Blekinge), an area which belonged to Denmark before 1658. Western Swedish is pretty close to Southern Swedish, while Northern Swedish is less uniform. On the other hand, stylistic differences have tended to diminish during the twentieth century, resulting in a fairly uniform standard language in both written and spoken discourse. Generally, an informal style has spread to more formal contexts, and spelling tends to influence pronunciation.

9.2 Phonology

In Swedish, there are 9 vowel phonemes (18, if short and long vowels are counted separately) and at least 18 consonant phonemes.

Vowels

The Swedish vowels are given in Table 9.1. Short and long vowels are generally pronounced with different vowel quality, the short variants being more centred and lax – unstressed /e/ generally has a schwa-pronunciation. Short /a/ has a front pronunciation, and long /a/ a back pronunciation with a weak rounding. Long /u/ has a front pronunciation with a characteristic closed rounding, which means that Swedish uses two different types of rounding in front vowels, outward rounding in /y, ø/, and inward rounding in /u/. Short /u/ has a close-mid pronunciation. Long high vowels end in a glide phonetically, [ij, yj, uw, uw]. However, almost none of these remarks applies to Finland Swedish, which fits in with the second variant of Table 9.1 only, with central /ɥ/ and /a/.

In most variants, including Finland Swedish, /ø/ has two very distinct allophones, an open pronunciation being used in front of /r/, e.g. *hö* [hø:] 'hay', *hör* [hø:r] 'hears'. The same is true for /ɛ/, which normally has a mid pronunciation, but an open pronunciation in front of /r/. In many central and

Table 9.1 Swedish vowel phonemes

	Front	Back	or	Front	Central	Back
Close	i, y, u <u>	u <o>		i, y	u <u>	u <o>
Close-mid	e, ø <ö>	o <å>		e, ø <ö>		o <å>
Open-mid	ɛ <ä>			ɛ <ä>		
Open		a			a	

Note: Rounded vowels are given in bold; normal spellings are in angular brackets.

eastern areas, the mid variant of /ɛ/ has merged with /e/, especially the short vowel. Many speakers, therefore, have a merger in *hetta* 'heat' and *hätta* 'cap', while others do not even distinguish between *veta* 'know' and *väta* 'moisten', with long vowels. But all speakers distinguish between e.g. [*be:ɾ*] 'asks' and [*bæ:ɾ*] 'carries'. The /e-ɛ/ distinction is also neutralized in unstressed syllables, likewise the distinction between /u/ and /o/.

Consonants

The Swedish consonants are given in Table 9.2. Voiceless stops are generally aspirated, which has permitted voiced stops to start devoicing next to a pause or a voiceless segment, e.g. *bar* 'bare', *fadd* 'stale', *snabbt* 'rapidly', *utgå* 'expire, emanate'. Somewhat similar devoicing processes apply to other voiced segments. Therefore, the distinction between fortis and lenis stops could be described as a difference in aspiration rather than voice. On the other hand, voiceless stops are deaspirated after /s/ in the same morpheme, e.g. *stå* 'stand', before voiceless segments, e.g. *bets* 'stain', *makt* 'power', and non-initially before an unstressed syllable, e.g. *leka* 'play', *hampa* 'hamp'. Aspiration and to some extent loss of voice are still almost lacking in Finland Swedish.

The pronunciation of the palatal and velar spirants varies. Often, /ʃ/ is pronounced dorsally, further back than the apico-alveolar /ç/, and it can even have a velar pronunciation [x], especially in young speakers and in the west. It may also be a velarized labiodental or an apico-alveolar sound. In Finland, both /ʃ/ and /ç/ have an apico-alveolar pronunciation, but the latter is realized as an affricate [tʃ].

Dental /r/ has an apico-alveolar pronunciation, but uvular /r/ is used in southern Sweden up to a line drawn by Kalmar – Jönköping – Falkenberg, and, in initial position and as a geminate further north. Dental /r/ is sometimes pronounced as a tap with one closing only, and often has a fricative rather than a tremulant pronunciation, particularly in the central region – this is very common in word-final position. In many regional or dialectal variants, /l/ can be a retroflex flap in certain positions, especially after or before a labial or velar consonant, e.g. *glad* 'glad', *valp* 'puppy', or after a long non-palatal

Table 9.2 Swedish consonants

	Labial	Labiodental	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Stops	p, b		t, d		k, g	
Nasals	m		n		ŋ	
Spirants		f, v	s	ç, j	ʃ	h
Tremulants				r		
Laterals			l			

vowel, e.g. *kal* 'bare', *påle* 'pole'. The fricatives /v/ and /j/ are pronounced with relatively weak friction and are phonotactically similar to /r/ and /l/.

Retroflex Sounds

Combinations of /r/ and a following dental consonant are generally contracted into single retroflex sounds, which are sometimes regarded as separate phonemes: the dental is somewhat retracted in *barn* /ba:r̥/ 'child', *bort* /bot̥:/ 'away', *hård* /ho:r̥d/ 'hard', *mars* /ma:r̥s/ 'March', *arla* /a:r̥la/ 'early'. The retroflexes are not used in southern Sweden, where /r/ has a uvular pronunciation, nor in standard Finland Swedish.

Dental consonants also have a retroflex pronunciation after other retroflex sounds, e.g. *först* [f̥r̥st̥] 'first'. Retroflex sounds are used also over morpheme and word boundaries as in *barnstuga* [ba:r̥st̥u:ga] 'children's cottage', *har du* [ha:r̥d̥ø] 'do you have'.

Syllable Structure

Syllables with primary or secondary stress must be long, i.e. either contain a long vowel, or a short vowel followed by a long consonant or a consonant cluster, e.g. *å* ['o:] 'stream', *ås* ['o:s] 'ridge', *oss* ['os:] 'us', *ask* ['ask] 'box'. Stressed short syllables only occur in Finland Swedish colloquial language, e.g. *bara* ['bara] 'only'. Nor can a stressed syllable have double length, i.e. simultaneously contain a long vowel and end in a long consonant. However, some consonant clusters, for instance those corresponding to retroflex sounds, can be preceded by a stressed long vowel, e.g. *färd* ['fæ:r̥d̥] 'trip', *aln* ['a:ln] 'ell'. Long vowels also occur before many clusters containing a morpheme boundary, e.g. *råds* ['ro:ds] 'council's', although the vowel is shortened in some words like *Guds* ['gøts] 'God's', *till havs* [til'hafs] 'at sea'. Before /r̥t̥/, there is variation between words and between speakers, e.g. *fart* ['fa:r̥t̥] 'speed', *svart* ['sva:r̥t̥:] 'black', but *port* ['pu:r̥t̥/'pu:t̥:] 'gate'. Unstressed syllables do not contain long sounds, the possible exception being syllables with a reduced tertiary stress, cf. derivations with primary stress on the affix as in the minimal pair *säteri* [sɛ:t̥ər̥'i:] 'main estate exempt from dues to the crown' : *sätteri* [sɛ:t̥ər̥'i:] 'composing-room'.

Tonal Accent

There is a distinction between two tonal word accents, except in Finland Swedish. The acute accent (accent 1) is, roughly speaking, used in monosyllables and words with stress on the last syllable, also in their longer definite forms, e.g. '*and-en* 'the duck', '*steg-en* 'the steps', '*bur-en* 'the cage', *universi'tet-et* 'the university'. The gravis (accent 2) is used in polysyllables with initial stress, e.g. '*ande-n* 'the spirit', '*stegen* 'the ladder', '*buren* 'carried'. However, many two-syllable words corresponding to monosyllabic words in runic Swedish have the acute accent, e.g. '*fågel* 'bird', '*vatten* 'water', '*finger* 'finger'.

The realization of the accents varies in different areas, but their distribution in the lexicon is fairly stable. In the central area, the *gravis* accent is realized with two peaks, i.e. as a temporary fall in the word tone at the end of the first syllable. Further south, in the Göta region, the peaks are somewhat delayed, especially the peak in accent 1 words. Still further south, both accents have one peak, early (accent 1) or late (accent 2) in the first syllable. Gotland and Dalecarlia have a similar system, but again, the peaks are delayed.

Polysyllables with acute accent include: (a) all present-tense forms in *-er* (originally strong verbs only), e.g. *'spring-er* 'runs', *'lek-er* 'plays'; (b) definite forms of nouns with acute accent, e.g. *'bit-en* 'the piece', *ka'fé-et* 'the café'; (c) some plurals in *-er* of monosyllable nouns, e.g. *böck-er* 'books'; (d) comparatives with the ending *-re*, e.g. *'stör-re* 'bigger'; (e) most words with non-initial and non-final stress, e.g. *be'tala* 'pay', *för'sörja* 'provide for', *deko'rera* 'decorate'; (f) many words of foreign descent, including foreign names, e.g. *'ångest* 'agony', *'känga* 'boot', *'atlas* 'atlas', *'Afrika*, *'Belgrad*, *'Indien*; (g) at least optionally or regionally, compound words, which are in the process of losing their compound character, e.g. *'trädgård* 'garden', *'söndag* 'Sunday'; (h) optionally or regionally, many names, e.g. *'Erik*, *'Hilda*, *'Lundberg*, *'Halmstad*.

Polysyllables with *gravis* accent include most plurals, e.g. *'alm-ar* 'elm trees', most forms of verbs and adjectives, e.g. *'skämta-de* 'joked', *'stark-ast* 'strongest', and most compounds and compound-like derivations, e.g. *'ord-bok* 'dictionary', *'barn-dom* 'childhood'.

Phonotactics

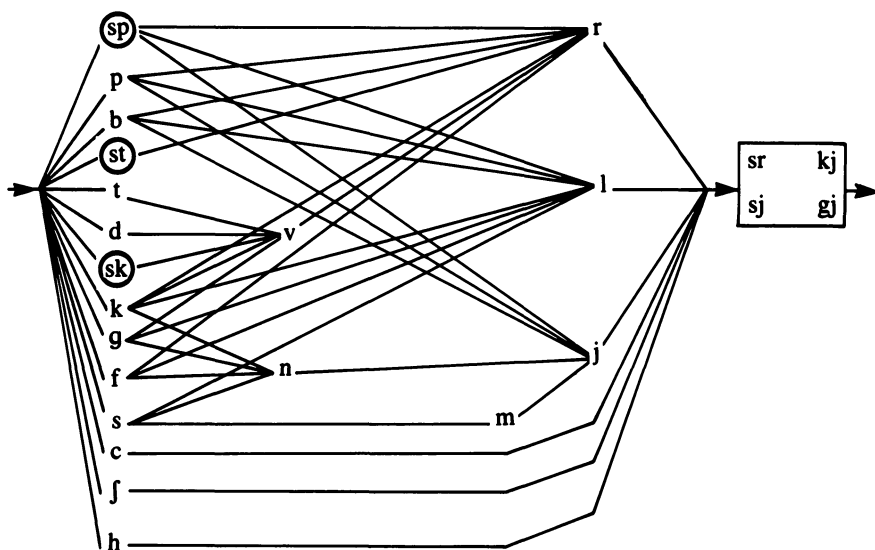
Native words have a restricted phonotactic structure. There are no diphthongs, and a typical root morpheme contains only one syllable with a single vowel, possibly preceded and/or followed by up to three consonants. Unstressed syllables are generally much simpler. Dissyllabic stems have a simple second syllable, typically ending in a vowel or /l, n, r/. Derivational and inflectional endings can complicate medial and final clusters considerably, e.g. *skälmskt* 'roguishly'.

Possible initial clusters are given in Figure 9.1. Two connected elements in the figure (but not three) can be combined as indicated, e.g. *spl*, *dv*, *vr*, with the exception of the combinations in the filter.

Impossible initial clusters still occurring in the orthography are <stj, skj, sj>, all pronounced [ʃ]; <tj, kj>, pronounced [ç]; <gj, lj, hj>, pronounced [j]. The cluster <dj>, too, is often simplified to [j]. In addition, initial <k> is often pronounced [ç], <sk> [ʃ], and <g> [j] before front vowels, but this phonotactic restriction has been removed, so that [k, sk, g] + front vowel can occur again word-initially.

Some orthographic clusters containing <g> have a deviant pronunciation in final and generally also in medial position: <rg> [rj]; <lg> [lj]; <ng> [ŋ]; and <gn> [ŋn].

Figure 9.1 Possible initial clusters



Source: Sigurd 1970: 41.

Words felt to have a foreign origin can have a more complex phonotactic structure. But even here, diphthongs are avoided, sometimes being replaced by a vowel–consonant combination or split on two syllables, e.g. *farmaceut* [farma'seft] 'pharmacist', *paus* 'pause', and consonant combinations are often simplified, e.g. *psalm* [salm] 'hymn'.

Stress Placement

Stress is normally placed on the first syllable in non-derived native words. In words felt to have a foreign origin, the stress is sometimes on the first syllable, e.g. *tivoli* 'place of amusement', but often on the last syllable, or one syllable before the end, e.g. *ma'net* 'jelly-fish', *ben'gali*. Weak tertiary stresses can be put on the first syllable, e.g. *indi'vid* 'individual', *peri'od* 'period', *gut-ta'perka* 'gutta-percha'. In derivations and inflections with unstressed endings, the stress can be placed even further away from the end of a foreign word, e.g. *peri'od-isk-a*. On the other hand, many derivational endings are stressed and remove the stress from the stem, often leaving behind a weak tertiary stress, e.g. *individu'ell* 'individual (adj.)', *individuali'tet* 'individuality'. Some derivations are similar to compounds and have secondary stress on the suffix, e.g. *'broder,skap* 'brotherhood', or perhaps a tertiary stress, e.g. *'positiv* 'positive'. In the latter case, there is sometimes a variation, e.g. in *feminin* 'feminine', where either the first or the last syllable can carry the primary stress. Some false compounds are stressed as if they were com-

pounds, although it is hard to recognize an internal morpheme structure, e.g. 'ar,bete 'work'. (See Morphology, section 9.3.)

9.3 Morphology

Compounding

New words can be created either by compounding or by derivation, especially nouns, adjectives and, to some extent, verbs. These processes are less productive for pronouns, adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions.

Compounding can be either modifying, e.g. *husbåt* 'house boat', or copulative, i.e. similar to conjoining, *matematisk-naturvetenskaplig* 'for mathematics and science'. Modifying compounds consist of two elements, the first being the modifying element, but copulative compounds often consist of several parallel elements, e.g. *svensk-norsk-dansk* 'Swedish-Norwegian-Danish'. Compounds are written in one word, but especially in copulative compounds and after proper names hyphens are often used to make the structure clear, e.g. *Kurosawa-film* 'Kurosawa movie'.

Special linking morphemes, an *-s-* or a vowel, are sometimes attached to the first element, e.g. *land-s-ting* 'county council', *läs-e-bok* 'textbook', *kvinn-o-arbete* 'women's work'. In some cases, there are special allomorphs of the first element to be used in compounds, e.g. *lant-bruk* 'agriculture' from *land* 'land'. The use of linking morphemes is lexically marked, and the same first element can take an *-s-* in some compounds and be used alone in others, e.g. *dag-s-inkomst* 'daily income', *dag-tid* 'day time'. The *-s-* is also used when the first element of the compound is complex in itself (compound or derived), e.g. *talspråk-s-data* 'data on spoken language', *avgift-s-fri* 'free of charge', *parkerings-s-förbud* 'parking prohibition'. The main exceptions to this rule are first elements ending in /s, ʃ/ or a cluster containing one of these phonemes, e.g. *sjukhus-byggnad* 'hospital building', *uppmarsch-order* 'deployment order', *humanist-överskott* 'humanist surplus', or ending in a vowel or in an unstressed vowel + /r, l, n/, e.g. *stortå-nagel* 'big-toe nail', *försommar-natt* 'night in early summer'.

Typical compounds have primary stress on the first element and secondary stress on the second element, even if the second element is semantically and syntactically the head of the compound, e.g. 'blod,röd 'blood red', 'upp,ställa 'put up'.

Sometimes, the primary stress is on the last element: (a) in contracted phrases, e.g. *förgätmig'ej* 'forget-me-not' (and here the first element can be the head element, e.g. *kryp'in* 'cosy corner'); (b) in additive numerals, e.g. *trettio'fem* '35'; (c) in compounds consisting of three or more constituents, e.g. *OECD'länderna* 'the OECD countries'. But in the last case all elements often have equal stress, e.g. *norskt-danskt-svenskt samarbete* 'Norwegian-Danish-Swedish cooperation'.

Nouns and participles are more easily compounded than verbs, cf. *tomgång* 'idle running' – *gå på tomgång* 'run idle', *snabbgående* 'fast' – *gå snabbt* 'go fast'.

Phrases do not normally occur within word formations. If they do, hyphens are often used between the words inside the word, or at least after the phrase, e.g. *ta det lugnt-attityd* '(lit.) take it easy-attitude'. The phrase can also be reformulated into a compound, e.g. *ordhållig* 'keeping one's word' from *hålla ord*, *tremotorig* 'with three motors', cf. *med tre motorer*.

Inflectional endings can occur inside a compound in a few cases only, e.g. the neuter *-t* in copulative compounds, or a plural ending in compounds with a numeral in the first element like *femdagarsvecka* 'five-day week'.

Derivation

New nouns, adjectives and verbs are easily formed by derivation. Most derivational affixes are suffixes, but some prefixes are used. The last element (stem or suffix) determines the word class of the derivation. Some derivational affixes are unstressed, while others carry a secondary stress, like the last element of a typical compound. Still others carry the main stress of the word, thereby removing the stress from the stem.

Prefixing: *be-lägga* 'cover', *för-tala* 'defame', *'o-,rädd* 'fearless', *'miss-,tag* 'mistake'. It is often hard to draw a borderline between prefixing and compounding, e.g. *'kvasi-popu,lär*, *'mini-,räknare* 'mini-calculator'.

Noun formation with suffixes: *sök-ande* 'search', *bo-ende* 'living', *överföring* 'transport', *läs-ning* 'reading', *bak-else* 'pastry', *frukt-an* 'fear', *realis-a'tion* 'sale', *brygg-e'ri* 'brewery', *'vag-,het* 'vagueness', *'kär-,lek* 'love', *'rike-,dom* 'richness', *'moder-,skap* 'motherhood', *individual-i'tet* 'individuality', *modern-'ism* 'modernism'. *löp-are* 'runner', *spekul-'ant* 'prospective buyer', *kontrah-'ent* 'party', *komment-'ator* 'commentator', *dans-'ör* 'dancer', *sol-'ist* 'soloist', *vek-ling* 'weakling', *hård-ing* 'tough guy', *feg-is* 'coward', *sömm-erska* 'dress-maker', *fin-ska* 'Finnish woman/language', *prost-'inna* 'dean's wife'.

Adjective formation with suffixes: *ljud-lig* 'loud', *lust-ig* 'funny', *själv-isk* 'selfish', *syn-sk* 'para-normal', *minim-'al* 'minimal', *individ-u'ell* 'individual', *represent-a'tiv* 'representative', *nerv-'ös* 'nervous', *enarm-ad* 'one-armed', *'stånds-,mässig* 'conformable', *'trä-,aktig* 'wooden-like', *'spar-,sam* 'economical', *'efter,häng-sen* 'clinging', *'del-,bar* 'divisible', *diskut-'abel* 'debatable'.

Verb formation with suffixes: *såg-a* 'saw', *telefon-'era* 'telephone', *legal-is'era* 'legalize'.

Noun Inflection

The noun is inflected for number (singular and plural), definiteness (bare and definite form) and case (basic case and genitive), the endings coming in that order (cf. The noun phrase, pp. 287–90), e.g. *bil-ar-na-s* 'of the cars'. Only

count nouns are inflected for all three categories, mass nouns and other uncountables are normally inflected for definiteness and case, e.g. *ull-en-s* 'of the wool', and proper nouns for case only e.g. *Sverige-s*.

Declensions

Nouns can be classified into declensions according to the form of the plural ending, and into two genders (utrum and neutrum) according to the singular definiteness ending. There is a correlation between gender and declension: generally, nouns in declensions (a–d) have gender utrum, and nouns in declensions (e–f) gender neutrum.

a Plural in *-or*. Utrum words ending in unstressed /a/ belong here, and a few words ending in a consonant, e.g. (*flicka*)/*flick-or* 'girls', (*näsa*)/*näs-or* 'noses', *våg-or* 'waves'. The /a/ is dropped in the plural and could also be treated as a singular ending.

b Plural in *-ar*. Most utrum words ending in unstressed /e/ belong here, but also many other utrum words, e.g. (*pojke*)/*poj-k-ar* 'boys', *våg-ar* 'scales', *by-ar* 'villages'. The /e/ is dropped in the plural and could be regarded as a singular ending.

c Plural in *-er*. Many utrum nouns belong here, e.g. *min-er* 'facial expressions', *vy-er* 'views', *idé-er* 'ideas', but also some neuters, e.g. (*land*)/*länd-er* 'countries', especially polysyllabics ending in a stressed vowel, e.g. *part'i-er* 'portions', and some original mass nouns, e.g. *vin-er* 'wines'.

d Plural in *-r*. Some old monosyllabic words ending in a vowel belong here, e.g. *sko-r* 'shoes'. The ending is more productive for words ending in an unstressed /e/, but less common after unstressed /o/, cf. *aktie-r* 'shares', seldom *radio-r* 'radios'.

e Plural in *-n*. Most neutrum nouns ending in a vowel belong here, e.g. *bi-n* 'bees', *buande-n* 'booings'.

f Plural without ending. Neutrum nouns ending in a consonant belong here, e.g. *hus* 'houses', *vad* 'bets', but also utrum nouns with reference to persons and ending in *-are*, *-ande*, *-iker*, and some others, e.g. *lärare* 'teachers', *ordförande* 'chairmen', *magiker* 'magicians', (*man*)/*män* 'men'.

g Plural in *-s*, *-i*, *-ta* (borrowed endings). Some loanwords can be inflected with foreign endings, especially English *-s*, but parallel forms according to one of the declensions (a–f) are now preferred, e.g. *schlager-s*/*schlagr-ar* 'hits', *trick-s*/*trick*, (*tempo*)/*temp-i*/*tempo-n*, *schema-ta*/*schema-n* 'schedules', (*pronomen*)/*pronominal*/*pronomen* 'pronouns'. Some other nouns, too,

vary between two different declensions, e.g. (*prisma*)/*prism-or/prism-er* 'prisms'.

For some words in declensions (b), (c), and (f), the plural form has undergone vowel shift (umlaut), e.g. (*dotter*)/*döttr-ar* 'daughters', (*son*)/*söner* 'sons', (*tång*)/*täng-er* 'tongs', (*man*)/*män* 'men'. Other changes can co-occur, such as accent shift or quantity shift, e.g. (*fader*)/*fäder* 'fathers' (accent 2 in sg. and accent 1 in pl.), (*mus*)/*möss* 'mice', (*gås* [go:s])/*gäss* [jæs:] 'geese'.

Before a syllabic plural ending, an unstressed syllable loses its vowel, e.g. (*cykel*)/*cykl-ar* 'bicycles', (*finger*)/*fingr-ar* (also *finger*) 'fingers', (*sägen* [sɛ:gøn])/*sägner*, [sɛ:ɲnər] 'tales'. Also, /-um/ is lost between a vowel and a plural or definite ending, and could be regarded as a singular ending, e.g. (*muse-um*)/*muse-er* 'museums'. (*obligatorium*)/*obligatori-er* 'obligatories', cf. *album-ar* 'albums'. Words ending in unstressed /-or/ undergo stress shift in the plural, e.g. (*doktor*)/*dokt'orer* 'doctors'.

Gender

Swedish nouns have either of two genders, although in some words there is variation, often regional, cf. *en penni* – *ett penni* 'a penny'.

- 1 Utrum: the singular definite ending is *-en*, generally *-n* after any vowel and after an unstressed vowel + /l, r/, e.g. *stol-en* 'the chair', *by-n* 'the village', *flicka-n* 'the girl', *lärar(e)-n* 'the teacher', *akademi-n* 'the academy' (*akademi-en* is archaic), *cykel-n* 'the bicycle', *cider-n* 'the cider'.
- 2 Neutrum: the singular definite ending is *-et*, and *-t* after an unstressed vowel (only colloquially after a stressed vowel), e.g. *hus-et* 'the house', *bi-et* 'the bee', *part'i-(e)t* 'the party', *ghetto-t* 'the ghetto'.

In the plural, the definite ending is generally *-na*, but *-a* after /n/ and *-en* after the zero plural ending, although *-na* is often optionally used after a stem in /t/, e.g. *flick-or-na*, *pojke-ar-na*, *sko-r-na*, *bi-n-a*, *hus-en*, *mönstr-en/mönster-na* 'the patterns'.

Before *-en*, the unstressed syllable /-en/ in the stem loses its vowel, e.g. *sägen/säggen*. Before *-et*, the vowel in /-el/ or /-er/ is lost as well, as before plural *-en*, e.g. *segell/segl-et*, *lager/lagr-et*, *mönster/mönstr-en*. Stem final /-um/ is lost as before the plural ending, e.g. *muse-et* 'the museum'.

Case

The genitive ending is always *-s*, except after /s/, where the ending is assimilated and only occasionally signalled in the orthography with an apostrophe, e.g. *Bush-s*, *pojke-s/pojken-s/pojkar-s/pojarna-s*, *hus/huset-s/hus/husen-s*, *Sibelius(') symfonier* 'the symphonies of Sibelius'.

Adjective Inflection

Adjectives, including past participles, are inflected for number, definiteness and gender. The form is determined by agreement with a head noun or a predicative base. The adjective is also inflected for case when it functions as the head of a noun phrase. Gradable adjectives can normally be compared (having positive, comparative and superlative forms).

In the positive, the plural ending is *-a*, or *-e* after an unstressed syllable with the vowel /a/, e.g. *stor-a*, *kastad-e*. The same form is also used as a singular definite form, e.g. *den gaml-a stugan* 'the old cottage', but here a form in *-e* is often used for masculine referents, e.g. *den gaml-e mannen* 'the old man', obligatorily when the adjective is the head of the noun phrase, e.g. *den gaml-e* 'the old man'. In the indefinite singular, the base form is used without an ending in agreement with utrum nouns, e.g. *en gammal man*, and with the ending *-t* otherwise, i.e. in agreement with neutrum nouns and when agreement is lacking, e.g. *ett gammal-t hus* 'an old house' *att du kom var trevlig-t* 'it was nice that you came'.

Adjectives can be divided into three comparison classes, according to what endings they take.

- 1 Comparative ending *-are*, superlative ending *-ast*, in the long form *-aste*, e.g. *fin* 'fine' *finare/finast/finaste*.
- 2 Comparative ending *-re*, superlative ending *-st*, in the long form: *-stalste*, e.g. *stor* 'big' *större/störst/störstal/störste*, *lång* 'long' *längre/längst*. These endings are often accompanied by umlaut and shortening, if possible. Only a few common adjectives belong to this class. Some of them are irregular in the stem or use suppletive stems, e.g. *bra* 'good' *bättre/bäst*, *liten* 'small' *mindre/minst*.
- 3 Comparative ending *-re*, superlative ending *-erst*, in the long form: *-erstal-erste*. For these forms, the positive is not an adjective, but an adverb, e.g. *bort* 'away', *bortre* 'more distant (of two)' *borterst/bortresta* 'most distant'. (The superlative could perhaps be analysed as containing both a comparative and a superlative ending.)

The comparative form is never inflected, like any adjective ending in a vowel. The superlative long form is for many speakers predominantly a definite form as in the positive, e.g. *den godaste glassen* 'the most delicious ice-cream', but for other speakers a form generally used attributively, as in *en sista hälsning* 'a last greeting'. The short form is always used for predicative adjectives, e.g. *glasstrutar är godast* 'ice-cream cones are most delicious', but is, for many speakers, common in certain attributive uses, too, e.g. *Lisa lagar godast glass* 'Lisa makes the most delicious ice-cream'.

A stem final /n/ in an unstressed syllable is lost before *-t*, e.g. *öppen/öppet*. Stressed final vowels are shortened before *-t*, which is lengthened and assimilates a final /d/, e.g. *fri/fritt* [fri:, frit:], *röd/rött* [rø:d, rø:t:]. The

unstressed syllables /-er, -en, -al/ lose their vowel before syllabic endings, e.g. *vacker* 'beautiful' *vackr-a/vackr-are/vackr-ast*, *öppen* 'open' *öppn-a/öppn-are/öppn-ast*, *gammal* 'old' *gaml-a*.

Pronoun Inflection

Pronouns can be subdivided into nominal pronouns, determiners and adjectival pronouns.

Nominal pronouns can function as noun phrases. Some of them can take complements typical to the noun, e.g. *hon som står där* 'she who is standing there', *du med vit skjorta* 'you in the white shirt', *ni där borta* 'you over there', *vem annan* 'who else', cf. *man* 'one', but they can combine with adjectives or nouns in a few marginal cases only, e.g. *lilla jag* 'little me', *han stackare* 'poor man'.

Determiners can function as noun phrases and take complements like nominal pronouns, but can also be combined with adjectives and/or nouns to form a noun phrase, e.g. *denna bil* 'this car', *min älskade* 'my beloved', *två långa dagar* 'two long days'.

Adjectival pronouns must generally be preceded by a determiner in the noun phrase and function very much like adjectives, e.g. *annan* 'other', *likadan* 'similar'. However, since a determiner is obligatory in individuating singular noun phrases only, the distinction between determiners and adjectival pronouns is often neutralized, especially for inherently plural pronouns.

Nominal pronouns are not inflected for number or definiteness, but possess themselves a certain number and definiteness, and sometimes semantic gender. They are inflected for case, although suppletive forms are often used, and personal pronouns have a specific accusative form in addition to the genitive, e.g. *han* 'he', *honom, hans*; *hon* 'she', *henne, hennes*.

The determiners generally possess number and gender, and may also be inflected for case, when they are used like nominal pronouns e.g. *denna(s)*, *detta(s)*, *dessa(s)* '(of) this/these', *vilken(s)*, *vilket(s)*, *vilka(s)* '(of) which', *någon(s)*, *något(s)*, *några(s)* '(of) some'.

The adjectival pronouns are generally inflected for number, definiteness, gender, and sometimes case, like normal adjectives, e.g. *likadan*, *likadant*, *likadana* 'similar'.

Nominal pronouns and determiners can be divided into definite, interrogative and indefinite pronouns. Definite pronouns can be divided into six groups:

1 Relative pronouns, i.e. *vilken(s)*, *vilket(s)*, *vilka(s)*, genitive also *vars*. (*Som* can be analysed as a subordinating conjunction rather than a nominal relative pronoun.) The nominal *vad* has no genitive and can be used in free relatives, preceded only by *allt*.

2 Reciprocal (or distributive) nominal pronouns, referring back to the subject

referents of the clause, *varandra(s)* '(of) each other'.

3 First- and second-person nominal pronouns. Instead of a genitive form, possessive pronouns are used.

	<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Accusative</i>	<i>Possessive pronoun</i>
1 sg.	jag	mig	min, mitt, mina
2 sg.	du	dig	din, ditt, dina
1 pl.	vi	oss	vår, vårt, våra
2 pl.	ni	er	er, ert, era

The possessive forms function as determiners and can marginally take the genitive ending, when they form a noun phrase on their own, e.g. *dina kusiners bil är dyrare än minas sommarstuga* 'Your cousins' car is more expensive than my cousins' summer cottage'.

4 Reflexive nominal pronouns, referring to the subject referent of the clause, *sig*. Instead of a genitive form, a possessive pronoun is used, *sin, sitt, sina*.

5 Third-person singular nominal pronouns, referring to other persons than the speaker or hearer, masculine, *han, honom, hans*, or feminine, *hon, henne, hennes*.

6 Demonstrative third-person determiners, referring to prominent inanimate or animate referents, *den(s), det, de*, in the genitive normally *dess, deras*. In spoken language, *dom* is widely used both for *de* (nom. pl) and *dem* (acc. pl.). *Denna(s), detta(s), dessa(s)* are more emphatic forms, which suggest a recent shift in prominence, by situational deixis (pointing) or by mentioning. The prominence can also be marked as distal, *den/det/de där(s)*, or proximal, *den/det/de här(s)*.

Interrogative pronouns are the nominal impersonal *vad* and personal *vem(s)*, and the determiner *vilken(s), vilket(s), vilka(s)*. *Hurdan* 'what sort of', *hurdant, hurdana* (archaic forms *hurudan*, etc.) may be adjectival, although the determiner *en* is normally deleted before it.

Indefinite pronouns are either nominal, e.g. *man* 'you, one, people' or determiners, e.g. *en/ett* 'a(n), one', *någon/något/några* 'some', *mången, månget, många* 'many', or adjectival, e.g. *sådan* 'such'. The difference between the latter categories is hard to tell for pronouns generally occurring in the plural only, like numerals and other quantifiers, e.g. *två* '2', *tusen* '1000', *få* 'few'. Strictly speaking, many indefinite pronouns are unmarked for definiteness, since they can occur in definite noun phrases as well as indefinite ones, e.g. *många bilar* 'many cars', *de många bilarna* 'the many cars'. A number of pronouns like *följande* 'following', *nästa* 'next',

ifrågavarande 'in question', *sagda* 'mentioned', *respektive* 'respective' have a definite meaning and need not be combined with a definite article, although they are very similar to adjectives, e.g. *ovannämnda kommitté, den ovannämnda kommittén* 'the committee mentioned above.'

Verb Inflection

The verb is inflected for tense-mood and voice. The five tense-mood categories of Swedish have traditionally been grouped under three mood categories, indicative, subjunctive and imperative, with a tense distinction between present and past (preterite) in the first two. Here they are treated separately, but are called tenses when they have a temporal meaning and moods when they have a modal meaning.

The present tense is a neutral form which is used when no other form is motivated. It is generally used when the action takes place at the moment of speech (factive) or could take place at that time (potential). The ending is *-er*, but *-r* after a vowel, e.g. *läs-er* 'reads', *spring-er* 'runs', *kasta-r* 'throws', *sy-r* 'sews'. No ending is used after /r/ and in a few modal verbs, e.g. *lär* 'teaches, learns', *kan* 'can'.

The past form is used when the action is either a past event or state (past tense), or imagined at the moment of speech (modal past). The past tense therefore functions as a subjunctive for the weak verbs and can replace the subjunctive of the strong verbs, too. The ending is *-de* for weak verbs, but *-te* after voiceless consonant and sometimes after /-n/, and *-dde* after a stressed vowel, which is shortened, e.g. *kasta-de* 'threw', *väv-de* 'weaved', *läs-te* 'read', *rön-te* 'experienced', *sy-dde* 'sewed'. The same shortening takes place when the stem ends in a dental, e.g. *vät-a* 'moisten', *vät-te*, *led-a* 'lead', *led-de*. Strong verbs form their past tense by vowel shifts, which are only partly predictable from the present stem, e.g. *spring-a/sprang* 'run'.

The subjunctive mood of strong verbs is used when the action is imagined (either potential or unreal). The ending *-e* is added to a special subjunctive stem, formed by vowel shift, e.g. *få* 'get' *fing-e*, *spring-a* 'run' *sprung-e*, *bli* 'become' *blev-e*.

The optative mood (or present subjunctive) occurs mostly in lexicalized expressions and in archaic language. It is used to express wishes by the speaker, but also has a flavour of declaration or magic formula. The ending *-e* is added to the present stem, e.g. *lev-e* 'live'.

The imperative mood is used for ordering the listener to perform the action of the sentence, and the action is normally both potential and desired by the speaker. The form has no ending and consists of the present stem, e.g. *kasta* 'throw', *spring* 'run'.

Non-finite Verb Forms

The infinitive is used as a nominal constituent, and the supine in connection with the temporal auxiliary *ha*.

The infinitive has the ending *-a* after a consonant, and no ending after a vowel, e.g. *läs-a* 'read', *sy* 'sew'. In the first conjugation, the final /a/ can be analysed as a derivational element rather than as an infinitival ending, e.g. *hopp-a* 'jump', *fri-a* 'proposed marriage'.

The supine form has the ending *-t*, *-tt* for weak verbs, e.g. *väv-t* 'woven', *ro-tt* 'rowed', and *-it* for strong verbs, e.g. *riv-it* 'torn'. It was grammatically separated from the neutrum past participle in the eighteenth century, although there is a difference for strong verbs only, e.g. *skrivit* (sup.) 'written', *skrivet* (part.).

Voice

There are two verbal voice categories of non-finite as well as finite verb forms, i.e. the active and the passive (*s*-form). Voice inflection changes the valency of the verb, i.e. the rules for choice of subject and object.

S-forms are constructed by adding *-s* to the corresponding active form, except in the present tense, where the tense ending disappears, e.g. *kasta-s* 'be thrown', *kasta-s* 'is thrown', *kastade-s* 'was thrown', *kastat-s* 'been thrown', *riva-s* 'be torn', *riv-s*, *rev-s*, *rivit-s*. In the present tense, the voice ending is *-es* after a stem ending in /s/, and optionally in formal style after other consonants, e.g. *läs-es* 'is read', *riv-es*.

Instead of single voice forms, phrasal voice expressions are often used, combinations of a copula and a past participle. The copula *bli* is used with perfective verbs, and *vara* (sometimes alternatively *bli*) with imperfective verbs, e.g. *boken blev förstörd/förstördes* 'the book was (being) destroyed', *han var ansedd/blev ansedd/ansågs som en hederlig man* 'he was regarded as an honest man'. With perfective verbs, *vara* corresponds to a perfect-tense form, e.g. *boken var förstörd/hade förstörts* 'the book had been destroyed'.

Conjugations

The Swedish verbs can be grouped into weak verbs, strong verbs and a small residual group, mainly according to the type of ending in the past tense. Weak verbs take a dental suffix, strong verbs undergo vowel shift. Weak paradigms are given in Table 9.3, strong paradigms in Table 9.4. The forms in the weak paradigms given below are the infinitive, the imperative, the present, the past, and the supine. For the strong verbs, the subjunctive, too, is given after the preterite.

For Class I verbs, the thematic *-a* is present in all inflectional forms. This is the productive conjugation, where the majority of verbs belong. For Class II verbs, the stem ends in a voiced or a voiceless consonant; and for Class III verbs the stem ends in a stressed vowel.

Class IV verbs (strong verbs, see Table 9.4) form their past, subjunctive and supine forms partly by vowel shift. The stems therefore occur in four different variants, but two or more of them are always identical.

Table 9.3 Weak verbs

	Infinitive	Imperative	Present	Past	Supine
Class I	kasta 'to throw'	kasta	kasta-r	kasta-de	kasta-t
Class II	väv-a 'to weave'	väv	väv-er	väv-de	väv-t [ve:ft]
	löp-a 'to run'	löp	löp-er	löp-te	löp-t
Class III	sy 'to sow'	sy	sy-r	sy-dde	sy-tt

Table 9.4 Strong verbs

	Infinitive	Imperative	Present	Past	Subjunctive	Supine
Class IV	spring-a 'to run'	spring	spring-er	sprang	sprung-e	sprung-it
	bär-a 'to carry'	bär	bär	bar	bur-e	bur-it
	flyt-a 'to flow'	flyt	flyt-er	flöt	flöt-e	flut-it
	skriv-a 'to write'	skriv	skriv-er	skrev	skrev-e	skriv-it
	komm-a 'to come'	kom	komm-er	kom	komm-e	komm-it
	le 'to smile'	le	le-r	log	log-e	le-tt
	gå 'to go'	gå	gå-r	gick	ging-e	gå-tt

- 1 If there is a different supine stem, it is normally also used in the subjunctive, e.g. *springa*, *bära*.
- 2 If the present stem contains /y/, the past stem is used in the subjunctive, e.g. *flyta*.
- 3 If the present stem is used in the supine, the past stem is normally used in the subjunctive, e.g. *skriva*.
- 4 Only a few strong verbs have the same vowel in all forms, e.g. *komma*.
- 5 If the present stem ends in a vowel, the supine is formed as for weak verbs. The past stem ends in a consonant, but is often so irregular that it can be regarded as suppletive, e.g. *le*, *gå*.

Table 9.5 Residual verbs

Infinitive	Imperative	Present	Past	Supine
kunn-a 'to be able'	—	kan	kun-de	kunna-t
vilj-a 'to want'	—	vill	vill-e	vela-t
(skol-a) 'to be going to'	—	ska(II)	skull-e	(skolat)
vet-a 'to know'	vet	vet	viss-te	veta-t

Residual verbs (see Table 9.5): a few irregular weak verbs have no ending, but possibly vowel shift in the present tense and a thematic *-a* in the supine.

Modal auxiliaries are found in several conjugations and are hard to distinguish from main verbs syntactically.

Vowel shift (umlaut) can sometimes occur in the weak conjugations. The past and supine forms have no umlaut, but often loss of stem final /j/ and sometimes lengthening of the vowel:

<i>Infinitive</i>	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Past</i>	<i>Supine</i>
välj- <i>a</i> 'to choose'	välj	välj-er	val-de	val-t
gläd(j)- <i>a</i> 'to give pleasure'	gläd	gläd-er	glad-de	glat-t

Some frequent verbs normally lose the final consonant in their present stem, which means that parallel forms exist like *taga/ta* 'take', *tag/ta*, *tager/tar*, *tog*, *tagit/?tatt*, *bliva/bli* 'become', *bliv/bli*, *bliver/blir*, *blev*, *blivit/?blitt*. The long forms are archaic, except in the supine.

Participles

The present participle is formed by adding *-(a)nde* to the present stem, *-ende* after a stressed vowel, e.g. *kasta-nde*, *läs-ande*, *skriv-ande*, *sy-ende*. Verbs with shortened stem forms use the longer form in the present participle, e.g. *givande* 'giving', *tagande* 'taking', *glädjande* 'satisfactory'.

The past participle is formed with the ending *-d*, *-t*, *-dd* for weak verbs, and the ending *-en* for strong verbs, e.g. *kasta-d*, *läs-t*, *sy-dd*, *skriv-en*.

9.4 Syntax

The Noun Phrase

The noun phrase typically contains a nominal pronoun or a determiner and/or a noun, but when these elements are missing, even an adjective can function as a noun phrase. There is no reason to distinguish between true noun phrases, containing a noun, and other noun phrases, since they have similar syntactic behaviour. Even infinitives and nominal clauses could be classified as noun phrases, but here all three categories are subsumed under the label nominal phrases. Typical noun phrase structures are the following:

Nominal pronoun or determiner: *hon* 'she', *alla därinne* 'everybody in there'

Proper noun: *Kalle (från Stockholm)*

with determiner: *den oförsiktige Eriksson* 'the uncautious Eriksson'

Common or plural noun: *ylle* 'wool', *åkrar* 'fields', *bördiga åkrar med sädeskärvar* 'fertile fields with sheaves'

with determiner: *denna dag* 'this day', *varje tung bok på hyllan* 'every heavy book on the shelf'

Adjective: *blinda* 'blind people'

with determiner: *en blind* 'a blind person', *det enda goda med saken* 'the only positive thing in the matter'

When the noun phrase contains a noun, that word is generally regarded as the head of the phrase, but it would also be possible to give that role to the determiner.

Definiteness

There are three definiteness categories for the noun phrase: definite, indefinite and bare noun phrases. However, 'bare' could also be regarded as a variant of indefinite, since mass nouns and plurals can be bare when they function as indefinite expressions.

definite: *den edsvurna translatorn* 'the certified translator'

indefinite: *en edsvuren translator* 'a certified translator'

bare: *edsvuren translator*

Definite noun phrases typically refer to uniquely identifiable referents and are marked with a definite pronoun, definite form of adjectival modifiers and definite form of the noun (although one or several markers may be missing), e.g. *den här nytvättad-e fin-a ull-en* 'this newly washed fine wool'.

There is no definite pronoun in the following cases:

- 1 If there are no preposed modifiers, the definite ending of the noun is the only definiteness marker, e.g. *ullen* 'the wool', *häftet med blå pärmar* 'the booklet with blue covers'. *Hela* does not count as a preposed modifier in this respect, e.g. *hela (den långa) dagen* 'all day (long)'.
- 2 In lexicalized names, e.g. *Långa bron* 'the Long bridge', *Svarta havet* 'the Black Sea'.
- 3 Sometimes before a superlative, e.g. *Kalle var yngsta deltagaren* 'Kalle was the youngest participant'.

The noun has no definiteness ending:

- 1 After genitival or possessive attributes, e.g. *barnens gamla kläder* 'the old clothes of the children', *min första läsebok* 'my first reader'.
- 2 After *denna*, *samma*, e.g. *detta bekymmersfria levnadssätt* 'this untroubled way of living', *samma trasiga hatt* 'the same ragged hat'.
- 3 Optionally after *den*, when a restrictive relative clause follows, especially in formal style, e.g. *vi satt i det nyrenoverade rum som låg genast till vänster* 'we were sitting in the newly renovated room that was right to the left'.
- 4 After an absolute superlative, e.g. *där satt den allra sötaste lilla apunge*

'there was the sweetest little monkey baby'.

- 5 In exclamations and vocatives with personal pronouns, e.g. *jag arma stackare!* 'poor me!' *du mäktige konung!* 'you mighty king!'

Both pronoun and definite ending is missing:

- 1 Optionally in noun phrases with *nästa, följande, motsvarande, ifrågavarande, vänster, höger*, e.g. *nästa beräknade solförmörkelse* 'next predicted solar eclipse', *ifrågavarande hårda omdöme* 'the hard judgement in question', *på vänster sida* 'on the left side'.
- 2 Sometimes after a superlative, e.g. *ungsta aktiva deltagare var Kalle* 'the youngest active participant was Kalle'.
- 3 In vocatives, e.g. *bästa bror!* 'dear brother!' *ärade åhörare!* 'honoured listener(s)!'

Adjectival marking and definiteness ending is missing after *varje, var*, e.g. *varje ny morgon* 'every new morning', *var tredje ditrest(a) turist* (lit.) 'every third arrived tourist'. After *all/allt/lalla* and *båda, bägge*, either a definite or indefinite noun phrase can follow, e.g. *alla tjocka böcker – alla de tjocka böckerna* 'all (the) thick books', *allt annat skräp – allt det andra skräpet* 'all other garbish', *på båda håll – på båda hållen* 'on both sides'.

Case

Case categories are three, nominative, accusative and genitive, although the nominative–accusative distinction is valid for personal pronouns only. For other noun phrases, these two cases are merged into one basic case. The nominative is used in isolated words, in subjects, and in predicative complements, the exception being reflexive predicative complements, which must occur in the accusative, cf. *pojken med glasögon är jag* 'the boy with spectacles is me', *jag är inte mig själv i dag* 'I am not my real self today'. The accusative is also used in objects and after prepositions.

The genitive ending *-s* is attached to the final head of the noun phrase, generally a noun, but possibly an adjective or a pronoun. When the head has postposed complements, the genitive is avoided. However, it is possible to attach the genitive ending to such a head in formal style, especially in names, e.g. *Stiftelsens för Åbo Akademi forskningsinstitut* 'The Research Institute of the Åbo Academy Foundation', and to place the ending last in the entire noun phrase in colloquial style (group genitive), e.g. *mannen på gatans åsikter* 'the opinions of the man on the street'.

The genitive covers a wide range of meanings. Possessive genitive can express almost any affiliation: owner, user, location or located element, superior or subordinated element, source, result, etc. Partitive genitive expresses the whole of a part, e.g. *föreningens medlemmar* 'the members of the association'. Nexus genitive is either subjective, objective or temporal, e.g. *fiendens*

anfall 'the attack of the enemy', *pjäsens framförande* 'the performance of the play', *dagens anfall* 'today's attack'. Genitives for measure and property occur in indefinite phrases, e.g. *en tre kilometers asfalterad raksträcka* 'a straight paved road of three kilometres', *ett smutsigt tredje klassens hotell* 'a dirty third-class hotel'. Other meanings are emphasis and identity. In the last case, Nordic place-names ending in a vowel have a genitive without ending inside fixed expressions functioning as names, e.g. *Åbo stad* 'the city of Turku', cf. *Stockholms stad*.

In many of these cases the genitive can be replaced by a prepositional phrase, an adjective, or a part of a compound. But this possibility does not apply to a genitive for owner or user, or a subjective genitive.

Attributive Modifiers

Attributive modifiers are either preposed or postposed (complements), and modify pronouns, nouns or independent adjectives.

Pronominal modifiers are normally preposed in the following order:

totality	demonstration	possession	quantity	selection	comparison	noun
<i>båda</i>	<i> dessa</i>	<i> mina</i>	<i> två</i>	<i> andra</i>	<i> likadana</i>	<i> böcker</i>
'both'	'these'	'my'	'two'	'other'	'similar'	'books'

Genitival modifiers occur in the possession slot in the above schema, (although they do not combine with a definite article in the demonstrative slot), e.g. *alla dessa Kalles otaliga böcker* 'all these innumerable books of Kalle's'

Adjectival modifiers, including participial ones, are normally preposed, following pronominal and genitival modifiers, but can be postposed, if they have modifiers of their own or form a coordinate structure, e.g. *en annan mycket tjock bok* 'another very thick book', cf. *en annan bok, mycket tjock; den lilla men naggande goda bakelsen – bakelsen, liten men naggande god* 'the pastry, little but very delicious'.

Prepositional and adverbial attributive complements are postposed, e.g. *huset på stranden* 'the house on the beach', *vägen hem* 'the way home'. When adverbs are preposed they can be reinterpreted as adjectives, e.g. *en gratis glass* 'a free ice-cream'.

Infinitival and sentential complements are postposed, e.g. *konsten att skriva* 'the art of writing', *frågan hur vi skulle försätta* 'the question how to continue'.

The Prepositional Phrase

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition and a nominal phrase, i.e. a noun phrase, an infinitive phrase, or a clause, e.g. *utan dig* 'without you', *hos blinda* 'in blind people'; *genom att springa* 'by running', *för att du skall må bra* 'in order for you to feel well'.

Some prepositions can be used as postpositions, especially in fixed phrases,

e.g. *oss emellan* 'between us', *året runt* 'around the year'. There are also a few circumpositions in Swedish, e.g. *för en vecka sedan* 'a week ago', *för hennes skull* 'for her sake'.

The Adjective Phrase

Adjectives (including participles) can take other adjectives, adverbs, prepositional phrases and in some cases even nominal phrases as modifiers. The modifiers can be either preposed, e.g. *mycket stor* 'very big', *med svårigheter förtrogen* 'acquainted with difficulties', or postposed, e.g. *van med oljud* 'used to noise', *van (med) att svälta* 'used to starving'. When the adjective itself functions as a preposed modifier (to a noun), it cannot take postposed modifiers. However, in archaic style, modifiers which are normally postposed can be preposed, e.g. *alla i stadsmiljö boende medborgare* 'all citizens living in a city area', *en i alla avseenden lyckad kväll* 'an evening, successful in every respect'. But it is also possible to postpose the entire modifier: *alla medborgare boende i stadsmiljö, en kväll lyckad i alla avseenden*.

The adverb phrase can have a similar structure.

Subjects

Swedish is a subject-prominent language, which means that all clauses except imperative and some elliptical clauses must have an overt subject. The subject is marked by its position in the clause and, for personal pronouns, by nominative case.

The subject of subordinate clauses is generally placed clause-initially, immediately before preposed adverbials in the predicate and before the finite verb, e.g. *jag tror att jag inte kan komma i kväll* 'I think I cannot come tonight'. In main clauses, the finite verb is generally moved to pre-subject position, but since the subject in declarative sentences can be moved to clause-initial position, it is often placed right before the finite verb here, too, e.g. *i kväll kan jag inte komma, jag kan inte komma i kväll*.

The subject plays a role in many syntactic processes in a way that distinguishes it from other parts of the clause. However, in some cases objects exhibit similar properties.

- 1 The subject triggers tense-mood inflection in its predicate. If the subject is deleted, the finite verb may be reduced to an infinitive, which is often governed by the subject of the higher clause. Cf. *jag hoppas att jag klarar mig bra* 'I hope to manage well' *jag hoppas klara mig bra*.
- 2 The subject triggers number and gender agreement in predicative adjectives, and number agreement in predicative noun phrases, Cf. *flickan blev förvånad. Barnet blev förvånat. Kvinnorna blev förvånade*, 'the girl/the child was astonished. The women were astonished' *mina farbröder är bönder* 'my uncles are farmers'.

- 3 The subject governs reflexive and reciprocal pronouns in the same clause, e.g. *han gav städerskan sin lön* 'he gave the cleaning maid his salary', *de gav eleverna varandras böcker* 'they gave the pupils each other's books.'
- 4 The subject can be raised to object or subject position in a superordinate clause with certain verbs, e.g. *jag såg henne springa bort* 'I saw her running away', *hon tycktes flyga över marken* 'she seemed to fly over the ground'.

Expletive Subject

If there is no semantic subject in normal subject position, an expletive subject *det* is used. Especially in archaic or regional style, an adverbial like *här* 'here' or *där* 'there', sometimes even a more complex adverbial, can fill the subject position in the cases of impersonal clauses and existential clauses.

Impersonal Clauses

A semantic subject is lacking, or what could have been expressed by a subject is expressed by an adverbial, e.g. *det regnar* 'it is raining', *det susar i skogen*, cf. *skogen susar* 'the wood is whispering', *här är kallt* 'it is cold here', *trots detta blev där allt trängre och hetare* 'in spite of this, it became more and more crowded and hot' ?*i vissa områden plöjs och harvas på hösten* 'in some areas, they plough and cultivate the soil in the autumn'.

Existential Clauses

An indefinite subject noun phrase can be placed in postverbal (object) position in many intransitive sentences. A locative adverbial is often present. A lot of verbs allow for this existential construction, e.g. *det brukar sitta en pojke på trappan* 'there is usually a boy sitting on the stairs'.

The requirements on indefiniteness are very high in more formal style. It is not enough that the subject refers to an indefinite subclass of a definite class, as in ?*det brukar sitta en av pojarna på trappan* 'there is usually one of the boys sitting on the stairs'.

In passive sentences the constituent placed in object position can be regarded as either subject or object, as in *det dansades vals hela natten* 'they danced waltzes all night'.

Cleft Sentences

Almost any constituent in a sentence can be clefted, i.e. promoted to form a higher clause together with the expletive subject *det* and a copula. The original sentence is constructed as a subordinate clause introduced by *som*, e.g. *det var Kalles bror som kom* 'it was Kalle's brother that came', *det är/blir i morgon som allting skall ske* 'it is tomorrow that everything will happen', *det var doktor som han var* 'he was a doctor'.

The clefted element is marked for case as if it were part of the subordinate

clause, e.g. *det var mig som du såg* 'it was me that you saw', *det var hon som hjälpte mig* 'it was she who helped me'.

The matrix clause can include sentence adverbials and auxiliaries, e.g. *det var tyvärr inte Kalles bror som kom* 'unfortunately, it wasn't Kalle's brother who came', *det brukade vara på lördagarna som vi reste till landet* 'it was usually on Saturdays that we went into the countryside'.

Extraposition

An infinitival or sentential subject is normally placed at the end of the clause, which triggers an expletive subject, e.g. *naturligtvis är det roligt att skriva limerickar* 'of course, it is fun to write limericks', *det är möjligt att jag kommer* 'it is possible that I shall come'.

Extraposition is almost obligatory in subordinate clauses. In main clauses, it is possible to place the infinitival or sentential subject initially without an expletive subject, e.g. *att skriva limerickar är roligt*/**naturligtvis är att skriva limerickar roligt*/**jag vill veta om att skriva limerickar är roligt* 'I want to know whether it is fun to write limericks'.

Objects

An object is a nominal complement of a verb, normally expressing a referent undergoing a change or being created, a cause, a patient, an instrument, even a place or a time for the action, e.g. *Eva band en bukett av blommorna* 'Eva tied a bouquet of the flowers', *detta förvånade oss* 'this astonished us', *vi hörde att du kom* 'we heard that you came', *vi använde hammare* 'we used a hammer', *staketet omgav tomten på alla sidor* 'the fence surrounded the lot on all sides', *vi tillbringade ett år i utlandet* 'we spent a year abroad'. There are often alternative object choices, cf. *Eva band blommorna till en bukett*.

Objects are normally placed immediately after the head verb, but can also be placed initially, where they are sometimes hard to distinguish from subjects, e.g. *Hasse krossade äpplena till mos*/*äpplena krossade Hasse till mos* 'Hasse mashed the apples/the apples mashed Hasse'. Sentential objects are generally extraposed, e.g. *jag fick veta först i går att du skulle komma* 'I learned only yesterday that you would come'. In colloquial speech, personal object pronouns can be clitics, e.g. *jag såg'na inte* 'I didn't see her'.

The object can function as controller of predicative complements and adverbials, reflexives and infinitives, sometimes almost like subjects, e.g. *vi målade huset rött* 'we painted the house red', *han lade boken på sin plats* 'he put the book on its/his place', *hon skickade barnen utomlands för att lära sig svenska* 'she sent the children abroad for them to learn Swedish'.

A prepositional object (preposition and nominal phrase) is more freely placed, e.g. *jag hade prenumererat på DN i ett halvår/i ett halvår på DN* 'I had subscribed to *DN* for half a year'. It is not unusual that it is promoted to subject in a passive clause, e.g. *DN kan prenumereras (på) halvårsvis* '*DN* can be subscribed to by the half-year'.

Ditransitive verbs have two objects. The indirect object, expressing a receiver or experiencer, a person taking advantage of or suffering from the action, precedes the direct object, expressing a typical object role, e.g. *visa chefen din boksamling* 'show the boss your book collection'. Either object can normally be promoted to subject in a passive clause.

In many cases, the indirect object can be paraphrased with an adverbial prepositional phrase. But sometimes only an indirect object, sometimes only an adverbial is possible, cf. *visa din boksamling för chefen!* 'show your book collection to the boss!' *Allt detta gav mig grå hår! *grå hår åt mig* 'All this made me desperate (lit. gave me grey hairs)'. *Jag uträttade ett ärende åt min bror! *min bror ett ärende* 'I did an errand for my brother'.

Sometimes, an object in the topic position expresses a type of referent, while an object in normal object position expresses quantity, quality, or even identification (split or double object), e.g. *bilar har vi flera stycken* 'we have several cars', *ost köpte jag två kilo* 'I bought two kilograms of cheese', *pappershanddukar använde de bara oblekta* 'they used unbleached paper towels only', *mittfältare har dom bara Kenta och Lasse* 'in the centre field, they have only Kenta and Lasse'. This construction also occurs with existential subjects, e.g. *prydnadsväxter finns det både ettåriga och perenna* 'there are both annual and perennial decorative plants'.

The expletive object *det* is used in clauses with an objective predicative complement, when the object is missing or extraposed, e.g. *vi har det bra här* 'we are just fine here', *de ansåg det omotiverat att resa* 'they considered it unmotivated to go'. Cf. *de ansåg resan omotiverad* 'they considered the trip unmotivated'.

Predicative Complements

A predicative complement (noun phrase or adjective) to a verb agrees with a controller (subject or object), e.g. *vattnet är kallt* 'the water is cold', *vi drack saften kall* 'we drank the juice cold'. In many cases, it is preceded by a preposition like *som*, e.g. *som föräldrar har vi ett speciellt ansvar* 'as parents, we have a special responsibility'.

Obligatory nominal predicative complements occur with the verbs *vara*, *bli*, *heta*, *kalla(s)*, but adjectival and prepositional predicative complements occur with a wider range of verbs. Optional predicative complements in principle occur with any verb.

Nominal predicative complements often lack an article. This is true especially of complements expressing a conventional classification, e.g. nationality, religion, occupation, or function, e.g. *hon är amerikansk/ professor* 'she is an American/a professor', *Hr Johansson är katolik/ ordförande* 'Mr Johansson is catholic/the chairman'.

Adjectival predicative complements agree with the controller in number and gender, nominal predicative complements in number only. Sometimes there is no agreement, which means that the borderline between objects and

adverbials is unclear, e.g. *mina kusiner satt barnvakt(er)* 'my cousins were baby-sitters', *vi använder dem som modell(er)* 'we used them as models.'

Quantifier floating: a predicative complement, rather than a noun phrase modifier, can specify the number of the subject or object, especially when the controller is a personal pronoun, e.g. *alla har vi varit små, vi har alla varit små* 'we have all been children'; *vi satt tre stycken vid bordet* 'we were (sitting) three at the table', *vi såg dem på teatern båda två* 'we saw them at the theatre, both of us/them'.

Adverbials

Adverbials are modifiers to verbs, adjectives or adverbs, expressing various circumstances:

Time

identification (possibly together with duration): *klockan sex* 'at six o'clock', *år 1991* 'in 1991', *i fjol* 'last year', *under senaste krig* 'during the last war', *på natten* 'in the night', *efter middagen* 'after dinner', *före jul* 'before Christmas', *sedan sin födelse* 'since his/her birth', *mellan påsk och pingst* 'between Easter and Pentecost';

duration: imperfective: (*sova*) *i en timme* '(sleep) for an hour': perfective: (*somna*) *på en timme* '(fall asleep) in an hour';

iteration: *två gånger* 'twice';

frequency: *varje dag* 'every day', *ofta* 'often';

order in sequence: *för tredje gången* 'for the third time'.

Place:

identification: *i staden* 'in the town', *på golvet* 'on the floor';

source: *från väggen* 'from the wall', *ur säcken* 'out of the sack';

goal: *till dörren* 'to the door', *in i rummet* 'into the room';

path: *genom skogen* 'through the woods', *via stan* 'by the town'.

Cause: *vi gick av en annan orsak/på befallning* 'we left for another reason/on order'.

Agent: *huset köptes av en svensk* 'the house was bought by a Swede'.

Consequence: *bilarna kör så (att) huset skakar* 'the cars are running so that the house is shaking'.

Condition: *i så fall är du välkommen* 'in that case, you are welcome'.

Manner: *hon sprang fortare genom att gå på styltor* 'she ran faster by walking on stilts'.

Degree: *jag fryser en aning* 'I am a little cold'.

Concomitance: *hon kom med sin syster* 'she came with her sister'.

Adverbials to verbs are normally postposed, but many of them can also be preposed (placed in mid-adverbial position), especially short-time adverbials. Sentence adverbials are placed as preposed verbal modifiers, but semantically modify the entire clause. They can be either modal or commenting, e.g. *säkert* 'certainly', *tråkigt nog* 'unfortunately'.

An adverbial specification of time or measure can often be expressed by a noun phrase, e.g. *jag besökte Rom våren 1990* 'I visited Rome in the spring of 1990', *Linda sprang (i) en halv timme* 'Linda ran for half an hour', *Kimmo kastade spjutet 90 meter* 'Kimmo threw the spear 90 metres'. Some specifications are more object-like, e.g. *gäddan vägde 2,5 kilo* 'the pike was 2.5 kilograms', *mötet varade två timmar* 'the meeting took two hours'.

Postposed adverbials to transitive verbs are normally placed after the object, but some short, stressed adverbials, closely related to the verb both semantically and prosodically, are placed before the object. Such adverbial particles are either short adverbs or prepositions, or prepositional phrases lexicalized as adverbs or containing an unstressed personal pronoun, e.g. *vi kastar bort alla lådor* 'we throw away all the boxes', *jag måste skriva om hela brevet* 'I have to rewrite the entire letter', *vi måste sätta igång tryckpressarna* 'we have to start the printing-machines', *han klädde på sig överrocken* 'he put on his overcoat'. In the last example, *sig* can also be analysed as indirect object. When the adverbial particle is further modified by a prepositional phrase, it is often placed after the object, e.g. *han lade ner boken/boken ner i väskan* 'he put the book in the bag'. But compare: *han kastade ner stenar från toppen* 'he threw stones down from the top'.

Focus particles can be placed before almost any constituent (even before a noun, if the noun functions as a noun phrase), e.g. *hon till och med skrattade åt oss* 'she even laughed at us', *jag kan äta bara gröt* 'I can eat only porridge'. Especially in colloquial style, they can also follow their sister constituent, e.g. *jag sov en liten stund bara* 'I slept just for a while'. Their semantic focus can be restricted to a part of their sister constituent, and they are often placed in typical mid-adverbial position, e.g. *jag kan bara äta gröt*. Compare *det där kan lyckas i åtminstone ett fall* 'that can be successful in at least one case', *det där kan lyckas åtminstone i ett fall, det där kan åtminstone lyckas i ett fall*.

Negation

The neutral negation adverbial is *inte*, with the rather formal variants *ej*, *icke*, and the emphatic *ingalunda*. Emphasis can also be added by the negative polarity adverb *alls*. The negation is typically placed in mid-adverbial position, but in emphatic sentences it can also be placed sentence-initially (more often so in Finland Swedish), e.g. *du vet att jag tyvärr inte (alls) kan komma* 'you know that I, unfortunately, cannot come (at all)', *jag vet inte någonting om det* 'I don't know anything about that', *inte vet jag någonting om det!*

The negations can also be used as constituent negations, especially in topic, subject or mid-adverbial position. Here, the negative determiner *ingen/inget/inga* is often used instead of *inte någon/något/några*, e.g. *inte någon/ingen hade varit där* 'no one had been there', *där hade inte någon/ingen varit, inte i något fall/i inget fall kan vi tillåta detta, vi kan inte i något fall/i inget fall*

tillåta detta 'we can allow this under no circumstances', *vi kan tillåta detta *inte i något fall!/?i inget fall. Aldrig* 'never' and *ingenstans* 'nowhere' behave like constituent negations.

When an object contains a constituent negation, it must be placed as a mid-adverbial, before the verb, or as a topic, e.g. *vi hade inga bilar sett* 'we hadn't seen any cars', *inga bilar!/?inte några bilar hade vi sett*. Constituent negation can marginally occur postverbally in free adverbials, at least in lexicalized emphatic expressions, e.g. *han hade rest bort av ingen orsak alls* 'he had gone away for no reason at all'.

Some elements of the clause, especially subjects, topics and free adverbials, can be outside the scope of the negation, e.g. *en kanin fanns inte i buren* 'there was a rabbit that was not in the cage', *en vecka sov jag inte* 'there was a week when I did not sleep' (but also: 'I did not sleep for a week'). Existential subjects are always inside the scope of the negation, and normally indirect and direct objects, too, e.g. *det fanns inte en kanin i buren* 'there was no rabbit in the cage', *han hade inte givit en student möjlighet att tentera* 'he had not given a single student a possibility to take the examination', *han gav inte studenten en/någon bok* 'he did not give the student any book'.

Double negation does not exist in the standard language, but the combination *inte aldrig* can occasionally be heard in dialectal speech.

There are a number of adverbial negative polarity items, which only occur in non-assertive contexts, e.g. *jag har knappt ens sett henne* 'I have hardly even seen her', cf. *jag har till och med sett henne*; *vi hade inte heller köpt biljett* 'we hadn't bought tickets, either', cf. *också* 'too'; *har du någonsin varit i Rom?* 'have you ever been in Rome?', cf. *ibland* 'sometimes', *en gång* 'once'.

In assertive contexts, *en* is the natural pronoun, while *någon* implies that the speaker does not care about the identity (cf. English *some*). In non-assertive contexts, *någon* is the neutral pronoun (cf. English *any*), while *en* is used to give emphasis to the number (or when the pronoun is outside the scope of the negation), e.g. *han köpte en/någon bok* 'he bought a/some book', *jag såg inte en (enda)/någon skylt* 'I didn't see a single/any sign'.

Sentence Types

There are at least seven sentence types in Swedish that can be distinguished from each other syntactically. The type markers include the preposing of the finite verb, constituent preposing or wh-preposing, and the use of a special mood. Some sentence types therefore have a special main-clause word order due to finite verb preposing, while others are more similar to subordinate clauses. As a rule, sentences with main-clause word order are more typically used in communicative interaction than sentences with subordinate-clause word order. The former require a response from the addressee, the latter often express a proposition that the speaker has not yet decided on.

1 In declarative sentences, almost any constituent can occupy initial position and function as topic [t] (called *fundament* by the influential Danish linguist Paul Diderichsen). The finite verb [v] is always placed in second position, e.g. *I dag har jag inte [v] kunnat sova middag hemma [t]*, 'today I have not been able to take my dinner nap at home.' (The brackets indicate the places of the preposed elements in a corresponding subordinate clause, with different letters for different types of preposing.)

2 Interrogative sentences are of two types. In alternative questions (including yes/no questions), the finite verb is placed in initial position, e.g. *kommer du [v] med mig eller stannar du [v] hemma?* 'are you coming with me or are you staying at home?', *vill du [v] äta middag?* 'do you want to have dinner?'

In wh-questions, the constituent containing the question word [q] is preposed before the finite verb, e.g. *vem har [q][v] lagat middagen?* 'who has prepared dinner?', *vad vill du [v] äta [q]?* 'What do you want to eat?' This preposing also occurs in corresponding subordinate clauses.

3 Imperative sentences are introduced by the finite verb in the imperative mood, and have the same word order as yes/no questions. The subject includes a second-person pronoun, but is often missing. If it is present, the sentence can be interpreted as an advice or a threat, e.g. *kasta (du din lymmel) [v] in handduken bara!* 'just give in (lit. throw in the towel), you rascal!'

4 Optative sentences express a wish that is almost a magic formula or an enactment. The optative finite verb is preposed, and possibly preceded by an optional topic, e.g. *leve han! han leve!* 'may he live!' *gud give/give gud att ni kommer hem helskinnade!* 'God give that you come home unscathed!', *må ni alltid vara lika lyckliga!* 'may you always be as happy!', *vare nu nog talat om detta!* 'say no more!' The sentence type is archaic and mostly consists of lexicalized expressions, sometimes without an overt subject.

5 Desiderative sentences express a wish and have the structure of yes/no questions or of subordinate clauses introduced by (*tänk*) *om*. The finite verb is in the past tense or the subjunctive. Often an adverbial like *ändå* or *bara* is included, e.g. *hade jag ändå [v] fått sova lite till!* 'if I only had been able to sleep a little longer!', (*tänk*) *om jag ändå (hade) fått sova lite till!*; *Vore han bara [v] lite vänligare!* 'if he only would be a little kinder!', *om han bara vore lite vänligare!*

6 Suppositive sentences are similar to desiderative sentences, but express a hypothesis. The finite verb is normally in the indicative mood. When they are structured as main clauses, they cannot be distinguished from yes/no questions, e.g. *har jag kanske tappat den?* 'have I possibly lost it?', *tänk om jag har tappat den?*

7 In exclamative sentences (as well as in exclamative subordinate clauses), an exclamative phrase is the first constituent, and the rest of the sentence is constructed as a subordinate clause, which must be introduced by *som* if the exclamative phrase is the subject of the clause, e.g. *vilka/vad/så snygga stövlar du har [e]!* 'such beautiful boots you have!', *en sådan idiot som [e] redan har kastat bort lådan!* 'such an idiot to have thrown away the box already!' The exclamative can also be formed as a subordinate *att*-clause, e.g. *att du inte skäms!* 'Be ashamed!'

8 Echo-questions and statements have the form of subordinate clauses with the subordinations *om* and *att*, respectively, e.g. *är du intresserad? – att/om jag är intresserad? det kan du lita på!/det kan jag inte påstå.* 'are you interested? – (lit.) that/whether I am interested? you can rely on that!/I cannot say so.'

9 Finite adverbs. In sentences containing the adverb *kanske* or *månne*, the adverb can be affected by finite verb preposing instead of the finite verb, e.g. *han kanske inte vill komma* 'maybe he does not want to come', cf. *han vill kanske inte komma, månne han vill komma?* 'does he want to come?', cf. *vill han månne komma?. Kanske* can also be placed initially with or without preposing of the finite verb, e.g. *kanske vill han inte komma; kanske han inte vill komma.*

10 Some sentence fragments lack a finite verb but nevertheless have a subject–predicate structure, e.g. *och han till att springa, och jag efter!* 'and he began to run, and I followed!', *vem där?* 'who's there?', *vad göra?* 'what should we do?', *vackra blommor i den här vasen!* 'beautiful flowers in this vase!'

There are also situationally elliptical sentences with a more unitary structure, e.g. *Intresserad?* 'interested?', *ruggigt väder* 'rough weather'; *vilka vackra blommor!* 'such beautiful flowers!'

Sentential topics in non-declaratives: questions, imperatives and desideratives are normally introduced by the verb, but this can be preceded by a subordinate clause (loose topic or, optionally, initial extraposition later referred to by *då*), e.g. *men om Lotta tänker komma, har hon (då) packat allting?* 'but if Lotta is planning to come, has she (then) packed everything?'; *när det börjar regna, var skall vi (då) söka skydd?* 'when it starts raining, where should we seek shelter?'; *eftersom du ändå står där, kasta hit handduken!* 'since you are standing there anyway, toss me the handkerchief!'

Subordinate Clauses

Subordinate clauses can be classified according to their syntactic properties into nominal, adverbial and relative clauses. Subordinate clauses can also be structurally classified according to their initial constituent, which can be either

a subjunction or a clause constituent (sometimes both or neither of these elements). They can also be classified semantically.

Nominal *att*-clauses are neutral as to the factivity of their proposition, but are taken as factive if nothing else is implied by the context. They can be combined with a preposition, although the preposition is deleted more often than before noun phrases. Sometimes, it is possible to delete *att*, e.g. *jag tror (inte) (att) hon kommer*. 'I (don't) think she is coming', *vi är rädda (för) att han inte vet det* 'we are afraid that he doesn't know that'; cf. *vi är rädda för det* 'we are afraid of that'.

One type of interrogative nominal clauses are introduced by the subjunction *om* or *huruvida*. They are non-factive, but need not express a question, e.g. *vi hörde oss för om/(om) huruvida hon kunde komma* 'we asked (about) whether she could come.'

Wh-interrogative nominal clauses are introduced by a question word or a noun phrase or prepositional phrase containing a question word. They presuppose an open proposition associated with the clause, but are non-factive as far as the question word is concerned, e.g. *det beror på i hur många elevers väskor du måste leta* (lit.) 'that depends on in how many pupils' bags you have to look.' When the preposed *wh*-constituent is the subject of the subordinate clause, it should be followed by the subjunction *som*, e.g. *jag vet inte vilka gäster som har tackat ja* 'I don't know which guests have accepted.'

Free relative clauses are nominal, too, and can be introduced by *vad*, followed by *som* if the subject is relativized, e.g. *vad som förvånade mig var hans snabbhet* 'what surprised me was swiftness'.

Adverbial clauses are generally introduced by subjunctions or by word groups that can be analysed as complex subjunctions.

- 1 Temporal clauses start in *när*, *då* 'when', *medan* 'while', *förrän*, *innan* 'before', *tills* 'until', *sedan* 'since', *efter (det) att* 'after', e.g. *vi slutade inte förrän det började regna* 'we didn't stop until it started to rain.' *Då*- and *när*- clauses also function as relative clauses.
- 2 Locative clauses start in *där*, *dit*, *därifrån*. They normally function as relative clauses, and even when they function as adverbials they can be analysed as free relatives, e.g. *jag bor (i det hus) där du bor* 'I live (in the house) where you live'; *jag har en gång varit (till den stad) dit du reste* 'I have once been (in the town) where you travelled.' *Varifrån* replaces *därifrån* in non-free relative clauses. Compare: *hon kommer därifrån du har hämtat din fru* 'she comes from where you have taken your wife', *hon kommer från den plats varifrån du har hämtat din fru*.
- 3 Conditional clauses start in *om*, *ifall*, *i den händelse att*, e.g. *jag kan gå, om du vill* 'I can go, if you want me to.'
- 4 Concessives and concessive conditionals are introduced by *fastän*, *även om*, e.g. *fastän jag är sjuk, tänker jag gå* 'although I am sick, I will go';

även om jag vore sjuk, skulle jag gå 'even if I were sick, I would go.'

A special type is introduced by a *wh*-constituent. It can also have a nominal function, e.g. *vem som än kommer tänker jag strunta i (honom)* 'whoever comes, I am going to ignore (him).'

- 5 Causal clauses start in *eftersom, emedan, därför att, för att*, e.g. *jag kom eftersom du bad mig* 'I came, because you asked me to.'
- 6 Consecutive clauses start in *så (att)*, etc., e.g. *hon stannade, så att vi kunde hinna fatt* 'she stopped so that we could reach her'.
- 7 Purposeive clauses start in *för att, så (att)*, e.g. *hon stannade så att vi skulle hinna fatt* 'she stopped in order for us to reach her'.
- 8 Comparative clauses start in *som* or *än*, e.g. *Kim går fortare än jag springer* 'Kim walks faster than I run'; *jag är en lika stor idiot som du (är)* 'I am as big an idiot as you are'. When the clause is reduced to a comparative phrase, the old subject can take the accusative in colloquial style, e.g. *jag är tröttare än du/dig* 'I am more tired than you'.

Relative clauses are normally introduced by the subjunction *som* or, particularly in formal style, by a constituent containing a relative word, *vilken, vilket, vilka, vars, där, dit, varifrån, varmed*, etc. These expressions correspond to a gap later in the relative clause. Any extractable constituent of the clause can be relativized, including prepositional phrases and complements in comparative constructions, e.g. *här är en bil därli vilken baksätena är borttagna* 'here is a car where the back seats are removed'; *han var en kung som ingen var maktlösare än* 'he was such a king that nobody had less power than he'.

A preposition can be preposed with the relative pronoun or left behind (cf. constituent preposing), e.g. *här är en bil som baksätena är borttagna i*. A nominal head of the genitive *vilkens, vars* is preposed with the pronoun, but a nominal head of non-genitive *vilken* is preposed only in archaic style, e.g. *den kvinna i vilkens/vars sällskap jag satt, . . .* 'the woman, in whose company I was sitting, . . .'; *jag sände dem i ordningen a, d, b, i vilken ordning de också anlände till mötesplatsen* 'I sent them in the order a, d, b, in which order they also arrived at the meeting-place'.

The subjunction *som* can normally be deleted in restrictive relative clauses, if the subject position of the relative clause is filled, e.g. *jag tar den (som) du har i vänster hand* 'I take the one that you have in your left hand'. *Som*-clauses can have a special causal interpretation, e.g. *jag var dum som gick* 'I was foolish to go'.

Relative clauses are normally attributive, but may also modify a verb phrase or an entire clause, like an adverbial. Here, the pronoun *vilket* is always used, e.g. *Lisa skrev en sonett, vilket jag inte lyckades göra* 'Lisa wrote a sonnet, which I didn't manage to do'. Correspondingly, attributive clauses are typically relative, but they can also be either nominal or adverbial, e.g. *frågan om vi måste sluta* 'the question about our having to stop', *jublet efter att han*

gått i mål 'the shouts of joy after he had reached the goal'.

Main Clause and Subordinate Clause Word Order

The word order in main clauses is more varied than in subordinate clauses. Most of the variation can be described by postulating two extra positions in main clauses, the topic and the position of the finite verb, which can also be seen as identical to the position of the subjunction (complementizer) in subordinate clauses. The topic position is filled in declarative sentences and *wh*-questions, but can also be filled in some other sentence types.

Both main and subordinate word order can be summarized in a single table (Table 9.6). As seen from the table, all positions can be filled in clauses containing *kanske*. But normally, main clauses have an empty finite verb position (if that position is kept separate from the non-finite verb position), and many subordinate clauses have an empty topic position.

Main clause word order can occur in some subordinate clauses as follows:

- 1 Initial conditional clauses can optionally be constructed as yes/no questions with verb preposing, e.g. *Vill du simma/Om du vill simma, (så) måste du ha baddräkt* 'if you want to swim, you must wear a bathing-suit'.
- 2 Comparative conditional clauses can also be constructed as yes/no questions with verb preposing, e.g. *han skrek som vore han galen/(om) han vore galen* 'he screamed as if he were crazy'.
- 3 *Att*-clauses can be constructed as declaratives, especially when the speaker agrees with the statement of the clause and when there is a need to prepose a constituent within the *att*-clause, e.g. *jag tror att i det fallet har du rätt* 'I think you are right in that respect', **jag tror inte att i det fallet har du rätt* 'I don't think ...'
- 4 Concessive, causal and consecutive clauses sometimes optionally take main-clause word order (possibly with a small shift in the semantic relation), at least in colloquial style. However, they can then be classified as conjoined clauses, rather than subordinate ones, e.g. *hon kom nog*

Table 9.6 Word order in main and subordinate clauses

Topic	Comp.	Subject	Mid-adv.	Finite	Non-Finite	Object/Pred	Final adv.
i går	ville	Lotta	inte	—	läsa	tidningen	
Lotta	ville	—	inte	—	vara	ensam	i går
Lotta	kanske	—	redan	har	träffat	dig	i dag
—	att	Lotta	inte	ville	koka	kaffe	i dag
vem	som	—	redan	har	druckit	kaffe	

med, fast hon inte var/var inte så intresserad 'she did come, although she wasn't very interested'; *Lisa får inte komma, därför att hon inte har/har inte beställt biljett* 'Lisa must not come, since she hasn't ordered a ticket'; *vi stängde dörren, så (att) katten inte kunde/kunde inte rymma* 'we closed the door, so the cat could not escape'.

- 5 Nominal subordinate clauses can be constructed as main clauses in initial position, especially if they function as objects, e.g. *det blir kallt i morgon, har väderleksrapporten sagt* 'it will be cold tomorrow, according to the weather forecast'; *det är faktiskt några kvar, ser det ut som* (lit.) 'there are indeed some left, it looks like'.

Non-initial indirect questions sometimes take main clause word order in colloquial speech (although they could also be taken as quoted direct questions, where deictic elements such as tense and pronouns have been changed to conform to the new speech situation), e.g. *?Han undrade, vem kunde möjligen hjälpa honom?* 'he wondered, who could possibly help him?', *han undrade vem som möjligen kunde hjälpa honom*.

Constituent Preposing

Almost any constituent can be placed initially as a topic in declarative main clauses, e.g. *jag* (su.) *har inte ätit morötter i dag* 'I haven't been eating carrots today', *i dag* (adverbial) *har jag inte ätit morötter, morötter* (obj.) *har jag inte ätit i dag*; *någon post* (existential su.) *hade det inte kommit* 'no mail had arrived'; *henne* (indir. obj.) *har jag inte gett lov att komma* 'I haven't permitted her to come', *glad* (pred. compl.) *blev hon* 'she became glad'. Auxiliaries, adverbial particles and some sentence adverbials are not preposed.

The noun phrase of a prepositional phrase can often leave its preposition behind. This is common for prepositional objects, but less natural for free adverbials, e.g. *dig har jag väntat på i biblioteket i en timme* 'I have been waiting for you in the library for an hour', *??biblioteket har jag väntat på dig i, *en timme har jag väntat på dig i*; cf. *i en timme har jag väntat*.

When a verb phrase is preposed, the dummy verb *göra* normally occupies the verb position, e.g. *åka skidor i Alperna brukar jag (göra) varje år* (lit.) 'go skiing in the Alps I use to do every year'. If the preposed verb phrase is finite, *göra* is obligatory with a redundant tense ending, and undergoes verb preposing, e.g. *åker skidor i Alperna gör jag varje år* (lit.) 'go skiing in the Alps I do every year'.

Noun phrases and subordinate clauses function as islands, which do not allow extraction of their parts. Compare, *jag såg en kalv med två huvuden i går* 'I saw a calf with two heads yesterday', **med två huvuden såg jag en kalv i går, ??en kalv såg jag med två huvuden i går*. The extraction of heads is more acceptable than the extraction of noun phrase complements, since the complement can often be analysed as extraposed or parenthetical, e.g. *en kalv såg jag i går, (en) med två huvuden*.

Some noun phrases, including those with picture nouns, are weak islands and allow extraction of a complement or head, e.g. *Mona-Lisa ville jag måla ett porträtt av. Ett porträtt ville jag måla av Mona-Lisa. Ett porträtt av Mona-Lisa ville jag måla* 'I wanted to paint a portrait of Mona-Lisa'. Sometimes it is unclear whether there is a noun phrase complement or whether it has been reanalysed as a verb complement. In that case, the two parts of the noun phrase can both be placed non-initially in the sentence, e.g. *från att-satser är utflytningen accepterad* 'the extraction from that-clauses is accepted'; cf. *Antagligen är utflytningen helt accepterad från att-satser* 'probably the extraction is totally accepted from that-clauses'; *importen ökade betydligt från Tyskland* 'the imports from Germany increased considerably'.

Extraction from clausal islands is very common in colloquial style. The acceptability of the extraction is dependent on the type of the subordinate clause and the verb of the main clause. There is also regional variation, extraction being more acceptable in the western area.

Extraction from *att*-clauses functioning as objects to cognitive verbs is quite natural, e.g. *den här kakan vet/tror jag att du gillar[t]* 'this cake I know/believe that you like'. Extraction is also acceptable from *att*-clauses functioning as objects to other verbs and from interrogative clauses, e.g. *den chokladen är jag verkligen förvånad över att du äter[t]* (lit.) 'that chocolate I am really surprised that you eat'; *några verkliga chanser undrar jag faktiskt om du har[t]* 'I really wonder whether you have any substantial chances'; *den här boken vet jag inte vem som har skrivit[t]* 'I don't know who has written this book'.

Extraction from adverbial clauses is marginal, but not infrequent, e.g. *?vissa exempel skrattade jag eftersom jag hade sett[t]* (lit.) 'some examples, I laughed since I had seen'; *?den här metoden sände de mig utomlands för att jag skulle lära mig[t]* 'they sent me abroad in order to learn this method'.

Extraction from relative clauses is marginal, but more acceptable when the preposed constituent could function semantically as a constituent in the matrix clause, although there is no syntactic position for it there, e.g. *??det här har jag träffat en lingvist som har förklarat[t] för mig* 'I have met a linguist who has explained this to me'; *?de här blommorna såg jag en man som vattnade[t]* 'I saw a man watering these flowers'. Compare also the grammatical extraction from an object-with-infinitive construction, e.g. *de här blommorna såg jag en man vattna*.

Since infinitival phrases are not islands, extraction is normally possible, e.g. *det här instrumentet är jag mycket stolt över att kunna spela på[t]* 'this instrument I am very proud of being able to play'. However, free infinitival adverbials behave like clausal adverbials, e.g. *?den här boken klarade jag tentamen genom att läsa[t]* 'I passed the course by reading this book'; *?den här väskan gick jag in i rummet utan att hitta[t]* 'I went into the room without finding this bag'.

Free adverbials allow for extraction, if the preposed constituent corre-

sponds to a gap in the matrix clause as well as a gap in the infinitive. The latter 'parasitic' gap can also be filled with an anaphoric pronoun, e.g. *den här boken måste du läsa[t] grundligt för att hitta i [t]/den* 'as to this book, you have to read it thoroughly to be able to find things in it'; *den här väskan gick jag förbi[t] utan att plocka upp [t]/den* 'as to this bag, I passed by it without picking it up'.

Extraction is normally not permitted from conjoined structures unless an element is extracted simultaneously from all conjuncts. This can be regarded as a special instance of parasitic gaps, e.g. *korven skar Britta upp[t] och satte[t] i kylskåpet* 'the sausage, Britta sliced and put in the refrigerator'; compare *?korven skar Britta upp[t] och gjorde en smörgås* (lit.) 'the sausage, Britta sliced and made a sandwich', **en smörgås skar Britta upp korven och gjorde [t]*. However, finite-verb preposing in main clauses easily affects only the first verb of a coordinated verb phrase, e.g. *därför tog jag [v] korven och satte en stekpanna på spisen* 'therefore, I took the sausage and put a frying-pan on the stove'.

Even the extraction of a subject from a subordinate clause is allowed in the standard language, if the subjunction is deleted. This is often possible for *att*, but not for *om*, e.g. *den här tror jag blir bra* 'this I think will do', **den här undrar jag om blir bra* (lit.) 'this I wonder whether will do'. In Finland Swedish, *att* need not be deleted, e.g. *den här tror jag att blir bra*.

The extraction of subjects is possible even after a subjunction in colloquial style, if an anaphoric pronoun fills the gap, e.g. *den här undrar jag faktiskt om den passar* 'as to this, I really wonder whether it will fit'. Such a resumptive pronoun can also be used marginally in other cases where the extraction is somewhat unnatural, e.g. *?den här grammatikboken blev jag verkligen glad när jag såg en elev som läste (den)* (lit.) 'this grammar book, I was really glad when I saw a pupil reading it'.

Tense, Mood and Aktionsart (Mode of Action)

Tense inflection expresses the relation between the moment of speech and reference time, i.e. a time when the action either takes place or has some consequences. The speaker or the subject referent may also consider the truth value of the proposition at reference time, or wish to have it true. Inflected tenses are the present tense, e.g. *kastar* 'throws', and the past, e.g. *kastade* 'threw'. In addition, the auxiliaries *ha* and *skola* or *komma* are used to express the temporal relation between reference time and the time of action, if they are different. Thereby, eight tenses are formed in the following way.

Swedish Tenses

Present	<i>kastar spjutet</i>	'throws the spear'
Past	<i>kastade spjutet</i>	
Perfect	<i>har kastat spjutet</i>	
Pluperfect	<i>hade kastat spjutet</i>	

Future	skall (komma att) kasta spjutet, kommer att kasta spjutet
Past future	skulle (komma att) kasta spjutet
Future perfect	skall (komma att) ha kastat spjutet, kommer att ha kastat spjutet
Past future perfect	skulle (komma att) ha kastat spjutet

The present tense is used when the time of the relation includes the moment of speech, e.g. *i dag lyser solen* 'today the sun is shining', or when the action is timeless (general present).

When an act of communication is reported, the present tense can express that the message is perceived at the moment of speech, or the past or perfect can express that the sending has occurred in the past, e.g. *Newton förklarar för oss/förklarade/har förklarat planeternas rörelser* 'Newton explains to us/explained/has explained the movements of the planets'.

For a future action, it is not necessary to use a future auxiliary, especially if the action is momentary or if there is a time adverbial referring to future time, e.g. *akta dig, krukan går sönder!* 'beware, the jug will break!' *i morgon regnar det säkert* 'tomorrow, it will certainly rain'. Such a future present is regularly used in temporal and conditional clauses identifying a future time, e.g. *när jag reser/*kommer att resa hem i morgon, ...* 'when I go home tomorrow, ...'.

The past tense is used when the action takes place before the moment of speech, e.g. *jag var där i går* 'I was there yesterday.' The past is also used of an imagined event, e.g. *om jag nu var i dina kläder ...* 'if I were in your shoes (lit. clothes) now, ...' This modal meaning is often clarified by the auxiliaries *skola* or *ha*, which signify potential and unreal action, respectively, e.g. *om han skulle vara hemma nu, vilket han ju kan vara, ...* 'if he were at home now, which he may be, ...'. *om jag hade varit hemma nu, vilket jag ju inte är, ...* 'if I had been at home now, which I am not, ...'.

Skola is often used to express a potential but somewhat unexpected action. However, it is seldom used when the main clause also contains *skola*. Present tense can be used instead, e.g. *om han är hemma nu, ...* Strong verbs have a subjunctive form, which can be used instead of the past tense in the modal function.

The past can also be used in emotive exclamations and some almost lexicalized modest questions, proposals etc., e.g. *det var en väldigt god kaka:* 'this is a very tasty cake'; *hur var namnet?* 'what is your name?'

The past is used when an action is described as taking place at a certain time in the past, and the perfect is used when an action is described as taking place before the moment of speech. One reason for using perfect tense is that the past action has consequences for, or is relevant in some way to the situation at the time of speech, e.g. *jag har tagit sjuksköterskeexamen, så jag är behörig för tjänsten* 'I have taken a nursing examination, so I am qualified for

the job'; *låset har varit sönder, men har blivit lagat* 'the lock has been out of order, but has been repaired'.

If the time of the action is specified exactly, this moment is so prominent that the past has to be used, e.g. *låset blev lagat i går* 'the lock was repaired yesterday'; cf. *låset har blivit lagat en gång* 'the lock has been repaired once'. However, if there is a temporal frame for the action, a potential time span including the moment of speech, the perfect tense can be used with an exact time specification, e.g. *i dag har jag ätit middag kl. 17* 'today I have had dinner at 5 p.m.' If the past is used here, it signals that the action cannot take place any more, cf. *jag har ätit några päron* 'I have eaten some pears (and I could eat some more)'; *jag åt några päron* 'I ate some pears (but now the party is over)'.

Aktionsart (Mode of Action)

The two main aktionsarts in Swedish are imperfective (unbounded) and perfective (bounded). These categories can be attributed to verbs, verb phrases or entire sentences.

Imperfective expressions refer to actions without a natural end point and perfective expressions refer to actions with a natural end point. Some verbs are inherently imperfective, e.g. *sitta* 'sit', *sova* 'sleep', while other verbs are inherently perfective, e.g. *försvinna* 'disappear', *sluta* 'end'. Many verbs, however, can be taken as referring to either unbounded processes or to bounded events, e.g. *andas* 'breathe', *äta* 'eat'. Imperfective expressions take duration adverbials formed by the preposition *i*, while perfective expressions take adverbials formed by the preposition *på*, cf. *springa i en timme* 'run for an hour', *nå målet på en timme* 'reach the goal in an hour'.

Past participles always refer to a state. For imperfective verbs, such participles have a present-tense meaning, referring to the same state as the verb, but past participles of perfective verbs refer to the state which the event of the verb leads up to, and therefore have a perfect meaning, e.g. *en älskad monark* – *en monark som älskas* 'a king who is loved', *en upphittad ring* – *en ring som har upphittats* 'a ring which has been found', *en försvunnen hund* – *en hund som har försvunnit* 'a dog that has disappeared'.

Voice and Subject Choice

The *s*-form of a verb can have five different functions: true passive, medium, reflexive, reciprocal and absolute function. Sometimes a reflexive construction is more common, i.e. the object *sig* is used instead of the ending *-s*. In many cases, either construction can be used.

The true passive is related to the active voice in such a way that the subject participant of the active verb is left without expression or is expressed by an adverbial with the preposition *av*, although the participant is felt to be present in the semantic interpretation (subject degradation). In addition, the indirect or direct object of the active verb is often constructed as the passive subject

(object promotion), although the subject may also be the expletive *det*, e.g. *Diktatorn hatades/var hatad (av folket)* 'the dictator was hated (by the people)'; cf. *folket hatade diktatorn*; *hon tilldelades Nobelpriset (av Akademien)* 'she was awarded the Nobel prize (by the Academy)' *Nobelpriset tilldelades henne (av Akademien)*, cf. *Akademien tilldelade henne Nobelpriset*; *det dansades hela natten* 'it was danced all night'.

The medium function is lexicalized for certain verbs and less productive than the passive. The normal subject participant of the active verb is omitted totally from the semantic interpretation, and the action is viewed as happening by itself. The direct object of the active verb functions as subject of the medium verb, e.g. *himlen förändrades inför våra ögon* 'the sky changed before our eyes'. Many deponential verbs, which can occur in the *s*-form only, could be regarded as having medium voice, e.g. *Peter kallsvettades* 'Peter was in a cold sweat'. For some verbs, the form without *-s* can have a medium interpretation, e.g. *bollen rullade över golvet* 'the ball rolled over the floor', cf. *Kalle rullade bollen över golvet*.

It is hard to draw a sharp line between passive and medium function, since an Instrument can normally be constructed as subject instead of the Agent, e.g. *ett åskmoln förmörkade himlen* 'a thundercloud darkened the sky'. When such a sentence is passivized, e.g. *Himlen förmörkades/blev förmörkad (av ett åskmoln)* 'the sky (was) darkened (by a thundercloud)', classifying the verb as having medium function seems appropriate at least when the adverbial is missing.

Periphrastic passives can be used with medium interpretation especially when the past participle has been lexicalized as an adjective. A reflexive construction (an active verb with a reflexive object) is often used with medium interpretation, e.g. *stenen rörde sig inte* 'the stone didn't move'.

The reflexive interpretation of the *s*-form is restricted to a few lexicalized verbs. Normally the reflexive construction is used to express that the subject referent has two semantic roles, such as Agent and Patient. The *s*-form weakens the agent interpretation, e.g. *folket förvånade sig/förvånades/var förvånat över sin nyvunna självständighet* 'the people was astonished at its new independence'.

The reciprocal function is restricted to some lexicalized *s*-forms with a plural subject, e.g. *vi träffas snart igen* 'we'll soon meet again', cf. *Kalle träffade snart Lisa igen* 'Kalle soon met Lisa again'. Some reciprocal deponential verbs take the *s*-form non-reciprocally, too, e.g. *pojarna slåss* 'the boys are fighting'; *Kalle slåss med Olle* 'Kalle is fighting with Olle'. There are also reciprocal constructions without the *s*-form, e.g. *pojarna liknar varandra* 'the boys are similar'; *lastbilen och godståget kolliderade (med varandra)* 'the truck and the freight train collided', cf. *lastbilen kolliderade med godståget*.

A passive form with absolute function takes the same subject as the corresponding active verb, but the object is omitted, e.g. *nässlor bränns* (lit.)

'nettles burn (anybody)'. The omission of the object is often connected to a durative or generic meaning: since the total action consists of a tendency to specific singular actions, the identity of object referents can vary or be less important. The plain active verb can often be used instead, especially when the subject is not a person, e.g. *nässlor bränner*.

Agreement

Agreement mostly affects noun phrases, predicative complements, and anaphoric pronouns. It can be governed by grammatical, lexical classifications, or by semantic properties of referents.

Within the noun phrase, determiners and attributive adjectives agree with the noun in number, definiteness and gender, but gender agreement is neutralized in the plural. For adjectives, the definiteness agreement also is neutralized in the plural, and the gender agreement in definite noun phrases. Instead, there is an optional semantic gender agreement: the ending *-e* can be used for singular masculine referents.

A predicative complement agrees with its controller in number and gender, again, gender agreement being neutralized in the plural. However, there is a strong tendency towards a semantic gender agreement, when the controller is a person. Nominal predicatives agree in number only.

Predicative complements controlled by infinitives or clauses are inflected for neutral gender. Neutrum can be seen as the unmarked form, which should be used when no other form is motivated by agreement, as when an adjective is used as an adverbial complement, e.g. *hon sjunger vackert* 'she sings beautifully'.

Neutrum is also used when the controller is not treated as an individual or a group of individuals, but rather as a general phenomenon, similar to a mass noun, cf. *en ny statminister vore inte så dum* 'a new prime minister would not be that stupid', *en ny statminister vore inte så dumt* 'it wouldn't be too bad to get a new prime minister'. This is especially frequent when the controller is a bare noun phrase, e.g. *biologi är valfritt* 'biology is optional', cf. *biologin är valfri*; *ärter är gott* 'peas are delicious', *ärterna är goda* 'the peas are delicious'. For plural controllers, the neutral form is often optional, e.g. *långskaftade stövlar är modernt/moderna* 'high boots are fashionable'.

A predicative complement preceding its controller is often in the neutral form. On the other hand, it is often unclear which element is the predicative and which the controller, e.g. *karaktäristiskt/karaktäristiska för skotskan är de rullande r-en* 'characteristic of Scottish are the rolling r's'; *jag fick avklarat läxorna* 'I got my homework done', *jag fick läxorna avklarade*.

Anaphoric pronouns agree with their antecedent in number and gender. Here, too, the semantic properties of the referent are often more important than the lexical properties, cf. *dumt folk* (sg), 'stupid people' – *folk är så dumma, de tror . . .* 'people are so stupid, they believe . . .'. Individuals in the third-person singular are normally referred to by the personal pronouns *han*,

hon, regardless of the gender of the antecedent, e.g. *statsrådet är medveten/ *medvetet om saken*; *han/hon/ *det kommer att ta upp saken i regeringen* 'the cabinet minister is conscious of the matter; he/she will take it up in the cabinet'. But compare *vittnet är ?jävlig/jävig, han/hon/det kan således inte få vittna*. 'The witness is challengeable, therefore, he/she cannot testify'; *barnet är *sjuk/sjukt, ?han/?hon/det har hög feber* 'the child is ill, it has high fever'.

The Use of Reflexive Pronouns

Special reflexive pronouns are used in the third-person. They are normally co-referent with the subject of their own clause. Non-reflexive pronouns are used of referents mentioned in non-subject position or in earlier sentences, e.g. *professorn_i kände docenten_i från sina_i/hennes_i föreläsningar* 'the professor knew the lecturer from his/her lectures'.

A reflexive pronoun can also be co-referent to the 'subject' of a clause equivalent. A syntactic unit can be more or less equivalent to a clause. Appositions consisting of at least two parts are always clause equivalents, e.g. *läraren reste utomlands med Lotta, då hans/ *sitt enda barn* 'the teacher travelled abroad with Lotta, at that time his only child', cf. *Läraren_i reste utomlands med Lotta_j, primus i hans_i/sin_j klass* 'the teacher travelled abroad with Lotta, the top pupil of his/her class'.

The object-with-infinitive construction can be regarded either as a separate clause equivalent or as a part of its main clause, e.g. *Gunnar lät Hallgerd tvinna en bågsträng av sitt hår* 'Gunnar had Hallgerd twine a bowstring of her/his hair'. In the first case, *sitt* refers back to the 'subject' of the clause equivalent, Hallgerd, in the second case, to the subject of the entire sentence, Gunnar. *Hans* can also be used here to refer to Gunnar's hair, but *hennes* cannot be used to refer to Hallgerd's hair.

In nominalizations, a reflexive pronoun can refer to the referent of a genitival modifier corresponding to a subject, e.g. *Siri upphörde aldrig att förvånas över Strindbergs tro på sig själv* 'Siri never ceased to be astonished by Strindberg's faith in himself'. A similar interpretation can occur when the noun refers to a product and the genitive to the producer, e.g. *Siri gillade inte Strindbergs bok om sin barndom* 'Siri didn't like Strindberg's book on his/her childhood'.

Predicative adverbials, semantically specifying the object, can contain a reflexive pronoun referring to this object, e.g. *Lisa satte boken på sin plats i hyllan* 'Lisa put the book on its/her place on the shelf'.

The reciprocal pronouns *varandra*, *varandras* obey the same rules as the reflexive pronouns. However, their use may be somewhat broader, probably because there is no alternative to *varandra* in the way that *hans*, *hennes*, *deras* are alternatives to *sin*. *Varandra* in an object can marginally be co-referent even with the indirect object, e.g. *han råkade ge flickorna varandras böcker* 'he happened to give the girls each other's books', cf. *vi måste ge hembiträdet*

*hennes/*sin lön* 'we must give the servant her wages'.

Ellipsis

Only a few elliptical constructions can be treated here. In a coordinated structure, identical elements can be deleted. When the first occurrence is sentence-final, it is deleted, otherwise the second occurrence is deleted, e.g. *Kalle älskar, men Lisa hatar gröt* 'Kalle loves, but Lisa hates porridge'; *flygplanet anländer till Åbo kl. 18.30, och bilfärjan kl. 20.15* 'the aeroplane arrives at Turku at 6.30p.m., and the ferry at 8.15p.m.'.

In noun phrases, the deletion rule is freer. Either the first or, preferably, the second element can be deleted, and the identity need not cover number. A singular element is deleted rather than a plural, e.g. *några engelska böcker och en svensk* 'some English books and a Swedish one', *en svensk bok och några engelska, en svensk och några engelska böcker, ?några engelska och en svensk bok*.

In interrogative main or subordinate clauses, everything except the question word can be deleted, e.g. *vi kunde anställa någon, men vem (skall vi anställa)?* 'we could hire somebody, but whom?'; *någons far har varit här, men jag vet inte vems* 'somebody's father has been here, but I don't know whose'.

In yes/no questions, a construction with the pronoun (*göra*) *det* is normally preferred, e.g. *jag är nöjd med mitt resultat, är du (det)?* 'I am satisfied with my result, are you?'; *jag har slutat röka, men jag tror inte att Olle har ((gjort) det)*. 'I have stopped smoking, but I don't think that Olle has'.

In formal style, a concessive subordinate clause with a copula and a subject identical to the subject of the main clause can be reduced to a predicative complement preceded by a subjunction, e.g. *fastän (han var) sjuk, gick han på festen* 'although he was ill, he went to the party'. Ellipsis of the finite verb does not occur in other subordinate clauses, e.g. **vägen är hal när våt* 'the road is slippery when wet'; **de visste inte vad göra* 'they did not know what to do'; cf. *vad göra?* 'what should we do?'

9.5. Lexis

The Swedish vocabulary can be divided on phonotactic grounds into a native and a foreign vocabulary (see Phonology, section 9.2). These systems are normally also kept apart in word derivation, although many foreign affixes can be combined with native stems, and vice versa, e.g. *läck-age* 'leakage', *run-olog* 'runologist', *kommend-er-ing* 'appointment'.

The great majority of words are loanwords. Since the early Middle Ages, there has been an almost constant borrowing of originally Latin or Greek words, e.g. *präst* 'clergyman', *tema* 'theme', *psyke* 'psyche'. There is still a Latin productivity in word formation. The influence of Low German was extremely powerful towards the end of the Middle Ages due to the trade of

the Hansa, but the resulting loans have been totally assimilated to the native vocabulary, e.g. *jägare* 'hunter', *fara* 'danger'. After the Reformation, the Low German influence turned into a High German influence. In the eighteenth century, many French words were borrowed, e.g. *etapp* 'stage', *hotell* 'hotel'. There are also Italian loans, e.g. *sopran* 'soprano', and a few Finnish loans, e.g. *pojke* 'boy', *känga* 'boot'. Today, the English influence is noticeable, e.g. *poster*, *make-up*, *briefing*. Occasionally there has been a purist tendency to revive old Scandinavian words or to replace the borrowings with native compounds and derivations, but today the main tendency is to use translation loans if possible, e.g. *mjukvara* 'software', and make the orthography and inflection more Swedish when loan words are becoming more frequent, e.g. *schampo* 'shampoo', *tejp* 'tape'. New technical and administrative terms are often introduced on a common Scandinavian basis.

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