

RESEARCH ARTICLE

From ‘remain’ to ‘become’: the history of *bliva* in Swedish

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Abstract

In Old Swedish, the verb *varda* ‘become’ was used both as a copula and as a passive auxiliary. During the 1300s, a period of close contact with Middle Low German, the verb *bliven* ‘remain’ was borrowed into Swedish as *bliva*. Despite the difference in meaning (‘become’ vs. ‘remain’), the use of *bliva* increased, and by the end of the 1500s it was used in all constructions where *varda* was originally found. We study this development in a collection of Swedish texts from 1487 to 1585. The first occurrences of the ‘become’ meaning are found in constructions with adjectival complements, in particular in the highly frequent phrase *bliva död* ‘become dead (die)’. Once *bliva* had acquired the meaning ‘become’, it could also be used as a passive auxiliary, which led to a rapid increase in occurrences and subsequently to *bliva* replacing *varda* in all contexts.

Keywords: become; *bliva*; meaning change; Middle Low German; Old Swedish; periphrastic passive; remain; *varda*

1. Introduction

In the earliest attested stages of Swedish, the verb *varda* ‘become’ was used both as a copula, taking adjectival and nominal complements, and as a passive auxiliary, combining with a passive participle. See the runic inscriptions in (1).¹

- (1) a. sa × **uarþ** : **tubr** : o : uastr:uakm : i uikiku :
who became dead in west-way in raid
‘He died in the west in a raid.’
(Vg 61)

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- b. ruþr : risti : stin : þinsi : iftir : tuk- : bruþur : sin :
Rauðr raised stone this after Toke brother his.REFL
 saþ : **uarþ** : **trbin** : a : ilati
who became killed in England

‘Rauðr raised this stone in memory of Toke his brother, who was killed in England.’

(Ög 104)

Around 1300 the Middle Low German (MLG) verb *bliven* ‘remain’ was borrowed into Swedish as *bliva*. In the earliest examples it retains the original meaning ‘remain’, as shown in (2).

- (2) far þy niþir ii diupt hæluite ok
descend therefore down in deep hell and
bliff þær tel doma dagh
remain there until judgement.GEN day

‘Descend into deep hell and remain there until the day of judgement.’

(LegBur, ca. 1330)

But around two hundred years later, *bliva* had acquired the meaning of *varda*, ‘become’, as shown in (3a), and had become the more frequent of the two. It was also used as a passive auxiliary just like *varda*, as shown in (3b).

- (3) a. oc **bleff** saa gåth som **offwerwåther** aff
and became as good as drowned of
 synom egen sweth.
his.REFL own sweat

‘And was as good as drowned with his own sweat.’

(Troj, 1529)

- b. Och mykith folk försambladhe sigh ath the
and many people gathered themselves that they
 skulle höra honom och **bliffuo** **botade** aff honom
should hear him and became.PL healed of him

‘And many people gathered to listen to him and they were healed by him’

(NT Luk 5:15, 1526)

The change in meaning from the static ‘remain’ to the dynamic ‘become’ is unexpected. The aim of this article is to pinpoint the crucial stages in the development, in particular the increased use with adjectives denoting a change of state. We identify the subsequent extensions in the use of *bliva* and the contexts critical for establishing the new meaning. By looking at the various constructions in which *varda* and *bliva* were used and tracing their relative frequencies, we can establish a timeline of the change, its stages, and the critical contexts.

Based on earlier research (Markey 1969; Rosenthal 1984; Skrzypek 2020, 2024a,b,c; Woźnicka 2024), we have identified 1450–1600 as the critical period for the change and have conducted a corpus study of seven Swedish texts spanning this period.

In addition to the original meaning of the verb *bliva* 'remain', it is increasingly used with the new meaning 'become', which continues to be expressed by the verb *varda* as well. When *bliva* is used meaning 'become', it is more and more likely to appear in new contexts, including the passive construction. Gradually, the original meaning 'remain' is no longer expressed with *bliva*; in order to express this meaning, either adverbs such as *kvar* 'remaining' and *åter* 'again' are added, or the newly formed *förbli* 'remain' (also of MLG origin) is used. At the final stages of the development, the use of *varda* is very limited (Skrzypek 2020, 2024a).²

We also consider the role played by the continued contact with MLG, which subsided first in the early 1500s. The contact with German continued well into the 1600s, but gradually the influence involved High German rather than Low German. Earlier research has shown that the two varieties differ with respect to the use of the verb *bliben*; in particular, the only meaning of the verb in High German is 'remain' (Woźnicka 2024).

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2 we review previous research and give the background to the current investigation. In Section 3 we present the texts used, discuss their limitations, and give a quantitative overview of the use of *varda* and *bliva* in these texts. In Section 4 we present the various constructions in which *varda* is used in the chosen texts and in Section 5 we do the same for *bliva*. This is followed by a qualitative analysis of the uses of *bliva* as meaning either 'remain' or 'become' in Section 6. Section 7 is devoted to the rise of *bliva* as a passive auxiliary, the main factor behind the increased use of *bliva*. We discuss the factors influencing the development in Section 8 and end with some concluding remarks in Section 9.

2. Background

In order to express the meaning 'remain in a location', the common strategy in Old Swedish was to use posture verbs such as *sitja* 'sit' and *liggia* 'lie', as well as *stapna* 'stay' (*stanna* in present-day Swedish) and, to some extent, even *vara* 'be'.³ The earliest examples of *bliva* in Swedish texts also have the meaning 'remain in a location', and are most often used with locative adverbials, as in (2). But soon the verb *bliva* was also used as a copula with adjectival complements, with a more general meaning 'remain', as shown in (4).

- (4) Än han bläf stapughir hållir viliande dö
but he remained faithful rather wanting die
 än lyþa diäflomen.
than obey devil.PL.DEF
 'But he remained faithful, wanting rather to die than to obey the devils.'
 (HML 187, ca. 1385)

The earliest example of *bliva* with the 'become' meaning is found in *Codex Bureanus*, the Swedish translation of a compilation of Christian legends (*Legenda Aurea*), from around 1330; see (5) and compare the similar phrase in (1a).

- (5) þænne bardaghin stop fra moghonenom ok tel
this fight.DEF stood from morning.DEF and until

mīpdagh ok manghe bliuu dōpe af baþom lutumen
midday and many became dead.PL of both parts
 ‘The battle lasted from morning until noon and many died from both camps.’
 (LegBur, ca. 1330)

Although the source expression, the MLG verb *blīven*, was mainly used with the meaning ‘remain’, there are also contexts in which it could acquire the meaning ‘become’. One such context is precisely with the adjective *tod* ‘dead’, as suggested by Markey (1969:77); consider the MLG example in (6).

- (6) Vrederic van Sassen **blef dar oc dot**
Vrederic van Sassen remained there also dead
 ‘Vrederic van Sassen became/remained there also dead.’
 (Swch, ca. 1250; Markey 1969:77)

According to Markey (1969:77), the MLG expression *dot blīven* tended to be used with a locative adverbial, and expressions like *he blef dot* originally meant ‘he remained there dead’.⁴ In a similar vein, Tamm (1890–1905) suggests that the meaning of the Swedish *han blev död* was *han blev död kvar på platsen* ‘he stayed dead in the location’. This ambiguity of meaning: ‘remain’ or ‘become and remain’, together with the high frequency of the expression, may have led to a change of meaning, to just ‘become dead’. As such, it could easily be seen as a parallel to the Swedish *varda död*, as in (1a), and was probably the first context in which the similarities between *varda* and *bliva* were exploited.

In Swedish texts from the 1300s and 1400s, the expression *bleff dödhir* is particularly frequent, gradually replacing *vard dödher*. It is likely that it became a lexicalized phrase with the meaning ‘died’. In the religious text *Själen's tröst* (ST) from around 1420, there are 47 examples of *bliva död* ‘become dead (= die)’, as shown in (7), and not a single one of *varda död*.⁵

- (7) och annan daghin om qwäld **bleff** then syuke **dödher**
and other day.DEF around evening became the sick dead
 ‘And on the evening of the second day the sick (man) died.’
 (ST, 1420)

Example (8) is taken from a passage describing how a blind man regained his sight after having prayed at the temple. Here the meaning of *bliva* can perhaps be better rendered as ‘become and remain’ or ‘turn into’, as is the case for *bliva död*. The verb is usually not used for a temporary change, but about a lasting one.

- (8) oc fik sina syn j gen
and got his.refl sight in return
 oc **bleff** sidhan een godher cristin
and remained afterwards a good Christian
man stadugher j the helgho thro
man steadfast in the holy faith
 ‘and became (and remained) a good Christian, steadfast in the holy faith’
 (ST, 1420)

Apart from the lexicalized *bliva död*, the earliest example of the 'become' meaning, shown in (9a), comes from *Sju vise mästare* (SVM), a text from the early 1400s. In this text *bliva* is otherwise used with the meaning 'remain', as shown in (9b).

- (9) a. oc kesarins son **bleff fri oc fraels**
and emperor.DEF.GEN son became free and saved
 aff allan wanda
of all suffering
 'and the emperor's son became free and saved from all evil'
 (SVM, early 1400s)
- b. thy flydde han fra henne oc lät
therefore escaped he from her and let
 hona **ensampna bliffwa**
her alone remain
 'He fled therefore from her and let her remain alone.'
 (SVM, early 1400s)

In the 1300s and early 1400s, *bliva* could be used with its original meaning 'remain', in contrast to *varda*, which always had the meaning 'become'. Consider the two examples from *Själen's tröst* in (10) about a son who thought that his father led an unjust life.

- (10) a. Ofwer gaff fadhrin oc **wardh een ermete**
over gave father.DEF and became a hermit
 'He abandoned his father and became a hermit.'
 (ST, 1420)
- b. Oc ermetin kom ater til siin lykamliko
and hermit.DEF came back to his bodily
 sinne oc **bleff een ermete** som han war
mind and remained a hermit as he was
 'And the hermit came back to his senses and remained a hermit as he had been.'
 (ST, 1420)

In (10a) the son becomes a hermit. After some time he considered returning to his former life, but came to his senses and remained a hermit, as shown in (10b).

Apart from the occasional uses of *bliva* as 'become' before 1450, the dominant use of the verb is in its original meaning 'remain'. The 'become' meaning becomes common first during the 1500s. Skrzypek (2020:322) quotes early examples of the passive construction with *bliva* from *Historia Trojana* from 1529, but it is not until after 1550 that the construction is well established (Skrzypek 2024a:Table 8). These observations lead us to focus on the period 1450–1600 as the relevant time to investigate the change in meaning of the verb *bliva*.

Table 1. Excerpted texts and number of occurrences of *varda* and *bliva*

	Abbreviation	Year	No. of words	<i>varda</i>	<i>bliva</i>
Lucidarius	Luc	1487	28175	113	31
Linköpinglegendarium	Linc	1520	9824	17	15
New Testament Luke	NT Luk	1526	29969	216	40
New Testament Matthew	NT Matt	1526	29380	134	73
Historia Trojana	Troj	1529	44380	39	120
Olaus Petri's chronicle	Petri	1530	108040	142	237
Peder Swart's chronicle	Swart	1560	51940	58	325
Per Brahe's chronicle	Brahe	1585	26380	5	248
<i>Total</i>			498454	1900	1374

3. Corpus investigation

The study is based on a collection of seven Swedish texts spanning 100 years, from Lucidarius (1487) to Brahe's chronicle (1585). We include two gospels from the translation of the New Testament (1526), Matthew and Luke, as they were most likely translated by two different translators (Lindblad 1971, Wollin 2024), with divergent use of the verb *bliva* (Skrzypek 2024c). All texts are available in a digitized format, which allows a complete search.⁶ We have excerpted all instances of the two verbs, *varda* and *bliva*, from these texts. The sources are presented in Table 1 together with the total number of occurrences.

Despite efforts to collate a balanced corpus, there are some differences between the sources: Luc, Linc, NT Luk, NT Matt, and Troj are translations, whereas Petri, Swart, and Brahe are all historical chronicles originally written in Swedish. There are also considerable discrepancies in length. As with all diachronic research, the choice of source texts is limited. However, these texts have all been used extensively in previous linguistic research and we believe that they are suitable for the aims of the present paper.

The material for the present study consists of 3274 examples of either *varda* or *bliva*. The frequencies of each verb (per 1000 words) are given in Figure 1.

As can be seen, *varda* is more frequent than *bliva* in the oldest texts in the corpus (Luc and Linc) and in the NT. The proportions change in Troj; *bliva* gains in frequency while *varda* becomes more and more marginalized. In the youngest text, Brahe from 1585, there are only five instances of *varda*, despite the fact that this text is comparable in length to both NT Luk and NT Matt.

In order to trace how *bliva* gradually took over several functions from *varda*, we first identify the functions of *varda* and their relative frequency in the following section and then, in Section 5, turn to the functions of *bliva*.

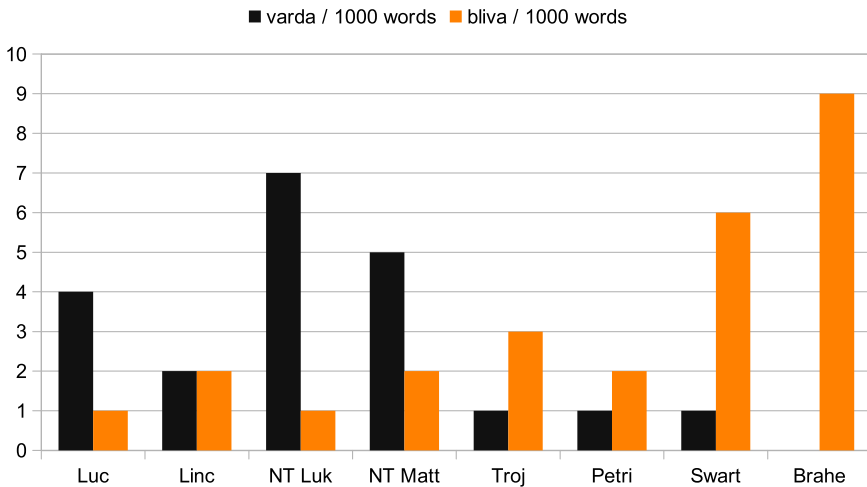


Figure 1. The frequencies of *varda* and *bliva* per 1000 words.

4. The use of *varda*

In this section we show in which constructions *varda* is used in the corpus.⁷ As already shown in (1), *varda* was used with adjectival complements. It was also used with nominal complements. Examples from our corpus are shown in (11a–c).

- (11) a. *bidhia til gud för hans helso som*
pray to God for his health who
nu kranker war wordhin
now ill was become
 ‘Pray to God for his health, who had now become ill.’
 (Linc, 1520)
- b. *Tå wardt Erchebispen förfärat*
then became archbishop.DEF terrified
 ‘Then the Archbishop was terrified.’
 (Petri, 1530)
- c. *oc tw äst nw worden en forrädere*
and you are now become a traitor
 ‘And you have now become a traitor.’
 (Troj, 1529)

Another common construction involved present participles (glossed as *APRT*, active participle), as in (12).

- (12) *tha böriadhe hälla iomffrun til at mykyt*
then started holy virgin to IM much
sokkas oc gratandhe wardha
sigh and crying.APRT become
 ‘Then the holy virgin began to sigh a lot and started crying.’
 (Linc, 1520)

When combined with a passive participle, *varda* functioned as a passive auxiliary, as in (1b) and (13).

- (13) Ok somlige lengre dwäliäs j pynanna rwmogn ther
and some longer dwell in pain.PL.GEN.DEF furnace there
 til the **varde hulpne** aff helgra manna bönom
until they become helped of holy man.PL.GEN prayer.PL
 ‘And some dwell longer in the furnace of pain until they are helped by the prayers of holy men.’
 (Luc, 1487)

In addition, *varda* could be used without complements, in what we refer to here as an absolute use, where the meaning of the verb is ‘to come into existence’; see (14).

- (14) Pa huat dagh **varder then yterstä domen**
on which day become the final judgement.PL.GEN
 ‘On which day comes the final judgement?’
 (Luc, 1487)

Very rarely, we also find examples of *varda* with a PP complement or adverbial, as in (15).

- (15) och stoort jordhbäwande skall **wardha mongastadz**
and great earth.quake.APRT shall become in.many.places
 ‘And great earthquakes shall be in many places.’
 (NT Luk 21:11, 1526)

However, we do not find *varda* with locative adverbials unless there are other complements present; see the discussion in Section 7.1.

The constructions vary greatly as to how frequently they are used, as can be seen in Figure 2.⁸

Adjectival and participial complements are found in all the texts studied; the passive participles dominate, except for Linc and Troj. The gospels stand out with a high number of present participles with *varda*.⁹ This construction was used to express future reference, as shown in (16a). It was likely modelled on the MLG future construction with *werden* and can be found in other texts from the 1500s, as shown in (16b).¹⁰

- (16) a. och tridie daghen **wardher** han **vpptåendes** igen
and third day.DEF become he rising.APRT again
 ‘He will rise on the third day.’
 (NT Luk 18:33, 1526)
- b. Allom them som thenna Cröneke **läsande**
all.DAT they.DAT who this chronicle read.APRT
 eller **hörande warda**, önskar jach Olauus
or hear.APRT become wish I Olaus

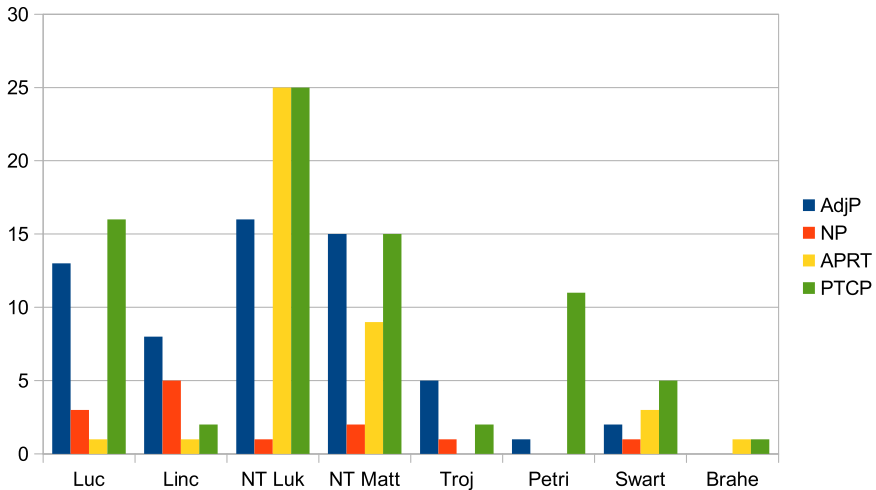


Figure 2. Constructions with *varda* per 1000 words.

Petri, predikere i Stockholm, saligheetennes kundtskap
Petri preacher in Stockholm bliss.DEF.GEN knowledge
 'All who will be reading or hearing this chronicle, I, Olaus Petri, preacher
 in Stockholm, wish knowledge of bliss.'
 (Petri, 1530)

However, *bliva* does not replace *varda* in this construction, and the whole construction disappears from Swedish around 1700 (Skrzypek 2024a). We do not consider it further here.

5. The use of *bliva*

As already mentioned, the earliest instances of *bliva* in Swedish are used with a locative adverbial, underlining its original meaning 'remain', as in (2). These are the examples found in religious prose from the 1300s and early 1400s (Skrzypek 2020, 2024a). With locatives, the original meaning of *bliva*, 'remain', is also found in our later texts, as shown in (17).

(17) Therefore drogh han medh thet snarest
therefore went he with the soonest
 till Wadstena och bleff ther på någon tijdh
to Vadstena and remained there on some time
 'He went therefore to Vadstena and stayed there for some time.'
 (Swart, 1560)

Just like *varda*, *bliva* was used with adjectival complements, as shown in (18), as well as with nominal complements, as shown in (19).

- (18) Aff hwlko hector mycket **glader** **bleff**
of which Hector very glad became
 ‘By what Hector was very glad (= what made Hector very glad).’
 (Troj, 1529)
- (19) att hoon skulle **bliffua** **Drötning** j Sverige
that she should become queen in Sweden
 ‘That she should become queen in Sweden.’
 (Swart, 1560)

Examples with present participles can be found, as shown in (20), as can absolute uses of *bliva* without complements (meaning ‘to come about’), as shown in (21). Both uses are rare.

- (20) Och ofridh **bleeff** **ståndandes** riken emellan
and discord remained standing kingdoms between
 ‘And discord remained between the kingdoms.’
 (Petri, 1530)
- (21) så att ther **bleff** **ett mechtigit stort**
so that there became a mighty large
löije wtaff hela härren
laughter out.of whole troop.DEF
 ‘So that a mighty laughter came from the whole troop.’
 (Brahe, 1585)

As *bliva* gains in frequency, the use with passive participles becomes more prominent, starting in NT 1526 and Troj 1529, as shown in (3b), and (22).

- (22) Oc foren wij **bliffwom** **bespeyada**
and before we become observed
 ‘And before we are observed.’
 (Troj, 1529)

An overview of the constructions with *bliva* is shown in Figure 3. Comparing the results with those given in Figure 2, we can see that the rise in frequency of *bliva* is almost entirely due to the rise in frequency of the construction with a passive participle, i.e. the passive construction (see Section 7). We note that adjective and locative complements are possible all through the period. NP complements are hardly used before NT Matt. Note the low number of examples with present participles, a difference from *varda*. This is presumably due to the fact that the future meaning of *varda* + present participle was not taken over by *bliva* (cf. (16)).

6. The meaning of *bliva*

In this section we trace the gradual increase of examples with the new meaning ‘become’. In order to determine which meaning was intended, we judged each

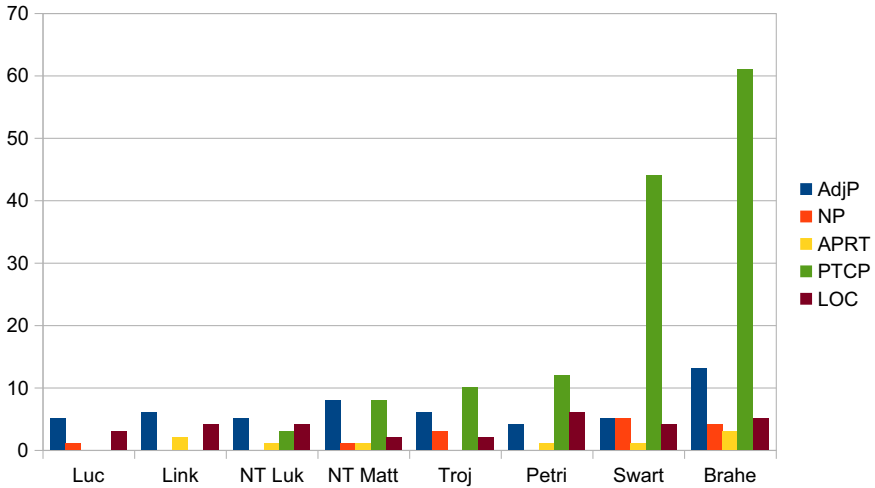


Figure 3. Constructions with *bliva* per 1000 words.

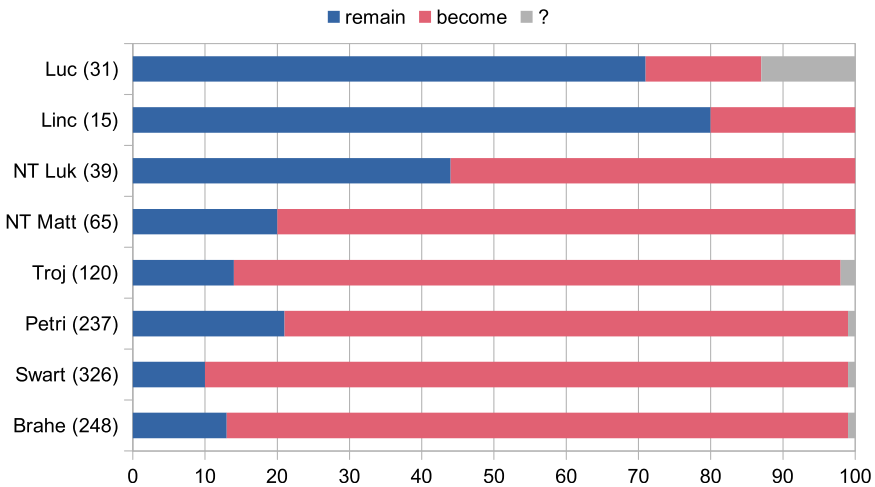


Figure 4. The meaning of *bliva* in the corpus (% of all *bliva* in a given text; absolute numbers shown after the text abbreviation).

example in its context. Most of the time it was straightforward to determine the intended meaning, but in some cases both the 'remain' and the 'become' meaning were plausible; these examples are shown in grey in Figure 4, which illustrates the distribution (% of all *bliva*) of the two meanings throughout the corpus. Since the number of occurrences varies between the texts (see Table 1), we give the absolute numbers in parenthesis following the name of the text.

We see that *bliva* is mainly used as 'remain' in the oldest texts in the corpus, Luc and Linc. The innovative meaning 'become' is dominant in all other texts. NT and Troj pattern with the younger texts in the sample, with Matthew being more progressive than Luke.

We now look more closely at the factors which influence the meaning of *bliva*. If there was a locative argument present, the meaning was always ‘remain’, as shown in (23).

- (23) Szå drogh Peder Hanson åter aff igen
so went Peder Hanson back of again
 och **bleff vppe j landet ther j Småland**
and remained up in country.DEF there in Småland
 ‘Thus Peder Hanson went back and remained up in the countryside there in Småland.’
 (Swart, 1560)

The ‘remain’ meaning was increasingly reinforced by a particle, as in (24a, b).

- (24) a. Saa mage j som här **bliffwen qwarre**
so may you who here remain back
 wiid stranden skicke edert folk j tree
by shore.DEF send your people in three
 ‘So may you who remain here on the shore send your men in three armies.’
 (Troj, 1529)
- b. och the danske gislare **bleffue** på holman **igen**
and the Danish hostages remain on islet.DEF back
 ‘And the Danish hostages stayed behind on the islet.’
 (Brahe, 1585)

In examples with adjectival and nominal complements, it was often the case that we needed to look closely at the context in order to determine the meaning. Consider the following passage from NT Luk 1:20–22, where the angel Gabriel tells Zachariah that his wife Elizabeth would become pregnant. Zachariah reacts with incredulity and the angel tells him that he will become speechless, using a future reference *thet skall skee* ‘it shall be’; see (25a).

- (25) a. Och sy thet skall skee ath tw **bliffuer måällöös**
and see it shall happen that you become mute
 ‘And see, it will happen that you will become mute.’
 (NT Luk 1:20, 1526)
- b. men thå han vthgick kunde han intit
but as he came.out could he nothing
 tala till them (...) och teknadhe them
speak to them and signed them
 oc **bleeff måällöös**
and remained mute
 ‘But as he came out he could not say anything to them (...) and signed and remained mute.’
 (NT Luk 1:22, 1526)

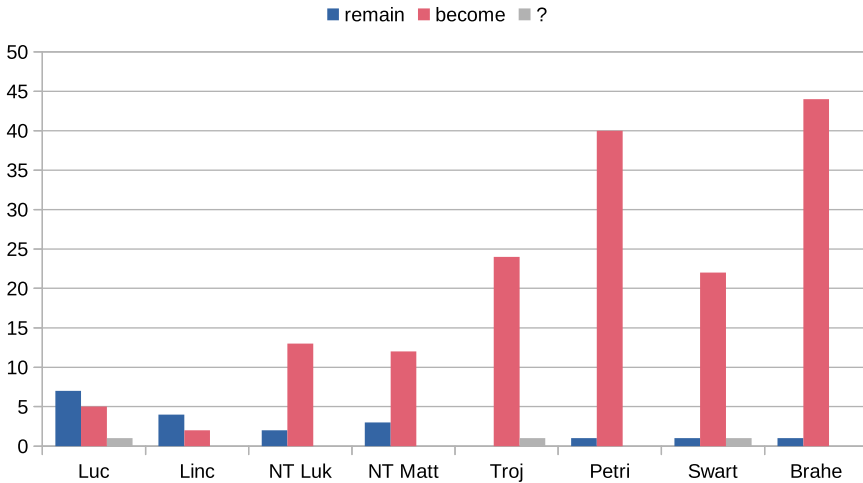


Figure 5. The meaning of *bliva* with adjectival complements.

When Zachariah comes out of the temple, he still cannot speak, *kunde han intit tala* 'he could not speak', which makes it plausible that *bleeff måällöös*z in (25b) should be interpreted as 'remained speechless'.

In the material, we see a growing tendency for the 'become' uses of *bliva* with adjectival complements, shown in Figure 5.

The height of each bar corresponds to the number of occurrences of [SBJ *bliva* ADJ] in each text. The differences are partly a result of the differences in text length and do not illustrate the frequencies of the construction (these are shown in Figure 3). We note that the 'remain' meaning gradually disappears; in Troj (1529) the verb is only used with the 'become' meaning with adjectives. Furthermore, with adjectives that are etymologically adjectivized participles (Hellqvist 1922), e.g. *dödher* 'dead' and *rädher* 'scared', *bliva* is always interpreted as 'become' in the entire corpus; see (26).

- (26) *tha hardhnade armen som hardasta iärn, oc
then hardened arm.DEF as hardest iron and
mannen bleff förfäradh oc rädher, oc kwnne
man.DEF became terrified and scared and could
enkte annat göra wtan gratha
nothing else do but cry*

'Then the (man's) arm stiffened as the hardest iron and the man was terrified and scared and could do nothing else but cry.'
(Linc, 1520)

There are only a few examples in the early texts where *bliva* is used with an NP complement, [SBJ *bliva* NP]; see Figure 6. When the construction starts to be used more frequently, from NT 1526, the 'become' meaning dominates. As with adjectival complements, the meaning of the verb depends on the context, as shown in (27a, b).

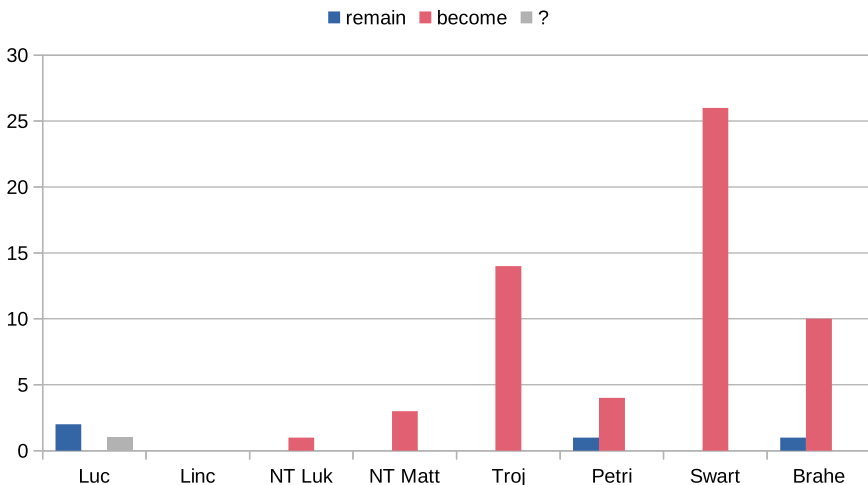


Figure 6. The meaning of *bliva* with nominal complements.

(27) a. *tå skulle then wara och bliffua en hylladt*
then should he be and remain a praised
och besuoren konungh thill Swerigis crona och rijcke
and sworn king to Sweden.GEN crown and kingdom
 ‘He should then be and remain praised and sworn king of the Swedish
 crown and kingdom.’
 (Brahe, 1585)

b. *gaff sig wdj konung Giöstaffz thieniste och*
gave himself out.in king Gustaf.GEN service and
bleff sedan här rijksens canceller
became later here kingdom.GEN chancellor
 ‘He entered the service of king Gustaf and later became the chancellor of
 the realm.’
 (Brahe, 1585)

In (27a) the combination *wara och bliffua* strongly suggests the interpretation ‘be and remain’, whereas the temporal adverb *sedan* ‘then’ in (27b) invites the inference that he became chancellor.

The results for *bliva* with present participles, [SBJ *bliva* APRT], are the least informative, which is in part due to the fact that the construction is infrequent. There are nine occurrences in Petri (1530), all with the verb meaning ‘remain’, but just one in Troj (1529), where the verb is used as ‘become’; see Figure 7.

Generally, the [SBJ *bliva* APRT] construction allows for both ‘remain’ and ‘become’ uses of the verb. In this construction, we find quite a lot of variation and a number of ambiguous cases, as late as in Swart and Brahe; consider example (28).

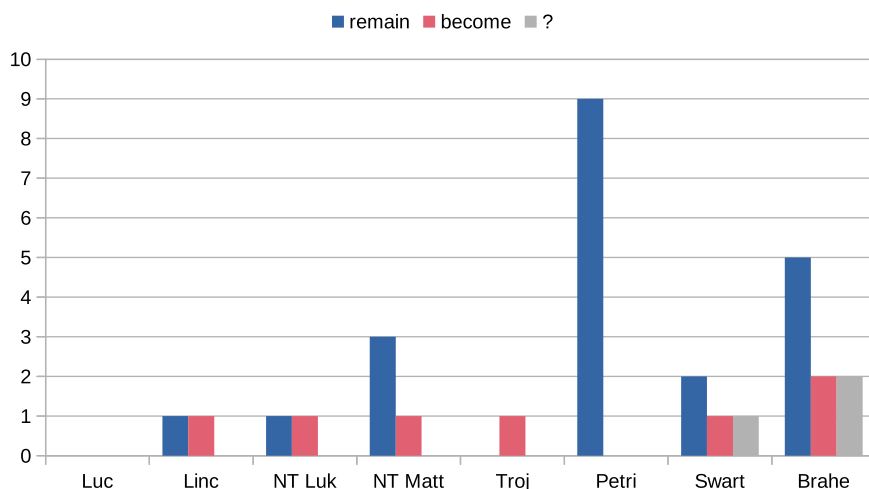


Figure 7. The meaning of *bliva* with present participles.

- (28) thy the woro icke mera ähn thill
because they were not more than to
 400 hackeskytter och 500 ryttere, gåffuo de
 400 soldiers and 500 riders gave they
 sig icke lång wäg in i skogen
themselves not long way in in forest.DEF
 thill them; på thett the skulle icke bliffua
till them on that they should not become
 kringhuerffde, **bleffue** de **ståandes** på slettin
surrounded became/remained they standing on plain.DEF
 'As they were no more than 400 soldiers and 500 riders they did not go deep
 into the forest, so as not to be surrounded they remained standing/went to
 stand on the plain.'
 (Brahe, 1585)

In (28), it is conceivable that the soldiers went and stopped (*blev ståendes* lit. 'became standing'), but it is equally conceivable that that they were already on a plain and stayed there (*blev ståendes* lit. 'remained standing'). The exact reading is not of great consequence, but the example shows that in certain contexts the meaning of *bliva* was ambiguous. In general, the 'remain' meaning is more likely with participles derived from posture verbs;¹¹ the nine examples in Petri are all of *sittia* 'sit', *hengia* 'hang', *standa* 'stand', or *liggia* 'lie'.¹² Participles derived from other verbs favour the 'become' reading of *bliva* in this construction. However, as (28) shows, at times it is impossible to decide the meaning of *bliva* in its context.¹³

7. The passive auxiliary

Perhaps the most striking change is the replacement of *varda* by *bliva* as a passive auxiliary; see examples (1b), (3b), and (22), and the overview in Figure 8. The

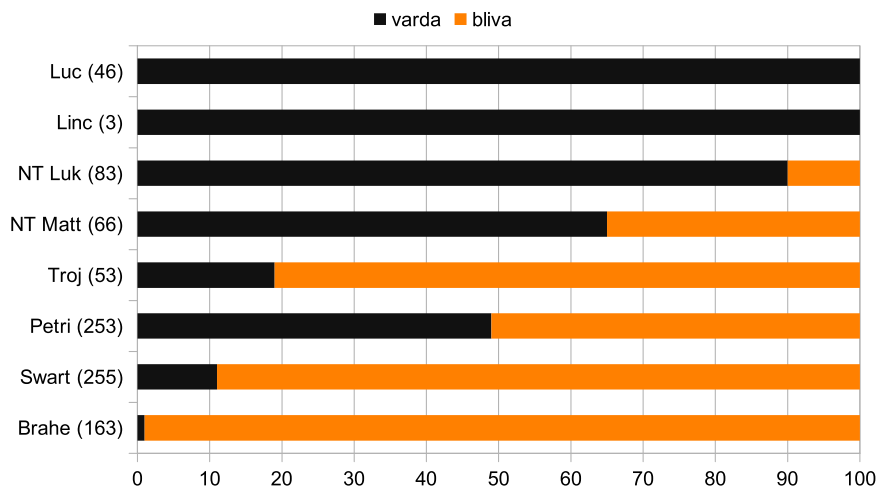


Figure 8. Choice of auxiliary in the periphrastic passive (% of all occurrences with passive participles; absolute numbers shown after the text abbreviation).

numbers given by each text, e.g. Luc (46), refer to the total number of occurrences of the passive construction with *varda* or *bliva*.

In the two oldest texts, Luc and Linc, there are no clear occurrences of *bliva* as a passive auxiliary, whereas in the youngest text, Brahe, 161/163 auxiliaries are *bliva*.¹⁴ Gradually, the frequency of *bliva* rises and the frequency of *varda* diminishes.

The first clear examples of passive with *bliva* are found in the first translation of the New Testament from 1526, as shown in (29a), and in *Historia Trojana* from 1529, as shown in (29b). All occurrences are interpreted as ‘become’.

- (29) a. Ty huart och it trää som icke gör
because each and one tree which not makes
 godha fruct **bliffwer affhugget** och kastas j eeldhen
good fruit becomes cut.down and throw.PASS in fire.DEF
 ‘Because each tree that does not give good fruit is cut down and thrown
 into the fire.’
 (NT Matt 3:10, 1526)
- b. Epter priamj bod **bleff** hon **grypen** oc
after Priam.GEN order became she captured and
lagd j häktilse
placed in jail
 ‘Per Priam’s order she was captured and imprisoned.’
 (Troj, 1529)

As can be seen in Figure 8, NT Luk and NT Matt are the last texts in which the passive with *varda* is more frequent than the passive with *bliva*. In the entire NT *varda* is used in 90% of all passive constructions (Skrzypek 2024c). There are, however, discrepancies between the different NT books, which most likely reflect

the fact that they were translated by different people (Lindblad 1971, Wollin 2024). In Luke we find *bliva* in 10% of the periphrastic passive constructions, but the percentage is as high as 34% in Matthew (Skrzypek 2024c). In the later texts in our corpus, *varda* can still be used as a passive auxiliary, although gradually *bliva* takes over.

- (30) a. oc **worde** monge **ihielslaghne**, synnerliga i Strengenes
and became many killed especially in Strängnäs
 'And many were killed, especially in Strängnäs.'
 (Petri, 1530)
- b. Nils i Sörby **bleff** **afhuggen** wid
Nils in Sörby became cut.down at
 Koberbergz falan sielff fämpte
Koberberg.GEN field himself fifth
 'Nils from Sörby was executed at Koberberg field with four companions.'
 (Brahe, 1585)

7.1 A possible bridging context

Although there are no clear examples of *bliva* used as a passive auxiliary in the oldest text Luc from 1487 (see Figure 8), there are some examples with passive participles that might provide a potential bridging context for the introduction of *bliva* as a passive auxiliary; consider (31).

- (31) Hwj **bleff** han jx manadha **ynnelykter** j
why remained he nine months confined in
 modrens lifwe
mother.GEN womb
 'Why did he remain confined in his mother's womb for nine months?'
 (Luc, 1487)

At first glance, (31) appears to be an example of a passive construction with auxiliary *bliva* and passive participle *ynnelykter*. We would like to argue, however, that another reading is also possible and potentially more likely. Elsewhere in Luc, *bliva* is used in its original meaning 'remain' in over 70% of the examples; see Figure 4. In (31) there is also a locative adverbial *j modrens lifwe* 'in the mother's womb', and a temporal adverbial signalling durativity *jx manadha* 'nine months'. Both these features are more compatible with 'remain' than with 'become'. The participle *ynnelykter* would under this interpretation not be a complement of *bleff* but rather an attribute, predicated of the subject, as shown by the agreement. We suggest that given the dominant meaning of *bliva* in Luc, example (31) should be read as 'remained confined in her womb' rather than the passive 'was locked (by somebody) in her womb'. Such contexts can thus constitute bridging contexts for the rise of the new meaning and, in particular, the use of the verb as a passive

auxiliary. Similar uses of attributive participles are found with posture verbs such as *sitta* ‘sit’ both in Old Swedish, in (32a), and in present-day Swedish, in (32b).¹⁵

- (32) a. gratande gick hon från fäður ok tel strand
crying went she from father and to shore
 ok sat þær vt giuin ok bidde leþan gæst
and sat there abandoned and awaited evil guest
 ‘Crying she walked from her father to the shore and sat there abandoned,
 waiting for the evil guest.’
 (LegBur, ca. 1300)
- b. Carl Bildt satt ännu instängd i ett
Carl Bildt sat still confined in a
 rum med sina närmaste medarbetare
room with his.REFL closest collaborators
 ‘Carl Bildt still remained confined in a room with his closest collaborators’
 (Press 98, Språkbanken)

7.2 Animacy in periphrastic passives

In present-day Swedish, use of the periphrastic *bliva*-passive is strongly correlated with animate subjects and the morphological *s*-passive is preferred with inanimate subjects (Engdahl 2006, Laanemets 2012). It appears that this difference was present also in Old Swedish. In an investigation of the use of passive in early Swedish laws from around 1225 to 1350, Holm (1952:261) found that around 80% (169/213) of passive examples with *varda* had subjects that denoted animate entities. This is a noticeably higher proportion than for the more common morphological *s*-passives, which are the main object of Holm’s study. He estimates that the percentage of animate subjects with *s*-passives varied between 10% and 30% in the different laws (Holm 1952:265). We have not investigated *s*-passives in our corpus, but Skrzypek (2024b) shows that *bliva*-passives tend to be used with animate subjects in texts from the late 1500s and 1600s. In this section we investigate whether there are any differences with respect to animacy in the choice of subject in the competing periphrastic passives with *varda* and *bliva* in our corpus from 1450–1600. Figure 9 shows the percentage of animate and inanimate subjects in passive constructions with *varda* and *bliva*.

In two texts, Linc and Brahe, the *varda*-passive is used exclusively with inanimate subjects. As there are only three instances of the construction in Linc (and none of the *bliva*-passive), this is not very informative. Brahe, on the other hand, seems to have switched to *bliva* as a passive auxiliary, as there are also only two instances of the *varda*-passive in the text, compared to 161 passives with *bliva*.

Starting from NT 1526 there is a clearer preference for animate subjects with *bliva* than with *varda*, in particular in NT Matt (1526) and Troj (1529). This is partly due to the choice of the verbs used; in NT, many of the passive constructions with *bliva* are constructed with participles derived from verbs such as *bota* ‘heal’, *mätta* ‘satisfy, feed’, and *hälsa* ‘greet’, which take animate objects (subjects in the passive clause). Similarly

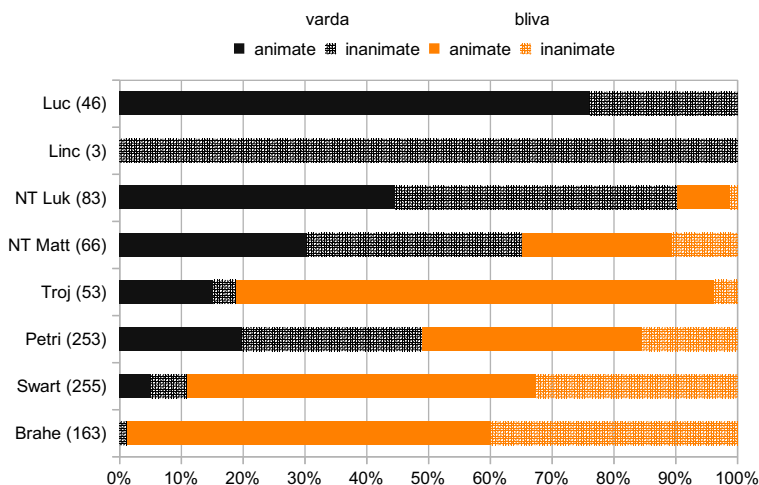


Figure 9. Subject animacy in the *varda*-passive and *bliva*-passive (% of all occurrences with passive participles; absolute numbers shown after the text abbreviation).

in Troj there are several occurrences of the *bliva*-passive with *såra* 'hurt', *gripa* 'capture', and *slå* 'kill', which typically take animate objects. However, these verbs are also used with *varda* in passive constructions. It is possible that the tendency towards animate subjects is a consequence of the low frequency of the construction rather than a genuine difference between *varda* and *bliva*. At the same time we may note that in texts with low frequencies of the *bliva*-passive, such as NT Luk, NT Matt, and Troj, when the construction is used, there is a preference for animate subjects.

It is also interesting to look more closely at the chronicle by Olaus Petri, which has an equal number of *varda*- and *bliva*-passives (see Figures 8 and 9). It turns out that although we can discern a preference for inanimate subjects in *varda*-passives and animate subjects in *bliva*-passives, there is a lot of variation. The same verbs can be used with either inanimate or animate subjects, as shown in (33a–d).

- (33) a. Så **wardt** tå itt herramöte **hallet** i Telie
so became then a meeting held in Telie
 'Thus a meeting was held in Tälje.'
 (Petri, 1530)
- b. widh Martini **bleeff** **hållet** itt herramöte i Stocholm
at Martin became held a meeting in Stockholm
 'At St. Martin's Day, a meeting was held in Stockholm.'
 (Petri, 1530)
- c. och ther **wordo** monge bönder **slagne**
and there became many yeoman.PL killed
 'And many yeomen were killed there.'
 (Petri, 1530)

- d. och somblighe **bliffuo slagne**, somblighe bliffuo brende
and some became killed some became burned
 ‘And some were killed, some were burned.’
 (Petri, 1530)

There is nothing in our data that would unequivocally indicate why *varda* or *bliva* is chosen in a given context. However, we note that for authors who use both *bliva* and *varda* frequently and in equal proportions, i.e. Petri (1530) and Swart (1560), there is a slight preference for animate subjects with *bliva* (see Figure 9). This preference becomes even clearer in the late 1600s and 1700s, with almost 70% of animate subjects in the *bliva*-passive (Skrzypek 2024b).

8. Discussion

The change in meaning of the verb *bliva* from ‘remain’ to ‘become’ was a lengthy process, closely connected with the syntactic status of *bliva*, which can be divided into two major changes: first from a lexical verb to a copula and then from a copula to a passive auxiliary.

The first stage of the development took place soon after the verb was borrowed into Old Swedish, in the mid 1300s. Skrzypek (2020) quotes several examples from the late 1300s in which the verb is already used as a copula with adjectives and noun phrases, in particular adjective phrases. It is in this context that we find most variation and also a clear tendency for the ‘become’ meaning to gain in frequency with time (see Figure 5). Notably, with adjectives which etymologically are adjectivized participles, such as *dödher* ‘dead’ or *rädher* ‘afraid’, the verb’s meaning was always ‘become’; see (26). The crucial context was most likely the phrase *bliva död* ‘die’, especially if we accept Tamm’s and Markey’s proposals that the ‘remain’ meaning was supported by locative adverbials, as in ‘he remained there, dead’; see (6) and (23). Note that in this analysis, the adjective remains outside the argument structure of the verb *bliva* and serves rather as a predicative attribute, clarifying in what way the subject remained at some location. However, as *död* ‘dead’ implies a change of state (from ‘alive’), it is also conceivable that the change of meaning took place through this context, as argued by Markey (1969:77); MLG *bliven* could in fact be interpreted as ‘become and remain’ rather than just ‘remain’ and from there reinterpreted as ‘become’.

Once the potential ‘become’ (or ‘become and remain’) meaning was established, *bliva* with adjective and noun phrases was ambiguous and its interpretation highly dependent on the context, as shown e.g. in (25). It is possible that the contrast between *varda* and *bliva* was gradually obscured, from ‘become’ versus ‘remain’ to ‘become’ versus ‘become and remain’, resulting in a partial overlap between them. Nevertheless, remnants of the ‘remain’ meaning persist in the material, so that we find *bliva* used with locative adverbials also in the later texts, as shown in (23). We can also see this in an example from NT in (34).

- (34) Twå vthi enne säng then ene **wardher**
two within one bed the one becomes
vptaghen then andre **bliffuer** **quar** **låten**
up.taken the other becomes behind left
 'Two in one bed, one will be taken, the other will be left behind.'
 (NT Matt 24:41, 1526)

In (34) there is a contrast between *wardher uptagen*, implying a new state, and *bliffuer quar låten* where the 'remain' aspect of *bliva* resonates well with *quar* 'remaining'.¹⁶ In the mid 1500s, the prefix *för* (from MLG *vor*) could be added to *bliva* in order to emphasize the 'remain' meaning; see an early attestation in (35).

- (35) (Saxarna) **förblefwo** (...) vthi sin wederwilia
Saxon.PL.DEF remained in their.REFL antipathy
 emoot Keysaren
against emperor.DEF
 'The Saxons remained in their antipathy against the Emperor.'
 (GR, 1547)

However, the development proceeds against the backdrop of an already existing periphrastic passive construction with the verb *varda*, which always was interpreted dynamically, as 'become'. During the period investigated, both verbs were used as copula verbs and could be used interchangeably, as in (36).

- (36) Och wäctarena **bliffwo** **förskräcte** aff reddogha oc
and guards.DEF became scared of fear and
wordho som the hadhe warit dödhe
became as they had been dead
 'The guards were terrified by fright and behaved as if they were dead.'
 (NT Matt 28:4, 1526)

There are also examples which show that the 'remain' meaning of *bliva* could still be contrasted with the 'become' meaning of *varda* in the early 1500s. Skrzypek (2020:319) quotes the example in (37) from a religious text showing that the two verbs could still be perceived as contrasting.

- (37) hon är the wällustande balsama smöriilse mz hwilkom
she is the fragrant balsamic ointment with which
 wara kroppa smordhe **orötelika** **wardha** oc **bliva**
our bodies oiled unputrescent become and remain
 'she is the fragrant balsamic ointment which when oiled onto our bodies makes them **become** and **remain** unputrescent.'
 (SKI 73, ca. 1500)

The second major stage in the development was the further grammaticalization of *bliva* into a passive auxiliary. This was only possible after the new 'become' meaning was well established, but the presence of the *varda*-passive and other constructions

with *varda* may have acted as a catalyst for the development when the meaning of *bliva* became polysemous. Figure 3 shows that it was precisely the use in passive constructions that resulted in *bliva*'s rapid rise in frequency, eventually replacing *varda*. Although the changes in Swedish took place during a period when there was considerable language contact between Swedish and MLG (Wessén 1954, Höder 2010, Rambø 2010), the development in Swedish is very different from that in MLG. As we saw in Section 2, although the meaning of *bliven* in MLG was 'remain', the verb could also be used with the adjective *tod* 'dead', meaning 'become and remain'. However, the 'become' meaning of *bliven* was seldom utilized in MLG (Rosenthal 1984, Woźnicka 2024), and there is hardly any evidence that *bliven* could be used as a passive auxiliary, similarly to what happened in Swedish.¹⁷ In Middle High German, which gradually replaced MLG as the relevant contact variety in Sweden (Braunmüller 2000), *bliven* only had the meaning 'remain' and could not be used as a passive auxiliary; see also Kotin (2000).

Returning briefly to the contrast in meaning between 'remain' and 'become', they are actually closer than it might seem. Löbner (1990) and Steinitz (1999) argue that the two verbs are dual operators (Ger. *duales Paar*), related to each other by inner and outer (= dual) negation (i.e. become = NEG remain; remain = NEG become).¹⁸ Hansen & Heltoft (2011:193) describe the related Danish verb *forblive* as a verb that belies that the change implied by *blive* took place.¹⁹ However, it is first when the 'become' meaning is well established that *bliva* develops into a passive auxiliary, a process that is well documented cross-linguistically (Haspelmath 1990:38 and references therein).

9. Concluding remarks

In this article we have concentrated on describing the change of meaning of the Swedish verb *bliva* from 'remain' to 'become', detailing its timeline and most important stages. We have also discussed possible factors influencing the change. The extension of the meaning of *bliva* from 'remain' to 'become' takes place in the late 1400s and early 1500s. During this period the verb continues to be used with both meanings. However, the 'become' reading gradually gains in frequency and the 'remain' meaning disappears and is retained only in expressions with locative adverbials, usually with particles like *kvar* 'remaining' to clarify the intended reading; see (24).

Throughout the period studied, the interpretation of the verb is to a large extent dependent on its complements. With locative adverbials, *bliva* is a lexical verb with 'remain' as the only reading; with passive participles it is an auxiliary with 'become' as the only alternative. In the other constructions, where the verb is used as a copula, both readings are possible and the context is necessary to identify the intended meaning of the verb. In particular, this concerns the adjectival complements; see examples (25a, b) and Figure 5.

The change of meaning takes place gradually, but 1450–1600 is the critical period. At the onset of the period we find occasional examples of *bliva* meaning 'become' but none in its auxiliary function. This is first attested in the New Testament (1526) and *Historia Trojana* (1529). The latter text, traditionally

included in the Old Swedish period (1225–1526), in this respect seems to pattern with Early Modern Swedish (1526–1732).

Nya testamentet 1526 is the first complete translation of the New Testament into Swedish and a document constitutive for the periodization of the Swedish language, marking an important stage in the history of the language. As we noted in Section 7, there are discrepancies between different parts of the text, with Luke representing the more conservative and Matthew the more progressive group. However, we find examples of *bliva* used with the meaning 'become' in all the books in the text and, more importantly, used as a passive auxiliary, even in the more conservative parts (Skrzyppek 2024c). This suggests that at the time of the NT translation the development was sufficiently advanced for the *bliva* auxiliary to be part of the grammar of all the translators.

We have identified a potential bridging context in which *bliva* is used with a passive participle which is predicated of the subject without being a complement of the auxiliary; see example (31). It is easy to see how the whole construction could be reinterpreted, so that the participle was seen as part of the verb's valency, which gradually led to the rise of the *bliva*-passive. However, this was only possible once the 'become' meaning was established.

When used as passive auxiliaries, we find an increasing difference in the choice of subject type whereby *varda* tends to be used with inanimate subjects and *bliva* with animate subjects (see Section 7.2). This suggests that the correlation between the *bliva*-passive and animate subjects which we find in present-day Swedish is discernible at the early stages of the rise of the construction. A preference for different types of subjects could explain why, at least in the 1500s, we find two seemingly identical periphrastic constructions, but more research is necessary.

The traces of the 'remain' meaning become more and more rare and are almost absent in the texts from the late 1500s. By that time, *bliva* is used in the same contexts as the original *varda*. As a result, the frequencies of *varda* dwindle and eventually the verb disappears from the standard language. Similar developments have taken place in the closely related languages Danish and Norwegian, which were also influenced by Middle Low German and which had close contact with Swedish.²⁰ We find early examples of the *blive*-passive in Danish in the late 1400s, some forty years earlier than in Swedish.²¹ More research is necessary to chart the developments in Danish and Norwegian, and to compare them with those we have documented for Swedish, so that a more complete picture can be painted of how *bliva* replaced *varda*.

Acknowledgements. This research was supported by the Polish National Science Center (grant number 2021/41/B/ HS2/00011) to the first author. We would like to thank the editors of the journal and three anonymous reviewers for their valuable and constructive comments.

Notes

1 Runic inscriptions are quoted from the runic database available at Riksantikvarieämbetet (The Swedish National Heritage Board) <https://app.raa.se/open/runor/search>. Other sources are listed below, before the References. We follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules and use the following glosses: APRT active present participle, DEF definite, IM infinitive marker, PASS passive, PL plural, REFL reflexive.

2 The verb is still used in the preterite form *vart*, mainly in northern dialects; see e.g. Markey (1969) and Teleman et al. (1999:Vol. 2:573).

3 See e.g. the inscription on the stone at Rök (Ög 136), and Williams (2021:182).

4 Interestingly, the MLG *dôt bliven* 'become dead, die' continues to be used as present-day Low German *dootblieven*. It is the only case where *bliven* in combination with an adjective has a 'become' or 'become and remain' meaning.

5 In the remaining 149 examples of *bliva* in ST, 146 have the meaning 'remain' and only three 'become'.

6 The digital sources can be found at *Fornsvenska textbanken* (Old Swedish textbank) <https://www.nordlud.lu.se/fornsvenskatextdatabanken/>

7 In this article we concentrate on the uses of *varda* and *bliva*. The static copula *vara* 'be' was used more or less in the same contexts as *varda* and constitutes 17% of all verbs in our material (1450–1600), compared with just 2% for *varda*. The frequencies of *bliva* change over time and oscillate between 1% (Luc) and 9% (Brahe), as shown in Section 5.

8 We have left out the absolute and PP constructions in Figure 2; there are no absolute constructions in the younger texts in the corpus (Petri, Swart, and Brahe) and only one each in Troj and Linc, compared to 14 occurrences in Luc, 14 in NT Luk and eight in NT Matt, resembling (14). There are also four constructions with PP in Luc and one in Linc.

9 The present participle in Swedish can be used with or without the suffix *-s*, of unknown origin, possibly a genitive ending; see Kock (1898) and Noreen (1904:333, quoted by Ahlberg 1942:3). However, some have argued for a connection with the reflexive pronoun *sik* (Rydqvist 1850:415, quoted by Kock 1898:50). There are no studies of the distribution of the form with and without *-s* in Old Swedish, but Ahlberg mentions that the *s*-form was most likely used with more verbal uses of the participle and the form without *-s* in more adjectival uses (Ahlberg 1942:3). We do not consider the variation in form here; see Thurén (2008) and Blenselius (2009) on the variation in present-day Swedish.

10 A similar use of the present participle as a future marker has been retained in some Norwegian dialects; see Faarlund (2000:69).

11 This is still the case in present-day Swedish; see Teleman et al. (1999:Vol. 3:353).

12 Similarly in MLG, this use survives in present-day Low German (Steffen Höder, p.c.); in contrast, the combination of *werden* and APRT has a future reference in MLG but is no longer part of the present-day Low German grammar (Ihden 2023).

13 See Steinitz (1999) on the ambiguity of *bliva* with present participles in present-day Swedish.

14 There is one potential example in Linc (1520):

- (i) konung pippinus i them daghomen **bleff kranker oc dödher oc iordhader** i pariis
'king Pippin in these days fell ill, died and was buried in Paris.'

Bli is here followed by two adjectives and then a participle. Since *bliva* could be used with adjectives in Linc (see Figure 3), it is possible that the presence of the adjectives has influenced the choice of *bliva* rather than *varda*. An alternative explanation is that *varda* has been omitted in (i). Note, however, that in an earlier similar example from Luc (1487), it does not seem possible to omit the passive auxiliary, which is *varda*:

- (ii) At han **bleff ok dödher ok vart jordadher** j heluiti
'that he died and was buried in hell.'
(Luc, 1487)

15 This example comes from the Swedish Language Bank: <https://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/>.

16 There is a similar example with just *bliva*, also in Matt:

- (iii) Twå skola mala på enne quern/then ena **bliffuer vptaghen**/then andra **quar** låten.
'Two [women] will be grinding with one hand mill; one will be taken and the other left.'
(NT Matt 24:40, 1526)

17 In her investigation of MLG texts from the Reference corpus of Middle Low German/Low Rheinisch 1200–1650 (REN; <https://www.slm.uni-hamburg.de/en/ren.html>), Woźnicka notes that there are three examples where *bliven* is most likely used as a passive auxiliary (out of a total of 613). These examples are exceptional in the corpus as a whole.

18 Steinitz (1999) points out that there are contexts where present-day German *bleiben* 'remain' seems to assume the meaning of its dual *werden* 'become', and that this apparent idiosyncrasy of German holds for other languages as well, e.g. Brazil-Portuguese (and Polish). The duality perspective has been questioned; see Schlücker (2008).

19 We would like to thank one of the reviewers for this reference.

20 Although *verda* is still in use in many Norwegian dialects, *bliva* is more widely used as a passive auxiliary (Lundquist 2014).

21 See the following example from 1488:

- (iv) at iek badh swa trolighe for myn sæsther
 that I prayed so faithfully for my sister.^{GEN}
 sieell som skulle haffwe **bleffwet** **fordæmpth**
 soul as should have become condemned

'That I so faithfully prayed for the soul of my sister that would have been condemned.'

(*Af Katherine legende*, from *Mariager Legende Håndskrift* dated to 1488)

Sources

All texts apart from NT, GR and Swch are available on Fornsvenska textbanken, <https://www.nordlund.lu.se/fornsvenskatextdatabanken/>

Brahe = Per Brahe. 1897. *Per Brahe den äldres fortsättning af Peder Svarts krönika*. Lund: Lunds Universitet.

GR = *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*. 1861–1916. Stockholm: Riksarkivet.

HML = Helga manna lefverne. 1877–1878. *Klosterläsning*, ed. by Gustaf Edvard Klemming. Stockholm: Norstedt.

LegBur = Codex Bureanus. 1847. *Ett fornsvenskt legendarium*, ed. by George Stephens. Stockholm: Norstedt.

Linc = Linköpingslegendariet, Legenden om Sankt Amalberga. 1847. *Ett fornsvenskt legendarium*, ed. by George Stephens. Stockholm: Norstedt. Manuscript Linc B 70a.

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