The *fast* case: Constructionalization of a Swedish concessive

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The development of grammatical markers has been described from several theoretical perspectives over the last decade: Grammaticalization Theory (Hopper & Traugott 2003, Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991), the Minimalist Program (Roberts & Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004), and Lexical-Functional Grammar (Vincent 2001), see also the overview in (Börjars & Vincent 2010). It has recently been addressed in Construction Grammar, where it is argued that a shift towards a constructional perspective on change may yield new insights into the workings of grammaticalization (Bergs & Diewald 2008, Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013, Traugott & Trousdale 2013). This paper should be taken as a contribution to a constructional view on grammaticalization. It is about the rise of the concessive subordinator *fast*(*än*) in the history of Swedish occurring in a construction or clause type called UNIVERSAL CONCESSIVE CONDITIONAL (Haspelmath & Köning 1998), in Swedish GENERALISERANDE BISATS (SAG 1999). The Swedish *fast*, etymologically (and still productively) as an adjective in the meaning 'steady', 'robust' is used as an intensifier, 'very', 'much', in early Modern Swedish, eventually established as a concessive marker 'even if', 'although' in the 18th century. The conventionalization of a concessive inference is highly interesting and may be traced back to specific constructions in the 16th and 17th centuries. On the basis of an extensive corpus study, I analyze the critical contexts and discuss the development as constructional change rather than lexical change, arguing that a remapping between form and function takes place in concessive conditional constructions due to processes of inferencing and mismatch.

Keywords concessives, conditionals, construction grammar, constructional change, constructionalization, corpus linguistics, grammaticalization, Swedish

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1. GRAMMATICALIZATION AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE CHANGE

Grammaticalization is 'the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions or grammatical items develop new grammatical functions' (Traugott 2001:1). Much has been written on the topic and the full story will not be retold here (Heine et al. 1991, Hopper & Traugott 2003, Roberts & Roussou 2003). It is important for the present study

and following argumentation that the notion of 'certain linguistic contexts' in relation to grammaticalization is to be interpreted as 'language-specific constructions' (see Section 1.1). Theoretical approaches to language change in general and to grammaticalization in particular, may be divided into two main approaches: FUNCTIONAL and FORMAL (Newmeyer 1998). Functional approaches are linked by interest in the use of language and by the assumption that semantic–pragmatic change and structural change are closely related and equally important (Croft 2000). Additional functional assumptions are that lexical–grammatical change is non-abrupt and rooted in cognitive and usage-based factors like conceptual metaphor and expressivity (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Haspelmath 1999, Croft 2000). Formal approaches, often subsumed under the classification 'Chomskyan approaches', focus on structural change, whereas semantic–pragmatic changes are considered as separate, extra-lingual, and less germane to the study of language per se.[1] The most central aspects of grammaticalization from this perspective are that lexical units and constructions come to merge higher up in the syntactic structure, associated with different functional heads, rather than being moved up to check some features (Roberts & Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004). A principal of structural economy in the language acquisition process is the motivating factor for reanalysis and the rise of new grammatical markers.

One usage-based approach recently emphasized in the context of grammaticalization is Construction Grammar (Hilpert 2013, Hoffman & Trousdale 2013, Traugott & Trousdale 2013). Main assumptions from this perspective are that form and meaning are paired as equals; semantic structure is mapped directly onto syntactic structure rather than being interpreted from syntax (Hilpert 2008, Traugott 2008) and language structure is shaped by language use (Traugott & Trousdale 2013:3). No one level of grammar is autonomous, or 'core' (see Fried & Östman 2004:24). Rather, constructions include all dimensions of language architecture; for example, form covers syntax as well as phonological aspects, while meaning covers semantics as well as discourse meaning. These assumptions have also been used to put forward the advantages of a constructional view on grammaticalization because the perceived degree of gradualness, which is accentuated within Grammaticalization Theory, can be described as incremental steps in various dimensions of a structure (Traugott 2008, Traugott & Trousdale 2013). Moreover, many grammaticalization scholars have emphasized entire constructions (in the non-technical sense) as the source of grammatical meaning (Bybee et al. 1994:11; Heine & Kuteva 2002; Lehmann, 2004). The case study in this paper is based on a Construction Grammar approach to grammaticalization with the assumption that a concessive inference is conventionalized in particular constructions due to a resolved mismatch between features of form and features of meaning.

1.1 Theoretical point of departure

The case study in this paper represents a typical example of grammaticalization, the development of a content word or 'contentful construction', including the adjective/adverb *fast*, 'steady', 'strongly', and the particle *än*, 'than', into a function word, or grammatical/procedural construction *fast*(*än*) 'even though', 'although'. The use of a specific construction, or clause type, known as a GENERALISERANDE BISATS (universal concessive clause) in Swedish, [wh AP (NP) *än* VP], *hur mycket han än ville* 'how much he ever wanted', seems to be the main locus of this development. It corresponds to the subclause part of universal concessive conditionals, henceforth UCC CONSTRUCTIONS as described by Haspelmath & König (1998). Hence, I will take a constructional view on grammatical change, even though the focus is on the lexical dimension of constructions and how a remapping between form and function creates new grammatical material. It would also be interesting to study the interaction between different instances of concessive constructions and how they relate to and interact with other (similar) constructions at a more abstract clause level. For example, studying relations between different concessive subclauses and concessive predicative phrases is the aim of future work (see Hilpert 2013). Functionalist work on grammaticalization has been relatively divided without a common theoretical ground. As such, Construction Grammar is a promising approach. Diewald (2006) points out some aspects of Construction Grammar particularly suited for grammaticalization research. Firstly, it sees idiomatic structures and irregular language phenomenon as central. This is important in grammaticalization, whose initial stage often begins with irregular innovative patterns (Diewald 2006:8). Secondly, in Construction Grammar the notion of mismatch (Michaelis 2003, Traugott & Trousdale 2013) is about resolving conflicts of semantic compatibility in a construction by the reinterpretation of certain lexical items in terms of their fit for the constructional meaning. The theoretical notion of mismatch will be central throughout this paper. I follow Traugott & Trousdale (2013:19) in linking mismatch to compositionality:

> From a constructional point of view, compositionality is best thought of in terms of match or mismatch between aspects of form and aspects of meaning ... If a construct is semantically compositional, then as long as the speaker has produced a conventional sequence syntactically, and the hearer understands the meaning of each individual item, the hearer will be able to decode the meaning of the whole. If it is not compositional, there will be mismatch between the meaning of individual elements and the meaning of the whole.

Moreover, Traugott & Trousdale distinguish between constructional change, 'change affecting one internal dimension of a construction' and constructionalization, 'the creation of form$_{New}$–meaning$_{New}$ (combinations of) signs' (Traugott & Trousdale 2013). They exemplify constructionalization with the development of English binomial partitives 'a part/share of NP' like *a lot/bit/shred/of an* N into grammatical quantifiers. In Old English *lot* referred to an object like a piece of wood and by metonymy to a share/unit of something, *lot of land* (for sale), Traugott & Trousdale (2013:23). In later stages of English we begin to find uses in contexts giving rise to the pragmatic inference from a unit (for sale) to large quantities of that unit. In the process, *lot* loses in content and becomes procedural (grammatical) both in meaning as a quantifier and in structure, going from head in *a lot* (parcel) *of land* (for sale) to modifier in *a lot of land*, 'a large quantity of land'. During the process there was a mismatch between form and meaning because the syntactic head was that of the partitive (NP1), while the semantic head was that of the modifier (NP2). Traugott & Trousdale (2013) emphasize that constructionalization cannot be identified until both morpho-syntactic and semantic changes appear in the textual record.

1.1.1 Clarification of terminology

1.1.1.1 Construction and context

The term construction refers, from a Construction Grammar approach, to the abstract instances that license well-formed (actually occurring) linguistic expressions called constructs (Bergs & Diewald 2008, Traugott 2008). Early work restricts the notion of construction to form–meaning pairings with a partially non-compositional meaning (Goldberg 1995). Croft suggests that constructions 'can be thought of as the same theoretical type of representation object as lexical items, albeit syntactically complex and at least partially schematic' (Croft 2001:16). The concept of construction has been expanded to compositional strings, which 'are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable, as long as they occur with sufficient frequency' (Goldberg 2006:5). It is the latter view that is adopted in this paper. A few points must be stressed in relation to the terms discussed. Firstly, an important distinction is that between SYNTACTIC CONTEXT and PRAGMATIC CONTEXT. Context is used here as the equivalent of the linguistic environment of a given item, not necessarily delimited to single constructions or clauses. Pragmatic context thus refers to external factors such as communicative situation, genre, speaker strategies, and so on. This may seem a trivial point, but it will clarify the following discussion.

In recognizing micro-changes or stages of development, Heine (2002) and Diewald (2002, 2006) focus on the role of different CONTEXTS in grammaticalization. These contexts in turn consist of different constructions, more or less fixed patterns or idioms corresponding to different degrees of a grammaticalization process. In Heine (2002) the first stage is defined as UNRESTRICTED CONTEXT, associated with a source

meaning, similar to Diewald's (2002) UNTYPICAL CONTEXT, which I here regard as a better term because elements involved in a grammaticalization process often start out in new contexts that function as prerequisites for further change. In the next and most important stage they identify a context termed either CRITICAL (Diewald) or BRIDGING (Heine 2002). In this stage a new (grammatical) meaning is foregrounded as an inference due to the use of an item in a particular environment. Diewald (2002) describes this context as 'characterized by multiple structural and semantic ambiguity, inviting different interpretations, including the target meaning.' In some cases the grammaticalization process may reach a stage called SWITCH CONTEXT (Heine 2002) or ISOLATING CONTEXT (Diewald), in which the target meaning 'is isolated as a separate meaning from the older, more lexical meaning' (Heine 2002:85), with 'specific linguistic contexts that favor one reading to the exclusion of the other' (Diewald 2006:5). In the last CONVENTIONALIZATION stage, the item may be used in the new grammatical meaning without support of the context that gives rise to it. Diewald (2006) concludes that central concepts of Construction Grammar may help sharpen context types in grammaticalization, for example in their analysis as different constructional idioms. In this paper I will argue that the constructions including *fast*(*än*) may be described using the context stages detailed above (see further Section 2 below). I will use Diewald's definitions of contexts: UNTYPICAL, CRITICAL, and ISOLATING.

1.1.1.2 Logical relations: Concessive and conditional

Finally, it is necessary to define conditionals and concessives, which are the logical relations or clause types in focus for the present discussion. Conditional, concessive and adversative relations are closely connected in respect of causality, factuality, and temporality. Conditionals are non-factual relations where the subordinated clause antecedent constitutes a sufficient condition for the main clause, descendent, to be true, *if* x, *then* y (*if Sara goes, I will go*), hence there exists a causal relation between a condition in clause 1 and a consequence in clause 2. A concessive relation, on the other hand, expresses counter-expectation, incompatibility, and an unfulfilled causal relation between the two clauses, *even if* (*irrespective of*) x, *then* y (*even if Sara goes, I will stay home*). The antecedent, factual or not, semantically represents an INSUFFICIENT BARRIER in relation to the assumption in the descendent. Adversatives are closely related to concessives in terms of incompatibility but constitute clauses on the same level. Adversative relations express that it is remarkable that two propositions are simultaneously valid, *Sara will go there, but I would not* (Haspelmath & König 1998, SAG 1999). The universal concessive conditional or UCC construction is a subclause referring to an indefinite set of referents, which all hold that the main proposition is true: *whoever you are, I cannot help you*. The antecedent in a UCC construction usually consists of an interrogative pronoun and an adversative adverb

(usually *än* but also *så*) in Swedish, sometimes with an adverbial of degree or a relative phrase *som helst*, corresponding to most of the examples SAG defines as *generaliserande bisats*, as follows in A–C:

A. Han äter vad som helst.
   he   eats what REL rather
   'He will eat anything.'

B. Vad du så i övrigt gör så får   du inte lämna henne ensam.
   what you so in other do so permit you not leave her   alone
   'No matter what you do otherwise, you are not allowed to leave her alone.'

C. Hur mycket han än   vet   så vet   han inte allt.
   how much   he ever knows so knows he not everything
   'No matter how much he knows, he still does not know everything.'

The pattern in C is the most important one for the present paper.

1.1.2 Motivations and mechanisms of transfer

There has been a debate about how to best describe and explain the locus of grammaticalization changes: in terms of metaphorical extensions (Sweetser 1990, Heine et al. 1991, Andersson 2009), or pragmatic inferences (Traugott & Dasher 2002). Recently, Traugott & Trousdale (2013) have clarified the view on motivations and mechanisms involved in grammatical and constructional change. Small-scale changes originate from what they call neoanalysis, an updated term for the reinterpretation of invited inferences. When interpreting an utterance, the listener creates an alternative mental representation in trying to link nodes in the network following the principle of best fit. When no direct link is available (semantically or syntactically), 'the hearer will attempt to make the best fit with an extant node or feature of a node, resulting in partial sanction. This is an innovation by the hearer' (Traugott & Trousdale 2013:52). They argue that neoanalysis is a more plausible term than the more common term reanalysis, in that speakers do not always reinterpret something that they have stored but rather make implicatures 'on the fly.' Neoanalysis often results in mismatch or non-compositional meaning, a kind of incongruence between the form and meaning features of a construction. Mismatches reflect intermediate stages of change in which different interpretations of a construction are possible. When they become resolved and spread to more speakers in the community, it may lead to changes in both form and meaning and new constructions arise. As to motivations for grammatical change, earlier approaches refer to expressivity as a main motivation for change; that is, innovative ways of expressing oneself due to some social purpose (Haspelmath 1999). Traugott & Trousdale (2013) seem to define motivations from a more hearer-oriented perspective in terms of parsing or analogical thinking respectively. Of course, it is not easy to determine which is the chicken and

which is the egg in these explanations. The use of innovative and novel expressions might be (and probably is) rooted in or determined by analogical thinking, as might be the (re)interpretations of such expressions. Either way, all mechanisms referred to are usage-based and it follows that the notion of constructions may be the main locus for neoanalysis because the remapping of form and function 'occurs in the production or perception of constructs' (concrete instances of constructions) (Traugott 2008:36).

1.1.3 Semantic implication (bleaching, generalization)

Semantic change or implication is commonly emphasized in usage-based approaches to grammaticalization. In terms of BLEACHING, GENERALIZATION, and WEAKENING, semantic change as the loss of propositional content has been seen as prior to morpho-syntactic and phonological change in many works on grammaticalization (Bybee et al. 1994, Heine & Kuteva 2002). In other works, semantic grammaticalization has been studied as a separate dimension, for example in van der Auwera & Plungian's (1998) work on modality maps or Traugott & Dasher's (2002) work on universal semantic paths. It seems to me however that grammaticalization always involves a remapping between form and function; that is, both semantic and structural changes are involved in the process. A constructional approach has the advantage of not assuming that change in one dimension, such as semantics, has to simultaneously correlate with change in another, such as syntax, compare. how bleaching is described in formal approaches, analyzed as a direct consequence of structural change (Roberts 2010).

2. METHOD AND CORPORA

There are several historical resources available at the Swedish Language Bank, University of Gothenburg, both corpora and lexica.[2] Three digitalized historical dictionaries from Old Swedish to Modern Swedish are integrated in the infrastructure including the extensive Old Swedish Dictionary edited by Söderwall (1884–1953), which is an important work for all scholars interested in Old Swedish. The object of study, the construction *fast(än)*, was identified in an experiment on tracking change semi-automatically in linking historical lexical resources (Andersson & Ahlberg 2013). The experiment was based on tracing identical forms over time, but forms with differences in part-of-speech information. Examples of both known and unknown (potential) grammaticalization changes were discovered, such as the development of the preposition *mot* 'to(wards)', from the Old Swedish noun *mot* 'meeting', the prepositional use of *hos* 'at', and *vid* 'by', in Present-Day Swedish from their earlier adverbial use. Likewise, some Old Swedish adverbs and adjectives have developed subordinating counterparts in Modern and Present-Day Swedish. Examples are *innan* 'inside, during', and the object of study in this paper, *fast* 'steady', 'robust', with the corresponding later uses of *innan* 'before', and *fast(än)* 'although'. They are not noted

as conjunctions/subjunctions in Old Swedish dictionaries (Söderwall) and empirical data support a diachronic development from adverbial to subordinating functions.

A generous estimation of the size of all the historical corpora in the Swedish Language Bank amounts to about 960 million tokens. However, the bulk of this material consists of the KubHist Corpus of about 877 million tokens, a large corpus of historical newspapers (1750 –1927) with several OCR errors that have not been manually corrected and proofread. The remaining part of about 100 million tokens consists of novels and letters from the 19th century and up to Present-Day Swedish (late 20th century). The primary data in this study were however derived from a proofread corpus from Old Swedish (1225–1526) and Early Modern Swedish (*c*. 1526–1732) of about five million tokens from the most relevant period in time for tracing the development of *fast(än)*. The corpus was originally compiled and proofread in Lund by Lars-Olof Delsing and associates.[3] At the Swedish Language Bank, this corpus is extended with Old Swedish legal documents (charters) by one million tokens. Old Swedish texts exist mainly in the form of provincial laws, legal documents, and religious texts (Bible texts and legends), some of which were translations from Latin. The Early Modern Swedish period traditionally begins with the new Bible translation in 1526, and later with what is known as the Gustav Vasa Bible in 1541. Corpora from this period are comprised of Bibles, legal documents, chronicles, novels, personal letters and anecdotes. In the Modern Swedish period, the language moves towards a simpler inflectional system, going from four to two cases, to a modern two-gender system, and to the lack of numeral verb inflection. Also, syntactic notions are more established in Modern Swedish with the fixation of VO order and subject requirement.

As the first step, all attestations of the lemma *fast(än)*[4] were excerpted in Old and Early Modern Swedish, then manually inspected and divided into three main groups based mainly on their syntactic function and likely meaning.[5] I will not present any fine-grained semantic analysis within the different groups and will only highlight the most important distinctions for the main purpose of analyzing the development of *fast(än)*. The first group includes constructions including *fast* as an adjective/adverb in the meaning 'steady', 'robust', 'strongly', or 'quickly' (Section 3, example (1)). The second group includes constructions including *fast* as an intensifier, modifying other adjectives and adverbs, in the meaning 'much', 'very' (Section 3, example (2)). The third group includes constructions including *fast(än)* as a concessive marker or subordinator 'even if', 'although' (Section 3, examples (7)–(10)), but also the attestations that presumably show a stage of remapping between form and function (Section 3, examples (3)–(5)). Searches were performed using the KORP search interface, a tool developed at the Swedish Language Bank in Gothenburg with additional information on statistics and trend diagrams (Borin, Forsberg & Roxendal 2012). The search interface enables searches for *fast* in different positions, such as the initial clause position, and in different collocations. It makes manual syntactic

Function	Old Swedish (4 millon token 1220–1526)	Early Modern Swedish (1 million token 1526–1732)	
Adjective/Adverb	616	195	
Intensifier use	8	66	
Subordinator use	0	213	
Totals:	624	474	1098

Table 1. Instances of the lemma *fast(än)* in the corpus.

and semantic disambiguation more efficient. For example, I searched for collocations with *fast* and *än*, with an additional condition of up to three random words in between, which picked up variants of the UCC construction. The corpus used is not yet tagged for parts of speech, but work on the annotation of the historical corpora has been initiated (Adesam, Ahlberg & Bouma 2012, Adesam et al. 2014). Table 1 shows all attestations of *fast* and *fast(än)* in the corpus, divided into the three groups discussed. Spelling variants were not present.

The total number of *fast* attestations in the corpus is 1,098 tokens. Considering the balance between Old Swedish and Modern Swedish corpora, the use of *fast(än)* clearly increases in Early Modern Swedish. The majority of *fast* attestations in Old Swedish are, not surprisingly, adjectives in the meaning 'steady'. Many of those attestations may be traced to an idiom or construction found in Old Swedish laws, *fast oc fult* 'entirely'. Other attestations refer to *fast* as an adverb of manner meaning 'strongly' or 'quickly' (see further Section 3.1 below). We can only identify eight clear examples of an intensifier use in Old Swedish in which *fast* modifies other adverbs or adjectives, hence with a more abstract, intensifier meaning. Those examples are exclusively found in the late Old Swedish period, for example from the tale of King Didrik of Bern, 'Sigiord war *fast* trötter' 'Sigiord was *very* tired' (Didrik of Bern, *c.* 1500).

In Early Modern Swedish (1526–1732), the use of *fast* as an intensifier increases, especially in the 16th century (see Section 3.2 below). However, the attestations of a subordinating use in this period are rather few and will be further discussed in Sections 3.3–3.4. Clear uses of *fast(än)* as a conventionalized concessive subordinator are primarily linked to two sources in the 18th century: that is, Runius' prose from 1710 and the extensive Corpus of Dalin, *Then Swänska Argus*. The latter is a collection of Dalin's moral-satirical weekly magazine published between 1732 and 1734, in the beginning of late Modern Swedish. As many as 236 attestations of *fast(än)* are found in this material, many of them with a subordinating function (see Section 3.5 below). The most pertinent question for this study however is what happened during the evolution of its status as an intensifier to that of a subordinator. In trying to answer this question, I also include the excerpts from the extensive historical dictionary SAOB

in this study. SAOB has an extensive archive of excerpts from the 16th century up to Present-Day Swedish and notes *fast* together with other subordinating elements, in a couple of attestations described as 'concessive coloring of *fast*' (see further Section 3). Most of these excerpts may in fact be related to the UCC construction introduced in Section 1.1 above.

The attestations identified are further considered in relation to the different types of contexts described above. I will argue that the context stages correlate with different types of constructions.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF *FAST(ÄN)*

To my knowledge, the development of *fast(än)* has not previously been studied in any detail. As mentioned in Section 1.1 above, the initial stage of development may be traced to a critical context or construction in Early Modern Swedish, which I here define as a UCC construction (universal concessive conditional) following Haspelmath & König ([1998](#)). Particular constructs of this pattern in the 16th century seem to pave the way for the rise of concessive *fast(än)* due to pragmatic reinterpretation following the principle of best fit to a subordinating construction.

3.1 Old Swedish fast and its Germanic cognates

Like the cognates in English, German, and Danish, Old Swedish *fast* is mainly used as an adjective with continuing productive meanings such as 'steady', 'robust', and 'secure'. Alongside this original meaning, adverbs (of manner) appear during the medieval age, such as the English modern meaning 'fast', 'quickly' and Swedish 'strongly'. Later uses include the use as an intensifier, modifying another adjective or adverb, in the meaning 'very' or 'much', which begins to increase in frequency during early Modern Swedish (16th century). I will argue that the latter use forms the starting point of a development towards a concessive marker because of the high frequency in 16th century and the attestations in adversative and concessive contexts (see further Section 3.2). Examples (1a–c) summarize the adjectival and adverbial uses in Old Swedish.[6]

(1) 'steady', 'robust'
    a. æftær þem *skælom* nu   ær þa   hallde kirkia þæt **fast**   oc
       after DET *reasons now is then keep   church it   FAST   and*

       fult   som hon fangit   haffwæ
       fully REL *she captured have*
       ' . . . for the reasons that have been mentioned here, the Church holds firmly
        and securely what she has conquered'

                                  (Y. Västmannalagen 14th century)

b. 'quickly'

och slogho låsen sönder som för portanar woro och the
and hit   locks apart REL *for ports   were and they*

ther vthan   fore woro stormadhe och **fast**   till, än thå at the   som
REL *outside of   were attacked   and FAST to* CONC   *they* REL

i   tornet   woro stodho ther   fast   emopt, så förmåtte   the   doch
in tower.the were stand   there FAST against so were.able.to they still

icke slå   them ther   i frå
not force them there from

'. . . and broke the locks to the gates, and those who were outside rushed quickly forward, even though the ones in the tower stood firmly against, they weren't able to force them away from there'

(Petri 1530)

c. 'strongly'

huwdh vp och nidhir ok   fiol nidhir a   gulwit   ok   slo huwdhit
head   up and down and fell down on floor.the and hit head

widhir wäggina swa **fast**   at   blodhorin gik   vt ok giordhe sik
toward wall.the so   FAST COMP *blood.the went out and got   REFL*

stort saran
big   wound.the

'With his head upside down, he fell to the floor and hit his head against the wall so hard that the blood flowed out and caused him great harm.'

(Järteckensbok 1385)

Different readings such as 'steady, 'strongly' and 'quickly' are of course closely related. Whether we interpret them as adjectives, 'steady', adverbs, 'strongly' or 'quickly', depends on the context. To imagine warriors rushing quickly forward, as in example (1b), implies a strong and violent manner of rushing or vice versa (compare the second instance in example (1b)). In Modern English the meaning of 'quickness' has taken over and in German the meaning 'almost' is the productive one. Söderwall (1884–1953) also notes this meaning in Old Swedish, but it seems to be very rare and it has not developed into Modern and Present-Day Swedish.

From its primary syntactic function, the adverb comes to be used as an intensifier, adverbial of degree, in the meaning 'very', 'much', as in *fast bättre* 'much better' and *fast mer* 'much more'. It is the use as an intensifier that constitutes the starting point of further development.

3.2 Stage 1. Untypical context: Fast *as an intensifier 'much', 'very'*

In the initial stage, *fast* is used as an intensifier, strengthening abstract notions represented by adjectives or adverbs such as proficiency, sharpness, and cruelty. In the use as an intensifier, *fast* no longer qualifies verb actions but modifies an adjective

or adverb as an adverbial of degree. We may correlate this new function with a more bleached meaning. Furthermore, as early as the late Old Swedish period, we begin to see *fast* in adversative or concessive contexts with the function of emphasizing or strengthening an incompatible relation between two propositions.

(2) a. Ty   wore   ***fast***   bätter och   önskandes,   att   Swenske
    for be.SUBJ FAST better and wish.PRS.PTCP COMP Swedes

    wille   sättia sijn macht till hoopa, och göre
    would set   POSS power to gether and do.SUBJ

    endrechteligen thenne Danske Tyranner motstond
    unanimously   DET   Danish Tyrans   resistance
    'It would be much better and desirable that the Swedes would gather their
    forces and unanimously stand up to the Danish tyrants.'

                                              (Swart 1560)

    b. Doch   finnes än nw the breff i huilken Marsken   försuarar sich,
      however exists still   the letter in REL   marshall.the defends   REFL

      at   han icke läät gripa Eric Puka i en felig   dagh, Men bishop
      COMP he not let capture Eric Puka at a peaceful day   but bishop

      Thomas och flere med honom sade ***fast*** annarledes
      Thomas and many with him   spoke FAST different
      'However, the letter still exists in which the Marshall defends himself, that he
      had not captured Erik Puka at a day in peace, but bishop Tomas and several
      others spoke in much/completely different words.'

                                         (Karlskrönikan, 1450)

    c. The wordo   förachtade, och the fremande wordo vpsatte til
      they became despised   and the foreigners became placed upon

      slott   och lään, än thå at ***fast*** annars   vthloffuat war
      castles and grants CONC   FAST different promised was
      'They became despised, and the foreigners were placed at castles and estates
      a although much different promises were made.'

                                              (Petri 1530)

Example (2b) shows an explicit adversative relation linked by the conjunction *men* 'but', hence two opposing propositions. *Fast* acts as an intensifier emphasizing the opposing clause and the adverbial phrase 'different'. In (2c) *fast* strengthens the concessive clause, initiated with the Old Swedish concessive subordinator *än thå at* 'even if'. Note that the complex subordinator *än thå at* sustains the concessive meaning, and *fast* still only strengthens the second proposition and the main action 'the promises made'. I am inclined to call all instances in (2) UNTYPICAL in the sense of Diewald (2006), because *fast* is used in a new context as an intensifier,

strengthening some state of affairs instead of modifying the main verb action as an adjunct.

3.3 Critical contexts: UCC constructions

In the critical context stage, the lemma *fast* is used in clause initial position with support of question markers and the adverb *än*. The abstract constructional pattern [~wh~ AP (NP) *än*] corresponds to the notion of UCC constructions, which here are to be interpreted as '*hur mycket* (NP) *än* (VP)' ('how much NP, than VP'), 'no matter how much'. The construction refers to the indefinite and unrestricted value of referents expressed in an antecedent, 'no matter if x, y, or z, still q'. The paraphrase, *hur mycket än* 'however much' is common in the extensive Swedish historical dictionary SAOB.[7] Constructs with *fast* in combinations with the adverb *än* or *så*, and subordinating elements[8] expressing manner (*hur*), condition (*om*), or place (*var*), are shown in (3a–d).

(3) a. **Hwar en fast szå** skedde, ath saken wore alsamens
    what ever FAST so happened COMP matter.the be.SUBJ all

    platt öffwer taledt, Man skulle icke tagedt
    completely over spoken one should not taken
    szå lettelige wijd siig
    so easily by oneself
    'Even if/however much the matter was completely agreed upon, they should not have taken it so easily.'

    (Riksreg. 1536)

 b. Wij (*skola*) synden vnfly, **så fast än** hon lustigh, lijffligh
    we shall sin.the escape so FAST ÄN she funny lively

    och sött kan synes wara aff Dieffuulenom bereed och
    and sweet *may seem be from devil.the.DAT prepared and*

    vthståffera
    presented
    'We shall avoid sin, no matter how funny, lively and sweet it seems to be: by the Devil prepared and presented.'

    (Gothus, 1590)

 c. Item om formodeligit våre, ath the smålenninger ther egenom
    likewise if probably is.SUBJ COMP the smålanders there by

    bettre eller fromere blifve motte efter väll merkendes är, **um**
    better or tame become would.SUBJ after well remarkable is if

    Kon:ge Ma:t på thenne tid **än fast** ville gifve
    king majesty at this time ÄN FAST would give

the Smålenninger något   effter
the smålander.the something after
'No matter how much/even if the King this time would give in to the
Smålanders demands, it is doubtful that the Smålander thereby would become
better and more tame.'

(Riksdagsakt, 1543)

d. **Om fast** the **än** någon (*hjälp*) fingo,   så skulle han
   if   FAST they ÄN any   help received so would it

än tå wara alt för ringa
still be   all too little
'No matter how much help they would have received, it would still be too little.'

(Rudbeck, 1615)

All four attestations in (3) include the paraphrase, *hur mycket än* 'however much'
or *även om* 'even if' in SAOB and are explicitly commented as concessive coloring
of *fast*. It is however impossible to interpret the meaning of single elements in those
examples, such as the specific meaning of the adverb *än*. In Old Swedish *än* may
refer to such disparate notions as a generalized point in time (*once, henceforth, ever*),
adversative, conditional and comparative relations, or as a general intensifier stressing
such relations (Söderwall 1884–1918. A plausible interpretation seems to be that the
function in (3) is to strengthen the incompatible relation between the antecedent S1
and the descendent S2, with the function of an adversative and generalizing adverb
('though'). This analysis is equivalent to the definition in modern Swedish grammars
for *än* in similar constructions (SAG 1999). Wessén (1965) describes the particle
ä (e) in similar constructions in Old Swedish, even though usually placed in initial
position as a non-stressed particle (etymologically 'always'), later functioning only
as a generalized comparative marker ('ever'); see further Section 4. In (3c–d), *fast*
and *än* is explicitly combined with the marker *um/om* 'if' expressing conditional
relations. The meaning of *fast* may still be interpreted to be that of an intensifier
'much'. However, I will argue that the semantics of the UCC constructions in (3) are
non-compositional. If a hearer who interpreted constructions like [$_{wh}$ *fast än*] with
concessive meaning, such an interpretation in the words of Traugott & Trousdale
(2013:52), would be 'an innovation at the level of the construct or token, specifically
a neoanalysis at the meaning level resulting in mismatch between pragmatics and
syntax'; in this case, between a concessive inference at the meaning level and an
interrogative adverbial of degree at the level of form.

In informal Finno-Swedish texts the explicit combination of *fast* and the
interrogative *hur(u)* is identified (5a–b), even though (5b) is from the 20th century.

(4) a. Om Jagh än hadhe hennes Särck begärt,/   Hadhe hon ey nekat;
       if   I   ÄN had   her   shift requested had   she not denied

fast   huru kärt
FAST how   dearly
'Even if I had requested her shift, she would not have denied it, no matter how dear she holds it.'

<div align="right">(1649, SAOB, fast.Adv3)</div>

b. Om jag är **fast huru** flitig,   så är han inte nöjd   se'n heller
   if   I   am FAST how ambitious so is he   not pleased then either
   'No matter how ambitious I am, he is still not pleased.'

<div align="right">(Bergroth 1916)</div>

In (4), an interrogative adverb *huru* 'how' occurs together with *fast*. It seems to be the combination of the intensifier *fast* and the interrogative adverb *how* that makes the concessive meaning foregrounded in those examples, with support of the conditional constructions in which they appear, including *om* and *än*. These examples may also be defined as UCC constructions semantically, even though the structure is different from the main pattern [_{wh} AP NP *än* VP]. Note especially that *fast* precedes the interrogative *huru* in those examples.

3.4 Stage 3. Isolating context: CC constructions

Heine (2002) points out that in order to become a part of the lexical meaning of a particular linguistic item, it is necessary to reach a stage of isolating context or switch context: 'This stage is characterized by an interaction of context and conceptualization, leading to the rise of new grammatical meanings' (Heine 2002:83). In this stage, *fast* is placed clause-initially in the antecedent (S1), usually followed by a subject and the particle *än*. The examples in (5a–b) are the earliest attestations of this construction and will be central for the following argumentation. I would like to define those examples as CC constructions similar to the examples in (3)–(4), even though they lack the support of other subordinating elements (*wh*-markers):

(5) a. Aff slike försmädelser och sarcasmjs bleff   thenne Götstaff Ericson
       of   such disgraces   and sarcasms became DET   *Götstaff Ericson*

   öffuermottons betagen aff ängxlan och grämmelse, så att   honom
   overmuch   taken   with anxiety and annoyance so that him

   hwarken maatt eller drick kunde wähl smake, **fast**   han **än** hade bliffuit
   neither food nor drink could well taste FAST he ÄN had become

   bätter spiisadt än ther skedde,   hans sömpn war honom icke
   better feed   ÄN there took.place his   sleep was him   NEG

häller rolig heller sööt
either calm   nor   sweet
'Due to such disgraces and sarcasms, this Götstaff Ericson became exceedingly anxious and irritable so that he could neither eat nor drink, even if he had been better fed, his sleep would be neither calm nor sweet.'

(Swart 1560)

b. Ingen kunde ther öffwer rijde/**Fast** han war **och aldrigh** så köön
no one could there over   ride *FAST he was and never   so skilful*
'No one could ride there over, no matter how skillful he would be.'

(Hund, 1605)

The placement of *fast* in initial clause position without support of *wh*-elements strongly favors a concessive reading, 'even if'.[9] The intensifier reading is backgrounded due to the quantificational phrases already expressed in the main clause, *better spisadt* 'better fed', in (5a), and *aldrig så köön* 'never so skillful', in (5b). The content of the antecedent no longer refers to indefinite referents, '*even if the food had been* x, y, *or* z', but rather to one specific barrier, '*even if the food had been* x, *still* q'. Altogether, the universal concessive construction is reinterpreted as a concessive conditional construction without marking for indefiniteness or quantificational meaning [Sub NP *än* VP], in which *fast* is reinterpreted to fit the new construction, filling the subordinator slot. In this case the mismatch can be said to have been 'resolved' through the principle of best-fit to existing constructions in the network. The result is a new pairing of form and meaning, a concessive relation at the meaning level is matched with the status as a subordinator at the syntactic level.

During the remapping, *fast* loses semantic properties as a consequence of resolving the mismatch between lexical meaning and constructional meaning. Furthermore, the function of the particle *än* is still somewhat mysterious, probably doing the 'adversative work' in those constructions as well, and combined with *fast* comes to carry the concessive meaning as a complex subordinator in the new construction [*fast* NP *än* VP].

A more general point in relation to the lack of *wh*-elements in (5) is that interrogative clauses seem to lack the *wh*-element rather frequently as early as in Old Swedish, as seen in (6a–b) and Modern Swedish (6c).[10] Example (6d) shows a UCC construction with *hur(u)* and *än* in Old Swedish, as noted by Söderwall.

(6) a. Tha   man them hawir, wet   man ey, [huru] länge man them behaldir
when one them have   know one NEG how   long one them keep
'When you have them, you never know, how long you will keep them.'

(in Wessén 1965:296)

b. oc   stadhgat war [huru] manga pänninga hon sculde
and decreed was how   many   money   she should

    honum giffua
    him   give
    'And it was decreed how much money she should give him.'

<div align="right">(St.Anna, 14th/15th c.)</div>

  c. Kungen högferdes ey aff [hur] stort rike   han styrer
     king.the swaggered NEG *of how big kingdom he   rules*
     'The King does not swagger over the size of his kingdom.'

<div align="right">(Månsson 1520)</div>

The attestations in example (6a–c) show constructions without *wh*-elements before different gradable adjectives, *länge* 'long', *manga* 'many' and *stor* 'big'. All of these instances constitute arguments for the possibility of leaving out interrogatives even in UCC constructions with gradable adjectives. To conclude, taking examples (3)–(6) altogether, I once again stress the necessity of analyzing the entire construction as the unit of analysis. The complex phrases *om än fast*, *fast hur*, *så fast än*, etc. are non-compositional constructions that leave us with a concessive inference in larger conditional constructions, thus resulting in a mismatch between features of form and features of meaning.

    In addition, I have found an almost identical isolating context in which *fast* lacks the support of *än*. The concessive reading becomes even more obvious in this example, identified in the very interesting Chronicles of Peder Swart in 1560, compare example (5a) above.[11]

(7) presterne wille   ingelunde   läsadt för them, och **fast**   the hade thet
    priests   wanted by.no.means read to   them and FAST *they had it*

    läsidt, hade almogen naplige stält ther någen tro   till
    read   had commons hardly put there any   faith to
    'The priests did not want to read it (the letter) for them, and even (if) they have read it, the common people had hardly put any faith in it.'

<div align="right">(Swart 1560)</div>

In example (7), *fast* initiates a hypothetical condition without the support of *wh*-elements and *än*. The antecedent, 'if the priests would have read it', refers to an insufficient and remarkable barrier in relation to the truth value of the main clause, 'common people would have listened and put faith in it' (descendent). It would have been expected that common people during this time would heed the words of the priests and believe in what they say. In this case, *fast* alone seems to be the carrier of the concessive meaning, 'even if', but it still needs the support of a similar context that gave rise to it, hence a conditional construction. Moreover, the main clause includes the adversative adverb *naplika* 'hardly', strengthening the inconsistency. The intensifier reading 'much' does not make much sense in a paraphrase equivalent to the UCC constructions in examples (3)–(4), given in (8).

(8) And no matter how much they would have read the letter, common people would still not have put any faith in it.

Following Heine (2002) and Diewald (2002, 2006), the context in (7) may be defined as an isolating context. However, the concessive inference of the lexical item *fast* is then not yet fully conventionalized. It would also be possible to consider example (7) as a proper conditional with *fast*, meaning 'if', but I have argued that an *insufficient barrier* is present and not only a causal relation between the two propositions.

3.5 Stage 4. Conventionalization of implicatures: Concessives proper

In the last stage it is certainly easier to talk about a conventionalization of concessive meaning 'even if', 'although'. The construction *fast(än)* does not need the support of other subordinating elements or conditional contexts. The examples in (9) show two instances with *fast* and *än*, as two words, in (9a), and fused, in (9b).

(9) a. Imedlertid och **fast än** Peppa icke war ännu mer än   14. åhr
        however   and FAST ÄN Peppa not was yet   more than 14 year

        gammal/ måste likwäl alla de   som henne sågo med
        old   must   still   all them REL she   saw   with

        förundran tala   om   hennes fägring
        amazement speak about her   beauty
        'However and even though Peppa was still not more than fourteen years old, all those who saw her had to speak of her beauty with amazement.'
                                                                                (Runius 1710)

      b. {Lät} nu   see, min söta Argus, at   ni persvaderar honom som jag
         let   now see my   sweet Argus COMP you convince   him   REL I

         hoppas ni   skall få se, at   jag kan tiena ehr igen, **fastän**
         hope   you shall get see COMP I   can serve you again FASTÄN

         jag är   ett Fruentimmer
         I   am a   woman
         'Let us now see, my sweet Argus, that you persuade him, as I hope you will see that I may serve you again, even though I am a woman.'
                                                                             (Dalin 1732–1734)

In Dalin's Argus, towards the end of the early Swedish Period (1732), we see a great many examples of *fast* and *än* both represented by two words and as one word. The earliest instance attested including *fastän* as a single item is found in the late 17th century in Samuel Columbus's tale of friends and colleagues Mål-Roo or Roo-mål.[12] Furthermore, examples, in (10b–c), show the earliest attested instances of *fast* as a proper concessive without the support of *än* and conditional contexts (see (7) above).

This means that *fast(än)* as a subordinator fits the pure concessive construction [_{Sub} NP VP] without a following descendent:

(10) a. När   han kom til floden där lät han sitt folk   wada
      when he came to river REL let he POSS people wade

      öfwer, **fastän**   däd stoog up öfwer axlarna   på däm, gåendes
      over FASTÄN it   stood up over shoulders on them go.PRS.PTCP

      sielf för-åt.
      self forward
      When he came to the river Tigris . . . , he let his people wade across, although
      it (the water) was higher than their shoulders, himself leading the way.'
                                                                    (Columbus 1675)

     b. hvarmedh han altijdh närade och merade   kärleeken; icke heller litet
        whereby he always nursed and increased love.the   NEG neither small

        då,   när han, **fast** hoon länge stretade   moot, bandt igen
        then, when he FAST she long struggled against tied   together

        hennes skorem
        her   shoelaces
        'whereby he always nursed and increased his love, even then not paltry, when
        he, even though she was unwilling for a long time, captured her heart.'
                                                                    (Hiärne 1665)

     c. män så klagade   di   altidh på migh, **fast** iag gorde inte ila
        but so complained they always at me   FAST I   did   NEG bad
        'but they always complained about me, although I did no harm.'
                                                                    (Horn 1657)

In Present-Day Swedish, *fast* sometimes corresponds to the adversative 'but' and *fastän* always to the factual concessive 'although'. The distribution and restrictions between the distributional Present-Day functions of *fast* and *fastän* must however be the subject for another paper. Given *fastän* as a single concessive item, we may talk about UNIVERBATION, a term commonly used for the fusion of two words into one, a process coinciding with the loss of semantic properties and/or phonetic reduction. This is also a natural cause for the reinterpretation to fit a new concessive construction. Furthermore, concessive clauses with *fastän* express a factual proposition and a given truth value corresponding to the meaning 'although' in Present-Day Swedish; that is, the causal condition between the clauses is fulfilled. The grammaticalization of *fast(än)* as a concessive subordinator continues in the 17th and 18th centuries, being increasingly frequent in the corpora used. Why then, does *fast* reach a stage of conventionalization only in Swedish, and not in other Germanic languages? Heine gives a general explanation:

> Most context-induced inferences remain what they are: they are confined to
> bridging contexts, they are what has variously been described as 'contextual

> meanings' or 'pragmatic meanings'. But some of them, i.e. those acquiring
> switch contexts, may develop some frequency of use, they no longer need to
> be supported by context, and they turn into 'normal' or 'inherent' or 'usual'
> or 'semantic' meanings.   (Heine 2002:85)

In the other Germanic languages, *fast* obviously does not reach a stage of concessive subordinator, probably due to the lack or infrequency of use in concessive contexts together with adversative adverbs, such as *än* or *so* in Swedish. Considering the end stage of development, I would also like to mention Lehmann's (1982/2002) well-known parameters of grammaticalization. They may be used synchronically as criteria to determine the degree of grammaticalization of a linguistic unit. The criteria concern the autonomy of a linguistic sign. Some of them are more pertinent than others in relation to this study. During the conventionalization stage, however, *fast* is bound to and eventually fuses with the particle/adverb *än* (bondedness). As an intensifier, *fast* already shows scope extension and even more so as a subordinator, taking scope over whole constructions. As to syntagmatic variability, it is more fixed in the subordinator position in the isolating and conventionalization stage; in the critical stage, *fast* may be rather freely shifted around in the UCC construction. The parameters correlate with different context stages.

4. DISCUSSION

Given the fact that *fast* necessarily combines with other subordinating elements in the critical context stage, resulting in irregular phrases with non-compositional meaning, the story of its evolution is well-suited for a constructional approach to grammaticalization. It is thus questionable to discuss the conventionalization of inferences in relation to single linguistic items. In modern Swedish it is apparently true that *fast(än)* expresses a conventionalized concessive (or adversative) meaning, but in stages during the development we have to consider larger patterns such as the UCC construction [$_{wh}$ AP (NP) *än* VP] to identify the concessive meaning. In the critical contexts it is ambiguous whether UCC constructions, including *fast* and *än*, have a universal quantificational or a concessive meaning. Without the support of *wh*-elements (*var*, *hur*) referring to an indefinite number of referents (barriers) or explicitly emphasizing the conditional meaning (*um/om*), constructs with *fast* and *än* are reinterpreted as purely concessive constructions [$_{Sub}$ NP *än* VP], and later univerbated into more fixed concessives [$_{Sub}$ NP VP]. During the remapping, the mismatch between a concessive (conditional) meaning and syntactic status as an (interrogative) adverbial of degree is resolved. The textual record is however too poor to establish a diachronic relation between critical and isolating contexts; that is, a diachronic path from UCC constructions to CC constructions, but the earliest attested UCC constructions in 1536 and 1543 precede the first attestations with *fast*
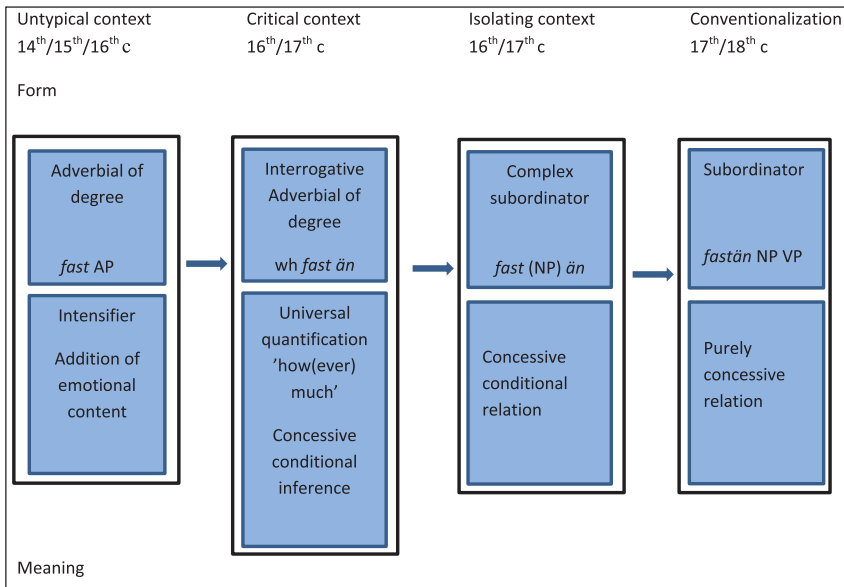
Untypical context 14th/15th/16th c	Critical context 16th/17th c	Isolating context 16th/17th c	Conventionalization 17th/18th c
Form			
Adverbial of degree *fast* AP	Interrogative Adverbial of degree wh *fast än*	Complex subordinator *fast* (NP) *än*	Subordinator *fastän* NP VP
Intensifier Addition of emotional content	Universal quantification 'how(ever) much' Concessive conditional inference	Concessive conditional relation	Purely concessive relation
Meaning			

Figure 1. (Colour online) The diachronic development of *fast(än)*.

in initial clause position (1560). Moreover, the marginal use of UCC constructions including *fast* and *än* after the 17th century certainly indicates such a relation.

Figure 1 subsumes and illustrates the development through unification of context stages and different constructions.

The development from the critical context stage to the isolating stage shows an increased degree of grammaticalization or rather constructionalization. We may actually interpret the development as grammatical change both of particular lexical items, *fast* + *än*, and of a rather abstract UCC construction [wh AP (NP) *än* VP] into a concessive construction [Sub NP VP]. In the critical context stage, we may consider the pattern a stylistic innovation for hearers and readers to reinterpret and choose the suitable meaning for themselves (Diewald 2006). The mismatch between semantics and syntax can be said to have been 'resolved' by negotiations between speaker and addressee resulting in a new pairing that provides a more transparent reading: concessive meaning is matched with subordination at the syntactic level. It is interesting to note that at least one other concessive subordinator seems to have an almost identical history as *fast(än)*. The rise of the concessive marker *ehuru*, 'even if', may in fact also be traced to UCC constructions in combination with the intensifier *hart*, 'much', and the non-stressed particle *ä(e)* emphasizing adverbs of degree or time (*ehuru, enär*). Wessén (1965) points out that the only function of the particle *ä(e)* in later stages is to generalize a certain proposition (compare English equivalents *whenever, however, whoever*). SAOB notes the particle *e* with

concessive meaning in combination with interrogatives, later enclitically attached, etymologically referring to the truth value of main clauses in conditionals and concessives (Wessén 1965:296ff., SAOB, e). Note that *än* is placed together with *thå* 'though', in the main clause performing the adversative work:

(11) (Paulus) försäkrar oss ath wij än thå ärom gudz barn, **ee hurw**
    Paulus assures us that we still are God's children ever how

    hart synden rasar j oss.
    much sin.the rages in us
    'Paulus assures us that we are still children of God, no matter how strong sin rages in us.'

(*NT* 1526)

Given similar interpretations of the constructs *ee huru hart* and (*wh*) *fast än*, 'however much', we may refer to the mechanisms of analogy and analogical thinking as described by Traugott & Trousdale (2013). Analogical thinking may also be the motivation behind the principle of best fit in storing *fast(än)* as a subordinating construction in the network. Related concessive constructions may have been the forerunner of this development. A more detailed study of other UCC constructions would be needed to say more on this matter.

As to the order of changes in form and meaning, it seems that changes at the level of meaning precede changes at the level of form. From a constructional point of view however, both semantic-pragmatic and morpho-syntactic features are by definition included in the construction as a whole, which means that there are no theory-based reasons for assuming a certain order or linking rules of different features, a problem that has not been satisfactorily explained in earlier approaches to grammaticalization. Another advantage of a constructional approach is that it does not assume simultaneity of changes in form and meaning. As to the question of motivating factors (Section 1.1), we may be left without an answer. It is extremely difficult to establish a link between the critical and isolating contexts and language-external factors. It is interesting to note, however, that most examples from the critical context stage are found in rather formal letters and chronicles, many of which trace back to King Gustaf Eriksson, better known as Gustav Vasa. His chronicle was written by Bishop Peder Swart, but likely dictated by the king himself, and the collection of Gustavian letters written during the 16th century are highly interesting as linguistic sources (Almquist 1861–1916, Eden, 1912). Gustav Vasa is often mentioned as a powerful and skilled rhetorician (Larsson 2002). Communicative purposes such as extravagance and expressivity are, of course, hard to link to concrete language changes, but the link is still interesting when interpreted loosely, to use the words of Haspelmath (1999). In the present context, the notion of genre or text type is more relevant. It may be that striving for explicit expressions in rather formal correspondence facilitated the fixation of *fast(än)* in the initial syntactic position.

More detailed studies of different types of texts are needed, as well as more corpora from the relevant period in the 16th (and 17th) century. In addition, further work on the development of related concessive constructions and their members is necessary. An important aspect of such work would be to study the UCC construction in detail and the frequency of its variants. Furthermore, the relation between (U)CC constructions and other concessive constructions, both in terms of frequency and constructional properties, is an important question for further work. The main conclusion in this paper is that the development of the subordinator *fast(än)* is best described as constructionalization; that is, as changes both in meaning and form features of a construction. The development of the lexical items (*fast + än*) is interrelated and probably determined by change at the constructional clause level. Through the use of context stages correlating with different constructions, the small-scale steps can be analyzed in terms of mismatch and resolved mismatch and further as conventionalization and entrenchment in the network storage of constructions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

1. Of course, not all formal approaches can be subsumed as Chomskyan approaches. For example, in Lexical-Functional-Grammar (LFG), structural (c-structure), functional (f-structure), and semantic dimensions (s-structure) are connected through different linking rules, Vincent (2001).
2. Spraakbanken.gu.se
3. The corpora can be further explored at spraakbanken.gu.se/korp and more detailed information about the Old and Modern Swedish corpora at http://project2.sol.lu.se/fornsvenska/.
4. Searches include both *fast* and *fastän*. The form *fastän* is however limited to later stages of development.
5. I will use the term in the sense of Croft (2001:19), as referring to 'any conventionalized feature of a construction's function'; that is, all aspects of a construction's function from grammatical information to discourse-related information.
6. Glosses focus exclusively on the word-level. Grammatical category labels will only be specified where relevant to the point in hand. The forms of the items under study in this paper, *fast* and *än*, will be glossed as FAST and ÄN, with further comments in text.
7. *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok* – Dictionary of the Swedish Academy.
8. For simplicity, the term *wh*-element is chosen as the default grammatical label here, even though other subordinating elements that cannot formally be defined as questions markers are included in UCC constructions.

9. The intensifier or quantificational USE of *fast* is not totally excluded, '?(however) much he had been better fed'.
10. Thanks to Lars-Olof Delsing, who brought this phenomenon to my attention.
11. This is also the first example of *fast* in SAOB defined as a concessive marker.
12. This example is not noted in SAOB.

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