The Mainland Scandinavian languages show much-discussed variation in the order between subjects and sentential adverbs (e.g. Andréasson). In Norwegian and Swedish, DP subjects often follow negation (1a), whereas light pronouns precede negation (1b). There is however some variation: a DP sometimes precedes negation (2a), and pronouns occasionally (but infrequently) follow it (2b).

(1a) Därför kom inte grannen. (Sw.)
therefore came not the.neighbor
(1b) Därför kom hon inte. (Sw.)
therefore came she not
(2a) Därför kom grannen inte. (Sw.)
therefore came the.neighbor not
(2b) Därför kom inte hon. therefore came not she

In modern Norwegian and older Danish and Swedish, there is similar variation in the vP-domain, w.r.t. objects and verbal particles. DP objects typically follow a particle (3a), whereas pronouns generally precede it (3b). Again, there is variation (4), particularly with respect to the placement of DPs.

(3a) han ... slog sunder dørrerne. (Sw., 15th c.)
he broke PRT the.doors
(3b) nu kiänner jag Er igen. (Sw. 17th c.)
now recognize I you PRT
(4a) oc slog swerdit sunder. (Sw., 15th c.)
and broke the.sword PRT
(4b) men hwem ... skulle hafwa kiänt igen dig. (Sw. 17th c.)
but who would have recognized PRT you

The word order variation between arguments and adverbs/particles is historically stable. In Old Swedish, 41 % and 98 % of subject pronouns precede negation (Brandtler & Håkansson). Our own study of early modern Swedish and older Danish shows the same patterns. In Swedish texts from the 16th century and onwards, the frequency of shifted subject pronouns remains constant, and high (90 % or more). Just as in modern Swedish, there is, however, variation (5).

(5a) Ammliral, Jag kiände Er inte. (Sw. 17th c.)
Admiral I knew you not
(5b) är icke det så min Fiken? (Sw. 17th c.)
is not it so my girl

The word order variation has thus persisted for centuries, although the frequency of postposed weak pronouns is consistently low – this has clearly always been the dispreferred order. During the same period, the Scandinavian languages have undergone a macroparametric shift to a consistently head-initial grammar. The order between phrases is not affected. To account for the stable variation, we propose that the order of phrases is a consequence not only of the functional sequence and general linearization principles, but that also prosodic and information structural factors play a role (cf. e.g. Erteschik-Shir & Josefsson). The fact that weak pronouns are much preferred in a shifted position is due primarily to a prosodic constraint: an in situ pronoun needs to be either promoted to a minimal prosodic word or incorporated into

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1 We have investigated the Archive for Danish Literature (www.adl.dk), the Swedish corpus of drama dialogue (Melander Marttala & Strömquist) and the Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al.).
a minimal prosodic word (as suggested by Riad). Since the prosodic requirement can be met in different ways or be violated, the system allows for some variation.

For most varieties of modern and older Scandinavian, the placement of verbal particles follows the same pattern in the vP-domain as sentential adverbs in the CP/TP-domain. This suggests that particles should be analyzed on a par with other adverbs in these varieties, as adjuncts. This would also straightforwardly explain why particles are possible also with ditransitives:

(6) Legen skrev meg ut en resept. (No. Tungseth 2008:98)
the.doctor wrote me out a prescription

(7) så ge mig hit en skål som håller et halfstop (Sw. 17th c.)
so give me here a bowl that holds a half.tankard

However, modern Swedish stands out with regard to particle placement. In older Swedish, we find the same variation as in e.g. modern Norwegian, and the parallel with subject shift: pronominal objects generally precede particles, whereas DP objects tend tend to be postposed (Larsson & Lundquist). Since the 18th century, however, all objects obligatorily follow particles in Swedish. It thus seems harder to posit a general linearization algorithm for CP and vP.

We will however propose that modern Swedish has the same principles for linearization of arguments and adjuncts as e.g. Norwegian, but that the particle has been reanalyzed as a lower head in the vP (cf. Ramchand & Svenonius). As a consequence, the word order in Swedish particle constructions becomes more restricted: modern Swedish is consistently head-initial, and particles will precede all types of objects. As a consequence of the reanalysis, examples like (6) and (7), which can be found until the middle of the 18th century, become ungrammatical.

With respect to the word order shifts in the history of Scandinavian, we appear to find two types of changes. The first type can be referred to as macro-parametric – it concerns the general principles for linearization of heads vs. phrases in the languages. The second type is micro-parametric; this is how we understand the syntactic reanalysis of the verbal particles in Swedish. The macroparametric shift to VO leads to a harmonic system (cf. Biberauer & Roberts). Also the observed patterns of variation is general, and, in a sense, harmonic: the same principles of linearization of phrases holds in both vP and CP. This, we believe, is crucial for the variation to be stable.