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Bilingual personal designations in medieval Finnish sources

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Abstract: Most of the territory of modern-day Finland was part of the Swedish kingdom during the medieval period. Around 1350 Swedish replaced Latin as official language while Finnish essentially remained a language for oral communication until the 16th century. Nevertheless, traces of Finnish, mostly proper names, can be found in various kinds of Old Swedish charters. Occasionally scribes even rendered Finnish toponyms in locative case forms, in particular when indicating designations of origin for named individuals. This surprising occurrence of Finnish case-endings has generally been considered a result of the deficient Finnish language proficiency of the Swedish scribes. In this paper, it is shown that, contrary to earlier views, the use of Finnish in Old Swedish charters follows a clear pattern, which suggests that scribes in Finnish-speaking areas of the Swedish realm were at the very least able to understand some Finnish, and used Finnish in a conscious manner when suitable.

Keywords: Language mixing, Old Swedish, Finnish, place names.

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Désignations des individus en langue mixte dans les chartes médiévales de la Finlande

Résumé : Durant le Moyen Âge nordique, la plupart de la Finlande d'aujourd'hui appartenait au royaume suédois. La langue suédoise a remplacé le latin comme langue administrative officielle vers l'an 1350. Le finnois demeurait toujours une langue largement non-écrite jusqu'au XVIe siècle. Il reste néanmoins des traces du finnois, écrites dans différentes chartes de cette époque, consistant pour la plupart de noms propres. Ces noms, et surtout les toponymes indiquant le lieu d'habitation des individus en question, ont parfois même été déclinés par les écrivains en cas locaux finnois. Auparavant, ces attestations inattendues des désinences des cas finnois ont été considérées comme des erreurs commis par les scribes suédois qui ignoraient leur signification grammaticale. Cet article montre, au contraire, que les apparitions du finnois dans les chartes écrites en vieux suédois suivent un modèle systématique, ce qui indique que les scribes qui travaillaient dans les régions finlandaises étaient bien capables au moins de décoder, dans une certaine mesure, le finnois, et l'utiliser sciemment lorsqu'ils le jugeaient convenable.

Mots-clés : Langue mixte, vieux suédois, finnois, noms de lieu.

Zweisprachige Personenbezeichnungen in mittelalterlichen finnischen Urkunden

Zusammenfassung: Der Hauptteil des heutigen Finnland gehörte im Mittelalter dem schwedischen Königreich an. Statt des Lateinischen wurde das Schwedische ab etwa 1350 als offizielle Amtssprache benutzt, während das Finnische bis zum 16. Jahrhundert im Wesentlichen eine Sprache der mündlichen Kommunikation blieb. Schriftliche Spuren finnischer Sprache, und zwar Eigennamen, kommen jedoch häufig in mittelalterlichen Urkunden verschiedener Art vor. Manchmal haben die Schreiber sogar finnische Ortsnamen, insbesondere in Wohnstättennamen, gemäß der finnischen Grammatik flektiert. Es wird gemeinhin angenommen, dass das unerwartete Auftreten finnischer Fallendungen auf die mangelhaften Sprachkenntnisse der schwedischen Schreiber zurückzuführen sei. Im folgenden Beitrag wird dagegen gezeigt, dass das Vorkommen finnischer Sprache in altschwedischen Urkunden eine Regelmäßigkeit darstellt, die darauf hindeutet, dass die in finnischen Gegenden tätigen Schreiber sehr wohl fähig waren, Finnisch mindestens bis zu einem gewissen Maße zu verstehen und, wo es vom Stil her geeignet war, absichtlich zu benutzen.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Sprachkontakt, Altschwedisch, Finnisch, Ortsnamen.

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Bilingual personal designations in medieval Finnish sources

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1. Introduction

This paper examines bilingual Swedish-Finnish personal designations in Old Swedish charters issued in areas corresponding to modern-day Finland during the medieval period. The aim is to study whether the use of Finnish elements in personal designations represents conscious scribal bilingual language use or simply Finnish oral language rendered in writing by non-Finnish-speaking Swedish scribes. The data consists of 153 Old Swedish charters issued in Finland between 1353 and 1519, roughly covering what is traditionally called the Late Old Swedish (Sw. *yngre fornsvenska*) period.

Only traces of the Finnish language in other-language texts are attested in medieval sources, and almost exclusively in the form of proper names. Strewn common nouns are cited in Swedish texts from the 15th and early 16th centuries as well as one complete sentence, written down by a German traveller to Turku around 1470 (Wulf 1982), in addition to a short phrase in an early 16th century edifying poem by the Swedish Renaissance humanist Peder Månsson (Lamberg 2002). Extant medieval sources containing Finnish language segments are mostly administrative texts, i.e. accounts, fragmentary court protocols and, most of all, charters. These charters mostly consist of deeds of purchase or donation of property, as well as other legal judgements issued at legal assemblies. Following the decree in king Magnus Eriksson's National Country Law c. 1350, all legal letters were to be written in Swedish, (as opposed to Latin). The diocese of Åbo (Turku), encompassing large parts of modern-day Finland and parts of modern-day Russia, was an integral part of the Swedish realm, and consequently the National Law was applied there as in the rest of the country, and Swedish was used as an administrative language even in areas where the majority of the population spoke Finnish. The elevation of Swedish to official administrative language sealed the diglossic relationship between Swedish and Finnish that was to last until the late 19th century (Saari 2012).

Previously, Finnish segments in medieval sources have mainly been considered to be written down by non-Finnish-speaking scribes (Kallio 2017: 8, 16). Martti Rapola, professor of Finnish at the University of Helsinki, held the view that the scribes who produced charters at legal assemblies were poorly skilled in writing Finnish, which can be seen in the Finnish word-forms that have "strayed into" Old Swedish texts (Rapola 1959). Occasionally, the scribes rendered Finnish place names in forms that carried locative case-suffixes. This has led some scholars to assume that the scribes merely recorded oral language and were unable to abstract the appropriate canonical forms of the place names (Naert 1995: 149). This assumption seems to follow from the general position taken in early research into bilingualism:

> The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence. (Weinreich & Martinet 1979: 73)

However, other views can be found. For instance, the medieval Finnish orthography in charters and accounts is lauded by the early scholar of medieval Finnish Heikki Ojansuu for often bearing greater fidelity to Finnish phonology than early modern Finnish literature (Ojansuu 1909: xi), and he deems that the priests writing the accounts of Kalliala (now Tyrvää) parish 1469–1524 were highly proficient in the Finnish dialect spoken in the parish (Ojansuu 1928). Others have suggested that retention of case-inflected forms (Kallio 2017: 19) or use of vernacular Finnish personal names, e.g. *Matti* instead of Old Swedish *Mattis* (Kepsu 1991: 43), might testify to the deliberate use of Finnish name forms by scribes proficient in the language. In general, however, Finnish scholars have regarded the medieval scribes responsible for producing traces of Finnish as primarily Swedish-speaking (Kallio 2017: 14–16).

While Finnish-language segments can be found in various contexts, the focus in this paper is on *personal designations*, also called *name phrases*. A name phrase is defined as "a noun phrase that designates an individual, typically with a personal name as its head" (Ryman 2009: 853). Elements within name phrases can be both proper nouns, e.g. personal names and bynames, and common words, such as occupational terms, patronymics or designations of origin. Such personal designations are ubiquitous in medieval Europe, serving as a means to distinguish individuals from each other in the absence of a universal system of family names. In sources from multilingual settings, name phrases or elements thereof are often expressed in a language other than that of the main text (Adams 2003: 375). This type of "code-switching in names" (Adams 2003: 375) is widespread in medieval European texts. It is attested between, among others, Latin and Old Swedish (Löfkvist 1976: 258), English, Anglo-Norman, and Latin (Fellows-Jensen 1975; Ingham 2011), and Latin/Hungarian (Tóth 2017), as well between Latin and Greek in Roman sources (Adams 2003: 368–382).

In this paper, I will focus on *designations of origin* taking the form of adverbial modifiers containing Finnish place names, e.g. Swedish prepositional phrases such as <heyke *j lappala*> 'Heikki *in *Lappala*' (DF no.

3426)[1] or Finnish case-inflected place names such as <caupe *poruolasta*> 'Kauppi *from Porvola*' (DF 994, 1390). The terms *designation of origin* and *locative attribute* will be used to refer to the semantic content of these name phrase elements and *adverbial modifier* for their grammatical structure. I will present some ways in which adverbial modifiers featuring Finnish place names can be structured using both Swedish and Finnish grammatical markers. I will then apply a variationist approach to study how these different variants are distributed according to textual factors. I will show that Finnish elements are not used in a haphazard fashion in the legal charters, which suggests most scribes were likely to have had at least some restricted proficiency of Finnish.

2. Theoretical and methodological preliminaries

Two main theoretical challenges will be discussed below: interpreting inter-vernacular language-mixing in medieval sources (2.1), and the issue of names and language mixing (2.2). In section 2.3, the methodological framework of the study is presented.

2.1. Inter-vernacular language mixing in medieval sources

Recent scholarship has established that language mixing was a normal feature of medieval texts (Schendl & Wright 2011; Braunmüller & Ferraresi 2003). In medieval Britain, written code-switching between English or Anglo-Norman and Latin has been extensively attested in medieval administrative writing such as fiscal registers (Ingham 2011; Fellows-Jensen 1975), business accounts (Wright 2011) and charters (Schendl 2004b).

However, most attested forms of medieval language mixing are between Latin and a vernacular language. Mixing between vernacular varieties is far less common in medieval sources (Ingham 2017). Schendl (2004a) surveys several medieval and early modern texts featuring code-switching from different parts of Europe and different language pairs. Out of 17 text excerpts only one (French-English) does not feature Latin at all, and one additional example features instances of code-switching directly between two vernacular

[1] References are given to the web database Diplomatarium Fennicum (DF): df.narc.fi or to Diplomatarium Suecanum (DS). The transcriptions are, unless otherwise stated, made by the author from digital photographs available in The Main Catalogue of Diplomatarium Suecanum (SDHK): https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sdhk. Names have been capitalized and punctuation has been added following the current editorial guidelines of Diplomatarium Suecanum (henceforth DS). Identified place names are standardized in accordance with their modern form in the Index of Place Names (Ortnamnsregistret) at the Swedish Institute for Language and Folkore: https://www.isof.se/arkiv-och-insamling/digitala-arkivtjanster/ortnamnsregistret. Names that have not been conclusively identified with real-world referents are marked with an asterisk. Quotation marks are used when a standardized form is not evident.

languages (German and Castilian) without Latin acting as an intermediary. In an excerpt from the town records of Fribourg (cf. Lüdi 1989) switching occurs between Latin and French, as well as Latin and German, but never directly between French and German.

Besides being quantitatively more prominent, code-switching between Latin and vernacular language varieties is also more *salient*; since Latin was highly standardized, non-Latin segments are easy to identify, whether they be daughter languages, such as Anglo-Norman, or other vernacular varieties, such as English or Swedish. Trotter (2011) raises some importance concerns about code-switching between two vernacular varieties, Middle English and Anglo-Norman. First, he argues that due to extensive borrowing, Anglo-Norman and Middle English had a significant amount of lexical overlap, which makes assigning language membership to particular lexical items difficult. Second, he points out that the use of words from another language does not in itself require bilingualism, but may simply be a case of shared vocabulary. Therefore, we cannot be certain that any given individual scribe embedding English words into French text was actually bilingual. Nor is it self-evident that scribes using both English and French words within the same text were actually aware of using different languages or switching between languages. Third, such concerns do not apply to Latin-vernacular code-switching, since a) Latin was necessarily a learned second language, and b) had retained a linguistic integrity that Anglo-Norman and Middle English lacked. In other words, studying texts featuring mixing between vernaculars to determine the degree of language proficiency of the scribes is a difficult endeavour. This is especially true where the embedded other-language segments are proper names.

2.2. Names and language mixing

Within code-switching studies, names are routinely discarded from the data since "they are established labels which do not require multilingual competence and their classification as switches would greatly reduce the explanatory power of the concept of code-switching" as Schendl (2011: 66–67) notes. Adopting names from another language is in itself no indication of linguistic proficiency in that language, since names can be borrowed without being understood, and the exchange of names between languages only requires casual contact (Sandnes 2016: 541). The choice not to include proper names as code-switching data is understandable both on conceptual and methodological grounds, and is not without empirical justification either, since expressions with unique reference are generally more likely to be borrowed than nouns with common reference (see Petrulevich 2016: 38–40, 2017: 72). Accordingly, within the emergent field of *contact onomastics* the main focus is on the transfer of names from one language into another, i.e. name borrowing and adaptation (Sandnes 2016).

Petrulevich (2017) provides a comprehensive discussion on the theoretical issues surrounding names and multilingualism, and a critical overview of the field of contact onomastics. Both etymological studies and modern-day synchronic studies of names in language contact settings have mainly been conducted within the framework of name borrowing and adaptation. However, bilingual name usage can also appear similar to code-switching. In bilingual speech communities, parallel designations for places and persons may exist, and speakers thus have a choice between name forms with different language indices (Poplack 1988: 61–62). This is particularly evident when bilingual speakers use names from language A in stretches of discourse in language B in unadapted form (see Petrulevich 2017: 71–74, and references therein). The use of a name from language A in language B discourse does not necessarily mean that *borrowing* has taken place, in the sense that a transfer of onomastic matter has occurred from the onomasticon of language A to that of language B. Such bilingual name usage could, in theory, also be indicative of a *language switch* for the duration of the onomastic item in question. To consider such name usage as code-switching requires at the very least that the speakers have knowledge of parallel name-forms from two languages, and choose deliberately to use a name from a language other than the frame-language of the interaction. But even when this is established, the line between code-switching and borrowing remains blurry, due to the lack of consensus on how (or whether) these two concepts are to be demarcated. Moreover, even the *borrowing process* (Petrulevich 2017: 70) may involve (some degree of) bilingual proficiency and simultaneous activation of two languages by the speaker, just as code-switching does (ibid.: 77). The question of whether parallel-language name usage and name adaptation can attest to multilingual proficiency is therefore not dependent on whether names can be code-switched or not.

In her state-of-the-art review of research into names and language contact, Sandnes (2016) comments on name choice in multilingual settings. According to her, in areas where different linguistic groups co-exist, the choice of what name-form to use depends on the overall linguistic constellation of the interactional setting:

> Few bilingual situations are completely symmetrical. For instance, all speakers of Sámi also speak a majority language that is used in communication outside the group. This affects the choice between variant name-forms. Sámi speakers are likely to use the Norwegian form Tana instead of the Sámi original form Deatnu when talking to Norwegians, for instance. (Sandnes 2016: 543)

The underlying presupposition is that the language of the interaction determines what name-forms are used. However, the choice of name-forms in bilingual settings where parallel name-forms exist is more intricate. In interactional settings where the interlocutors themselves are bilinguals, they have the choice between using names from different languages. As Vidberg (2016) has demonstrated in her study on name usage in Helsinki, the largest linguistic minority group of the city, Swedish-speaking Finns, often use Finnish name-forms even when speaking Swedish. Such variation also occurs in medieval Finnish charters written in Swedish. Compare the following variants of the village name *Vaistenkylä* (DF no. 3358, 1468):

(1) <tha kom ffore rætte Matis j Tækele oc kærdhe til Heẏne j *Waẏuastekẏle*>
'then Mattis in "Tækele" appeared before the court and accused Heine in Vaistenkylä'

(2) <siden giorde the eth skipte m*edh* for*nemp*de Heẏne swa at ha*n* ffik then jord j *Waẏuasstebẏ*>
'Then they made an exchange with the aforementioned Heine, so that he received the property in Vaistenkylä'

In (1) the village name *Vaistenkylä* is rendered with the Finnish generic element -*kylä* and in (2) with the Swedish equivalent -*by*, both meaning 'village'. Variation between different-language name-forms for the same referent also occurs in personal names:

(3) <Olaff Nikkarinpoy*ca*> (DF no. 2772)
(4) <Ol*aff* Nikkars magh> (DF no. 2771)

In (3) the byname *Nikkarinpoika* is given in Finnish. The segment **Nikkari*- is most likely the name of a farm or estate (Oja 1972: 154), and the last element -*poika* means 'boy' or 'son'. The byname thus has the appearance of a patronymic, but the first element refers to a place, not a person (on such Finnish bynames, see Blomqvist 2017: 146–151). This is reflected in the corresponding Swedish form in (4). The Finnish genitive ending -*n* is substituted for the Swedish s-genitive, and -*poika* is not rendered with the usual Swedish patronymic ending -*son* but with the less specific kinship term -*magher* 'male relative'. The two attestations of the byname are from two different charters written by the same scribe at the lawman assembly (Old Swedish (henceforth OSw.) *laghmansþing*) in the parish of Mäskälä on October 21, 1448. Such semantic name adaptations, e.g. translated generic elements, require familiarity with the source language (Petrulevich 2017: 77), and this attested variation between Finnish and Swedish forms reveals that the choice of name-form does not necessarily follow from the overall frame-language of the text.

Furthermore, examples such as (1)–(4) serve as a reminder that names are not always "established labels" in the sense that they are uniform and invariant. Names can manifest the same type of stylistic and linguistic variation as common words (Fridell 2006), and therefore the analysis of name variation in historical sources can give valuable clues to multilingualism in the past.

2.3. Analysis framework

In assessing the linguistic proficiency of the scribes producing mixed-language texts, one has to consider different diagnostic devices. One such device is *orthography*: does the spelling of a segment correspond to the supposed pronunciation of the item; are there regular correspondences between spelling and pronunciation that indicate high proficiency in the language? Another diagnostic is *grammatical marking*. How are embedded-language segments adapted into the morphosyntax of the frame language? Are they adapted at all or do they preserve grammatical marking from the embedded language? Alongside the segments themselves, the surrounding context is also important. Are there any indications in the surrounding context that the segments in the embedded language have been properly understood by the scribe, such as anaphoric references or metalinguistic comments? Lastly, distributional factors need to be considered. Do other-language items appear haphazardly or at clearly identifiable textual sites? These diagnostic devices will be discussed, and their suitability for the present purpose will be assessed. It is argued that orthography is an unsuitable diagnostic to apply to Finnish segments in medieval sources. Instead, grammatical marking, and contextual and distributional factors can give better indications of scribal proficiency.

As regards orthography, the problem is that we lack a solid base-line for establishing firm links between graphemes and phonemes. In other words, to be able to measure the extent of "bad spelling" one must first have a clear understanding of what "good spelling" is. The fragmentary attestations of medieval Finnish are always filtered through Old Swedish orthographic customs. Old Swedish orthography was in itself highly varying and lacked consistent standardization (Blomqvist 2017: 89–91). Therefore, the orthography of medieval attestations of Finnish is not an optimal diagnostic device for scribal language proficiency (cf. Oja 1972: 135–136; Kallio 2017: 16).

As opposed to identifying deficient spelling, morphological forms are often more clear-cut. Even though spellings may vary, different inflectional and derivational forms can usually be unambiguously identified. Consider the following excerpt from a judgement letter from the province of Tavastland containing a number place names of Finnish origin:

(5) <thesse sato j ne*m*pde*na* / Olaff aff Merwes, Jwnis aff Sodhiala, Jwnis aff Hollom, Olaff Rachoylasta, Benct Twrca hawolta, Pedher Hartalame*n*, Pedher aff Bærkælu*m*, Anu*n*dher aff Hydhes[2], Jwnis Benctso*n,* Benct Lolaiasta, Niclis Lolaiasta>

[2] This place name is read <Hødhes> by Blomqvist (2017: 309). After inspecting the original letter in situ at the Swedish National Archives (accessed 2019-12-16), I have concluded that the correct reading is <Hydhes>.

> ‘These [men] sat in the panel / Olof of Mervi, Junis of Sotiala, Junis of Hollo, Olof from Rahkoila, Bengt from Turkhauta, Peter of *Hartalampi, Peter of *Parikkala, Anund of Hiitis, Junis Bengtson, Bengt from Luolaja, Niclis from Luolaja’ (DF no. 929, 1385)

In the list of panel members, the scribe varies between the Swedish preposition *af* ‘of, from’ and Finnish locative case-endings for locative marking. The Finnish elative case-ending -*stA* (the capital -*A* denoting both *a* and *ä*, which vary according to Finnish rules for vowel harmony) is used for the locative meaning ‘out from inside, from (origin)’ (Karlsson & Chesterman 1999: 110): <Rachoylasta>, <Lolaiasta>. In addition, the ablative case-ending -*ltA*, carrying the locative meaning ‘off or from a surface’ is used in the segment <Twrca hawolta>. The Finnish genitive singular ending -*n* is also used to denote origin: <Hartalame*n*>. Where the Swedish preposition *af* is used, the scribe sometimes inflects the toponyms in the Swedish dative plural, i.e. <Hollom>, <Bærkælu*m*>, and sometimes does not, as in <Merwes>, <Sodhiala>, <Hydhes>. The latter names are either adapted into Swedish by addition of the toponymic derivational ending -*s* (*Merwes*, *Hydhes*) or given in the canonical Finnish nominative singular form (*Sodhiala*). The reasons why the scribe uses Swedish or Finnish morphology in particular instances are not always evident. Still, it should be noted that the variation between Swedish and Finnish morphosyntax in the locative attribute sequence is not an anomaly, but a recurring feature of legal letters issued in medieval Finland. In most documents where Finnish case-inflection is found, it varies with functionally equivalent Swedish prepositional marking. A similar variation in locative attributes to personal names is abundant between Swedish and Latin in Old Swedish charters, where scribes in a seemingly random fashion vary between the functionally equivalent Swedish *i* and Latin *in* or *de*. In this case, the apparent haphazardness in the choice between different-language grammatical markers is hardly a sign of lacking linguistic proficiency – it is reasonable to assume, that the medieval Swedish scribes were proficient in both Latin and their own vernacular.

(6) <Ok thæsso æru fasta først I*n*geualde*r* i Wrætom, Laur*ens* ij Kæffslut, Hetfari ij B*er*ghom Gregori*us* **i*n*** Bru*n*nu*m*, Iønis ij Fyleke, Haq*u*on ij Hetsta, Staffan ij Hyom, Karl ij Lunde, Botholw*e*r ij Hølmbro, Benedict*us* **i*n*** Musistum, Niclis **i*n*** Ølistum, Olaff **in** Thygbøle>
‘And these are our witnesses, first Ingevald in Vreta, Lars in Käfflöt, Hedfar in Berga, Gregorius in Brunna, Jöns in Filke, Håkan in Hesta, Staffan in Höja, Karl in Lund, Botolf in Holmbro, Benedictus in Måsta, Nils in Ölsta, and Olof in Tibble.’ (DS no. 9955, 1379)

As can be seen, the intratextual occurrence of grammatical markers from different languages is not unusual in communicative settings where bilingualism prevails. The starting point for analysis must therefore be to establish 1) which combination of linguistic variants occur, 2) their relative frequency in the data, and 3) what language-external factors govern the distribution of functionally equivalent variants. This variationist approach can uncover larger patterns in the data and show whether the languages are used in a deliberate manner, or whether they are combined in a random fashion. While such an approach says little about any particular scribe, it can suggest prevailing norms for multilingual writing in the society at large. Such norms and practices, if attested empirically, testify to an awareness of the scribes of using Finnish and Swedish for different purposes, and to their ability to at least understand recurring Finnish elements and identify them with their functionally equivalent Swedish counterparts.

3. Language mixing patterns: Variation, frequency and distribution

In the following, I will apply the variationist approach presented above to adverbial modifiers in personal designations containing Finnish place names. I will also attempt to relate the grammatical patterns to earlier studies in historical and contemporary code-switching.

Studies in the syntactic structure of code-switching have proposed several language-specific or universal code-switching rules. While none have withstood complete scrutiny, there is evidence of probabilistic constraints in specific language pairs and within specific textual genres. The constraint-based paradigm of code-switching research has previously been applied to older written data by Schendl (2000), Miller (2001), Halmari & Regetz (2011), and Ingham (2011), to name a few. Such studies tend to compare the relative frequency of switched constituent types, viz. NPs, VPs or PPs, as well as entire sentences and single word switches, and relate their findings to proposed syntactic restraints on code-switching in modern languages. Such an approach is regrettably beyond the scope afforded by the medieval Finnish data. All Finnish segments are either NPs, single (proper) nouns or sublexical segments where names of Finnish origin carry Swedish derivational and/or inflectional morphemes. The possibilities for comparison with modern code-switching data are thus limited. However, even with the sparse data at hand, some observations can be made.

3.1. Morphosyntactic marking

While Late Old Swedish did to a certain degree retain a system of case-marking, in locative marking especially, it occurs in the form of agreement marking to prepositions that carry the locative meaning. The Finnish system of locative marking is typologically different: locative case-markers are not triggered by an overt preposition. Logically, this typological difference yields four different variant forms of grammatical markers: 1) Swedish prepositions 2) Finnish case-suffixes, 3) Swedish prepositions + Finnish case-suffixes, 4) absence of grammatical markers. Variants 1–2 follow the grammatical rules of Swedish and Finnish, respectively. Variant 3 constitutes a kind of redundant double-marking, and variant 4 is elliptic, i.e. lacking an overt marker for expressing the relationship between the head word (the given name) and the place name as a designation of origin. Assuming that the scribes were proficient in both languages, we would expect them to avoid superfluous double-marking. We would also expect grammatical marking of some kind, since both Old Swedish and Finnish grammar required overt locative marking. This tendency of "no omissions, no repetitions" (Poplack & Wheeler & Westwood 1989) – avoidance of redundant and elliptic forms – is commonly attested in a number of modern-day code-switching studies (Chan 2009), notably between English and Finnish (Poplack & Wheeler & Westwood 1989; Halmari 1997), and Swedish and Finnish (Kolu 2016).

This prediction was tested against personal designations containing an adverbial modifier with a place name of Finnish origin.

Table 1: Designations of place

Type of marking	**N**	**%**
Swedish PP	279	37.8%
Finnish case-suffix	84	11.4%
Swedish P + Finnish case-suffix	2	0.3%
Zero-marked toponym	374	50.6%
Total	739	100.0%

As the results show, the prediction is only partially borne out. Double-marking is very infrequent, which suggests bilingual proficiency (cf. Kallio 2017: 14, footnote 10) – had the scribes been unable to parse Finnish case-inflected place names, one would expect to see more Swedish prepositions preceding them. Moreover, prepositional marking constitutes roughly 38% of all locative attributes, whereas Finnish case-marking is attested in around 12% of them. The preponderance of Swedish marking is expected, given the status of Swedish as the official language for legal writing. Surprisingly, zero-marked locative attributes account for around 50% of all occurrences, contrary to the prediction. In contrast, zero-marked place names as name phrase elements are very unusual in Swedish-speaking areas of medieval Sweden (Blomqvist 2017: 205–210, and references therein). From a prescriptive point of view, Finnish case-inflected and zero-marked place names as name phrase elements can therefore be considered deviations from the norm of medieval Swedish legal writing.

So far, it has been demonstrated that Finnish place names are embedded into name phrases in different ways. But this says little about how they are to be interpreted. If the Finnish zero-marked and case-inflected place names were not recognized as designations of origin by the scribes, they may very well have considered them to be proper bynames, which were simply adjoined to the given names of Finnish name bearers. In monolingual Swedish medieval sources, the omission of a preposition between a person's given name and a place name is generally regarded as a sign of the changed status of the place name from an attribute to a personal byname (Brylla 2016: 240). It is therefore possible that the scribes either conceived of zero-marked and case-inflected place names as Finnish bynames, or that the occurrence of bare place names in personal designations reflects a *de facto* Finnish naming custom, i.e. of naming a person after their origin (cf. Nissilä 1967: 248–249). There is also some evidence linking the occurrence of "bare forms" – forms that lack inflection or other grammatical marking – in language contact situations to language attrition (Wright 2002: 485–486). But other indications in the present data would seem to discount both these interpretations, i.e. place-names-as-bynames and lack of grammatical marking due to deficient linguistic proficiency. According to Brylla (2016: 240), a fundamental criterion for demarcating proper bynames from descriptive attributes is that they are used regularly and in an unchanged form. This criterion is not always met in the data[3]. In addition, bare toponyms and prepositional phrases sometimes unambiguously relay actual information about the persons; they are not used with onymic reference to an individual person. Instead, they qualify the name bearer by specifying their origin or place of residence. This is evident from the fact that both case-inflected and zero-marked place names could be referenced anaphorically, as locative attributes:

(7) *Zero-marking*: <Jurffua Thuringis, Biørn **ibidem** […] Niclis Kodhiala ok Olaff Benktson **ibidem**> (DF no. 2364, 1440)
'Jurva Turenki, Björn **at the same place** […] Nils Kotiala and Olof Bengtsson **at the same place'**

(8) *Case-inflection:* <Biorn **Lagdhingosta**, Kaha*r*i i sama by> (DF no. 1551, 1418)
'Björn **from Lahdinko**, "Kahari" in the same village'

For the same name bearer, zero-marked and Finnish case-inflected place names could also vary with prepositional marking:

(9) <Anders **ij Videkolæ**> (DF no 853, 1377) – <Andres **Widukala**> (DF no. 890, 1380)
'Anders **in Viukkalo**' – 'Anders V**iukkalo**'

(10) <Theus **i Kaskale**> (DF no 3492, 1472) – <Theyus **Kaskalasta**> (DF no. 3025, 1457)
'Tejus **in Kaskala**' – 'Tejus **from Kaskala**'

[3] In most cases, however, name bearers are only attested once in the data, which makes it impossible to assess whether their name forms in fact were regular and unchanged.

In (9)–(10), the designations of origin for *Anders* and *Tejus* are structured differently by different scribes. Even more compelling are instances of intra-scribal variation:

(11) <Andris **aff Halowolt*is*** […] Andris **Halouoltis**> (DF no. 2450, 1442)
‘Anders from “Halowoltis” […] Anders “Halouoltis”’

(12) <Henric **Hwyala** lænsman j Masko sokn […] Henric **j Hwyala**> (DF no. 4455, 1487)
‘Henrik **Hujala**, administrator in Masku parish […] Henrik **in Hujala**’

(13) <Laurens **Koskenpælta** […] Laurens **Koskenpæ**> (DF no. 3290, 1466)
‘Laurens **from Koskenpää […]** Laurens **Koskenpää’**

In (11)–(13) the designations of origin are indicated both with and without overt prepositions or case-suffixes by the same scribe. Moreover, in (11) and (12) the context reveals that the persons owned property in the villages whose names are appended to their given names. In (11) *Anders* trades away his land property in “Halowoltis” in the parish of Huittinen, and in (12) the royal administrator Henrik is stripped of his property in *Hujala*, which he had acquired illegally. Furthermore, *Laurens Koskenpää* in (13) is presumably identical with the name bearer *Laurens Eskilli* who in 1469 is recorded as an inhabitant of *Koskenpää*[4], located in Tyrvää parish where the charter was issued.

The intra-scribal variation between prepositional and case-marking on the one hand, and zero-marking on the other for the same referent strongly suggests that the zero-marked place name is an *elliptic adverbial modifier* and not a proper byname. It also shows that the scribes were capable of producing the “correct” grammatical marking, but sometimes refrained from doing so, which disfavours the general interpretation that zero-marked and case-inflected place names were a result of low proficiency in Finnish.

We are thus able to reconstruct one scribal pattern for integrating Finnish toponyms into Swedish discourse: the grammatical markers are given in either Swedish or Finnish, but double-marking is avoided. In addition, zero-marking is widespread in Finnish charters, but very marginal in charters from monolingual Swedish areas of the realm. Besides having the economic advantage of saving some ink, parchment space, and effort, it could be argued that the zero-marked variant is linguistically neutral with regards to Finnish or Swedish. It is possible that the frequent occurrence of this elliptic construction in the Finnish charters is partly due to this very fact. As Wright (2011: 215) has observed in medieval mixed-language business writing in Britain, scribes working in multilingual contexts would create “new constructions, not present in the input languages” in order to deliberately maintain linguistic ambiguity (Wright 2011: 204). The zero-marked place names as designations of origin

[4] Helsinki, National Archives, Kallialan kirkontilit. Tyrvää church accounts, 1469–1524, fol. 1r: <De Koske*n*pæ […] Lau*rens* Eskillj>.

could be regarded as a form of structural *negotiation* (Thomason 2001: 142–146) between Swedish prepositional marking and Finnish case-inflection. In the following section, the distribution of variants for locative marking are discussed in light of textual factors.

3.2. Textual distribution

The occurrence of four variants of marking locative relations—Swedish prepositions, Finnish case-endings, zero-marking, and double-marking—has been presented above. Of these variants, double-marking is marginal, but the other three occur regularly, with a strong preference for zero-marking. In this section, I seek to demonstrate that the choice between these three variants is stylistically conditioned. This indicates that the scribes valued the Finnish and Swedish linguistic variants differently in terms of suitability.

In the Swedish charters, largely formulaic and with stereotypical content, different categories of persons appear in a more or less predictable fashion. Each letter has one or several *issuers*, as well as *legal partie*s to the transaction or other legal function that the letter performs. A letter also required *sealers* to render it legally valid. Often, letters also featured *witnesses* and *panel members* that guaranteed that legal proceedings unfolded in due fashion. In terms of societal standing, the issuers were often judges or chieftains, while the sealers often (but not always) were of the nobility, petty-nobility or clergy, but in some cases also land-owning peasants or burghers in the cities (on preserved seals from medieval Finland, see Hausen 1900). Transaction witnesses and council members (OSw. *faster*, *næmpdarmaþer*) were required by law to be inhabitants of the *hæraþ*, a judicial district comprising several parishes. These trusted men mainly included prominent members of the land-owning (OSw. *bofaster*) peasantry within the district, or burghers in the cities. It is however not possible to make a categorization strictly based on social standing. Issuers of letters could also be land-owning peasants, and witnesses and jurors sometimes included members of the nobility as well. Due to this, I have instead categorized named persons based on their *textual role* in the charter. For the purpose of the analysis, I have graded the textual roles into three echelons based on *textual prominence*, Group 1 being the highest and Group 3 the lowest. It must be stressed, that this gradation merely indicates the prominence of a given person within a given text (the individual charter) and is not intended to be an index of their overall social standing. The groups are as follows:

- Group 1: issuers and sealers
- Group 2: plaintiffs and defendants, buyers and sellers.
- Group 3: witnesses, jurors, land boundary inspectors.

For these three groups, I have studied the way in which their designations of origin are expressed using the following variants: Swedish prepositional marking, Finnish case marking and zero marking (double-marking is omitted here because of the minimal amount of occurrences). It is shown that there is a clear correlation between the textual role of the name bearers and how their designations of origin are expressed. The results[5] are presented in Table 2. It shows the number of occurences (N) and the percentage of row totals (%) for each cell.

Table 2: Textual roles

Type of marking	Textual prominence						Sum	
	1		2		3			
	N	%→	N	%→	N	%→	N	%
Finnish case-marking	0	0	3	3,6	81	96,4	84	100
Zero-marking	4	1,1	13	3,5	351	95,4	368	100
Swedish P	53	19,6	61	22,5	157	57,9	271	100

Finnish case-marking is almost exclusively used for persons of lower textual prominence (96.4 % of occurrences), with three exceptions, all from one single letter, DF no. 2743, issued in 1448. In addition, Swedish prepositional marking occurs frequently for all groups, but in Group 1 it is used almost exclusively (in 53 out of 57 occurences). In Group 2, it is used in roughly 4 out of 5 occurrences, and roughly twice as often as case-marking (81 vs. 157 occurences) in Group 3. Prepositional marking can therefore be considered the unmarked choice for all groups, which is expected, it being the Swedish-language standard variant. Zero-marking shows an interesting distribution with 351 out of 368 occurrences (95.4 %) in Group 3. This suggests that zero-marking was stylistically valued in the same way as Finnish case-marking, though not as clearly since it does to some extent occur in the designations of textually more prominent name bearers.

These findings seem to reflect a stylistic sensibility: the scribes eschew Finnish grammatical morphemes when designating textually prominent individuals. This indicates that Finnish case morphology is not used haphazardly in the charters. Moreover, zero-marking, though frequent, is similarly avoided for the most prominent individuals.

4. Conclusions

The attestation of Finnish segments in personal designations has been elucidated through the study of variant forms of locative adverbial modifiers. The main focus has been on constructions that deviate from the monolingual Swedish norm of legal writing: zero-marked and Finnish case-inflected place names.

There are three principal indications that these non-standard variants

[5] 14 occurrences have been omitted as compared to Table 1, due to the fact that these are persons who are mentioned in other capacities than the textual roles presented above.

did not come about due to low scribal proficiency in Finnish. First, Finnish case-inflected place names are almost never preceded by Swedish prepositions. This suggests that the Finnish locative case-endings were semantically transparent to the scribes and did not need to be supplemented with Swedish prepositions. Second, both zero-marked and case-marked Finnish place names are referred to with Latin or Swedish anaphoric expressions, which indicates that their status as locative attributes was understood by the scribes. Third, scribes avoid using Finnish case-endings and zero-marking for place names when designating persons of high textual prominence. It appears that the scribes were at liberty to use Finnish grammatical forms in certain contexts but were sensitive to when Swedish equivalent forms were more appropriate. The use of Finnish is therefore not haphazard but seems to follow a set of norms that reflect the diglossic relationship between Swedish and Finnish during Swedish rule.

These findings do not, however, allow the conclusion that all scribes represented in the data were perfect bilinguals. The sparse sources from medieval Finland can only afford us a much more modest conclusion: it is likely that most scribes at the very least understood recurring Finnish linguistic elements (i.e. case-suffixes) and identified them with their functionally equivalent Swedish counterparts. Generally speaking, proficiency is not an either-or-question but a matter of degree. As Davies (2012: 57–58) points out, medieval multilingualism, especially among occupational groups such as merchants, craftsmen, or professional scribes, hardly entailed having a complete command of all of one's languages. Rather, such partial proficiency can be characterized as "functionally restricted multilingualism" (ibid.), the use of different languages for partly different, and more or less restricted purposes. Even non-native speakers of Finnish working as scribes among the Finnish inhabitants could have been expected to learn recurring vocabulary items and grammatical constructions and to utilize them in writing. The sources do not allow us to draw certain conclusions about the *degree* to which the individual scribes were proficient in Finnish. But the patterns presented above imply that they generally understood the Finnish segments they did write, and were sensitive to when the use of Finnish grammatical constructions was appropriate within Swedish legal writing.

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