# Naming and multilingualism – Swedish-Finnish personal designations in medieval charters

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**Abstract:** This paper aims to analyze Swedish-Finnish *mixed-language personal designations* in medieval charters from Finland from the perspective of code-switching. A data set of 718 locative adverbials containing Finnish toponyms is related to empirical findings in the morphosyntax of modern Finnish-English code-switching. I argue that the morphosyntactic marking of Finnish toponyms in the medieval charters is concordant with syntactic patterns in modern code-switching. In earlier scholarship, this language-mixing was thought to be the result of linguistic confusion. The present results would indicate that the medieval scribes of Finland in fact were fluent code-switchers that used multilingual resources to their advantage.
**Keywords:** multilingualism, Middle Ages, Swedish, Finnish, anthroponyms.

## Introduction

The topic of this study is the use of multilingual resources in designating people in medieval charters. More specifically, I will focus on the use of Swedish and Finnish in medieval charters issued in Finland. Particularly, I focus on how *locational attributes* (denoting origin or place of residence) to personal names are realized using Swedish and Finnish segments. Since the locational attribute is typically constructed as an adverbial, i.e. as a Swedish prepositional phrase or a Finnish case-inflected noun, one can study the morphosyntactic marking of toponyms to gain knowledge about the linguistic background of the scribes. This can be achieved by comparing the results to studies in contemporary *code-switching*. The results show that the Swedish/Finnish morphosyntactic marking in locational attribute bears resemblance to patterns in modern code-switching involving Finnish and English.

## Background

In this section I will briefly sketch out the historical context of the linguistic data that is the subject of this study. I will also detail shortly the history of the Finnish literary language and its roots in the medieval period, as seen in fragmentary traces embedded in Swedish, Latin and Low German sources.

### *Finland as a part of Sweden*

The Swedish expansion into Finland began in the mid–12th century, during which time the so-called "first crusade" took place according to the *Legend of St. Henrik*. The medieval legend states that the Swedish king Erik and Bishop Henrik took upon themselves to convert the blinded and cruel Finns to Christianity after they repeatedly caused great damage to the inhabitants of coastal Sweden.[1] The historical sources to this first crusade are sparse, and the veracity of the legend itself and the historical persona of Bishop Henrik have been called into question (Heikkilä 2009). It seems probable that Christianity had been introduced gradually from the 11th century onwards by way of trade and other cultural contacts to the Finnish shores. The conversion of the Finns was consummated during the 12th century and Finland became the domain of the Swedish church. After the diocese of Turku was established in the 13th century, large parts of the geographical area that corresponds to modern-day Finland gradually came under the rule of the Swedish crown and the secular administration.

### *The emergence of literary Finnish*

In the beginning, all written ecclesiastic and secular administration was conducted in Latin. It was not until the mid–14th century that the national law of King Magnus Eriksson of Sweden decreed that all legal and administrative letters be written in Swedish (Larsson 2009: 43). The main reason for this was that the need for scribes was too great and the education of scribes in the Latin language too cumbersome to keep up with the demand for written documents. In Finland, however, the majority vernacular language, Finnish, remained essentially non-literary during the medieval period, and most extant charters from the mid–14th century onward are written in Swedish (others are written in Latin or Middle Low German). The first attested Finnish-language texts are from the 16th century, most notably the translation of the New Testament (1548) into Finnish by Mikael Agricola, who is often dubbed the "Father of the Finnish literary language". In the foreword to his translations he even states that "before now, the Finnish language was rather sparsely used, and hardly at all in writing"[2]. The *argumentum ex silentio* of the non-existence of any extant written texts before the works of Mikael Agricola and Agricola's own testimony to the non-use of Finnish in the medieval period have cemented the view that Finnish was not cultivated in writing until the first half of the 16th century.

Still, several scholars have proposed that there must in fact have been a medieval tradition of writing Finnish texts. Most notably Aarno Maliniemi (1955) has argued for the existence of translated prayers such as *Credo*, *Ave Maria* and *Pater noster*, as

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[1] "Cum vero plebs Finlandiae, tunc ceca et crudelis gentilitas, habitantibus in Svecia gravia dampna frequenter inferret, sanctus rex Ericus, assumpto secum ab ecclesia Upsalensi beato Henrico collecto exercitu, contra nominis Christi et populi sui inimicos expeditionem dirigit" (Heikkilä 2009: 258–259).

[2] "Nyt ette temen Maan kieli oli ennen neite aicoija, iuri wähe, ia lehes ei miteken kirioisa eli pockstauisa prucattu taicka harioitettu".

well as formulae for baptism and confession in Finnish during the medieval period. According to him, there can be no doubt that these vernacular translations must have been written down for the use of parish priests in rural Finnish-speaking areas. The fact that none of these written records have survived is due to the many devastations that have befallen the Finnish medieval archives due to numerous wars, plundering and fires (for a good summary of the fate of the Finnish medieval archives, see Orrman 1994: 47–49).

***Fragmentary Finnish in medieval sources***

Despite the hegemony of the Swedish language and the *de jure* official status of Swedish as the written language of administration, there are abundant traces of Finnish language embedded in Swedish-language charters. Apart from Finnish-origin loan-words in Medieval Swedish and a few common nouns that denote indigenous, local concepts having to do with fishing, farming or taxation, most Finnish segments are *proper nouns*, names of people and places. But apart from mere lexical and onomastic roots, these segments often contain Finnish *flectional and derivational morphology*. The segment below is a list of witnesses from a purchase deed issued in Masku, Southwestern Finland in 1427[3],[4]. It is written in Swedish, but contains many segments in Finnish:

> <Thesse tolff beskedhelike mæn war*e* faste swa som ær nisse **oilta** biorn hans*son* th*e*r sama stadz gu*n*ni taip[al]a magnus **ogdhen sar*e*sta** laur*ens* **hwialasta** pedh*e*r matis*son* **laulaiste jwnka jmmalasta** pedher **danilasta pitkæ** mat*is* **hwmmikkalasta heyki heykilæsta kurittulan kylæstæ** nobis th*e*r sama stadz oc mat*is* skadhaløøs>[5]

> ‘These twelve honorable men, our witnesses, that are: Nisse **from "Ojat"**, Björn Hansson at the same place, Gunni **Taip[al]a**, Magnus **from Ohdensaari**, Laurens **from Huijala**, Peder Mattisson **of Laulainen**, Junka **from Immala**, Peder **from Danila**, **Pitkä [Fi. ‘long’]** Mattis **from Hummikkala**, **Heikki from Heikkilä from the village of Kurittula**, Nobis at the same place and Mattis Skadalös [OSw.‘harmless, innocuous’]’

In this witness list, several types of Finnish morphemes are used as attributes to personal names. There are Finnish toponyms that carry the elative case-ending *-sta* that conveys the spatial meaning ‘from’, e.g. *Hummikkala-sta* and *Danila-sta*. The adjective *pitkä* ‘long’ is used as an epithet. There is even a complex four-word segment *Heikki*

[3] The cited charters will be referred to according to their number in the index of medieval Swedish charters of the Swedish National Archives, *Svenska diplomatariets huvudkartotek* (henceforth SDHK). Sometimes I will also make reference to their number in the printed edition of medieval Finnish charters, *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* (henceforth FMU).

[4] Angle brackets are used with transcribed sequences that are not cited from printed editions. Bold segments are used to mark embedded Finnish words. *Italic letters* are used to show abbreviated segments in the original charter.

[5] SDHK 20899; FMU 1850

*Heikkilästä Kurittulan kylästä* containing the Finnish hypocoristic first name *Heikki*, the estate name *Heikkilä* inflected in the elative case, the village name *Kurittula* inflected in the genitive case and the common noun *kylä* ('village') in the elative case. We can see from this excerpt that vital information about purchase deed witnesses is expressed entirely in Finnish, although the national law of Sweden at the time states that all letters were to be written in Swedish. It seems that the use of Finnish in writing was to a certain degree present during the medieval period and that it was acceptable to use Finnish in writing in certain contexts.

Still, there also seems to be a persistent view among Finnish philologists and historians that these attested fragments of the Finnish language in medieval charters are merely (poorly) transcribed oral language, performed by monolingual Swedish scribes that approximated the phonetic sequences that were uttered to them by the Finns at their common assemblies, the *ting* (Fi. *käräjät*). The prominent Finnish scholar Martti Rapola (Rapola 1969: 29–30) speaks of "the helplessness exhibited by the Swedish scribes in writing down Finnish names" in medieval charters. In a recent handbook on Finnish onomastics the authors state that "Until the mid–19th century the language of all legal documents in Finland was the official national language Swedish. The functionaries that drew up these documents were also Swedish-speaking, which explains the fact that the spelling of Finnish toponyms can sometimes seem quite odd" (Ainiala et al. 2008: 53). It is true that older spelling of Finnish can appear odd to the modern reader. With very few exceptions, modern Finnish orthography is phonemic, that is, based on the principle of *one letter – one sound*. The medieval Finnish fragments are, however, written using the Middle Swedish writing system. Before the advent of national languages as an ideology and before printed books and spelling manuals, the vernacular languages of Europe were written in a more or less haphazard way, and the notion of a standardized written form was lacking. Every scribe had his or her unique way of representing the language, and the scribes were not even internally consistent in their writing. The Swedish writing was furthermore heavily influenced by Latin, Low German and Danish writing patterns. It is no wonder, then, that the Finnish medieval fragments retain an odd appearance. But this odd appearance is mainly due to factors that have nothing to do with the linguistic competence of the scribes, but rather with the – from a modern point of view – inconsistent character of the medieval written culture. Better than relying solely on orthography in determining whether the scribes were bilinguals or not is to examine the morphological form of Finnish embedded segments.

## Aim of study

The statements in the previous section concerning the purported linguistic deficiency of the medieval scribes of Finland contain two implications that I wish to put into question: 1) the scribes that wrote down Finnish-language segments were unable to write Finnish properly; and 2) the scribes were Swedish-speaking, which accounts for their inability to do so. In this paper, I would like to examine these segments in detail to challenge this received view[6]. What if these snippets of Finnish language are in fact mixed-language utterances made by bilingual language-users? In this case these segments are best viewed as a type of *written code-switching*. Code-switching in writing is, after all, highly prevalent in all kinds of written sources from medieval Europe (for a survey of multilingual texts from the European Middle Ages, see Schendl 2004), so there is no reason why Finland should be an exception. In the following section I will present the source material, followed by a theoretical framework based on research in linguistic code-switching.

## The source material

The segments in which Finnish-language proper nouns, derivational endings and case-morphemes occur are, to a large extent, personal designations. In medieval Sweden the system of hereditary family names was not yet established. Instead, to distinguish themselves from each other people used their first name and one or more attributes, such as patronyms or other kinship terms, occupational terms and locational attributes. As medieval personal designations were complex linguistic segments consisting of both proper and common nouns, as well as grammatical morphemes, I have adopted the term *name-phrase* to denote segments of this kind. The *name-phrase* is defined syntactically-semantically-pragmatically as 'a complex NP, functioning as a designation for a person and containing a personal name and one or more attributes'. In the charters from medieval Finland, Finnish segments occur in the first names and in the various types of attributes that are used in a name-phrase. In this study, I have chosen to focus on the subset of *locational attributes* containing Finnish segments.

The charters are selected from the mass of extant charters issued in or in some way pertaining to Finland. These have been published in the series *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* (1910–1935) by Reinhold Hausen. My research data includes 156 charters, issued in Finland between the years 1352 and 1519, which have been selected using the criteria that they must a) be written in Swedish, b) contain Finnish segments and c) be original charters, not later copies, d) be issued in Finland. From these charters I have compiled 718 name phrases with a locational attribute involving a Finnish toponym.

Some comments on the reliability of the data are in order. The investigated charters represent but a fraction of the total written output of the era, most of which is lost. They also do not represent the entire spectrum of literary genres of the time, since most of them only deal with land ownership and transfer of property. In sum, this corpus of extant charters is less than ideal as a starting point for linguistic generalizations.

Aside from the difficult question of how representative the material is of medieval

[6] It should be noted that not all researchers actually subscribe to this very strict view. The distinguished Finnish philologist Heikki Ojansuu (1909, 1926), for example, assumes that the scribes were often proficient in Finnish, in that they betrayed dialectal features in their way of writing down Finnish words, and that medieval scribes were sometimes more orthographically consistent than Agricola himself. The "received view" above is better seen as a type of null-hypothesis to be tested and disproved.

Swedish-Finnish language use, the interpretation of Finnish-language segments in old charters itself is by no means straightforward. In compiling the 718 observations of personal names with locational attributes, I have excluded any obscure segments that I have not been able to identify as toponyms, but even among those that have been identified there is always an element of uncertainty, due to the fact that the documents are produced so far back in time.

## Theoretical background – Code-switching

### *Defining code-switching*

In the *Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching* (Bullock and Toribio 2009: xii), the term *code-switching* is defined in a general way as "the alternating use of two languages in the same stretch of discourse by a bilingual speaker". This definition captures two of the essential features of the phenomenon: 1) the juxtaposition of languages within a conversation, utterance, sentence, clause or even a word; 2) an action that is carried out by a bilingual speaker, possessing two or more language systems from which to draw linguistic resources.

The delimitation of the concept of code-switching from other language contact phenomena, most notably *borrowing*, is another topic that has vexed researchers. The usual criteria that apply to lexical borrowings are that they should be a) phonologically and morphologically integrated into the receiving language and b) well-established in the lexicon of the receiving language. Conversely, code-switches should by this definition be unintegrated in the receiving language and not be an established part of its lexicon. There are, however, cases in which bilingual speakers insert non-established foreign words into discourse by integrating them phonologically and morphologically into the receiving language. Also, many speech communities employ more or less conventional foreign-language segments that remain unintegrated into the receiving language (Muysken 2000: 71). These observations have led certain researchers to adopt the position that there are no clear-cut borders between code-switching and borrowing (Matras 2009). Others maintain that there is a clear cognitive difference in how bilinguals process borrowings and code-switches (Poplack 1980, 2012).

The essential difference between borrowings and code-switches remains that borrowings can also be used by monolingual speakers. Thus, an English-speaker can say a word like *croissant* without having any knowledge of the original donor language, French. But someone who does not speak both English and French would not be able to code-switch between the two languages.

### *Code-switching and proper nouns*

Usually the term *code-switching* is not applied to proper nouns. The reason is that foreign-language proper nouns are considered to be prototypical borrowings: non-translatable unique concepts that are routinely appropriated from one language to another, using varying degrees of phonological and morphological adaptation. Consequently, proper nouns are often excluded from linguistic studies in code-switching. In a special study on proper nouns and code-switching, Park (2006: 17–18) gives the following summary on the treatment of proper nouns in studies on code-switching: "Very rarely has the status of proper nouns been a matter of concern in the code-switching literature. If researchers mention proper nouns, they do so mainly to exclude the issue from their analysis of codeswitching [...] The most logical reason for this cold treatment of proper nouns in codeswitching studies is that they are viewed as unquestionable borrowings. This is, in turn, motivated by the general feature of proper nouns, namely that they are designations of unique individuals, places and so forth, and that, consequently, there are no counterparts in recipient languages". However, Park concludes that proper nouns exhibit the same characteristics as code-switched common nouns and that consequently they undergo the same linguistic processes as common nouns in bilingual speech. I would also advance the argument that, for a bilingual person, toponyms can also be code-switched. Therefore, I do not subscribe to the view that proper names are *a priori* excluded from code-switching. If an English speaker would utter a foreign toponym, such as *Baia Mare* in an English sentence, it would not constitute a code-switch. If a Romanian-English bilingual would use the name *Baia Mare* in an English sentence, s/he would have the theoretical choice between pronouncing the toponym using Romanian or English phonological rules, i.e. between code-switching and borrowing. In this way toponyms are no different from common nouns when it comes to bilingual speech.

***Code-switching between typologically different languages***

In one of the earliest studies on code-switching, Shana Poplack proposed an *Equivalence constraint* to code-switching, i.e. that speakers code-switch in a way that does not violate the surface structure of either language. This hypothesis has since been heavily criticized and numerous counter-examples have been put forth (Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh 1986: 2–3).

For a more descriptive approach, Brian Hok-Shing Chan (2012) suggests that bilingual speakers that mix typologically different languages resort to three different "strategies" to resolve structural mismatches between their languages. The three strategies are represented in Table 1 below:

**Table 1**

| Bilingual strategy | Linguistic consequences |
|---|---|
| I. Apply rules from one of the languages | Morphological markers from *either* language A or B |
| II. Apply rules from both languages | Morphological markers from *both* languages A and B |
| III. Apply rules from neither language | Morphological markers from *neither* A or B |

According to Chan, bilingual speakers that code-switch *usually resort to I*, applying the patterns of one of the languages involved. According to him, it is to avoid redundant expressions (II) or loss of meaning (III). Empirical studies in Finnish-English code-switching also show that the use of English prepositions + Finnish case-suffixes is very infrequent (strategy II). Helena Halmari (1997) does not mention it at all in the speech of her Finnish-American informants. Poplack et al. (1989) also state that the construction is not used by Finnish-Americans, citing only two occurrences of the construction. According to Muysken (2000: 110), "doubling" (i.e. strategy II) in code-switching entails "a syntactic break" and "an adjustment in the planning of a sentence", in other words a kind of disturbance in the fluency of the speech and is as such not an optimal language-mixing strategy. The use of "bare forms" (strategy III) is also disfavored in code-switching, according to Chan (2012: 196): "it is rare to find bare nouns in syntactic environments where the grammar of either language would have required determiners or noun affixes". Myers-Scotton (2002: 113 pp.) does cite numerous examples of bare forms occurring in bilingual speech, but consider these instances as potentially problematic explananda for the theory of code-switching.

In light of the predictions presented above, we would assume that bilingual code-switchers should adhere to Strategy I and that Strategies I and III would be non-occurring or less frequent at least.

### ***Code-switching strategies in medieval Finnish charters?***

What does the theoretical framework of speaker strategies outlined above imply for Swedish-Finnish code-switching? In the case of locative adverbials, Swedish and Finnish have different ways of expressing spatial relations. Somewhat simplified, Swedish is a prepositional language, whereas Finnish is a case-language. In Swedish locative attributes within the name-phrase, the prepositions *i* ('in') and *af* ('from, of') are employed by the scribes, as in the name-phrase *Henrik i Kirkebyen*[7] ('Henrik in the parish village'). In Finnish counterparts the scribes use the elative and ablative cases that are used for marking the semantic role *Source* (corresponding to the English preposition *from*), e.g. <matt*is* pinomægælthæ>[8] (Mattis from Pinomäki, inflected in the ablative case). For a detailed overview on the Finnish locative case system, I refer the reader to Karlsson (1999: 107–120). The scribes can then logically resort to the three alternative strategies detailed above: 1) applying morphosyntactic patterns from either Swedish or Finnish; 2) applying morphosyntactic patterns from both Swedish and Finnish; and 3) applying morphosyntactic patterns from neither Swedish nor Finnish. These strategies as well as examples from my material are represented in Table 2 below:

**Table 2**

| Bilingual strategy | Linguistic consequence | Example |
|---|---|---|
| I a) Apply rules from Swedish | Swedish PP | <andirs **aff kantakyla**>[1]<br>('Anders from Kantakylä') |

[7] FMU 4926 (issued in Sibbo, Southeastern Finland, in the year 1501).

[8] SDHK 26945 (issued in Turku in the year 1457).

| Bilingual strategy | Linguistic consequence | Example |
|---|---|---|
| I b) Apply rules from Finnish | Finnish case-ending | <laurens **sildanpæsta**>[2] ('Laurens [from] Sillanpää-elative case') |
| II Apply rules from Swedish and Finnish | Swedish P + Finnish case-ending | <magnus **j sargolta**>[3] ('Magnus in [from] Sarkko-ablative case') |
| III Apply rules from neither Swedish nor Finnish | Toponymic apposition | <biørn **pwndarmæki**>[4] ('Björn Puntarmäki') |

Notes:
[1] SDHK 16411
[2] SDHK 19266
[3] SDHK 24599
[4] SDHK 29381

In light of the theoretical prediction that code-switchers typically resort to strategy I in the application of morphosyntactic markers from *one* of the languages involved, I have looked at 718 locational attributes in medieval Swedish charters from Finland to see how the locational attribute is expressed in terms of the three strategies above. Do the results conform to expected code-switching behavior? And if not, what can we infer from potential deviations from the expected pattern?

## Results

As we can see in Table 3 the results confirm the theoretical predictions above in certain regards, but not in others. Firstly, it is evident that the scribes almost never use both Swedish prepositions and Finnish case-morphemes. There are only two instances of a Swedish preposition and a Finnish case-ending co-occurring within the name-phrase: <magnus j sargolta>[9] (the Swedish preposition *i* 'in' and the Finnish ablative case marker *-lta*); <jønis aff clwsist>[10] (the Swedish preposition *af* 'from, of' and the Finnish elative case-marker *-st*[11]). The distributions in Table 3 also show that strategy I is the most frequent, accounting for slightly above 50% of the observations, with a strong preference for Swedish prepositions (a) over Finnish case-endings (b). This fact is hardly surprising, considering the legal requirement that Swedish be used in all legal documents and the fact that Swedish is the unquestionable frame language of all the investigated charters. In spite of the sociolinguistic hierarchy favoring Swedish, roughly ¼ of strategy I locational attributes are formed using Finnish case-morphemes.

[9] SDHK 24599. In this instance the preposition *i* 'in' and the ablative case suffix ('from') also contradict each other in meaning: in terms of formal semantics, *i* expresses the semantic role Location, whereas the Finnish ablative case (*-lta/-ltä*) expresses the role Source. The segment can thus be considered ill-formed from a semantic point of view.

[10] SDHK 27966

[11] The standard form would be *-sta-/stä* (the final vowel is conditioned by the stem vowel of the word), but in dialectal and colloquial Finnish the final vowel is often absent due to apocope.

**Table 3**

| Locational by-name | N= | % |
|---|---|---|
| **I (a) Swedish PP** | 277 | 38,6 |
| **I (b) Finnish Locative Case-ending** | 93 | 13,0 |
| **I (a)+(b)** | 370 | 51,6 |
| **II Swedish P + Finnish case-ending** | 2 | 0,3 |
| **III Apposition** | 346 | 48,2 |
| **Total** | **718** | **100,0%** |

Surprisingly, strategy III, omitting morphosyntactic marking altogether (*toponymical apposition*), is almost as frequent as the hypothetically preferred strategy I and more frequent than either I (a) or I (b). If we assume that the locational attribute is a grammatical environment that requires morphological markers such as prepositions or case affixes, why then are the bare forms so frequent? Does this fact pose a problem for the assumption that the scribes were code-switching between Swedish and Finnish?

In the following section, I will discuss three possible explanations that may shed light on these anomalous distributions: 1) toponyms could be used as mere bynames; 2) proper nouns are a special type of nominal category that does not conform to "normal" syntactic rules; and 3) zero-marking could be an appropriate compromise strategy for Swedish-Finnish bilinguals to resolve structural discrepancies.

## Conclusions

We have seen that the observations are in accordance with the theoretical prediction above insofar as Strategy I is the most frequent and Strategy II is hardly used at all. But why are bare toponyms (Strategy III) so frequent among the locational attributes, contrary to expectations?

One idea that has been advanced in Swedish onomastic literature on medieval bynames is that toponyms could become *bynames*, i.e. segments that regularly accompanied a person's first name and bear no semantic meaning other than distinguishing a person from other persons. From a few studies on medieval Swedish personal designations (Ryman 2013; Sundström 2015), it seems that the use of bare toponyms as bynames does occur but is very infrequent and that one often finds parallel forms containing a preposition. In her study on bynames in the medieval town protocols of Arboga, Agneta Sundström cites the example of *Olaf Findla* versus *Olaff i Findla*, in which the personal name *Olaff* is followed by the bare toponym *Findla* as well as the prepositional phrase *i Findla*, 'in Findla', in various parts of the town protocols. Ryman (2013: 89–90) makes the same observation for personal designations in the medieval town protocols of Stockholm and suggests that the scribes sometimes simply "forgot to write" prepositions. Sundström (2015: 69) raises the possibility of deliberate *ellipsis*, scribes leaving out prepositions that could be contextually inferred. In all events, the bare toponym appositioned to a personal name was apparently unusual in the written sources of the non-Finnish parts of medieval Sweden, whereas it is very frequent in the

Finnish charters. Could this be due to a specific naming tradition in Finland, in which people routinely adopted toponyms as bynames?

Several empirical observations contradict this hypothesis. As in the town protocols of Arboga and Stockholm above, in the Finnish charters one can find instances in which the same person is referred to by means of locational attributes taking the shape of both prepositional forms and bare forms, for example <andris aff halowoltis; andris halouoltis>[12] (‘Anders (of) “Halovoltis”’). Sometimes scribes even use anaphoric expressions that reference bare toponyms as if they were adverbials: <nicl*is* kodhiala ok olaff be*nkt*s*on* ib*idem*>[13] *‘Niclis Kodiala and Olaf Bengtson at the same place’. In this example the Latin adverb ibidem* ‘at the same place’ is used in reference to the toponym *Kodiala*. The aforementioned two empirical facts, namely a) variation between “bare” forms and prepositional phrases and b) anaphoric reference to “bare” forms, disprove the postulate that bare toponyms were used as mere bynames. Rather it seems that they should be interpreted as locational attributes denoting place of origin or residence.

As locational attributes, why do the Finnish toponyms often lack the necessary morphosyntactic marking? There is evidence from contemporary code-switching studies between Finnish and English in American Finnish (Halmari 1997: 46) and Australian Finnish (Kovács 2009: 35–36) that shows that Finnish speakers tend to leave out locative case-endings with non-Finnish toponyms when they code-switch. Helena Halmari (1997: 46) has encountered 81 instances of unmarked English proper names and states that “[t]his is probably due to the fact the locative suffix provides conceptually somewhat redundant information and is often left out”. As the toponym is a linguistic segment that denotes a specified geographic location, the reasoning goes, one can do without locative case-markers. Elsewhere Halmari (1997: 52) notes that the insertion of English proper names into Finnish sentences “tends to be associated with certain syntactic features” and that morphologically unmarked English proper names “behave as codeswitches”. It seems that proper names as a category of words are prone to be unmarked for locative case in code-switching involving Finnish. Kovács (2009) also suggests that zero-marking could in some situations be an appropriate strategy for bilinguals to resolve structural discrepancies between languages when code-switching. I would suggest that the zero-marking of locational attributes by Finnish scribes could be perceived as such a strategy.

In conclusion, there are two facts that support the idea of the bare toponym as a type of code-switching strategy. Firstly, there is clearly some evidence from other studies to support the hypothesis that proper nouns are more prone to be zero-marked than common nouns in code-switching involving Finnish. The fact that zero-marking is used frequently with Finnish toponyms in locational attributes and very rarely in equivalent constructions in monolingual Swedish medieval sources, would suggest that linguistic interference between Finnish and Swedish is an underlying factor. Thus, we can conclude that the patterns observed in the morphosyntactic marking of locational

[12] SDHK 24068

[13] SDHK 23662

attributes do bear features that are formally characteristic of *code-switching*. This means that the scribes probably had some command of Finnish and inserted Finnish segments into the Swedish frame language much in the same manner as bilinguals do in modern day code-switching studies. Thus, the "received view" about medieval scribes in Finland not knowing the main vernacular language can be empirically challenged.

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