Merlijn de Smit: Negation in old finnish legal texts[1]

1. Introduction

Negation in Finnish and Swedish is expressed by typologically very dissimilar means. Finnish employs a negative verb *e-* with person and number marking, as well as a distinct negative imperative verb *älä, äl-*, and marks voice, tense, aspect and mood on a non-finite form of the lexical verb, which is invariably preceded by the negative verb. Swedish, in contrast, employs negative particles like *inte*, as well as negative pronouns and adverbs like *aldrig* 'never', *ingenting* 'nothing', etc., which are often placed before those phrases under the scope of negation. The large differences between the two systems notwithstanding, negation is one part of grammar in which Swedish influence on Finnish has been documented both in dialects and the written language.

Finnish, and, more broadly, Finnic[2] negation is a system in transition. Whereas the written Finnish language still sports a complete person-number conjugation of the negative verb, earlier tense marking on the negative verb has all but disappeared from Finnic, some vestiges remaining in South Estonian and Livonian (Laanest 1982: 243). Person and number marking on the negative verb has disappeared in standard Estonian, leaving an invariant *ei* (the original 3rd pers. sing. form). In Finnish, person/number marking is showing attrition of different degree in different dialects: the distinction between the 3rd pers. singular and plural forms seems to be the most widely lost (Savijärvi 1977: 62, 93, 106-107, 120-123, 127-132), including the literary language right until the 19th century (Savijärvi 1977: 44, Häkkinen 1994: 344-345). Though loss of number marking with 3rd pers. verb forms occurs with main verbs as well in spoken Finnish, loss of number marking with main verbs is relatively infrequent in the dialects of Ostrobothnia as well as the Southwestern and Southeastern dialects, whereas loss of number marking in negative clauses seems to be the norm in all Finnish dialects (Savijärvi 1977: 180, Karlsson 1966: 21). Total loss of number marking, with the singular paradigm (*en, et, ei*) being generalized to the plural as well, seems to occur in a somewhat more restricted fashion in mainly the Southwestern and Ingrian dialects (Savijärvi 1977: 181), whereas total loss of person and number distinction seems to occur in the Southwestern dialects, as well as rarely in some eastern dialects (Savijärvi 1977: 182). In this, Finnish seems to travel a well-worn diachronic pathway, which related languages like Estonian have already travelled (Miestamo 2000: 273-274). Also, loss of marking on the negative verb is well known in genetically unrelated but typologically similar languages like Tunguz (Payne 1985: 214). Nonetheless the westernly and southwesternly location of Finnish dialects apparently most prone to loss of person/number marking, as well as the fact that the one Finnish dialect in which the negative verb appears exclusively unmarked for person and number is the extinct dialect of Värmland in central Sweden (Savijärvi 1977: 188), has led Ilkka Savijärvi (1977: 189-190) to assume that Swedish may have exerted, to some extent, an influence on Finnish loss of marking, in collusion with other factors. Though Savijärvi (1977: 130-131) finds only extremely sporadic

[2] Meaning: Balto-Finnic

occurrences of loss of 1st and 2nd person and number marking in the northernmost dialects of Finnish, Virtaranta (1982: 305) reports that loss of marking does occur in the dialect of Kurravaara, near Jukkasjärvi, in the Norrbotten province of Sweden.

In research of the older written Finnish language, attention has been payed mainly to the frequency of irregular negated forms in which all person and number markers are placed on the lexical verb in the 16th-century religious texts of Agricola, a phenomenon virtually unknown in spoken Finnish, which has been regarded as a result of interference from Swedish and as a possible indication that Agricola spoke Swedish as his mother tongue. (Ojansuu 1909: 167, Savijärvi 1977: 196-197, 222). Aside from this, the same loss of person/number marking known in Finnish dialects appears in Agricola´s texts as well, as well as with other writers, though progressively and particularly after the appearance of the 1642 Bible translation more rarely (Savijärvi 1977: 237, 255). Finally, Swedish may have exerted its influence on the word order of negative sentences as well as on Finnish word order in general, namely on tendencies towards verb-fronting in Finnish (according to Lindén (1963: 217), verb-fronting in negative sentences, eg. placement of the negative verb at the beginning of the sentence, has been wrongly regarded as a result of Swedish interference by 19th and early 20th century prescriptivism).

In this paper, I will examine negation in three Old Finnish translations of King Christopher's land-law of 1443, as well as one Modern Finnish translation of the same. The three old Finnish translations under examination are Herra Martti's translation, which was probably written in the early 1580s, in Setälä's and Nyholm's 1905 edition, Ljungo Thomae's translation of 1601, in Martti Ulkuniemi's 1975 edition, and Abraham Kollanius' translation of 1648, which appeared in an edition by Martti Rapola in 1926. In some cases, I will refer to Airila and Harmas (1930) who compiled an index of those instances in which the manuscript on which Setälä and Nyholm's edition of Martti's translation is based (the Stockholm Codex) differs from other extant manuscripts of the same. Neither of the three old translations were ever printed in their own time, though manuscripts of Martti's translation – seven of which survive until the present day - were spread and available to Ljungo and most likely also Kollanius (Pajula 1960: 41, 61, 63). It is unknown which manuscripts of Christopher's Law Martti or Ljungo used – Kollanius could avail himself of a printed version which appeared shortly before he undertook his translation (Pajula 1955: 80). As a Modern Finnish control-case, I have made use of Martti Ulkuniemi's own translation which appeared in 1978. For the Old Swedish source text, I have used an electronic version of Schlyter's edition of Christopher's Law. Henceforth M (Martti), L (Ljungo) and K (Kollanius) will designate the three subsequent Old Finnish translations, U will designate Ulkuniemi's Modern Finnish translation, and KrL the Old Swedish source text. In examples, Roman numbers (I-XIV) designate the chapters, Arab numbers the paragraphs according to Martti's translation (note, that in a number of places his division into paragraphs differs slightly from the later translations). I attempted to locate every negative sentence or phrase which appeared in at least two Old Finnish translations (as a negative clause) as well as the Swedish source text: thus my database consists of 847 phrases from M, 833 from L, 833 from K and 829 from U. Though it is of course likely that I have overlooked some negative clauses, I believe that the database should be representative of the corpus as a whole.

My aim here is to research the differences in which the four translators handled the task of translating Old Swedish negativity into Old (and Modern) Finnish negativity. Thus the subject matter of this paper relates to interference as well, but mainly it is it interference in *parole*, in Weinreich's (1974: 11) metaphor, the interference that is

"sand carried by a stream" rather than the "sedimented sand deposited in the bottom of a lake" which is interference in *langue*, although I will touch upon the latter as well, where appropriate. The second chapter below will deal with a general presentation of negation in Finnish as well as with variation between fused and unfused forms of the Finnish conjunction and the negative verb. The third chapter will treat person and number marking of the negative verb in the three Old Finnish translations, and the fourth will deal with the negated imperative and various prohibitive constructions in the translations under examination. In the fifth chapter, I will examine some issues concerning word order. I will present some concluding remarks in the sixth chapter.

2. General remarks

2.1. The negative verb in Modern Finnish

In Modern Finnish, the negative verb *e-* as well as the negative imperative *äl-* are inflected for person and number:

Table 1. Indicative forms of the negative verb in Modern Finnish

person	sing.	plur.
1	*en*	*emme*
2	*et*	*ette*
3	*ei*	*eivät*

Table 2. Imperative forms of the negative verb in Modern Finnish

person	sing.	Plur.
1	-	*älkäämme*
2	*älä*	*älkää*
3	*älköön*	*älkööt*

However, tense/aspect, mood and voice are marked on a lexical verb preceded by the negative verb, or on the auxiliary *olla* in periphrastic tenses:

Table 3. Tense/aspect, mood, voice marking on the lexical verb

tappaa 'to kill'	active	passive
indicative praes.	*(en, et...) tapa*	*(ei) tapeta*
imperf.	*(en, et...) tappanut*	*(ei) tapettu*
perf.	*(en, et...) ole tappanut*	*(ei) ole tapettu*
plusquamperf.	*(en, et...) ollut tappanut*	*(ei) ollut tapettu*
conditional praes.	*(en, et...) tappaisi*	*(ei) tapettaisi*
perf.	*(en, et...) olisi tappanut*	*(ei) olisi tapettu*
imperative praes.	*(älä) tapa,* *(älkää) tappako*	*(älköön) tapettako*
perf.	*(älä) ole tappanut* *(älkää) olko tappanut*	*(älköön) olko tapettu*
potential praes.	*(en, et...) tappane*	*(ei) tapettane*
perf.	*(en, et...) liene tappanut*	*(ei) liene tapettu*

2.1. Orthography and translation equivalents of negative adverbs and pronouns

Of the orthographic variants of the common 3rd pers. singular form of the negative verb *ei*, *ei* occurs with all four translators, whereas *eij* is used by M, L and particularly by K. Another variant, *ej*, is used more rarely, and mostly by L (namely, 31 times, whereas M has 21 occurrences of *ej* and K only 2). Of the 21 times M uses *ej*, 18 occur in Chapter VII and VIII. L uses the variant *ey* very frequently and throughout the whole document (I counted 179 occurrences of *ey*) – the variant happens to be homographic with the Old Swedish negative particle *ey*, and it is interesting to wonder whether this led L to use that particular orthography – as it is, however, *ey* for /ei/ seems to occur more widely in L, for example *neytzyen* ('maiden'-GEN, IV:16). With K, *ey* occurs only once, whereas M has *ey* once and *eÿ* eleven times – all but one occur in Chapters VII and VIII.

As mentioned above, Swedish employs negative pronouns and adverbs as well as a negative particle (*ey* in KrL) – most commonly in KrL, *engen* and *engte* 'no-one, none', usually in the nominative case, to some extent case-marked as well, *aldre* 'never', *hwargen* 'neither'. The equivalents of negative pronouns and adverbs in Finnish is an interrogative pronoun marked with the enclitic *-kAAn*, whereas the negative verb must always occur in Finnish with these pronouns (Hakulinen and Karlsson 1988: 269). Enclitic *–kAAn* and *–kin* (both meaning 'too, also', but obligatory in certain context like the negative pronouns mentioned above) have a complementary distribution in the standard language – the former occurring in negative, the latter in positive clauses – but in dialects the situation is less clear. Particularly in the eastern dialects, *-kin* occurs in negative clauses as well, according to Savijärvi (1994: 118-119) possibly due to the homophony of the weak-grade variants[3] of both enclitic particles.The equivalent of *engen* is, in Modern Finnish, *ei kukaan*, and in that fashion it consistently occurs with U wherever *engen*, *engte* is translated with a negated pronoun, U has *ei kukaan* or case-marked variants in 70 cases, *ei mitään* 'nothing' in 22 cases, usually as an equivalent of neuter *engte*, and only twice *ei yksikään* lit. 'not one'). Variation between *ei kukaan* and *ei yksikään* occurs with M, L and K, which is to say, *ei kukaan* is a marginal equivalent of *enge, engte* (4 occurrences in M, 4 in K, and somewhat more, namely 8 in L), which is most commonly translated with *ei yksikään* (83 occurrences in M, 79 in L, 87 in K). The Old Swedish negative adverb *aldre* 'never' is consistently (wherever a neg. adverb is used) translated with *ei ikänänsä* in M, L, and K, whereas U has *ei koskaan* in two cases and the slightly more emphatic *ei milloinkaan* in 21 cases. *Hwargen, hwatzske* 'neither... nor' is translated most usually with *ei...eikä* or *ei...eli* with all four translators (see paragraph 2.3 below). Finally, sentences and phrases beginning with the Old Swedish preposition and conjunction *wtan* 'without, except when, if not' have been translated with to some extent with negative sentences – usually with *iold eikä, iollei* 'if not' by M, L and K, *ellei* 'if not' by U.

2.2. Negated conjunctions

In Modern Finnish, the negative verb has a tendency to fuse with a preceding conjunction or interrogative pronoun – in case the conjunction is *ja* 'and', it is

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[3] An originally regular but in current Finnish fossilized consonantal alternation would have lead to the weakening of *k to *γ when preceded by a non-stressed syllable, and subsequent further weakening.

replaced by a suffix *–kä* attached to the negative verb in the Modern written language as well as in dialectal Finnish (Ikola, Palomäki and Koitto 1989: 64-65), for example *ja en* --> *enkä*, *ja ei* --> *eikä*, etc.. With other conjunctions, apocope of the final vowel occurs and the negative verb is fused to the stem of the conjunction, i.e. *että ei* --> *ettei.* The process underlying the latter – apocope of a final *–ä/-a* before a following vowel (as well as the ensuing fusion between the conjunction and the negative verb) - is well-known in most Finnish dialects (Rapola 1966: 490-491). Current normative grammar only allows *ja* initializing a negative sentence when it is not immediately followed by the negative verb, otherwise the use of the fused form is obligatory (Häkkinen 1994: 379, Saarimaa 1971: 257). The older literary language, however, varied in this respect: both fused forms (*eikä, ettei*) and unfused forms occur in Agricola´s writings (Häkkinen 1994: 378-379). Negative sentences initiated by a conjunction are extremely common in the translations of KrL. There are some cases in M in which a fused conjunctive or unfused conjunctive (immediately followed by a negative verb) co-occurs with a negative verb elsewhere in the sentence. In one case L has a similar contamination in the same sentence – though in a different place:

III:12[4]
M: *quitengin* **ioldei** *cansalapsett* **ei** *ole tiedholle* *tulluet, ia ios Isä eli äiti ei ole eläillä,*
　　however IF-NEG sibling-PL　　NEG　　are knowledge-ALL　　come-PARTIC
　　joka ei tappanut eli murhannut
L: *jos ey täysiä sisarita ole taidholla tullet, jos* **ei**　　*isä*　　*eli äiti*　　**ei**　　**ole** *elehillä ioca ei tappanut eli murhannut*i
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　if NEG father or mother NEG is   alive
KrL: *æn ey æru samsytzkan til weetz komen, oc æn ey ær fadher eller modher lifuandis til som ey draapo eller myrdho*
'If no siblings are yet able, and if they have no living father or mother, who has not committed murder'

V:31
M: *nÿtt ios se quin maan eli kihlacunna ÿcteitzellä asupi köÿhtÿ nijn* **ettei**　　　　*hän maan eli kihlacunnan*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　THAT-NEG　 he　　　 land-GEN
or district-GEN
oikeut　　　　　**ei**　*woi*　　　*vlgos tehdä*
right-PART　　　　NEG can　　　uphold
KrL: *Nu æn then som a almenningiom landz eller heredz boor, kan fatikdom henda, swa ath han formaa ey landz skyld vppehalda*
'if he who lives on the common lands of the land or parish is so impoverished, that he cannot comply with the rights of the land or the district'

[4] The following abbreviations are used in glosses:

ACC	accusative	1	first person
ADESS	adessive	2	second person
ALL	allative	3	third person
CONJ	conjunction		
DAT	dative/genitive	IMPER	imperative
ELAT	elative	NEG	negative verb
ESS	essive	PART	participle
GEN	genitive	PASS	passive
ILL	illative		
INESS	inessive		
INSTR	instructive		
PART	partitive		
PL	plural		
SG	singular		
TRANSL	translative		

IX:11
M: **ioldei   ei**   *enämbi löÿtä nijn*
   IF-NEG NEG more   find-PASS
KrL: *vindz ey mera ath*
'if nothing more is found'

In the latter two cases, however, M´s redundant negative verb is absent in five other manuscripts (Airila, Harmas 1930: 165, 274), while in the first it is absent in four (Airila, Harmas 1930: 72). Also, in one case both M and L have translated a sentence which, it seems, was meant to be positive, with a negative, fused conjunction:

VII:43
M: *maxakan 3 mrka colmie iakohon,* **iollej** *hän sanans sÿnä cohta oienna ia iällens eli takaperin ota*
L: *maxakan 3 marca col: kerd:* **iollei**   *hän sanans*   *sijnä cohta oienna ia takaperin åta*
                 IF-NEG he   word-HIS immediately rectifies and withdraws
K: *maxacaan colmet marca, colmehen osahan, jos hän cohta*   *sananса   ojenda, eli tacaperin otta*
                                  if   he   immediately word-HIS rectifies or withdraws
KrL: *böte III mark til treskiptis om han siin ordh genast rætter eller j geen kallar*
'let him pay three marks in three parts, if he immediately rectifies and withdraws his words'

Two similar cases occur in L, where he uses a negative *mutoin iollei* where the other translators use a positive conditional clause with *jos*:

VII: 25
M: *mwtoin* **ios** *hän laissa*   *wanno walallansa, nÿn ettej hän lakia tiedhä sÿnä asiasa*
   except if he   law-INESS   swears oath-ADESS
L: *mutoin* **iollei**   *hän käräiäs*   *wanno idze*   *walallans etei hän lakia sijnä asias tiedhä*
   except IF-NEG he court-INESS swears himself oath-ADESS
KrL: *wtan han for thinge swær meth een edhe sinom ath han ey lagh om thet maal weeth*
'except if he swears by an oath in court, that he does not know the law on this issue'

X:6
M: *nijn tule hänen saadha cwkaudhen päiuät mennä kuningan tÿgö, ia 14 öätä mennä kuningan tÿköä pois, ia ei enämbä, mwtoin* **ios** *hän nautitze kuningan armoia*
        except if   he   receives king-GEN mercy-PART
L: *nin hänellä on Cwkauden päivät Kuningann ethen tulla, ia 14 ötä Kuningan tyköä mennä ia ey enämbätä, mutoin* **iollei**   *hän Kuningan armoia*   *nautitze*
IF-NEG he   king-GEN mercy-PART   receives
KrL: *tha ægher han maanada dagh haua fore konung koma, oc XIIII nætter fraan konunge fara, oc ey lenger, wtan han konungs nadh nyute meth fridzbreff hans*
'he shall have a month to travel to the king, and fourteen days to travel back, and no more, except if he has received mercy from the king.'

In the latter two cases, we are dealing with the Old Swedish conjunction *wtan* 'if not, except when', which asserts the factuality of the following conditional clause when preceded by a negative clause, and the non-factuality of the following clause when a positive clause precedes it. Thus it's translation equivalents in the Finnish texts are various negated conditional conjunctions – *jollei, muutoin jossei* – or positive – *muutoin jos, paitsi jos*, etc.
It is thinkable that this variation partially led L to use an, at least in the second example, unintentional negative conjunction. It seems tempting to hypothesize that M and L did not always take the fused, negative conjunction conjunction as including a negative verb, but the material is too sparse to offer any conclusions on this. Also, negativity in the latter two clauses is expressed both by the negative verb (fused with the conjunction) and the stem of the lexical verb. Since the version of KrL available to

them remains unknown (K being the first who was able to avail himself of the printed version of KrL), we cannot draw any conclusions here. Below follow a few tables detailing the distribution of various fused and unfused forms in the four translations examined (leaving out elliptical negative sentences):

Table 3. Fused and unfused negative conjunctions with *jos* 'if'

	M	L	K	U
jos ei	31	65	78	0
jold ei, joll ei	53	0	2	0
joldei, jollei, jossei	95	116	118	0
ellei	1	0	0	199

Table 4. Fused and unfused negative conjunctions with *ja* 'and'

	M	L	K	U
ja ei	128	131	64	1
eikä	5	5	45	91

Table 5. Fused and unfused negative conjunctions with *että* 'that'

	M	L	K	U
että ei	1	0	0	0
ettei	86	71	74	58

Table 6. Fused and unfused negative conjunctions with *ehkä, vaikka* 'even though, even if'

	M	L	K	U
ehkä ei	2	5	0	0
ehkei	7	0	6	0
vaikka ei	0	0	2	0
vaikkei	0	0	0	1

Whereas M, L and K show variation in their use of fused and unfused forms (with the exception of *ettei* which appears fused except for a single occurrence in M), U does not, employing – in line with Modern Finnish – virtually only fused forms. The differences in distribution of fused and unfused forms with the four conjunctions examined (*jos*, *ja*, *että* and *ehkä* which, in Modern Finnish, has been replaced by *vaikka* in meaning 'even though'), seems first and foremost a result of the relative transparency of the fused form vs. the unfused one – whereas *ettei* and *ehkei* are hardly more than apocope forms of *että ei* and *ehkä ei*, the issue with *jos* is more complex. The conjunction *jos* has been formed by addition of a lative suffix *-s* to a stem *jo-* (SSA). The fused conjunctions appearing with M, L and K are: *jossei* - the most widespread variant in Finnish dialects (Ikola, Palomäki and Koitto 1989: 99) - to some extent in L, *jollei* occurring in M, L and K whereas M and K also use *joldei*, *joldeikä* (known to some extent in southwestern dialects, see Ikola 1966: 11). M also often uses apocope forms followed by a seperate negative verb, *jold ei, joll ei* which are found sporadically in K as well but not in L. These fused conjunctions may be

based on apocope forms of the conjunctions *jossa*, *jolla, jolta* (compare the conjunction *jonsa* 'if' and respective negative forms like *jonsei* which are extant in Finnish dialects (SSA)) whereas *ellei* – which appears a single time in M, but is used without exception in U, is based on a dialectal conjunction *ellä* (Ikola 1966: 12, Hakulinen 1979: 74). Another explanation for the form *jossei* may be that the negative verb is fused with a conjunction *jos* rather than *jossa*, and that the final sibilant of the conjunction would have lengthened in a process of gemination[5].

An unfused *jossa ey* appears once in L:

III:22
L: **jossa ey**   *löytä*   *tauarata, nin*
      if   NEG find-PASS ware-PART
KrL: *vindz ey gotz till*
'if no wares are found'

It seems that M, L and K chose to base fused negative equivalents of *jos* on synonymous bisyllabic conjunctions, where apocope similar to that of *ettei*, *ehkei* was possible. The form *josei* has been attested in both the older written language and Finnish dialects (VKS cf. *jos*, Ikola 1966: 12), but does not seem to occur in the translations examined – doubtlessly it is based on an apocope form of a dialectal *josa*.

2.3. *eikä*

The formation[6] of *eikä* from *ja ei* – which is quite a different process altogether - is even less transparent: here not only the conjunction is substituted by a suffix, but also the order of the conjunction and the negative verb is reversed. The picture that the table above offers of the relative rarity of *eikä* in L and K, however, is a bit skewed: *eikä* does occur with these writers as well, though not very frequently. In the corpus, there are 25 instances where M and L use *eikä*. M uses *eikä* exclusively following other negated sentences – thus rather often in elliptical clauses, whereas L employs *eikä* mainly after other negative clauses. K, on the other hand, uses *eikä* freely after positive clauses as well. It seems thus that by M, and to a large extent by L as well, *eikä* was used to denote resumptive negation (see Jespersen 1917: 72-75), as an equivalent of English *neither...nor* or Old Swedish *hwarte/hwatzske...eller* (VKS cf. *ei* 3, OSSGL). This usage seems to be common in the older written language, and possible source patterns would include Latin *neque... neque* as well (Forsman Svensson 1994: 379 The Swedish source pattern for M and L's use of *eikä* is usually a pair of Swedish clauses negated both by pronominal or verbal negation *(engen, ey* etc.) combined with *oc* (17 times in M, 16 in L) and to a lesser extent Swedish *hwatszke/hwarte...eller* or *hwarte...oc ey* (4 times in M, 5 in L). Often, negated clauses or phrases follow after *eikä* as well, usually by another *eikä* or *eli*.
There are some indications that M and L interpreted *eikä* as a marker of resumptive negation to be used with both clauses as well as noun phrases, rather than a negative conjunction. The coördinative function of the conjunction is not totally lost – since it is often followed by *eli* or another *eikä*. First of all, *eikä* is used as a negative

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[5] Jussi Ylikoski (p.c.) informed me that such a process of gemination is in fact found in the Southwestern dialects in case of the interrogative pronoun *kui* (<**kuin*), which shows a fused form *kuinnei* if followed by a negative verb.
[6] Not meant in a diachronic sense.

particle to negate noun phrases preceded immediately by the main verb, i.e. not in subordinate complete or elliptical clauses. Examples follow below.

Negation of an adverbal phrase:

I:29
M: *ia se quin omas sÿsäns waickene, sitä   ei   wastat   **eikä**   lailla*
he-PART NEG answer-PASS CONJ-NEG law-ADESS

eikä   *rahalla*
CONJ-NEG money-ADESS
L: *ia se quin candaian oikeutta ano ia keriä, sitä ei tule kenengän wastata **eikä** lailla **eikä** peningillä*
K: *ja joca syynsanojan oikeutta kerjä, händä ei wastata **eikä** Lailla, eli rahalla*
KrL: *oc them som malsegande Ræth tigger, swaris **hwatzske** meth laghom eller penningom*
'and he who begs the rights of the plaintiff, he will not be answered either with the law or with money.'

Negation of the subject phrase[7]:

IV: 27
K: *nyt   eij   ole Miehellä   **eickä**   maata   eli   Maan päälistä*
   now   NEG is   man-ADESS   CONJ-NEG land-PART   or   movable estate-PART
KrL: *Nu ægher bonden **hwarte** iordh eller lösöra*
'now, the man does not own either land or movable estate'

V:18
M: *tammen kuorimisen ia metzän polteen edhest ei   pidhä seisoman **eikä**   luuan eli   palkan*
                                NEG shall   stand   CONJ-NEG permission-GEN
or   compensation-GEN
KrL: *Fore barklöpo eller scoga brenno stande **hwarte** loff eller legha*
'there will be neither permission nor compensation for barking or burning of forest'

V:35
M: *nÿtt istu mies ÿxinäns kÿläs, ia   ei   ole hänelle   itzä **eikä**   huonetta   eikä maata*
                                and NEG is   him-ADESS   self CONJ-NEG house-PART
CONJ-NEG land
KrL: *Nw siter han ensamen j by, oc æghir sieluir **hwatzske** hws eller jord*
'now, a man lives alone in the village, and he does not own himself either a house or land'

The examples above are all those found in the corpus of this particular use of *eikä* – three in M, one in L and two in K. Use of the negative verb as a particle to negate specific adverbial phrases or noun phrases within a main clause is alien to (Modern) Finnish, which uses verbal negation only (i.e. a negative verb co-occuring with a lexical verb, the latter though, is often left out in elliptical clauses), possibly in combination with special negative forms of pronouns or adverbial pronouns, i.e., there is, in as far as the morphosyntax of negation itself is concerned, usually no surface difference between sentential negation and constituent negation in Finnish (Hakulinen and Karlsson 1988: 267-268) though tendencies to use the 3rd pers. sing. form of the negative verb as a particle in a manner similar to the examples above are not unknown in Finnish literature (Savijärvi 1977: 24-25), and of course, the scope of negation may be restricted to single constituents or phrases. The use of *eikä* as a marker of resumptive negation, which thus always follows a lexical verb already negated by the regular negative verb possibly facilitated the analysis of *eikä* as a negative particle rather than a conjunction. As is clear from the examples above,

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[7] The subject here is atypical in all three sentences: possessee in IV:27 and V:35, and a genetive-marked subject of a necessitive existential phrase in V:18

eikä seems to be used in this fashion only as a translation equivalent of the Old Swedish resumptive negative marker *hwarte/hwatszke* and it is probably through analogy with this model pattern that the use of *eikä* was extended to negation of noun and adverbial phrases in addition to its regular use as a resumptive negative conjunction. As a negative particle used for resumptive negation of noun or adverbial phrases, *eikä* is redundant, since it is preceded by a negative verb. Another indication of the use of *eikä* as a resumptive negative particle rather than a conjunction is the combination of *eikä* with a preceding conjunction, or not in connection with any preceding clause at all, which is not found in M at all, but is found to some extent in L and K[8]:

XII:2
L: *ja iotca nämät eroittauat etei he hauoi sialla ollet,* **eli eikä**   *sijnä   mielin   eli syin että hän*

or   CONJ-NEG   that-ESS mind-INSTR or cause-INSTR that he
wahingon   sai
damage-ACC incurred
KrL: *oc them hon wndan taker, ath ey a wigualle waaro, eller oc ther waaro* **oc ey** *thes wiliandhe eller wallande ath han scada fik*
'and if they decide that he was not present on the scene of the fighting, or that he was not so with the intention to hurt someone'

XII:18
L: *sen maxon quin lapsi andaman pitä sen   åttakan   Jutun isändä* **ia   eikä   *Kuningas eli kihlakunda*

this-ACC take-IMPER   plaintiff   and CONJ-NEG king or district
KrL: *j them botom som ouirmagi scal böta fore, thaki thet maalsegenden,* **oc hwarte** *konunger eller herede*
'and the fine that a child should pay should be taken by the plaintiff and neither by the King or the distruct'

III:3
K: **nyt   eijkä**   *ole Isä   eli Äiti   taicka yxipahnaisia lapsia,   elicka nijdhen lapsia elämäsä*

   now CONJ-NEG is   father or mother or   full siblings-PL.PART   or   their children-PL.PART alive
KrL: **nu** *æru* **ey** *fadher eller modher, samsytzkane eller thera barn til*
'Now, if neither father, mother, full siblings or children of those are alive'

III:17
K: *elickä maxacaan, colme marca,* **sijtä   eikä**   *saa Kihlacunda eli Kuningas, sillä*

that-ELAT CONJ-NEG gets district   or king
se on Andomiehen oma asia
KrL: *eller böte III marker; oc ther ægher i* **huarte** *karl eller konunger, thet ær giptomanz eensak*
'and pay three marks, and from that neither the parish or the King shall have a part, the fine belongs to the bride's father.'

XII:15
K: **sijtä   eijkä**   *tule Kihlacunnan   eli Cuningan*
   that-ELAT CONJ-NEG comes parish-DAT   or   King-DAT
KrL: *oc ther æghir j* **hwarthe** *karl eller konunger*
'and neither the parish nor the King shall have a part of this'

[8] Apart from the examples listed, in V:11, VIII: 34, X: 35 (L), V:35 (K)

L uses a not-conjunctive *eikä* without a preceding negative clause twice, and K in all instances. In both cases where L's *eikä* is preceded by a positive clause and functions as the first component of a resumptive negative construction – the second component being marked by *eli* 'or'. Here, the Swedish source pattern shows a resumptive negative marker *hwarte/hwatszke...eller*, and doubtlessly it is by following the example of the source text that L irregularly uses *eikä* after the conjunction *ja* here. In three other cases, where the Old Swedish source patterns use different constructions than *hwarte/hwatszke...eller*, L's *eikä* is nevertheless resumptive, following a negated clause. K uses *eikä* as the first component of resumptive negation. Here, *eikä* has lost its function as a conjunction since it is unconnected to any preceding clause. In three of the four cases found with K, *hwarte/hwatszke...eller* appears as the source pattern of the construction.

In short, it seems that, in M, *eikä* is used exclusively as the second component of resumptive negation, i.e. following negative clauses and thus serving as the translation equivalent of *oc ey*, *eller* etc. However, guided by it's use as the translation equivalent of the Old Swedish resumptive negative *hwarte...eller*, *eikä* was reanalyzed by M (and later also L and K) as a negative particle rather than a negative verb fused with a conjunction, and thus began to be used with resumptive negation of noun and adverbial phrases as well. Since it continued to be invariably preceded by regular verbal negation, its use here is in fact redundant. In L, *eikä* begins to be used as the first rather than the second component of resumptive negation – as the translation equivalent of *hwarte* instead of *eller*. In this, L seems to have been guided by using Old Swedish *hwarte...eller* as a model pattern. As such, the preceding sentence of course no longer needs to be negative. L's use of *eikä* as a particle rather than a conjunction is apparent from the co-occurence of *eikä* with the conjunction *ja* 'and' on several occasions. Finally, K seems not to be burdened by the use of *eikä* in only resumptive negative constructions – *eikä* is used far more widely by him, and regains its status as a negative conjunction rather than a negative particle. However, the use of *eikä* as a negative particle used in resumptive negation of noun and adverbial phrases continues with K, as well as the use of *eikä* as a translation equivalent of *hwarte*. Thus we are in a way dealing with a split: K's *eikä* may signify both a negative, fused conjunction, and a negative resumptive particle, the latter function being borrowed from Old Swedish.

Let´s return to the general variation between fused and unfused conjunctions depicted in the table above. Though, of course, Old Swedish negative particles, pronouns etc. do not fuse with the preceding conjunction, the distribution of the competing unfused (*jos ei*, *ja ei*) vs. fused (*jollei*, *eikä*) forms in the three Old Finnish translations shows no correlation with the occurrence of a negative particle or pronoun after a conjunction in Old Swedish – with the exception of *eikä* in M and L. First of all, negative pronouns and particles directly following conjunctions are much rarer in KrL than they are in the Old Finnish translations – a quick count showed up only 52 instances of this sequence in Old Swedish model sentences for (non-elliptic) Old Finnish negative sentences. Hence the variation found between analytic constructions – the unfused conjunctives – and synthetic – the fused conjunctives – seems to be governed mainly by language-internal constraints (see, in this regard, also Lindén 1963: 217, who remarks that the tendency in Finnish to front the negative verb cannot be explained by Swedish influence), an exception being the use of *eikä* particularly in M and L, and to an extent in K, which seems to be governed by Old Swedish resumptive negation.

3. Person/number marking

The four legal translations offer little material to determine anything about the person and number marking that its translators employed with the negative verb, since the frequency of 3rd person forms is overwhelming, and 1st and 2nd person forms occur only extremely sporadically: in fact, they occur in a prayer (I:35), three direct quotes (II:13, III:10, IV:30) and an oath (VII:1). In all the three Old Finnish translations, the 3rd pers. sing. form of the negative verb is left unmarked for number throughout the text, whereas in U it is consistently marked, for example:

IX:14
M: **ei** *mahda ne   maan päälle elä*
    NEG may they earth upon   live
K: **eij** *mahdha ne maan päällä elä*
U: *ne* **eivät** *saa elää maan päällä*
KrL: *ey mogho the a iordene lifua*
'they may not leave on the face of the earth'

This is expected – the plurally marked form *eivät* was marginal until the 19th century (Häkkinen 1994: 345) and lack of plural marking on the 3rd pers. form of the negative verb is common in many spoken dialects of Finnish. The few 1st and 2nd pers. forms that can be found show all logical possibilities: both person and number marking, only person marking and no person or number marking at all. The only 2nd person form of the negative verb in the Old Finnish translations is marked for both person and number:

III:10
M: *sentehdän*   **edh**   *mahda sä   miestäs*   *periä*
    because of that NEG-2SG may   you husband-PART.YOUR inherit
L: *sentehden* **ett** *mahda sinä miestäs periä*
K: *sentähden* **edh** *mahda sinä miestäs periä*
U: *ja sen vuoksi sinä* **et** *saa häntä periä*
KrL: *oc thy maa thu han ey erfua*
'because of that you may not inherit from your husband'

Likewise, the present 1st pers. singular forms are marked for person and number, with the exception of elliptical clauses in which the lexical verb, mentioned in a previous clause, is not repeated. Lack of number marking but retention of person marking – which, as Savijärvi (1977: 60) remarks , may, in case of verb-initial clauses, large be due to haplology (the marked 1st and 2nd plural forms would be *emme me*, *ette te*), is found in one of L's 1st pers. plural forms:

I:35
L: *me rucoilemma Jumalata meitää nin auttamaan, ia ne pyhydet joinnenga pällä me pidhemmä,*
eten   *me tahdo yhtän*   *sitä*   *syyllisexi*   *tehdä, ioca syytöin on*
THAT-NEG-1PL we want no-one-PART that-PART guilty-TRANSL make
'and we pray God to help us, and the Sacramemts which we hold dear, that we do not proclaim anyone guilty, who is innocent.'

The equivalent clauses in M shows lack of person and number marking, whereas K's negative verb is marked for both person and number:

I:35

M: *me rucoilemma nijn iumalan meitän auttaman, ia ne pÿhitöksett, ioista me palion pidhämme. Ett**ei** me tahdho ÿhthän sitä sÿlisexi tehdä ÿhtän ioca sÿytöin ombi*
K: *me rucoilem Jumalan meitän nijn autta, ja ne Pyhitöxet, joita me käsin pitelemme ett**emme** me yhtään sitä tahdho syypäxi tehdhä joca sytöin on*

Notably though, all the forms in which person marking is found lacking, except the one cited above, are elliptical. Irregular forms with tense, person or number marking on the lexical verb, like Agricola's *enge woijn eijke toijuon* (quoted by Ojansuu 1909: 167), are used to a very limited extent by other writers of Agricola's time as well (Savijärvi 1977: 222). In the three Old Finnish translations examined, only two very dubious cases turned up:

V:9
M: *nämet sakott, quin sanotut on,* **ei**   **mahdat** *corkemmat, ehkä quinga karia olis palio*
                                     NEG   may-*t*   higher-PL

'the mentioned fines may not be higher, regardless of how much cattle there is'

The –*t* at the end of the lexical verb here could be interpreted as a plural marker. However, this is not the only way in which this clause is irregular: the infinitive complement of the verb *mahtaa*, which is *olla* in the other translations, is lacking as well. It is just as likely that we are dealing here with a slip of the pen. In fact, the form *mahdat* seems to occur in the Stockholm codex only, whereas five other surviving manuscripts have the expected *mahda*, and three of them also add an infinitive complement *olla* (Arila, Harmas 1930: 128).

XI:2
K: *jos* **eij**   *Cuningan*   *nimindämiehelle*   *ja* *Syynsanojalle nijn* **oli** *sanottu: Nijn seisocaan*
    if   NEG King-GEN constable-ALL   and plaintiff-ALL thus is-*i* said-PASS.PARTIC.
'if thus is not said to the King´s constable and to the plaintiff'

Here, we are dealing with what looks like an imperfect marker –*i* on the lexical verb. The verb phrase would then have to be intepreted as a passive indicative plusquamperfect form, the regular form of which would be *ei ollut sanottu*. However, the equivalent phrases in the other two Old Finnish translations as well as in U are passive perfect forms (*ei ole sanottu*) and it seems more likely to me that here as well we are dealing with a slip of the pen rather than an instance of irregular negation like the forms in Agricola.

4. The negated imperative

The most striking difference in frequency between U on the one hand and the three Old Finnish translations on the other hand is that of the negated imperative. Whereas in the Old Finnish translations they are rather infrequent (all in all 22 occurrences in M, 31 in L, 49 in K), and are, to a large extent, elliptical forms in which the lexical verb, mentioned previously, is dropped and the negated verb is *e-* rather than the imperative *äl-*, negated imperatives make up a rather big portion of negated verbs in U (201 occurrances all in all).

Table 7. Frequency of the negated imperative. The number between brackets indicates the number of elliptical clauses.

	M	L	K	U
Act. imper. praes.				
3d pers. sing.	20 (14)	28 (14)	36 (11)	144 (19)
3d pers. plur.	1 (0)	2 (1)	7 (3)	22 (4)
Act. imper. perf.				
3d pers. sing.		1 (0)	2 (0)	
Pass. imper. praes.	1 (1)		4 (2)	35 (5)

It should be noted, first of all, that the infrequency of imperative forms in the Old Finnish translations seems specific to negated forms. A quick trawl through a very small portion of M (namely, the eight chapter, *Walasÿidhen Kaari*), turned up 43 imperative verbs in positive sentences, all of which had Old Swedish conjunctive verb forms as source patterns in KrL - wherever a source pattern was available. As mentioned, a fair share of the negated imperative forms in M, L and K are elliptical, and here the normal negative verb *ei* is used rather than the imperative *äl-*, for example:

II:19
M: *wahettacan   sijttekin parannoxexi   ia **ei**   pahennoxexi*
    change-IMPER then also better-TRANSL and NEG worse-TRANSL
    'then, too, change it for the better and not for the worse'

In those phrases where the lexical verb is mentioned, L and K sometimes use hybrid forms, combining the usual negative verb *ei* with a lexical verb which shows the regular imperative marker *–kO*, for example:

VIII:16
L: *maxakan 40 marca col: kerd: ia **ei**   **olgo**   **rickonut**   Kuningan wala sackoa*
                          and NEG   be-IMPER broken-PARTIC   King-GEN oath of peace-
PART
  'pay 40 marks in three parts, and the King's oath of peace shall not be broken'

Compare here the equivalent clause in K:

VIII:16
K: *ja **älköön**   olco   walasyytä   **rickonut***
    and NEG-IMPER be-IMPER oath of peace-PART broken-PARTIC

All in all, two forms of this type appear in L (V:27, VIII:16), and two in K (III:15, V:14). In all instances, they follow a regular, positive or negative, imperative form in the preceding clause. Thus the use of *ei* instead of the imperative negative verb *äl-* may be explained by a tendency for *ei* to be used generally in elliptical clauses. One interesting irregular imperative marker on the lexical verb can be found in L:

IV:5
L: *ia **älkän**   enämbä   hänen maatans   **myuö**   quin colmannexen ia
caxi åsa   åmastans*
    and NEG-IMPER more-PART her   land-PART-HER   sell-IMPER
'and may he not sell more of her land than a third, and two parts of his own'

The imperative marker *–kO* seems here to have an exceptional weak grade **-vO*. Such markers are, in fact, found to some extent in Agricola's writings and Finnish dialects as well (Hakulinen 1979: 244-245) – though rarely, and mostly in the eastern dialects (Rapola 1966: 124-125). Another feature of the imperative in the Old Finnish translations I should mention here is that M, as opposed to L and K, uses the 3rd person sing. throughout even with overt plural objects: this is not a feature specific to the *negated* imperative and cannot thus be compared to the lack of number marking with the 3rd pers. negative verb in general.

It seems that M, L and K seem to use mainly indicative constructions where U uses a negated imperative. In those cases where a negated imperative is used by them, the source pattern is always a Swedish conjunctive. Now, the high frequency of negated imperative verbs in U is expectable, since the source text, as law texts in general, consists overwhelmingly of descriptions of certain situations, and directives on how to act in a given situation (Wendt 1997: 58). In the latter parts, KrL uses indicative forms, but, more usually, auxiliary verb constructions and conjunctive forms (Wendt 1997: 86).

The negated imperative in U mainly has the following source patterns: 1) auxiliary constructions formed with the verbs *maa/mogha* (Mod. Sw. *må*) or *scal/sculu* (Mod. Sw. *skola*), 2) conjunctive forms, in particularly the phrase *hawi ey wald* (*att göra*), 3) to a somewhat lesser extent, indicative constructions using the verb *aeghir* (Mod. Sw. *ega*).

4.1. Source patterns with *maa/mogha*

Table 8. Old Swedish *ey maa/mogha* and the Finnish equivalents.

KrL	M	L	K	U
ey maa/mogha	ei mahda: 66	ei mahda: 63	ei mahda: 70	imperative: 61
	ei pidä: 6	ei pidä: 7	ei pidä: 3	ei saa: 7
	ei tule: 1	ei tule: 1	ei tule: 1	ei voi: 5
		ei ole + PART: 2	ei saa: 1	

As the table shows, the auxiliary verb *maa*/*mogha* accounts for 61 of U's negated imperatives. The Modern Swedish auxiliary *må*, Old Swedish *mogha*, has cognates throughout the Germanic languages, as well as Slavic and Greek (SEO). Schlyter (OSSGL) mentions that the Old Swedish auxiliary has five basic meanings: 1) to be able to, 2) could, 3) be allowed to, have the right to do something, 4) must, 5) would, in expressing a hope or a wish. It is the third meaning which is of most relevance here, and in which it is used regularly in KrL in directive statements – Wessén (1970: 145-146) mentions that there is little difference in meaning between the auxiliaries *ma* and *skal* and the exhortative conjunction which is also used widely in directives, and that the use of both may be caused by, among other factors, the diverging dialectal origin of the parts of which KrL is made up (Wessén 1970: 146, Wendt 1997: 88-89). As we see, the most frequent equivalent of *maa*/*mogha* in M, L and K seems to be a negative construction employing the verb *mahtaa*, for example:

II:7
M: **ei   mahda** *ylkä   enämbä   lahioia   **wiedhä** morsiamellens, waan ÿhden orhin.*
    NEG may   groom more-PART gifts-PART.PLUR bring   bride-ALL.HIS

> *Satulan, Suitzett, capun ia hatun*

L: **ei mahda** *ylkä enämbi lahioia morsiamellans* **tuodha***, quin yhden orihin, Satulan, Suidzet, hiha capun ia hatun*

K: **ei mahda** *ylkä enämbä lahioia morsiamellensa* **widhä***, cuin yhdhen hewoisen, satulan, suihdhet, hiallisen capun ia nätyn*

U: **älköön** *sulhanen* **antako** *morsiamelleen enempää kihlalahjoja kuin yhden ratsuhevosen, satulan, suitset, hihallisen päällystakin ja päähineen*

KrL: **ey maa** *brudgumme flere förninga* **föra** *brudh sinne æn een gaangara, sadel, beetzl, ærmakapo oc hetto*

'the groom may not bring more gifts to his bride, than one horse, a saddle, a bridle, an overcoat and a hat'

IX:2

M: *sillä* **ettei**   **mahda** *ÿxikän*   *toistans*   *periexens*   **tappa**
    so   THAT-NEG may   no-one   another-PART   in order to inherit   kill

L: *sillä* **ei mahda** *yxikän ketän periäxens* **tappa**

K: *sillä* **ettei mahdha** *yxikään toista perjäxensä* **tappa**

U: *sillä* **älköön** *kukaan* **tappako** *toista saadakseen perinnön*

KrL: *thy ath engen* **maa** *annan til arffs* **drepa**

'for no one may kill another in order to inherit'

The negated *maa* also, at some points, designated an inability to so something rather than a directive or prohibition. Here U has used an indicative form of the verb *voida* 'can' rather than an imperative, whereas M, L and K usually use *mahtaa*, for example:

VIII:36

M: **ei**   **mahda** *waimo*   *wala sacko*   **rickoa**
   NEG   may   woman   oath of peace-PART break

L: **ei mahda** *waimon puoli wala sackoa* **rickoa**

K: **eij mahdha** *waimo Wala syytä* **ricko**

U: *nainen* **ei voi rikkoa** *rauhavalaa*

KrL: *Nu* **maa ey** *kona edzöre* **bryta**

'a woman cannot break the oath of peace'

The Finnish verb *mahtaa* has cognates throughout the Finnic as well as the Volgaic languages (SKES) and is possibly a Germanic loanword – the donor word would then be a precursor of the same Swedish *må* (LÄGLO), the etymology is however not uncontroversial (Van Linde 1997: 163-164). The word generally means 'to be able to do something' – according to NS, particularly in negative utterances. It also designates a hypothetical possibility or may, in archaic language, be used to express a wish or advice. Lönnrot (SRS) mentions the meanings 'to be fitting for' (höfvas, anstå), 'to be possible' (låta sig göra), 'may, be able to' (må, förmå. kunna) and 'to be mighty' or 'reckless' (vara mäktig, öfvermodig, väldig). The meaning closest to it's use by M, L and K in negative utterances - ´to be allowed to', is in fact mentioned by NS but designated archaic – Elsayed (2000: 112) mentions that in older Legal Finnish, *mahtaa* was used very commonly to express deontic permission as well as prohibition, whereas it occurs widely in the older Old Finnish as an auxiliary bearing conditional or future meaning (Rapola 1969: 81-82, Häkkinen 1994: 369-370), as well as in dialectal Finnish and Kalevalan folk poetry (KS). The question which confronts us here is: was the meaning 'to be allowed to' already well-established in the Old Finnish that M, L and K spoke, or did their use of *mahtaa* in prohibitive statements signify a subtle extension of the original meaning of the verb, as proposed by

Elsayed (2000:112)[9]? If the latter is the case, the phonological similarity between *maa/mogho* and *mahtaa* may have led them to identify the two, and to use the latter in contexts and meanings natural to the former. In any event, the phonological similarity between the two words may have at least caused *mahtaa* to be used with overwhelming frequency. The Modern Finnish equivalent of the phrase *ey maa*, namely *ei saa*, has been employed by U as a translation equivalent seven times, but not at all by M, L and K.

Trivially, the use of an auxiliary construction in the Old Swedish text, in addition to the conjunctive constructions, largely explains the differences in frequency between U and the three Old Finnish translations: M, L and K chose to translate the Swedish auxiliary phrase with an auxiliary-like construction in their own language, rather than with the negated imperative.

4.2. Source patterns with *scal/sculu*

Table 9. Old Swedish *ey scal/sculu* and its equivalents in Old Finnish

KrL	M	L	K	U
ey scal/sculu	ei pidä: 10	ei pidä: 11	ei pidä: 11	imperative: 8
	ei mahda: 2	ei mahda: 1	ei mahda: 1	act. indic.: 4
	ei tahdo: 1	ei tahdo: 1	ei tahdo: 1	

The Old Swedish auxiliary *scal/sculu*, much rarer in negative sentences than *maa/mogho*, is usually translated by M, L and K by a necessitive construction employing the verb *pitää* 'must' and a non-finite lexical verb with instructive case-marking, the 3rd infinitive instructive, e.g. *hänen pitää tekemän* 'he must do.'. This construction is known, but rather rare, in Southwestern Finnish dialects (Hakulinen 1979: 256, Ikola, Palomäki and Koitto 1989: 356). It's use as a translation equivalent for the Swedish auxiliary *scal* is extremely common in the older written Finnish language, which, to a large extent, was based on the Southwestern dialects, and in addition to a necessitive meaning, the *pitää tekemän*-construction has been known to show a tendency towards grammaticalization as a future-tense construction under the influence of the Swedish auxiliary construction *scal* (Ikola 1949: 204, Elsayed 2000: 110). Like the *ey maa*-construction mentioned above, here as well the three translators sought to preserve the Swedish auxiliary construction in Finnish well by using an isomorphic translation equivalent.

4.3. Source patterns with *hawi ey wald*

Table 10. Old Swedish *hawi ey wald* and its equivalents in Old Finnish

KrL	M	L	K	U
hawi ey wald	ei mahda: 20	ei mahda: 5	ei mahda: 1	älköön olko

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[9] "Vanhan lakisuomen tyyppillinen piirre on *mahtaa*-modaaliverbin yleinen käyttö deonttisen luvan tai kiellon ilmaisemiseen, mikä lienee ruotsin *må*-verbin deonttisen painotuksen vaikutusta" ("A typical feature of old Legal Finnish is the general use of the modal verb *mahtaa* to express deontic permission or prohibition, which may be a result of influence from the deontic pressure of the Swedish verb *må*") (Elsayed 2000: 112)

			oikeutta: 29
	ei pidä: 2	älköön olko valta: 1	ei ole valta: 21	
	ei pidä valta oleman: 2	ei pidä valta oleman: 2	ei pidä valta oleman: 7	
	ei ole valta: 3	ei ole valta: 17		
	ei ole voima: 2	ei ole voima: 4		

The Old Swedish *vald* (Modern Swedish *våld, vall*) has cognates in other Germanic languages, Finnish having borrowed *valta* from an early Germanic language (SEO). Schlyter mentions three basic meanings for Old Swedish *vald*: 1) power, domination, 2) force, 3) right (to do something (OSSGL). This polysemy is present in the borrowed Finnish *valta* as well: Lönnrot mentions an example sentence *siihen on hänellä waltaa* 'he has the right to do so'; the meaning 'right, permit' is mentioned by NS and SKES mentions a cognate from Olonets Karelian *valdu* meaning 'right, permit' as well as 'power, force'. Hence the use of *valta* in translation equivalents of *hawi ei wald* may well have been stimulated by the phonological similarity between *wald* and *valta* but does not entail an extension of the meaning of the Finnish word: the meaning 'right' and hence the possibility of a phrase like *hänellä ei ole valta* 'he has no right' was well-established in Finnish.

The translation equivalents show an interesting variety of forms. U has consistently translated the Swedish conjunctive phrase *hawi ey wald* (which could be translated with 'let him have no right to...') by a negated imperative *älköön hänellä olko oikeutta* – the lexical verb designates negated possession of *oikeus* 'right' and the translation equivalent is thus semantically very close to the Old Swedish original. M has favoured the *ei mahda* construction here as well, but *mahtaa* is used considerably less here by L and K, who most commonly use an indicative possessive construction *(hänellä) ei ole valta* 'he has no right'. Aside from this, M and L also use *(hänellä) ei ole voima* to some extent. The noun *voima*, a derivative of the verb *voida* 'can, be able to', means 'power, force' – but a meaning 'permit, right' is not mentioned by NS or Lönnrot. Closely related meanings, however, 'power, ability' in Finnish dialects as well as regarding the Estonian cognate *võim* are mentioned in SKES, which also adds the adjective *voimallinen* meaning 'possible' in texts by Agricola. Similar meanings are mentioned to occur in Kalevalan poetry by Turunen (KS).

The use of translation equivalents employing some possessive construction with *valta* either retain the strong deontic load of the Swedish conjunctive (M, L, K *ei pidä valta oleman* '(he) must not have the right to', L *älköön olko valta* in one instance, a negated imperative, 'let him have no right to'), or seem to discard it (M, L, K *ei ole valta* '(he) has no right to'). Thus the possessive construction *hänellä ei ole valta*, usual with L and even more so with K, while retaining equivalents of the Old Swedish *hawa* 'to have' and *wald* 'right', does not express the modality of the Swedish source pattern. The difference in distribution between the two constructions – *ei pidä valta oleman* and *ei ole valta* – cannot be explained by the Swedish source patterns. In both cases, the subject is usually a negative pronoun *engen*, i.e. the construction is something like *hawi engen wald*.

Why did M and L choose a contruction which could not express the modality of the Swedish source pattern? Perhaps the typological distance between the Swedish construction and the semantically closest Finnish equivalent – either U's *älköön olko oikeutta* or L's *älköön olko valta* was simply to great: requiring a Swedish possessive verb to be translated with a Finnish locative possessive construction, a Swedish particle-based negation with a Finnish negative-verb construction, and a Swedish

conjunctive with a Finnish negated imperative. Thus possibly L and K chose to go for a superficially more isomorphic construction at the expense of some of the exactness of the translation. Their choice may have been stimulated by the phonological (and orthographic similarity) between the Old Swedish negative particle *ey* and the Finnish 3rd pers. negative verb *ei* – leading the construction *hänellä ei ole valta* to be closer to the Swedish source pattern than constructions employing a Finnish negated imperative.

4.4. Source patterns with *ey aeghir*

The Old Swedish *aegha* (Mod. Swedish *ega*), is very polysemous, meaning, roughly, 'to own, to possess', 'to have a right to', and 'must' (OSSGL). This polysemy reflects of course upon its translation equivalents in the Finnish translations – in M, *ey aeghir* has been translated 15 times with some kind of (negated) permissive construction, mostly (9 times) with a construction *(hänen) ei tule (tehdä)* '(he) should not (do), he is not allowed to'. The other 10 occurrences of *ey aeghir* have been translated with some kind of possessive construction. L and K as well have usually translated the negated directive *ey aeghir* with *ei tule* and this construction is used (three times) by K as well, who most often (eight times in all) uses a negated imperative.

4.5. Conclusions about the negated imperative

There are two factors which may have contributed to the tendency of M,L and K to use auxiliary verbs where, at least in Modern Finnish, a negated imperative seems to be more appropriate. First of all, the superficial phonological similarity between *maa/mogho* and *mahtaa* may have induced M, L and K to use it as a translation equivalent, and the construction *ey maa* alone makes up quite a large portion of negated directive statements in KrL.
Accidental phonological similarity has been pinpointed as a factor in the case of loan translations by Haugen (1950: 220), and similarly contact-induced syntactic change stimulated by chance phonological similarity has been analyzed in some detail by Lyle Campbell (1987: 263) in his research on Spanish influence on Pipil syntax, who terms the phenomenon *shifts due to phonetic similarity*, whereas Aikhenvald (2003:2) labels the phenomenon *grammatical accomodation*, i.e. "(...) reinterpretation of a native morpheme on the model of the syntactic function of a phonetically similar morpheme in the diffusing language.". Phonological similarity also probably played a role in the choice of *valta* as a translation equivalent of *wald* in translating the highly frequent construction *hawi ey wald* – however, this translation seems perfectly fine (whereas I feel it is doubtful whether *mahtaa* occurred in the sense of 'be allowed to' in M's and L's days), although the use of a possessive construction probably restricted the options available to M, L and K. Interestingly it is the first translator, M, who has chosen a pattern rather different from the Swedish original, namely, using *mahtaa* here as well, and the later translators, L and especially K, chose for a translation equivalent rather isomorphic to the Swedish original.
This brings me to the second factor: particularly L and K chose translation equivalents as isomorphic as possible, choosing an auxiliary where the Swedish text uses auxiliaries, and so on. It is therefore particularly fascinating to see that M and K chose to leave the exhortative modality of the construction *hawi ey wald* untranslated. The type of interference we are dealing with here is what Chaudenson et al. (1993: 68) name *convergence*, or *covert interference* (King 2000: 89): the, extremely common, tendency for structures which have a strongly isomorphic

equivalent in a dominant language to be favoured, and the tendency for synonymous structures which do not have a isomorphic equivalent in a dominant language to become marginal and even fall out of use. Probably covert interference in Old Finnish has been stimulated a great deal by the tendency to translate particularly religious texts as faithfully as possible (Häkkinen 1994: 472-473) – M and L were both clergymen. Covert interference crucially involves no transfer of language material, and no change in the rules of the grammar of the 'recipient' language – the negated imperative still exists with all the three Old Finnish translators, but has been marginalized in particularly M and L, in favour of various constructions isomorphic with Old Swedish model constructions – although covert interference and the concomitant marginalization of non-isomorphic structures may stimulate structural change (Birnbaum 1984: 41, Campbell 1987: 271-272). As Thomason (2001a: 9-10) stresses, covert interfere is a potential change – it may be regarded as grammatical borrowing, but on a discourse level rather than a morphosyntactic level. Perhaps an incipient tendency for covert interference to lead to structural change may be seen with M, where *ei mahda* has a tendency to become generalized as a prohibitive auxiliary construction regardless of the patterns found in the Swedish source text.

5. The position of the negative verb

The susceptibility of word order patterns to foreign influence is controversial – though McMahon (1994: 209) regards syntax of all linguistic subsystems the least susceptible to foreign influence, Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 54-55, Thomason 2001b: 69) claim that word order patterns are transferred relatively easily in contact situations, similarly Birnbaum (1894: 34) states that: "It should be noted at the outset that the most commonly held view is that syntax is indeed highly permeable as compared to, at any rate, phonology and morphology.". On the other hand, King (2000: 46-47) is sceptical towards interlingual explanations of word order change, as towards syntactic borrowing in general, believing it to be mainly a secondary effect of lexical borrowing . The case we are dealing with here is the possibility of interference in the relatively free word order patterns of Finnish by a language which has much more fixed word order patterns. In cases like these, one might expect covert interference in the reinforcing of already existing but marginal word order patterns in the recipient language which happen to be isomorphic with source-language word order patterns. Cases like this seem well-documented in the literature (Thomason 2001b: 89).

As for research on Old Finnish, Häkkinen (1994: 472-473) remarks that word order patterns of a given text seem to often closely follow those of the Latin, German or Swedish original, and as far as M is concerned, Pajula (1955: 277) claims that the word order of the first Finnish legal translation seems to be almost totally isomorphic to that of KrL. When dealing more specifically with negative sentences, particularly the frequency of verb-initial (i.e. negative verb-initial, henceforth NEG-initial) clauses has received attention. While on the one hand, the tendency to place the negative verb immediately at the front of the clause, which seems to have been particularly strong with Agricola in whose writings NEG-initial negative clauses make up the vast majority of negative clauses (Savijärvi 1988: 72), has been connected with similar tendencies in spoken Finnish (Lindén 1963: 221-224, Savijärvi 1988: 73), on the other hand, it has been connected as well with a general tendency in literary Finnish to use inverted verb-subject word order as a result of foreign, particularly Swedish interference (treated critically by Häkkinen 1994: 336-339, see also Savijärvi 1988: 73-74).

The latter analysis is controversial, however – as Häkkinen (1994: 339) remarks, even a strong correlation between word order patterns in Finnish translations and Swedish source texts does not imply causation of a given word order pattern by foreign interference, and Lindén (1963: 217-218) points out, among other things, the fact that inverted word order seems to be just as common in Finnish subordinate clauses as in main clauses, while impossible in Swedish subordinate clauses. Aside from that, a tendency towards placing the negative particle or verb at the beginning of a clause seems to occur widely in languages (Jespersen 1917: 5). Vilkuna (1989: 118-119) remarks that NEG-initial word order, being extremely common in spoken Finnish dialogue, serves a pragmatic purpose: in NEG-initial sentences, the content of that which is negated is already known to the participants in communication, whereas with non-NEG-initial sentences, it is totally new.

It should thus be stressed here that source patterns are but one factor in regulating frequencies of various word order types in legal translations. For example, a fair share of the clauses examined are conditional clauses – either subordinate clauses starting with *jos* (and various fused conjunctions) or main clauses starting with *nyt*:

III: 3
M: *nÿtt ei elä lapset taicka lastein lapset, nijn*
'Now, neither children nor grandchildren are alive, in that case..."
VIII: 10
L: *nytt ei taidha Kuningas idze läsnä olla, samoilla edzicko ia maan käräijllä, nin*
'Now, the King may not be able to be present himself on the research hearing or the country court, in that case..."
VII: 22
L: *nytt tule se käräiän ioca walan tahto käydhä ia ei tahdo Jutun isändä tulla*
'Now, someone comes to court who wants to swear the oath, but the plaintiff does not want to come...'

In clauses like these, the position of the negative verb may be guided by general tendencies within Finnish to using an inverted word-order after adverbs, rather than through direct copying of model patterns.

5.1. NEG-initial clauses and their Swedish source patterns

Table 11. Frequency of NEG-initial clauses as opposed to other word order patterns. Clauses starting with a conjunction immediately followed by a negative verb are counted as NEG-initial, elliptical clauses are not taken into account.

	M	L	K	U
NEG-initial	626 (90,72%)	613 (90,15%)	601 (91,2%)	545 (80,98%)
SUBJ-initial	47 (6,81%)	52 (7,64%)	42 (6,38%)	95 (14,13%)
OBJ-initial	17 (2,46%)	14 (2,06%)	16 (2,43%)	33 (4,9%)

It is clear that NEG-initial sentences – sentences either with the negative verb at the front, or preceded by an adverbial or a conjunction, make up the lion's share of negative sentences in the four translations examined. With M, 90,72% of the negative sentences are NEG-initial, with L, 90,15%, with K, 91,19% and with U, 80,98%. Ilkka Savijärvi's (1988: 72) research shows 78% of Agricola's negative sentences are NEG-initial, whereas frequencies of 80% (or slightly higher) of NEG-

initial negative sentences among negative sentences in general seem to be not uncommon in Finnish dialects (Savijärvi 1977: 43). It is unclear whether Savijärvi also took sentences beginning with an adverbial immediately preceding the negative verb to be NEG-initial. Even in the Modern Finnish translation of KrL NEG-initial sentences make up four fifths of the whole. However, there seem to be, at first sight, two factors conductive to a high frequency of NEG-initial sentences in U: first of all, the high frequency of negated imperative verbs in U (rare in M, L and K), which precede the subject - if the subject is mentioned at all - in Modern Finnish as well as in older literary Finnish, second, the high frequency of sentences starting with a conjunction. Thus it seems that NEG-initial word order is the unmarked word order in negative sentences in at least older literary Finnish, that this word order is unmarked in Finnish dialects as well, and that thus a causal link between NEG-initial or verb-initial word order in Swedish and NEG-initial word order in older literary Finnish is very unlikely. Also, though NEG-initial sentences do occur in KrL., they are far less frequent than they are in the Finnish translations – a quick count turned up 133 NEG-initial clauses in KrL from a total of about 870 negative clauses. This notwithstanding, there is some correlation between NEG-initial clauses in KrL and those in M,L and K – NEG-initial source patterns have been translated almost always with NEG-initial clauses, with three exceptions in M, two in L, whereas I found none in K. Thus the relative frequency of NEG-initial clauses with NEG-initial source patterns is higher than the frequency of NEG-initial clauses in general, whereas, interestingly, it is lower in U, who translated NEG-initial source patterns with NEG-initial clauses in 78 instances (70,9%) and with non- NEG-initial clauses in 32 instances (29,1%).

However, this correlation does not imply that NEG-initial sentences in KrL have exerted an influence on the frequency of NEG-initial sentences in the Finnish translations. While in Finnish, the negative verb must precede the lexical verb, in Old Swedish the particle used to signify verbal negation, does not occupy a fixed position in the sentence, but often precedes the phrase under the scope of negation (cf. Lindén 1963: 217), for example:

III:23
M: *ia   **ei**   tiedhä ÿxikän hänen perillisens*
   and NEG knows no-one his   heir-ACC.HIS
KrL: *nu   æn man weet   **ey** hans arfua*
     now if one knows not his   heir
'(and/if) no-one knows his heir'

VII:22
M: *eli on sijnä, ia   **ei**   tahdo Stauata   vala*
   or is there and NEG wants to pronounce oath-PART
KrL: *eller ær ther oc wil   **ey** edh   stafua*
    or   is there and wants not oath to pronounce
'or he is there, but does not want to pronounce the oath'

VII:25
M: *mwtoin ios hän laissa wanno walallansa, nÿn **ettej**   hän lakia   tiedhä sÿnä   asiasa*
                    so THAT-NEG he   law-PART know that-ESS case-INESS
KrL: *wtan han for thinge swær meth een edhe sinom ath han **ey**   lagh om   thet   maal weeth*
                                   that he not law about that case   knows
'except if he swears an oath in court, that he does not know the law in this case'

Also, Swedish may employ negative pronouns and adverbs which have syntactic functions (subject, object, adverbial, etc.) quite distinct from that of the negative verb in Finnish. Therefore, despite the phonological similarity between the Old Swedish

negative particle *ey* and the Finnish negative verb, the much smaller frequency of NEG-initial sentences in the Swedish source text as well as the great typological differences between Finnish and Swedish negation seems to preclude any role played by the Swedish negative particle in the causation of NEG-initialness in the Finnish translations.

Though the Finnish negative verb has no semantic content of its own, it does carry person and number marking, and it is therefore possible to consider the possibility that the frequency of NEG-initial sentences in the Finnish translations may have been guided by the position of the main verb in the Swedish source texts rather than by the position of the negative particle. Lindén (1963: 217) criticizes this idea, noting that the Finnish negative verb lacks some fundamental characteristics of verbality – notably, it cannot get verbal modifiers – and that, semantically, the negative verb is a much closer equivalent to the Swedish negative particle than the verb. Nevertheless, verb-initial clauses are much more frequent in the Swedish source text than NEG-initial clauses – they number slightly over 400, almost half of the sentences examined. Here as well, the frequency of NEG-initial clauses in the Finnish translations is higher than the average (albeit not quite as high as the frequency of NEG-inital clauses with NEG-initial source patterns) – M translated Swedish verb-initial clauses with NEG-initial clauses in 391 cases or 97,5% of the whole, whereas he has subject- or object-initial clauses in 10 cases, L has 388 NEG-initial clauses (98,7%) against 5 subject- or object-initial clauses, K 395 NEG-initial clauses (98,5%) against 3 subject- or object-initial clauses, whereas U has 372 NEG-initial clauses (92,3%) against 31 subject- or object-initial clauses. The relationship between NEG-initial, V-initial and other word order patterns in the source text and the patterns of the Old Finnish translations can be depicted as follows:

KrL: M,L,K:

V-initial clauses   NEG-initial clauses
NEG-initial clauses

                                       NEG-initial clauses

Non-V-initial clauses
Non-NEG-initial clauses

                                       Non-NEG-initial clauses
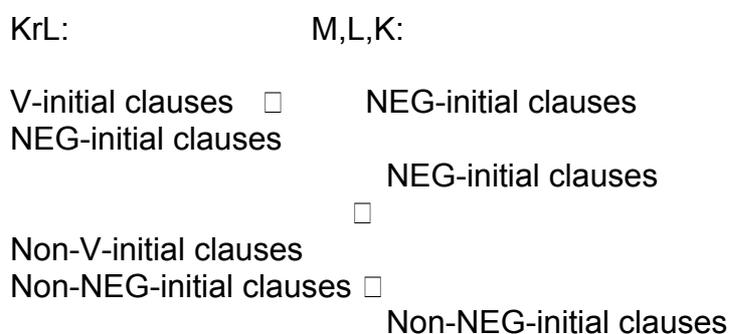
The fact that verb-initial clauses have been almost always translated, in the Old Finnish translations, with NEG-initial clauses makes it conceivable that Swedish verb-initiality contributed to reinforcing the use, and heightening the frequency, of NEG-initial clauses – the use of which itself seems to be rooted in Finnish dialectal usage rather than interference.

5.2. Non-NEG-initial clauses and their Swedish source patterns.

If NEG-initiality is the unmarked word order in the Finnish of M, L and K, then where do the non-NEG-initial sentences come from? With M, subject-initial clauses have subject-initial source patterns in 36 cases, object-initial source patterns in one case, NEG-initial source patterns in two cases and verb-initial source patterns in six cases, whereas object-initial clauses have object-initial source patterns in four cases, subject-initial source patterns in five, NEG-initial source patterns in one case and verb-initial source patterns in four cases. L's subject-initial clauses have 39 subject-

initial, three object-initial, two NEG-initial and three verb-initial source patterns, whereas his object-initial clauses have five object-initial, four subject-initial and two verb-initial source patterns.With K, on the other hand, subject-initial clauses have subject-initial source patterns in 35 cases, object-initial source patterns in one case and verb-initial source patterns in one case, whereas object-initial clauses correspond to object-initial clauses in eight cases, subject-initial clauses in two cases and verb-initial clauses in two cases. U has roughly twice as much non-NEG-initial clauses as the three earlier translators.

There are a few word order patterns which contribute particularly to the higher frequency of subject-initial and object-initial clauses in U. The order S-NEG-V occurs 16 times in M, 18 times in L and 15 times in K – but 24 times in U. In nine instances, the phrase in U is *nämä sakot eivät ole suuremmat, nämä sakot eivät tule suuremmaksi, se sakko ei tule suuremmaksi* or variants, which have a NEG-initial source pattern – *ey wardir the booth mere, ey aer the booth mera* etc., and which has been translated by a NEG-initial clause in M,L and K, for example:

V:16
M: **ei**   *mahda olla se   sacko enämbi*
    NEG may   be   the fine   higher
L: **ei** *tule se sacko suremmaxi*
K: **eij** *ole ne sacot suremmat*
U: *nämä sakot*   **eivät**   *ole suuremmat*
    these   fine-PL NEG-3PL be greater
KrL: **ey** *wardir the   bot   mera*
     not will be these fines   more
'These fines will not be higher'

The word order patterns Conjunction-O-NEG-V and Conjunction-O-NEG-V-Participle – all passive clauses – occur five times in M, never in L or K, but 12 times in U. Here, too, a large number (eight out of twelve) consists of translations of one particular type of phrase, this time U's *mutta häntä ei ole tavattu itse teosta*, *mutta häntä ei ole selvästi tavattu teosta*, and the like – in KrL, *aer ey bar oc atakin, oc aer ey fangen widher, oc aer ey vppenbarlica taken wider*, etc. Here as well the equivalent phrases in M,L and K are NEG-initial, while their Swedish source patterns are NEG-initial or verb-initial. Finally, word order patterns Conjunction-S-NEG-V, Conjunction-S-NEG-V-Infinitive, Conjunction-S-NEG-V-O and Conjunction-S-NEG-V-Infinitive-O, occur, all in all, 35 times in U, but only 11 times in M, 7 times in L and 5 times in K. The source patterns in KrL here are NEG-initial in 5 instances, verb-initial in 13 instances and subject-initial in 17 instances. Their equivalents in the older three translations are presented in the table below:

Table 12. Equivalents of U's Conjunction-S-NEG-V(-X) order in KrL and the three Old Finnish translations.

	KrL	M	L	K
SUBJ-initial	17	6	7	3
V-initial	13			
NEG-initial	5	28	24	28

This demonstrates, if anything, that the strong preference for NEG-initial sentences in M, L and K seems quite independent from NEG-initiality in KrL, even if NEG-initial sentences are almost always translated by NEG-initial sentences. In the case of U's patterns Conjunction-S-NEG-V(-X), neither the three Old Finnish texts nor U's translation seems to be particularly bent on reproducing the word order patterns found in the source text, with M,L and K clearly preferring NEG-initial patterns against U's subject-initial word order patterns, with the Swedish source text showing 18 verb initial and NEG-initial sentences against 17 subject-initial sentences.

5.3. Conclusions on word order

Concluding, the overwhelming frequency of NEG-initial word order patterns in M, L and K (over 90%), seems, like the somewhat slighter but still impressive frequency of NEG-initial patterns in U (over 80%) not to be caused by a tendency to translate NEG-initial or verb-initial source patterns with isomorphic source patterns. Rather, the relative amount of NEG-initial clauses in M, L and K seems to correspond well with the frequency of this pattern in Finnish dialects (as well as with the frequency of NEG-initial patterns in Agricola) as reported by Savijärvi (1977: 43, 1988: 72), and is thus probably reflects the grammar of the Finnish dialects spoken by the three translators. The slightly higher frequency of NEG-initial clauses in M,L and K as compared to the percentages mentioned by Savijärvi for Agricola and certain Finnish dialects may be caused by my regarding sentences in which the negative verb/particle is only preceded by an adverb as NEG-initial sentences as well. This does not mean that the source patterns in KrL have not exerted influence upon the choices M, L and K made when translating it – NEG-initial source patterns are almost consistently translated with NEG-initial clauses, verb-initial source patterns are translated with NEG-initial clauses with overwhelming frequency. In the latter case, we need not necessarily posit an identification made by M, L and K between the negative verb and the Swedish main verb – in fact, a tendency to place the lexical verb in the same position in the clause as the main verb in the source text could lead likewise to a greater frequency of NEG-initial clauses, since the lexical verb in Finnish must be preceded by the negative verb, if nothing else.

As it is, the proportional frequency of verb-initial source patterns among NEG-V(-X) and Conjunction-NEG-V-(X) patterns in M seems to be slightly higher than the proportional frequency of V-initial source patterns for NEG-initial clauses in M in general: of 626 NEG-initial clauses, 391 have, as mentioned above, verb-initial source patterns, or 62,5% of the whole. Taking the 385 clauses with NEG-V(-X) and Conjunction-NEG-V(-X) patterns in M, we find that 265 or 68,8% of them have verb-initial source patterns. The difference is small, and does not really change if we exclude source patterns translated with identical patterns (NEG-initial clauses with NEG-initial source patterns from NEG-initial clauses as a whole, and NEG-V-initial clauses with NEG-V-initial source patterns, excluding those where a negative pronoun like *engen* functions as subject, from NEG-V sentences as a whole) – the percentages would be 79,8% and 84,1% respectively. Though interesting, the corpus of sentences examined may be too small to draw firm conclusions on whether a tendency to front the lexical verb according to the source text really contributed to the frequency of NEG-initial sentences in the three Old Finnish translations. Thus, we do have some indications for Swedish interference being a factor in regulating NEG-initiality in the Old Finnish translations – however, NEG-initiality in M, L and K remains generally within the norms of spoken Finnish.

6. Evaluation

The negative sentence of the three Old Finnish texts examined seems to have been influenced in various ways by the source patterns of the Old Swedish text, however, this influence seems to have been confined to covert interference, i.e. changes in language use rather than language structure, with the possible exception of the use of *eikä* as a resumptive negative pronoun. Influence from the Swedish source text manifests itself in a tendency to use, where possible, constructions isomorphic with the Swedish model patterns within the boundaries set by Finnish grammar, and, occasionally, exceeding those boundaries. Interesting in this regard is the occasional preference by the three translators to use equivalents which bear a phonological similarity to the Old Swedish original, which may have been stimulated by the accidental homophony between the Old Swedish negative particle *ey* and the 3rd pers. sing. form of the Finnish negative verb, i.e. possible instances of grammatical accomodation.

Hence, the three Old Finnish texts, particularly M and L, to a lesser extent, K, seem to strongly prefer periphrastic prohibitive constructions formed on the basis of a Swedish model like *ei mahda*, *ei ole valta* than the negated imperative, however, none of the constructions they use seems to have grammaticalized as a prohibitive construction totally substituting the negated imperative – which is used, albeit marginally, by all three authors. Perhaps, an incipient tencendy to have *ei mahda* crystallize as a general prohibitive construction can be discerned in M, who prefers the use of it also when the source text has *hawi ey wald*, which the other two translators choose to translate more or less literally. In this case, possibly, superficial phonological similarity between the Old Swedish original form and the Finnish equivalent has possibly led the three authors to prefer it over other alternatives. In case of the translation of *hawi ey wald* with *ei ole valta*, this preference has led to the loss of the deontic load present in the Swedish source pattern, though the translators seem to have attempted to make up for this by occasionally choosing a necessitive or negated imperative construction.

Similarly occupying the borderlands between lexical borrowing/calqueing and contact-induced morphosyntactic change is the use of *eikä* as a resumptive negative particle rather than a negated conjunction. The use of *eikä* as a resumptive negative particle, which seems to be exclusive in M and L, whereas K employs it both as a negative particle and as a conjunction, seems to be based on a semantic loan from Old Swedish – *eikä* is used overwhelmingly as a translation equivalent of Old Swedish *hwarte* in the three Old Finnish translations. Here, though, the semantic loan has great consequences for Finnish morphosyntax, by introducing a negative particle in a system of negation alien to it.

In case of word order, the Old Swedish model pattern does seem to play a role in regulating the distribution of NEG-initiality vs. non-NEG-initiality, but it is only one of many factors. NEG-initiality is most likely the unmarked word order pattern in the Finnish dialects that the translators spoke, as it still is, in many dialects. This notwithstanding there is a strong preference by the three translators to translate Old Swedish NEG-initial and verb-initial sentences with NEG-initial sentences.

The fact that, when dealing with the results of language contact, subsystems of language tend to be porous, and innovations in one subsystem trickle down to the other ones, is one of the main reason morphosyntactic borrowing is still quite a controversial notion, and study of processes like these may advance our understanding of it.

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