Multilingual practices in late medieval Swedish writing

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Abstract

Late medieval Sweden was a multilingual society. At least three languages – namely Old Swedish, Low German, and Latin – were in use, beside other regional languages. While the influence of Low German is easily detectable in all parts of the Swedish language system and has been investigated rather thoroughly from a historical sociolinguistic point of view (cf. Braunmüller 2004), the role of Latin has been rather marginalized in traditional Swedish language historiography, focusing on the earlier stages of Old Swedish, which are described as its classical form (cf. Pettersson 2005). Starting out as the language of religion, administration, diplomacy and, to some extent, trade, Latin was the dominant language of text production in Sweden until the 14th century, which saw Written Old Swedish gain some domains as well, resulting in a more balanced diglossic relation between the two languages. The emerging written variety of Swedish, however, was heavily influenced by the multilingual practices of scribes, in large part clerics who were used to using at least Swedish and Latin on a daily basis for a variety of communicative purposes (Höder 2010). These multilingual practices, ranging from ad hoc translations via code-switching to the application of Latin stylistic, textual, and syntactic norms in Swedish text production (Höder 2018), had a lasting impact on the later development of a Swedish proto-standard, and are still reflected in conservative text types today. This contribution approaches this development from a historical sociolinguistic and contact linguistic perspective, concentrating on the establishment of multilingual practices.

Keywords: Old Swedish, Latin, standardization, language *Ausbau*, multilingual practices

1 Old Swedish in traditional language historiography

The history of a language is not the same as the history of its speaker community or communities. This distinction is different from the more traditional dichotomy between a language's internal and external history, i.e. the history of linguistic structures as opposed to social, demographic, and other historical parameters that have influenced the structural development. Rather, it points to the insight that a 'linguocentric' approach to language history tends to miss some central points of a language's ecology, to use the term introduced in Haugen's (1971) seminal paper (for a comprehensive overview, cf. Eliasson 2015), such as: Who used language X at a given point in time? In which domains? Was X a spoken and/or a written language? Was it standardized? What were the attitudes of its speakers towards X? And, crucially: Was X the only language used by its speakers, or were they bi-/multilingual?[1]

Language historiography, however, remains largely conservative and linguocentric in its take on language history. One example is the historiographical approach to Old Swedish (OSw; Swedish *fornsvenska*), i.e. late medieval Swedish, conventionally dated to the period between c. 1225, when the oldest extant Swedish text written in Latin script was produced (*Äldre Västgötalagen*, the Elder Westrogothic law), and 1526, when the first Swedish translation of the New Testament was printed. OSw is usually described in histories of Swedish, not histories of Sweden or of the Swedish-speaking people(s). This implies not only a focus on language-internal developments (internal history), but also a rather pervasive monolingual perspective on structural developments and their consequences – while, as a matter of fact, late medieval Sweden was to a large extent a multilingual society (cf. Section 2).

The monolingual perspective is evident in, among other things, the traditional emphasis on Early OSw (roughly, the first half of the whole OSw period, 1225-1375) that is characteristic of older standard works on language history and Old Swedish grammaticography (e.g. Noreen 1904, Wessén 1941-1956). This focus on Early OSw may in part be traced back to the roots of language historiography in 19th-century philology, which – quite naturally in the age of national romanticism – considered the oldest attested or reconstructible linguistic structures to represent the most genuine form of a language and, thus, the one most worthy of analysis. (Early OSw preserves far more of the inherited Nordic or Germanic inflectional morphology than does Late OSw, which shows strong deflectional tendencies as well as other types of structural change attributable to 'foreign', i.e. primarily German,

influence.) The traditional emphasis on Early OSw is still reflected in more recent works such as Pettersson's (2005) textbook on Swedish language history, when the earlier period is labelled *klassisk fornsvenska* 'classical OSw' – an evaluative and idealising rather than a descriptive term. In effect, this concentration on the oldest and most genuine forms almost inevitably entails a marginalization of the role of other languages in medieval Sweden, and an invisibilization of these other languages in the history of Swedish (*sensu* Langer & Havinga 2015). Moreover, it is very much debatable whether 'Swedish' at the beginning of the 13th century actually should be thought of as a language in the modern sense that the terminology seems to imply. In many respects, that would be quite an anachronistic view: Rather, the historiographical label '(Early Old) Swedish' refers to a geographical bundle of East Nordic dialects within the Scandinavian dialect continuum, increasingly accompanied (but not yet roofed) by a set of emerging writing traditions, not clearly delimitable from the neighbouring Nordic languages (Danish, Norwegian, Gutnish) on structural grounds, defined only in political terms as the Nordic language as used within the recently consolidated Swedish realm. Even the use of the term *svenska* 'Swedish' from the 14th century onward cannot be taken as clear evidence for the existence of any kind of linguistic awareness or focusing (*sensu* Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) beyond the fact that the vernacular Nordic dialects were perceived as different from allochthonous languages (such as German; cf. Ottosson 2002).

Of course, an integrative approach, following in Haugen's footsteps in many respects, has come to play a major role in historical sociolinguistics and contact linguistics. For instance, a multilingual perspective figures prominently in historical sociolinguistic work on language contact between medieval Swedish (as well as other Nordic languages) and Low German, and in particular the work by Braunmüller and associates has indeed become quite influential (for an overview, cf. Braunmüller 2002, 2004, 2005). While this line of work deserves credit for addressing the role of language contact in language change, and for putting historical multilingualism on the map in the first place, it still occupies a rather specialist niche, and even if contacts between Swedish and other languages are accepted as an important part of language history (cf. Teleman 2002: 24-41), a multilingual perspective is still far from belonging to the historiographical mainstream. Furthermore, our picture of how important multilingualism was for medieval Sweden as a linguistic ecosystem is yet far from complete.

This article embraces the view put forward by, among others, Pahta, Skaffari & Wright (2018: 4) that "one way or the other, virtually all historical

texts are multilingual" in the sense that they are – in many cases rather heavily – characterized by what can be labelled 'multilingual practices', and that this textual multilingualism reflects the fact that historical societies usually were multilingual, too. The article contributes some findings on multilingual practices employed by speakers of Latin and Swedish and argues for their place in Swedish language history – both in the sense of a history of Swedish and in the sense of Sweden's linguistic history. Section 2 discusses the *Ausbau* of OSw, i.e. its development into a written language, in the multilingual society of medieval Sweden. Section 3 focuses on two case studies of *Ausbau*-related structural innovations that exemplify different fates of emerging multilingual practices in the later development of Swedish from the Late Middle Ages onwards. Based on these findings, the conclusion in Section 4 reassesses the role of multilingual practices in Swedish language history.

2 *Ausbau* in a multilingual society

While traditional language historiography tends to focus on Early OSw for reasons outlined above, it is clearly Late OSw that has had most influence in the later development of Swedish, in particular with respect to its use as a written language. Firstly, Present-Day Standard Swedish is the outcome of a standardization process starting in the Early Modern Swedish period (after 1526) and culminating in the work of the newly founded academies in the 18th century as well as the codification of a written standard in 1801 (Teleman 2002: 69-71; 2003: 406-407). However, written Early Modern Swedish also built on earlier writing practices established in Late OSw, particularly the traditions of writing in the then dominating genres of religious prose, which can be viewed as constituting a proto-standard in Deumert & Vandenbussche's (2003: 456) terms (Teleman 2003: 409; cf. Figure 1).

Secondly, Late OSw is by far the most dominant period in the textual history of OSw, both in quantitative terms, with a sharp rise in text production during the 15th century, and in qualitative terms, with a significant diversification of the types of texts produced in Swedish, accompanied by a gradual development towards a more unified written norm. This boost in text production is mainly the result of an ongoing process of language *Ausbau*, to use the term coined by Kloss (1967, 1978). *Ausbau* can be defined as a historical process leading to a relevant group of speakers of language X writing texts in socially important domains in X, as opposed to earlier practices of writing in other languages or not writing at all (Höder 2010: 76-78).
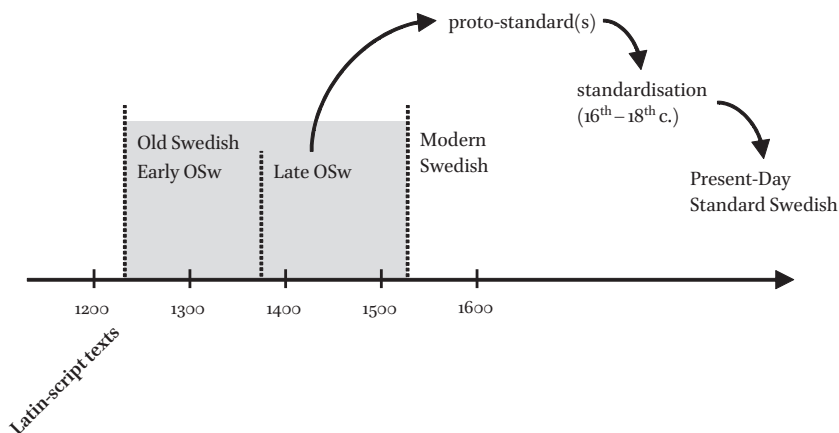
Figure 1   *The place of Late Old Swedish in the history of Standard Swedish*

Ausbau normally – and certainly in European history – presupposes language contact and at least some degree of multilingualism within the relevant speaker group: People will seldom develop writing from scratch, but rather develop writing practices in a formerly unwritten language based on their previous experience with writing in other languages, and there will hardly be an abrupt switch from writing in language Y to writing in X, but rather a gradual shift, either towards writing exclusively in X or towards writing in *both* languages, at least as an intermediate stage. Also, *Ausbau* tends to proceed domain-wise, with the *Ausbau* language gaining some domains earlier than others.

The *Ausbau* of OSw started off around 1300 in a polyglossic situation (Figure 2). Sweden as a whole (then including today's Finland) was a multilingual society, where (a) Swedish was used alongside a range of other languages, including on the one hand (b) Uralic languages spoken by regional minorities in some regions (Finns, Sami), and on the other hand (c) Low German and (d) Latin. While regional minority languages were usually not written until much later (but see Blomqvist 2017 on traces of Finnish in OSw documents), Latin and Low German did not only function as highly developed written languages in medieval Sweden, but, more importantly, were also highly prestigious, mainly as a consequence of their association with prestigious domains in Swedish society. While Swedish was mostly used in everyday domains by the majority of the population, and primarily as a spoken language (with the notable exception of some early text types, such as the so-called provincial laws), Low German was chiefly used in the domains of trade and town administration, in its function as

the lingua franca of the Hanseatic League, and in everyday domains by the numerous German minority living in Swedish towns.[2] Latin, in contrast, was used in the domains of the church – including religious domains in a narrower sense, but also e.g. ecclesiastical and monastic administration –, in administrative domains throughout the country, in religious and secular literature, and in communication with foreigners as the lingua franca of Western Europe (Höder 2010: 28-38).
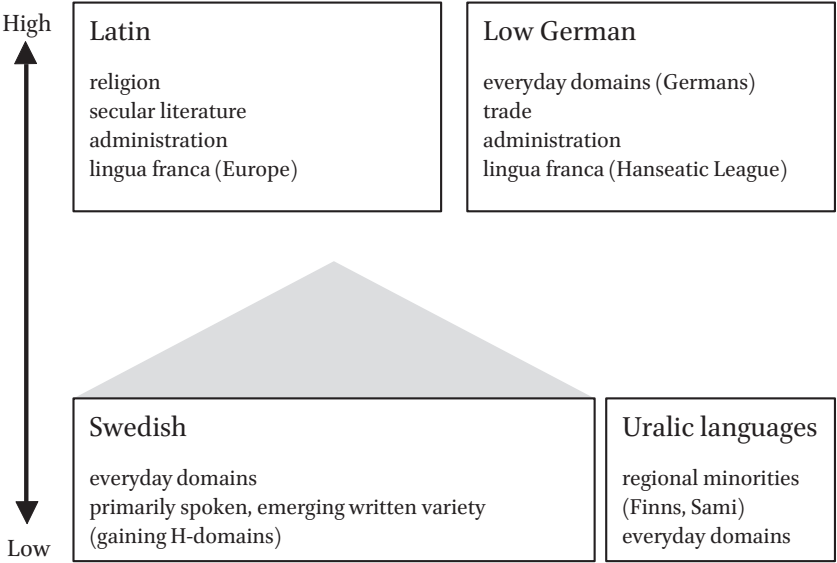

High	Latin	Low German
	religion	everyday domains (Germans)
	secular literature	trade
	administration	administration
	lingua franca (Europe)	lingua franca (Hanseatic League)
	Swedish	Uralic languages
	everyday domains	regional minorities
	primarily spoken, emerging written variety	(Finns, Sami)
Low	(gaining H-domains)	everyday domains

Figure 2   Swedish polyglossia (around 1300)

One of the first triggers for language *Ausbau* was what can be described as a first modest step towards an official language policy: a political attempt to make Sweden's administration more efficient by regulating the language used in public charters. The first law for the entire Swedish realm (Magnus Eriksson's Country Law, *Magnus Erikssons landslag*, passed around 1341 and superseding the earlier provincial laws), stipulated at least for the country-side that all public charters must be written in Swedish.[3] A similar, albeit not exactly parallel, provision in the contemporaneous town law (Magnus Eriksson's Town Law, *Magnus Erikssons stadslag*) stated that town clerks should be Swedish and that Swedish members should constitute at least half of the town councils (Larsson 2003: 57). One effect of these regulations was to strengthen the position of Swedish as a legal language in towns as well. Indeed, the proportion of Swedish-language charters increased from

5 per cent in the decade before 1350 to 30 per cent one decade and 71 per cent seventy years later (Gejrot 2011: 101). In *Ausbau* terms, this means that Swedish gained a domain from Latin, and bilingual writers wrote increasingly in Swedish instead of (or in addition to) Latin.

Apart from charters, the most important trigger for language *Ausbau* was the text production of monastic communities (Höder 2010: 85-87), above all the Birgittine order with its motherhouse Vadstena Abbey, situated on Lake Vättern in southern Sweden, and several other houses throughout the country. The Birgittines, initially founded by Birgitta Birgersdotter (Saint Bridget) in 1344, were an unusual religious order in several respects: Firstly, the order had both male and female members; Vadstena Abbey, for instance, was a double monastery with a couple of monks and a larger number of nuns. Secondly, the order – and Vadstena Abbey in particular – soon assumed the role of Sweden's leading spiritual and cultural institution, and even exerted political influence. Thirdly and most notably, the Birgittine monasteries became the centre of monastic text production in Latin as well as in the vernacular Swedish. The high proportion of religious prose texts, the predominant genre during the Late OSw period, reflects the level of the Birgittines' productivity. This is illustrated in Figure 3 (based on Wollin 1991a: 246, Fig. 1), which shows the proportion of different genres in extant OSw sources (excluding charters); whereas the high number of religious texts is due to the production of original texts and translations, the comparatively high number of laws is based on the existence of many copies per text (cf. Åström 1993: 236).

Figure 3   Old Swedish text production across text types

Belonging to a small, societally influential, highly educated cultural elite group, the Birgittines also formed part of a tight-knit community of practice (*sensu* Meyerhoff 2002, cf. also Timofeeva 2013 on a similar case with Old English-Latin bilinguals), in which different activities connected to literacy were part of people's everyday life: The Birgittine monks and nuns were by no means novices to writing, but rather experienced, if not professional clerks, scribes, authors, and not least translators (and described as such in, for instance, Vadstena Abbey's memorial book; cf. Gejrot 1988). Furthermore, most members of the Birgittine community were at least bilingual to some extent: Being an experienced writer was, in principle, equivalent to being an experienced Latin writer, as Latin still was the primary means of written communication, and Latin and literacy were, even in formal training, inextricably linked to each other. As a consequence, Swedish writers could rely on a tradition of firmly established textual, stylistic, and even syntactic norms when writing in Latin, whereas a corresponding set of specifically Swedish norms had not yet been developed. It is not hard to imagine that bilingual writers, in the absence of specifically Swedish norms, did not necessarily view the Latin ones as applicable to one language only, and rather interpreted them as norms for *writing as such*, in whatever language (cf. Höder 2018: 158-159). What is more, there is even metalinguistic evidence that writers were actively encouraged by their superiors to employ Latin norms when writing in Swedish. For example, a bishop wrote to the community at Vadstena Abbey in c. 1495 that a good preacher was supposed to "improve this dark Swedish according to the Latin book".[4]

3 Corpus analysis: Multilingual practices in HaCOSSA-late

We see in the Swedish Birgittine texts an abundance of various forms of multilingual practices, ranging from classic code-switching phenomena (such as insertional and alternational code-switching between Swedish and Latin) to different structural innovations that can be explained as representing contact-induced change (see below). For some of these innovations, more specifically, it seems plausible that they originated in or at least facilitated the communicative task of translating from Latin into Swedish (on the role of translations in contact-induced language change, cf. Kranich, Becher & Höder 2011). Many of the Birgittine texts were translations, increasingly aiming at formal equivalence between the Latin originals and their Swedish counterparts (instead of the earlier practice of achieving

functional equivalence by paraphrasing where necessary; cf. Wollin 1991b). The more closely OSw structures resembled the Latin model, the easier it was to produce formally equivalent translations. In addition, the Birgittine tradition included the monks' preaching to laypeople in the vernacular, based on sermons drafted in Latin (Wollin 2001: 142-143) – the monks' sheer ability to do that points to an impressive degree of routinization of some multilingual practices within the monastic community.

The following sections present findings from a corpus analysis of Late OSw data. The corpus is presented as a multilingual corpus in Section 3.1. Section 3.2 discusses innovative features of relative clauses in Late OSw and argues for an explanation based on Latin-Swedish bilingual practices in monastic communities. While these innovations caught on in the later development of Swedish and made their way into the written variety of Modern Swedish, others did not. Section 3.3 discusses one of those multilingual dead ends, namely the short-lived OSw gerundive.

3.1 A multilingual corpus

The corpus used is *The Hamburg Corpus of Old Swedish with Syntactic Annotation* (*HaCOSSA*), an XML-based digital corpus of OSw texts, manually annotated syntactically and morphologically according to *TEI*, *Menota*, and *PaCMan* standards.[5] The corpus comprises different text types and contains about 113,000 tokens in total. The analyses in this article are based on *HaCOSSA-late*, a sub-corpus containing eleven Late OSw texts with 80,586 tokens in total (cf. Table 1 for details). While not all of the texts have a religious content in a narrow sense, although religious fiction and sermons make up most of the corpus, the remainder also belongs to the monastic sphere, either because the texts were used in the Birgittine administration or, in the case of the two secular fictional texts, because they were written or translated by members of the monastic community.

A convenient way to establish that this corpus represents multilingual practices that were typical of monastic text production during the Late OSw period is to make sure it contains (overtly) Latin material, i.e. code-switching phenomena. It is crucial, though, that the Latin elements do not (solely) consist of established loanwords, but also exhibit Latin grammatical marking, and thus indicate the productive use of Latin alongside Swedish by the writers.

While code-switching as such is not annotated in HaCOSSA and, therefore, hard to quantify, the number of Latin tokens (which are annotated) may serve as an approximation in quantitative terms.[6] Table 2 shows the normalized frequency of Latin tokens in HaCOSSA-late per text type:

Table 1 HaCOSSA-late

Text type		Text		Length (tokens)
religious/ ecclesiastical texts	religious fiction	BA	*Birgitta-autografen A*	62,828
		BK	*Heliga Birgittas uppenbarelser*, book 4, chapters 1-20, 40-60	
		BL	*Heliga Birgittas uppenbarelser*, book 7	
		MU	*Heliga Mechtilds uppenbarelser*, chapters 1-20	
		ST	*Själens tröst*, introduction and Second Commandment	
	sermons	SS	*Sermones sacri Svecice*	5,694
	church administration	CG	*Ordning vid val af Confessor Generalis i Vadstena kloster*	10,058
		VE	*Stadga af år 1443 för Vadstena klosters ekonomi*	
		VF	*Handlingar på svenska rörande 'Vårfrupänningen' till Vadstena klosters byggnad och underhåll*, texts 3-8	
secular texts	secular fiction	HA	*Herr abboten*	2,006
		JP	*Aff Joan prest aff India land*	
		total		**80,586**

Table 2 Latin elements in HaCOSSA-late

Text type	Tokens	Text length	Normalized frequency (per 1,000 tokens)
religious fiction	779	62,828	12.4
sermons	1,281	5,694	225.0
church administration	528	10,058	52.5
secular fiction	32	2,006	16.0
total	**2,620**	**80,586**	**32.5**

While the frequency of Latin elements varies greatly across text types, ranging from low figures in religious and secular fiction (12.4 and 16.0 per 1000 tokens, respectively) to an exceedingly high figure (225.0 per 1000 tokens) in sermons, it can be established that, on average, approximately one in thirty tokens is Latin.

As to the forms and functions of code-switching in Late OSw, there does not seem to be much of a difference between the strategies found here and in other data, both historical and more recent; in particular, code-switching is employed in connection with lexical gaps and cultural loans, but also as a means of marking textual and discourse units as well as quotations, in part irrespective of the original language (cf. Höder 2018: 155-157). While it is obvious that the production of written texts allows for a higher degree of planning and even correction, and while it is plausible that this might suppress some forms of unintended code-switching that occur more frequently in oral speech, code-switching in multilingual texts does not generally

appear to be fundamentally different from code-switching in spoken language (Gardner-Chloros 2018: 21-24), and more recent work as well as classic studies such as Stolt's (1964) analysis of Luther's *Table Talks* and Wright's (2002) study on medieval business texts have yielded similar results.

The most notable formal feature of code-switching in HaCOSSA-late is the use of Latin inflectional morphology in insertional code-switching. For example, (1) – taken from a text on procedural rules for the election of the general confessor at Vadstena Abbey – contains several Latin lexemes (marked by boldface):

(1) CG 113:

Ok nar   ha*n* som waldir är til **confessorem**   a sinne matto   som
and when he   as   elected is to confessor-ACC.SG on his   manner REL
fore   saght är tha halde   ha*n* **confessoris**   stadh ok ämbite
before said   is then hold-SBJV he   confessor-GEN.SG place and office
thogh   ey so*m* **confessor**   wta*n* som en slättir brodh*ir*
though not as   confessor-NOM.SG but   as   a simple brother
thogh   skula alle hano*m* lydha som i **Regula   saluatoris**
though shall all him   obey as   in rule-ABL.SG saviour-GEN.SG
biudz   lydha **confessori**   i **xii capitulo**
command-PASS obey confessor-DAT.SG in 12 chapter-ABL.SG
"And when he has been elected as confessor in the aforementioned manner,
he shall take the confessor's place and office, yet not as the confessor, but
as a simple brother. Yet all shall obey him as it is commanded in the twelfth
chapter of the Saviour's Rule to obey the confessor."

In (1) there are four instances of Latin *confessor* 'confessor', each in a different inflectional form. This lexeme is a technical term, meaning – in this context – the general confessor of Vadstena Abbey. The different case forms, marked by the appropriate Latin suffixes, are governed by Swedish elements according to Swedish morphosyntactic patterns: The accusative *confessorem* is governed by the preposition *til*,[7] the genitive *confessoris* specifies the possessor in a possessive noun phrase, the nominative *confessor* preceded by the particle *som* 'as' agrees with the subject of the clause (the 3rd person singular pronoun *han*), and the dative *confessori* is governed by the verb *lydha* 'obey'. Similarly, the ablative form *capitulo* is governed by the Swedish preposition *i* (for the rather intricate matter of conventional equivalence between OSw and Latin cases, cf. Höder 2012: 250-253). Whether *Regula saluatoris*, the 'Saviour's Rule' can be counted as code-switching or

as an established loan, is impossible to decide; as a fixed expression, it denotes the basic rule of the Birgittine order.

Similar examples abound in HaCOSSA-late, suggesting not only that the writers had an intimate knowledge of both Latin and Swedish and were productively bilingual, but also that code-switching was, at least to a certain degree, an established multilingual practice within the monastic community.

3.2 Monolingually surviving innovations: new features of relative clauses

Apart from code-switching, reflexes of multilingual practices can be seen in structural innovations such as the establishment of new features of relative clauses. This particular innovation, singled out for discussion in this article, can also be seen as a part of a larger pattern of structural innovations that all have to do with a tendency towards a more explicit way of clause-linking and, in many cases, a gradual development towards a binary distinction between co- and subordinating structures in Late OSw. This involves among other things the emergence of semantically unambiguous subjunctions, specifically subordinating word-order patterns, and absolute participial constructions. All of these innovations are linked to the ongoing *Ausbau* of OSw (for a comprehensive study, see Höder 2010).

In general, Old Nordic adnominal relative clauses (RCs) follow their antecedent (not considering free RCs without an antecedent). Old Nordic languages, including OSw, normally mark RCs in one of two ways: (a) by a relative subjunction, i.e. an uninflected clause-initial particle (such as OSw *sum* or *þär*; cf. Modern English *that*) that does not carry any additional grammatical meaning, or (b) by zero, i.e. the initial element in the RC is either its subject or – when the antecedent functions as subject within the RC – another constituent. These two strategies are illustrated in (2) and (3):

(2)   BA 74:
       þin   vikarius **þær** sittar i   þinu*m* staþ
       your deputy$_{Lat}$ REL sits   in your   place
       "your deputy that sits in your place"

(3)   JP 345:
       och thw wilth wetha the vndh*er* Ø   i vaara lande   ärw
       and you want know the wonders (REL) in our   country are
       "and you want to know the wonders that are in our country"

In Late OSw texts, RCs can also be marked (c) by pronominal elements, i.e. forms of relative pronouns (such as *hviliken* or *þän*) inflected for gender and number (in agreement with the antecedent) as well as case (governed by some element within the RC; cf. Modern English *who* vs. *whom*), or (d) by a morphologically complex relativizer consisting of a relative pronoun and a relative subjunction (e.g. *hviliken sum*). These additional strategies are illustrated in (4) and (5):

(4) BL 7.8 (162):

th*et* klædith om   **hwlkith**   hans korsfæstare dobbladho
that robe   about REL-N.SG.ACC his crucifiers   threw.dice
"the robe for which his crucifiers threw dice"

(5) BL 7.7 (160)

ma*n*gha pawa waro før   ioha*n*nez pawa **hwlke**   **som** føro till hælwitis
many   popes were before John   pope REL-PL.NOM REL went to hell
"there were many popes before Pope John who went to hell"

While the older, non-pronominal strategies still make up more than half of all adnominal RCs in HaCOSSA-late (962 of 1,598 instances, or 60.2 per cent), the innovative RC markers that involve a pronominal element appear to be firmly established in written Late OSw as well (636 instances, or 39.8 per cent). Pronominal relativization was unknown in earlier Old Nordic, appears only marginally in Old Norse (Faarlund 2004: 264-265), and is typologically rare (Comrie 1998, Comrie & Kuteva 2013). It is, however, the only RC marking strategy of Latin (the default relative pronoun being *qui*). As mentioned above, the existence of an OSw RC marking strategy that is structurally isomorphic to the strategy employed in Latin must have greatly facilitated the task of translating Latin texts when aiming at formal equivalence.

What is more, language contact or, to be more precise, multilingual practices as used by Latin-Swedish bilinguals appear to have been a decisive factor in the very emergence of pronominal relativization in OSw. The emergence of relative *hviliken* has indeed often been attributed to Latin influence (e.g. Wessén 1941: 78-79 [§113-114]). Höder (2010: 217-219) interprets it more precisely as the result of, in Heine & Kuteva's (2005) terms, a process of 'replica grammaticalization'. Replica grammaticalization is a process in which multilingual speakers notice the existence of a particular category X in one of their languages and then create a corresponding category in another language by replicating a grammaticalization process that

has resulted in the emergence of X. In this case, it is assumed that Latin-Swedish bilinguals identified the Latin relativizer *qui* with the homophonous interrogative determiner *qui* and its Swedish counterpart *hviliken* and subsequently grammaticalized Swedish interrogative *hviliken* into a relative pronoun. Whatever the explanative value of such an approach, it is obvious that the use of *hviliken* as a relativizer entails an increase in structural similarity between the two systems (cf. Höder's [2012: 253-255] Diasystematic Construction Grammar approach to this change, which advocates the view that the Late OSw relativizer inventory is best described in terms of a common system shared with Latin).

The emergence of the relative pronoun *þän* is a different, but related story. At first glance, it is the result of a largely language-internal grammaticalization process, which involves a reanalysis of sequences consisting of demonstrative antecedents with subjunctionally or zero-marked RCs as pronoun-initial RCs. While there are unambiguous cases where forms of *þän* must be analysed as relative pronouns, there are also, as one should expect, abundant cases of ambiguous contexts in which either analysis can apply, as is illustrated in (6):

(6)   BL 7.8 (162)

alla **the**   **so***m* sægya pawan   ey vara sa*n*nan pawa

all ?-PL.NOM REL   say   pope-DEF not be   true   pope

"all those who say that the pope is not the real pope"

The sequence *the som* can either be composed of a demonstrative pronoun (*the*, plural of *þän*) followed by a relative subjunction (*som*) – and, hence, as subjunctional RC marking –, or it can be a morphologically complex relativizer (relative pronoun plus relative subjunction; cf. Höder 2010: 212-213). Even as a language-internal process, however, the grammaticalization of *þän* as a relative pronoun results ultimately in an increasing structural similarity between Latin and OSw. It is, therefore, not unlikely that it has at least been reinforced through multilingual practices, and particularly the practice of formally equivalent translation.

In addition to the innovative formal RC marking strategies, there are also innovations related to the function of RCs in OSw texts. Generally speaking, adnominal RCs can be either restrictive or non-restrictive. Restrictive RCs restrict the reference of their antecedent (e.g. *I really like the town that I live in*), while non-restrictive RCs just contain additional information about it (e.g. *I really like the town which has a population of 300,000*). While restrictive RCs are generally more frequent than non-restrictive ones in HaCOSSA-late

(890 of 1,598 instances, or 55.7 per cent), non-restrictive relative clauses are still remarkably frequent (708 instances, or 44.3 per cent) as compared to numbers for earlier texts (Höder 2010: 203-205). Whether or not non-restrictive RCs as such are a structural innovation in Late OSw is hard to determine, the chief reason being that it is not always possible to unambiguously classify individual RCs, since the classification has to rely on a more or less interpretative reading of a clause in its context. Obviously, however, non-restrictive RCs represent a fairly frequent clause-linking strategy in Latin, and were usually translated into formally equivalent RCs in Late OSw (Höder 2010: 216-217).

Interestingly, the two innovative features that are likely to be associated with the establishment of multilingual practices during the Late OSw period – pronominal RC marking and non-restrictive RCs – are also related to each other. Table 3 shows the distribution of pronominal and non-pronominal markers across restrictive and non-restrictive RCs in HaCOSSA-late:

Table 3   Innovative RC types and marking strategies in HaCOSSA-late

		+restrictive	−restrictive	total	total
−pronominal	subjunction	576	264	840	
	zero	106	16	122	
	total	*682*	*280*		962
+pronominal	pronoun	122	315	437	
	pronoun + subjunction	86	113	199	
	total	*208*	*428*		636
total		890	708	1,598	

The pronominal markers occur more frequently with non-restrictive RCs than with restrictive ones, whereas restrictive RCs tend to be marked non-pronominally ($p < 0.01$, χ^2 test) – in other words, writers tended to mark RCs in a manner that was structurally similar to Latin, and even more so with RCs that are also functionally similar to a prominent Latin type.

Innovative RC features in Late OSw represent, in a manner of speaking, a successful change: Both relative pronouns and non-restrictive relative clauses caught on in the later development of written Swedish. Starting off as (a result of) multilingual practices at a stage of Swedish language history when text production was dominated by multilingual writers, they have survived into the later monolingual history of Modern Swedish (at least in written registers), even though writers in later periods were not necessarily bilingual any longer, or at least not to the same extent as the monastic

writers of the Late Middle Ages. The development of written Swedish in the 20th (and 21st) century has, however, been characterized by a tendency to minimize the distance between written and spoken language. Whereas relative pronouns (unlike complex relativizers) still exist in Present-Day Swedish and can be found in grammatical descriptions, they are today usually restricted to rather formal, conservative text types in, for instance legal and religious domains (cf. SAG, 4, 492-494 [§22], Pettersson 1976).

3.3 Multilingual dead ends: the gerundive

While there are successful innovations that can be traced back to multilingual practices during the Late OSw period, not all of the innovations that came about in a similar way were as successful – there are also what can be called multilingual dead ends. A telling example is the Late OSw gerundive.

Originally, Old Nordic, including OSw, did not have a specific inflectional form of transitive verbs to express a passive obligation (i.e. the idea that something should be done to a patient), although, occasionally, an active participle would be used to express passive obligation (Wessén 1956: 152 [§ 152]). Latin, on the other hand, has a verbal adjective called the gerundive which is regularly formed by adding a suffix -nd to the verb stem and which in itself is inflected as an adjective (in agreement with a noun denoting the patient of the action referred to), such as *delendus* '[someone/ something] that has to be destroyed' (< *deleo* 'I destroy').

This structural mismatch between Latin and OSw posed something of a problem for monastic translators aiming at formal equivalence between Latin original texts and OSw translations. Late OSw corpus data indicate that translators solved this problem in different ways. One alternative was, obviously, to give up formal equivalence and find a different translation for a Latin gerundive. More interestingly, however, OSw translators actually also attempted to use morphologically corresponding forms in order to achieve formal equivalence (cf. Höder 2010: 227-225). Two different solutions are attested in HaCOSSA-late.[8] The first one is the choice of the active participle, as illustrated in (7):

(7)   a. Latin original (Aili 1992: 153)

        Numquid ego ideo **contempnendus** sum, quia   mors erat contemptibilis et   dura?

        surely.not I   thus despise-GRND   am   because death was contemptible and hard

        "Should I then be despised because my death was contemptible and hard?"

b.   OSw translation (BK 4.40 [81])

Älla huat   ey är jak **forsmande**   for thy at dödhin   var smälikin
oc   hardh*ir*

or   whether not am I   despise-PTCP.ACT because death-DEF was contemptible
and hard

"Or should I be despised because my death was contemptible and hard?"

While this variant might, in certain contexts, be confusing because of the intended passive reading of the participial form (as opposed to its usual active meaning), it has the advantage of providing a one-word equivalent to the Latin gerundive, in which not only the morphological structure is similar (a suffix attached to the verb stem), but even the phonological form resembles the Latin gerundive (a suffix -*nd*). Moreover, the distinction between passive gerundival and active participial forms might not have been perceived as transparent in Medieval Latin either, where an uninflected verbal form ending in -*ndo*, homophonous with some inflectional forms of the gerundive, is often used as a morphological variant of active participles (Stotz 1998: 410-411 [§ 111.26]).

The second translational variant is a morphologically more complex construction consisting of the active infinitive and a participial form of the modal verb *skula* 'shall', written as two separate graphic words or univerbated as in (8) (*forsma+skulande*):

(8)   a.   Latin original (Aili 1992: 154)
Ideo nullus est **contempnendus.**
thus nobody is despise-GRND
"therefore nobody is to be despised"
b.   OSw translation (BK 4.41 [82])
thy är ängin   **forsmaskulande**
thus is nobody despise-INF-shall-PTCP
"therefore nobody is to be despised"

In contrast to the use of the bare participle, this construction explicitly expresses the sense of obligation by incorporating a form of the modal *skula*, resulting in a more transparent rendering of the Latin meaning at the expense of morphological isomorphism.

While it is obvious – and even more so than with pronominal RC marking – that the Late OSw gerundive forms originate in multilingual practices related to the use of both Latin and Swedish in bilingual groups,

and while the two variants occur frequently enough so as to rule out an individual *ad hoc* solution to a particular translation problem, the OSw gerundive remains a peripheral affair. In HaCOSSa-late, it is almost exclusively to be found in translated texts, rarely in OSw originals, and has a very low overall frequency (in total, less than 30 occurrences in HaCOSSA-late).

Consequently, gerundives did not develop any further and did not make it into any variety or stage of (written) Swedish that was not characterized by pervasive bilingualism within the speaker group; none of the variants are found in Present-Day Swedish.

4   Conclusion: monolingual history revisited

The article started out by saying that the history of a language is different from the history of its speech communities or their communicative practices, and that a 'linguocentric' approach to language history can be rather misguided. Departing from a historical sociolinguistic and language ecological point of view, the discussion as well as the case studies demonstrated that – given the right circumstances – multilingual practices of the (remote) past can permeate the language system to such an extent that they are still reflected by monolingual structures at a much later stage. The history of written Swedish, i.e. the emergence of specific written registers, begins with its *Ausbau* in the Late Middle Ages, a development that was initiated, supported and essentially carried through by a rather small, but enormously influential, multilingual elite, whose multilingual practices had a formative influence not only on their own text production and that of their contemporaries, but also on the later development of the language. At least as far as the history of Standard Swedish is concerned, language contact, multilingualism, and multilingual practices have been part of it from the outset: There is no such thing as a monolingual history of Swedish, and even less so Old Swedish.

Notes

1   This article does not distinguish between *bi-* and *multilingualism*, since the difference is not a categorical, but a gradual one. When the more general term, *multilingual(ism)*, is used, it can also denote bilingualism.
2   The Hanseatic League had from the 14th century onwards gained enormous economic, political, and cultural influence across the Baltic Region. In addition to trade, many

merchants and craftsmen from Northern Germany even settled in Swedish towns and formed the basis of a thriving German community there. While many residents of German descent were eventually absorbed into Swedish society, this was balanced by a constant influx of new immigrants. For an overview, cf. Braunmüller (2004) and Rambø (2010: 243-310).

3 "Skulu ok all bref · konu*nx* · laghma*nz* ok hærazhøfdinga · J thyliku*m* malu*m* · ok andru*m* · a · suensko skrifuas", my translation: "All public charters issued by the king, the law-man and the *häradshövdingar* [officials on different regional or local levels] in such and other matters must be written in Swedish" (MELL, *Jordabalken* 22; Cod. Ups. B 23, fol. 33v; Wiktorsson 1989: 63).

4 "En god prædic*are* forbæt*re* tæssa mørka swæ*n*skone æpt*er* latina bokena" (cited in Rajamaa 1992: 248).

5 *TEI*, the standard promoted by the Text Encoding Initiative (tei-c.org), is a broad standard for the encoding of all kinds of texts. *Menota* is a more specific application of the *TEI* standard which specializes in medieval Nordic texts; it is promoted by the Medieval Nordic Text Archive (menota.org). *PaCMan* stands for "Phrases and Clauses Tagging Manual for syntactic analyses of Old Nordic texts encoded as Menotic XML documents" and is an annotation scheme that describes the application of the Menota standard in HaCOSSA. Corpus data can be analysed using XPath queries over both text and annotations. (For a technical overview, cf. Höder 2011.)

6 It may be worth pointing out that the annotation of tokens as Latin follows rather restrictive guidelines; proper names, for instance, are only annotated as Latin if they occur with Latin inflectional suffixes (Höder 2011: 22).

7 In Early OSw, *til* took the genitive, but there is a strong tendency towards the accusative throughout the OSw period.

8 Gerundives are not annotated as such in HaCOSSA, meaning that it is impossible to search for gerundive forms automatically and get results that are exactly quantifiable. The discussion here is based on an exemplary manual search of Latin gerundives and OSw translation equivalents in HaCOSSA-late.

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