

Older Finnish texts:

- Westh text: 144 pages, church handbook and liturgy. Material largely predates the 1541 Swedish handbook.
- Uppsala B28: Fragments of a church handbook, Agricola's Prayer Book mentioned so (shortly) after 1544.
- Kangassala Missale-fragments: handwritten translation of liturgy at the end of Kangassala parish's copy of "Missale Aboense". Probably from 1540.
- Uppsala Gospel Book fragment: gospel and epistolary texts (and two prayers) to be read during mass. Source largely 1526 Swedish NT, not 1541 Bible. Prayers based on a 1537 translation. Probably from late 1530s.

Agricola's works

1543: ABC-kiria. Brief catechism and alphabet (16 pages).

1544: Rucouskiria Bibliasta. Collection of 700 prayers.

1548: Se Wsi Testamenti

1549: Käsikirja Castesta ia muista Christikunnan Menoista. Church handbook.

1549: Messu eli Herran echtolinen. Liturgy.

1549: Se meiden Herran Jesusen Christusen Pina, ylesnousemus ia tauiaisen Astumus, niste Neliest Euangelisterist coghottu on. Passion.

1551: Daidin Psalttari. Translation of the Psalms.

1551: Weisut ia Ennustoxet Mosesen Laista ia Prophetista Wloshaetut. Partial translation of the Prophetic works.

1552: Ne Prophetat. Haggai. SacharJa. Maleachi. Further translation of the Prophetic books.

A fragment from Agricola's NT

Acts 26:9-11

Ja mine tosin mös lwlin itzelleni / palio tekeueni / coska mine Jesusen Nazarenusen Nimen
wastanseisoin / Ninquin mine mös Jerusalemis tein / ia mo'da Pyhe mine salpasin Tornijn / ionga päle mine
wallan saanut olin / nijlde Ylimeisilde Papilda / Ja coska he tapettijt / autin mineki sijhen Domion. Ja
iocaitzes Sinagogas wsein mine heite rangaisin / ia waadhin heite pilcaman / ia olin heiden wastans
ylenpaltisesta cummittu / Ja wainosin heite mös haman Wieraisin Caupungijn.

Ja	mine	tosin	mös	lwl-i-n	itze-lle-ni /	
And	I	truly	also	think-IPF-1SG	myself-ALL-1SG	
palio	teke-ue-ni /					
much	do-PARTICIPLE-1SG					
coska	mine	Jesuse-n		Nazarenuse-n	Nime-n	wastanseiso-i-n /
when	I	Jesus-GEN		Nazarene-GEN	name-GEN	oppose-IPF-1SG

Ninquin	mine	mös	Jerusalemi-s		te-i-n /	
Just like	I	also	Jerusalem-INESSIVE		do-IPF-1SG	
ia	mo'-da		Pyhe	mine	salpas-i-n	Torni-jn /
and	many-PART		saint(-PART)	I	abduct-IPF-1SG	tower-ILLATIVE
io-nga		päle	mine	walla-n	saanut	ol-i-n /
which-GEN		upon	I	power-GEN	received	be-IPF-1SG
nij-lde		Ylimeis-i-lde		Papi-lde /		
those-ABLATIVE		highest-PL-ABLATIVE		priest(-PL)-ABL		
Ja	coska	he	tape-tt-ij-t /			
And	when	they	kill-PASS-IPF-3PL			
aut-i-n		mine-ki	sij-hen	Domio-n.		
help-IPF-1SG		I-too	that-ILL	sentence-ILL		
Ja	iocaitze-s		Sinagoga-s	wsein	mine	hei-te rangais-i-n /
and	every-INESS		synagogue-INESS	often	I	they-PART condemn-IPF-1SG

ia	waadh-i-n	hei-te	pilca-man /			
and	demand-IPF-1SG	they	mock-INF.ILLATIVE			
ia	ol-i-n	hei-den	wastans	ylenpaltisesta	cummittu /	
and	be-IPF-1SG	they-GEN	against	excessively	obsessed	
Ja	wainos-i-n	hei-te	mös	haman	Wiera-i-sin	Caupungi-jn.
and	persecute-IPF-1SG	they-PART	also	all the way to	foreign-PL-ILL	city(-PL)-ILL

Polypersonal passives

Current Finnish passive is non-promotional: it takes an object argument which does not agree with the verb (and takes partitive case under negation):

mies *tape-taan*

man-O kill-PASS

sinu-t *tape-taan*

you-ACC kill-PASS

sinu-a / mies-tä e-i *tape-ta*

you-PART man-PART NEG-3SG kill-PASS

Originally, the Finnic passive must have been promotional: this because the passive suffixes originated as causative/reflexive suffixes. Meaning:

**mees tappe-tta-k-sen*

man-0 kill-CAUS-PRESENT-REFLEXIVE

"The man got himself killed"

However, we cannot presuppose that the Finnic ancestor of the passive agreed throughout the paradigm: the reflexive **-k-sen* originated as either an agglutinated pronoun or a possessive suffix, and bear its original plural marking as in the Old Finnish reflexive (*hen kiennexen - iotca ... käennexet*) and the South Estonian middle.

Polypersonal passives:

Occurs (infrequently) in South Estonian, e.g. Urvaste:

ma vījā 'I am brought'

sa vījāt 'you are brought'

tiä vījäs 's/he is brought'

Tapani Lehtinen (*Vanhan persoonallisen passiivin jatkajiako?*, Virittäjä 1985): construction is of relatively recent origin, notably not extended to negated contexts.

Old Finnish: negated passives with the negative auxiliary agreeing with the subject are widely found, e.g.:

Agricola, Psalmtari 127: 6

Autuas on se / ionga Wijni nijte teunens on / **Eu-et** ne **häueiste-te /**

Blessed is he whose quiver is full of them NEG-3PL they shame-PASS

“Blessed is he, whose quiver is full of them. They will not be shamed”

This does not mean the Old Finnish polypersonal passive is old, though! Agreeing negative auxiliaries could likely have been extended from periphrastic imperfect- and perfect-tense forms (where they are regular in Old Finnish).

Polypersonal passives in Old Finnish

Found here and there Agricola's NT:

Romans 8

Sinun	tedes	me	colete-ta-me		yli	peiue /	
For	you	we	kill-PASS-1PL		over	the	day
Me	pide-te-m	ninquin	Teuraxi		techteuet		La'baat .
we	hold-PASS PR 1PL	as	slaughter-TRANSL		make-PASS.PARTIC-PL		sheep-PL

“For your sake we face death all day long, we are considered sheep to be slaughtered.”

1 Thess 4

Senielken	me	io-tca	ele-me /	ia	ielkiniä-me
After that	we	that-PL	live-1PL	and	remain-1PL
ynne heiden cansans		ylestemma-ta-nme			
together with them		pull up-PASS-1PL			
pilu-i-hin					
cloud-PL-ILL					

Occasionally in other translated Bible texts by Agricola:

Psalttari, Psalm 44:23

Sille	sinu-n	tedhe-ns	me	surma-ta-mma	iocapeiue /	
For	you-GEN	sake-3SG	we	murder-PASS-1PL	every day	
ia	lue-ta-mma	ninquin	teura-xi	tecte-ue-t		Lamba-t
and	count-PASS-1PL	as	slaughter-TRANSL	make-PASS.PARTIC-PL		sheep-PL

Weisut ia ennustoxet, Lamentations 3:47

Me	alaspaine-ta-m	ia	rangaiste-ta-m	pelgho-lla	ia	adhistoxe-lla
We	press down-PASS-1PL	and	punish-PASS-1PL	fear-ADESS	and	anxiety-ADESS

But most frequently in Rucouskiria!

A, I p. 575

ette	caiki	minu-n	wiholise-n		tacaperin	aije-ta-ijsihin /
that	all	I-GEN	enemy(-PL)-1SG		back	drive-PASS-COND
Synni-t	andexianne-ta-ijsij-t					
sin-PL	forgive-PASS-COND-3PL					

A, I. p. 609

totisesta	si-xi		tul-isi-ma /	io-xi	me	cutzu-ta-me-ki /
truly	that-TRANSL		come-COND-1PL	what-TRANSL	we	call-PASS-1PL-also
se	on /	oijkea-xi		Christity-xi		
that	is	true-TRANSL		Christian-TRANSL		

A, I p. 684

Siemene-t	wagho-sta	ite-uet /	ja	edhespuchke-uat /
Seed-PL	furrow-ELATIVE	sprout-3PL	and	blossom-3PL
Oraxe-t	nouse-uat /	Wardhe-t	caswa-uat /	Laijho-t tule-uat /
shoot-PL	rise-3PL	stem-PL	grow-3PL	crop-PL come-3PL
Elo-t	nijte-tehe-t			
grain-PL	reap-PASS-3PL			

Other texts: Uppsala codex B28, a handful of occurrences:

ia	ette	sama-s[a]	Seurakunna-sa	anne-ta-t	synnij-t antexi
and	that	same-INESS	parish-INESS	forgive-PASS-3PL	sin-PL

Westh: a number of occurrences:

p. 65

ja	iälken	sinu-n	syndi-s	sinu-a	enämpätä vaiua-ckon ,
and	after	you-GEN	sin(-PL)-2SG	you-PART	no more plague-IMPER-3SG
olla	quina	sure-t	he	sinu-lda	näch-dä-t
be	however	big-PL	they	you-ABLATIVE	see-PASS-3PL

p. 132

Ja	vastoin käymyse-t	pan-na-t	meidhe-n	päle-nne se-n	voxi	että
and	setback-PL	place-PASS-3PL	we-GEN	upon-1PL that-GEN	for	that

A few occurrences in Finno's hymnal:

Me	quin	synn-i-ld	waiua-ta-m /			Madha-m suuresti	huolla /
We	that	sin-PL-ABL	plague-PASS-1PL			may-1PL greatly	worry
Hän-dä	aina	mös	caiuat-ca-m /	Quin	tadho-i		edhestäm cuolla
Him	always	also	long for-IMPER-1PL	that	want-IPF.3SG	for us	die

As well as in Hemminki Maskulainen's 1601 hymnal:

Tä-sä		surkjudhe-s	niin	elä-isi-m /
This-INESS		misery-INESS	thus	live-COND-1PL
Ett	viimäin	taeva-sen	vie-dhä-isi-m /	
that	at last	heaven-ILLATIVE	bring-PASS-COND-1PL	
Christuxe-n		Poica-s	cautta	
Christ-GEN		son(-GEN)-2SG	through	

General statics:

Source	Dating	Size (words)	No. of constructions	Suffixes	Persons	Notes
Westh	Early 1540s	2228 0	10, 4 more dubious	- <i>t</i>	3pl, 1pl	
Uppsala handbook (Codex B28)	After 1544	5237	3	- <i>t</i>	3pl	All occur in Westh
Agricola, <i>Rucouskiria</i>	1544	appr ox. 8000 0	44	- <i>mme</i> , - <i>t</i>	3pl, 1pl	
Agricola, <i>Se Wsi Testamenti</i>	1548	appr ox. 1690 00	14	- <i>mme</i> , - <i>t</i>	3pl, 1pl, 2pl (occurring once)	
Agricola, <i>Käsikiria</i> ,	1549	4283 1	4	- <i>mme</i>	1pl	No correspondences to Westh or B28

<i>Messu ia Pijna</i>						
Agricola, <i>Psalttari</i>	1551	4266 7	6	- <i>mme</i>	1pl	
Agricola, <i>Weisut ia Ennustoxet</i>	1551	6606 4	6	- <i>mme, -t</i>	1pl, 3pl (occurring once in margin note)	
Finno, Hymnal	1583	1907 1	3	- <i>mme</i>	1pl	
Hemminki, Hymnal	1605	4870 4	8	- <i>mme</i>	1pl	One correspondence in Finno
Sorolainen, <i>Postilla I & II</i>	1621, 1625	appr ox. 4000 00	3	- <i>mme</i>	1pl	Two correspond to Agricola's NT, but a third one is original.
<i>Biblia</i>	1642	appr ox. 8400 00	3	- <i>mme</i>	1pl	Two based on Agricola's NT, one original.

Note:

- 1st person plural forms dominate in Agricola and later texts, a large number of these are furthermore in the conditional mood:

Mood	Tense	Person	No. of tokens
indicative	present	1	51
		2	1
		3	10
indicative	past imperfect	1	1
		3	2
conditional	present/past imperfect	1	34
		3	5

But the 1st person plural suffix *-mme* is absent in Westh and B28. Instead, there are cases where the suffix **-t* is used with a 1st person plural pronoun subject *me*:

Westh, p. 132

sillä te-sse	merki-te-t	me	quina	rackas-na
for this-INESS	sign-PASS-3PL	we	how	dear-ESS
me pide-mme ,	Jumala-n			
we hold-1PL	God-GEN			

"For in this we are measured how dear we hold God"

Polypersonal passives with 1st pers. plural subject *me* slightly more common than impersonal passives in Agricola (and all of the few cases in Westh are polypersonal).

Irregularities in Westh:

- There are further irregular forms where a plural marker *-t* is used with a singular subject:

Westh, p. 235

Mutta	cosca	inhiminen	lootudh	ol-i,	ol-i	hän
But	when	man	created	be-IPF.3SG	be-IPF.3SG	he
wighatoin	ia	pan-d-i-t	Paradissi-n		elä-män	
innocent	and	place-PASS-IPF-3PL	Paradise-ILLATIVE		live-INF.ILLATIVE	

"But when man was created, he was innocent and was placed to live in Paradise"

Westh, p. 81

ja	tämä	rumilinen	colema,	e-ij	ole	oicken	mickän	mvu	quin ...
and	this	bodily	death	NEG-3SG	be	really	nothing	else	than
ia	cutzu-ta-t		ramatu-i-sa		ychde-xi		vne-xi		
and	call-PASS-3PL		Bible-PL-INESSIVE	one-TRANSLATIVE	sleep-TRANSLATIVE				

"And this bodily death is really nothing more than ... and in the Bible it is called a sleep"

These irregularities could imply wear and tear which is expected of an archaic construction, not an innovative one. They might also represent an original personal marking in 3rd person only (*-*k-sen*, *-*k-set*, see above) extended to other persons. But the material is not enough to draw firm conclusions.

Polypersonal passives: lexical frequencies

Polypersonal passives	n=104	percentage	Passives with personal pronoun arg. in A	n=256	percentage
<i>vaivata</i>	8	7.7%	<i>kutsua</i>	14	5.5%
<i>varjella</i>	7	6.7%	<i>täyttää</i>	8	3.1%
<i>temmata</i>	5	4.8%	<i>kastaa</i>	7	2.7%
<i>kutsua</i>	4	3.8%	<i>piinata</i>	6	2.3%
<i>löytää</i>	4	3.8%	<i>rangaista</i>	6	2.3%
<i>viedä</i>	3	2.9%	<i>ylenantaa</i>	6	2.3%
<i>anteeksiantaa</i>	3	2.9%	<i>lukea</i>	6	2.3%
<i>ravita, ravittaa</i>	3	2.9%	<i>pettää</i>	6	2.3%
<i>tuomita</i>	3	2.9%	<i>viedä</i>	6	2.3%
<i>virottaa</i>	3	2.9%	<i>tuomita</i>	5	2%

total perc. of 10 most frequent verbs		41.3%			27.3%
total number of lexical verbs	61			124	
tokens per lexical verb	1.7			2.1	

Polypersonal passives: text type

	Polypersonal passives in Old Finnish	Impersonal passives with personal pronoun arguments in Agricola
Hymn	19	22
Prayer	43	31
Biblical narrative (OT, Gospel, Acts)	4	55
Preface and comments	6	43
Sermon, letter, prophetic text	14	79
Handbook, liturgy	13	7

- Polypersonal passives clustered around certain verbs (e.g. *vaivata* 'torment') with specific suffixes (e.g. 1st person plural conditional) in specific text types (prayers, hymns).
- The text types that have an overrepresentation of polypersonal passives are precisely the ones that might have been occasionally translated already during the Middle Ages.
- Combined with aforementioned irregularities in Westh, it is reasonable to suppose that:
 - Medieval clerics used an already disappearing, original Finnic construction (**-k-sen*, **-k-set*) in translations of prayers, hymns and the like - stimulated by a Latin model (morphological passive conjugation, as opposed to Swedish or German).
 - Agricola "corrected" this usage by replacing plural *-t* with *-mme* in relevant contexts.

An aside: the oldest Finnish grammar

A grammatical manuscript, *Rudimenta linguae Finnicae breviter delineata*, was found in 2008 in a 17th-century Finnish book.

It does contain polypersonal passives, e.g. *mee racastetam* 'we are loved', *me racastettaisimme* 'we would be loved', *tee racastettaisitt* 'you would be loved' (Palkki, Lauerma, Kuutti 2009: 12).

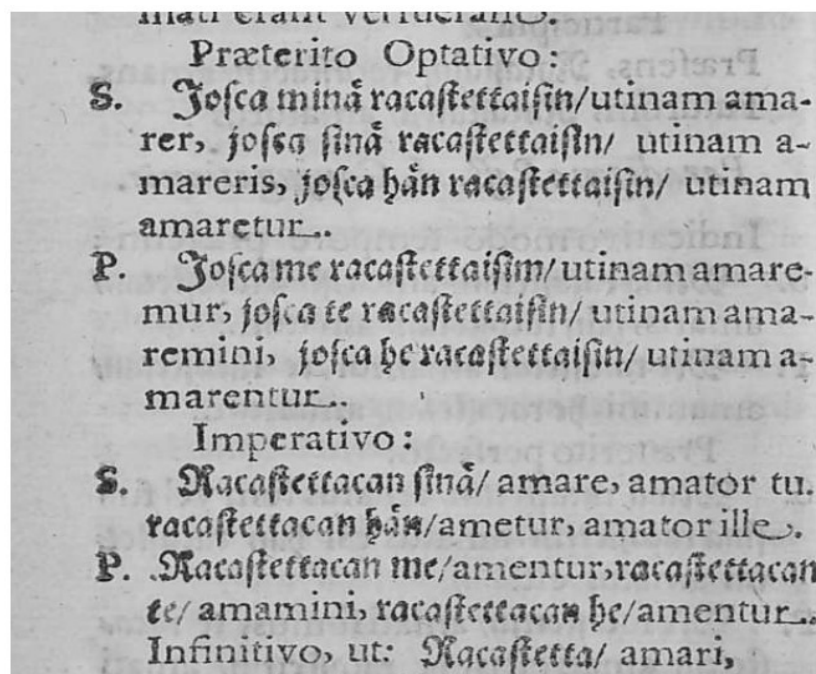
The *Rudimenta* could hypothetically be the work of two (known) Jesuit priests (Olaus Sundergelteus and Johannes Jussoila) who have been reported to work on a grammar in the context of the counterreformation. It would then be datable to the 1590s.

However, polypersonal passives even occur in some 19th century grammars - having been absent from written Finnish in 200 years.

See: Palkki, Lauerma and Kuutti: *Historiallinen löytö: Rudimenta - uusi suomen varhaiskielioppi* (Virittäjä 2009).

Petraeus, *Linguae Finnicae brevis institutio*, 1649:

Passive generally impersonal, but:



Other grammars in the Old Finnish period (Martinius, Vhael): no polypersonal passives.

Early modern Finnish grammars (Stråhlman, von Becker): polypersonal passives suddenly appear in conditional and potential moods (note: potential is very rare in Old Finnish and not even really mentioned in Petraeus' and Martinius' grammars!). Stråhlman:

Verbindende Art.	
Gegenwärt. Zeit	
Einfach.	
Rakastettanen, tehtänen,	rakastettane, tehtäne,
Rakastettanet, tehtänet,	ich möge nicht geliebet,
Rakastettane, tehtäne.	-gemacht werden.
Vielfach.	
Rakastettanemme, tehtä-	gleich dem Einfachen mit
nemme,	dem Unterschiede der
	Personen.
Rakastettanette, tehtä-	
nette,	
Rakastettaneen, tehtä-	
neen.	
Jüngstberg. Zeit.	
Einfach.	
Rakastettaisiin, tehtäisiin,	rakastettaisi, tehtäisi,
Rakastettaisit, tehtäisit.	ich würde nicht geliebet,
Rakastettaisi, tehtäisi.	-gemacht werden.
Vielfach.	
Rakastettaisimme, tehtäi-	gleich dem Einfachen.
simme,	
Rakastettaisitte, tehtäi-	
sitte.	
Rakastettaisiin, tehtäisiin.	