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Multiple roots of multilingualism: actors and factors affecting the linguistic landscape of cemeteries in an industrial town in Finland

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Abstract: This article is a methodological contribution to the question of what can be inferred from the linguistic landscape of a cemetery about the multilingual past of a community. The data of the study come from cemeteries in Varkaus, an industrial town in a Finnish-speaking area in Finland, where a small Swedish- and German-speaking minority formed in the nineteenth and early twentieth century as a result of industrial labor migration. The method selected for the analysis combines the perspectives of linguistic landscape research with onomastics and offers new insights into the possibilities and limitations of cemeteries to function as a source of evidence for the investigation of historical multilingualism. The focus is on both the names of the deceased engraved on grave markers and inscriptions other than names. The article demonstrates that the reasons vary for the multilingualism within and between these two layers of the analysis and that these two layers partly open different windows to the multilingual past of a community. In addition, the cemetery landscape is transformed by commemorative practices: Because they change over time, the cemetery's linguistic landscape is not a direct historical replica of the linguistic resources of past members of the community.

Keywords: linguistic landscape; cemeteries; multilingualism; personal names; commemorative practices

1 Introduction

A main driver of large-scale immigration is industrial production, and it is a key factor in creating multilingualism and multiculturalism in its environment (see e.g., Ziegler et al. 2018: 22–29). This has also been the case in the target municipality of this article, Varkaus, which is located in a region in Finland dominated by Finnish.

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Varkaus has a history that has been significantly influenced by different branches of heavy industry (for the history of Varkaus see e.g., Itkonen 2005; Soikkanen 1963). Although a small town (population in 2025 c. 19,000), the industrial plants of Varkaus represent large-scale international production that has attracted experts and workers from different directions since the nineteenth century. The industrial employees and their families brought their languages and dialects to the town.

In previous centuries and decades, the most important languages in Varkaus, alongside Finnish, were German and Swedish. Today, the street name *Saksalankuja* ('German street') invokes the memory of the German-speaking industrial experts who worked in the locality during the 1900s. Until recently, a reminder of the Swedish-speaking minority who moved to the town for industrial work was the Swedish-language school *Svenska skolan* (1919–2019), which operated for a hundred years in Varkaus. The present article[1] examines the traces that the multilingual industrial community has left on the linguistic landscape of cemeteries in Varkaus, the type of linguistic landscape that the cemeteries of this industrial locality form as well as the factors and actors that make cemeteries multilingual.

This analysis focuses on both the names of the deceased and other inscriptions engraved on gravestones. The method selected for this analysis combines the perspectives of linguistic landscape research with onomastics and offers new insights into the possibilities and limitations of cemeteries to function as a source of evidence for the investigation of historical multilingualism. The analysis reveals that the reasons vary for the multilingualism within and between the two layers of the analysis–the names of the deceased and the engravings other than names – and that at least in the Finnish context, these two engraved layers partly open different windows to the multilingual past of a community. By demonstrating that the investigated cemeteries are complex linguistic landscapes with multiple and varying roots of multilingualism, the present article can be read as a methodological contribution to the question of what can be inferred from the linguistic landscape of a cemetery about the multilingual past of a community.

As will be demonstrated later in this article, the linguistic landscape of the Varkaus cemeteries intertwines with the history and language policy of Finland at different times. Finland was part of the Swedish Empire from the thirteenth century until the Finnish War (1808–1809) when Sweden lost its eastern periphery, Finland, to Russia. Finland's status as an autonomous Grand Duchy under the Russian Empire

1 The present article continues previous research on Varkaus cemeteries that has been presented in two Finnish-language articles (Kolehmainen 2020; Wessman and Kolehmainen 2019). The new findings in the present article concerns the integration of the analysis of the personal names of the deceased with the analysis of the languages of other engravings on grave markers. The orthography has been preserved in the examples as it appears on the grave markers.

was maintained until 1917, when Finland became independent. In the Swedish Empire, the language of administration was Swedish, although the majority of the population in Finland spoke Finnish. Because of the long-shared history with Sweden, the Swedish language has always enjoyed a prestigious status. The period of the Russian Grand Duchy did not strengthen the status of the Russian language. Instead, during the Russian period, Tsar Alexander II signed the 1863 Language Decree granting Finnish equal status with Swedish as the language of administration. The actual change took several decades. The first Constitution (1919) of independent Finland defined Finnish and Swedish as equal national languages, a status they continue to have today. At the time of writing this article, the proportion of population who have declared Finnish as their native language in the Population Register[2] is 83.5 %, the proportion of Swedish speakers is 5.0 %, and the proportion of speakers of other languages is 11.4 % (Statistics Finland 2025).

This article is structured as follows: Section 2 summarizes the results of previous linguistic research on cemeteries that are relevant for the present study; Section 3 presents the central milestones of the history of Varkaus and the data produced from its cemeteries; Section 4 presents an analysis of the engravings on the gravestones with the inscriptions other than names first (Section 4.1) then the names of the deceased second (Section 4.2) and finally both are analyzed together (Section 4.3). The final Section 5 summarizes the main findings and returns to the question of what can be inferred from the linguistic landscape of a cemetery regarding the multilingual past of a community.

2 Cemeteries as linguistic landscapes

This article extends the findings of previous linguistic research on sepulchral culture that has focused particularly on the traces of historical European migration that are visible in American cemeteries (Brown and Hietpas 2019; Eckert 1998; Graves 1983, 1988; VanDam 2007) as well as the linguistic impact that migrant populations have had on cemeteries outside Europe in East and West Asia (O'Regan 2009, 2011; Piller 2016: 36–39). The results of these studies are complemented by the study of cemeteries in multilingual border-areas, such as Alsace (Vajta 2018, 2020, 2021) and other multilingual communities, such as Kyiv (Pavlenko 2010). Furthermore, a slightly different angle has been adapted in the study of cemeteries resulting from international military conflicts in Israel (Guilat and Waksman 2014), in the U.S. (Garvin and Onodera 2020), and in the Philippines (Manalastas 2026). All in all, the research on cemeteries in different locations features two central lines of inquiry from which

2 The register only allows one native language to be listed.

the cemeteries are approached: First, from the point of view of the evidence that the cemeteries provide for the study of a multilingual community, and second, the discursive practices of mourning and commemoration. Both viewpoints are relevant for the present study on Varkaus.

The first perspective approaches cemeteries as environments that document the language situation of a community in the context of history. For example, Vajta (2021) characterizes the engravings on gravestones as miniature life stories that tell us about the identities of the deceased – who they were, what language(s) they spoke, what persons or families they associated with, what they did during their lives, when they were influential, where they came from, and how they died. Grave markers can thus be approached as expressions of individuals' identities carried out (probably) by the family members of the deceased or by other close persons. Cemeteries can be envisioned as linguistic landscapes in which the identities of individuals and their languages are preserved for future generations. The durability of the material choices (stone, metal) for the grave markers signals a desire to transmit messages for posterity.

This standpoint has been applied by Pavlenko (2010), arguing that gravestones can form one part of the data that provides insights into the multilingual past of Kyiv. Another perspective is offered by Graves (1983, 1988), Eckert (1998) and Vajta (2018) in their analyses of language shift by observing changes in the cemetery landscape over time. For example, the data analyzed by Graves (1983, 1988) exhibited a gradual change on the gravestones of Pennsylvania Germans from monolingual German to bilingual German-English and finally later, to monolingual English gravestones, which reflected a language shift that progressed gradually, generation by generation. The analysis by Eckert (1998) focuses on the orthographic choices on the gravestones of Czech immigrants. Eckert observes that the gravestones display signs of a generationally advanced attrition of the heritage language and the acculturation of the Czech minority in the U.S. The study on Alsace by Vajta (2018) reports that the language of gravestones changes over time from German to French, reflecting the language shift of the population in the German-French border area.

The choice of language (Graves 1983, 1988; Vajta 2018, 2020, 2021), orthographic solutions (Eckert 1998) and typeface such as the Fraktur script (Graves 1983, 1988) reflect not only the language situation and language use of the community but are also a means of expressing identity, ethnicity and cultural belonging. As Francis et al. (2005) emphasize, cemeteries thus appear to be socio-culturally important new "homelands," places where the expression of the deceased person's ethnic belonging can be continued. VanDam (2007) investigates the cemeteries of Dutch immigrants in the U.S. and characterizes the use of the heritage language as a "relic" ethnic marker when its use continues as an expression of ethnic identity even though the linguistic attrition of the minority is well advanced, the minority has acculturated into the

majority, and a language shift has taken place. Vajta (2018, 2020, 2021) and VanDam (2007) additionally demonstrate that the language and orthographic choices in cemeteries can also be influenced by the political and ideological turns in the society and changes in power.

Puzey (2016: 404) points to the "privileged" role of proper names in the linguistic landscape of public places. The function of proper names in cemeteries is particularly pronounced as specifically personal names are visually dominant. Some gravestones only have the name of the deceased engraved on them. By analyzing the first names of the deceased, Eckert (1998) and Vajta (2018, 2020, 2021) observe that the first name serves as a means of expressing identity and belonging to a group. In contrast, surnames, which will be analyzed in the current article (see Section 4.2 below), have not, to our knowledge, been systematically examined in previous linguistic research on cemeteries.

The second central line of inquiry in previous studies, which is also relevant for the current article, relates to the practices and discourses of mourning and commemoration. In his analysis of a Macau cemetery that was a result of European colonialism, O'Regan (2009) adopts a corpus linguistic methodology to analyze the discourses on gravestones, how the relatives of the deceased remembered and mourned their loved ones and what type of information they produced regarding the deceased in the nineteenth century (see also O'Regan 2011). A different perspective is provided by the study by Manalastas (2026) on a military cemetery in the Philippines, which suggests a classification of the communicative functions of the engravings in the spirit of the linguistic landscape analysis by Scollon and Scollon (2003). Other scholars, such as Guilat and Waksman (2014), report on the ongoing change in Israeli military cemeteries, where the fallen are increasingly memorialized as individuals and not (only) as members of a collective in arms. This change from an originally national place of commemoration to a place of personal memories manifests itself in the proliferation of personalized landscape elements. In what was originally a standardized design, a variety of new linguistic, textual, and visual elements were introduced that were not characteristic of earlier military cemetery landscapes. Garvin and Onodera's (2020) study, on the other hand, highlights the differences between the various actors who produce different discourses on a cemetery landscape. In their analysis of a Japanese-American internment camp's cemetery during World War II, the gravestones erected by national parties represent a unified monolingual English-speaking nation, while for the gravestones of internment camp residents, the simultaneous use of English and Japanese suggests a bicultural identity. All these studies are intertwined with cultural memory – how the public landscape produces, reproduces and transmits the memory of a community, its languages, and values to new generations.

The linguistic studies on cemeteries initially followed the conceptual framework of sociolinguistics, in particular, the study of language contact, which has traditionally focused less on the study of written language. By contrast, more recent studies apply the digital technique of photographic data collection as well as the concepts of linguistic landscape studies–the study of the visibility and the interaction of the written use of different languages in public spaces (see Coulmas 2009: 14). Regardless of the orientation, the central result of all previous linguistic studies on cemeteries thus far is compatible with the finding often emphasized in linguistic landscape research: The linguistic landscape is seldom a direct copy of the linguistic resources of the members of the community (Barni and Bagna 2010). As we have witnessed above, languages intersect in cemeteries with the expression of identity, ideological turns and changes of power in society, differences in emphasis between different actors, and commemorative and discursive practices. The following analysis shows that the multilingualism of cemeteries in Varkaus is also a complex sum of several factors.

3 Data

This section begins by offering a description of the central milestones in the multilingual industrial past of Varkaus (Section 3.1) followed by the cemeteries and their data (Section 3.2).

3.1 Varkaus

Figure 1 shows the location of Varkaus in Finland. The smokestack silhouette of Varkaus stands out from the surrounding forests, lakes, and rural villages. This industrial landscape has evolved since the early nineteenth century under the influence of different branches of heavy industry – iron works, ship building, mechanical engineering, wood processing industry as well as automation and electronics. According to Itkonen and Nevala (2020), the history of the town is divided into four phases. The first is the early period of industrialization when the first iron works were established in the early nineteenth century. At this point, the community began to take shape, and a new population moved to the locality for industrial work. The second phase covers the years from 1870 to 1928 and is characterized by the development of industrial plants and a significant increase in the population. An important milestone was the transfer of the industrial plants in 1909 from the Wahl family of German origin (see Section 4.1 below) to the family company of Ahlström, a

bilingual Finnish-Swedish-language family of Finnish origin. Varkaus gradually became Ahlström's flagship, the largest production site until the 1980s.

The third phase for Varkaus, from 1929 to 1961, is marked by the municipal independence of Varkaus as a township (1929) and its continued industrial growth. Furthermore, due to mobility from different directions, the population increased

Figure 1: Location of Varkaus in Finland. Map data from OpenStreetMap (https://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright).

steadily. The fourth period, which according to Itkonen and Nevala is still ongoing, began in 1962 when Varkaus was granted town status. This period is characterized by structural changes in industrial work and globalization. The most important turning point occurred in 1986, when the Ahlström company began to sell its plants in Varkaus and was gradually replaced by multinational players. With the restructuring of the industry, the population of the town began to decline, a trend that has continued to the present day. Official population statistics are available for the town from 1866 onwards. Table 1 depicts the development of the population and the language situation at different times.

In Central Europe, research on the linguistic effects of industry has focused on the large numbers of blue-collar workers who moved from Southern and Eastern Europe to destinations such as Germany and the Netherlands (for example, see Backus et al. 2010; Ziegler et al. 2018). The blue-collar workers in Varkaus, on the contrary, have mainly been Finnish speakers who moved to Varkaus from surrounding villages, neighboring regions in eastern Finland and especially from other more remote parts of Finland (Soikkanen 1963: 299–300). The arrival of languages other than Finnish relates predominantly to the upper white-collar layer–the factory officials, technical experts, and their families. In the nineteenth century, skilled professional employees were recruited from Swedish industrial sites (Soikkanen 1963: 343), while in the twentieth century these employees came mainly from Finland's Swedish-speaking areas and other industrial production sites. Swedish was their working language at the factory, as well as their home language in Varkaus. Although the company owner, Walter Ahlström (1875–1931), was bilingual (Siltala 2023: 14), Swedish was the official language of his company accounts in the twentieth

Table 1: The permanent population of Varkaus and its languages in 1866–2025 according to Soikkanen (1963: 308–310) and Statistics Finland (2025).

	Population		
1866	543		
	Finnish	**Swedish**	
1882	850	63	
1900	967	19	
1920	1,878	40	
1940	12,732	92	
1960	21,919	261	**Other languages**
1980	26,412	112	30
2000	24,651	49	190
2025	18,105	35	1,293

century (Grahn 2013: 122, 124). The situation was similar to many other industrial sites in Finland, as Swedish was the native language of a large number of industrial owners until well into the early twentieth century (Paavilainen 2005: 82).

In studies on the language sociology of Finland, Varkaus has been characterized as a Swedish-language island in a Finnish-speaking environment (for instance, see Lönnroth 2011). Table 1 contains data on the number of people declaring Finnish or Swedish as their native language in the Population Registers since 1882, which is when statistics were first collected on the two languages for the town. The number of Swedish speakers was highest in the 1950s and 1960s with approximately 250 people in each decade, after which the number of Swedish speakers began to decline as families moved away. The number of speakers of other languages[3] has been officially registered only since the 1980s.

No statistics are available for the German language before 1980, which was the second most important language alongside Swedish in the industrial history of Varkaus. Of particular importance for the German language were the technical investments in the industry, such as the three first paper manufacturing machines purchased from a German paper machine manufacturer in 1921, 1926, and 1961. To install these machines, large crews travelled to the town with the components of the paper machine giants. The installation of the machines as well as the starting process were long-term assignments, lasting from one to two years (Schybergson 1992: 173, 175).

Several of the German mechanics and their families remained permanently in Varkaus (Soikkanen 1963: 163). In the 1920s, it is estimated that there were approximately 70 German paper machine mechanics and their family members who resided in the town (Jensen-Eriksen 2006: 233). Their houses were constructed in the specially built residential area referred to as *Saksalat*, 'German houses'. (The street mentioned in the introduction is named after them.) Mechanics who arrived in Varkaus in the 1920s were forced to return to Germany when the Second World War broke out, but some of them returned to Varkaus after the war (Soikkanen 1963: 163). In addition to paper machines, other industrial experts were also recruited from Germany (Siltala 2023: 395). Statistics on German speakers are only available from the 1980s onwards, when their numbers had already declined to a modest level. However, the German mechanics of earlier decades have left an indelible imprint on the oral history of Varkaus, and they are remembered in several interviews

3 In 2025, the other languages in Varkaus were (in descending order of number of speakers): Ukrainian, Russian, Thai, English, Arabic, Kurdish, Sinhala, Estonian, Turkish, Bengali, Spanish, Tagalog, Chinese, Polish, Urdu, Vietnamese, Bulgarian, Nepali, German, and Tamili (Statistics Finland 2025).

conducted for the investigation of the multilingual industrial history of the town (Heikkinen and Kolehmainen 2016–2024).

According to Lassila (2023), the industrial history of Varkaus illustrates the foreign origin of the development of Finnish industry: Technology and its users were acquired from abroad until the local population learned to use and manufacture similar machines themselves. As the origins of Varkaus are inextricably linked to industry, the entire population, both Finnish- and non-Finnish-speaking, has its roots either elsewhere in Finland or in other countries. Table 1 above lists the population numbers for the Swedish language. The figures reveal that for most Swedish speakers, Varkaus was a temporary stopover, a place where they worked and stayed for a while but typically moved elsewhere. The history of German speakers is similar. In terms of cemeteries, this means that only some of the people who influenced the community are buried in Varkaus and have left their mark on the cemetery landscape.

3.2 The investigated cemeteries

The present article analyzes the digital photographs taken of all grave markers in the two oldest cemeteries in Varkaus, Pirtinniemi and Ala-Kankku. The photographs were taken from 2009 to 2011 by the Varkaus Evangelical Lutheran Parish, the administrator of the local cemeteries, and given to us for research purposes. Table 2 presents the data. The total number of photographs, from which the engravings were manually recorded in Excel and Access files, is 1,442. (The data consist of several photos of the same grave marker.) In Pirtinniemi, there were 75 gravestones and 83

Table 2: The two investigated cemeteries and their deceased.

	Pirtinniemi (1847–)	Ala-Kankku (1888–)
Photographs	320	1,122
Grave markers	75	345
Deceased: time of death:		
– Unclear	7	22
– In the 19th century	71	45
– 1900–1949	2	189
– 1950–1999	2	206
– 2000–2011	1	85
Total number of deceased	83	547

deceased by the end of the data production in 2011, whereas in Ala-Kankku, the number of gravestones was 345 and the number of deceased was 547. As family members can have common gravestones, the number of gravestones is lower than the number of the deceased.

Both cemeteries were established at a time when Finland was an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire (1809–1917): Pirtinniemi in 1847, and Ala-Kankku in 1888 (Soikkanen 1963: 704). Pirtinniemi is a small historical "museum cemetery" and burials are no longer permitted there. The oldest grave marker dates from 1850, the newest from 2003. As Table 2 indicates, most of the deceased died and were buried in the nineteenth century. In Ala-Kankku, the oldest grave dates to 1891; most deceased were buried in the twentieth century. This cemetery also limits new burials. Both cemeteries have been open to all community members, regardless of religion, ethnic or linguistic background.[4]

The grave markers in the data include stone plates on the ground, upright headstones, designed monuments, iron crosses, metal plates, and wooden crosses and plates. Some of the oldest markers are in poor condition, and some are covered in moss or lichen. The analysis only pertains to those grave markers with legible inscriptions. No information is currently available on the extent to which grave markers have disappeared or have been removed from both cemeteries.

4 The languages of the engravings

This section focuses on the engravings other than the names of the deceased (Section 4.1) and the names of the deceased (Section 4.2) are analyzed separately because their multilingualism is of different origin. The final section looks at both together (Section 4.3).

4.1 Other engravings than the names of the deceased

As indicated in Table 3, 44 grave markers (out of all 75 markers) have an engraving (other than the names of the deceased) in Pirtinniemi compared to 187 (out of 345) markers in Ala-Kankku. These numbers were determined by those grave markers that had discernable language inscriptions. Finnish-language engravings dominate, while engravings in Swedish and other languages are less frequent. The other

4 Varkaus has three other younger cemeteries. They were excluded from this study because the oldest of them was almost exclusively monolingually Finnish (Kolehmainen 2020), thus predicting a similar monolingualism of the other more recent cemeteries.

Table 3: Engravings other than the names of the deceased in the two cemeteries. The figures refer to the number of grave markers.

	Finnish	Swedish	Other languages	In total	Markers in total
Pirtinniemi	27	16	1	44	75
Ala-Kankku	181	5	1	187	345

languages present are German, Italian, Russian, and Latin. Of these languages, German, Italian and Russian are found on one grave marker together.

Examples (1) and (2) below illustrate the engravings which may express the deceased person's time of birth and death (together with numerical information), their age, maiden or former name, place of birth, occupation, title, education, other role or social affiliation, and cause of death. In addition, the engravings may name the mourners or erectors of the gravestone, and they may entail various religious or other epitaphs that either contain "desiderative" wishes for the deceased or offer "didactic" advice to passers-by (Manalastas 2026). In the following, we first describe the older Pirtinniemi cemetery followed by a description of Ala-Kankku.

The selected examples (1) illustrate the languages of the inscriptions in Pirtinniemi; translations in English are provided in brackets. In Pirtinniemi, the languages are Finnish (1a), Swedish (1b), and German, Russian and Italian (1c).

(1) **Pirtinniemi cemetery:**
  (a) **Engravings in Finnish:**
    – *S. K.* (born, died), *3-vuotias* (3 years)
    – *o.s.* (maiden name)
    – *asioitsija* (shopkeeper), *emäntä* (hostess), *kauppamiehen leski* (merchant's widow), *kauppias* (merchant), *kätilö* (midwife), *waimo* (wife), *tykistön kapteeni, asessori ja ritari* (artillery captain, assessor and knight), *ylioppilas* (high school graduate)
    – *insinööri* (engineer), *rautasorvari* (iron latheman), *ruukin isäntä* (ironworks' manager), *tehtaan työmiehen waimo* (factory worker's wife), *tehtaanhoitaja* (factory manager), *terehtööri* (director), *walajan poika* (founder's son), *walajan waimo* (founder's wife)
    – *Ystävät pystyttivät* (Erected by friends)
    – *Tässä lepää* (Here rests)
    – *Jesus on meidän rauhamme EF. 2:14.* (Jesus is our peace Eph. 2:14.)
  (b) **Engravings in Swedish:**
    – *F.D.* (born, died)
    – *född i Wasa* (born in Vaasa)

- *häradshöfdinskan* (circuit judge's wife), *kontoristen* (clerk), *löjtnant* (lieutenant)
- *ingeniören* (engineer), *ingeniörskan* (engineer's wife), *ångpannmestaren* (steam boiler maker)
- *Här hviler* (Here rests)
- *Christus är mitt lif och döden är min winning. Phil. ep 1:12.* (Christ is my life and in death, my gain. Phil. 1:12.)

(c) **Multilingual engraving in German, Italian, and Russian:**
Paul August Wahl
Geb. den 13ten October 1830 (born October 13 in 1830)
Gest. den 27 Februar 1875 (died February 27 in 1875)
Maderni & Ruggia
Gorohovaja No 38 (Peastreet 38)
St Petersburg (St. Petersburg)

Manalastas (2026) presents a typology of the communicative functions of gravestone inscriptions and adopts the term "summative" to capture the communication of social, political, military, or civilian roles the deceased assumed in their lives and how the bereaved chose to remember them. The types of Finnish and Swedish summative engravings in Pirtinniemi, illustrated in (1a) and (1b), include various occupations, titles or other roles valued by the community. They include titles that recall the local industrial history and refer to the different occupations of factory employees – occupations requiring professional skills ('founder,' 'iron latheman,' 'steam boiler maker'), technical specialists ('engineer') and managers of the industrial plants ('ironworks' manager,' 'factory manager,' 'director').

Sometimes, the "signature" by the gravestone erectors (such as 1a, 'Erected by friends') reveals their language. Otherwise, the language of a grave marker is strongly associated with the deceased and their families, but other methods would be needed to verify their language profile. One Swedish-language grave marker made explicit the deceased person's migration history by indicating their place of birth in a Swedish-speaking area of Finland (1b, 'born in Vaasa'). In Varkaus, the Finnish-language engravings are predictable; the use of Swedish, however, is a strong signal of mobility from elsewhere. In the case of bilingual individuals and families, of course, prestige may also have influenced the choice of Swedish over Finnish.

Other languages have left a trace on only one gravestone as illustrated in Example (1c) which includes its full multilingual engraving in German, Italian and Russian. The deceased is Paul August Wahl, the son of the owner of the industrial plants in Varkaus during the nineteenth century. The dates of his birth and death are provided in German, a language that is linked to his personal history. Wahl's roots are in Germany, from where his grandfather had moved to the coast of the Gulf of

Finland to the city of Vyborg, from where Paul August continued on to Varkaus. The Wahl family, an influential family of merchants and industrialists, has been referred to as the "Buddenbrooks of Finland" (Hoffman and Hellsten 1997). Italian turns up as the language of two surnames: *Maderni* and *Ruggia*. These were two stonemasons of Swiss origin in St. Petersburg. Below their names, is their address in Russian: 'Peastreet 38', St. Petersburg. The address can be interpreted as a message to passers-by, and the choice of Latin letters (instead of Cyrillic ones) may reflect a type of marketing function of the engraving–the address indicates where similar gravestones can be obtained. Alternatively, the stonemasons were unable to write Cyrillic. For this gravestone, the languages are thus related not only to the deceased but also to the manufacturers of the gravestone, their cultural background and their Russian-language working environment. While Finland was an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century, Finns in general (Engman 2004) and the people of Varkaus in particular (Soikkanen 1963: 249) maintained close and active cultural and economic contacts with the metropolis of St. Petersburg.

Paul August Wahl's multilingual gravestone (1c) is part of a fenced family grave complex, where the gravestones of the other four family members are in Finnish and Swedish. The gravestone of Paul August's brother, Alexander Wahl, is entirely in Finnish; the gravestones of Johanna Augusta and Ernst August Emanuel Wahl, the children of Paul Wahl and his wife, are in Swedish. The fifth gravestone, that of Lieutenant Casper H. Sesemann, is likewise in Swedish; he was the brother of Paul August's wife Charlotte Louise Sesemann. The roots of the Sesemann family are also in Germany from where their ancestors moved to Vyborg in the seventeenth century (Talka 2009). This multilingual grave complex suggests the multilingualism of the family, which was very common during earlier centuries in the international and multilingual city of Vyborg (Finnish, Swedish, German, and Russian, see Tandefelt 2002), which Finland lost to the Soviet Union in World War II.

In the younger cemetery of Ala-Kankku, Finnish plays a stronger role than in Pirtinniemi, while the number of Swedish engravings is far smaller in Ala-Kankku (see Table 3 above). The differences between the cemeteries can be at least partly explained by their location: Pirtinniemi is close to the historical center, where the industrial plants were located and the most prominent industrial actors lived. By contrast, Ala-Kankku was established in a Finnish-speaking working-class district further away from the center. Selected examples in (2) illustrate the engravings in Ala-Kankku.

(2) **Ala-Kankku cemetery:**
  (a) **Engravings in Finnish:**
    – *synt.*, *kuoli* (born, died)
    – *o.s.* (maiden name), *ent.* (former name)

- *apteekkari* (pharmacist), *asioitsija* (shopkeeper), *kauppias* (storekeeper), *kaupungin reviisori* (town revisitor), *fil. maisteri* (Master of Arts), *konttoristi* (clerk), *Kotisisaropiston rehtori* (Home Sister College rector), *lapset* (children), *maanviljelijä* (farmer), *nuorukainen* (young man), *opettaja* (teacher), *postinhoitaja* (post officer), *talon isäntä* (landlord), *vaimo* (wife)
- *isännöitsijä* (manager), *kanavankaitsija* (channel guard), *sahanhoitaja* (sawmill manager), *seppä* (smith), *sorvari* (latheman), *tehtaanisännöitsijä* (factory manager), *työmies* (workman), *työnjohtaja* (foreman), *walaja* (founder), *waskiseppä* (coppersmith)
- *Tässä lepää* (Here rests)
- *A. Ahlström osakeyhtiön työtoverit pystytti patsaan* (Erected by the colleagues from the A. Ahlström company)
- *Fredrik Lundbergin perhe* (Fredrik Lundberg's family)
- *kaatunut 1918 sotassa Varkaudessa* (fallen in 1918 in war in Varkaus)
- *Mitä ajattelet, siksi tulet.* (What you think is what you become.)

(b) **Engravings in Swedish:**

- *ingeniören* (engineer), *mekanikern* (mechanic), *sjökaptenen* (sea captain)
- *Tro hopp kärlek* (Faith hope love), *Älskad i lifvet och saknad i döden* (Beloved in life and missed in death).

(c) **Engraving in Latin:**
director musices

Examples in (2a) and (2b) show that also in this cemetery, both Finnish- and Swedish-language titles and occupations remind us of the local industrial history. Like Pirtinniemi, the linguistic landscape of Ala-Kankku contains traces of actors other than the languages identified with the deceased or their family members. In (2a), the erectors of the gravestone ('Erected by the colleagues from the A. Ahlström company') and mourners, the family members ('Fredrik Lundberg's family') "speak." In (1c), in turn, the Latin title *director musices* appears on a gravestone of a person who lived from 1903 to 1997. Latin was chosen for the special honorary title by the institution awarding the title, the President of Finland; it does not therefore relate to the deceased or his family members.[5]

For cemeteries, it is ultimately unclear whose "handwriting" constitutes the author who decides the language of the engravings. Spolsky (2009) presents a

5 See the Decree of the President of the Republic of Finland on Honorary Titles: https://beta.finlex.fi/fi/lainsaadanto/2000/381. The Decree mentions this Latin title among the other honorary titles in Finnish and Swedish.

tripartite model of the language choices of the writers of linguistic landscape signs. He argues that signs can be written in 1) a language that the writer knows, 2) a language that the recipient of the message knows, or 3) a language that the writer knows and wants to be identified with. In cemeteries, Spolsky's third criterion relying on identification could also refer to the language which the deceased is identified with; in a cemetery, it is the memory of the deceased that plays the main role, not the identity of the sign writer. The different criteria may also cumulate, and several criteria may simultaneously be in play and influence the language choice of the same sign.

The examples in this section show that in the Varkaus cemeteries, all criteria probably play a role. Regarding Spolsky's criterion 1), the inscriptions reflect the language choices of the designers of grave markers, most likely the relatives of the deceased. For example, in (2a) above, the explicit "signatures" in Finnish indicate that we are dealing with the language of the mourners ('Fredrik Lundberg's family'). However, without knowing the individuals and the families, it is impossible to know from the cemetery evidence alone whether the language chosen is an indication of their everyday linguistic life in Varkaus. Previous linguistic landscape research on cemeteries has shown that language choices can also be signs of ethnicity, indicating the historical background of families in a situation where language shift has occurred (Eckert 1998; VanDam 2007).

Spolsky's criterion 2) is illustrated in the example (1c) with Latin letters for a Russian-language inscription ('Peastreet'). This is an example of audience design that takes into account local cemetery visitors who are not familiar with Cyrillic letters. In (1c), the choice of writing system may also be due to the stonemason's own constraints in producing the Cyrillic alphabet. Otherwise, the languages of the gravestones, Finnish, Swedish, German, and Latin, are languages that the authors of the inscriptions assume, based on local knowledge, that at least some of the visitors will be able to read.

As for Spolsky's criterion 3), the Varkaus examples do not seem to contradict the identification factor. Considering the local history, the choice of language can be interpreted as a signal of identification of the deceased and/or their family members with the chosen language, Finnish, Swedish, or German. However, there is also one clear exception, the Latin example in (2c) above which is indirectly related to the deceased: In the title (*director musices*), the Latin language is not the language of the deceased or their family members; it is the choice of an institution in the society, signaling the belonging to and continuation of a European academic tradition.

Pavlenko (2010: 133) argues that a linguistic landscape "is not a state but a diachronic process." This is also the case in Varkaus: The landscape changes over time and engravings in all languages become less common towards the present day. The Swedish engravings appear all except one on the nineteenth and early twentieth

century markers (see Examples (1b) and (2b); the German, Italian and Russian engravings appear only on one nineteenth century marker. The two cemeteries have thus preserved only selected traces of the earliest Swedish- and German-language actors from the town's history. The Swedish and German speakers who influenced Varkaus in the later decades of the twentieth century have left few traces in these cemeteries; for many of them, their stay in Varkaus was temporary (see Section 3.1). The Latin honorary title in the data (2c), in turn, appears on a 1990s gravestone and serves as an example of the functions of Latin in modern society.

There are inscriptions in Finnish from the nineteenth century to the present day, but it is important to note that they also change. Occupations, titles, epitaphs, etc., appear only on nineteenth and early twentieth century markers and become rare over time. For the Finnish-language part of the landscape, the change occurs at the turn of the 1930s and 1940s, after which the indication of a maiden name (*o.s.* 'maiden name') remains the only identifiable text in Finnish. We characterize this development as a change in commemorative practices. It is not only a local feature but applies to Finnish cemeteries in general. In Finland, this change has been interpreted as an attempt to achieve social equality among the deceased (Lempiäinen and Nickels 1990: 66). In other words, the Varkaus examples highlight the importance of paying attention to the commemorative practices because they serve as evidence that the disappearance of engravings and languages in the cemetery landscape does not necessarily always reflect a change in the language community but is caused by other factors.

4.2 Personal names and their languages

When the engravings in different languages disappear, what remains in the landscape as the commemorative practices change over time? The remaining landscape consists of the names of the deceased, their first names, surnames, possible maiden or former names, and numerically expressed dates of birth and death. In this section, we explore how to approach the names of the deceased and what they tell us. The analysis focuses on surnames because they are typically inherited and remain identical from generation to generation. Alternatively, they indicate intermarriage and family relations. In addition, we also analyze the possible maiden names of the deceased that appear on the grave markers.

Table 4 contains quantitative data on the sur- and maiden names in the two cemeteries. We begin by explaining the table from the rightmost column, which indicates that there are 57 different surnames in Pirtinniemi (types) and a total of 72 surnames (tokens). The corresponding figures for Ala-Kankku are 221 and 528, respectively. The older Pirtinniemi cemetery only has five maiden names (types and

tokens). As they are so few, their percentages are not calculated in the table. In Ala-Kankku, the numbers of maiden names are 117 (types) and 144 (tokens). In both cemeteries, the maiden names often appear in a smaller font size and their position on the grave marker is not as central as that of the surname.

Ainiala et al. (2016: 170–189) summarize the history of surnames in Finland (see also Paikkala 2004: 105–124): The first Surname Act came into force in Finland in 1921. This act made surnames compulsory for everyone for the first time in history, but it did not oblige women to take their spouse's surname. Prior to this act, the only ordinary people who had a permanent, inherited surname lived in eastern Finland; in western Finland, a surname could change, for example, when people moved. The upper classes, on the other hand, had rather permanent, heritable surnames. In 1930, the Surname Act was changed, and the spouse's name became compulsory for women. This regulation was repealed in 1985 and afterwards, women have been allowed to retain their own names. Marital double names, consisting of a person's own name and the name of the spouse (for example, *Helve-Hirvonen* in the Varkaus data), have been possible since the 1929 Marriage Act.

Edelman (2009), who provides an overview of previous research on proper names in linguistic landscape studies, demonstrates that the classification of proper names by language is challenging. Whereas some researchers classify proper names by language, for example, based on their etymology, others exclude them from the analysis and determine the languages of signs relying on their other parts. Finnish onomastics has had the tradition of classifying surnames by language. The central criterion has been the language of the name components such as root words and affixes. This tradition has been adopted by both Finnish-language and Swedish-language researchers (Blomqvist 1993; Mikkonen and Paikkala 2000). Table 4 above applies the classification to our data. Additionally, it shows that names can also be classified as internally multilingual if their different components belong to different languages. This classification model was introduced by Wessman and Kolehmainen (2019).

Table 4 summarizes the numerical information on the languages of sur- and maiden names in the two cemeteries and reveals that their profiles differ. Pirtinniemi has a majority of Swedish names (40.3 % of all names), Finnish names account for 33.3 % of all names, other languages for 9.7 %, and inherently multilingual names for 16.7 %. Pirtinniemi's five maiden names are divided into the categories Finnish, Swedish and inherently multilingual names. Ala-Kankku clearly has more Finnish-language names (86.5 %) than Swedish-language names (10.8 %); other languages account for 1.3 %, and internally multilingual for 1.3 %. The maiden names in Ala-Kankku follow the distribution of surnames. In the two cemeteries, the distribution between Finnish- and Swedish-language names is largely in line with the distribution

Table 4: Number and languages of sur- and maiden names in Pirtinniemi and Ala-Kankku. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of different names (types), the numbers without brackets the number of all names (tokens).

Pirtinniemi	Finnish		Swedish		Other languages		Inherently multilingual		Total
	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens	(Types) tokens
– Surnames	(20)	24	(23)	29	(3)	7	(11)	12	(57) 72
– %	(35.0)	33.3	(40.4)	40.3	(5.3)	9.7	(19.3)	16.7	~100 %
– Maiden names	(1)	1	(3)	3	–	–	(1)	1	(5) 5
Ala-Kankku									
– Surnames	(183)	455	(29)	59	(4)	7	(5)	7	(221) 528
– %	(82.8)	86.5	(13.1)	10.8	(1.8)	1.3	(2.3)	1.3	~100 %
– Maiden names	(100)	124	(9)	9	(2)	2	(6)	9	(117) 144
– %	(85.5)	87.3	(7.7)	4.9	(1.7)	1.4	(5.1)	6.3	~100 %

of these languages in the other engravings: In Section 4.1 it became apparent that there are more engravings in Swedish in Pirtinniemi than in Ala-Kankku.

Examples in Table 5 below illustrate the names in different languages. The Finnish names belong to the group that is referred to as derivational names (because they resemble derivations) (P: *Koponen, Pöyhiä*; A-K: *Kahila, Korhonen*), root word-type names (A-K: *Koski*), names resembling compounds (A-K: *Talvenheimo*), and marital double names (A-K: *Helve-Hirvonen*). The Swedish-language names are of the compound type (P: *Hällström*; A-K: *Åberg*), patronymic surnames (P: *Lundson*; A-K: *Larsson*), and root word-type names (P: *Storm*; A-K: *Kanon*). In both cemeteries, the other names are the type of names that are German derivational, compound or root words (P: *Seseman, Wahl*; A-K: *Brummer, Sternberg*). Ala-Kankku has also one originally English-language maiden name (A-K: *Vright*); its spelling indicates non-L1 competence in English and no institutional control over orthography. The last category, "inherently multilingual," refers to sur- and maiden names formed of elements of two or more languages such as Finnish or Swedish roots combined with a suffix in Romance or Classical languages (P: *Antell*, A-K: *Ålander*).

Although the sur- and maiden names form a multilingual layer in the cemetery landscape, and although it is possible to classify names by language, the language of a name is not a reliable indicator of the language of the deceased, nor is the engraving of a name on a grave marker a linguistic choice as is typically the case with the other engravings discussed in Section 4.1. Instead, as will be demonstrated in the following, the multilingualism of the sur- and maiden name landscape is a result of a variety of factors including immigration, name translation, and the features of the Finnish naming system.

Of these three factors, the first is immigration. The German and English sur- and maiden names are indicative of migration and suggest that the deceased or their ancestors were from another culture. The names have not necessarily arrived in Finland with the name bearers buried in Varkaus but with their ancestors who migrated to Finland, possibly long ago in earlier centuries, after which the names

Table 5: Selected examples for surnames and maiden names in different languages in the two cemeteries.

	Pirtinniemi (P)	**Ala-Kankku (A-K)**
Finnish	*Koponen, Pöyhiä*	*Kahila, Korhonen, Koski, Talvenheimo, Helve-Hirvonen*
Swedish	*Hällström, Lundson, Storm*	*Kanon, Larsson, Spåre, Åberg*
Other languages	*Seseman, Wahl*	*Brummer, Sternberg, Vright*
Inherently multilingual	*Antell*	*Ålander*

have been passed on to their descendants in Finland (such as *Seseman, Wahl,* and *Wright*). In Varkaus, only some of these, such as the industrial and merchant families Wahl and Sesemann, have a known background (see Section 4.1); other names would require genealogical research to establish their ancestry. The Finnish and Swedish grave markers of the Wahl and Sesemann families, described in Section 4.1, suggest a language shift in these families of German origin.

The cemetery's namescape is also affected by a second factor, the name translation and the name system evolved in Finland, the products of which are the Finnish, Swedish and internally multilingual names appearing in the cemeteries. In the following, we examine these factors more closely in this order. The discussion concludes that Swedish names have been taken by Finnish speakers and vice versa and that the bearers of inherently multilingual names are both Finnish and Swedish speakers. This again means that the language of the name cannot be reliably linked to the language of the name bearer, the deceased.

Finnish-language surnames similar to the ones in Table 5 above of course have their origin in Finland, and they have been inherited, created or adopted by the Finnish-speaking population in particular (on the history of surnames in Finland, see Ainiala et al. 2016: 170–189; Paikkala 2004 105–124). Nonetheless, even in the case of Finnish-language surnames, the language of the name does not necessarily equate with the language of the deceased. The languages of individuals may change during their lifetime or in the history of the family. Furthermore, for the mixed marriages between Finnish and Swedish speakers, the language of the surname may change even though the language of everyday communication does not.

Some Finnish surnames have also been translated from Swedish. Närhi (1972) and Paikkala (2004: 418–422) describe the translation of surnames, which took place particularly during the period of national awakening in the late nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. During that era, not only Finnish-speaking bearers of Swedish-language names changed their names to Finnish ones, but Swedish speakers also adopted Finnish-language names to express their support for their Finnish identity. In Varkaus, for example, the surname *Lumiala* (Ala-Kankku) is a translated name that can be traced to the Swedish name *Lundson* (Pirtinniemi), which was translated by the family in 1928 (Grönstrand 2001). Närhi (1972) describes the translated names and notes that they were often exact or approximate translations, or like *Lumiala*, were phonetic imitations of the original name.

As Finland was part of the Swedish Empire until 1809, the surname system of the different social classes, such as nobles, scholars, bourgeoisie, craftsmen, and soldiers, was in line with that of the mother country. The exception to this was the Finnish-speaking rural population with their Finnish-language names. In Varkaus, the Swedish-language names include *Spåre* (Pirtinniemi), originally a name of nobility. In Finland, the noble names began evolving after 1626, which was when the House of

Nobility made it compulsory for every noble family in Sweden-Finland to have a surname. The new noble names were also mainly Swedish-language names in Finland (Paikkala 2004: 106; Blomqvist 1993: 145). The pattern of Swedish-language compound surnames, resembling two-part place names (for example, P: *Hällström,* A-K: *Åberg*) emerged in Sweden in the seventeenth century. Thereafter they began to spread to the eastern part of the kingdom, to Finland, where they became popular among the urban bourgeoisie and among rural craftsmen. According to Paikkala (2004: 107) and Mikkonen and Paikkala (2000: 25–26), Swedish compound names were also adopted by Finnish speakers because a Swedish-language name indicated a higher status. After having acquired Swedish skills, the originally Finnish-speaking bourgeoisie also retained their Swedish names.

Swedish-language patronyms such as *Lundson* (Pirtinniemi) and *Larsson* (Ala-Kankku) in Table 5 emerged in the early nineteenth century when officials in the administration began to record patronyms in various registers as person identifiers similar to surnames. In Finland until the late nineteenth century, patronyms were created in Swedish, and they were not based on the real name of the father of the Finnish-speaking person but it was rendered in the Swedish form of the father's name. The suffix *-son* could also be attached to the Finnish-language name of a house or village. Many Swedish-language patronymic names ending in *-son* were thus created because only Swedish-language entries were accepted in official registers and because the textual design of document composition and name patterns were adopted from Sweden (Mikkonen and Paikkala 2000: 22; Paikkala 2004: 538–543).

The set of Swedish names in Varkaus also includes the names *Storm* (P: 'storm') and *Kanon* (A-K: 'Cannon) in Table 5. Names such as these were given from the end of the seventeenth century to identify soldiers. As the language of administration was Swedish, the soldier names given were also often in Swedish, regardless of the person's language. Some of the military names became established as inheritable surnames (Paikkala 2004: 108).

The last group illustrated in Table 5 consists of internally multilingual surnames, which are all the names that evolved in Finland and all the names used by both the Finnish- and Swedish-speaking population (Blomqvist 1993:145–152; Mikkonen and Paikkala 2000: 24–25). The names of this name type, referred to as "scholarly names" (Mikkonen and Paikkala 2000: 24–25), were formed by adding a Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Italian or French suffix to a Finnish or Swedish root word. The root word, which is not necessarily known with certainty today, originally referred to the geographic origin (home region, village, or house), occupation, or former surname of the name bearer. For instance, the two selected examples in Table 5, *Antell* (Pirtinniemi) and *Ålander* (Ala-Kankku), which most likely can be traced back either to a Finnish-language house or farm name (*Anttila*, combined with the French suffix *-ell*) or to a Swedish-language geographical name (*Åland*, combined with the Greek suffix

-ander) follow the pattern of many other similarly formed names such Cantell (<*Kantele*), *Pomoell* (<*Puumalainen*) and *Nylander* (<*Nyland*), *Ulander* (<*Uleåborg*) (see Blomqvist 1993: 151; Mikkonen and Paikkala 2000: 25, 195).

The history of these scholarly names dates back to the 1500s and 1600s, when the classical sciences and arts were highly esteemed and when it was customary to take a new name when major life changes occurred, such as when starting school or university. These names, which were originally recorded alongside the given name in various registers, were not permanent but could change throughout a person's life. It was only a matter of time before they were established as permanent surnames (Mikkonen and Paikkala 2000: 14).

Section 4.1 demonstrated that inscriptions other than names disappear in all languages over time as the commemorative practices change. The sur- and maiden namescape also changes over time but for other reasons. Both in Pirtinniemi and in Ala-Kankku, the life spans of the few name bearers of the German and English sur- and maiden names date from the nineteenth century to the early decades of the twentieth century. In both cemeteries, Swedish names also appear especially in twentieth century grave markers, while Finnish names become more common towards the present day. The namescape thus gradually becomes increasingly Finnish, reflecting the profile of the people buried in the cemeteries and the grave markers that have survived from different periods to the present day. Probable reasons for this temporal change include changes in the profile of employees who were recruited to the factories, with particularly an increase in the number of factory workers with Finnish-language names and a decline in the proportion of employees with an upper-class background with Swedish-language or inherently multilingual names. It is also important to remember that not all those who moved to Varkaus have left their mark on the cemetery landscape. For example, the Population Statistics (see Section 3.1) attest to the mass emigration of Swedish speakers from Varkaus that began in the 1960s. As a consequence, their names do not appear in the cemetery landscapes in Varkaus.

4.3 Combinations of surnames and other engravings

In the previous Sections 4.1 and 4.2, the surnames and the other engravings were examined separately. In this final section, we will bring together these two linguistic landscape layers and examine the type of combinations they form in the Varkaus cemeteries. Table 6 summarizes the different language combinations formed by surnames and other engravings.

As is evident from Table 6, a single gravestone can be multilingual because the name(s) and other engravings on it belong to different languages. Together, they

Table 6: Correspondences between the language(s) of the surnames and the language(s) of the other engravings in the Varkaus data. The numbers refer to grave markers.

Correspondences with examples	**Pirtin-niemi**	**Ala-Kankku**
Finnish surname – Finnish engraving *Kortelainen – kätilö* 'midwife'	9	152
Finnish surname – multilingual engraving (Finnish, Latin) *Nissinen – opettaja* 'teacher', *director musices*	–	1
Swedish surname – Finnish engraving *Lundson – Tässä lepää* 'Here rests'	13	21
Swedish surname – Swedish engraving *Hellberg – Ångpannmästare* 'steam boiler maker'	13	5
German surname – Finnish engraving *Wahl – Ruukin isäntä* 'director of ironworks'	1	5
German surname – Swedish engraving *Wahl – F. D. 7 maj; D 16 augusti 1860* 'born 7 May, died 16 August 1860'	3	–
German surname – multilingual engraving (German, Italian, Russian) *Wahl – geb. den 13ten October 1830, gest. den 27ten Februar 1875, Maderni & Ruggia, Gorohovaja No 38, St. Petersburg* (see Ex. 1c)	1	–
Inherently multilingual surname – Finnish engraving *Fenander – synt.* 'born'	3	3
Inherently multilingual surname – Swedish engraving *Mohell – ingeniörskan* 'engineer's wife'	1	–

form a multilingual entity. Thus, a cemetery is not multilingual simply because the layer of surnames is multilingual or that the layer of other inscriptions is multilingual; their combination can also be multilingual. Table 6 illustrates these combinations of languages in Varkaus and reveals that the language of the surname does not always correspond to the language of the rest of the inscription.

However, for Finnish-language surnames, the correspondence of the language and surname is all but perfect with one exception. The exception is a multilingual gravestone shared by two persons with a Finnish-language surname (*Nissinen*): The occupation of one of the deceased is given in Finnish (*opettaja* 'teacher') and the title of the other in Latin (*director musices*, see Section 4.1 above). Table 6 shows that in gravestones with Swedish-language surnames, as well as with internally multilingual surnames, the engravings are both in Finnish and in Swedish. This result is

compatible with the history of the origin of both surname types and the cultural and linguistic situation in Finland at different times. This is due to the Finnish and Swedish cultures, including the name systems, overlapping and intermingling with each other (see Section 4.2 above). In gravestones with German-language surnames, the engravings are in Finnish and Swedish or they are multilingual; the Finnish- and Swedish-language engravings communicate the family's accommodation to Finnish culture.

The counterparts whose languages do not match reinforce the impression that the language of a surname is an unreliable indicator of the language of the deceased or their family members. Although carving an engraving is a language choice for the messages other than names, it is not a choice for the names.

The focus of this short section has been on combinations of surnames and other engravings. Eckert (1998) and Vajta (2018, 2020, 2021) observe that first names, which are important means of expressing identity and belonging, can also be classified and approached on the basis of language – this is also the case in Finland (for example, see Alhaug and Saarelma 2009; Eskola and Hämäläinen 2019). However, the nature of first names differs from surnames in that they are not inherited in the same manner as surnames are; they are easily borrowed from one language to another, and they are influenced by prevailing name trends. The analysis of first names would add a third layer to the reasons for multilingualism and a new level to compare to the languages of family and maiden names or to the languages of other engravings in the gravestones. The analysis of first names constitutes a topic that is beyond the scope of the present article. However, the preceding analysis of surnames demonstrated that considering names alongside other engravings highlights an additional layer of the cemetery landscape and that the multilingualism of names varies and stems from different reasons than the language choices of other engravings. Like surnames, the engraving of a first name on a grave marker is not a linguistic choice in the same manner as is the language of other inscriptions, and even the language of a first name is not a reliable indicator of the language of the deceased.[6]

6 Kotilainen (2013) compares the orthography of church documents in a rural municipality in Finland with the orthography of engravings on grave markers from the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century and observes that in Finland, cemeteries can be important for the historical study of personal names, as the engravings on grave markers are often specifically produced or commissioned by the family of the deceased. Their orthography may differ from the entries made by priests and other church officials in various registers and documents (such as when they were born, baptized, emigrated, and deceased). In accordance with the Swedish-language administrative culture of the time, the priests and church officials entered the first names of persons in the registers in the Swedish-language version rather than in the Finnish-language correspondent (for instance, *Andreas* instead of its Finnish-language correspondent, *Antti*), which the deceased actually

Personal names differ from the rest of the linguistic landscape in cemeteries in that they are not affected by changes in commemorative practices; the choice of first names is influenced by name trends (Kiviniemi 2006) and by the expression of identity and belonging (Alhaug and Saarelma 2009; Eckert 1998; Eskola and Hämäläinen 2019; Vajta 2018, 2020, 2021). Surnames are more stable and not affected to the same extent; instead, they can be changed according to the existing norms relating to factors such as taking a spouse's name and changing a surname.

5 Conclusions

The results of the present study support previous linguistic research on cemeteries and serve as evidence that a variety of factors and actors influence the multilingualism of the landscape. Multilingualism has many and varied roots, and the cemetery landscape is ultimately a polyphonic entity, where the languages of the engravings are determined by several different factors. What is new in the present study is the methodological approach that combines the linguistic landscape perspective with onomastics. This enabled a distinction to be made between two main layers in the cemetery linguistic landscape and the different reasons for their multilingualism: personal names of the deceased and other engravings than names.

The analysis reveals that engravings other than the names of the deceased relate to the studied community's previous linguistic diversity, which is a result of mobility and migration. The Swedish and German engravings in the two Finnish cemeteries studied, which date from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, are indicative of the arrival of people from elsewhere. At present, rather few traces of past multilingualism have survived. The reason for this was partly determined to be due to not all those who moved to the site for industrial work remained there permanently.

In the investigated Varkaus cemeteries, the engravings are closely linked to the deceased, whose "voices" and languages are transmitted to passers-by most probably by their family members. However, other actors can also leave traces, such as mourners, gravestone erectors, carvers, and the institutions of the society. In addition, there are imprints by actors outside the community, such as the linguistic environment of the gravestone sculptors and their original cultural background. Building on previous research that has examined the discourses of gravestone inscriptions, the central finding of the present study is that the landscape is also transformed by commemorative practices and that these change over time. They

used. According to Kotilainen, the names on the gravestones appear in Finnish rather than in the Swedish-language form.

influence not only the outer appearance of a grave marker but also what is selected to be engraved. In short, the cemetery landscape changes not only because the language community and its languages change but because the commemorative cultures change.

A different layer in the landscape is formed by the names of the deceased, which previous studies have not always identified as a separate subject of study. For the Varkaus data, the surnames and maiden names of the deceased contribute to the multilingualism of the landscape. However, the languages of the names do not reliably reflect the languages of the deceased. The reasons for the multilingualism of names lie elsewhere. In the Varkaus data, the main causes of the multilingualism of surnames and maiden names are migration, the translation of surnames, and the Finnish naming system with its complex history and cultural influences and these all result in the Finnish, Swedish and internally multilingual names identified in the landscape. Unlike the other engravings, the engraving of a surname or maiden name on a gravestone is not a language choice.

Surnames, maiden names as well as the other inscriptions all form a complex layered landscape. The reasons for the multilingualism in these names and inscriptions vary and parts of their landscape and their languages tell different stories. The language of the name of the deceased that is engraved on a grave marker may not correspond to the language of the rest of the engraving. Again, this all means that the language of the deceased person's name is not necessarily a reliable indicator of that person's language.

Previous studies, such as those by Edelman (2009) and Puzey (2016), emphasized the integration of onomastics into the linguistic landscape research for the study of commercial landscapes and names. The results of the present study confirm the methodological importance of separating the proper names from the data into their own layer of investigation because proper names exhibit their own specific properties. In this sense, the results of this article can be considered as a significant methodological contribution that illustrates the dialogue between two parts of the cemetery linguistic landscape, proper names and other engravings that occur in close physical proximity but are not directly related because their languages derive partly from different reasons. The present article is based on Finnish cemetery data, thus illustrating viewpoints that need to be considered when studying the linguistic landscape of cemeteries. An additional challenge is posed by the given names of the deceased, which were excluded from the present analysis; their consideration would add a new third layer to the multilingualism of cemeteries.

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