

The (Re)Naming of the Finnish Representative Assembly 1809–1919: State-Building, Representation and Sovereignty



REDESCRIPTIONS

Political Thought, Conceptual History and Feminist Theory

RESEARCH

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the names and naming of Finnish parliamentary institutions in relation to European debates, focusing on the period from the Diet of Porvoo in 1809 to the Constitution Act of 1919. The article presents a history of the adoption of the current names of the Finnish parliament – *valtiopäivät* and *eduskunta* in Finnish, *riksdagen* in Swedish, as well as a number of failed proposals. It analyzes how and why the names of the Finnish representative assembly were created and established. The article examines naming as a political act. The name formation was influenced by Finland's position as a grand duchy of the Russian Empire and the constitutional and language tradition of its former mother country Sweden. However, naming of the assemblies took place in relation to wider European debates and developments. Political actors used translation and naming innovatively to (re)define, (re)describe and (re)conceptualize Finland's status and national representation. The aim was to raise Finland and its nascent representation among European constitutional states and their parliamentary institutions. The article shows, for example, that *valtiopäivät*, applied since 1847 to the estate meeting in Porvoo in 1809, preceded the adoption of *valtio* as the Finnish word for the state, forming a crucial step in defining the Grand Duchy of Finland as a state.

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In the long nineteenth century, parliaments emerged across Europe in countries with different historical and political traditions. Estate assemblies were reformed into bi- and unicameral parliaments. Names of national assemblies shared similarities internationally, across languages. Typically, the names highlighted the character of the represented entity (*rik, lant, nation, staten*), temporal aspects (*dag, Tag*), and activity (*parler, represent[er]*). Furthermore, names, such as the British *Parliament* and French *Assemblée nationale*, became common nouns for representative and deliberative assemblies. Names of reformed assemblies reflected national contexts, traditions and expectations, but also international trends, developments and conventions. In countries like France, assemblies were given new names to highlight the break with the past, whereas names such as the Dutch *Staten-Generaal* emphasized continuity of a long historical tradition (Aerts et al. 2015; Garrigues 2007).

This article studies European parliamentary nomenclature by focusing on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Finland, whose emerging parliamentary institutions and vocabulary were developed by actively following and applying European models, concepts and ideas. The Finnish case illustrates how European debates on parliaments and parliamentarism offered conceptual repertoires that actors used selectively and innovatively in national discussions (Pekonen 2014; Pekonen 2017a; Pekonen 2017b; Pekonen 2019). The article examines Finland in relation to European debates. On one hand, I highlight the role of transnational transfers, translations and comparisons in the making of national institutions. On the other hand, I use European contextualization to understand the specific Finnish conventions on the names of representative assemblies.¹

This article examines naming as a political act (Palonen 2018). Naming is a process of identifying, but also comparing and classifying things. It is a way of structuring the world, partly dependent on pragmatic, linguistic and cultural aspects (Allan 2016; Bertills 2003; Rose-Redwood et al. 2018). Names and naming are based on conventions, but in the case of parliamentary institutions, for example, they require agreement and decision-making. In this article, I analyze how the names of Finnish representative assemblies were formed and why certain names were established. Although I highlight key moments and acts of naming, I also understand that the names of political institutions reflect and shape cultural practices, values and expectations. Thus, I analyze names and naming to better understand Finnish parliamentary life and political culture.

The article presents a history of the adoption of the current names of the Finnish representative assembly – *valtiopäivät* and *eduskunta* in Finnish, and *riksdagen* in Swedish.² I analyze the names and naming from the Diet of Porvoo in 1809 until the promulgation of the first Constitution Act of independent Finland in 1919. The formation of the names was influenced by Finland's position as a grand duchy of the Russian Empire and the constitutional and language tradition of its former mother country Sweden. However, naming of the assemblies took place in relation to wider European debates and developments. Political actors used translation and naming to (re)define, (re)describe and (re)conceptualize Finland's status and national

¹ I would like to thank the reviewers of this article, whose insightful comments helped me to clarify my argument.

² The names in Finnish and Swedish are uncapitalized, but the practice varied in the sources of this study.

representation. The aim was to raise Finland and its nascent representation among European constitutional states and their parliamentary institutions. I highlight spatial and temporal dimensions of politics. Political actors employed information on foreign experiences and made use of historical arguments, constructing notions of continuity and divides between the past and the present. To understand why certain names and common nouns for representative assemblies became customary in Finland, I also look into the histories of failed proposals and thus highlight conceptualizations as contested political acts.

Thus far, the naming of Finnish parliamentary institutions has been only fragmentarily studied. For example, in the first national conceptual history project, the names of representative assemblies were analyzed in relation to concepts such as ‘state’ and ‘representation’ (Pohjantammi 2003; Pulkkinen 2000; Pulkkinen 2003).³ No systematic conceptual history or analysis of the names and their connections to European debates has been conducted. This also seems to be the case with other countries in European parliamentary history studies.

I analyze the names of the Finnish assemblies in both national languages, Finnish and Swedish. The two languages were in close dialogue when coining political vocabulary. Finnish language actors active in naming also spoke Swedish. Swedish was the language of politics, administration and public debate in Finland until the second half of the nineteenth century. The backwardness of Finnish political language was fought by systematically adopting and translating European concepts and vocabulary (Hyvärinen et al. 2003). Actualizing and elaborating Swedish traditions appeared not only in the Swedish modes of naming, but also in how Finnish was in the acts and processes of naming refined as a political language.

The analysis of the article draws on a systematic study of digitized newspapers published in Finland (Digital Collections), provided by the National Library of Finland, completed with parliamentary debates and documents, committee reports, dictionaries, and speeches. The press was an important source for following European political, constitutional and parliamentary developments already in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Finnish language newspapers played a central role in translating and coining vocabulary. When reporting on foreign events they were forced to react to topics for which no established vocabulary existed. The press formed an arena for testing, peer-reviewing and disputing Finnish words and names. The descriptions of foreign politics were written by translating foreign, for example Swedish, German, Russian and French newspapers. They offered a means to examine Finnish developments in the light of foreign examples, ideas and experiences (Pekonen 2014, 37–49).

II. THE DIET OF PORVOO IN 1809: TRANSLATING AND TRANSFERRING NAMES OF PROVINCIAL ESTATE ASSEMBLIES

Finland was annexed to the Russian Empire as a result of the Napoleonic Wars in 1809. Until then, Finland had been part of Sweden for centuries. After the annexation,

³ The discussion on the naming of the Diet in Kurunmäki and Marjanen 2021 draws partly on an unpublished version of this article, presented in the workshops ‘In Absence of Representation’, 14–15 June 2017, and ‘Practicing Political Representation’, 15–16 November 2018 organized by the project ‘Political Night in New Light 1809–1863’. See Kurunmäki & Marjanen 2021, note 5.

Finland became a grand duchy of the Russian Empire, with the tsar as grand duke. Alexander I summoned the Finnish Estates (the Nobility, the Clergy, the Burghers and the Peasants) to the Diet of Porvoo (Borgå) in 1809, where he promised to uphold the constitutional laws, rights and privileges in Finland. From this event on, 'the Finnish constitution' became a question of varying dispute, especially between Finnish and Russian political and administrative elites. During the nineteenth century, Finnish actors began to highlight the events in Porvoo as a state treaty, the founding moment of Finnish autonomy within the Russian Empire. Finnish politicians and scholars viewed the Swedish Instrument of Government of 1772 and the Union and Security Act of 1789 as Finnish constitutions, despite the fact that the emperor never officially validated them (Jussila 1969; Jussila 1987). After Porvoo, the tsar did not convene the Diet until 1863.

Russian authorities referred to the estate meeting in Porvoo in 1809 with the French word *diète* (*la diète generale, la diète de la Finlande, les états de Finlande en une diète générale*) and with the Russian *seim* (Halila 1962, 498). *Diète* derives from the Latin *dies* (day), originally referring to the time period, that is, the day(s) of the assembly (Ihalainen, Ilie & Palonen 2016, 9). The official Swedish-language name used in Finland was *Landtdag*. The name illustrates how in the Germanic language tradition, the temporal aspect is often combined with a territorial or constitutional dimension, for example in the German names *Landtag* (*Land* referring to a federated state) and *Reichstag* (*Reich* referring to a realm, kingdom or empire). Similarly, *Landtdag* was composed of the words *land(t)*- ([provincial] state, country or territory) and *-dag* (day).

Landtdag was taken from Sweden. The provincial meetings of Sweden mostly held in the seventeenth century, often in connection with the national *Riksdag*, were called *lantdagar, landtdagar* or *landdagar* (Svenska Akademiens ordbok). Newspapers published in Sweden and Finland used *landtdag* to refer to the assemblies of German, Prussian and Austrian states and crown lands, as a substitute for the German word *Landtag* (for example, *Utländska Nyheter* 1796).

The Finnish name of the Porvoo Diet was *Herra(i)n päivät*, 'Days of the Lord(s)'. It was used in the translations of official documents, such as Alexander I's proclamation about preserving the old 'constitutions' in Finland (Keisari ja Suuriruhtinas Aleksanteri I:n julistus 1809; also Punctit 1800). It was a translation of Swedish *herredagar*. *Herredagar* were meetings of notable men, assembled by the king to discuss matters of war and taxes in the fifteenth and especially in the sixteenth century. After creating a more permanent representation for the provinces of Sweden, the assemblies were officially called *riksdagar* (Pohjantammi 2003, 371; Westrin 1909, 551–552). The Finnish *Herran(-)päivät, Herran Päevä, Herran Päivä* and *Herrain-päivät* were used to refer to the Swedish *Riksdag* of the Estates at least from the seventeenth century onwards, for example in the translation of the *Riksdag Act of 1723* (Cuning:sen Majj:tin 1732; also 1600-luvun asetustekstejä). In the press, *herra(i)n päivät* was used to refer not only to Swedish, but also to a variety of European and American representative assemblies from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries.

Although *herrainpäivät* was used for both the Swedish *Riksdag* and the Porvoo Diet, Finland's transition from the Swedish realm to a grand duchy of the Russian Empire was underlined in legal documents by calling the Finnish estates *maan säädyt* (estates of the provincial state), whereas during the Swedish period inhabitants of Finland had been representatives of the *waldakunnan säädyt* (estates of the realm) (Keisari ja Suuriruhtinas Aleksanteri I:n julistus 1809).

III. RENAMING THE DIET OF PORVOO DURING THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1848: VALTIOPÄIVÄT AS THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE FINNISH NATION STATE

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The Porvoo Diet was called *Herrainpäivät* until the context of the European revolutions of 1848, when Fennoman nationalist journalist and editor of the newspaper *Suometar* Paavo Tikkanen coined the word *valtiopäivät*, 'days of the state'. *Valtiopäivät* became remarkably successful among the plurality of Finnish names and common nouns coined for representative assemblies in the nineteenth century. Interestingly, when *Valtiopäivät* became the official Finnish name of the Diet of Finland in 1863, it was the only name of a representative assembly in the world, which included the concept of state (Pulkkinen 2003, 238). Why was the Diet of Porvoo renamed *Valtiopäivät* around 1848? Why was *valtiopäivät* adopted in the political vocabulary? Why did it become so successful and popular among Finnish political actors and scholars?

The conceptual analysis of *valtiopäivät* has traditionally started with the idea that the word combines the concept of the state (*valtio-*) with the common European, especially Germanic, terminology of *dies*, *day*, *Tag* and *dag* (*-päivä*). Tuija Pulkkinen has argued in her groundbreaking study that *valtio* was created as a translation to match the Swedish word *stat* and especially its legal and political aspects, which did not have an expression in the Finnish language. That is, *valtio* was coined in connection with European concepts such as the Latin *status*, Italian *stato*, French *état*, German *Staat* and English *state* (Pulkkinen 2003, 218, 220, 232). Similarly, Martti Rapola (1960, 65) has argued that Paavo Tikkanen used *valtio* for the first time as a substitute for the Swedish *stat* in 1847.

However, the success of *valtio* was preceded and enabled by the breakthrough of *valtiopäivät*. *Valtiopäivät* belongs to the Finnish political vocabulary that was coined around the European revolutions of 1848 as a reaction to the parliamentary and constitutional debates in Europe. It is important to note that the word *valtiopäivät* was established during a period when *valtio* i) was not used individually but as a part of compounds (when referring to *stat* vocabulary), and ii) was still taking shape and largely lacked the meaning of the modern concept of state. Furthermore, to understand the separate early microhistories of the two words, iii) they lacked mutual linkage – *valtiopäivät* were not originally organized in *valtio*.

The European revolutions of 1848 reached Finland through the press. Despite Finland's peripheral location on the northeastern edge of Europe, the events of 1848 resonated and caused excitement among the political elite (Paasivirta 1978, 139–150). The newspaper *Suomi*, for example, argued that reports from abroad gave the feeling that the upheavals of Europe took place right next to Finland (Muista maista 1848). The Finnish language press depicted the events of 1848 as a struggle between the people and the government, the ruler or the monarch. *Suometar* highlighted the importance of the national spirit (*kansallisuus-tunto*), which was moving the peoples of Europe and their civilization (*sivistys*) forward. *Suometar* wrote that the peoples of Western and Southern Europe tried to take power in their hands by assembling and deliberating. Newspapers described the composition, practices and debates of new elected constituent and representative assemblies, such as the first German national assembly, the Frankfurt Parliament (Ibid.; Muista maista 1849; Schweiz'in Tasawallan 1848; Tarwitaanko Suomessa 1848; Ulkomaalta 1848b; Ulkomaalta

1848c; Ulkomaalta 1848d; Ulkomaalta 1849a; Ulkomaalta 1849b; Ulkomaalta 1849c; Ulkomaalta 1849d; Uutta ulkomailta 1848).

The national spirit colored the pages of the press. *Suometar* wrote that the idea of nationality (*kansallisuus*) and its previously unknown forces had become dominating. Language was the foundation of nationality, and each nation and language had the right to live, develop and prosper. The newspaper recognized that the Finnish nationalist Fennomania (Suomikiihko, Finland fervor) was part of this international movement and that its equivalents could be found in Teutonism, Magyarism and Pan-Slavism (Rohwessor Palmblad 1848). As another sign of the spread of the revolutionary ideas, parliamentary style of debating became a means to challenge old ideals, authority and practices of politics in the University of Helsinki's student associations and their mini-parliaments (Klinge 1967, 178–179). The song that became the Finnish national anthem was first presented in public in a students' spring celebration in Helsinki, May 13, 1848.

Paavo Tikkanen coined *valtiopäivät* in 1847 (Hakulinen 1979, 456). His text in the publication *Lukemisia Suomen Kansan Hyödyksi* (Reading for the Benefit of the Finnish People), edited by Tikkanen, has been highlighted as the first occurrence of *valtio*. However, *valtio* does not appear in the text individually, but as a part of compounds. The overwhelmingly most popular of the compounds is *valtiopäivät* (used 12 times), whereas *valtio* is used to replace Swedish *stat* in only a few translated compounds, which are legal and administrative in character: *waltio-käytäntö* (*stats-wärk*), *Waltio-neuwosto* (*Statsrådet*), *waltioneuwos* (*statsråd*) and *Minister-Waltiosihtieri* (*ministerstatssekreterare*) (Tikkanen 1847). Tikkanen argues that *valtiopäivät* in Porvoo in 1809 was 'the beginning of a new era for the Grand Duchy of Finland'. In the first use of *valtiopäivät*, he presents the old term *herrainpäivät* in brackets: 'Porwoon Waltio-(Herrain-) päivistä' (ibid. 71). He also parallels *valtiopäivät* with the Swedish *Riksdags* of the realm (*Riikinpäivät*) (ibid. 102). *Valtiopäivät* also dominated the occurrences of *valtio* in Tikkanen's *Suometar* in 1847 – *valtiopäivät* was the most popular noun including *valtio* and it was used to refer to the Hungarian Diets in 1790 and 1847 and their role in the Hungarian people's fight for language rights and recognition (for example, Sanomia Ulkomaalta 1847).

In 1848, Tikkanen used *valtiopäivät* to refer to European representative assemblies that were fighting for power against monarchy. His *Suometar* used *valtiopäivät* to highlight the assemblies as the centers for legitimate political power and influence. The power sprung from the people through elected representatives – the purpose of *valtiopäivät* was to realize the needs and wishes of the people. In *Suometar*, *valtiopäivät* were, for example, the first elected *Reichstag* of the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian parliament (for example, Ulkomaalta 1848d).

Valtiopäivät and *valtio* are derivatives of the Finnish word *valta* (power), which has existed in the Finnish language at least from the sixteenth century. *Valta* is of the same old Germanic origin as German *Gewalt* and Swedish *våld* and *välde* (Hyyärinen 2003, 64). *Valta* became popular in the press in 1820, when Finnish language scholar Reinhold von Becker used it repeatedly in his newspaper *Turun Wiikko-Sanomat*. The press used *valta* in describing how peoples, groups, rulers and kingdoms used their (shares of) *valta* over others, took *valta* from others or gave *valta* to others (for example, Lyhykäisiä tietoja 1820; Suomen säädyistä 1821; Turkkilaisista 1820). Tikkanen also made the link between *valta* and *valtio* clear when his newspaper occasionally used the word *wallanpäivät* ('days of power') in 1848 (Ulkomaalta 1848e; Unkarista ja

Itäwallasta 1848). Similarly, in 1847–1848, *Suometar* used the adjective *valtiollinen* to refer to actions and characteristics considered political or authoritative (Sanomia Ulkomaalta 1847; Ulkomaalta 1848a, 4; also Tikkanen 1847). Finnish politicians and language specialists explicated the link between *valta*, *valtio* and *valtiopäivät* in 1860, when they disputed whether *valtio* should be replaced with *vallasto*, as *valtio* was from the root *valta* (power) and the suffix *-io* gave *valtio* the meaning of a conquest (Swedish *erövring*) and not of the Swedish *stat*. This encouraged *Suometar* to test the popularity of, for example, *wallasto-päiwät* (see August Ahlqvist and Rietrikki Polén promoting *wallasto* in Kielen puhdistusta 1860; Kirjeitä 1860; Kirjoituksia 1860; Waltio tahi wallasto? 1860).

According to Quentin Skinner (1989), the modern concept of the state is characterized by a ‘double abstraction’, in which the state is understood as an entity separate from both the ruler and the people. A word *valtio* existed in the Finnish language before 1847–1849, but it referred to a person in possession of power, usually a powerful ruler (for example, *waltio* in Kuoleman 1832; Kuwaelmia Odysseiasta 1837, 160) and *waltias* in Kirjoituksen keinosta 1846; Köyhäin holhoomisesta 1820). While in the first volume of *Suometar* (1847) the compound *valtiopäivät* was used six times, *valtio* was used as an individual noun only once. In this occurrence, in an older translation of a Hungarian folktale, *valtio* had the old meaning of a ruler, and not the meaning of the state (Madjaarilaisista tarinoista 1847).

Originally, *valtiopäivät* were not organized in *valtio*. Instead, they were organized in *maa* (country, land or state), *maakunta* (province) or *valtakunta* (realm, kingdom). The early uses of *valtiopäivät* did not make the distinction between different kinds of politics, but emphasized a more democratically elected entity, often a nation based on language (for example, Italiasta 1848b [Italy]; Preussin uuden Waltasäännön 1848 [Kingdom of Prussia]; Ulkomaalta 1848d [Austrian Empire]; Ulkomaalta. Ruotsista 1848 [Sweden]; Ulkomaalta. Tanskanmaalta 1849 [Denmark]; Uutta ulkomailta 1848 [Electorate of Hesse]).

It is worth noting that it was only after the establishment of the word *valtiopäivät* that *Suometar*, and later other newspapers, started using *valtio* to refer specifically to (sovereign) states and empires and describing *valtio* as an actor. In *Suometar*, the semantic shift of *valtio* was quick compared to other newspapers. In a short period of time in 1847–1849, the meaning of *valtio* shifted from the person of the ruler to the representation of the people, and finally to what Skinner (1989) has called the double abstraction. In the sense of double abstraction, *Suometar* used *valtio* to refer to national, provincial and constitutional entities, who had (independent) power over their matters. *Valtio* was a political body or association, and an arena for political and national activity (for example, Schweiz’in Tasawallan; Saksanmaalta 1849; Tarwitaanko Suomessa 1848; Uutta ulkomailta 1848).

In the late 1840s and early 1850s, other newspapers still used *valtio* to refer to kings and rulers (for example, Eerikki Silvanus 1848, 1; Ihmisen sieluun 1852). Furthermore, the conservative newspaper *Maamiehen Ystävä* (Ulkomaalta 1848c), for example, used *valtio-kokous* (*kokous* = meeting) when discussing a meeting of old aristocracy, whereas in late 1850s the rarely used *valtiokokous* referred to representative assemblies (Franskanmaalta 1857).⁴ The Language Act of 1850 forbade the press to discuss political matters in Finnish. This might have influenced why other newspapers

⁴ It is difficult in some cases during this period to assess whether *valtio*- still had the old meaning or the meaning of the state.

adopted *valtio* as an entity separate from the ruler later in the 1850s (La Plata 1857). Tikkanen's co-founder of *Suometar*, D. E. D. Europaeus (Europaeus 1853), translated *valtio* as *stat* and *valtiopäivät* as *riksdag* in his Swedish-Finnish dictionary published in 1853.

Interestingly, *valtiopäivät* was used before *valtio* when describing Finnish developments. In 1847, Tikkanen's text in *Lukemisia* called the Diet of Porvoo *valtiopäivät*, and in 1848 *Suometar* called it the first Finnish *valtiopäivät* (Palkkaväen 1848; Werokappalten 1848). *Suometar* used *valtio* in reference to the state of Finland in the 1850s (see 'Suomen waltio' in Saimaan kaiwanto 1856). Other newspapers started to use *valtiopäivät* in the mid-1850s, when discussing foreign assemblies, for example in Sweden, Norway, Italy, Britain, Denmark, Prussia, Belgium, Poland, Serbia and Hungary.

In the late 1850s, *valtiopäivät* was used in the speculations about a Diet meeting (for example, Aitaus-welwollisuuden 1858; Kotimaalta 1856b). In the early 1860s, *valtiopäivät* became part of the official political and legal vocabulary. It was used in Tsar Alexander II's order to convene the Diet of Finland in 1863 (Keisarillisen Majesteetin Armollinen Käsky 1863) and in the translation of his speech at the Diet's opening (Backman 2006, 21–25). In 1860, *Suometar* described *valtio* as the translation of Swedish *stat* and German *Staat*. *Valtio* signified 'an entity composed of the different state powers' and 'an embodiment of the public institutions of the people' (Kielen puhdistusta 1860; citing German *Brockhaus Conversations-Lexikon* in Kirjoituksia 1860).

The coining and establishment of *valtiopäivät* and *valtio* indicate a transition from the conception of Finland as a province towards a conception of Finland as a nation state (Pulkkinen 2000; Pulkkinen 2003). *Valtiopäivät* was a conceptual tool in this strategy and a crucial step in defining Finland as a nation state. The name *Valtiopäivät* linked Finland to the European tradition of national representative assemblies and constitutional states. It highlighted the interpretation that the Russian emperor and the Finnish estates had made a state treaty in Porvoo in 1809, when Tsar Alexander I promised to uphold Finland's religion and constitutions. *Valtiopäivät* paved the way for the establishment of *valtio* as the modern concept of state.

IV. THE DIET OF FINLAND 1863–1906: STRENGTHENING NATIONAL REPRESENTATION

IV.1. THE FINAL BREAKTHROUGH OF VALTIOPÄIVÄT

Emperor Alexander II convened the estates in 1863 after a more than 50-year hiatus. The word *valtiopäivät* ('day(s) of the state') inspired Fennoman (pro Finnish language nationalist) politician and historian Yrjö Koskinen (G. Z. Forsman at the time) to poetically call the period between the Porvoo Diet in 1809 and the Diet in 1863 *waltio-yö* ('state night' or 'night of the state'). According to Koskinen, Finland was awakening from a 'state night' – over half a century's sleep that had governed Finnish political life since the previous *valtiopäivät*. After the long night wasted on sleeping, it was again time for joint work for the Finnish nation (Forsman 1863).

The Diet Act of 1869 was the first Finnish constitutional law, which, among other things, set regular three-year intervals for the Diets and manifested the principle of the representation of the Finnish people. Its first section stated that the estates convened

to the Diet represent the people of Finland (VJ 1869). The Diet Act established *Valtiopäivät* as the Diet's official Finnish name. The Diet became the center and mainspring of Finnish public and political life. Each decision the Diet made according to the (de facto) constitutions was an irreversible move towards strengthening Finland's special status within the empire. Thus, the Diet was invaluable in strengthening the Finnish polity and protecting its interests (Engman 2017, 37–38).

In 1860s, *valtio* and *valtiopäivät* were disseminated to all kinds of political and legal texts. For example, in the Diet Act, *valtiopäivät* and *valtio* were used as part of compounds 188 times in words such as *valtiosäädyt* (estates of the state), *valtiovarat* (state finances), *valtiovaliokunta* (finance committee), *valtiovarasto* (Swedish *statsverket*, referring to state as an economic entity), *valtiopäiväjärjestys* (Diet Act), *valtiopäivämies* (member of the Diet) and *valtiopäivämiesvaali* (election of the Diet members). *Valtiopäivät* also stimulated the birth of words such as *valtioneuvosto* (government or council of the state/realm), *valtiovalta* (Swedish *statsmakt*, 'state power' in the division of powers) and *valtio-oikeus* (constitutional law) (for example, *waltioneuvosto* in Kotimaalta 1857 [first use in Tikkanen 1847]; *waltiovalta* in Kirjeitä 1861; *waltio-oikeus* in Kotimaalta 1856a). *Valtiopäivät* paved the way for the expansion of state vocabulary in the grand duchy's political, administrative and legal vocabulary, thus making the Finnish state a more tangible and conceptualized construction.

While Russian authorities did not allow the Swedish name *Riksdag*, and *Landtdag* was used in official documents, Finnish *valtiopäivät*, *valtiopäivämies* and *valtiopäiväjärjestys* became commonplace. The introduction of *valtiopäivät* and *valtio* was possible due to the lack of Russian interest in Finnish vocabulary in the largely Swedish political and administrative sphere. The words raised Russian criticism only later, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One explanation is that *stat* vocabulary was considered less problematic compared to *rik* as it carried the meaning of the old 'financial state' (*finanssivaltio*), which was an administrative machinery, especially related to taxation (Jussila 1987).

Another reason was the initial ambiguity of *valtiopäivät*. It did not make the distinction between *lantdag* and *riksdag* but was used for a variety of assemblies in different kinds of polities. If we look at the conceptual repertoire that the Finnish nationalist protagonists had at their disposal, the deliberate use of *valtiopäivät* becomes even more obvious. *Riksdag* and *Reichstag* were translated into Finnish as *riikinpäivä* and *valtakunnanpäivät*, but the words never became popular and they were not used in reference to the Finnish assemblies (for example, Ludwig Kossuth 1849; Senaattori Mechelinin 1907). *Lan(d)tdag* and *Landtag* had their translations as well. They were translated rather faithfully as *maapäivät* or *maakuntapäivät*, but, again, the words were only used to refer to foreign assemblies and old provincial Swedish *lan(d)tdags* (for example, Itävallasta 1848; Ulkomaalta 1865b). Finnish actors considered *maakuntapäivät* inappropriate for the Finnish assembly as it would have undermined the importance of the significant and essentially national institution (for example, Uusi ukaasi 1909). *Valtiopäivät*, in contrast, highlighted the Diet as the center for national political power and a national symbol, in connection with its foreign counterparts.

V. PARLIAMENTARY REFORM OF 1906 AND THE EARLY UNICAMERAL PARLIAMENT

V.1. EDUSKUNTA: A COMMON NOUN BECOMES THE OFFICIAL NAME OF THE FINNISH PARLIAMENT

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The Finnish case illustrates how especially in countries with less-established parliamentary traditions translated names and common nouns have become official names of representative assemblies. The current Finnish name of the unicameral parliament, *Eduskunta*, differs from other names. While *lan(d)tdag*, *riksdag* and *valtiopäivät* combine the idea of a territorial and governmental entity with the temporal aspect, *eduskunta* signifies a unit of people (*kunta*) representing or being in front of something (*edus*). In contrast to the activity of speaking in a parliament (*parlare*), *eduskunta* stresses representation. In this sense, *Eduskunta* resembles the names of the second or lower chambers of parliaments, such as the US *House of the Representatives* and the French *Chambre des représentants* and *Chambre des députés*.

Eduskunta was apparently coined by one of the founders of *Suometar*, Finnish folklorist and language scientist D. E. D. Europaeus. *Eduskunta* appeared as a common noun in his Swedish-Finnish dictionary published in 1853. It translated *edus-kunta* as *representation* and defined it as ‘an assembly of a nation’s representatives’ (Europaeus 1853). At first, Finnish political actors, such as Yrjö Koskinen (1860), and newspapers used *eduskunta* to refer to European representative assemblies and their representatives for example in the Austrian Empire, Sweden, France, Italy and the US (for example, *Eri tapoja* 1862; *Ulkomaalta* 1859). *Eduskunta* was also used in a more general sense to refer to an elected or appointed group or delegation that represented a larger entity. It was often sent to mediate or receive information from a higher authority (for example, *Italiasta* 1860; *Wiipurista* 1862). Newspapers started to use *eduskunta* in reference to the Finnish Diet in the early 1860s (*Suomen Eduskunta* 1863; *Suomikiihko* 1863; *Wähän riitaa* 1863). However, *eduskunta* remained a common noun for representative assemblies, provincial and imperial, throughout the nineteenth century.

Eduskunta was coined from several root words. The vocabulary of *edus-* and *edes-* (cf. Swedish *före* and German *ver-*) was used to signify presenting and responsibility in front of others. *Edusmies* (representative) was used from the beginning of the seventeenth century, when discussing the administrative organization of the church. In the early eighteenth century, it was used when referring to the estate representatives of the Swedish *Riksdag* (Pohjantammi 2003, 366–368, 372, 377). Early nineteenth-century newspapers used *edusmies* to refer to an elected or appointed person who represented a larger entity (for example, *Tietoja* 1822). *Suometar* used the term in 1848 to refer to elected representatives of the people. *Suometar* also used the term *kansan edusmies*. It was a precedent of the later popular term *kansanedustaja* (representative of the people) (*Ranskanmaalta* 1848; *Saksanmaalta* 1848). Representation of the people (*kansan edustus*) became a discussion topic in the press in the 1860s due to the Diets, the Swedish representation reform of 1865–1866 and the Diet Act.

The centrality of the representative aspect becomes evident in the plurality of *edus-* words translated and coined for representative assemblies in the late nineteenth century, such as *edustajakokous*, *edustuskokous*, *edustuskuntakokous*, *edustuspäivät*, *edustuskunta*, *eduslaitos*, *edustuslaitos*, *eduskuntalaitos*, *edusmieskunta* and *edustajakunta*. Similarly to *eduskunta*, these were typically first used to refer to foreign and then to Finnish assemblies, and later to meetings of different institutions and civil

society organizations. This highlights the influence of transnational parliamentary vocabulary on the broader vocabulary of representation and participation in Finland. The rich vocabulary of representation reflects wider European shifts in understanding the role of representative assemblies in the long nineteenth century, which was a period of increased demands for popular sovereignty and democratic reform in Europe.

The Finnish parliament was named *Eduskunta* in the Parliamentary Reform of 1906, which transformed Europe's last four-estate representation into a unicameral parliament elected by universal male and female suffrage. *Eduskunta* was the proposal of the Parliamentary Reform Committee of 1905–1906, which prepared the drafts for the Parliament and Electoral Acts, and thus to a great extent formulated their final content. The committee wanted to get rid of the Diet's name *Valtiopäivät*, arguing that using it alone would mean that 'nothing changed' and 'nothing was won' in the reform. The committee members, however, disputed the name *Eduskunta* because of its past use. Former professor of philosophy, rector of the University of Helsinki and long-term Diet member Thiodolf Rein opposed *Eduskunta*, arguing it was not a name, but a common noun (*Eduskuntakomitea* 1906).

Committee members J. K. Paasikivi and E. N. Setälä preferred the name *Kansaneduskunta* (eduskunta of the people). It was used in the November Manifesto, in which Emperor Nicholas II initiated the Parliamentary Reform (*Keisarillisen Majesteetin Armollinen Julistuskirja* 1905). However, the committee considered that *kansaneduskunta* would make the phrasing of the Parliament Act repetitive, and rejected it.⁵ The committee decided to use both *eduskunta* and *valtiopäivät*. The final § 1 of the Parliament Act of 1906 stated: 'The *Eduskunta*, assembled to the *valtiopäivät* of the Grand Duchy of Finland, represents the people of Finland'. In this official form, *Eduskunta* was the representative body and *valtiopäivät* was the parliamentary session (*VJ* 1906).

The name *Eduskunta*, with its emphasis on representation, fit the reformists' aim of unifying the people. According to the Fennomans, the reformed assembly should be 'the people in miniature' and offer 'a picture of the Finnish people' through proportional representation of different areas of the country and different classes of the population in one chamber. The Fennomans believed that an internally harmonious assembly of all parts of the people would ensure the legitimacy of the parliament and strengthen national representation both within Finland and in relation to Russia. Such an assembly would best be able to speak and decide in the name of the Finnish people (Pekonen 2019, 126–127).

The failed proposal *Kansaneduskunta* became popular again in 1917–1919, when socialists used it as a manifestation of democracy, people's power, for example in the Draft Constitution of the Red Government in 1918 (*Suomen Kansanvaltuuskunnan ehdotus* 1918). Socialists still in 1917–1918 applied *eduskunta* to practices other than the national representative assembly. Helsinki had a local Workers' Association's *Eduskunta* (*Helsingin työväenjärjestöjen eduskunta*) (Ihalainen 2017, 176), and there had been local meetings of *työväen eduskunta* as early as in the 1890s.

Other name candidates that highlighted national representation were also presented in the reform. Many of them were coined in the revolutionary context of 1848. For example, *kansa(n)kokous* appeared in *Suometar* in 1848. It signified 'an assembly of the people' and originally referred to elected unicameral assemblies such as the

⁵ The section would have been 'The representative assembly of the people represents the people of Finland' (*kansaneduskunta edustaa Suomen kansaa*).

Assemblée nationale of the French Second Republic, the Frankfurt Parliament, the Prussian National Assembly, the Austrian Reichstag and the Danish Constituent Assembly (for example, Ulkomaalta. Ranskanmaalta 1848). *Kansankokous* had revolutionary connotations, and in later political vocabulary it referred to large and often vocal public meetings and demonstrations (for example, Turkinmaalta 1859).

Another name candidate *Kansalliskokous* was a translation of the Swedish *nationalförsamling*, German *Nationalversammlung*, French *Assemblée nationale* and English *national assembly*. Before the Parliamentary Reform, socialists demanded that a unicameral constituent assembly *kansalliskokous* should plan and decide about the reform, while the Fennoman Finnish Party argued it should only deliberate and decide on the reform plan prepared by the Senate of Finland. In the Parliamentary Reform Committee, supporter of radical democratic reform and ideologist of the Finnish peasantry Santeri Alkio suggested *Kansalliskokous* as the parliament's name. He argued it would be best suited, as Finland would soon have 'the most universal suffrage in the world'. The committee rejected the proposal by referring to an international practice. The name did not stand for *eduskunta* that assembled regularly, but, instead, it was used in France (Third Republic) to refer to the joint meetings of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate organized to appoint the president of the republic or to vote on constitutional revision. The powers of the Finnish parliament would not correspond to the French *Assemblée nationale* (Eduskuntakomitea 1906).

The emphasis on national representation extended to other parliamentary vocabulary as well. The committee decided to replace the word *valtiopäivämies* (member [or rather man] of the Diet/parliament') with (a gender neutral) *edustaja* (representative) (Eduskuntakomitea 1906). In the Diets and in the early unicameral parliament, *kansanedustaja* (representative of the people) was used to emphasize the representatives' responsibilities towards all parts of the population or the interests of the people as a whole (Pekonen 2014, 130–138; Pohjantammi 2003, 369). *Kansanedustaja* (also *kansakunnan edustaja* [representative of the nation]) appeared in 1863 when the Diet assembled.

The Scandinavian *ting* vocabulary was also proposed. *Valtiokäräjät*(t) was infrequently used to refer to Scandinavian and Finnish assemblies in the nineteenth century. The Norwegian *Storting* was translated as *Suurkäräjät*. *Kansankäräjät*, a translation of the Danish *Folketing* of the bicameral *Rigsdag*, was suggested as the parliament's name in the Parliamentary Reform Committee. However, *ting* or *käräjät* never became part of Finnish parliamentary vocabulary with the exception of the Parliament of autonomous Åland, *Ålands lagting*.

Because of the strong emphasis on representation and limited powers of the Finnish assembly, the legislative function was given little attention in the naming. Translations of a legislative assembly (for example, *lakiasäättävä laitos*, *lakiasäättävä kokous*, *lakiasäättävän kunnan kokous*, *lakialaativa laitos*) were rarely applied to the Finnish assemblies. Instead, they remained common nouns for foreign assemblies and translated names for the French assemblies (*Assemblée nationale legislative*, *Corps législatif*) and the US state legislatures (Ulkomaalta 1849c; Ulkomaalta 1865a).

The old words for estate meetings, *herrainpäivät* and *herredagar* became rhetorical tools to stress the urgency of democratic reform and conflict between the elite and the masses. In the revolutionary context of 1848, they were used to contrast old undemocratic and unreformed estate assemblies with modern parliaments. *Herrainpäivät* represented conservative ideas and the *ancien régime* (Ruotsista 1848;

Ulkomaalta 1848c). In the late nineteenth century, newspapers supporting suffrage reform used the words to depict an inevitable historical process and movement towards democratization. *Herrainpäivät* became a mock word for representative assemblies, especially in provincial newspapers and peasant vernacular. It highlighted the aristocratic nature of state politics. The gentry went to *herrainpäivät* to slack off, live prosperously and enjoy life at the expense of the poor common people (for example, Kirje Helsingistä 1891). *Herrainpäivät* also became a (humorous) term to describe rare and luxurious occasions of abundance, enjoyment and rest (Kirjeitä maaseuduilta 1887; Kuinka Tohmajärven 1890). In the beginning of the twentieth century, Social Democrats adopted *herrainpäivät* and utilized its accustomed peasant uses in their struggle for democratic reform (Mäntsälästä 1900; Milloin tunnustetaan 1903).

V.2. LAN(D)TDAG: UNICAMERAL PARLIAMENT WITH LIMITED POWERS

Despite the transition to the unicameral parliament in 1906, the formal powers of the grand duchy's assembly remained limited. New legislation required promulgation of the emperor, there was no parliamentary government and the emperor had the right to dissolve the parliament, which he often did. The Parliamentary Reform maintained *Landtdag* as the official Swedish language name. In the reform committee, Thiodolf Rein argued that the name *Landtdag* should not be changed, since the assembly and its name had grown to be part of the Finnish tradition. Committee chair and professor of law Robert Hermanson noted that changes in the constitution or organization of the assembly was neither a problem for maintaining the old name, since for example the Prussian assembly had always been called *Landtdag* (Eduskuntakomitea 1906).

To correct a common misinterpretation in literature, it is worth noting that *Lantdag* replaced *Landtdag* as Finnish assembly's name only after the reform of 1906. At first, *Lantdag* became popular in provincial and socialist newspapers from 1906 to 1907 onwards. It was also used to refer to the Porvoo Diet, when celebrating its 100th anniversary. In the press, *Lantdag* became more popular than *Landtdag* in 1915. In 1917, *Lantdag* was used in official legal documents, for example in the Swedish version of the Finnish Declaration of Independence (Självständighetsförklaringen 1917). At this point, *Landtdag* was no longer used. Finally, the name of the parliament was officially changed to *Riksdag* in the Constitution Act of 1919.

VI. REPLACING LAN(D)TDAG WITH RIKSDAG IN 1917–1919

Assemblies representing the Swedish realm began to be called *Riksdagar* in the seventeenth century (Pohjantammi 2003, 371–372). *Riksdag* was also used in Finland when referring to the Swedish four-estate assembly (Utdrag 1771). Estate members used *Riksdag* and *riksdagsman* also in the Porvoo Diet (*Landtdag*) in 1809, whereas the estates were more cautious in their official documents (Castrén 1892, 5). The linguistic ambiguity of the transitional phase reflected the fact that some estate representatives of the Porvoo Diet also participated in the Swedish *Riksdag* of the same year (Halila 1962, 541–542; Nummela 1961, 343–353). *Riksdag* was out of the question when referring to the Finnish assembly in official texts until Finland's independence (see Castrén 1892; Hallituksen esitys Eduskunnalle 1919; Kuolleena syntynyt 1890; Porvoo Waltiopäivät 1892, 2).

Riksdag was introduced as the parliament's Swedish name in the first drafts of the Constitution Act in 1917. The reason was Finland's changed status from a grand duchy to an independent, sovereign state (Regeringens proposition 1917). Similarly to *Landtdag*, *Riksdag* emphasized the importance of Sweden's constitutional and cultural tradition. In 1919, MPs supported *Riksdag* by highlighting Scandinavian political tradition. They noted that *Riksdag* was used in reference to the assemblies of the sovereign Scandinavian states Sweden and Denmark, while *Lantdag* did not convey the meaning of a fully independent or sovereign state. Finland had moved from a *Riksdag* to a *Lantdag* in 1808–1809, in line with the Swedish-Finnish legal tradition. The name had been consistent with the provincial *lantdag* in Sweden and the assemblies of the German states and the Habsburg crown lands. While *Lantdag* corresponded to Finland's constitutional and political status before the independence, the term *riike* had already become common after the declaration of independence. The Swedish name *Riksdag* was adopted without dissent (Hallituksen esitys 1919; Motion N:o 5 1919).

While employing Swedish traditions was a crucial aspect of Finnish state-building, Finnish and Swedish vocabularies nevertheless diverged. The issue of territorial sovereignty was much more evident in the Swedish distinction of *lan(d)tdag* and *riksdag*. According to the conceptual logic established in the Parliament Act of 1906, there is *Eduskunta* that, assembled to the *valtiopäivät*, represents the people of Finland. The Swedish version of the same act simply maintained that the *Landtdag* of the grand duchy represents the Finnish people. In the Constitution Act of 1919 the Finnish and the Swedish versions alike expressed the idea that the representative assembly, when assembled, represents the sovereign power of the people of Finland. Yet in terms of naming, only the Finnish one included a dualism of the representative body (*eduskunta*) and its sessions (*valtiopäivät*). In the Swedish version, *riksdagen* covered these both sides (Suomen hallitusmuoto 1919; VJ 1906). The difference also appears between (*kansan*)*edustaja* and *riksdagsman/-ledamot*.

VII. EPILOGUE: THE MISSING VOCABULARY OF 'PARLIAMENT'

Interestingly, the Finnish and Swedish vocabularies have rarely applied nouns stemming from 'parliament' to Finland's own representative assemblies, although they early appeared in the descriptions of politics in foreign countries and although the adjective 'parliamentary' later became popular as an attribute of varying modes of political action. Terms related to *parliament*, such as *parlement*, *parlament*, *Parlamente*, *parlamento* and so forth, are internationally common nouns for representative assemblies. They are very seldom proper names (Ihalainen et al. 2016, 9). In contrast to the Finnish vocabulary of representation, the term 'parliament' refers to a space of speech. In the twelfth century, meetings and assemblies were called *parlamentum* or *parliamentum* (Kluxen 1983, 17). In England, the word was used in 1236 (Richardson & Sayles 1967, 747–750). In Swedish, terms *parlement*, *perlament* and *perlement* appeared at least as early as in the early sixteenth century (Svenska Akademiens ordbok).

The Finnish press used the term from the late eighteenth century in reference to the provincial appellate courts (*parlement*) in the *Ancien Régime* of France and the British parliament (for example, *Om så kallade* 1794). Finnish newspapers, especially *Åbo Allmänna Tidning*, started reporting about the deliberations of the British parliament in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The reports described the privileges,

elections, organization and procedures of the British parliament and included translated excerpts of speeches and debates. Newspapers also called a variety of other assemblies, especially those under British influence and inspiration, *parlament* (for example, assemblies of the German Confederation, parliaments of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the Parliament of the United States of the Ionian Islands).

Parlament became a common noun for representative assemblies in the press in 1847–1848, when reports from Europe described efforts to establish elected national and state parliaments and secure them a constitutional role (Frankrike 1847; Tyskland 1847). The Finnish word *parlamentti* appeared in the early nineteenth century, first referring to the British parliament (for example, *Sanomia ulkomailta* 1822; *Ulkomaan-Sanomia* 1820). In 1848, *Suometar* used *parlamentti* when reporting on European national and state assemblies undergoing democratic and constitutional reform (for example, *Italiasta* 1848a). After 1848, newspapers called different kinds of bi- and unicameral assemblies in Europe and North America parliaments, but the British parliament remained the most common reference.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the title of a parliament was given to the most progressive assemblies such as the Parliament of the unified Kingdom of Italy (*Parlamento del Regno d'Italia*), the *Konstituierender Reichstag* (1867) and the *Reichstag* of the North German Confederation. The *Reichstag* was *parlamentti* elected by progressive universal male suffrage, whereas the *Landtag* of Prussia had *valtiopäivät* elected by a conservative three-class franchise system (*Ulkomaalta* 1869). Similarly, from 1871 on, the *Reichstag* of the German Empire was categorized as *parlamentti*, as it was considered a modern and progressive assembly elected by universal male suffrage (*Ulkomailta* 1871). Other parliaments were, for example, the bicameral Ottoman Parliament (1876–1878), the unicameral Bulgarian Constituent National Assembly and the National Assembly, and the bicameral Cisleithanian *Reichsrat* and the Hungarian Diet of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Bulgarian *parlamentti* 1879; *Itävalta-Unkarista* 1878; *Ulkomaalta* 1877).

The press started calling the French chambers *parlamentti* in the beginning of the 1880s. Until then, newspapers referred to ‘the French assembly’ (*församling*, *kokous*) or ‘chambers’ (*kamrarne*, *kamarit*). The Fennoman press was reluctant to label the French assembly as a parliament because of its indecent and tumultuous tradition and practices. For example, *Uusi Suometar* (*Ulkomaalta* 1880) argued that ‘In France, the institution of the parliament leads into radicalism [...] Britain is the real country of the parliament, its parliament is deeply rooted in the people and a product of a long and prestigious history’.

Reformists of 1905–1906 or 1917–1919 did not discuss the possibility of naming the Finnish assembly *parlamentti* or *parlament*. The terms were not included in the official parliamentary vocabulary. Parliaments remained something foreign to Finnish political practice. They remained foreign standards and points of comparison (*Ensimmäiset valtiopäivät* 1917, 301; *Toiset valtiopäivät* 1917: I, 62, 256, 272, 362, 697; *Valtiopäivät* 1919a, 290; *Valtiopäivät* 1919b, 5; *Ylimääräiset valtiopäivät* 1918, 99). Although Finland did not have a ‘parliament’, parliaments offered applicable models for Finnish assemblies and their practices. The Swedish terms *parlamentarisk* (parliamentary) and *oparlamentarisk* (unparliamentary), and later translated Finnish terms *parlamentaarinen* and *epäparlamentaarinen* were common when debating the limits of acceptable and orderly manner of proceeding and speaking in parliament and the meaning of parliamentary government (Pekonen 2012; Pekonen 2014).

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

Finland lacked national representation from 1809 to 1863. Interestingly, Finnish names of parliamentary institutions were coined and translated already during this 'state night', which has traditionally been considered a period of stagnancy and immobility in Finnish politics. Actors tried to grasp what being a nation and constitutional state with representation and parliamentary institutions meant by studying foreign developments and examples.

The names of the Finnish assembly reflect national expectations, but also transnational trends, developments and conventions. Names of foreign assemblies offered models and guidelines for naming, but especially Finnish-speaking actors applied them selectively and innovatively in the national context. *Valtiopäivät*, applied since 1847 to the estate meeting in Porvoo in 1809, preceded the adoption of *valtio* as the Finnish word for the state, thus forming a crucial step in defining the Grand Duchy of Finland as a state. Naming the Diet *Valtiopäivät* was an effort to (re)define and strengthen Finland's political and constitutional status within the Russian Empire. It linked Finland's four-estate representation to European representative assemblies, their developments and parliamentary traditions.

The regularization of Finnish representative politics and formation of Finnish parliamentary vocabulary took place during the period of increased demands for national representation, popular sovereignty and democratic reform in Europe. This left a mark on the Finnish vocabulary, and resulted especially in the strong emphasis on representation in the name *Eduskunta*. The focus on representation has traditionally characterized Finnish parliamentary life. The Finnish parliament has been examined in public debate and research primarily as a representative assembly, while paying much less attention to its deliberative character or modes of proceeding (Pekonen 2014).

The late formation of the Finnish parliamentary vocabulary was both a challenge and an asset for Finnish nationalists. Finnish lacked words to convey all meanings of a civilized language (for example, *Suomen kielen* 1863) and the incoherent and innovative use of words caused concerns that the language would never be ready if new words were constantly coined (*Kirjallisuutta* 1863). This, however, gave the Finnish actors leeway compared to Swedish. Although the situation forced to innovate and invent in Finnish, the Swedish names could be, and had to be, grounded on an already existing tradition and practice. The names *Landtdag* and *Riksdag* followed and adapted to changes in Finland's political and constitutional status.

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The author has no competing interests to declare.

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