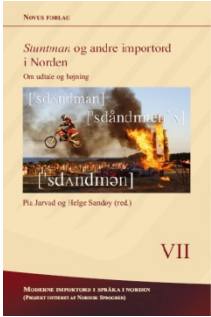


Moderne importord i språka i Norden

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[dʒetlæg], [tʃetlægi], [jetlæk:i] and more: The adaptation of modern Anglo-American imports in spoken Finnish

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1. Introduction¹

According to Pulkkinen (1984: 10) there were no more than 500 English loanwords in Finnish by 1920; but the number has grown extensively after World War II. Today growing numbers of people need to know English to succeed at work, at school and in their everyday lives as English loan words, which are here called ‘imports’, have spread both in the society at large and in the public sphere.

In this study I will describe the morphological and phonological adaptation of Anglo-American imports (e.g. *chat*, *backstage*, *cool*) in spoken Finnish after World War II. The morphological variables analysed include the pluralisation of imported adjectives (like *cool*) and nouns (like *backer*) and the realisation of vowel harmony in the declension of nouns (e.g. whether a case ending on *aerobic* has a front or a back vowel). The phonological variables include the word-initial realisation of [tʃ] (e.g. *chat*) and the word-final realisation of [dʒ] (e.g. *backstage*). The imports taken into consideration are analysed in relation to for how long they have been used in Finnish and in relation to the sociolinguistic background of the informants in the study.

The initial hypothesis was that the inflection of some imports and the realisation of some phonemes (e.g. [tʃ] and [dʒ]) would be difficult for Finnish speakers, and that especially the pronunciation of these sounds would be adapted to a large extent. At the same time, I expected that the interview situation in which the informants produced the test words might result in careful articulation of the English sounds. Indeed, my expectations proved correct in many respects.

The adaptation of borrowed nominals (nouns and adjectives) and partly verbs has been studied quite extensively in Finnish, although much of the literature is normative and prescriptive rather than descriptive. For example, Sajavaara (1989: 96–

¹ *List of abbreviations*

/	marks the stem
ABL	ablative
ADE	adessive
F	phonological variable
INE	inessive
M	morphological variable
NOM	nominative
PART	partitive
pl	plural
sg	singular

106) and Itkonen (1997: 41–46) discuss the correct spelling and pronunciation of imports as regards vowel length, consonant gradation and vowel harmony. Itkonen (1988: 11–13, 1997: 41) and Hiidenmaa and Nuolijärvi (2004: 258, 260) classify imports into three groups according to their degree of adaptation. They conclude that some imports have been fully, some partially and others not at all adapted. Further, Koukkunen (1990), Häkkinen (2004) and Pulkkinen (1984) have collected an extensive amount of etymological data on the most common imports and, on occasion, Pulkkinen (1984) gives suggestions on the pronunciation of an import. Besides these, *Kielitoimiston sanakirja* (KS) (2005) is a contemporary Finnish dictionary which includes common imports, and Karlsson's (1982, 1987) and Hakulinen et al.'s (2004) description of Finnish grammar and phonology are essential in understanding the adaptation of imports in Finnish.

2. *Linguistic variables*

This study aims at describing the adaptation of imports on the basis of linguistic variables which are divided into morphological and phonological ones. Strictly speaking, the study discusses eight morphological variables and twenty-six phonological variables, although it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between morphology and phonology in Finnish. In fact, *Iso Suomen Kielioppi* (Hakulinen et al. 2004), which is the most recent, the most prominent and the largest Finnish grammar to date, does not make this distinction at all. Instead, the grammar has a section with the heading “morphophonology and phonology”.

2.1. *Morphological variables*

The list below (M1–M8) gives the morphological variables and the imports that were investigated in the study. In the list, I only give the English form of the imports in question and not their Finnish forms, since some imports have several different Finnish counterparts, which will become clear in the following sections. The number in brackets after each import in the list refers to the year the import was documented in writing in Finnish (e.g. in a dictionary, an encyclopaedia, a novel, a newspaper or a magazine) (see Airila 1945, Häkkinen 2004, Karttunen 1979, Koukkunen 1990, KS 2005, Nurmi 2004, Pulkkinen 1984, *Uudissanasto* 1979). Such information is not available on all the imports investigated in the study. Thus, there is no year in brackets after all the imports. However, taking into account the technological advancements and other changes in the society during the last two decades, one can speculate that such imports as *e-mail*, *hacker*, *diskette*, *cover* and *backstage* have a fairly short history.

- M1: the plural form of nouns (case endings): *hacker*, *stuntman* (1973), *chips* (1963)
- M2: the plural form of adjectives (case endings): *cool*, *crazy*
- M3: *-ing* in verbal nouns: *feeling* (1966), *sightseeing* (1948)
- M4: *-i* as the nominative singular ending of nouns: *cover*, *pub* (1966)

- M5: the gemination of word-final consonants and *-i* as the nominative singular ending of nouns: *aerobic* (1983), *bit* (1965)
- M6: consonant gradation in the declension of nouns: *aerobic* (1983), *(super)market* (1963)
- M7: vowel harmony in the declension of nouns: *backstage*, *aerobic* (1983), *laser* (1960)
- M8: imported verbs: *feel*, *clone* (1979)

2.2. Finnish phonology and phonological variables

The number of Finnish phonemes is under debate – descriptions range from 19 to 25 (see Karlsson 1983). However, there seem to be fewer native phonemes in Finnish than, for example, in English or Swedish. As Karlsson (1987: 14) points out, there is an almost one-to-one correspondence between the writing system and the phonetic realisation of a word, which means, for example, that <kissa> is pronounced [kisa] – with length marked by doubling in writing.

All in all, there are eight vowels in Finnish: /i e ä y ö u o a/ (Karlsson 1983: 52, Karlsson 1987: 17, Hakulinen et al. 2004), which can be either long or short. The length of a vowel is very important in Finnish as the difference between short and long vowels is used to distinguish meanings (e.g. *tule* ‘come-IMPERATIVE’, *tulee* ‘she/he comes’, *tuulee* ‘it is windy’). Further, there is no quality difference between vowels such as [i] and [i].² The most important articulatory qualities of the vowels are given below (cf. Hakulinen et al. 2004: 37; Laaksonen and Lieko 1992: 13; Karlsson 1983: 52; Morris-Wilson 1992: 127).

	<i>front</i>		<i>back</i>	
	<i>unrounded</i>	<i>rounded</i>	<i>unrounded</i>	<i>rounded</i>
<i>close</i>	i	y		u
<i>half-close</i>	e	ö [ø]		o
<i>open</i>	ä [æ]		a [ɑ]	

Plosives p, b, t, d, k, g

Fricatives f, s, š, h

Liquids l, r

Semi-vowels v, j

Nasals m, n, ŋ

For a thorough discussion of the quality and pronunciation of all consonants, see Karlsson (1983) and Hakulinen et al. (2004).

The following list (F1-F26) shows the phonological variables and the imports which were investigated in the study. It includes native, non-native as well as altogether foreign sounds from the Finnish point of view. The sounds are given

² I use IPA symbols throughout, within square brackets.

according to their pronunciation in English. The number in brackets after some imports refers to the year the import was documented in writing in Finnish.

- F1: word-internal and word-initial [æ] spelled -a-: *backstage, hacker, action, animation* (1960)
- F2: word-internal [ɪ] spelled -i-: *diskette, hit* (1965)
- F3: word-internal [ʌ] or [ɒ] spelled -o-: *cover, rock* (1955)
- F4: word-internal [ʌ] spelled -u-: *stuntman* (1973), *pub* (1966)
- F5: word-final [ʔn] without stress: *action, animation* (1960)
- F6: word-final [ɔʔ] spelled -er: *hacker, trailer* (for boats 1944, relating to films 1973)
- F7: word-final [ɜ:] spelled -ur: *surf* (first used in the form *surfing* 1945)
- F8: word-internal [eɪ] spelled -ai-: *e-mail, trailer* (for boats 1944, relating to films 1973)
- F9: word-internal [eɪ] spelled -a-: *backstage, laser* (1960)
- F10: word-internal [ɑ:] spelled -a-: *break dance, supermarket* (1963)
- F11: word-final [əʊ]: *slow motion, show* (1958)
- F12: word-initial [w]: *workshop* (1964), *western* (1963)
- F13: word-internal [w]: *twist* (1964), *swing* (1944)
- F14: word-initial [θ]: *Thousand Island, thriller* (1948)
- F15: word-final [θ]: *death metal*
- F16: word-initial [tʃ]: *chat, chips* (1963)
- F17: word-final [tʃ]: *beach* (1976), *beach volley, brunch* (1976)
- F18: word-initial [dʒ]: *jetlag* (first used in the word *jet* 1966), *jeep* (1940s)
- F19: word-final [dʒ]: *backstage, college* (on textiles 1983)
- F20: word-initial [ɹ]: *rap, rock* (1955)
- F21: word-initial [ɹ] after consonant: *brunch* (1970s), *thriller* (1948)
- F22: word-internal [ɹ]: e.g. *aerobic* (1983), *supermarket* (1963)
- F23: word-initial [b] and [p]: (before consonants) *break dance, brunch* (early 1970s); (before vowels) *backstage, beach volley* (*beach* 1976); (before consonants) *printer* (first as the verb *printata* ‘to print’ 1969); (before vowels) *pub* (1966)
- F24: word-initial [d] and [t]: *diskette, disco* (1960); *twist* (1964), *trailer* (for boats 1944, relating to films 1973)
- F25: word-final [t]: *chat, supermarket* (1963)
- F26: word-internal [t]: *backstage, stuntman* (1973)

In the list, I only give the English and not the Finnish forms of the imports for the same reason as discussed with respect to the morphological variables. The list consists of the same variables that were initially decided upon within the MIN Project, though there are some small differences. The phonetic description of the English sounds is based on British English, although other varieties are likely to influence modern Finnish as well. Further, as the analysis will show, morphophonology is crucial for some of these variables.

3. Methodology: Interviews

The data were collected through thirty recorded interviews. The interviews were conducted in Finnish and each interview consisted of 56 questions about 56 imports of which the majority is discussed in this paper. The interview questions related to different topics that are central in today's society (work, sports, cinema and television, music, computers, travelling, food and drinks, and textiles).

Each question consisted of two parts. The aim of the first part was to make the interviewee say a certain import (e.g. *stuntman*). Generally, I asked if she/he had ever played a board game called 'Alias' (cf. 'Taboo' in English), where one player tries to describe a word without actually saying it and her/his team-mates try to guess the word as quickly as possible. Most interviewees had played the game or at least knew how to play it. I explained to them that the first part of the interview would be like playing that game. Thus, I described a word, trying to give as accurate a definition of it as possible. The interviewee's task was to guess the word and say it out loud. I did not specify that the word should be an import. Instead, I instructed them to answer with the word that first came to their minds. Some of the interviewees asked if they could use a slang word or a word that belongs to the spoken language. I told them that they could do that.

Secondly, after the interviewees had guessed the word, they were shown a written sentence (i.e. a follow-up sentence) where there was an empty space for the word. The interviewees were asked to place the word they had just guessed in the sentence and read the sentence out loud. In many cases the sentence required the interviewees to inflect a nominal in singular/plural in the locative cases, in the partitive or in the genitive, or to conjugate a verb.

The following example illustrates the interview questions:

- Part 1: Henkilö, jota käytetään oikean näyttelijän tilalla kuvattaessa vaarallisia kohtauksia elokuvaan ja televisioon.
'A person who is used instead of an actor when you shoot dangerous scenes for cinema and television.'
- Part 2: Elokvavaa varten palkattiin useita ---.
'A lot of --- were hired for the film.'

The interview proceeded from question 1 to question 56. The same questions were always presented to everyone in the same order, which was a thematic and logical order, so that the interview would proceed smoothly and the interviewees would think of words in a certain field. It was usually possible to answer the question either with an import or with a native Finnish word.

As I started to compile the list of questions for this study, I had lists of the other speech communities' morphological and phonological variables and copies of the Finland-Swedish and the Danish interview questions. I used them as the starting point for my work. Some of the variables were not relevant for Finnish and some imports that the other studies include are simply not (widely) used in Finnish. In such cases I chose other imports and other follow-up sentences for my study.

4. Interviewees

My data consist of thirty interviews with thirty interviewees. The interviewees were chosen on the basis of their lifestyle as understood in the MIN Project.

A person's lifestyle depends on one's "values, choices, habits and hobbies" (cf. the Introduction to this volume, and Dahlman and Mattfolk 2004: 65). Thus, I interviewed four informants from traditional/goods-producing companies in managerial position (Group A), nine from modern/service-producing companies in managerial position (Group B), seven from modern/service-producing companies in non-managerial position (Group C) and ten from traditional/goods-producing companies in non-managerial position (Group D).

The informants come from 17 different companies. Their job titles differ from one another, though a few of them work in a similar field. 43% (N=13) work in management positions (e.g. in computer engineering, human resources, marketing, real estate, legal consultation, banking, and the restaurant business) and 57% (N=17) work in non-managerial positions (e.g. in sales, in accounting, in restaurants, in computer engineering, and in secretarial positions).

The educational background of the interviewees is quite similar. 50% (N=15) of them have a university degree and 27% (N=8) have a degree from a university of applied sciences ('ammattikorkeakoulu'/'yrkeshögskola'). In turn, 7% (N=2) of the interviewees report that they have completed upper secondary school and 7% (N=2) a vocational college. 10% (N=3) report that they have completed both upper secondary school and vocational college. All the interviewees at the managerial level either have a degree from a university or from a university of applied sciences except for two interviewees in Group B who report that they received their last formal certificate from the upper secondary school. Three interviewees in group C have a university or a university of applied sciences degree and four have a certificate from the upper secondary school or a vocational college. Nine interviewees in Group D have a university or a university of applied sciences degree and one has completed a vocational college and apprenticeship training.

A common denominator for all the interviewees is their L1: they speak Finnish as their native language. Further, 50% (N=15) of the interviewees are women and 50% (N=15) are men. The distribution of women and men is not quite evenly distributed inside each group. There are both women and men in each, though there is only one male in Group C.

The original aim of the study was for the interviewees to be from 25 to 45 years of age. All in all, this has been realised quite accurately, although three of the interviewees are 24 years old and one is older than 45. In detail, 37% (N=11) are from 24 to 29 years of age, 40% (N=12) from 30 to 39 years of age and 23% (N=7) from 40 to 52 years of age.

5. Collecting data: Field work

I conducted two pilot interviews in the spring of 2004 before starting the 'real' interviews. One of the test interviewees represented a traditional/goods-producing

company and a non-managerial position and the other one a modern/service-producing company and a non-managerial position. After analysing the pilot interviews, I modified some of the questions and follow-up sentences. Some of the questions needed clarification and some follow-up sentences had to be reformulated, because at this point I decided to take on more morphological variables (e.g. declension of nouns and vowel harmony).

The thirty 'real' interviews were conducted between October 2004 and February 2005. I contacted the interviewees via telephone or e-mail, briefly explaining that I was a postgraduate student and that I needed interviewees for a study on the English language in Finland. I met the interviewees at their own work places for the most part, though I arranged to meet a few of them at the University of Helsinki or in their homes. All the interviews were recorded with an MD player equipped with a microphone.

The length of the interviews varied from 20 to 45 minutes. Before the interviews started, I explained the two parts to the interviews. If the interviewees had questions about the procedure during the interview, I answered them. However, I avoided giving them too much information beforehand, in order not to affect their answers. Afterwards I told them about the MIN Project and my study in general, and asked them to fill in a questionnaire with questions about their sex, age, job title and other background information.

6. *Analysing the data*

I did not use any technical tools (besides the MD player itself and a set of headphones) in analysing the data. I listened to each interview twice and to all the individual answers more often. It was often difficult to tell the difference between two sounds. Sometimes this required repeated comparisons of two speakers to one another or comparisons of individual answers by the same speaker to each other. To guarantee as accurate results as possible, I listened to each tape at least on two different days and compared how I heard the individual sounds/morphemes. I also benefited greatly from the IPA sound charts and phoneme descriptions and samples in the Wikipedia online encyclopaedia.

The following problems were observed with the pilot interviews and later on with the other interviews. The interviewees showed remarkable awareness and concern for their linguistic choices. Either they thought they used too few or too many Anglo-American imports. This can be accounted for by 'evaluation apprehension' – a phenomenon familiar especially in social psychology (Helkama 1998: 36). A person's level of self-consciousness often rises as she/he is being observed and she/he may desire to convey a socially acceptable image of her/himself. Naturally, social acceptability also depends on the interviewee's perception of what is acceptable to the interviewer. Depending on the interviewee, both using imports (e.g. *cool*) and using Finnish words (e.g. *viileä* 'cool') could be socially acceptable behaviour in the case of the present study.

As an interviewer I also became concerned that I was showing 'demand characteristics' – unintentionally giving cues as to how I was expecting the inter-

viewees to answer (see Helkama 1998: 36) in spite of the fact that my purpose was not to communicate to the interviewees that I expected them to answer my questions with an import rather than with a Finnish word.

In the present study, only the spontaneous, first response of the interviewees to the first part of the questions has been taken into consideration. However, for some morphological variables the analysis is based on how the import was read in the follow-up sentence. In some cases the interviewees' spontaneous responses were Finnish words, which means that, although sometimes the interviewees later switched to an equivalent import, that 'import' answer has not been analysed.

7. Results

I will now discuss the realisation of the morphological and phonological variables in the study. The discussion of the morphological variables is either based on the spontaneous response of the interviewees or on the follow-up sentence. The discussion of the phonological variables is mostly based on the spontaneous response of the interviewees. Further, each morphological and phonological variable is most often discussed on the basis of two imports.

The absolute (N) and the relative (%) frequencies of all the answers have been calculated and are shown in the tables below. Although there were altogether thirty interviewees (N=30) in the study, the total number of calculated answers for each question is often less than thirty. The reason is that some of the interviewees used a native Finnish word instead of an import or did not answer the particular question at all. In this study, the relative frequencies are always based on the number of the 'import' answers (not on the total number of all answers or the total number of interviewees).

7.1. Linguistic variables

This section deals with morphological and phonological variables. The division between them is arbitrary at points, as it is often impossible to talk about one without mentioning the other in Finnish. For example, I have classified the realisation of *-ing* in verbal nouns under morphology, although it could just as well be analysed under phonology.

7.1.1. Morphological variables

M1: The plural form of nouns (case endings)

This section is concerned with the plural forms of imported nouns. One aim is to find out how frequently the English plural of an import is interpreted as a singular noun in Finnish, and thus how frequent it is to add a Finnish plural marker for the plural in addition to retaining the English plural marker in the import. As Table 1 suggests, the word *chips* often seems to be interpreted as a singular noun in Finnish as the Finnish plural form included both the English plural marker *-s* and the Finnish

plural marker *-it* or *-ejä* in all but 8% of the replies. The interpretation of *backer* (→ Fin. *bakkeri/häkkeri*) is clearly different as the Finnish plural form of *backer* only had the Finnish plural marker *-eitä/-eitä* in all replies. There were no replies with the English plural marker *-s*, which means that forms like *bakkersit* or *bakkers* did not occur.

Table 1: M1, The plural form of nouns (case endings)

	<i>-eitä/-eitä</i> PART-pl % (N)	<i>-s + -ejä</i> PART-pl % (N)	<i>-s + -it</i> NOM-pl % (N)	<i>-s</i> English plural % (N)	Total % (N)
<i>backer</i>	100 (23)	-	-	-	100 (23)
	<i>bakkereita/häkkeriä</i>				
<i>chips</i> (1963)	-	76 (19)	16 (4)	8 (2)	100 (25)
		<i>sipsejä</i> [s-]	<i>sipsit</i> [s-]	<i>chips</i> [tʃ-]	
Average	50 (23)	38 (19)	8 (4)	4 (2)	100 (48)

The Finnish plural of *stuntman* turned out to be quite complex in comparison to *chips* and *backer*, and there seems to be no conventional form for it, unless one uses a Finnish equivalent (e.g. *sijaisnäyttelijä*) or considers *stuntti/stantti* as one, since it is after all used by almost 60% of the interviewees and therefore seems generally accepted (see Table 2).

Table 2: M1, *stuntman*

	<i>stunt-t-</i> PART-pl % (N)	<i>stuntman-</i> PART-pl % (N)	<i>stunt-actor-</i> PART-pl % (N)	<i>stunt-person-</i> PART-pl % (N)	<i>stuntman-n-</i> PART-pl % (N)	<i>stuntman-</i> PART-pl % (N)	Total ^B % (N)
<i>stuntman</i> (1973)	58 (15)	19 (5)	8 (2)	8 (2)	4 (1)	4 (1)	101 (26)
	<i>stuntteja/stantteja</i>	<i>stuntmänejä/stantmänejä</i>	<i>stuntinäyttelijöitä</i>	<i>stanthenkilöitä</i>	<i>stuntmanneja</i>	<i>stuntmiehiä</i>	
Average	58	19	8	8	4	4	101

Overall, the interviewees very rarely used an English plural in Finnish. On average only 3% (N=2) used an English plural marker (the plural marker *-s* or the irregular *-men*) in *backer*, *chips* and *stuntman*.

M2: The plural form of adjectives (case endings)

The plural forms of imported adjectives are another focal point of the study. The interview was designed to test the use of two adjectives, *cool* and *crazy*. *Cool* turned out to be used by the interviewees, but unfortunately this was not the case with *crazy*.

³ Due to the fact that the figures have been rounded up, the sums range from 99% to 101%. If the sum were to be less than 99% or more than 101%, the average has been given with one decimal.

Only two people spontaneously answered *crazy* (\rightarrow *kreisi*) [kreisi] and only one of them actually used the word in the follow-up sentence inflecting it in the partitive plural as *kreisejä*. However, 26 interviewees used *cool* [k(h)u:l]. I asked the interviewees to place the word in two different sentences, which gave interesting results. Sentence 1 required the interviewee to inflect the word in the ablative/allative plural *cooleilta/cooleille* and Sentence 2 in the nominative plural *coolit*. In Finnish grammar, the first is called an Adverbial Predicate ('predikatiiviadverbiaali'), the second is a Subject Complement, or more precisely, a Nominal (Adjectival) Predicate.

Sentence 1:	Heillä kaikilla oli mustat aurinkolasit, jotta he vaikuttaisivat ---. 'They were all wearing black sunglasses to look ---.'
Sentence 2:	Nuo housut ovat ---. 'Those trousers are ---.'

The majority of the interviewees (92%) inflected the adjective in the ablative plural *cooleilta* in Sentence 1. One interviewee used a non-standard form *coolilta*, and interestingly another one inflected the word in the ablative singular *coolilta*. The results for Sentence 2 were more revealing as regards the adaptation process of the adjectives. 23% of the interviewees did not add any case ending or singular/plural markers to the adjective. This kind of disagreement is very untypical in Finnish and it would clearly be ungrammatical to use a singular Finnish adjective in the sentence (e.g. *Nuo housut ovat *hieno*. 'Those trousers are nice.'). Some of the interviewees in the study first said *cool* without inflecting it and then repeated it and inflected it. Some even had a pause between the stem and the inflectional ending, which suggests that it might not be easy to inflect imports.

Table 3: M2, The plural form of *cool* (case endings)

	<i>cool-</i> NOM-pl % (N)	<i>cool +</i> no ending % (N)	<i>cool-</i> ABL-sg % (N)	<i>cool-</i> ABL-sg/pl (non-standard) % (N)	<i>cool-</i> ABL-pl % (N)	Total % (N)
<i>Sentence 1</i>	-	-	4 (1) <i>coolilta</i>	4 (1) <i>coolilta</i>	92 (24) <i>cooleilta</i>	100 (26)
<i>Sentence 2</i>	77 (20) <i>coolit</i>	23 (6) <i>cool</i>	-	-	-	100 (26)
<i>Average</i>	39 (20)	12 (6)	2 (1)	2 (1)	46 (24)	101 (52)

M3: *-ing* in verbal nouns

The Danish, Swedish and Faeroese studies are concerned with whether *-ing* becomes *-ning* in the adaptation process (for details, see the relevant chapters in this volume). This research question is (likely) not relevant for Finnish, although there are Anglo-American imports in Finnish which end in *-ing* (see Karttunen 1979, Pulkkinen 1984). In some realisations of some imports the English *-ing* is realised as [inj] in

Finnish (e.g. *meeting, feeling*). Sometimes – even in the same imports – *-ing* becomes *-inki* in written Finnish (e.g. *mitinki* ‘meeting’ and *fiilinki* ‘feeling’). Generally the *-inki* ending of written Finnish is pronounced [iŋki] in spoken Finnish (e.g. *fiilinki* [fi:liŋki]). Other realisations of *-ing* are also possible, as the case of *fiilis* ‘feeling’ shows (see Karttunen 1979).

Overall, the use of verbal nouns in my data was infrequent. The interviewees rather preferred to use corresponding native Finnish words. On the basis of the few examples in the study, it is clear that the interviewees preferred [-iŋ] as the realisation of *-ing* when they talked about *sightseeing* (see Table 4). There was also a man who responded *saitsari* which also derives from the English ‘sightseeing’. Further, my study suggests that *-is* is indeed a productive informal nominal ending: seven interviewees (100%) responded *fiilis* [fi:lis] ‘feeling’ instead of other possibilities such as *fiiling*, *fiilinki* or even *fiilari* (cf. Karttunen 1979).

Table 4: M3, *-ing* in verbal nouns

	<i>-ing</i>	<i>-is</i>	<i>Something else</i>	<i>Total</i>
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>feeling</i> (1966)	-	100 (7)	-	100 (7)
		<i>fiilis</i>		
<i>sightseeing</i> (1948)	89 (8)	-	11 (1)	100 (9)
	<i>sightseeing</i>		<i>saitsari</i>	
Average	45 (8)	50 (7)	6 (1)	101 (16)

M4: *-i* in the nominative singular (nouns)

Several indigenous Finnish nominals end in *-i* in the nominative singular (see Karlsson 1987). Besides, Airila (1945: 12) and Sajavaara (1989: 97–99) argue that *-i* is the most common word-final letter found in imports when the import ends in a consonant in the source language (e.g. *band* → Fin. *bändi*, *feeling* → Fin. *fiilinki*). However, *-i* is not always added to the nominative singular, and some Finnish speakers are reported to avoid adding *-i* to English verbal nouns (e.g. *bodybuilding, clearing*). (Cf. Sajavaara 1989: 98.)

Some interviewees in the present study were rather conscious of the possibility of creating new words by adding *-i* to the word. A man actually thought that one can take any foreign word and add *-i* to the end and in that way make the word Finnish. Indeed, by looking at Table 5 (based on spontaneous reactions), we can see that the majority of the interviewees favoured adding *-i* to imported nouns in the nominative singular. However, this study suggests that when a compound noun is used, *-i* is not added to the import (cf. *cover versio(n)*, Table 5). This finding is in line with Hiidenmaa’s (2003: 95) claim that the first part of an imported compound is usually non-adapted.

Table 5: M4, *-i* in the nominative singular (nouns)

	No ending % (N)	<i>-i</i> as the NOMINATIVE ending % (N)	No ending > compound noun % (N)	Other inflectional ending > TRANSLATIVE % (N)	Total % (N)
<i>cover</i>	20 (4)	55 (11)	25 (5)	-	100 (20)
<i>pub</i> (1966)	10 (3)	87 (26)	-	3 (1)	100 (30)
Average	15 (7)	71 (37)	13 (5)	2 (1)	101 (50)

M5 and M6: The gemination of word-final consonants, -i in the nominative singular and consonant gradation

As already discussed, *-i* is a frequent ending in the nominative singular. If the pronunciation of an import ends in [k p t s] in a native Finnish word, the respective consonant should be geminated before adding *-i*. This would result in [k: p: t: s:]. (Cf. Itkonen 1997: 41.)

This study analyses the imports *aerobic* and *bit*. They both end in voiceless plosives, [k t], which in the default case in Finnish should be geminated and an *-i* should be added. Table 6 (based on the spontaneous responses) shows that in the interviews the final /t/ of *bit* was always geminated and the nominative *-i* was added. Thus, *bit* always became *hitti*. However, gemination did not always take place as regards *aerobic*. In fact, in 79% of the examples, neither was the final [k] geminated nor was *-i* added. Overall, it is noteworthy that *-i* was never added after a short consonant, that is, *hiti* and *aerobiki* never occurred. Thus, the rules of Finnish grammar were not broken.

Table 6: M5, The gemination of word-final consonants

	No gemination/ending % (N)	Gemination and -i % (N)	Total % (N)
<i>aerobic</i> (1983)	79 (22)	21 (6)	100 (28)
<i>bit</i> (1965)	-	100 (27)	100 (27)
Average	40 (22)	61 (33)	101 (55)

Further, native Finnish nouns that have long voiceless plosives in the nominative singular (e.g. *kaappi* 'cupboard') are subject to consonant gradation. This means that when nouns with long voiceless plosives are inflected, the consonant will become short in some nominal cases, that is [p:] → [p], [t:] → [t] and [k:] → [k] (e.g. *kaapissa* 'in the cupboard'). (See Karlsson 1987: 30.) Interestingly, Itkonen (1997: 41) and Sajavaara (1989: 101) suggest that this rule should also apply to imports. The word

aerobic in the present study shows that people do not necessarily follow this suggestion (see Table 7, based on the follow-up sentence). 86% of the responses indeed followed it, but altogether 14% of them did not (see the columns 'no gradation' and 'partial gradation'). Occasionally, the interviewees showed uncertainty (pauses, repetition) when they read out a sentence where declension was required. This suggests that the imports in question have not yet been fully adapted into Finnish.

The situation is different with *(super)market*. As their spontaneous response, 52% of the interviewees geminated the final consonant, added *-i* and said *(super/hyper)marketti*, whereas 48% did neither geminate the final consonant nor add *-i*. Thus, they said *(super/hyper)market* (cf. Table 33). Table 7 shows that the interviewees who replied *(super/hyper)marketti* always applied the consonant gradation rule and said *(super/hyper)marketeissa* with a short medial [t] in the follow-up sentence. Further, the interviewees who spontaneously replied *(super/hyper)market* also said *(super/hyper)marketeissa* in the follow-up sentence. Together they represent 100% in Table 7.

Table 7: M6, Consonant gradation

	Gradation % (N)	No gradation % (N)	Partial gradation % (N)	Total % (N)
<i>aerobic</i> (1983)	86 (24)	7 (2)	7 (2)	100
	<i>aerobikissa</i> / <i>-ssä</i>	<i>aerobikkissa</i> / <i>-ssä</i>	<i>aerobik(k)issa</i> / <i>-ssä</i>	(28)
<i>(super)market</i> (1963)	100 (29)	-	-	100
	<i>(super/hyper)marketeissa</i>			(29)
Average	93 (53)	4 (2)	4 (2)	101
				(57)

M7: Vowel harmony in the declension of nouns

Vowel harmony and case endings go hand in hand in Finnish. Vowel harmony generally follows the following rule: "If the stem contains one or more of the vowels (u, o, a), the ending also has to have a back vowel (u, o, a). If the stem has no back vowels, the ending has to have a front vowel (y, ö, ä)." (Karlsson 1987: 21.) For example, the inessive singular form of *talo* 'house' is *talo/ssa* and not **talo/ssä*. The phonemes [i e] do not take part in this rule. They can be followed by a front or a back vowel (Laaksonen and Lieko 1992: 17). Depending on the rule, the partitive and the local case endings either have [a] or [æ]. Imports which have – contrary to native Finnish words – both back and front vowels or even the neutral vowels [i e] are problematic to inflect: take, for example, *crazy* [kreisi]: should one say and write *crazya* [kreisia] or *crazyä* [kreisiä] in the partitive singular?

The examples in Table 8 show that the declension of imports is not as simple as the declension of (native Finnish) words that have been in the language longer. *Laser* is the only import which is always followed by the back vowel [a] in the adessive

singular (i.e. *laserilla*). The interviewees always pronounced the English diphthong [eɪ] (spelled *-a-*) as a short [a] or long [a:], imitating its spelling as viewed by a Finnish speaker; in this way the rule of vowel harmony was realised in the inflection.

Aerobic shows the most equal distribution between back and front vowels. 57% of the interviewees said *aerobikissa* [-s:a] whereas 43% said *aerobikissä* [-s:æ] in the inessive singular. *Aero-* was pronounced either as [aero] or [airo]. Both alternatives were followed both by *-ssa* and *-ssä*. If one perceives *aero-* as the stem, using *-ssä* breaks the rule of vowel harmony. If one perceives *aerobic* as a compound, it is the second part *-bic* that influences which vowel should be chosen for the case ending. Since [i] is a neutral vowel, it can be followed either by *-ssa* or *-ssä* without breaking the rules for vowel harmony.

For *backstage* in the inessive or adessive singular, the majority of the interviewees (89%) chose the front vowel [æ], whereas 12% of the interviewees used the back vowel [a]. Interestingly, the pronunciation of the sounds prior to the case ending proved significant for the choice between the front and the back vowel. The realisation of the English [eɪ] and word-final silent *-e* in *-stage* clearly affected which vowel was chosen (see Table 8, cf. also Table 26). All those who pronounced [eɪ] as [eɪ], did not articulate the silent *-e* and chose the front vowel [æ] in the case ending. They also added *-i* between the word-final [dʒ] and the adessive ending *-llä* [-l:æ], so what they actually said approximates to *back*[steidʒil:æ]. All of those who pronounced [eɪ] as [a], articulated the silent *-e* as [e] and chose the back vowel [a]. What they said sounded like *back*[stakel:a] or *back*[stagel:a]. Another interesting fact is that 96% of the interviewees used the adessive ending *-llä/-lla*, whereas one interviewee (4%) used the inessive ending *-ssä* (i.e. *back*[steidʒis:æ]). Further, *backstage* can be perceived as a simple noun or as a compound. Future research needs to ascertain whether the realisation of [æ] in *back-* affects to what extent a back or front vowel is realised in the case ending.

Table 8: M7, Vowel harmony in the declension of nouns

	[a]	[æ]	Total % (N)
	-ssa (INE) or -lla (ADE) % (N)	-ssä (INE) or -llä (ADE) % (N)	
<i>backstage</i>	12 (3)	89 (23)	101 (26)
	<i>back</i> [stakel:a], [-stagel:a]	<i>back</i> [steidʒil:æ], [steidʒis:æ]	
<i>aerobic</i> (1983)	57 (16)	43 (12)	100 (28)
	<i>aerobik</i> [s:a]	<i>aerobik</i> [s:æ]	
<i>laser</i> (1960)	100 (30)	-	100 (30)
	<i>laser</i> [l:a]		
Average	56 (49)	44 (35)	100 (84)

M8: Imported verbs

The conjugation of Finnish verbs is much more complex than that in the Scandinavian languages. According to Karlsson (1987: 54–55), there are five possible

infinitival verbal endings which are used depending on the quality and length of the stem. Here are the rules:

- (1) **-a ~ -ä** OCCURS WHEN THE INFINITIVE STEM ENDS IN A SHORT VOWEL (e.g. *anta/a* 'give')
- (2) **-a ~ -ä** OCCURS WHEN THE INFINITIVE STEM ENDS IN A SHORT VOWEL + **t** (usually **-at/a, -ät/ä**) (e.g. *huomat/a* 'notice')
- (3) **-da ~ -dä** OCCURS WHEN THE INFINITIVE STEM ENDS IN A LONG VOWEL OR A DIPHTHONG (e.g. *saa/da* 'get')
- (4) **-ta ~ -tä** OCCURS WHEN THE INFINITIVE STEM ENDS IN **-s** (e.g. *nous/ta* 'rise')
- (5) **-la ~ -lä, -na ~ -nä, -ra ~ -rä** OCCUR WHEN THE INFINITIVE STEM ENDS IN AN IDENTICAL CONSONANT (**-l, -n, -r**) (e.g. *ajatel/la* 'think')

Table 9 shows that, as regards imported verbs, the interviewees followed Karlsson's (1987) fifth (cf. *fiilistellä*) and second (cf. *kloonata*) rule on the conjugation of Finnish verbs. What is important to notice here is that not all imported verbs follow one and the same conjugation pattern.

The figures in Table 9 on *fiilistellä* (from English 'feel'⁴) are based on the spontaneous response of the interviewees – the sentence⁵ required an inflected form (e.g. *fiilistelemään* – 3rd infinitive illative). In 75% of the cases, the spontaneous response was in the 1st infinitive (i.e. *fiilistellä*), but one interviewee used the 3rd person singular form (i.e. *fiilistelee*) and another interviewee responded with a corresponding noun (i.e. *fiilistelyä*) instead of the 1st infinitive. In opposition to the case of *fiilistellä*, the figures for *kloonata* 'to clone' in Table 9 are based on the word the interviewees placed in the follow-up sentence⁶, because generally the spontaneous response of the interviewees was not a verb but a noun (e.g. *klooni* 'a clone').

Table 9: M8, Imported verbs

	<i>-ta/-tä</i>	<i>-la/-lä</i>	<i>Verb inflected</i>	<i>Noun</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Finnish 1st infinitive</i>	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>feel > fiilistellä</i>	-	75 (6)	13 (1)	13 (1)	101 (8)
		<i>fiilistellä</i>	<i>fiilistelee</i>	<i>fiilistelyä</i>	
<i>clone > kloonata</i> (by 1979)	100 (26)	-	-	-	100 (26)
	<i>kloonata</i>				
Average	50 (26)	37.5 (6)	6.5 (1)	6.5 (1)	100.5 (34)

7.1.2. Phonological variables

Sajavaara (1989: 97) argues that the Finnish spelling of imports is either based on their English spelling or on the (adapted) Finnish pronunciation. My study suggests

⁴ *Fiilistellä* is derived from English 'feel'. On the basis of discussions with the interviewees it does not have a generally agreed upon meaning. Its meaning approximates 'to sentimentalise', 'to be moved' (abstract sense) or 'to touch/feel at least two things to be able to tell their difference' (concrete sense).

⁵ Romanttinen musiikki saa minut ---. 'Romantic music makes me ---.'

⁶ On kiistanalaista --- ihminen. 'It is questionable --- a human being.'

that the adapted Finnish pronunciation is either based on the English pronunciation (e.g. [ækj^hn]) or on the English spelling of the particular imports (e.g. *trailer*). To a certain extent, Finnish speakers try to imitate the English pronunciation, in which they often only partially succeed. However, imitation or appearing ‘native’ is not always a speaker’s goal. It was pointed out in chapter 1.2. that there is a very close correspondence between the spelling and the pronunciation of a word in Finnish. This clearly affects how some imports are pronounced.

Vowels

The pronunciation of vowels seems to be influenced both by their English pronunciation and their spelling as viewed by a Finnish speaker. In Table 10 we can see how word-initial and word-internal [æ] (spelled *-a-*) were realised in four imports. In the word-initial position [æ] was always realised as [æ] in *action* and as [ɑ] in *animation* (→ Fin. *animaatio*). In the word-internal position there was more variation: [æ] could be realised as either [æ] or [ɑ], though in *backstage* [æ] was more common and in *hacker* [ɑ] was more common.⁷

Table 10: F1, Word- initial [æ] and word-internal [æ] spelled *-a-*

		[æ]	[ɑ]	Total
		% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Word-initial [æ] (spelled <i>-a-</i>)	<i>action</i>	100 (18)	-	100 (18)
	<i>animation (1960)</i>	-	100 (25)	100 (25)
Word-internal [æ] (spelled <i>-a-</i>)	<i>backstage</i>	96 (26)	4 (1)	100 (27)
	<i>hacker</i>	19 (4)	81 (17)	100 (21)
Average		54 (48)	46 (43)	100 (91)

English [i] was pronounced as [i] in *diskette* (→ Fin. *disketti*) and *bit* (→ Fin. *bitti*) without any exceptions, which was quite predictable as the English pronunciation and spelling coincide with the Finnish, and the Finnish interviewees did not have to make a choice between the two.

Table 11: F2, Word-internal [i] spelled *-i-*

	[i]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)
<i>diskette</i>	100 (16)	100 (16)
<i>bit (1965)</i>	100 (27)	100 (27)
Average	100 (43)	100 (43)

⁷ The differences in the articulation of corresponding English and Finnish phonemes and diphthongs (i.e. English [ɪ ʊ ʌ ɔ ɜ: eɪ aɪ] and Finnish [i o u ø ɔ: ei ai]) have not been systematically studied here. As regards this study, I will refer to the English place and manner of articulation when I refer to the English stem of an import. When I discuss the word as an import in Finnish, I will refer to the Finnish place and manner of articulation. For a thorough discussion of the differences between the two systems, see Morris-Wilson (1992).

The pronunciation of word-internal [ʌ] or [ɒ] (spelled *-o-*) was [o] in most cases, which reflects the spelling of the word as viewed by a Finn. *Cover*, which is not found in dictionaries and therefore most likely is quite a recent import, was sometimes pronounced with [a]. This was never the case with *rock*.

Table 12: F3, Word-internal [ʌ] or [ɒ] spelled *-o-*

	[o] % (N)	[a] % (N)	Total % (N)
<i>cover</i>	85 (17)	15 (3)	100 (20)
<i>rock (1955)</i>	100 (29)	-	100 (29)
Average	93 (46)	8 (3)	101 (49)

The interviewees preferred to imitate the spelling of the word-internal [ʌ] sound (spelled *-u-*) rather than its pronunciation (see Table 13). Almost 100% of the interviewees pronounced *pub* as [pub(i)] and *stunt-* as [stunt-]. There was slightly more variation in the pronunciation of the newer import *stuntman*, as almost 30% of the interviewees followed the English pronunciation [stant-]. (Cf. Table 2.)

Table 13: F4, Word-internal [ʌ] spelled *-u-*

	[a] % (N)	[u] % (N)	Total % (N)
<i>stuntman (1973)</i>	29 (7)	71 (17)	100 (24)
<i>pub (1966)</i>	3 (1)	97 (29)	100 (30)
Average	16 (8)	84 (46)	100 (54)

Vowel-consonant combinations

The pronunciation of the word-final [ʔn] without stress clearly varied from one word to another (see Table 14). For *animation* (→ Fin. *animaatio*) it was [io] and for *action* it was [øŋ]. The older import *animation* followed quite closely the English spelling, though *-n* was dropped, and the newer import *action* followed the English pronunciation rather closely. However, in the latter case the Finnish articulation of [ʔn] is not quite that of English. Finnish speakers tend to articulate [ø] more clearly than [ɔ] is articulated in [ʔn]. (See Morris-Wilson 1992: 104.)

Table 14: F5, Word-final [ʔn] without stress

	[øŋ] % (N)	[io] % (N)	Total % (N)
<i>action</i>	100 (18)	-	100 (18)
<i>animation (1960s)</i>	-	100 (25)	100 (25)
Average	50 (18)	50 (25)	100 (43)

A similar shift in the stress pattern affected the word-final pronunciation of [ɘ] (see Table 15). *-er* was articulated more forcefully in Finnish than it is in English, and, in fact, all the interviewees followed English spelling in their adapted pronunciation of *backer* and *trailer*. In addition to pronouncing [ɘ] in the way it is spelled according to a Finnish letter-sound correspondence, the interviewees all added *-i* at the end in the nominative singular (expect for one unclear case), which is a word-formatational change.

Table 15: F6, Word-final [ɘ] spelled *-er*

* includes one unclear case

	[ɘ]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)
<i>backer</i>	100 (21)	100 (21)
<i>trailer (1944, 1973)</i>	100 (30)*	100 (30)
Average	100 (51)	100 (51)

There are not many imports in Finnish that end in word-final [ɜ:] (spelled *-ur*). In fact, *surf* was the only one I could think of that could be used for this study. Despite the general lack of *-ur* final imports, *surf* is a commonly used word in Finnish (see Table 16). Not surprisingly, the analysis shows that the interviewees preferred to imitate the English spelling of the word in their pronunciation rather than the English pronunciation. 96% of the interviewees said [surf] and added varying Finnish morphological endings to the word (not shown in Table 16).

Table 16: F7, Word-final [ɜ:] spelled *-ur*

	[ø:]	[ur]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>surf (1945)</i>	4 (1)	96 (22)	100 (23)
Average	4	96	100

Diphthongs and long vowels

The pronunciation and adaptation of diphthongs followed the same pattern and principles as the pronunciation and adaptation of vowels and vowel-consonant combinations.

There were two different realisations of word-internal [ei] (spelled *-ai-*). The interviewees either imitated English pronunciation or pronounced the spelling of the English word as if it was Finnish. *E-mail*, a newer import, was mostly pronounced with [ei], and *trailer*, an older import, was mostly pronounced with [ai] (see Table 17).

Table 17: F8, Word-internal [ei] spelled -ai-

	[ei]	[ai]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>e-mail</i>	91 (10)	9 (1)	100 (11)
<i>trailer (1944, 1973)</i>	10 (3)	90 (27)	100 (30)
Average	51 (13)	50 (28)	101 (41)

Based on the discussion above, Table 18 is not surprising. The pronunciation of [ei] in *backstage* was [ei] in the majority of cases. Contrary to this, [ei] never appeared in *laser* (cf. Table 8). The pronunciation of *laser* followed the spelling of the word – as viewed by a Finn – more closely though not completely. According to Hakulinen et al. (2004: 41) many vowels are geminated in speech, so -a- could be expected to be realised as a long vowel [a:] in *laser*. However, this was never the case with *backstage*, which could be because the word is a compound.

Table 18: F9, Word-internal [ei] spelled -a-

	[ei]	[a]	[a:]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>backstage</i>	89 (24)	11 (3)	-	100 (27)
<i>laser (1960)</i>	-	7 (2)	93 (28)	100 (30)
Average	45 (24)	9 (5)	47 (28)	101 (57)

As regards word-internal [a:] (spelled -a-), the word-internal (long) vowel sound was always pronounced as it is written, that is, as a short [a], in the older import *supermarket*. With *break dance* there was much more variation: [a:] was realised either as [a], [æ] or [æ:]. Moreover, in 10% of the examples the interviewees omitted -*dance* from *break dance*, either saying [breiki:] or [preik].

Table 19: F10, Word-internal [a:] spelled -a-

	[a]	[æ]	[æ:]	Omission	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>break dance</i>	5 (1)	29 (6)	57 (12)	10 (2)	101 (21)
<i>(super)market (1963)</i>	100 (29)	-	-	-	100 (29)
Average	52.5 (30)	14.5 (6)	28.5 (12)	5 (2)	100.5 (50)

Further, *show* seems to be quite a frequent word in Finnish whereas *slow motion* seems not to be (see the absolute frequencies in Table 20). In all occurrences of both words, the pronunciation of [əʊ] was [ou]. On the one hand, [əʊ] is not a native Finnish diphthong, and probably thus difficult for the interviewees to pronounce. On the other hand, [ou] is a Finnish diphthong, and easy for the interviewees to pronounce. Therefore, it is not surprising that [əʊ] was realised as [ou].

Table 20: F11, Word-final [əu]

	[ou] % (N)	Total % (N)
<i>slow motion</i>	100 (4)	100 (4)
<i>show (1958)</i>	100 (25)	100 (25)
Average	100 (29)	100 (29)

Consonants

The adaptation of consonants is more complex than the adaptation of vowels or diphthongs. First, there are many consonants in English that are foreign in Finnish. At least /b g f/ are not considered part of the ‘core’ of the Finnish sound system. They have come into the language through imports (see Karlsson 1983: 59, Hakulinen et al. 2004: 40, Sajavaara 1989: 96). Indeed, Karlsson (1983: 58–59) states that /b g f/ only occur in imports and that most Finnish speakers tend to change their pronunciation so that, for example, /bussi/ becomes [pus:i] (English ‘bus’). According to Karlsson (1983), people succeed in pronouncing /b g/ when they put special effort into it, though this may result in hypercorrections: /b g/ are easily pronounced as [p k], and /p k/ that should be [p k] become [b g] – for example, *pedagogiikka* ‘pedagogy’ might be pronounced as *bedakogiikka*. Further, Hakulinen et al. (2004: 40–41) suggest that /ʃ/ is the rarest Finnish sound. It occurs, for example, in *shampoo* ‘shampoo’, though even there it is often realised as /s/. Karlsson (1983: 58–59) concludes that /b g f/ have not yet been fully integrated into the Finnish sound system. Further, he discusses the realisation of /d/, which indigenously only occurs word-internally in native Finnish words. Some speakers leave it out or replace it with other consonants, such as /t r/, though generally Finnish speakers know how to pronounce /d/ even in imports.

In addition to what has been said above, Itkonen (1997: 41) claims that adapted foreign words never include the letters *b d g ʃ* and Karttunen (1979: 10) suggests that the foreign consonants /b d g/ and word-initial sound clusters occur more often in slang than in the spoken standard language and that the voicing of the consonants /b p/, /d t/ and /g k/ varies and they function as allophones, not as different phonemes. Hakulinen et al.’s (2004: 41) findings back up Karttunen’s (1979) study. They argue that the voiced plosives /b g (d)/ can be realised as semi-voiced or voiceless plosives. Further, the letter *w* is usually pronounced in the same way as in the source language in non-adapted imports (Hakulinen et al. 2004: 41), that is as [w] as far as English is concerned, though Pulkkinen (1984) suggests that [w] should sometimes be pronounced [v].

It is not surprising that there was much variation in how these consonants were realised in my data. Some of the variation might have resulted from the fact that some consonants are spelled in various ways in English: for example [dʒ] is spelled with <g> in *backstage* and with <j> in *jeep*.

Finnish speakers do not seem to favour imports with the word-initial or word-internal [w] sound, as we can see from the absolute frequencies of the imports in Table 21. The absolute frequencies of *workshop*, *western* and *swing* were quite low,

though *twist* was clearly more frequent. There did not appear to be a consistent pattern as to how [w] is pronounced word-initially and word-internally. [w] was either realised as [w] or [v] in *workshop* and *twist*, but as [v] in *western*. Interestingly, one of the interviewees pronounced *twist* as [dfist].

Table 21: F12–F13, Word-initial [w] and word-internal [w]

		[w]	[v]	[f]	Total
		% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Word-initial [w]	<i>workshop</i> (1964)	57 (4)	43 (3)	-	100 (7)
	<i>western</i> (1963)	-	100 (2)	-	100 (2)
Average		29 (4)	72 (5)	-	101 (9)
Word-internal [w]	<i>twist</i> (1964)	28 (5)	67 (12)	6 (1)	101 (18)
	<i>swing</i> (1944)	86 (6)	14 (1)	-	100 (7)
Average		57 (11)	41 (13)	3 (1)	101 (25)

The voiceless fricative [θ] and the voiceless and voiced affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] are not part of the Finnish phoneme system either, and hypothetically difficult for people to articulate. Therefore, it is not surprising that 96% of the interviewees pronounced the fricative [θ] as the plosive [t] before a consonant, as a result of which *thriller* became *trilleri* (see Table 22). Before a vowel there was more variation in the word-initial pronunciation of [θ]. 40% of the interviewees produced the fricative and only 10% the plosive in *Thousand Island*. Exactly half of the interviewees produced a combination of [t] and [h], a sound that resembles the aspirated English [tʰ] as in *tea*.

Death metal, with a word-final/-internal [θ], is probably the most recent import of these three. It is slightly surprising that all informants actually produced the fricative sound. Perhaps the interviewees were conscious of the foreignness of [θ] and they articulated it with more care than usual. (For a discussion on [θ]-related problems for Finns, see Morris-Wilson 1992: 62–64.)

Table 22: F14–F15, Word-initial [θ] and word-final [θ]

		[θ]	[th]	[t]	Total
		% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Word-initial [θ]	<i>Thousand Island</i>	40 (8)	50 (10)	10 (2)	100 (20)
	<i>thriller</i> (1948)	4 (1)	-	96 (26)	100 (27)
Average		22 (9)	25 (10)	53 (28)	100 (47)
Word-final (/internal) [θ] <i>death metal</i>		100 (10)	-	-	100 (10)
Average		100	-	-	100

Word-initial [tʃ] was pronounced in various ways (see Table 23). [tʃ] was realised as [tʃ], [ts], [ʃ] or [s], which suggests that the sound is strange and difficult for Finnish speakers.

Table 23: F16, Word-initial [tʃ]

	[tʃ]	[ts]	[ʃ]	[s]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>chat</i>	79 (22)	14 (4)	4 (1)	4 (1)	101 (28)
<i>chips (1963)</i>	36 (9)	4 (1)	4 (1)	56 (14)	100 (25)
Average	58 (31)	9 (5)	4 (2)	30 (15)	101 (52)

Almost the same variety of possible realisations of [tʃ] was seen in word-final position: [tʃ] was realised as [tʃ], [ts], [ʃ], [tʃi] and [sʲi] (see Table 24).

The aim of the very first question in the interview was to make the interviewees say *beach*. We can see in Table 24 that only two interviewees did so. Secondly, I tried to make the interviewees use the word *beach volley*. Half of the interviewees used the import. What can be observed on the basis of these two words is that [tʃ] was realised as [ts] and [tʃi] in *beach*. However, the nominative *-i* was never added to *beach* in *beach volley* – probably because it is the first part of a compound noun (cf. *cover versio(n)*, Table 5). In the majority of the examples of *beach volley*, the word-final sound was realised as the affricate [tʃ] – as in English.

The difference between the articulation of [tʃ] in *beach volley* and *brunch* was striking. Since *brunch* is not a compound noun, it was possible to add the nominative *-i* to it. Thus, *brunch* often became [brunsʲi]. This is probably due to written Finnish where *brunch* is indeed written *brunssi*.

Table 24: F17, Word-final (/internal) [tʃ]

	[tʃ]	[ts]	[tʃi]	[sʲi]	[ʃ]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>beach (1976)</i>	-	50 (1)	50 (1)	-	-	100 (2)
<i>beach volley</i>	100 (16)	-	-	-	-	100 (16)
<i>brunch (1976)</i>	8 (2)	-	-	88 (21)	4 (1)	100 (24)
Average	36 (18)	17 (1)	17 (1)	29 (21)	1 (1)	100 (42)

On the basis of Table 24, it is possible to conclude that Finnish speakers can and will produce the voiceless affricate [tʃ] in certain imports. However, it seems that the voiced affricate [dʒ] is much harder (see Tables 25 and Table 26). It was only realised as the initial sound in 17% of the instances of *jetlag* but never in *jeep* (cf. Table 25). Further, [dʒ] in *jetlag* was realised as the voiceless affricate [tʃ] in 54% of the examples, as a plosive-fricative combination [ts] in 8% of the examples and as a palatal approximant [j] in 21% of the examples. In *jeep*, [dʒ] was always realised as a palatal approximant [j].

Table 25: F18, Word-initial [dʒ]

	[dʒ]	[tʃ]	[ts]	[j]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>jetlag</i> (<i>jet</i> 1966)	17 (4)	54 (13)	8 (2)	21 (5)	100 (24)
<i>jeep</i> (1940s)	-	-	-	100 (20)	100 (20)
Average	9 (4)	27 (13)	4 (2)	61 (25)	101 (44)

The realisation of [dʒ] in the word-internal position is more complex than in the word-initial position. The imports presented in Table 26, *backstage* and *college*, are much newer than the imports in Table 25, so comparison may not be reasonable. Perhaps because of the relative newness of *backstage* and *college*, the spellings of the imports are imitated more rarely in pronunciation, though there is a slight difference between the words. Interestingly, the spelling of *college* seems to be imitated more often than the spelling of *backstage*. Since *backstage* is not found in contemporary dictionaries, it is probably newer than *college* (in its sense relating to textiles), which could be an explaining factor.

[dʒ] was realised as [dʒ] in 41% of the examples of *backstage*, but only in 21% of *college*. In both cases [dʒ] became [tʃ] almost equally often. [dʒ] became [ts] some 10% more often in *college* than in *backstage*. *College* ended with a nominative *-i* in 10% of the examples, whereas this never happened with *backstage*. On one occasion [dʒ] was pronounced as [ks] in *backstage*. This never happened with *college*. Word-final [dʒ] never became [j], because [dʒ] is not spelled *j* in these two imports (cf. Table 25).

There was also a correlation between the pronunciation of the word-final sound and the preceding diphthong or vowel. If the word-medial *-a-* in *-stage* was pronounced [a], the word-final [dʒ] and the silent *-e* were *always* realised as [ke], whereas if *-a-* in *-stage* was pronounced [ei], the word-final sound was *never* [ke]. Further, if the word-medial *-e-* in *college* was [e], the word final [dʒ] and the silent *-e* were *always* realised as [ke], whereas if *-e-* was pronounced [i], the word-final sound was *never* [ke]. (Cf. Table 8.) There is a clear reason for why word-final *-ge* was [ke] rather than [ge]. As many scholars have pointed out (e.g. Karlsson 1983, Hakulinen et al. 2004), /g/ is not part of the core of the Finnish consonant paradigm and therefore it is easily realised as [k].

Table 26: F19, Word-final [dʒ]

	[dʒ]	[tʃ]	[ts]	[tʃi]	[tsi]	[ks]	[ke]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>backstage</i>	41 (11)	7 (2)	37 (10)	-	-	4 (1)	11 (3)	100 (27)
<i>college</i> (<i>of textiles</i> 1983)	21 (4)	5 (1)	47 (9)	5 (1)	5 (1)	-	16 (3)	99 (19)
Average	31 (15)	6 (3)	42 (19)	3 (1)	3 (1)	2 (1)	14 (6)	101 (46)

In sum, the pronunciation of [dʒ] depended on its position in a word and the orthography. In the beginning of a word, it was most often [tʃ] or [j] and in the end

of a word most often [dʒ] or [ts]. Word-internal [dʒ] was also analysed in the study. It came up in *manager* (dating back to the 1920s, thus before World War II). Its pronunciation approximated [k], [g] or something in between (e.g. [manakeri]) (Cf. Hakulinen et al. (2004: 41).

For this study, I have made a distinction between the Finnish /r/, here represented as [r], and the English /r/, here represented as [ɹ] (see Table 27). Karlsson (1987: 17) states that in Finnish “r is always trilled with the tip of the tongue”. I have not counted the number of trills in my examples, though there are differences among the interviewees. In the future, this should be analysed further to see if the number of trills in imports is the same, or perhaps fewer, than in native Finnish words.

For the most part, my interviewees used [r]. [ɹ] only occurred in a few examples in word-initial position. If /r/ followed a consonant or it was otherwise in a word-internal position, it was always pronounced as [r] (see Table 27).

Table 27: F20–F22, Word-initial [ɹ] and word-internal [ɹ]

		[ɹ]	[r]	Total
		% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Word-initial [ɹ]	<i>rap</i>	3 (1)	97 (28)	100 (29)
	<i>rock (1955)</i>	10 (3)	90 (26)	100 (29)
Average		7 (4)	94 (54)	101 (58)
[ɹ] after consonant	<i>brunch (early 1970s)</i>	-	100 (24)	100 (24)
	<i>thriller (1948)</i>	-	100 (27)	100 (27)
Average		-	100 (51)	100 (51)
Word-internal [ɹ]	<i>aerobic (1983)</i>	-	100 (28)	100 (28)
	<i>(super)market (1963)</i>	-	100 (29)	100 (29)
Average		-	100 (57)	100 (57)

Word-initial [b] before a consonant was realised as [b] in *break dance* in 91% of the examples (see Table 28). In 10% of the examples, it was realised as the voiceless counterpart [p]. The high frequency of [b] could also be the result of the informal contexts in which *break dance* is presumably used (see Karttunen 1979: 10). Further, in the older import *brunch*, [b] was very common as well, though [p] occurred more often than in *break dance*.

Word-initial [b] was adapted to different degrees in the beginnings of *backstage* and *beach volley*. An equal number of interviewees used [b] and [p] as the initial sound of *backstage* (48% each). In addition, 4% omitted the first part of the compound noun and said only *stake* [stake]. In comparison, more informants used [b] in *beach volley* than in *backstage*: more than 80% of the interviewees used [b], whereas less than 20% used [p].

[b] is not a native Finnish sound as it only occurs in imports (see Karlsson 1983: 58), which explains why the voiced plosive [b] was sometimes replaced with the

voiceless plosive [p]. My findings also coincide with the findings of Hakulinen et al. (2004: 41) who suggest that voiced plosives (e.g. [b]) can become voiceless or semi-voiced. [b] in my study often sounded semi-voiced or even voiceless, but these examples have been classified as [b] in this study.

Table 28: F23, Word-initial [b]

		[b]	[p]	Omission	Total
		% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Before consonant	<i>break dance</i>	91 (19)	10 (2)	-	101 (21)
	<i>brunch (early 1970s)</i>	75 (18)	25 (6)	-	100 (24)
Before vowel	<i>backstage</i>	48 (13)	48 (13)	4 (1)	100 (27)
	<i>beach volley (beach 1976)</i>	81 (13)	19 (3)	-	100 (16)
Average		74 (63)	26 (24)	1 (1)	101 (88)

Word-initial [p] was always realised as [p] before a consonant. By looking at Table 29 we can see that 100% of the interviewees used [p] in the beginning of *printer*. The reason why [p] remained [p] is that there is no reason for adaptation. The spelling and the pronunciation of the sound coincide, and [p] is part of the core of the Finnish sound system (see Karlsson 1983: 59, Hakulinen et al. 2004: 40, Sajavaara 1989: 96). Therefore, it is surprising that there is some variation in the voicing of [p] before a vowel. Only 60% of the interviewees used [p], whereas 40% used [b].

Table 29: F23, Word-initial [p]

		[b]	[p]	Total
		% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Before consonant	<i>printer (printata 1969)</i>	-	100 (17)	100 (17)
Before vowel	<i>pub (1966)</i>	40 (12)	60 (18)	100 (30)
Average		20 (12)	80 (35)	100 (47)

An explanation for the high frequency of [b] as the initial sound of *pub* is likely the latter plosive of the word. Table 30 illustrates this, describing the realisation of the word-initial [p] and the word-final [b] in *pub*. Clearly, the informants aimed at hypercorrection, switched sounds unintentionally or were unable to say [b] in the appropriate context (see Karlsson 1983: 58). 33% of the interviewees said [bub], 7% [bup] and 37% [pup]. Only slightly less than a quarter of the interviewees articulated the consonants like standard English speakers and said [pub] (cf. Tables 5 and 13). The kind of instability in pronunciation shown here suggests that [b] and some words in which the sound occurs have not yet fully been adapted into the Finnish sound system and lexicon.

Table 30: F23, *pub*

	[b - b]	[b - p]	[p - p]	[p - b]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>pub</i> (1966)	33 (10)	7 (2)	37 (11)	23 (7)	100 (30)

Although word-initial [d] is said to be difficult for Finnish speakers, my interviewees knew how to pronounce it. Nevertheless, Hakulinen et al.'s (2004) suggestion on voiced plosives sometimes becoming voiceless or semi-voiced in Finnish should be taken into consideration here. In my data, [d] sometimes sounded like [t] or a semi-voiced plosive, so that *diskette* (→ Fin. *disketti*) almost became [tisketi:] and *disco* [tisko] but not quite.

Table 31: F24, Word-initial [d]

	[d]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)
<i>diskette</i>	100 (16)	100 (16)
<i>disco</i> (1960)	100 (26)	100 (26)
Average	100 (42)	100 (42)

Similarly to [p], [t] was easy for the interviewees because it is part of the core of the Finnish sound system. In fact, Table 32 shows that word-initial [t] was always realised as [t], except in one case. Surprisingly, there was an occurrence of [d] instead of [t] in the word *twist*. In this case, [w] was realised as [f], so that *twist* became [dfist]. In the future, it would be interesting to see whether [t] is realised as [t] before vowels, too.

Table 32: F24, Word-initial [t]

	[t]	[d]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>twist</i> (1964)	94 (17)	6 (1)	100 (18)
<i>trailer</i> (1944)	100 (30)	-	100 (30)
Average	97 (47)	3 (1)	100 (48)

Phonetically, [t] was always pronounced as [t] in word-final position (see Table 33). However, since Finnish words generally do not end in consonants, *chat* and *supermarket* went through some word-formation-related morphological changes.

In 89% of the examples *chat* became *chatti* 'chat', *chattailu* 'chatting', *chattäily* 'chatting', *chattääminen* 'chatting', *chatätä* 'to chat' or *chattäällä* 'to chat'. (The pronunciation of [æ] as the medial sound in *chat* was either [æ] or [ɑ].) What is interesting here – in relation to the conjugation of verbs discussed earlier – is that the infinitive 'to chat' is formed by using two different kinds of inflectional morphemes -

ä/tä and *-lä*; see Karlsson's (1987: 53–55; and above) second and fifth rules for the conjugation of verbs (cf. also Table 9).

In addition, the abundance of lexical choices shown in Table 33 probably reflects the fact that *chat* has not been in the language long enough to have stabilised its Finnish form. In sum, the interviewees seemed to prefer Finnish inflectional endings to imported English endings – for example, nobody replied *chatting*.

As regards (*super*)*market*, there were two different realisations of word-final [t], namely [t] and [ti] (cf. Tables 6–7); note that whereas *chat* can be a verb or a noun, *supermarket* can only be understood as a noun.

Table 33: F25, Word-final [t]

	[t]	[-ti]	[-tailu]	[-tæily]	[-tæ:minen]	[-tætæ]	[-tæillæ]	Total
	<i>chat</i>	<i>chatti</i>	<i>chattailu</i>	<i>chattäily</i>	<i>chattäminen</i>	<i>chatätä</i>	<i>chattäillä</i>	% (N)
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	
<i>chat</i>	10.7 (3)	32.1 (9)	3.6 (1)	35.7 (10)	3.6 (1)	3.6 (1)	10.7 (3)	100 (28)
<i>supermarket</i> (1963)	48 (14)	52 (15)	-	-	-	-	-	100 (29)
Average	29 (17)	42 (24)	2 (1)	18 (10)	2 (1)	2 (1)	5 (3)	100 (57)

Table 34 illustrates the realisation of the word-internal [t] in two words, *backstage* and *stuntman*. [t] in *backstage* was always realised as [t]. This realisation also applied to the first [t] in *stuntman* (not shown in Table 34), whereas there was more variation in the realisation of the second [t]. For the most part, the second [t] was realised as [t], but in nearly 10% of the examples as [d]. The fact that the second [t] of *stuntman* was twice realised as [d] could be due to the large coverage of American TV shows in Finnish media. An alveolar tap [ɾ] is sometimes used in American English for RP [t]. It is possible that some of the interviewees tried to imitate an American-style pronunciation wrongly: [ɾ] occurs altogether in a different environment in American English but Finnish speakers might have over-generalised that rule. Of course, the frequency of [d] was not great overall so this is merely a suggestion.

The word *stuntman* also went through some morphological changes (cf. Table 2). In 50% of the examples the interviewees replied with a two-part compound noun, though *stuntman* was also shortened to *stunt*/*stund* or *stuntti* in the data.

Table 34: F26, Word-internal [t]

	[t]	[d]	[ti]	Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
<i>backstage</i>	100 (27)	-	-	100 (27)
<i>stuntman</i> (1973)	46 (11)	4 (1)	33 (8)	100 (24)
	<i>stuntman</i>	<i>stundman</i>	<i>stuntti</i>	
	13 (3)	4 (1)		
	<i>stunt</i>	<i>stund</i>		
Average	80 (41)	4 (2)	17 (8)	101 (51)

7.1.3. Conclusion

To give an overview of morphological and phonological adaptation, I have calculated the average relative frequency (%) for each answer as regards each variable.⁸ The results are also shown in Tables 35–36 and are classified under four headings: ‘adapted’, ‘neutral’, ‘foreign’ and ‘other’. The totals in Tables 35–36 correspond to the totals in Tables 1–34. Further, I have given the absolute number of informants who did not reply for one reason or another in Tables 35–36 (see ‘no replies’). This kind of categorisation is useful for describing overall patterns in the pronunciation of imports but it is not simple to make. There are examples which are easy to categorise and examples for which this categorisation seems insufficient.

In the first category entitled ‘adapted’ I have placed all replies which are clearly different from the English form of the import and, thus, inflected and pronounced as if they were native Finnish words. For example, when a nominal was inflected according to Finnish rules, I interpreted it as adapted (e.g. *bakkereita*) or when an import like *e-mail* was pronounced with the diphthong [ai], I interpreted it as adapted. Many examples in this category are adapted so that the pronunciation of the import imitates the spelling of the import as viewed by a Finnish speaker. However, this is not always the case. But for example, *laser* realised with long [ɑ:] was placed here. Further, if [dʒ] or [tʃ] were realised as [j] word-initially, I interpreted it as adapted, even though [j] is only a marginal part of the Finnish sound system. [dʒ] and [tʃ] are clearly foreign sounds, but if they were realised as [tʃi] or [tsi], I interpreted them as adapted sounds, because of the syllable boundary between [t-] and [-ji]/[-si] in the Finnish import.

The second category is entitled ‘neutral’. As we can see in Table 35, there were no neutral morphological replies, as Finnish and English are grammatically very different languages. As for phonology, if the English sound of a phonological variable has a correspondent Finnish sound, the reply was classified as neutral. As Table 36 shows, many replies concerning the phonological variables are neutral. For example, word-internal [i] was classified as a neutral sound, because English [i] and Finnish [i] are interpreted as the same sound or variants of the same sound by Finnish-speakers. Word-initial [b] and [d] which were realised as [b] and [d], respectively, were classified as neutral as well, because these sounds are a marginal part of the Finnish sound system. From the Finnish point of view, this category is somewhat problematic, because it means that examples like *e-m[ci]* and [æ]ction are placed here. The diphthong [ei] and the vowel [æ] are part of the Finnish sound system, but in this particular context (cf. the spelling of the words) their usage is a

⁸ The relative average frequencies (%) were calculated by summing up the relative frequencies of each reply-type as regards each variable and by dividing the sum by the number of imports in question as regards the variable. For example, the relative frequency of [æ], spelled <a>, was calculated by summing up the relative occurrence of [æ] in *action*, *animation*, *backstage* and *backer*, and the sum was divided by four. Further, the relative frequency of [ɑ] in *action*, *animation*, *backstage* and *backer* was calculated by summing up the relative frequency of [ɑ] in *action*, *animation*, *backstage* and *backer*, and the sum was divided by four. (See Table 10.) Another possibility to count the average relative frequencies would have been to count them on the basis of absolute frequencies (N) as regards each variable. Because the absolute frequency of each import was not the same, I decided not to analyse my data that way.

clear sign of non-adaptation and foreignness, and ‘neutral’ is not the best term to describe them.

As pointed out earlier, the grammar of Finnish and English are very different. Examples which are morphologically English have been categorised as ‘foreign’ (*chips-Ø*, *cool-Ø* and *sightseeing*). In addition, nouns in the nominative case without word-final *-i* (e.g. *cover-Ø*, *cover-compound*) and nouns which are not geminated (e.g. *aerobic-Ø*) have been placed in this category. The last two example-types could perhaps have been classified as neutral as well, but since Finnish nouns generally do not end in consonants, I have not interpreted them in that way. Finally, note that even though these imports are morphologically foreign, they are necessarily not phonologically foreign. Further, some English sounds are not part of the Finnish sound system. These sounds were classified as ‘foreign’. [θ], [tʃ], [dʒ] and [ɹ] are self-evidently in this category. I have also analysed [w] as a foreign sound, even though it occurs in some imports.

Many examples were also placed in the category ‘other’. For example, [w], [p] and [t], which were hypercorrectly realised as [f], [b] and [d], respectively, were placed here instead of the category ‘adapted’, because they mostly occur in imports, not in native Finnish words. Further, word-final and word-initial [ts] and word-final [ʃ] were placed in this category because they are neither native Finnish nor English sounds. Word-final [ks] was also placed here even though it occurs in English and in colloquial Finnish. Finally, sound omissions and replies where consonant gradation was not realised were placed here as well.

English nominals and verbs are adapted to Finnish morphology to a very high degree (see Table 35). The most ‘foreign’ replies occurred as regards verbal nouns (M3), consonant gemination (M5) and word-final *-i* in the nominative singular (M4).

Table 35: Average frequencies of replies per morphological variable

	<i>Adapted</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Foreign</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Table no.</i>
	%	%	%	%	
<i>M1: plural/nouns</i>	97		3		1 and 2
<i>M2: plural/adjectives</i>	88		12		3
<i>M3: verbal nouns</i>	50		45	6	4
<i>M4: -i/nominative</i>	71		28	2	5
<i>M5: gemination/-i</i>	61		40		6
<i>M6: gradation</i>	97			4	7
<i>M7: vowel harmony</i>	100				8
<i>M8: verbs</i>	100				9

There is less phonological adaptation than morphological adaptation of imports in Finnish (see Table 36). However, there is no consistent pattern as different variables are adapted to different degrees. Only a few variables are fully adapted to Finnish and only a few variables have not been adapted at all. The most adapted variables seem to be variables where the English pronunciation and spelling differ from each other most in the eyes of a Finnish speaker. This is contrary to the expectation that

the most adapted variables would have been those which have the most difficult, foreign sounds for Finns. For example, variables F10–F20 show that many interviewees imitated (to different extents) foreign sounds where appropriate.

Table 36: Average frequencies of replies per phonological variable

	<i>Adapted</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Foreign</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Table no.</i>
	%	%	%	%	
F1: <i>word-internal/-initial</i> [æ]	46	55			10
F2: <i>word-internal</i> [ɪ]		100			11
F3: <i>word-internal</i> [ʌ] or [ɒ] <i>spelled -o-</i>	93	8			12
F4: <i>word-internal</i> [ʌ] <i>spelled -u-</i>	84	16			13
F5: <i>word-final</i> [ʔn]	50		50		14
F6: <i>word-final</i> [ɶʔ]	100				15
F7: <i>word-final</i> [ɶ:]	96	4			16
F8: <i>word-internal</i> [eɪ] <i>spelled -ai-</i>	50	51			17
F9: <i>word-internal</i> [eɪ] <i>spelled -a-</i>	56	45			18
F10: <i>word-internal</i> [ɑ:] <i>spelled -a-</i>	96			5	19
F11: <i>word-final</i> [əʊ]	100				20
F12: <i>word-initial</i> [w]	72		29		21
F13: <i>word-internal</i> [w]	41		57	3	21
F14: <i>word-initial</i> [θ]	53		47		22
F15: <i>word-final</i> [θ]			100		22
F16: <i>word-initial</i> [tʃ]	34		58	9	23
F17: <i>word-final</i> [tʃ]	43		36	21	24
F18: <i>word-initial</i> [dʒ]	61		36	4	25
F19: <i>word-final</i> [dʒ]	20		35	46	26
F20: <i>word-initial</i> [ɹ]	94		7		27
F21: <i>word-initial</i> [ɹ] <i>after consonant</i>	100				27
F22: <i>word-internal</i> [ɹ]	100				27
F23: <i>word-initial</i> [b]	26	74		1	28
F23: <i>word-initial</i> [p]		60		40	29 and 30
F24: <i>word-initial</i> [d]		100			31
F24: <i>word-initial</i> [t]		97		3	32
F25: <i>word-final</i> [t]	71	29			33
F26: <i>word-internal</i> [t]	17		80	4	34

Besides the difficulty of making this kind of categorisation, there is another reason why this categorisation might not be sufficient to describe the use of imports in Finnish. As we can see in Table 36, many variables seem to be adapted roughly in 50% of the cases, and, correspondingly, many variables seem to be roughly 50% neutral or roughly 50% foreign. As section 7.2. suggests, it might not be purposeful to count average frequencies in Finnish, as the adaptation of old and new imports appears to be quite different. In fact, it would be useful to continue analysing the imports individually.

7.2. *Age of the import*

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact year that a word starts to exist in a language. For this study, I have looked through several (etymological) dictionaries; some of them have focused on ‘foreign’ or ‘civilised’ (Fin. *sivistys-*) words, some on slang and some on Finnish in general. According to the records, the oldest Anglo-American imports in Finnish date back to the mid-19th century, though Pulkkinen (1984: 8) says that *punssi* ‘punch’ (an alcoholic beverage) was found in a dictionary manuscript already in 1786. The problem with old (19th century) dictionaries is that one cannot know for sure whether the words found as dictionary entries were used in active language (see Pulkkinen 1984: 13). Still, people must have used imports before they entered dictionaries, and there must have been imports the use of which has never been recorded in writing. Another concrete difficulty is to ascertain the donor language. Especially some of the older English imports might have come into Finnish through Swedish (see Pulkkinen 1984: 7).

Naturally, some words included in my study have only very recently found their way into a dictionary (*cover*, *jetlag*, *e-mail*, *chat*, *cool*) (see KS 2005) and some words (*action*, *slow motion*, *backstage*, *death metal*, *Thousand Island*, *beach volley*, *fiilistellä*) have not found their way into any of the dictionaries I have come across, yet. However, there is evidence (e.g. my data and Finnish-language search results on Google.com) that all these words are used in Finnish. Besides these facts, it should also be noted that some of these words are compound nouns and their different parts might have functioned as imports before the compound itself became part of the (informal) Finnish vocabulary (e.g. *slow* in *slow motion*, *jet* in *jetlag*, *beach* in *beach volley*). Some of the imports are found in the newest dictionaries (with no information on entry dates) though not in slightly older ones (e.g. *hakkeri* ‘hacker’; *kloonii* ‘a clone’, *kloonata* ‘to clone’), which suggests (together with other factors) that they have entered Finnish after the 1980s (see Karttunen 1979, Uudissanasto 1979, Nurmi 2004, KS 2005).

If I have found information of when an import has presumably entered written Finnish, I have given the year in Tables 1–34. If I have not found an accurate record of when the import was first used in writing, no year is given in the tables (except for compound nouns). Even though there are no records of all the imports in this study, sometimes it is possible to estimate the age of the imports by relating their meaning and usage to contemporary technological advances (e.g. *chat*, *hacker*). One could not generally talk about *hackers* and *chat* before computers became ‘every man’s’ privilege in Finland, so one can conclude that they are relatively recent.

My interviews yield more data than what are dealt with in this study. For the present purposes, I chose two representative imports for each variable, with the aim of having the time of entry into Finnish of the imports different. Preferably, one import was to have come into the language in the 1940s–1960s and the other one in the 1980s–1990s, which allowed me to compare the adaptation process from a diachronic perspective as well.

The age of the import seems to be relevant as regards four of the morphological variables: The nominative *-i* ending (M4) was added more often to the older import *pub* than to the new import *cover* (cf. Table 5); consonant gemination (M5) always took place as regards the old import *hit* but not always as regards the new import

aerobic (cf. Table 6); and consonant gradation (M6) always took place in the old import *supermarket*, whereas not always in the new import *aerobic* (cf. Table 7). Further, as regards vowel harmony (M7), it seems that the back vowel [ɑ] was preferred by the majority of the interviewees in the two older imports (cf. Table 8). However, it has to be noted that *aerobic* and *backstage* can be viewed as compound nouns, whereas *laser* cannot, which in turn might of course have affected the results. As regards the other four morphological variables, it is impossible to comment on the significance of the age of the imports.

The present data suggest very strongly that the age of the import is a significant variable as regards vowels, diphthongs, long vowels, vowel-consonant combinations and many consonants. In short, this study suggests the following:

- The older the import is, the more likely the pronunciation follows English spelling as read in Finnish by Finnish speakers. The newer the import is, the more likely it is that the pronunciation follows English pronunciation.
- There is more variation in the pronunciation of newer imports overall. The pronunciation of older imports is more fixed.

Table 37 illustrates the pronunciation of vowels, vowel-consonant combinations and diphthongs. It is obvious that the pronunciation of old and new imports is systematically different. To see this, you need to look at each variable at a time and compare the new import to the old. If you look at the column entitled ‘English pronunciation’, you can immediately see that the frequency of the new import is always greater than the frequency of the old word, whereas in the column entitled ‘Spelling’ it is the old import that has greater (or equal) frequency. This means that the informants imitated English pronunciation as regards new imports and spelling as regards old imports – as viewed by Finnish speakers. For example, *e-mail* was *e-m[ei]l* (English pronunciation) and *trailer* was *tr[ai]ler* (spelling). There were some pronunciation variables for which age did not seem to be a relevant factor. As we can see in Table 37, this is the case with *diskette* and *hit*, but the explanation is probably simple: the English spelling <i> and pronunciation [i] coincide – in the perception of Finnish speakers.

Notice, too, that the frequency of the new imports whose pronunciation resembles English pronunciation is usually very high (from 86% to 100%). There are some exceptions to this, however (i.e. *cover*, *stuntman*, *hacker*, *slow motion*). In two of these four cases the frequency of the new imports is greater, which suggests that there is evidence that new imports are more likely pronounced similarly to the way they are pronounced in English.

Table 37: Pronunciation new and old imports

* the second part (i.e. 'dance') of the compound omitted in 10% of the cases

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Imports:</i>		<i>English pronunciation</i>	<i>Spelling</i>
	<i>newer (N) ~ older (O)</i>		<i>(in percentages)</i>	<i>(in percentages)</i>
Word-initial [æ]	N	<i>action</i>	100	-
	O	<i>animation</i>	-	100
Word-internal [æ]	N	<i>backstage</i>	96	4
	O	<i>hacker</i>	19	81
Word-internal [ɪ]	N	<i>diskette</i>	100	-
	O	<i>hit</i>	100	-
Word-internal [ɒ] and [ʌ]	N	<i>cover</i>	15	85
	O	<i>rock</i>	-	100
Word-internal [ʌ]	N	<i>stuntman</i>	29	71
	O	<i>pub</i>	3	97
Word-final [ɹ̥n]	N	<i>action</i>	100	-
	O	<i>animation</i>	-	100
Word-final [ɹ̥]	N	<i>hacker</i>	-	100
	O	<i>trailer</i>	-	100
Word-final [ɜ:]	N	-	-	-
	O	<i>surf</i>	4	96
Word-internal [eɪ]	N	<i>e-mail</i>	91	9
	O	<i>trailer</i>	10	90
	N	<i>backstage</i>	89	11
	O	<i>laser</i>	-	100
Word-internal [a:]	N	<i>breakdance*</i>	86	5
	O	<i>supermarket</i>	-	100
Word-final [əʊ]	N	<i>slow motion</i>	-	100
	O	<i>show</i>	-	100

In the case of consonants it is not as simple as that, but there is a similar pattern. Similar effects could be seen as regards word-initial [θ], word-initial [b], word-initial [tʃ], word-internal and word-final [dʒ]. The older the import, the more informants imitated the spelling and the newer the import, the more informants imitated English pronunciation; as an example, see Table 25. In standard Finnish the letter *j* is pronounced as [j], so an old import like *jeep* was pronounced with word-initial [j], whereas the pronunciation of *j* in a new import like *jetlag* approximated its English pronunciation. The analysis shows that the imitation of English pronunciation was not always accurate: there was variation in how sounds like word-initial [dʒ] were realised.

The age of the import seemed not always important in the case of some consonants. These sounds were word-initial [w], word-initial [ɹ], word-initial [d] and word-initial [t]. It is surprising that 86% of the interviewees produced [w] in such an old import as *swing* (see Table 21) as [w] is not considered a member of the Finnish phoneme system, and you would expect to see that the sound was adapted. [ɹ] was

the most frequent in *rock*, which dates back to the 1950s. *Rap* is more recent than *rock*, and yet only one interviewee replied [ɹæp], whereas three replied [ɹok]. [d] was always realised as [d] and [t] was [t] in all but one case in the word-initial position regardless of the age of the import (see Tables 31–33).

Further, it is impossible to say anything decisive about word-final [θ] (since only one import was studied), about word-final [tʃ] (since the investigated imports were of the same age), about word-initial [p] (since the investigated imports were of the same age and an aim at hypercorrection might have influenced the pronunciation of *pub*), and word-internal/final [t] (since the investigated imports were adapted in different ways). For future research, there remains a few interesting questions:

- Can you always predict how a vowel is pronounced if you look at the import's age?
- In general, how old are those imports the pronunciation of which follows the spelling, and how old are those that follow English pronunciation?
- Is there a specific point in time (e.g. a year/a decade) before which all the imports that have come into the language follow English spelling, and after which all the imports that have come into the language follow English pronunciation? Or rather, is this different in every individual case?

Clearly, more extensive data need to be checked to be able to answer these questions. There might be several reasons behind the kind of development that I describe. Here are a few suggestions:

- (1) Older imports have been borrowed through written records (e.g. newspapers, magazines, record covers) and newer imports through spoken language (e.g. television, travelling, song lyrics). Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the older imports could reflect the spelling system and the newer imports the pronunciation of the original language – English. For example, *trailer* (old import) was usually *tr[ai]ler* but *e-mail* (new import) *e-m[ei]/in* in my data.
- (2) Pronouncing an import in Finnish in a similar way to its English spelling is a later, or a more advanced development in the adaptation process. All imports undergo this change when they have been in the language long enough and eventually they will be pronounced the way they are spelled. In my data, *jeep* (old import) was always [j]eep. Maybe in the future *jetlag* (new import) is always [j]etlag instead of [dʒ]etlag, [tʃ]etlag and [ts]etlag.

7.3. Lifestyle as a background variable

My aim in this section is to answer the following question: Is there any correlation between a person's linguistic choices and his or her lifestyle? My analysis was done by comparing the replies of Groups A, B, C and D. Overall, there seems not to be any consistent or obvious correlation. One explaining factor is that the analysis is based on average relative frequencies. As suggested in section 7.1.3., the average frequencies probably do not describe the Finnish data adequately, since the

adaptation of old and new imports is clearly different. In the future, it would be useful to analyse each import separately in relation to life style.

The analysis showed that there was no variation in the replies as regards altogether nine morphological and phonological variables (cf. Tables 35–36). These variables were: M7, M8, F2, F5, F6, F11, F21, F22 and F24. There were some differences as regards the other variables, but there seemed to be no or very few consistent or apparent patterns.

As regards the *morphological variables* (M1–M6), the differences between the Groups were very small and no Group was consistently different from the other Groups. The replies of Groups A and C were slightly less adapted than the replies of Groups B and D as far as the nominative *-i* (M4) and gemination (M5) are concerned (see Table 38). As far as the plural of adjectives (M2) and consonant gradation (M6) are concerned, the replies of the management level (A, B) were slightly different from the replies of the non-managers (C, D). Finally, as regards the plural of nouns (M1), the replies of Group B showed signs of more foreign influence and as regards verbal nouns (M3), the replies of Group B showed signs of less foreign influence than the replies of the other Groups.

It is also difficult to detect patterns as far as the *phonological variables* (F1–F4, F7–F10, F12–F20, F23, F24–F25) are concerned. Whatever differences there were in the data, they were mostly very small (see Table 38, cf. F25). The two most apparent traits seem to concern the interviewees from goods-producing companies: Group A often had either the most adapted or the least adapted replies, and Group D rarely had the least adapted replies. As regards some variables, it seemed that the interviewees from goods-producing companies (A, D) differed from the interviewees from service-producing companies (B, C) (see Table 38, cf. F4). As regards some other variables, it seems that the replies of the management level (A, B) differed from the replies of the non-managers (C, D) (see Table 38, cf. F3). Overall, there seemed to be fewer similarities between the management-level interviewees from service-producing companies (B) and the non-management-level interviewees from goods-producing companies (D), and perhaps even fewer similarities between the management-level interviewees from service-producing companies (A) and the non-management-level interviewees from service-producing companies (C) (see Table 38, cf. F18); but this is not always the case.

Table 38: Similarities and differences as regards adaptation and life style (percent)

	<i>M4</i>	<i>F3</i>	<i>F4</i>	<i>F18</i>	<i>F25</i>
<i>A</i>	63	75	100	67	71
<i>B</i>	70	80	58	56	72
<i>C</i>	63	100	75	50	72
<i>D</i>	74	100	95	67	67

In sum, there seemed to be certain subtle patterns as regards some morphological and phonological variables and lifestyle, which suggests that it is possible to consider

lifestyle as a sociolinguistic variable in the present study and in future studies. However, lifestyle does not appear to be a highly significant background variable.

Further, I believe that one should also consider the influence of a specific company on a person's linguistic choices in addition to one's lifestyle in future analysis of the data (see Scollon and Wong Scollon 1995, Paatola 2004). Some of the interviewees worked for the same companies, and since companies may develop their own vocabulary to talk about certain things, it is possible that some perceived linguistic patterns in this study were due to a certain in-group talk rather than to the influence of lifestyle.

8. Conclusion

There are probably several reasons behind using imports. One reason is clearly to enrich the vocabulary of a language and to introduce new concepts (e.g. Spanish *tapas*) or to create synonyms with different connotations than the corresponding Finnish word (e.g. French *boutique*). Another reason that is bound to influence the adaptation of Anglo-American imports is their perceived familiarity and the fact that they are considered easier than their Finnish equivalents ('ersättningsord') (e.g. *handsfree* vs. *kädet vapaaksi jättävä toiminto*). (Hiidenmaa 2003: 97–100, cf. Itkonen 1988: 15–30.) My interviewees often felt that there was no Finnish word for a certain concept or that they simply thought of the English word first:

“sille ei varmaan ookaan mitään suomenkielistä sanaa”

‘there’s probably no Finnish word for that’

“aika jännä koko ajan tulee mieleen nää ulkomaankieliset sanat mieleen”

‘it’s quite funny these foreign words keep coming to my mind all the time’

“moni suomalainen sana ... epäkäytännöllisiä just sen pituuden ja ... paljon noita tavuja ja kaikkee tällasta”

‘many Finnish words ... impractical because of their length and ... there’s a lot of syllables and everything’

Besides trying to answer the question as to why imports are being used, one also has to try to explain why they are adapted and why they are sometimes not. Hiidenmaa (2003: 95) concludes that after an import has been adapted into Finnish, it is easy to inflect and to pronounce and it resembles other Finnish words. In relation to my data, Hiidenmaa's (2003) suggestion describes well the situation with the older imports – there is much less variation and more signs of adaptation in their pronunciation in comparison to the pronunciation of the newer imports. However, the inflection and pronunciation of all (old and new) imports do not appear to be easy, because there is sometimes a lot of variation in how they are realised, which is illustrated by one of the interviewees commenting

“emmä oikein tiedä kuinka toi taipuis”

‘I’m not sure how it’s inflected’

The fact that it is difficult to inflect a word might have led to the fact that the interviewee did not inflect the word at all. As for articulation, retaining the English pronunciation could in many respects be more difficult than adapting one's pronunciation. Perhaps some of the interviewees felt that it would be more educated to sound like an Anglo-American and, therefore, they imitated the original pronunciation.

Nevertheless, this study shows that modern Anglo-American imports are frequent in Finnish. It also shows that there usually is a difference in how old and new imports have been adapted into Finnish. Future studies need to ascertain this. This study also shows that, in general, it is typical to adapt imports into Finnish rather than take them as 'quotative loans' ('sitaattilainat') of the spoken language. Some imports have already become 'adapted foreign words' ('kotoistuneet vierassanat') (e.g. [tril:eri]) or 'loan words proper' ('varsinaiset vierassanat') (e.g. [tʃæti]) and few are pronounced exactly like in the English of native speakers. One might also conclude that the longer an import has been in Finnish, the more clearly it has become an adapted foreign word. Although Anglo-American influence has constantly grown since World War II, the fact that imports are adapted morphologically and phonologically into Finnish speaks for the vitality and creativity of the language itself (see Hiidenmaa 2003: 99).

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