

**Influence of English in Finnish Televised Football  
Commentary**

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## 1. Introduction

Football, or soccer (shortened form of “association” [OED]) as it is known in some countries is played everywhere in the world, and is by far the most popular sport on the planet because of its easy accessibility. All one needs to play is a ball and some level ground. It generates so much passion that some European countries practically stop functioning for the duration of a particularly exciting and important game. Television has also played a part in the popularity of football, as it is possible to watch the best players performing in the European leagues in most parts of the world for little or no cost. It is therefore quite surprising that the language of football commentary is a relatively new field of study, especially from the point of view of influence from other languages.

The language of football commentary outside the Anglophone world is often full of borrowed expressions originating in English. This is natural, as modern football and its rules were invented there. Finnish commentary is no exception to this general pattern. Many words in the standard Finnish football terminology are loan-translations from English, in some cases possibly via Swedish. For example, *vapaapotku*, is clearly translated from English ‘free kick’, with Swedish ‘frispark’ possibly acting as an intermediate, and *maalipotku* is quite obviously influenced by ‘goal kick’. These kinds of words have been in the language of football players, coaches, fans and reporters for a long time, some from the very start of football in Finland in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. They can be said to be a part of the standard language of football. However, in recent times another type of influence has risen. These old loan translations are still an integral part of football language, but newer loan translations and even borrowings with varying degrees of adaptation have become quite common, especially in the speech of football game commentators and the writings of journalists. In this thesis, this comparatively modern phenomenon of televised football commentary will be the focus of analysis, as new borrowings are often first heard in these commentaries. There is a tendency in game commentary (or sportscasting, to use another common term) to use a varying vocabulary to avoid tediousness in commenting on a sport that is basically passing a

ball around a field. Because of this, and the global football community's preference for English, it seems that many borrowed expressions are used.

To find out what kinds of borrowings are present in football game commentary, I will perform an analysis of four game commentaries from the point of view of borrowed expressions, be they loan translations or straightforward borrowings. The methodology will be explained in section 3.2., but the goal is to find all the words and expressions that might have been influenced by English. These findings are then analysed further and grouped into categories depending on the type of borrowings and their degree of adaptation. In this thesis, the language of football commentary is viewed as a specialist language, and treated as such. As these tend to be influenced by other languages they come to contact with, especially if they are in use in the global community of the particular specialist field, the categorization and analysis of the data will be based on the theories of contact linguistics. The theoretical background will be introduced in chapter 4.

This thesis seeks to answer the following questions: 1) The general question of what kind of cross-linguistic influence from English is present in Finnish football commentary, 2) How can the theory of contact linguistics be applied to this research, 3) Why (in this context) are certain words borrowed, and how are they adapted to the Finnish language?

In addition to these, some rough estimates will be made on the extent of English influence in Finnish football commentary.

The history of football will be discussed in this thesis only in the cases where it directly relates to the history of the word being analysed, but some background information on the terminology is necessary. The game we now call football (or soccer) has been played in the British Isles for a long time, but the first codified rules came to being in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The English terminology has been developing since then, and it has naturally influenced the terminologies of other languages too. The first football rules in the Finnish language were published in 1898 (Suorsa 1995, appendix 1), and since then, the Finnish terminology has been developing. Influence of English can be seen already in the first official rules of the Finnish Football Association. These rules actually contain

some English: “Täten muodostunutta aluetta sanotaan maalivahdin alueeksi tai maalialueeksi (Goal Arena).” (The area formed thus is called the area of the goal keeper or goal area [Goal Arena]) (Suorsa 1995, appendix 2). Suorsa (1995) shows that Finnish football terminology has historically also contained words like *bakki*, 'back' (now *pakki*), *corner*, and *kick off* (pp. 85, 87, 90), which are obviously of English origin, possibly via Swedish. It is therefore clear that there has been cross-linguistic influence from the very beginning.

In the following pages I will describe my data, elucidate the process of categorization and my method, provide some theoretical background, and finally, present my findings and interpret them in order to answer my research questions and give possible directions for future research.

Note on the use of personal pronouns:

The commonly used pronoun when referring to both sexes is “she” in this thesis. This is to avoid complicated constructions. When referring to an unspecified football commentator, “he” is used, as all the commentators in the data are male, and up to this point at least I have never heard of a female football commentator. Hopefully that will change some day.

## 2. Earlier research on the language of football

This area of research is virtually untouched in Finland. An article, “English direct loans in European football Lexis” by Bergh and Ohlander (2012) that examines direct loans in football language in 16 European languages touches upon the subject relating to Finland in that it claims that the influence of English is not very wide in Finnish football lexis. The study was conducted by comparing English lexical items common in football language to their counterparts in different European languages. The study focused only on direct loans, and therefore missed all the translation loans that (as will be shown later) form the core vocabulary of Finnish football language. In comparing only the most common lexical items, the study also missed possible variants that may be commonplace in spoken commentary, but virtually non-existent in written language. Of the 16 languages compared, Finnish occupies the lowest place with six direct loans out of 23 examined. This result is interesting, as a cursory glance on the table of examined words shows that there is only one word that is directly borrowed into written Finnish with no adaptation, *hat-trick*, but at least ten that have been borrowed with adaptation and are used fairly commonly in speech and writing (*back - pakki*, *coach - koutsi*, *cross - krossi*, *derby - derbi*, *dribble - riplaila*, *hat-trick – hätrikki*, *hooligan - huligaani*, *match - matsi*, *tackle - taklata*, *team - tiimi*). It appears that at least some of these were ignored by the researchers. This might be explained by the fact that the main data of the article is Görlach’s *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (2001). The dictionary might not contain all of these examples, as some are mostly found in spoken language or football commentary. Kytölä of the University of Jyväskylä has also been researching the language used in football conversation forums in the Internet, but his research and its focus differ so greatly from the present research, that his results were not included for comparison.

Similar research has been conducted on Croatian, Polish and Bulgarian. Articles on these languages and the influence English has had on their respective football jargons have been published in a collection titled *The Linguistics of Football* (Lavric et al. [eds.] 2008). Of these, the article by Pintarić on Croatian, “English and German loanwords in Croatian football language” displays by far the most quality, and is most easily compared with the subject of this thesis. Her findings, and to some extent the findings on Polish of Şepək and on Bulgarian of Dosev will be compared to the results of this



thesis as they are revealed. All of them found the influence of English to be visible in the football languages of their respective native languages.

No study focusing exclusively on televised game commentaries and cross linguistic influence in them has been made before. Pintarić takes television commentary into account, but the main part of her corpus comes from newspapers. On the other hand, the same article collection that contains the previously mentioned articles also includes articles on game commentary in English, from the point of view of emotion, grammar, idiom, deviation and use of adjectives. These views will be taken into consideration as they affect the language that is used in commentary, and therefore may play a part in the prevalence of English influence. Adrian Beard (1998) has examined the general tendencies of live game commentary in his book *The Language of Sport*, and his findings will also be used when applicable to Finnish game commentary. The creation of excitement in Finnish radio commentary on athletics has been studied (Romppainen 2006), but as radio and television are totally different as media for sports commentary (as is shown in section 4.2.1.), this study is not used as such, even though the research is conducted with awareness of it.

Finally, the development of Finnish football language on the level of official rule books has been studied in a Pro gradu thesis by Suorsa (1996). This work, *Virallisuonteisen jalkapallosanaston kehittyminen 1890-luvulta lähtien*, will be used, when needed, when researching the older loanwords in Finnish football language.

### **3. Data and methodology**

In this chapter the data and the methodology for this thesis are introduced. The backgrounds of the individual sportscasters are shown to the degree that they could be found out and the system of European football is explained in as much detail as was deemed necessary for the reader to know in order to understand the origin of the data.

#### **3.1. Data**

For the purposes of this research, four 90 minute long Finnish commentary tracks in football games from the top leagues of European association football have been analysed. The games have been selected according to availability in Finnish television, and in order for the corpus to comprise as many different football commentators as possible. The aim was to minimize the influence of other sporting jargons, so an attempt was made to select only commentators who do not commentate on other sports. As the commentators in games televised by the Finnish public broadcasting company Yle are not heard exclusively in football, the games were selected from the paid cable network MTV3 Total, formerly known as Canal+ and CMore. The four commentators who were selected are Mikko Innanen, Tero Karhu, Ville Lepistö and Tuomas Virkkunen. These commentators focus nearly solely on football. Where possible, the pregame talk in the studio is also included in the analysis. The regular guests in the studio are former footballers and coaches Pasi Rautiainen and Keith Armstrong. As Keith Armstrong is originally English, he has been excluded from this research.

The games analysed are from three of the top competitions of European association football, the English Barclays Premier League (two games), the Spanish Liga BBVA (the premier division of Spanish association football), and the Italian Serie A, the highest tier of Italian football. The English Premier League was established as the top tier of English football in 1992 for various economic and competitive reasons. It replaced the First Division of English Football League that had been formed in 1888. Today it is one of the most followed football leagues in the world with more and more money flowing in from abroad. The most successful team to date is Manchester United

with twelve titles<sup>1</sup>. The Spanish Liga BBVA, commonly known as La Liga is the top tier of Spanish football and the first division of the Spanish professional association Liga Nacional de Fútbol Profesional. The inaugural season was played in 1929, as was the inaugural season of the Italian Serie A. The reason for selecting these football competitions for the data is their current (at the time of taping in 2013) availability with Finnish commentary, high level of quality, and diversity of the competing teams.

The games were first recorded in standard definition video on the memory of a PVR (Personal Video Recorder) in order to be able to link the usages better to actual events on the field. The problem with this recording method, however, is that as PVRs record programmes from paid television networks in encrypted form, the files cannot be opened on any other device than the particular PVR on which the recordings were made. Furthermore, for decrypting the PVR uses a chip card provided by the cable company, which means that when that card is no longer used in the original PVR, the recordings may become unusable. With the speed of technological development today, this will inevitably happen in a few years' time. In order to avoid this future data loss, the audio track, which is the primary material, was recorded and encoded on a computer hard drive in low-quality mono .mp3 form with the open source program Audacity (version 2.0.3). The taping was started in the beginning of the pre-game talk, paused during possible commercials and stopped when post-game talk ended.

### 3.2. Methodology

In this chapter the method of analysis will be discussed in some detail, as well as the process of categorizing the data. Elimination of irrelevant words and expressions in the data will also be illuminated, and the final categories of analysis described.

As the constraints on both time and space must be taken into account, no attempt was made to transcribe the audio files. This was furthermore deemed unnecessary at this early stage in research into this field. The tapes were analysed by listening and taking notes of the relevant words and expressions, and then listening to the tapes again. At

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<sup>1</sup> Premierleague.com (2014). History of the premier league. <<http://www.premierleague.com/en-gb/about/history.html>>. Retrieved 7th October 2014.

this stage all recognizable borrowings, unidiomatic phrases, and expressions that are illogical or highly marked in Finnish were taken into account. At this stage of the research, when the object is to prove the phenomenon exists and to investigate the nature of typical cross-linguistic influence in football commentary, closer analysis and statistical perspective were deemed unnecessary. Furthermore, the scope of the material is not wide enough to permit a proper statistical and frequency analysis, and at this stage there is no data to compare the results to, as the research conducted in other languages is not statistical either. It is also not possible at the moment to see if those words and expressions that are not part of the official football terminology in Finland are exclusively found in the language of sportscasting, or if they are common, for example, in the actual talk at the field between coaches and players.

The findings were then grouped into three preliminary categories: (1) loan translations, (2) borrowings with varying degrees of adaptation and (3) unidiomatic, illogical, or highly marked expressions, the origins of which can be traced back to English. The relevance of those words and phrases which did not fit into any category was considered again, and if no connection to English was found, the words or phrases were discarded. Also those loans that are very common in Finnish outside the context of this study (such as *kampanja*, ‘campaign’; *passiivinen* ‘passive’; *tyyli* ‘style’ for example) were discarded if they could not be interpreted as new usages in a football-specific context. For example, the use of the word *kampanja* in place of football season stems from the English use of campaign in military context, so it could be included in the final categorization. These categories were then further narrowed into two: (1) Loan translations, (2) Borrowings, with subsections devoted to different types of loans.

As the language of football was first developed in England, and many other Germanic languages loaned part or most of their football terminology from English, it is assumed for the purposes of this study that all items in the Finnish material that display foreign influence and have a clear English equivalent come originally from English. The route of borrowing might be more complicated in the case of some older loans, and in some cases the phonological influence of Swedish, for example, is clear. *Pakki* ‘back’ should probably be \**päkki* if borrowed directly from English, although it might theoretically have been borrowed in written form. As it is very hard or even impossible to ascertain which is the case, words like *pakki* are treated as loans from English with the possible

influence of Swedish phonology. In the case of *prässi* 'pressure' or *prässätä* 'to put pressure on', the words have probably been borrowed from Swedish as well, but the use of the expression in football once again originates in English.

#### 4. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the theoretical framework behind the present research will be explained. As the field of language contact or contact linguistics is so wide, only the aspects that are deemed important for the research at hand will be discussed. The different types of contact situations will be explained shortly in section 4.1., before elaborating on the situation in the context of football commentary. General aspects of sports broadcasting will also be touched upon in section 4.2.1., before moving on to the borrowing tendencies seen in special languages in section 4.2.2., and specifically the presence of anglicisms. Lastly, some aspects of English and Finnish phonetics and morphology will be discussed, as they are important for understanding the processes of adaptation present in the data.

##### 4.1. Contact linguistics

The main theory used to support the assertions of this thesis is contact linguistics, which, roughly speaking, is the aspect of sociolinguistics that focuses on all situations where two or more languages are in contact, or influence each other in some way. It therefore encompasses all forms of borrowing, code-switching, creole and pidgin languages, bilingualism and second language acquisition, for example. The main source of this section is *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics* by Winford (2003), which is a basic introduction to all aspects within the field.

First of all, the use of two terms in this research should be made clear: bilingualism and multilingualism. These concepts have been difficult ones for linguistic studies and all sorts of definitions have been suggested. Mesthrie et al. (2000) use the term for a situation where there are two or more languages in use in a society, that is, on a very general level and from a societal perspective (pp. 38-39). In their classification, the term bilingualism subsumes that of multilingualism. Winford (2003) on the other hand uses both terms with bilingualism referring exclusively to a situation where two languages are in contact in a society or speech community, and multilingualism when more than two languages are in contact. He comments that the degree of bi- or multilingualism is a wide and varying spectrum with varying degrees of dominance and subordination (p.

26). This research acknowledges that bilingualism is a scale encompassing many levels of competence in two or more languages within a speech community. The degree of cross-linguistic influence varies according to many factors. Winford (2003) writes that “whenever people speaking different languages come into contact, there is a natural tendency for them to seek ways of bypassing the communicative barriers facing them by seeking compromise between their forms of speech” (p. 2). He goes on to explain that the result of this contact on the languages is determined by many factors of social and structural issues. The premise of the present research is therefore that as the speech community of football commentary in Finland is in essence a bilingual community with English and Finnish being the main languages the theories of bilingualism and contact linguistics are applicable to the language in use in football commentary.

In the field of contact linguistics, this research focuses on the influence that languages have on each other. Looking for a cover term for all kinds of influence has proved problematic. Transfer and interference have both been used, but Winford (2003) avoids these terms altogether and instead chooses to use terms like “contact-induced change” and “cross-linguistic influence”. According to him, both transfer and interference have such conflicting usage and connotations that they are not useful as cover terms (pp. 12, 16). Different type of cross-linguistic influence and the focus of this research are explained below, but on a general level it can be said that cross-linguistic influence is basically any change induced on a language by another language. These languages are often (and in this research) called the source language and the recipient language. The type of influence the source language has on the recipient language is determined by many linguistic and social factors, and therefore it is important to determine which aspects of contact linguistics are the most important for this research. In this case, the two languages that are discussed are Finnish and English. Of these, Finnish is clearly the recipient language, or RL, and English the source language, SL. The direction of influence relevant to this study is therefore SL -> RL, English -> Finnish. Some generalizations can be made for the types of influence that are typical for this situation on the basis of linguistic and social dominance of each language. In this case with the commentators working in Finland, being Finnish and using mostly Finnish in their work, the Finnish language is clearly linguistically dominant. Winford (2003) divides cross-linguistic influence to three broad categories: language maintenance, language shift and the creation of new languages. In language maintenance, the recipient

language is maintained, but with changes to lexicon and sometimes even structure induced by the source language. Language shift describes a situation where a speech community wholly or partially assumes the source language (p. 11). As the language of Finnish football commentary is still clearly Finnish, the two latter types of influence are out of the question. The focus of this study is therefore language maintenance.

In the context of this research, the recipient language is the native language of the speaker, and the influence of English is caused by both the conventions of sports broadcasting (which will be discussed below) and the social status of the language in the field of football. In linguistics, it was long maintained that the influence of sociocultural factors in language development is negligible and language development and change can be studied independently of its speakers (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988 pp. 1-5). Thomason and Kaufman in their ground-breaking book *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics* (1988) reject this position wholly. They write in their introduction that “the history of language is a function of the history of its speakers, and not an independent phenomenon that can be thoroughly studied without reference to the social context in which it is embedded.” This is the starting point and the basic premise of sociolinguistics and modern contact linguistics. Social prestige of the languages clearly has an influence, as does the “need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts” (Weinreich 1953 as cited in Winford 2003 p. 37). Winford (2003) goes as far as to write that “extralinguistic factors – the social ecology of the contact situation itself – can override any purely structural resistance to change”. It is therefore important to determine what kind of social factors influence the language contact in the context of football commentary. The special language used in the field of football (coaching and players’ talk) is heavily based on English as will be explained in the section 4.2.2. Furthermore, the international language used in the pitch is English. This would constitute a social advantage for those who are familiar with the English terminology, and therefore there is a social pressure that might cause some seepage into the recipient language used by the commentator. This social pressure combined with the tendency for varied expression in sports broadcasting (see section 4.2.1) should be a force strong enough to cause some cross-linguistic influence from English to Finnish. The need-factor is also a major one, as new concepts in football arise from time to time, and the terms associated with them are often English.



The expected extent of cross-linguistic influence is determined by the contact situation. As seen above, the contact situation in this case is that of a linguistically dominant recipient language and a source language with some social dominance. As mentioned earlier, the expected contact type is language maintenance. As the speech community in question is not equally bilingual and the sociocultural and structural factors are not particularly strong, the contact situation could be classified as “casual”, which is defined by Winford (2003) as marginal contact between languages caused by “travel, exploration, or conquest,... mass media, foreign language instruction, and the like”(pp. 30-31). Finnish football commentators are exposed daily to English mass-media articles on football and the English special language of football. The recipient language in the case of “casual” contact, according to Winford (2003), is influenced by the source language on mostly a lexical level, with morphology and syntax remaining intact (pp. 30-31). If the contact is determined to be slightly more intense, some structural changes may, according to Winford, take place. As is later explained, an idiom may be lifted from the source language wholly and inserted into the recipient language. This could be classified as code-switching, as the recipient language used is momentarily changed to the source language with all its morphology and structural aspects. Winford (2003) defines code-switching as “the alternate use of two languages within the same stretch of speech” (p. 14). It is also possible to classify the whole idiom as an individual lexical item and analyse the situation from the point of view of borrowing. As there is a conflict of classification, the concept of code-switching is examined in the next section before moving onto lexical borrowing, the most important type of cross-linguistic influence in relation to the present research.

#### *4.1.1. Code-switching*

The basic premise of contact linguistics, as expressed by Winford (2003) is that “most, if not all, languages have been influenced at one time or another by contact with others” (p. 2). This influence can be seen in different ways. Perhaps the most obvious way to display influence of another language is to switch completely over to that language in the middle of speech, or as Grosjean (1982) put it, to use “two or more different languages in the same utterance or conversation” (p. 145). This is called code-switching, as the speaker switches from one code (language complete with its

morphological peculiarities) to another. There is, however, no real consensus as to what should be considered code-switching and what should not, but the general view according to Winford (2003) is that code-switching takes place when “bilingual speakers alternate between codes within the same speech event, switch codes within a single turn, or mix elements from two codes within the same utterance” (p. 103). The most obvious example of this is when a Finnish learner of English, for example, is conversing in English with another Finn, and changes to Finnish in the middle of speech to communicate something she is not able to communicate in English. There is a problem with this definition, however, as most researchers, as Winford (2003) points out, distinguish between code-switching by competent individuals and “interlanguage of persons acquiring a second language” (p. 108). For this thesis it is therefore safest to use the definition of competent bilinguals switching codes within the same utterance. Also adding the Finnish morphological ending for plural to an English word in the middle of an utterance in English could be said to be code-switching, although not all researchers agree on this. As Winford (2003) points out, “there is disagreement among researchers whether all types of intrasentential alternation should be included within code-switching proper” (p. 105).

In Finnish sportscasting, code-switching should, based on the contact situation be a rare but not wholly non-existent phenomenon. It can be said that the commentators are bilingual in Finnish and English, and therefore it is possible to see some degree of code-switching in using borrowed words with an English plural ending, for example. On the other hand, the speaker does not necessarily consciously use the morphological structure of the source language, but might simply be borrowing a whole lexical item.

#### *4.1.2. Lexical borrowing and language maintenance*

Language maintenance, and specifically lexical borrowing, is the most important aspect of contact linguistics in the context of this research, as it is the most commonly seen type of cross-linguistic influence in the cases of language contact where the recipient language is linguistically dominant and the source language is socially dominant. In language maintenance, the borrowing is mostly visible as straightforward borrowing of lexical items with morphological and phonological adaptation to the recipient language,

or as Thomason and Kaufman (1988) put it, “typically, though not always, the borrowed words are treated as stems in the borrowing language – that is, they take the usual affixes for the appropriate stem class” (p. 37). The grammar of the recipient language is thus mostly kept intact and the borrowed items are adapted for use within the grammatical system of the recipient language.

As explained in section 4.1., language maintenance as a concept is used to describe a situation where the recipient language is maintained, but with addition of items from the source language. In a changing environment, language necessarily changes too, and language maintenance is basically a term used to describe this change in a situation where it is unlikely that morphological or grammatical change will take place, or a wholesale switching of language for that matter. Examples of lexical borrowing in the context of language maintenance are easily found in the Finnish language as a whole (nearly all loans from Swedish for example) and it would be very surprising to find a specialist language (in this case the language of football commentary) where language maintenance, and specifically lexical borrowing has no role whatever, especially in a situation where the source language is a socially dominant variant of English.

The normal mode of language maintenance in action, at least in cases where the contact between languages has not taken place over a considerable period of time, is according to Thomason and Kaufman (1988) that of borrowing an individual lexical item from the source language and adapting it so that it fits the morphology and phonology of the recipient language (i.e. becomes a stem in that language) (p. 37). An example related to football commentary might be the use of the word *kommentaattori* (‘commentator in the sense of an expert commentator that assists the principal commentator or sportscaster’). As the concept is relatively new (although the borrowing of the word in some other context might have happened much earlier) it was necessary to create a term for the concept that is not unnecessarily long and complicated. The English word commentator (possibly via German *Kommentator*) was a logical choice as it was already in use in the international language of football commentary. The adaptations are straightforward and the original word is almost usable as it is. The borrowing has most likely taken place from the written form of the word, as the word would likely otherwise have been borrowed as *\*kommenteittori* as per its English pronunciation. The word initial letter c is converted to k because of Finnish orthography, but that is not important in examining

the speech event, as the realisation is approximately the sound [k] in both languages. The only significant phonetic changes are the omissions of aspiration in stops, as aspiration is not typical for the Finnish language; the change of the schwa vowel [ə] to the Finnish [o] (perhaps also orthographically motivated), the use of [a:] in place of the diphthong [ei], which are all explainable by the original form being the written “commentator”, or the German Kommentator. The word in Finnish also adds an /i/ to the word-final position. Finnish has some native words that end in consonants, but according to Suomi et al. (2008) a word-final /i/ is usually added to loan words that would otherwise end in a single consonant that would conform to Finnish phonotactics (p. 60). This is always the case with word-final consonant clusters. The intermediate forms of \*[kom:entatori] and \*[kom:enta:tori] are both theoretically possible, but the word is realised as [kom.men.ta:t.to.ri] with syllabic boundaries marked by a dot. The word sounds unquestionably Finnish in this form. As the word final /i/ and the phonetic changes described earlier make the word fully conform to the Finnish grammatical system, all the grammatical and morphological suffixes of Finnish can be applied to the word in this form. As the phonology of the word is fully Finnish, it is according to van Coetsem (1988) totally adapted phonetically (p. 100). Phonological and morphological adaptation will be further discussed in sections 4.3.1. and 4.3.2.

## 4.2. Specialist languages

This brief chapter describes the language of football commentary as a specialist language (i.e. a language used by specialists in a certain field) with specific needs and peculiarities. These aspects are first described in the next section before moving on to some general remarks on the use of anglicisms in some specialist languages, with focus on the language of sport and its needs as described in the following pages.

### 4.2.1. *The language of football commentary*

The language of sport can be counted as a specialist language and the language of sport commentary shares many aspects with the language used in the field. The lexical aspect relating to the subject of this thesis will be more closely discussed in section 4.2.2. The

purpose of this section is to illuminate the way language is used in connection with the picture on the screen. Beard discusses the language of televised football commentary in his 1998 book *The Language of Sport*. According to him, the use of specialist language is criticised in many situations, but in television commentary it is justified. The point of television commentary is to clarify what happens on the field. The spectator does not need to be told everything that is happening as she can see what is going on in the screen (p. 72). Therefore, argues Beard, specialist language is used in television commentary for two reasons. Firstly, it shortens the speech. The example Beard uses is that of saying “Pearce’s cross” instead of saying “Pearce kicks the ball high from the side of the pitch into the middle” (p. 72). This is true of Finnish as well. The second reason is to add “colour and drama to the account” (p.72). This means that specialist languages give the commentator a greater vocabulary and therefore more possible words to use in similar situations, thus avoiding monotony. As these can be seen as universal tendencies in spoken commentary to visual stimulation, it is assumed in this thesis that Finnish television commentary functions similarly.

Other tendencies that Beard (1998) lists are figurative talk, use of present tense, omission of the verb, passive constructions, use of adverbial words and phrases, deictics and pauses (pp. 73-75). Of these, passive constructions are not used as much in Finnish commentary, perhaps because of the way the language works, but otherwise they can be said to apply to Finnish also.

Figurative talk is a common feature of football commentary. According to Beard (1998), it is very common to hear different kinds of stylistic figures, such as synecdoche (representation of part for whole) in cases like calling the goal “the net” and using “captain’s armband” to represent the load of responsibilities that goes with being the captain of a team. Metaphor is also common (p. 73). These can be seen in Finnish too. “Verkko” (net) is used very often for “maali” (goal), and all kinds of gun- and shooting-related metaphors are common in referring to kicking the ball.

The prevalent use of present tense should be more or less obvious, as the commentator is referring to something happening at the same time as he is speaking. The use of past tense is also common in the case of instant replays. The verb is often omitted in Finnish in the case of telling the viewer who passes the ball to whom, as the action is visible to

the spectator, but she might not be able to see who the particular players are. Adverbial phrases, according to Beard, however, are most commonly used to signpost the field, with words like “long”, “away”, “over” being fairly common, as well as “the far post” (p. 75). This kind of adverbial use is common in Finnish too.

Deictics and pauses, Beard (1998) explains, are universal features of commentary that accompanies a visual medium. Use of “this” and “that” and other such words to refer to what is seen on the screen is a useful device in television, as the spectator does not need to be told what is seen on the screen (p. 75). Pauses too are natural, as there are often stages in the play when the ball is passed around with no explanation needed. A shorter pause is often used in place of a connecting verb when the commentator is just saying the names of the players who are currently in possession of the ball. This, as Beard (1998) points out, is not possible in radio commentary (pp. 75-76).

Televised football commentary has its own rules and conventions that are fairly similar in both English and Finnish. English influence in Finnish football commentary is particularly visible because of the tendency to add colour to the narrative by using specialist language, which in the case of Finnish football terminology is the main source of English lexical items. Specialist languages in Finland and all over the world are often very much influenced by English. The reasons behind this will be explained in the next section.

#### 4.2.2. *Anglicisms in specialist languages*

Anglicism is defined in OED as “a characteristically English word, phrase, or idiom, esp. one introduced into a sentence in another language”. It is therefore, as a concept, closely related to borrowing. In many fields, English can be said to be a lingua franca. In international communication in these fields, it is therefore usual that the language used is mostly English, and the jargon or the language of the specified field in question makes use of English terminology already established (i.e. uses anglicisms), as for example, the language of economy in German (Bergien 2008, p. 183). This is the case also in the language of sport, as according to Pulcini (2008) “the English language has been a generous donor of vocabulary in many areas of entertainment and recreation, and

sport is one of the most important” (p. 141). It is possible too for people initiated in a common field to borrow from English in cases where expressing something in their native language would involve too much circumspection and too many inaccurate expressions. In the case of football language, one of the reasons for this phenomenon is, according to Pintarić (2008), prestige (p. 43). Many terms used in the literature or the language of the field might not have a counterpart in the speakers’ native language, which makes it all the more tempting to just use the English term in a more or less adapted form, i.e. borrow. The initiated listener understands immediately what is meant and the communication is more fluent and concise. In contact linguistics this phenomenon partly falls into the category of code-switching if the grammar and morphology of the source-language remain intact, i.e. two languages are used within the same utterance (Winford 2003, p. 103).

In the case of football commentary, it is usually not necessary to revert totally to the English language without any adaptation (code-switching), as the game has been present in Finland for over a century<sup>2</sup> and most of the vocabulary is already established. On the other hand, the context of televised commentary, as mentioned above, necessitates varied expression and avoidance of repetition, so there is a tendency amidst football commentators to use varying vocabulary, and the source of many of these expressions is either the special language of football as used in Finland between coaches and players for example, or the English language itself.

As the language used in the field and by coaches and theoreticians is to a certain extent influenced by English as the language that is mostly used on pitch in international football when communicating with foreign players, it is to be expected that the language of football commentary shares at least some of this influence.

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<sup>2</sup> Heikkinen, S. (2014). Kyläotteluista kansainväliseksi superlajiksi – jalkapallon historiaa. <<http://yle.fi/aihe/artikkeli/2014/06/03/kylaotteluista-kansainvaliseksi-superlajiksi-jalkapallon-historiaa>>. Retrieved 7<sup>th</sup> October 2014.

### 4.3. Adaptation

As Winford (2003) writes, “in cases of relatively light to moderate contact, lexical borrowings tend to be adapted in terms of the phonology and morphology of the recipient language, and become essentially indistinguishable from native items” (p. 46-47). As the contact situation in question was determined to be mostly casual (i.e. light), it is expected that phonological and morphological adaptation are present in the data, especially as the Finnish sound system differs fundamentally from that of English, as will be shown in the following subsection. Morphological adaptation will be presented in subsection 4.3.2.

#### 4.3.1. *Phonological adaptation*

Though the primary focus of this thesis is not on phonetics, it is important to understand some key aspects of the Finnish sound system in order to understand the mechanics of word borrowing. This section is therefore dedicated to a cursory glance on the field.

The most important aspect of Finnish sound system in connection to this study is that consonant clusters in native words are extremely uncommon, especially in the beginnings of words. According to Suomi et al (2008), Finnish in the past “tolerated only singleton consonants at word onset and all borrowed words were adapted into this pattern”, but this is not true anymore (p. 56). Therefore it follows that practically all words with word-initial consonant clusters are newer borrowings. Suomi et al. (2008) show that in the past, the tendency was for Finnish to drop the first phonemes in a cluster, as in strand (SW) > ranta (FI) (beach) (p. 55). In newer loans this is not necessarily the case, and therefore stressi (stress) does not become \*tressi or \*ressi in formal speech. In informal speech and dialects this is possible, although according to Suomi et al. (2008) the intermediary form \*tressi has not been witnessed (p. 56).

It can therefore be argued that if a word is clearly borrowed, but has lost phonemes from a consonant cluster in the beginning of the word, the loan is probably of older provenance. As the main argument of this thesis is that the language of football



commentary has a rich variation in both newer and older loan expressions compared to the standard language, it is expected that both these cases will be present in the data.

Consonant clusters in the middle of words are present in native Finnish words, but as Suomi et al. (2008) observe, longer consonant sequences CCC, and especially CCCC, mostly occur in recent loan words (p. 59). These kinds of long consonant sequences can therefore be expected too.

The problem with this kind of research is that it is in some cases nearly impossible to say if a word is borrowed from Swedish or English. As English is the main source of loans in modern speech, and the language of football in general, it can be assumed that most loans that are demonstrably new are of English origin. In older loans the case is not that simple, and for example the word "strategia", although sufficiently modern to retain its consonant cluster in word-initial position, could be interpreted as coming from either language. In these cases, as they come up in the data, the utmost will be done to find out the route of borrowing if a basic phonological analysis is not sufficient to determine the case.

The Finnish phonological system differs from English also on the level of individual phonemes. As mentioned earlier, in language maintenance the phonological system of the recipient language remains mostly intact, so it is expected that the influence of the English system is negligible at the level of individual phonemes and a near total transformation to the Finnish system has taken place. Some key differences between the English and Finnish systems are discussed below in order to give the reader an expectation of what kind of phoneme-level changes to expect.

An important characteristic of the Finnish sound system compared to English is the absence of some fricatives. Traditionally Finnish does not have the labiodental fricatives [f, v]. These both have been replaced by a [v]. The language has changed however, and, as Suomi et al. (2008) show, in modern speech and loans it is common to hear at least the voiceless fricative [f] (p.35), whereas the voiced is still absent (table, p. 25). The dental fricatives [θ, ð] are also totally absent from the Finnish sound system at present time (at least [ð] was present in the past as Suomi et al. (2008) point out (p. 34)), and are, according to Morris-Wilson (1981) often replaced in speech by the voiced

alveolar stop [d] or the voiceless dental stop [t], as they are the nearest equivalents (p. 64). This is why words like *thank* are often realised as [tæŋk]. According to Suomi et al. (2008) Finnish does not have aspiration of voiceless stops in any position (p. 26) so it is expected that this phenomenon is nearly or totally inexistent in words borrowed from English. In contrast, as Morris-Wilson (1981) writes, English has aspiration of the phonemes [t], [p] and [k] in beginnings of syllables when followed by a vowel sound (pp. 92-93). Furthermore, Finnish does not traditionally separate the voiced and voiceless stops as diligently as English, at least in some varieties (Suomi et al. 2008, p. 36), so some confusion between these phonemes might be expected, although Suomi et al. (2008) point out that [b] and [g], as indeed the sibilant [ʃ], are becoming regular phonemes in Finnish (p. 36). This however cannot be said about the earlier mentioned dental fricatives (p. 36). Morris-Wilson (1981) points out that the absence of aspiration leads to problems in distinguishing between the voiced and voiceless stops (p. 95). This might cause some confusion in the spoken forms of some borrowed words. There are some differences in the production of many sounds between the English and Finnish languages, for example the Finnish /t/ is always the dental variant [t̪], but as Morris-Wilson writes, the audible difference is very small (p. 95). Furthermore, as this is not a phonological research, thorough phonetic analysis was deemed unnecessary.

Many of the possible phonological adaptations depend also on Finnish vowel harmony, especially when, for example, a Finnish grammatical case ending is added to the word. The rules of vowel harmony might in some cases change the realisation of some vowels in the body of the word. But this process is largely dependable on the morphological adaptations that are taking place in the borrowing process.

#### 4.3.2. *Morphological adaptation*

In the case of casual contact between languages, as Winford (2003) argues, lexical borrowings are usually adapted both phonologically and morphologically (pp. 46-47). This is usually observed as borrowed elements being “treated like native stems of equivalent categorical status” and taking the bound morphology and other properties appropriate to the class they are assigned to (Winford 2003, p.48). The addition of case endings and creation of plural forms based on the grammar of the recipient language is

therefore expected in the data, and some possible scenarios must be elaborated on before analysing the data.

The most common form of morphological adaptation, when borrowing words into Finnish, is transforming the word to such a form that all the suffixes needed to present case, tempus, modus, or other aspects of the Finnish grammatical system can be applied to it. As was already shown in section 4.1.2., in cases of borrowed nouns where the word ends in a consonant, this is most often accomplished by adding a word-final /i/. As the hierarchy of borrowing words according to Muysken (1981, as cited in Winford 2003) begins with “nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions...”, with borrowing becoming increasingly unlikely (p. 51), it is probable that the borrowed words observed in the data will be mostly from the categories of nouns, adjectives and verbs. As the borrowings, as quoted from Winford (2003) in the beginning of this section, “are treated like native stems of equivalent categorical status” in the recipient language (p. 48), the morphological and grammatical aspects of these categories in Finnish will now be briefly presented.

As shown in Suomi et al. (2008), Finnish has a rich system of cases with fifteen different grammatical cases for nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numerals: nominative, genitive, partitive, accusative, inessive, elative, illative, adessive, ablative, allative, essive, translative, instructive, abessive, and comitative (table, pp. 10-11). Of these Suomi et al. (2008) point out that a few are used only rarely and not all words have distinguishable accusative forms (p. 11). Nevertheless, every noun, adjective, pronoun and numeral in Finnish has a distinguishable form in most of these cases in both singular and plural form (Suomi et al. 2008, p. 10). These forms are created by the addition of case endings and the possible plural marker (pp. 10-11). The English language uses prepositions and some other means to achieve these meanings. Table 1 shows the word *auto* ‘car’ in all these cases. The approximate translations presented in the table are not exhaustive, as many cases represent more than one semantic meaning depending on the surroundings of the word. The morphemes in the Finnish words have been separated by dashes.

Case:	Singular:	Plural:	Approximate translation:
Nominative	auto	auto-t	(this is/these are) a car/cars
Genitive	auto-n	auto-j-en	of a car/cars
Partitive	auto-a	auto-j-a	(she drives) a car/cars
Accusative	auto, auto-n	auto-t	(she crashes) a car/cars
Inessive	auto-ssa	auto-i-ssa	in a car/cars
Elative	auto-sta	auto-i-sta	from inside a car/cars
Illative	auto-on	auto-i-hin	into a car/cars
Adessive	auto-lla	auto-i-lla	on/by a car/cars
Ablative	auto-lta	auto-i-lta	from a car/cars
Allative	auto-lle	auto-i-lle	to (on) a car/cars
Essive	auto-na	auto-i-na	as a car/cars
Translative	auto-ksi	auto-i-ksi	(she transforms) into a car/cars
Abessive	auto-tta	auto-i-tta	without a car/cars
Instructive	-	auto-i-n (usually preceded by “kaksin”, rarely used with other words than “käsini”)	with (two) cars
Comitative		auto-i-ne- +possessive suffix	with (my/your/his/her/our/your/their) car

Table 1. The Finnish word “auto” in all the grammatical cases (case endings from Suomi et al. (2008) pp.10-11).

Finnish verbs are conjugated in person, number, tense and mood, which are, as Suomi et al. (2008) show, distinguished by different suffixes (p. 12-13). They go on to write that “a normally inflected verb has 528 finite forms...324 infinitive forms and about 11,000 participial forms that are inflected like nouns... [not including] derivational suffixes” (p. 14). If a borrowed English verb is fully adapted into Finnish, it will be theoretically possible to conjugate it in all verb forms possible in Finnish. For example the verb *taklata*, ‘to tackle’, is a fully adapted non-finite basic form of the verb, which can

therefore be conjugated in all the forms mentioned above. Obviously, a table showing all these possible conjugations would be too big for this thesis, but perhaps this gives the reader some idea how many different forms a borrowing might present itself in.

Other morphological aspects, such as possessive suffixes are discussed in the analysis section as they appear in the data. The Finnish grammatical system is so different from English that an exhaustive presentation is neither possible, nor useful here.

It is expected, as mentioned in section 4.1.2., that most of the borrowings in the data are adapted to at least some extent. As the application of all the suffixes that are needed to produce the aforementioned diversity of forms is impossible if a word is not adapted so that the suffixes can be applied, some degree of adaptation might be said to be almost mandatory. That is, if code-switching does not take place making all adaptation unnecessary.

## 5. Ristipallo or Krossi? - Presentation of the data

In this chapter I will group my findings into categories and analyse the findings. The categories are (1) Loan translations, (2) Borrowings. The degree of adaptation displayed in the borrowed words and expressions will be discussed as needed.

The aim of this chapter is to thoroughly analyse the data in light of the theoretical framework discussed earlier. The function of borrowing will be discussed in some length where it is possible to speculate on this. A table showing all the borrowings and their use in the analysed game commentaries is given in the appendix. The table shows all lexemes used in the data that have a counterpart in English, with the obvious exception of borrowings of such old provenance that they have become an integral part of the Finnish language (*tuoli* ‘stool’, for example). A table showing all the loan translations would be inconvenient for this thesis since, as will be seen, a vast amount of loan translations are present in the data, and the classification of some expressions as loan translation proved to be problematic.

### 5.1. Loan translations

The majority of English influence in my data are instances of clear loan translation. These are of the type *maalipotku* ‘goal kick’ and *vapaapotku* ‘free kick’. Many of these date from the early days of football in Finland, when the terminology was created, but some can be conclusively proven to have originated at a later date. As a method of ascertaining the date of borrowing to Finnish, I will be using the *Urheilusanakirja* (Dictionary of Sports) by Kaius Sulonen and Uolevi Leikkola (Sulonen & Leikkola 1952) and some additional sources which will be listed when necessary. The dictionary was published in 1952, and as a result, any items found in it must predate that year. The Finnish term given in the dictionary for *goal kick*, for example, is ‘maalipotku’ or ‘peliinpotku’, so the use of ‘maalipotku’ in the data cannot be a new phenomenon in sports commentary. ‘Peliinpotku’ on the other hand, does not make a single appearance in the data, nor have I ever heard it used in the context of sports commentary. The use of ‘maalipotku’ has therefore for some reason superseded ‘peliinpotku’. A general tendency seen in the data regarding loan translations is their age. Most can be found in

the sports dictionary of 1952, when almost none of the borrowings discussed later are present in that work. From here on, all lexemes appearing in italics are those that appear in the data. Their glosses will be presented in single inverted commas.

In many cases, it is impossible to prove the route of borrowing into Finnish. The influence of Swedish in some loan translations is obvious, and these shall be pointed out, but mostly it is impossible to ascertain if the expression was loaned directly from English, or if Swedish (or even German) acted as mediators. Nevertheless, in all of these cases it can be presumed that the words or expressions borrowed originated in English, as football is of English origin and the international vocabulary has always been and still is heavily based on English.

#### 5.1.1. *Early vocabulary*

Most of the loan translations in the data can be said with certainty to be at least 62 years old, as they appear in the sports dictionary by Sulonen and Leikkola (1952). They are part of the core vocabulary of football with such important concepts as *kulmapotku* ‘corner kick’, *maalipotku* ‘goal kick’ (although the word “maali” comes to Finnish from the Swedish “mål”, meaning goal in the sense of something to attain, or as the verb “måla” which means “to paint” or “to score a goal” [SAOB]), *vapaapotku* ‘free kick’, *rangaistusalue*, ‘penalty area’, *keskikenttä*, ‘midfield’, *hyökkääjä*, ‘attack (agent)’, *maaliverkko*, ‘goal net’, *vaihtopenkki*, ‘substitution bench’ (although “penkki” is an old loan from Swedish “bänk”), *lisäaika*, ‘added time’. There are many more such loan translations, but it was not deemed necessary to include all of the examples found in the data, as they are all of a similar construction and very frequent. So frequent in fact, that it is quite possible that some were missed in the process of gathering the data, as they do not appear as marked in Finnish and they are used outside televised football commentary by everybody who talks about football. Furthermore, as will be explained later, they could be viewed as artificial in nature, and not a product of natural language maintenance. Some curious cases are analysed more closely below.

*Erotuomari* ‘referee’ is curious in that it seems to be a loan translation from German “Schiedsrichter” ‘separation judge’. It is a compound of *ero* ‘separation’ and *tuomari*

‘judge’, which is an older borrowing of Swedish “domare” (SSA). Most of the old loan translations that form the core vocabulary of Finnish football can be traced into English in one way or another, but for some reason this item has been translated from German with no English counterpart at all. *Avustava erotuomari* (‘assisting separation judge’) or the colloquial synonyms *linjamies* ‘lineman’ and *linjatuomari* ‘line judge’ can however be traced to the English “assistant referee” and “linesman”.

The most common word for the action of kicking the ball towards the opposing team’s goal seems to be *laukaista* ‘to shoot’ or the noun *laukaus* ‘shot’. These can be viewed as loan translations from English, although the analogy between kicking the ball and shooting a gun is fairly obvious. This analogy is in fact seen in many other languages, Swedish and German for example.

Although the previously mentioned cases are very common in the data, they are all part of the very early vocabulary in Finnish football and most can be found in very early rulebooks of the sport. The reason for this is that they are all core terminology of the sport and when the sport was introduced to Finland, it was natural to translate the foreign words (be they English or Swedish or even German) into Finnish. The knowledge of foreign languages was not very common in the Finnish speaking population in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, so in order to make the terms understandable to the players, it was probably easier to translate the terminology directly. In the early rulebooks some terminology is still English. “Offside” for example appears in some early Finnish texts about the sport, but it was quickly replaced by the Finnish term *paiasio* (an artificial noun formation of the state of being without something “paiasi”). This is the only word that appears in the data when the concept of being offside is used. *Olla paiasio* or *joutua paiasioon* (‘to be offside’ or ‘to get into offside position’) are the most common situations where it is used. The core terminology of the sport is still overwhelmingly Finnish, with most of the expressions being loan translations of the original terminology or semantic loans from Swedish. These early loan translations of the core terminology can therefore with good reason be said to be artificial in nature and not a natural case of language maintenance where the speaker for one reason or another borrows words or expressions from a socially dominant source language. In the early stages of Finnish football when the Finnish core terminology was developed, the contact between English and Finnish was minimal



compared to the present when nearly every Finnish person under sixty is at least to some extent competent in English and the world of football is international to the point of being global with English as the lingua franca between coaches and foreign players. For this reason, the social dominance of English in even Finnish football speech is much greater today than it was a hundred years ago. The following cases of loan translation are therefore a very different matter. They are mainly unidiomatic lexemes in Finnish which have clearly been translated from English, either by the commentator in question in order to vary his expressions or through some other process in the popular use of language. Some are cases where Finnish does not have an approximate parallel for an idiom, and others have been caused by other processes. The reason why the commentators chose to use some of these phrases will be speculated upon.

#### 5.1.2. *New loan translations*

*Ristipallo* is a nearly straightforward translation of the English ‘cross-field ball or pass’ or ‘cross’ as it is often abbreviated in speech. Only the middle item “field” is missing. The word *pallo* is of course a borrowing from a Germanic word meaning ‘ball’, but the borrowing is of such ancient provenance that it does not have any connection to the present research. *Ristipallo* means a high pass from one side of the field to another so that the ball crosses the field. The expression cannot be shortened to \*risti, like its synonym *krossipallo* or just *krossi*, which will be discussed in section 5.2. *Ristipallo* is interchangeable with both of these, and can even be replaced by a longer phrase that explains the action precisely. As there are ways of explaining the phenomenon in Finnish, it is reasonable to assume that the reason this expression is used is either ease of speech (it is shorter) or variable expression in football commentary. As the phenomenon is described in all of these ways in my data, the probable reason for the use of this loan translation and the alternative borrowed item discussed elsewhere is to make the language of the speech event, namely commentary, more varied.

Football is a sport that is developed continuously. If a new technique is first used in an English speaking environment, it is reasonable to expect that when the technique spreads to another area, the word for it is also borrowed, either as a loan translation or a borrowing with some adaptation. The technique of “push-and-run” or “wall pass” or

“one-two” is an example of this. This technique, as Wilson (2010) relates, was developed by Tottenham hotspurs in the 1950’s under the management of Arthur Rowe (Chapter 8). The Finnish term for this technique is *seinäsyöttö* (‘wall pass’), often abbreviated as just *seinä* (‘wall’). The technique is today mostly referred to as “push-and-run” in English, but an alternative name is “wall pass”, which, according to OED appeared first in 1958. The technique involves a player running with the ball and passing it to another player, who then quickly passes the ball forward back to the first player. It can be said with near certainty that the Finnish term is a loan translation from English, as it is an exact translation (with *syöttö* being an old loan translation of “feed”, which used to mean passing the ball in English [OED]), and there is no physical wall on the field, so the usage is not an obvious one. This is a textbook example of language maintenance: a new phenomenon appears and the word for it is borrowed from a socially dominant language, or at least from the language that was used to describe the phenomenon originally. The word was probably first used by coaches and players and later adopted by the sportscasters as a useful phrase to describe an increasingly common phenomenon. In today’s football, the technique of *seinäsyöttö* (push-and-run) is used to such extent that the word is used in nearly every game commentary. It is so common, in fact, that every instance of it does not need to be explicitly mentioned by the sportscaster, and mainly the exceptionally beautiful manoeuvres or those that lead to a goal are described by using the word.

### 5.1.3. *Translated idioms*

Some idioms are also translated from English language into Finnish, and cause some curious phrases to enter the data. For example in the game between Deportivo and Zaragoza the following phrase was observed:

(1) *(pelaaja) ajettiin kahdella keltaisella suihkuun.*

’(the player) was sent with two yellows to the showers’

As can be seen from the translation, both *keltaisella* ‘with yellows’ and *suihkuun* ‘to the showers’ are borrowed straight from English. The idea of yellow cards acting as warnings and red cards as a means of showing the player that he is sent off originated in

the 1970 World Cup<sup>3</sup>, and therefore the words used in Finnish cannot possibly be older than that. It is however probable, that *keltainen kortti* ‘yellow card’ as it also appears in the data is not a translation loan as such, but merely an observation: the player is concretely shown a yellow card. Two yellow cards are equal to a red, and therefore the player in question here is sent off, which is curiously presented in the Finnish with *suihkuun* ‘into the showers’. This is an example of using a part as a substitute for the whole, as the trivial part of going to the shower room is used to denote the whole process of being sent off. This, as was observed in section 4.2.1., is a tendency seen in the language of televised sports commentary. The exact same phrase is used often in English football commentary. The article “England 0 Germany 1 comment: Committed Steven Gerrard a relic of a bygone era” by Garside<sup>4</sup> contains the phrase, for example. It is therefore probable that at least the use of showers to refer to the sending off is a translation loan from English.

Another usage that is marked in the Finnish language was observed in the game between Lazio and Juventus:

(2) *kaikkien aikojen sukellus pitäisi nähdä*

‘the most impressive dive in history should be seen’

Here the interesting word is *sukellus*, ‘dive’, which is used to describe the action of a player falling on purpose and making it appear that an offence was committed by a player of the opposing team. This is done in order to gain an advantage, and is considered cheating. The word *sukellus* is used, according to *Nykysuomen sanakirja*, mainly in connection to diving underwater, but as the word ‘dive’ has been appropriated in English to describe the aforementioned action in football, it appears that the word *sukellus* is used in Finnish football commentary in the same way. There could be other possible ways to describe the action in Finnish, and therefore the usage is probably a translation loan, an imitation from an earlier usage in a socially dominant language.

The data also contained some idioms that are not specific to football, but do have an English origin. These were excluded from the research, as they are not strictly speaking

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<sup>3</sup> Fifa.com (2002). Ken Aston – the inventor of yellow and red cards. <<http://www.fifa.com/aboutfifa/footballdevelopment/technicalsupport/refereeing/news/newsid=80623/index.html>>. Retrieved 7th October 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Garside, K. (2013). England 0 Germany 1 comment: Committed Steven Gerrard a relic of a bygone era. The Independent online, 20 November 2013, retrieved 29 September 2014

a case of English influencing the language of Finnish football commentary. It is still necessary for the reader to understand that in addition to the previously mentioned idioms that are more or less specific to football (or at least the language of team sports), the data contained idioms that are used more widely in Finnish, and did not originate in football. The following phrase, for example, was observed in the game between Lazio and Juventus:

(3) *scudetto alkaa olla Torinolaisten taskussa*

'the scudetto is starting to be in the Turinians' pocket'

The idiom of being in a person's pocket is according to OED used to mean being "under a person's control or influence; (of an outcome, etc.) assured, guaranteed". The meaning of "assured, guaranteed" is found in this example, as the phrase is used by the commentator to say, that it is beginning to look certain that Juventus will win the Italian championship. The idiom is, however, used in Finnish in a much wider context, as are other idioms not used as an example here. They are used in football commentary probably approximately at the same rate as they are used in casual speech by Finns. As English can be seen as a socially dominant language in this context as well as a prestige language, it is possible that the rate of usage is even higher than in normal casual speech, but that cannot be ascertained until a proper statistical analysis of football commentary is performed. Another example could be *pitkässä juoksussa* from the game between Reading and Southampton, which is used in Finnish in the same way as its English original "in the long run". These translated idioms rile some language purists in both casual speech, as well as modern journalism, part of which televised football commentary is.

With the method used in this research and the scope of the material (four games of 90 minutes each) it is impossible to be certain that all the translation loans were noticed. It is in fact certain that some were not, as many of the idioms that are used in football commentary (that have some English influence) are so assimilated into Finnish and so unmarked that it is practically impossible to pick them up from ninety minutes of rapid speech. Furthermore, as it is practically impossible to determine whether there is in fact English influence in some idioms or not, it was deemed unnecessary to include these in the analysis. An example that neatly illustrates this point was observed in the game between Lazio and Juventus:

(4) *nyt sieltä Petković piiskaa omia (pelaajiaan)*

'now there is Petković whipping his own (players)'

At the moment when this was said, the screen shows the Lazio coach Petković yelling at his players from the side of the pitch. As the verbs “to whip” and “ruoskia” mean the same thing and both are used also figuratively to spur someone on, and the figurative use rises directly from the concrete act of whipping a horse, it is impossible to say if there is English influence present or not. The same is true of the expression *Deportivon peräsimessä*, ‘at the helm of Deportivo’ used in the game between Deportivo and Zaragoza. The expression “at the helm” or “peräsimessä” is used in both Finnish and English to denote being in charge. The origin is obvious, as the helmsman is in charge of the boat, so there is no sure way of connecting the expressions to each other. The same game has the idiom *kiehua yli* ‘to boil over’, which displays the same problem.

The aim of this section was to illustrate what kind of loan translations there are present in the data. The nature of many of these loan translations can be said to be artificial, as they were created for the core terminology of the game in the early days of football in Finland. The data also contained some newer translation loans, and some idioms that are of probable English origin. As loan translations are by their nature translations into native Finnish language, they are hard to observe in speech, and other than football terminology only some idioms that were observed were presented as examples. In the case of many idioms, they were deemed to be originally used in contexts other than football, and in the case of many more it was impossible to determine if there was English influence present or just similar developments in language usage. The core terminology and idioms influenced by English found in the data were mostly loan translations. The next section focuses on borrowings and their adaptation, which are mostly individual lexemes used for the needs of televised commentary, never core vocabulary or longer idioms.

## 5.2. Borrowings

In this section, I will give examples of borrowed words and expressions found in the data, in other words lexical borrowings that are not loan translations. Most of the cases given here display at least some degree of adaptation. The mechanisms of and the reasons behind these cases of adaptation will be explained to the degree it is necessary in each of the cases presented here. All the borrowings observed in the data that have a counterpart in English and are not an integral part of the Finnish language yet, are gathered in a table in the appendix. Of special interest are those that are exclusive to football (or other sports through their use in football) or have a specific meaning in football. In the table, these are shown in bold.

The most obvious examples of English influence in the data are borrowings, normally presented with at least some degree of adaptation in order to fit the Finnish phonological and morphological patterns. As mentioned earlier, the immediate source language of certain words and expressions is practically impossible to determine, but in most cases it can be said with some certainty that the original source language in context of football is English, as English is the primary language of the international football community. Whether the word was borrowed to Finnish directly, or via Swedish or German, matters only when analysing the possible adaptation. The history of some of the words analysed goes much further back than English, but the possible Proto-Germanic or Greek origins of the words in question hardly matter when the time-frame of borrowing into Finnish is more or less a hundred years back from the present. In the rare cases where something in the word-form used points clearly to an intermediate language, appropriate measures will be taken to determine the language in question and the signs that point to it will be thoroughly analysed.

### *5.2.1. Borrowed expressions in general use in Finnish*

A common phenomenon in football commentary is to use language that approaches the language of normal speech. Finnish everyday speech has an increasing amount of anglicisms, and this development is visible in football commentary too. A good example of this is found in my data in the game between Liverpool FC and West Ham,

where the commentator uses the phrase *mahtavaa rispektiä* ('powerful respect') in a situation where the stadium holds a minute of silence in commemoration of the Hillsborough disaster, an accident that took the lives of 96 Liverpool supporters in 1989. This phrase displays both morphological and phonological adaptation. The key part in the phrase is *rispektiä*. It is the partitive form of the singular *rispekti*. Finnish words of multiple syllables end in a consonant sound only rarely, so the end vowel /i/, which is very common in Finnish noun loans, is added. This also makes it easier for the word to be adapted into the Finnish grammar system, and only the addition of the case suffix -ä is needed to form the partitive, which is mandatory in this position. Phonologically the word follows the original English 'respect' closely, with the only obvious change being the transplanting of the English /r/ sound with the Finnish alveolar trill sound. Also the stress pattern is changed to fit the Finnish word-initial stress pattern. Another possible form of the word in Finnish would be "respekti", which follows the English orthography rather than the spoken language. This form is not found in my data, but there is no reason why it should not exist. The numerous examples in the data of borrowings that follow the English orthography rather than the spoken form prove this, and some examples of this will be analysed later.

Other examples that fit the previously mentioned category are *debyytti*, *maksimi*, *magia*, *startti*, *mentaliteetti*, *traditio*, *aktueli*, *intensiteetti*, *maksimi*, *ikoni*, *paniikki*, *presenssi*, *kontakti*, *kontrolli*, *statistiikka*, *emootiot* ('emotions'), *teknologia*, *briiffata* 'to brief', *dominoida* 'to dominate', *operaatio* (in the sense of a surgical operation, used in the game between Liverpool and West Ham), and many more. Some of these words have been borrowed into Finnish a long time ago, and in many cases it is impossible to determine if they have been borrowed from English or another Germanic language or in some cases a Romance language. A closer analysis of most of these words is therefore not deemed fruitful for this study, as the focus is on English influence on football commentary. Suffice it to say that, (as was speculated in the previous section concerning translated idioms that are used in wider contexts in Finnish) it is possible that because of the social dominance and prestige of English in the language contact situation under scrutiny, these borrowings have a higher rate of usage than in normal casual speech, even though a statistical analysis would be needed to confirm this.

The way these words lifted from the language of casual Finnish speech are used is neatly illustrated by an example from the studio commentary of the game between Reading and Southampton. The studio commentator Pasi Rautiainen uses the following phrase:

(5) *saadaan nähdä Nikke (Niklas Moisander) näillä skriineillä*

‘we will be able to see Nikke on these screens’

The lexeme in question here is *skriineillä* ‘on the screens’. *Skriini* is an obvious borrowing from the English “screen”, with only minimal phonological adaptation (replacing the English /r/ with the one used in Finnish) and the morphological addition of /i/ to the end of the stem. The form in the example is a plural adessive, which means that the /i/ is preceded by an /e/ that marks the plural. The Finnish word “näyttö”, which means the same thing, could have been used, but the commentator chose the lexical borrowing mentioned. This might be caused by the dialectal background of the commentator, but the tendency with all the commentators seems to be to use at least some anglicisms lifted from the language of casual speech.

Surprisingly, practically the only word appearing in unadapted form is one of these anglicisms that are lifted from common speech. In the game between Lazio and Juventus the commentator uses the phrase:

(6) *okei tämä on selvä steitment (/steitment/)*

‘okay this is a clear statement’

There is practically no phonological adaptation and no morphological adaptation at all. The expected form with the /i/ usually added to the end of the borrowed word would be \*steitmentti, and there is indeed no reason why this form might not exist. The data displayed only the unadapted form. The same game had also the word *about* ‘about’ used in the same position as its English counterpart would be used. The word is somewhat adapted phonologically, and the language system does not change, so it can not be classified as code-switching, even though it is tempting to do so. So clear is the influence of English in this particular case.



### 5.2.2. Borrowings with meanings specific to football

The data contained, in addition to those lexemes introduced earlier, many lexemes that have a particular meaning in football, or see no use elsewhere. All of these are shown in bold in the table in the appendix, and important examples are analysed below, and the possible reasons behind their borrowing will be speculated on.

One of the most regularly used borrowed expressions in the data is *prässi* (noun, ‘pressure put on a player of the opposing team who currently has the ball’). Also the Finnish equivalent *paine* (‘pressure’) is used, but *prässi* is almost as common if not more so. Also the verb formation *prässätä* (non-finite) is used. The word itself in Finnish means a flower press or trouser press, and is probably borrowed from Swedish, with its ultimate origin being the Latin verb “pressare” (SAOB). The earlier written variant of the Swedish word, according to SAOB, was “präs”, which would explain the Finnish form *prässi*. The influence of English is therefore seen in the context of its use in the exact same position as “pressure” is used in English football commentary.

The same can be said about the word *pakki* ‘back’, which is used often in place of another word in Finnish for a defending player, *puolustaja* ‘defender’. As mentioned earlier, it is impossible to determine whether the word is an orthographical, adapted borrowing from English (with the intermediate form \*bakki that appears in old rulebooks) or a phonetic (or even an orthographic one) from the Swedish “back”, which also means a defender in the context of football. As the Swedish term is almost certainly influenced by the English one, this word can also be deemed as probably being of English origin. The word has other meanings in Finnish too, a common one being the reverse gear in a car. This meaning is also present in Swedish, so the probability of Swedish being the immediate source of borrowing is very high. Also the word *boksi* ‘box’ is used to describe the penalty zone in front of the goal, with *rangaistusalue* ‘penalty zone’ (an old loan translation of similar type to those discussed in section 5.1.1.) being the native Finnish equivalent. The usage is mostly seen in connection with the verb “tulla” (to come) or “olla” (to be), with one example extracted from the data realized as follows:

(7) *(pelaaja) tulee hyvin boksiin*

‘(the player) enters well into the box (penalty zone)’

The word has only negligible phonological adaptation, and the familiar /i/ added to the stem to fit it into the Finnish grammatical system.

The three examples (*prässi*, *pakki*, and *boksi*) shown above are among the most often used borrowings found in the data. The probability of Swedish influence is high in all, and they are probably of comparatively old provenance when speaking of football lexicon. Most of the borrowings found in the data do not see frequent use, and are possibly used only once or twice, but these three, with *blokata* ‘to block’ or *blokki* ‘a block’, which are analysed later are exceptions. Both are useful in breaking the monotony of speech and both are also shorter than their native Finnish counterparts.

Another interesting example of a word commonly used elsewhere that has a specific meaning in football is *kombinaatio* (‘combination or series of passes’ in this context or “team-work” as the *Urheilusanakirja* by Sulonen and Leikkola [1952] has it). In common Finnish, the word “kombinaatio” can mean a combination in general, but in football speech the term is restricted to the narrow meaning of a combination of passes. Once again, it is impossible to determine the origin of this borrowing, as Swedish and German both have the word in the form “kombination” (Sulonen and Leikkola, 1952, p. 137). The most probable case is that the narrow meaning of the word in all these languages derives from the English usage that probably appeared first as the tradition of the game is longest there. In any case, the word in its wider meaning is probably an older loan as it is heavily adapted into Finnish and appears as “kombinatsioni” in the *Tietosanakirja* (1909-1922), the first Finnish dictionary. This reference work lists it as being of French origin, but the form “kombinatsioni” points more towards a German origin as the letter “t” in German “Kombination” is realised as the affricate /ts/. The Finnish pronunciation displays evidence of the influence of orthography, as the “t” in the middle of the word is pronounced as /t/ in Finnish and all the other languages mentioned have it realised as a sibilant or an affricate. Also the long vowel before the letter “t” is realised as a long /a:/ when the other languages mentioned have it realised as a diphthong or a short vowel. This is in contrast to the form displayed in the *Tietosanakirja*, which means that the adaptation process has continued. As mentioned above, the word has a restricted meaning in football speech and is used exclusively in the narrow meaning by the sportscasters in the data. Therefore the semantics of the expression can be said to have been “re-borrowed” in the context of football even if the

word itself is an older loan. This word can be even contracted as *kombo* ‘combination’, which makes an appearance in the game between Lazio and Juventus.

The most interesting cases of borrowing in the context of this research are the formations that appear only in context of football and those that see limited use elsewhere, but originate from football speech. Many of the following items are used regularly in the data, but some are used only once or twice by an individual sportscaster. Personal idiom obviously has a big influence on the frequency of foreign elements in one’s speech, as can be seen in the table in the appendix, but some usages are common for all the sportscasters.

A very common example of the above-mentioned type of borrowing is *derby* in Lazio-Juventus April 15<sup>th</sup> 2013 or *derbi* in Deportivo-Zaragoza April 6<sup>th</sup> 2013 (‘local derby, match between teams from the same district’ [OED]). The usage of –y or –i in the word final position depends on the commentator. The borrowing was indeed observed in all the games analysed. According to OED, the word derives from the name of Derby, a town where an annual horse racing event has been contested since 1780. The term Derby first meant only the horse race in question, but has since been applied to any important sporting event. The Finnish term has the exclusive meaning of a local derby. The lexeme is highly context dependent. If the game is not a local game or no such game is going to take place in the near future for either team, there is no need to use the term. From the experience gathered by the writer as a casual spectator of the sport, as well as the presence of the word in all the games analysed, a conclusion can be drawn that the usage is highly common in the right context. Another word with the same meaning that is pure Finnish is *paikallisottelu*, which also appears in the data. Both are used, so neither term has completely replaced the other. The nature of football commentary as a medium of communicating game events using a varying and non-monotonous vocabulary has probably caused the word *derby* to be borrowed into this medium. It is used in other media too, newspapers for example. It is probably also used in the field and by coaches. It is therefore a highly acceptable alternative to the Finnish word. The form *derby* is a completely unadapted borrowing from the English orthography. The form *derbi* in contrast displays some adaptation as the vowel in the word final position is changed to the more common –i rather than retaining the original but highly marked –y ending. In spoken Finnish, the /d/ and /b/ sounds tend to lose their

voiced character and approach the voiceless plosives /t/ and /p/ without the aspiration that is usually present in English. Therefore the word, when used by a Finnish speaker might sound almost like /terpi/ to a native speaker of English. Phonological adaptation is therefore present in this sense. On the whole, it can be concluded based on the negligible adaptation that the borrowing is relatively recent.

Of this type is also the word *krossi* or *krossipallo* ‘cross-field pass’. This usage is rather usual in football commentary, as the phenomenon it describes is a fairly usual one. An alternative form also exists, *ristipallo*, which is an exact loan translation of cross ball, and has been discussed earlier. *Krossi* is a clear, relatively recent borrowing straight from English, as Swedish football commentary does not use the word in such a form, and cross in other senses is “kors” in Swedish. Furthermore, the term does not appear in the sport dictionary of 1952 (Sulonen and Leikkola). The only phonological adaptation (besides small differences in the individual sounds and the absence of aspiration) is the Finnish /r/ sound. The /i/-ending is usual in Finnish words, and can be viewed as a morphological adaptation for easier application of Finnish grammar to the word, or simply an addition for ease of pronunciation. Another word that has some of the same connotations as *krossi* is *keskitys* (‘a high pass to a good position’) or *keskittää* which is the verb formation. It is interesting to note that the verb that could be derived from *krossi*, “krossata” is never used. *Krossi* is used only in noun positions like *krossi takatolpalle* (a cross to the far-post’). From this it could be deduced that the word is not established enough to be used naturally, it can only be used in a noun position, or possibly as an object \**pistää krossi* ‘to make a cross’. This is not present in the data but it could well exist. In contexts outside of football “krossi is used in Finnish to mean “a dozen dozens”, same as the English word “gross”. It is also used as an abbreviation of sorts in “krossipyörä”, ‘cross-country bicycle’, but as the first one is not borrowed from the same root, and the second is a contraction of “cross-country”, it is reasonable to state that the word *krossi* has been borrowed into the language of football commentary separately. The route of borrowing could be via the common jargon of football, as *krossi* is a useful word when learning the game, and shorter than the closest approximate synonym, *ristipallo*. In football commentary, these words are interchangeable. Both are used, probably because of the need for varied expression.

Of interesting provenance is the use of *tsippi* ('chip-shot') in both football and golf. The first recorded use of the term in English is from 1909 in relation to golf (OED). The first use of the term in connection to football in the OED is from 1961. In Finnish, the word is used in both contexts, and it appears in my data too. The techniques and shots in both sports are of a similar nature: a high, slow shot achieved by hitting under the ball with either foot or club. As the history of golf in Finland began in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>5</sup>, it is possible that the borrowing took place first in golf, and only later in football. The most probable alternative is that the word was borrowed separately into both sports as it exists in both senses in the source language. Swedish has the word in both senses as "chipp" (SAOL) but it is impossible to determine from which language the word was borrowed, as the orthography and pronunciation in English and Swedish are practically identical.

Although the nature of these borrowings is that of individual lexemes, it is useful to provide some examples with context to show how the words can be used in Finnish. The studio commentary before the game between Reading and Southampton contained the following:

(8) (*pelaaja*) *sopivana subbina näyttää nuorille*

'(the player) as a suitable substitution shows the young ones'

The interest here lies in the word *subbina* which is the essive of the word "subbi". It is a contracted borrowing of 'substitution' with a very curious long /b/ in the middle. The word is also used as /subi/, but the data has no examples of this. The familiar addition of /i/ to the end of the stem is present and the word is therefore morphologically adapted to receive the -na suffix that makes it an essive. The borrowing is probably influenced by English orthography as the pronunciation of the English original should cause the borrowing to be /sʌbbi/ or /sʌbi/, both of which are theoretically possible, but were not observed in the data.

Another example that can be presented in context was also found in the game between Reading and Southampton is:

(9) *Boruc teki useammankin maailmanluokan seivin*

'Boruc made more than one world-class save'

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<sup>5</sup> Tilander, L. Suomen golfin historia. <[http://www.sghs.fi/historia\\_suomi.html](http://www.sghs.fi/historia_suomi.html)>. Retrieved 7th October 2014.

*Seivi* and the English equivalent ‘save’ as nouns denote the action of the goalkeeper blocking a shot. The relationship is immediately obvious as the Finnish borrowing differs only marginally from the phonetic realization of the English original. In this case orthography has no influence at all on the Finnish word. Here again the familiar /i/ is added to the stem, and therefore the word can be used in all the declinations available in Finnish, the one here being the genitive in object position, i.e. accusative. The native Finnish equivalent *torjunta* ‘save’ and its verb form *torjua* ‘to save’ are heard often in the data as well. Another frequently used lexical borrowing for the same action can be seen in the following extract from the game between Deportivo and Zaragoza:

(10) (maalivahti) *blokkaa sen laukauksen*

‘(the goalkeeper) blocks the shot’

The verb in question *blokata* ‘to block’ in the non-finite form has only negligible phonological adaptation and the usual addition of /a/ to the stem, possibly influenced by Swedish, to make it fit the conjugation pattern of Finnish. The borrowing, with its noun counterpart *blokki* ‘a block’ is a highly frequent one as evidenced by its presence in all the analysed game commentaries (see Appendix).

Similar to *seivi* in having only negligible adaptation is *piikki* ‘peak position’. The word could either be a nearly unadapted borrowing of the English word “peak” that is used with similar meaning, or merely a similar use of the Finnish “piikki”, which is an early borrowing from Swedish (Häkkinen 2009, p. 916). The way that it is used would suggest the former. It is seen in inessive positions, *piikissä* “in peak position”, for example. The word is used in all the game commentaries analysed.

The data has one very interesting example of an intermediate stage of adaptation. In the game between Liverpool and West Ham, the commentator uses the phrase *käsittämätön triplaus* (‘unfathomable trebling’), which makes seemingly no sense, until it is realized that the word *triplaus* is not in fact the sometimes used borrowed and adapted version of “trebling” from the verb “to treble” (the Finnish non-finite verb is “triplata”) but rather an adapted form of the word “dribbling” derived from the verb “to dribble”. The English verb is used to mean “to keep (the ball) moving along the ground in front of and close to one by a rapid succession of short pushes, instead of sending it as far as possible by a vigorous kick” (OED) and has been used in this sense at least since 1863 (OED). The adaptation process has been very nearly the expected one. The voiced stops

/d/ and /b/ of the verb “to dribble” that are uncommon in normal Finnish have been replaced by the voiceless stops in the same location of pronunciation (/t/ and /p/). Also the pronunciation of the letter “r” has been changed to the Finnish trill. Morphologically the verb has been adapted to the Finnish pattern of non-finite verbs by forming the non-finite form “riplata”. A noun has then been created from this non-finite form in the very usual pattern of *triplaus* that is found in the data. The reason this particular item in the data is of special interest is that a form of the word exists that displays signs of even further adaptation. As was shown in section 4.3.1., word initial consonant clusters are uncommon in Finnish, so the expected final adapted version of the word should be “riplaus”. This does indeed exist, and any Finnish follower or player of football can attest to the fact that although the further adapted form does not appear in the data, it is in fact the more common of the two with its verb cognates “riplata” and “riplaila”. The question then arises: why has the commentator elected to use the intermediate stage? It might be a back-formation towards the original word of the source language in order to gain more prestige for the word, or it might simply be a question of personal idiom of the commentator. The meaning of the word has furthermore evolved in both English and Finnish. In Finnish the word is mostly used to describe the act of “dribbling” the ball forward and passing defensive players using different evasive manoeuvres. The mundane act of running with the ball is in any case mostly described with the word *kuljettaa* (‘to transport’), so the word is not needed in this sense. The word *harhauttaa* (‘to deceive’) is the most common word used to describe the evasive manoeuvres, so the word *triplaus* or “riplaus” remains relatively unusual. Nevertheless, it provides an interesting example of different stages of adaptation in use. The possibility of Swedish being the immediate source language cannot be ruled out, as the verb “att dribbla” (‘to dribble’) is used there at least to some extent (SAOB).

The aim of this chapter was to give the reader an idea of what kind of different borrowings and loan translations there are in the data and into what type of categories they fall, as well as provide some context for the usage of these lexemes and show the process of adaptation witnessed in them. The next section will further elaborate on the reasons behind these borrowings with regard to the theoretical background of language maintenance and specialist languages, as well as make some general remarks on the nature of the influence of English that is visible in the data.

## 6. Discussion

In this chapter I intend to further discuss the data and make connections to the theoretical framework. The adaptation present in the data will be discussed with language maintenance in mind and the reasons behind these borrowed expressions being used will be speculated on. The findings will be compared and contrasted with earlier research where possible, and the different reasons for borrowing will be further examined.

### 6.1. Loan translation and borrowing in context

The Finnish language is so different from the major source languages of borrowing in the data that adaptation of the borrowed items tends to be quite heavy both for phonological and morphological reasons. This is seen in this research too as practically all items discussed above have been adapted at least to the extent that the phonemes not present in Finnish have been replaced by ones that are. Also nearly all the items have been morphologically adapted to fit the Finnish grammatical pattern. Loan translation is also very common, especially in the older terminology of the sport, and could in some sense be seen as a form of extreme adaptation. The early Finnish vocabulary of football was developed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and, as a whole, is largely still in use. This category of football terminology contains many loan translations of terms that are incremental to the game itself. The period in history when this development took place was marked with nationalism and purity in language, so it comes as no surprise that the core vocabulary is virtually free of words of foreign origin other than loan translations. Word pairs like *kulmapotku* - ‘corner kick’, *maalipotku* - ‘goal kick’, *vapaapotku* - ‘free kick’ all display influence of English with possible intermediary influence from Swedish. There are also words that are obvious loans from Swedish as in *maalivahti* (‘goal guard’) from Swedish *målvakt*, meaning goal keeper. Most of the terminology still consists of loan translations that can be traced to the English vocabulary. Also the verb *syöttää* (‘to feed’) is a direct translation from English (or Swedish), where “to feed” was originally used in the same meaning as “to pass” in the modern language of football. This can be also said of the most common word for a shot towards goal, *laukaus* ‘a shot’.



Through the origin of much of the core vocabulary of Finnish football language, loan translation of lexemes is by far the most common type of influence that English has had on the language of Finnish football commentary. Many of the core concepts of football are expressed through these words only and no synonyms, borrowed or otherwise, have as of now entered the language of football commentary. Both Pintarić (2008) and Dosev (2008) note the existence of loan translated football terminology in their respective languages (Croatian and Bulgarian), and at least the list of loan translations that Dosev has compiled contains some core terminology that has been formed through loan translation (p.64), although most of the rules of the game are expressed through lexical borrowings in Bulgarian (p.63). As has been shown, many of the Finnish loan translations were possibly borrowed from similar Swedish loan translation, so it seems that Finnish is not alone in having used loan translation extensively in the early formation of the language of the sport.

Translated idioms were observed in the data (examples 1-4), but their frequency and number is hard to estimate, as a thorough research into which idioms in fact display English influence and which do not would constitute material for a thesis of its own. The focus of this thesis is in proving the existence of English influence in Finnish football commentary and a general appraisal of its characteristics and theories applicable to it, so only a few idioms that were deemed to be of certain or nearly certain English provenance were used as examples in section 5.1. As the extent of English influence on Finnish everyday language is widening constantly and more and more phrases and idioms of English origin are entering the language, it is probable that this phenomenon is also visible in the language of football commentary. It is possible that the frequency of usage of translated idioms is even higher in the context of football commentary, as the contact situation between English and Finnish in this context gives the English language a degree of social dominance and even prestige. Pintarić (2008) does not record any general usage of translated idioms (p.47), but her research focused solely on football terminology. This is true also of the research done by Šepek (2008) and Dosev (2008) both of which seem to focus on football lexis.

This old terminology aside, words and phrases have been borrowed to the language of football commentary for varying reasons. One reason is the principle of language

maintenance and lexical borrowing, where the target language borrows mostly vocabulary from the source language with adaptation to the morphology and phonetics of the target language. The most obvious cause for borrowings like this is that a new concept has come to existence in the target language, which already has a word in the source language. This need-basis of borrowing is visible in words like *seinäsyöttö* or *seinä* ('wall pass' or 'wall'), which is a technique of football created in the 1950s. There was a need for a new word, and that need was satisfied by creating a loan translation. This is a peculiar example, because most modern loans, as was shown in the previous pages, are lexical borrowings. And in more recent times, when English has become a language that most Finns have at least some competence in, it would be expected that these vocabulary gaps would tend to be filled with straightforward borrowings instead of loan translations. There is, however, still a strong sense of protectionism in certain aspects of the Finnish language, and it is possible that this has an influence in the case of this example at least.

With the technique and strategy of football developing constantly, there is always new ground for vocabulary to develop. And here it is indeed usual to use lexical borrowing in creating the word in Finnish. One example of this that was also found in the data is the word *tiki-taka* that is credited at least by Jung (2008) to a Spanish sportscaster in 2006 (p.354). It is in use in many European languages, Finnish being no exception. The term according to Jung (2008) is an onomatopoeia describing the sound of the ball moving fast from one player to another in succession, which then became the common term for the phenomenon (p. 354). This borrowing could also be interpreted to be caused by the need-factor, although there are plenty of ways in native Finnish to describe the fluid movement of the ball and players. Perhaps one reason might therefore be the attractive quality of the onomatopoeia together with the need for varied expression seen in televised commentary of football. It is, however, a Spanish loan and as such does not fit the subject of this thesis, but it illustrates the need factor well. The concept of someone being a "super substitution" or "super sub" is also relatively new, and the concept has been borrowed into the Finnish language of football commentary as /supersλbi/ or even /supersubi/. This was not present in the data either (although *subbi* 'substitution' was observed), but the term has been used at least occasionally in commentaries. The word-final /i/ is a morphological adaptation that makes the word acceptable in terms of Finnish grammar.

This is however not the only reason witnessed for borrowing, as most of the lexical borrowings witnessed did not describe a new concept in Finnish. As was shown in section 5.2., the data did include many different kinds of lexical borrowings. Many of these were deemed not to be used exclusively in football language, and were therefore left outside the main focus of this research. Examples include words like *tekniikka*, *strategia*, *startti* etc. They are, however, one visible element of English influence in the language of Finnish football commentary, and therefore need some commentary. None of the articles about English influence on other languages already discussed (Pintarić 2008, Dosev 2008, Şepek 2008) shed any light on the frequency or usage of loan words from English used in their data other than those related to football. In the corpus of this thesis the appearance of many of these loan words was witnessed, and again as in the case of translated idioms, it is possible that the use of these is even more frequent than in casual Finnish speech due to the nature of the language contact between English and Finnish and the prestige factor and social dominance of English. Here again, further elaboration is possible only through proper statistical analysis.

Many lexical borrowings witnessed are, however, exclusive to football, at least when used in the sense that they appear in the data (some are used in other sports too, but the original meaning is very likely derived from football). Examples in the data included words like *blokata*, *seivi*, *triplata*, *prässi*, *pakki* etc. The new concepts elaborated earlier are rare, and most of the borrowings witnessed do have a perfectly good counterpart in native Finnish, or an earlier loan translation. The reason behind these borrowings is therefore probably the need to break the monotony of expression that is present in televised sports commentary. As was shown in section 4.2.1., the language of televised commentary needs varied expression, and an easy way to use different words to describe the same actions over and over again is borrowing. There was ample evidence that this is the case presented in section 5.2., as many of the borrowings used appeared side by side with their native Finnish counterparts. Another possible reason behind the borrowing is ease of expression, as many of the lexical borrowings are shorter than their counterparts. Once again, the frequency of these lexical borrowings can only be ascertained through proper statistical analysis, but the corpus displays so many lexical borrowings, that their existence in such numbers that can be noticed is proven beyond doubt (see Appendix).

As was shown earlier, these lexical borrowings are adapted to Finnish in different ways depending on the natural class of the word borrowed. In the case of nouns, the adaptation was nearly always the addition of an /i/ to the end of the stem.

## 6.2. Adaptation of borrowings into Finnish

This adding of a word-final /i/ to a borrowed noun is indeed the most common form of morphological adaptation seen in the data as can be seen from noun borrowings such as *krossi*, *tsippi*, *pakki*, *derbi* and *prässi*. Practically all the examples of borrowed nouns that are exclusively or originally football terminology display this adaptation. Some borrowings from the casual speech in Finnish, such as *steitment* ‘a statement’ display different adaptation or no adaptation at all. Morphologically speaking, this minor adaptation makes the words acceptable as Finnish. Morphological adaptation is also present in verbs, of which four were shown in the previous section: *taklata* ‘to tackle’, *briiffata* ‘to brief’, *prässätä* ‘to put pressure on’, and *triplata* ‘to dribble’. It is immediately noticeable that all of these words have the ending –ata in the non-finite form, and all are therefore conjugated in the same way. Indeed, many borrowed verbs in Finnish display the same conjugation pattern. This might be caused by Swedish influence. The corresponding word to *taklata* in Swedish is the verb “att tackla”. The word-final /a/ in this non-finite form might have influenced the Finnish stem to be “takla”, and therefore the verb to be the *taklata* seen in the data. At least Pulkkinen (1984) notes the influence of Swedish on the word used in Finnish (p.167). His dictionary of English words in the Finnish language does not include the other verbs found in the data, which makes them perhaps of newer provenance. The influence of Swedish was already shown to be at least possible in the case of *triplata* and *prässätä*, and it is possible that even if there is no Swedish influence, the pattern started by these borrowings is visible in newer borrowings directly from English as well. The addition of /a/ to the verb stem is also a fairly easy way of fitting a verb into the Finnish conjugation scheme. The data displayed no other way of adapting verbs morphologically. The research of Pintarić (2008) shows that in Croatian, the verbs fell into two categories and nouns into many more (p.45). The variation in the forms of borrowings in Croatian seems to be far more extensive than in Finnish. The

phonological (or as her research concerns the written language, orthographical) adaptation is extensive as well, but as we have seen, and as will be discussed below, so it is in the data of this thesis.

The phonological adaptations present in the data were explained in section 5.2., where the adaptations were deemed necessary to explain. Therefore it suffices here to make some general remarks on the nature of these adaptations and how they conformed to the speculations made in section 4.3.1. As was explained there, the phonological systems of English and Finnish are fundamentally different, and the expectation was that all older loans should conform to the Finnish system. It might be possible to see some confusion between the systems in newer borrowings, and as word-initial consonant clusters and some phonemes not traditionally present in Finnish are becoming increasingly common, these might be expected in the data as well.

As was speculated, phonological adaptation into Finnish language was nearly universally total. Consonant clusters were present in words like *triplata*, *prässätä*, *krossi*, *tsippi*, but as was mentioned, these formations are becoming increasingly common in Finnish, and as Suomi et al. (2008) speculate, might become fully established in the language in the future (p.56). The phonemes /b/ and /f/ that do not occur in native Finnish (at least in all variants) words are both present in some examples found in the data. *Derbi* ‘derby’ and *briiffata* ‘to brief’ are the most prominent examples. According to Suomi et al. (2008) all borrowings containing these phonemes are relatively new (p.35). The plosives /d/ and /b/ in the word *derbi* are not necessarily produced with same diligence as a native English speaker might use, but both are nevertheless distinct from their minimal pairs /t/ and /p/ in the data at least, though not necessarily in the mouths of some Finnish speakers. The phoneme /b/ is indeed making its way into Finnish, and according to Suomi et al. (2008) is commonly used by at least people with knowledge of foreign languages.

A notable phonological adaptation is also the replacement of the English schwa-vowel /ə/ that does not occur in Finnish with /e/ or /o/. Words like *presenssi* ‘presence’ and *kombinaatio* ‘combination’ have the vowel in their English counterparts in the unstressed syllable, but as Finnish does not have the vowel sound (Morris-Wilson 1981, p. 39), it is replaced by another one in speech. In the data the vowel sound used to

replace the schwa-vowel was always either orthographically motivated or caused by intermediary forms in languages like Swedish or German. The rule of thumb is that the schwa-sound was always replaced by the vowel present in the written form. Related to this phenomenon is the presence of the sound /e/ in the aforementioned word *derbi* (/derbi/). The English pronunciation is /da:bi/, which effectively proves that the word was borrowed originally in written form, either straight into Finnish or via Swedish.

Pintarić (2008) researched written Croatian, so her corpus shows the borrowings that she detected in written forms that are also highly adapted (“rejting” for “rating” for example, p. 45). The motivation for at least some of these adaptations must be orthographic, but some might be phonological as well, as Croatian presumably differs greatly from English in terms of pronunciation. One aspect in her research that was not at all visible in the data of this thesis is the tendency to use unadapted written forms of English words inside quotation marks (p.44). This is seen as the influence of prestige of the English language. The English language has a high prestige in the language of football commentary in Finland too, but nevertheless this phenomenon was not observed in spoken communication. The extent of influence of English language seems to be more negligible in Finnish football language of today than that of Croatian.

The research of Dosev (2008) on the Bulgarian terminology of football displays ample phonological adaptation as well (pp. 63-64), and as Bulgarian is written in the Cyrillic script which is written phoneme for phoneme, these adaptations are as easy to notice in the written Bulgarian as they are in written Finnish. It seems therefore that extensive adaptation is also a phenomenon common to other borrowing languages as well as Finnish.

### 6.3. Speculation on the extent of influence and directions for future research

The data of this research shows that the extent of English influence in Finnish football commentary is, if not overwhelming, at least fair. As statistical analysis was not deemed necessary at this early phase of research, the extent to which loan translations and borrowing are used in Finnish football commentary cannot be accurately measured. But anyone who is competent in both languages and has an ear for foreign influence in

language can ascertain that the phenomenon does exist. The variety in found borrowings allows for the conclusion to be made that borrowing is common at least as a phenomenon, if not on the level of individual lexemes. Every game analysed had at least a few lexical borrowings, some more than others, depending probably on the individual idiolects of the sportscasters (see Appendix).

The core vocabulary of Finnish football is in many cases nearly totally translated from English, so the influence of English can from this perspective at least be estimated to be vast. The casual listener does not notice these loan translations, however, and only the lexical borrowings that do not appear in normal casual speech may be noticed by casual listeners of football commentary. If all the forms of English influence related in this thesis are put together, the extent of influence is huge. This can be glimpsed in the table in the appendix that shows all the borrowings observed in the data.

The possible starting point for future research in this field would be a thorough frequency analysis of English influence in Finnish football commentary. This thesis, with all its problems aimed to prove that the phenomenon exists, and to speculate on the reasons behind borrowing, as well as show what kind of adaptation is present in the data. These done, the future research into the field must start with more measurable results. Other possible directions could include focusing on a single type of English influence, e.g. lexical borrowings specific to football or idioms influenced by English. For these to be achieved, a larger corpus and more thorough analysis are needed.

## 7. Conclusion

The subject of this thesis, the influence of English on the language of Finnish football commentary is an interesting addition to the study of cross-linguistic influence in Finland. The subject has been studied in some degree in other countries and languages, but research focusing specifically on Finnish has so far been nearly inexistent. Only one article has even mentioned Finnish language in this context, and based on its estimates of the scope of the influence elaborated in chapter 2. and the present research, the article underestimates the influence greatly. This thesis aimed to provide an updated look on the subject backed by the expertise of the writer, a native speaker of Finnish, a student of English, and a keen follower of international football. The aim was to provide a starting point for future research in the field, to prove that the phenomenon exists, and to theorize on the possible reasons behind particular borrowings and the general characteristics of the words and expressions borrowed, as well as look at the adaptation of the borrowed words present in the data.

The research was conducted by recording four game commentaries in Finnish television by separate sportscasters who focus mostly on football. The commentaries were then analysed and the words and expressions that were deemed to be of possible English origin were divided into two categories: loan translations and borrowings. Cases presenting different types of borrowings and loan translations were then presented and the findings that were made were further elaborated on. The future of the field was also discussed.

The thesis set out to prove only that the phenomenon exists and make some general remarks on the characteristics of different types of influence and the adaptation present in the data. This was done with the theories of contact linguistics in mind, and it was first determined that the contact situation is that of language maintenance with casual contact to a socially dominant English with some degree of prestige. Therefore the expected results of this contact were deemed to be loan translation and lexical borrowing. The data included both loan translations and lexical borrowings. In both categories both usages specific to football and those that are no football specific were witnessed in all the games examined. Generally, it can be said that the core terminology of Finnish football commentary includes mostly loan translations from English with



some newer concepts being exclusively lexical borrowings. All the commentators used other lexical borrowings too. The main reason behind this was theorized to be the need for varied expression inherent to the contact situation of football commentary. The phenomenon was therefore proven to adhere to the expected results provided by the theories of contact linguistics, and the needs of the language of football commentary as a specialist language. The extent of influence was deemed to be greater than was speculated in earlier research to the field, but statistical analysis is needed to confirm any of these speculations.

With the goals of this research achieved, and the general nature of the influence of English on Finnish football commentary discussed in some detail, it is necessary now to take a more detailed approach to the subject and perform a statistical analysis with more specific goals. This thesis can be used as a starting point for this necessary future research, as the general nature of influence and the usual patterns of borrowing and adaptation are now charted.

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Lazio-Juventus (15<sup>th</sup> April 2013, Tero Karhu)

Liverpool-West Ham (6<sup>th</sup> April 2013, Mikko Innanen and Pasi Rautiainen)

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### Appendix. All borrowings witnessed in the data

All instances of borrowing observed in the data are gathered in this table. The lexemes are in their basic Finnish form. All words that have an English counterpart but that have not yet become integral parts of the Finnish language are included. Most of the borrowings are those that are lifted from the language of casual conversation in Finland, or are otherwise heavily used anglicisms. Those that are exclusive to football or have a specific meaning there are presented in bold.

Borrowings	Deportivo-Zaragoza	Lazio-Juventus	Liverpool-West Ham	Reading-Southampton
about		x		
aktuelli				x
aplodit			x	
arsenaali			x	
<b>blokata/blokki</b>	x	x	x	
<b>boksi</b>	x	x	x	x
bonus				x
breikki			x	
briiffata				x
brutaali	x			
bumerangi			x	
debyytti		x		
<b>derbi/derby</b>	x	x	x	x
dominoida		x		x
elastinen		x		
emootio				x
energia				x
euforinen			x	
extra		x		
fakta		x		
fani		x	x	
fantastinen		x		
fasiliteetti			x	
filis		x		x
filosofia		x		
finaali		x		
fokus		x		
grafiikka	x	x		x
groussi			x	

hai faiv		X		
<b>hasardi/hassi</b>	X		X	
idioottimainen	X			
iisi			X	
ikoni/ikoninen	X		X	X
impressions			X	
intensiteetti				X
ironinen			X	
kappi/kap		X	X	X
kapteeni		X	X	
klassikko			X	
<b>kombinaatio/kombo</b>		X	X	
kommentaattori			X	
kommunikoida			X	
kompakti		X		
kontakti		X	X	X
kontrolli				X
kritiikki		X	X	
<b>krossi</b>	X			
kulttuuri				X
lakoninen				X
latinki		X		
legendaarinen		X		
liiga	X	X	X	X
linja	X	X	X	
magia/maaginen	X	X		X
maksimi	X			
manageri				X
maski		X		
menteliteetti			X	
moottori		X		
moraali			X	
muuvi	X			
operaatio			X	
paintti			X	
paketti		X	X	
<b>pakki</b>	X	X	X	X
passiivinen	X	X		
paussi		X		
<b>piikki</b>		X	X	X
pleisteissön		X		

popula				X
positiivinen	X			
potentiaalinen	X			
presenssi			X	
pressi				X
prosentti				X
<b>prässätä/prässi</b>	X	X	X	X
reaktio				X
refleksi			X	
rispekti			X	
rooli	X	X		
sarja	X	X		
<b>seivi</b>				X
sektori	X			
sesonki	X			
show			X	
skauseri 'scouser'			X	
<b>skautti</b>			X	
skriini				X
soolo			X	
spekuloida			X	
startti	X			
statistiikka		X		X
steitment		X		
stranglingi				X
<b>subbi</b>				X
symboli		X		
taklaus/taklata	X	X		
taktinen/taktiikka		X		X
talentti		X		X
targetti			X	
tekniikka/tekninen		X	X	X
teknologia				X
tiketti		X		
torpedoida		X		
traditionaalinen			X	
trafiikki			X	
tragedia			X	
treenata			X	
<b>triplaus</b>			X	
<b>tsippi</b>			X	



tsämpions liiga/tsämppäri		x		x
tupla			x	
veteraani			x	
visiitti	x		x	
<b>volley</b>			x	
In total:	26	49	54	37