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Lexical Mixing in a Conversation between Old Helsinki Slang Speakers

Abstract

In this article, a conversation between Old Helsinki Slang (OHS) speakers recorded in 1965 is examined. A notable feature of OHS is the heavy use of Swedish-based or otherwise un-Finnish words although it mostly follows the grammar of colloquial Finnish. The sample that is analyzed consists of free speech, and it lasts 65 minutes. If uncertain items are taken into account, then the proportion of borrowed lexical items in the data is 29–32%. Function and content words in OHS differ markedly in their etymological origin as the function words are overwhelmingly Finnish.

Although OHS has some phonological and phonotactical features that are strikingly “un-Finnish,” it is apparent that these features have been adopted along with loanwords. While some morpho-syntactical features in OHS differ from those of Standard Finnish, they are widely known in Finnish dialects and colloquial Finnish and, therefore, cannot be interpreted as innovations in OHS. Morpho-syntactically, the sample can easily be interpreted as a variant of Finnish.

While the proportion of borrowed words in OHS is not exceptional among the world’s languages, it is in any case notable; furthermore, core borrowing is common and even basic vocabulary is the product of borrowing. Roughly 40% of the vocabulary of OHS can be defined as slang, a proportion unknown in Finnish dialects or in Standard Finnish. This slang vocabulary is overwhelmingly borrowed, and it can be seen as the most apparent contact feature of OHS. It has made this variety of urban speech virtually incomprehensible to contemporary dialectal or Standard Finnish speakers.

1 Introduction

Old Helsinki Slang (OHS) is a linguistic variety that was spoken in the working-class quarters of Helsinki at the beginning of the last century. By the 1950s, it had gradually developed into its modern form. A notable feature

of OHS is the heavy use of Swedish-based or otherwise un-Finnish words although it mostly follows the grammar of colloquial Finnish. In brief, OHS mixes Finnish morpho-syntax and Swedish vocabulary. This is illustrated in the following example from the data:

- (1) *faija* *skiia-s* et *starbi* ol-is alasti ellei
 father say-PST that man be-CON naked if.not
sil oo *hugari-i* *messi-ssä*
 he-ADE have knife-PAR with-INE
 ‘father said that a man would be naked if he did not have a knife with him’

The words in italics are loan words which were apparently unknown in Finnish dialects and the standard language of the time. *Faija*, *skiias*, *hugari*, and *messissä* derive from Swedish, but they have been changed both phonologically and semantically: for example, *skiiiaa* ‘to say, to speak’ is based on the Swedish dialectal word *skissa* ‘speak untrue, false,’ which is derived from *skit* ‘shit’ (Liuttu 1951; Mikkonen 2014, 84). *Starbi* ‘(old) man’ comes from the Russian *stáryj* ‘old.’ All the function words, e.g., the conjunctions *et* and *ellei*, pronoun *sil* and copula *olis* ~ *oo*, are Finnish.

Grammatically, this sentence follows Finnish grammar with both the loanwords and Finnish words followed by Finnish suffixes, e.g., the illative case ending *-ssä* in *messi-ssä* (< Sw. *med sig* ‘with her/himself’). The sentence also shows several morpho-phonological features characteristic of Finnish dialects or colloquial speech, such as apocope in the conjunction *et* (< Standard Finnish *että*) and in the pronoun *sil* (< Standard Finnish *sillä*).

Researchers agree that Swedish influence on the vocabulary of OHS is significant, but estimates of the proportion of Swedish or un-Finnish words vary. Paunonen (2006, 51) has claimed that “almost 80 percent” of OHS vocabulary is Swedish. Jarva (2008, 66; see also Meakins 2013, 166) views this figure with scepticism and is fairly certain that 80% is an overestimate.

OHS has also been subject to contrasting treatment by researchers, depending on whether it is seen as a variant of Finnish or as a mixed language. Paunonen (2006) seems to consider OHS a separate language. Jarva (2008, 65, 76) compares OHS with mixed languages, and Meakins (2013, 166) offers OHS as an example of a mixed language. On the other hand, Kallio (2007) supports the view that OHS is a variant of Finnish, while for de Smit (2010), “if it is to be considered a mixed language at all, then it is ‘a marginal case.’” These contrasting views are at least partly due to the fact that OHS is an unstandardized speech form that has varied both diachronically and synchronically and has not been systematically documented.

This article examines a conversation between OHS speakers recorded in 1965. To the knowledge of the authors, the recording is a unique sample of free speech in OHS. Some of the recorded material was used by Paunonen (2000) in compiling his dictionary of Helsinki slang, but it had not been systematically examined until Mikkonen (2014) investigated its Swedish-based vocabulary.

The primary focus is lexical, however, some phonological and morpho-syntactic features of the language will also be commented and exemplified. The proportion of loanwords will be estimated, the different sources of the vocabulary of OHS will be described, and the adaptation of un-Finnish words to the structure and grammar of Finnish words will be investigated. In addition to Swedish-based and Finnish words there are also loanwords from Russian and other languages, as well as heavily manipulated words whose origin is contested or impossible to determine.

The sample is also compared with contemporary Finnish, both the dialectal and standard language, with the aim of finding out which features of OHS are based on Finnish and which features can be understood as foreign influence, either as borrowings or as contact-based innovations in OHS. The more OHS has in common with different variants of Finnish, the more reasonable it would be to interpret it as a variant of Finnish rather than as a mixed speech form or separate language.

The structure of the article is as follows. Section 2 provides a survey of written records and previous research relating to OHS. Section 3 deals with the socio-historical background of OHS and the different language forms that have influenced it. The data and methods of the survey are discussed in Section 4. In Section 5, the lexical, phonological, and morpho-syntactic features of the data are described. Section 6 concludes the article.

2 *Written records and previous research on OHS*

The first mention of the slang used in Helsinki dates from the late 19th century. Around the beginning of the 20th century, the Finnish humor magazines *Kurikka* and *Tuulispää* published stories containing OHS words, sometimes even whole sentences and short texts. OHS was termed *sakilaisten kieli* ‘gang members’ language,’ *sakin kieli* ‘gang language,’ or just *saki*. (Jarva 2008, 56, 60–61.)

In 1914, Kurikka published a list of about 400 OHS words under the title *Sakilainen sanakirja* (Dictionary of *Saki*). In 1915, the alias *Sakinkielen professori*, ‘professor of the *Saki* language,’ described OHS as follows: “As in big foreign cities, in Helsinki the *Saki* people also have a language of their own. It is not in fact a language in its own right, but has to be spoken in conjunction with either Finnish or Swedish.” In the 1910s and 1920s, several novels were published that incorporated OHS words in their dialogue. Since then, OHS and modern Helsinki slang have commonly been used in fiction and memoirs. (Paunonen 2000, 39–40, 2006, 51; Jarva 2008, 60–62.)

Old Helsinki Slang has been widely investigated lexically, and collections of its words have been compiled since the early 20th century. The most remarkable collections of OHS are those of T. Kaiponen, K. Linna, and K. Stenvall, each containing about 3,000 words in use from 1915 to the 1940s. Heikki Paunonen has co-edited (with Marjatta Paunonen) a dictionary of Helsinki slang (Paunonen 2000). The dictionary utilizes practically all the available OHS source materials. It has 33,000 entries, and it also provides plenty of examples. The dictionary contains both OHS and modern slang

words, provides references to sources, and states the period when each word was used. Thus, it provides a clear picture of the vocabulary of OHS. (Jarva 2008, 62.)

Very few recordings or notations of free speech were made in Old Helsinki Slang, and literary sources are not a guide to authentic speech. Even when such sources include samples of OHS, the grammar in them has obviously been “improved” by adapting Standard Finnish rules. (Kallio 2007, 180; Jarva 2008, 61.) The recording explored in this study is apparently the closest to free speech that is extant. It comprises a discussion between five OHS speakers and was made by M. A. Numminen in 1965. Although the recording was made after the shift from OHS to modern slang, the informants were born in 1890–1910 and undoubtedly would have spoken OHS in its “golden age.” (See Section 5.)

The overwhelming majority of OHS material was collected by laypersons, as linguistic research in Finland traditionally focussed on rural dialects. Despite making his recording of OHS, Numminen was not allowed to discuss it in his *cum laude* thesis, produced for the University of Helsinki, on the grounds that while dialects were fit topics for theses, “slang was not a dialect”. (Kallio 2007, 182; Numminen, e-mail message to Jenni Mikkonen, March 22, 2015.) Urban speech forms were ignored by Finnish linguists until the 1970s when sociolinguistic research got underway in Finland. The scholar who has conducted the most intensive academic research on OHS is Professor Heikki Paunonen, co-editor of the above-mentioned dictionary of Helsinki slang. Paunonen participated from its outset, in 1972, in a project to research colloquial Finnish speech in Helsinki (the results are reported in Paunonen (1995)), and has written several articles on OHS that cast much light on its background (e.g., Paunonen 1993, 2006).

At first glance, the most prominent feature of OHS is its Swedish or otherwise un-Finnish vocabulary, which in consequence has often been the focus of linguistic attention. Researchers agree that the influence of Swedish on OHS vocabulary is significant, but estimates of the proportion of words of Swedish origin vary. In his MA thesis, Liuttu (1951) claims that 51% of OHS words are of Swedish origin, a figure cited by Paunonen (1995, 22). Later, however, Paunonen revised his estimate upwards, stating that: “at a conservative estimate, three quarters” (2000, 28) or “almost 80 percent” (2006, 51) of OHS vocabulary is of Swedish origin. Jarva (2008, 66) views these figures with scepticism and suggests that they are meaningful only if words that do not exist in Standard Finnish or Finnish dialects are not counted.

Attention has also been drawn to the borrowings in the basic vocabulary of OHS. Wälchli (2005) gives the OHS equivalents of the 207-word Swadesh list and finds almost 60 words of Swedish origin. After omitting all function words, Kallio (2007) lists 150 examples of “borrowed ‘basic vocabulary’ items.” Jarva (2008, 68) concludes that about 80% of the verbs, adjectives, and nouns in the Swadesh list have un-Finnish equivalents in OHS.

It is not evident which words qualify as OHS vocabulary; it is even questionable if the vocabulary of OHS can be distinguished from the vocabularies of Finnish and Swedish. Forsskåhl (2006, 63) writes about

“words used as slang” and says that OHS speakers might use: “any Swedish words they knew;” that is to say, there was no discrete OHS vocabulary but any Swedish words could be used as slang. Paunonen has stated (in an e-mail message to Jenni Mikkonen, April 10, 2015) that he distinguishes ‘slang words’ from ‘matrix language,’ and that only the former are included in his dictionary; the rather startling figure of 80 percent of Swedish words is also estimated from the slang vocabulary. On the other hand, Wälchli (2005) points out that Swedish-based words have not necessarily displaced Finnish ones but co-exist with them; in this sense borrowing in OHS may be referred to as ‘paralexification’ or a ‘lexical reservoir’ (Jarva 2008, 78–79; Meakins 2013, 166).

Jarva (2008, 66, 68) criticizes Wälchli and Kallio for including words of different ages in their word lists, since OHS and modern Helsinki slang are different forms of speech, and their vocabularies are subject to variation over time. Paunonen (2000, 17), however, describes OHS and modern slang as a “linguistic continuum” and states that some words from the beginning of the 20th century continue to represent “everyday reality” in modern slang.

In the 2000s, OHS has been discussed from the perspective of language contact, and as such it has been subject to contrasting treatment by researchers, depending on whether it is seen as a variant of Finnish or a mixed language. It has also been compared to intertwining mixed languages, of which the best known cases are *Media Lengua* and *Ma’á*. (Jarva 2008, 62–66.)

Paunonen stresses in several articles that OHS is an independent form of speech, and it should not be considered a Finnish slang variant. He uses the Finnish word *sekakieli* (which may be translated as ‘mixed language’) and uses the term “matrix language,” stating that dialectal Finnish was the matrix language in which “vocabulary adopted from Swedish was inserted” (Paunonen 2006, 52, 57). Wälchli (2005) discusses OHS in the context of contact linguistics and concludes that while OHS does not completely fit the prototype of an intertwining mixed language variety, it comes close to it. Kallio admits that OHS has a lot in common with *Media Lengua* and *Ma’á*, but he also says that none of these three languages can be considered a mixed language, and that OHS is “genetically” a Finnic language or dialect of Finnish (Kallio 2007, 178–180). This is based on his position that “genetic relatedness should always be based on grammatical rather than lexical evidence.” Kallio also likens OHS to pidgins, a view that has been critically discussed by Jarva (2008, 76) and de Smit (2010, 12).

Forsskähl (2006) discusses OHS as a variant of Finnish, but notes that Finnish and Swedish slang words developed in parallel, and she makes observations that suggest code-switching between Finnish and Swedish. Jarva (2008, 65, 76) concludes that OHS is a “distinct code” that can be either “a register of Finnish or a language symbiotic with Finnish;” however, he compares OHS with mixed languages. Meakins (2013, 166) sees OHS as an example of a mixed language constructed from the grammar of one language and the lexicon of another. This view is by no means established: de Smit (2010) measures OHS against Peter Auer’s code-switching model and concludes that OHS is not genetically mixed and that if it is to be considered a mixed language at all, then it can only be as “a marginal case.”

3 Linguistic and socio-historical background

3.1 THE FINNISH AND SWEDISH LANGUAGES IN HELSINKI

The city of Helsinki was founded in 1550 on the Swedish-speaking south coast of Finland. It remained a small town during Swedish rule as the cultural and administrative centre of Finland was then in Turku. At the beginning of the 19th century, Finland became part of the Russian empire. Helsinki was named the capital city in 1812, and the university was relocated there from Turku in 1828.

According to Paunonen (1993, 53), the Swedish language was at its strongest in Helsinki in the 1840s and 1850s. The upper and middle class spoke mostly Swedish, and the social and cultural life of the city was dominated by Swedish speakers. The majority of the working class came from neighboring Swedish-speaking rural areas. In 1850, Helsinki had only 20,000 inhabitants, of whom 10% were Finnish-speaking. The Swedish language had high status, and people moving to the city from Finnish-speaking areas commonly switched to Swedish. (Jarva 2008, 54.)

The situation began to change in the 1860s with industrialization and the increasing number of people who moved to Helsinki from elsewhere in the country. The newcomers came from both Swedish- and Finnish-speaking areas, but as the attraction of the growing city spread to more distant areas, more and more of the newcomers were Finnish-speaking. The population of Helsinki grew fourfold, an increase of more than 100,000, between 1870 and 1910. At the same time, the proportion of Finnish-speaking inhabitants grew from 26% to 59%. (See statistics in Paunonen 1993, 54.) Bilingualism was common in the city between both language groups, with 35% of people declaring themselves able to speak both Finnish and Swedish in the 1900 census (Paunonen 1995, 11). Although the Finnish- and Swedish-speaking populations were at that time equal in numbers, Swedish had much higher status. It continued to be dominant in the upper classes, and had hegemony in cultural, economic, and municipal affairs. (Paunonen 1995, 5–7, Forsskåhl 2006, 53–54; Jarva 2008, 55.)

The official status of Finnish changed in the second half of the 19th century when the Finnish language was granted the status of an official language and a language of instruction. At the same time, the first cultured families began to use Finnish as a language of discussion, even if they did not speak it properly, and to send their children to the new Finnish-speaking schools. Others, however, wanted to retain Swedish as the national language of Finland. “The language struggle” continued into the 1930s, although the position of Finnish strengthened after the independence of Finland in 1917, when both Finnish and Swedish were established as official languages of the city. (Paunonen 1993, 54–55; Jarva 2008, 54–55.) Meanwhile the proportion of the population that was Finnish-speaking steadily rose in Helsinki, to 69% in 1930 and 80% in 1950. (See statistics in Paunonen 2006, 24.)

3.2 THE BIRTH OF OLD HELSINKI SLANG IN THE BILINGUAL WORKING-CLASS COMMUNITY

During a time of rapid industrialization, new working-class quarters emerged to the north of the old town, along a road called Itäinen Viertotie (Sw. Östra Chaussén, 'Eastern Highway'). It was separated from the city center by a narrow strait, over which a bridge called Pitkäsilta ('Long Bridge') was built. Around the year 1900, there were more than 29 factories and workshops with over 2,500 workers in the area, which also included a large harbor with its own railway line and sawmill. (Waris 1973, 53.) Cheap apartments for the workers were built in the vicinity of this expanding industrial area, in Kallio, Sörnäinen, Hermanni, and Vallila (Sw. Berghäll, Sörnäs, Hermanstad, and Vallgård). By 1900, 20,000 people lived in these northern districts (Waris 1973, 62; Jarva 2008, 56); over 80% of them were working class (Waris 1973, 110). The birth rate was high in the area; children born out of wedlock were common, and 24% of the population was under the age of ten. This clearly affected the standard of living in the area. Almost one third of the workers were unskilled, and for this group in particular there was little security during an era of economic change, and most of them worked on temporary contracts. (Ibid., 118–119.) Living conditions were cramped and unhealthy, with an average population density of more than four persons per single-room apartment (ibid., 160).

The majority of the inhabitants had moved from rural areas. According to the 1900 census, two thirds of the population in the northern suburbs had been born outside Helsinki, and of the city-born, 80% were under 20 years old. (Waris 1973, 87.) The incomers had moved from neighbouring regions, particularly from western Uusimaa. Other significant sources of migration were around the southern shores of Lake Päijänne (the Lahti area) and central Ostrobothnia (around Kokkola). Since many of the newcomers had come from Swedish-speaking areas, one third of the population in the northern suburbs was Swedish speaking. (Ibid., 68, 98.)

Among the working class, there was no boundary between the language groups. Finnish and Swedish workers had to communicate, even if they had only a limited knowledge of each other's language. Their families lived side by side in the same buildings and apartments, and marriages between the two language groups were common. It has been estimated that about one fifth of marriages were bilingual. It was also common to take sub-tenants irrespective of their language. (Waris 1973, 99–101.) On the community level, functional bilingualism was common, with people using Finnish and Swedish. First generation immigrants were mostly monolingual and learned the other language only passably, while their children grew up to be bilingual. (Forsskähl 2006, 54; Paunonen 2006, 51–52; Jarva 2008, 55–56.)

As there was no compulsory education system and homes were small and crowded, working-class children spent most of their time outdoors, outside the linguistic models and control of grown-ups (Forsskähl 2006, 63). They were the first urban generation, and it was among them that Old Helsinki Slang came into being. Boys and young men gathered in gangs whose identity was based on their own street or part of the city and not on

their native language; thus there were both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking boys in the same gangs. The Finnish word for these gangs was *saki* 'gang, mob, group', and OHS was dubbed *sakilaisten kieli* 'gang members' language' or just *saki*. (Jarva 2008, 56.)

The *Saki* language had low status, and it was socially stigmatized as the language of street boys. It also violated the national romantic idea of a pure language, as it mixed Finnish and Swedish and did not follow the rules of Standard Finnish. School teachers, therefore, took a rather critical attitude toward OHS. It was neither spoken nor even acceptable in all working-class families, although it implied a strong working-class identity. (Paunonen 2000, 42–43; Jarva 2008, 57.)

As more and more people moved from Finnish-speaking areas to Helsinki, OHS lost its role as an intermediate language between Finnish and Swedish speakers and gradually developed into a modern slang, at the latest during the 1950s. As is true of slang in general, modern Helsinki slang is not associated with a particular street or part of the town but with a whole generation, youth culture, lifestyle, or field of interest. (Jarva 2008, 60.) Paunonen (2000, 17) distinguishes between Old Helsinki Slang and Modern Helsinki Slang, and he divides OHS into two stages: the stage of emergence (1890–1919) and the “golden age” (1920–1949).

3.3 THE LANGUAGE FORMS THAT AFFECTED OHS

It is commonly said that OHS employed Finnish grammar or had Finnish as the matrix language. However, it was not based on Standard Finnish but on the dialects spoken by the migrants to the city. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Standard Finnish used by the upper class was based on a literary tradition and differed sharply from the rural dialects spoken by Finnish working-class people. Standard Finnish had not yet established its status as an official language, and, thus, it had only a limited influence on uneducated Finnish speakers. Almost all Finnish speakers spoke a rural dialect as their native language, and this holds true for those who moved to Helsinki. (Jarva 2008, 55, 58.)

Finnish dialects can be divided into two groups: western and eastern. The majority of the Finnish speakers who moved to Helsinki spoke a western dialect, in particular a Tavastian (Häme) dialect. Although Helsinki was located in a Swedish-speaking region, the nearest Finnish-speaking areas, in Tuusula and Nurmijärvi, were only about 20 kilometers from the city. Many features of OHS can be traced to the dialect of these areas. On the other hand, the dialectal background of the newcomers was not uniform but included many different dialects that were at that time all used alongside each other. The identity of OHS speakers was not based on their native language or on any single rural area or dialect; according to Waris (1973, 102–103), the difference between an urban citizen and a newcomer was more important than differences between language groups. Citizens were hostile towards newcomers, as the latter competed for jobs and, thereby, reduced wages. Rural immigrants were unskilled and had low living standards (*ibid.*, 122). For these reasons, OHS and urban identity were not founded on any single dialect (Jarva 2008, 58).

As Finnish speakers were in the majority in the northern suburbs, it may be surprising that Swedish had such a strong influence on OHS. However, Swedish was still the main language of economic life in the early 20th century. Supervisors, master builders, and engineers all spoke Swedish, and housemaids and servants worked in Swedish-speaking households. Swedish-speaking workers had more contacts with Swedish-speaking supervisors and better opportunities to enter skilled professions. Thus Swedish-speaking workers often had a better professional and economic position than their Finnish-speaking counterparts. For the first urban generation, knowledge of Swedish opened the door to social advancement. (Waris 1973, 105, 102.)

There are no significant differences in the way standard Swedish is written in Sweden and Finland, but there are substantial differences in pronunciation, and it can be argued that some of the features of the Swedish spoken in Finland are due to contact with Finnish. Such language contact has brought some degree of convergence between Finnish and Swedish pronunciation and made it easier for Finnish and Swedish to mix in OHS. Moreover, the Swedish-speaking migrants spoke various Finland-Swedish dialects that might have been very different from the Finland-Swedish spoken in Helsinki. Many lexical items in OHS can be traced back to Swedish dialects, mostly to those spoken in the region around the capital. One example dialect comes from a rural Swedish-speaking area just east of Helsinki, Sibbo (Fi. Sipoo), the phonology of which fits well into the Finnish system. (Forsskåhl 2006, 65; Jarva 2008, 58–59.)

Swedish slang or other colloquial variants of Swedish spoken in Helsinki can also be detected in OHS, as demonstrated by Forsskåhl (2006, 59), who lists several Swedish inner city slang words that are used in OHS. Paunonen (2006, 52) also assumes that the OHS vocabulary was absorbed from older “street boy” slang or a dialect of Swedish.

The Russian language also had an impact on OHS as, until 1917, Finland was a part of the Russian empire and many Russian civil servants and soldiers lived in Helsinki. Many Russians followed the army or came as seamen or traders. (Forsskåhl 2006, 54–55.) The Cossacks and their horses were a great attraction for many boys living in the city, who followed the soldiers around and visited their garrisons. Russian soldiers sold food, especially bread, to civilians. As many Russian families also lived in working-class areas, it is natural that the *saki* gangs had contact with Russian children. (Paunonen 2005, 53.)

4 Data and methods

4.1 THE RECORDING

This study examines a conversation between five OHS speakers, recorded by M. A. Numminen in 1965. The recording lasts five hours, of which 65 minutes are free speech. The sample analysed consists of free speech only, and it comprises 1,272 lexemes and 8,607 tokens.

All the informants are men, and four of them are known by name. They were born between 1899 and 1905 and lived in Kallio and Sörnäinen. The identity of the fifth man is unknown. It can only be deduced that he lived in Kallio and was around the same age as the other informants. (Paunonen, e-mail message to Jenni Mikkonen, April 10, 2015.) Thus it can be said that all the informants were living in the area where OHS originated, and that they were boys or young men at that time. Paunonen (2000, 17) defines the emergence stage of OHS as the years 1890–1919. Although the recording dates from 1965, the men’s speech can be considered to be OHS because the informants mostly recall their childhood and speak in a relaxed and natural way. They mention a lot of dates, locations, and people that were associated with Helsinki in the early 20th century. It is also demonstrated (see Section 6) that the speech in the recording matches linguistic features known to be typical of OHS.

The informants are aware that they are speaking OHS, as they use the terms *slangi* (‘slang’) and *slangieli* (‘slang language’). One of them even talks about a boy who was fifteen years older than the speaker, who says that he was, “in the gang where the guys were creating this slang language” (this is also mentioned by Paunonen 2000, 14). On the other hand, the informants say regretfully that they have forgotten some slang words and that the recording should have been made 40 years earlier. One of the men says that he remembers almost all the words but finds them hard to use. As the discussion is lively and features a lot of overlapping speech, it is not always easy to identify who is speaking at any given moment.

Numminen (e-mail message to Jenni Mikkonen, March 22, 2015) has reported that one of the informants was a sailor and spoke only OHS while the others “slipped” occasionally into “common” Helsinki speech. In some cases, there is apparent code switching to Standard or colloquial Finnish, and sometimes the speech of someone in an official position, such as a teacher or manager, is cited in Standard Finnish. The fact that such uses must be intentional suggests that the informants see OHS and Standard Finnish as different speech forms or distinct codes. There is also one code switch to Swedish:

- (2) se sano et svara på svensk-a
 he say.PST that answer in Swedish-DEF
 ‘He [the teacher] said that “answer in Swedish”’

Here the citation *svara på svenska* is in Swedish while the reporting clause is colloquial Finnish.

The speaker narrates that although his home was Swedish-speaking, he attended a Finnish school because his father, although more fluent in Swedish, was “Finnish-minded.” The speaker also reports that he had to fight other pupils on account of his mother tongue and that they called him *svenkollo* ‘stupid Swede.’ Otherwise the informants view Finnish and Swedish as equal and make clear that both languages were used in parallel

among children and at work. Another informant reports that Swedish and Finnish were spoken together in his home, and a third one regrets that he cannot speak Swedish although, “half of the boys were speaking Swedish in their homes.” In sum, it is clear that the speakers have a positive attitude to Swedish, that they lived in a bilingual community and that at least two of them grew up in bilingual families. Nevertheless, only Finnish is used as a matrix language in the data in which Swedish manifests itself only in the form of borrowed vocabulary, with the exception of the above-mentioned single three-word code switch.

4.2 TRANSCRIPTION AND LEXEMES

The recording was transcribed lexically, i.e., un-lexical sounds, errors, and hesitation were omitted. This is because the focus of the study is on vocabulary and morpho-phonological features to which only lexical items are relevant. The conventions of Standard Finnish are followed in spelling; phonological quantity is marked with one or two letters, a dental affricate with *tš*, and so on. Therefore Swedish loans are transcribed differently from Standard Swedish spelling, for example, *tšöraa* ‘to drive’ (< Sw. *köra*) and *rookaa* ‘to happen’ (< Sw. *råka*). Finnish spelling is considered the better choice in this context since the Swedish words are accommodated into Finnish grammar, thus making the data comparable with, e.g., Paunonen’s dictionary (2000).

As already mentioned (Section 4.1), the recording is regarded as a plausible representation of the language used by OHS speakers in the early 20th century. There is some apparent code switching to Standard Finnish (and in one case to Swedish), but, on the whole, such cases are rare. Therefore the whole sample is treated as an example of one form of speech, and every lexical item is counted in the data as an OHS word; OHS is not seen as a separate slang vocabulary. Contrary to, e.g., Paunonen’s dictionary, proper nouns are excluded, such as place and person names, from the data. However, when a proper noun is used as a common noun, e.g., *vagemikko* ‘doorman’ which is a compound of *vage* ‘guard, watchman’ (cf., Finn. *vahiti* and Sw. *vakt*) and the Finnish male name *Mikko*, it is included in the data.

Phonological variants, such as *döftää* ~ *döftaa* ‘to smell, stink,’ *kliffa* ~ *liffa* ‘nice, fun’ or *böbi* ~ *pöpi* ‘stupid, crazy,’ are counted as one lexical item, but where words have different slang suffixes or derivational elements, e.g., *bygga* ‘building’ and *byggari* ‘builder,’ they are counted as separate items. The same goes for words that belong to different word classes, such as *bygga* ‘building’ and *byggaa* ‘to build’ or *brekkaa* ‘to break’ and *breggis* ‘broken.’ In the quantitative analysis, compound words are counted as two lexical items, as there may well be both a Finnish and a loan component in one word, e.g., *himakieli* ‘home language’ where *hima* comes from Swedish (cf., *hem* ‘home,’ *hemma* ‘at home’) and *kieli* is Finnish. (Mikkonen 2014, 28–29.)

4.3 DEFINING A LOANWORD

When defining loanwords, the criteria commonly used in etymological research has been applied, i.e., that there must be an equivalence both in

the phonological shape and meaning of the loanword and in its origin in the donor language. In most cases, it is easy to identify the source word as the words have only recently been borrowed, and, therefore, the source word is semantically and phonologically almost identical. Several etymologies are also mentioned in the literature (see Appendix in Mikkonen 2014).

However, OHS presents two particular problems: unexpected phonological variation and recent borrowings from Swedish to Finnish. In the first case, as there is notable phonological variation in the vocabulary of OHS and words are sometimes heavily manipulated and accommodated to Finnish grammar, phonological resemblance to the source word is often blurred. For example, the OHS word *kliffa* ‘nice, fun’ looks quite different from its probable source word, Swedish *livfull* ‘compelling, gripping.’ To understand this, it should be noted that words are commonly manipulated in OHS by adding un-Finnish phonological elements to them; in this case the etymologically inexplicable consonant cluster *kl-*. Furthermore, *kliffa* varies with *liffa*, the latter being closer to the source word. Another example is *karra* ‘ice cream.’ To define this as a loanword from Russian, first of all you must know that Russian ice cream vendors shouted *horošoe moroženoe* ‘good ice cream.’ OHS speakers adopted this slogan first as *karossi-marossi*, from which *karra* developed.

Second, as the Finnish language has borrowed numerous words from Swedish, there are often no criteria to determine whether OHS borrowed the word directly from Swedish or just applied a Finnish word that had already been borrowed from Swedish. For example, *hampuusi* ‘dockworker’ (< Sw. *hamnbuse*), *kanaali* ‘canal’ (< Sw. *kanal*) and *knalli* ‘bowler hat’ (< Sw. *knall*) have been borrowed from Swedish to Finnish, but they may well be separate loans in OHS. Such cases have been counted as loanwords in OHS. However, this does not apply to words that clearly differ from their Swedish origin but occur in Standard Finnish, such as *ankkuri* ‘anchor’ (cf., Sw. *ankare*) and *kasarmi* ‘garrison’ (cf., Sw. *kasern*). There are also several Swedish or German loanwords in Finnish that were clearly borrowed long before OHS emerged, such as *markka* ‘mark, a currency unit,’ *saippua* ‘soap,’ *pelii* ‘play,’ and *helvetti* ‘hell.’ They are not counted as Swedish loanwords in the survey.

If OHS were interpreted simply as a variant of Finnish, there would be no reason to read any word borrowed from Swedish to Finnish as a ‘native’ word. However, in this context, it can be understood that OHS, as a separate form of speech, developed on the basis of Finnish dialects, and, consequently, the view that OHS inherited both native Finnish words and Swedish loanwords from the Finnish dialects from which it was descended must be adopted.

There are also some lexical items the origin of which cannot be proven with certainty. Such cases are, e.g., *jeesaa* ‘to help,’ which could only with difficulty be interpreted as a variant of *jelppiä* and *helppaa* (< Swedish *hjälpa* ‘to help’), and *gartša* ‘street,’ which has the apparently un-etymological slang suffix *-tša* and could be connected with the Russian word *gorod* ‘city’ or with the Swedish word *gata* ‘street.’ There are altogether 38 uncertain words, which comprise 3% of the data.

4.4 CONTENT AND FUNCTION WORDS

Content words have a referential meaning and are typically nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Function words have a grammatical or discursive function, and they are typically particles, pronouns, and auxiliary verbs.

In the Word Loanword Database (WOLD), lexical items are classified into one of the following categories: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and function words (Tadmor 2009, 59). This study aims to follow the WOLD classification as far as possible so that the findings can be compared with universal tendencies in the borrowing of content and function words. Nonetheless, WOLD does not treat lexical items as such but gives universal meanings that can be lexicalized with words that belong to different word classes in different languages. Thus there are various cases in which the semantic classification of word classes in WOLD has not been followed.

First of all, Finnish *olla* ‘to be, to have’ and *ei* ‘no, not’ are verbs and, thus, following the WOLD definition, should be classified as content words. However, they have been classified as function words as they have no referential meaning; both are used as auxiliary verbs, and the latter comes close to a particle. In WOLD, the meaning ‘no’ is classified as a function word; the meaning ‘to be’ falls into the semantic category ‘verb’ but its semantic field is “miscellaneous function words.”

Second, Finnish adverbs are particularly ambiguous with respect to their classification into content and function words. According to WOLD, adverbs should be content words, but the database has only classified the meanings ‘near,’ ‘far,’ ‘fast’ (= ‘quickly’), and ‘slow’ as adverbs. Many of the meanings in the semantic category of ‘function words’ in WOLD are lexicalized as adverbs in Finnish: *ales* ‘down,’ *läpi* ‘through,’ *enemmän* ‘more,’ *heti* ‘immediately,’ *joskus* ‘sometimes,’ *myöhään* ‘late,’ *siellä* ‘there.’ Clearly, many of the Finnish adverbs that occur in the data should not be classified as content but as function words. This is the case with all adverbs that have the same kind of syntactical function as conjunctions, adpositions, and particles. They also often have the same stem as adpositions and pronouns.

Content words herein include adverbs that are morphologically transparent derivatives or inflected forms of adjectives and nouns, such as *kiva-sti* ‘nicely’ (*kiva*-ADV ‘nice’), *snadi-sti* ‘a little, slightly,’ *kova-sti* ‘hard,’ *aiko-i-na-an* ‘once, at one time’ (time-PL-ESS-POS.3PL), and *miele-llä-än* ‘gladly, with pleasure’ (mind-ADE-POS.3SG). Furthermore, some adverbs are included among content words as their meanings are classified as adverbs or adjectives in WOLD: *hiljalleen* ‘slow’ and *alasti* ‘naked.’

As Finnish swear words can be used syntactically rather freely, their word class is hard to define. Swear words have been counted as content words because they basically have referential meaning, e.g., *perkele*, *piru* ‘the devil,’ *helvetti* ‘hell.’

5 Analysis

This section describes lexical, phonological, and morpho-syntactic features of the data. Vocabulary is discussed in Section 5.1, in which the proportion of loan words is estimated and the etymological origin of the function and content words is discussed (5.1.2). Among the loanwords, there are many so-called core borrowings that do not designate a new concept but coexist with a Finnish word with the same meaning. The proportion of loanwords is especially high in the slang vocabulary, i.e., among the words that are not known in Standard Finnish or any of its dialects.

Section 5.2 presents a discussion of how the loanwords were adapted to Finnish word structure so that they could be inflected following the rules of (dialectal) Finnish. Loanwords may be adapted to Finnish grammar and their structure made more uniform by the use of slang suffixes, which are discussed in Section 5.3.

Section 5.4 covers phonological features, which, in addition to vocabulary, are the most obvious contact-induced features in OHS. The data contains several phonemes and word-initial consonant clusters that are either rare or totally unknown in Finnish dialects.

The morpho-syntax of OHS is discussed in Section 5.5. It seems clearly to be Finnish; even where the morpho-syntactic features in the data deviate from Standard Finnish, they are known widely in Finnish dialects and colloquial Finnish. However, the conjugation of OHS verbs and interrogative suffixes are discussed in more detail. As they have no direct parallel in Finnish dialects, it is possible that they have developed independently in OHS, at least in part.

5.1 VOCABULARY

5.1.1 Proportion of loanwords

The data comprises 1,272 lexical items, of which 340, or 26.7%, are of Swedish origin. A further 22 lexical items have been borrowed from Russian, 2 from English, and 2 from German. This makes a total of 366 loanwords, that is, 28.8% of the entire data set. The rest, 868 lexical items, or 68.2% of the data, are from the Finnish language. A further 38 lexical items could not be placed in any of the previously mentioned groups, owing to their uncertain provenance. (Mikkonen 2014, 68–69.) If the uncertain items are taken into account, then the proportion of borrowed lexical items in the data is 29–32%.

As far as tokens are concerned, the proportion of loanwords is considerably smaller. This is a result of the frequently used Finnish-based function words, such as *se* ‘it, that,’ *ja* ‘and,’ *niin* ‘so, then.’ The proportion of loanword tokens is about 15%. The 20 most frequently used words in the data, their word classes, and the frequency of their tokens are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. The 20 most frequently used words in the data, and their tokens (Mikkonen 2014, 57–58).

	lexical item	word class	English translation	tokens
1	<i>se</i>	pronoun	‘it, that, s/he’	625
2	<i>olla</i>	verb	‘to be, to have’	581
3	<i>ja</i>	conjunction	‘and’	430
4	<i>niin</i>	adv/conj	‘so, then’	355
5	<i>minä/mä</i>	pronoun	‘I’	216
6	<i>kun</i>	conjunction	‘when; as, than’	211
7	<i>ne</i>	pronoun	‘they’	161
8	<i>että</i>	conjunction	‘that, so’	157
9	<i>ei</i>	verb/particle	‘no’	154
10	<i>sitten</i>	adverb	‘then; next, after’	148
11	<i>siellä</i>	adverb	‘there’	132
12	<i>siinä</i>	adverb	‘there’	130
13	<i>me</i>	pronoun	‘we’	129
14	<i>no</i>	particle	‘well, so’	129
15	<i>joo</i>	particle	‘well, yes’	118
16	<i>kundi</i>	noun	‘boy, young man’	106
17	<i>mutta</i>	conjunction	‘but’	102
18	<i>silloin</i>	adverb	‘then’	97
19	<i>perkele</i>	noun	‘damn’, swear word	97
20	<i>tulla</i>	verb	‘to come’	75

Of the 20 most used tokens in the sample, 19 originate in the Finnish language. The most frequent Swedish-based word in the sample is *kundi* ‘boy, young man,’ which occurs 106 times. Function words are the most frequently used words, as in any other Finnish variant. For example, of the 20 most frequently used Finnish words in the frequency dictionary of Finnish (Saukkonen et al. 1979), 10 also appear in the data: *se*, *olla*, *ja*, *niin*, *kun*, *ne*, *että*, *ei*, *mutta*, and *tulla*. The data is compared with a frequency dictionary of Finnish dialects (Jussila et al. 1992) in Section 5.1.4.

5.1.2 Function and content words

Function and content words in OHS differ markedly in their etymological origin. The function words, which are also the most frequent items (see Table 1), are overwhelmingly Finnish. Included as function words are conjunctions, adpositions, particles, pronouns, and numerals. All of the words in the foregoing groups are Finnish; the only exception is the Swedish preposition *på* (see Example 2). Because the data is from free speech, there are a lot of fillers and discourse markers (*ai* ‘oh,’ *no* ‘well,’ *niinku* ‘like,’ *tuota* ‘er’). The pronouns in the sample are either Standard or colloquial Finnish, as are the cardinal numbers. There are also nouns in the sample that are

derived from Swedish numerals, such as *fima* ‘a five pence coin,’ *tisika* ‘a ten pence coin,’ and *trettika* ‘thirty,’ which refers to a house number. These are all counted as content words. (Mikkonen 2014, 54–55.)

The adverbs in the data are also mostly Finnish; the only apparent loan adverbs are *hatkaan* ‘away’ (< Russian *hodko* ‘quickly, eagerly’), *snadisti* ‘a little’ (< Sw. *snad*), *messissä* ‘along, with’ (< Sw. *med sig*), and *veke* ‘away, off’ (cf., German *Weg* or Swedish *väg* ‘road’). In this context, *messissä* and *veke* are counted as function words (see Section 4.4).

Nouns, verbs, and adjectives are counted as content words. The only two exceptions are the verbs *olla* and *ei*, which are used as auxiliary verbs. The proportion of loanwords varies across the different word classes: 43–45% of nouns, 38–40% of verbs, and 25% of adjectives. When all of the adverbs treated as content words are included, loanwords account for 35–38% of the content words in the data whereas, with the function words, the proportion of loanwords is less than 1%. The dichotomy between Finnish function words and Swedish content words in OHS is well known and has been exemplified by, e.g., Jarva (2008, 67).

5.1.3 Core borrowings and basic vocabulary

Many of the loanwords in the data are so-called core borrowings (Haspelmath 2009, 48) that do not designate a new concept but coexist with a Finnish word with the same meaning. Therefore, many synonymous expressions have been found, both Finnish and borrowed: e.g., *hyppää* – *hoppaa* ‘to jump,’ *kävellä* – *steppaa* ‘to walk,’ *seisoa* – *staijaa* ‘to stand,’ *jalka* – *klabbi* ‘leg,’ *kallio* – *bärtši* ‘rock,’ *mies* – *gubbe* ‘man,’ *vesi* – *voda* ‘water,’ *vanha* – *gamla* ‘old,’ *rödis* – *punainen* ‘red,’ and *iso* – *buli* ‘big.’ The word ‘nose’ is an interesting example of the various coexisting synonymous variants found even in this relatively small data set: it has two Finnish variants, *nenu* and *nokka*, and three Swedish variants, *knesa*, *knevde*, and *klyyvari*. The Standard Finnish word *nenä* does not occur in the data. (Mikkonen 2014, 56–57.) In many cases, only a borrowed word occurs in the data despite the fact that a common Finnish word was accessible to the OHS speakers. For example, the loanword *nykla* ‘key’ occurs in the data but the Finnish word *avain* does not. Several words for ‘girl’ are present, such as *friidu*, *gimma*, and *jentta*, but not the Finnish word *tyttö*. The same phenomenon occurs with *šagga* ‘food,’ *griinaa* ‘to laugh,’ *delaa* ‘to die,’ and *skeidanen* ~ *skiti* ‘dirty.’

Core borrowings make up most of the borrowed items in the data. Alongside these are a number of cultural loans, which “designate a new concept coming from outside” (Haspelmath 2009, 46). Among these are *bilika* ‘car,’ *spora* ‘street car,’ *dispari* ‘house manager,’ *mašunisti* ‘machinist,’ and *slaagi* ‘(football) team.’ Although Standard Finnish words for these urban or modern concepts existed, they were probably unknown to Finnish dialect speakers in the early 20th century.

It is clear from the discussion above that many loanwords in OHS are drawn from basic vocabulary, which is thought to be resistant to borrowing although the concept is vague and there is no agreement on which words

are included in a basic vocabulary. A well-known example is Swadesh's non-cultural vocabulary, which is not based on systematic research but has been described as the author's "best guess" (Haspelmath 2009, 36).

On the basis of the results of the WOLD project, Tadmor (2009, 68–71) has produced a new basic vocabulary list called the Leipzig-Jakarta list. 64 of the 100 words (or meanings) on the Leipzig-Jakarta basic vocabulary list also appear in the data, 29 (45%) of them with a word of Swedish origin. As already mentioned, in many cases, both Swedish and Finnish variants occur with the same meaning. Synonymous basic vocabulary pairs include *eldis* – *tuli* 'fire', *blude* – *veri* 'blood', *staijaa* – *seisoa* 'to stand', *duunaa* – *tehdä* 'to do/ make', and *kantraa* – *kaatua* 'to fall'. However, there are several meanings that are only expressed in the data with loanwords, such as *flatari* 'louse', *blosis* 'a wind', *ögari* 'eye', *flygaa* 'to fly', *griinaa* 'to laugh', and *skruutaa* 'to eat'.

5.1.4 Defining slang vocabulary

As mentioned in Section 5.1.1, the list of the 20 most frequently used words in the data (see Table 1) consists mostly of function words that are common in any variant of Finnish. A comparison of this list with a frequency list compiled for Finnish dialects (Jussila et al. 1992) reveals that the two are surprisingly similar. For the 20 most frequent lexemes in OHS, no less than 14 are among the 20 most frequent in Finnish dialects, and the four most common lexemes are ranked in the same order in both lists. The most notable exceptions are *kundi* and *perkele*, which are common in the data but do not occur at all in the database of the frequency dictionary of Finnish dialects. *Kundi* 'a boy, (young) male' originates from the Swedish *kund* 'customer' and is almost unknown in most Finnish dialects; the massive vocabulary of Finnish dialects contains only sporadic references to the word *kunti* ~ *kynti* 'customer, regular guest' (SMS s.v. *kundi*). Unlike *kundi*, *perkele* 'damn' (literally 'the devil') is an old and commonly used word in Finnish, but as the dialect speakers interviewed by the researchers were relatively reserved and conservative, they presumably considered it inappropriate to swear during an interview. Sivula (1995) has examined the avoidance of swearing in recordings of Finnish dialects. According to him (1995, 241), interviewees control their speech, whether consciously or not. The informal slang speakers in the present recordings did not experience any similar restraint when interviewed by a university student in his twenties. However, it is possible that, in reality, swearing is more common in slang than in rural dialects.

Given that the most frequent words in the data and in the frequency dictionary of Finnish dialects are identical, OHS would appear to be a variant of spoken Finnish. However, a different impression is gained when all the lexical items in the data are taken into consideration. The vocabulary in the data will now be compared with the contents of two dictionaries, one a dictionary of Finnish dialects (SMS) and the other a dictionary of Standard Finnish (NS). As the volumes of the SMS published to date only

cover words beginning with the letters A–K, the data will be limited to this vocabulary segment.

The SMS utilizes a massive database that covers all the rural dialects of Finnish. Therefore, if a given word is not included in the dictionary, it can be assumed to be unknown in any Finnish dialect. However, a word may be omitted from the SMS if it is interpreted as a loanword from the standard language, i.e., if it is not a genuine dialectal word. This may be the case with words occurring in the data that refer to concepts of modern society, such as *ehdonalainen* ‘parole, probation,’ *johtokunta* ‘(school) board,’ and *kansanedustaja* ‘member of parliament.’ They have apparently been incorporated into OHS from Standard Finnish. The data is also compared with what is in the NS, which was published in 1951 and describes the Standard Finnish used in the 1930s and 1940s. ‘Slang’ is defined herein by using these two sources as a benchmark: if a given word in the data does not occur in either the SMS or the NS, it is deemed a slang word.

The data includes 473 lexemes that begin with a letter from A to K. Of these, 269 are known in Finnish dialects or Standard Finnish (according to the SMS and NS, respectively). Furthermore, the SMS makes occasional references to 29 words that in OHS can be interpreted as independent loanwords or phonetic variants, however, the possibility that they are based on some variant of Finnish cannot be completely excluded.

Thus, 37–43% of the lexical items in the data can be classed as slang. These words are unknown in either Finnish dialects or Standard Finnish and must, therefore, be interpreted as innovations in OHS. The proportion is surprisingly high and reflects the significant difference between the vocabulary of OHS and the vocabulary of any other variant of Finnish. The vast majority of the slang words in the vocabulary of OHS are loanwords or words of unknown origin. Only a handful can clearly be traced to Finnish. Such words include *ildis* ‘a free evening’ (< *iltaloma*), *kassu* ‘garrison’ (< *kasarmi*), *keglu* ‘knife’ (< *kekäle*, lit. ‘cinder’). Of the 175 most definitely slang words, 144 are unquestionably loanwords, most of them of Swedish origin. The proportion of loanwords is thus 83%, which is in line with the “almost 80%” estimated by Paunonen (2006, 51).

5.2 ADAPTATION OF LOANWORDS

As already mentioned, all the words in OHS are inflected following the rules of (dialectal) Finnish. As Finnish is an agglutinative language, case endings or other suffixes often have to be added to the noun stems, which typically end with a vowel and comprise two syllables. If a loanword already has these same features, it can be used in OHS without any adaptation just by adding to it the suffixes demanded by the rules of Finnish grammar, e.g., from Swedish (*bastu* ‘sauna,’ *flikka* ‘girlfriend,’ *fylla* ‘drunkenness,’ *smedja* ‘smithy,’ *gubbe* ‘(old)man, boy’) and from Russian (*lafka* ‘shop, firm,’ *mesta* ‘place,’ and *voda* ‘water’).

When a loanword ends with a consonant, Finnish suffixes cannot be directly added to it. Thus a common strategy in Standard Finnish is to insert an extra vowel between the loanword and the suffix. The same occurs in

the data: frequently occurring extra vowels in the data are *-i* and *-u*, as in *ööli* ‘beer’ < *öl*, *hesti* ‘horse’ < *häst*, *blaadi* ‘tobacco, cigarette’ < *blad*, *friski* ‘healthy’ < *frisk*, *groussi* ‘strong’ (< German *gross*), *botu* ‘boat’ < *båt*, *fiksu* ‘smart’ < *fix*, *fisu* ‘fish’ < *fisk*, *futu* ‘foot’ < *fot*, and *vedu* ‘(fire)wood’ < *ved*. Many of the loanwords that end with a consonant end with the vowel *e* in OHS, but this may derive from the Swedish affix *-en/-et*, used to code definiteness, as in *dörre* ‘door’ (< *dörr-en* door-DEF), *blude* ‘blood’ < *blod-et*, *lande* ‘country’ < *land-et*, *šöte* ‘meat’ < *kött-et*. Words ending in *-a* may reflect Swedish definite or plural forms, as in *gamla* ‘old’ (< *gamla* old.DEF) and *nykla* ‘key’ (< *nycklar* key.PL).

In addition to adding extra vowels, loanwords ending with a consonant may be adapted to Finnish stems by adding a slang suffix; this is discussed in Section 5.3.

Swedish verbs, which typically have two syllables and end with a vowel, fall naturally into what is called in many text books the fourth conjugation of Finnish verbs (e.g., White 2001, 159; the verbs of this conjugation are traditionally called *supistumaverbit* ‘contracted verbs’, e.g., in Itkonen 1964 188–192). However, there are some peculiarities in the OHS data that give reason to postulate a distinct ‘OHS conjugation.’ (Jarva 2008, 73–74; verb conjugations are further discussed in Section 5.5.1.) Several verb stems have been borrowed from Swedish without any adaptation: *skrivaa* ‘to write’, *luktaa* ‘to stink’, *byggaa* ‘to build’, *kantraa* ‘to fall (over), to tumble’, and *hoppaa* ‘to jump’. The same is true of the verb *bonjaa* ‘to understand’ (< Russian *ponja-*).

When a verb in the donor language has only one syllable, it must be expanded with an extra syllable in OHS. The data exhibits only a few examples of this: *flytaa* ‘to flee, escape’ < *fly*, *rutsaa* ~ *ruddaa* ‘to row’ < *ro*, and *draisaa* ‘to draw’ < *dra*. In addition to two-syllable verb stems, two loan verbs consisting of three syllables also occur in the data: *kaveeraa* ‘to speak, talk’ originates from the Russian verb *govorit* but has possibly been associated with the Finnish word *kaveri* ‘friend, mate’ and with the Swedish derivative verb suffix *era*. *Brassailla* ‘to play (games)’ (< Sw. *brassa*) has a Finnish frequentative suffix. There are two variants to the way in which the Swedish *hjälpa* ‘to help’ has been borrowed: *jelppaa* and *jelppiä*. The latter is unique in the data since it is a loanword but ends with the vowel *i*; all the other verbs of this type are Finnish, such as *hankkia* ‘to buy, acquire’, *juhlia* ‘to celebrate’, and *oppia* ‘to learn’.

5.3 SLANG SUFFIXES

In OHS, it is common to manipulate words by means of specific enlargements known as ‘slang suffixes,’ of which the most common are *ari* and *is*. These slang suffixes have no semantic content and do not express any grammatical relation, but they are stylistic or affective devices. Thus the term ‘suffix’ is somewhat inadequate. It is, nevertheless, used here for traditional reasons. In Finnish, the terms *slangijohdin* ‘slang suffix, derivative affix’ and *slangijohdos* ‘slang derivative’ are commonly used (Nahkola 1999, ISK § 214); Wälchli (1995) calls slang suffixes ‘enlargements.’

The data contain over one hundred lexemes with a slang suffix. These are mostly loanwords or words of uncertain origin; only a few of them are Finnish.

The slang suffix *ari* derives from the Swedish agent suffix *are* and is used in many Swedish loanwords both in Standard Finnish and in OHS. In the data, this source of *ari* is present in such words as *brotari* ‘wrestler’ < *brottare*, *byggari* ‘builder’ < *byggare*, and *hugari* ‘knife’ < *huggare* ‘sword, sabre.’ Nevertheless, there are many cases in which *ari* is neither an agent suffix nor a loan but can only be interpreted as a non-etymological slang suffix. Sometimes it follows a one-syllable word: *gravari* ‘grave’ < *grav*, *munnari* ‘mouth’ < *mun*, or *ögari* ‘eye’ < *öga*. More commonly, however, the source word has two or more syllables: *bilari* ‘ticket’ < *biljett*; *bysarit* ‘trousers’ < *byxor*, and *tšeggari* ‘chain’ < *kätting*. It is noteworthy that in many cases the original Swedish word is a compound or otherwise complex word: *daggari* ‘earthworm’ < *daggmask*, *flatari* ‘louse’ < *flatlus*, *dispari* ‘house manager’ < *disponent*, and *smörgari* ‘sandwich’ < *smörgås*.

The slang suffix *is* has apparently come into OHS along with Swedish slang words (Jarva 2008, 70). In the data, the suffix is used, for example, in the following words: *golvis* ‘floor’ < *golv*, *rödis* ‘red’ < *röd*, *falskis* ‘secret, hidden’ < *falsk*, and *branttis* ‘bank, steep hill’ < *brant*. Sometimes a noun with the slang suffix *is* can be traced to a Swedish verb, e.g., *breggis* ‘broken (arm)’ < *bräcka* ‘to break’, *simmis* ‘swimming pool’ < *simma* ‘to swim’, and *strittis* ‘urinal’ < *stritta* ‘splash, splatter.’ The words *safkis* ‘canteen’, *dorkis* ‘nuthouse’, and *skeidis* ‘waste dump’ are apparently derived from *safka* ‘food’ (< Russian *zavtrak* ‘breakfast’), *dorka* ‘crazy’ (< Sw. *dåke*, *dåre*), and *skeida* ‘shit’ (< Sw. *skit*).

The third slang suffix commonly found in the data is *tši* ~ *tsi* ~ *tšu* ~ *tsu*, which is of unknown origin. It is used, for example, in the following words: *bärtši* ‘cliff’ < *berg*, *mutši* ‘mother’ < *mor*, *moder*, *tortši* ‘square, market’ < *torg*, *frötši* ‘mistress’ < *fröken* ‘miss’, and *goitšu* ‘hut’ < *koja*.

Each one of these slang suffixes often occurs with words whose etymology is difficult to establish; these words are phonetically manipulated or otherwise unexpected. For example, the following words may have originated either from Finnish or from Swedish: *pollari* ‘policeman’ (< Finn. *poliisi* or Sw. *polis*), *maijari* ‘(male) teacher’ (< Finn. *maisteri* or Sw. *magister*), *trabari* ‘staircase’ (< Finn. *rappu* or Sw. *trappa*), and *glitšu* ‘shed, cellar’ (< Finn. *liiteri* or Sw. *luder*). The following words bear only a slight resemblance to a possible source word: *disarit* ‘tits’ (cf., Finn. *tissi*), *glenuri* ~ *klenuri* ‘child, boy’ (cf., *klen* ‘weak’), and *gönkkis* ‘toilet, outhouse’ (cf., *gödsel* ‘excrement’). Some words are of unknown origin, such as *glitšari* ‘hit, clip (round the ear)’, *janari* ‘countryboy’, and *slurkkis* ‘police station.’

The data include only a few examples of apparently Finnish words that have been manipulated with a slang suffix: *rindis* ‘breast’ < *rinta*, *ildis* ‘a free evening’ < *iltaloma*, *romis* ‘junkyard’ < *romukauppa*, and *rantši* ~ *rantšu* ‘beach’ < *ranta*. This suggests that slang suffixes were originally used for the purpose of adapting loanwords to Finnish grammar and making their structure more uniform. In modern colloquial Finnish, slang suffixes are commonly used with Finnish words (Nahkola 1999; ISK § 214).

As already mentioned, the slang suffixes have no semantic content, and they should not be compared with derivative affixes. However, to some extent, they diverge semantically from each other: words with *ari* often refer to agents or living creatures while words with *is* refer to places or locations, but there are also exceptions, as the examples above illustrate.

5.4 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

In addition to vocabulary, the most obvious linguistic outcomes of language contact in OHS are phonological. In the first place, OHS contains phonemes that are unknown or rare in Finnish dialects. They include the voiced stops [b], [d], and [g], a voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant [š], an affricate [tš], and a voiceless labiodental fricative [f]. Examples include *bastu* ‘sauna’ (< *bastu*), *gamla* ‘old’ (< *gammal*), *hugari* ‘knife’ (< *huggare*), *dörre* ‘door’ (< *dörr*), *voda* ‘water’ (< Russ. *voda*), *šellaa* (< *skälla*) ‘to scold, fault’, *mašunisti* ‘machinist’ (< *maskin*), *tšennaa* ‘to know’ (< *känna*), *tšyrkka* ‘church’ (< *kyrka*), *faija* ‘father’ (< *far, fader*), and *safka* ‘food’ (< Russ. *zavtrak*). Among these ‘foreign’ consonants, [b], [g], and [f] can be geminated – [bb], [gg] and [ff]: *gubbe* ‘(old) man’ (< *gubbe*), *byggaa* ‘to build’ (< *bygga*), and *buffeli* ‘bumper’ (< *buffert*). The voiced dental stop [d] can also be geminated, as in the verb *ruddaa* ‘to row’ (< *ro*). However, in this case, [dd] does not derive from the source word.

Second, OHS has many word-initial consonant clusters, which are also unknown in Finnish dialects: *blaija* ‘prostitute’ (< Russ. *bljad*), *brotari* ‘wrestler’ (< *brottare*), *draisaa* ‘to draw’ (< *dra*), *groussi* ‘strong’ (< Germ. *gross* ‘big’), *skola* ~ *skole* ‘school’ (< *skola*), *sleepaa* (< *släppa*) ‘to let go, let loose’, *smörgari* ‘sandwich’ (< *smörgås*), *snöge* ‘snow’ (< *snö*), *stara* ‘old (man)’ (< Russ. *staryj*), *svenska* ‘Swedish (language)’ < *svenska*, *tvettaa* ‘to wash’ (< *tvätta*), and so on. Three-consonant clusters are also possible in OHS, but rare: *skriigaa* ~ *skriikaa* ‘to shout, scream’ (< *skrika*), *skvalraa* ‘to tell (tales)’ (< *skvallra*), and *strittis* ‘urinal’ (< *stritta* ‘to splash’).

Third, OHS violates vowel harmony, which is a constraint strictly adhered to in Standard Finnish. According to the rules, the front vowels [ä], [ö], and [y] cannot be used in the same word as the back vowels [a], [o], and [u]. However, the data includes the following three combinations of front and back vowels: *ö-a* in *röökaa* ‘to smoke’ (< *röka*) and *sökaa* ‘to look for, search for’ (< *söka*), *y-a* in *fylla* ‘drunkenness’ (< *fylla*) and *dyykkaa* ‘to dive’, and *ä-u* in *järkku* ‘iron’ (< *järn*).

In all the above examples, the foreign phonemes in OHS can be traced to the source words, but there are also several hypercorrect forms that do not derive from the source word. For example, there is an unetymological voiced stop in the following words: *bonjaa* ‘to understand’ (< Russ. *ponja-*), *blokkaa* ‘to pick (up), gather’ (< *plocka*), *goisaa* ‘to sleep’ < *koja*, *skagaa* ‘to shake, shudder’ (< *skaka*), *skeida* ‘shit’ (< Sw. dial. *skita, skeita*), and *faidaa* ‘to make love’ (< *fajtas* ‘to fight’). There are also hypercorrect word-initial consonant clusters, as in *klabbi* ‘foot’ (< *lab* ‘paw’) and *knesa* ‘nose’ (< *näsa*). Although hypercorrect forms are mostly based on loanwords, the verb *dallaa* ‘to step, tramp’ derives from the Finnish verb *tallata*.

Hypercorrect forms are also commonly manipulated, e.g., with slang suffixes. Examples in the data are *trabari* ‘staircase’ (< Finn. *rappu* or Sw. *trappa*), *botlari* ‘potato’ (< Finn. *pottu* or Sw. *potatis*), *breggis* ‘broken’ (< *bräcka* ‘to break’), *ildis* ‘a free evening’ (< Finn. *iltaloma*), *glitšu* ‘shed, cellar’ (< Finn. *liiteri* or Sw. *lider*), *šubu* ‘soup’ (< Finn. *soppa*, Sw. *soppa* or Russ. *sup*), and there are many others. In addition, it is not uncommon to find manipulated words or variants that originate from the same source word: *gönkkä* ~ *göntsä* ~ *göna* ‘excrement,’ *gönkkis* ‘toilet,’ and *gönaa* ~ *gönkkaa* ‘to defecate’ (cf., *gödsel* ‘excrement’), and *kraga* ~ *krageli* ~ *kraisu* ‘collar,’ and *kragaus* ~ *kragninki* ‘fight’ (cf., *krage* ‘collar’). Since the same source word can have as many as five variants in this relatively small data set, it is clear that variation is very common in OHS and that it can sever words from their origins in such a way that they can no longer be connected with a source word except via more regular variants. For example, *dövää* ‘to stink’ is a variant of *döftää* ~ *döftaa*, which apparently derives from the Swedish *dofta*, and *šagga* ‘food’ cannot be connected with the Russian word *zavtrak* ‘breakfast’ without the etymologically more regular *safka*.

Although the phonological and phonotactic features mentioned above are strikingly un-Finnish and have equivalents in Swedish, they are known in Standard Finnish and not all of them are alien, even in dialects. The fricative [f] and some word-initial consonant clusters are known in many southern and western Finnish dialects, including those in the districts bordering on Helsinki. They are particularly common in recent loanwords and sound-symbolic words. Itkonen (1989, 350–351) states that [f] and the word-initial clusters *kl*, *kr*, *kn*, *pl*, *pr*, *tr*, *fl*, and *fr* are known in the dialect of Nurmijärvi, 20 kilometers north of Helsinki. According to him, they may have been adopted along with Swedish loans, but they also have “apparent affective color,” and they can be used hypercorrectly in both native and loanwords: *färeet* ‘shivering’ (< Finn. *väreet*), *kriipee* ‘to climb’ (< Finn. *kiipe-*), and *koofärtti* ‘envelope’ (< Sw. *kuvert*). There is, then, an apparent resemblance between OHS and the Nurmijärvi dialect, however, what might be seen as foreign elements in native words are only infrequently applied in OHS.

Nevertheless, these foreign features are far more common in OHS than in any Finnish dialect, and some of them are known only in Standard Finnish; such cases are [b], [g], and [š] and many word-initial consonant clusters. The affricate [tš] is unknown even in Standard Finnish, where only the consonant cluster [ts] is used.

The voiced dental stop [d] is unknown in Finnish dialects, but it occurs in Standard Finnish. According to Paunonen (1993, 57), it was replaced in the working class areas of Helsinki with the western dialect [r], but no examples of this occur in the data. In eastern dialects, instead of [d] or [r], the sound is lost: for example, the Finnish word for ‘eight’ is pronounced *kahdeksan* (Standard Finnish) ~ *kahreksan* (western dialects) ~ *kaheksan* (eastern dialects). The same goes for the consonant cluster [ts], which is pronounced [tt] in western dialects but as [ht] in eastern dialects, e.g., *metsä* ~ *mettä* ~ *mehtä* ‘forest.’

The data shows variation between standard and dialectal variants. First of all, [d] is often pronounced as in Standard Finnish: *käde-ssä* (hand-INE), *tiedä-tte* (know-2PL), *joudu-i-n* (have.to-PST-1SG), but it can be lost, particularly in the cluster *hd*: *yhdeksän* ~ *yheksän* ‘nine,’ *kaheksan* (‘eight;’ in Standard Finnish *kahdeksan*), *kahe-lle* (two-ADE; in Standard Finnish *kahdelle*). The examples below illustrate this variation. In Example (3), [d] occurs in the Finnish words *meidän* and *yhdellä*, as well as in the loanword *kundeilla* (< Sw. *kund*). In Example (4), [d] is not present in the word *meijän* (cf., *meidän*).

- (3) meidä-n kunde-i-l ol-i yhde-llä haglari
 we-GEN boy-PL-ADE have-PST one-ADE shotgun
 ‘one of us boys had a shotgun’
- (4) meijä-n talo-n jenta-t ol-i kivo-i
 we-GEN house-GEN girl-PL be-PST nice-PL.PAR
 ‘the girls in our house were nice’

Second, the standard variant [ts] varies with dialectal [tt] ~ [t]: *seitsemässä* (seven-INE), *ratsu* ‘mount,’ *ruotsi* ‘Swedish language,’ *kato* ~ *katos* (look. IMP.2SG), *itte* ‘self’ (in Standard Finnish *itse*), *viitti* (bother.NEG, in Standard Finnish *viitsi*). Example (5) illustrates the dialectal form *ittemme* instead of the Standard Finnish *itsemme*.

- (5) me duuna-ttiin monta kundi-i itte-mme
 we make-PAS.PST many boy-PAR self-POS.1PL
 majjari-ks
 magister-TRA
 ‘many of us boys completed a (swimming) diploma’

The above examples suggest that the matrix language in OHS is neither Standard Finnish nor any given dialect but instead reflects an “unofficial colloquial language” (Paunonen 1993, 58–59). In this kind of urban and antinormative speech, people do not use variants that can be stigmatized as rural, nor do they use overly formal or official forms. When this colloquial speech differs from Standard Finnish, it displays features that are widely distributed across Finnish dialects; in other words, these features are not characteristic of any one specific dialect. What is of special interest in this context is that this type of colloquial speech was said to be evolving “among young people” in Paunonen’s data, which was collected from 1972 to 1974 (Paunonen 1993, 57). However, the present data demonstrates that similar speech patterns were used as the matrix language of OHS by elderly men in the 1960s.

5.5 MORPHO-SYNTACTIC FEATURES

The morpho-syntax of OHS seems clearly to be Finnish. Not only the native Finnish words but also the Swedish and other loanwords, as well as words heavily manipulated – whether with slang suffixes or by other means – all

follow the rules of Finnish grammar. The only apparent exception is the code-switching to Swedish in Example (2).

Even where the morpho-syntactic features in the data differ from Standard Finnish, they are known widely in Finnish dialects and colloquial Finnish, and therefore cannot be interpreted as innovations in OHS. For example, in Standard Finnish, verbs must agree in person and number with their subjects, but it is common in free speech for 3PL forms to ignore this rule. This is illustrated in Example (4) in which the subject *jentat* is in the plural while the verb *oli* is in the singular. It is also common to use passive forms instead of 1PL forms, as is shown in Example (5), in which the subject is the 1PL pronoun *me*, but the verb *duunattiin* is in the passive form.

These kinds of morpho-syntactic differences between OHS and Standard Finnish should not, then, be interpreted as innovations in OHS. However, a number of peculiarities remain that have been noted in the literature. Among these are the OHS verb conjugation (Paunonen 2000, 22–23; Jarva 2008, 73–74) and the interrogative suffix *ks ~ ts* (Paunonen 2000, 23–24; Jarva 2008, 75–76), which will be discussed in this section. As they have no direct parallel in any Finnish dialect it is possible that they have developed, at least in part, independently in OHS.

Research has also focused on the choice of the object case (Paunonen 2000, 25; Jarva 2008, 74), although in the data, this invariably follows Standard Finnish grammar. There are some examples of the use of a personal pronoun in the genitive case (*mu-n*) in utterances in which it should be in the accusative (*mu-t*), according to the rules of Standard Finnish. This is a western dialectal feature also mentioned by Paunonen (2000, 24).

5.5.1. OHS conjugation

Many verbs in OHS follow an idiosyncratic verb conjugation, which is a simplified form of the Finnish fourth conjugation with an infinitive ending *ta/tä* (White 2001, 159; Jarva 2008, 72–74). In Standard Finnish, there is a difference between verbs in the first and fourth conjugations, as illustrated in the following table with the verbs *kastaa* ‘to dip, dunk’ and *vastata* ‘to answer’ (Itkonen 1989, 362; Jarva 2008, 73).

Table 2. The first and fourth verb conjunction.

	1 st conjugation	4 th conjugation
INF	<i>kasta-a</i>	<i>vastat-a</i>
1SG	<i>kasta-n</i>	<i>vastaa-n</i>
3SG	<i>kasta-a</i>	<i>vastaa</i>
PST.3SG	<i>kasto-i</i>	<i>vastas-i</i>
PP	<i>kasta-nut</i>	<i>vastan-nut</i>
IMP.2PL	<i>kasta-kaa</i>	<i>vastat-kaa</i>
NEG.IMP.2PL	<i>älkää kasta-ko</i>	<i>älkää vastat-ko</i>

In the first conjugation, the verb stem (*kasta-*) is not altered, only in the past tense the final vowel changes before the past tense suffix /i/ (*kasta + i > kasto(i)*). The fourth conjugation features two possible verb stems: one ending with a consonant (*vastat-a ~ vastan-nut*) and the other ending with a long vowel (*vastaa-*). Furthermore, the A infinitive (*kastaa*) and 3SG in the present tense (*kastaa*) are similar in the 1st conjugation, while they differ in the 4th conjugation (*vastata* and *vastaa*, respectively). Thus, the 1st conjugation is simpler in that it has only one verb stem, and the 4th conjugation is simpler in that the verb stem is not altered in the past tense.

In OHS, most loan verbs are conjugated in a way that combines the Standard Finnish 1st and 4th conjugation paradigms: they have only one stem as in the 1st conjugation, but they follow the 4th conjugation in that the verb stem ends with a long vowel (*aa/ää*), and the past tense forms end with the suffix *s(i)*. In the following examples, (6) and (9), the A infinitive forms are *draisaa* ‘to pull, withdraw, drag,’ and *tšiigaa ~ tsiigaa* ‘to look,’ and the negative imperative forms are (*älkää*) *draisako* (7) and *tšiigako* (11). They follow the 1st conjugation. In contrast, the past tense forms are *draisas* (8) and *tsiigasi* (10), and the participle form is *tsiigannu* (12), all of which follow the 4th conjugation.

- (6) me yrite-tään draisa-a sitä vek
we try-PAS pull-INF it-PAR off
‘we’re trying to pull it [= fish-hook] off [the nose]’
- (7) älkää ny draisa-ko kundi-t
NEG.IMP.2PL now pull-NEG.IMP.2PL boy-PL
‘don’t pull it [fish-hook] now, boys’
- (8) ne draisa-s oikein flintti-in
they pull-PST really face-ILL
‘they [= policemen] really hit [us] in the face’
- (9) se-n täyty kolme kerta-a päivä-s tšiiga-a
he-GEN have.to.PST three time-PAR day-INE look.out-INF
‘you had to look out three times a day [so that the bigger boys would not find you]’
- (10) Mä aukas-i-n ove-n ja tšiiga-si
I open-PST-1SG door-GEN and look-PST
‘I opened the door and looked’
- (11) älkää tšiiga-ko tänne
NEG.IMP.2PL look-NEG.IMP.2PL here
‘don’t look over here!’
- (12) ne ei tšiiga-nnu yhtään
they NEG.3SG look-PP at.all
‘they [= policemen] didn’t care at all [when they hit us]’

The Finnish dialects spoken near Helsinki also mix the 1st and 4th conjugations, a practice that has been interpreted as a contact-induced feature. The area of this “morphological disturbance” in Finnish dialects borders directly on a Swedish-speaking area. (See map in Itkonen 1964, 192.) However, the examples put forward by Itkonen (1989, 362–365) appear more random than those in OHS since both the native and borrowed verb paradigms are mixed. In the data, every verb unknown in Standard Finnish or the Finnish dialects follows the OHS conjugation; in contrast, every Finnish verb of the 1st or the 4th conjugation follows Standard Finnish grammar. This marked dichotomy suggests that the primary function of the OHS conjugation is to easily adapt borrowed verbs to Finnish grammar.

5.5.2. The interrogative suffix *ks* ~ *ts*

In OHS, the Finnish interrogative suffix *ko* ~ *kö* is extended with the suffix *s* and then reduced to *ks*. In questions, the personal pronoun immediately follows the verb (Jarva 2008, 75). This is also seen in the data, in which most of the cases are in 3SG:

- (13) ol-i-ks se jurris vai selvä
 be-PST-Q he drunk or sober
 ‘was he drunk or sober?’

As the 3rd person pronoun *se* ‘s/he, it’ occurs after the interrogative suffix, it is hard to determine whether the suffix ends with *s* or whether it has merely lost its final vowel and fused with the pronoun, e.g., (Standard Finnish) *oliko se* > **olik se* > *olikse*. However, the final *s* of the suffix is clearly present when it is followed by a word that does not begin with *s*, as in Example (14). There is also one example of 1SG (15) in which the suffix *ks* is evident.

- (14) vielä-ks Eetu elä-ä
 still-Q Eetu live-PR.3SG
 ‘is Eetu [A male’s name] still alive?’

- (15) saa-n-ks mä tul-ta
 get-1SG-Q I light-PAR
 ‘can I have a light?’

In most cases of 2SG, the personal suffix *t* is retained but with no interrogative suffix used at all; thus, questions are marked only by the inversion in word order (Example 16). However, one example occurs of 2SG without a personal ending (17).

- (16) muista-t sä ne stenusoda-t
 remember-2SG you those stone.fight-PL
 ‘do you remember the stone fights?’

- (17) muista-ks sä si-tä Snelli-n kundi-a
 remember-Q you that-PAR Snell-GEN guy-PAR
 ‘do you remember that guy Snell [last name]?’

As plural forms do not occur in the data, it is not possible to describe the system of question forms without personal endings in OHS suggested by Jarva (2008, 75–76). Omitting the ending *t* in 2SG is natural as it avoids the complicated consonant cluster **tks*: e.g., *muista-ks* ‘do you remember’ instead of **muistat-ks*. However, there is no evidence of the omission of personal endings in general.

The OHS question forms in the data can be explained by reference to Finnish dialects, in which the interrogative suffix *ks* and the *ko ~ kö*, known in Standard Finnish, are both widely used. However, the omission of the suffix in 2SG (as in Example 16) is exceptional in Finnish dialects, with most examples occurring in the dialects of South Eastern Finland. (Forsberg 1994, 60–61.) It is debatable how much these dialects have influenced the colloquial Finnish spoken in Helsinki. According to Forsberg (1994, 65), the omission may have been triggered by bilingual native Swedish speakers, as there is no interrogative suffix in Swedish.

6 Discussion

According to the data, the proportion of words of Swedish origin in OHS is 29–32%. This is significantly fewer than the estimates presented in the literature. These former estimates were not based on systematically collected data or recordings, and they focused exclusively on the slang vocabulary of OHS, whereas the present study treats the whole sample as an example of one form of speech and counts every lexical item in the data as an OHS word. However, in Section 5.1.4, all the words known in Finnish dialects or Standard Finnish have been excluded from the so-called slang vocabulary of OHS. In this sample, the proportion of loanwords and those of uncertain provenance amounts to 90%. This supports Paunonen’s (2006, 51) claim that “almost 80 percent” of the vocabulary of OHS is of Swedish origin.

The results of this study may be compared with data collected in the LWT project (*Loanwords in the World’s Languages*; see Tadmor 2009). Tadmor (2009, 56–57) divides languages into four categories according to their rate of borrowing, i.e., the proportion of loanwords in the lexicon. Based on this criterion, OHS would be placed in the category of high borrowers (languages with a borrowing rate of 25–50%), and, out of the total of 41 languages in the list, it would be ranked in 10th–15th place for lexical borrowing rates. This demonstrates that the proportion of borrowed words in OHS is not exceptional in world languages.

Function and content words in OHS differ markedly from each other in their etymological origin. Loanwords account for 35–38% of the content words in the data whereas the proportion of function words that are loanwords is less than 1%. A difference of this order is rarely seen anywhere as the average borrowing rate of function words in the LWT project is 12.1%. However, some other languages in LWT have also borrowed only a few function words, if any, and there are languages with a similar relation between borrowed content and function words as that found for OHS. For

example, in Imbabura Quechua, 32.5% of the content words are loanwords compared to only 2.3% of the function words (Tadmor 2009, 55).

Borrowing rates can also be estimated for word classes. In the LWT project, the average borrowing rate is 31.2% for nouns, 15.2% for adjectives and adverbs, and 14.0% for verbs (Tadmor 2009, 61). In the data, the corresponding rates are 43–45%, 16% and 38–40%. The striking borrowing rate for verbs in OHS can be explained by the high numbers of synonymical verbs that refer to fighting, running, playing, and other outdoor activities, while the LWT project focuses on semantically basic verbs. There may be several verbs in the data that correspond to just one semantic verb in the LWT project. However, two languages in LWT have borrowed even more verbs than nouns. An interesting parallel with OHS is Saramaccan, in which as many as 44% of the verbs are borrowed, compared to 37.1% of the nouns (Tadmor 2009, 66). Whereas Saramaccan has undergone partial relexification by Portuguese, in the case of OHS, it might be more appropriate to define borrowing as paralexification as the loanwords often coexist with a Finnish word with the same meaning. This kind of core borrowing (see Section 5.1.3) can be explained by the prestige of the donor language, and it is also common in situations of extensive bilingualism (Haspelmath 2009, 48). This would be in line with the sociohistorical and linguistic background of OHS.

Many of the loanwords in OHS have been drawn from basic vocabulary, which is thought to be resistant to borrowing. In this study, OHS loanwords were compared with the Leipzig-Jakarta list introduced by Tadmor (2009, 68–71). 64 of the 100 words (or meanings) on the list also appear in the data, of which 29 (45%) are characterised by a word of Swedish origin. The data may also be compared to the 100 most borrowing-resistant items on the LWT meaning list (Tadmor 2009, 67). A comparison reveals 58 equivalent meanings in OHS, of which 17 (29%) are loanwords. The numbers are relatively high, even if some previous estimates have been even higher; up to about 80% of the verbs, adjectives, and nouns in the Swadesh list (Jarva 2008, 68).

The phonological and morpho-syntactic features of the data are largely in agreement with previous findings, but some observations can be made.

Although OHS has some phonological and phonotactic features that are strikingly un-Finnish and have equivalents in Swedish, not all of them are unknown in all Finnish dialects. The fricative [f] and some word-initial consonant clusters are known in many western Finnish dialects, also in those around Helsinki. It is apparent that these features have been adopted along with loanwords, and both in dialects and in OHS they can be used hypercorrectly, i.e., they cannot be traced to a source word. However, OHS applies foreign elements to native words only on rare occasions. Also the use of slang suffixes is more common with borrowed than with native words. This suggests that the slang suffixes were originally used to adapt loanwords to Finnish grammar and render their structure more uniform.

While some morpho-syntactic features of OHS differ from those of Standard Finnish, they are widely known in Finnish dialects and colloquial

Finnish and, therefore, cannot be interpreted as innovations in OHS. Many verbs in OHS follow an idiosyncratic OHS conjugation, which combines the Standard Finnish 1st and 4th conjugation paradigms. This has been interpreted as an outcome of language contact, as a similar mixing of Finnish verb conjugations is also known in Finnish dialects close to the language border with Swedish. However, the data shows that the OHS conjugation is used only with borrowed stems; Finnish verbs are conjugated according to the rules of Finnish grammar. This suggests that the primary function of the OHS conjugation is to facilitate the adaptation of borrowed verbs to Finnish grammar. On the basis of the examples in Paunonen's dictionary (Paunonen 2000, 23; see also Jarva 2008, 77–78), more radical morpho-syntactic changes in OHS may have occurred around the beginning of the 20th century, but they are not detectable in the data, which were recorded in 1965.

It can be concluded that the grammatical differences between OHS and other Finnish variants have no particular significance. Morpho-syntactically, the sample herein can easily be interpreted as a variant of Finnish. It is neither Standard Finnish nor any given dialect, but it is an example of an “unofficial colloquial language” (Paunonen 1993, 58–59). In phonology and phonotactics, contact-induced features are more apparent, but mostly parallel those in neighboring Finnish dialects. In addition, foreign features and slang suffixes are mostly applied to borrowed or heavily manipulated words; native words mostly remain the same.

While the proportion of borrowed words in OHS is not exceptional among world languages, it is nevertheless remarkable. Furthermore, core borrowing is common and even basic vocabulary has been borrowed. Such massive borrowing has led to paralexification, i.e., the occurrence of both Swedish and Finnish variants that express the same meaning. Roughly 40% of the vocabulary of OHS can be defined as slang, a proportion unknown in Finnish dialects or in Standard Finnish. This slang vocabulary is overwhelmingly borrowed, and it can be seen as the most apparent contact-induced feature of OHS. It is this that has made this variety of urban speech virtually incomprehensible to contemporary dialectal or Standard Finnish speakers.

Glossing abbreviations

1PL	first person plural
1SG	first person singular
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
3PL	third person plural
3SG	third person singular
ADE	adessive
ADV	adverb
CON	conditional
DEF	definitive

ESS	essive
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
INE	inessive
INF	A infinitive
NEG	negation
PAR	partitive
PAS	passive
PL	plural
POS	possessive
PP	past participle
PR	present tense
PST	(simple) past tense
Q	question
TRA	translative

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