"LÄHETÄÄNKÖ SINNE KORILLE RUNAA VAI TÄYTYYKÖ HAKEE SEIFTIÄ"

Anglicisms in Finnish Disc Golf Commentary

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Abstract			
Frisbeegolf on viime vuosina kasvanut Suomessa varteenote	ettavaksi urheilulajiksi. Laji on kehitetty Yhdysvalloissa,		
josta on lajin ohella saapunut siihen liittyvää termistöä laina	sanoina suomen kieleen. Englanninkielistä alkuperää olevaa		
lainasanastoa kutsutaan yleisnimityksellä "anglismit". Angli	ismeja on muiden urheilulajien sekä kielten osalta tutkittu		
laajalti, mutta suomen kielen frisbeegolfsanastoa ei ole tähän mennessä tarkasteltu.			
Tämän kandidaatintutkielman tavoitteena on täyttää tätä tutk	•••		
kielen frisbeegolfsanastossa esiintyy ja kuinka niitä on omal	·		
frisbeegolfaiheisen YouTube-videon selostuksissa esiintyviä	• •		
sisällönanalyysin keinoin Paula Sajavaaran luokittelukehyst			
lainaamisprosesseihin. Jatkotutkimusmahdollisuuksia ovat n	äin ollen esimerkiksi anglismien käyttötapojen		
pragmaattinen analysointi tai käyttötapojen laajempi sosiolingvistinen tarkastelu.			
Tutkimuksessa selvisi, että frisbegolfanglismeista suurin os	sa on suoraan lainattuia. Lainoien kääntämiseen on		
Tutkimuksessa selvisi, että frisbeegolfanglismeista suurin osa on suoraan lainattuja. Lainojen kääntämiseen on			
kuitenkin taipumusta silloin, kun sana on helposti käännettävissä. Lisäksi frisbeegolfsanaston lainaaminen aiheuttaa			
semanttista laajenemista, jossa suomen kielen alkuperäissanasto saa lisämerkityksiä lainaamisen vaikutuksesta.			
Keywords: Anglicism, borrowing, loanwords, disc golf			

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1 INTRODUCTION

"Vähän näyttää siltä, että saadaan starfreimi heti tähän finaalikiessin alkuun." Finnish speakers may be baffled by a few language choices in this quote: what on earth are 'starfreimi' and 'finaalikiessi' and why do they appear so out of place in an otherwise seemingly harmonious sentence. Others may find some familiarity in these words in the middle of an otherwise peculiar extract. The sentence is a quote from the speech of Finnish disc golf commentators and the curious language choices it contains are anglicisms, words or units of language originating from English. These particular cases have been adjusted in form to approximate the conventions of the Finnish language but still carry markers which reveal their English roots.

This thesis examines the borrowing of disc golf terminology from the English language to Finnish. I chose to research anglicisms in disc golf for several intertwined main reasons. First, disc golf is a sport which has gained notable traction in Finland in recent years, evoking the interest of nearly a million people (Suomen frisbeegolfliitto: 700000 frisbeegolfista kiinnostunutta täysi-ikäistä). In addition to the game and its culture, the terminology of the sport has carried over to Finland from the sport's native United States. This appears in disc golf jargon as anglicisms which are detectable by their appearance through sustained traits form English.

Second, as will be further discussed in section 2.2, anglicisms have been researched in the contexts of other sports and languages, but the effect of English on Finnish disc golf language has remained unresearched until now. It is apparent, then, that the jargon is shared by a notable community of people, which calls for academic examination. The aim of this thesis is to examine what kinds of anglicisms exist in Finnish disc golf jargon and how they have been adapted into the language through different borrowing processes. The anglicisms used as data are extracted from the speech of Finnish disc golf commentators and analysed individually using a frame of seven anglicism categories (Sajavaara 1989).

The scope of a bachelor's thesis limits the analysable units of language to individual words in their root form. In other words, the analysed units in this thesis are individual anglicisms which are extracted from the original context in which they appear. This means that the analysis in this thesis is by no means complete but rather opens the discussion for research on disc golf

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anglicisms while leaving room for further research. This could, for example, mean sociolinguistic analysis on the social effects of disc golf language or perhaps pragmatic analysis on the practical usage of the jargon.

The thesis begins with a description of disc golf, its language and the key concepts related to borrowing. Next, my analysis method, qualitative content analysis, as well as the commentary transcription used as data are introduced. This is followed by the analysis where the data is examined in terms of each of the seven analysis categories. Finally, the results and possible pathways for further research on the topic are discussed in a concluding discussion section.

2 DISC GOLF AND LEXICAL BORROWING IN SPORTS

In this section, I will introduce the sport of disc golf and discuss how the study of lexical borrowing relates to it. In addition, I will explain several key concepts relevant to the study of lexical borrowing including loanwords and anglicisms.

2.1 Background on disc golf and its language

The origin of the sport of disc golf dates back to the 1960s United States (Menickelli and Pickens 2016). As the name of the sport suggests, the dynamic, rules and parts of the lingo of disc golf resemble those of traditional golf. Disc golf is typically played on courses with 9 to 18 holes, each hole begins from a designated teeing area, a 'tee pad', and finishes in a basket. The objective of the sport is to complete each hole in the fewest number of throws possible. Similarly to golf, each hole has a 'par' which is considered the optimal or desired maximum number of throws in which one should complete the hole. It is no wonder, then, that disc golfers have borrowed terms such as *par, birdie, tee, hole, course* and *fairway* from golf.

Disc golf arrived in Finland in the late 1970s (Helsingin frisbeegolfrataselvitys: 6). Today, Finland has established a position as the leading disc golf nation in Europe. According to the Professional Disc Golf Association's 2020 year-end demographics, Finland ranks second in the world in the number of courses, official PDGA sanctioned disc golf events and player count after the United States. A survey conducted by Sponsor Insight in 2021 estimates that the number of Finns who are interested in disc golf is roughly 700,000 or more than 1,000,000 including minors (Suomen frisbeegolfliitto: 700000 frisbeegolfista kiinnostunutta täysi-ikäistä) which is a notable number considering the population of roughly 5,500,000 people.

Along with the sport, Finnish disc golfers have borrowed and adopted some of the jargon used in the sport's native United States. This phenomenon and linguistic concepts related to it will be discussed in the following sections.

2.2 Previous research on disc golf and sports language

Seppo Nieminen, who is often credited for having brought the sport of disc golf to Finland, has done his master's thesis on the language of flying disc sports (Nieminen 1995). The thesis discusses word-formation processes regarding the language of disc sports. In addition, it contains a lexicon of flying disc vocabulary. Nieminen does name a few earlier non-academic attempts at creating a flying disc glossary such as *Frisbee, sports and games* by Charles Tips and Dan Roddick (1975) and *Frisbee fun* by Margaret Poynter (1977) (Nieminen 1995: 21). However, he argues that during the creation the of these works, the world of flying disc sports was in a stage of swift evolution. Therefore, the vocabulary was not ready to be standardised (Nieminen 1995: 21). Due to the scarcity of literature on the topic area, Nieminen used personal acquaintances from his travels to the United States as primary sources for information for his thesis.

Apart from Nieminen's (1995) efforts, most accounts of disc golf language are mostly unofficial glossaries on the internet. Menickelli and Pickens (2016), for example, touch on the issue of lexical borrowing in disc golf: "we have lengthy conversations with colleagues who are avid traditional golfers, and if you were to eavesdrop on our dialogue, you would have no idea we were talking about different sports" but do not delve into the matter linguistically.

There is, however, a considerable amount of research on lexical borrowing in the field of sports in general. Budincic (2014) discusses the role of English in the unification of sports language. She notes that most English sports terminology especially in the field of martial arts originates from the Far East while influences from other languages are only occasional. In addition, she concludes that some borrowed terms are adapted to the orthography and pronunciation while others are unassimilated and can be considered 'foreign words' (Budincic 2014: 1848).

Milić (2013) and Ćirić-Duvnjak (2013) discuss similar processes in their respective studies regarding anglicisms in Serbian sports terminology. Both studies categorise borrowing processes in terms of morphological and semantic adaptation. Ćirić-Duvnjak (2013), however, discusses phonological adaptation as well as the effects of anglicisms on national identity which, she concludes, does not suffer from the inflow of anglicisms.

Balteiro's (2011) research studies the same issue in the Spanish language using a quantitative approach. In the study, a corpus of sports anglicisms is categorised into different classifications based on whether the anglicisms are adapted or unadapted to the recipient language and the kinds

of adaptation processes they have undergone. In addition to this, Balteiro (2011: 35) discovered that the majority of the terms in the corpus have not been accepted into the official Spanish dictionary, el Diccionario de la Real Academia Española.

It can be concluded, then, that previous research on the language of disc golf is rather scarce while lexical borrowing in sports in general has been researched rather extensively. As discussed in section 2.1, the community of players in Finland is becoming rather significant, which creates a curious linguistic phenomenon as more and more players are adapting shared terminology to discuss the sport. Numerous disc golf terms are borrowed into the Finnish language from English, but this process has not been researched before. I hope to begin to fill this research gap by studying the anglicisms and their borrowing processes in disc golf language in this thesis.

2.3 Language concepts

Nieminen (1995) suggests that the language of flying disc enthusiasts has a role in constructing the community of players. He describes the language of flying disc sports as "the kind of language the players speak and write; the kind of language one has to understand to belong, to be a part of the group." (Nieminen 1995:2) The group of disc golfers in Finland forms a community that shares a common set of expressions to discuss the sport which are adopted when becoming affiliated with the sport. Considering that the community spans across the nation and includes hundreds of thousands of players and does not require a formal process of joining, it is not a tightly-knit group. It appears, however, that the language players share has an impact on the unity of it.

In their discussion on Communities of practice, Li et al. (2009) note that modern communities no longer require residing in a common location but are rather bound by their common interests and goals. Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999: 174) characterize a Community of Practice (CoP or CofP) as a group of people who engage in a common endeavour in mutual engagement. In this process, the community develops characteristics and common practices such as 'ways of talking' (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999, 174). Wenger (1998, as quoted by Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999: 174) suggests that joining a CoP happens via two stages of membership. First, one becomes a 'peripheral member' and later progresses to a 'core member' by 'acquisition of sociolinguistic competence'. In other words, joining a CoP requires learning the linguistic practices of it.

Wenger (1998, as quoted by Li et al.: 2009) lists three dimensions of a Community of Practice. These include 'mutual engagement', 'joint enterprise' and 'shared repertoire'. Mutual engagement refers to the casual interactions that the members of the community have. In the case of disc golfers, this includes playing together and discussing the game either in person or via Computer-mediated communication. Joint enterprise is the negotiated group in which the members are participating. Members are aware of their membership in the institution and their role in constructing it. The third dimension, shared repertoire, includes 'common resources and jargons that members use to negotiate meaning and facilitate learning' (Li et al. 2009).

The language of disc golfers, then, can be considered a jargon. Disc golfers utilize language and terminology which can be partially difficult to grasp for those not familiar with the sport or its community. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines jargon as "the technical terminology or characteristic idiom of a special activity or group" and gives the term 'sports jargon' as an example of a terminology pertaining to a special group. According to Yule (2010: 259), jargon creates and reinforces social connections among social groups and differentiates them from 'outsiders' of that group. This exclusivity is what differentiates jargon from slang which, Yule (2010: 260) argues, is used to distinguish oneself from others rather than connecting with them. Therefore, I will consider the language of Finnish disc golfers jargon as it is used to establish and maintain connections with the community. This is not to say that the community is exclusive, but shared language rather serves as a unifying tool. Finnish disc golf jargon contains a considerable volume of loanwords which will be discussed in the following sections.

2.3.1 Lexical borrowing

Haspelmath (2009: 36) defines *loanword* as "a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing." Loanwords are opposed to native words which can be traced back to the origins of the language. The origins of especially older words are occasionally unclear, however, and in the case of such words it is practically impossible to be certain about whether a word has been borrowed at some point in history (Haspelmath 2009: 38). Nevertheless, the focus of this thesis is on loanwords in disc golf which have been borrowed somewhat recently and can therefore be conclusively classified as loanwords. Balteiro (2011: 25) adds that loanwords may be adapted to the recipient language functionally or formally in terms of

phonetics and morphology. In other words, loanwords undergo adaptation processes which mould them to suit the spoken and written conventions of the receiving language. These adaptation processes are part of the focus of this thesis.

Grant (2014), in turn, characterizes the process of lexical borrowing as "copying words from one speech tradition to another." According to Haspelmath (2009: 36), the concept of borrowing is understood in two senses: as a general term for all copying processes or in a narrower sense for the process of adopting foreign words into a speaker's native language. In this thesis, I will use the term in its broader and more common sense.

The language from which a word is borrowed is known as a 'donor language' and the receiving language is called a 'recipient language' (Grant 2014). Sajavaara (1989: 65) suggests that the most commonly borrowed words are nouns. There is a grammatical reason for this: nouns are easier to adapt to the system of the recipient language and are therefore borrowed more frequently than verbs (Haspelmath 2009: 35). Haspelmath (2009: 36) adds that languages have so called 'core vocabulary' which rarely changes as a result of borrowing but does not mention a concrete description as to what constitutes the core of a language.

One reasonable division is that of open and closed word classes (Aikhenvald 2015: 99). Closed classes such as prepositions, conjunctions and pronouns are less likely to be affected by borrowing and could therefore be what Haspelmath refers to as the "core". Regardless, borrowed terms which pertain to a specific or marginal cultural group, which disc golf terms mostly are, are rarely adopted by the general public (Sajavaara 1989: 70). It can be reasoned, then, that since borrowed words in disc golf are used by the group of disc golfers limited in size, they are unlikely to affect the core.

2.3.2 Anglicisms

The English language is globally in an influential position. Its use as a lingua franca of international communication and the predominant language of popular culture, business and professional as well as academic communication has resulted in English influencing other languages (Pulcini et. al 2012: 2). In terms of vocabulary, the influence of English appears as anglicisms which are loanwords of English origin. Görlach (2003: 1) defines *anglicism* as "a

word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language." This definition has its shortcomings, though, as it does not include calques (translated anglicisms) or semantic change (meaning change or expansion).

It is no wonder, then, that note that linguists have differing opinions on what qualifies as an anglicism (Pulcini et. al 2012: 11). Some scholars consider the term to refer to words which suit the definition above whereas others suggest that it should encompass larger units of language or the entire phenomenon of borrowing from English. Pulcini et. al (2012: 5), however, stress that "what counts as an anglicism may be tailored to the scope of the research". Therefore, the term 'anglicism' will be used as understood by Görlach's definition with the addition of calques and semantic influence.

In addition to prestige and cultural influence, the recipient language's speakers' knowledge of the donor language enhances proneness for borrowing (Sajavaara 1989: 65). The English competence of Finns is relatively high (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö 2017: 15), which may enhance borrowing. The focus of this research is on Finnish disc golfers' language which contains a notable amount of anglicisms. Sajavaara (1989: 85-86), who discusses the influence of English on the Finnish language, has developed a widely used categorization of the types of anglicisms in the Finnish language which will be used as the analysis frame in this thesis. It involves seven categories which are introduced in Table 1.

Туре	Definition
1. Direct loans	Noticeably foreign loanwords which range from not adapted to fully adapted.
2. Calques	Words translated directly from English.
3. Meaning extensions	Finnish words which have gained additional meanings due to English influence.
4. Partial calques	Words which contain both directly borrowed

Table 1: Sajavaara's categorization of anglicisms

	and translated elements.		
5. Loanwords which are only loosely	Loanwords whose meaning only loosely		
connected to their English counterpart	follows the original English meaning. These		
	are divided into three additional categories:		
	a) The meaning has contracted.		
	b) The meaning has expanded.		
	c) The meaning is not connected to the		
	English equivalent despite similar word		
	form.		
6. Partially borrowed loanwords	Only a part of the English word has been		
	borrowed.		
7. Abbreviations and initialisms	International abbreviations and initialisms of		
	English origin.		

2.3.3 Why does lexical borrowing occur?

New phenomena, trends and social change create a need for naming new things and discussing current issues through linguistic means. Borrowing is one of several ways to expand or enrich the vocabulary of a language. Existing vocabulary may be used to accommodate new needs, but vibrant languages often borrow resources from others. Words and other linguistic resources are borrowed from geographically or linguistically close languages as well as culturally, politically or economically influential languages (Sajavaara 1989: 65).

The motives for lexical borrowing can be divided into a simple albeit not unproblematic dichotomy. This includes *cultural loans* for which there is no pre-existing equivalent in the recipient language and *core borrowings* which duplicate a meaning which a word in the recipient language already has (Haspelmath 2009: 46). It would seem that cultural loans are simply borrowed because of necessity. However, as Haspelmath (2009: 46) notes, all languages have sufficient resources for creating their own equivalents for these phenomena. Therefore, necessity is not a sufficient explanation for borrowing. Sajavaara (1989: 69) notes that words do not transfer between languages in a vacuum. Instead, they are borrowed with a concept. There is

usually an additional influence which causes the necessity for borrowing. As was discussed in section 2.1, disc golf originates from the mostly English-speaking United States from which it arrived in Finland in the late 1970s. Many, disc golf anglicisms, then, are examples of borrowings which have been borrowed with concepts related to the sport.

The reason for core borrowings, in turn, is more complicated. A suggestion mentioned by Haspelmath (2009:49) and Sajavaara (1989: 70) is prestige of the donor language. Sajavaara argues that borrowing occurs from languages and cultures which are perceived as prestigious and fashionable to gain appreciation and evoke attention. Haspelmath (2009:48) names "the impression that we want to convey on others and the kind of social identity we want to be affiliated with" as examples of the appreciation that borrowing from a prestigious language may cause. The case of borrowing in sports, then, is that English is in a prestigious position and therefore radiates sports terms to languages globally. This is noted by, for example, Budincic (2014: 1844) and Milić (2013: 66) who, respectively, call English the 'official' or 'international' language of sports. Borrowings in sports may, however, include both cultural and core borrowings.

3. PRESENT STUDY

The aim of this thesis is to form a general view of what kinds of anglicisms appear in Finnish disc golf jargon and how they have been adapted into the Finnish language. The basis of my analysis is the commentary in two Finnish disc golf tournament videos. My research questions are:

- 1. What kinds of adaptation processes have disc golf anglicisms appearing in Finnish disc golf commentary undergone?
- 2. What are the grammatical reasons for the anglicisms appearing in such forms?

As illustrated in table one, the adaptation processes mentioned in the first question include the adaptation of directly borrowed words, translated words (calques) as well as semantic change.

3.1 Data

My data consists of the commentary in two YouTube videos. They are play-by-play compilations from the 2021 Finnish disc golf pro tour. The videos were selected from two YouTube channels: *Disc Golf Finland* and *Disc Golf Stream - Suomi*. Each video has two Finnish speaking commentators meaning that the speech of four commentators is analysed in total. The initial idea was to analyse only one video, but after conducting a pilot study with a single video, it turned out that the number of different anglicisms was not sufficient to form the desired general view of Finnish disc golf anglicisms. Having two videos, then, ensures a larger variety of anglicisms while keeping the data in suitable proportion. As shown in appendix 1, the two videos yielded a total of 87 different anglicisms.

Analysing commentary from professionally produced tournament coverage has several advantages. First, the commentators have lengthy experience and notable expertise of the sport. Therefore, they are familiar with the sport jargon and are likely to display their knowledge to give a professional impression. In addition to professionalism, in play-by-play videos the commentators focus on describing the sport itself leaving less room for discussions irrelevant for this research. Therefore, the data is rich in analysable content.

According to Jewitt (2012, 5), one of the general advantages of video and other recorded data is that it captures "temporal sequential interaction." In other words, it preserves the speech and interaction of the commentators in its original form. This is a beneficial quality of the data as it allows for careful scrutiny of the language and ensures that every case of anglicisms gets included in the data. Videos and other recorded data have certain disadvantages as well. It provides large amounts of data with numerous potential aspects to consider in the analysis. According to Jewitt (2012, 6), this may result in an overly descriptive and weak analysis. Therefore, in this analysis the anglicisms are analysed individually outside of their surrounding contexts to find consistency in an otherwise potentially overwhelming form of data. Another possible drawback of recorded data is that it may distort social interaction as participants are aware of being recorded (Jewitt 2012, 9) In this case, however, the commentary was not originally recorded for research purposes, which is why such distortion should not occur in great volumes.

3.2 Methods

As discussed earlier, the aim of this research is to study the *kinds* of anglicisms which appear in disc golf jargon. In other words, the emphasis is on quality. Therefore, the research method chosen for this research is *qualitative content analysis*. According to Schreier (2012, 2) qualitative content analysis is a suitable method whenever the data is rich in content and some degree of interpretation is needed to comprehend its meaning. It can be applied for verbal or visual data collected by the researcher or sampled from other sources such as the internet (Schreier 2012, 3).

Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009, 95-98) list three forms of content analysis which differ in their degree of "purity". This refers to how much predetermined units of analysis or theory guides the analysis process. Schreier (2012: 60) clarifies the idea with the terms *inductive* and *deductive* analysis. The first approach is content-based (inductive) analysis in which no units of analysis are established in advance and previous theory or knowledge should not affect the interpretation, ideally leading to a "pure" result. In reality, however, purity is an ideal that cannot be achieved as the researcher's previous perceptions are bound to affect the analysis to some extent (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009, 96). The second form of content analysis, theory-guided analysis, accounts for

these issues by acknowledging that theory affects the analysis. Therefore, theory is consciously used as a loose guiding principle when conducting the analysis.

The third form is theory-based (deductive) analysis. In theory-based analysis, a theory, frame or authority affects the analysis (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009, 97). Theory-based analysis was chosen as the form of content analysis in this research because as discussed in section 2.3, Sajavaara's (1989: 85-86) categorization of anglicisms (table 1) is used as a frame. Similarly, it is acknowledged that other theory described in the background section guides the analysis. Schreier (2012: 147) stresses that the frame should be tested in the pilot study phase to establish the categories. As an existing model was used in this the categories were set, but the existing model demanded determining how to divide the anglicisms in their correct respective categories. These issues are discussed in the following section.

After deciding the target (data) and frame (categories and theory), the next phase in content analysis is transcribing the data into written form (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009, 92). The videos were transcribed using a basic level of transcription. In basic transcriptions, all spoken language is written down but special characters which indicate paralanguage such as tone of voice or pace are not used (Saaranen-Kauppinen and Puusniekka 2006). This was done to simplify the transcription process because, as mentioned, the anglicisms are analysed outside of the original commentary context, and therefore paralanguage need not be marked in the transcriptions. Finally, the anglicisms were extracted from the transcriptions and listed in a table (appendix 1). This table is the final form of data used in the following analysis.

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Finnish is an agglutinative language, which means that words are commonly inflected using affixes. Since the data was transcribed from speech, many of the anglicisms appeared in inflected forms. Inflections are of no practical relevance to this research because the pragmatic properties of the anglicisms are not analysed. In other words, the anglicisms are analysed outside the original context in which they appeared, which is why I decided to exclude affixes and analyse the anglicisms in their root form to simplify the data. For example, "gäppi" appeared in the commentary with the suffix *-stä* (gäpistä) but it is analysed in its root form. This is not to say that Finnish morphology and its inflections are irrelevant or uninteresting. Rather, the pilot study revealed that root words alone allow plenty to analyse for the scope of this research and including inflections could weaken the analysis as a whole. Consequently, this choice introduces an opportunity for further future research that includes pragmatic aspects of the anglicisms.

Some of the anglicisms appear as parts of compound words as well as by themselves. Examples of this are 'putti' which also appears in the compound word 'haaraputti' and 'draiveri' which also appears in 'väylädraiveri' and 'fairway draiveri'. This leads to the question of whether to treat them as separate words or derivatives of the same anglicism. As mentioned earlier, there are many definitions for anglicisms, some of which include larger units of language than words. In addition, it is a matter of definition whether compound words qualify as words. After careful deliberation, I decided to analyse these anglicisms as separate concepts due to their semantic properties and classification in the anglicism categories. The anglicisms' original English counterparts refer to separate entities and it is therefore logical to treat them as such in this research.

Coding and categorizing the data is an essential stage of the content analysis process. In this analysis, Sajavaara's categorization of anglicisms is used as the analytic frame. Despite having a predetermined model with clearly defined categories, some issues arose in the process. A number of anglicisms initially seemed to suit several categories. The adjective 'vakaa', for example, could be considered both a calque and a loan meaning extension. It is directly translated from the English equivalent word 'stable' which is used to characterize a straight-flying disc golf disc in the sport jargon. In this sense, the anglicism could be categorized as a calque. However, the word

'vakaa' appeared in the vocabulary of the Finnish language prior to it being used in disc golf jargon and English influence has only extended its meaning to refer to the flight of a disc. After consideration, I rationed that it belongs in the category of meaning extensions for this reason. Its derivatives 'ylivakaa' (overstable) and 'alivakaa' (understable) were placed in the category of calques as they do not appear in the Finnish language as such outside the sphere of disc golf.

After these practical considerations of categorising the data, the result is the following. The data contained a total of 87 different anglicisms. Expectedly, the majority of them (73) were nouns accompanied by ten verbs and four adjectives.

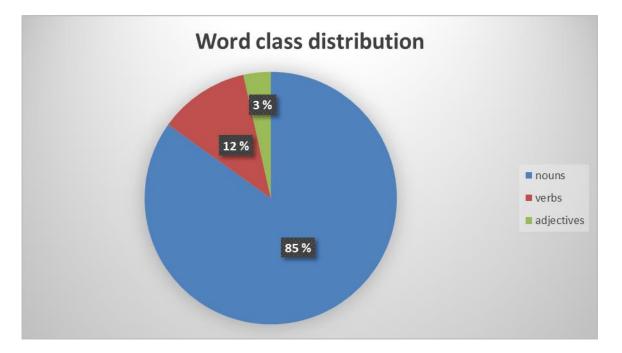


Figure 1. Word class distribution within the data.

The four adjectives in the data are not direct loans, but rather existing words or calques whose meaning and use has extended to the field of disc golf. These include the 'vakaa', 'alivakaa' and 'ylivakaa' discussed above as well as 'bogivapaa' (bogey free) which belongs in the category of partial calques. The borrowed adjectives in the data, then, have not expanded the vocabulary of the Finnish language at large but have rather extended the semantics of existing adjectives. The case of the verbs is similar. Four of the ten verbs are somewhat established Finnish anglicisms outside of disc golf jargon. These are *stopata* (to stop), *blokata* (to block), *fleksata* (to flex) and *seivata* (to save). Again, these anglicisms have entered the language through English influence

but not in the context of disc golf. They have rather gained additional meanings to describe the game.

The prevalence of nouns in the data is an expected result. Adjectives and verbs are part of a language's "core" vocabulary which is less likely to be changed as a result of borrowing. In addition, disc golf jargon pertains to a limited group of Finnish speakers which is why it is unlikely to affect the language at large. The examples above reveal that change has mostly occurred on a semantic level in terms of verbs and adjectives.

Six of the seven Sajavaara's categories appeared in the data. There were no significant semantic discrepancies between anglicisms and their English counterparts, and therefore the only group not present in the data was anglicisms whose meaning only loosely follows the English counterpart. Semantic discrepancies tend to appear in established and widespread anglicisms which have developed additional meanings as a result of extensive use among the recipient language's speakers (Sajavaara 1989: 72). This may explain why there were none in this data. The distribution of the categories present in the data is illustrated in figure 2.

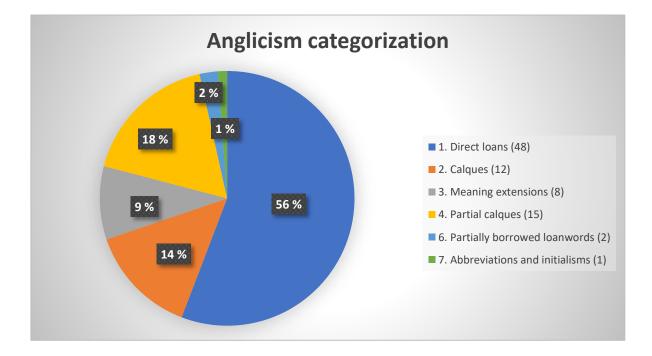


Figure 2. Percentages of anglicism types.

4.1 Direct loans

The majority of anglicisms in the data are direct loans. They account for 48 or 56% of the 87 anglicisms. This category encompasses a host of cases varying in their adaptation to the Finnish language. In other words, some of them are noticeably foreign in terms of pronunciation or their written form while others appear more phonotactically compatible with the conventions of the Finnish language. As mentioned earlier, direct loans can be placed in three loose subcategories based on their degree of adaptation to the grammatical conventions of the Finnish language.

There were only three cases of 'citation loans' (unadapted words) in the data. These were *birdie*, *eagle* and *par* which are spelled identically to their English equivalents and show little difference in pronunciation. Most of the direct loans in the data have undergone some degree of adaptation into the Finnish language. In many cases, it is difficult to unambiguously determine whether these direct loans are partially adapted 'special loans' or fully adapted 'common loans'. One criterion for separating the two is that partially adapted loans contain consonants that are uncommon in Finnish such as *b*, *d*, *g* and *f* which many cases in the data do. In the end, however, it is open for interpretation which anglicisms have shed their foreign markers and become fully adapted.

The orthographic adaptation of many of the directly borrowed anglicisms reflects the phonologic principle of the Finnish language: there is a close correspondence between orthography and phonology in the Finnish language meaning that each letter generally represents a single phoneme (sound), and each sound is correspondingly marked by only one letter. Many anglicisms in the data have adopted a spelling which follows the Finnish orthographic principle but reflects the English pronunciation. The *a* in 'fade', for example, has been replaced by *ei* [e1] (feidi) to align the pronunciation [feid] with Finnish spelling conventions. Similarly, the *a* in 'gap' [gæp] is replaced by \ddot{a} ($\ddot{g}\ddot{a}ppi$) and 'bogey' ['bəo.gi] is spelled as *bogi* [bogi] to accommodate the pronunciation of the final -ey. Other example cases of such adaptation include *fleksata* (to flex), *griini* (green) *naissata* (to nice) and *freimi* (frame).

It is uncommon for Finnish words to end with a consonant (Sajavaara 1989: 98). A recurring theme in three of the examples above (gäppi, griini and freimi) as well as several other directly borrowed nouns in the data is the addition of an -i at the end of words ending with a consonant or a consonant sound in English. 'Drive', for example, ends with a consonant sound [draɪv], which is why -i appears at the end of the anglicism *draivi* [draɪv1]. In some cases, the consonant

appearing before the added -i is duplicated. To clarify this with examples from the data, the phenomenon appears in *gäppi* (gap), *layuppi* (layup), *outti* (out), *skippi* (skip) and *spotti* (spot). This process adds a syllable to otherwise monosyllabic words which are not characteristic of the Finnish language (Sajavaara 1989: 98).

The aforementioned examples best suit the definition of partially adapted or 'special loans'. They have been adapted to better suit the phonology of the Finnish language but are easily identifiable as anglicisms nonetheless. In fact, the only examples of conclusively fully adapted direct loans in the data are coexisting forms of less adapted anglicisms. For example, alternative forms such as *pirkku*, *pirkko* and *pörö* appeared for the anglicism *birdie* in the data and *anhyseri* went by the name *antsa* on a few occasions. These forms follow the principle of close correspondence between pronunciation and spelling in the Finnish language and therefore blend in the language well. Therefore, they could be classified as fully adapted direct loans or 'common loans'. However, they come across more as nicknames for an actual anglicism since they appear alongside a less adapted equivalent.

There are several viable explanations for the prevalence of direct loans in the data. First, loanwords which are used by a marginal group of speakers tend to maintain their original form (Sajavaara 1989: 70). Second, as mentioned earlier, words usually transfer to another language with a concept. Many of the directly borrowed anglicisms in the data are unique to disc golf and have entered the Finnish language along with the sport and its related phenomena. Therefore, native Finnish equivalents do not exist for them which may be why a majority of the terms have been adopted as such. In such cases, translating the term is complicated and adapting the English term appears to be more efficient than coining a Finnish equivalent. This may be the case especially with complicated sport-specific terms such as *anhyseri* (anhyzer), *hyseri* (hyzer), *feidi* (fade) and *fieldi* (field).

A coexisting translated term appeared in the data for some directly borrowed anglicisms, which suggests that not all of them have been borrowed due to necessity or practicality. The native Finnish term *rysty* is used alongside the anglicisms *backhandi* or *bäkkäri*. In addition, *Kämmen* and *fore* (forehand) as well as *aukko* and *gäppi* were used rather interchangeably. It seems, then, that since native equivalents are used alongside borrowed anglicisms, cultural influence and

prestige may play a role in the use of directly borrowed anglicisms as well or, for one, there is no strong preference for using one or the other.

Finally, Finns' English competence is relatively high (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö 2017: 15), and therefore most native Finnish speakers should have little trouble learning, understanding and adopting anglicisms into their idiolect. Additionally, the tendency for the phonological, morphological or orthographic adaptations discussed above makes the anglicisms more natural to use in speech and writing. These factors appear to create favourable preconditions for disc golf anglicisms to be borrowed directly.

4.2 Calques and partial calques

Regardless of the tendency for borrowed special vocabulary to maintain its original form, a notable share of the anglicisms in the data were partially or fully translated. In fact, after direct loans, the largest categories in the data were partial calques (15 instances or 18% of the data) and calques (12 instances or 14% of the data). It should be noted that all of these were compound words, partial calques being anglicisms where only one stem of the compound has been translated.

A common pattern within calques in the data is their propensity for translation. The calques in the data contain elements for which there are existing equivalents in the Finnish language, which appears to make translating the more efficient option for adapting the anglicism in these cases. For example, 'front nine' was referred to as *etuysi* in the data. The compound is formed of 'etu' which translates to 'front' and 'ysi' which means 'nine'. Similar cases were 'lead card' which appeared in the translated form of *kärkikortti* and 'island hole' which was referred to as *saariväylä*.

Since calques are formed of native elements, they are often nearly undetectable as anglicisms unless compared with the original equivalent (Nuutinen 1989: 111). For Finnish speakers, the aforementioned examples as well as some other calques in the data including *sakkopiste* and *puttityyli* might come across as terms coined by Finnish speaking disc golfers if the original English term is not familiar. The case of partial calques, however, is different since one part of the compound is directly borrowed, and the other is translated.

The partial calques in the data, then, appear to support the idea of effortlessly translatable elements being translated and more 'foreign' ones maintaining their original forms with possible adaptational modifications. This is apparent in cases such as *väylädraiveri* (fairway driver) where 'fairway' has been translated to 'väylä', but 'driver' remains in its directly borrowed form 'draiveri' and *foreheitto* which contains the calque 'heitto' and the directly borrowed 'fore'. The directly borrowed elements in both instances appeared alone as directly borrowed anglicisms in the data as well.

Nuutinen (1989: 110) mentions that if there is an opportunity for accurately translating the borrowed term, it is usually translated. They elaborate that this is especially common in the case of compound words. It can be concluded, then, that the calques and partial calques in the data follow the common regularities of borrowing. The foreign elements for which there is no clear translation appear to be mostly borrowed directly, and easily translatable words are often translated.

4.3 Meaning extensions, partially borrowed loanwords and initialisms

The final categories to appear in the data were meaning extensions (eight instances or nine percent of the data), partially borrowed loanwords (two instances or two percent of the data) and initialisms (one instance or one percent of the data). In the case of meaning extensions, the English influence is purely semantic. In other words, borrowing only affects the meaning of the native word. In this sense, they resemble calques, the difference in this case being that meaning extensions do not form a new compound from multiple existing words but expand the semantic properties of a single existing word. There is a divisive pattern between these categories, then: as mentioned, all calques in the data were compound words whereas none of the eight meaning extensions are, which suggests that foreign influence causes semantic change more commonly for simpler and more straightforward words.

To clarify this with examples, the meaning extensions in the data include words such as *kiekko* (disc), *kori* (basket), *kierros* (round), *linja* (line) and *kortti* (card). All of these words were commonly used in the Finnish language before the influence of English disc golf terminology but have gained additional meanings within disc golf jargon. *Kori*, for example, has similar semantic properties as the English word *basket* as it refers to referents such as 'basketball basket' or 'gift

basket', but now it has expanded to follow the additional English meaning of 'a metal target used in disc golf'. This finding appears to contradict the earlier claim that disc golf borrowing does not affect the language at large. However, semantic expansion does not necessarily occupy any space from other vocabulary of the language but rather enriches the uses of commonly known nouns.

As mentioned, there were two partially borrowed loanwords and one initialism in the data. *Fore*, which also appears as part of the partial calque 'foreheitto', is a shortened directly borrowed form of the English word 'forehand'. What is particularly surprising is that in *backhandi*, which appeared in the data as well, the latter part of the compound has been borrowed whereas in the case of 'forehand' it has been omitted. There does not seem to be a clear explanation for this apart from language speakers striving for efficiency. In other words, the term may have shortened over time to establish a simpler term.

The other partially borrowed loanword is *seiftata* which is the equivalent of the verb 'to play safe'. A hypothetical direct translation to the English verb would be 'pelata seiftiä'. In this case, the direct translation would be an example of 'noun disease' where foreign influence causes an unnecessary combination of a noun and a predicate verb to be used instead of a verb which would suffice on its own. Therefore, seiftata is the more grammatically suitable borrowing to use as it follows the syntactic structure of the Finnish language despite being the result of only borrowing a part of the original term.

5 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research was to establish a basic understanding of what kinds of anglicisms appear in disc golf jargon and how they are generally adapted into the Finnish language. The research showed that the majority of disc golf anglicisms are nouns, which is characteristic of borrowing. In addition, there was a tendency for translation in instances where translatable elements appeared. Regardless, directly translated anglicisms were the dominant category indicating that disc golf jargon contains a considerable number of new terms with no pre-existing Finnish equivalent.

The data revealed that the adaptation of directly borrowed anglicisms in disc golf terminology tends to follow the Finnish orthographic principle of the written form mimicking the pronunciation. Therefore, many directly borrowed anglicisms had undergone orthographic and phonological adaptation. In addition to these additions to the Finnish lexicon, the data revealed that borrowing in the field of disc golf has caused semantic expansion to native Finnish words. The expansion had mostly added new meanings to the words, and therefore had not changed the semantics profoundly.

It should be noted that the list of anglicisms analysed in this research is by no means exhaustive. It only contains anglicisms used by four commentators in two rather short videos. Therefore, this research does not provide generalisable quantitative accounts on anglicisms in Finnish disc golf jargon. The numbers presented in figures one and two are only a general depiction of anglicisms based on the limited data used in this thesis and may not represent the distribution of anglicism types or categories accurately or conclusively. The categories were based on a predetermined model by Paula Sajavaara, and another categorization could yield different results.

This provides grounds for potential further research. An addition of a quantitative approach could help understand the actual frequency and prevalence of anglicisms in disc golf jargon. The context of the anglicisms was not considered extensively in this study, either. The reasons for borrowing were briefly discussed in section 2.3.3, but the analysis did not provide conclusive explanations for the use of disc golf anglicisms. Therefore, a pragmatic approach or a survey

could assist in forming a more complete and generalized view on the purposes of disc golf anglicims as well as the motivations for using them.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Anglicisms in the transcripts

Original form	Root word	Туре	English equivalent	Sajavaara's category
alivakaampaa	alivakaa	adjective	understable	2.
anhyserin	anhyseri	noun	anhyzer	1.
antsa	antsa	noun	anhyzer	1.
apsi	apsi / upsi	noun	overhand	
askelputin	askelputti	noun	step putt	4.
back nainia	back naini	noun	back nine	1.
backhandia	backhandi	noun	backhand	1.
birdie	birdie	noun	birdie	1.

birdieistään junaa	birdiejuna	noun	birdie train	4.
blokkaa	blokata	verb	(to) block	1.
				4.
bogeista vapaata	bogivapaa	adjective	bogeyfree	
bogi	bogi	noun	bogey	1.
bäkkäri	bäkkäri	noun	backhand	1.
draiveria	draiveri	noun	driver	1.
draivi	draivi	noun	drive	1.
etuysillä	etuysi	noun	front nine	2.
fairway draiverille	fairway draiveri	noun	fairway driver	1.
feidatakki	feidata	verb	(to) fade	1.
feidit	feidi	noun	fade	1.
fieldillä	fieldi	noun	field	1.
finaalikiessin	finaalikiessi	noun	final round	4.
fleksaamaan	fleksata	verb	(to) flex	1.
fleksiheitto	fleksiheitto	noun	flex shot	4.
fore	fore	noun	forehand	6.
foreheitto	foreheitto	noun	forehand shot	4.
front nainin	front naini	noun	front nine	1.
griini	griini	noun	green	1.
gäpistä	gäppi	noun	gap	1.
haaraputin	haaraputti	noun	straddle putt	4.
haiseri	haiseri / hyseri	noun	hyzer	1.
hasardilla	hasardi	noun	hazard	1.
holari	holari	noun	hole in one	1.
hyseri	hyseri	noun	hyzer	1.
iiglen	iigle / eagle	noun	eagle	1.
kiekko	kiekko	noun	disc	3.
kierroksella	kierros	noun	round	3.
korista	kori	noun	basket	3.
kortilta	kortti	noun	card	3.
kärkikortin	kärkikortti	noun	lead card	2.
kääntää yli	kääntää yli	verb	turn over	2.
layuppi	layuppi	noun	layup	1.
linjaa	linja	noun	line	3.
lovee	love	noun	love	1.
lähestymisessäkin	lähestyminen	noun	approach	3.
lähäri	, lähäri	noun	approach	2.
midarinki	midari	noun	midrange	1.
naissasit	naissata	verb	(to) nice	1.
nostoputin	nostoputti	noun	push putt	4.
oobee	oobee/OB	noun	OB (out of bounds)	7.
oppikirjaheitto	oppikirjaheitto	noun	textbook shot	2.
- ppjuricitto				

outti	outti / autti	noun	out of bounds	1.
paarin	paari	noun	par	1.
paluuputti	paluuputti	noun	comeback putt	4.
par	par	noun	par	1.
patent pendingiä	patent pendingi	noun	patent pending	1.
pirkko	pirkko	noun	birdie	1.
pirkkupaikalla	pirkku	noun	birdie	1.
pommihysse	pommihysse	noun	hyzer bomb	4.
putteri	putteri	noun	putter	1.
putti	putti	noun	putt	1.
puttipelin	puttipeli	noun	putting game	4.
puttityyli	puttityyli	noun	putting style	4.
pörö	pörö	noun	birdie	1.
rinki ykkösessä	rinki ykkönen	noun	circle one	2.
rinkiin	rinki	noun	circle	3.
rollaa	rollata	verb	(to) roll	1.
rollin	rolli	noun	roll	1.
runaa	runata	verb	(to) run	1.
rundilla	rundi	noun	round	1.
sakkopisteen	sakkopiste	noun	penalty stroke	2.
seiftataanko	seiftata	verb	play safe	6.
seivattua	seivata	verb	(to) save	1.
skippejä	skippi	noun	skip	1.
spotti	spotti	noun	spot	1.
starfreimi	starfreimi	noun	star frame	1.
stoppaa	stopata	verb	(to) stop	1.
sydänsaariväylä	saariväylä	noun	island hole	2.
takaysille	takaysi	noun	back nine	2.
testeriputti	testeri	noun	tester	1.
tiiltä	tii	noun	tee	1.
tsäänssi	tsäänssi	noun	chance	1.
tuplabogi	tuplabogi	noun	double bogey	4.
tuplamando	tuplamando	noun	double mando	4.
vakaa	vakaa	adjective	stable	3.
väylädraiveria	väylädraiveri	noun	fairway driver	4.
ykköskortilta	ykköskortti	noun	first card	2.
ylivakaalla	ylivakaa	adjective	overstable	2.