New English words in *Scrubs* and their Finnish translations

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää amerikkalaisessa komediasarjassa Tuho-osastossa (engl. *Scrubs*) esiintyvien uusien englanninkielisten sanojen syntytapoja ja näiden sanojen suomenkielisiä käännöksiä. Tutkimuksessa keskitytään seitsemään erilaiseen sananmuodostustekniikkaan, sekä tekstitysten kääntämiseen. Niinpä tutkimuskysymys on kaksiosainen: 1. Minkä tyyppisiä sananmuodostustekniikoita käytetään uusien englanninkielisten sanojen luomisessa Tuho-osastossa, ja 2. Kuinka nämä uudet sanat on käännetty suomeksi.

Tutkittavia sananmuodostustekniikoita on seitsemän, sekä lisäksi huomioidaan vanhoissa sanoissa tapahtuneet semanttiset muutokset. Näiden teorian pohjan luo suurimmalta osalta Bauerin esittämät määritykset. Käännöstieteiden osalta vertaillaan sekä lingvistisiä että kommunikatiivisia lähestymistapoja kääntämiseen. Lisäksi esitellään ruutukääntämistä, erityisesti painottaen tekstitystä Suomessa.

Tuloksista voidaan huomata, että kaikkia seitsemää sananmuodostustekniikkaa on sarjassa käytetty, vaikkakin yhdyssanat ja affiksoidut sanat olivat erityisen suosittuja. Tekstitysten käännöksistä huomattiin, että sekä lingvistisesti että kommunikatiivisesti käännettyjä sanoja oli melkein yhtä paljon. Lisäksi huomioitavaa oli kääntämättömien sanojen vähyys.

Asiasanat – Keywords Word-formation, translation, subtitling,

Säilytyspaikka – Depository Kielten laitos

Muita tietoja – Additional information

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1. Introduction

Language is a constantly developing entity. New words come into the language frequently. New developments in science and technology, for example, promote word innovations and changes in the meanings of old words. The technological developments have made the flow of information in today's modern Western world very accessible to almost everyone. Hence, new inventions can be easily shared among different countries and cultures. Therefore, the issue of how to translate these new inventions into different languages is very important.

There are many studies about TV- shows and their translations of humour or wordplay into the Finnish language (Sippola, 2010; Nieminen, 2007; Juusti, 1999). Still, no previous studies concerning new words and their translations were found. Hence, this study investigates the word-formation techniques used in developing new words of English in the American TV series *Scrubs* and their Finnish translations. However, as accurately deciding whether a word actually is new or not is next to impossible, the main focus here is finding unfamiliar or uncommon words from the data and to see what types of word-formation techniques are used nowadays in the American English language. In addition to this, attention will be paid to old words having new, possibly peculiar meanings.

There is another aim, as well: To see how these novel or creative words are then translated into the Finnish language. It will be interesting to see whether the translator has been equally innovative in translating the words or if he/she has used some existing word instead or if the translations have been lost completely.

Because in Finland mostly subtitling is used instead of dubbing, studying TV and film translating is important for insuring a good quality for these translations. Hopefully, this study will reveal some useful techniques and tips used in today's TV translations so that translating could be made somewhat easier for the translators.

The study first explores the theory behind English word-formation. This is done by briefly looking at the history and some basic principles of English word-formation and

then moving on to explain seven most significant word-formation techniques. Last, a section of semantic change is added.

Next, a description of translation studies is introduced starting with an overview of the discipline. Then two different approaches to translation are introduced: linguistically oriented and communicative approaches. Last, screen translating is examined with emphasis on subtitling in Finland.

Then the actual data and methods of analysis are explained. In addition, the source of the data, the TV show *Scrubs* and two online dictionaries used while gathering and ensuring the authenticity of the data are introduced, as well. Lastly, the actual findings are explored and then a section of discussion is included with conclusions following.

2. English word-formation

English has different kinds of methods of forming new words. This section first describes a short overview of English word-formation. Then seven of the most common techniques used in word-formation today are explored in more detail. Last, a section describing semantic shifts is included.

2.1 Overview and basic principles of word-formation

The English language belongs to the West Germanic group of Indo-European languages (Jackson and Amvela, 2007). Jackson and Amvela (ibid) divide the development of English into four different periods: the Old English period, the Middle English period, Early Modern English and the Modern English period. Throughout these periods words have been coined, some have vanished and others have changed their meanings. However, the techniques used to form new words were the same as they are today. (Jackson and Amvela, 2007)

According to Bauer (1983: 2) interest in word-formation has gone hand-in-hand with interest in language in general. The more academical interest, however, has been quite scarce in the past (Bauer, 1983: 2-3; Adams, 1976: 3). The interest of the academics was apparently in either units smaller or larger than a single orthographic (Bauer, 1983: 3).

Adams (1976: 3) gives two other reasons for the absence of academic interest in word-formation: "...its [word-formation studies] connections with the non-linguistic world of things and ideas, for which words provides the names, and its equivocal position as between descriptive and historical studies." Still, Bauer (ibid) continues explaining that since the 1960's more books and studies about word-formation from different points of view have been published.

In forming new words or neologisms one must first be aware of what exactly is considered new. The online version of Oxford English Dictionary defines a neologism as "A word or phrase which is new to the language; one which is newly coined." (16.9.2010) In this study that same principle is followed and possible new words are checked by using two online dictionaries, which are introduced more thoroughly in Chapter 4.4.

Some terminology is important to know when studying word-formation. The term **word-form** is used in describing different forms a word can have, that is for instance, plural and verb inflections. A **lexeme** then is the main realisation of different word-forms. (Katamba, 2005: 18; Matthews, 1991: 26) For instance, the words '*dies*' and '*died*' are different word-forms of the lexeme '*die*'. Bauer (1983: 29) makes a clear distinction between **inflection** and **derivation** by defining inflection as producing word-forms of a single lexeme, whereas derivation produces new lexemes. Furthermore, inflection is said to mark agreement between words in a sentence (Kaunisto, 2009). For instance, words '*eats*' and '*ate*' are instances of inflection, whereas words '*national*' and '*nationalist*' are derivation.

In addition, there are three important terms: a root, a base and a stem. Bauer (1983: 20-21) explains a **root** to be the word-form that cannot be further analysed. A root is what remains when all inflectional and derivational affixes have been removed. For example, in '*untouchables*' the root is '*touch*', '*un-*' and '*-able'* are derivational affixes and '*-s'* is an inflectional affix. A **stem** on the other hand, is a word-form that is left when all inflectional affixes have been removed. Hence, from the previous example word '*untouchables*', '*untouchable*' is the stem. A **base** is a word-form to which an affix can be added. A base can coincide with the stem or the root of a word. Thus, to continue with the previous example, a base can be '*touch*', '*touchable*' or '*untouchable*'. (Bauer, 1983: 20-21)

Productivity is an important part of English, or any language, word-formation. A process is considered to be productive if it can be used synchronically in creating new forms (Bauer, 1983: 18). For instance, all of the seven word-formation techniques explained in Chapter 2.2 are considered to be productive but with alternating degrees (Bauer, 1983; Kaunisto, 2009). Adams (1976: 198) explains that when talking about productivity there are terms like "fully productive", "semi-productive", "mildly productive" and "non-productive". However, Adams (ibid) seems hesitant about using these terms as they are quite similar, and also, vague. In addition to these, there is variation in degrees of productivity within a technique. For example, some affixes are very productive while others are basically non-productive nowadays (Bauer, 1983). Furthermore, Katamba (1994) emphasizes that time is an important indicator to bear in mind while considering productivity. Some processes that have been very productive before may not be that anymore and vice versa (ibid).

However, there are restrictions to productivity. These restrictions include, for instance, requirement of existence, blocking and different grammatical limitations. These requirements state that a new word cannot arise if there is no real need for it, or if there already exist a proper word for the same thing, or if the form of the new word does not follow the grammatical requirements of that language, for example phonological or morphological requirements. (Katamba, 1994; Kaunisto, 2009) For instance, the word '*stealer*' is not used or accepted because '*thief*' already exists or '*sisterlily*' is not acceptable because it is very difficult to pronounce, whereas '*rapidly*' is acceptable (ibid). Adams (1967: 198) explains that in some cases restriction to productivity is not the unacceptability of the formation, but rather the resistance of the speaker to use it.

2.2 Different word-formation techniques

This section describes seven different word-formation techniques of the English language that are most common and still considered productive in today's English. At the end a summary is incorporated. In addition, a chapter briefly summarising some other methods for new coinages is included.

2.2.1 Compounding

Creating new words out of thin air is very difficult, and thus, highly unproductive, whereas creating new words from already existing words is much easier, and therefore, very productive. Combining already existing words together is called compounding. An important point to remember is that the meaning of the compound is in some way different from the words included in the compound (Pyles and Algeo, 1993). For instance, '*a blackboard*' is not the same as '*a black board*', since many blackboards nowadays are in fact green or white.

There are several different methods of classifying and categorising compounds (see Bauer, 1983; Adams, 1976). However, as the important point for this study is to correctly identify possible compounds rather than classify them, these classifications are, hence, left out and only the most common ways of forming compounds are introduced here.

A compound can be formed from words from almost any word class (Bauer, 1983). Bauer (ibid) states that compound nouns are the largest group of compounds. For example, common noun+noun compounds would be '*boyfriend*', '*flowerpot*', '*manservant*', '*bath towel*', '*body jewel*' and many others. In addition, there can be a verb, an adjective or even a particle or an adverb attached to a noun to make a noun compound: '*kill-joy*', '*breakfast*'; '*fast food*', '*software*'; '*over-kill*', '*off-off-Broadway*'; '*now generation*'. (Bauer, 1983; Adams, 1976) For a compound to be classified as a noun the words included do not have to be nouns at all. For instance, Bauer (ibid) gives examples of verb+verb compounds ('*make-believe*') and verb+particle compounds ('*drop-out*', '*teach-in*').

There are compound verbs and adjectives, as well (Bauer, 1983; Adams, 1976). These, too, can be made of words belonging to different word classes. For instance, a noun+verb compound ('*colour-code*', '*sky-dive*'), a particle+verb compound ('*overachieve*', '*overbook*'), a noun+noun compound ('*to breath-test*'), an adjective+adjective compound ('*ready-made*', '*double-helical*') and an adverb+adjective compound ('*over-qualified*', '*uptight*') (Bauer, 1983: 207-212) are again only a couple of examples of the many possibilities of compounding that exist today.

Still, there are a couple of interesting and peculiar ways of compounding that need to be included, since, the data for this study comes from a comedy show that tend to use the peculiarities of the language quite often. These compounds include compound adverbs and rhyme-motivated and ablaut-motivated compounds (Bauer, 1983: 212-213). Bauer (ibid) illustrates that adding a suffix '-*ly'* to a compound adjective ('*uptightly*') is the most common way of producing compound adverb. However, there are other patterns, as well: '*double-quick*', '*off-hand*', '*over-night*'. Rhyme-motivated compounds then are examples such as '*hobnob*', '*teeny-weeny*', '*stun-gun*', '*higgledy-piggledy*' and '*flower-power*', so a combination of words that rhyme with each other. Whereas ablaut-motivated compounds involve ablaut or vowel change or alternation between the words. Examples of these would be '*flip-flop*', '*tick-tock*' or '*zig-zag*'. (Bauer, 1983: 212-213)

Lastly, there exists a class of compounds called neo-classical compounds. According to Bauer (1983) these compounds have received little attention in the literary field of morphology, and thus, are sometimes a controversial topic. However, Bauer (ibid) continues explaining some universally accepted features and examples of neo-classical compounds. A neo-classical compound consists of a Final Combining Form (FCF) (-*phile*, -*phobe*, -*phone* etc.) and of an Initial Combining Form (ICF) (*electro-*, *negro-*, *jazzo-* etc.) (Bauer, 1983; Kaunisto, 2009). These combining forms are usually of Greek or Latin origin. The controversy seems to arise in the matter of deciding whether these combining forms are actually affixes or not. Still, these combing forms have some characteristics that affixes do not, which make them easier to both recognise and classify. Firstly, only FCFs can combine with ICFs. For instance, '*electrophile*' is acceptable, whereas '*electroness*' is not. Secondly, the FCFs usually can combine only with forms ending in '-*o'* unless a form already ends in a vowel. For example, '*misogyny*' is a neo-classical compound but '*mismanage*' is not. (Bauer, 1983; Kaunisto, 2009)

A compound word and a free phrase can often be difficult to tell apart. Matthews (1991) gives a couple of tips on how to tell the two apart based on grammatical features. Based on phonology a compound can be distinguished from a free phrase by having the main stress on the first element. For instance, '*a màdman*' is a compound, whereas '*a màd màn*' is a free phrase. Some morphological features are present in free phrases but not in compounds. For example, the genitive marker '-*s'*, the plural marker and the participial ending are missing from compounds but present in free phrases: '*pigtail*' versus '*pig's tail*'/ '*tooth decay*' versus '*decay of teeth*'/ '*watchdog*' versus '*a watching dog*'. Also,

many compounds are spelled as an orthographical item ('*lipstick*', '*airport*', '*football*'). (Matthews, 1991; Kaunisto, 2009) Jackson and Amvela (2007: 93) mention that compounds are non-interruptible. For example, the compound '*dare-devil*' cannot be used as '*dare the devil*', because it would turn into a free phrase. In addition to these examples, Adams (1976) notes that with the help of a premodifier and a comparative form it is easy to check whether or not a word is a compound or not. For instance, with the words '*wet day*' and '*small talk*' by using '*very*' one can check if the phrases are indeed phrases or compounds: '*a very wet day*' and '*a very small talk*'. From these one can see that '*a very wet day*' is acceptable, whereas '*a very small talk*' is not. Hence, '*wet day*' is a free phrase and '*small talk*' is a compound. (Adams, 1976)

Compounding is a highly productive way of forming new words in English (Kaunisto, 2009). Even neo-classical compounds are productive in today's language usage, according to Bauer (1983). The different methods of forming compounds mentioned earlier will not be separately emphasised in the analysis and findings sections, since, for the purposes of this study recognising a compound word will suffice.

2.2.2 Affixation

Another very productive word-formation method in today's English is affixation. Affixation is adding a prefix at the beginning of a word ('*preview*') or adding a suffix at the end of a word ('*viewer*'). An infix is added in the middle of a word ('*un-fucking-believable*') but those are basically non-existent in the English language. (Kaunisto, 2009)

Prefixes in the English language are divided into class-changing and class-maintaining prefixes (Bauer, 1983; Kaunisto, 2009). These prefixes are basically what their names suggest: prefixes that when added either changes the word class of the word in question or maintains it. According to Bauer (ibid) the most common class-changing prefixes are '*a-*', '*be-*' and '*en-*'. Examples of these prefixes would be '*asleep*', '*befriend*' and '*enslave*'. Mostly only the prefix '*a-*' can still be considered as a productive prefix (ibid). The list for class-maintaining prefixes is much longer. However, as the purpose of this study is not to give a thorough list of different affixes, but rather introduce the word-formation

technique itself in order to correctly identify possible novel words from the data, a quick overview with examples should suffice.

Bauer (1983) divides class-maintaining prefixes into subcategories based on the word class of the word they are attached to. Hence, there are those that attach exclusively to nouns: '*arch-*' ('*archenemy*'), '*mini-*' ('*minivan*'), '*step-*' ('*stepmother*'); to verbs: '*de-*' ('*deboost*'); and adjectives: '*a-*' ('*atypical*'), '*cis-*' ('*cislunar*'). Then there are, naturally, prefixes that can be added to words from different word classes: '*re-*' ('*rearrangement*', '*recycle*'), '*in-*' ('*inoperable*', '*incapacity*'), '*dis-*' ('*disbenefit*', '*disambiguate*', '*disbound*'). (ibid)

Bauer (1983) classifies suffixes according to the word class of the word they produce. Hence, there are suffixes that form nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, respectively. Examples of some of the most common and productive suffixes forming nouns would be '*-iana*' as in '*Victoriana*', '*Americana*'; '*-ation*' as in '*organisation*', '*flirtation*'; '*-ness*' as in '*emptiness*', '*sickness*'. A productive suffix forming verbs would be '*-ize*' as in '*sterilize*' or '*pedestrianize*'. Some very productive suffixes forming adjectives are '*-less*' as in '*helpless*', '*clueless*' or '*furnitureless*'; '*-al*' in '*accidental*', '*environmental*'; '*-able*' as in '*enjoyable*' or '*admirable*'; '*-ish*' as in '*childish*' or '*bluish*'. A very productive suffix that forms adjectives into adverbs is '*-ly*' as in '*coldly*', '*happily*' or '*rapidly*'. Some common suffixes that nowadays are less if at all productive are, for example, '*-dom*' ('*kingdom*'), '*-ure*' ('*departure*', '*failure*'), '*-cy/-ce*' ('*pregnancy*', '*elegance*'), '*-en*' ('*harden*', '*strengthen*'). (Bauer, 1983; Kaunisto 2009)

An infix is a rather rare affix in the English language, but there are examples of these, as well. For instance, in '*absobloominlutely*' the '*bloomin*' works as an infix that is added in the middle of '*absolutely*' (Kaunisto, 2009).

A word can have multiple affixes at the same time. For example, '*unbreakable*' has a prefix '*un-*' and a suffix '*-able*' attached to the word '*break*'. Affixation was and is a highly productive method of creating new words (Bauer, 1983). Therefore, for the purposes of this study the new words found from the data are analysed as having being formed by affixation and not separately divided into prefixes and suffixes (or infixes).

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2.2.3 Conversion

According to Jackson and Amvela (2007), conversion, also known as (functional) shift (Gramley & Pätzold, 1992), is when a word from one word class is taken into another word class without any changes in the word-form. For instance, some common nouns that have been made verbs are '*to bottle*', '*to mail*', '*to skin*' and '*to data-bank*'. In addition, some verbs that have been made nouns are '*a spy*', '*a call*', '*a commute*' and '*a dump*'. (Bauer, 1983) Bauer (ibid) continues explaining that even prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, interjections and some phrasal expressions can undergo conversion. Examples of these cases could be '*to up*' (the prices), '*no buts*', '*the hereafter*', '*to heave-ho*' and '*a has-been*' (ibid).

There are, however, some cases that seem like conversion but are in fact considered to be a syntactic process instead (Bauer, 1983; Kaunisto, 2009). Bauer (ibid) considers the changes happening inside a word class belonging to this group. For instance, the uses of countable nouns as uncountable and vice versa are instances of a syntactic process rather than conversion (ibid). A perfect example would be the use of '*beer*' in the sentences '*Joe bought five bottles of beer*'; '*Joe drank five beers last night*' (Kaunisto, 2009). In addition, using proper nouns as common nouns ('*Paul is there'*; '*the Paul who owns the store'*) or using non-gradable adjectives as gradable adjectives ('*she was English, but she looked more Chinese'*) and changing an intransitive verb to a transitive verb ('*Biggles flew over the airfield'*; '*Biggles flew the Spitfire over Jerry lines'*) are, also, considered as being syntactic processes (ibid).

There is, also, partial conversion that only happens from verbs to nouns and adjectives. These changes include a shift of stress and sometimes a change in segmental form. For instance, words such as '*import*', '*discount*', '*perfect*', and '*show off*' have changes in their stress depending on whether they are used as verbs or as nouns and adjectives. Furthermore, nouns '*bath*', '*belief*' and '*advice*' have a change in their segmental form when used as verbs ('*bathe*', '*believe*', '*advise*'). (Bauer, 1983; Kaunisto, 2009)

Because there are no restrictions on the form that can undergo conversion, it is a highly prolific word-formation technique in English (Jackson and Amvela, 2007). Therefore, for simplicity and clarity in this study all conversions, be it partial or not, are considered plainly as conversions.

2.2.4 Back-formation

Katamba (2005: 185) explains back-formations quite simply as words formed by removing affixes from a base. Bauer (1983: 231), on the other hand, gives a formula for back-formation:

$$verb \quad PLUS \text{ -or} > \text{ noun}$$
$$exhibit \qquad\qquad > exhibitor$$
$$verb < \quad noun \text{ MINUS -or}$$
$$edit < \qquad\qquad editor$$

Or more simply described: (where X and Y are lexemes and A an affix)

$$Formation: \qquad X + A > Y$$
$$Back\text{-}formation: \qquad Y - A > X$$

These graphics are crucial in understanding back-formation and correctly identifying it, since, according to Bauer (1983) in order for a process to be a back-formation, the appropriate formation rule must also exist.

From these formulas one can see that back-formation is the forming of new words from old words by usually deleting the noun marker at the end of a noun, thus, creating a verb. According to Bauer (1983) the majority of English back-formations are verbs. For instance, '*babysit*' originated from '*babysitter*', '*typewrite*' from '*typewriter*' and '*lase*' from '*laser*'. All of these instances are back-formations because one would assume the verbs to have been invented first and then by adding the suffix '-*er'* creating the nouns, but since, the nouns were created first, the verb forms can be said to have been formed backwards, hence, back-formations. Katamba (2005: 185) argues that back-formations happen "when there is an apparent gap in the lexicon."

Naturally, there are other back-formations than just verbs. For example, from the adjective '*paramedical*' the noun '*paramedic*' has been formed and from the noun '*surrealism*' the adjective '*surreal*' has emerged (Kaunisto, 2009). Katamba (2005), also, gives examples of back-formed compounds such as '*stage-manage*' from '*stage-manager*' and '*word-process*' from '*word-processor*'.

Adams (2001) claims that even though back-formation has produced several verbs, for instance, in general back-formation has generated far fewer words than affixation and compounding. Nonetheless, it is a word-formation technique still productive today (Kaunisto, 2009), and is therefore, included in this study.

2.2.5 Clipping

Bauer (1983) mentions clippings as being words that are shortened but that still retain the same meaning and word class. Bauer (ibid) continues that clippings are highly unpredictable, and hence, no clear rules for forming clippings exist. Still, there are four different types of clippings based on the way that they are made (Kaunisto, 2009). First, there are back-clippings. These are clippings that have been cut from the beginning of the word with some words having an additional plural *-s* added at the end. The name suggests to the back part of the word that is cut or clipped away, leaving the beginning to stand on its own. For instance, '*pub*' from '*public house*', '*ad*' from '*advertisement*' and '*binocs*' from '*binoculars*' belong to this group. (Kaunisto, 2009)

The second group are fore-clippings (Kaunisto, 2009). These are formed by cutting the first part of the wanted word away leaving the end part as the new word. For example, '*phone*' from '*telephone*', '*plane*' from '*aeroplane*' and '*cello*' from '*violoncello*' are formed this way. Many first names are clipped this way, as well, as in '*Fred*' from '*Alfred*' or '*Bella*' from '*Isabella*'. (Kaunisto, 2009)

The third group includes both back- and fore-clipped words. These clippings are words that have been cut from both at the beginning and at the end. Examples of this are '*flu*' from '*influenza*' and '*shrink*' from '*head-shrinker*'. (Kaunisto, 2009)

Last, there are clipping-compounds (Kaunisto, 2009; Bauer, 1983). In these words usually only the first word is clipped as in '*op art*' from '*optical art*' or '*paratrooper*' from '*parachutist trooper*'. Sometimes, however, both words can be cut as in the case of '*sci-fi*' ('*science fiction'*) and '*sitcom*' ('*situational comedy'*). (Kaunisto, 2009; Bauer, 1983)

The most productive one of these groups seems to be back-clipping, whereas fore-clipping is the least productive one (Kaunisto, 2009; Katamba, 2005). The difficulty in clippings is that in many cases the defining line can be rather thin and in some instances the clipped word can have features of other word-formation techniques as well.

2.2.6 Blending

When two (or possibly more) different lexemes are mixed together to form a new word it usually is a blend. In a blend some markers from both of the words used to create it are visible. For instance, a '*motel*' is a common blend from '*motor*' and '*hotel*'. In addition, '*smog*' is from '*smoke*' and '*fog*', '*brunch*' comes from '*breakfast*' and '*lunch*' and '*medicare*' from '*medical*' and '*care*'. (Kaunisto, 2009)

Pyles and Algeo (1993) claim that since blending is so easy, it is quite popular nowadays. Katamba (2005) agrees with this. Pyles and Algeo (1993) illustrate that blending can create new affix-like endings that are, also, in popular use in today's language usage. For instance, from being only '*alcoholics*' people have become '*workaholics*', '*shopaholics*', '*sexaholics*' and even '*chocoholics*'. Other examples are the use of *-burger* from '*hamburger*' in all kinds of different '*cheese-*', '*chicken-*' or '*fishburgers*', or the use of *-thon* from '*marathon*' to produce words with meanings relating to long lasting such as '*showerthon'*, '*bikeathon*' or '*cakethon*'. (Pyles and Algeo, 1993)

Still, Bauer (1983) points out that blends can be rather difficult to place in only one clear category and there is some overlap with other word-formation techniques. Furthermore, Bauer (ibid) continues that, although blends as a category are not well-defined, they are a very productive source of new English words.

2.2.7 Acronyms

Acronyms are words that have been coined by taking the initial letters of the words in a phrase or a title and pronouncing them wholly as a word, whereas abbreviations are pronounced as a series of letters (Gramley and Pätzold, 1992). Examples of acronyms would be '*REM'* ('*Rapid Eye Movement'*), '*NASA'* ('*National Aeronautics and Space*

Administration') and '*BASIC*' (*'Beginner's All-purpose Symbolic Instruction Code'*) (ibid; Kaunisto, 2009). Bauer (1983) further explains that sometimes an acronym can have more than one letter from the beginning of the words in a phrase as '*Arvin*' (*'Army of the Republic of VietNam'*) and '*GHOST*' (*'Global HOrizontal Sounding Technique'*) have.

Creating acronyms is also a productive word-formation technique nowadays (Kaunisto, 2009). It's most frequently used by civil servants, computer scientists and the military (ibid). Some words have started as acronyms, but have since become such a prominent part of the language that many do not realise or consider them as acronyms anymore. Not many think about wearing on a Self-Contained Underwater Breathing Apparatus when they go scuba diving or about Lightwave Amplification by Stimulated Emission of Radiation while watching laser cannons firing in Star Wars.

2.2.8 Summary

The previous chapters have rather briefly described the seven most common word-formation techniques used in today's English. Compounding is the forming of new words by adding two or more already existing words together, with the new word having a slightly different meaning than those words forming it. In affixation a prefix or a suffix, sometimes even an infix, is added at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a word. Conversion is changing the word class without any changes to the word-form. In back-formation, then, usually a suffix is removed to create a new word from a different word class, usually a verb from a noun. Clippings are words that have been shortened either from the beginning, middle or end of a word. With clippings the meaning stays the same, only the form is altered. Further, blends are words that combine the meaning and the form of two or more lexemes. Lastly, acronyms are words made from the first letters of a phrase or a title and pronouncing them as one word.

Compounding and affixation are the most common techniques, but the other techniques are considered productive, as well. Most of the techniques were divided into different subcategories. This was done in order to make them clearer and easier to understand. However, in the analysis and findings sections these subcategories are missing, since, correctly identifying the different techniques is sufficient for the purposes of this study.

A crucial point to remember is that not all words have been created by using just one word-formation technique, rather in the process there might have been two or more techniques involved. This one needs to bear in mind while going through the data and these occurrences will be separately mentioned in the findings section as well.

2.2.9 Other methods of forming new words

There are different ways for new words to come into the language. Mostly words are formed by using some word-formation technique. These techniques were explained in more detail in Chapter 2.2. Another way is by semantic change that is changes in the meaning of the words. This will be looked at more closely in Chapter 2.3. However, there are other ways for new coinages to come into the language and these are shortly described here.

Firstly, new words are loaned from other languages. English, for instance, has loanwords from Latin ('*anchor*'), Greek ('*phone*'), French ('*chef*'), Spanish ('*alligator*') and many other languages from all continents (Pyles and Algeo, 1993). Mainly a language can and will borrow words from another language if they are in constant contact with each other. Katamba (2005) explains that because there is no limit to the number of words that can be produced in a language, people could make up new words when in contact with another culture, but mostly they do not. In fact, it is relatively rare as it is much easier to borrow than to come up with a completely new one (ibid). However, some words, like brand names for instance, can be the result of an imaginative mind. A famous example would be '*Kodak*' (Bauer, 1983).

Secondly, there are sound symbolisms. Katamba (2005: 44-47) gives two different cases of this: phonaesthemes and onomatopoeia. Phonaesthemes are sounds that do not have specific enough meanings that can be analysed into separate constituents, but that still are vaguely associated with some meaning (ibid; Adams, 1976: 143). For example, the consonant pair '*cr-*' seems to contribute something '*crooked*' in each of these words: '*crick*', '*crinkle*', '*criss-cross*' and '*cramp*' (Adams, 1976: 143). Instead, high front vowels [i:] and [I] seem to occur with words associated with smallness: '*teeny-weeny*', '*lean*', '*mini*', '*meagre*' and '*little*' (Katamba, 2005: 45).

Onomatopoeia, however, means that there is a direct association between the sounds of a word-form and its meaning (Katamba, 2005). These words include the words for sounds made by different animals and electronic devises. For instance, '*neigh*', '*moo*' and '*miaow*' are words describing animal sounds and '*clang*', '*bang*', '*beep*' and '*plop*' can come from all kinds of inanimate objects.

Thirdly, euphemisms and slang words produce new vocabulary. Gramley and Pätzold (1992: 21) describe euphemisms as being the result of changes in the moral sense of a society. Euphemisms are invented to replace the taboo or unpleasant words with a more pleasant one (Katamba, 2005: 190). For example, people have come up with multiple different euphemisms for God, devil and curse words for different occasions. In addition to this, some euphemisms are there for decency or political reasons (Katamba, 2005; Gramley and Pätzold, 1992). For instance, '*African-American*' has replaced '*Afro-American*', which replaced '*black*' that replaced '*negro*' and so the list goes on (Gramley and Pätzold, 1992: 21-22). Slang, on the other hand, is a term used to describe "a variety of language with informal, often faddy, non-standard vocabulary" (Katamba, 2005: 169). Slang is used, for example, to express unity in a group and to exclude those that are not part of that group; to experiment with language creatively or for the desire to express oneself (ibid). Famous examples of slang, according to Katamba (ibid), can be found from Ebonics or African American English and from the rhyming slang of Cockney.

All of these, especially euphemisms and slang, examples of other methods for novel words to come into the language, are prominent in the American TV-show *Scrubs*, which serves as the data for this study. However, as these are such a wide variety of different methods they are left out of this study and the focus is given to the different techniques explained previously.

2.3 Semantic change

Semantic change is a change in the meaning of a word (Pyles and Algeo, 1993: 240). Stockwell and Minkova (2001: 149) state that technology and current relevance of words affect the changes in their meanings. For example, '*mouse'* is no longer just a four

legged rodent, but a highly useful means of working with computers. Words can undergo changes in both sense and in associations (Pyles and Algeo, 1993: 241). Pyles and Algeo (ibid) further distinguish two types of changes in both sense and association: generalisation and specialisation in sense, and pejoration and amelioration in association. The previous example of the word '*mouse'* has undergone a change related to sense, that is, generalisation.

Generalisation is a change in the sense of a word that widens the spectre of meanings of a word, whereas **specialisation** is the narrowing of the meaning of a word (Pyles and Algeo, 1993: 241). A good example of generalisation is the phrase '*you guys*', which is no longer restricted to mean only men (Gramley and Pätzold, 1992: 33). Gramley and Pätzold (ibid) also give examples of words that have specialised in their meanings, these would be adjectives '*straight'* and '*bent'* that have narrowed from '*conventional*' and '*curved*' to '*heterosexual*' and '*homosexual*', respectively.

Change in the association of a word basically means the way in which people associate the word, either positively or negatively (Pyles and Algeo, 1993: 241). Pyles and Algeo (ibid) state that **pejoration** is when the association of a word moves from positive to negative. As examples they (ibid) give words like '*silly*', which earlier meant '*happy'* or '*blessed'*, but now has the more negative association of '*simple'*, or the word '*politician'*, which nowadays has a very negative association, at least in American English. On the other hand, a word can undergo **amelioration** or a change for the better in its associated meaning. For instance, '*exposure'* is no longer considered only as something negative or fearful, but rather as something valuable, at least when considering publicity in newspapers. (Gramley and Pätzold, 1992: 33-34)

These four types of semantic change are important to acknowledge in order to correctly identify them from the data. However, these will not be separated in the Findings section, since, for the purposes of this study separating new words created with word-formation techniques and words with novel meanings will suffice.

3. Translation studies

Ingo (1990) describes translation to be basically as old as languages. The first evidence of translating, however, comes from Egypt from 3000 BC (Newmark, 1981; Paloposki, 2004). Translation studies is the term describing the discipline of translating (Bassnett, 2002: 11). Baker (1998: 227) further illustrates how translation studies is understood today:

> 'Translation studies' is now understood to refer to the academic discipline concerned with the study of translation at large, including literary and non-literary translation, various forms of oral interpreting, as well as dubbing and subtitling. ... 'Translation studies' is also understood to cover the whole spectrum of research and pedagogical activities, from developing theoretical frameworks to conducting individual case studies to engaging in practical matters such as training translators and developing criteria for translation assessment.

Baker (ibid) explains that although interest in translation is "as old as human civilization", as an academic discipline translation studies is no more than a few decades old. She (ibid) elaborates by stating that only after the second half of the 20th century did scholars begin to discuss the need for systematic research on translation and the need to develop coherent theories of translation. Bassnett (2002: 11) agrees with this by stating that translating has usually been associated with foreign language learning, and therefore, hardly any systematic studies have been made of translating itself.

Some crucial terminology is important to know when reading about translation. The source language or the source text is usually shortened to SL or ST, respectively. The same goes for the target language (TL) or the target text (TT). (Bassnett, 2002) These terms are used in this study, as well, as they are clear in their meaning.

Nida and Taber (1969: 1) explain that previously the focus in translating was in the form of the text, whereas later on the focus has shifted to the response of the receptor. Snell-Hornby (1995) further claims that the linguistically oriented approaches to translation have become mere historical curiosities for translation theorists, while cultural communication has become the new central issue. In this research paper a couple of theories from both the linguistically oriented and the communicative approaches are shortly examined, since it is essential for the overall understanding of the discipline. In addition to this, these selected theories (to be discussed below in

Chapters 3.1 and 3.2) combine and illustrate a wide spectrum of both academical and common knowledge about translation.

Naturally, it is important to bear in mind that the approaches and theories described here are not by far the only ones existing in the discipline of translation studies. However, for the scope of this particular study they give a fine picture of the multifaceted discipline. Furthermore, as this study examines translations on a word level rather than sentence or longer text levels, it is important to introduce both of these opposing views as the translations in the data are expected to be from both ends of the spectrum.

Hence, this chapter first summarises three linguistically oriented theories of translation. Next two communicative translation theories are illustrated. After these a summarizing chapter with examples of both approaches is included. Finally, the focus is given to the description of screen translations with emphasis on subtitling in Finland.

3.1 Linguistically oriented approaches

Linguistically oriented approaches withhold the age-old debate between translating word-for-word or sense-for-sense (Snell-Hornby, 1995: 9). **Word-for-word translation** or **literal translation** has also been called **metaphrase** (Robinson, 1998c: 125). Robinson (ibid) explains this to mean "ideally the segmentation of the SL text into individual words and TL rendering of those word-segments one at a time." However, as it is almost always impossible to find words from the target language denoting the exact same meaning as in the source language Robinson (ibid) agrees that most literal translations are in fact compromises of the ideal. Hence, the translation consists of individual words from the SL being replaced by individual words from the TL wherever possible and following the word order of the SL as closely as possible (Robinson, 1998c). Thus, the grammar and syntax of the ST are closely followed in a literal translation.

A closely related theory to metaphrase is **formal equivalence** or formal correspondence (Nida and Taber, 1969; Vehmas-Lehto, 2002). Formal equivalence conveys the idea that the source text is not only translated word-for-word, but also the syntax or the sentence structure of the source language is mirrored to the target text (Vehmas-Lehto, 2002: 55).

Nida and Taber (1969) give their view of Bible translation traditions by stating that at first Bibles were translated by using formal equivalence because the word of God needed to be translated accurately and precisely. However, the translators soon shifted to sense-for-sense translations, so as to make the Bible more approachable to the common man, thus, enabling the word of God to reach more people (Nida and Tauber, 1969).

As formal equivalence is closely interrelated with literal translation or metaphrase, it is not separately used in the analysis but rather any such findings are thought of as literal translations. Therefore, formal equivalence is only introduced here for the sake of covering the basics of translation theory.

The complete opposite to literal translation is **free translation** or **imitation** (Robinson, 1998b: 111). Contrary to what imitation means to a common man (copying, mimicking) in translation theory the word has completely the opposite meaning: doing something different from the original author or wandering too far from the original words and sense of the source text (ibid). Robinson (1998a: 88) further explains that the definition of free translation is a difficult one, because "anything that doesn't fit into narrowly defined norms for acceptable translation gets called free translation". Free translation could be understood as a communicative theory because it can result in translations that can differ quite drastically from the ST. However, as the main emphasis is still on the source language rather than the target language it is rightfully in its proper place under linguistically oriented approaches.

Robinson (1998e) illustrates a theory that belongs to the middle of the previous two theories mentioned above: **paraphrase** or **sense-for-sense** translation. Paraphrasing has kept its meaning in common language usage. Thus, in translation studies the term refers to translations that have strictly followed the sense of the ST author rather than the actual words as in metaphrase. (Robinson, 1998e) Paraphrasing could also be mistaken to belonging in the communicative approaches, however, as it means strictly following the meaning of the source text it emphasizes the source language rather than the target language, and therefore, it belongs to the linguistically oriented group.

Throughout the history of translation there have been both debate about, as well as support for all of these theories (Robinson, 1998a,1998b,1998c,1998d,1998e). In fact

the oldest debate for and against metaphrase or word-for-word translations date back to Cicero's time (106-46 BC). However, it was John Dryden (1631-1700) who established the terms metaphrase, paraphrase and imitation in relation to translation studies. Both Cicero and Dryden, though separated by time, agreed that metaphrasing should be avoided and that paraphrasing was the right way to translate. (Robinson, 1998c,1998d,1998e)

Although these theories differ quite drastically from each other they belong to linguistically oriented approaches and are closely related in the sense that they emphasise the source text and the source language rather than the target text and the target language, whereas communicative approaches (that are described next) place emphasis on the target language and the target text. Hence, one can assume that nowadays the source text is still important, of course, but more value is given to the target text and especially to the target audience, since, as mentioned earlier by Snell-Hornby (1995) the shift from linguistically oriented theories to communicative ones has happened among translators.

3.2. Communicative approaches

As mentioned earlier at the beginning of Chapter 3, translation theorists have begun to consider translation not as a foreign language teaching method (linguistic approach) but as a cross-cultural communication tool (Snell-Hornby, 1995). Thus, it is important to take a closer look at some of the main ideas in this field, as well.

Equivalence is a central term in translation theory (Kenny, 1998: 77). However, it is not a straightforward one and there exist several approaches to equivalence by different theorists (Kenny, 1998: 77). Still, for the purposes of this study the theory of dynamic equivalence proposed by Eugene A. Nida will suffice. In addition to Nida's **dynamic equivalence theory**, Hans Vermeer's **skopos theory** is a well-known and an important theory among translators. These two theories are included in this study because they are well-established and essential in translation studies, as well as, they are suitable for this study. Hence, this section first illustrates Nida's dynamic equivalence theory and then encapsulates Vermeer's skopos theory.

3.2.1 Eugene A. Nida's theory of dynamic equivalence

Eugene Nida was an American linguist as well as an accomplished Bible translator (Vehmas-Lehto, 2002: 54). As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3.1 Bible translators used linguistic approaches in their translations, formal equivalence clearly dominating the field. During their work, however, Bible translators often came across problems that concerned cultural differences between the source and target languages (Vehmas-Lehto, 2002: 55). For this reason Nida formulated his dynamic equivalence theory. According to Vehmas-Lehto (2002: 54) this was the first communicative translation theory. The principle of dynamic equivalence is rather simple: the translator is concerned of the receiver of the translation rather than the receiver of the source text (Nida and Taber, 1969). In contrast to formal equivalence, which tries to follow the linguistic features of the SL as closely as possible, dynamic equivalence emphasizes the TL and attempts to produce a translation that is suitable in the target language (Vehmas-Lehto, 2002).

As Nida and Taber (1969: 21) point out, each language has its own specific ways of describing meaning with words, and the organisation and relationship of these words differ, as well. Therefore, one cannot assume to be able to deliver the same exact message of the ST to the TT by strictly following the linguistic information of the SL (Nida and Taber, 1969: 19). For instance, while in formal equivalence even the word order of the SL is imitated to the target language text, in dynamic equivalence the source text is translated according to the rules and regulations set by the target language (Vehmas-Lehto, 2002). According to Nida and Taber (1969: 12) "the best translation does not sound like a translation." However, Nida and Taber (1969: 13) agree that though meaning must be given priority in translations, style must not be overlooked. Therefore, a prose text should be translated as prose and poetry as poetry (Nida and Taber, 1969).

Vehmas-Lehto (2002: 54) claims that Nida's dynamic equivalence was the first communicative translation theory. It is not unusual that in translations cultural differences play a huge role, since the transfer of information is done from one language to another and language is an essential part of human culture (Snell-Hornby, 1995: 39-42). Therefore, dynamic equivalence is recommended over formal equivalence (Nida and Taber, 1969). Nida (1964, as quoted by Snell-Hornby, 1995: 19) gives an example of this in Bible translations to the Eskimos. The use of formal equivalence in the phrase

"*Lamb of God*", where the '*lamb'* symbolizes innocence, would not deliver the wanted message to the Eskimos, since in their language the word '*lamb*' has no suggested meaning of innocence. Instead, to use '*seal*', which has the associated meaning of innocence, would deliver the meaning of the source text. (Nida, 1964, as quoted by Snell-Hornby, 1995: 19)

Dynamic equivalence focuses on the reaction of the target audience (Vehmas-Lehto, 2002: 90-91), meaning that the translation is done based on the presumed assumption how the target reader would react when reading the text. Hence, the problem with dynamic equivalence is the difficulty of knowing how the target reader actually reacts to the translated text (ibid).

However, Nida's dynamic equivalence theory is appropriate not only for this study but for other translations as well, because it emphasises the communicative function of a translation and places stress on a factor outside the language itself: the reader. Since the world today is very much a multicultural one, the translated texts need to be understood in the target culture. Thus, knowing the target audience and the target culture must play a crucial part in translating. Another important communicative translation theory, similar to dynamic equivalence, is skopos theory, which will be looked at more closely next.

3.2.2 Skopos theory

Skopos theory was developed in the late 1970s in Germany by Hans Vermeer (Schäffner, 1998). It was formulated for the growing need of translation theory for the translation of non-literary texts. These include scientific and academic papers, contracts, tourist guides etc. where the culture of the intended reader and the client who has commissioned the translation cannot be ignored. This marked a shift from linguistic theories of translation to more functionally and socioculturally oriented theories of translation. (Schäffner, 1998)

The word '*skopos'* is derived from Greek meaning '*purpose*', and in translation skopos is the purpose of the translation. The skopos must be defined before the actual translating begins. (Vehmas-Lehto, 2002) Vermeer (1978 as quoted by Schäffner, 1998)

explains that the intended purpose of the target text determines the methods and strategies of the translation. Vehmas-Lehto (2002: 93) gives an example of this in the form of a stained testament: a French testament is tarnished and the readers cannot be sure if it said 'two' ('*deux*') or 'them' ('*d'eux*'). This was investigated in the court of law and the decision was left for the judge. However, if this was dealt in a non-French judicature the translator would have to clearly point this problem out with a possible footnote, for instance. Furthermore, if this text was translated for a novel, the translator would probably not want to disrupt the flow of the narration and would therefore, have to come up with something from the target culture that would have the same effect. (Vehmas-Lehto, 2002: 93) Also, because skopos varies with text receivers the skopos of the target text and the source text can be different (Schäffner, 1998). Hence, the purpose of the translation, that is the target text, would determine how the translation should be carried out.

Moreover, what determines the purpose or skopos of the target text is both the client's needs and the needs of the intended audience (Schäffner, 1998).   Furthermore, Vermeer (1989, as quoted by Schäffner, 1998) points out that no source text has only one possible or correct translation.

Skopos theory has received some criticism, as well, mainly from the supporters of linguistically oriented theories of translation. The criticism concerns the definition of translation, as well as, the relationship between the source and target texts. (Schäffner, 1998) This is not surprising when considering the fact that skopos theory places emphasis on the target text and the target audience, whereas linguistically oriented theories emphasises the source text and the source audience. Moreover, Vehmas-Lehto (2002: 94-95) points out that some criticise the existence of purpose in every translation and that a translator could just translate the source text as it is. However, according to Vermeer (1989, as quoted by Vehmas-Lehto, 2002: 94) even that can be seen as being purposeful.

Although skopos theory and dynamic equivalence theory are both concerned about the target language rather than the source language, there is a difference between these theories. Skopos, as it name suggests, emphasizes the purpose of the translation. Hence, the role of the translator is emphasized as well, since, he/she must first decide the purpose of the translation, if a commissioner has not already provided it. Thus, the

translations can radically differ even if done by the same translator if the purpose has been different. While dynamic equivalence, as it name suggests, still seeks equivalence between the source and the target texts, even if it is done by following the (assumed) needs of the target reader.

3.3 Summary with examples of the two differing translation approaches

This chapter shortly summarises the two distinct approaches described above giving a rough example for the two differing approaches. However, only one example based on the two approaches, rather than the different theories inside these approaches, is given here because the principal idea is to illustrate the main differences between the two approaches.

Linguistically oriented approaches included literal translations, sense-for-sense translations and free translations. The names themselves are rather self-explanatory: in literal translation theory the translation is done by following the grammar and syntax of the SL, whereas in sense-for-sense translation the translator follows the meaning of the ST rather than the exact words. In free translations then almost any other translation not included in the previous two is dumped. In free translations the translator can stray form the grammatical conventions of the ST and SL as long as the message is still conveyed.

Although these theories have some radical differences the main common factor in all of them is that they concern themselves in the source language and the source texts rather than in the target language and target texts as in communicative approaches. Furthermore, these theories are concerned of the language rather than the reader (Vehmas-Lehto, 2002: 91). Thus, the translations are done by focusing on language conventions like grammar or syntax, usually emphasizing the source language rather than the target language. Therefore, the need for more target audience based theories was evident and communicative translation theories begin to emerge.

There were two communicative theories introduced in the previous chapters: dynamic equivalence theory and skopos theory. Both of these theories place emphasis on the target audience and are therefore, more concerned of communicating the message of the source text rather than the grammatical features of the source language.

Dynamic equivalence stresses the target reader, moreover, the assumed reaction of the reader, whereas skopos refers to the purpose of the translation. Additionally, dynamic equivalence seeks some form of equivalence between the ST and the TT, while skopos theory states that a translation does not have to be equivalent with the source text, as long as it meets the initially fixed purpose.

To better illustrate these differing approaches to translation, an example is provided here. This is done by translating an English sentence into Finnish, since the data for this study includes English into Finnish translations. The next example is first translated from the point of view of the linguistically oriented approach that is concerned of the source language (English). Then the same sentence is translated by placing emphasis on the target language that is Finnish, thus, using the communicative approach. An important point to bear in mind is that these translations are rough illustrations and that there is only one per approach rather than one per theory, because the goal here is only to illustrate the difference in the main ideas of the approaches.

(1)   **Source text:** During the winter, the river flowed fast and furiously, swollen by the icy streams from the mountains.
Linguistic approach: Talven aikana joki virtasi nopeasti ja raivokkaasti, turvonneena jäisistä puroista vuorilta.
Communicative approach: Vuorilta valuvien jäisten purojen täyttämä joki virtasi talvisin raivokkaan nopeana.

As these translations show, the linguistic approach is more unidiomatic and a more literal translation than the communicative one. In the communicative one the sentence order has been switched backwards to make it more accessible and easier to read and understand. As these examples were done based on the two approaches so will the data be divided only into these two approach categories rather than the different theories. This is done because the data is a collection of words and in many cases it would be hard if not impossible to identify a specific theory into which each word translation belongs to.

3.4 Screen translations

There are two types of screen translations that have dominated the industry since the first sound films reached the international audience in 1929: subtitling and dubbing (Gottlieb, 1998). As the data for this study comes from a TV show it is important to be acquainted with the basic theories of screen translating. Hence, this section first shortly encapsulates dubbing and then illustrates subtitling more thoroughly with emphasis on Finnish traditions, since the data accounts of Finnish translations.

3.4.1 Dubbing

Dubbing is the replacement of the original speech by a voice track in the target language, which attempts to follow the timing, phrasing and lip movement of the original as closely as possible. Dubbing is always pre-recorded. Lip-sync dubbing is highly laborious and more costly than any other form of screen translations. This is why smaller countries prefer subtitling. However, in linguistically larger countries such as Germany, Spain and Italy, where the number of the target audience is very high, dubbing is the preferred method. (Baker and Hochel, 1998; Heikkinen, 2007)

Baker and Hochel (1998) mention a few disadvantages of dubbing to be the loss of authenticity and the impossibility of maintaining the illusion of authenticity, since the visual reminders of another culture are constantly present. In addition, the necessity to maintain lip synchronisation places heavy demands on the translator. Furthermore, dubbing deprives the viewer of the chance to listen to a foreign language. (Baker and Hochel, 1998) However, on the positive side Baker and Hochel (ibid) state that dubbing has less textual reduction than subtitling. They (ibid), also, claim that dubbing is more professionalized than subtitling in a way that it requires more from the translator, because of the lip synchronisation. Additionally, dubbing is a more consistent discourse, thus, the viewer's attention is not divided between watching the picture and reading the text below. Moreover, dubbing does not exclude illiterate viewers from enjoying foreign productions. (Baker and Hochel, 1998) Heikkinen (2007) agrees with the previous statement by adding that especially children and those people barely learning to read can enjoy foreign TV products with dubbing.

Even though in Finland subtitling is used for most of the foreign productions there are dubbed productions, as well. These are usually children's programmes and films (Heikkinen, 2007). Heikkinen (ibid) prefers dubbed children's programmes, because then there is no text covering the picture and the children will not have to concentrate on reading and following the plot at the same time. Because dubbing is so expensive and illiteracy is not a problem in Finland, there really is no need for dubbed productions for adults in a linguistically small country as Finland.

3.4.2 Subtitling

Subtitles or captions are transcriptions of dialogue of film or TV presented simultaneously on the screen. There are two types of subtitling if distinguished linguistically: **intralingual** and **interlingual** subtitling. Intralingual subtitling occurs in the original language. It is vertical in the sense that it involves writing speech in the same language, thus, changing only the mode of the text. An example of this type of subtitling would be subtitles for viewers that are deaf or hard of hearing. Instead, interlingual subtitling is diagonal in the sense that it involves changing both the mode and the language of the text, since the subtitler writes from speech of another language to text of another. (Gottlieb, 1998)

Finland uses subtitling in almost all of its foreign TV and film products. In fact, all of the Nordic countries and some smaller European countries such as the Netherlands and Portugal use subtitles instead of dubbing. This is because of the low cost of subtitling when considered the low number of potential viewers. (Vertanen, 2004)

There are two important limitations to subtitling: space and time. Subtitling takes place in two lines usually at the bottom of the TV screen. On one hand, the text must be large enough for the viewer to be able to read it. On the other hand, the text should not take too much space from the picture. In Finland a text type that consists of 30-32 characters per one line has been nationally accepted for decades. A full length two-line statement needs to be on the screen for four to five seconds and a one-liner for two to three seconds. The minimum length of a line is limited to one second and maximum to thirty seconds. The screen text should conform with the flow of the dialogue as accurately as

possible. Hence, the subtitle should appear and stay on the screen at the same time as the line is said on the screen. (Vertanen, 2004)

Because time and space are limited in subtitling, not everything said can be shown in text. Often, it is not even desirable to subtitle everything since the viewer can detect the unwritten pieces from the picture. For instance, names can usually be left out if the person has already been introduced, as well as, some adjective attributes since the viewer can see that the car is red. Naturally, some unsaid information can and should be added especially with cultural references (if it is important for the natural flow of the plot), since the viewer probably does not know what some brand name, for example, means without some elaborations. The goal, however, is to have a phrase as short and appropriate as possible. (Vertanen, 2004)

The subtitler has other limitations, as well. The subtitles must consist of meaningful entities that are logical, easy to read and understandable statements. Even though the screen can have two lines with thirty characters it does not mean that they should be used every time, especially if the message can be delivered more curtly. Otherwise, the text can become too heavy and most likely unintelligible. In addition, the subtitler should pay attention to how the text looks like on screen. Usually it is easier to understand the speech if the face, and the mouth especially, of the speaker is visible. Hence, the subtitle should not block the view, and especially in close-ups full length two-line subtitles must be avoided. (Vertanen, 2004)

Other features such as the use of slang or a dialect can be used if the time and space allow it. If the clause is longer than the given two lines, it can be divided with a hyphen – this lets the viewer know that the subject will continue in the next line. In Finland punctuation marks are used grammatically in screen texts. Previously, full stops were usually left out of the texts because the viewer was assumed to understand where the statements ended without them. However, Finnish teachers soon required the use of punctuation marks referring to the difficulty of teaching children the proper use of punctuation marks, when even TV does not have full stops at the end of sentences. (Vertanen, 2004)

Both dubbing and subtitling have their advantages and disadvantages. Undoubtedly, the viewers have become accustomed to which ever translating their country mostly uses.

Still, one cannot help but favour subtitling, mostly for its language learning advantages. To hear a foreign language and see the translations at the same time has most likely helped many language learners, even if unconsciously. One would only hope to see more variation in languages in the Finnish TV. Still, the number or foreign productions available today only shows how important screen translating in reality is and how many screen translations are actually done annually. Thus, the inspiration for the current study.

4. Current study

This section establishes the confines of the current study by first introducing the TV show *Scrubs*, what is it about and why it is used as data here. Secondly, the actual data and methods of analysis are described. Lastly, two online dictionaries are explained, since those have been used in correctly identifying the data for this study.

4.1 *Scrubs*

Scrubs is an American comedy TV-show. The story follows a young medical intern John Dorian's (J.D) (Zach Braff) and his friends' growth to become skilled professional doctors. Naturally, the plot is moved forward through their messy personal lives. The setting is an imaginary hospital Sacred Heart, but in the 9th and last season, when most of the original cast have left the show, the hospital is turned into a medical school. Hence, the story could naturally follow the lives of the new medical students, which continued the show as lead characters but only for a year. The show was cancelled in May 2010. (IMDb, 2011)

The show has many qualities of a farce, its absurdity and verbal humour being the most obvious and humorous features. *Scrubs* attracted a huge fan base surely because it was so different from the mainstream sitcoms that were popular at the start of the 21st century. The verbal humour especially is very creative. Here lies the key to this study, since the quick puns often involve creative and innovative usage of words. Hence, the effect the show can have on language development is being realized here as some of the shows sayings have even gained their own entries in online dictionaries. For example, "Frick on stick with a brick!" has its own entry in the

Urban Dictionary (2009) and has one of the shows characters (Elliot Reed) as its inventor.

4.2 Data and methods of analysis

The data for this study comes from creative and innovative new English words and their Finnish translations found in the TV-show *Scrubs*. The data was gathered from the episodes of *Scrubs* throughout six seasons. The table below indicates the number of episodes per each season.

Season	Episodes
1	25
2	22
3	22
4	25
5	24
6	22
overall	**140**

Table 1. List of episodes of *Scrubs* per season

The first six seasons were included in this study because they were under the Touchstone network airing on NBC at the time. The seventh season marks the shift in network ownership since *Scrubs* was moved to ABC. Also, the total number of the episodes from the six seasons was quite sufficient for the purposes of this study. The seasons are on DVD and the original airing of the seasons took place between 2001-2007 in the United States. The data was gathered from the Nordic DVD releases since they have Finnish subtitles. The English subtitles were used, as well, for checking the proper spelling. Also, a website providing transcriptions for the show was used in collecting the data (www.twiztv.com/scripts/scrubs). However, during the gathering the website was closed and help from it was received only for a handful of episodes from the first two seasons.

Deciding which words to include in the study was a difficult task. Therefore, the following ground rules were conformed with. First, all new and uncommon words were collected from the episodes. Second, the word lists were tidied up by thoroughly checking their possible spelling variants and meanings from two online dictionaries: *Merriam-Webster* and *Urban Dictionary*. These dictionaries are introduced more thoroughly in Chapter 4.4. If either of the dictionaries gave a proper meaning and denoting someone other than the show or somebody from its crew or characters as the

source of that word, the word was discarded. However, because both of these dictionaries are updated regularly, the notion of time had to be considered, as well. Because the first season aired in 2001, it is clear that some innovations then might not be that any more. Hence, even some slang or peculiar words that seemed common today were examined carefully. Lastly, only words belonging to the different groups described in Chapter 2.2 were chosen.

It is crucial to remember that some of the words left out could be included by someone else and some that were included could be left out. However, the decision to include or exclude a word was usually supported by either of the online dictionaries. This meant that the dictionaries either generated the word with earlier date than the show, in which case the word was discarded, or the word was not found in the dictionaries or as *Urban Dictionary* often showed a date postdating the show, in which case the word was left on the word list.

The analysis of the chosen words was done by placing each word to the different categories that were illustrated in Chapter 2.2. Some words had several word-formation techniques in which case they could have been included in several of the categories. However, as was mentioned earlier in Chapter 2 each word was placed under only one of the techniques. These words were systematically placed under that specific technique in which they seemed to belong to the most. Here again it is important to keep in mind that some words could have been put into a different group than was now done. Nonetheless, each placement was done in a consistent and systematic manner.

After the selection of the words included in the first part of this study, which is in the word-formation section, the data for the second part, that is the translation section, was collected. This was done by watching the episodes from which the chosen words were with Finnish subtitles. An important point here is that some words were repeated throughout the six seasons, in which cases the first occurrence was recorded on the word list. Hence, there were some words that had differing translations in different seasons.

The translations are divided into two big groups: translated and untranslated words. The translated words are further divided into two groups based on the translation approaches presented in Chapters 3: linguistically oriented and communicative approaches. Because

the translations usually involve only one or two words the underlying translation theories can be hard to determine, therefore, the decision was made to make a division solely based on the two main approaches. Furthermore, the untranslated words were, also, divided between completely untranslated and somewhat translated words. This means that there were words that were not translated at all and words where the actual new word was not translated as such but the idea or meaning was translated by some other means.

With the translations, as well, is important to remember that different categories and divisions could have been made. For instance, only those translations belonging to the communicative approach group could have been studied more closely, or exclusive attention could be paid solely on the untranslated words. However, as the goal for this study is to receive thorough knowledge on how these new inventions are actually translated, it is important to study the words in all of these categories.

The complete word lists and their translations are attached in the Appendix.

4.3 Research questions and hypothesis

The research questions for this study are divided between the word-formation and translation parts as such:
1. What type of word-formation techniques are used in the TV-show *Scrubs* in creating innovative English words?
2. How are these new words translated into the Finnish language?

As it was mentioned earlier in Chapters 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 compounding and affixation are highly productive word-formation techniques in English. Hence, for the first part one assumption is that the most common word-formation technique would be compounding. Also, affixation is anticipated to be a common one for the effortless production of these words. However, one does not expect to find many if any back-formations or conversions, because they are rather hard to form.

Blends and clippings are assumed to be in high quantities, though not as high as compounds or affixations. This is because blends and clippings are thought of as

possibly providing words with humorous effect. And forming them is considered to be rather easy. Additionally, semantic shifts are expected to come up in vast numbers, because those could possibly provide plenty of entertaining events. However, acronyms are not expected to turn up in excessive numbers, but rather they would be replaced by abbreviations. This is because abbreviations are easier to come up with.

For the translation section one hypothesis is that some, possibly even most words have not been translated at all. This would be because this study is done on words and in the limited space that is subtitling it is more important to clearly deliver the message than try coming up with cleaver new words, unless of course the English word is the main part of that message. Also, the expectation is that most words will be translated quite literally, thus, placing them in the linguistically oriented approach group.

4.4 *Merriam Webster Online Dictionary* and *Urban Dictionary*

This section briefly describes two online dictionaries used while collecting the data, for ensuring that the words selected for this study are in fact novel. The two dictionaries are *Merriam- Webster Online Dictionary* and *Urban Dictionary*. *Merriam Webster* is an American publisher of language-related reference works and their online dictionary can be found at http://www.merriam-webster.com/ (16.9.2010). The *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* is based on the print version of *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate® Dictionary* 11th *Edition*. The publishers have provided language information for more than 150 years and the makers are professional dictionary editors and writers. The site provides a search engine for an English dictionary, as well as, a thesaurus, a Spanish-English dictionary and a medical dictionary. The site, also, has different word games, videos relating to word explanations, a word of the day -page and another search engine for new and slang words. The results from a search are shown clearly with different possibilities of meanings and usage with examples on where and how to use the word. In addition, there is a sample of how to pronounce the word, as well as, how it is written phonologically. The word class and synonyms and possible antonyms are given, as

well. Lastly, there is an explanation for the origin of the word. (http://www.merriam-webster.com/ 16.9.2010)

This dictionary was used in determining which words to include into this study because the TV-show in question is American, as well. In addition to this, the dictionary has a separate search engine for new words and slang, which help in determining whether or not to include some of the words found from the source material.

Urban Dictionary, on the other hand, is less academic and gives definitions mostly on slang words and phrases. The site was started in 1999 and now has over 5.2 million definitions. The site, also, provides a search engine for the dictionary and a page for the word of the day. However, there can be found a blog, a chat and a store, from where people can buy different items containing a definition of a wanted word. The dictionary link opens up a page where one can alphabetically look through words and their definitions. The definitions are provided by anybody wanting to do so. Thus, the information gathered from this source is evaluated most critically. This dictionary is only used for checking and possibly discarding the clear slang words found in the source material.

Here again is crucial to bear in mind that some of the words included in the final list might have been discarded by other dictionaries, as well as, some which were discarded might have been included. However, for the scope of this study only these two online dictionaries were chosen because they are both American, and thus, concerned about American English.

5. Findings

This section explores the findings from both the word-formation and translation data, respectively. In the first section the results for the word-formation part are explored so that first, the compounds are described, then the focus is given to affixation and blending, separately. Next conversion, back-formation, clipping and acronyms are presented together in one chapter. Last, semantic shifts are presented.

In the last section the translation results are illustrated beginning with the words that were translated, since there were both words that were translated and words that were not. These translations are introduced starting with those that were translated by using the linguistically oriented approaches of translation. After that the communicatively translated words are explored. Last, a separate chapter is given to those words that were not translated at all.

(All of the found words with their Finnish translations can be found in the Appendix.)

5.1 Results for the word-formation techniques

This section illustrates the results for the word-formation techniques. This is done in a manner of following the order of Chapter 2.2 where the different word-formation techniques were introduced. Thus, firstly, the compound words are explained. Secondly, the words using affixation are depicted. Thirdly, come the blends, which are exceptionally presented here because there were enough of them to be placed in a separate section. In the fourth section the words using conversion, back-formation, clipping and acronyms are shown. These were put under the same heading because there were so few of them. Lastly, semantic changes are presented.

There were a total of 307 new words found. The table below indicates the number of words found in each of the word-formation groups.

Technique	words found
Compound	103
Affixation	111
Conversion	8
Back-formation	1
Clipping	10
Blending	49
Acronyms	2
Semantic change	23
Total	**307**

Table 2. Number of words found formed using the different word-formation techniques.

An important point to remember is that in some of the words multiple techniques have been used in creating them. However, as was previously mentioned all of the words were placed under only one technique. In those cases where two or more techniques

were used, it was the fundamental core of the words that determined where a particular word should be placed. This means that it may have been under either the first technique that was used in creating them, as was the case with most of the words, or under that technique that had created the most recent change in the words. For instance, 'sleep humper' could be seen as a compound but was placed under affixation because of the '-er' suffix, which is more fundamental than the original compounding in relation to the intended meaning and for the effective deliverance of the joke. Hence, the intended meaning behind the words played a crucial role here, as well.

Additionally, some words were inflected, thus, possibly creating another word class. However, in these cases the inflection was ignored and only on the stem was concentrated while deciding the proper places of the words. The found words are shown in the exact same orthographic form as they were in the data, thus, possibly having some inflections and/or inflectional affixes. Hence, some words may seem at first glance like they do not qualify for that particular group, but after focusing solely on the stem, they do.

5.1.1 Compounds

There were a total of 103 compound words found. Most of the compounds had a noun head. Most of these were noun+noun compounds but some were adjective+noun or verb+noun compounds.

> (2) glassman, germ box, shame hole, penstraw
>
> (3) feel-goods, unnecessary-land, medical wienies

Included in the noun compounds were nine rhyming compounds. Of these only one was spelled separately and the rest with a hyphen. Also, there was one case of neo-classical compounding found from the data. This too was spelled with a hyphen.

> (4) schwing-schwong, tush-tush, nappy-nap, looky-loo, hippety-hop,
>
> happy-hap, silly-willies, watchie-talkies; tippy toes
>
> (5) commit-o-phobe

In addition to these noun compounds, there were two cases that included more than two combined words. These were *'post-engagement nookie'* and *'e-maily-pagey-thingy'*. The first one was originally thought of as belonging to the affixation group (without the *'nookie')* but was later moved here mainly because of the Finnish translation that included '*nookie'* as a compound part of '*post-engagement'*. '*E-maily-pagey-thingy'*

could have been placed under blending. However, not enough seemed to have been blended especially when there were so many hyphens used that compounding appeared to be the most appropriate group for this word, as well.

Naturally, there were also adjective compounds as well as verb compounds. Most of these have been inflected with an '-*ing*' or an '-*ed*' ending. Surprisingly, two prepositional compounds were also found.

> (6) daredeviling, vomit-cleaning, ear-flicking; bastard-coated, pan-faced
>
> (7) poo-faint; gurney-surfing, air-fondling, chop-busting
>
> (8) full-up, shoo-in

Compounding was the second largest group in the data with 103 words. This group showed versatility in both the combination of words, as well as in their spelling. There were words spelled both separately and together with or without a hyphen.

> (9) projectgeek, boomblaster, airbanding
>
> (10) front butt, booby horn, epiphany toilet,
>
> (11) nap-walk, tongue-dance, guy-lie, hair-mussing

The multiplicity and versatility that compounding showed demonstrates the easiness of creating new words with compounding. Additionally, this concurred with what was stated in Chapter 2.2.1 that compounding is a highly applied method of word-formation, at least in American English.

5.1.2 Affixation

Affixation proved to be the most productive word-formation technique of the seven other methods. There were 111 different new words using affixation found. Usually an affix or an affix-like component with a particular meaning was used several times. Only a handful of affixes were used just once. There were some words that used commonly productive or acknowledged affixes, for instance, suffixes '-*er*' or '-*less*' or prefixes '*un-*' or '*co-*'.

> (12) bed-maker, plan-forgetter, joer, question-talker, story-topper; chestless
>
> (13) un-sleep, un-potty-trained, unwakable; co-agree, co-bestman
>
> (14) non-holiday; re-suture; de-nerdified; in-building
>
> (15) psychobablry; foreverest; kidlets; ruggist; Cox-ish; Coxian; phobia-phobic

Then there were many cases of '-*y*' or '-*ie*' used in creating words with different meanings. Most often, however, these created a word with the same meaning as before but with a softer edge.

(16) lamey, sucky; tushie, yessie, Coxie

More curious cases were the ones that used an affix or an affix-like component that has not yet become a prominent affix or some common affixes in peculiar places or words, thus, creating intriguing innovations.

(17) e-vited, e-sponses, e-yeses, e-maybes

(18) mega-loathe; quasi-offensive; mini-meal; super-psyched; anti-drowning

(19) snoozeville, patientville, croaksville; snoozefest, suck-up fest

(20) cancer-free; man-wise; possum-like;

In addition, as it is a hospital show it was only natural to find some curious cases where affixes usually found in medical words were used.

(21) blah-blah-ologist; intern-hating-est

(22) goof-around-itis; gotta-see-ems

Still, the most interesting cases were those words that could be considered belonging to the compounding group because of their use of another proper word as an affix-like element. However, the decision was made to treat these cases as affixes because of their systematic usage and the basic same meaning behind the affix-like component. For example, '*-five'* is constantly used in the show with the obvious meaning of a '*high-five*', but with adding a specific type of a '*high-five'*. Also, in one episode the word '*whiny-'* was used as a prefix-like element creating words to annoy another person. In addition, a variation of *'-sie'* ('*-sies', '-ies'*) is a common technique in the show. It is used in multiple situations and not disdained by any of the characters.

(23) mental-five, assisted-five, betrayal-five, tough brake-five

(24) whinyface, whinybritches, whinysomething, whinydancer

(25) moresie, splitsies, catchies, frontsies, where-did-I-go-wrongsies

The multiplicity of the used affixes only proves how common affixation is in creating new words in English. These results, also, show the creativity of the show in the word formation process by using innovative affixes like '*-five'*, or even common affixes like *'-er*' in different and novel places.

5.1.3 Blending

Words that were blended together were also rather prominent in the data. A common blend in the series was blending names together, or sometimes blending a name with an adjective or a noun.

(26) Tarla, Curk, Coxian, Turkiot

(27) Smelliot, Jordalicious, Dorkian, Barbidiot

(28) Keith-stianity, Keith-edral, Bobigator, Coxinator, Dr.Reid-athon

Another popular blend was the use of '*-tini*' from '*martini*' and mixing it with some fruit. Also, '*-tastic*' was often added to a name, and some form of different coffee drinks were commonly used in creating new words.

(29) quarantinis, appletini, peachtini, nectarini

(30) Lohan-tastic, Cabbage-tastic, smurftastic

(31) crappuchino, smoke-accino, mocha-chinos

Naturally, there were a couple of hospital related blends that used an occupation as one of the blended words. Additionally, there were occupations or people blended that were not related to a hospital or medicine in any way.

(32) rocktors (doctors who rock), slesident (slut+resident), murse (male nurse)

(33) blerd (black nerd), mecretary (male secretary), mouseketeer

Still, most blends found were quite random, created to produce a humorous effect, but nonetheless, highly imaginative and acceptable.

(34) infro, hairmet, fearitude, cham-lame (glass),

(35) gavomiting, C-mused, scooter-blading, cry-maxing, chair-jacked, sperm-jack

There were a total of 49 blends in the data. These words were immensely creative and could easily become part of the mainstream language. Even though the number of blends was less than half than those of compounds and affixes independently, there are still plenty to display the fact that blending is very productive in today's American English.

5.1.4 Conversion, back-formation, clipping and acronyms

This section encloses the results for the last four remaining techniques, for they were in smaller quantities, and thus, are easier and clearer to show in one section than in short separate ones. These results, too, follow the order of Chapter 2.2, thus, presenting the results for conversion first. Second, the results for back-formation are explored. Then, clippings are examined, and lastly, come the results for acronyms.

Conversion was not as productive as the previous three techniques. However, there were a total of eight conversions found in the data. Of these words five were nouns and three were pronouns, and all of these were converted to verbs. With two of the pronouns, as they were names, it was clear that the conversion related to a certain quality that the

particular person (or character) possesses. However, that characteristic was not necessarily explained in the show.

> (36) nothing (I nothing you), Kelly Ripa'd, Marcia Brady'd
>
> (37) ma'amed, side-stroked, roboting, vanning, Jiggle (me in)

Conversion did prove more productive than was expected. One would have presumed finding none or only one case of conversion and instead there were eight. This only demonstrates that even though conversion was not as prominent in the show as compounding or affixation were, it still is a productive word-formation technique used in today's English.

Back-formation appeared to be the least productive of these techniques with only one case found in the data. This was not a surprise since it was considered to be a rather difficult technique. As previously Bauer (1983) suggested, most back-formations in English are verbs and so was the case here, as well. This single case was a verb that was back-formed also from a verb. In that way it was somewhat unconventional, but it was included here because it still was such an obvious case of back-formation. The word was '*dain*' from '*disdain*' and it can be seen used in the following example.

> (38) I don't disdain you! It's quite the opposite: I dain you.

This exchange not only shows humorous effect but yet again the extensive creativity that the creators of the show possess. Although back-formation did not turn out to be particularly used in the show, it still appeared at least once proving that the technique is and can still be used in today's English.

There were ten clipped words or word combinations found. Some of these could have been placed in the compounds group, but since the clipping was more prominent that is, the clipping was the main source for the humorous effect that in these cases the words were placed here. Also, one of the clippings had a similar affix that was found in the affixation group, but was placed under clippings because the clipping must have happened before and is more fundamental than the affixation.

> (39) robo-doc; she-doc; Inter-highway; ambu-date; margi-,marti-,mani-,pedi-party
>
> (40) uggos; sensie

The '*margi-, marti-, mani-, pedi-party*' though a one big word was placed here because of all the clippings involved, and the clippings were also counted as separate clippings, thus, creating the total number of ten clipped words. '*Uggos*' was a curious case with all the additions made to it. However, it was placed here because, as was mentioned in Chapter 2.2.5 some clippings have some additions to them, such as plural '*-s*'. Here the

word refers to '*ugly people*', where everything except '*ug-*' has been removed, and mainly for phonetical reasons the '*-gos*' have been added, since pronouncing '*ugs*' is harder than if there is a vowel in between as in '*uggos'*. Also, because the meaning has not changed, the word is more suitable here than in affixation, for instance.

The low number of clippings came as a slight surprise, since one would assume clipping to be somewhat easier than conversion, for instance, with which there were almost an equal number of examples (8/10). Nonetheless, the low number in itself is an interesting result, as well.

Acronyms were also not very common in this data with only two occurrences. This was not surprising, since acronyms are not just abbreviations, but they need to be pronounced fully as one orthographic fragment. If abbreviations were included here the number would have been slightly higher, but not drastically. The two found acronyms were:

(41) WOD = Wife Of Diabetic

(42) NAAAA = National Association for the Advancement of African-Americans

The second one, '*NAAAA*', was an adjustment from an existing association '*NAACP*', which has '*Colored People*' as the last two words. (This association is an abbreviation and not an acronym.) This acronym like so many other new words in this series, was created as part of a joke, but could just as easily be or become part of present day English. At least, '*African-Americans'* would be a more politically correct choice than '*Coloured People'* for the association in this politically correct climate the Western societies nowadays have.

The results for the seven different word-formation techniques were somewhat expected but a couple of surprises were found, as well. The implications that these findings may have are considered in the Discussion section in Chapter 6. However, before moving on to the translation section there is still one group that needs to be examined: semantic shifts.

5.1.5 Semantic changes

Semantic shifts or semantic changes were a more difficult group to find new words for, nonetheless, a total of 23 instances were collected from the data. There were some that were only for the humorous effect, and therefore, would probably never become part of the mainstream language.

> (43) mop (sad), mopping (listening), mopn't (shouldn't)
>
> (44) a Doug (a paracentesis needle to the aorta)
>
> (45) Dorian (wrong)

Then there were those words that nowadays can come across in everyday speech or other TV series, but at the time of *Scrubs* were not yet prominent. Also, there were some words that could easily become part of mainstream language or that are possibly in the process of becoming.

> (46) whipped; wing-man; nogging (head)
>
> (47) giblets, unmentionables, under-wood (all three: male genitalia)
>
> (48) nipper (a sip); loaners (loan clothing); venti drip (giant coffee);
>
> halfro (half shaved, half afro hair)
>
> (49) dillie-dallies (breasts); foofie (fart); hatchling (baby)

Here, for instance, '*wing-man*' was not found in either of the online dictionaries used in this study, or at least it was not found in the proper timeline. Meaning the time that the word was first show in *Scrubs* versus the date it was first published in either of the dictionaries. Now it seems that '*wing-man*' can be found in almost any movie or TV series that even remotely has couple of male friends trying to ask out women (see, for example, *How I met your mother* TV series).

The number of semantic shifts was a rather low one, since one would have expected them to be a source for many misunderstandings, and thus, for many jokes and embarrassing moments. The possible reasons for these results are considered in Chapter 6.1. However, before moving on to that, the results for the translations need to explored, which is done next.

5.2 Results for the translations

This section is divided into two bigger groups: the translated words and the untranslated words. First, the attention is given to the words that were translated into Finnish. This is done in the next chapter so that a division is made between the linguistically oriented

and the communicative approaches of translation. Thus, there are two groups into which the translated words are roughly divided based on the theories examined in Chapter 3. In the second section the untranslated words are explored.

5.2.1 Translated words

This chapter first examines the word translations that have been translated by using the linguistically oriented translation approaches. Next, the words that have been translated by using the communicative translation approaches are analysed. All of the different theories introduced in Chapter 3.1 and 3.2 are not used in the analysis separately, rather, the umbrella terms, linguistically oriented approaches and communicative approaches, are used here, for the simplicity and clarity. Hence, this chapter begins with the linguistically translated words and continues to communicatively translated words.

To start with the linguistically translated words, from the 307 words that were found in the data 110 were translated by using the linguistically oriented approaches. This was done by translating word-for-word. As translating word-for-word is the most obvious case of linguistic translating that was the main source for information about which group a particular word translation should be put. Also, because the translation data comes from subtitles, it was not expected to encounter many if any translations that would use the means of the source language that is word order or other grammatical features for instance, in the translations, as linguistically oriented approaches do, other than the literal or word-for-word translations. Hence, all of the 110 word translations placed in the linguistically translated group are either literal translations or very close literal translations.

There were literal translations found in all of the different word-formation technique groups except in back-formation where there was only one instance found and that translation belonged to the communicatively translated word group. Also, some of the semantic shifts were translated word-for-word. Hence, the next examples are from the different word-formation techniques and semantic shifts, separately, excluding back-formation.

> (50) foetus-face = sikiönaama; sneak hug = yllärihali
> (51) cyber-five = kyber-viisi; ruggist = matottaja; blah-blah-ologist = höpöhöpölogi
> (52) vanning = "pakuilu"

(53) ambu-date = ambu-treffit; robo-doc = robotohtori

(54) rocktors = roktorit; scooter-blading = skootteriluistelu; blerd = mörtti

(55) WOD (Wife Of Diabetic) = DV (Diabeetikon Vaimo); NAAAA = NAAAA

(56) mop = moppi; mopping = moppaan; halfro = puoliafro

Both of the acronyms were translated literally. Yet, there were only three cases of linguistic translation in conversion. As a whole, it seemed that conversions and semantic shifts were the hardest to translate literally. Blends that used names as one or both parts as the source, however, were almost always literally translated. In fact, most of the cases where names were involved in forming a new word regardless of the technique used, the translation was literal. The obvious examples coming from conversion where the '*Kelly Ripa'd*' and '*Marcia Brady'd*' were rather awkwardly translated as such with no clear explanation to the cultural references. Thus, leaving the Finnish audience flabbergasted and wondering about the apparently obvious insults the characters were throwing at each other.

(57) Kelly Ripa'd! = Tehnyt kellyripat.

(58) I Marcia Brady'd your ass! = Tein Marcia Bradyn tempun.

With compounds and affixes the literal translations were usually there, where a part or both parts of the word already had a clear Finnish translation, thus, making the translation rather self-evident. For instance, a '*roof toilet*' was translated as '*kattopönttö*', whereas '*epiphany toilet*', a communicatively translated word was '*mietiskelypönttö*'. Both the '*roof*' and the '*toilet*' are rather straightforward words that have clear Finnish equivalents, while '*epiphany*' is a more intricate word with really no proper equivalence in Finnish. Thus, the translator has to come up with an approximate equivalent but not quite managing to provide the same grandeur as the original affords.

Other examples of similar words that were differently translated would be '*mocha-chinos'* and '*smoke-accino*' with '*mokka-chinos*' and '*kessuchino*' as their respective translations. Here again literally translating '*mocha*' is easier than coming up with something new, since '*mokka*' is already an acceptable word in Finnish. However, translating '*smoke*' as '*kessu*', instead of 'savu' is better because the point here is to introduce a coffee drink with nicotine in it, hence, the joke is properly translated, as well.

Most of the literally translated words were rather unimaginative, after all they were literal. However, in many of the cases they delivered the message and the possible joke,

as well. Nonetheless, the more imaginative translations came from the communicatively translated words, which will be discussed next.

There were a total of 166 words translated by using the communicative approaches of translation. More specifically these were words that were translated by other means than plain word-for-word translating. These translations had used, for instance, the Finnish word order or other Finnish grammatical features to produce a more suitable translation in each particular case. Examples could be found from all of the techniques except from acronyms, where both of the instances were translated literally.

> (59) blouse bunnies = puseronpullottajapari; face-rubbing = kuonokäsittely; unnecessary-land = Jonninjoutavala
>
> (60) question-talker = puhuu kysellen; chestless = ruipelo; druggies = nistit
>
> (61) Jiggle (me in) = mukana ollaan; ma'amed = kutsuit rouvaksi
>
> (62) dain = "epähalveksin"
>
> (63) she-doc = vauva
>
> (64) mouseketeer = Pikku kakkosen postilainen; Janitoria = Huoltolandia
>
> (65) under-wood = alakovanen; rattail = Mitä siitä?

As was previously mentioned, literal translations appeared where the meaning already was rather self-explanatory and the words had simple Finnish equivalents. Therefore, the translations belonging to the communicative group were those that needed somewhat more imagination or those that used the Finnish grammatical features such as word order, for instance, in creating the translations. As the previous examples show, in '*Jonninjoutavala*' and '*Huoltolandia*' the translator has been fairly imaginative coming up with equally funny translations as the original English terms '*unnecessary-land*' and '*Janitoria*'. Also, '*mouseketeer'* ('*Pikku kakkosen postilainen')* was translated with the target culture in mind by using the famous children's programme as the source for the insult.

It was noted that with some of the original English words the Finnish translations needed slightly more than just one word translations for the audience to properly understand the cultural references or the underlying meanings of the new words. For instance, in '*tough break-five*' the translator has decided to divide it into two sentences to make it more understandable for the Finnish audience: '*Rankkaa. Ylävitonen päälle.*'. Additionally, with '*where-did-I-go-wrongsies*' ('*mitämokasin-tauti*') and '*gotta-see-ems*' ('*näyttäkääne-vaiva*') the translator has added '-*tauti*' and '-*vaiva*' at the ends of the words, respectively, to ensure that the audience understands the innuendo to disease.

Most of the semantic shifts were translated communicatively, which was not surprising, since many of them, if translated literally, would not have made much sense. However, surprisingly many blends were literally translated. Although, there were quite a few blends that had a name as one part of the word, thus, making it easier to translate them literally. In compounds and affixes, there was no preference to translate literally or communicatively, rather in both of the techniques both approaches were used in almost equal amounts.

All in all, the division between linguistically and communicatively translated words was surprisingly small, since there were almost as many linguistically translated words as there were communicatively translated ones. Only a handful of words were not translated at all, and those are presented next.

5.2.2 Untranslated words

Some words were completely ignored in the translations, while others were somewhat translated so that the meaning of the words was made clear without the actual words being translated. These words were not included in the previous section, because they were not actually translated, but rather the meaning was made clear in some other way. Hence, they were placed here.

Luckily for a researcher and quite remarkably only 31 words out of the total 307 belonged to this untranslated words group. This chapter is not divided into subsections, but it still has a clear division between the completely ignored words, which are introduced first, and the somewhat translated words, which are presented last.

Out of the 31 untranslated words only 8 were completely ignored in the Finnish translations. These were the followings:

> (66) stay-puff; moussed-haired; full-sincere; spooner; foreverest; possum-like; giblets; hatchling

It appeared that in some of the cases the translation might have been left out because of the space limitations subtitling brings, as probably was the case with '*full-sincere*':

> (67)...he said "half-sincere", but I think it was full-sincere, feel my shoulder it's still warm. = "Lähes vilpittömän", hän sanoi. Koeta tästä, se on lämmin.

Here the original text has words that would consume plenty of space if translated so the translator has opted for an easier solution and left most of the discourse out. The same was the case with '*spooner*', especially since the translator has not been able to come up with a suitable equivalence for '*spoon*' with the same objective in the Finnish language.

> (68) Is there spooning? Because I don't spoon. I'm not a spooner. = Makaatteko vierekkäin? Minä nimittäin en tee niin.

In '*hatchling*', there must have been a difficulty in translating the whole sentence in a limited space and time reference. The sentence itself in English is quick and easy, but to translate it into Finnish requires longer words and different word order that it is easier to leave some of it out, as long as the message gets delivered.

> (69) I didn't ditch her little hatchling on account of being lazy. = En luistanut vain laiskuuden takia.

Also, '*possum-like*' appeared to be too difficult a culturally related reference for the translator to properly translate it in a short space and time that it was left out completely. '*Stay-puff*' seemed to have been too difficult to translate, as well. Since it belonged to a six word line, the limited space could not have been a factor in not translating the word. Therefore, it must have been too a demanding word.

> (70) Ted's possum-like defence mechanism was actually quite brilliant. = Tedin puolustusmekanismi oli nerokas.
>
> (71) I don't know about that stay-puff. = Enpä tiedä.

'M*oussed-haired*', on the other hand, appeared in the musical episode, which required slightly more from the translator than a regular episode would with rhyming to take into account. Hence, it was easier to leave it out completely as the example below shows.

> (72) *Until that moussed-haired little nuisance is no more. = Siks kunnes ikipäiviks piina katoaa.*

On the other hand, '*foreverest*' could have been translated but was not.

> (73) We'll be bestest friends foreverest. = Pysymme parhaimpseina kaverimpseina.

As can be seen from the example above, the translator has ignored '*foreverest*' and instead has translated '*friends*' as if it has an atypical affix as well. This was surprising at first, but looking at the sentence as a whole, it became clear that the translator has opted for a somewhat different approach focusing on the '*bestest friends'* part, since in Finnish the '*foreverest'* can be already assumed in the words '*Pysymme' ('We'll be')*.

'*Giblets'* was a different case compared to the previously mentioned examples, because it was used more than once in the show. Hence, there were differing translations for it. Nonetheless, as was mentioned in Chapter 4.2 only the first occurrence of a word was

registered on the words list and unfortunately the first occurrence of '*giblets'* was the one not translated.

> (74) Makes me tingle in my giblets. = Tulee kihelmöivä olo.

This was curious, since the word was later on translated, and could possibly be a result of change in the translators. Additionally, the word could have been translated here, at least in the given space and time reference, since the sentence is not very long. Nevertheless, as the total number of completely ignored words was this low overall, the translations can be considered to be quite successful.

However, there were 23 instances where a word was not completely ignored, but rather it was paraphrased or an explicit euphemism was given that did not necessarily have anything to do with the actual word, but instead, the whole context. Next there are a couple of examples to illustrate this point.

> (75) We can all ride <u>foursies</u>. = Päästään samaan vaunuun.
>
> (76) You switched to <u>frontsies</u>! = Rintsikoiden hakanen on nyt edessä!
>
> (77) I don't dislike you, I <u>nothing</u> you. = En pidä enkä ole pitämättä.
>
> (78) I just came in through the <u>couch door</u>. = Tulin sohvan läpi.

Hence, these instances were considered as belonging somewhere in the middle between the communicatively translated words and the untranslated ones. Nonetheless, they were regarded as being more untranslated words, because the particular word had not been translated either at all, or entirely as in the cases of compounds where there is more than one word contributing them. Thus, even though the meaning of the words was made clear, the words themselves were ignored giving the reason for placing them under this group.

As the examples above illustrate, the words are not necessarily translated as such but the translator has at least produced something relating to them, instead of plainly ignoring them completely. The appearance of these cases appeared to be completely random, since some words within the same technique were translated while others were not. For instance, '*bloaty'* was translated as '*muheva'*, whereas '*elbowy*' received a different approach:

> (79) ...and make sweet, elbowy love to each other. = ja rakastelette oikein rytinällä.

However, it seemed that in the affixation group there were more of these instances than in any other group. This is not so surprising, since in English some affixes, like '*un-*' and '*-er*' can be difficult to translate into Finnish especially if they are added to uncommon words.

(80) If I could go back in time and <u>un-sleep</u> with her, I would. = Jos voisin, tekisin sen tekemättömäksi.

(81) I'm a <u>story-topper</u>. = Minun juttuni on oltava paras.

(82) From now on I'm gonna be your <u>britches-shrinker</u>. = Tästä lähtien minä palautan sinut maan tasalle.

Hence, it would be difficult if not impossible to predict where a word would be translated and where it would not. Although, it is clear that whenever a word would have a suitable equivalent it would be translated. Nonetheless, with new words it is naturally more demanding, since there almost never exists an equivalent beforehand.

6. Discussion

In this chapter the meaning and implications of the results are considered more thoroughly. For the sake of clarity this chapter is also divided into the word-formation and translation sections. Again the word-formation part is investigated first and the translation second.

6.1 Word-formation

The analysis on the word list showed that compounding and affixation were the most used techniques in *Scrubs* in creating new English words. This result was expected as Bauer (1983) and Kaunisto (2009) mention that these two techniques are highly productive nowadays. Bauer (ibid) even credits noun compounds to be the largest group of compounds, which again was supported by these results. This shows that compounding and affixation must be somewhat easier to use than the other techniques, or that they are very much in fashion at the time of their making.

More curious, however, were the results for the other five techniques, since they were clearly less represented in the show than compounding and affixation. Blending was the third used technique with 49 instances, which was still less than half of those that compounding and affixation produced, respectively. Nonetheless, the number of blends is still significant enough to conclude that blending, also, as Katamba (2005) claims, is very productive and popular in today's English. After all, blending the names of coupled film stars was very much in fashion at the beginning of the 21st century. This was, also,

evident in *Scrubs* with '*Tarla*', '*Curk*' and '*Turkiot*' derived from the character names Carla, Turk and Elliot. This only shows that even language, or rather, especially language follows the trends and fashions of social behaviour.

Clipping on the other hand, was not that common in the data. This was curious as it was expected to be more productive. The expectation came from the previously in Chapter 2.2.5 mentioned fact that clippings are highly unpredictable with no clear forming rules. This set-up gives the presumption that forming clippings would be easy and effortless, hence, appearing in ample quantities in a creative show such as *Scrubs*. Nevertheless, it could be that forming clippings is actually not that easy or that clippings were not fashionable at the moment, thus, leaving their total number in the data so low.

Predictable, however, were the results for back-formation and acronyms, since they produced the lowest number of occurrences with only one and two instances, respectively. Although Kaunisto (2009) claims acronyms to be productive in forming new words they did not flourish in the data. Reasons for this can be searched form the previously in Chapter 2.2.7 mentioned fact that military, civil servants and computer scientists are the most creative inventors of acronyms nowadays. Hence, acronyms might not have been most suitable for the story flow of the show. Also, because abbreviations have become quite popular with text messaging and other forms of instant messaging, it was already assumed that abbreviations might come in more abundance than acronyms. Additionally, because acronyms require more from the speaker than abbreviations, it is only natural that creating or rather using them is harder.

Back-formations were suspected to be the hardest ones to find from the data, since they usually appear "when there is an apparent gap in the lexicon" (Katamba, 2005:185). Hence, one would assume there to be less and less gaps in the lexicon over time, making back-formations harder to come by. This was not exactly refuted by the results as there was only one instance of back-formation and '*dain*' will probably not become part of the mainstream language usage, since according to the rules of restriction to productivity (Chapter 2.1) there already exists words such as '*admire*', '*appreciate*' and '*respect*', which can be seen as antonyms for '*disdain*'. Although, '*dain*' would be quite a brilliant alternative, following in the footsteps of '*similar*'/'*dissimilar*', '*advantage*'/'*disadvantage*' and others.

Still, conversion proved to be rather productive even though there were just 8 instances found in the data. Nonetheless, conversion was considered to be fairly difficult to produce even though it requires no new word form. Although, as Jackson and Amvela (2007) mention conversion to be prolific in English today, the results were still a little surprising.

The most interesting results, however, came from semantic shifts. The assumption was that there would be plenty of these, because of the numerous humorous possibilities they could provide. Still, there were quite few occurrences most of which were not part of a joke at all. One reasoning could be that semantic changes are harder to produce in fear that the audience will not be able to understand them properly, leaving the creators either with a misunderstood joke or having to explain the joke, thus, making the joke possibly somewhat pointless. After all, with brand new inventions the characters can ask for an explanation moving the plot and joke simultaneously forward as was the case with compound '*happy-hap*':

> (83) Turk's brother Kevin comes for a visit and asks JD:
> Kevin: What's the happy-hap?
> JD: That depends. What's a happy-hap?

Another reason for the low occurrence of semantic shifts could be that possibly not all of them were picked out from the data. Since *Scrubs* began ten years ago in 2001 and has already ended, there is the possibility that some semantic changes have escaped the attention of the researcher, because the changes ten years ago have now become part of the mainstream language. This point is crucial to keep in mind while examining all of the results, even though care was taken to provide an accurate word list.

Nonetheless, all of the word-formation techniques were used in *Scrubs* even if in alternating degrees. This indicates that forming new words is far from random and   that language does not only follow some clear-cut rules, but the norms and convention of social attitudes, as well, as can be seen in blending of the names of couples in the show.

6.2 Translation

The analysis of the translations provided some curiosities, as well. From the translated words the most intriguing finding was the difference between the linguistically

translated words and the communicatively translated words: there were less linguistically translated words than there were communicatively translated ones. This was somewhat unexpected, since the presumption was that the literally translated words would be the most common ones. After all, the translations concerned words rather than longer texts. Hence, the presumption that the words would be easier to translate if linguistically oriented approach to translation was used.

Still, not all of the communicatively translated words required that much invention, but rather the words were placed under this group if they followed the Finnish language norms, such as word order, for example. However, the slight majority of communicatively translated words do indicate favouring of the communicative approach to translation among translators as Snell-Hornby (1995) claims is the case nowadays.

Furthermore, these results show that even though Snell-Hornby (1995) argues that linguistically oriented approaches to translation have become historical oddities for the translation theorists, they are in fact still in use in today's TV translations. Moreover, as Vertanen (2004) explains the time and space limitations of subtitling playing a crucial part in subtitle translations, it is not unusual for subtitles to have fast and easy solutions, such as literal translations, rather than possibly more demanding communicative ones. Additionally, because subtitles have picture to help the viewer to understand more easily what is happening, not everything needs to be explained, rather short easy sentences are preferable (Vertanen, 2004).

Continuing on, the most fascinating finding was the very low number of untranslated words. The presumption in the beginning being that there would be untranslated words in substantial amounts. On one hand, the reasoning for this could be that the new words were such a crucial part of the discourse that they needed to be translated for the message to be properly understood by the audience. On the other hand, it could be that the new words were simple enough, or rather the words had suitable equivalents in Finnish already that translating them was effortless, happening almost by itself.

One could argue that in most of the untranslated cases, a translation could have been done. This led to suggest that either the demands of subtitling, foremost the space and time requirements, resulted in leaving some translations out of the subtitles, or that the

translator simply could not come up with suitable translations. In some cases it could be both. In almost all of the somewhat translated cases, the translator managed to translate the intended meaning of the words quite well. This led to suggest that a proper translation for a particular new word was harder to come up with than paraphrasing.

However, one interesting observation was made while gathering the data. In some cases the English subtitles had left some of the spoken words out. Then in the Finnish subtitles these same parts were left out, as well. This leads to the suggestion that perhaps the Finnish subtitles were translated only from the English subtitles. Hence, some translations of the new words might have been lost solely because of this. Naturally, one cannot be sure of this but in some cases it did seem fitting, because the Finnish subtitles match perfectly with their English counterparts. Certainly, one hopes that this is not the case, since that way some crucial information can accidentally be left out of the subtitles, for the English subtitles are done with the same time and space references taken into consideration as the Finnish ones.

Furthermore, the issue of reliability comes to play here, as well. If the Finnish translations are done based entirely on the English subtitles, how reliable are they? Moreover, how reliable are the subtitles that have left some of the discourse out? This is an important point especially if the audience does not understand anything of the original language. In this particular case, the translations can be said of being quite faithful, since most new words or the meaning of the new words were translated and only a handful of new words were not translated at all. Still, as the need for screen translations grows with the constant flow of foreign productions, it is more important to have professional translators doing the translations, and thus, keeping the level of quality and reliability high.

Continuing on, these results indicate that subtitling requires very good language skills in both the source and the target languages. Additionally, it seems that knowledge of different word-formation techniques in the needed language is also relevant, especially when dealing with new words. After all, '*Jonninjoutavala'* and '*matottaja'* clearly demonstrate both the imagination and the knowledge of Finnish the translator has. Additionally, understanding the relationship between words and their meanings is important, as well. This was clearly shown here in the somewhat translated new words where the meanings were translated instead of the actual words.

Naturally, the translator must have some crucial cultural knowledge about the source and target cultures and audiences. This is because the target audience can still hear the original dialogue at the same time as they see the translated text, thus, providing the audience the opportunity to "check" whether the translations are accurate and proper at all. While in dubbing, the original text is unknown to the target audience, thus, giving the translator the freedom or the possibility to wander off from the original script. Therefore, it is important to be truthful to the original text.

To summarise, these results unveiled the fact that translating is not a straightforward science. Instead, translating requires good knowledge of different disciplines, ranging from language studies to culturally related issues. Moreover, translating subtitles has its own set of rules and regulations, time and space being the most crucial ones, to follow. Additionally, if the translator has a laudable imagination, it can only richen the viewing experience of the audience.

7. Conclusion

This study set out to discover how new English words are created in the TV-show *Scrubs* and how these inventions are translated into Finnish. The results indicated that all of the word-formation techniques mentioned in Chapter 2.2 are still productive, though in alternating degrees. Additionally, almost all of the words were translated either literally or communicatively.

As was previously mentioned in the Introduction, no such studies as this one were found. Rather, a number of research papers concentrating on translations of humour or wordplay into Finnish were discovered. Hence, this study was needed to shed some light on both the formations of new English words and the complexity of translating these new inventions into Finnish.

Naturally, an important issue to remember is that even though the series six seasons and the collected word list was checked and double checked and revised on numerous occasions, there is room for misinterpretations, missed words and overall differences of an opinion. Furthermore, as this study included only one comedy show, the differences

between makers and genres are left unknown. Hence, these results cannot be perhaps generalised, but rather they give an inclination of the English word-formation trends in American TV during the previous decade, as well as, a guideline for further studies.

As this was quite a small study, further research is required for more conclusive and reliable results. For more accurate information on word-formation in TV today, a study including more series from different genres would be required. Also, using more dictionaries with various angles as references for the data would provide more generalisable results. Moreover, further studies on *Scrubs* could be done on placing emphasis on differences in creativity between seasons. Also, comparing the differences between characters in coming up with new words could be interesting.

From the translation point of view, more research should be done on single word translations. As this study showed, both the linguistically oriented and the communicative approaches to translation were used in these translations. Hence, examining other TV-shows from different genres could show whether both of these approaches are still in fact used in equal amounts or not. Also, studying the differences between translating single words and longer texts and the use of different approaches in those cases could be interesting. In addition, investigating the reliability of subtitles should be done to ensure the quality of these translations.

All in all, studying the forming of new words, as well as, translations of these words is important, for the Finnish society is very much a multicultural one. The Finnish television is full of foreign productions that need to be subtitled into Finnish, which not only require experts of different languages but different cultures, as well. Awareness of how to best come up with translations for new inventions can be achieved by further studies in this area.

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Appendix

1. Compounds	Season&Episode	Finnish translations	
fry salad	S01E12	ranskissalaatti	Here, have 'em all. Have a fry salad. = Tässä, ota vaikka kaikki. Tee ranskissalaatti.
blouse bunnies	S02E03	puseronpullottajapari	Let's get you into a fresh pair of blouse bunnies. = Mennäänpä hankkimaan tuore puseronpullottajapari.
front butt	S02E03	etupeppu	And as you can see the ass is on the front. Front butt. It's like the Grail. = Kuten näette, takamus on edessä. Etupeppu. Kuin Graalin malja.
camel butt	S04E05	kamelipeffa	What are you thinking? -Same old, same old. -Camel butt? = Mitä sinä mietit? -Sitä samaa. -Kamelipeffaako?
brain ship	S01E03	konehuone	Go ahead and replace the captain of your brain ship = ...niin kannattaa vaihtaa konehuoneen päällikkö
ass box	S01E05	ahterilaatikko	There's no lost&found box, there's an ass box. = Ei sellaista ole. On vain ahterilaatikko.
ass pen	S01E05	ahterikynä	It was an ass pen. = Se oli ahterikynä.
ass slides	S01E05	ahterikuvat	Yo Elliot, take a look at these ass slides. = Tule vilkaisemaan näitä ahterikuvia.
couch door	S01E08	"-"	I just came in through the couch door. = Tulin sohvan läpi.
scut monkeys	S01E15	apulaislääkärit	Kelso has volunteered all of you scut monkeys for some psychologist research project. = Kelso on antanut kaikki apulaislääkärit johonkin psykologiseen tutkimukseen.
newbie theater	S01E15	loistavaa teatteria	Heaven help me, I love newbie theater.=Aivan loistavaa teatteria.
lap-pinkie	S01E17	pieni varustus	This overbearing machismo is usually just compensation for a lap-pinkie. =Ylenpalttinen machoilu on yleensä merkki pienestä varustuksesta.
sex coma	S03E08	seksikooma	I was in a sex coma. How did you sleep? = Olin seksikoomassa. Miten itse nukuit?
glassman	S05E10	lasimies	What's glassman? -It's a basketball thing. = Mikä on "lasimies"? -Korisjuttuja.
sex puppy	S05E11	seksilemmikki	It's like having a sex puppy. = Ihan kuin omistaisi seksilemmikin.
bacon back	S05E14	Pekoni paistuu	Check this. (*sizzling sounds*) -Bacon back! Classic! = Kuuntele tätä. -Pekoni paistuu! Ylivetojuttu!
macking ban	S06E19	pussailukielto	I think I'm going to have to give you a lifetime backing ban. = Saat elinikäisen pussailukiellon.
germ box	S04E15	bakteeripesä	no one in the history of this germ box... = Tämän bakteeripesän koko historian aikana...
boomblaster	S01E16	ämyri	Now get on out of here and take that boomblaster with you. = Häivy täältä ja vie se ämyri mukanasi.
booby horn	S06E14	tissihälytys	*Boobies!* -Gotta go. Booby horn. = *Tissejä!* -On mentävä. Tissihälytys.
sneak hug	S06E13	yllärihalaus	Newbie continually will try to violate my no touching policy. …-Sneak hug! = Tulokas yrittää jatkuvasti loukata koskemattomuusperiaatettani. ...-Yllärihalaus!
post-engagement nookie	S06E19	kosintaseksi	Keith and I are definitely having some post-engagement nookie tomorrow night after the proposal. = Keith ja minä todellakin harrastamme kosintaseksiä illalla kosinnan jälkeen.
e-maily-pagey-thingy	S01E10	sähköpostijuttu	I have that exact same e-maily-pagey-thingy. = Minulla on tuo sama sähköpostijuttu.
palm dale	S01E07	etelä	Take a little trip to palm dale. = Käy vähän etelässä.
booty embargo	S04E19	odotus	...but I had a feeling her four week booty embargo was about to end. = ...mutta kuukauden odotus taisi olla päättymässä.
love embargo	S01E11	sulku	Consider yourself cut off. Full love embargo baby. = Sinulla ei ole siihen asiaa. Täydellinen sulku.
shame hole	S01E21	häpeä harteilla	Why don't you attempt to crawl out of your little shame hole...= Yritähän ravistaa häpeä harteiltasi...
Jiggly ball	S05E04	temppupallo	There is no such thing as Jiggly ball, is there? = Mitään temppupalloa ei olekaan. Vai onko?

Jiggly circle	S05E04	temppuympyrä	Please enter the Jiggly circle. = Mene temppuympyrään.
Jiggly rebound	S05E04	tempuntoisto	Now, anyone who caught a Jiggly rebound, may step up to the death line. = Jos joku haluaa tempuntoiston, astukoon kuoleman viivalle.
projectgeeks	S01E16	projektinörtit	All the projectgeeks are busy working tonight. = Kaikki projektinörtit pakertaa tänään.
chest hands	S05E04	välikädet	Two and a half years from chest hands. = Kaksi ja puoli vuotta välikäsiin.
epiphany toilet	S03E13	mietiskelypönttö	I don't want you telling anybody about my epiphany toilet. = Älkää kertoko kenellekään mietiskelypöntöstäni.
roof toilet	S03E13	kattopönttö	That my friends is a roof toilet. = Se on kattopönttö.
girl bait	S05E15	syötti	But you know what he was best at? Being girl bait. = Mutta mikä oli Keithin vahvuus? Hän oli hyvä syötti.
doody face	S06E05	kakkapää	If you're a doody face, don't say anything. = Jos olet kakkapää, älä sano mitään.
foetus-face	S04E25	sikiönaama	Keep moving foetus-face. = Ala painua, sikiönaama.
stay-puff	S01E21	”-”	I don't know about that stay-puff.=Enpä tiedä.
man-date	S03E02	miesten treffit	Sounds like you're asking me out on a man-date. = Kuulostaa miesten treffeiltä.
toe-tag	S04E09	lappu varpaassa	It's cute the little toe-tag. Like a present. = Lappu varpaassa on söötti. Hän on kuin lahjapaketti.
silly-willies	S04E12	typeryhmyys	We should also check him for the sillie-willies. = Tarkistetaan myös, onko hänellä typeryhmyyksiä.
nap-walk	S05E05	(pystyn) torkkumaan kävellen	I can sneak in a little nap-walk before rounds. = pystyin torkkumaan kävellen ennen kierron alkua.
side-switch	S05E15	vaihda puolta	Attempt the casual side-switch. = Vaihda huomaamatta puolta.
hook-hand	S05E21	koukku	The guard with a hook-hand. = Vartija, jolla on koukku.
knife-wrench	S05E21	jakoveitsi	*Knife-wrench!* Practical and safe. = *Jakoveitsi.* Tehokas ja turvallinen.
watchie-talkies	S05E14	kellopuhelimet	I got us watchie-talkies. = Hankin kellopuhelimet.
tongue-dance	S04E11	”-”	Elliot did a little tongue-dance in Franklyn's ear...= Elliot pani kielensä Franklynin korvaan...
feel-goods	S02E11	myötätunto	...that uncle Cox was doling out the feel-goods. =että Cox-setä osoitti myötätuntoaan...
unnecessary-land	S05E06	Jonninjoutavala	Or we could skip the day trip to unnecessary-land... = Tai voisimme jättää väliin reissun Jonninjoutavalaan...
medical wienies	S06E10	puoskari	Let the medical wienies deal with it. = Nakita se jollekin puoskarille.
squish-nose	S06E15	nöpönenä	Look at you, squish-nose. = Senkin nöpönenä.
caboodle-hole	S06E16	pemppureikä	You know Carla, sometimes you can be a real caboodle-hole. = Joskus sinä osaat olla oikea pemppureikä.
side-boob	S06E22	tissin sivu	Oh my god. Is that side-boob? = Luoja, onko tuo tissin sivu?
Cox-block	S05E23	(Cox esti)	And then the ultimate Cox-block. = Cox esti iskuyrityksen.
chiquita-nursitas	S06E17	chiquita-hoitsuineen	Nurse Espinosa and her chiquita-nursitas are here, because they want more dinero. = Hoitaja Espinosa chiquita-hoitsuineen on täällä. He tahtovat lisää rahaa.
cuckoo-pants	S06E06	(päästään pipi)	She's cuckoo-pants. = Hän on päästään pipi.
guy-lie	S06E14	jätkien yhteisvalhe	...resulting in the rarest of all phenomenon, the seamless, collaborative guy-lie. = ...mikä sai aikaan tuon harvinaisen ilmiön, saumattoman jätkien yhteisvalheen.
drill-fork	S05E19	porahaarukka	*Drill-fork. It can drill and fork. Mostly fork.* = *Porahaarukka. Poraa sekä haarukoi. Enimmäkseen haarukoi.*
penstraw	S05E19	kynäpilli	I'm a bit of an inventor. I'm gonna show you my latest one: penstraw. = Minussa on vähän keksijän vikaa. näytän tuoreimman: kynäpilli.

Hover Hoover	S05E19	**lentoimuri**	I call it the Hover Hoover. Where suction meets the sky. = Kutsun sitä lentoimuriksi. Jossa imu kohtaa taivaan.
commit-o-phobe	S03E21	**sitoutumiskammoinen**	I'm not that much of a commit-o-phobe. = Enkä ole sitoutumiskammoinen.
schwing-schwong	S03E09	**heijarit**	but he did develop a rash on his um private are. -Sorry, on his what? -His schwing-schwong. = mutta sai ihottumaa intiimialueeseensa.-Anteeksi minne?...-Heijareihinsa.
tush-tush	S01E22	**(kaikki näkyi)**	And in the *Hot spot*, you gotta love her: frontal and tush-tush = ja *Kuumat paikat,* johon ihastutte: kaikki näkyi.
nappy-nap	S01E07	**torkut**	Maybe you feel the need to sneak off and have a little nappy-nap. =Ehkä teidän pitää hiippailla jonnekin ottamaan pienet torkut.
looky-loo	S01E22	**tirkistelijä**	No one likes a looky-loo. = Kukaan ei tykkää tirkistelijöistä.
hippety-hop	S01E12	**Kipin-kapin**	Get out of here. Go ahead. Go go. Hippety-hop to the barber shop. = Mene pois. Ala laputtaa. Kipin-kapin.
happy-hap	S02E14	**kivakiva**	What's the happy-hap?-That depends.What's a happy-hap? = Mitä kivakivoille kuuluu?-Se riippuu.Mikä on kivakiva?
tippy toes	S02E15	**(kurkottaa)**	I like the way I have to stand up on my tippy toes to kiss you. = Pidän siitä, että minun täytyy kurkottaa, jotta voimme suudella.
story-topped	S06E22	**päihitin sinut**	You my friend has just been story-topped. = Ystäväni, päihitin sinut.
poo-faint	S06E10	**kakkiessa**	and felt the familiar light-headedness I get right before a poo-faint = ja tunsin päässäni vippaavan samoin kuin kakkiessa
kissy-faced	S01E14	**hyvät välit**	She wants us to get all kissy-faced with each other. = Hän haluaa, että meillä on hyvät välit.
pan-faced (alien)	S04E02	**lättänaamahyypiö**	...not when she married that gay pan-faced alien. = ...ei silloin, kun hän nai sen lättänaamahyypiön.
moussed-haired	S06E06	**"-"**	*Until that moussed-haired little nuisance in no more. = Siks kunnes ikipäiviks piina katoaa*
bastard-coated (bastards)	S04E07	**äpäräpäällysteisiä äpäröitä**	People are bastard-coated bastards with bastard filling. = Ihmiset ovat äpäräpäällysteisiä äpäröitä äpärätäytteellä.
second-opinioned	S05E04	**"-"**	I won't be second-opinioned by a clinic doctor...= en kuuntele lääkäriä...
gurney-surfing	S03E13	**paarisurffailu**	The reason I'm gurney-surfing aside from the fact that it's totally bitching... = Syy paarisurffailuun, paitsi, että se on hiton kivaa,...
air-fondling	S03E15	**hieron ilmassa'**	I'm air-fondling Dr.Miller's boobies. = Hieron tri Millerin tissejä ilmassa.
friend-stealing	S04E01	**ystäviä varastava**	I'm sure your more interested in conspiracy theories about gangs and friend-stealing. =Lienet kiinnostuneempi jengejä ja ystävän varastamista käsittelevistä salaliittoteorioista.
face-rubbing	S04E01	**kuonokäsittely**	Did you not see what just happened or do you not get face-rubbing? = Näitkö, mitä tapahtui, vai etkö tajua kuonokäsittelyä?
chop-busting	S04E14	**Hätistelen vain.**	New thing. I'm busting chops. … chop-busting. = Uusi juttuni. Hätistelen kaikkia. … Hätistelen vain.
doc-dusting	S04E14	**tomutan**	… and doc-dusting. = Ja tomutan.
point-making	S05E13	**asiaa**	Less point-making,...= Vähemmän asiaa...
scarf-getting	S05E13	**huivin hakua**	... more scarf-getting. =...ja enemmän huivin hakua.
air-groping	S06E20	**(kähmiä ilman kautta)**	As we sat there air-groping my ex = Kun kähmimme exääni ilman kautta
situation-handling	S04E18	**tilanteen hoitaminen**	I will kick your ass in situation-handling. = Voitan sinut tilanteen hoitamisessa.
ear-flicking (policy)	S01E03	**korvajuttu**	He obviously hasn't told you about my ear-flicking policy. = Hän ei ole tainnut kertoa sitä korvajuttua.
yacht-owning (punk)	S05E11	**veneenomistajapiru**	You rich yacht-owning punk! = Senkin rikas veneenomistajapiru!

scalpel-toting	S06E08	**skalpellia heiluttava**	You're not an idiotic, scalpel-toting,...= Et ole tollo, skalpellia heiluttava,...
basketball-dribbling	S06E08	**koriksesta vaahtoava**	...basketball-dribbling,...idiotic man-boy. =...koriksesta vaahtoava,...epäkypsä nulikka.
daredeviling (skills)	S03E18	**huimapäiset (taitoni)**	so now I've got to give them the 401 on my mad daredeviling skills. = joten menen näyttämään heille huimapäiset taitoni.
tent-dwelling	S06E10	**asun teltassa**	Plus I'm a tent-dwelling poop-fainter, who can't drive. = Lisäksi asun teltassa, pyörryn kakkiessani, enkä osaa ajaa.
jump-suit-wearing	S04E19	**haalaripukuinen**	I never thought I'd see a jump-suit-wearing,... = En ole ikinä nähnyt haalaripukuisen,...
van-driving	S04E19	**pakettiautoa ajava**	...van-driving,...=...pakettiautoa ajavan,...
vomit-cleaning	S04E19	**oksennuksia putsaava**	...vomit-cleaning,...= …oksennuksia putsaavan,...
frankenstein-looking	S04E19	**hirviön näköinen**	...no good, confounded, frankenstein-looking buffoon like you gets a girl like Barbie. = hirviön nököisen paukapään saavan Barbien kaltaista tyttöä.
hair-mussing	S05E01	**tukan pörrötys**	Someone's close enough for a hair-mussing. = Joku on tarpeeksi lähellä tukan pörrötykseen.
airbanding	S05E09	**ilmabändit on kielletty**	No airbanding. = Ilmabändit on kielletty.
life-affirming	S01E01	**suloista**	Sex is life-affirming. = Seksi on suloista.
head-locking (Dan)	S02E06	**niskalenkki-Dan**	He-hey little brother! It's the head-locking Dan! = Hei, pikkuveli! Niskalenkki-Dan tuli.
half-sincere	S05E01	**lähes vilpitön**	...he said "half-sincere",...=..."Lähes vilpittömän", hän sanoi. …
full-sincere	S05E01	**"-"**	...but I think it was full-sincere, feel my shoulder it's still warm. =...Koeta tästä, se on lämmin.
full-up	S01E21	**täysi**	My dance card is full-up too. = Minunkin tanssikorttini on täysi.
shoo-in	S03E18	**osallistuja**	You are a shoo-in for the little girl X-games. = Olet varma osallistuja pikkutyttöjen extreme-kisoihin.

overall:		**103**	

2. Affixes	Season&Episode	Finnish translations	
whinyface	S01E10	**vinkunaama**	I'm donna give you a nickname. ... How about..Whinyface? = Saat minulta lempinimen. ... Miten olisi..Vinkunaama?
whinybritches	S01E10	**vinkuperse**	...Whinybritches? =...Vinkuperse?
whinysomething	S01E10	**vinkujotain**	...Whinysomething. I definitely like whiny. =...Vinkujotain. Tuo "vinku" on kiva.
whinydancer	S01E10	**vinkutanssija**	...Whinydancer? =...Vinkutanssija?
air-five	S02E21	**ilmaläppäys**	Who´s with me? Air-five! = Kuka on samaa mieltä? Ilmaläppäys.
self-five	S02E22	**lyön sitten itse kättä**	What´s up! (*putting up his hand for a high-five*) No one? Self-five. = Miten menee? Eikö? Lyön sitten itse kättä.
mental-five	S03E02	**ilman käsiä**	Mental-five. (*The Todd high-fives himself in his head*) = Ilman käsiä.
miracle-five	S04E12	**ihmeyläviitonen**	(*A guy comes back to life after a high-five*) That's right: the miracle-five. = Juuri niin. Ihmeyläviitonen.
face-five	S04E13	**naamaviitonen**	(The Todd gets slapped in the face) Face-five! Oh yeah! = Naamaviitonen. Huippu!

assisted-five	S04E24	avustettu vitonen	Assisted-five. I'll take it. = Avustettu vitonen. Kelpaa.
tough break-five	S04E19	Rankkaa. Ylävitonen päälle.	I lost my hair in 8th grade. -Though break-five. = Kaljuunnuin 8. luokalla. -Rankkaa. Ylävitonen päälle.
betrayal-five	S05E03	petosviitonen	Hey dude, thanks for having my back. -Yeah. Betrayal-five. = Kiitos, kun autoit. -Aivan. Petosviitonen!
euphemism-five	S05E01	eufemismiviitonen	Euphemism-five. -His vocabulary has gotten so much better. = Eufemismiviitonen. -Hänen sanavarastonsa on parantunut.
cyber-five	S06E09	kyber-viisi	Cyber-five! = Anna kyber-viis!
ducttape-five	S06E09	teippi-vitonen	Ducttape-five! = Anna teippi-vitonen!
sceptical air-five	S06E14	skeptiset läpyt	Sceptical air-five. She can't be that hot. = Skeptiset läpyt. Ei hän niin kuuma ole.
unfair-five	S06E17	epäreilu-vitonen	It all just seems a little unfair. -Unfair-five. = Tuntuu vain epäreilulta. -Epäreilu-vitonen.
wienie-roast-five	S06E10	Puoskari-vitonen	Wienie-roast-five! = Puoskari-vitonen!
walkies	S01E02	kävelyjä	No more walkies...= Ei kävelyjä...
catchies	S02E07	taka-ajatuksia	...But you caught me! -No, no no catchies. = ...mutta sait minut kinni! -Ei mitään taka-ajatuksia.
quitsies	S02E07	ei lopettamisia	Then I quit. -No, no no quitsies! = Sitten minä eroan. Ei lopettamisia!
Townsie	S02E14	Townsie	Sir, can I call you Townsie? -No. = Voinko kutsua sinua Townsieksi? -Et.
Turkies	S03E18	Turkit	but if there was a surgeon award show around here, it'd be called the Turkies. =mutta jos täällä olisi kirurgikilpailu, sen nimi olisi Turkit.
twosies	S02E17	se toinen	Elliot, you're a doctor. Stop calling it twosies. = Olet lääkäri. Älä kutsu sitä "siksi toiseksi".
cutsies	S03E01	kiilata ei saa	No cutsies. = Kiilata ei saa.
funsies	S03E01	huvikseni	For funsies. = Huvikseni
foursies	S03E07	"-"	We can all ride foursies. = Päästään samaan vaunuun.
switchies	S03E15	ei vaihtamisia	No switchies. = Ei vaihtamisia.
halfsies	S03E22	puolet	I'll go halfsies on the gift. = Maksoin puolet lahjasta.
splitsies	S04E18	Haluatko puolet?	Aha! Behold the twinkie from the first day we moved in. … Splitsies? = Twinkie-kakku ensimmäiseltä muuttopäivältä. … Haluatko puolet?
deadsies	S05E04	kuopattu	What was the middle one? -Deadsies. = Mikä siinä valissä oli? -Kuopattu.
hugsies	S05E09	halit	Oh god, I feel so stupid. -Hugsies. (*hugging*) = Luoja, tunnen itseni tyhmäksi. -Halit.
moresie	S06E03	vähän helpompi	Wait! One moresie. = Odota! Vähän helpompi.
frontsies (etuilu)	S06E03	eka enkeli	Frontsies! *(JD cuts in line)*= Eka enkeli!
frontsies (rintsikat)	S03E18	"-"	You switched to frontsies! = Rintsikoiden hakanen on nyt edessä!
druggies	S06E13	nistit	...because they know exactly what druggies are going through... =...sillä he tietävät mitä nistit ovat kokeneet...
where-did-I-go-wrongsies	S06E18	mitämokasin-tauti	...you should be suffering from a pretty severe case of the where-did-I-go-wrongsies... =...sinun pitäisi kärsiä aika vakavasti mitämokasin-taudista...
sulkies	S06E09	mökötys	who is suffering from a severe case of the sulkies. = joka kärsii vakavasta mökötyksestä.
e-vited	S05E03	e-kutsunut	I've already e-vited everyone to a party at our place. = Olen e-kutsunut kaikki juhliin teille.

un-e-vite	S05E03	**e-perua**	I can't just un-e-vite everyone. = En voi e-perua kutsuja.
e-yeses	S05E03	**e-kyllä**	I've already gotten two e-yeses... = Kaksi vastasi e-kyllä...
e-maybes	S05E03	**e-ehkä**	...and 24 e-maybes. =...ja 24 e-ehkä.
e-sponses	S05E03	**e-vastausta**	That's a lot of e-sponses. = Aika monta e-vastausta.
e-foot	S05E03	**e-jalka**	I'm gonna put my e-foot up your ass. = saat kohta minun e-jalkani takalistoosi.
non-bunching	S01E16	**istuva**	You my little precious should give some thought to purchasing some non-bunching panties. = Voisit vähän harkita istuvampien alusvaatteiden hankkimista.
non-holiday	S02E06	**tarpeeton juhlapyhä**	Now if any of you other would-be revelers get the urge to dress up on this, the mother of all non-holidays. = Jos kellään muulla remuilijalla on tarve pukeutua tänä kaikkein tarpeettomimpana juhlapyhänä.
un-bunching	S03E15	**eivät purista**	then have a big group un-bunching of your panties. = ja varmistakaa, että rintsikat eivät purista.
un-potty-trained	S04E02	**sottuinen**	...and you being warm and cuddly as an un-potty-trained labradoodle... =...ja sinä taas olet lutunen ja sottainen hauveli...
un-invite	S03E18	**olla kutsumatta**	This is your last chance to un-invite that slut you went out with in high school. = Viimeinen mahdollisuutesi olla kutsumatta sitä hutsua, jota tapailit.
unwakable	S05E10	**eikä herää**	She's unconsious and virtually unwakable. = Hän on tajuton eikä herää.
un-sleep	S06E12	**”-”**	If I could go back in time and un-sleep with her, I would. = Jos voisin, tekisin sen tekemättömäksi.
in-building	S04E19	**”-”**	I assume your facilities are in-building? = Kai täällä on pyykkitupa?
re-suture	S02E22	**ompele uudelleen**	In the meantime be a doll and re-suture that wound. =Sillä välin ole kiltti tyttö ja ompele haava uudelleen.
co-bestman	S03E13	**bestmanit yhdessä**	If it makes it any easier I guess we could be like co-bestman. = Jos se helpottaa, voisimme olla bestmanit yhdessä.
co-agree	S04E03	**yhtä mieltä**	Don't you co-agree? = Oletko yhtä mieltä?
de-nerdified	S05E12	**putsaa siitä pois kaikki nörttibakteerit**	And when you do, I want it buffed, shined and de-nerdified. = Ja kun löydät, putsaa siitä pois kaikki nörttibakteerit.
mega-loathe	S06E04	**hemohalveksia**	I mega-loathe you all. Good day. = Minä hemohalveksin teitä kaikkia. Hyvää päivänjatkoa.
super-rude	S06E17	**tosi töykeä**	I'm so sorry Sweetheart. I was just with a super-rude patient, whose heart kept stopping. = Anteeksi. Olin tosi töykeän potilaan luona. Hänen sydämensä pysähteli.
super-duper-serious	S04E04	**supervakava**	Sounds like he needs to dial up to super-duper-serious. = Hänen pitää ottaa se supervakavasti.
super-psyched	S06E22	**innostunut**	Dr Cox wasn't exactly super-psyched about me being his daughter's godfather. = Tri Cox ei innostunut siitä, että minusta tuli hänen tyttärensä kummisetä.
Super Chocolate Bear	S04E25	**supersuklaakarhu**	What does SCB mean? -Super Chocolate Bear. = Mitä SSK tarkoittaa? -”Supersuklaakarhua”.
super randy	S06E22	**”-”**	I'm gonna hold off until you get here 'cos it makes me super randy. = Odotan, kunnes tulet. Viini herättää himoni.
mini-meal	S04E13	**pikkuateria**	It's like a little mini-meal between lunch and dinner. = Se on kuin pikkuateria lounaan ja illallisen välillä.
quasi-offensive	S01E03	**puolivillainen**	over some quasi-offensive endearment...= jostain puolivillaisesta lempinimestä
anti-drowning (device)	S04E06	**pelastuslaite**	What is this? -That's your basic homemade anti-drowning device... = Mikä tämä on? - Kotitekoinen pelastuslaite...

fan-damn-tastic	S02E05	**hiton hieno juttu**	Fan-damn-tastic. = Hiton hieno juttu.
boo-frickin-hoo	S03E05	**nyyh-nyyh**	Yeah, boo-frickin-hoo. Listen, I'm so glad you called. = Nyyh-nyyh. Olen iloinen, että soitit.
poo-er	S01E16	**"-"**	I'm a nervous poo-er. = Minä hermoilen vatsallani.
bed-maker	S01E11	**minä petaan**	I just make beds. … Again. Bed-maker. = Minä vain petaan. … Otetaan uusiksi. Minä petaan.
one-hitter	S01E12	**yksi lyönti**	There's nothing wrong with a one-hitter, there Barbie. = Ei se haittaa, jos yksi lyönti pääsee läpi.
joer	S02E04	**"jauhisfani"**	It's not like you're ladling out sloppy joes or something...You know my uncle was a joer.. =Et sinä kauho jauhelihapataa tai jotain...Tiedätkö, enoni oli "jauhisfani".
poop-fainter	S06E10	**pyörryn kakkiessani**	Plus I'm a tent-dwelling poop-fainter, who can't drive. = Lisäksi asun teltassa, pyörryn kakkiessani, enkä osaa ajaa.
pink-bellier	S05E18	**vatsalätkän käyttäjä**	Unfortunately, Turk was the greatest pink-bellier in all the land. = Valitettavasti Turk oli maan paras vatsalätkän käyttäjä.
question-talker	S04E03	**puhuu kysellen**	Plus, he's a question-talker. -What's a question-talker? = Hän puhuu kysellen. -Mitä "puhuu kysellen" tarkoittaa?
plan-forgetter	S04E14	**unohtelija**	Why are you asking me? Did you forget? You big plan-forgetter. = Miksi minulta kysyt? Unohditko? Unohtelija.
space-waster	S03E03	**tilanhukka**	Out of my way space-waster. = Pois tieltä, tilanhukka.
spooner	S04E06	**"-"**	Is there spooning? Because I don't spoon. I'm not a spooner. = Makaatteko vierekkäin? Minä nimittäin en tee niin.
britches-shrinker	S04E03	**"-"**	From now on I'm gonna be your britches-shrinker. = Tästä lähtien minä palautan sinut maan tasalle.
baby-proofer	S05E22	**vauvatarkastaja**	Friday we have to meet with the baby-proofer at the apartment. = Perjantaina tulee asunnon vauvatarkastaja.
story-topper	S06E22	**"-"**	I'm a story-topper. = Minun juttuni on oltava paras.
sleep humper	S03E06	**unissahässijä**	Bunk with the Todd! -JD, you know that he's a sleep humper. = Nuku Toddin vieressä. -Tiedät, että hän on unissahässijä.
psychobablry	S05E13	**psykohöpinä**	I find your particular brand of psychobablry about as useful and about as effective as fairy dust. = Minusta sinun psykohöpinäsi on yhtä käyttökelpoista ja tehokasta kuin keijupöly.
littlelest	S02E17	**pienistäkin**	Around here you have to grab hold of the littlest victories. = Täällä täytyy ottaa kaikki irti pienistäkin voitoista.
foreverest	S03E07	**"-"**	We'll be bestest friends foreverest = pysymme parhaimpseina kaverimpseina
ruggist	S06E04	**matottaja**	Now I just gotta find someone to replace this rug. ...-ruggist. (*hands out a business card*) = Pitäisi löytää jouku vaihtamaan tämä matto. ...-matottaja.
kidlets	S02E03	**lapsoset**	Love to the wife and kidlets. = Terveisiä vaimolle ja lapsosille.
blah-blah-ologist	S01E03	**höpöhöpölogi**	Take your blah-blah to the blah-blah-ologist. = Vie höpö-höpösi höpöhöpölogille.
intern-hating-est	S01E22	**apulaislääkäreitä vihaava**	the haematopathologist is the meanest, intern-hating-est monster in this hospital. = hematologi on ilkein, apulaislääkäreitä vihaava hirviö täällä.
gotta-see-ems	S01E05	**näyttäkääne-vaiva**	I have just an awfull case of gotta-see-ems. = Minulla on pahanlaatuinen näyttäkääne-vaiva.
phobia-phobic	S02E16	**(minua vaivaa) fobianfobia**	I'm racked with self-doubt, I've panic attacs, I'm claustrophobic,germophobic, phobia-phobic. = Minua vaivaa itse-epäily, klaustrofobia, germofobia, fobianfobia.

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danke-ing	S02E20	kiittelee	What he danke-ing you for? = Mistä hän kiittelee sinua?
chestless	S04E10	ruipelo	You and Mr Chestless here are over so move on. = Sinun ja ruipelon juttu on ohi. Jatka matkaa.
goof-around-itis	S04E12	pelleilyliitti	He just might have goof-around-itis = Hänellä voi olla pelleilyliitti
Coxian	S06E05	coxianiseksi	He said in a sarcastic tone we've all come to know as Coxian. = Sanoi hän sarkastisella äänellä, jota kutsumme coxianiseksi.
Cox-ish	S04E24	Cox-mainen	Actually Turk, you are slightly Cox-ish. = Olet sinä vähän Cox-mainen.
jockish	S05E21	rämäpäinen	...orthopaedic surgeons are notoriously the most unemotional, jockish surgeons of all. =...ortopedisen kirurgit ovat tunnetusti kaikkein rämäpäisimpiä kirurgeja.
cancer-free	S02E09	syöpänsä on parantunut	Isn't it great? He's cancer-free. = Eikö olekin upeaa? Hänen syöpänsä on parantunut.
grope-free (dancing)	S06E21	(rauhassa)	I just got us into a great gay bar for some grope-free dancing. = Järjestin meidät gay-baariin, missä saamme tanssia rauhassa.
kidney-wise	S04E11	"-"	Murray and his dad are a match, kidney-wise. = Murray voi antaa munuaisen isälleen.
man-wise	S05E01	epämiehekkäästi	everytime you drop the ball man-wise...= joka kerta, kun käyttäydyt epämiehekkäästi...
dong-wise	S05E20	heijaripuoli	You're really impressive in the showers this morning, you know, dong-wise. = Sinä olit mahtava suihkussa. Tarkoitan heijaripuolta.
possum-like	S04E09	"-"	Ted's possum-like defense mechanism was actually quite brilliant. = Tedin puolustusmekanismi oli nerokas.
suck-up fest	S03E04	juhla	if my hairmet hadn't gotten stolen in your stupid suck-up fest last night. =ellei joku olisi vienyt juhlissa hiuskypärääni.
snoozefest	S03E18	unettava juhla	I don't think I'd want to go to a snoozefest with a bunch of drunk proctologists... = Enkä halua unettaviin juhliin pelkkien proktologien kanssa...
patientville	S04E20	potilaiden maailma	What's shaking in patientville? = Mitä potilaiden maailmaan kuuluu?
snoozeville	S04E05	nukahdan heti	But show me a guy who wants to get married and has a good job and it's like snoozeville for me. = Jos tapaan kivan kundin, joka haluaa naimisiin, nukahdan heti.
croaksville	S01E16	Potkaisi tyhjää!	And what happened to that school teacher you were prattling on about? -Passed away. -Croaksville. = Mitä sille sinun opettajallesi tapahtui? -Hän poistui. -Potkaisi tyhjää.
elbowy	S02E12	"-"	...and make sweet, elbowy love to each other.= ja rakastelette oikein rytinällä.
bloaty	S01E15	muheva	Fat, gassy, bloaty sex? = Paksua, muhevaa seksiä?
innie	S03E17	(menee sisään)	Only because Jasper becomes innie when he gets nervous. = Vain koska Jasper menee sisään hermostuessaan.
tushie	S02E04	peppu	I could spend the rest of my life with Lauren, or at least with her tushie. = Voisin jakaa elämäni Laurenin tai hänen peppunsa kanssa.
overall:	**111**		

3. Conversion	Season&Episode	Finnish translation	
I nothing you	S01E06	**"-"**	I don't dislike you, I nothing you. = En pidä enkä ole pitämättä.
ma'amed	S04E22	**kutsuit rouvaksi**	You just ma'amed your way out of me ever bying you beer again! = Kutsuit rouvaksi, jotta en enää tarjoaisi olutta.
side-stroked	S05E03	**kroolasin**	As I side-stroked through the salty waters of the Great Pacific... = Kun kroolasin halki Tyynenmeren suolaisten aaltojen...
Kelly Ripa'd	S05E15	**tehnyt kellyripat**	It didn't bother me that Dr Cox had just Kelly Ripa'd me... = Ei haitannut, että Cox oli tehnyt minulle kellyripat...
Marcia Brady'd	S02E08	**Tein Marcia Bradyn tempun**	I Marcia Brady'd your ass! = Tein Marcia Bradyn tempun.
roboting	S04E15	**robottitanssi**	After two hours of intense roboting I was parched. = Kurkkua kuivasi kahden tunnin robottitanssin jälkeen.
vanning	S04E19	**"pakuilu"**	Do you like vanning? = Tykkäätkö "pakuilusta"?
Jiggle (me in)	S05E04	**mukana ollaan**	Are you in? -Jiggle me in. = Tuletko mukaan? -Mukana ollaan.
Overall:	**8**		

4. Back-formation	Season&Episode	Finnish translations	
dain	S03E10	**"epähalveksin"**	I don't disdain you! It's quite the opposite: I dain you. = En halveksi sinua. Päinvastoin. Minä "epähalveksin".
Overall:	**1**		

5. Clipping	Season&Episode	Finnish translations	
robo-doc	S02E06	**robotohtori**	I wish I could be an insensitive, cynical robo-doc like you. = Voisinpa olla noin tunteeton ja kyyninen robotohtori.
she-doc	S01E23	**vauva**	I'm no she-doc, I can take it. = Enkä minä ole mikään vauva. Minä kestän sen.
uggos	S01E12	**rumilukset**	My heart hates uggos. = Sydämeni karttaa rumiluksia.
sensie	S05E21	**herkkis**	What's a sensie? -It's short for sensitive guy. = Mikä on herkkis? -Lyhennys herkkätunteisesta.
Inter-highway	S06E05	**Internetin maailma**	I love the Inter-highway. = Internetin maailma on ihana.
margi-		**margi-**	
marti-		**marti-**	
mani-		**mani-**	
pedi- party	S06E21	**pedi- pippalot**	Oh, what about a margi-,marti-,mani-,pedi-party? = Entäs margi-marti-mani-pedi-pippalot?

ambu-date	S04E08	**ambu-treffit**	Looks like we've got ourselves a little ambu-date. That's ambulance and date put together. = Meillä on ambu-treffit. Eli ambulanssi ja treffit.
Overall:		**10**	

6. Blending	Season& Episode	Finnish translations	
assium	S01E07	**ahterium**	Sir, I've got so much potassium its coming out of my assium! = Löytyy niin paljon kaliumia, että koko ahterium on täynnä!
mocha-chinos	S06E01	**mokka-chinos**	...sorry my vallet is in my other pair of mocha-chinos. = ...lompakko unohtui toisten mokka-chinosien taskuun.
smoke-accino	S06E03	**kessuchino**	the two most addictive substances on Earth are caffeine and nicotine. Behold. Smoke-accino. = pahiten riippuvuutta aiheuttavat kofeiini ja nikotiini. Katso. Kessuchino.
crappuchino	S01E14	**pasta**	I think what she means is:she doesn't give a crappuchino. = Hän tarkoittaa, ettei välitä pastan vertaa.
cham-lame (glass)	S02E13	**"-"**	You might as well put it in her cham-lame glass. = Voisit yhtä hyvin jättää kosimatta.
"infro"	S02E11	**"sisäafro"**	...he's shaving his dome so much lately that the hair's actually starting to grow inwards. It's an affliction commonly known as the "infro". =...hän on ajellut kaljuaan niin paljon, että hiukset alkavat kasvaa sisäänpäin. Vaivaa kutsutaan "sisäafroksi".
sexcapades	S03E07	**seksileikit**	...doesn't mean that you can use MY guestroom for your nerdy, G-rated sexcapades. =...se ei tarkoita, että voitte käyttää vierashuonettani seksileikkeihinne.
liberry	S03E04	**kirjaamo**	We've been to the liberry.= Kävimme kirjaamossa.
strawbrary	S03E04	**mansukka**	Your face is red like strawbrary. = Naamasi muuttui punaiseksi kuin mansukka.
threemor	S05E02	**"kas vain"**	His tumor is getting so big it's starting to look like a "threemor". = Kasvain on kohta niin iso, että joutuu sanomaan "kas vain".
naptism	S06E22	**nasta**	What rhymes with babtism? Faptism, raptism, naptism. I'm so tired I could use a naptism. = Mikä rimmaa "kastamisen" kanssa?Fasta, pasta, nasta.Nyt olisi nastaa ottaa nokoset.
hairmet	S03E04	**hiuskypärä**	Actually it's not a helmet, it's a hairmet. = Itse asiassa se on hiuskypärä.
sunbrella	S05E13	**aurinkovarjo**	Ah, shut up and move the sunbrella, will you. = Ole vaiti ja käännä aurinkovarjoa.
pun-itentiary	S05E17	**"-"**	If I'm not careful, they'll put me in the pun-itentiary. = Jos en pidä varaani, saan syytteen kuoliaaksi naurattamisesta.
fearitude	S05E23	**pelkäämättömyys**	...basking in the glow of the janitor's awesome...fearitude. = ...ylistämään huoltomiehen mahtavaa..."pelkäämättömyyttä".
rocktors	S05E07	**roktorit**	Okay rocktors! That's my name for doctors who rock. = No niin, rocktorit. Näin kutsun tohtoreita, jotka rockaavat.
blerd	S06E02	**mörtti**	...with my cousin, who just so happens to be the world's biggest blerd. =...serkkuni kanssa. Hän on maailman suurin mörtti.
slesident	S02E05	**luntturi**	...or slesident, which apparently is half slut, half resident. =...tai luntturiksi, se on luntun ja lääkärin yhdistelmä.
murse	S02E15	**moitaja**	I'm dating a murse. = Seurustelen moitajan kanssa.
mecretary	S02E15	**mihteeri**	Better that than a mecretary. = Parempi kuin mihteeri.
mouseketeer	S01E16	**Pikku kakkosen**	My god, I'm drinking with a mouseketeer. = Olen drinkillä Pikku kakkosen postilaisen kanssa.

		postilainen	
Jordalicious	S05E10	Jordalicious	She's unconsious and virtually unwakable. Observe...Jordalicious!... = Hän on tajuton eikä herää. Katsokaa...Jordalicious!...
Smelliot	S03E08	Smelliot	Oh, Smelliot! What's the happy-hap? = Smelliot, mitä mimmi?
Tarla	S03E19	Tarla	Oh, don't even start, Tarla,... = Älkää jaksako, Tarla,...
Curk	S03E19	Curk	...or Curk or whatever you're calling this little two-headed judgemental freakshow. =... Curk, tai miksi kutsuttekaan tätä kaksipäistä friikkiä.
Dorkian	S03E19	Dorkian	Giddy up Dr. Dorkian! = Kanna minua, tri Dorkian.
Coxian	S06E21	coxiaaninen	Coxian is not the adjective version of your name. It's a clever combination of Cox and Dorian. = "Coxiaaninen" ei ole adjektiivi nimestäsi. Se on fiksu yhdistelmä Coxista ja Dorianista.
Turkiot	S05E04	Turkiot	She could be half Turk and half Elliot. … I died Turkiot. = Hän voisi olla puoliksi Turk ja puoliksi Elliot. ...Kuolin, Turkiot.
Coxinator	S04E05	Coxinaattori	Possible nicknames for Dr. Cox when we become best friends: The Coxinator... = Lempinimiä tri Coxille, kun meistä tulee bestikset: Coxinaattori...
Barbidiot	S06E13	Barbidiootti	All the best with that Barbidiot. = Onnea matkaan, Barbidiootti.
Bobigator	S02E19	Bobigator	See you later Bobigator. = Nähdään myöhemmin, Bobigator.
smurftastic	S04E05	smurffaavaa	Okay, fear might need a little work but otherwise smurftastic! = Pelkoa pitää kehitellä, mutta muuten smurffaavaa!
Cabbage-tastic	S06E03	cabbagemaisen hyvää	Mm, that's what we call Cabbage-tastic. = Tämä on cabbagemaisen hyvää.
Lohan-tastic	S05E22	fantsu	FYI that loft is Lohan-tastic. = Muuten, se vintti on fantsu.
Keith-edral	S05E12	keithadrali	...turn my office into a Keith-edral... =...tehdä huoneesta keithadralin...
Keith-stianity	S05E12	keithiläisyys	...and convert to Keith-stianity. =...ja kääntyä keithiläisyyteen..
Janitoria	S05E13	Huoltolandia	Enjoy your day in Janitoria. = Nauttikaa päivästänne Huoltolandiassa.
Dr.Reid-athon	S06E19	"-"	Sorry to hear about your placing second in the Dr.Reid-athon. = Ikävä kuulla, että jäit kakkoseksi Reidin suhteen.
quarantinis	S04E16	pikku karanteeni	Quarantinis anyone? = Maistuisiko pikku karanteeni?
appletini	S03E15	omenamartini	Down the street on the right they make an appletini that'll knock your socks off. = Kulman takaa saa tajunnanräjäyttäviä omenamartineja.
nectarini	S05E22	nektarini	...and I'll have an appletini. You know what, hell, I'll have a real drink. Make it a nectarini. = ...ja minulle omenamartini. Ei, vaan otan kunnon drinkin. Pistetään nektarini.
peachtini	S06E20	persikkamartini	Sorry sir, we don't have appletinis but I could make you a peachtini. = Meillä ei ole omenamartinia, mutta persikkamartini onnistuu.
gavomiting	S04E09	yök-oksettaa	I'm gaging and vomiting at the same time. I'm..I'm gavomiting! = Minua yököttää ja oksettaa yhtä aikaa. Minä..Minua yök-oksettaa!
blacktion	S05E21	käy!	Here he comes. And..blacktion! = Siinä hän tulee. Ja..käy.
C-mused	S04E22	hölmistynyt	Amused. Bemused. C-mused. = Huvittunut. Harmistunut. Hölmistynyt.
scooter-blading	S05E11	skootteriluistelu	To clear my head, I decided to give scooter-blading a try. = Selvittääkseni pääni ajattelin kokeilla skootteriluistelua.
chair-jacked	S03E20	tuolinapataan	Help! I'm getting chair-jacked! = Apua! Minut tuolinapataan.
sperm-jack (him)	S05E14	ryöstän häneltä spermaa	So if you can't ask him to get tested, then what the hell are you going to do? -That's easy. I'm going to sperm-jack him. =Jos et voi pyytää häntä, mitä sitten teet? -Helppo homma. Ryöstän häneltä spermaa.

cry-maxing	S05E23	**siemennyyhke**	There's no shame in cry-maxing. = Ei siemennyyhkeessä ole mitään pahaa.
Overall:	**49**		

7. Acronyms	Season&Episode	**Finnish translations**	
WOD =	S04E13	**DV =**	
Wife Of Diabetic		**Diabeetikon vaimo**	
NAAAA =	S05E19	**NAAAA**	
National Association for			
the Advancement of			
African-Americans			
Overall:	**2**		

8. Semantic change	Season&Episode	**Finnish translations**	
unmentionables	S01E09	**nimettömät**	I don't want you to see my unmentionables. = En halua, että näet nimettömät.
giblets	S01E23	**"-"**	Makes me tingle in my giblets. = Tulee kihelmöivä olo.
whipped	S01E16	**tossun alla**	Cos you're whipped. = Koska olet tossun alla.
mop (=sad)	S02E04	**moppi**	I was going to say: "makes me feel so 'mop'" = Aioin sanoa: "Tulee olo, että on kuin moppi."
mopping (=listening)	S02E04	**moppaan**	Go ahead. I'm mopping. = Jatka vain. Minä moppaan.
mopn't (shouldn't)	S02E04	**ei moppaa**	Maybe I shouldn't bother. -Maybe you mopn't. = Ehkä ei kannata. -Ehkä sinulla ei moppaa.
loaners	S02E01	**lainavehkeet**	Thanks for the loaners Chet. = Kiitos lainavehkeistä, Chet.
rattail	S02E01	**Mitä siitä?**	Rattail! You don't want to play? = Mitä siitä? Etkö halua leikkiä?
wing-man (thing)	S02E18	**treffinetsijäjuttu**	So how does this whole wing-man thing work? = Miten se treffienetsijäjuttu toimii?
hatchling	S02E20	**"-"**	I didn't ditch her little hatchling on account of being lazy. = En luistanut vain laiskuuden takia.
dillie-dallies	S03E18	**"-"**	Check out those dillie-dallies! = Nehän vasta kuppelehtivat!
nipper	S04E07	**ihan pikkuisen**	I love champange. Do you mind if I have a little...Thank you. A nipper. = Pidän samppanjasta. Haittaako, jos otan...Kiitos. Ihan pikkuisen.
sashay	S04E12	**"-"**	Any of them would give just about anything to be able sashay off this planet. = Jokainen heistä haluaisi hittoon tältä planeetalta.
halfro	S04E09	**puoliafro**	Cool halfro! = Makea puoliafro!
a Doug	S04E09	**"Dougiksi"**	I'm betting he took a paracentesis needle to the aorta...Upstairs they call that a Doug.

			= Hän sai takuulla tärykalvopiston aorttaan...Tuota sanotaan yläkerrassa "Dougiksi".
Dorian (=wrong)	S06E08	**Dorian**	*Dorian.* You have been wrong about so many things that I'm not even going to say something's wrong anymore. Instead I'm going to say:"It's Dorian". = *Dorian.* Olet ollut väärässä niin monessa asiassa, etten enää viitsi sanoa "väärin". Sanon sen sijaan:"Se on Dorian."
Twinkie	S02E01	**Säihkysilmä**	Which brings us to Twinkie. = Siitä muistinkin, Säihkysilmä.
venti drip (=giant coffee)	S06E03	**iso kahvi**	Giant coffee. … -Here's your venti drip. = Jättikahvi. ...-Tässä on iso kahvisi.
under-wood	S06E01	**alakovanen**	I'm carrying under-wood right now. = Minulla on just nyt alakovanen.
nogging	S06E07	**kaali**	How did you hurt your nogging. = Miten satutit kaalisi?
foofie (make a)	S06E12	**pieraista**	No Turk. I know that face. Don't you dare make a foofie. = Älä, Turk. Tunnen tuon ilmeen. Älä uskallakaan pieraista.
caboodle	S06E16	**pemppa**	What's up your caboodle? = Mikä sinun pemppaasi hiertää?
pro-bono	S06E13	**seissyt**	Dude, I've had a pro bono, like, all morning = Minulla on seissyt koko aamun.

Overall:	**23**	