LEA MERILÄINEN

Language Transfer in the Written English of Finnish Students

UNIVERSITY OF
EASTERN FINLAND

LEA MERILÄINEN

Language Transfer in the Written English of Finnish Students

ABSTRACT: LANGUAGE TRANSFER IN THE WRITTEN ENGLISH OF FINNISH STUDENTS

This study examines patterns of lexical and syntactic transfer in Finnish students' written English between 1990 and 2005. It focuses on charting what types of lexical and syntactic transfer patterns occur in the written English production of L1 Finnish learners, and on tracking a possible change in these patterns in order to see if they reflect an improvement in the learners' English competence, which is believed to have taken place during the past few decades as a result of, for example, their more frequent contacts with the English language and the development of foreign language pedagogy. The overall aims of this study are to promote our understanding of the phenomenon of language transfer in learners whose first language is genetically and typologically distant from the target language, as well as to identify typical deviant features in the learner English of Finnish students and to shed some light on the changes that have taken place in certain aspects of their written English skills between 1990–2005.

The material for this study consists of a corpus of written English compositions by Finnish Upper Secondary School students. The corpus contains 500 English compositions written as a part of the Finnish national Matriculation Examination in 1990, 2000 and 2005. The features investigated involve 9 different aspects of lexical transfer and 5 syntactic transfer patterns. The identification of language transfer relies on Finnish–English contrastive descriptions and the comparison of Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students of the equivalent level. The comparison corpus consists of Matriculation Examination compositions written by Swedish-speaking candidates in Finland.

The results show that lexical and syntactic transfer patterns in Finnish students' written English have taken on divergent paths of development during the investigated period. While most types of lexical transfer phenomena have significantly decreased, syntactic transfer patterns have remained equally frequent or increased. These findings point towards improved lexical idiomaticity in English, but do not indicate positive changes in the students' syntactic development. This non-parallel development of lexical and syntactic transfer patterns shows that for learners whose L1 is genetically and typologically distant from the L2 transfer is more persistent at the level of syntax than it is at the level of lexicon. These findings are interpreted as a reflection of the changes that have taken place in the formal and informal learning environments for English as a

foreign language in Finland during the past couple of decades. The increased exposure to and use of English in Finnish society, as well as the current focus on communicativeness in foreign language pedagogy seem to have helped Finnish students to overcome negative transfer effects in certain areas of their vocabulary knowledge in English, but not in their usage of English syntactic structures which deviate from the corresponding Finnish structures.

TIIVISTELMÄ: ÄIDINKIELEN SIIRTOVAIKUTUS SUOMALAISILLA ENGLANNINOPPIJOILLA

Tämä tutkimus käsittelee äidinkielen siirtovaikutusta suomalaisilla englanninoppijoilla aikavälillä 1990–2005. Tutkimus keskittyy kartoittamaan millaisia leksikaalisia ja syntaktisia siirtovaikutuspiirteitä suomalaisten kirjoitetussa englannissa esiintyy, sekä selvittämään, heijastavatko nämä tutkitut siirtovaikutuspiirteet muutosta, jonka uskotaan tapahtuneen suomalaisten englannin kielen osaamisen tasossa parin viime vuosikymmenen aikana mm. lisääntyneen englannin kielen käytön ja vieraiden kielten opetusmenetelmien kehittymisen johdosta. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on yhtäältä tuottaa uutta tietoa äidinkielen siirtovaikutuksesta oppijoilla, joiden äidinkieli on kielitypologisesti kaukainen kohdekielestä, ja toisaalta tunnistaa tyypillisiä siirtovaikutuspiirteitä suomalaisten oppijaenglannissa sekä valottaa mahdollisia muutoksia heidän englannin kielen kirjallisissa taidoissaan tutkitulla aikavälillä.

Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu englannin kielen A-tason ylioppilaskokeen kirjoitelmista kootusta korpuksesta. Aineisto sisältää yhteensä 500 englannin kielen ylioppilaskokeen kirjoitelmaa vuosilta 1990, 2000 ja 2005. Tutkittuihin piirteisiin kuuluvat 9 leksikaalista ja 5 syntaktista siirtovaikutuspiirrettä. Siirtovaikutuksen tunnistaminen perustuu yhtäältä suomi-englanti kontrastiiviseen vertailuun ja toisaalta suomenkielisten ja ruotsinkielisten ylioppilaskokelaiden kirjoitelmien vertailuun. Vertailukorpus koostuu ruotsinkielisten ylioppilaskokelaiden englannin kielen ylioppilaskokeen kirjoitelmista.

Tulokset osoittavat, että leksikaalisten ja syntaktisten siirtovaikutuspiirteiden määrät eivät ole muuttuneet samalla lailla tutkitulla aikavälillä. Useimmat leksikaalisen siirtovaikutuksen piirteet olivat merkittävästi vähentyneet, kun taas syntaktisen siirtovaikutuksen määrä oli pysynyt samalla tasolla tai lisääntynyt. Tämä viittaa siihen, että ylioppilaskokelaiden kirjoitetun englannin taidot ovat kehittyneet leksikaalisen idiomaattisuuden osalta, mutta heidän syntaktisten rakenteiden hallinnassa ei ole tapahtunut samanlaista positiivista kehitystä. Leksikaalisen ja syntaktisen siirtovaikutuksen erilaiset kehityssuunnat kertovat myös siitä, että oppijoilla, joiden äidinkieli on typologisesti etäinen kohdekielestä, syntaktinen siirtovaikutus on pitkäkestoisempaa kuin leksikaalinen siirtovaikutus. Näissä tuloksissa voidaan myös nähdä formaalissa ja epäformaalissa englannin kielen oppimisympäristössä parin viime vuosikymmenen aikana tapahtuneet muutokset. Suomalaisten ylioppilaskokelaiden lisääntynyt englannin kielen käyttö sekä opetusmenetelmien lisääntynyt kommunikatiivisuuspainotteisuus näyttävät vähentäneen siirtovaikutusvirheitä monilla englannin kielen sanaston osa-alueilla, mutta nämä eivät ole edesauttaneet niiden syntaktisten rakenteiden hallintaa, jotka ovat erilaisia suomessa ja englannissa.

Acknowledgements

The support from my closest ones has been indispensable. I wish to thank my family for always encouraging me to study. I am also thankful for my friends for giving me other things to think about besides my work. The greatest thanks go to my significant other, Jarkko, for always supporting me and for tolerating my occasional mood swings and absent-mindedness caused by this research work.

Lea Meriläinen, Joensuu 25.10.2010

Contents

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

1 Introduction

This study examines language transfer in the written English of Finnish students. It focuses on identifying, describing and explaining deviant transfer-induced lexical and syntactic patterns that occur in compositions written by Finnish Upper Secondary school students, and on tracking a possible change in the quantity and quality of these transfer patterns during the period 1990 to 2005. The investigation of these transfer patterns aims at shedding some light on two hitherto little investigated aspects in Finns' written English production, namely, how it is influenced by their mother tongue and what types of changes have taken place in it over the past couple of decades during which Finns' contacts with the English language have become more frequent, resulting in an increased use of English among Finns and, allegedly, an improvement in their English skills.

The study of language transfer in Finnish learners of English has relevance both in the domestic context and for second language acquisition research internationally. As speakers of a Fenno-Ugric language that differs typologically from most European languages, Finnish learners face a great challenge in learning English as well as other Indo-European languages. This is a fact that has long been acknowledged, but many aspects of the learning process and L1 influence on it have remained under-researched. Yet L1 influence on Finns' acquisition and use of English represents an important topic of investigation, not only because of its obvious pedagogic implications, but also because of the contribution the study of learners with an L1 which is genetically and typologically distant from the L2 may have for our understanding of the nature of L1 influence and the process of second language acquisition (SLA)[1].

The study of language transfer, also known as *cross-linguistic influence*, constitutes an important sub-field of linguistic inquiry within the field of SLA research. Its scholarly investigation began in the United States in the 1950s and about a decade later in Europe, including Finland. These early studies were conducted within the framework of contrastive analysis, and they were based on the theoretical assumption that the linguistic similarities and differences between the L1 and the L2 dictate the relative ease or difficulty of foreign language learning, with previous linguistic knowledge being a hindrance and an automatic cause for errors in the learning process. This over-simplified theoretical basis for the study of language transfer, which during that era was often negatively termed *interference*, came to be criticised in the 1970s, which, as it appears, led many scholars to turn their attention away from transfer studies. However, new theoretical and empirical advancements in the study of language transfer soon led to a

---

[1] Following the conventions in the field of second language acquisition research, the terms *foreign language* (FL) and *second language* (L2) will be used interchangeably in this work to refer to an additional language learnt after the mother tongue, regardless of the institutional role of this language. Similarly, the terms *acquisition* and *learning* will be used interchangeably without the intention to differentiate between psycholinguistically different types of learning processes (for a discussion of this terminology, see, e.g., Ellis 2008: 5-8).

new surge of interest in its investigation and, today, language transfer is seen to constitute one of the many influences in the complex cognitive process of second language acquisition, and its outcomes are more often than not considered positive. Current transfer research also covers a wider range of phenomena than mere production errors, such as facilitation, avoidance, overproduction, the rate and route of L2 acquisition, and it is not solely concerned with pedagogic applications but equally aims at advancing our theoretical understanding of L1 influence and the process of SLA as psycholinguistic and cognitive phenomena.

It is a well-acknowledged fact that the knowledge of our mother tongue, or any other previously acquired language, influences the foreign language learning process at various levels. The existence of this previous linguistic knowledge is also one of the factors that make foreign language learning fundamentally different from learning our mother tongue. Yet, it strikes one as surprising in the literature addressing L1 influence in SLA that despite the vast amount of empirical findings, we still know relatively little about this phenomenon. For example, findings regarding how L1 influence affects different types of learners, how it manifests itself at different levels of language, and how it interacts with other variables tend to be inconclusive or contradictory. These and many other aspects of L1 influence would, nevertheless, deserve to be better understood because they are of central importance to our understanding of not only the phenomenon of L1 influence, but also of the process of SLA.

Despite the fact that transfer studies have gained popularity in the new cognitive framework among SLA researchers worldwide, they have not attracted many Finnish scholars' attention since the paradigm shift in the 1970s. Yet, there have been some scholars who have continued to work with transfer-related questions in the Finnish context, one of them being Håkan Ringbom (e.g., 1987, 2007), whose seminal work indicated that the acquisition of English is considerably more difficult for Finnish-speaking Finns than for Swedish-speaking Finns, who, as speakers of another Germanic language, profit from cross-linguistic similarities between L1 and L2. Ringbom's studies also brought Finland to the attention of other transfer researchers as a suitable context for comparative transfer studies because of these two culturally and educationally similar language groups with divergent L1 backgrounds. Consequently, transfer studies have been conducted in Finland by prominent scholars such as Terence Odlin (Odlin & Jarvis 2004) and Scott Jarvis (e.g., 1998, 2000, Jarvis & Odlin 2000).

It may be considered surprising, and unfortunate, that transfer studies have not attracted wider interest among Finnish scholars themselves despite the theoretical importance and pedagogic relevance of the topic. For more than 20 years ago, Ringbom's (e.g., 1987) studies indicated that the great genetic and typological distance between Finnish and English poses certain challenges for Finnish-speaking learners, but the various ways in which L1 influence manifests itself in their acquisition and use of English have not been sufficiently examined. Moreover, although several studies were conducted in the 1970s and 1980s on Finns as learners of English and the typical errors in their English production, it is another question whether these findings are applicable to today's young Finnish learners of English. Since the 1970s and 1980s, the learning conditions for English as a foreign language, both inside and outside the language

classroom, have considerably changed. A couple of decades ago, English was merely a foreign language learnt and used primarily in foreign language classrooms. In the early 21st century, English has become a global lingua franca, which is increasingly being used as the language of business, education, information technology and popular culture, in Finland as well as in many other non-English-speaking countries (see, e.g., Leppänen *et al*. 2008). Consequently, Finns' opportunities to learn and use English outside the formal school context have increased. Moreover, important changes have also taken place in language education in Finland. Traditional grammar and translation oriented teaching methods have been replaced by communicative language teaching methods, and the focus in language education has shifted from grammatical structures and formal accuracy to overall performance and the ability to use language in communication. These societal and pedagogic changes are also likely to have influenced Finns' English skills, as is generally believed, in a positive way, but as yet we have relatively little research evidence on Finns' acquisition and use of English today.

This study addresses these hitherto little investigated issues of how L1 influence manifests itself in Finnish learners' use of English, and whether these different manifestations of L1 influence have been affected by the changes that have taken place in the formal and informal learning environment for English as a foreign language during the past couple of decades. The aspects of their English usage being investigated are transfer-induced deviant lexical and syntactic patterns that occur in their written English production, which will be examined in data depicting a period of 15 years ranging from 1990 to 2005. The material for this study consists of compositions written as a part of the examination for English within the Finnish national Matriculation Examination, which students take at the end of Finnish Upper Secondary school after altogether ten years of compulsory English instruction. A corpus of 500 compositions has been compiled from the years 1990, 2000 and 2005. The choice of the investigated transfer patterns is primarily data-driven. The identification of L1 influence relies both on Finnish-English contrastive analysis and the comparison of Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns' written English performance (cf. Jarvis 2000). The material from Swedish-speaking Finns equally consists of English compositions written as a part of the Matriculation Examination. This study examines 9 different types of lexical transfer patterns, which may be divided into three groups according to which aspect of L2 learners' lexical knowledge (Nation 2001) they involve: knowledge of word forms (substitutions, relexifications, orthographic transfer, phonetic transfer and morphological transfer), word meanings (loan translations and semantic extensions) and word use (collocations and transfer relating to function words). The syntactic features examined in this study involve the passive construction, expletive pronoun constructions, certain subordinate clause patterns, expressions for future time and prepositional constructions.

This study describes and explains the transfer patterns identified in the data, and examines them quantitatively in order to track a possible change in them. The aims of this study are twofold. The overall purpose of this investigation is to promote our theoretical understanding of language transfer by finding different types of evidence for it and examining how it is influenced by different types of variables. More specifically, this study seeks to address questions relating to the strength of transfer effects in lexicon and

syntax, as well as the relationship between transfer and L2 development. At the same time, this type of study inevitably has pedagogic implications. Identifying typical L1-induced deviant patterns in Finnish students' written English is beneficial for pedagogic purposes, as is the examination of a possible change in these patterns, for it may help to assess some of the possible effects of the changed learning environment on Finnish students' written English skills.

As is the case with most transfer studies today, this research is empirically driven and independent of any specific theoretical framework. Since we as yet know relatively little about how languages are stored, processed and how they interact in learners' and speakers' minds, there is no theoretical model explaining the process of L1 influence. Consequently, transfer research is generally concerned with accumulating different types of evidence for the phenomenon and describing its outcomes, which also help to advance our theoretical understanding of the nature of language transfer. Although there is wide interdisciplinary interest in the study of language transfer among the fields of language contact studies, bilingualism research and second language acquisition research, most of the background literature reviewed for this study derives from the field of second language acquisition research because this school of thought generally examines SLA as a cognitive, psycholinguistic process within learners who have acquired the foreign language in more or less institutional settings. This seems most suitable for the present study because it examines language transfer in foreign language learners who do not reside nor have acquired English in an English-speaking environment, but generally in a Finnish-speaking one through formal school instruction after childhood. Hence, this study addresses transfer as a psycholinguistic individual-level phenomenon, as opposed to a societal-level phenomenon occurring in a certain language variety as a result of language contact (for this distinction, see, e.g., Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 28-30).

The organisation of this study is as follows. Chapters 2 and 3 lay the theoretical background for this study. Chapter 2 reviews earlier relevant research conducted on language transfer. It begins by clarifying the concept of language transfer and presenting different theoretical and empirical approaches in its investigation. It then reviews research conducted on transfer in the two linguistic sub-systems in the focus of the present study, lexis and syntax, and discusses how transfer is affected by certain outside variables relevant for this study, namely, the distance between the L1 and the L2, and learners' L2 development. Chapter 3 focuses on studies conducted on Finnish learners and users of English. It reviews earlier research conducted on L1 influence in Finnish learners of English, as well as more recent studies addressing Finns' English competence and use today. Chapter 4 lays the framework for the present study by discussing the research questions and aims in greater detail, presenting the material compiled for this study, and discussing the methodological approach applied in the data analysis. Chapters 5 and 6 present the analysis of the investigated transfer phenomena. Since the choice of these features is data driven, the investigated features and the framework for their analysis will only be introduced in greater detail as a part of the empirical chapters. Chapter 5 focuses on lexical transfer, and it opens by discussing earlier research on L2 learners' lexical knowledge. This serves two methodological purposes: differentiating between transfer phenomena that involve the learners' lexical knowledge from those

concerned with their mastery of L2 syntax, and creating a categorisation for the observed lexical transfer phenomena which addresses different aspects of learners' lexical knowledge. The final part of this chapter then constitutes the actual data analysis. Chapter 6 is devoted to the analysis of the syntactic transfer patterns found in the data. It begins by introducing the differences found in the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students' data, which determines the choice of the investigated syntactic features. These features are then analysed contrastively between Finnish and English, which is followed by a data analysis which depicts Finnish students' deviant usage of these syntactic features. The results presented in chapters 5 and 6 are drawn together and interpreted in the concluding chapter 7, which also discusses their pedagogic implications, contribution to transfer research, and critically evaluates these findings and discusses areas for future investigation.

2 The Role of Language Transfer in Second Language Acquisition

This chapter presents an overview of the role of learners' mother tongue in the process of second language acquisition. It will first introduce the concept of mother tongue influence, or transfer, and then proceed to discuss transfer effects in the two linguistic sub-systems in the focus of the present study, vocabulary and syntax, as well as certain factors interacting with transfer that are relevant to this study, namely, the distance between the learners' L1 and the L2, and the relationship between transfer and the learners' proficiency level in the L2.

2.1 ON THE CONCEPT OF LANGUAGE TRANSFER

The influence of the learner's mother tongue on the acquisition of a second language is generally referred to as language transfer. The term language transfer is, by no means, without problems, which is largely due to its earlier associations with certain outdated theoretical frameworks. Some scholars also consider the term transfer too narrow in scope to describe such a broad phenomenon as the influence of a previously learnt language on the acquisition of a subsequent language. This criticism against the use of this term is partly justified, which is why both the history of transfer research and earlier definitions of this term warrant careful discussion before embarking on its current research.

2.1.1 History of transfer research

The concept of mother tongue influence was first introduced in the field of SLA research in the 1950s. During those days, as the field of SLA had only just emerged as a branch of applied linguistics, the study of language learning was greatly influenced by the more firmly established fields of linguistics and psychology. During this era, SLA research relied theoretically and methodologically on behaviourist psychology and structural linguistics (see, e.g., Gass & Selinker 2001: 65-91, Mitchell & Myles 2004: 29-33, Ellis 2008: 359-361). The scholar whose name is generally associated with this initial interest in transfer studies within the field of SLA is Robert Lado (e.g., Gass & Selinker 1983). In his

famous and influential work from 1957, Lado announced the idea that language users tend to transfer the forms and meanings of their native language when attempting to produce and understand a foreign language. This idea was not, however, a new one. Anyone having any experience with language learning or teaching must have encountered this phenomenon even before it had been discovered by linguists. As discussed in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: 1-2), the earliest references to the concept of mother tongue influence may be found in works by ancient Greek writers and philosophers in the form of negative remarks about "mixed languages" and "bad Greek" spoken by foreigners. This indicates that the concept of non-native speakers' deviant usage of the target language has probably existed for as long as people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds have interacted with each other. This phenomenon was first extensively discussed in Weinreich (1953) in the context of language contact research[2], but Lado (1957) significantly shaped SLA researchers' conceptions of L1 influence because he connected it with the theories of learning prevalent in those days.

The idea of a previously learnt language influencing the learning of a new language was in resonance with behaviourist conceptions of learning popular at that time. According to behaviourist views, learning was a matter of habit formation and developing connections between provided stimuli and desired reactions by either rewarding for desired behaviour or punishing for undesired behaviour (see, e.g., Gass & Selinker 2001: 66-68 and Mitchell & Myles 2004: 30-33 for a discussion of behaviourism in SLA). Previously acquired habits, may that be any knowledge or skills, were believed to influence the acquisition of new habits by either facilitating the learning process if the old and new habits were similar or inhibiting it if they were different. Lado (1957) was among the first scholars to discuss language learning in a behaviourist light, and to bring forth the idea of L2 learners being influenced by their previously acquired linguistic habits, that is, their mother tongue.

These ideas laid the foundation for the first theory of language learning, the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) (see, e.g., Gass & Selinker 2001: 72-78, Mitchell & Myles 2004: 30-32, Ellis 2008: 359-361). According to the CAH, the process of learning a second language was either impeded by linguistic differences or facilitated by linguistic similarities between the learners' L1 and the L2. Mother tongue influence, thus, occupied a very central role within this theory, for it was believed that all errors that learners made when attempting to produce the foreign language resulted from the interference of the mother tongue in the process of SLA. The proponents of this theory believed that with the help of contrastive analysis, that is, a systematic comparison of the learners' L1 and the L2 in order to see where the two languages differ, it would be possible to account for all difficulties that learners encounter when learning an L2 and, according to the most radical interpretations, to even predict all learner errors beforehand. Following the methods of structural linguistics, contrastive analyses were conducted by comparing the structures of the two languages in a detailed manner. The popularity of the CAH resulted

---

[2] Odlin (2003) especially emphasises Weinreich (1953) as the work that first discussed the phenomenon of L1 influence and laid a foundation for its investigation, but many other works dealing with language transfer, such as Gass & Selinker (1983), mention Lado (1957) as the linguist who first raised the topic of L1 influence in SLA context.

in detailed structural descriptions of numerous pairs of languages, which served a pedagogic purpose. The aim of contrastive analysis was to discover all L1-L2 structural differences in order to direct language teaching to those features and prevent learners from making errors[3]. The CAH well supported the grammar-oriented teaching methods popular at time (see, e.g., Richards & Rodgers 1986, Ellis 1990, Johnson 2001), for it conveniently provided both cause and remedy for learner errors.

After a short period of popularity, the theoretical and empirical shortcomings of the CAH became evident to linguists. The CAH was first and foremost challenged by empirical evidence. It turned out that learners did not necessarily experience the difficulties predicted by cross-linguistic comparisons, and they also seemed to produce errors which could not be directly traced back to L1–L2 structural differences (e.g., Odlin 1989, Gass & Selinker 2001: 72-78). At the same time, the theoretical foundations of the CAH came to be questioned along with the emergence of Chomsky's (e.g., 1965) theories of Transformational Generative Grammar (TG) and Universal Grammar (UG). These theories led scholars to abandon behaviourism as the theoretical foundation for the study of language acquisition and structuralism as the basis for contrastive language studies. The theory of UG radically shaped scholars' conceptions of language acquisition. Contrary to how behaviourists had viewed it, language acquisition was no longer perceived as the result of imitation and repetition, but as creative construction of language rules directed by our innate language faculty (e.g., Dulay & Burt 1974, 1983, Mitchell & Myles 2004: 33-37, Ellis 2008: 361-363).

Although initially developed to account for child first language acquisition, the theory of UG was soon also applied to SLA. Based on their studies on the acquisition order of English grammatical morphemes by L1 Chinese and L1 Spanish learners, Dulay and Burt (1974) were among the first to propose that the process of L2 acquisition is guided by similar internal mechanisms as the process of L1 acquisition. According to this so-called "L2 = L1 Hypothesis", SLA is driven by innate universal principles of language acquisition which are independent of the learners' L1. L2 learners' errors Dulay and Burt (1983) termed as "developmental goofs" similar to those made by children acquiring their L1. According to them, only a very small percentage of learners' errors could be traced back to L1 transfer, and even if some errors may reflect L1 structures, it is not enough to justify the existence of the process of language transfer (Dulay & Burt 1983: 58).

Although serving as an important impetus for SLA research within the new cognitivist paradigm, Dulay and Burt's (1974, 1983) view about SLA did not sustain empirical investigation, either. The findings made on the basis of two learner groups and a few grammatical morphemes could not be generalised to all L2 learners after all. One of the major problems of this hypothesis was that it could not incorporate the concept of

---

[3] This was especially the case with the American school of the CAH, which made more far-reaching and faulty claims about being able to predict learner errors beforehand by merely locating L1-L2 linguistic differences. Contrastive language studies were also conducted by the so-called European school of CAH, which came into existence later than the American school and avoided most of the pitfalls of the CAH by focusing on the explanation of learner errors once they had occurred by comparing the structures between L1 and L2. In Europe, contrastive language studies were also conducted without a pedagogic purpose for obtaining a better theoretical understanding of languages in general.

mother tongue influence, and thus account for learner errors that reflected the structures of learners' L1 and could not be explained by universal and developmental mechanisms (see, e.g., Gass & Selinker 1983, Odlin 1989). The L2 = L1 Hypothesis rather reflects scholars' strong reaction to the theoretical and empirical shortcomings of CAH, and their desire to seek a new theoretical framework for the investigation of SLA and L1 influence.

The paradigm change that Chomsky's work triggered in linguistics was reflected in SLA research as a shift from the view that SLA is determined by prior linguistic knowledge to the view that it is driven by innate, universal processes. Neither one of these two extremes proved to be correct. A work that had a significant role in combining these opposing views and establishing SLA as an independent field of research with its specific research questions was Selinker's (1972) theory of "interlanguage". Interlanguage refers to learner language as a separate and unique linguistic system[4] which is shaped by many different types of influences, such as the learners' L1, developmental mechanisms, target language (TL) input as well as formal language instruction. Selinker's work was supported by his contemporaries', such as Corder's (1967), proposals concerning the importance of learner errors as evidence of the learning process (see Selinker 1992: 144-170). These works contributed to the emergence of error analysis as the theoretical and methodological framework for the investigation of learner language, which then paved the way for the analysis of learner performance in a broader sense and the investigation of learner language development (see, e.g., Gass & Selinker 2001: 78-87, Ellis & Barkhuizen 2005: 51-71). Within these frameworks, language transfer came to be investigated as one variable in the SLA process, and as one, but not the only, explanation for learner errors.

From the point of view of transfer studies, it is unfortunate that behaviourism was applied to SLA research in the first place because as behaviourist learning theories fell into disfavour, the concept of L1 influence was too hastily abandoned due to its behaviourist connotations (see, e.g., Gass & Selinker 1983; Odlin 1989). This led language transfer to become an undervalued topic of investigation within SLA research during the 1970s and even into the 1980s. There were, nevertheless, scholars who considered the investigation of language transfer worthwhile although the majority of SLA researchers had focused their attention on other aspects of the SLA process. In the 1980s, a new interest in transfer studies emerged. This can be seen, for example, in the anthologies by Gass and Selinker (1983), Kellerman and Sharwood Smith (1986), as well as Dechert and Raupach (1989). Many articles within these works have an almost defensive tone as they call for the redefinition of the concept of language transfer independent of behaviourist learning theories and within the framework of cognitivist learning theories. The work by Odlin (1989) may be considered the foundation for current transfer research in providing an important review of transfer research up to its publication, and offering a long-needed redefinition of the concept of transfer within current SLA research.

---

[4] Although the term "interlanguage" was coined by Selinker (1972), the notion of learner language as a separate linguistic system derives from his predecessors, such as Corder (1967), who referred to learner language as an "idiosyncratic dialect" and "transitional competence", and Nemser (1971), who referred to it as an "approximative system" (see, e.g., Selinker 1992).

After the 1970s, the importance of language transfer in SLA has more seldom been questioned. The research thereafter has focused on qualitative aspects of L1 influence, such as indentifying aspects of L1 that tend to be transferred and factors that interact with or constrain L1 influence (e.g., Gass & Selinker 1983, Kellerman and Sharwood Smith 1986). The scope of transfer research has widened from locating potential learning problems of a certain learner group for pedagogic purposes to addressing questions of a more theoretical nature. These more current developments of transfer research will be further discussed in section 2.1.3. The following section focuses on issues relating to the terminology and definitions of language transfer as well as the problems associated with them, which are largely caused by the paradigm shift in transfer research discussed in this section.

2.1.2 Terminology and definitions

The most commonly used terms referring to the influence of L1 on SLA are *interference*, *transfer*, *mother tongue influence* and *cross-linguistic influence*. Since some of these terms are more controversial than others, the background and the usage of these terms ought to be explained.

The term *interference* was one of the first terms describing L1 influence (Weinreich 1953; Lado 1957). Due to its earlier connection with behaviourist learning theories, the term may still evoke associations of a theoretical framework which has been abandoned in SLA research. *Interference* equals negative transfer, i.e., learning difficulties and errors caused by L1–L2 differences, and excludes positive transfer, i.e., the facilitating effect of L1–L2 similarities (see Odlin 1989: 26). The term *interference* also implies that L1 inhibits L2 acquisition and that learner errors are an indication of unsuccessful learning, which represents an outdated and simply incorrect view of L1 influence and L2 learning in general. Therefore, this term is rarely used in current SLA literature. In this work, *interference* will only be used when referring to a source where this term has originally been used.

Transfer, as a term, is relatively neutral, but not without problems. Since *transfer* was used in connection with the CAH, some scholars were, mostly in the 1980s, careful with using this term due to its associations with the behaviourist framework (e.g., Corder 1983, Kellerman and Sharwood Smith 1986). Another point of criticism concerns the one-sidedness of the term *transfer*, for it implies that L1 influence merely entails the transfer of L1 patterns into L2 and fails to account for phenomena such as avoidance, overproduction and differing rates or paths of acquisition, which are today regarded as different manifestations of L1 influence (see, e.g., Odlin 1989, Gass & Selinker 2001). Despite this criticism, *transfer* has become a generally accepted term in the field. The term has been redefined and is today understood in a different and much broader sense than the behaviourist notion of transfer (to be further discussed in section 2.1.3).

The criticism against the term *transfer* in the 1980s led scholars to suggest alternative terms for it, such as *mother tongue influence* (originally proposed by Corder 1983) and *cross-linguistic influence* (Kellerman and Sharwood Smith 1986). The benefit of these two terms is that they comprise all different manifestations of L1 influence under one label. The term *cross-linguistic influence* may also be used to refer to the influence of other

previously learnt languages on the acquisition of a subsequent one, and the influence of the L2 on the L1. *Cross-linguistic influence* has become another generally accepted and commonly used term in the field, which is often used interchangeably with *transfer* (e.g., Odlin 1989, 2003, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008).

In the light of some current views of SLA, the terms *transfer* and *cross-linguistic influence* may also be criticised for they imply the separateness of L1 and L2 linguistic systems. As Cook (2002: 18) points out, "language acquisition or use is not transferring something from one part of the mind to another, but two systems accommodating to each other". The terms *transfer* and *cross-linguistic influence* may fail to acknowledge the interconnectedness of L1 and L2 linguistic systems, but in the lack of more descriptive terms, they will be used in this work, as they are conventionally used in most literature dealing with L1 influence in SLA (see also Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 3-4, Odlin 2003).

Providing a satisfactory definition of language transfer is an equally complex issue. Probably the most cited definition of transfer derives from Odlin (1989: 27): "Transfer is the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired". The shortcomings of this definition have been discussed in Odlin (1989, 2003), who points out that this definition contains imprecise terms such as *influence* and *acquire*. According to Odlin (1989: 27-28), providing an adequate definition of transfer first requires adequate definitions of terms such as *strategy*, *process* and *simplification*, which are essential in characterising L2 processing. Moreover, a more precise definition of transfer would require better understanding of the neurological basis of language and how two linguistic systems are stored in the brain (Odlin 1989: 28). Although our knowledge in this field has advanced over the past twenty years, we do not yet have an adequate neurolinguistic model of multiple language processing that would help to bring precision to the definition of language transfer. In some more recent works, *transfer* or *cross-linguistic influence* are defined in very general terms, such as "the use of prior linguistic information in a non-NL [native language] context" (Gass 1996) or "the influence of a person's knowledge of one language on that person's knowledge or use of another language" (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 1). As Ellis (1997: 341) sums up, "Transfer is to be seen as a general cover term for a number of different kinds of influence from languages other than the L2".

The definition of transfer may have remained somewhat imprecise, but it is perhaps more important to consider what is meant by this notion in the first place by addressing these different types of influences that go under the label *transfer* or *cross-linguistic influence*. These will be the focus of the following section.

2.1.3 More recent views on transfer

After the behaviourist notion of transfer had fallen into disfavour in the 1970s, language transfer was redefined within the cognitivist paradigm. Instead of viewing transfer as a negative phenomenon automatically resulting from L1-L2 linguistic differences, transfer was now seen as an active cognitive process which the learner consciously and selectively uses in order to overcome learning or communication problems in the L2 (e.g., Corder 1983, Kellerman 1986, Faerch & Kasper 1986). One of the most important contributions to

redefining transfer and explicating this notion derives from Odlin (1989), who draws together many important insights presented by several scholars, such as Weinreich (1953), Selinker (1972), Ringbom (e.g., 1987), Andersen (e.g., 1983) and Kellerman (e.g., 1983, 1986). Odlin (1989: 25-26) criticised the common belief that the notion of language transfer spawned from behaviourist learning theories because the term transfer had already been used by linguists before it was linked to the notion of habit formation (see also Odlin 2003: 438-439). Odlin (1989: 26-27) was also among the first scholars to discuss many important aspects of language transfer which had previously been ignored, such as positive transfer caused by cross-linguistic similarities (see also Ringbom 1987), the influence of non-native languages on the acquisition of a subsequent language, and the importance of transfer in L2 comprehension instead of being a mere production strategy when relevant L2 knowledge is lacking.

While transfer research prior to the 1980s was primarily concerned with negative transfer in the form of production errors, the work thereafter has identified many different manifestations of L1 influence. These include, for example, avoidance, overproduction, differing rates of acquisition and differing paths of acquisition (see, e.g., Gass & Selinker 2001: 119-125, Odlin 1989: 36-41; Ellis 2008: 354-359). Learners' avoidance behaviour was first addressed in studies by Schachter (e.g., 1974, 1983), who discovered that L1–L2 linguistic differences do not always result in production errors but often cause learners to avoid structures they perceive as different and difficult, as manifested, for example, in Chinese and Japanese ESL learners' avoidance of relative clauses in English. Overproduction of certain TL patterns may, in turn, occur as a result of avoidance behaviour, such as in the case of Chinese and Japanese ESL learners' overuse of simple sentences due to their avoidance of relative clauses, which may result in stylistically deviant TL production, especially in written language (see Odlin 1989: 37, Ellis 2008: 358-359).

Transfer may also influence learners' L2 development by affecting the ultimate speed at which learners acquire certain TL patterns, or the order in which these patterns are acquired. Several studies have shown that the acquisition of TL patterns or elements is faster if learners are aided by L1–L2 similarities because the starting point for such learners is higher than for learners whose L1 is more distant from the TL. Evidence for this may be found, for example, in studies by Ard and Homburg (1983), who compared Spanish-speaking and Arabic-speaking ESL learners performance in a vocabulary test in English, and discovered that L1 Spanish learners constantly achieved better results due to familiar cognate vocabulary between Spanish and English. Similar findings were also obtained in Ringbom's (e.g., 1987) comparison of Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking ESL learners, which showed that L1 Swedish learners acquire English faster and outperform their Finnish-speaking peers in almost all areas of English competence due to L1–L2 genetic relatedness and typological similarity (to be further discussed in section 2.3.1 and chapter 3). Besides the rate of acquisition, transfer may also influence the route of acquisition, that is, the stages in which certain TL patterns are acquired. This has been discussed, for example, by Zobl (1982), who compared the order in which a Spanish-speaking child and a Chinese-speaking child acquire English definite article patterns. For the Chinese-speaking child, whose L1 does not have a corresponding pattern, the definite

pronoun *this* served initially the function of the definite article, while for the Spanish-speaking child, whose L1 has a similar pattern, correct definite article patterns with *the* were present from the beginning. Zobl (1982: 180-181) interpreted this as an indication that the learners passed through differing stages in their acquisition of the English definite article (see also Gass & Selinker 2001: 122-125, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 11, 192). Findings such as these demonstrate that the process of SLA is not universal to all learner groups, but is influenced by the learner's L1 background.

The broadened scope of transfer research from 1980s onwards has greatly expanded our understanding of the manifold ways in which the learner's L1 influences the process of SLA. The most recent proposals attempt to connect linguistic relativism and language transfer, which has led to important theoretical considerations of the nature of L1 influence. This view is supported, for example, in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), which provides an important review of transfer research with a special focus on the developments after Odlin's (1989) seminal work. Linguistic relativism, as originally formulated in the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (see Whorf 1956), views language and thought as interconnected. According to the more radical and heavily criticised position, language determines thought, while the more widely accepted interpretation of this hypothesis maintains that language influences thought (for a discussion of this, see Odlin 1989: 71-75; 2002; 2003: 464-467, 2005, 2008, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 15-19). The idea of language influencing thinking has recently been addressed in studies of conceptual transfer (a concept first introduced by Jarvis 1997 and Pavlenko 1998). *Conceptual transfer* refers to the effect of L1-based concepts and patterns of conceptualization on L2 acquisition (see e.g. Jarvis 1998: 1, Pavlenko 1999: 220, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 112-152). Jarvis & Pavlenko (2008: 114-116) distinguish between two types of concepts: *language-independent concepts*, which develop through individual's experience with the world and have no linguistic form, and *language-mediated concepts*, which develop as the individual's acquisition of different categories and the names for these categories influence each other. To quote Jarvis & Pavlenko (2008: 115):

> language-mediated concepts are seen as multi-modal mental representations that develop in the process of language socialization, sensitize speakers of particular languages to particular conceptual distinctions, and allow them to perform naming, identification, comprehension, and inferencing tasks along similar lines (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 115)

Jarvis & Pavlenko (2008: 115) propose that certain instances of transfer may derive from the conceptual categories acquired through the L1. According to them, conceptual transfer is at play, for example, when Russian ESL learners refer to paper cups as *glasses* because Russian makes distinctions between different drinking containers based on their shape and the presence or absence of handles rather than the material they are made of (p. 120-125). This type of transfer is not simply semantic in nature but is caused by differing conceptual categories between languages[5]. Conceptual transfer is also evident in the

---

[5] Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: 118-122; see also Pavlenko 1999) differentiate between conceptual and semantic levels of representation. *Conceptual representation* involves knowledge of the properties of a

word choices of Finnish speaking and Swedish speaking ESL learners when referring to given denotata (Jarvis 1998). In a task where these two groups of learners had to refer to a collision between two people, the Finnish group preferred the words *hit* or *crash*, whereas the Swedish group tended to choose the phrasal verb *run on* (Jarvis 1998: 165). The same test conducted on Finnish and Swedish control groups revealed that when referring to the collision event in question, Finns generally used the Finnish word *törmätä*, the closest translation equivalent of which are *hit* or *crash*, whereas the Swedes preferred the Swedish phrasal verb *spinga på*, which literally means *run on*. Hence, what Finns regard as *hitting* or *crashing* is seen as *running on something* by the Swedes. According to Jarvis (1998: 186-187), the learners' lexical choices reflected their L1-based experience, which indicates that L1-based concepts seem both to motivate and to limit the learners' lexical options when referring to a given denotatum.

Studies on conceptual transfer offer important contribution to transfer studies because they view transfer not only as deriving from the linguistic knowledge of L2 users, but also from their non-linguistic world knowledge, which has been acquired through the L1. As to the relativist ideas expressed by these claims, L1 is not seen to permanently shape individual's conceptual categorization, but L2 acquisition may lead to the emergence of new concepts or the modification of old ones. As discussed in Jarvis & Pavlenko (2008: 153-173), L2 acquisition and socialization into an L2 community may lead to conceptual developement and change, as manifested in the internalization of new L2-based concepts, the restructuring of previously existing concepts, the convergence of L1 and L2 concepts, a shift from L1-based to L2-based concepts, or the attrition of previously acquired concepts no longer relevant in the new linguistic environment. SLA is, thus, viewed as a dynamic process, in which transfer may operate from the direction of L1 to L2 as well as from L2 to L1.

Some of the most recent transfer research has, thus, expanded into the domains of conceptual knowledge and the cognitive basis of language (cf. Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008). Yet, many current transfer studies, including this study, are concerned with the outcomes of these cognitive processing mechanisms at the linguistic level, which is also in line with the current goals of transfer research. To quote Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: 111), "the ultimate goal of transfer research [is] the explanation of how the languages a person knows interact in the mind". This goal is advanced by all types of empirical evidence of transfer effects, which contribute to our theoretical understanding of the phenomenon. As discussed in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: xi) and Odlin (2003), transfer research has largely been conducted independent of any specific theoretical framework (exceptions being studies conducted within the Competition Model or the Universal Grammar framework, which will be further discussed in section 2.2.2), which may be explained by

---

certain category, its typical representatives, internal structure and connections with other categories. This knowledge may be visual, auditory, perceptual or kinesthetic. *Semantic representation*, on the other hand, involves links from words to concepts, which involves knowledge of which words signal certain concepts, and links from words to other words, which underlies knowledge of collocations, word associations, synonymy and antonymy (p. 118). Languages may differ in their conceptual categorisations, which may give rise to conceptual transfer, or in the organisation of links from words to concepts and to other words, which may lead to semantic transfer (p. 119).

the broad, complex and varied nature of the phenomenon. Most current transfer studies, therefore, tend to be empirically driven. Although the vast amount of research findings obtained thus far have greatly contributed to our understanding of transfer, a comprehensive theory of the role of L1 in SLA does not exist and, as pointed out by Odlin (2003: 478), is unlikely to appear any time soon. As outlined by Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: 4-8) in their discussion of the phases of transfer research, the study of language transfer has only quite recently entered a stage of becoming a *explanandum* (i.e., a phenomenon to be explained) instead of being *explanans* (i.e., an explaining or affecting factor). Thus, language transfer is still a relatively young topic of linguistic inquiry, and we are now only beginning to understand it.

2.1.4 Methodological approaches in transfer research

Capturing a phenomenon as elusive as language transfer is challenging regardless of the method used. L1 influence in all its different manifestations and the variables that influence it are not yet fully understood, which is why some studies point to strong L1 influence while others barely demonstrate any evidence for it. Important methodological advancements have, nevertheless, been made in the study of language transfer during the past couple of decades. A vast number of transfer studies conducted throughout the 1980s and 1990s may be characterised as lacking methodological uniformity, which also explains their contradicting findings regarding, for example, the relative frequency of transfer errors or the relationship between transfer and L2 proficiency (for a thorough discussion of this, see Jarvis 2000). It is only quite recently that a unified methodological framework for transfer studies has been proposed, especially in the works by Jarvis (2000; see also Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008, and Odlin 2003). Studies conducted within this methodological framework have managed to reliably identify language transfer, which is a significant advancement in transfer research.

In the identification of language transfer, two main approaches are recognised; the comparison of linguistic patterns between the learners' L1, TL (i.e., target language) and IL (i.e., interlanguage), and the comparison of IL performance between two learner groups with a different L1 (see Odlin 1989: 28-35; 2003: 445-452, Jarvis 2000). Language transfer has most commonly been identified by comparing patterns in the learner's L1, the TL and IL. With this contrastive approach we may be able to identify which IL patterns deviate from the TL and seem to reflect the learner's L1. However, we cannot exclude those patterns that may be common to learners of the same TL but with different L1 backgrounds, which may be caused by the TL system itself or by acquisitional universals (see, e.g., Odlin 1989: 28-35, 2003: 445-452). Another approach is to compare learners of different L1 backgrounds to see if they perform differently in the same TL (see, e.g., Odlin 1989: 28-35; 2003: 445-452, Jarvis (2000) and Jarvis & Pavlenko (2008) for discussion of this comparison method, and, e.g., Ringbom 1987, Sjöholm 1995, Jarvis 1998, 2000, Jarvis & Odlin 2000, Helms-Park 2001, Wang *et al*. 2003, Kaivapalu 2005, for applications of this method). The presence of a certain feature in the L1 of one group and the absence of this feature in the L1 of another group may explain differences between these groups in their usage of this feature in the TL. However, it may not often be possible to find such learner groups that would be comparable in many important

respects, such as proficiency level or educational background, so as to reliably attribute differences between the groups to L1 influence.

Building on Odlin's (1989) ideas concerning methods in transfer research, Jarvis (2000) proposes a unified methodological framework for transfer studies. Jarvis (2000: 248-249) suggests that by adopting a common set of methodological standards, transfer researchers could obtain mutually more comparable results. This requires a theory-neutral definition of L1 influence, a statement of the types of evidence that must be considered when presenting a case for or against L1 influence, and a list of outside variables to be controlled. Jarvis (2000: 251) proposes that in order to reliably identify L1 influence, there should be a statistically significant relationship between L1 background and IL behaviour, attested either through the comparison of L1 and IL behaviour of a learner group, or through the comparison of IL behaviour by two leaner groups. The working definition he proposes is as follows: "L1 influence refers to any instance of learner data where a statistically significant correlation (or probability-based relation) is shown to exist between some feature of learners' IL performance and their L1 background" (Jarvis 2000: 252). Jarvis (2000: 252-259) states that the following three types of evidence should be examined when evaluating whether certain learner behaviour is caused by transfer: intra-L1-group-homogeneity in learners' IL performance, inter-L1-group-heterogeneity in learners' IL performance, and intra-L1-group congruity between learners' L1 and IL performance. *Intra-L1-group homogeneity* occurs when learners with the same L1 behave in a uniform manner when using the L2, while *inter-L1-group-heterogeneity* refers to an instance when this group differs in its performance from a group with a different L1. The third effect, *intra-L1-group congruity* between learners' L1 and IL performance, occurs when the learners' performance corresponds to the use of a particular feature in L1.

These three types of transfer effects are not, however, sufficient alone unless several important variables are controlled for. Among these outside variables Jarvis (2000: 260-261) lists the learner's age, personality, motivation, language aptitude, social and linguistic background, TL proficiency and language distance between L1 and L2. Unless held constant, these variables may overshadow transfer effects in contexts where they otherwise occur. The active investigation of the relationship between transfer and these variables, on the other hand, may reveal which conditions govern transfer (see Jarvis 2000: 260).

As also discussed in Jarvis (2000: 255-261), this methodological approach outlined above applies to an ideal investigation of L1 influence. Identifying all these three transfer effects constitute the most convincing evidence for transfer, but two of these effects are sufficient for verifying the presence of L1 influence. According to him, the presence of only one of these three types of influences may be caused by other factors, such as individual variation, acquisitional universals or pedagogic factors, but it is highly unlikely to find two of these influences without the presence of transfer. These methodological guidelines are not meant to suggest that studies which do not meet these standards do not produce valuable evidence for transfer. It may not always be possible to establish such research design where all outside variables that interact with transfer could be controlled for (see Jarvis 2000: 261).

As discussed in Jarvis (2000) and Odlin (2003), studies that apply such methodological standards are extremely rare. It is, nevertheless, possible to meet these methodological requirements, as demonstrated in a study by Jarvis (2000), which was specifically designed to examine all these three transfer effects. In Jarvis (2000), learners with a different L1 background, Finnish speaking and Swedish speaking learners of English in Finland, were tested in order to see if they differed in their use of L2 content words to refer to given objects and events. A statistical analysis of the results revealed that learners with the same L1 background showed significant intra-L1-group homogeneity despite differences in age and exposure to TL. The results did not directly support inter-L1-group heterogeneity, but the learners who shared the same L1 but differed in their age and in the amount of TL exposure showed a higher level of homogeneity than a group which consisted of learners with different L1s but were comparable in terms of age and TL exposure (Jarvis 2000: 282-285). Hence, according to Jarvis (2000: 285), L1 background was a more prominent and consistent factor than, for example, age or TL exposure in his study. The third L1 effect, intra-L1-group congruity between learners' L1 and IL performance, was tested with the help of Finnish speaking, Swedish speaking and English speaking control groups, who were tested in their L1s for their lexical choices for the same denotata as the experimental groups. The experimental groups were more similar in their lexical choices to their native control groups than to native English speakers. In addition to the three L1 effects tested, Jarvis (2000) also addressed the role of several outside variables. For example, in the case of Finnish speaking and Swedish speaking Finns, educational and cultural background were considered constant, and groups with different age, L2 proficiency and differing amounts of L2 exposure were compared against each other. None of the variables was stronger than L1 influence. Hence, Jarvis (2000) demonstrates that it is possible to achieve empirical rigour in the study of transfer and provide reliable evidence for L1 influence. This methodological approach has also been applied in Jarvis and Odlin (2000) and Odlin and Jarvis (2004), which have offered further proof for L1 influence.

The preceding sections have briefly discussed how the notion of language transfer has been perceived from the early era of SLA research up until today. The following section will discuss transfer in relation to the two linguistic sub-systems in the focus of the present study, lexis and syntax.

2.2 TRANSFER IN DIFFERENT LINGUISTIC SUB-SYSTEMS

There has been some controversy among scholars concerning the strength of transfer effects in different linguistic sub-systems. While transfer effects in an L2 sound system, especially as manifested in L2 pronunciation, as well as in L2 lexical processing and production are widely acknowledged, the role of transfer in L2 morphology or syntax has been subject to many doubts (for a discussion of this, see Odlin 1989: 22-24, 2003: 439-441, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 61-111). Morphology, especially, has even been considered immune to transfer effects (e.g., Dulay, Burt & Krashen 1982), a claim that has recently been proven false (e.g., Jarvis & Odlin 2000, Kaivapalu 2005, Riionheimo 2007, 2009, Luk & Shirai 2009). The following subsections will briefly discuss previous research on

transfer effects in the two linguistic sub-systems in the focus of the present study, L2 vocabulary and syntax.

2.2.1 Transfer and L2 vocabulary

The role of L1 influence in the acquisition and use of L2 vocabulary has long been acknowledged. Lexical processing in L2 learners and bilinguals is a well-established research area with shared interest among SLA and bilingualism researchers (for recent accounts of this, see, e.g., Pavlenko 2009). Lately, SLA researchers' interest in this area has increased, which may be seen, for example, in a recent anthology on lexical transfer by Arabski (2006). Due to the abundance of research findings, the following discussion will only be limited to some central findings related to transfer effects in the L2 lexicon.

Lexical transfer refers to "the influence of word knowledge in one language on a person's knowledge or use of words in another language" (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 72). The scope of lexical transfer will be further specified in chapter 5, which discusses L2 learners' lexical knowledge and the types of lexical transfer phenomena in the focus of this study. In general terms, L2 learners' lexical knowledge involves knowledge of the morphophonological, semantic, collocational, grammatical and associational aspects of the word (e.g., Ringbom 1987, Nation 2001). All these different aspects of lexical knowledge are susceptible to transfer effects.

Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: 82-88) and Jarvis (2009) propose that cross-linguistic influence may take place at three different levels of lexical representation: lexemes, lemmas and concepts. *Lexemes* and *lemmas* refer to two distinct levels of a lexical entry in the mental lexicon; lexemes contain the form-related properties of a word (orthographic and phonetic representation), which are stored separately from the semantic and syntactic information stored in the lemma (cf. Levelt 1989). Both lexemes and lemmas are stored separately from conceptual knowledge (see Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 82-88, Jarvis 2009: 99, Pavlenko 2009; see also section 2.1.3 for a discussion on conceptual transfer). Based on these distinctions, Jarvis (2009) has differentiated between two types of lexical transfer: lexemic transfer and lemmatic transfer. *Lexemic transfer* (previously referred to as *formal transfer* by Ringbom 1987) refers to phonological and graphemic L1 influence, and encompasses the use of false friends, unintentional language switches and coinages (Jarvis 2009: 106-112). False friends refer to cognate words that may share formal and/or semantic similarities between L1 and L2, which may give rise to lexical errors such as *at the time he works in a **fabric*** (pro *factory*), where an L1 Swedish learner has assumed a semantic similarity between the formally similar English word *fabric* and the Swedish word *fabrik* 'factory' (Ringbom 1987: 119). Unintentional language switches involve the use of an L1 word in L2 in an unmodified form, such as the Swedish *pigg* 'refreshed' in the following example by Ringbom (1987: 119): *I'm usually very **pigg** after the diet.* Coinages or blends occur when learners merge the formal properties of L1 and L2 words thus creating non-existent words, as may be seen in L1 Swedish learner's sentence *in the morning I was tired and in the evening I was **piggy*** (pro *refreshed*, cf. Sw. *pigg* 'refreshed') (Ringbom 1987: 119).

Lemmatic transfer involves the semantic and syntactic properties of words, which Jarvis (2009: 102, 112-118) further divides into four types: semantic extensions, calques,

collocational transfer and subcategorization transfer. Semantic extensions refer to meaning extensions in L2 caused by differing semantic ranges of L1 and L2 words. A classic example of this is *he bit himself in the **language*** (pro *tongue*), where an L1 Finnish learner has transferred the semantic properties of the polysemous Finnish word *kieli* 'language, tongue' into English (Ringbom 1987: 117). Calques (also known as loan translations) are literal translations of L1 multi-word expressions, such as in *fire sticks* 'matches' (cf. Fi. *tulitikut*, literally 'fire sticks') (Ringbom 1987: 115). Collocational transfer involves the influence of L1 collocational links and restrictions on L2. This may be seen, for example, in an L1 Norwegian learner's preference for the collocation *admit discount* instead of *allow discount* because both *admit* and *allow* have the same translation equivalent in their L1 (Hasselgren 1994: 251). Subcategorisation transfer refers to the influence of L1 subcategorisation frames consisting of head words and their complements (e.g., verb + prepositional phrase, such as *think + about*), which may cause learners to choose a wrong complement for a word, such as a noun phrase instead of a prepositional phrase, as in *he was thinking his mother* (pro *he was thinking about his mother*) (Jarvis 2009 117). While semantic extensions and calques have frequently been discussed in previous literature as typical examples of lexicosemantic transfer (see, e.g., Ringbom 1987, Odlin 1989, James 1998), collocational transfer and subcategorization transfer, which involve syntactic aspects, have more rarely been classified as lexical transfer. Nevertheless, recent studies suggest that knowledge of words' grammatical functions and connections with other words is a part of learners' vocabulary knowledge (to be further discussed in section 5.1.1).

These various types of patterns resulting from lexemic and lemmatic transfer exemplified above may be characterised as *intrusive transfer*, which refers to learners' usage of inappropriate L1-induced items in TL production (Ringbom & Jarvis 2009: 112). In addition to this, L1 may also influence learners' usage of TL vocabulary in other ways. Differences between L1 and L2 may prevent or inhibit the learner from acquiring appropriate TL vocabulary, thus causing *inhibitive transfer* (Ringbom & Jarvis 2009: 112). This is evident, for example, in Finnish learners' of English avoidance of phrasal verbs in preference for one-part verbs because phrasal verbs do not exist in Finnish (Sjöholm 1995). Another manifestation of inhibitive transfer is learners' choice of vocabulary that is familiar to them. This may be seen in Hasselgren's (1994) study on Norwegian learners of English, which indicates that learners tend to prefer L2 words that have close parallels in their L1, such as formally similar cognate words or one-to-one translation equivalents between L1 and L2. Clinging to these "lexical teddy bears", as termed by Hasselgren (1994), may prevent even advanced learners from acquiring native-like usage of L2 vocabulary. The third type of transfer effect that may influence L2 learners' usage of TL vocabulary is facilitation caused by L1–L2 similarities (Ringbom & Jarvis 2009: 112). Ringbom's (1987, 2007) studies on Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking learners of English are a case in point. Swedish-speaking learners greatly benefit from the cognate vocabulary between Swedish and English, which helps them in TL comprehension even at the very early stages of acquisition and frees more cognitive capacity for the acquisition of unfamiliar vocabulary. L1 Swedish learners, thus, have a head start in the

acquisition of English vocabulary in comparison to L1 Finnish learners, for whom there are little L1–L2 formal similarities to aid acquisition.

As opposed to intrusive transfer, inhibitive and facilitative transfer effects may not result in errors in learners' TL production, but they may sometimes lead to stylistic deviations from native speaker usage of the TL, as well as overuse or underuse of certain TL lexical elements. This type of learner behaviour has also been studied under the label "word choice transfer" (see, e.g., Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 88-92). Word choice transfer means that L1 may affect the patterns of word choice in L2, which may manifest itself not only as the types of words learners tend to choose in certain contexts, but also the ways in which learners may create appropriate contexts for specific types of words (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 91-92). By comparing the word choices of different learner groups with appropriate statistical methods, researchers have been able to identify the L1 of the learner with a high degree of accuracy (see Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 90-91).

Cross-linguistic influence in L2 learners' mental lexicon has been explained through various models. Some models of bilingual lexical processing have addressed the role of L1 in the formation of L2 lexical representations. One of these is the Revised Hierarchical Model by Kroll and Stewart (1994; discussed in Kroll and Sunderman 2004, Kroll & Tokowicz 2005, Sunderman & Kroll 2006, Pavlenko 2009). The Revised Hierarchical Model (RHM) assumes that at the early stages of L2 acquisition, L2 words are associated with their L1 translation equivalents in order to access the conceptual representations that already exist in the learners' minds. L2 words are, thus, first connected to concepts via strong lexical links to their L1 translation equivalents, but as the learners' L2 proficiency increases, direct connections between L2 words and concepts start to develop (see Kroll and Sunderman 2004: 114-116, Kroll & Tokowicz 2005: 545-548, Sunderman & Kroll 2006: 392-394). Empirical evidence for the RHM comes from studies on translation performance of proficient bilinguals, who were able to translate words faster from the L2 to L1 than from the L1 to L2.

Pavlenko (2009) has suggested further developments for the RHM in the light of some recent findings on conceptual representations of L2 learners and bilinguals. She challenges the assumption implicit in the RHM about the unified conceptual storage for L1 and L2 by proposing that conceptual representations may be fully shared between the L1 and L2, partially overlapping or fully language specific (Pavlenko 2009: 146-148). L2 learning may involve reorganising the conceptual storage along the lines of L1-specific concepts, L2-specific concepts and shared concepts between the L1 and L2. This is the case, for example, with Russian learners of English, who will need to create a new conceptual category for the English-specific concept of *privacy* or *personal space*, which has no conceptual equivalent in Russian (Pavlenko 2009: 138-140), as well as with L1 English learners of Finnish, who will need to restructure their conceptual category for *fall* according to its Finnish equivalents *pudota* 'to fall from a higher to a lower altitude' and *kaatua* 'to fall from a vertical to a horizontal position' (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 80). These ideas of conceptual restructuring and development are included in Pavlenko's (2009) Modified Hierarchical Model (MHM), which builds on the RHM by Kroll and Stewart (1994). The MHM assumes that differences in conceptual equivalence relationships between L1 and L2 result in three different types of learning processes (Pavlenko 2009:

152-155). The learning task is the easiest in the case of conceptual equivalence between L1 and L2, when learners will merely need to form connections between L2 words and already existing concepts. Thus, L1 has a facilitative role in this process. In the case of partial equivalence, learners will need to restructure their already existing concepts and develop new links between L2 words and the concepts they are connected to. This may give rise to negative transfer if learners assume conceptual equivalence based on partial equivalence. Finally, conceptual non-equivalence requires learners to develop totally new conceptual and linguistic categories. This is affected by L2 socialization and learners' contacts with TL speakers and culture (Pavlenko 2009: 153).

Another model for L2 vocabulary acquisition is the one proposed by Jiang (2004). This model addresses adult learners acquiring an L2 primarily in a formal classroom context. According to Jiang (2004: 417), adult learners face unique learning conditions for L2 because, firstly, they do not have access to contextualised input as much as children do when learning their L1 or L2 in naturalistic surroundings and, secondly, adults already have a fully established conceptual and lexical system at their disposal and, consequently, will seldom need to acquire new concepts or meanings when learning L2 words. Jiang's (2004) model is based on the idea that the existing conceptual and lexical structures underlie L2 vocabulary acquisition. Therefore, when learners encounter a new word in L2, they understand its meaning within an existing L1 semantic structure and associate the word with its L1 translation equivalent. At this stage, a new L2 lexical entry is formed in the mental lexicon, which contains information on the word's phonology and orthography, but is linked to the semantic and syntactic information of its L1 translation equivalent (Jiang 2004: 417). L2 lexemes are, thus, mediated though L1 lemmas, which gives rise to semantic transfer. Gradually, learners may be able to develop L2 specific lemma information (i.e., semantic and syntactic representations) for L2 word forms, but Jiang (2004: 425-427) argues that the pre-existing L1 semantic structures may cause semantic fossilization even on advanced L2 learners. It must be emphasised, still, that Jiang's (2004) model applies to second language acquisition in classroom learning situations through formal instruction and with rather limited input, which is why it does not address L2 conceptual development and restructuring that takes place in language and culture contact situations (cf. Pavlenko 2009).

A further approach still to explaining the role of L1 in L2 learners' mental lexicon relies on connectionist models of language acquisition and processing (e.g., MacWhinney 2005, 2008; Hernandez *et al.* 2005). Connectionism in SLA attempts to model how neural networks are formed in language learning (see, e.g., Ellis 2008: 465-485, Gass & Selinker 2001: 216-217). Drawing on a neural network model developed to account for child L1 lexical development (i.e., DevLex, see Li *et al.* 2004), Hernandez *et al.* (2005) propose that while early bilinguals may be able to develop separate lexical modules for L1 and L2, late L2 acquirers will remain more dependent on their L1 (see also MacWhinney 2005, 2008). Through computer-simulated maps of lexical organization, researchers have been able to show that simultaneous learning of two languages causes separate organisation for L1 and L2 words, whereas in late L2 acquisition L2 forms remain interspersed within the L1 lexicon (see MacWhinney 2005, 2008; Hernandez *et al.* 2005). Hernandez *et al.* (2005:222) propose that with years of L1 exposure and use, late L2 learners will have gained "more

automatic control of L1 in increasingly more committed neural substrates". This "L1 entrenchment" causes late L2 acquirers to learn L2 words as "parasitic associates to L1 word forms", and instead of developing two distinct lexical modules, L2 word forms will remain dependent on L1 forms on adult L2 learners (Hernandez *et al.* 2005: 222). Results obtained though neural network models are supported by evidence from neuroimaging studies, which point towards differences in neural activity between L1 and L2 users. This shows, for example, in L2 users' activation of brain areas responsible for metalinguistic and pragmatic knowledge (i.e., explicit language knowledge) and weaker activation of areas responsible for implicit language knowledge responsible for L1 processing (see, e.g., Paradis 2004: 153-186, Hernandez *et al.* 2005). This suggests that L2 users may need to resort to other mechanisms, such as explicit knowledge, because developing native-like processing mechanisms may no longer be possible for them.

Although still in its infancy, research into neurolinguistic processing of multiple languages has already offered some intriguing evidence for L1 influence. It also represents a promising area of future investigation, which may provide evidence which supports or contradicts many theoretical proposals regarding the role of L1 in SLA.

2.2.2 Transfer and L2 syntax

While scholars' views on L1 influence in L2 lexicon have been more or less uniform, the role of L1 influence in the acquisition of L2 syntax has been a somewhat more controversial issue. The existence of syntactic transfer has been questioned especially by the proponents of universalist accounts of language acquisition (see, e.g., Odlin 1990). According to the most radical views (e.g., Dulay, Burt & Krashen 1982, Dulay & Burt 1974, 1983), the acquisition of L2 syntax is guided by general processing strategies universal to all learners, where the role of L1 is insignificant. However, along with accumulated evidence for syntactic transfer, the role of L1 in the acquisition of L2 syntax is today acknowledged (see, e.g., Odlin 1989: 85-110, Odlin 1990, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 96-102).

One reason for why some scholars may not have been convinced by the importance of syntactic transfer is that the evidence for it has sometimes been less compelling than, for example, for phonetic or lexical transfer. One reason for this is learners' avoidance behaviour (e.g., Schachter 1974, 1983, Gass & Selinker 2001: 119-120, Odlin 2003: 439-441, Ellis 2008: 357-358). As shown in the classic study by Schachter (1974), which indicated that Chinese and Japanese ESL learners avoided English relative clauses because they perceived them as difficult due to L1–L2 differences, syntactic transfer may not always manifest itself as easily detectable production errors. Less frequently occurring grammatical patterns may be easier for learners to avoid than more frequently occurring phonemes or lexical elements. Due to relatively low frequencies of occurrence for many syntactic patterns in the first place in comparison to, for example, certain phonemes in a language, syntactic transfer may not appear to be as dominant in learners' TL production as phonetic or lexical transfer, which is why the comparison of the relative importance of transfer effects in different linguistic sub-systems may be pointless (see Odlin 2003: 239-441).

Another factor which may make the identification of syntactic transfer difficult is that the acquisition of L2 syntax is influenced by universal learning mechanisms that interact

with L1 influence (see, e.g., Odlin 1989: 85-110, Braidi 1999: 19-47). This is evident, for example, in the acquisitional stages of grammatical constructions, which display universal as well as L1-specific characteristics. English negation patterns are a case in point. Both L1 and L2 learners of English have been found to go through a more or less invariant order of acquisition for English negation, beginning with preverbal negation *no* + V (e.g., *I no understand*), gradually followed by the usage of *don't* + V, resulting in both correct and incorrect forms (e.g., *He don't like it*), and finally followed by the correct formulation of more complex negation patterns with auxiliaries (e.g., *you can't tell her*) (see Braidi 1999: 25-28). Studies have, nevertheless, indicated that although the order of acquisition may be universal to all learners, it may take longer for some learner groups to pass through a certain developmental stage (for a discussion of this, see, e.g., Gass & Selinker 2001: 120-122, Ellis 2008: 394-396, Braidi 19-47). This is, for example, the case with preverbal negation (e.g., *I no understand*), which is common for all beginning learners of English as L2 or L1, but persists longer in the IL of those learner groups whose L1 has preverbal negation, such as Spanish and Italian learners of English (see Braidi 1999: 46). Besides negation patterns, similar universal acquisitional orders have been found, for example, in the acquisition of English interrogative clauses and certain word order patterns, but these do not exclude L1 influence, which works in conjunction with universal mechanisms (see Braidi 1999: 19-47, Odlin 1989: 85-110). Consequently, the identification of syntactic transfer requires a methodological approach which is able to tease apart learner universals and L1 influence.

Syntactic L1 influence has also been investigated within the framework of Bates and MacWhinney's (1982, 1987; see also MacWhinney 2005, 2008) Competition Model. The Competition Model (CM) is a connectionist processing model for languages, which has, among other aspects of SLA, addressed the acquisition of L2 syntax and the role of L1 influence in it. The CM explains how speakers of different languages process TL sentences by relying on various cues, such as word order, agreement, case and animacy, in their interpretation of relationships between sentence elements (see, e.g., MacWhinney 2005, 2008; Gass & Selinker 192-198, Ellis 2008: 474-479). For example, English tends to rely on word order in its indication of subject placement in that the first element in a sentence is generally interpreted as the subject. Speakers of English will therefore interpret *eraser* in the sentence *the eraser hits the cat* as the agent. Speakers of Spanish and Italian, on the other hand, might interpret *the cat* as the subject because Spanish and Italian rely on prepositional object marking rather than word order, thus enabling word order patterns with a subject in sentence-final position (see MacWhinney 2008: 354-355). Several studies have demonstrated that learners tend to rely on their L1 cues in their interpretation of L2 sentences (for a discussion of these studies, see, e.g., MacWhinney 2004: 55-60, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 97-99). As seen within the CM framework, L2 acquisition involves learning to process the various cues in the L2 and gradually changing the L1 cue settings closer to native speaker settings in L2 (see MacWhinney 2004: 57-58).

Syntactic L1 influence has also been studied within the Universal Grammar framework. The role of L1 influence has been addressed in connection with the UG access debate (see, e.g., Gass & Selinker 2001: 176-178, Mitchell & Myles 2004: 52-94, Ellis 2008:

622-625). The UG access debate concerns the availability of UG for L2 learners, and whether learners are able to reset their L1 parameters according to the L2. The UG access position maintains that UG is available for L2 learners just like it is for L1 learners. This position implies no L1 transfer at all or only in instances where L1 and L2 are similar. According to the no access position, on the other hand, L2 learners no longer have access to the UG but will need to resort to more general learning strategies and problem solving mechanisms instead. This position, thus, maintains that full L2 attainment is not possible for adult learners because they already have a fully-formed L1 grammatical system at their disposal. In addition to these two opposing views, there have been several proposals concerning the partial availability of UG through the learners' L1, but the matter of which aspects of UG are available to learners directly and which only through L1 is still under debate (see, e.g., Gass & Selinker 2001: 176-178, Mitchell & Myles 2004: 52-94, Ellis 2008: 622-625). Studies conducted within the UG framework have offered evidence for performance differences between various learner groups regarding, e.g., the null-subject parameter (i.e., whether or not a subject pronoun may be dropped) (see, e.g., Ellis 2008: 610-616, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 99-102). These studies have indicated that learners whose L1 allows null subjects tend to drop them in an L2 which requires overt subject pronouns (e.g., Phinney 1987, White 1986, Oshita 2004).

Besides the studies conducted within these specific theoretical frameworks (CM, UG), syntactic transfer has received less attention than, for example, lexical transfer in SLA research. In the field of language contact research, on the other hand, the importance of syntactic substratum influence has longer been acknowledged (e.g., Weinreich 1953, Thomason & Kaufmann 1988, Sankoff 2002). While SLA literature seems to have given more prominence to the universals aspects of the acquisition of L2 syntax and treated L1 influence as a relatively insignificant factor in the learning process, language contact research has emphasised the resistance of native language syntax to a change. As described in Thomason and Kaufmann (1988: 39), in contact situations where a group of speakers shifts from their native language to a new target language, the strongest native language interference is found in the areas of TL sounds and syntax. TL vocabulary tends to be the first area of TL to be learnt, while TL syntax is often learnt imperfectly, especially in contact situations where language shift occurs rapidly. Patterns of syntactic native language influence may often be found in the TL production of the shifting group, while NL lexical elements tend to be used only for items that have no TL translation equivalent, such as culture-specific items (ibid). Features of syntactic substratum influence are generally reported to be common in contact varieties, as seen, for example, in the numerous studies discussed in Thomason and Kaufman (1988).

It must be noted, however, that TL acquisition may not always be comparable in language contact situations and in the typical learning situations described in SLA literature. In language contact situations, the TL is often acquired without formal instruction through communication with TL speakers. SLA research, on the other hand, has often focused on learners who have acquired the L2 primarily in tutored classroom settings in their respective home countries. A classroom learning environment may provide fewer opportunities for authentic TL communication, but formal instruction is likely to increase learners' awareness of grammatical accuracy and the appropriateness of

certain linguistic forms. Consequently, even if transfer-induced errors occur in the TL production of these learners, they may be able to correct them by relying on their explicit knowledge of formal grammar rules. Indeed, as discussed by Odlin (1989: 144-147, 2003: 452-454), studies have indicated that formal language instruction may have an important role in diminishing negative transfer effects. Undoubtedly, the social setting and the learning context play an important role in TL acquisition and use, but there are still striking differences in the ways in which language contact research and SLA research view the role of L1 syntax in the acquisition and use of another language. This makes one wonder whether these two fields or research have been focusing on the same phenomenon to begin with, or whether L1 syntactic influence is a neglected area in the field of SLA research.

2.3 FACTORS INTERACTING WITH TRANSFER

Several factors have been found to interact with transfer, for example, by constraining it or affecting its ultimate outcome. These include linguistic variables, such as linguistic markedness and prototypicality or the distance between the L1 and the TL, as well as non-linguistic ones, such as the social context of language acquisition and use, acquisitional universals, TL exposure, learners' proficiency level in the TL as well as other cognitive abilities in general (see, e.g., Odlin 1989: 129-150, Ellis 2008: 379-397, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 174-210). Two of these variables are especially relevant to the present study, namely, the distance between the learners' L1 and the TL, and the relationship between transfer and L2 proficiency. Earlier studies have shown that the genetic and typological distance between Finnish and English is an important factor influencing Finns' acquisition and use of English, which is why earlier studies addressing transfer and language distance will be reviewed in section 2.3.1. As this study seeks to examine how patterns of language transfer reflect changes in the foreign language learning context and the consequent changes in learners' language skills, earlier research addressing the relationship between transfer and L2 development will be discussed in section 2.3.2.

2.3.1 Transfer and language distance
One of the factors that have been found to interact with transfer is the distance between the learners' L1 and the TL, as well as the learner's perception of this distance. The relationship between transfer and L1–L2 distance was earlier viewed as a relatively simple phenomenon. The Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis popular in the 1970s was based on the assumption that the greater the distance between the learners' L1 and L2, the greater the likelihood of transfer (see section 2.1.1). However, this hypothesis was challenged by empirical evidence, consequently leading to more refined hypotheses about the role of language distance in SLA.

One of the most compelling pieces of evidence for the role of language distance in foreign language acquisition comes from studies by Ringbom (e.g., 1987, 2007) on Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking learners of English. These two groups of ESL learners share a similar cultural and educational background, but very different L1

backgrounds with Swedish being a Germanic language closely related to English and Finnish a Fenno-Ugric language both genetically and typologically distant from English and Swedish. In his seminal work from 1987, Ringbom reports that Swedish-speaking ESL learners outperform their Finnish-speaking peers in almost all areas of their English competence due to cross-linguistic similarities between Swedish and English (to be further discussed in chapter 3). The Swedish-speaking learners' relative ease of English acquisition may be explained with positive transfer, which allows them to apply "at least partially correct perceptions or assumptions about cross-linguistic similarity" (Ringbom 2007: 31). The learning difficulties that Finnish-speaking learners encounter could be characterised as the "absence of relevant concrete (positive) transfer, leading to subsequent wrong assumptions about cross-linguistic similarities between L1 and L2" (Ringbom 2007: 30-31).

Thus, cross-linguistic similarities have been found to be of great help in foreign language learning. As discussed in Ringbom and Jarvis (2009: 106), learners are constantly attempting to make connections between the TL and their prior linguistic knowledge in order to facilitate the learning task. This prior linguistic knowledge may derive from the L1 or other previously acquired languages, or from intralinguistic similarities between the TL patterns learners already master and the new TL patterns they are attempting to learn. At the initial stages of TL acquisition, prior linguistic knowledge gained through L1 or other foreign languages may be especially useful, but as the learning progresses TL intralinguistic similarities become more important (ibid.). For more advanced learners, then, cross-linguistic similarities do not matter as much as for beginners. This also shows in the differing proficiency levels of beginning Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking ESL learners, which tend to even out as the learners become more advanced (see Ringbom 1987: 108-109, 2007: 51-52).

Cross-linguistic similarities also matter more for TL comprehension than for production (see Ringbom 2007: 21-24). In TL comprehension, even beginning learners are able to decode the meaning of a message if it contains familiar word forms. Studies have indicated that L1 speakers of a closely related language may be able to comprehend TL vocabulary they have never encountered before by simply relying on formal similarities (see Ringbom 2007: 10-17, 21-24). TL production, on the other hand, involves finding linguistic forms for intended meanings, which require both productive vocabulary knowledge as well as sentence production skills (see Ringbom 2007: 21-24). TL production skills, hence, develop more slowly and need to be learnt by all learners alike, regardless of cross-linguistic similarities.

It is important to note that cross-linguistic similarities and differences may be perceived differently by learners than they are by linguists. The first scholar to propose that learners may develop their own internal representations of cross-linguistic relations was Kellerman (e.g., 1983, 1986). The learners' perception of the distance between the L1 and L2 is referred to as the learners' *psychotypology* (see, e.g., Gass & Selinker 2001: 127-132, Ellis 2008: 390-392). As shown in studies by Kellerman (e.g., 1983, 1986), which examined Dutch ESL learners' perceptions of similarity between Dutch and English idioms, learners may hesitate to transfer into the L2 elements that they perceive to be L1-specific, such as idioms with non-transparent meanings (e.g., *the waves broke on the shore*),

while elements perceived to be language neutral are also more transferable, in this case, idioms involving prototypical and transparent meanings (e.g., *he broke his leg*) (Kellerman 1986: 38). This indicates that learners sometimes make subjective assumptions about which forms in L1 are similar and hence transferable into the L2.

Cross-linguistic similarity relations have been further discussed in works by Ringbom (2007: 7-8, 24-26), Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: 177-181) as well as Jarvis and Ringbom (2009: 106-109), who distinguish between perceived and assumed cross-linguistic similarities/differences. Perceived similarities/differences refer to those linguistic similarities/differences that learners observe in TL input and use as a basis for making judgements about L1–L2 correspondences. Assumed similarities/differences, on the other hand, involve learners' hypotheses about L1 forms or patterns having a counterpart in the TL, even though the features in question might be different. As described in Jarvis & Pavlenko (2008: 179-180), perceived similarities may give rise to transfer relating to formal properties of language, while mere assumed similarities may be sufficient in order for semantic and pragmatic transfer to take place. This is also evident in Ringbom's (e.g., 1987) studies, which indicated that Finnish ESL learners frequently transfer into English word forms from their L3 Swedish, which they perceive to be formally similar to English. From their L1 Finnish the learners only transferred word semantics, which they assumed to be similar in English despite the absence of formal similarities.

The degree of cross-linguistic distance or similarity may naturally vary, which influences foreign language learning and L1 influence in different ways. Ringbom (2007: 5-7) illustratively describes these cross-linguistic similarity/difference relations representing three points on a continuum: a similarity relation, a contrast relation and a zero relation. A similarity relation refers to a TL item or pattern which learners perceive to be formally or functionally similar to its L1 counterpart, such as cognate vocabulary between related L1 and L2 (*ibid*). A contrast relation means that learners perceive differences as well as similarities between L1 and L2 items or patterns, as with L1 English learners attempting to learn certain grammatical patterns of other Germanic or Romance languages, which may be superficially different while bearing certain underlying similarities (*ibid*.). A zero-relation occurs when the learner cannot find any relevant similarities between L1 and L2, as in the case of a learner with an Indo-European L1 starting to learn Chinese, although some abstract similarities might exist (*ibid*.). Ringbom (2007: 6) proposes that positive transfer takes place when learners manage to successfully establish a similarity relation between L1 and L2 forms or patterns. A contrast relation, on the other hand, may give rise to both positive and negative transfer, which interact in complex ways with only negative transfer leading to visible outcomes in the form of errors. In the case of a zero-relation, transfer may manifest itself in less conspicuous ways, such as in the form of a slower learning rate in comparison to learners who benefit from a similarity relation or a contrast relation in TL acquisition.

The field of transfer studies has greatly advanced since the era of the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, which viewed L1–L2 linguistic differences as an automatic cause for L1 transfer. Current research acknowledges the active role of the learner, who selects which L1 forms or patterns offer potential for transfer. This observation has also been formulated as the *transfer to somewhere* principle by Andersen (1983), which posits that in

order for transfer to occur, the learner must first perceive some similarities between the L1 and the TL, which may then give rise to false TL generalisations. This type of false generalisation may, for example, be seen in Finnish ESL learners' usage of the English possessive '*s* -ending in contexts where it should not be used, such as in the expression *20 per cent's rate of interest* (cf. Fi. *20 prosentin korko* '20 per cent-GEN rate of interest') (Meriläinen 2006: 113). In the case of Finnish learners, the acquisition of the English possessive inflection may be facilitated by a congruent L1 pattern, but the perceived L1– L2 similarity in some contexts may cause learners to assume that the patterns are congruent in all contexts, which gives rise to negative transfer. This kind of learner behaviour also shows that L1 transfer and TL generalisation work in conjunction (cf. Andersen 1983).

The *transfer to somewhere* principle may account for many empirical findings, but it also contradicts the common sense view that foreign language learning is more difficult if L1 and TL are distant, and that in such cases L1-based errors are common. This may be explained with Kellerman's (1995) *transfer to nowhere* principle, which maintains that transfer may also take place even though no perceived similarities exist. The rationale behind this is that transfer often originates from the conceptual level before the message has gained its linguistic form. Learners often have unconscious assumptions about the ways in which we may linguistically express our experiences, which are strongly rooted in the L1. This conceptual organisation is unlikely to change even though we encounter TL material that structurally contradicts with our L1 (Kellerman 1995: 141). In other words, assumed similarities are sufficient in order for transfer to take place. While the *transfer to somewhere* principle accounts for the ways in which learners more or less consciously attempt to make sense of the TL input by relying on cross-linguistic similarities, the *transfer to nowhere* principle explains that transfer may derive from L1-based conceptual organisation which is beyond the learner's awareness (see Kellerman 1995: 142-143). Consequently, transfer may occur regardless of cross-linguistic similarities or differences.

2.3.2 Transfer and L2 proficiency

It is commonly assumed that L1 influence decreases as the learner gains better knowledge of the TL system. There is abundant evidence to support this logical claim, but some studies have also shown that L1 influence does not linearly decrease as the learning process advances. These conflicting findings indicate that the relationship between L1 transfer and TL proficiency is a complex one, which is why previous studies and discussions on this issue deserve to be reviewed.

The relationship between L1 transfer and L2 proficiency has been addressed in the works of Odlin (1989) and, more recently, Jarvis (2000) as well as Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), which compile and review previous research conducted on the topic. Jarvis (2000: 246-247) lists six possible directions that L1 transfer may take with increased L2 proficiency: 1) L1 influence *decreases* with increasing L2 proficiency, 2) L1 influence *increases* with increasing L2 proficiency, 3) L1 influence *remains constant* with increasing L2 proficiency, 4) L1 influence *ultimately decreases, but nonlinearly*, 5) L1 influence *ultimately increases, but nonlinearly* and 6) L1 influence *ultimately never decreases nor*

increases, but its presence continually fluctuates as L2 proficiency increases. Jarvis (2000) also discusses empirical evidence supporting all these six alternatives, which well illustrates the conflicting findings obtained from previous studies. The general observation made in Jarvis (2000) and in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) is that previous findings about the relationship between transfer and L2 development are contradictory because these studies have looked at the issue from very different perspectives. They may have examined different types of transfer effects (e.g., negative transfer or positive transfer), focused on different linguistic sub-systems (e.g., phonetics or syntax), examined different types of learners (e.g., beginning learners or more advanced learners) or defined L2 proficiency or development in very different ways (e.g., according to the number of years of instruction or by using various proficiency tests) (see Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 201-203). Therefore, the findings obtained from these studies do not allow for drawing broad conclusions on the relationship between transfer and TL proficiency. The following discussion will, nevertheless, review some of these earlier studies with a special focus on those studies that have addressed similar types of transfer effects on similar types of learners as examined in this study, namely, negative lexical or syntactic transfer on more advanced learners.

Evidence for the claim that transfer decreases with increased L2 proficiency may be found, for example, in the works of Taylor (1975), Dommergues and Lane (1976), Jansen, Lalleman and Muysken (1981) and Sjöholm (1995). Taylor's (1975) study, although deriving from Error Analysis framework from as early as 1975, is a frequently quoted one (e.g., Odlin 1989: 133-134, Jarvis 2000: 247) and is of relevance to the present study because it focused on negative transfer. Taylor (1975) investigated L1 Spanish ESL learners through a translation test, and discovered that translations reflecting negative L1 transfer were common among elementary learners (e.g., *Who did he brother no invite*?"), while the translation errors made by intermediate learners mostly resulted from the overgeneralisation of TL patterns (e.g., *Ricardo had not the tickets*). According to Taylor (1975: 86-88), this may be explained by the learners' reliance on previous linguistic knowledge, which for beginning learners is naturally based on their L1, while more advanced learners are able to take advantage of TL material they already master for making false or correct generalisation about new TL patterns. Similarly, Dommergues and Lane (1976) examined French ESL learners' syntactic errors through a multiple-choice test, and discovered that interference errors steadily decrease as the learners advance, while TL-overgeneralisation errors first increase before learners begin to master the patterns in question. It must be pointed out, though, that the studies by Taylor (1975) and Dommergues and Lane (1976), in attempting to find evidence for creative construction theories popular in the 1970s (see section 2.1.1), make a sharp distinction between transfer and overgeneralisation strategies, which, according to our current knowledge, work in tandem (see section 2.2.2).

In addition to the aforementioned studies, the relationship between transfer and TL syntactic development has been addressed by Jansen *et al*. (1981), who examined the acquisition of Dutch word order patterns by Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. Deviant L1-induced verb-final and verb-second patterns occurred in the speech of these groups at the early stages of L2 acquisition, but were almost absent among more advanced learners.

Jansen *et al.* (1981: 334) conclude that "the syntactic interference found in the acquisition of Dutch word order was not a persistent feature, but mostly limited to the first stages of the acquisition process".

Among the studies addressing the relationship between transfer and L2 proficiency, Sjöholm's (1995) study is of special relevance to the present study because it investigated intermediate and advanced Finnish ESL learners' usage of English phrasal verbs. Sjöholm (1995) compared Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Upper Secondary school pupils' and university students' usage of English phrasal verbs and discovered that Finnish-speaking learners, whose L1 generally uses one-part verbs, avoided using English phrasal verbs more often than did Swedish-speaking learners, whose L1 has phrasal verbs. However, the differences between these two groups were the greatest among the less advanced students, and tended to even out among more advanced students, which indicates that transfer effects decrease as the learners' TL proficiency develops.

While there is evidence to support the claim that transfer is more common among beginning learners, some scholars have also pointed out that some TL proficiency is needed in order for transfer to take place (see, e.g., Odlin 1989: 133-134, Jarvis 2000: 247, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 202-203). According to Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: 203), this applies especially to positive transfer because learners will first need to have some knowledge of the TL before they are able to notice possible similarities and take advantage of them. However, some TL proficiency is also required in order for some types of negative transfer patterns to surface in learners' TL production. For example, errors in the usage of relative pronouns can only occur after the learner has first learnt how to formulate more complex TL sentences with matrix clauses and relative clauses, which requires some TL competence to begin with (Odlin 1989: 134). With regard to error frequencies, some learners have also been found to manifest a so-called U-shaped behaviour, which means that at the initial stages of learning, learners manage to produce target-like forms, but start to make more errors as the learning advances until they finally start producing target-like forms again (e.g., Gass & Selinker 2001: 214-216, Ellis 2008: 104-105, 384). This has been explained, for example, by the role of input in the learning process, in that the learners first learn how to use a certain TL feature (e.g., the progressive form), but start hesitating about its usage as they are confronted with TL input containing a different form (e.g., the simple present), until they finally learn the correct distribution of these forms in the TL (see Gass & Selinker 2001: 215-216). This U-shaped behaviour may occur with negative transfer patterns as well, as attested, for example, in Sjöholm (1995).

Indeed, some studies have shown that transfer does not manifest itself until learners have advanced further than the initial stages. This was evident, for example, in the study by Klein and Perdue (1993), who examined the utterance structure of various adult learners with differing L1 backgrounds and differing TLs, including L1 Italian and L1 Turkish learners of German, and L1 Moroccan learners of Dutch or French. They discovered that at the early stages of learning, the utterance organization of these learners followed similar, very general principles of organization, which produced, what Klein and Perdue (1993: 27) call "a basic learner variety". Some characteristic features of this basic variety include the lack of morphology and many functional elements (e.g., copula,

determiners and articles), as well as preference for elements with descriptive content (e.g., nouns, adjectives and verbs) (Klein & Perdue 1993: 30-32). According to Klein and Perdue (1993: 37-38), the formation of this initial, basic variety of TL syntax was guided by universal principles independent of the learners L1 or the TL, and it was only at the later stages of learning that some L1-induced word order patterns started to appear. It must be noted, however, that these learners were learning and using the TL in untutored naturalistic surroundings. Such reduced TL syntactic patterns are probably less likely to be produced by learners who have received explicit TL instruction.

Although it is difficult to draw any broad conclusions based on earlier research addressing the relationship between transfer and TL proficiency, some patterns may be observed that are of relevance to this study. Many studies seem to point to the direction that negative transfer effects in L2 lexicon and syntax eventually decrease as learners' TL proficiency increases (Taylor 1975, Dommergues & Lane 1976, Jansen *et al*. 1981, Sjöholm 1995). This is also supported by the finding that there seldom are any great differences between advanced learners with differing L1 backgrounds (see, e.g., Ringbom 1987, 2007, Sjöholm 1995). However, this does not mean that negative transfer would completely disappear as the learner's TL proficiency increases. In their comprehensive review of previous research conducted on the topic, Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: 202-203) conclude that "whereas the overall quantity and/or relative frequency of transfer errors does seem to diminish relatively steadily up to the point of stabilization, the proportion of errors that transfer accounts for grows". In other words, errors caused by other influences than L1 transfer may eventually decrease more than transfer-induced errors, which may be the most persistent types of errors in learner language. Yet, as previous discussions on the complex relationship between transfer and L2 proficiency have indicated (e.g., Odlin 1989, Jarvis 2000, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008), care should be taken in drawing conclusions about learners' level of L2 proficiency based on the quantity of transfer errors alone.

This chapter has reviewed some of the most important work conducted on language transfer among various learner groups starting from the early days of its investigation until the present time. The following chapter will specifically focus on studies that have been conducted on Finnish learners and users of English.

3 Finnish Learners and Users of English

This chapter provides a brief overview of the research that has been conducted in the Finnish context. It will cover previous studies on various transfer effects in Finnish learners of English and studies that address Finns' English competence and use.

The shifting trends in transfer research and in SLA research are also reflected in the research that has been conducted in Finland. The influence of L1 background on Finns' acquisition and use of English was a popular topic of investigation in the 1970s into the 1980s. The study of Finnish learners of English began in the 1970s in the contrastive analysis framework. In 1974, the University of Jyväskylä launched the Finnish-English Cross-Language Project, which aimed at systematically comparing the similarities and differences between Finnish and English that might be relevant to the teaching of English in Finland (see Sajavaara 1989: 81). The project produced several studies about the features that differ between these languages and about errors made by Finnish learners of English (see e.g. Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1977, Sajavaara *et al*. 1978, Sajavaara 1983a and 1983b). As the popularity of transfer studies started to decline in the 1980s, Finnish SLA researchers shifted their attention to other aspects of the SLA process.

There were, nevertheless, some scholars who continued to conduct transfer studies in the new cognitive framework. The most significant contribution comes from Ringbom (e.g. 1985, 1986, 1987, 2007), whose comparisons of performance differences between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking learners of English have provided important evidence for SLA researchers worldwide on the influence of cross-linguistic similarities in SLA. His studies have also made Finland well-known among transfer researchers for its suitability for comparative transfer studies (see, e.g., Kellerman 1983, Sjöholm 1995, Jarvis 1998, 2000, Jarvis & Odlin 2000, Odlin & Jarvis 2004). As described in Ringbom (1987: 5-23, 2007: 34-39), Finland offers unique conditions for the study of L1 influence because it is a bilingual but almost unicultural country with a Finnish-speaking majority and a Swedish-speaking minority (currently 5.4 per cent, Suomen väestö 2008). The Swedish-speaking Finns are well-integrated into Finnish society and are considered to be culturally very similar and equal to the Finnish-speaking majority, which also shows in the generally positive attitudes of these two linguistic groups towards each other (see Ringbom 1987: 8-9, 2007: 34-35). The Swedish-speaking population goes through the same education system as the Finnish-speaking majority, but their language of education is Swedish. Swedish-speaking Finns study Finnish as their second language at school and many of them are bilingual in both languages. The Finnish-speaking majority also studies Swedish as an obligatory foreign language at school, but they are rarely bilingual or even need to use Swedish on a daily basis, except perhaps for those Finns residing in Swedish-

speaking or bilingual areas. What is even more important from the point of view of transfer research is that the L1s of these two groups greatly differ from each other. Finnish is a Fenno-Ugric language, and, hence, genetically and typologically distant from Swedish and English, whereas Swedish belongs to the Germanic languages and shares many typological similarities with English. Since other factors, such as cultural and educational background, can be held constant in a comparative study between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking learners of English, the differences between these groups in their acquisition and use of English can reliably be attributed to their differing L1 backgrounds.

Ringbom (1987, 2007) discusses numerous studies in which the acquisition and use of English by these two learner groups has been compared. The general observation made in these studies is that the genetic relatedness and typological similarity between Swedish and English facilitates the Swedish-speaking Finns' acquisition of English, whereas much more time and effort is required from the Finnish-speaking Finns to reach the same level. This shows clearly in the results achieved by Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking candidates in the English examination within the national Matriculation Examination. Ringbom (1987, 2007) has compared the statistics compiled from the English examination from the years 1974-1985 and 1991-2004, and concludes that the Swedish-speaking candidates constantly achieve higher marks than the Finnish-speaking candidates for the English examination. For the years 1974-1985, the greatest differences between these groups were found for tests of reading and listening comprehension (Ringbom 1987: 80-81). During the years 1991-2004, the Swedish-speaking Finns constantly achieved approximately 10 per cent better results in the multiple choice cloze test, which tests the candidates' grammar and vocabulary skills (Ringbom 2007: 44-46). Each year, the weakest candidates may be found among the Finnish-speaking population, which indicates that even 7-10 years of English instruction does not necessarily help all Finnish-speaking ESL learners to advance beyond the very basics (*ibid*.).

Previous studies have found differences between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking ESL learners in almost all areas of their English competence. As reported in Ringbom (1987: 80-90, 2007: 44-46), comprehension, especially listening comprehension, is one of those areas where these differences are the greatest. Finns' difficulties in English listening comprehension have also been examined through a partial dictation test administered to university applicants (Sjöholm 1979, see also Ringbom 1987: 82-87, 2007: 47-48). These tests showed that Finnish-speaking applicants had difficulties in perceiving many English words due to phonotactic and accentual differences between Finnish and English. In Finnish, word stress is placed on the first syllable and all syllables of a word are pronounced unreduced. Consequently, Finns may be confused with the variable syllable and stress patterns of Germanic languages, and have difficulties in distinguishing individual words from spoken language input (see Ringbom 1987: 87-88). This showed in low solution percentages in the partial dictation test for low frequency words such as *receive*, *advantage* and *apostle*, which place stress on the second syllable, and for high frequency words such as *to, in, 'd, of, the* and *him*, which tend to be phonetically reduced in English (Sjöholm 1979).

Finnish ESL learners' spoken English skills have been examined from the point of view of their pronunciation and their general oral communication skills. Finns' English pronunciation has been characterized as slow and containing too many pauses in wrong places, which may disturb its comprehension by native speakers of English (Lehtonen 1979, Paananen-Porkka 2007). Finns tend to pronounce English as they pronounce Finnish: all syllables of a word are pronounced unreduced and words are not linked together (Lehtonen 1979). Ringbom (2007: 61) aptly describes this typical Finnish accent as non-fluent staccato speech with many pauses, also in places where pauses should not occur. Finnish cultural conversational norms have been addressed, for example, by Lehtonen and Sajavaara (1985), who describe Finns as silent listeners unwilling to take part in an English-speaking conversation. It must be pointed out, though, that this is likely to have changed since the 1980s due to Finns' increased contacts with the English language. However, Ringbom (2007: 111) is careful about drawing conclusions about such improvement and states that although Finns' attitudes towards speaking English and their behaviour in English discourse have changed, the pace of change has been very slow and there is still room for improvement especially in Finns' socio-pragmatic competence and cross-cultural communication skills.

As shown in Ringbom's (2007: 44-46) comparison of the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Matriculation Examination candidates' mean solution rates in multiple choice cloze tests, differences in favour of the L1 Swedish learners are also clear in the areas of grammar and vocabulary. Two aspects of English grammar that Finns are reported to have frequent problems with are articles and prepositions (see Ringbom 1987: 92-109, 2007: 67-71). Finnish does not have an article system, and uses case inflection instead of prepositions. Consequently, the Finnish-speaking learners tend to simplify these two aspects of English grammar by ignoring articles and prepositions in comprehension and avoiding or omitting them in production (Ringbom 1987, 2007). This is manifested, for example, in the lower frequencies of articles and prepositions occurring in English Matriculation Examination compositions written by the Finnish-speaking candidates, especially weaker ones, in comparison to the Swedish-speaking candidates (Ringbom 1987: 96-108). Article errors made by Finnish ESL learners have also been studied, for example, by Sajavaara (1983), who found that as much as 85 per cent of article errors produced by beginning learners were omissions. The Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking ESL learners usage of English prepositions has further been examined by Jarvis and Odlin (2000) as well as Odlin and Jarvis (2004). They discovered that both groups manifested both positive and negative transfer in their choice of English prepositions. The Finnish-speaking learners were often influenced by the semantics of the Finnish case system in their choice of English prepositions, and demonstrated several instances of preposition omission, which never occurred in the English production of the Swedish-speaking learners (Jarvis & Odlin 2000).

In their beginning stages of English vocabulary acquisition, the Swedish-speaking learners are greatly aided by familiar cognate vocabulary between Swedish and English, and consequently outperform their Finnish-speaking peers in English comprehension (see Ringbom 2007: 21-24, 73-78). There are also differences between these groups in the ways in which lexical L1 influence manifests itself (see e.g. Ringbom 1985: 43-57, 1987:

115-129). While the Swedish-speaking learners tend to rely on the formal similarities between L1 and L2 words, the transfer by the Finnish-speaking learners primarily takes place at the semantic level because formal similarities between Finnish and English word forms are relatively rare (the exception being loan words from English and/or Swedish, such as *televisio* 'television', *radio* 'radio', *bussi* 'bus', *filmi* 'film'). The Swedish-speaking learners also profit from similar word formation tendencies in Swedish and English, which shows in their more accurate usage of English phrasal verbs. This was examined in Sjöholm (1995), who concludes that the Finnish-speaking learners seem to consider phrasal verbs a peculiar feature typical of English, and therefore avoid using them. Another interesting observation discussed in Ringbom (1985, 1987: 111-129) as well as Odlin and Jarvis (2004) is that the Finnish-speaking learners are sometimes influenced by their L3, Swedish, in their English production. The Swedish-speaking learners, on the other hand, seldom draw on their knowledge of Finnish, although they are generally more competent in Finnish than the Finnish-speaking learners are in Swedish (see Ringbom 1987: 111-129). This shows that learners often make conscious judgements about cross-linguistic similarities and differences, and may choose to rely on the language they perceive to be more similar to the TL, regardless of whether this language is the learners' L1, L2 or L3.

The only area of English proficiency where the Finnish-speaking learners have been reported to be better than their Swedish-speaking peers is spelling. The irregular spelling of many English words causes problems for all L2 learners as well as for native speakers of English, but the differences between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking ESL learners are, nevertheless, clear. In his comparison of English essays written by the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Matriculation Examination candidates and 15-year-old native speakers of English, Ringbom (1987: 73-76) discovered that the number of spelling errors was very close to being the same in the essays written by native speakers and the Finnish-speaking L2 learners, while considerably higher in those written by the Swedish-speaking learners. This may be explained by the different processing mechanisms of L1 Finnish and L1 Swedish learners in their acquisition of English vocabulary. Being used to the near-phonemic and regular spelling system of their native language, the Finnish-speaking learners may store English words in their memory as the words are spelled, not as they are pronounced (see Ringbom 1987: 91-92). This type of memorization technique may be further encouraged by the dominance of written language in Finnish Upper Secondary school education. According to Ringbom (1987: 92), relying on the orthographic rather than phonetic representation of English words may help the Finnish-speaking learners with English spelling, but, simultaneously, slow down the processing mechanisms required for recognizing or producing the spoken forms of English words.

Overall, the earlier research reviewed above does not give a very flattering picture of Finns' English skills. It must be pointed out, though, that most of this research derives from the 1970s and 1980s, after which important pedagogic and societal changes have taken place in Finland, which have also influenced Finns' English competence and use. To begin with the pedagogic changes, the traditional emphasis on written language, grammar and translation skills has given way to communicative language teaching (CLT),

a development which started in Finland in the mid-1980s (e.g., Tella 2004, Tella & Harjanne 2004). Along with CLT, skills such as communicative competence, cultural awareness, collaborative learning and learning strategies have been implemented in the language teaching curriculum (see, e.g., Richards & Rodgers 1986, Tella 2004). Another important development that CLT has enhanced is a more tolerant attitude towards learner errors; instead of demanding that learners produce grammatically correct language with a perfect native accent from early on, learners are now encouraged to communicate even with limited linguistic resources. With such an approach, learners are more likely to develop a positive attitude towards learning and speaking foreign languages and communicating with foreign people.

This pedagogic approach is well in line with the current status of English in Finnish society, which, unlike a couple of decades ago, is not that of a foreign language studied formally at school and used only in rare encounters with English-speaking people. This is evident in a recent work by Leppänen *et al*. (2008), who examined the contexts and functions of using English in Finland. Leppänen *et al*. (2008: 16-21) outline the development taken place in the role of English in Finland, and conclude that the use of English has considerably increased especially during the past couple of decades in several domains of Finnish society, including education, media, advertising, business and working life. In these contexts, English may be used in intercultural communication or in communication among Finns themselves, both as an additional resource mixed with Finnish or as the sole means of communication. As seen in the studies reported in Leppänen *et al*. (2008), many Finns, especially the younger generations, are not merely passive recipients of increased English input but have also become active users of English in the context of various youth sub-cultures, such as internet-forums and fan communities. As Leppänen *et al.* (2008: 422-427) describe, in some contexts, the status of English in Finland has changed or is changing from a *foreign* language used to communicate with foreigners into a *second* language which is increasingly being used in various domains of life and through which individual language users construct their social identities.

The impact of these pedagogic and societal changes on Finns' English skills have been addressed in studies by Takala (1998, 2004), who reports that positive development has taken place in Finns' English proficiency over the past 30 years. Takala's conclusions are based on the IEA (the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) study, which was conducted in Finland in 1971 (Takala & Saari 1979 in Takala 1998, 2004). In this study, Finnish students were tested in listening and reading comprehension, oral skills and writing. The students that were tested belonged to two different age groups: 14-year-old elementary folk-school pupils and third-grade students in Upper Secondary schools. The results of this study showed, to mention only a couple of the most central findings, that the English skills of the Finnish 14-year-old pupils were, overall, weak when compared internationally. The English skills of the Upper Secondary school students, on the other hand, were good.

As described in Takala (1998, 2004), important changes have taken place in the Finnish educational system since the IEA study was conducted. One of these is the introduction of the comprehensive school system, which guarantees the same basic

education for all children in the compulsory school age. Before this educational reform, pupils were divided into two lines of education, elementary folk-school and secondary school, according to their academic abilities. As the comprehensive school was introduced in the early 1970s, systematic language teaching for all pupils in the compulsory school age began. In the comprehensive school, every pupil must study two obligatory foreign languages, and they can also choose additional foreign languages as optional subjects (see, e.g., Takala 2004: 255). As a consequence of these reforms in the educational system and in language teaching, the language skills of Finnish students have been reported to have steadily improved over the past 30 years. Unfortunately, there was no broad international follow-up for the IEA-study, but Takala (1998, 2004) reports a series of smaller studies which were conducted in Finland in 1979, 1983, 1991 and 1999. In these studies, pupils in their last grade of comprehensive school were tested by partially using the same tests as in the IEA-study. The results show that the English skills of the Finnish comprehensive school pupils can be considered relatively good and, in addition, their results have steadily improved in reading and listening comprehension since the IEA-study was conducted. Takala (1998: 88-89, 2004: 266, 274-275) attributes this improvement not only to the reforms made in the education system, but also to the development in the language teaching methods and learning materials: the shift of emphasis from translation and written exercises to communicativeness and oral skills, increased use of tape recorders and tapes in language teaching, and the students' increased exposure to English and their opportunities to acquire English outside the classroom.

The English skills of Finnish pupils have also been examined in *The Assessment of Pupils' Skills in English in Eight European Countries* conducted in 2002 by the European Network of Policy Makers for the Evaluation of Education Systems (see Bonnet 2004). In this evaluation, pupils from eight European countries (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Netherland, Germany, France and Spain) were compared in listening and reading comprehension as well as grammar and writing skills. Overall, Finnish pupils performed relatively well in all these areas in comparison to pupils from other countries. The best results were generally achieved by pupils from the Nordic countries, including Finland, which may be considered a good result considering that the pupils from other Nordic countries speak an L1 which is closely related to English. It must be pointed out, though, that approximately 10 per cent of the Finnish pupils tested came from Swedish-speaking schools, who scored on average 16 percentage points better than the pupils from Finnish-speaking schools (Bonnet 2004: 119). It is also noteworthy that in many of these tests there was a considerable gap between the scores achieved by better and weaker pupils, which indicates that Finnish pupils are by no means a homogenous group of English learners (for a more detailed analysis of Finnish pupils' performance, see Tuokko 2003).

Finns' English usage and attitudes towards English have been further examined in the National Survey on the English language in Finland (Leppänen *et al*. 2009). In this survey, Finns assessed their own English proficiency to be at least relatively good, and reported having positive attitudes towards English. Finns' attitude towards learning and using English may be characterised as pragmatic; studying English, as well as other languages,

is considered important for the needs of working life and intercultural communication. Yet, English is not a language mastered by the whole nation. Good English proficiency and a positive attitude towards the language were more common among young educated urban Finns, while less than a 10 per cent minority, mostly representing older uneducated rural population, have not studied nor need to use English. According to Leppänen *et al*. (2009: 151-154), there is a danger that a lack of English competence may even be a cause for inequality in today's urbanised, multicultural Finnish society and globalised working life. One of the central findings of the survey is that the ever stronger presence of the English language in Finnish society is not considered a threat to the Finnish language or culture. Despite the increased use of English in society, Finns still consider themselves monolingual and regard English as a foreign language which is studied and used in order to communicate with non-Finnish-speaking people. However, Leppänen *et al*. (2009: 148-150) interpret this finding with some criticism, and point out that it may reflect Finns' ideological views about the importance of national language for national identity.

A further study addressing changes in Finnish students' English skills is my own earlier study, Meriläinen (2006). This study has special relevance to this study because it examined lexical transfer errors in Finnish Upper Secondary school students' written English compositions from 1990 and 2000. The results of this study showed that many types of lexical transfer errors had decreased in the data between 1990 and 2000, which was interpreted as an improvement in the students' English skills. Meriläinen (2006) was partially based on the same data as the present study, but it applied a different classification for lexical transfer (to be further discussed in section 5.1.2) and a slightly different methodological approach for it did not include comparisons between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students as evidence for L1 influence. The present study, thus, includes several refinements to the analysis of lexical transfer as well as examines both lexical and syntactic transfer patterns over a longer time span. Section 5.1.2 will further discuss the classification applied and the results obtained in Meriläinen (2006).

Recent studies addressing Finns' English proficiency and the use of English in Finland provide a considerably more positive picture of Finns as learners and users of English than the studies conducted in the 70s and 80s (e.g., Ringbom 1987). Finns' English listening and reading comprehension skills are reported to have improved over the past three decades (Takala 1998, 2004) and Finns have also become confident users of English (Leppänen *et al*. 2008) who perform relatively well in international evaluations (e.g., Bonnet 2004). In addition to these studies reporting positive changes, my impression obtained through numerous informal discussions with my English teacher colleagues is that there seems to be a general consensus among them that the English skills of Finnish students have improved. This is also the view represented by Ringbom (2007:108), who states, based on his several decade long experience as an examiner of the Finnish Matriculation Examination board that "the standard of English proficiency as reflected in the Matriculation Examination clearly seems to have improved during the last two decades". Yet Finns' English proficiency and the possible changes in it have hitherto been relatively little investigated. Studies in Leppänen *et al*. (2008) examined Finns' use of English at a discourse level purely as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, without addressing

their actual language competence. Studies reported in Takala (1998, 2004) examined Finnish students' receptive English competence, that is, listening comprehension and reading comprehension skills, but their productive language competence, that is, spoken and written English skills, and the possible changes that have occurred in it have not, to my knowledge, been addressed in any recent study except Meriläinen (2006). It is one of the aims of this study to contribute to our understanding about certain structural aspects in the written English production of today's Finnish students, and to shed some light on the changes that have taken place in them over the past couple of decades.

4 Material and Methods

This chapter outlines how the empirical part of this study will be carried out. Section 4.1 will first discuss the research questions and aims in greater detail. Section 4.2 will then present the material used for this study, including a description of the Matriculation Examination for English and the compilation of the corpora of English compositions. Finally, section 4.3 will discuss the methodological approach applied in this study.

4.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND AIMS

In general terms, this study aims at charting what types of lexical and syntactic transfer patterns occur in the written English of Finnish students, and tracking a possible change in the quantity and quality of these transfer patterns. The research questions are outlined in the following.

1) **What types of transfer-induced deviant patterns occur in the written English of Finnish students?** This question will be explored by qualitatively and quantitatively analysing the lexical and syntactic transfer patterns found in the material.

2) **Have any changes taken place in the quantity and quality of these transfer patterns during 1990–2005, and do they seem to reflect a possible improvement in the students' written English?** This question will be examined by conducting a quantitative and statistical analysis of the lexical and syntactic transfer patterns found in the students' compositions from 1990, 2000 and 2005.

In an attempt to answer research question number one, the lexical and syntactic transfer patterns that surface in the corpus will be qualitatively described in terms of a) how the observed transfer patterns deviate from TL norms and b) how they reflect the pertinent Finnish patterns. The relative frequencies of these transfer patterns will also be examined and compared in order to see which types of transfer patterns are the most common in the whole corpus and in the samples from each of the three years under investigation. The description of the different types of transfer phenomena occurring in the corpus require, firstly, the differentiation between lexical and syntactic transfer patterns and, secondly, creating a classification for them (to be further discussed in section 4.3 and in chapters 5 and 6). Moreover, the examination of this research question essentially involves the identification and verification of language transfer in order to distinguish transfer-induced deviant patterns from those caused by other influences (to be further discussed in section 4.3).

Research question number two requires a more quantitative approach. The frequencies of the observed transfer patterns in the three sub-corpora from the years 1990,

2000 and 2005 will be quantitatively and statistically compared in order to see if they have decreased during this 15-year-period. The frequencies of the lexical and syntactic transfer patterns in these three years will also be compared in order to see if they have developed in a uniform manner. Although I acknowledge the complex relationship between transfer and L2 development (see section 2.3.2), I find it nevertheless reasonable to assume that if the standard of written English has improved during the investigated period, transfer-induced errors in the compositions should have decreased. As discussed in chapter 2, negative transfer has been found to decrease as the learners' TL competence increases. The frequency of negative transfer patterns may, thus, be considered one indicator of the students' language competence (besides measures of e.g., lexical diversity or syntactic complexity), especially so in the context of a formal written English examination which places emphasis on idiomatic and accurate language usage.

The overall aim of this study is to identify and describe patterns of language transfer in Finnish students' written English that have previously been little investigated, if at all. Although the popularity of transfer studies has declined in Finland since the 1970s and 1980s (see chapter 3), the study of L1 influence in the Finnish context has not ceased to have relevance to language teaching in Finland nor to the field of SLA research in general. Firstly, the study of L1 influence in Finnish learners of English is important in the domestic context because of the considerable performance differences found between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns, which seem not to have vanished despite alleged improvement in Finns' English skills (see Ringbom 2007, Tuokko 2003, Bonnet 2004). Moreover, the majority of the studies addressing language transfer in Finnish learners of English derive from the 1970s and 1980s, after which the learning context for English as a foreign language has considerably changed, consequently affecting Finns' English competence and use. As discussed in section 2.3.2, since language transfer is affected by learners' L2 development, the findings of these earlier studies depicting common transfer effects in Finns' English production may not apply to today's young Finnish learners of English. This study, thus, aims at locating some of the most frequently occurring transfer-induced patterns in the written English of today's Finnish students. Although the focus in language education has shifted from grammatical structures and formal accuracy to overall performance and the ability to use language in communication, identifying the typical learning difficulties that arise from the L1–L2 typological distance is still beneficial for pedagogic purposes. The ability to express oneself well and accurately in English may be considered even more important in today's internationalised Finnish society, where good English competence has become a prerequisite for coping in many educational or working life sectors. In addition to locating typical transfer-induced deviant patterns in Finnish students' written English production, an investigation and comparison of these patterns in the compositions written during 1990–2005 allows one to make some observations on the standard of written English in these compositions, and if it has been influenced by the pedagogic and societal changes discussed in chapter 3.

Secondly, the study of language transfer in Finnish learners of English should also benefit SLA research and transfer research internationally. As seen in Ringbom's (1987) seminal work on the effect of language distance on SLA and Jarvis' (2000) work on

different types of evidence in transfer research, studies within the Finnish context may offer important theoretical and methodological contributions to the study of L1 influence in SLA. These studies, among others, have demonstrated Finland to be very well suited for transfer studies. An examination of language transfer in a learner group whose L1 greatly diverges from the TL may alone reveal new aspects of the process and the manifestations of language transfer. Moreover, a comparison of two culturally and educationally similar learner groups with divergent L1s allows for reliable identification of transfer effects for which there may exist little or no evidence in earlier research. Furthermore, this study exploits material which may well be internationally quite unique: archived material from a national examination in which the task types and the evaluation criteria have remained very similar throughout the years (to be discussed in section 4.2.1). Such material may be considered to reliably depict any possible development that may have taken place in Finnish students' written English skills, as well as in the quantity or quality of transfer patterns. More specifically, this study will aim at contributing to our understanding of two previously controversial issues in transfer research, namely the strength of transfer effects in L2 lexicon and syntax, and the relationship between transfer and L2 development.

4.2 MATERIAL

This section introduces the material of this study. Since the corpus of this study is compiled of compositions written by Finnish Upper Secondary school students as a part of the national Matriculation Examination, this section opens with the introduction of the Finnish Matriculation Examination system with a special focus on the English examination. The following sections present the corpora compiled for this study. Section 4.2.2 will first discuss the corpus compiled of Finnish-speaking students' compositions, and section 4.2.3 will then present the comparison corpus compiled of compositions written by Swedish-speaking students.

4.2.1 The Finnish Matriculation Examination for English

The Matriculation Examination is the final examination of the Finnish Upper Secondary school. It is generally preceded by 3 years of Upper Secondary education which follows 9 years of compulsory elementary education. The aim of Upper Secondary education is to provide the students with the knowledge and skills needed in higher education[6]. Both Upper Secondary school education and the Matriculation Examination are regulated by law (see Lukiolaki [Upper Secondary School Act] 629/1998, Laki ylioppilastutkinnon järjestämisestä [Act on the Organisation of the Matriculation Examination] 672/2005 and Valtioneuvoston asetus ylioppilastutkinnosta [Government Decree on the Matriculation

---

[6] Passing the Matriculation Examination does not guarantee entrance to the university because all Finnish universities have separate entrance examinations. However, in university admission, the applicants obtain starting points based on the grades they have received in the Matriculation Examination. In some subjects in some universities, the applicants may be given exemption from the entrance examination if they have received the highest grade in that subject in the Matriculation Examination.

Examination] 915/2005). The administration, organization and execution of the Matriculation Examination are the responsibility of a national Matriculation Examination board, which is nominated by the Ministry of Education. The board consists of teachers, university professors and lecturers throughout the country. The board works in co-operation with associate board members, who assist the board in setting the tasks and evaluating the exams (for more information on the Matriculation Examination Board, see the board's official web pages at http://www.ylioppilastutkinto.fi). The examination is held biannually, in spring and in autumn, in all Finnish Upper Secondary schools simultaneously. The candidates may complete the examination during one examination period, but they are also allowed to spread examinations in different subjects over a maximum of three consecutive examination periods. The examination may be taken in Finnish or in Swedish. The candidates are obliged to take examinations in four subjects, which may be complemented with optional subjects. The four obligatory subjects include the candidate's mother tongue and a choice of three subjects out of the following four: second national language, foreign language, mathematics and sciences/humanities (Ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan yleiset määräykset ja ohjeet 2006: 1-2).

Thus, the language examinations within the Matriculation Examination include, in addition to the candidate's mother tongue (Finnish, Swedish or Sami), the second national language (Swedish for Finnish speakers, Finnish for Swedish speakers and Finnish or Swedish for Sami speakers) and one or more foreign languages. For the foreign language test, the candidates may choose either advanced level or basic level tests in English, German, French, Russian or Spanish, and basic level tests in Northern Sami, Inari Sami, Skolt Sami, Latin, Italian and Portuguese (Ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan yleiset määräykset ja ohjeet 2006: 2-5). Before 2004, the examinations in both the second national language and the foreign language were obligatory for all candidates, but this was changed with an amendment to the Upper Secondary School Act. After the 2004 amendment, the candidates have been allowed to choose the second national language examination or the foreign language examination, but they may also take examinations in both of these languages. In addition to these, the candidates may also take optional examinations in other foreign languages.

Although Upper Secondary school students have the choice between many foreign languages to be included in their Upper Secondary education and in the Matriculation Examination, English tends to be their most popular choice. According to the latest available statistics of the Matriculation Examination board (Ylioppilastutkinto 2007), out of the approximately 60,000 candidates enrolling for both spring and autumn examinations between 1998 and 2007, the number of students taking the advanced level language examination in English had varied between 41,000 and 47,000. For the English examination, the advanced level test seems to be a considerably more popular option than the basic level test, which had been taken by approximately 1000 to 1500 candidates each year. The number of candidates taking the second national language examination in Swedish had decreased after the 2004 amendment from approximately 40,000 candidates to less than 30,000 in 2007. For the second national language examination in Finnish the figures seem to have remained approximately at the level of 3000 candidates. The corresponding figures for both advanced and basic level examinations in other foreign

languages tend to be much lower, mostly ranging from a few hundred to a few thousand candidates. The popularity of the English examination also reflects the subject choices of the students at the elementary school level; English tends to be the most popular choice for the first foreign language, which usually begins in the third grade of elementary school. According to Statistics Finland (Lukiokoulutuksen päättäneiden ainevalinnat 2009), out of the 31,361 students who completed Upper Secondary school in 2009, as many as 31,247 students had studied English as their first foreign language. Other foreign languages, such as German, French or Russian, are most often chosen as optional foreign languages starting from the 8th grade of elementary school, if they are chosen at all.

At the time of the Matriculation Examination, a typical Finnish-speaking candidate enrolling for the advanced level English examination has usually studied English for ten years; first 7 years in elementary school and then additional 3 years in Upper Secondary school. These students may, thus, be characterised as intermediate or advanced learners of English. The level of language competence reached at different stages of the Finnish education system has been studied, for example, by Tuokko (2007) and Kaftandjieva and Takala (2002), who aimed at relating their findings to the Council of Europe Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) scales (see Council of Europe 2001)[7]. Tuokko (2007) discovered that pupils in the final grade of elementary school, after having studied English for 7 years, generally reached the level B1 (lower intermediate level) in the CEFR scale. Kaftandjieva and Takala (2002) studied how the Matriculation Examination test results in English relate to the CEFR scales. In the evaluation of the examinations, the Matriculation Examination board applies a seven-scale grading system which may be placed on the Bell curve so that the highest two grades (*laudatur* and *eximia cum laude approbatur*) are achieved by 20 % of the candidates, the middle two grades (*magna cum laude approbatur* and *cum laude approbatur*) are achieved by c. 44 % of the candidates, and the lowest two grades *lubenter approbatur* and *approbatur* are obtained by c. 31 % of the candidates (see www.ylioppilastutkinto.fi). The study by Kaftandjieva and Takala (2002) indicated that level B1 was the prerequisite for passing the examination in the first place (which 5 % of the candidates fail), and this level generally corresponded to the lowest two grades in the examination. The language competence required for the middle two grades corresponded to level B2 (higher intermediate), while level C1 (lower advanced) was required for the highest two grades. Based on these findings, approximately 20 per cent of the candidates may, thus, be characterised as advanced and 75 per cent as intermediate learners of English, while 5 per cent of the candidates, who fail the examination, have remained at the basic level.

The material selected for the present study consists of compositions written as a part of the advanced level (a so-called A-level) English examination. The A-level English examination, like all foreign language examinations within the Matriculation Examination, contains a listening comprehension test and a written language test, which

---

[7] The CEFR consists of three broad competence levels: level A (basic level; "basic user"), level B (intermediate level; "independent user") and level C (advanced level; "proficient user"), which are each further divided into higher and lower levels (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2) (for more information, see Coucil of Europe 2002).

consists of a reading comprehension test, a grammar and vocabulary test and a written composition. According to the guidelines of the Matriculation Examination board (Kielikokeen määräykset ja ohjeet 2007), the maximum number of points for the examination is 299, out of which the listening comprehension test constitutes approximately one third, the reading comprehension test and the grammar and vocabulary test together constitute another third, and the composition accounts for the remaining third. The listening comprehension test is taken approximately a month and a half before the actual examination period, and the written language test is taken in one day during the examination period. The candidates have six hours to complete the written language test, and they may freely allocate this time between the various tasks (i.e., the reading comprehension test, the grammar and vocabulary test, and the composition). The examination is strictly invigilated by the teachers, and the candidates are not allowed to use any aides, such as dictionaries or grammar books, in the examination.

For the composition writing task, the candidates are generally given four titles to choose from. The titles are usually accompanied by short instructions pertaining to the issues or questions that should be addressed in the composition. The candidates are supposed to carefully follow the task instructions and the content of the composition should match the title provided. With regard to the composition topics, the candidates are typically asked to comment on a current societal issue, take a stance on a controversial topic, or write on a topic of a more personal interest. For example, the topics for the compositions chosen for the present study included writing about the relationsip between animals and man, comparing the importance of academic subjects versus practical skills, writing a newspaper article on children's and teenagers' television watching, and commenting on the uselessness or usefulness of PE lessons. Topics that required a more personal approach included writing about a subject or a skill that the writer would have wanted to learn at school, pondering whether staying single or getting married is a better option, reflecting on the possibility or impossibility of forgiving and forgetting, and justifying why the writer could or could not become a humanitarian worker. The composition titles and task instructions pertaining to the material chosen for this study are given in full in appendix 1.

The length of the composition is limited to 150 to 250 words, and the maximum number of points the candidates may receive for the composition is 99. If the candidates do not follow the given instructions, their points may be reduced according to detailed guidelines provided by the Matriculation Examination board (see Kielikokeen määräykset ja ohjeet 2007: 32). Such point reductions are given, for example, for exceeding or falling short of the word limit, changing the title of the composition, writing on a topic not given in the task instructions, or plagiarising the text in the examination booklet or in some other source.

The compositions are first marked and evaluated by the teachers and then sent to the Matriculation Examination Board, where they are evaluated by associate board members and given the final grade. The Matriculation Examination board issues guidelines for the teachers for marking and evaluating the compositions. When marking the compositions, teachers have to mark all errors by underlining them with a red pen. Non-idiomatic or

stylistically inappropriate words or expressions should be underlined with a spotted line (-----). Word order errors should be indicated with an arrow ($\rightarrow$) under the misplaced word. Missing words should be marked with an arrowhead (^). If a whole sentence or a longer part of the composition is incomprehensible, it may be indicated with a question mark (?) in the margin. Any other marking in the margins or in the text are not allowed in order to leave enough space for the associate board members for their marking. The teachers are supposed to mark their suggested points at the bottom of the final page of the composition paper, so as not to influence the associate board members' impression during their evaluation.

The compositions are evaluated according to the criteria provided by the Matriculation Examination Board. According to the board's evaluation criteria, the compositions may be divided into eight point categories according to their language, style and the discussion of the topic. The evaluation criteria have, despite some small changes, remained very similar over the past few decades. With regard to the material chosen for the present study, the compositions from the 1990 examination had been evaluated and graded according to criteria issued in 1980 (Ylioppilastutkinnon kielikokeet 1980). The Matriculation Examination board re-issued the evaluation criteria in 1997 (Kielikokeet: ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan ohje rehtoreille ja kieltenopettajille 1997), which the evaluation of the 2000 and 2005 compositions had relied on. Both of these evaluation criteria are presented in tables 4.1 and 4.2. The latest evaluation criteria were issued in 2007 (see Kielikokeen määräykset ja ohjeet 2007: 41), which place slightly more emphasis on communicativeness as well as versatile and coherent discussion of the topic, while errors and linguistic accuracy are addressed less explicitly than in the earlier versions of the evaluation criteria. The final evaluation of the whole examination (that is, the listening comprehension test, the reading comprehension test, the grammar and vocabulary test and the composition) is performed by the Matriculation Examination board. As described above, the examination is evaluated according to the seven-scale grading system which follows the Bell curve. The distribution of the grades is more or less the same every year, but the point limits for achieving a certain grade vary in each examination.

Table 4.1. Evaluation criteria for the compositions (1980)

Point category 1 88-99 points	General impression: very good. Pleasant to read.	Language is authentic and fluent. Appropriate style throughout. Almost error-free; some mistakes allowed.
Point category 2 78-85 points	General impression: good. Discussion of the topic clear and easy to read.	Grammar and vocabulary generally well-mastered. May contain some unidiomatic expressions. Few errors.
Point category 3 68-75 points	General impression: satisfactory. Discussion of the topic often relatively ordinary.	Language is not very fluent. More errors and non-idiomatic expressions. Grammar and vocabulary limited. Errors don't interfere with communication.
Point category 4 58-65 points	General impression: satisfactory. Relatively difficult to read	Grammar and vocabulary limited. Discussion of the topic superficial. A lot of errors. The most important content can be understood.
Point category 5 48-55 points	General impression: relatively weak. Difficult to read.	Grammar and vocabulary very limited and/or a lot of errors. Simple sentences are correctly formed. Discussion of the topic at parts difficult to understand.
Point category 6 35-45 points	General impression: weak. Weak language skills often make comprehension difficult.	A lot of basic grammar errors. The writer is not often capable of communicating his/her thoughts to the reader. The reader will have to interpret the intended meaning.
Point category 7 20-30 points	The composition meets the formal requirements but the content is not understandable because of the writer's weak language skills.	The text is coherent, but the writer is not capable of communicating his/her thoughts to the reader. The composition may contain some short comprehensible sentences.
Point category 8 0-15 points	The task is not completed or only contains some loosely connected, acceptable phrases but no full, comprehensible sentences.	

Table 4.2. Evaluation criteria for the compositions (1997)

	Readability and use of language	Vocabulary and grammar	Discussion of the topic	Language errors
Point category 1 88-99 points	Pleasant to read. Authentic and fluent.	Rich, idiomatic and versatile.	Original and versatile.	Some mistakes.
Point category 2 78-85 points	Easy to read. Fluent.	Appropriate but not very versatile vocabulary. Relatively varied grammatical constructions.	Clear but quite ordinary.	Some errors and non-idiomatic expressions.
Point category 3 68-75 points	Relatively easy to read. Relatively fluent.	Limited vocabulary and grammar. Basic grammatical constructions are mastered.	Ordinary and quite limited.	More errors and non-idiomatic expressions.
Point category 4 58-65 points	At parts difficult to read. Mastery of the language at parts relatively weak.	The relevant content is presented understandably. The writer has obvious difficulties in producing text in a foreign language.		Basic grammar errors. Interference.
Point category 5 48-55 points	Relatively difficult to read. Some parts may be unclear. Mastery of the language relatively weak.	Poor. The simplest sentences are formed correctly.	Simple. Coherence problems.	Quite a lot of errors. Disturbing interference.
Point category 6 35-45 points	Difficult to read. At parts the meaning is unclear. Mastery of the language weak.	Difficulties in presenting his/her ideas in a foreign language.	Incomplete because of insufficient language skills.	
Point category 7 20-30 points	Very difficult to read. In many parts the meaning is unclear. Mastery of the language very weak.	Some comprehensible sentences.	Very basic because of weak language skills.	A lot of errors.
Point category 8 0-15 points	Almost or totally incomprehensible because of non-existent language skills.	The task is not completed or only contains some loosely connected sentences.		

The Matriculation Examination compositions were chosen for the material of this study because they represent reliable and well-standardised research material. The compositions are a part of an examination which may be termed a high-stakes test. The Matriculation Examination is a prestigious institution with more than 150 years of tradition, and passing it marks graduation from Upper Secondary school, thus ending a 12-year long educational path through primary and secondary school. Although passing the examination does not alone guarantee entrance to higher education, it is nevertheless considered to be representative of the candidate's academic abilities and provides important starting points in admission to higher education. The English examination may be considered to be an important part of the whole Matriculation Examination, for it was one of the compulsory tests before 2004, and even after becoming optional it is still being chosen by the majority of the candidates.

Since the composition accounts for as much as one third of the maximum number of points of the English examination, it is a task that the candidates are likely to put effort into. As a free-form language task, the composition is also the only task where the candidates have some freedom to choose not only the topic to write about, but also to select the vocabulary, phrases and grammatical structures so as to display the best of their language competence. Admittedly, this may also lead some candidates to sometimes avoid vocabulary and structures they do not master or are not sure about. However, such avoidance is unlikely to be so common that it would reduce the reliability of the compositions as an indicator of the candidates' language competence because linguistic accuracy is not the main evaluation criteria, but the compositions are also evaluated for their content and the discussion of the topic. In the composition writing task, the candidates have the possibility to apply both their implicit and explicit language knowledge. In free written performance, where the focus is primarily on meaning rather than the form of their expression, learners are naturally more likely to rely on their implicit language knowledge. Yet in an examination situation such as this, they are also likely to apply their explicit knowledge of linguistics structures and rules when monitoring for possible errors. Although errors alone are not the main evaluation criteria for the compositions, language teaching in Finnish Upper Secondary schools has traditionally placed a lot of emphasis on formal accuracy and the knowledge of grammar rules, and the candidates have been encouraged to pay attention to grammatical detail in the Matriculation Examination.

Overall, there is all reason to believe that the Matriculation Examination compositions offer a reliable picture of the English competence of the students. Since the task type and the evaluation criteria for the compositions have remained very similar throughout the time period investigated, this material also enables the comparison of the examination candidates during this period. This nationwide, well-regulated and well-standardised examination also enables the compilation of a representative corpus of written English compositions. The compilation of this corpus will be the focus of the following section.

4.2.2 Compilation of the corpus

The corpus of this study is compiled from archived material of the Finnish Matriculation Examination Board. The Matriculation Examination Board preserves in its archives a few

per cent of the examination material from each year's examination. The board must preserve all the examination material for 18 months. After this, the sample to be archived is randomly selected and the rest of the examination papers are destroyed. The archived material is available for research use through the board's permission after 18 months have passed from the examination. I obtained the material from the 1990 and 2000 examinations for my MA Thesis and Licentiate Thesis in 2003. The sample from the 2005 examination was obtained when it became available in November 2006.

I selected my research material amongst A-level English compositions written as a part of the English matriculation examination in the years 1990, 2000 and 2005. This archived material amongst which I selected the compositions to be included in the corpus contained 478 compositions from spring 1990, 671 compositions from spring and autumn of 2000, and 1332 from spring 2005. This material consists of 1.92 % of all the compositions written as a part of the English Matriculation Examination in 1990 (total = 24 838[8]), 1.42 % of those written in the spring of 2000 (total = 31 024) and 1.64 % of those in the autumn of 2000 (total = 13 959), and 4.83 % of those written in spring 2005 (total 27 575).

The selection of the compositions to be included in the corpus was based on three criteria: the geographical location of the schools, the writers' sex and the number of points the composition had received. Obtaining a varied geographical distribution was important because previous studies have indicated differences in students' performance level between different regions of Finland. For example, Tuokko (2003), based on an international evaluation of pupils in the final grade of primary education in different EU countries, reports a generally higher mean solution rate for pupils from Southern and Western Finland in comparison to those from Eastern Finland, Oulu and Lapland[9]. The corpus data were, thus, selected to represent all Finnish provinces as well as possible[10]. Besides geographical location, the data were selected to equally represent both male and female students, and students of different levels. For the latter purpose, the compositions were divided into the point categories described in the evaluation criteria of the Matriculation Examination Board (Ylioppilastutkinnon kielikokeet 1980; Kielikokeet: ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan ohje rehtoreille ja kieltenopettajille 1997). Out of the eight point categories described in these evaluation criteria (see tables 4.1 and 4.2), the lowest two point categories (category 7: 20-30 points; category 8: 0-15 points) were excluded because the archived material only contained a couple of compositions that had received

---

[8] The number of students taking the English Matriculation Examination in each of the years. These figures are taken from the statistics of the Matriculation Examination Board.

[9] It must, however, be pointed out that the data in Tuokko's (2003) report were compiled from both Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking schools of Southern and Western Finland. This could contribute to the higher mean solution rate for the students from these regions due to the fact that Swedish-speaking students generally achieve higher tests results in comparison to Finnish-speaking students (see, e.g., Ringbom 1987, 2007). The differences between Finnish-speaking students from different regions of Finland may not, in reality, be as great as Tuokko (2003) reports.

[10] Although an autonomous province of Finland, the Åland islands were excluded because its majority language and official language is Swedish. The material for the corpus was, thus, selected from the five provinces of mainland Finland, the majority language of which is Finnish.

such a low number of points, and even those were the result of point reductions for not following task instructions. It is probably reasonable to assume that relatively few students nationwide represent such a weak level of written English in the first place, and that the great majority of the candidates who have put any effort into the task and followed the instructions fall between the point categories 1 and 6.

The corpus was compiled by first selecting the schools according to their geographical location. An equal number of compositions were chosen from both male and female students in each point category in each school. The selection of the compositions was naturally based on the final number of points given by the Matriculation Examination Board. Compositions whose points had been lowered for not following task instructions were excluded because, in such cases, the points do not give a reliable picture of the real language competence of the student. I aimed at obtaining 30 compositions representing each of the six point categories, that is, 15 compositions by both male and female writers in each point category, which total 180 compositions from each of the three years under investigation. If there were not enough compositions representing a certain point category by a male/female writer in a certain school, some extra compositions were chosen, if possible, from the geographically nearest school. However, it was not possible to obtain an equal-size sample from each Finnish province because, due to greater population density and therefore more schools, the archived material contained more compositions from Southern and Western Finland. It was not possible, either, to obtain a full-sized sample from the lowest point categories from the years 1990 and 2000 because there were not enough compositions belonging to these categories among the material, which is most probably due to the random selection of the samples to be archived.

The corpus for this study, therefore, consists of 173 compositions from 1990 (33,320 words), 147 compositions from 2000 (28,352 words) and 180 compositions from 2005 (35,207 words), which, altogether, constitute 500 compositions (96,789 words). The compilation of the corpus is shown in table 4.3. A more detailed compilation of the samples from each of the three years is given in appendix 2. Figures 4.1-3 illustrate data distribution according to the geographical location of the schools, the writers' sex and the point categories the compositions were divided into. Due to privacy protection reasons, the names of the schools the material derives from cannot be given, but the data distribution is shown according to the provinces in which the schools were located. The schools were situated in both big cities and in small rural towns within these provinces.

Table 4.3. The compilation of the corpus

	Point categories												Total	
	1		2		3		4		5		6		Total	
	N	Words	N	Words	N	Words	N	Words	N	Words	N	Words	N	Words
1990	30	6175	30	6132	30	5609	29	5404	30	5552	24	4358	**173**	**33230**
2000	30	6342	30	5801	30	5785	30	5579	25	4481	2	364	**147**	**28352**
2005	30	6822	30	5949	30	5776	30	5695	30	5843	30	5122	**180**	**35207**
Total	**90**	**19339**	**90**	**17882**	**90**	**17170**	**89**	**16678**	**85**	**15876**	**56**	**9844**	**500**	**96789**
%	20,0 %		18,5 %		17,7 %		17,2 %		16,4 %		10,2 %			
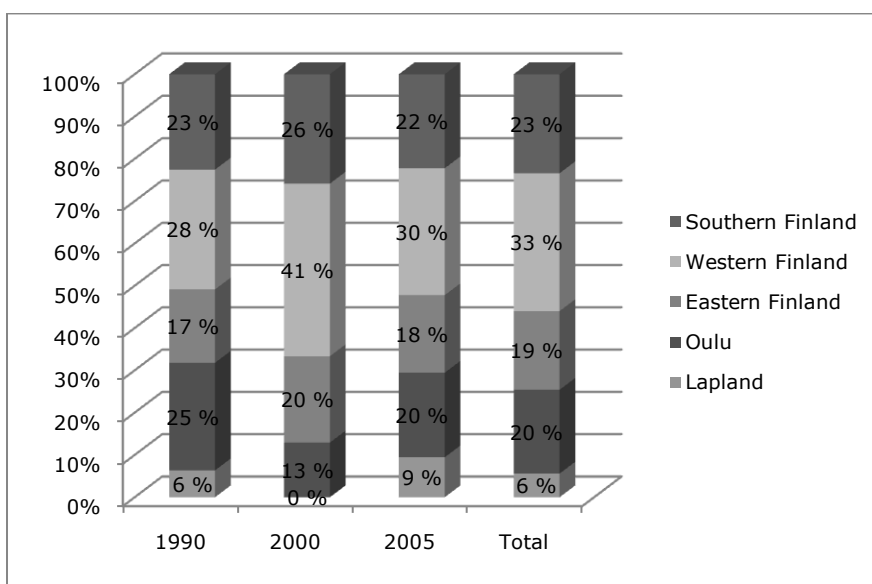
Figure 4.1. Data distribution according to Finnish provinces

53
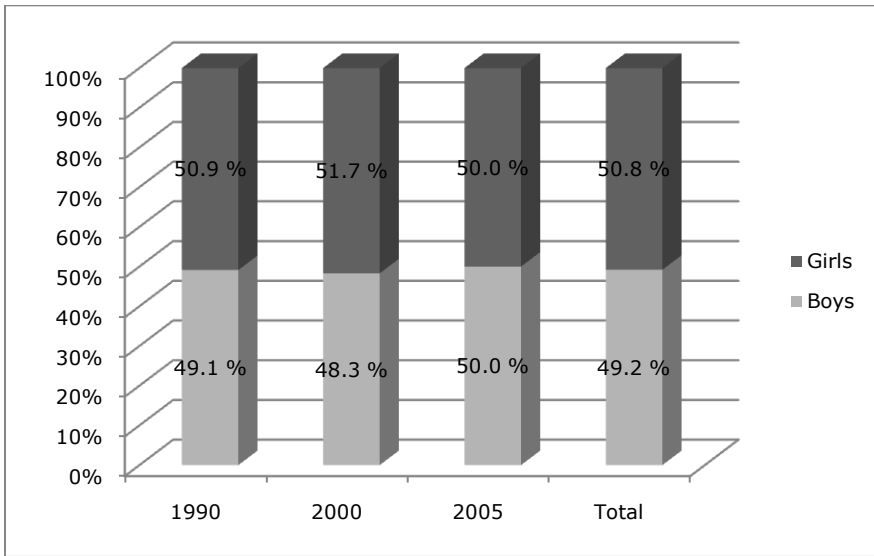
Figure 4.2. Data distribution according to writers' sex
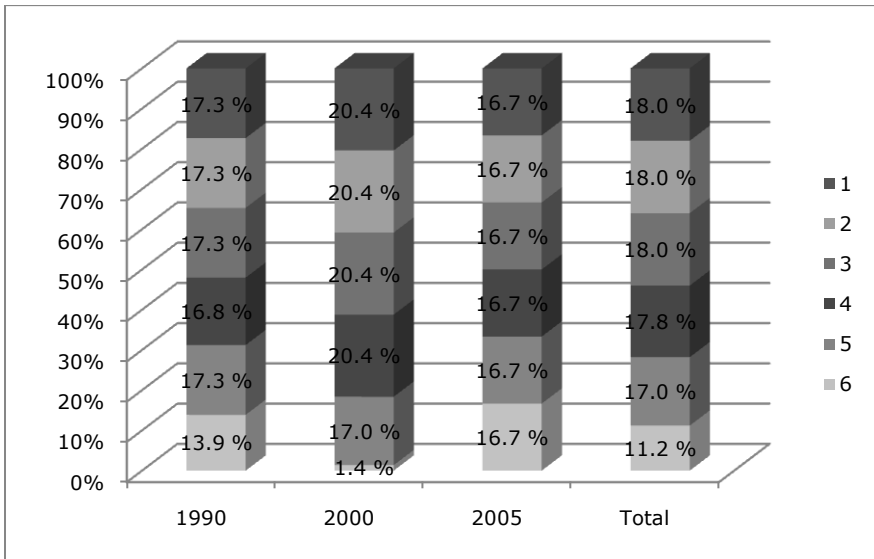
Figure 4.3. Data distribution according to point categories

A brief note should be made on the differing sizes of the samples from the three years (see table 4.3). Due to the fact that the archived material from 1990 and 2000 did not contain a sufficient number of compositions representing the lowest point categories, the samples from these two years are slightly smaller than the sample from 2005. The highest

and the middle point categories from all these three years are fully comparable as measured by both the number of compositions and word frequencies. According to the task instructions given by the Matriculation Examination board, the length of the compositions was limited to 150-200 words for the 1990 and 2000 examinations, but to 200-250 words for the 2005 examination. However, as table 4.3 shows, this does not seem to cause great variation in sample sizes; the calculated average length of a composition from 1990 and 2000 is 193 words as opposed to 196 words for a composition from 2005.

After a representative sample of compositions had been selected amongst the available material, an electronic corpus was created. Since the compositions were hand-written, they could not be scanned but had to be manually typed one by one. All errors occurring in the compositions were carefully maintained in the typing process. There were hardly any problems in interpreting the students' handwriting because the examination instructions advise them to hand in a clearly written, clean copy of their composition. The compositions were typed as plain text and tagged according to the transfer categories being examined (introduced in chapters 5 and 6) and writer information, which included the point category, writer's sex, school, year and topic. The search program used was sgrep (structured grep), which is a search tool for text files developed at the department of computer science at the university of Helsinki[11].

The corpus of this study is, thus, as representative as it was possible to obtain amongst the archived material of the Finnish Matriculation Examination board. Despite some differences in sample sizes, this corpus may be considered to reliably represent Matriculation Examination candidates of different levels throughout the country during the time period under investigation.

4.2.3 The comparison corpus

In order to verify which deviant patterns in Finnish students' writing are caused by L1 transfer, Finnish-speaking Matriculation Examination candidates are compared against Swedish-speaking candidates (to be further discussed in section 4.3). The comparison corpus for this study consists of compositions written by Swedish-speaking students, and it was compiled from the archived material of the Matriculation Examination board in December 2007.

Among the over 30,000 Matriculation Examination candidates taking the examination each year, approximately 6 per cent come from Swedish-speaking schools (Lukiokoulutus 2008). These schools are all situated in Western and Southern parts of Finland. Due to the relatively small proportion of the Swedish-speaking candidates in relation to the Finnish-speaking ones, the archived material only contained examinations from one or two Swedish-speaking schools from each year. Because of this, it was not possible to compile enough material from the Swedish-speaking candidates from the exact same years as from the Finnish-speaking candidates, but additional material had to be compiled from other years as well. This was sufficient for the needs of this study because the aim is not to examine possible development in the Swedish-speaking students' compositions during the investigated period, but simply to compile a

---

[11] Sgrep is freely downloadable at http://www.cs.helsinki.fi/u/jjaakkol/sgrep.html

representative corpus to be compared against the material from the Finnish-speaking students in order to confirm the presence or absence of certain deviant features amongst the L1 Swedish students.

The material for the comparison corpus is, therefore, compiled from compositions written between the years 1988 and 2006. As with the Finnish-speaking students' corpus, I aimed at obtaining a sample of 30 compositions (15 compositions from both male and female writers) representing each of the six point categories described in section 4.2.1, hence, altogether 180 compositions from Swedish-speaking candidates. These samples were compiled so that they would contain compositions written throughout the investigated time period. To ensure their even distribution, I aimed at gathering 10 compositions from each of the six point categories from each of the following time periods: 1988-1993, 1995-2000 and 2002-2006.

The fact that the Swedish-speaking students generally perform better in the Matriculation Examination than their Finnish-speaking peers (see chapter 3) constituted another challenge for the corpus compilation. Out of the available material, the great majority represented point categories 1–4. Only some compositions belonging to category 5 could be found, and none had obtained points lower than this. Hence, it was only possible to obtain full-sized samples representing point categories 1–4, while the sample representing category 5 was smaller. Due to the lack of weaker composition, the size of the whole corpus is 136 compositions. For the purposes of the present study, this comparison corpus is, nevertheless, large enough for enabling statistical comparisons between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking candidates. The compilation of the corpus is shown in table 4.4. A more detailed compilation is given in appendix 2.

Table 4.4. The compilation of the comparison corpus

	Point categories												
	1		**2**		**3**		**4**		**5**		**6**		**Total**	
	N	Words	N	Words	N	Words	N	Words	N	Words	N	Words	N	Words
1988-1993	10	2529	10	2332	10	2206	10	1965	7	1250	0	0	**47**	**10282**
1995-2000	10	1997	10	1872	10	1979	10	2059	5	1096	0	0	**45**	**9003**
2002-2006	10	2164	10	2089	10	1869	10	2005	4	813	0	0	**44**	**8940**
Total	**30**	**6690**	**30**	**6293**	**30**	**6054**	**30**	**6029**	**16**	**3159**	**0**	**0**	**136**	**28225**
%	23.7 %		22.3 %		21.5 %		21.4 %		11.2 %		0 %			

The material for the comparison corpus was selected by using the same three criteria as for the Finnish students' corpus: geographical distribution, writer's sex and the number of points the composition had received. Due to the facts that all the Swedish-speaking schools are situated in Western and Southern parts of Finland, and that there was a limited amount of archived material from these schools to begin with, it was not possible to obtain as wide a geographical distribution as with the Finnish-speaking students'

material. However, despite these limitations, I aimed at selecting the schools so that they represented different parts of the Swedish-speaking regions as well as possible. Due to privacy protection reasons, the names of the schools the data was obtained from cannot be revealed, but I can state that 50 % of the data come from Southern Finland, 49 % from Western Finland and 1 % from Åland. The schools were situated in both big cities and in small rural towns within these regions. With regard to the writer's sex, the corpus is evenly distributed: 49,3 % of the writers were females and 50,7 % were males. For point category distribution, as seen in table 4.4, 44 % of the material represents the highest two point categories, another 44 % the middle two point categories, while only 12 % belongs to the second lowest point category and none to the lowest point category.

As with the Finnish-speaking students' corpus, the Swedish-speaking students' compositions were similarly typed as text files and tagged according to writer information and the investigated transfer categories (see chapters 5 and 6). Despite certain limitations in sample sizes discussed above, this comparison corpus may be considered large enough and representative enough for the purposes of this study. The material in the comparison corpus constitutes approximately 27 % of the size of the Finnish-speaking students' corpus, which should well suffice for demonstrating possible differences between these two learner groups.

4.3 METHODS

Methodologically, this study represents two different approaches in transfer research outlined in section 2.1.4: the comparison of linguistic patterns between the learners' L1, TL and IL, and the comparison of IL patterns produced by two learner groups with a different L1. In this study, then, the identification of language transfer relies both on the comparison of deviant lexical and syntactic items or patterns found in the corpus with the corresponding Finnish items or patterns, and the comparison of TL usage by Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students.

Before discussing these methodological approaches in greater detail, a note should be made on the differentiation between lexical and syntactic transfer in this study. Differentiating between transfer effects in these two levels of language is not without problems because transfer as a phenomenon is not confined to only one or the other but it may influence both levels of language simultaneously. This study will, nevertheless, attempt to differentiate between lexical and syntactic transfer because one of its aims is to compare the development that has taken place in the students' lexical and syntactic transfer patterns. In this study, the distinction between lexical and syntactic transfer relies on the distinction between language learners' lexical knowledge in the L2 and their mastery of L2 syntax. As defined in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: 72), lexical transfer refers to "the influence of word knowledge in one language on a person's knowledge or use of words in another language" (see also section 2.2.1). In determining the scope of lexical transfer, I will draw upon works addressing L2 learners' lexical knowledge (to be discussed in section 5.1). By being able to identify what L2 learners' lexical knowledge consists of, I believe it is possible to differentiate which aspects of L1 transfer might be concerned with learners' lexical knowledge from those that involve their knowledge of

syntactic structures. Syntactic transfer will, thus, be understood as L1 influence in the students' formation of TL syntactic constructions. The scope of lexical and syntactic transfer will be further discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

With regard to the identification of language transfer, this study follows the methodological guidelines outlined in Jarvis (2000) within the limitations set by the material chosen for this study. As discussed in section 2.1.4, the reliable identification of language transfer ideally requires three types of evidence: *intra-L1-group-homogeneity* (i.e., learners with the same L1 behave in a similar manner when using the same TL), *inter-L1-group-heterogeneity* (i.e., learners with different L1s behave differently in their TL usage), and *intra-L1-group congruity* (i.e., learners' TL usage corresponds to the use of a particular feature in their L1) (see Jarvis 2000, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 32-51). Obtaining fully comparable data for the investigation of these three types of evidence would require data elicitation on the usage of specific lexical or syntactic patterns by two learner groups, both in their L1s and in the TL (cf. Jarvis 2000, Jarvis & Odlin 2000, Odlin & Jarvis 2004). With material consisting of naturalistic written language in archived examination papers, following these methodological guidelines in their strictest form has certain limitations. In free written language, the learners' lexical choices are extremely varied, and it is unlikely that multiple instances of transfer involving the same lexical items occur in the corpus. Consequently, intra-L1-group homogeneity and inter-L1-group heterogeneity can only be examined through the comparison of certain types of lexical transfer (e.g., lexical transfer relating to word semantics) instead of individual lexical items. Therefore, the identification of lexical transfer will primarily rely on intra-L1-group congruity. In the study of syntactic transfer, however, intra-L1-group homogeneity and inter-L1-group heterogeneity can be systematically examined because the written compositions the material consists of are likely to contain similar syntactic structures. The identification of syntactic transfer will, thus, equally rely on all three types of evidence proposed by Jarvis (2000).

A further note should be made on the investigation of intra-L1-group congruity in this study. Jarvis' (2000) original proposal of intra-L1-group congruity refers to learners' performance in both their L1 and in the TL, which would again require data elicitation from the learners on their usage of the investigated patterns in their L1 and in the TL. This is the most reliable means of identifying language transfer because, as pointed out in Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: 49), transfer originates from individual language users' knowledge of the source language, which may not be identical to grammatical descriptions provided by linguists. Since data elicitation on the learners' usage of the investigated patterns in their L1 is beyond the scope of this study, this study will use external descriptions of the learners' L1 as a basis for interpreting how the learners' knowledge of their L1 patterns may have influenced their usage of the corresponding TL patterns. With regard to lexical transfer, I will rely on my own intuition and knowledge as a native speaker of Finnish and consult dictionaries or grammar books where necessary in determining whether the items or patterns being examined are congruent with Finnish. The investigation of syntactic congruence between the investigated syntactic patterns and the corresponding Finnish patterns will rely on descriptive corpus-

based grammars of the Finnish language and, where necessary, studies conducted on the pertinent syntactic features in Finnish.

Furthermore, since the focus of this study is on negative transfer, this study will rely on descriptions of English in order to identify whether the investigated items or patterns deviate from the norms of standard English. In the description of the pertinent English patterns, this study will rely on descriptive corpus-based grammars of English. Although defining norms and errors in today's English usage is not straightforward, this study will nevertheless attempt to do so with respect to the investigated patterns. It should also be noted that in compositions written as a part of a formal written English examination, deviance from the norms of standard English is considered an error even though the forms in question may be acceptable in non-standard language usage or in some L2 varieties in English.

In the study of lexical transfer, L1 influence is identified primarily by relying on intra-L1-group congruity. More specifically, the identification of individual lexical transfer errors relies on contrastive descriptions of the corresponding Finnish and English lexical items or patterns. Admittedly, relying on contrastive descriptions alone does not rule out the possibility that some of the lexical errors interpreted as transfer do, in fact, also occur in the interlanguage of other L2 learners of English. This is generally acknowledged as the weakness of this contrastive approach (see, e.g., Odlin 1989: 28-35, 2003: 445-452, Jarvis 2000, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 27-60, Ellis 2008: 352-354), but it is nevertheless applied in many transfer studies and considered to provide important evidence for possible causes of learner errors. In this study, the relative frequency or infrequency of certain lexical error types in Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students' data is considered as additional evidence for L1 influence. It should also be pointed out that lexical transfer in Finnish learners of English has earlier been investigated in numerous studies (see, e.g., Ringbom 1987, 2007) which have exploited contrastive analyses as well as the comparison of different learner groups, which can be considered as further evidence for the presence of transfer in the students' usage of certain types of deviant lexical forms.

In the study of syntactic transfer, relying on other types of evidence besides Finnish-English contrastive comparisons is crucial in identifying the presence of transfer because syntactic transfer has been found to interact with learner universals, such as the overgeneralisation of TL rules (see section 2.2.2). As pointed out by Jarvis (2000: 254), the comparison of learner groups with different L1s "strengthens the argument for L1 influence because it essentially rules out developmental and universal factors as the cause of the observed IL behaviour". Reliable identification of syntactic transfer is all the more important in this study because, contrary to lexical transfer, there is little earlier research evidence to indicate which types of deviant syntactic patterns in Finnish ESL learners' interlanguage are transfer-induced. In this study, syntactic transfer will be identified through the following three-stage procedure. Preliminary selection of the syntactic features to be included in the study is done by identifying deviant or atypical syntactic features that most often occur in the corpus. These features are then analysed contrastively in order to determine whether differences between Finnish and English could motivate the deviant usage of these TL features in the corpus. Finally, to ascertain

that these features are transfer-induced, the comparison corpus by Swedish-speaking students is analysed. Statistical differences in the occurrence of these deviant features in the corpora by the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students are regarded as evidence for L1 influence.

The methodological approach applied in this study can be considered to represent methodological rigour in transfer studies (see Jarvis 2000) as closely as possible with naturalistic written material. Since evidence for intra-L1-group homogeneity cannot be statistically tested without elicited performance data where the lexical and syntactic options of the informants are more or less limited, intra-L1-group homogeneity will be examined indirectly in this study. According to Jarvis' (2000: 254) definition, "intra-L1-group homogeneity is found when learners who speak the same L1 behave in a uniform manner when using the L2". In naturalistic written material by learners of varying proficiency levels, the learners' lexical and syntactic choices are likely to display variation to such an extent that their behaviour cannot be characterised as uniform. However, I believe that certain learner behaviour may be characterised as common for a certain group if numerous similar instances clearly rise from the data and, especially, if such behaviour is seldom observed in the interlanguage of a learner group with a different L1. In this study, intra-L1-group homogeneity should, thus, become evident through the examination of inter-L1-group heterogeneity between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students. As to the evidence for inter-L1-group heterogeneity, the frequencies of occurrence of the investigated lexical and syntactic patterns in the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students' corpora will be statistically compared.

As discussed in section 2.1.4, these three types of transfer effects may interact with other variables, which is why these outside variables need to be addressed in a rigorous investigation of transfer (see Jarvis 2000). These variables include the following (from Jarvis 2000: 260-261):

1. Age
2. Personality, motivation and language aptitude
3. Social, educational and cultural background
4. Language background (all previous L1s and L2s)
5. Type and amount of TL exposure
6. Target language proficiency
7. Language distance between the L1 and TL
8. Task type and area of language use
9. Prototypicality and markedness of the linguistic feature

As discussed in Jarvis & Pavlenko (2008: 52-58), in order to account for the possible influence of these variables, they should be either eliminated from the study, held constant, randomly or equally distributed in the data, or actively investigated. As discussed in chapter 3, the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students have been investigated in many earlier studies and they can be considered ideal comparison groups in transfer studies in many important respects. To further ensure the comparability of the data in this study, these intervening variables will all be briefly addressed in the following. In this study, the age factor can be held constant because the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students are all third-year Upper Secondary school students in

Finland, who generally take the Matriculation Examination at the age of 18 or 19. The second variable, the learners' personality, motivation and language aptitude, may influence the TL usage of individual learners, but such individual variables are unlikely to play a role in this study because of the large database and the selection of the examined features among those that are common for a large number of learners. As discussed extensively in several earlier studies (see, e.g., Jarvis 2000, Ringbom 1987, 2007), Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns are fully comparable with regard to their social, educational and cultural background. The fourth factor, language background (including the learners' previous L1s and L2s), cannot be directly addressed in this study because relevant background information was not available. However, as described in section 4.2, the Finnish-speaking students enrolling for the A-level English examination have most likely studied English as their first foreign language, Swedish as their second foreign language, and some may have studied additional third or fourth foreign languages. The Swedish-speaking students taking the A-level examination in English are likely to have studied Finnish as their second language and English as the first foreign language. The Swedish-speaking students typically begin their English studies on the fifth grade of elementary school. Although they start learning English two years later than the Finnish-speaking students, the Swedish-speaking students have been found to catch up with their Finnish-speaking peers fast, and outperform them by the time of the Matriculation Examination (see Ringbom 1987, 2007). As to the L1s of the learners, although the data by Finnish-speaking students was selected from Finnish-speaking schools and the data by Swedish-speaking students from Swedish-speaking schools, it cannot be stated with confidence that Finnish or Swedish is the only L1 of the learners. Some of the students may come from bilingual families. This is especially the case with the Swedish-speaking Finns, who generally live in bilingual regions and are often competent in the majority language. This may be a factor impacting the generally higher performance of the Swedish-speaking learners in their acquisition of English (see Ringbom 1987, 2007). Whether their success in English acquisition is due to their bilinguality or L1–L2 cross-linguistic similarity or both, it affects this study because, as dicussed in section 4.2, the corpus by Swedish-speaking students does not contain any weak compositions. However, the effect of this variable can be addressed in the comparison of Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking learners by comparing the students accross the same proficiency ranges (according to the points the composition had received). This will also account for the sixth factor, possible differencs in the TL proficiency of the groups. Although many studies have used the number of years of TL instruction as an indicator of TL proficiency (cf. Jarvis 2000), in this study, the division of the compositions into different point categories may be used as a measure for the learners' TL proficiency because the evaluation is conducted objectively according to a a common set of criteria (see section 4.2). The fifth variable, the type and amount of TL exposure can be considered constant for Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students. However, as described in chapter 3, there are likely to be differences in the type and amount of TL exposure for the students from the different years. This has been controlled for by compiling approximately similar sized data samples from the different years for both learner groups (see section 4.2). The seventh variable, language distance between the L1

and the TL is addressed in this study by comparing learner groups whose L1s differ as to how distant they are from the TL, that is, Finnish is typologically distant from English whereas Swedish is typologically close to English (cf. Jarvis 2000). As to variable number 8, task type and area of language use, these can be held constant because the data from both groups derives from the same examination. Although the compositions written by Finnish-speaking and Swedish speaking students derive from different years and were written on differing topics, the task type has been similar throughout the years, which should be sufficient for ruling out any possible task effects. It is probably relatively safe to ignore the final variable, prototypicality and markedness, from this study because this study examines a variety of linguistic features that arise from the data, which are likely to contain both marked and unmarked ones.

For the statistical examination of the data, the frequencies of the investigated transfer patterns in each of the compositions will be entered into an excel data frame and analysed with the R program for statistical computing (see, e.g., Gries 2009). The comparisons of the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students, as well as of the samples from the years 1990, 2000 and 2005 in Finnish-speaking students' corpus, require using two types of statistical tests. Firstly, the comparison between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students will be conducted by using the Welch Two Sample t-test and the Mann-Whitney U-test, which are suitable for comparing two groups (see, e.g., Oakes 1998: 10-22). Two statistical tests will be used because the Welch Two Sample t-test assumes normal distribution of the data, a criterion which may not be met because the numbers of the investigated transfer patterns in each category per composition are likely to be relatively small. Therefore, the Mann-Whitney U-test will be used as a non-parametric alternative to the Welch Two Sample t-test, and its results will be reported if these two tests give similar results. In case the Welch Two Sample t-test and the Mann-Whitney U-test give different significance values, the results of both of these tests will be reported. Secondly, the comparison of the samples from the three different years within the Finnish corpus will be conducted by using the analysis of variance and the Kruskal-Wallis analysis of variance, which are suitable tests for the comparison of three or more groups (see, e.g., Oakes 1998: 22-24, Rietveld & Van Hout 2005: 125-131). Similarly, as the analysis of variance presupposes normal distribution of the data, the Kruskal-Wallis test is used as a non-parametric alternative because it makes no assumptions about data distribution. The reported results will refer to the Kruskal-Wallis test if they are similar with the results obtained through analysis of variance. The results of both of these tests will be reported in case of different significance values.

5 Lexical Transfer in the Written English of Finnish Students

This chapter presents qualitative and quantitative analysis of the instances of lexical transfer found in the corpus. It is divided into three main sections. Section 5.1 will first establish the framework for the investigation of lexical transfer and present the features of lexical transfer to be investigated in this study. The following sections will then present the data analysis. Section 5.2 discusses the frequencies of the lexical transfer patterns in the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students' corpora in order to provide evidence for the presence of transfer in the Finnish-speaking students' usage of the investigated lexical patterns. Section 5.3 explores the Finnish-speaking students' corpus data qualitatively and quantitatively in order to answer the first research question, which is concerned with how lexical transfer generally manifests itself in their written English. The frequencies of the observed transfer patterns in the samples from the three years under study will then be quantitatively and statistically examined in section 5.4, which thus addresses the second research question related to the possible changes that may have taken place in the data during the investigated period.

5.1 FEATURES OF LEXICAL TRANSFER TO BE INVESTIGATED

The aim of this section is to define the scope of lexical transfer, and to present the features of lexical transfer to be investigated in this study. In order to differentiate transfer phenomena that involve learners' lexical knowledge from those that are concerned with their mastery of syntactic structures, this study relies on previous work on L2 learners' lexical knowledge. L2 learners' lexical knowledge and its various components also offer a tool for grouping instances of lexical transfer according to which aspect of learners' lexical knowledge they involve, which enables a more precise analysis of the possible development in Finnish students' vocabulary skills in English. Section 5.1.1 will first discuss L2 learners' lexical knowledge in order to lay a foundation for the classification of lexical transfer, which will be presented in section 5.1.2.

5.1.1 Second language learners' lexical knowledge
During the past couple of decades, lexis has gained more prominence in SLA research. The development of L2 grammars has long been the focus of investigation within various

theoretical frameworks, but it is only recently that scholars have recognised the importance of lexis in SLA and how multidimensional L2 learners' lexical knowledge is.

Nation (e.g., 2001) is one of the scholars who has contributed to bringing lexis to the forefront in recent SLA research. L2 learners' lexical knowledge has been addressed in other works as well, such as Ringbom (1987), but Nation's (2001) model offers a more suitable basis for the investigation of lexical transfer in this study because it is based on more recent research and offers the most extensive account of the different aspects of L2 learners' lexical knowledge. Drawing on a large body of research conducted in the frameworks of SLA, child L1 acquisition and psycholinguistics, Nation (2001) proposes what lexical knowledge in a second language consists of. According to him, there are three different aspects involved in 'knowing a word'; at a general level, these are knowing the form, the meaning and the use of the word. Each of these three aspects of word knowledge is further divided into receptive and productive knowledge, the former being involved with perceiving a word while listening or reading and retrieving its meaning, whereas the latter involves wanting to express a meaning through speaking or writing and retrieving and producing the appropriate spoken or written form (Nation 2001: 24-25). These different aspects of word knowledge and their division into receptive and productive levels are presented in table 5.1.

Table 5.1. What is involved in knowing a word (Nation 2001: 27)

Form	Spoken	R [12]	*What does the word sound like?*
		P	*How is the word pronounced?*
	Written	R	*What does the word look like?*
		P	*How is the word written and spelled?*
	Word parts	R	*What parts are recognisable in this word?*
		P	*What word parts are needed to express the meaning?*
Meaning	Form and meaning	R	*What meaning does this word form signal?*
		P	*What word form can be used to express this meaning?*
	Concept and referents	R	*What is included in the concept?*
		P	*What items can the concept refer to?*
	Associations	R	*What other words does this make us think of?*
		P	*What other words could we use instead of this one?*
Use	Grammatical functions	R	*In what patterns does the word occur?*
		P	*In what patterns must we use this word?*
	Collocations	R	*What words or types of words occur with this one?*
		P	*What words or types of words must we use with this one?*
	Constraints on use (register, frequency…)	R	*Where, when and how often would we expect to meet this word?*
		P	*Where, when and how often can we use this word?*

---

[12] R = receptive knowledge, P = productive knowledge

Nation's (2001: 33-35) divisions of word knowledge into form, meaning and use are based on the type of learning that is the most effective for these aspects of vocabulary knowledge, implicit or explicit. Implicit learning generally refers to the type of learning that takes place without awareness, whereas explicit learning may be characterised as the kind of learning that learners are typically aware of (e.g., DeKeyser 2003). As described in DeKeyser (2003: 331-334), implicit processing is most suitable for learning concrete elements in a language and making associations between elements that occur in close proximity with each other, while explicit processing is most efficient for learning elements or sequences of elements that are more abstract, occur more rarely in a language, are more difficult to notice and are placed further away from one another in a sentence. Consequently, Nation's (2001) model differentiates between knowledge of word forms and word meanings because word forms, which tend to be relatively concrete, are best learnt implicitly, while the learning of word meanings, which often are more abstract, is most efficient when it takes place explicitly. The distinction between implicit and explicit learning also applies to the third aspect of word knowledge in Nation's (2001) classification, vocabulary use. The first two features of word use, i.e., knowledge of words' grammatical functions and appropriate collocations, are more likely to be learnt implicitly because they involve recognising patterns and making associations between closely occurring elements. The third feature of word use, i.e., the constraints on vocabulary use, involves more abstract aspects of language and, therefore, requires explicit learning (see Nation 2001: 33-35). Nation (2001: 34) acknowledges that all these aspects of vocabulary can be learnt both explicitly and implicitly, but his divisions are based on the type of learning that is the most effective for acquiring these different aspects of vocabulary knowledge. Incidentally, Nation's (2001) distinction between form-related aspects versus meaning-related and use-related aspects of words also corresponds to Jarvis' (2009) differentiation between lexemic and lemmatic transfer (see section 2.2.1). This distinction is based on the organisation of the mental lexicon, where lexemic information (i.e., orthographic and phonetic aspects of words) is stored separately from lemmatic information (i.e., semantic and syntactic properties of words). However, Jarvis' (2009) discussion of lexemic and lemmatic transfer only deals with implicit knowledge.

These three aspects of word knowledge presented in table 5.1 are further divided into knowledge of several different types of features. Firstly, the knowledge of word form is divided into knowledge of its spoken form, its written form and word parts. Knowledge of the spoken form of the word involves, on the receptive level, the ability to recognize the word when hearing it, and on the productive level, the ability to pronounce the word. As discussed in Nation (2001: 40), with regard to English, the ability to produce the word in its correct spoken form includes the ability to pronounce the sounds in the word as well as to place the stress appropriately. Learners' relative ease at learning the correct pronunciation of foreign language words is naturally also influenced by the similarity between L1 and L2 phonological and suprasegmental features (see Nation 2001: 40-41). The learning of the spoken forms of words also involves phonological short-term memory. For instance, a study by Service (1992) on young Finnish learners of English indicated a correlation between the learners' accuracy in repeating English pseudowords and their success in acquiring new vocabulary items in English during the first three

years of their studies. As also pointed out by Nation (2001: 43-44), the importance of phonological short-term memory is probably the greatest at the initial stages of learning, but as the learning progresses, L2 sound patterns become more familiar and this facilitates the learning of new words.

Knowledge of the written form of the word, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with knowing the correct spelling of the word. As Nation (2001: 45) points out, learners' accuracy in foreign language spelling is influenced by the regularity or irregularity of the TL spelling system. For example, learners of a TL that has irregular spelling, such as English, might be insecure of their spelling skills and use different strategies to hide their poor spelling, such as avoiding irregularly spelled words and favouring those that have a regular spelling. The ease at which learners can retrieve the written form of a word also depends on the representation they have of the phonological structure of the items in question (see Nation 2001: 45). This is evident in Ringbom's (1987) comparison of the spelling errors produced by Finnish-speaking Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns (see also chapter 3). The accurate spelling skills of the Finnish-speaking learners suggests that, as speakers of a language which has a near-phonemic spelling system, the learners may store English words in their memory as they are spelled, while the Swedish-speaking learners tend make more spelling errors that represent the phonological form of English words (Ringbom 1987: 73-76, 91-92).

In addition to knowing the spoken and written forms of words, knowing the various parts the word consists of is one component in the knowledge of word forms. As Nation (2001: 46-47) suggests, learners' familiarity with different affixes and word stems greatly facilitates their acquisition of new vocabulary. This is especially the case with English, in which derivational affixes and often Latin or Greek based word stems are very common building blocks of vocabulary. Knowing these various word parts is important for vocabulary processing, as storing a limited number of productive affixes and stems is more efficient than storing each word as a whole (e.g., *un + pleasant + ness* vs. *unpleasantness*) (Nation 2001: 47). Nation (2001: 47) argues that vocabulary knowledge also involves knowing the members of word families, such as various derivations of verbs (e.g., *mend*, *mended*, *mending*, *mender*, *unmendable*). This is based on the organisation of the mental lexicon according to word families. This has been tested, for instance, by Nagy *et al*. (1989), who investigated whether the speed at which a word is recognised depends on the frequency of the given word alone (e.g., *decide*) or whether the frequency of all the members in the word family together affects the speed of recognition (e.g., *decide*, *decided*, *decision*). They discovered that language users rely on these inflectional and derivational relationships when they come across an individual member of a word family.

The second aspect of word knowledge, the knowledge of word meaning, is equally divided into three sub-components: the connection between form and meaning, knowledge of the concept and referents, and knowledge of word associations (see table 5.1). The first of these, the connection between form and meaning, involves knowing both a word form and a concept, and the ability to correctly combine these two. The speed at which learners can retrieve an appropriate word form when wanting to express a certain meaning or retrieve the meaning when hearing or seeing the word form depends on the

strength of the connection between forms and meanings, which is enhanced through repeated encounters with and usage of the word (Nation 2001: 48). As also pointed out in Nation (2001: 48), it is easier for learners to make connections between L2 word forms and meanings if the word forms resemble the corresponding L1 forms and the semantic ranges of the L1 and L2 words are similar. This is obvious when one considers the relative ease at which L1–L2 cognates or loan words can be acquired as opposed to words that have both different forms and different semantic ranges and connotations, as, for example, evident in studies conducted by Ringbom (e.g., 1987) on Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students acquisition of English vocabulary (see sections 2.3.1 and chapter 3).

The second component in learners' semantic knowledge is knowing the concept and referents a particular word form refers to. One word form in a language can be used to refer to a variety of meanings, some of which are more different from each other (e.g. *the bank of a river* vs. *the national bank*) whereas some have a clear relationship (e.g., *a person's head* and *the head of a school*) (Nation 2001: 49). Nation (2001: 50-51) discusses two different ways of acquiring words with multiple meanings. L2 learners may either learn the various meanings individually, such as the meanings of the English word *fork*, which may refer to the fork we eat with (cf. Fi. *haarukka*) or the fork in a road (cf. Fi. *haara*). Alternatively, learners may infer the appropriate context-specific meanings of a word from their common underlying meaning (e.g., *fork* = two-pronged shape). Learners' knowledge of the concept and referents of L2 words is often influenced by their knowledge of the corresponding L1 words, which may differ in their semantic ranges and cause learners to use L2 words in an extended sense or narrow their use down to a fewer number of referents.

Besides knowing the concept and referents of a word, learners will also have to be aware of its various associations. Associative knowledge relates to how the lexicon is organised. This has been addressed, for example in Miller and Fellbaum (1991), who propose a model for the hierarchical organisation of English nouns, adjectives and verbs. Nouns may be organised into semantic hierarchies, such as hyponyms (e.g., *canary*) and hypernyms (e.g., *bird*), and divided into parts (e.g., *bird*, *beak*, *wing*), attributes (e.g., *canary* = *small*) and functions (e.g., *knife – cut*) (Miller & Fellbaum 1991: 204-209). Adjectives may be divided into predicative and non-predicative ones based on their semantic and syntactic organisation. Unlike predicative adjectives, non-predicative adjectives cannot be used as the predicate of a sentence (e.g., *the former champion* vs. **the champion is former*) and they are not gradable (e.g., **the extremely natal day*) (Miller & Fellbaum 1991: 209-214). Verbs may also be organised into complex semantic hierarchies. For example, the hypernym *motion* may be divided into *move* (make a movement) and *move* (travel, displace), the latter of which includes *walk*, which may be further divided into different manners of walking, such as *march*, *strut*, *slouch* and *stroll* (Miller & Fellbaum 1991: 214-226). L2 learners' word associations have been examined, for example, by Meara (e.g., 2007) in the attempt to discover if the lexical organisation of L1 and L2 speakers is different, and if word associations can be used to measure the depth of L2 learners' lexical knowledge and its development.

The final aspect in learners' lexical knowledge is the knowledge of word use. This consists of knowing the grammatical functions of a word, its collocations and constraints on its use (see table 5.1). Knowing the grammatical functions of a word may be regarded as a part of learners' lexical knowledge because in the light of recent theories, lexical elements contain aspects of syntactic information. For example, Levelt's (1989) model of speech processing maintains that the choice of particular lexical elements influences the overall syntactic structure of a sentence (see also Nation 2001: 34-40 for a discussion of this model). Learning the grammatical functions of L2 words is greatly influenced by L1-L2 parallels. Nation (2001: 56) points out that if a word with roughly the same meaning in L1 and L2 requires the same grammatical patterns the learning task will be easier, but if the grammatical behaviour of these words is very different learners are faced with a more challenging task.

Another important component in knowing how a word is used is knowing its collocations, that is, knowing the words that typically occur with it (e.g., whether it is more idiomatic to say, for example, *speedy food*, *quick food* or *fast food*) (Nation 2001: 56). This is a feature that often distinguishes even very advanced L2 learners from native speakers. As argued, for example, in Pawley and Syder (1983), language users tend to rely on memorised sequences instead of constructing a sentence out of a non-finite number of words. Hence, there is nothing wrong with saying *heavy wind* and *strong rain* as such, but native speakers of English just tend to say *heavy rain* and *strong wind*. Storing lexical elements as sequences greatly reduces processing time, makes our speech fluent and makes us sound like native speakers of a particular language (see Nation 2001: 56-57, 317-343). As has been proposed by, for example, N. C. Ellis (2003: 75-78), L2 learners also rely on regular sequences, or *chunks*, when processing L2 input. However, as discussed in Nation (2001: 324-328), L1–L2 similarity plays an important role in the acquisition of correct L2 collocations in that the learning task will be greater if the L2 pattern is not predictable on the basis of previous linguistic knowledge.

The final feature that relates to L2 learners' knowledge of word use is knowing the constraints on the use of particular words (see table 5.1). According to Nation (2001: 57-58), these constraints may refer to the social and culture-bound appropriateness of words, as in the case of the word *old*, which is often replaced by euphemisms in English but in some cultures it contains the connotations of wisdom and respect. Another constraint on word use is the typical frequency of a word, that is, whether the word is a high-frequency or a low-frequency word. Overusing low-frequency words in the TL may be stylistically inappropriate, such as in using *bifurcate* to refer to the branching off of a road (Nation 2001: 57-58). Such errors in learners' production may, for example, arise from the over-emphasis of low-frequency words in language teaching, or from the learners' mere reliance on translation equivalents provided by dictionaries.

As the above discussion indicates, L2 learners' lexical knowledge is more multi-dimensional than has previously been thought. Traditionally, language competence has been equated with knowing the grammar of a language, and vocabulary has been considered to be of secondary importance. The dominant role of grammar can be seen in teaching methods such as the audio-lingual method and the grammar-translation method, which were popular before communicative language teaching was introduced in the

1970s. Yet, the traditional view of the priority of grammar in language teaching is likely to have persisted in the attitudes of many language teachers. The work by Nation and other scholars challenges this tenacious view by suggesting that lexical knowledge consists of much more than merely knowing translation equivalents for L1 words; it includes aspects such as knowledge of word building, concepts, associations, collocations, sociolinguistic appropriateness and grammatical functions of words, which have generally been given less space in language teaching.

By offering a detailed description of L2 learners' vocabulary knowledge, Nation's (2001) work also provides a means for defining the scope of lexical transfer. Moreover, the divisions between different aspects of vocabulary knowledge are a useful basis for more detailed categorisation of the lexical transfer phenomena found in the data. The investigated lexical transfer patterns and their classification will be discussed in the following section.

5.1.2 The classification of lexical transfer

This section presents the classification for the instances of lexical transfer found in the corpus. The selection of the features of lexical transfer to be investigated relies on my previous research (Meriläinen 2006), which was partially based on the same data as this study. This classification is primarily data-driven, but some categories have been adopted from previous works on lexical transfer by other scholars (e.g., Ringbom 1987). The categories of lexical transfer adopted from Meriläinen (2006) will be grouped under the three aspects of L2 learners' lexical knowledge described in Nation (2001): word form, word meaning and word use (see table 5.2 below). Word form will comprise transfer categories that relate to the students' incomplete knowledge of English word forms, word meaning will include categories that are concerned with the transfer of L1 semantics and, finally, word use will entail transfer phenomena that affect the students' usage of English words, including aspects such as word functions and appropriate word combinations. It should be noted here that the transfer categories this study focuses on do not cover all the aspects of Nation's (2001) description of lexical knowledge, nor are they intended to do so. Nation's (2001) model of vocabulary knowledge is used as a framework for grouping data-induced transfer categories in order to enable a more detailed analysis of the transfer phenomena. This study will not further examine features of Nation's (2001) classification which fall outside the scope of the transfer categories found in the corpus (see table 5.2), such as the knowledge of the spoken form of words, which cannot be investigated with written material, and the knowledge of word associations and word frequencies, which cannot be accessed with the methods of this study. It is also noteworthy that the classification applied in this study bears some resemblance to the classification of lexical transfer applied in Ringbom (1987), who also distinguishes between lexical errors involving word forms and word meanings. However, Ringbom's classification covered a fewer number of transfer categories than this study, which were placed along the form-meaning axis, and his work did not extensively discuss other aspects of L2 learners' vocabulary knowledge. Therefore, the work by Nation (2001) was considered to be a more suitable starting point for the classification of lexical transfer because of its more extensive discussion of L2 learners' lexical knowledge, which allows

for making more fine-grained distinctions between the different lexical transfer phenomena observed in the data.

Table 5.2. Classification for lexical transfer

Word knowledge	Transfer categories
Word form	1. Substitutions
	2. Relexifications
	3. Orthographic transfer
	4. Phonetic transfer
	5. Morphological transfer
Word meaning	6. Loan translations
	7. Semantic extensions
Word use	8. Collocations
	9. Functional transfer

The five categories under word form are all, in one way or another, concerned with the students' usage of incorrect word forms in English. However, these categories differ from one another as to the aspects of language that have been transferred from Finnish. *Substitutions*[13], as the name implies, involve the substitution of an English word with a Finnish one. This type of L1 influence has previously been investigated, for example, by Ringbom (1985, 1987, 2007), who refers to it as *complete language shift* and defines it as the usage of an L1 item in L2 in an unmodified form (1987: 116). Ringbom has investigated substitutions, along with other types of lexical transfer, in Finnish students' written English production and his findings are in accordance with mine (Meriläinen 2006) – Finnish students very seldom transfer their L1 words in an unmodified form into English for the obvious reason that the similarities between Finnish and English word forms are very rare. In my previous study, I found a few instances of substitutions which, understandably, mostly involved the transfer of words that were of foreign origin in Finnish (example 5.1). Hence, it appears that Finnish students tend to be wary of transferring words that are of Finnish origin, but they find foreign-based L1 words more transferable. Substitutions also occurred with some proper names, like place names (example 5.2). These may occur when the students are not familiar with the English translations of the Finnish proper names in question.

---

[13] A note should be made on the terminology used in the present study and in my previous work. In Meriläinen (2006), I adopted terminology from the field of language contact studies and used the different switch and loan types from Lauttamus (1990) as transfer categories. In this framework, substitutions were called *code-mixes*. The phenomenon in question is the same; in language contact literature, code-mix refers to a single word that is not morphologically and/or syntactically integrated into the TL (Lauttamus 1990: 25). Despite the fact that this type of lexical borrowing has been studied more extensively within the field of language contact studies than within SLA framework, adopting this terminology would be somewhat problematic when investigating lexical transfer because Lauttamus' (1990) model also takes the syntactic integration of the transferred elements into consideration. Therefore, I prefer to use terminology that is more specific to the study of lexical transfer in SLA context.

(5.1)   Eating healthy food, not smoking, drinking alcohol or using drugs, excercising and taking care of *hygienia* are just another part of healthy life (pro *hygiene*, cf. Fi. *hygienia*)

(5.2)   These areas, such and archipelago and *Ahvenanmaa*, are quite isolated from the mainland (pro *the Åland islands*, cf. Fi. *Ahvenanmaa*)

The second transfer category, *relexifications*[14], is similar to substitutions in the sense that the students have used an L1 word form in English, but instead of using it in an unmodified form, they have tailored it to look like an English word. As Ringbom (2007: 82) defines it, "a word from another language is modified phonologically to fit in better with assumed TL norms". Like substitutions, L1-based relexifications are equally rare in Finnish students' written English production (Ringbom 1987, 2007, Meriläinen 2006). This type of transfer requires that the L1 word must, in the learner's mind, bear some resemblance to TL words so as to appear as a reliable source for modification. There are very few word forms in Finnish that offer potential for such relexification. Therefore, the relexifications found in Meriläinen (2006) were mostly concerned with words that were of foreign origin in Finnish. For example:

(5.3)   The usual pets are dogs, cats, mouses, fishes, *undulates*, and so on (pro *budgerigars*, cf. Fi. *undulaatti*)

(5.4)   Maybe you don't even want to see tarantullas, snakes, *varans*, rats and so on (pro *monitors*, cf. Fi. *varaani*)

The third transfer category, *orthographic transfer*, refers to the influence of L1 spelling conventions in the students' written English production. Meriläinen (2006) indicated orthographic transfer to be common for Finnish students. There were three features of Finnish orthography that the students were frequently transferring into English; the usage of compound words, certain rules regarding the usage of capital letters and the replacement of certain letters with their typical Finnish equivalents.

Finnish students' problems with compound words can be traced back to Finnish word building tendencies. Compounding is one of the most central means for word building in the Finnish language (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 388-433). The different parts of compound words can either be in a semantically unsymmetrical or symmetrical relationship. In semantically unsymmetrical compounds, one word defines another (e.g., *jääkimpale*, ice + chunk, 'a chunk of ice') and the compound is spelled as one single lexical unit (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 396-415). If the parts of the compound are in a semantically

---

[14] In Meriläinen (2006) relexifications were called *nonce loans*, which is again a term adopted from the field of language contact studies. Nonce loan means that the transferred item is morphologically and syntactically integrated into English (Lauttamus 1990: 43). The process behind nonce loans and what Ringbom (1987) calls relexifications is basically the same; L1 item is modified to suit the structure of the TL.

symmetrical relationship with each other (e.g., *musta-puna-keltainen*, 'black-red-yellow'), the various parts of the word are often hyphenated (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 416-418). Compound words can be further expanded to form complex compound words, with practically no grammatical restrictions. Three or four-part compounds are no rarity (e.g., *lainmuutosesitys*, law-[GEN]+change+proposal, 'a proposal for law reform'); *sähköparranajokone*, electric+beard-[GEN]+shaving+machine, 'electric razor') (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 388, 393). More complex compounds tend to be less frequent, albeit such cumbersome compounds as in *neliväriarkkirotaatiolaakaoffsetpainokone* (four + colour + sheet + rotation + flat + offset + printing + machine, 'rotary flat-bed machine for four-colour printing') are technically possible (*ibid*.). Therefore, it is no surprise that Finnish learners of English tend to have difficulties with English spelling. In Meriläinen (2006), two or more English words were often spelled as one lexical unit in Finnish students' writing. This is exemplified in (5.5) and (5.6).

(5.5)   A. Man has made *stoneknives* and *stoneaxes* for hunting (cf. Fi. *kiviveitsi*, *kivikirves*)

(5.6)   I like the idea of *marriedcouple* because it feels much more like real love when you keep a wedding and be with your partner on real (cf. Fi. *aviopari*)

Another area in Finnish spelling that has proven to be a frequent source for confusion for Finnish students is the differing rules for the usage of capital letters (examples 5.7 and 5.8). Contrary to English, the names of nationalities, languages, week days and public holidays, to name but a few, are spelt with lower-case letters in Finnish. As a result, Finnish students often violate orthography rules in English by spelling these words incorrectly, and are often unable to even spell their own nationality correctly, as example (5.8) indicates.

(5.7)   I didn't know *spanish* and my friend couldn't talk *english* or *germany* very well (pro *Spanish*, *English*, *German*, cf. Fi. *espanja*, *englanti*, *saksa*)

(5.8)   Animals have always been very important in *finnish* families (pro *Finnish*, cf. Fi. *suomalaisissa*)

A further feature in the students' spelling of English words that is influenced by Finnish is the replacement of certain letters with their typical Finnish equivalents. This tends to occur with words that are loan words in Finnish but have been phonologically modified to fit the Finnish norms better (examples 5.9 and 5.10). The letter *c* is a case in point; it is of foreign origin in Finnish, occurs very seldom and even then mostly in loanwords and some proper names. In many Finnish loanwords, *c* has been replaced with the more common *k* or *s*. Therefore, Finnish students tend to extend this analogy into many English words as well, thereby replacing *c* with the more familiar *k* or *s*.

(5.9)   We are treating animals like somekind of *elektronic* equipment (pro *electronic*, cf. Fi. ele**k**troninen)

(5.10)   Man can get economical and *sosial* benefit from animals (pro *social*, cf. Fi. so**s**iaalinen)

The fourth transfer category, *phonetic transfer*, refers to instances in which phonetic differences between Finnish and English affect the students' spelling of English words. In Meriläinen (2006), two types of phonetic influences were found to be the cause of spelling mistakes in the students' production. The first of them is concerned with stress patterning. Finnish is a syllable-timed language, which places stress on the first syllable of the word. Therefore, it is no surprise that Finns experience difficulties with the varying stress patterns of English. This is clearly audible in the spoken English of Finns, one of the most prominent features of which is placing the stress on the first syllable of the word and pronouncing each sound and syllable unreduced (see Ringbom 1987: 80-90). Not only does the Finnish stress pattern influence the oral production of Finnish learners of English, but it is sometimes reflected in their written English production as well. Finns tend to associate stress with a word boundary, which is why they may have difficulties in perceiving the first unstressed syllables of English words and falsely assume that the words are spelt as in the following examples:

(5.11)   I am *shamed* to even admit it (pro *ashamed*)

(5.12)   The biggest problem of present-day people is ever *creasing* pollution (pro *increasing*)

Another type of phonetic transfer occurred with the voiced/voiceless distinction. Finnish has no phonological opposition between the voiced and voiceless plosives *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*, and *k* and *g*, but uses the voiceless *p*, *t* and *k* instead. The voiced plosives *b*, *d* and *g* do not originally occur in Finnish, but have entered the Finnish language through foreign-based loan words. The voiced plosives are relatively rare in Finnish, and tend to be replaced with their voiceless counterparts, especially in spoken Finnish. With English, Finns have the tendency to hear the voiced sounds as voiceless and replace them with the voiceless ones in spoken and sometimes even in written production. This could be seen in my data in examples such as:

(5.13)   Hunting is a very popular *hoppy* (pro *hobby*)

(5.14)   In lands like Asia and Afrika which are poor and political *unstaple* crisies can make wars that infects in Europe and USA too (pro *unstable*)

The examples in the categories of orthographic transfer and phonetic transfer are, thus, concerned with L1-induced spelling errors. Since English spelling is very irregular in

terms of sound-symbol correspondence, Finnish students may also misspell English words because they have been influenced by their pronunciation (e.g., *enything* pro *anything*; *mast* pro *must*; *ones* pro *once*). However, these types of spelling errors are common to most L2 learners and native speakers of English (see, e.g., Ringbom 1987: 73-75), and will, therefore, be excluded from this study.

The final transfer category that is concerned with word form is *morphological transfer*. In its broadest sense, morphological transfer means the transfer of L1 morphemes into the L2. Ever since Weinreich's (1953) influential work, morphological transfer between two languages has generally been considered very rare. Within SLA research, some scholars have even argued it to be virtually non-existent (e.g., Dulay *et al.* 1982). However, these claims were put forward in the 1970s, when research into the universal aspects of the SLA process had started to gain ground and the whole concept of language transfer was called into question. More recent research on language learners whose L1s are morphologically rich, such as Finnish is, has indicated that morphemes are transferable between languages. For example, Jarvis and Odlin (2000) have discovered that Finnish learners of English frequently make interlingual identifications between Finnish bound morphology and English prepositions. Their observations are similar to mine (Meriläinen 2006); the students frequently transferred the semantic contents of Finnish case endings into English, resulting in the choice of a wrong preposition or the addition of plural or genitive inflection into contexts where they should not be used (e.g., *20 per cent's rate of interest*, cf. Fi. *kahdenkymmenen prosentin korko*, twenty-[GEN.] per cent-[GEN] rate of interest). Some of these instances are concerned with syntax, but the students' addition of plural endings into English words can be seen to involve their knowledge of the word parts the corresponding Finnish words contain. Since the knowledge of word parts may be regarded as a part of learners' lexical knowledge (Nation 2001), the following types of transfer instances will be classified as lexical transfer:

(5.15) *Furnitures*, for example, are usually made in big factories or in the Third World (pro *furniture*, cf. Fi. *huonekalut*)

(5.16) They have been used many kind of jobs, like among *blinds* (pro *the blind*, cf. Fi. *sokeat*)

In the five transfer categories described above, Finnish influence had, in one way or another, influenced formal features of words in the students' written English production. Another type of L1 influence occurs when the word forms as such are correct but they do not signal the meanings the students assume them to signal. This is the case with *loan translation*s (i.e., literal translations of multi-word units) and *semantic extensions* (i.e., extensions of L2 word meanings), both of which are concerned with semantic L1 influence. Both loan translations and semantic extensions have been studied by several scholars. Their study began in the context of language contact studies (see, e.g., Weinreich 1953), where they have long been investigated as one type of lexical influence languages can exert on one another. In the SLA context, the study of loan translations and semantic extensions was first associated with error analysis framework, because this type

of lexical influence in learner language often results in expressions which break TL norms (see, e.g., James 1998). In the Finnish context, Ringbom (1987) has studied lexical errors made by Finnish learners of English and he discovered that, formal similarities between Finnish and English word forms being so rare, semantic L1 influence in the form of loan translations and semantic extensions is almost the only way in which Finnish influence manifests itself in the written English of Finnish students. However, my 2006 study indicated that semantic transfer, albeit very common, is not, by far, the only type of lexical transfer in the written English of today's Finnish students. In this study, these two types of L1 influence will be examined under learners' knowledge of word meaning (see table 5.2).

Loan translation, as defined by Ringbom (1987: 117), means that the "semantic properties of one item are transferred in a combination of lexical items". This happens, for instance, when a learner literally translates L1 compound words or idiomatic expressions into the L2. Very often the transferred words or phrases do not exist in the TL or they may have a different meaning. The following examples from my corpus illustrate this.

(5.17)   I know that it's hard to bring your own pet to *animaldoctor* (pro   *vet*, cf. Fi. *eläinlääkäri*)

(5.18)   In farm lives dogs and cats, of course, maybe they both *spend* there *cat's days* (pro *lead an easy life*, cf. Fi. *viettää kissanpäiviä*)

Idioms, as in example (5.18), are a somewhat ambiguous category in a language because they involve both lexical and syntactic features. Therefore, the fact that they will be classified under lexical transfer in this study warrants a brief justification. Idioms consist of units longer than a single word, but they cannot be defined as independent phrases or sentences, either. Instead of being constrained by general syntactic rules, idioms are subject to morpho-syntactic and lexical restrictions of their own (see, for example, Nenonen 2002: 7-12). The classic example *kick the bucket* is a case in point; it does not allow pluralisation (*kick the buckets) or passivisation (**The bucket was kicked*), nor can any of its constituents be replaced by another one (*push the bucket) without its meaning being changed. Moreover, from a semantic perspective, idioms can be seen to form units of their own because, instead of being processed as literal meanings of the individual words they consist of, they tend to be stored in the mental lexicon as entities (Nenonen 2002: 34-35). Therefore, despite the fact that idioms have syntactic aspects, they can be regarded as independent lexical, and possibly also semantic, units. With regard to the loan translations investigated in this study, they are concerned with the meanings the students are trying to express in English, not with their mastery of English syntactic constructions, and will, therefore, be investigated under semantic lexical transfer.

Semantic extensions occur when the learner takes the semantic properties of an L1 word, transfers them to a previously known L2 word and uses it in an extended sense (Ringbom 1987: 116). This can be seen in the following two examples from my corpus.

(5.19)   The cat climbs beside man and lies down as near to man as possible starting to *spin* (pro *purr*, cf. Fi. *kehrätä* 'spin' and 'purr')

(5.20)   If they have pet, it's painful for them and they have to *lose* it (pro *put to sleep*, cf. Fi. *hävittää* 'lose' or *lopettaa* 'stop')

As the above examples show, the students' incomplete knowledge of what the English word forms *spin* and *lose* refer to has led them to overgeneralise the broader semantic range of the L1-based concepts, *kehrätä* and *hävittää*, into English.

The final two transfer categories observed in this study are concerned with the learners' knowledge of word use in English. As Nation (2001: 56) defines it, the knowledge of word use involves knowing the grammatical functions of a word, its collocations and constraints on its use (see section 5.2). Two transfer categories from Meriläinen (2006) clearly fall under this definition. The first of these is the students' incorrect usage of *collocations* in English (category 8). The choice of the collocating words may sometimes be determined by the L1 of the learners. In my corpus, this occurred when the students had chosen an incorrect translation equivalent for L1 collocations. This is illustrated in examples (5.21) and (5.22).

(5.21)   Most people have made a living to *bring up* animals (pro *rear*, cf. Fi. *kasvattaa* 'grow', 'bring up', 'rear')

(5.22)   Everybody must *do* their choice theirselves (pro *make*)

As shown in these examples, the incorrect collocations the students had chosen were semantically close to the correct English collocations. As Finnish has only one translation equivalent for these two English words (as in (5.21) *kasvattaa*), Finnish students have picked one English word and extended its use into different contexts (in this case, *bring up* to refer to the rearing of animals). This is also the case with the English verbs *do* and *make*, which Finnish students often confuse (example 5.22). In Finnish, there is only one verb, *tehdä*, which corresponds to these two verbs and this might sometimes make Finnish learners of English forget that in English they have two verbs to choose from. It must be pointed out that the examples in this category may formally resemble some of the examples in the two categories of semantic transfer. However, the difference is that the students' usage of incorrect collocations in English does not involve their knowledge of word meanings (for instance, the English verbs *do* and *make* have almost the same semantic content), but rather the knowledge of the contexts in which these words should be used.

Another transfer category concerned with word use is *functional transfer*. This involves learners' knowledge of the grammatical functions of L2 words. Functional transfer is concerned with *function words* (i.e., words that contain information about the grammatical properties of the expressions within a sentence) as opposed to *content words* (i.e., words that have a descriptive, lexical content, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives) (Radford 1997: 45). Sometimes function words in L1 and L2, despite having the same translation

equivalents, may allow different kinds of grammatical patterns. Functional transfer[15] occurs when learners assume L2 words have the same grammatical functions as their L1 equivalents do and extend their use into contexts where they should not be used. In Meriläinen (2006), functional transfer was the most frequent type of lexical transfer observed in the data. Instances of functional transfer involved many types of function words, such as relative, indefinite and reflexive pronouns (examples 5.23-25).

(5.23) Only thing *what* I can blame is me (pro *that*, -, cf. the Finnish relative pronoun *mitä* (mikä-[PAR]) 'what')

(5.24) Then we imagined we will buy *some* a little cottage where we live with our two cats (pro *a little cottage*, cf. Fi. **jonkun** *pienen mökin*)

(5.25) I could feel *myself* too lonely (pro *feel*, cf. Fi. *tuntea itsensä* 'feel + reflexive pronoun')

In example (5.23), the student has transferred the Finnish relative pronoun *mikä* into English, its translation equivalent being *what*. In example (5.24), in addition to using the indefinite article, the student has also inserted the word *some*, which derives from the Finnish word *joku* 'some'. Finnish does not have an article system but expresses definiteness or indefiniteness through other means, such as word order or by using, for example, the words *yksi* 'one', *joku* 'some' or *se* 'it'. In example (5.25), the student has added a reflexive pronoun after the verb *feel* because the equivalent Finnish expression contains a reflexive pronoun.

These 9 categories of lexical transfer described above all stem from my previous work on the 1990 and 2000 samples of my corpus. In this study, the integration of Nation's (2001) work into the classification of lexical transfer enables not only a more solid differentiation between lexical and syntactic transfer, but also a more detailed classification of the lexical transfer phenomena observed in the data. With the grouping of the transfer categories under word form, word meaning and word use, it is possible to observe how these three aspects of word knowledge may have developed during the period under investigation.

5.2 COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE FINNISH-SPEAKING AND SWEDISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS

As discussed in section 4.3, the identification of lexical transfer with regard to individual lexical items relies on Finnish-English contrastive descriptions. This comparison of the

---

[15] Jarvis has also used the term *functional transfer* to refer to similar kind of transfer phenomena as described in this study, i.e., transfer related to grammatical functions but not referential meaning. According to him, functional transfer involves imposing L1-based grammatical functions on L2 function words. However, Jarvis has not used this term in any of his publications (Scott Jarvis, personal communication, 2.2.2006). Thus, to the best of my knowledge, the only published work where this term has previously been used is Meriläinen (2008), which is based on this study.

pertinent lexical items will be presented in connection with the data analysis in section 5.3. In order to provide additional evidence for L1 influence, the frequencies of the different lexical transfer types were compared in the corpora from Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students. Table 5.3 below shows the frequencies of these lexical transfer types per 10,000 words among these two learner groups. Statistical significance values are given in the final column of the table. As discussed in section 4.2.2 and 4.3, since the corpus from Swedish-speaking students primarily contains compositions from the highest four point categories, the data were also compared and statistically analysed between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students in point categories 1-4 only in order to exclude the possibility that the higher number of weaker compositions in the Finnish-speaking students' corpus could account for the differences in the error frequencies. These results are given in appendix 3. These comparisons confirmed that most of the differences that were significant in the overall data were also significant in the data representing point categories 1-4.

Table 5.3. Frequencies of lexical transfer in the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students'
corpora

	Finnish-speaking students[16]		Swedish-speaking students[17]		*p*-value[18]
	N	N/10,000	N	N/10,000	
Substitution	12	1.2	15	5.3	< 0.0001
Relexification	12	1.2	26	9.2	< 0.0001
Orthographic transfer	150	15.5	32	11.3	= 0.26
Phonetic transfer	52	5.4	4	1.4	< 0.01
Morphological transfer	32	3.3	4	1.4	= 0.12
Word form total	285	26.7	82	29.1	= 0.62
Loan translations	80	8.3	10	3.5	< 0.05
Semantic extensions	138	14.3	1	0.4	< 0.0001
Word meaning total	218	22.5	11	3.9	< 0.0001
Collocations	42	4.3	9	3.2	= 0.63
Functional transfer	185	19.1	6	2.12	< 0.0001
Word use total	227	23.5	15	5.3	< 0.0001
Total	703	72.6	108	38.3	< 0.0001

As can be seen in table 5.3, many of these lexical transfer types (phonetic transfer, loan translations, semantic extensions, functional transfer) were more common among the Finnish-speaking students than among the Swedish-speaking students. Some error types (substitutions and relexifications), on the other hand, were more common among the Swedish-speaking students, which could be explained with influence from their L1 Swedish. Some of these lexical errors (orthographic transfer, morphological transfer, collocations) were equally frequent among both learner groups, but they could still be explained with influence from their respective L1s.

---

[16] Corpus: 96,787 words (500 compositions)

[17] Corpus: 28,225 words (136 compositions)

[18] For this study, the significance thresholds are 0.05 significant, 0.01 very significant, 0.001 highly significant, and 0.0001 extremely significant. The significance values refer to the Mann-Whitney U-test (see section 4.3)

Transfer relating to word forms was even slightly more common among the Swedish-speaking students (29.1/10,000 words) than among the Finnish-speaking students (26.7/10,000 words). The fact that substitutions (5.3/10,000 words) and relexifications (9.2/10,000 words) were more common in the Swedish-speaking students' corpus may be explained by the fact that there are more cognate words and, consequently, more formal similarities between English and Swedish lexical items. The substitutions and relexifications in the Swedish-speaking students' data involved examples such as *ting* 'thing' (cf. Sw. *ting*), *onkel* 'uncle' (cf. Sw. *onkel*), *kvick food* 'fast food' (cf. Sw. *kvick*), *drogs* 'drugs' (cf. Sw. *drog*) and *productes* 'products' (cf. Sw. *produkter*). Orthographic transfer, especially the misspelling of compound words, was also relatively common in the Swedish-speaking students' data (11.3/10,000 words). The instances of orthographic transfer observed in the data involved items such as *traficlight*, *watertemperature* and *eachother*, the Swedish equivalents of which are spelt as single lexical items (cf. Sw. *trafikljus*, *vattentemperatur*, *varandra*). Phonetic transfer, as manifested in Finnish-speaking students' data as the omission of initial unstressed syllables and the replacement of voiced plosives and fricatives with voiceless ones, was rare among the Swedish-speaking students (e.g., *mount* 'amount', *lacy* 'lazy') (1.4/10,000 words). This can be explained by the fact that Swedish-speaking students are used to more variable word stress and the presence of voiced sounds in their L1. Morphological transfer as manifested in the addition of plural endings into English words which take a singular form was also less frequent (1.4/10,000 words), albeit not statistically significantly so, in the Swedish-speaking students' data. The examples observed in the corpus by Swedish-speaking students involved lexical items that take a plural form in Swedish, such as *furnitures* (pro *furniture*, cf. Sw. *möbler*) and *homeworks* (pro *homework*, cf. Sw. *läxor*).

Transfer relating to word meanings, on the other hand, was significantly more common in the Finnish-speaking students' data (22.5/10,000 words) than in the Swedish-speaking students' data (3.9/10,000 words) (p<0.0001). A few instances of loan translations were observed in the corpus from Swedish-speaking students (3.5/10,000 words), such as *lifetime* 'life sentence' (cf. Sw. *livstid*, lit. 'lifetime') and *outlook* 'appearance' (cf. Sw. *utseende*, lit. 'out+looks'). Only one instance of semantic extensions was detected (0.4/10,000 words), which involved the verb *can* in *who can their task in the theory* (cf. Sw. *kunna* 'can', 'master', 'to be able to do something'). The relative infrequency of transfer relating to word meanings among the Swedish-speaking students is probably a reflection of the fact that their acquisition of English vocabulary is greatly facilitated by the common cognate vocabulary between Swedish and English (e.g., Ringbom 1987, 2007).

Transfer relating to word use was also, overall, significantly less frequent among the Swedish-speaking students (5.3/10,000 words) than among the Finnish-speaking students (23.5/10,000 words) (p<0.0001). Incorrect collocations also occurred in the data by Swedish-speaking students (3.2/10,000 words), which could be traced back to the corresponding Swedish collocations (e.g., *keep a speech* 'give a speech', cf. Sw. *hålla tal*, lit. 'keep' speech). Transfer relating to function words, on the other hand, was significantly less frequent in the Swedish-speaking students' corpus (2.12/10,000 words) (p<0.0001). Incorrect function word expression in the Swedish-speaking students' corpus involved,

for example, the usage of the conjunction *so* instead of *as* in expressions such as *as long as* or *as much as*.

Albeit the lexical transfer types discussed above were less frequent in the Swedish-speaking students' corpus, there were also other types of lexical errors that seemed to frequently occur in their data. There were 13 (4.6/10,000 words) instances of errors which could best be characterised as *false friends*, that is, cognate words that have differing meanings in English and Swedish (see, e.g., Ringbom 1987). Examples of these include *the blending white snow* (pro *dazzling*, cf. Sw. *bländande* 'dazzling') and *it was my turn to go out and rest our dog* (pro *take out for a walk*, cf. Sw. *rasta* 'take out for a walk'). These types of lexical errors can be seen to involve both form properties and semantic aspects of words because the formal resemblance of the L1 and L2 words lead learners to assume that the meanings of the words are also identical (see also Ringbom 1987: 115-117). In addition to the errors classified as orthographic transfer, other types of spelling errors were also strikingly numerous in the Swedish-speaking students' data. There were 141 (50/10,000 words) instances of spelling errors which mostly involved the spelling of English words as they sound, such as in *raff* 'rough', *caar* 'car', *discais* 'disguise', *imiditly* 'immediately', *mather* 'mother'and *ouer* 'our'. As discussed in chapter 3, spelling errors have been found to be more common for the Swedish-speaking than for the Finnish-speaking students due to the fact that the spelling system is irregular in Swedish but highly regular and near-phonemic in Finnish, which helps L1 Finnish learners to store the written forms of English words very accurately in their memory (see Ringbom 1987: 90-92).

The comparisons of the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students' lexical errors may be considered as evidence for intra-L1-group homogeneity and inter-L1-group heterogeneity (see section 4.3). Overall, lexical transfer manifests itself very differently in the written English of these two learner groups; while transfer affects all aspects of the Finnish-speaking learners' vocabulary knowledge in English, for the Swedish-speaking learners, transfer effects are more common at the level of word forms than at the level of word meanings or word use. The relatively low frequency of transfer affecting word forms in the Finnish-speaking students' data in comparison to the Swedish-speaking students' data (especially if *false friends* and all types of spelling errors are included) can also be seen as a manifestation of positive transfer for the Finnish-speaking students. However, the relatively high frequencies of transfer patterns involving word meanings and word use show that in these areas of vocabulary knowledge, transfer effects are more negative for the Finnish-speaking students than they are for the Swedish-speaking students.

5.3 MANIFESTATIONS OF LEXICAL TRANSFER

This section presents the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the instances of lexical transfer found in the Finnish-speaking students' corpus. The data analysis presented here seeks to answer the first research question, which is concerned with how lexical transfer generally manifests itself and what are the most frequently occurring lexical transfer phenomena in the written English of Finnish students.

As the data presented the preceding section showed, some of the investigated transfer categories were more frequent in the corpus than others. Figure 5.1 shows their distribution as percentages. As we can see, functional transfer was the most frequently occurring type of lexical transfer in the whole corpus (26.3 %), followed by orthographic transfer (21.3 %) and semantic extensions (19.6 %). Phonetic transfer, morphological transfer, loan translations and collocations each occupied a proportion of between 4-11 %, leaving substitutions and relexifications being the smallest categories, each with a proportion of only 1.7 %. The distribution of lexical transfer by word form, meaning and use, on the other hand, was relatively even. As figure 5.2 illustrates, transfer relating to word form accounted for 36.7 %, word meaning for 31 % and word use for 32.3 % of all instances of lexical transfer found in the corpus.
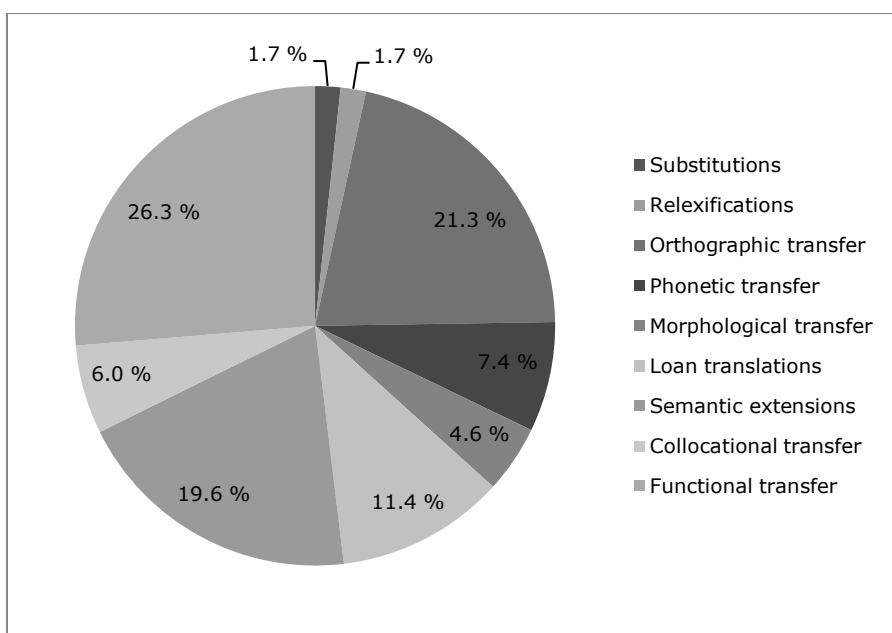
Figure 5.1. Distribution of lexical transfer by categories
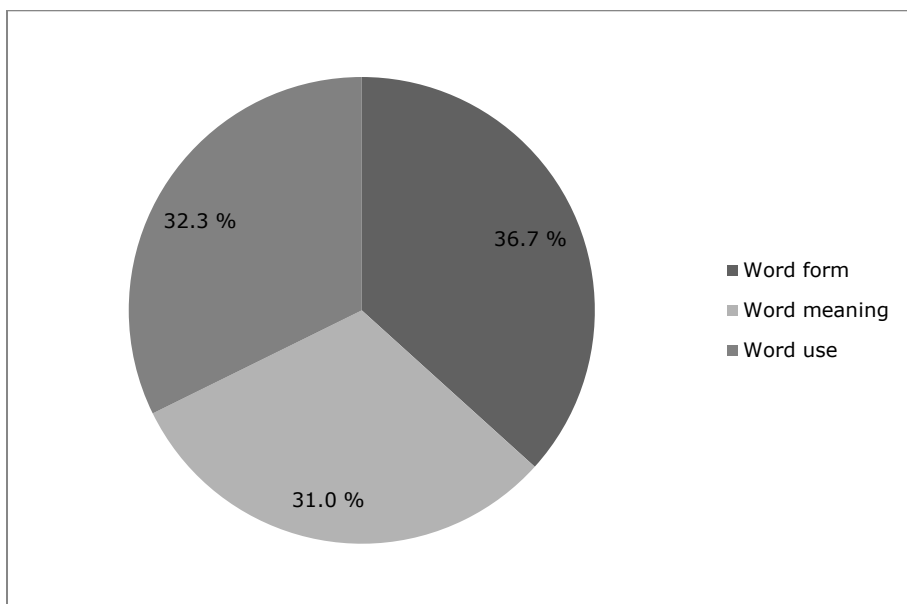
Figure 5.2. Distribution of lexical transfer by word form, meaning and use

In sub-sections 5.2.1 – 5.2.3, I will discuss the transfer categories under word form, word meaning and word use respectively, and present and exemplify the results found for each of the 9 categories of lexical transfer individually. I will also further discuss the distribution of the transfer instances between these different categories, thereby exploring the question concerning what types of lexical transfer patterns occurred most frequently in the corpus.

5.3.1 Word form
As can be seen from table 5.3, there were 258 instances of lexical transfer in the Finnish-speaking students' corpus which were concerned with the formal properties of English words and were placed into categories 1-5 accordingly. As figure 5.2 shows, together these account for 36.7 % of all instances of transfer found in the whole corpus. Table 5.4 below shows their distribution between the individual categories. The results found for each of these categories will be discussed in the following.

Table 5.4. Word form

Word form	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Substitutions	3	6	3	**12** (4.65 %)	
Relexifications	7	4	1	**12** (4.65 %)	**258** (100 %)
Orthographic transfer	41	51	58	**150** (58.14 %)	
Phonetic transfer	6	13	33	**52** (20.16 %)	
Morphological transfer	11	11	10	**32** (12.4 %)	

Substitutions

As discovered in prior research (see section 5.1.2), complete substitution of an English word with a Finnish one rarely occurs in the writing of Finnish students. As can be seen in table 5.4 above, my corpus displayed only 12 examples of substitutions (4.65 % of transfer relating to word use). These are illustrated in the following:

(5.26)   I was sixteen when I am first time summerjob in *Mukulamäen päiväkoti* (pro *Mukulamäki kindergarten*, cf. Fi. *Mukulamäki*-GEN *päiväkoti*) (G, 2005, 6)[19]

(5.27)   She wants to go abroad, for example *Thaimaa* (pro *Thailand*, cf. Fi. *Thaimaa*) (B, 2000, 2)

(5.28)   In the northern part of Finland we have a very small group called *Saamelaiset* (pro *the Saami people*, cf. Fi. Saamelainen-PL) (B, 2000, 2)

(5.29)   If we return a few thousand years backwards in *historia* (pro *history*, cf. Fi. *historia*) (B, 1990, 4)

(5.30)   We have sauna and *sisu* (Fi. *sisu* 'guts', 'perseverance') (B, 2005, 3)

Despite being rare in number, the substitutions found in the corpus offer informative examples of the nature of lexical borrowing in the written English of Finnish students. As examples (5.26) – (5.30) illustrate, many of the incorporations were proper names. I believe that in many of these cases, the students had not even realised that these Finnish names might have English translations. Some of these substitutions even displayed Finnish inflection, such as the genitive inflection in (5.26) and the plural inflection in (5.28), which students at more advanced levels of learning would hardly transfer into

---

[19] G =the writer is a girl (G = girl, B = boy), 2005 = the composition is from the year 2005, 6 = point category number 6.

English in a context other than a proper name. In some cases, the substitution involved a loan word which, apart from a few phonotactic changes, is similar to its English counterpart (example 5.29). Example (5.30) involves a concept, *sisu*, which is considered a culturally-bound word and untranslatable into many foreign languages. Therefore, it has become customary to use this Finnish word in its original form, often followed by an explanation, in foreign language communication.

Substitutions have previously been investigated by Ringbom (1987, 2007), who discovered that although L1 based substitutions are rare for Finnish-speaking learners, they often substitute English words with their L3 Swedish ones, such as in *I'm usually very pigg after the diet* (pro *refreshed*, cf. Sw. *pigg*) (Ringbom 1987: 117). Ringbom (1987: 162) had also found a few, but all the more interesting, examples of substitutions that involved a Finnish word, such as in *it is very halpa way to travel* (pro *cheap*, cf. Fi. *halpa*). However, this type of lexical transfer was extremely rare in Ringbom's (1987) data. As discussed in Ringbom (1987: 112-129), Finnish-speaking learners perceive their L2 English and L3 Swedish to be similar and, hence, prefer Swedish as a source for transferring form properties of lexical items into English.

Overall, the substitutions found in this study clearly reflect how conscious Finnish students seem to be of the formal differences between Finnish and English words. The words transferred from Finnish were either proper names, for which the students probably could not think of an English translation, or loan words, which appear foreign and, thus, reliable sources for transfer. Hence, judging by these examples, it appears that real Finnish-based unmodified incorporations are almost non-existent in the written English of today's Finnish students.

Relexifications

As discussed in section 5.1.2, relexifications, i.e., modifying an L1 word to look like an L2 word, are also rare for Finnish students. As table 5.4 shows, only 12 instances of relexifications could be found in the corpus. As in the case of substitutions, many of them were loan words in Finnish. For example:

(5.31) I started to read st. John's *Evangelium* (pro *the Gospel*, cf. Fi. *evankeliumi*) (G, 1990, 4)

(5.32) Aadolf did not love *judas*, I can answered why (pro *Jews*, *Jewish people*), cf. Fi. *juutalaiset*) (B, 1990, 6)

(5.33) The book tells about a man named Musashi who lived in *feodalic* Japan (pro *feudal*, cf. Fi. *feodaalinen*) (B, 1990, 5)

(5.34)   If has man do bad things he has also do good things for example *katalysator* for the car (pro *catalyst*, *catalyzer*, cf. Fi. *katalysaattori*) (G, 1990, 6)

To a Finnish person, loan words such as these clearly sound 'foreign', which probably makes them prone for this type of transfer. As can be seen in these examples, these types

of loan words are typically very similar to their English equivalents. In fact, some of these words may have been borrowed into Finnish from English. As in the case of substitutions, the fact that the students never used Finnish-based words as a source for lexical modification indicates that they are very aware of their L1 words being of little help when facing a gap in the L2 lexical knowledge.

Orthographic transfer

Orthographic transfer was the most frequent category among word form, accounting for 58.14 % of them (*n*=150) (see table 5.4). As already described in section 5.1.2, orthographic transfer observed in the corpus was concerned with three different features; the spelling of compound words, the usage of capital letters and the replacement of certain letters with their typical Finnish equivalents. Table 5.5 below shows how the instances of orthographic transfer were distributed between these three sub-classes.

Table 5.5. Orthographic transfer

Orthographic transfer	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Compound words	22	26	26	**74** (49.33 %)	
Lower case / upper case letters	9	9	24	**42** (28 %)	**150** (100 %)
Wrong letter	10	16	8	**34** (22.67 %)	

As can be seen in table 5.5 above, the most common type of orthographic transfer was the incorrect spelling of compound words (49.33 % of all instances). As discussed in section 5.1.2, compounding of words is a very common means for word building in Finnish and is governed by practically no grammatical restrictions. The students had often extended this pattern into English words as well and had incorrectly spelled two English words as one lexical entity, as in examples (5.35) - (5.38). Sometimes the students had even formed three-part compounds in English, as in (5.39) and (5.40).

(5.35) Young couples without *weddingrings* are as much happy as the couple with rings and *marrigelicence* (cf. Fi. *vihkisormukset*, *vihkilupa*) (G, 2000, 4)

(5.36) Only the ritch countries will manage and give all the *basicneeds* for their people (cf. Fi. *perustarpeet*) (G, 2000, 3)

(5.37) I think our *eatinghabits* are healthier than in Britain (cf. Fi. *ruokailutottumukset*) (G, 2005, 1)

(5.38) *Ofcourse* I can live with somebody without getting marriage (cf. Fi. *tottakai*) (G, 2000, 5)

(5.39)   Man built more and more *nuclearpowerstations* (cf. Fi. *ydinvoimala*) (B, 1990, 4)

(5.40)   Also, Finnish metal- and engineering companies export for example *papermakingmachines* and icebreakers (cf. Fi. *paperinvalmistuskone*) (G, 2005, 2)

Another area in English spelling where Finnish students frequently make mistakes is the usage of upper case letters. These types of spelling mistakes accounted for 28 % of orthographic transfer observed in the corpus (see table 5.5). They were concerned with the names of nationalities, languages, week days and public holidays, which are spelled with lower case letters in Finnish. The following examples illustrate this:

(5.41)   For example, fights between *americans* and *indians* (pro *Americans*, *Indians* cf. Fi. *amerikkalaiset*, *intiaanit*) (B, 2000, 3)

(5.42)   Nokia is *finnis* company (pro *Finnish*, cf. Fi. *suomalainen*) (B, 2005, 3)

(5.43)   That's why I could't learn *english* then (pro *English*, cf. Fi. *englanti*) (B, 1990, 5)

(5.44)   I find it even a bit annoying if someone is fresh and cheerful on *monday* morning (pro *Monday*, cf. Fi. *maanantai*) (G, 2000, 3)

(5.45)   Mondays are like *christmas* to me (pro *Christmas* cf. Fi. *joulu*) (B, 2000, 4)

The third type of orthographic transfer involved the usage of a wrong letter altogether, which accounted for 22.67 % of orthographic transfer (see table 5.5). Mostly this was concerned with the replacement of foreign-based letters with their typical Finnish equivalents, such as replacing the letter *c*, which is of foreign origin in Finnish, with its more common counterparts *k* or *s* (examples 5.46 – 5.47). However, sometimes the students had replaced other letters as well with the letters used in equivalent Finnish words. As can be seen in examples (5.48) and (5.49), these involved Swedish-based loan words (e.g., *kirkko* from Sw. *kyrkan* and *synti* from Sw. *synd*), which are of the same etymological root as their English equivalents *church* and *sin*, but have undergone phonological modification in both Swedish and Finnish. Yet, the students seemed to have noticed the resemblance between the English and Finnish words and had transferred the letters used in the Finnish words into the English ones.

(5.46)   Wars, natural *katastrofies* and too little food resources are testing world (pro *c*atastrophies, cf. Fi. *katastrofi*) (B, 2005, 4)

(5.47)   Even fever soldiers get killed but more and more *sivilians* die (pro *civilians*, cf. Fi. *s*iviili) (B, 2000, 5)

(5.48)   If you divorced it was very terrible *syn* (pro *sin*, cf. Fi. *synti*) (G, 2000, 5)

(5.49) You can have a baby and live together with your partner, without rings, a *chirch* and Father's Amen (pro *church*, cf. Fi. *kirkko*) (G, 2000, 3)

Phonetic transfer

Phonetic transfer was the second most frequent type of transfer which influenced the formal features of English words in the students' writing. As explained in section 5.1.2, phonetic transfer refers to instances in which either the Finnish stress pattern or phonemic system had caused the students to hear, and consequently, to spell English words incorrectly. As table 5.4 shows, altogether 52 instances of phonetic transfer were observed in the corpus. Table 5.6 below shows their distribution between the two sub-classes of stress pattern and phonemes.

Table 5.6. Phonetic transfer

Phonetic transfer	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Stress	2	9	11	**22** (42.3 %)	**52** (100 %)
Phonemes	4	4	22	**30** (57.7 %)	

As can be seen from table 7.6, 22 instances (42.3 %) of phonetic transfer were concerned with stress pattern. As explained in section 5.1.2, in Finnish, the first syllable of the word gains the primary stress and, hence, marks a word boundary. This may cause Finns difficulties in recognising the first unstressed syllables of English words from a stream of speech and make them falsely assume that the words are spelled as in examples (5.50)-(5.53). Some of the resulting word forms exist in English but have a different meaning, such as *member* vs. *remember* or *courage* vs. *encourage*, which may have further enhanced the incorrect interpretations.

(5.50) That is probably what everyone thinks *forehand* but there really is no guarantee (pro *beforehand*) (G, 2000, 1)

(5.51) But we should *member* that they are forming political center of EU (pro *remember*) (B, 2005, 6)

(5.52) We have now nuclear boms which destroy a great *mount* of people at ones (pro *amount*) (G, 2000, 2)

(5.53) I *courage* all kind of people go to humanitarian work (pro *encourage*) (G, 2005, 4)

The remaining instances of phonetic transfer (*n* = 30, 57.7 %) were caused by the differences between Finnish and English phonemic systems. More specifically, they involved the distinction between voiced and voiceless sounds. The lack of phonological

opposition between voiced and voiceless plosives (*b* vs. *p*, *d* vs. *t*, and *g* vs. *k*) in Finnish makes the perception and production of voiced plosives difficult for Finnish learners of English. Replacing the voiced plosives with their voiceless counterparts is one of the distinctive characteristics of the spoken English of Finns, and has now slowly started to enter their written English production as well. This could be observed in my corpus in examples such as (5.54)-(5.56). There were also a few examples which involved the distinction between the voiced and voiceless fricative *s*. Finnish only has one voiceless /s/ which corresponds to the four English sounds /s/, /z/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. Consequently, Finns have difficulties in perceiving and producing these English sounds; they tend to replace them with the voiceless /s/ in their spoken English production and, as my corpus indicated, this is sometimes reflected in their spelling as well (example 5.57).

(5.54)   I *pet* he do not know (pro *bet*) (G, 2005, 4)

(5.55)   Those *worts* are maybe old but it doesn't change a message which is in there (pro *words*) (G, 2005, 3)

(5.56)   Those *thinks* could be real, and it is *cood* to know the dangerous thinks (pro *things*, *good*) (B, 2005, 5)

(5.57)   When we think the *sise* of Nokia here in Finland nowadays it's really minimal (pro *size*) (B, 2005, 5)

What is especially striking about these examples is that many of these words are a part of the very basic, everyday vocabulary of English, which the students should have learnt at very early stages. Words such as *remember*, *word*, *thing*, *good* and *size* are, according to my teaching experience, taught during the first four years of primary school and, by the time the students take their Matriculation Examination, they should have encountered them hundreds of times, both in spoken and written form. The fact that phonetic transfer seems to influence the perception and production of such common vocabulary indicates how persistent L1 influence can be at the phonetic level of language.

Morphological transfer
As can be seen from table 5.4, there were 32 instances of morphological transfer in the corpus. The transfer instances placed in this category involved the students' addition of plural endings into English words which should be used in the singular. For example:

(5.58)   I had not friends and *relationships* with my parents were tremendously awfull (pro *relationship*, cf. Fi. *suhteet*) (G, 1990, 5)

(5.59)   I want real *weddings* in churge, were are all my frends and relatives (pro *wedding*, cf. Fi. *häät*) (B, 2000, 5)

(5.60)   Some people see it as doomday and maybe it is if you haven't done your *homeworks* (pro *homework*, cf. Fi. *läksyt, kotitehtävät*) (G, 2000, 4)

(5.61)   I don't think so, that Finland *youngs* is same situation (pro *the young, the youth,* cf. Fi. *nuoret*) (G, 2005, 6)

These incorrect plurals involved words which are notional plurals in the Finnish language. Incorrect plurals in a learner language can sometimes be the result of intralingual regularisation as well. Williams (1987) discusses such regularisation of mass and count nouns in non-native varieties of English. Examples from Williams (1987) involve nouns such as *fruits*, *furnitures* and *equipments*, which can be explained either by L1 transfer or by the fact that these nouns are *logically* countable and, hence, susceptible to regularisation (Platt *et al.* 1984 in Williams 1987: 171-172). Admittedly, both of these factors may be at work in the Finnish students' usage of incorrect plurals as well. As examples (5.58) - (5.61) indicate, the incorrect plurals occurring in my corpus involved both the types of plurals that could be interpreted as generalisations (e.g., *youngs*) and plurals which involved notional plurals specific to Finnish (e.g., *weddings*). However, I believe it is fair to categorise all of these under L1 influence because separating one influence from the other is not only difficult but may also be in vain; regularisation does not have to exclude L1 influence, instead it may even be enhanced by the fact that a particular plural form already exists in the L1.

5.3.2 Word meaning
Altogether, 218 instances of transfer relating to word meaning were found in the corpus, and these account for 31 % of all instances of lexical transfer found in the corpus (see figure 5.2) Table 5.7 below shows how they were distributed between the two categories of *loan translations* and *semantic extensions*.

Table 5.7. Word meaning

Word meaning	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Loan translations	31	26	23	**80** (36.69 %)	**218** (100 %)
Semantic extensions	68	28	42	**138** (63.3 %)	

Loan translations
Loan translations amounted to 80 instances in the corpus, which accounted for 36.69 % of transfer patterns classified under word meaning (table 5.7). The loan translations observed in the corpus involved three different types of lexical elements; compound words, idioms and idiomatic constructions. Table 5.8 shows the breakdown of loan translations into these three sub-classes.

90

Table 5.8. Loan translations

Loan translations	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Compound words	11	7	7	**25** (31.25 %)	
Idioms	3	2	-	**5** (6.25 %)	**80** (100 %)
Idiomatic constructions	17	17	16	**50** (62.5 %)	

Loan translations which involved a Finnish compound word were typically literal, part-by-part translations of Finnish compound words, such as *lastenlapsia* 'children-GEN + children' (pro *grandchildren*), *tekosyy* 'fake + reason' (pro *excuse*) and *ulkomailla* 'outer + land-PL-ADE' (pro *abroad*) (examples (5.62) - (5.64). Besides these, there were also a couple of instances in which the loan translation was not a direct translation of the Finnish expression, such as *big ages* in (5.65). In order for it to be a literal loan translation, the expression should have been *the big age classes* or *the big generation* (*generation* = *ikäluokka*; 'age' + 'class'). Here, the student had used the word *ages* to mean 'generations'.

(5.62) I want spend time my husband and got a lot of children and *childrenchildren* (pro *grandchildren*, cf. Fi. *lastenlapsia*) (G, 2000, 5)

(5.63) Playming long distances and costs are only *fakereasons* for not having exercise (pro *excuses*, cf. Fi. *tekosyy*) (G, 2005, 2)

(5.64) It's very hard to work *outland*, you have to live *outland* and you don't see your famil many weeks (pro *abroad*, cf. Fi. *ulkomailla*) (B, 2005, 6)

(5.65) Because soon the *big ages* are getting old and sig and so on (pro *baby boom generation*, cf. Fi. *suuret ikäluokat*) (B, 2000, 3)

Loan translations involving Finnish idioms were infrequent, but all the more interesting. As discussed in section 5.1.2, despite having syntactic aspects, idioms are classified under lexical transfer in this study because, firstly, idioms are generally regarded as independent lexical and semantic units and, secondly, the students' transfer of Finnish idioms was not concerned with their knowledge of English syntax but rather with their attempts to express certain meanings in English. Examples (5.66) and (5.67) illustrate this.

(5.66) My head felt empty, my eyes were *standing in my head*, I was too tired to do anything, even sleep (pro *eyes staring wide open*, cf. Fi. *silmät seisoo päässä*) (G, 1990, 4)

(5.67)   You can have a baby and live together with your partner, without rings, a
          chirch and *Father's Amen* (cf. Fi. *papin aamen*, refers to a minister pronouncing
          a couple husband and wife) (G, 2000, 3)

Example (5.66) is the less transparent of these two examples; the student had literally
translated the Finnish idiom *silmät seisoo päässä* 'eyes stand in the head', which means that
a person is staring eyes wide open, for example, out of surprise or tiredness. The
transferred idiom in example (5.67), on the other hand, is rather transparent and
understandable in English. In Finnish, the idiom *papin aamen* (literally 'Father's Amen') is
very commonly used to refer to a minister pronouncing a couple husband and wife.

   Most commonly, the loan translations were concerned with Finnish idiomatic
expressions. As seen in examples (5.68) - (5.70), most of these were two word expressions,
such as *mennä naimisiin* ('get married', literally 'go married') or *tehdä lapsia* ('have
children', literally 'do/make children'). Sometimes the students had translated even
longer lexical chunks word by word. In (5.71), the student had attempted to render the
expression *voida olla tekemättä* ('cannot help doing', literally 'cannot be do-ABE') by using
the English preposition *without*, which corresponds to the Finnish abessive case used in
the equivalent Finnish expression. In (5.72), the student has literally translated the
Finnish intensifying expression *on se vain ihme* (lit. 'is it only miracle'), which is
approximately equivalent to the English 'how on earth'.

(5.68)   I think that I will *go married* sometimes or at least I hope so (pro *get married*,
          cf. Fi. *mennä naimisiin*) (G, 2000, 5)

(5.69)   Staying single is not a bad alternative for person who wants to *create career*
          (pro *make a career*, cf. Fi. *luoda uraa*) (G, 2000, 4)

(5.70)   After getting married you had to do the children and raise them with all your
          best (pro have children, cf. Fi. tehdä lapsia; pro as well as you can, as you
          best can, cf. Fi. kaiken parhaasi mukaan) (G, 2000, 5)

(5.71)   I can't *be without telling* that I call him James, because he is so centleman (pro *I
          can't help telling* / *I must tell*, cf. Fi. *en voi olla kertomatta*) (G, 1990, 6)

(5.72)   *It is only a miracle* that we have not learned that wars do not solve anything
          (cf. Fi. *on se vain ihme*, equivalent to the English *how on earth can it be that*..) (B,
          2000, 1)

Semantic extensions
Semantic extensions (i.e., instances which reflect the semantic ranges of Finnish words)
constituted a sizeable proportion of lexical transfer in the corpus: they amounted to 138
instances, which makes up 63.3 % of transfer classified under word meaning and 19.6 %
of lexical transfer in the whole corpus (figure 5.1).

As discussed in section 5.1.1, when it comes to the formal properties of their L1 words, Finnish students tend to be very critical in selecting which features are transferable into a genetically and typologically distant TL. However, judging by the frequency of semantic transfer in their production, they seem to be less critical when making L1-based assumptions on the semantic contents of English words. (5.73) - (5.76) are good examples of this. In these examples, the semantic fields of the Finnish and English words differed to a great extent, and the resultant expressions would hardly be understood by a native speaker of English.

(5.73)   Movies are *rolling* too in monday evenings (pro *running, showing,* cf. Fi. *pyöriä* 'roll', 'run' / 'show') (B, 2000, 4)

(5.74)   In the same time when factories products many different kinds of products for us, *leads* these factories very much different kinds of pollutions to the air (pro *emit*, cf. Fi. *johtaa* 'lead', 'emit') (B, 1990, 5)

(5.75)   We have too much popular in this *ball* and they live longer and longer (pro *Earth, planet,* cf. Fi. *(maa)pallo; pallo* used in informal language) (B, 2000, 4)

(5.76)   Everybody *liked* that she was awful (pro *thought*, cf. Fi. *tykätä* 'like', 'think') (G, 1990, 6)

Examples (5.75) and (5.76) are intriguing cases of transfer. Example (5.75) reflects a Finnish phrase which is colloquial in style. Example (5.76), on the other hand, displays transfer from dialectal varieties of Finnish. The word *tykätä* has been borrowed into Finnish from Swedish, in which it means both 'like' and 'think' or 'be of the opinion'. In Finnish, the word is commonly used in the meaning 'like', but in some dialects it is used in the meaning 'think' or 'be of the opinion'. The fact that Finnish students have studied Swedish as L3 could give rise to speculate that this particular example reflects Swedish influence, but studies have nevertheless proven that semantic transfer tends to originate from the learners' L1 and practically never from non-native languages (Ringbom 2007: 83-87). Hence, this example could suggest that sometimes spoken or even dialectal varieties of the mother tongue can be the source of transfer.

In the majority of semantic extensions, the semantic fields of the Finnish and English words were relatively close to each other. Although these expressions are non-idiomatic in English, they might be understandable even to a native speaker of English. For example:

(5.77)   For *salary* he got a little piece of meet (pro *as a reward*, cf. Fi. *palkka* 'reward', 'salary') (B, 1990, 5)

(5.78)   Of course I know that all that teacher's day includes is not *comfortable* and funny (pro *nice, fun,* cf. Fi. *mukava* 'comfortable', 'nice', 'fun') (G, 2005, 3)

(5.79)   Man has always used animals in his own *meanings* (pro *purposes*, cf. Fi. *tarkoitus* 'meaning', 'purpose') (B, 1990, 4)

(5.80)   Marriage is a big promise which *demands* true love (pro *requires*, cf. Fi. *vaatia* 'demand', 'require') (G, 2000, 3)

(5.81)   When they go early to sleep and will not watch so violence programs, will they *came* quite peaceful human beings (pro *become*, cf. Fi. *tulla* 'come', 'become') (G, 2000, 5)

(5.82)   But competition between these big companies is *going* to harder and harder (pro *become*, cf. Fi. *mennä* 'go', 'become') (B, 2005, 4)

Sometimes the semantic fields of the correct TL word and the one that the students had incorrectly used overlapped to some extent. These types of instances were classified as L1 transfer because the two English words had the same translation equivalent in Finnish. Having only one counterpart in L1, such as the word *tapa* in Finnish, may impede the learning of the subtle differences between its L2 translation equivalents, in this case, 'manner', 'custom', 'tradition' and 'habit'.

(5.83)   I think that marriadge is a beautiful old *manner* which must keep alive (pro *custom*, cf. Fi. *tapa* 'manner', 'custom', 'tradition', 'habit') (G, 2000, 5)

(5.84)   My point of view is that there must be some *boarder* (pro *limit*, cf. Fi. *raja* 'border', 'limit') (B, 2000, 2)

(5.85)   The killing of animals without any *remarkable* reason (pro *significant*, *good*, cf. Fi. *merkittävä* 'remarkable', 'significant') (G, 2000, 5)

There was also a further type of semantic extension, albeit less frequent than the others, in which the students had confused two similar sounding L1 words, which had resulted in them transferring the wrong word into English. In other words, the students had picked a TL word and given it a new meaning which does not derive from its direct L1 translation equivalent, but from an L1 word that sounds similar to the translation equivalent. For example, the Finnish equivalents of the English words 'hear', 'listen to' and 'sound' are very similar in form: *kuulla*, *kuunnella*, *kuulostaa*. This formal similarity may have led the students to confuse these L1 words and transfer the wrong word into English (example 5.86 a and b). These similar Finnish words were often a part of the same word family, that is, they were related words which have been derived from the same root word. This is also the case in example (5.87), in which the student has used the word 'chosen' to refer to 'optional', because the Finnish word *valinnainen* 'optional' has been derived from the verb *valita* 'choose'. This is further illustrated in (5.88), which entails the use of the word 'father' to refer to 'master'; the connection between these two can be found in the formal similarity of their Finnish translation equivalents, *isä* and *isäntä*.

(5.86) a. It would *heard* your problems and understand you (pro *listen to*)   (G, 1990, 4)

     b. I hadn't might commit a suicide though it might *heard* so (pro *sounded*) (B, 1990, 5) (cf. Fi. *kuunnella* 'listen to', *kuulla* 'hear', *kuulostaa* 'sound')

(5.87) In my opinion there should have more *chosen* languages at school (pro *optional*, cf. Fi. *valita* 'choose', *valinnainen* 'optional') (G, 1990, 3)

(5.88) The difference between dog and woman is that the dog always do it what his *father* says (pro *master*) (G, 1990, 6)

5.3.3 Word use

Transfer that influenced the students' use of English words amounted to 227 instances. Altogether, they accounted for 32 % of all transfer instances in the whole corpus (fig 5.2). Transfer relating to word use manifested itself in two different ways: the incorrect use of collocations and in functional transfer. Table 5.9 below shows the breakdown of word use into these two categories.

Table 5.9. Word use

Word use	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Collocations	24	11	7	**42** (18.5 %)	**227** (100 %)
Functional transfer	78	49	58	**185** (81.5 %)	

Collocations

As the above table indicates, 18.5 % of word use (*n* = 42) involved collocational transfer. This category entails instances in which the students' choice of English collocations was determined by the equivalent Finnish ones. The existence of only one L1 counterpart for two TL words had led the students to pick only one of these and extend its use into different contexts. This is, for example, the case with the Finnish verb *tehdä*, which corresponds to the English verbs *do* and *make*. Indeed, the great majority of the incorrect collocations occurring in the corpus involved the confusion of the verbs *do* and *make* (examples 5.89 a - c). A similar overgeneralisation also occurred with verbs such as *end* vs. *finish* (Fi. *lopettaa*) and *happen* vs. *take place* (Fi. *tapahtua*), which are illustrated in examples (5.90) - (5.91).

(5.89) a. And I want to *make* work what is meaning (pro *do*) (G, 2005, 6)
     b. If we *do* our dreams come true I think that there will not be any wars on Earth (pro *make*) (G, 2000, 3)

c. Black riders and many others *maked* their best to *do* hobbit's way
impossible (pro *did*, *make*) (G, 1990, 5)

(5.90)   a. I am *ending* my school and starting, as we say, my own life in this spring
(pro *finishing*) (G, 2000, 3)
b. Wood will not *end* in Finland at near in future (pro *run out*) (B, 2005, 5)

(5.91)   The turning point *happened* when I was nine years old (pro *took place*, cf. Fi.
tapahtua 'take place', 'happen') (B, 1990, 2)

The examples in this category bear some formal resemblance to the instances classified under semantic transfer (categories 6 and 7). However, a closer analysis of the above examples indicated that the students' problems in choosing between English verbs such as *do* vs. *make* or *end* vs. *finish* does not result from their incomplete knowledge of word meanings, for the semantic contents of these verbs are practically the same, but rather from their incomplete knowledge of the contexts in which these words should be used and which words they tend to collocate with. Therefore, these instances were classified under word use in this study.

Functional transfer

Functional transfer, i.e., the transfer of L1-based grammatical functions onto L2 function words, was the single most frequent category of lexical transfer observed in the corpus. Altogether, they accounted for 81.5 % (*n* = 185) of transfer relating to word use and 26.3 % of lexical transfer in the whole corpus (fig. 5.1).

As discussed in section 5.1.1, knowing the grammatical functions of L2 words can be regarded as one component in L2 learners' lexical knowledge (Nation 2001: 55-56), which is why it is justified to examine the students' incorrect usage of English function words under lexical transfer. However, function words represent a category where the borderline between lexical and syntactic transfer is sometimes fuzzy. The function words the students had used incorrectly were sometimes connected to specific syntactic constructions in Finnish. This is, for instance, the case with examples which involve the incorrect use of relative pronouns in relative clauses or conjunctions in comparative clauses. In cases like these, the distinction between lexical and syntactic transfer was made on the basis of whether the transfer was more likely to involve the students' lexical knowledge or their mastery of syntactic structures. To be more specific, if the syntactic constructions as such were formed and used correctly, but the only element influenced by transfer was the function word within the construction (in this case, the pronoun or conjunction), the transfer was interpreted to be connected with the learners' incomplete mastery of L2 function words than that of syntactic constructions. Admittedly, this criterion may be open to various interpretations, but I will try to make this distinction as firm as possible by offering a more detailed discussion in connection with the various types of function word transfer occurring in the corpus.

Functional transfer involved many different types of function words; auxiliaries, reflexive, indefinite, demonstrative and relative pronouns, as well as certain conjunctions,

connectors and particles. Table 5.10 shows the breakdown of functional transfer into these sub-classes.

Table 5.10. Functional transfer

Functional transfer	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Auxiliary olla 'to be'	20	13	18	**51** (27.6 %)	
Reflexive pronoun	5	4	1	**10** (5.4 %)	
Indefinite pronoun	6	4	1	**11** (6 %)	
Demonstrative pronoun	1	-	-	**1** (0.5 %)	**185** (100 %)
Relative pronoun	26	16	31	**73** (39.5 %)	
Conjunctions and connectors	14	10	6	**30** (16.2 %)	
Focusing particles	6	2	1	**9** (4.9 %)	

A large proportion (27.6 %) of functional transfer was concerned with the auxiliary *olla* 'to be'. The students had either confused the two English verbs *be* and *have*, or inserted an auxiliary into expressions where it should not be used. The confusion of the verbs *be* and *have* is likely to result from the fact that Finnish only has one equivalent for them, *olla*. This resembles the students' confusion of the verbs *do* and *make* (see *collocations* above), and probably takes place when the students choose the first translation equivalent for *olla* that comes to their mind, forgetting that in English, there are two verbs to choose from (examples 5.92 a - c). Although the resultant expressions sometimes break syntactic norms in English, the transfer results from the students' incomplete mastery of the semantic and grammatical aspects of the verbs *have* and *to be* due to the lack of this distinction in L1. Sometimes the students had combined the auxiliary with verbs which do not require one in English (5.93). This reflects their incomplete mastery of the syntactic properties of the pertinent English verbs (e.g., *agree*), which is likely to be caused by the fact that Finnish does not have equivalent verbs at all but uses a construction containing the auxiliary *olla* + noun / adjective.

(5.92) a. You have to begin call and call yours friends that somebody *is* time and can come to yours home (pro *has*) (G, 2000, 6)
b. All people must *be* good life (pro *have*) (B, 2005, 6)
c. If I *have* firemen, I could help thousand of people here in Finland or abroad (pro *was*) (B, 2005, 6)

(5.93)   I *am* agree (pro *I agree*, cf. Fi. *olen samaa mieltä*, 'be-1SG same-PAR mind-PAR')
(G, 1990, 6)

The second sub-class of functional transfer involved the usage of reflexive pronouns with non-reflexive verbs (*n*=10; 5.4 %). The verbs had otherwise been used correctly, but the property of reflexivity of the L1 equivalents had been transferred into them. Nearly all of these were concerned with the verb 'feel', which had been combined with a reflexive pronoun according to the Finnish equivalent *tuntea itsensä* (feel + reflexive pronoun) (5.94 a – b).

(5.94)   a.   When I feel *myself* tired or nervous I take one of those stories and start to
read (pro *feel tired*) (B, 1990, 5)
          b.   But after some time you can suddenly start to feel *yourself* lonely (pro *feel
lonely*) (B, 2000, 2)

11 instances of functional transfer (6 %) involved the usage of indefinite pronouns in inappropriate contexts. These examples are intriguing in the sense that the students had often replaced the indefinite article *a / an* with the indefinite pronoun *some*, or used both of them together. The reason for this behaviour can be found in the differing ways in which English and Finnish express definiteness and indefiniteness; English relies on articles, whereas Finnish exploits varying word order patterns or lexical means in the form of, e.g., the pronouns *joku* 'some' or *se* 'it'. Because of this difference, the mastery of English articles is notoriously difficult for Finnish learners of English. The lack of an L1 reference frame often makes Finns regard English articles as redundant and omit them in both spoken and written production. However, the following examples indicate that sometimes Finnish learners may insert an indefinite marker in English in the form of an indefinite pronoun.

(5.95)   a.   At first you have to give *some* prize to the animal (pro *a prize*, cf. Fi. *Joku
palkinto*) (B, 1990, 4)
          b.   It would be a *some* pet (pro *a pet*, cf. Fi. *joku lemmikki*) (G, 1990, 4)

In the above examples, the indefinite pronoun *some* is used in the function of an indefinite article. This reflects the usage of the Finnish pronoun *joku* 'some', which can be used to express indefiniteness, especially in contexts where the speaker/writer wants to emphasise it. Example (5.95 b) especially shows that sometimes Finnish students may have learnt to use English articles but they have not quite internalised their function, in this case, the fact that the article *a / an* is sufficient alone for expressing indefiniteness. These types of uses of the pronoun *some* could also be seen to have an intralingual motivation because *some* can also be used in a similar function in English, especially in the spoken language. However, since the pronoun *some* sometimes occurred together with the indefinite article, which is unlikely to occur in the native speaker varieties of English, I believe that L1 transfer is the most likely explanation for these examples found in the corpus.

There was also one example in which the demonstrative pronoun *it* had been used instead of the definite article *the*:

(5.96)   Later *it* real world usually looks much better (pro *the real world*, cf. Fi. **se** *oikea maailma*) (B, 1990, 5)

The above example can be traced back to the usage of the demonstrative pronoun *se* 'it' in Finnish. *Se,* like other Finnish demonstrative pronouns, is used to refer to denotata which can be observed in the immediate surroundings at the moment of speaking or which are familiar from the preceding context (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 710). Some Fennists have proposed that *se* has gained a function similar to that of a definite article, which has been interpreted to be a sign of the beginning of a historical development, familiar from many other languages, during which a demonstrative develops into an article (Laury 1996: 162-163). This view is not yet a widely accepted one, but it is certain that the usage of *se* in an article-like function has increased in Finnish and, as Laury (1996) proposes, it has already gained the status of an article in spoken Finnish. The fact that the pronoun *se* is increasingly being used in the function of a definite article should help Finnish learners of English in learning the purpose and use of English articles, and could be used as a point of reference in language teaching as well.

The single most frequent type of functional transfer involved the incorrect use of relative pronouns. Finns have generally little difficulties in learning and using English relative clauses, probably because Finnish relative clause patterns do not differ much from the English ones, but they do often seem to err when choosing the correct relative pronoun. The reason for this is purely lexical; English has a greater variety of relative pronouns than Finnish does, and this gives rise to L1-based overgeneralisations. Finnish has three relative pronouns: *joka*, *kuka* and *mikä*. The usage of these pronouns varies greatly between spoken and written Finnish, but the general tendency is as follows: *joka* tends to accompany denotata that are clearly specified, whereas *mikä* is more often used in connection with unspecified denotata (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 722). Hence, *joka* is typically used when the antecedent is human / concrete / animate, whereas *mikä* refers to inanimate and abstract antecedents. However, this general rule only applies to written Finnish. In spoken Finnish, *kuka* may be used to refer to humans and *mikä* to other concrete, animate objects. All these pronouns can, naturally, be inflected in numerous ways. For example, inflecting the pronoun *joka* according to number and case produces forms such as, to name but a few, *jotka* (PL), *jonka* (GEN), *joiden* (GEN-PL), *jota* (PAR) and *joita* (PAR-PL).

The corresponding relative pronouns in English are *who, whom, whose, which, that* and *zero* ( ) (Quirk *et al.*1985: 365-368). The choice between these is determined according to gender (e.g, who/which), case (e.g., who/whom) and whether the relative clause is restrictive or non-restrictive. Three of these, *who, whom* and *whose*, have personal reference, such as in *the person **who** I was visiting* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1247). As Quirk *et al.* (1985: 366-367) state, in terms of grammar, *who* is reserved for subjective use, *whom* for objective use and *whose* for genitive use. However, in today's language usage, the choice between *who* and *whom* is rather stylistically determined; *whom* is restricted to formal

style, whereas informal style favours the usage of *who* for both subject and object functions. In contrast to the personal *who*, *which* is used with non-personal antecedents, as in *the book **which** I was reading* (Quirk *et al.*1985: 1274). The choice of the relative pronoun is further determined by the type of reference the clause has to its antecedent, that is, whether the relative clause is restrictive or non-restrictive. Restrictive relative clauses limit the antecedent and are more closely connected with it, as in *this is not something **that would disturb me anyway*** (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 366). They can take any of the relative pronouns listed above. Non-restrictive relative clauses, on the other hand, parenthetically describe the antecedent, but they do not have a defining function (e.g., *they operated like politicians, **who notoriously have no sense of humour at all***) (ibid.). They only take the pronouns *who*, *whom*, *whose* and *which*.

It is not the differing semantics of the Finnish relative pronouns alone that causes Finns difficulties in learning and using English relative pronouns, but, as my corpus showed, another major source for confusion is the relative pronoun *mikä*. Namely, besides being used as a relative pronoun, *mikä* is also used as an interrogative pronoun in Finnish, like the English interrogative pronoun *what*. Finnish students seem to overgeneralise the use of *what* to cover both interrogative and relative uses in English as well. This behaviour may be further enhanced by the fact that *what* is used in English nominal relative clauses (e.g., ***What** happened upset him*, *she took **what** she needed*) (Quirk *et al.*1985: 1056-1061). Nominal relative clauses differ from the adnominal ones in that their function is similar to that of a noun phrase (cf. 'the thing that happened upset him', 'she took the thing that she needed') and they are more self-contained because the relative pronoun *what* is merged with its antecedent.

The deviant use of *what* as a relative pronoun is also typical of some British dialects. Cheshire *et al.* (1989: 198-199) found that the relative *what* is used frequently in urban dialects of Britain, and especially often in restrictive relative clauses. According to them, this finding suggests that *what* has been overgeneralised in spoken non-standard English and is used to replace the forms *who(m), whose* and *which*. Some uses of the relative *what* in learner language could be explained by a similar kind of simplification process described by Cheshire *et al.* (1989), but in the case of Finnish learners of English, L1 influence is the most plausible explanation. This is because, as described above, Finnish and English differ in their use of relative pronouns and, contrary to the finding made by Cheshire *et al.*, my corpus also displayed examples where *what* had been used instead of *that* or *zero*, something which has not been reported in NS varieties of English. Moreover, the deviant use of *what* as a relative pronoun has also been observed in the English of Finnish Australians (e.g., *those Aussie dishes what they eating*, pro *that*) (Lauttamus *et al.* 2007: 298-299). Lauttamus *et al.* (2007) also discoved aspects in its usage that are not found in other non-standard varieties of English.

My corpus displayed, altogether, 73 instances of deviant uses of relative pronouns, and they constituted 39.5 % of functional transfer (table 5.10). The majority of these involved the usage of *what* instead of *that*, *which* or *zero*, mostly in restrictive (5.97-99) but sometimes also in non-restrictive relative clauses (5.100).

(5.97) We can also find many bad things *what* man has done (pro *that* / ( )) (B, 1990, 5)

(5.98) That I don't have to be something else, something *what* I am not (pro *that* / ( )) (G, 2000, 4)

(5.99) The others have not to food *what* they can eat (pro *that* / ( )) (G, 2005, 4)

(5.100) It's only good to cow, it don't have to find food by itself, *what* would be difficult in winters (pro *which*) (B, 1990, 5)

The above examples all reflect the usage of *mikä* in standard, written Finnish. However, there were several examples where the students had been influenced by the usage of relative pronouns in spoken Finnish (5.101-102). In these examples, the relative pronoun *mikä* would only be used in spoken Finnish, whereas standard, written language would require the pronoun *joka*. Due to the dominance of *mikä* in spoken language, Finns may even confuse these two relative pronouns when writing in their own mother tongue.

(5.101) If I meet somebody who is the man *what* I have dream about I am ready to spend the rest of my life with him (pro *that* / ( ), cf. spoken Finnish *mistä*) (G, 2000, 5)

(5.102) That is the question *what* I have thought about hundred (pro *that* / ( ), cf. spoken Finnish *mitä*) (G, 2000, 5)

There were a couple of examples of the incorrect usage of other relative pronouns as well. (5.103) shows the overgeneralisation of the relative *whose* to include non-personal reference. This derives from the genitive form of *joka* (*jonka*), which corresponds to the English *whose*, except that in Finnish it is used to refer to any specified antecedents, both in personal and non-personal reference. (5.104) displays the usage of inflected *mikä* (*missä* 'mikä-INE'), which can also be translated into English as the interrogative *where*. In English, *where* can be used as a relative pronoun in adverbial expressions of place (e.g., *the place where she was born*) (Quirk *et al.*1985: 1255-57), but its usage to refer to a collective noun like *family* in an adnominal relative clause reflects the usage of *mikä* (*missä*) in spoken Finnish.

(5.103) That is why it is the worst invention *whose* human have ever done (pro *which*, cf. Fi. *jonka*, a genitive form of *joka*) (B, 1990, 4)

(5.104) I have family, *where* is three healthy boys (pro *in which*, cf. spoken Finnish *missä* (*mikä*-[INE]), *missä* (interrogative pronoun) 'where') (B, 2000, 3)

Besides different types of pronouns, a number of instances in this category also involved conjunctions and connectors. This sub-class amounted to 16.2 % of all functional transfer.

As with relative clauses, the students had no problems in the syntactic formation of the pertinent subordinate clause patterns, but it was the choice of the conjunction or connector that was influenced by L1. Example (5.105) involves the usage of the Finnish comparative construction of equivalence, which consists of the particle *niin* 'so' followed by the conjunction *kuin* 'than'. This syntactic construction is identical to the English *as…as* –comparative construction, but Finnish students sometimes err by literally translating the lexical elements used in the equivalent Finnish expression. (5.106) illustrates a similar kind of usage of comparative correlatives *mitä* 'what'… *sitä* 'that', which corresponds to the English proportional correlatives *the …the*. Examples (5.107) (a) and (b) illustrate the varying uses of the conjunctions *as*, *like* and *than*, which can be traced back to the Finnish conjunction *kuin*. Having only one L1 translation equivalent for three English conjunctions makes it difficult for Finnish students to differentiate between them. In (5.108), the wider range of the Finnish connector *kuitenkin*, which can be translated into English as 'however', 'still', 'yet' and 'nevertheless', has led to the usage of *however* in an incorrect context.

(5.105) Thousands of years ago man didn't destroy nature *so* much *than* today (pro *as much as*, cf. Fi. **niin** *paljon* **kuin**) (G, 1990, 1)

(5.106) I have noticed that *what* longer we live *that* more wars are on earth (pro *the longer … the more*, cf. Fi. **mitä** *kauemmin…* **sitä** *enemmän*) (B, 2000, 4)

(5.107) a. But today's horse is hobby because traktor is better *as* horse (pro *than*) (B, 1990, 6)
b. It's same *than* nothing (pro *as*) (G, 1990, 3)

(5.108) But *however* we're destroying more and more all the time (pro *still*, cf. Fi. *kuitenkin* 'however', 'still') (G, 1990, 2)

The final sub-class of functional transfer is concerned with focusing particles (4.9 % of functional transfer). In Finnish, focusing particles, such as *vain* 'only' and *ainakin* 'at least', are frequently used to draw focus to a specific part of a sentence (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 803-813). As these examples illustrate, some Finnish focusing particles correspond to the English focusing subjuncts (see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 604-606). However, some Finnish temporal particles are used as focusing particles, but in this context they do not necessarily have temporal reference. This is the case with the particles *jo* and *vielä*, which, in their temporal meaning, correspond to the English time-relationship subjuncts *already* and *yet / still* (see Quirk *et al.*1985: 579-581). Example (5.109) (a) reflects the usage of *already* as a focusing element. In (5.109) (b), the usage of *already* has been extended into non-temporal contexts.

(5.109) a. Horses and dogs have been tamed *already* in the pre-historic time (pro *as early as, as far back as*, cf. Fi. *jo esihistoriallisella ajalla*) (G, 1990, 1)

b.   Though *already* the pets are very important, can animals be used to the work or farming too (cf. the English focusing subjunct *alone*) (B, 1990, 6)

5.4 CHANGES OBSERVED IN PATTERNS OF LEXICAL TRANSFER BETWEEN 1990, 2000 AND 2005

This section presents the results obtained for the quantitative and statistical analysis of the data, which aim at clarifying whether the numbers of the transfer instances, both in the individual categories and within the broader groups of word form, meaning and use, reveal any differences between the samples from 1990, 2000 and 2005.

This section, thus, addresses the second research question, which relates to the possible improvement in the standard of written English in the compositions. As discussed in section 4.1, this improvement should result in a decrease in the frequency of the observed lexical transfer patterns. The quantitative analysis of the data showed that some types of lexical transfer had indeed decreased during the investigated period, while other types of transfer patterns had increased or remained equally frequent. This section will discuss the diachronic changes observed in the total numbers of transfer instances, in individual categories and in the broader groups according to the different aspects of lexical knowledge under investigation.

Table 5.11 gives the results found for each of the lexical transfer categories as raw numbers and as numbers of instances per 10,000 words in the samples from 1990, 2000 and 2005. The total frequencies of lexical transfer for 1990, 2000 and 2005 are given at the bottom of the table. As these frequencies indicate, lexical transfer overall had slightly, but not statistically significantly, decreased during this 15-year-period from 81 instances in 1990 to 70.2 in 2000 and 66.7 in 2005.

Table 5.11. Frequencies of lexical transfer in 1990, 2000 and 2005

		1990		2000		2005	
		N	/10,000	N	/10,000	N	/10,000
Word form	*1. Substitution*	3	0.9	6	2.1	3	0.9
	2. Relexification	7	2.1	4	1.4	1	0.3
	3. Orthographic transfer	41	12.3	51	18	58	16.5
	4. Phonetic transfer	6	1.8	13	4.6	33	9.4
	5. Morphological transfer	11	3.3	11	3.9	10	2.8
Word meaning	*6. Loan translations*	31	9.3	26	9.2	23	6.5
	7. Semantic extensions	68	20.5	28	9.9	42	11.9
Word use	*8. Collocations*	24	7.2	11	3.9	7	2
	9. Functional transfer	78	23.5	49	17.3	58	16.5
Total		**269**	**81**	**199**	**70.2**	**235**	**66.7**

When we observe the frequencies of lexical transfer among students of different levels, i.e., according to the number of points the students had received for the composition, we can see that this slight decrease in the frequency of lexical transfer had taken place equally among better and weaker students. Figure 5.3 below illustrates the frequencies (expressed as a number of instances per 10,000 words) of lexical transfer in the six point categories the compositions were divided into (see section 4.2.2).

	1	2	3	4	5	6
■ 1990	38.9	45.7	51.7	87.0	126.1	162.9
■ 2000	12.6	41.4	81.2	89.6	142.8	164.8
■ 2005	13.2	30.3	57.1	87.8	87.3	144.5
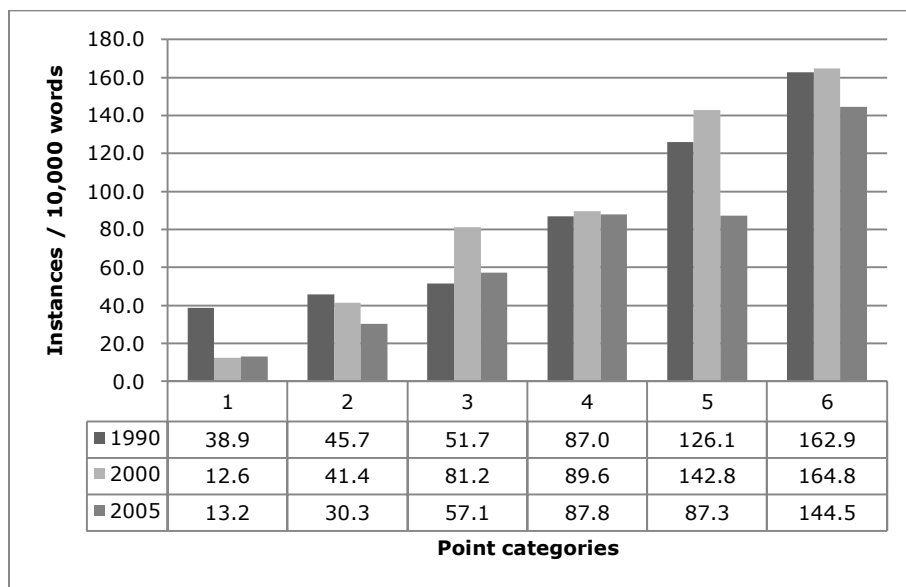
Figure 5.3. Frequency of lexical transfer in point categories

The fact that the frequency of lexical transfer had decreased in the highest two and the lowest two point categories, but no changes had taken place in the middle categories, does not necessarily mean that the lexical skills of average students have not developed at all. This could simply be a reflection of stricter evaluation criteria the Matriculation Examination board has started to apply as the students' English competence has improved. It is possible that in order to reach a high number of points for a composition, today's students are expected to be able to write more idiomatic, error-free English and, in order to separate the wheat from the chaff, any mistakes or unidiomatic language usage lead to a reduced number of points and an otherwise well-written composition ends up receiving average marks. Overall, an examination of figure 5.3 reveals that lexical transfer was, in each of the years, the most frequent among those students who had received a lower number of points for their compositions, whereas students who had reached higher grades were more seldom influenced by their L1. This indicates that, at least in this type of task, the amount of L1 influence correlates with the language proficiency of the learners.

However, the overall frequency of lexical transfer is not alone a sufficient indicator of the changes that may have taken place in the students' lexical skills. It is when we examine the individual transfer categories that the most intriguing changes become apparent. Figure 5.4 below illustrates the frequencies of lexical transfer for all nine categories in the three years under study. As this figure shows, the changes had not been uniform in all categories. I would like to specifically point the reader's attention to columns 3 (orthographic transfer) and 4 (phonetic transfer), and to the final four columns (loan translations, semantic extensions, collocations and functional transfer) of figure 5.4.

	Subst.	Relex.	Orth.	Phon.	Morph.	Loan trans.	Sem. ext.	Col.	Func.
1990	0.9	2.1	12.3	1.8	3.3	9.3	20.5	7.2	23.5
2000	2.1	1.4	18.0	4.6	3.9	9.2	9.9	3.9	17.3
2005	0.9	0.3	16.5	9.4	2.8	6.5	11.9	2.0	16.5
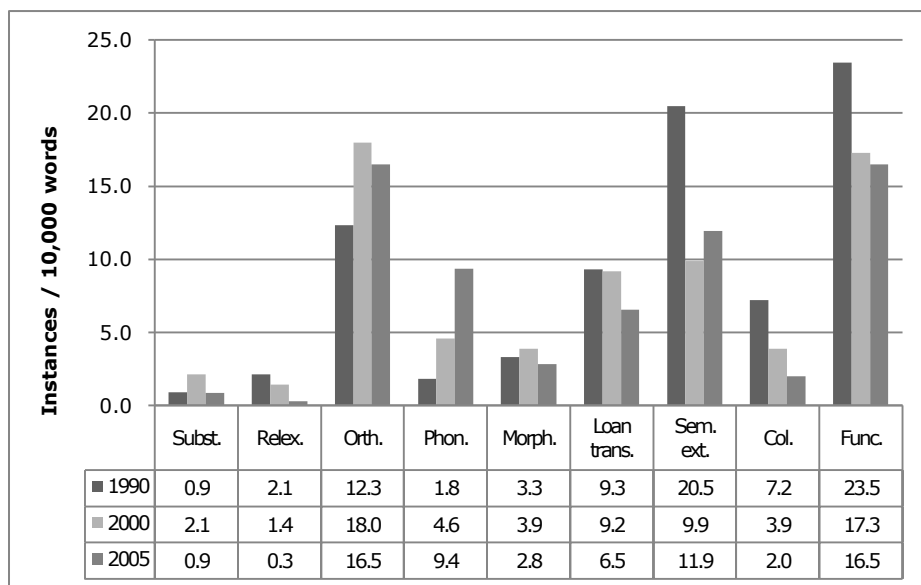
Figure 5.4. Frequencies of lexical transfer in different categories in 1990, 2000 and 2005

The first two categories, substitutions and relexifications, were so infrequent in the corpus that no changes could be observed in their frequencies. The next two categories, on the other hand, showed an unexpected pattern. Orthographic transfer had increased from 12.3 instances per 10,000 words in 1990 to 18 (2000) and 16.5 (2005). This change did not reach a level of statistical significance, but the following category, phonetic transfer, which also resulted in spelling errors in the students' production, did display a statistically extremely significant change. Phonetic transfer had increased from only 1.8 in 1990 to 4.6 in 2000 and up to 9.4 in 2005 ($p < 0.0001$). The fifth category of lexical transfer, morphological transfer, displayed relatively low frequencies in each of the three years, and no statistical changes could be observed in them. Loan translations did show some decrease from 9.3 (1990) and 9.2 (2000) to 6.5 (2005), but this change was not statistically significant. The second category concerned with word semantics, semantic extensions, on

the other hand, had decreased significantly (AOV: p < 0.01; K-W: p = 0.05[20]); as table 5.11 shows and figure 5.3 illustrates, their frequency had almost halved from 20.5 in 1990 to 9.9 in 2000 and 11.9 in 2005. A similar decrease had taken place in the final two categories of lexical transfer. Collocations had decreased very significantly (p < 0.01) from 7.2 in 1990 to 3.9 in 2000 and 2 in 2005. Functional transfer had also decreased from 23.5 in 1990 to 17.3 (2000) and 16.5 (2005), but this change did not quite reach a level of statistical significance.

When we investigate these individual transfer categories as broader groups according to the different aspects of word knowledge they involve (i.e., whether the transfer was concerned with the students' knowledge of word forms, word meanings or word use), we can better observe the changes that had taken place in the students' lexical knowledge during the period under investigation. Figure 5.5 below shows the combined frequencies of the observed transfer categories according to word form, meaning and use. The emerging patterns now allow us to draw more conclusive observations in relation to diachronic differences amongst the data.
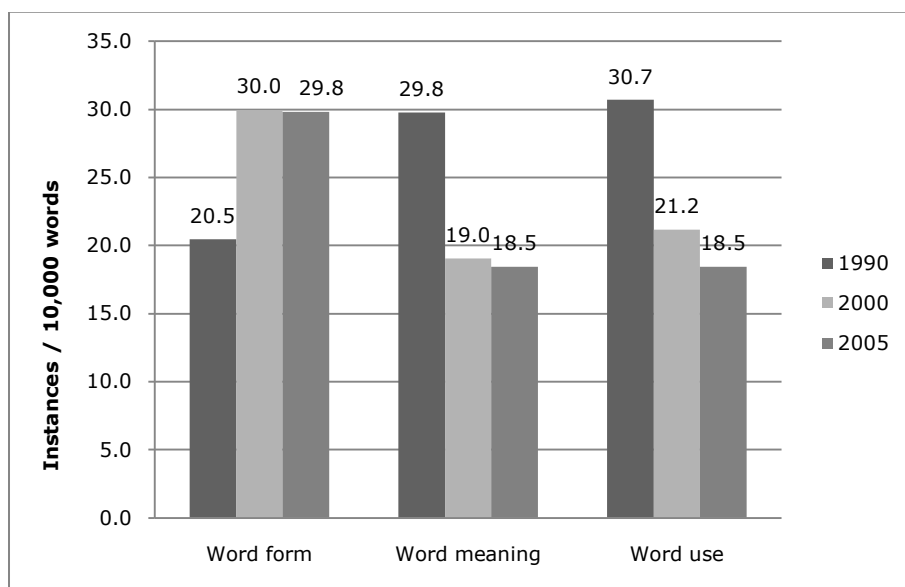
Figure 5.5. Frequencies of lexical transfer by word form, meaning and use

As we can see, the combined frequency of transfer categories relating to word form (that is, the categories of substitutions, relexifications, orthographic transfer, phonetic transfer and morphological transfer) had increased from 20.5 instances (per 10,000 words) in 1990

---

[20] AOV = analysis of variance; K-W = Kruskal-Wallis analysis of variance. As discussed in section 4.3, the results of both of these tests applied in the statistical analysis are reported if they give different significance values. If the values are similar, the results of the Kruskal-Wallis test are given.

to 30 (2000) and 29.8 (2005) (AOV: p < 0.05; K-W: p = 0.065). Among these five categories, orthographic transfer and phonetic transfer were the most frequent ones, and also displayed the greatest changes. As already mentioned, the increase in phonetic transfer alone was statistically extremely significant. Albeit a relatively small category, this increase could have some interesting implications. The students' increased contacts with spoken English, for which the media and improved language teaching methods, among others, are to be thanked, may have resulted in them learning more English via the auditive channel. Consequently, phonetic forms of English words may have become better ingrained in their memory than the orthographic forms of words, contrary to the students in 1990, who had probably learned more English by reading and could, therefore, more easily recall the correct orthography of words. This would also explain the increase of orthographic transfer. Since both of these two categories were essentially concerned with incorrect spelling of English words, it is justified to conclude on the basis of their increased frequency that the students' knowledge of the correct orthographic forms of English words has weakened.

However, the opposite seems to be true of their knowledge of word meanings and word use. The combined frequency for the two categories of transfer that relate to word meanings (i.e., loan translations and semantic extensions) had decreased from 29.8 in 1990 to 19 (2000) and 18.5 (2005) (AOV: p < 0.05; Kruskal-Wallis: p = 0.058). Out of these two categories, the frequency of semantic extensions displayed a significant decrease. This clearly suggests that the students' knowledge of lexical semantics had improved, in other words, they seem to know the semantic ranges and restrictions of English words better than students did in 1990.

The investigation of the two categories that are concerned with word use (i.e., collocations and functional transfer) gave rise to similar positive interpretations. There was a decrease from 30.7 in 1990 to 21.2 in 2000 and 18.5 in 2005, which statistical analysis confirmed to be significant (p < 0.05). This implies that the students in 2000 and 2005 were more aware of which contexts and functions certain English words can be used in, as compared to the students from 1990.

When we investigate the distribution of different types of lexical transfer in 1990, 2000 and 2005, we can see that lexical transfer manifested itself very differently in these three years. Transfer phenomena dominant in 1990 had become less frequent in 2000 and 2005, and, conversely, those phenomena that were less common, had become the most dominant ones. Since the overall frequency of lexical transfer had changed only little, it seems that the patterns that became less frequent were merely replaced by something else. Figure 5.6 illustrates this shift.
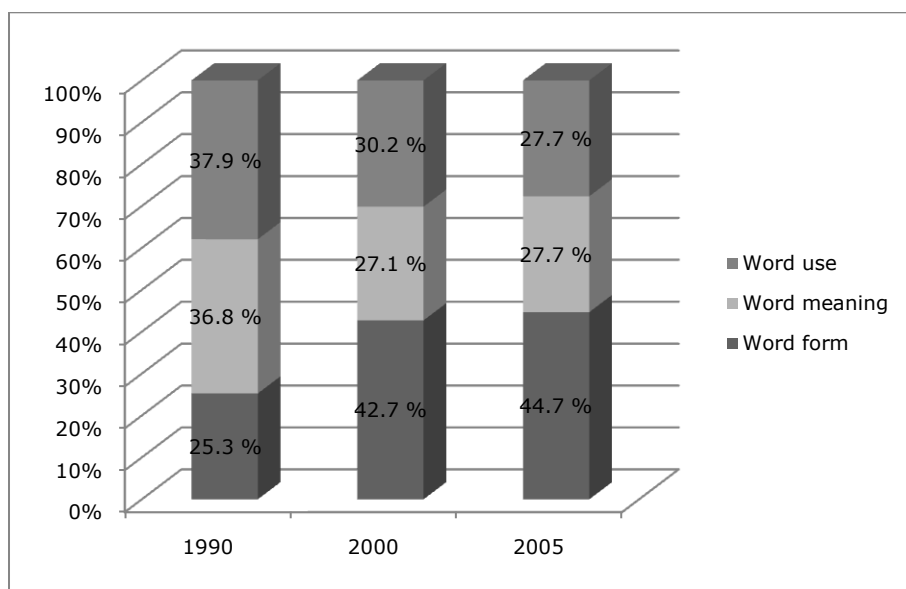
Figure 5.6. Distribution of lexical transfer by word form, meaning and use

One of the most striking changes is the increased proportion of lexical transfer that influences word forms. In 1990, this constituted only 25.3 % of lexical transfer, but it had become the most dominant type of L1 influence in 2000 (42.7 %) and 2005 (44.7 %). Consequently, the relative proportions of transfer relating to word meaning and word use had shrunk from almost 40 % in 1990 to 30 % and less in 2000 and 2005. This means that the aspects of lexical knowledge the students master the best had shifted. In 1990, the students' knowledge of word meanings and word use seem to have been weaker, but their strength was orthographic accuracy. In 2000 and 2005, L1 exerted the strongest influence on the level of word forms, but its influence had decreased in word semantics and word use. In practice, this change manifests itself, on the one hand, as an increased number of spelling errors in the students' written English production. On the other hand, their improved knowledge of word meanings and word use inevitably lead to increased fluency and comprehensibility.

The picture that emerged from the qualitative analysis of the features of lexical transfer seems to be different from that reported by Ringbom (1985, 1987); his analysis of English Matriculation Examination compositions from the 1970s and early 1980s indicated that loan translations and semantic extensions were the most dominant type of lexical transfer for Finnish-speaking students. The results of this study indicate that these types of transfer phenomena were more common in the compositions from 1990, but had clearly decreased in the data from 2000 and 2005. Another finding that seems to contrast with Ringbom (1987) is Finnish students' decreased mastery of English spelling. As described by Ringbom (1987: 73-76, 90-92), the Finnish-speaking students were generally weaker than the Swedish-speaking students in all other areas of their English competence except for spelling, which they mastered very accurately (see chapter 3). This may not be

the case anymore for today's Finnish students. As already discussed, the increase of orthographic transfer and phonetic transfer indicate that the students' knowledge of English word forms has deteriorated. In addition to these L1-induced spelling errors that were observed in this study, my subjective impression is that other types of spelling errors common for most L2 users for English (e.g., *almoust* pro *almost*, *enything* pro *anything*, *becouse* pro *because*) had also clearly increased in the compositions between 1990 and 2005.

Accuracy in English spelling may have been the strength of the students from 1990, but when it comes to the knowledge of word semantics and word use, their mastery of English vocabulary seems to have been relatively undeveloped in comparison to the students from 2000 and 2005. This is reflected in the relatively non-fluent self-expression and lower level of comprehensibility of the compositions from 1990. The opposite is true of the students' compositions from 2000 and 2005. As one observes the spelling of English words in them, the students' written English may, at first sight, appear more 'sloppy' than that of the students in 1990. However, their English seems to display greater accuracy in word semantics and word use, which is likely to contribute to more successful and fluent communication of their ideas and thoughts in the text.

The quantitative and statistical analysis of the data presented in this section indicates that quantitative and qualitative changes had taken place in the lexical transfer patterns of Finnish Upper Secondary school students during 1990-2005. These can be interpreted as a reflection of a change in their vocabulary skills. These changes and the reasons that may have led to them will be further discussed in the concluding chapter. In the following chapter, I will turn my attention to patterns of syntactic transfer found in the corpus and the possible changes observed in them during the period under study.

6 Syntactic Transfer in the Written English of Finnish Students

This chapter presents the qualitative and quantitative analyses of the patterns of syntactic transfer found in the corpus. It is divided into three main sections. Section 6.1 will first compare the data obtained from Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students, and discuss the choice of the syntactic features to be investigated. Section 6.2 and its various sub-sections present the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the chosen syntactic features with the attempt to answer the first research question, which examines what types of transfer phenomena occur in the written English of Finnish students. Finally, section 6.3 will be devoted to exploring the data quantitatively and statistically in order to answer the second research question, which is concerned with the possible differences between the samples from 1990, 2000 and 2005, and if they reflect an improvement in the students' mastery of these syntactic constructions.

6.1 COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE FINNISH-SPEAKING AND SWEDISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS AND THE CHOICE OF FEATURES INVESTIGATED

This section presents the results of the comparison between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students in their usage of the investigated deviant syntactic features in the corpora. Before embarking on the data analysis, the notion of syntactic transfer warrants brief discussion. As discussed in section 4.3 and 5.1, this study attempts to differentiate between transfer phenomena that involve the learners' mastery of English syntactic constructions from those that are concerned with their vocabulary knowledge in English. The scope of lexical transfer and the potential overlap between lexical and syntactic transfer was already discussed throughout section 5.1. However, defining syntactic transfer in terms of L2 learners' syntactic knowledge is beyond the scope of this study because the acquisition of L2 syntax has been studied from a broad variety of perspectives and within many different theoretical frameworks, such as the universal grammar framework and the competition model framework discussed in section 2.2.2. Consequently, there is no widely accepted model of L2 learners' syntactic knowledge comparable to that of L2 learners' lexical knowledge (see section 5.1). Therefore, in this study, syntactic transfer is understood in very general terms as L1 influence on the learners' usage of TL syntactic structures. Syntax may be defined as "the rules which

govern the arrangement of words in the formation of sentences in a language" (Braidi 1999: 2). As discussed in Braidi (1999: 3-4), the term *rules* in the context of the acquisition of L2 grammar can be understood in different ways: as the constraints and principles that govern native speaker linguistic competence (as described by generative linguists), the native-speaker competence rules (consisting of native speakers' mental representations of their native language), pedagogical rules (formulated by linguists, textbook writers and language teachers for the purposes of explicit grammar instruction for L2 learners) and the learner's interlanguage competence rules (which the learners construct in the course of the L2 acquisition process). With the data chosen for the present study, it is not possible to take any stance on the psycholinguistic nature of syntactic rules and syntactic knowledge which underlie these four distinctions presented in Braidi (1999). Therefore, in this study, syntax is understood in the traditional grammatical sense as the organisational principles that govern the placement and relationships of sentence elements. The deviant syntactic structures examined in this study involve violations against TL syntactic principles or rules as described in corpus-based grammars and other descriptive studies of the TL.

As explained in section 4.3, the choice of the investigated syntactic patterns was a three-stage procedure. Firstly, commonly occurring deviant syntactic patterns in Finnish students' corpus were identified. Secondly, these features were analysed contrastively between Finnish and English in order to determine whether their deviant usage could be motivated by L1–L2 linguistic differences. Thirdly, in order to ascertain that these features were caused by transfer, the Swedish-speaking students' corpus was analysed and the frequencies of these deviant syntactic features in Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students' corpora were compared. Differences between these student groups in their usage of the investigated features were regarded as evidence for L1 influence, which determined the final choice of the features to be more closely examined in this study.

The analysis and comparison of the corpora from Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students resulted in the selection of five syntactic features that differ between Finnish and English but are similar between Swedish and English, and the incorrect or atypical usage of which was frequent in the Finnish corpus but very marginal in the Swedish corpus. These features are: *the passive construction*, *expletive pronoun constructions*, certain *subordinate clause patterns*, *expressions for future time* and *prepositional constructions*. Table 6.1 below shows the frequencies of these features per 10,000 words among Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students, as well as the statistical differences between these two learner groups. Figure 6.1 illustrates the distribution of these syntactic features among Finnish-speaking students.

Table 6.1. Frequencies of deviant syntactic patterns in the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students' corpora

	Finnish-speaking students		Swedish-speaking students		*p*-value[21]
	N	N/10,000	N	N/10,000	
The passive construction	69	7.1	1	0.36	< 0.001
Expletive pronoun constructions	93	9.6	2	0.7	< 0.0001
Subordinate clause patterns	88	9.1	7	2.5	< 0.01
Future time	63	6.5	6	2.1	< 0.01
Prepositional constructions	358	37.0	33	11.7	< 0.0001
Total	**671**	**69.3**	**49**	**17.4**	**< 0.0001**
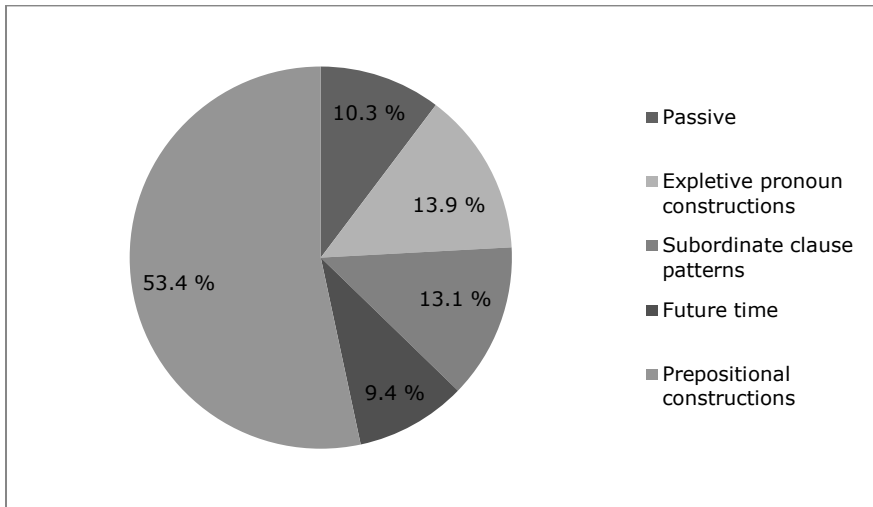
Figure 6.1. The distribution of syntactic transfer among Finnish-speaking students

As table 6.1 indicates, the incorrect or atypical usage of these syntactic features displayed significant statistical differences between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking learners. Deviant passive constructions, expletive pronoun constructions, subordinate clause patterns and expressions for future time displayed very low frequencies in the Swedish corpus, but significantly higher frequencies in the Finnish corpus. Some deviant prepositional constructions were also found in the Swedish corpus, but being the most numerous category with a frequency as high as 37 per 10,000 words they were significantly more common in the Finnish corpus.

---

[21] The significance values refer to the Mann-Whitney U-test (see section 4.3)

It must be pointed out, though, that the corpora obtained from these two learner groups are not entirely comparable due to the fact that the Swedish-speaking students seldom produced really weak compositions. As discussed in section 4.2.2, the Swedish corpus does not contain any compositions from the lowest point category, and only some from the second lowest point category. In order to exclude the possibility that the larger proportion of weaker compositions in the Finnish corpus could account for the differences between these two learner groups (see section 4.3), the data were also statistically analysed between students in point categories 1-4 only. These results are given in appendix 3. The results obtained from these analyses confirmed that the differences in the overall frequencies of these deviant syntactic patterns were statistically very significant ($p < 0.0001$) even among the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students in the highest four point categories. Within the individual transfer categories, significant differences were found in all of the other categories except that of deviant expressions for future time (see appendix 3). These results obtained from the students in the highest four point categories also indicate that these syntactic structures are difficult not only for the weak but also for average and even good Finnish students to master.

Before moving on to present and discuss the selected syntactic features in greater detail, a brief note should be made on those features that were, in the end, excluded from the present study: the incorrect use of articles and certain types of deviant word order patterns. As one of the most persistent learning problems for Finnish ESL learners, articles would, undoubtedly, reveal interesting aspects of L1 influence and possible interlanguage development of the students under investigation. However, the article errors of Finnish students have been found to be not only complex and variable in nature, but also to display characteristics universal to all ESL learners (Sajavaara 1989). Thus, gaining deeper insight into this subject area would preferably require a different kind of research design with elicited data focusing on different types of article usage in order to more reliably tease apart transfer-induced article errors and learner universals. Moreover, due to the high frequency of articles in English, article errors produced by Finns are likely to be so frequent that their investigation is better served in a study with a specific focus on articles alone.

In addition to articles, Finnish students, as L1 speakers of a language with a flexible word order, frequently experience difficulties with the rigid word order rules of English. There were, in fact, two types of deviant word order patterns that were frequently encountered in the corpus: the incorrect placement of adverbials (e.g., I like *very much* animals) (*n*=133; 13.7/10,000 words) and subject-verb inversion (e.g., When the war was over, *started very short time of peace*) (*n*=42; 4.3/10,000 words). At first sight, both of these patterns appeared transfer-induced. Closer examination, nevertheless, revealed that adverbial placement is very flexible in both Finnish and English, which would make the differentiation between transfer-induced and intralingually induced errors very difficult. Moreover, incorrect placement of adverbials was a common feature in the Swedish corpus as well (*n*=39; 13.8/10,000 words), which suggests that different learner groups produce similar deviant patterns. Subject-verb inversion was another feature that seemed to reflect Finnish influence, but differentiating it from L3 Swedish influence turned out to be difficult. Subject-verb inversion is a frequent feature in Swedish, and Finnish students'

familiarity with Swedish could also contribute to the existence of this pattern in their English interlanguage. Indeed, the analysis of the comparison corpus revealed that deviant subject-verb inversion patterns were even more common for L1 Swedish students (*n*=33; 11.7/10,000 words), which is why it was excluded from the present study.

The statistical differences between the comparison groups presented in table 6.1 were supported by contrastive analysis of Finnish-English structural differences and Swedish-English structural similarities. Finnish students' difficulties with the English passive construction can be explained by the fact that the Finnish passive greatly diverges from the passive of Germanic languages. Expletive pronoun constructions (inc. the use of the anticipatory *it* pronoun and existential *there*), likewise, do not exist in Finnish, but have close parallels in English and Swedish. The subordinate clause patterns under study include subordinate interrogative clauses and *that* –clauses, which both involve patterns not shared by English and Swedish. Both English and Swedish express futurity with the help of a future auxiliary, which is completely lacking in Finnish. Similarly, both English and Swedish make use of prepositions, which share many formal and semantic similarities, while Finnish uses case endings for expressing relations between entities. These five syntactic features in the focus of this study will be more closely examined in the following section.

6.2 ANALYSIS OF THE INVESTIGATED SYNTACTIC FEATURES

This section presents the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the syntactic transfer patterns found in the corpus. The five transfer patterns under investigation, i.e., the passive construction, expletive pronoun constructions, subordinate clause patterns, expressions for future time and prepositional constructions, will each be discussed in their pertinent sub-sections 6.2.1 – 6.2.5. Each of these sub-sections will start with a description and comparison of the relevant syntactic features in both Finnish and in English[22]. After that, the transfer phenomena found in the corpus are described and exemplified.

---

[22] The description of the syntactic features chosen relies primarily on two sources. With regard to Finnish, the work I have chosen is *Iso Suomen Kielioppi* (a comprehensive grammar of Finnish) by Hakulinen *et al.* (2005). It is the standard reference work for Finnish grammar, which is currently the most comprehensive and the most recent one. It is not based on certain theoretical approach but creates a synthesis of the research conducted on Finnish grammar. I found it suitable for the needs of this study because it has a descriptive, corpus based approach and besides standard, written Finnish it also takes spoken language into account. A comparable work in the field of English grammar is *The Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* by Quirk *et al.* (1985), which I chose to rely on for my description of English syntax. As with Hakulinen *et al.* (2005), it is a descriptive grammar based on extensive research and corpus-based studies on real-life language usage, taking both spoken and written language as well as different varieties of English into account. Where necessary, references to Quirk *et al.* (1985) are complemented by another standard work of English grammar, *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* by *Huddleston and Pullum* (2002). At points, references to both Finnish and English grammars are further complemented by studies that pertain to the topic under discussion.

6.2.1 The passive construction

As shown in table 6.1, there were 69 instances in the Finnish corpus in which the students had failed to use the English passive voice correctly. The transfer patterns found were concerned with the students' use of the active voice instead of the passive voice, or their omission of generic pronouns (e.g., *one*, *you*, *they*). Only one such example was detected in the Swedish corpus. The acquisition of this syntactic structure seems to be easier for L1 Swedish learners because the use of the Swedish passive resembles the use of the English passive, such as in *Bilen kördes av en kvinna* 'the car was driven by a woman' (Holmes & Hinchliffe 1994: 309). Swedish also makes use of several periphrastic constructions (e.g., *England blev slaget 2-4 av Sverige i finalen* 'England was beaten by Sweden 2-3 in the final') and the generic pronoun *man* (e.g., *man sager att det ska bli en ändring* 'they say there'll be a change') for expressing passivity (Holmes & Hinchliffe 1994: 311, 313). Finnish learners of English, on the other hand, cannot make use of positive transfer in their acquisition of the English passive voice because the corresponding Finnish patterns greatly diverge from the English ones.

In order to gain better insight into Finnish students' deviant patterns when attempting to express passivity in English, section 6.2.1.1 will examine the different forms and functions of the passive voice in these two languages. Section 6.2.1.2 will then explore examples of the deviant usage of the passive voice found in the corpus.

6.2.1.1 The passive voice in Finnish and in English

The passive construction in Finnish differs from that in the Indo-European languages to such an extent that grammarians have not reached a consensus on whether or not it should be called a passive in the first place. The Finnish passive resembles the "prototypical" passive of English and other Indo-European languages in that its purpose is to fade the subject out in order to place more emphasis on the verb. However, there are many fundamental differences in the various forms and functions of the passive voice in Finnish and in English. Finnish makes use of several passive-like constructions which mostly, but not always, correspond to the English passive. The deviant passive constructions observed in the corpus reflected all of these different types of passive-like constructions in Finnish, which is why these Finnish constructions and their English equivalents will be examined in the following.

The most common means for expressing the passive voice in Finnish is the *impersonal passive*[23]. Contrary to the periphrastic passive of English, Finnish makes use of verb inflection: the impersonal passive is formed by adding a morpheme *–TA-* between the verb stem and any other inflectional endings (e.g., maalata 'paint'; maala-TA-an 'paint-PAS')[24]. The impersonal passive differs from the personal passive of English in many significant ways. In English, the passive clause has a grammatical subject that the verb

---

[23] Finnish grammarians also use the term *single*-personal passive and the term *personless* is also used when referring to the passive construction in Finnish (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1254).

[24] See Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 137-139) for the various allomorphs of this morpheme and forms of the passive verb.

agrees with and the performer of the action is often expressed through an agent –
construction. The Finnish impersonal passive, on the other hand, has no obvious subject.
The following examples from Vilkuna (2000: 143) illustrate this difference.

(6.1)　a.　The man has been elected　　　The men have been elected
　　　　　Mies on valittu　　　　　　　　Miehet on valittu

　　　　b.　*Here is only slept　　　　　　*It is only slept here
　　　　　Täällä vain nukutaan

As example (6.1 a) shows, the verb in the English passive clause agrees with the subject.
In Finnish, on the other hand, *mies* or *miehet* ('the man', 'the men') is not in fact the subject
of the clause but rather the object. The verb in the passive clause has a specific form
which is not affected by person congruence (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1254). Example (6.1
b) more clearly illustrates the difference between the personal and impersonal passive
constructions. The English passive clauses must contain a subject; therefore, the passive
can only be formed from transitive verbs, i.e., verbs that have an object in the active
clause, which can then become the subject of the passive clause (see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 159-
167). The Finnish passive, on the other hand, can be formed from many types of verbs
with regard to their semantic or valence characteristics (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1261, 1269,
Karttunen 1977: 111).

　　　Another significant difference between Finnish and English is that Finnish does not
allow the expression of an agent in a passive clause (see, e.g., Löflund 1998: 24, Karttunen
1977: 110). Hence, contrary to English, Finnish does not allow passive transformation the
way English does. The following example from Löflund (1998: 27) illustrates this
difference.

(6.2)　S　V　　O　　　S　V　　　　A
　　　　John admires Mary　:　　Mary is admired by John

　　　　S　V　　O　　　O　V　　　　A
　　　　Jussi ihailee Maijaa　:　　*Maijaa ihaillaan Jussilta

In Finnish, the subject of an active clause cannot be transformed into an agent in the
passive construction, as it is done in English with the help of the *by* –construction. (see,
e.g., Hakulinen & Karlsson 1988: 255, Löflund (1998: 24-29). Where English uses the
passive voice with the agent –construction, Finnish uses the active voice, as in *Maijaa
ihailee Jussi* (Mary-PAR admire-3SG John, 'It is John that admires Mary) or *Maijan ihailija
on Jussi* ('Mary's admirer is John') (Löflund 1998: 27). The use of the passive voice without
an agent, as in *Maijaa ihaillaan* ('Mary is being admired') is grammatical, but its meaning
is non-referential; in this case, it means that Mary is generally admired by people.

　　　One of the central characteristics of the impersonal passive is that it implies an
indefinite human agent. In other words, it is used to describe situations which involve an
unspecified subject; the subject belongs to the valence of the verb but the identity of the

subject is not evident in the clause. It follows from this that only verbs that have a personal or human subject can be used in the passive voice. Hence, it is not possible to form a passive from verbs that denote the weather (e.g., *hämärtää* 'get dim', *sataa* 'to rain'), feelings (e.g., *huimata* 'feel dizzy') or from necessive verbs (e.g., *täytyä* 'must') [25] (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1261, Hakulinen & Karlsson 1988: 255). In English, on the other hand, the passive can also be formed from verbs that do not have a human subject. Examples discussed in Karttunen (1977: 110) illustrate this difference. As illustrated in (6.3 a), in English, it is acceptable to have a passive clause with a non-human subject (the wind). In Finnish, the equivalent clause must be expressed using the active voice (6.3 b), the passive voice being ungrammatical (6.3 c).

(6.3)   a.   The roof of the house was blown away

        b.   Tuuli puhalsi   talosta   katon
            wind blow-3SG-PST house-ELA roof-GEN
            'The wind blew the roof from the house'

        c.   *Talosta   puhallettiin   katto
            house-ELA blow-PAS-PST roof

The Finnish and English passive constructions differ not only in form, but also in function. As discussed by Shore (1986: 76-79), Hakulinen & Karlsson (1988: 255-256) and Löflund (1998: 24), the passive in Indo-European languages is primarily a thematic phenomenon; one of its main functions is to arrange the constituent order according to what is new/old or important/unimportant information. The corresponding thematisation in Finnish occurs by changing the word order with the help of various transformation rules (see, e.g., Hakulinen 2001). The main function of the passive is to suppress the agent.

    The nature of the Finnish passive construction has often been the cause for disagreements for grammarians. Some grammarians argue that Finnish does not have a true passive at all, but rather an *indefinite verb category* which resembles the passive of Indo-European languages (e.g., Shore 1986, Sulkala &Karjalainen 1992, Blevins 2003). Other grammarians, on the other hand, maintain that despite structural differences, the impersonal passive does share many characteristics with the personal passive and is therefore justifiably termed the passive (e.g., Löflund 1998, Manninen & Nelson 2004, Hakulinen *et al*. 2005). These terminological disagreements have their roots in history. Löflund (1998: 18-23) distinguishes different historical stages in the study of the Finnish passive construction. From the 17th to the 18th century, when prescriptive grammarians strictly obeyed the model of classical languages, the Finnish passive was considered to be related to the passive construction in Latin. From the 18th century to the start of the 20th century, the Finnish passive was seen as an equivalent to the passive in the Indo-European, primarily Germanic, languages. From the 1970s onwards, Finnish

---

[25] In Finnish, the verbs that denote feelings and necessive verbs do not have a subject (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 450). Hence, although the English translations of these examples have a subject, as in *I feel dizzy*, in the Finnish equivalent *minua huimaa* (I-PAR feel dizzy-3SG), *I* is not a subject but an object.

grammarians have made a conscious effort to rewrite the description of the Finnish passive by emphasising the characteristics that differentiate it from the passive in other languages. Influenced by this research paradigm, researchers have suggested several alternative terms for the passive, such as *the unspecified active* or *the indefinite* (see Löflund 1998: 30-31). The passive form has also been described as a *fourth person*, which is found to be a descriptive term by several grammarians even today. The fourth person means the fourth grammatical person; it is not any of the three grammatical persons either in the singular or in the plural, but a generalising indefinite person (see, e.g., Hakulinen & Karlsson 1988: 255, Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1254-56). Despite this criticism, the term passive is still used in Finnish grammar. The proponents of this term have justified this by referring to the fact that passive is not a homogenous category across the languages in the first place, and since the Finnish construction displays several characteristics of the prototypical passive, its status as a passive is justified (e.g., Löflund 1998, Manninen & Nelson 2004).

In addition to the impersonal (or single-personal) passive described above, Finnish has several other passive-like constructions which correspond to the English passive. One of these is a so-called *multi-personal passive*. As the name implies, as opposed to the single-personal passive, which is not affected by person congruence, the multi-personal passive displays full person inflection (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1270). The use of this passive construction is marginal in comparison to the impersonal passive, which is usually understood as the passive construction in Finnish. The multi-personal passive bears obvious resemblance to the English passive; it has a subject, which is represented by the object of the equivalent active clause, and the verb agrees with the subject (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1270). As in English, this passive construction can only be formed from transitive verbs. However, in Finnish this construction is only used with a restricted number of verbs; the auxiliary is either *tulla* 'to become', *joutua* 'to get' or *olla* 'to be' and the main verb is a passive participle (e.g., *valittu* 'chosen') (example 6.4 a) or agent participle clause (e.g., *auton yliajama* 'overrun by a car') (example 6.4 b). The multi-personal passive denotes either a change, as illustrated in examples (6.4) (a) and (b), or a state, as seen in example (c).

(6.4) a. Sinä tulit valituksi   Kosonen tuli   valituksi
           You became-2SG chosen-TRANS   (Name)   became-3SG   chosenTRANS
           'You were chosen'   'Kosonen was chosen'

       b. Minä jouduin poliisin   yllättämäksi
           I   got-1SG police-GEN surprised-TRANS
           'I was surprised by the police'

       c. Asia   on hyvin hoidettu
           matter is well   take care-PTC
           'The matter is well taken care of '

There are also certain verb forms in Finnish which imply the notion of passivity. These are verbs with a U-derivative, which denote a change that concerns the subject of the clause (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 329-347). The U-derivative transforms a transitive verb into an intransitive one, as in *pukea* 'dress' (e.g. The father dressed the child) -> *pukeutua* 'get dressed' (e.g. The child got dressed) (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 329). A clause that has a U-derivative as a predicate is called a *derivative passive*. This is illustrated in the following examples from Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 1278).

(6.5)   a.   Asia   hoituu
             matter take care-DER-3SG
             'The matter will be taken care of'

        b.   Puut   kaatuivat
             Tree-PL fall-DER-PST-3PL
             'the trees were fallen'

The passive construction is not the only means in the Finnish grammar for emphasising the verb and fading the subject out. For this purpose, Finnish also makes use of the *zero-person* construction. The difference between these two constructions is merely structural. As Karttunen (1977: 123-124) points out, the semantic ranges of these two features are so similar that they could together be termed "the indefinite agent in Finnish"[26]. It is, therefore, well justified to discuss the zero-person construction and the passive construction under one heading. The most salient characteristic of the zero-person clause is that it does not contain a noun phrase. A typical representative of this type of a clause is a *zero-subject clause*, which is illustrated in examples (6.6) (a) and (b) (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1284-85).

(6.6)   a.   Täällähän jäätyy
             Here-CL   freeze-3SG
              'One freezes here'

        b.   Jos myöhästyi,   jäi   ilman   ruokaa
             If   be late-PST-3SG stay-PST-3SG without food-PAR
             'If you were late, you did not get any food'

The zero-person clauses are typically used in contexts where the information the clause contains concerns the speaker and/or the hearer and which can often be generalised to any person. Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 1284, 1286) interpret the *zero* in the name zero-person as comparable to personal pronouns. The fact that the verb has a third person singular ending makes the zero-person a part of the person congruence system.

What the zero-person construction and the impersonal passive construction have in common is that the subject is not expressed in the clause and they both can be used in

---

[26] Karttunen (1977) uses the terms "subjectless 3rd person singular with a generalising force" and "the generic 3rd person singular" to refer to the zero-person construction.

contexts when the content of the clause can be applied to the speaker/hearers (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1288). The difference between these two constructions is that the passive generally implies that the referent is in the plural, whereas the zero-person refers to one person only. The following examples from Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 1297) illustrate this difference.

(6.7)   a. Ennen   oltiin   vähään   tyytyväisiä
            In the past be-PASS-PST little-ILL satisfied-PAR-PL
            'In the past, people were satisfied with little'

        b. Jos oli   vähään   tyytyväinen…
            If   was-3SG little-ILL satisfied
            'If you were satisfied with little…'

The partitive plural form of the complement *tyytyväisiä* 'satisfied' in the passive clause (example 6.7 a) implies that the clause refers to many people, whereas the third-person singular form of the verb in the zero-person clause in (6.7 b) refers to an individual. The formal difference between these two constructions is small, but they are used in different contexts; the passive construction can be used to describe an event or a process that has a referent in time and space, whereas the zero-person construction is typically used in conditional, hypothetical or modal clauses (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1284).

Consequently, the zero-person is often used in connection with modal verbs, such as *voida* 'can' and *saada* 'be allowed to', or with modal verbs that form a *necessive construction* (a modal verb construction which expresses necessity or obligation) such as *täytyä* 'must, have to' and *olla pakko* 'have to' (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1288-92). As the examples below from Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 1289) illustrate, the zero-person construction does not describe a real event in time and/or space but it is modal in its meaning (6.8 a and b). Sometimes there is a very fine border between the zero-person used with modal verbs and the passive construction. This can be seen in the examples from Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 1298), which involve the modal verb *voida* 'can' (6.8 c). The two constructions can almost be used interchangeably; the only difference is that the zero-person describes the situation from the point of view of an individual, whereas the passive does so from the point of view of a group of people. The difference between these two constructions is completely neutralised in the necessive construction (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1298-99). It is not possible to form a passive from the necessive construction, but the zero-person is used instead. These two constructions can even be used in the same sentence and still have the same referent, as example (6.8 d) from Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 1298) shows. In this example, the necessive verb *täytyä* 'have to' is used in the zero-person but the verb *haluta* 'want' in the passive. Hence, the zero-person construction can even be used to replace the impersonal passive with verbs that do not allow passivisation.

(6.8)   a. Kakkua sai   ottaa niin paljon kuin halusi,   äiti oli sanonut
            cake-PAR can-PST-3SG take so   much than want-PST-3SG mum had said
            'You could have as much cake as you wanted, mum had said'

b. Täällä pitäsi siivota
here   should clean up
'One should clean up in here'

c. Asia   voidaan korjata nopeasti : Asian   voi   korjata nopeasti
matter can-PAS fix   fast   matter-GEN can-3SG fix   fast
'the matter can be fixed fast'

d. On   täytynyt   ja haluttu   menestyä   kaikessa
Be-3SG have to-PST and want-PAS be successful everything-INE
'One had to and wanted to be successful in everything'

Overall, there are many passive-like constructions in Finnish that correspond to the passive construction in English. The English passive construction has already been touched upon several times in the preceding discussion, which is why in the following I will only briefly review some of its main characteristics. As explained in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 159-160), in English the passive can be formed from active clauses that contain a transitive verb so that the object of an active clause becomes the grammatical subject of a passive clause and the subject of the active clause is expressed through an agent – construction (see example 6.2 for the illustration of the passive transformation). Despite the rearrangement of the clause constituents, the active and passive clauses most often convey the same meaning. According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 166-67), the use of the passive voice is primarily a stylistic choice; it is most frequently used in informative writing and in the objective and impersonal style of scientific writing and news reporting.

There are certain restrictions for the use of active or passive voice that deserve to be briefly mentioned. There are certain verbs that do not have an active-passive correspondence. For instance, the verbs *have*, *lack*, and *resemble* can only be used in the active, whereas the verbs *be born* or *be drowned* only allow the passive voice (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 162-163). Some prepositional verbs do not allow passive transformation, either, as in **The tunnel was very carefully gone into by the engineers* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 163). There are some restrictions for the formation of the passive from verbs that have a clause as an object; for instance, the passive transformation of the sentence *John thought that she was attractive* results in the rather cumbersome ?**That she was attractive was thought* (*by John*) (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 159-163-164). In some instances, the corresponding active and passive clauses may convey slightly different meanings, as in *every schoolboy knows one joke at least* as compared to *one joke at least is known by every schoolboy* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 165-66).

The Finnish passive also has other equivalents in English than the actual passive construction. The indefinite or generic subject that Finnish expresses through the passive construction or the zero-person construction corresponds to the English generic pronouns *one*, *you*, *we*, *they* and *people* (see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 353-354, 387-388, Karttunen 1977: 112-114). As Karttunen (1977: 112) points out, the use of the generic pronouns in English closely corresponds to the functions of the passive construction in Finnish since they both imply a human subject. Since English sentences must always contain a subject, generic

pronouns can function as an indefinite subject in instances where passive transformation is not possible (i.e. with intransitive verbs). As Karttunen (1977: 112) describes, in Finnish, passive can be formed from an intransitive verb like *tanssia* 'dance', as in *talossa tanssitaan* (house-INE dance-PAS). In English, the equivalent sentence **In the house is danced* would be ungrammatical; instead, English uses the generic pronoun 'they' as an indefinite subject, as in *they are dancing in the house*. The following examples from Karttunen (1977: 112-113) demonstrate how English generic pronouns often correspond to the Finnish passive (6.9 a-b). The indefinite subjects *we*, *you* and *one* also often correspond to the zero-person construction, which can be seen in example (6.9 c).

(6.9)   a.   Skotlannissa ollaan   taipuvaisia pitämään skottilaisia   lehtiä
             Scotland-INE be-PAS inclined   keep-PTC Scottish-PAR-PL papers-PAR-
             PL *parempina   kuin   englantilaisia*
             better-ESS-PL than   English-PAR-PL
             'In Scotland **people** are inclined to prefer Scottish papers to those sent from England'

        b.   Tietenkin syötti heitetään   menemään, ellei   sillä   tee mitään.
              Of course bait   throw-PAS away   unless it-ADE do anything
             'Of course **you** throw away the bait if it is no good'

        c.   Menin Carmelin laaksoon, missä ennen vanhaan *voi ampua* (can shoot-3SG)
             metsästyskiväärillä mihin suuntaan hyväänsä. Nyt siellä *ei voisi ampua* (no
             3SG could shoot) ritsoilla marmorikuulaa haavoittamatta muukalaista.
             'I went to Carmel Valley where once *we could shoot* a thirty-thirty in any
             direction. Now *you couldn't shoot* a marble knuckles down without
             wounding a foreigner'

Thus, when searching for an English equivalent for expressing indefinite or generic subject (as in the Finnish passive or zero-person), Finnish students are faced with the choice between the passive construction or the use of the generic pronouns. Overall, as the above description of the passive and passive-like constructions in Finnish and in English has hopefully been able to demonstrate, expressing the notion of passivity in English contains many caveats for speakers of Finnish. My corpus showed frequent examples of incorrect uses of the passive voice which could be traced back to L1. These examples will be discussed in the following section.

6.2.1.2 Finnish students' omission of passive markers in English
Deviant forms of the passive construction amounted to 10.3 % (*n* = 69) of all syntactic transfer observed in the corpus (see fig. 6.1). L1 influence manifested itself as the usage of the active voice instead of the passive voice, or as the omission of generic pronouns. The resulting deviant patterns reflected five different features of Finnish grammar: the impersonal passive, the derivative passive, the zero-person construction, the necessive

construction and certain verbs that are used in the active or passive voice only. Table 6.2 shows the distribution of these features.

Table 6.2. Deviant uses of the passive construction

The passive construction	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Impersonal passive	4	2	9	**15** (21.7 %)	**69** (100 %)
Derivative passive	6	3	2	**11** (15.9 %)	
Zero-person	4	5	6	**15** (21.7 %)	
Necessive construction	4	3	4	**11** (16 %)	
Active / passive verbs	4	9	4	**17** (24.6 %)	

In 15 (21.7 %) instances out of the total 69, the students' usage of the active voice in instances where the passive voice should have been used reflected the usage of the Finnish impersonal passive. As described in section 6.2.1.1, the Finnish impersonal passive is realised as a distinct verb form in which the passive morpheme –*TA-* is fused into the verb stem. What seems to cause problems for Finnish learners of English is the periphrasticity of the English passive voice. In other words, for Finnish students, the English passive is a complex multi-word construction, the various parts of which they tend to omit. This can be seen in the following examples from my corpus.

(6.10) a. There is a lot of animals in the world , which *use* an awful way (pro *are used*, cf. Fi. *käyte-TÄ-än* 'use-PAS') (G, 1990, 5)

b. There *need* help very much (pro *is needed / people need*, cf. Fi. *tarvi-TA-an* 'need-PAS' (B, 2005, 6)

c. For example many wars *have declared* to get more resources, like oil (pro *have been declared*, cf. Fi. *on juliste-TTU* 'have declare-PAS-PST') (B, 2000, 4)

d. The EU is so strong that Europe's wars *have fought* (pro *have been fought*, cf. Fi. *on taistel-TU/sodi-TTU* 'have fight-PAS-PST') (B, 2000, 3)

My observation based on my own teaching experience is that when looking for English equivalents for Finnish words, Finnish students sometimes ignore any morphemes the word may contain, take the basic form of its English translation equivalent and naively assume that it contains all the grammatical and semantic information expressed by the morphemes hidden inside the Finnish word. This is, I believe, what has taken place in the

instances exemplified above. Since the passive morpheme in Finnish is integrated into the verb (as in *käyttää* 'use'; *käyte-TÄ-än* 'is used') the students may have been ignorant of the fact that the Finnish expression they are attempting to render in English is actually in the passive voice. Examples (6.10) (a) and (b) above are striking examples of this. Examples (6.10) (c) and (d) are concerned with the past perfect tense of the passive construction, the correct formation of which requires a bit more skill from English learners. Similar deviant patterns may be produced by English learners of all L1 backgrounds, but the fact that the Swedish-speaking students seem to master the formation of the English periphrastic passive lends further support for the interpretation that Finnish students' problems with the English passive construction are L1 induced.

In 11 instances (15.9 %), the students' incorrect usage of the active voice instead of the passive voice could be traced back to the Finnish derivative passive. Since many Finnish derivative verbs have lexicalised, language users may be ignorant of the fact that they convey passive sense. Consequently, Finnish learners of English may not always be conscious of the equivalence between the English passive and Finnish verbs with U-derivative. This is, I believe, what explains deviant forms such as those illustrated in (6.11 a – c) below.

(6.11) a. Most of them *base* on metal and wood (pro *are based*, cf. Fi. perust-U-a 'be based') (B, 2005, 1)

 b. We can send for money to different kinds of collections which *connected* with animals (pro *are connected*, cf. Fi. liitt-Y-ä 'be connected') (G, 1990, 4)

 c. Man's and animals' balance, naturebalance *is distroying* at the same time (pro *is being destroyed*, cf. Fi. tuho-UTU-a 'get destroyed') (G, 1990, 6)

The third feature of Finnish grammar that was found to be the cause for the students' confusion of active and passive sense in English was the zero-person construction (*n* = 15, 21.7 %). The zero-person construction is a third person singular form which conveys a generic meaning similar to that of the impersonal passive. Being modal in its meaning, the zero-person is often used with modal verbs such as *voida* 'can' and *saada* 'be allowed to'. The zero-person construction occurred in connection with these verbs also in my corpus; the students had used the infinitive form of the main verb in connection with modal verbs, which is a direct rendering of the Finnish zero-person construction (examples 6.12 a – d). The resulting form, 'modal verb + the infinitive', is in the active voice in English. In most cases, the corresponding correct English form would have been the passive construction, as in (6.12 a – c), but sometimes the zero-person construction corresponded to English generic pronouns, the omission of which resulted in subjectless clauses, as shown in (6.12 d – e).

(6.12) a. I would like that spanish *could choose* in the Secondary School, too (pro *could be chosen*, cf. Fi. *voisi valita* 'could-3SG choose') (G, 1990, 3)

b. Pets *can't leave or free* because they need people (pro *can't be left or freed*, cf. Fi. *ei voi jättää tai vapauttaa* 'no-3SG can leave or free) (B, 1990, 6)

c. So my opinion on that topic is that any television are *not allowed to put* in bedrooms (pro *not allowed to be placed*, cf. Fi. *ei saa laittaa* 'no-3SG can put') (G, 2000, 5)

d. Get married is the biggest mistake which *can do* (pro *which one can do*, cf. Fi. *jonka voi tehdä* 'which can'3SG do') (G, 2000, 5)

e. So, *could survive* if Nokia falls? (pro could we survive, cf. Fi. *voisiko selvitä* 'can-3SG-CON-CL survive') (G, 2005, 6)

In 11 instances (16 %), the reason for the omission of the passive construction or generic pronouns could be found in the Finnish necessive construction, which is a sub-type of the zero-person construction. The difference between the passive and zero-person realised as a necessive construction is practically non-existent. As discussed in section 6.1.1, since modal verbs that express necessity (such as *täytyä* 'must, have to' and *olla pakko* 'have to') do not allow passivisation, the zero-person form replaces the passive. In my corpus, the students had used the infinitive form of the main verb in connection with verbs that correspond to the Finnish necessive verbs, as can be seen from examples (6.13 a – d). In examples (a – b), the resulting form, 'the necessive verb + the infinitive', has been used instead of the passive construction, whereas in (c – d) generic pronouns should have been used.

(6.13) a. Nowdays nature is so polluted, especially air, that something *have to do* (pro *has to be done*, cf. Fi. *täytyy tehdä* 'have to-3SG do) (B, 1990, 4)

b. Pollution is also serious problem which *has to solve* before the nature dies (pro *has to be solved*, cf. Fi. *täytyy ratkaista* 'have to-3SG solve') (B, 1990, 4)

c. I think that marriadge is beatiful old manner which *must keep alive* (pro *must be kept*, cf. Fi. *täytyy pitää* 'must-3SG keep) (G, 2000, 5)

d. So why *should rush* ? (pro *why should one rush*, cf. Fi. *miksi pitäisi kiirehtiä* 'why should-3SG rush) (G, 2000, 4)

The final type of erroneous usage of the active voice instead of the passive voice occurred in connection with certain verbs that only allow the passive voice in English (*n* = 17; 24.6 %). In Finnish, however, these verbs are used in the active voice. Examples (6.14 a – c) show how the students had used the verb constructions *be born*, *be scared* and *be used to*:

(6.14) a. There is no need to be married before baby *borns* (pro *is born*, cf. Fi. *syntyy*) (G, 2000, 4)

126

b.   I *scare* that a lot (pro *I am scared of*, cf. Fi. *pelkään*) (G, 2000, 5)

c.   I *have used to* them and I just can't imagine life without animals! (pro *I have been used to them/I am used to them*, cf. Fi. *olen tottunut*) (G, 1990, 3)

In Finnish, the verb *syntyä* 'be born' is used in the active voice, which is why the students had used an active form of this verb in English (6.14 a). The Finnish verb *pelätä* 'be scared' is also used in the active voice and its complement is in the partitive case, which corresponds to the direct object in English (6.14 b). The verb *tottua* 'be used to' is equally used in the active voice but its complement is in the illative case, which corresponds to the English preposition *to* (6.14 c).

As the examples discussed in this section show, Finnish L1 influence can clearly be observed in the ill-formed passive constructions found in the corpus. To sum up, the periphrastic passive of English is difficult for Finnish learners because their L1 expresses passivity, among many other categories, through verb inflection. Hence, Finnish learners may not always notice the equivalence between a Finnish verb form conveying passive/generic sense and the English passive construction or generic pronouns. Swedish-speaking learners of the same level, on the other hand, exhibit no problems with the English passive because they are aided by L1–L2 linguistic similarity. It can, therefore, be concluded that this typological difference between Finnish and English seems to act as a hindrance in the acquisition process of this grammatical construction.

6.2.2 The extraposition and existential constructions

The second feature of syntactic transfer to be investigated is concerned with the extraposition constructions with *it* and existential constructions with *there* as expletive (dummy) subjects. My corpus showed that Finnish students often tend to omit these dummy subject elements, which results in deviant syntactic structures in their written English production. The students' problems with these constructions can be traced back to certain non-canonical clause types in Finnish. For example, there are clause types in which a subject occurs in sentence final position or which totally lack a surface subject[27]. In English, on the other hand, sentences must always contain a subject, and its default position is sentence initial, before the verb. If the subject cannot be placed in sentence initial position, English employs expletive subjects to fill the default subject position. It is this rule of English grammar that Finnish students seem to experience problems with.

With regard to the omission of the expletive subjects *it* and *there*, Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students exhibited statistically extremely significant differences. In the Swedish corpus, there was only one instance where *it* had been omitted (0.35 /

---

[27] It should be clarified that these ordering patterns discussed in this section represent neutral (i.e., not influenced by discourse factors) word order patterns. A verb-final constituent order can also be the result of various transformation rules, which "reorder" the sentence constituents on the basis of what can be considered old or new information, what the speaker wants to emphasise or if the speaker wants to correct what the previous speaker has said (see Hakulinen 2001). However, these discourse motivated ordering patterns are not the focus of this section.

10,000 words), whereas the Finnish corpus displayed 31 such instances (3.2 / 10,000 words). Omission of existential *there* was even more frequent in the Finnish corpus, amounting to 62 instances (6.4 / 10,000 words), whereas in the Swedish corpus only one omission of existential *there* could be detected. In addition to this one deviant pattern which was similar to the patterns produced by Finns for it involved the total omission of expletive subject, there were 4 instances where the Swedish-speaking students had replaced *there* with *it*, as in *After the news **it** follows a sportsprogram*, which reflects the usage of the Swedish *det* 'it' as a formal subject. Besides these rare cases, however, the expletive pronoun constructions were correctly formed in the Swedish corpus

The acquisition of the extraposition and existential constructions seems, hence, to be considerably more effortless for Swedish-speaking ESL learners. The most probably reason for this is that their L1 contains similar structures. Swedish employs the empty *det* 'it' subject as an anticipatory pronoun in much the same way as English uses the anticipatory *it* (e.g., *Det är svårt att sluta röka* 'it's difficult to stop smoking') (Holmes & Hinchliffe 1994:526). The pronoun *det* is also used in structures that correspond to the English existential sentence (e.g., *Det sitter två patienter I väntrummet*, 'there are two patients sitting in the waiting room') (Holmes & Hinchliffe 1994: 495). For Finnish-speaking learners, on the other hand, there are no L1–L2 similarities to facilitate the learning of these constructions. Thus, it can be stated with confidence that Finns' problems with the English extraposition and existential constructions are L1 induced.

The following section 6.2.2.1 seeks to explain in greater detail Finnish students' omission of English expletive subjects *it* and *there* by comparing the relevant syntactic features in Finnish and in English. The deviant syntactic patterns found in the corpus will be discussed in section 6.2.2.2.

6.2.2.1 The English extraposition and existential constructions and their equivalents in Finnish

The students' omission of the expletive *it* subject in extraposition constructions can be traced back to the differing formal and syntactic characteristics of subjects in Finnish and in English. In Finnish, there are different types of subjects which have differing syntactic characteristics. In Finnish grammar, we can distinguish between different types of subjects based on their case and congruence characteristics on the one hand and structural characteristics on the other hand. With regard to case and congruence characteristics, there are three distinct subject types: the basic subject, the existential subject and the genitive subject (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 868). The *basic subject* is in the nominative case and is represented by a noun phrase, which the finite verb agrees with in person and number, as in *sinä olet oikeassa* (you be-2SG right-INE 'You are right'). These clauses, thus, correspond to English clauses with the basic SVX order. The *existential subject* (the *e-subject*), on the other hand, has no English equivalent. The e-subject is the subject of existential sentences, and it differs from the basic subject with regard to its position as the final clause element (6.15 a). The verb in the existential clause does not agree with the e-subject (cf. 6.15 a and b). The e-subject is in the partitive case in negative clauses or when the referent is non-countable, otherwise it is in the nominative case (cf. 6.15 b and c). The third type of subject in the Finnish grammar is the *genitive subject*. It is

the subject of necessive and non-finite constructions. The clauses that contain a genitive subject have a similar constituent order as clauses with a basic subject, but the difference is that the subject is in the genitive case (examples 6.15) (d) and (e). As the translations of the examples in (6.15) (d) and (e) indicate, the necessive constructions with the genitive subject correspond either to English clauses with a basic SVX order (d), or to the extraposition construction (e).

(6.15) a. Pöytäliinassa   on   tahra
            Tablecloth-INE be-3SG stain
            'There's a stain on the tablecloth'

        b. Pöytäliinaan   tuli   tahroja
            tablecloth-ILL come-3SG-PST stain-PAR-PL
            'The tablecloth was stained'

        c. Pöydässä on jo   lasit ja lautaset
             table-INE is already glasses and plates
             'Glasses and plates are already on the table'

        d. Minun täytyy mennä
            I-GEN must go
            'I must go'

        e. Kaikkien ei ole   välttämätöntä osallistua yhtä intensiivisesti
            all-GEN not be-NEG necessary-PAR participate as intensively
            'It is not necessary for everyone to participate as intensively'
            (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 868)

The position of a subject in a sentence is also determined by its structural characteristics. If the subject is realised by a noun phrase, it is normally placed in sentence-initial position. However, if the subject element is realised by a clause, it is placed in sentence final position. Examples (6.16 a – d) from Hakulinen *et al*. (2005: 867) demonstrate the types of clauses that can function as a subject in Finnish. The clausal subject can be an infinitive construction, as in (6.16 a), a referative clause[28] (6.16 b) or a whole clause, such as a *that* –clause (6.16 c). It is also common that a clausal subject is preceded by a so called *supporting pronoun*, which is typically the pronoun *se* 'it'[29] (6.16 d).

---

[28] A *referative clause* is a non-finite clause that contains a participle form of a verb and expresses a full sentence in a shortened form (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 531-536).

[29] It must be clarified here that although Finnish sometimes uses the supporting pronoun *se* 'it' before the clausal subject, the difference between this and the expletive *it* –subject in English is that the Finnish supporting pronoun typically occurs immediately before the clausal subject, thus forming an entity with it, whereas the English expletive *it* occurs at the beginning of the sentence and forms an SV –clause before the complementing clause. The supporting pronoun is often added

(6.16) a. Oli mukava *nähdä teitä*
           was nice   see   you-PAR
           'It was nice to see you'

        b. Ilmeni   *varkaiden   vieneen   rahat*
           turned out thief-GEN-PL take-PTC money-PL
           'It turned out that thieves had taken the money'

        c. Oli mukavaa, *että/kun   tulitte*
           was nice   that/when come-2PL-PST
           'It was nice that you came'

        d. Minua vaivaa se, *että/kun   vaari   unohtui*
           I-PAR bothers it that/when grandpa be forgotten-3SG-PST
           'It bothers me that grandpa was forgotten'

As the examples (6.16 a – d) above indicate, where Finnish uses a clausal subject in sentence-final position, English employs extraposition with the expletive *it* pronoun. As shown by examples (6.15) (d) and (e) earlier, the extraposition construction also sometimes corresponds to the Finnish genitive subject in sentence initial position. In order to better understand these differing structures, the rules that govern subjects and their placement in English will be examined in the following.

   The syntactic need for the extraposition construction can be derived back to two basic rules of English grammar: the subject is an obligatory element[30], and its default position is sentence-initial, before the verb (see, e.g., Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 236-244). Consequently, if there is no element to fill the subject position, English employs expletive subjects in sentence-initial position, such as in expressions denoting time (e.g., *It is ten o'clock*) or weather (e.g., *It is sunny and warm*). The expletive subject also occurs when a clausal subject is extraposed. A clausal subject typically takes the form of a nominal clause (e.g., *that* –clause, *to* –infinitive clause or *-ing* –clause), but also an adverbial clause can function as a subject (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 736-737, 1048-49). These are illustrated in examples (6.17 a – c) from Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1048-49).

(6.17) a. *Collecting stamps* was her hobby

        b. *That the invading troops have been withdrawn* has not affected our
           government's trade sanctions

---

because a case ending cannot be added directly to the clause; thus, the supporting pronoun functions as the carrier of the case ending (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1093).

[30] Subjectless clauses do exist in specific constructions, such as imperatives, or the subject may be ellipted in some contexts in casual style, but in all canonical clauses in English the subject is an obligatory element (see, e.g., Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 236-44).

c. *Because Sally wants to leave* doesn't mean that we have to

Clauses such as these, where the clausal subject is placed sentence-initially in default subject position, are, however, less common than clauses in which the subject is extraposed, i.e., moved to sentence-final position and the subject position is filled by the expletive *it* subject[31] (see, e.g., Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1391-92, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1403-1408). As pointed out by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1403), extraposition occurs because English tends to place all heavier constituents in clause-final position. Moreover, a clause as a subject is non-prototypical in English, which is why it tends to be replaced by a prototypical NP subject, the expletive *it* (ibid.: 236). Examples (6.18 a-d) below from Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1392) illustrate these extraposition constructions.

(6.18) a. *It* is a pleasure *to teach her*

b. *It* surprised me *to hear him say that*

c. *It* is said *that she slipped arsenic into his tea*

d. *It* was considered impossible *for anyone to escape*

For some of these extraposition constructions, a non-extraposed version is not grammatical. For instance, (6.18 c) would not allow the non-extraposed **That she slipped arsenic into his tea is said*, which is when extraposition can be considered obligatory (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1392). The status of the postponed clause can be interpreted in two different ways. Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1391) label the clause as a subject. According to them, the extraposition construction has two subjects; the expletive (anticipatory) subject (*it*) and the postponed clause, which is notionally the subject of the sentence. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 239, 241, 1403), on the other hand, maintain that a clause can only have one subject, and in extraposition constructions the expletive *it* fills the syntactic function of a subject. According to them, the extraposed clause "is not a kind of subject, but an element that is related to a dummy subject" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1403). Whatever we term the extraposed clause in English grammar, it is clear that its status is different from the clausal subject of Finnish, which is both notionally and syntactically the subject of a clause.

It must also be noted that Finnish has an expletive subject, which is similar to the English expletive *it* subject, but its use is less frequent and it is used in slightly different contexts than in English. Moreover, the use of the expletive subject is a feature of spoken Finnish only, whereas English expletive subjects can be used in both spoken and written

---

[31] Quirk *et al*. (1985: 348-349, 748-749, 1392) differentiate between the expletive (or the prop subject) and the anticipatory subject. According to them, the subject of the expressions denoting time, distance or atmospheric conditions, such as *it's half past five* or *it's freezing outside*, is empty in its meaning, whereas the anticipatory *it* of extraposition constructions is not because it has pronominal correspondence to a later item in the sentence.

language. The expletive subject has the same function in Finnish syntax as the expletive *it* has in English; to fill in the subject's place when the subject is missing or does not fit into the subject position in terms of its structural characteristics (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 872). As in English, the expletive pronoun that typically occurs in the subject position is *se* 'it'. The following examples, however, demonstrate that the Finnish and English expletive subjects do not always occur in equivalent contexts. In (6.19) (a), the Finnish expletive subject is used in a similar manner to the English expletive *it* subject, but in (b), its function is to occupy subject position in a zero-subject clause, which conveys a generic sense. As discussed in section 6.1.1, these types of clauses correspond to clauses containing generic pronouns in English.

(6.19) a. *Se* on ollut   kylmää nyt
            It has been cold   now
            'It's been cold recently'

        b. Mentävähän *se* on jos on tarvetta
            Go-PTC   it is if   is need-PAR
            'One must go if it's needed'

It must be emphasised that the above examples would only be considered acceptable in spoken Finnish. In written language, the expletive *it* would be left out (cf. *nyt on ollut kylmää* 'now has been cold') and the subject would occur in a sentence-final position, as in examples (6.16) (a) – (d). Overall, the use of the expletive subject can be regarded as rather marginal in Finnish in comparison to the frequent and standard use of the expletive *it* in English (for more about the usage of empty subjects in Finnish, see, e.g., Vilkuna 1989: 139-147 and Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 872-873). Therefore, it is not likely to be a source for positive transfer in the acquisition of English extraposition constructions.

Based on the above discussion, it can be concluded that the students' omission of the expletive *it* pronoun of extraposition construction in the corpus (see section 6.2.2.2) result from the fact that Finnish tolerates clausal subjects in a sentence-final position, whereas English employs the expletive *it* subject in a sentence initial position when a clausal subject is extraposed. Finnish students may perceive the expletive *it* pronoun as redundant because the VS ordering pattern is both common and perfectly grammatical in Finnish. A similar behaviour can also be observed in the students' deviant uses of the English existential construction. As with extraposition constructions, the students had often omitted the expletive *there* subject and produced deviant word order patterns which reflect the constituent order of Finnish existential sentences (see section 6.2.2.2). As this clause pattern in Finnish totally diverges from the existential constructions in English, it deserves a brief introduction.

The existential sentence represents an interesting category in Finnish syntax, for it completely deviates from the canonical SVO ordering pattern; it has the constituent order AVS, as in *tässä on virheitä* (here is errors-PAR, 'there are errors in here') (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 850-851). The function of the existential sentence is to introduce a new topic into the discussion, which is why it has also been called the "introductory structure"

(Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 852). The Finnish e-sentence differs from the English one not only in terms of its constituent order, but also with regard to its scope. The Finnish e-sentence is a broader category than the equivalent English one and it has subtypes that do not correspond to the English existential construction. The following examples from Hakulinen *et al*. (2005: 850-856) illustrate the types of clauses that belong to the existential sentence category in Finnish.

(6.20) a. Pöydällä   on sakset   AVS
            table-ADE is scissors
            'There are scissors on the table'

        b. Vaarilla   on tekohampaat   AVS
            grandpa-ADE is false teeth
            'Grandpa has false teeth'

        c. On toinenkin   vaihtoehto   VS
            is another-CL alternative
            'There's also another alternative'

        d. Tappelujakin   voi tulla   SV
            fights-PAR-CL can come
            'There may also start fights'

(6.20 a) represents the prototypical existential sentence; it starts with an adverbial of place and the subject follows the verb (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 850-851). The verb is typically *olla* 'to be', although also other verbs that denote existence or coming into existence, such as *ilmestyä* 'appear' or *aiheutua* 'to be caused', can be used in e-sentences. The verb in e-sentences does not agree with the subject, but is always in the third person singular form. The subject is either in the nominative case (with count nouns, as in 6.20 a) or in the partitive case (with non-count nouns, as in *lasissa on maitoa* 'glas-INE is milk-PAR'). (6.20 b) is an example of a possessive clause. Hakulinen *et al*. (2005: 852-855) classify it as a subtype of the existential sentence. There is a small semantic difference between the prototypical existential clause and the possessive clause but structurally they are identical[32]. The possessive clause does not correspond to the English existential sentence but is translated into English by using the verb *have*. (6.20 c) is an example of a manifestation sentence, which is another subtype of an existential sentence. It differs from the prototypical e-sentence in that the place reserved for the topic of the sentence (i.e., the adverbial) is empty. The manifestation sentence, thus, begins with a verb and the subject is at the end position. It is used to express the subject's particular way of coming into existence (Vilkuna 1989: 165-169, Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 855-856). However, the e-sentence does not always follow the canonical formula (A)VS, but it also allows the

---

[32] The adverbial element of possessive clauses has some characteristics of a subject, but in Finnish grammar it is considered an adverbial (for further discussion on the topic, see e.g. Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 852-855, 879-880).

placement of the NP subject before the verb (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 850, 855-856), as illustrated in (6.20 d). In this particular example, the NP *tappeluja* 'fights' has been placed at the initial position for focusing reasons. Hence, transformation rules can also affect the ordering pattern of e-sentences.

The status of the Finnish existential sentence and its various constituents has not been without dispute amongst Finnish grammarians (see, e.g., Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 850-52, Tiainen 1997). As already discussed in this section, the e-subject does not fit the definition of a prototypical subject; firstly, it can take the partitive case, which is a typical object case in Finnish grammar and, secondly, it does not agree with the verb. Moreover, the category of e-sentence is varied and there is seldom any clear-cut distinction between the e-sentence and other clause types. The Finnish e-sentence does not have a salient marker, such as the expletive *there* –subject in English, but it can only be distinguished from other sentence types by its semantics and constituent order, which displays an adverbial of place as the initial element. However, constituent order alone is not always a reliable indicator of an existential sentence. Since the order of any Finnish clause type can be changed for contextual/discursive reasons, the e-sentence can also have a SV constituent order, as illustrated in example (6.20 d), or a clause with an AVS order may be the result of a transformation of a canonical clause type (see, e.g, Hakulinen & Karlsson 1988: 95-97).

There is also another clause type in Finnish that resembles the existential sentence and, moreover, corresponds to the English existential construction: *the quantifier clause*. My corpus showed that the students had sometimes transferred this construction into English, which also resulted in the omission of the existential *there*. The Finnish quantifier clause is a specific construction for denoting quantity[33]. The quantifier clause consists of two phrases: a NP which is in the partitive case and a phrase denoting quantity. The typical ordering pattern of this clause is 'partitive noun phrase + verb + expression of quantity' (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 858-859). The quantifier clause can be either transitive or intransitive. In the transitive version, as in (6.21 a), the partitive NP is the object of the sentence. In the intransitive clause, on the other hand, as in (6.21 b), the NP functions as a subject (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 858). As the English translation of (6.21 b) shows, the intransitive quantifier clause corresponds to the existential sentence in English. As described in Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 859), it also shares common characteristics with the Finnish e-sentence; the subject is in the partitive case and the verb is existential in its meaning (e.g., *olla* 'to be' or *löytyä* 'be found'). Sometimes an existential sentence, as in (6.21 c) differs very little from a quantifier clause (cf. 6.21 d) (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 859). The difference between these clauses can also be interpreted to be the result of a transformation rule; (6.21 c) can be considered neutral with regard to its ordering pattern, whereas in (6.21 d), the subject *väkeä* 'people' has been moved to an initial position for more emphasis.

---

[33] The existential sentence and the quantifier clause are considered to be two distinct clause types in Finnish (see Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 847-862). However, I see no purpose in differentiating them in this study for two reasons. Firstly, they both correspond to the English existential construction and, hence, result in similar deviant patterns in the students' production. Secondly, these clause types share similar characteristics in Finnish as well.

(6.21) a. Hakijoita   kutsuttiin   haastatteluun useita
            applicants-PAR invite-PAS interview-ILL several-PAR-PL
            'several applicants were invited to the interview'

        b. Hakijoita   on liian vähän
            applicants-PAR is too little
            'There are not enough applicants'

        c. Siellä oli   paljon väkeä
            there was a lot of people-PAR
            'There were a lot of people'

        d. Väkeä   oli paljon
            people-PAR was a lot
            'There were a lot of people'

All in all, as the above examples have indicated, the Finnish equivalents of the English existential construction are structurally very different from their English counterparts. When transferred into English, they do not simply result in the omission of the existential *there* –subject but also in a deviant constituent order. Before looking into these erroneous patterns further, the English existential sentence first deserves a brief introduction.

In English, the existential sentence has a function in organising information in the order given-new. As Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1402-1403) describe, there are clauses that do not neatly obey the formula given vs. new information; for example, the whole clause may be new information, as in *a car is blocking my way*. In order to place more focus on the subject, which would normally be interpreted as given, English uses a dummy theme which indicates the 'newness' of the whole clause, as in *there is a car blocking my way* (ibid.). The existential sentence, thus, brings "the existence of an entire proposition to the attention of the hearer" (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1403).

The most common type of existential sentence in English is the one introduced by the unstressed *there* followed by the verb *be*. As Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1403) describe, the basic clause 'subject + (auxiliaries) + *be* + predication' can be transformed into an existential clause according to the formula '*there* + (auxiliaries) + *be* + subject + predication'. Examples (6.22 a-b) below illustrate the transformation of basic SVC and SV –clauses into an existential clause.

(6.22) a. Something must be wrong. ~ There must be something wrong.
        b. No one was waiting. ~ There was no one waiting.

Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1403) call the subject of the original clause the *notional* subject of the existential clause to distinguish it from the grammatical subject, *there*. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 241, 1391), on the other hand, take a differing position; they regard the

existential *there* as the subject of the sentence, and the subject of the original sentence as "an internal complement of the verb" which is not syntactically a subject despite its semantic correspondence with the subject of the original sentence. The existential *there* differs from the adverbial *there* in the following aspects: it is unstressed and it does not carry the locative meaning of the adverbial *there* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1405, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1391). As Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1391) stress, *there* functions as a marker of a grammatical construction and as an element to fill the subject position when the subject of the basic version of the clause is moved to sentence-final position.

There are also other types of existential sentences than the one which is the result of the transformation of a basic clause type. Examples (6.23 a – b) illustrate the so-called 'bare' existential sentence, which has a clause structure '*there* + *be* + indefinite noun phrase' and which simply denotes the existence of an entity (see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1406). Quirk *et al.* interpret these clauses as cases where the final element has been left out for it can be understood from the context (e.g., *There must be a more direct route* (*than the one we're discussing*)). Another type of an existential clause is the one which consists of '*there* + *be* + noun phrase + relative clause' (see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1406-1408). This type of a sentence has a similar rhetoric function as the cleft sentence (6.23 c).

(6.23) a. There was a moment's silence.
        b. There must be a more direct route.
        c. There's something that keeps upsetting him.

However, not all English existential sentences follow the formula presented above. The verb in existential sentences is typically *to be*, but also other verbs that have a presentative meaning can occur in this position (see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1408-1409). These types of sentences are less common and are characterised by having a literary tone (6.24 a). The existential sentence may also have an adverbial element (typically a space adjunct) in the initial position. As example (6.24 b) shows, an adverbial can be moved from the end position to the initial position. The initial adverbial then provides the condition for placing the subject after the verb, which is when *there* has no grammatical function and can be left out (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1409-1411) (6.24 c). The type of an existential sentence which is transformed from a basic clause type (see examples (6.22 a – b)) can also sometimes be replaced by a noun phrase subject and the verb *have* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1411-1412) (6.24 d). However, in order for the *have*-existential to be possible, the subject of the sentence must have the semantic role of either an agent (e.g., the porter) or an affected (e.g., you). The *have* –existential can also be formed from a *there* –existential that contains a relative clause or an infinitive clause (6.24 e).

(6.24) a. There exist a number of similar medieval crosses in different parts of the
            country

        b. There sprang up a wild gale that night ~ That night there sprang up a wild
            gale

c. In the garden there was/stood a sundial ~ In the garden was/stood a sundial

d. There is a taxi ready ~ The porter has a taxi ready ~ You have a taxi ready

e. There is a great deal for him to be thankful for. ~ He has a great deal to be thankful for.

The type of an existential sentence in (6.24 c), *in the garden was a sundial*, resembles the prototypical Finnish e-sentence (cf. *puutarhassa oli aurinkokello* 'garden-INE was sundial'). However, this clause type is a transformation of the English *there*-existential and occurs relatively rarely. Despite its formal resemblance with the Finnish e-sentence, there is a semantic difference between these two. As described in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1410-1411), this type of existential clause is used in English only when the final noun phrase can be considered something specific and expected. Thus, the latter clause in (6.24 c) refers to 'a certain sundial' that is known to the speaker/writer, whereas the former one, the *there*-existential (*in the garden there was/stood a sundial*) introduces new information.

As we have seen throughout this section, where English employs extraposition or existential constructions, Finnish makes use of various non-canonical clause types or ordering patterns. Table 6.3 below sums up the various Finnish subject types and clause types that have been discussed in this section, and lists the English constructions or word order patterns that they most often correspond to.

Table 6.3. Subject types and clause types in Finnish and their equivalents in English

Finnish	English
Subject types	
Basic subject (SVX)	SVX
Existential subject (AVS)	'there'
Genitive subject (SVX)	SVX / '*it*'
NP (SVX)	SVX
Clausal subject (XVS)	'it'
Clause types	
Existential sentence (AVS)	'there'
Possessive clause (AVS)	SVX
Manifestation sentence (VS)	'there'
Quantifier clause (SVX)	'there'

To conclude, Finnish allows a great deal more variation as to the formal and syntactic characteristics of subjects. Consequently, Finnish has no syntactic need for expletive subject constructions such as those in English. This, I believe, makes Finnish learners regard the English expletive subjects *it* and *there* as redundant and omit them in their written English production. The deviant patterns they produced will be explored in the following section.

*6.2.2.2 Finnish students' omission of the English expletive **it** and **there** subjects*

There were, altogether, 93 omissions of the expletive subjects in the corpus (9.6 instances / 10,000 words); 31 of these were concerned with *it* in extraposition constructions and 62 involved *there* in existential constructions. Together, the omission of these expletive subjects constituted 13.9 % of all syntactic transfer observed in the corpus.

The students' omission of the expletive *it* of extraposition constructions seemed primarily to have two sources: the transfer of Finnish clause patterns which involved either the Finnish genitive subject (*n* = 6) or the clausal subject (*n* = 24). One instance was also detected where the Finnish clause pattern being transferred was a copular SVX clause denoting time. The omission of the expletive *there*, on the other hand, seemed to reflect three different non-canonical clause types in Finnish: the existential sentence (*n* = 47), the manifestation sentence (*n* = 5) and the quantifier clause (*n* = 10). Table 6.4 below shows the distribution of these features.

Table 6.4. The extraposition and existential constructions

	1990	2000	2005	Total	
The extraposition construction					
The genitive subject	3	2	1	**6** (6.45 %)	
The clausal subject	5	9	10	**24** (25.8 %)	
Copula clause denoting time	-	-	1	**1** (1.08 %)	**93** (100 %)
The existential construction					
Existential sentence	16	9	22	**47** (50.54 %)	
Manifestation sentence	2	1	2	**5** (5.38 %)	
Quantifier clause	6	2	2	**10** (10.75 %)	

Out of the 31 instances involving the omission of the expletive *it*, 6 reflected Finnish clauses with a genitive subject. These are illustrated in the following.

(6.25) a.   After many years *I have possible* to learn what I want (pro *it is possible for me*, cf. Fi. *minun on mahdollista* 'I-GEN be-3SG possible-ELA') (G, 1990, 6)

        b.   People who need support and love *would be better find* a life-long partner (pro *it would be better for people who need support and love to find a life-long partner*, cf. Fi. *ihmisten jotka tarvitsevat tukea ja rakkautta olisi parempi löytää elinikäinen kumppani* 'people-GEN who need-3PL support-PAR and love-PAR be-CON better find life-long partner') (G, 2000, 4)

As discussed in the previous section, the genitive subject is sometimes used in necessive constructions, such as the ones the students had transferred in (6.25) above. They follow the formula 'genitive subject + verb + complement'. The above examples directly reflect this constituent order. The expletive *it* has been omitted, as has the '*for* + NP' complement (e.g., *for me, for people*), which semantically corresponds to the genitive subject of the Finnish clauses. It seems that in the interlanguage grammar of these students, the initial nominative NP (*I, people*) is intended as the subject of the clause, which renders both the expletive *it* subject and the '*for* + NP' complement unnecessary.

The omission of the expletive *it* more often resulted from the transfer of Finnish sentence patterns with a clausal subject (*n* = 24). As described in the preceding section, in Finnish, a subject can have the form of a clause, and this is often placed in sentence-final position. As Finnish tolerates late subject placement, there is no syntactic need for expletive pronoun constructions, such as those in English. This explains why Finnish learners of English perceive the English expletive subject as redundant and often omit it. The examples found in the corpus represented two different types of clausal subjects: whole clauses and infinitive constructions. The following examples (6.26) reflect Finnish sentences with a whole clause as a subject. In (a – b) we have a clause beginning with the conjunction *if*, and (c – d) illustrate a *that* –clause as a subject.

(6.26) a. In our culture *is unusual* if some twenty years old women is married (pro *it is unusual*, cf. Fi. *on epätavallista* 'be-3SG unusual-ELA') (G, 2000, 4)

   b. Here in Finland in some programme *has been discussed* if the grade of PE is really needed (pro *it has been discussed*, cf. Fi. *on keskusteltu* 'be-3SG discuss-PAS-PST') (G, 2005, 3)

   c. I think that *is possible* that next war is war of the water or food (pro *it is possible*, cf. Fi. *on mahdollista* 'be-3SG possible-ELA) (B, 2000, 6)

   d. Already then *could be seen* that man was able to make and break (pro *it could be seen*, cf. Fi. voitiin nähdä 'can-COND-PAS-PST see-INF') (B, 1990, 4)

An infinitive construction can also function as a clausal subject. The following examples display how the students had used the structure 'verb + to-infinitive' in English without the expletive *it* subject:

(6.27) a. Nowdays every person telling mi *how important is* to get good education and good grades (pro *how important it is*, cf. Fi. *kuinka tärkeää on..* 'how important-PAR be-3SG') (B, 2000, 5)

   b. Nowadays are only a few place where *is possible* to swim (pro *it is possible*, cf. Fi. on mahdollista 'be-3SG possible-ELA') (G, 1990, 6)

c. These kind of things *is hard to believe* the main problem in economic of the world (pro *it is hard to believe that these kinds of things are the main problem…* cf. Fi. *tällaisia asioita on vaikea uskoa suurimmaksi ongelmaksi…* 'this kind-PL-PAR thing-PL-PAR be-3SG hard believe-INF main-TRANS problem-TRANS') (B, 2005, 5)

As can be seen in the examples (6.26) and (6.27) above, the omission of the expletive *it* in connection with clausal subjects only occurred when the initial position in the sentence was already occupied by another element: in (6.26 a, b, d) and (6.27 b) we have an adverbial, in (6.26 c) a main clause, and in (6.27 c) an object has been moved to initial position for focusing reasons. In Finnish, sentences with a clausal subject can have the verb as an initial element, such as in *oli mukavaa, että tulitte* 'was nice that come-2PL-PST' (It was nice that you came) (see examples 6.16 in section 6.2.1). However, the students investigated here had not produced such verb-initial structures in English. This could mean that they master the usage of the expletive *it* better in contexts where it occurs sentence-initially than in contexts where it is preceded by another element (e.g., adverbial).

There was also one instance which involved the transfer of a Finnish copular SVX clause denoting time. While English uses the dummy *it* in expressions of time, Finnish uses the basic SVX clause with the copula *olla* 'to be', as in *kello on neljä* (clock is four, 'it is four o'clock'). The following example is a direct rendering of this expression:

(6.28) It isn't work, where you can go back to home when *clock is four* (pro *it is four o'clock*, cf. Fi. *kello on neljä* 'clock is four') (B, 2005, 3)

This example is particularly interesting because expressions for time, as in *It is four o'clock*, are included in the first-year English curriculum in Finnish elementary school. By the last year of Upper Secondary School, after ten years of English instruction, this structure should be deeply ingrained in the students' memory. Examples such as these indicate how difficult it is for learners whose L1 does not have expletive subjects to internalise L2 expletive subject constructions.

The omission of the expletive subject was even more frequent in connection with the existential construction (*n* = 62). These deviant patterns reflected three different non-canonical clause types in Finnish: the existential sentence, the manifestation sentence and the quantifier clause. The great majority of these involved the existential sentence (*n* = 47). The transfer of this clause type resulted in very distinctive, deviant word order patterns in the corpus. As described in the preceding section, the Finnish existential sentence begins with an introductory adverbial which is followed by a verb and the subject is placed sentence-finally. The examples in (6.29 a – f) below directly reflect this constituent order.

(6.29) a. Almost every home *is* pet (pro *there is a pet in almost every home*, cf. Fi. *melkein joka kodissa on lemmikki* 'almost every home-INE is pet') (G, 1990, 6)

b. In the world *are* too much wars (pro *there are too much wars in the world*, cf. Fi. *maailmassa on liian paljon sotia* 'world-INE be-3SG too much war-PL-PAR') (B, 2000, 4)

c. In Finland *are* too lazy and fat teenagers (pro *there are too lazy and fat teenagers in Finland*, cf. Fi. *Suomessa on liian laiskoja ja lihavia teini-ikäisiä* 'Finland-INE is too lazy-PL-PAR and fat-PL-PAR teenager-PL-PAR') (B, 2005, 5)

d. In my neightbour *life* a one old man (pro *there lives an old man next door*, cf. Fi. *naapurissani asuu yksi vanha mies* 'next door-INE-1SG live-3SG one old man') (G, 1990, 6)

e. In big cities *have* several factories, which produce us many luxuries (pro *in big cities there are several factories..*, cf. Fi. *suurissa kaupungeissa on useita tehtaita* 'big-PL-INE city-PL-INE is several-PL-PAR factory-PL-PAR') (G, 1990, 2)

f. But always *is* somebody who isn't agree (pro *there is always somebody…*, cf. Fi. *aina on joku…* 'always be-3SG somebody') (G, 1990, 6)

These clause patterns formed a very homogenous category. The initial element was nearly always an adverbial of place, as in (6.29 a – e) above, but an adverbial of time also sometimes occurred in this position (6.29 f). The verb element was mostly realised by *to be* (Fi. *olla*), which is the most typical verb in existential sentences both in Finnish and in English, but in a couple of occasions the verb was *live* (as in 6.29 d) or *happen*. As example (6.29 e) demonstrates, the students had sometimes used the verb *have* instead of *be*. As discussed in connection with the patterns of lexical transfer observed in the corpus (section 5.2.3), confusion between *be* and *have* is common for Finnish learners of English because Finnish only has one translation equivalent, *olla*, for these two verbs.

There were 5 instances in the corpus in which the deviant existential sentences reflected the Finnish manifestation sentence, which, as discussed in the preceding section, is a subtype of the existential sentence. The difference between these two clause types is that the manifestation sentence does not contain an initial adverbial element, as we saw in example (6.20): *On toinenkin vaihtoehto* (is another-CL alternative, 'There is also another alternative'). Although the manifestation sentence is verb-initial, the students had never produced verb-initial constructions in the corpus. The syntactic patterns reflecting the manifestation sentence only occurred within sentences where the initial position was already occupied by another element. This can be seen in examples (6.30 a – b) below. In (6.30 a), the VS order is preceded by the conjunction *but*, and in (6.30 b) by the conjunction *if* and the subject *horses*, which has been moved to sentence-initial position for contextual and focusing reasons.

(6.30) a. But *are* people, who don't care nothing about animals (pro *there are people*…cf. Fi. *on ihmisiä*… 'be-3SG people-PAR') (G, 1990, 6)

   b. If horses *hadn't* farmworks would be very hard for people (pro *if there weren't any horses*, cf. Fi. *jos hevosia ei olisi*… 'if horse-PL-PAR not be-CON-3PL') (G, 1990, 5)

The third non-canonical clause type which was found to be the cause for the students' omission of the expletive *there* was the quantifier clause (*n* = 10). The instances found in the corpus all represented the ordering pattern 'subject + verb + expression of quantity'. These are illustrated in the following.

(6.31) a. Pets are various animal species (pro *there are various species of pets*, cf. Fi. *lemmikkejä on useita eläinlajeja* 'pet-PAR-PL be-3SG various-PAR-PL animal species-PAR-PL') (B, 1990, 5)

   b. The reasons why people want to buy pets are many (pro *there are many reasons for why people want to buy pets*, cf. Fi. *syitä miksi ihmiset haluavat ostaa lemmikkejä on monia* 'reason-PAR-PL why people want-3PL buy pet-PAR-PL be-3SG many-PAR-PL') (B, 1990, 6)

   c. But in these days that kind of people are only a few (pro *but these days there are only a few people of that kind*, cf. Fi. *mutta nykyisin sellaisia ihmisiä on vain vähän* 'but these days that kind-PAR-PL people-PAR be-3SG only a few') (G, 1990, 5)

The subject element in Finnish quantifier clauses is realised by a partitive inflected NP (e.g., *lemmikkejä* 'pet-PL-PAR', *syitä* 'reason-PL-PAR', *ihmisiä* 'people-PAR'). Since the partitive case has no counterpart in English, the students had used a nominative NP instead. As discussed in the preceding section, the Finnish existential sentence and the quantifier clause are, in some contexts, very similar. As we saw in examples (6.21 c – d), some existential sentences, as in *Siellä oli paljon väkeä* (there was a lot of people-PAR, 'There were a lot of people') may be transformed into a quantifier clause if the subject is topicalised and moved to sentence-initial position, as in *Väkeä oli paljon* (people-PAR was a lot, 'There were a lot of people') (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 859). Hence, the above examples can also be interpreted as existential sentences in which the sentence-final subject element has been moved to sentence-initial position for contextual reasons.

As the examples presented above show, even Finnish students who are at more advanced levels of learning sometimes tend to omit the existential *there* in English sentences. From a pedagogical perspective, it is useful to consider possible reasons that make this structure so difficult for them to learn. The semantic correspondence between Finnish and English existential sentences is relatively close and Finnish uses the existential sentence in much the same contexts as English does. Moreover, the existential sentence, in the form of "*there is/are* –construction", is introduced at the very initial stages

of the English language teaching syllabus in Finland. The students investigated in this study, having studied English as their first foreign language, were taught this construction in the fourth grade of elementary school, which is the second year of their English studies. This means that they would have been exposed to this construction for the past 9 years. According to my teaching experience, Finnish students do learn fast how to use this construction and they can produce it correctly when they are reminded to do so. The problem is that they seem to forget it when they are producing their own text. The reason for this behaviour may be the following. The Finnish existential sentence is not as salient as the English one; there is no clear indicator like the expletive *there* –subject and, since its basic ordering pattern can be altered as well, the only way to reliably distinguish a Finnish e-sentence from other clause types is by interpreting its meaning. The fact that the Finnish e-sentence is such a fuzzy and variant category makes one speculate if Finns even always recognise an existential sentence in Finnish and, consequently, manage to successfully make interlingual identifications between the Finnish existential sentence and the English existential construction.

The omission of anaphoric *it* and existential *there* was also observed by Lauttamus *et al.* (2007) in the English of Finnish Australians. They found patterns such as *summer time when is a people* (pro *when there are people*), which they interpreted as Finnish substratum influence (Lauttamus *et al.* 2007: 295). The omission of the expletive *it* and *there* is a feature that also occurs in the English production of other learner groups. This has been found to be common for learners whose L1 has a pragmatic word order as opposed to grammatical word order. Rutherford (1989) discovered that VS order, including the omission of expletive subjects, was common for L1 Spanish and L1 Arabic (both with a pragmatic word order) learners of English. Examples (6.32 a – b) from the Spanish-speakers' data from Rutherford (1989: 178-179) illustrate this. As we can see, these examples are very similar to the ones discovered in my corpus; these learners have omitted the expletive *it* (as in b) or *there* (as in a), and produced a VS order preceded by a sentence-initial adverbial element.

(6.32) a.   …but now *are* a many telephones in each department…

        b.   In my country *is very easy* to choose a husband or wife because the fathers
             of the man or woman not participate in this choose
             (Rutherford 1989: 178-179)

The omission of expletive subjects in L2 English has also been investigated by a number of other researchers (e.g., Phinney 1987, White 1986, Oshita 2004) within the Universal Grammar framework under the 'pro-drop parameter' (i.e., a number of related features which include, e.g., the absence of pronominal subjects and SV inversion). A general conclusion of these studies is that speakers of pro-drop languages (i.e., languages that allow the omission of pronouns, such as Spanish or partially Finnish) tend to omit these in non-pro-drop L2 (e.g., English). To my knowledge, Finnish ESL learners' omission of expletive pronouns has not been investigated within the UG framework. This might be a

fruitful area of future investigation, which could deepen our understanding of the depth and scope of this feature of syntactic transfer.

6.2.3 Subordinate clause patterns

This section focuses on the third feature of syntactic transfer investigated in this study: the students' deviant usage of certain subordinate clause patterns. Finnish has five different types of subordinate clauses: subordinate interrogative clauses, *että* 'that' - clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses and *kuin* 'than' -clauses (see, e.g., Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1091-1122). Most of these clause patterns are structurally similar to the corresponding English ones, but subordinate interrogative clauses and *että* 'that' –clauses involve differing features. Finnish employs a VS ordering pattern in both independent and subordinate interrogative clauses, while English uses an SV order which may be preceded by the subordinating conjunctions *if* or *whether*. Albeit structurally similar to the English *that*–clauses, the Finnish *että*-clauses are often used in functions in which English *that*-clauses are not used. Both of these Finnish clause types may also involve a so-called supporting pronoun, which is not found in English. These features, among others, had been the source for transfer in my corpus. This study will examine deviant subordinate interrogative clauses and *that*-clauses under the same category because these two clause types share many structural similarities in Finnish (to be further discussed in section 6.2.3.1) and, consequently, the transfer patterns observed in the corpus often involved features of both of these clauses types together (see section 6.2.3.2).

As seen in table 6.1 at the beginning of this chapter, deviant subordinate clause patterns (i.e., subordinate interrogative clauses and *that*-clauses) occurred in the compositions written by Finnish-speaking students considerably more often (9.1 / 10,000 words) than in those written by Swedish-speaking students (2.5 / 10,000 words). English subordinate interrogative clauses are likely to be easier for L1 Swedish students to learn because SV order (e.g., *Jag vill veta vad han gör* 'I want to know what he's doing') and subordinating conjunctions (e.g., *Vi undrar **om** det är möjligt* 'We wonder whether it's possible') are also found in the equivalent Swedish clause patterns (see Holmes & Hinchliffe 1994: 533). Swedish *att*-clauses on the other hand, involve a different ordering pattern from that of the English *that*-clause (e.g., *Nils sa, att idag kommer han hit* 'Nils said that today he's coming here') (see Holmes & Hinchliffe 1994: 539-540), but the focus of investigation in this study is not the internal word order of *that*-clauses but rather the contexts where it is used and what kinds of syntactic patterns it co-occurs with. Swedish *att*-clauses are primarily used in subject and object functions (see Homes & Hinchliffe 1994: 533-536), whereas Finnish *että*-clauses may occur in different types of complementation patterns. My corpus indicated that Finnish-speaking students, but not the Swedish-speaking students, had sometimes used *that*-clauses in contexts where English favours other types of syntactic structures.

In order to shed light on Finnish students' deviant usage of these clause patterns, the pertinent syntactic structures in Finnish and in English will be described and compared in section 6.2.3.1. Section 6.2.3.2 will then proceed to describe and exemplify the transfer instances found in the corpus.

6.2.3.1 Subordinate interrogative clauses and **että** / **that** *–clauses in Finnish and in English*

Finnish subordinate interrogative clauses and *että*-clauses largely have the same distribution. Both of these clause types may be used as subjects, objects, predicatives and adverbial complements of a sentence (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1092-1110). As a subject of a sentence, the subordinate interrogative clause and the *että*-clause are typically placed in sentence-final position, after the predicate. This is illustrated in examples (6.33 a–b) from Hakulinen *et al*. (2005: 1092).

(6.33) a. On hauskaa, *että sinäkin pääset   tulemaan*
             is nice-PAR that you-CL can-2SG come-PTC
             'It's nice that you can come, too'

        b. On samantekevää, *pääsetkö   tulemaan vai et*
             is all the same-PAR can-2SG-CL come-PTC or not
             'It's all the same whether you can come or not'

As shown in example (6.33 a), the Finnish *että*-clause and the English *that*-clause are structurally similar, but the subordinate interrogative clauses, as in (6.33 b), involve quite distinct syntactic structures in these two languages. In Finnish, subordinate interrogative clauses are structurally similar to independent interrogative clauses (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1608). While English uses the *if/whether*-construction followed by SV order, Finnish employs a VS order[34]. Interrogativeness is expressed with the clitic particle *-ko/-kö*, which is attached to the verb at the initial position in the clause.

There is a very small difference between the subordinate interrogative clause or *että*-clause as a subject and as a predicative (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1100). In example (6.34), the subordinate interrogative clause is interpreted as a predicative of the sentence because the NP in the superordinate clause (i.e., *keskeinen ongelma* 'the central problem') has a unique denotation, expressed by the specifying adjective *keskeinen* 'central'.

(6.34) Keskeinen ongelma on, *suostuuko   hän ehdokkaaksi*
         central   problem is agree-3SG-CL he candidate-TRANS
         'The central problem is whether he will agree to stand for candidate'
         (Hakulinen et al. 2005: 1092)

When the subordinate interrogative clause and *että*-clause function as an object of a sentence, they are typically placed after the predicate, in a manner similar to a NP object. The subordinate interrogative clause tends to occur as an object for verbs that express questioning, wonder or unawareness (example 6.35 a), whereas verbs that denote mental states, such as thinking, stating, realising or communicating in general, typically take an *että*-clause as an object (example 6.35 b) (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1092-96). According to

---

[34] In this example (6.33 b), however, the surface subject has been omitted because the second person singular marker inside the verb (i.e., *pääsetkö*) expresses the subject. If the surface subject were included, as *in pääsetkö* **sinä** *tulemaan vai et*, it would display the ordering pattern VS.

Leino's (1999: 31-38) corpus analysis of standard written Finnish, the *että*-clause occurs more frequently in an object position than in a subject position, and in these contexts it tends to co-occur with verbs of saying, thinking, feeling or perception.

(6.35) a. Kysypäs,   *pääseekö hän tulemaan tänään*
            ask-CL-2SG can-CL   he   come   today
            'Why don't you ask whether he can come today'

        b. Luulin,   *että sinä et   tulekaan*
            thought-1SG that you don't come-CL
            'I thought that you won't come at all'

Both the subordinate interrogative clause and the *että*-clause may also function as the adverbial complement of a sentence (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1100-1104). An adverbial complement which is realised by a clause expresses an abstract state of affairs. Examples (6.36 a–b) illustrate the most typical cases, in which the adverbial complements are placed sentence-finally.

(6.36) a. Väittelimme pitkään, *onko   asiassa   mitään   järkeä*
            argue-1PL long-ILL be-3SG-CL matter-INE any-PAR sense
            'We argued for a long time whether there is any sense in it'

        b. Olen varma, *että hän tulee*.
            be-1SG sure that he come-3SG
            'I'm sure that he'll come'

In addition to functioning as one of the sentence constituents described above (i.e., subject, predicative, object or adverbial complement), the subordinate interrogative clause and the *että*-clause can also function as a complement of a noun (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1108-1110). The *että*-clause typically occurs with abstract nouns that denote the result of mental or verbal action, such as *thought*, *estimation*, *example*, *promise* or *agreement*, whereas the subordinate interrogative clause typically relates to a noun that expresses a question, wonder or doubt (examples 6.37 a and b from Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1092).

(6.37) a. Sitten heräsi sellainenkin kysymys, *voitaisiinko asia   hoitaa   myös toisin*
            then   arose such-CL   question could-PST-CL matter deal-3SG also
            another way
            'Then there also arose the question whether there could be another way to deal with the matter'

        b. Ajatus, *että hän ei   tule*, tuntui ikävältä
            thought that he no-3SS come felt bad
            'The thought that he won't come felt bad'

The subordinate interrogative clauses and *että*-clauses often involve a so-called supporting pronoun *se* 'it'. Examples (6.38) (a) and (b) below illustrate this.

(6.38) a. Olennaista on *se, että tästä   ylipäänsä   voi tulla jotain*
relevant   is it that this-ELA in the first place can come something
'What is relevant is that this may work in the first place'
(Hakulinen et al. 2005: 1092)

b. Ei   kannata välittää *siitä,   suostuuko   isä*
no-3SG be worth care   it-ELA agree-3SG-CL dad
'It's not worth caring about whether dad agrees or not'
(Hakulinen et al. 2005: 844)

The pronoun *se* has a syntactic function as the carrier of the case ending when the predicate in the superordinate clause requires a locative case complement. Since case endings cannot be directly attached to the clause itself, the clause is nominalised by using the pronoun *se* as a pro-form for the subordinate clause (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1093-94, Leino 1999). However, as Hakulinen *et al.* describe, the pronoun *se* is also used in contexts where case marking is not required; it has a semantic function as a definitiser in instances where the referent of the clause is familiar information or a generally known fact. Leino (1999: 40-43) further specifies that the pronoun *se* tends to occur in connection with factive predicates, that is, predicates which require the proposition presented by the complement to be true. Yet often the supporting pronoun has no syntactic nor semantic function in a sentence, instead its usage is merely a fixed convention (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1093). For instance, in (6.38) (b) above, the pronoun *se* could equally well be left out without breaking any syntactic norms or changing the meaning of the sentence.

Besides the *että*-clauses discussed above, the conjunction *että* also occurs in other subordinate clause patterns. In spoken Finnish, the conjunction *että* 'that' may occur in connection with subordinate interrogative clauses. As Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 1104) describe, in these contexts *että* (or *et* in spoken language) tends to be used in connection with a number of predicates which denote, for instance, asking, wondering, doubting, thinking, remembering or knowing. According to them, *että* functions as an indicator of summarised information or a sentence boundary. This is illustrated in examples (6.39) (a) and (b) below.

(6.39) a. Ajattelin,   *että tuleekohan   hän*?
Thought-1SG that come-CL-CL he
'I thought whether he will come'

b. Sit mä soitin Raijalle   *et onk se himassa*
then I   called name-ALL that is-CL it home-INE
'Then I called Raija to ask if she's at home'

Another clause type which contains the conjunction *että* is the *final clause*, i.e., a clause expressing a purpose which motivates a certain event or state of affairs (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1079). In standard Finnish, the most typical conjunction of final clauses is *jotta*, but the conjunction *että* is also used. In addition, *että* is also used in connection with the connectors *siksi että* (literally 'that is why' + 'that', meaning 'because') and *niin että* 'so that' in final clauses. The following example from Hakulinen *et al*. (2005: 1079) illustrates the usage of *että* in a final clause.

> (6.40) Ja   jokaisena lomana   ja   vapaa-aikana minä olin työssä,
>   and every-ESS holiday-ESS and free-time   I   was work-INE
>   *että pystyisin   rahoittamaan kouluni*
>   that can-COND-1SG fund-INF   school-POS
>   'And during all holidays and free-time I worked in order to fund my studies'

The *että*-clause also occurs as a complement in consecutive constructions (i.e., constructions expressing consequence) (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1106-1108). The Finnish consecutive constructions consist of a superordinate clause which contains an adjective and an intensifier (typically *niin* 'so') or the proadjective *sellainen* 'such', which is followed by a subordinate *että*-clause (examples 6.41 a–b). These constructions are similar to the English correlatives *so … (that)* and *such … (that)* (see Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1142-1144).

> (6.41) a. Hän oli niin mukava, *että ihastuin   häneen*
>   he   was so   nice   that fell for-1SG-PST he-ILL
>   'He was so nice that I fell for him'
>
>   b. Hän on sellainen tyttö *että pärjää   missä tahansa*
>   She is such   girl that make it-3SG where ever
>   'She's the sort of person who can make it anywhere'

Since the English subordinate interrogative clauses and *that* –clauses have already been touched upon several times in the preceding discussion, I will only briefly review their main characteristics in the following. English subordinate interrogative clauses can be divided into two major categories: *wh*-interrogative clauses and *yes-no* interrogative clauses. When converted into indirect speech, *wh*-interrogative clauses, which involve a subject-operator inversion, become subordinate interrogative clauses with a SV ordering pattern. *Yes-no* interrogative clauses, on the other hand, result in clauses beginning with the subordinators *if* or *whether* followed by a SV order. The following examples from Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1029) illustrate these two clause patterns:

> (6.42) a. 'When will the plane leave?' I wondered
>   ~ I wondered when the plane would leave
>
>   b. 'Are you ready yet?' asked Joan
>   ~ Joan asked (me) whether I was ready yet

In subordinate *yes-no* interrogative clauses, the subordinators *if* and *whether* are used in slightly different contexts. Overall, *if* is syntactically more restricted than *whether*; it may only occur as a complementation of verbs and adjectives, such as in (6.43 a). *If* cannot occur, for example, in a subject complement clause (cf. examples in 6.43 b) or as the complement of a preposition (6.43 c) (see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1054). Unlike *if*, *whether* may also be used to introduce a clause which does not formally resemble an indirect question (6.42 d from Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1053).

(6.43) a. I wonder if you can help me.

b. My main problem right now is whether / ?*if I should ask for another loan.

c. It all depends on whether / ?*if they will support us

d. You have to justify whether / *if your journey is really necessary

English subordinate interrogative clauses and nominal *that*-clauses have a large range of functions; they both may function as a subject (6.44 a), direct object (6.44 b), subject complement (6.44 c), appositive (6.44 d) or adjectival complementation (6.44 e) (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1049-52). In addition to these, subordinate interrogative clauses may also function as a prepositional complement (6.44 f).

(6.44) a. *How the book will sell* depends on the reviewers.

b. I noticed *that he spoke English with an Australian accent*.

c. The problem is *who will water my plants when I am away*.

d. Your criticism, *that no account has been taken of psychological factors*, is fully justified.

e. We are glad *that you are able to join us on our wedding anniversary*.

f. They did not consult us on *whose names should be put forward*.

In informal English, the conjunction *that* may be omitted in *that*-clauses if the clause is a direct object or complement (6.45 a) or when the subject of the clause is extraposed (6.45 b). Similarly, in Finnish, the conjunction *että* is optional if the *että*-clause functions as an object for verbs of saying, hoping and wishing (see Korhonen 1993: 115-116) (example 6.45 c). However, the Finnish *että* is omitted far more seldom than the English *that*. Moreover, as already discussed, *että* is sometimes even inserted in contexts where it is not grammatically required (such as before subordinate interrogative clauses, as in 6.39 a–b).

(6.45) a. I know *it's late*.

   b. It's a pity *you don't know Russian*.

   c. Minähän sanoin   (*että*) *siinä käy   vielä huonosti*
       I-CL   say-1SG-PST (that) there go-3SG yet   badly
       'I told you (that) it will go wrong, didn't I?'

When considered from an L2 acquisition perspective, it can be concluded that these two English subordinate clause patterns contain some difficult aspects for L1 Finnish learners to master. With regard to the subordinate interrogative clause patterns, there are some obvious structural differences between Finnish and English. While structurally similar, English *that*-clauses and Finnish *että*-clauses, on the other hand, differ from each other in terms of the functions in which they are used. These structural and functional differences could be seen in the students' deviant usage of these syntactic patterns, which the following section examines.

6.2.3.2 Deviant subordinate interrogative clauses and **that**-clauses produced by Finnish students

Deviant usage of English subordinate interrogative clauses and *that*-clauses constituted, altogether, 13.1 % (*n* = 88) of the syntactic transfer observed in this study. Table 6.5 below shows their distribution in the corpus. As we can see, 36 instances (40.9 %) of the deviant subordinate clause patterns involved a subordinate interrogative clause, 39 instances (44.32 %) a *that*-clause, and in the remaining 13 instances (14.78 %) these two clause types had been merged together.

Table 6.5. Subordinate clause patterns

Subordinate clause patterns	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Subordinate interrogative clause	7	13	16	**36** (40.9 %)	
That-clause	12	14	13	**39** (44.3 %)	**88** (100 %)
That / subordinate interrogative clause	2	6	5	**13** (14.8 %)	

The majority (n = 27) of the deviant subordinate interrogative clauses were concerned with the omission of the subordinating conjunctions *if* or *whether*. Since Finnish has no equivalent syntactic pattern, Finnish students tend to omit the subordinators, and produce deviant word order patterns. This is illustrated in the following.

(6.46) a. It is never easy to divorse so it's same to you *are you married or not* (G, 2000,
          4)

b. It's only a question of faith *will you keep going on* (B, 2005, 1)

c. I don't know *can I do that*? (B, 2005, 3)

d. I do not know *have I enough courage and skills* (G, 2005, 5)

e. I am not sure *is it the best way to live your life* (G, 2000, 2)

In (6.46 a – b), the subordinate interrogative clause is the subject, in (c – d) the object, and in (e) it functions as adjectival complementation. As these examples indicate, the students have omitted the subordinators *if* or *whether*, which should be followed by an SV order, and replaced them with a VS pattern, which is used in the equivalent Finnish clauses. The students' problems with the formation of English subordinate interrogative clauses seems to result from the fact that, as described in the preceding section, Finnish subordinate interrogative clauses are similar to independent interrogative clauses. The sentences exemplified above are direct renderings of the constituent order in equivalent Finnish sentences. These examples seem to reflect the same phenomenon discussed in connection with the students' incorrect formation of the English passive voice (section 6.1.2): Finnish students tend to fail in making interlingual identifications between Finnish morphemes and the English periphrastic constructions they correspond to. With regard to the above examples, the Finnish morpheme the students have overlooked is the interrogative clitic particle *-ko/-kö*. Despite having learnt through language instruction that this clitic particle corresponds to the English subordinators *if/whether*, Finnish students tend to forget this in their own free written production and produce deviant word order patterns that clearly reflect Finnish subordinate interrogative clauses.

The subordinators *if/whether* had also been omitted in other contexts. Examples (6.47 a – b) below reflect the Finnish concessive adverbial clause. This clause type begins with a verb, which often contains the clitic particle *–pA* to enhance the contrastive effect (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 799-800, 1089-90). The concessive clause leaves open the choice between two alternatives, and, hence, semantically corresponds to English clauses containing the subordinator *whether*.

(6.47) a. You have to go out with it every day – *want you or not* (cf. Fi. *haluatpa tai et*, want-2SG-CL or no-2SG, 'whether you want it or not') (G, 1990, 5)

b. The main point is that you enjoy your life, *are you single or not* (cf. Fi. *oletpa sinkku tai et*, be-2SG-CL single or no-2SG, 'whether you are single or not') (G, 2000, 4)

In 9 instances, the deviant subordinate clause patterns involved a subordinate *wh*-interrogative clause. Since the equivalent Finnish clause pattern has a VS order, the students had transferred this ordering pattern into English, thus violating the correct SV order. Examples (6.48 a–c) below illustrate this.

(6.48) a. Animals need to know *who is the master* (G, 1990, 3)

   b. No matter *what is the issue and the reason for the war* (G, 2000, 1)

   c. Only a few even know *who are the Finnish Members of European Parliament* (B, 2005, 2)

Deviant *that*-clauses amounted to 39 instances in the corpus, which constitutes 44.32 % of all subordinate clause patterns. Despite the structural resemblance to the English *that*–clause, the Finnish *että* –clause also involves features that do not exist in English. One of them is the usage of the supporting pronoun *se* 'it'. In a manner similar to Finnish, the students had sometimes used the English pronoun *it* to precede the *that*-clause (examples 6.49 a –d).

(6.49) a. Many people take ***it*** *that they have pet* so for granted that they imaginate they couldn't live without pet (pro *many people take having a pet for granted*, cf. Fi. *pitävät* ***sitä****, että heillä on lemmikki niin itsestäänselvyytenä että*…) (G, 1990, 5)

   b. But we can be proud of ***it*** *that Nokia is selling so good these days* (cf. Fi.*voimme olla ylpeitä* ***siitä****, että*… (B, 2005, 4)

   c. Nowadays the main reason why people kill animals is usually ***it***, *that it is fun*, isn't it? (cf. Fi. *syy on se, että*… 'the reason is it, that…') (G, 1990, 5)

   d. Positiv thing is ***it*** *that when you do overtime work you get extra money* (cf. Fi. *positiivinen asia on se, että*…) (B, 2005, 6)

In Finnish, the supporting pronoun *se* has a syntactic function as the carrier of the case ending or a semantic function in emphasising definiteness. In (6.49) (a), the equivalent Finnish expression *pitää itsestäänselvyytenä* 'take for granted' requires a partitive case complement and in (b) the expression *olla ylpeä* 'be proud' requires an elative case complement. Since this complement is an *että*-clause, the pronoun *se* is needed to carry the case markings (*sitä* 'it-PAR', *siitä* 'it-ELA'). In (c) and (d), the pronoun *se* in the equivalent Finnish clauses has a semantic function; it adds more emphasis into the information conveyed by the *että*-clause. However, in (d) the pronoun *se* could equally well be left out, but, as discussed in the preceding section, it is often used simply because it has become a fixed convention.

   Another differing aspect between Finnish *että*-clauses and English *that*-clauses is their use in adverbial function in a sentence. Finnish *että*-clauses may be used as adverbial complements in contexts where English *that*-clauses are not used. One of these is the usage of *että*-clauses to express purpose or goal (*final clause*, see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1079-80). In my corpus, the students had sometimes used a *that*-clause to express purpose,

instead of using the English prepositional phrase *in order to* or the purpose adjunct *so that* (examples 6.50 a–b). Finnish students also produce similar kinds of transfer patterns in their L3 Swedish; Meriläinen (1997: 333-337) discovered that Finnish Upper Secondary school students misused the conjunction *att* 'that' in final and consecutive clauses instead of the conjunctions *för att* 'in order to' and *så att* 'so that'. Finnish *että*-clauses may also be used as adverbial complements for verbs which require a locative case complement (e.g. *syyttää* + ELA, 'blame for sth.'). Sometimes these correspond to English 'verb + prepositional complement' –constructions, which cannot take a *that*-clause as a complement (see Quirk *at al*. 1985: 1049-50). Example (6.50 c) illustrates the usage of a *that*-clause as a complement for a verb which requires a prepositional complement in English (see also 6.49 b).

(6.50) a. What do I have to do, *that the world is the better place to live for everyone* (B, 1990, 6)

b. But man kills pigs, *that people can get meat* (G, 1990, 5)

c. British teenagers blame school *that they don't give them opportunies to exercise* (B, 2005, 5)

On a few occasions, *that*-clauses had incorrectly been used as noun complements (6.51 a–b). In Finnish, *että*-clauses and subordinate interrogative clauses may be used to modify the noun in the superordinate clause. Sometimes these correspond to English *that*-clauses as subject complement or appositive (cf. examples 6.37 a–b and 6.44 c–d in section 6.3.1), but my corpus also revealed non-idiomatic usage of noun complements. In (6.51) (a), a more idiomatic structure in English would involve a relative clause, and in (b) a *to*-infinitive clause.

(6.51) a. Irak have some guns *that when Saddam press button, millions of people death* (B, 2000, 6)

b. It is childrens one right *that they have mum and dad, together* (G, 2000, 4)

Although both Finnish *että*-clauses and English *that*-clauses may be used in a similar manner in a subject or object position in a sentence, there are contexts where English favours another construction instead of a *that*-clause. In (6.52) below, the students have preferred using *that*-clauses, although a *to*-infinitive clause or a *-ing*-clause would have been a more idiomatic alternative in English.

(6.52) a. When a animal is sick, it would be the best, *that its' life will be stopped* (G, 1990, 5)

b. I want *that my wedding will be huge* (G, 2000, 5)

c. I want also *that I have a family and children* (G, 2000, 6)

d. I could not think *that I was working in a law office* (G, 2005, 6)

Finnish influence also manifested itself as the students usage of the conjunction *that* to precede a subordinate interrogative clause. There were, altogether, 13 such instances in the corpus, which constitutes 14.78 % of all deviant subordinate clause patterns. As described in the preceding section, the usage of the conjunction *että* to precede a subordinate interrogative clause is a common feature of spoken Finnish. This serves the purpose of marking a clause boundary and, thus, breaking a sentence into more easily processable chunks of information. The resulting transfer pattern is illustrated in the following.

(6.53) a. If you asked the animals *that do they want to do that* (G, 1990, 2)

b. But how could I know *that what kind of life I will have in the future* (G, 2000, 5)

c. If you go, for example, to Brasil and ask whoever you see first *that does he knows where Nokia comes from* (G, 2005, 4)

d. I want that those youngs have someone who is really interesting about *that how do they really feel* (G, 2005, 6)

To sum up, the deviant subordinate clause patterns found in the corpus seemed to arise from two sources. Firstly, the obvious structural differences between Finnish and English subordinate interrogative clauses resulted in deviant word order patterns and the omission of the subordinators *if/whether*. Secondly, the functional differences between the Finnish *että*-clauses and English *that*-clauses were reflected in the students' use of *that*-clauses in contexts where English prefers other types of syntactic structures. The structural similarities between the Finnish *että*-clauses and English *that*-clauses may deceive the learners and draw their attention away from the subtle but important functional differences between these clause patterns.

6.2.4 Expressions for future time

The fourth feature of syntactic transfer examined in this study is expressions for future time. More specifically, I will focus on Finnish students' omission of English grammatical constructions expressing future time, '*will* + infinitive' and '*be going to* + infinitive', and their usage of the simple present tense instead. This turned out to be a frequent deviant pattern in the corpus; 63 instances were detected, which equal 6.5 instances per 10,000 words. The means for creating future time reference are relatively similar in Finnish and in English. Both of these languages, albeit Finnish more seldom, employ some periphrastic constructions for expressing futurity, as well as make use of the present tense for future reference. The only difference is that Finnish has no future auxiliary

comparable to the English *will/shall*. Overall, the existing differences are not as much structural as semantic and stylistic, which probably makes them more difficult to perceive and, consequently, impedes Finnish students' acquisition of English expressions of futurity.

A comparison of the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students' corpora revealed that deviant expressions for future time did not often occur in Swedish-speakers' data. There were only 6 instances where the simple present tense had been used incorrectly instead of the '*will* + infinitive' or '*be going to* + infinitive' –constructions (2.1 instances / 10,000 words). According to Törnudd-Jalovaara (1985), the means for expressing future time do not differ much between Finnish and Swedish; the only difference is that Swedish employs periphrastic future constructions more often than Finnish does. Speakers of Swedish seem, nevertheless, to profit from L1–L2 similarities. Swedish expresses futurity with the help of the auxiliary *ska* 'will, shall', the *kommer att* (lit. come to 'be going to') –verb construction and by using the simple present tense for future reference (see Holmes & Hinchliffe 1994: 282-284, Törnudd-Jalovaara 1985). The auxiliary *ska*, which shares the same etymological roots with the English auxiliary *shall*, is used as a future marker much in a similar manner as the English *will*. The Swedish *ska* and the English *will* are not semantically identical in all contexts, but the mere existence of a future auxiliary in Swedish might be a factor that facilitates Swedish-speaking students' acquisition of the equivalent English construction.

In order to fully understand what makes the English future construction difficult for Finnish learners, section 6.2.4.1 will explore and compare the expressions for future time in Finnish and in English. Section 6.2.4.2 will then present and discuss the deviant patterns found in the Finnish corpus.

6.2.4.1 Means for expressing future time in Finnish and in English

With regard to future time, the most obvious similarity between Finnish and English is that they both lack a morphological category for expressing it. In both of these languages, there are certain grammatical constructions which express the semantic category of future time (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1468-1475, Quirk *et al.* 1985: 176, 213-219, Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 208-212). Moreover, these constructions more or less parallel each other in these two languages. However, surface similarities hide many subtle semantic differences. In the following description of Finnish and English future constructions, special emphasis will, therefore, be laid upon their differing semantics.

Finnish expresses futurity by using the present tense or certain verb constructions (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1468-1473, Markkanen 1979: 168-174). Most commonly, Finnish uses the present tense combined with a time adverbial that refers to future time, as in example (6.54 a) from Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 1468). Although the verb is in the present tense, the adverbial of time creates future reference. Sometimes contextual factors alone are sufficient for the interpretation of futurity, as in (6.54 b) (from Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1469). This particular sentence could either be interpreted as 'I am helping you (right now)' or 'I will help you' (in the future), but it is the context that creates the time reference.

(6.54) a. Hän tulee huomenna
            He   comes tomorrow
            'He will come tomorrow'

        b. Minä autan sinua
            I   help you
            'I will help you'

Futurity may also sometimes be expressed through aspectual characteristics of the predicate; aspectually bounded (i.e., resultative) present tense predicates contain a future connotation (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1468-69, 1440-42, Kiparsky 2001: 19-34, Karlsson 1999: 84-87, 100-106). Resultative aspect is typically expressed by the accusative case of the object (6.55 a). Sometimes an adverbial expressing direction may also indicate resultative aspect and, hence, create future interpretation (6.55 b).

(6.55) a. Tähän   ulos   rakennetaan *katos*
            here-ILL outside-ILL build-PAS   shed
            'A shed will be built here'

        b. Juoksen metsään
            run-1SG forest-ILL
            I'll run into the forest'
            (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1469)

In example (6.55 a), the accusative case of the object indicates resultativity, and implies that completing the action denoted by the predicate requires more time and can, hence, only be accomplished in the future. A partitive case object, as in *tähän rakennetaan katosta* (here-ILL build-PAS shed-PAR, 'a shed is being built here') would indicate an irresultative aspect, which implies that the action is currently in progress (present time reference) (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1468-69). In (6.55 b), an adverbial expressing direction implies a change of state, which creates future reference. An adverbial expressing location, on the other hand, as in *juoksen metsässä* ('run-1SG forest-INE', I'm running in the forest') would imply an irresultative aspect. While the Finnish resultative verb constructions correspond to the English '*will* + infinitive' or '*be going to* + infinitive' – future constructions, the irresultative expressions are best rendered as the present progressive form.

The examples discussed above illustrate the most common means of expressing futurity in Finnish. There are also different types of verb constructions that refer to future time, but their usage is stylistically and contextually more restricted. The construction *olla* 'to be' + MA-infinitive[35] in the inessive case is typically employed in news headlines

---

[35] MA-infinitive is one of the three infinitives in Finnish. The other two include A-infinitive and E-infinitive, which are all named after the infinitive markers –MA-, -A- and –E- (for more information, see Hakulinen *et al.* (2005: 489-493).

(example 6.56 a from Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1470). This verb construction generally implies that something is going to happen in the near future. Another construction, typical of written language, involves the present tense of the verb *tulla* 'to come' and the MA-infinitive (6.56 b, ibid.). This construction is more definite in its meaning and implies that the speaker/writer strongly believes that something is going to happen. The construction '*olla* 'to be' + VA-participle' has an archaic tone and is rarely used in modern Finnish (6.56 c, ibid.). This verb construction expresses the information as certain, and it is mostly found in religious or ceremonious texts or used as a stylistic device (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1470).

(6.56) a. Kirjolohilaitoksista   moni *lopettamassa*   tuotantonsa
           rainbow trout farms-ELA many stop-INF+INE production-3PL
           'Several rainbow trout farms closing down their production'

       b. Maamme taloudellinen tilanne *tulee*   *jatkumaan*   kireänä
           coutry-1PL economic   situation come-3SG continue-INF tight-ESS
           'Our country's economic situation will continue to be tight'

       c. Näin on aina   ollut ja   näin *on* aina   *oleva*
           so   has always been and so   is always be-PTC
           'So has it been and so will it always be'

The present tense conditional, the present tense potential mood[36] and the past perfect tense are also capable of referring to future time in certain contexts. The present tense conditional is used, for example, when referring to a plan, a possibility or a prediction. As Hakulinen *et al*.'s (2005: 1512) illustration of this shows, an expression of a plan, for instance, creates a future reference because a plan can only be fulfilled in the future (6.57 a). The present tense potential mood may express an estimation of either current or future state of the affairs; thus, the context may sometimes create an interpretation of future time, as in (6.57 b) from Hakulinen *et al*. (2005: 1515). The potential mood is used relatively rarely and it typically occurs in news texts, where it expresses, for instance, official estimations or political forecasts (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1515-1516). The past perfect tense with a future reference is used when describing an event as if it had already happened. The past perfect tense alone expresses that an action is completed at the moment of speaking, but the context may contain expressions that refer to a later time, which creates an interpretation of futurity (6.57 c from Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1471).

(6.57) a. Tästä   kankaasta *tulisi*   hyvä takki
           this-ELA fabric-ELA come-COND good coat
           'This fabric would be well suitable for a coat'

---

[36] Finnish has four grammatical moods; the indicative, the imperative, the conditional and the potential. All except the unmarked indicative mood are expressed through inflectional markers. The potential mood, as the name implies, expresses likeliness or possibility (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1510-1518).

b. Talo *valmistunee*   aikataulussa
   house be completed-PTN scedule-INE
   'The house should be completed on schedule'

c. Pian me *ollaan* tämä *siivottu*
   soon we have   this   cleaned
   'We will have this cleaned soon'

While in Finnish the connotation of futurity is often hidden in case marking or contextual cues, English employs more transparent means for expressing future time. As listed in Quirk *et al*. (1985: 213-219), the most important constructions for expressing futurity involve *will/shall* + infinitive, *be going to* + infinitive, the present progressive, the simple present and *will/shall* + progressive infinitive. The most common of these is the auxiliary *will/shall* followed by the infinitive (see Quirk *et al*. 1985: 213-214, 217). The auxiliary *will* can be used with all subjects, whereas *shall* only occurs with first person subject (cf. 6.58 a and b from Quirk *et al*. 1985: 213). Although both *will* and *shall* can be used neutrally to refer to future time, being modal auxiliaries, they are also capable of conveying a range of other meanings, such as prediction or volition. Consider example (6.58 c) (ibid.), in which *will* expresses intention.

(6.58) a. He *will* be there in half an hour.

        b. No doubt I *will/shall* see you next week.

        c. How soon *will* you announce your decision?

The second most common means of referring to future time is the simple present (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 215-216, 182-183, 1008-1010, Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1004, 131-136). It occurs more frequently in subordinate clauses than in main clauses. In main clauses, the simple present only occurs in connection with events that involve a strong degree of certainty. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1004, 131-134) refer to these types of clauses as the *futurate*. As pointed out by Quirk *et al*. (1985: 215), the future use of the simple present represents "a marked future of unusual definiteness" which is usually associated with present and past events. This is the case, for example, with calendar events (6.59 a) and scheduled events (6.59 b).

(6.59) a. Tomorrow *is* Thursday

        b. What time *does* the match *begin*?

Future use of the present tense occurs in a range of subordinate clauses (see Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1008-1010, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 135). Example (6.60 a) illustrates a temporal construction, where the present tense is used in clauses beginning with

adverbial conjunctions such as *after*, *before*, *as soon as*, or *once*. In (b), we have a conditional construction (e.g., clauses beginning with *if*, *unless*, *provided*, *supposing*, *on condition*), in which the event described in the clause is interpreted as taking place in the future. Present tense is also used in integrated relative clauses (c), embedded interrogative clauses (d), and comparative clauses (e). There are also certain verb constructions which take a present tense as a complement despite referring to future time. This is the case, for example, with *bet*, *wager* and *hope* (f), as well as with the covert mandative construction (g).

(6.60) a. We'll leave as soon as it *stops* raining.

b. She's mad if she *goes* tomorrow.

c. Keep any letters he *sends* you.

d. Let me know who *wins*.

e. I'll be able to do it in less time it *takes* them.

f   He's hoping she *doesn't* find out.

g. I insist that she *goes* too.

(from Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 135)

English also employs the verb construction '*be going to* + infinitive', the present progressive, and '*will/shall* + progressive infinitive' to express futurity. However, these are more restricted in their usage and semantically less neutral in comparison to the '*will/shall* + infinitive' -construction. The '*be going to* + infinitive' is more typical of informal speech. As Quirk *et al.* (1985: 214) describe, the meaning of this construction can be interpreted either as "future fulfilment of present intention", when it involves a personal subject and an agentive verb (6.61 a), or as "future result of present cause", which occurs with both personal and non-personal subjects (b). In both of these contexts, the '*be going to* + infinitive' implies a close proximity of the future event. The present progressive also has a specific connotation when referring to future events; it implies "future arising from present arrangement, plan or programme" (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 215). As example (c) demonstrates, the present progressive refers to an imminent future happening anticipated in the present (ibid.). The '*will/shall* + progressive infinitive' – construction may sometimes be used to convey the meaning "future as a matter of course" (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 216-217). This differs from the neutral usage of the *will/shall* auxiliaries with the progressive infinitive (see examples 6.57 a–c) in that it excludes any interpretation of volition, intention etc., which are often associated with *will* or *shall*. This is illustrated in example (6.61 d) from Quirk *et al.* (1985: 216), which implies that 30 000

feet is the normal and expected flight altitude and not something that the pilot just randomly decided.

(6.61) a. When *are* you *going to get* married?

b. There's *going to be* trouble.

c. The orchestra *is playing* a Mozart symphony after this.

d. We'*ll be flying* at 30 000 feet.

To sum up, the most common and semantically the most neutral means to refer to future time in English is the '*will/shall* + infinitive' –construction. The second most common expression for futurity is the present tense, but its usage is restricted to certain types of clauses only. Also, the verb constructions discussed above are less frequent and more restricted in their usage. In Finnish, on the other hand, the most frequent and the most neutral means for expressing future time is the simple present tense. Future interpretation is often created through the use of adverbials, case marking or contextual clues. The verb constructions Finnish employs for future reference (see 6.55 a–c) tend to be used in more formal contexts, such as in news texts, or as stylistic devices. Although Finnish and English both use the simple present tense to refer to future time, its usage is not comparable in these languages. The primary difference is that in English, the present tense only occurs with the futurate, i.e., main clauses which describe an occurrence of an event with a very strong degree of certainty, or in dependent clauses (e.g., in connection with temporal or conditional constructions), which are often accompanied by a main clause which contains a future marker. For Finnish learners of English, then, the English expressions for future time may appear deceivingly easy to learn given their structural similarity with the L1 equivalents. However, understanding the subtle semantic differences between formally similar L1 and L2 constructions is probably a task that only more advanced learners are fully able to accomplish. The following section will further explore the problems Finnish students have with the English expressions for future time and discuss the deviant instances of future reference found in the corpus.

6.2.4.2 Finnish students' incorrect usage of the present tense for future reference in English

My corpus indicated that Finnish students had often incorrectly extended the use of the simple present tense to refer to future time in English. The examples found in the corpus reflected three different types of future expressions in Finnish: a) the usage of the simple present tense with a time adverbial, b) the usage of the present tense alone aided by contextual clues, and c) future implication created by a resultative aspect of the predicate. Table 6.6 below shows the distribution of these deviant future expressions.

Table 6.6. Expressions for future time

Expressions for future time	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Present tense + time adverbial	1	22	13	**36** (57.14 %)	**63** (100 %)
Present tense + contextual clues	-	8	8	**16** (25.4 %)	
Present tense + resultative aspect	1	5	5	**11** (17.5 %)	

As we can see, in more than half of the instances (*n* = 36), the simple present tense was combined with a time adverbial which refers to future time. This was a relatively homogenous category. The students had used adverbials such as *in the future* (6.62 a), *always* (b), *one day* (c), *then* (d) or adverbial clauses beginning with, e.g., *when* (e) or *as long as* (f).

(6.62) a. In my opinion, wars *are* wars also *in the future* (B, 2000, 4)

b. I'm sure that we *have always* wars

c. Perhaps *one day* I *get* married too (G, 2000, 2)

d. All jobbplaces *are then* in China, Japan or mayby in India (G, 2005, 6)

e. It could be possible that *when I am little bit older* I *understand* why people go married (B, 2000, 5)

f. So *as long as* we have that highly educated society we *have* companies like Nokia (B, 2005, 5)

In 16 instances (25.4 % of all deviant future constructions), the students had used the simple present tense alone. In these instances, the futurity was expressed by the overall context where these examples are taken from. This is illustrated in the following.

(6.63) a. Even fever soldiers *get killed* but more and more sivilians *die* (B, 2000, 5)

b. You have to do you choise. I don't know what *is* mine (G, 2000, 4)

c. And I *am* a boss and take care of money (G, 2005, 4)

d. So Nokia's collapsing *doesn't* affect the finnish unemployment (G, 2005, 2)

In (6.63 a), the student was describing what a future war may be like. The context where (b) derives from was a description of the positive and negative aspects of being married versus being single, and which one would be a better choice. In (c), the student was writing about her future plans of starting a company and which tasks she would perform in it. In the composition where (d) is taken from the student was speculating what the future of Finland might be like if the mobile telephone company *Nokia* went bankrupt.

11 instances (17.5 %) reflected Finnish expressions in which future interpretation is created through a resultative aspect of the predicate. Examples (6.64 a - c) below illustrate this.

(6.64) a. I don't shut out the thought that I *live* my life alone (G, 2000, 3)

b. I f people really want to exercise they always *find* a place to do that (G, 2005, 5)

c. And if I go married some day and life is same kind of I *kill* my self (B, 2000, 5)

If we render example (6.64 a) into Finnish, we get an accusative clause *elän elämäni* (live-1SG life-ACC-POS, 'I'll live my life'). The accusative case of the object implies a resultative aspect, which means, in this case, that living one's life is something that takes place on a longer time span, hence extending into the future. A partitive case object, on the other hand, as in *elän elämääni* (live-1SG life-PAR-POS 'I'm living my life'), would indicate an irresultative aspect and, hence, locate the phrase in present time (cf. the English progressive) (see Karlsson 1999: 84-87, 100-106). This same aspectual future implication can be found in examples (6.64 b and c), in which the verbs *find* and *kill* are inherently resultative in meaning. Both of these verbs also take an accusative object (cf. *löytävät paikan*, find-3PL place-ACC, 'they will find a place'; *tapan itseni*, kill-1SG myself-ACC, 'I'll kill myself').

As the above examples demonstrate, Finnish students seem to perceive the English auxiliaries *will/shall* and the future construction '*be going to* + infinitive' as redundant. This may be because Finnish does not require explicit future marking the way English does; in Finnish, the connotation of futurity is often expressed by time adverbials which refer to future time or it is hidden in subtle morphological marking or contextual clues. Even though Finnish has periphrastic future constructions, they are rare and stylistically restricted, and therefore not likely to be a significant aid in acquiring the English future constructions. Omission of the auxiliary *will* in future expressions was also attested by Lauttamus *et al.* (2007: 299) in their study of Finnish Australians (e.g., *we stay here*, *we not go*, pro *we'll stay here, we're not going*). They also found extended use of the present tense in connection with past events in their data (e.g., *when we come in Australia*, pro *when we came to Australia*), which they interpreted as a more universal learner tendency to regularise L2 morphology. In this study, no transfer effects were observed in the students' formation of English past tense constructions. One explanation for this might be that Finnish expresses past tense with the help of periphrastic constructions similar to those of

English, which is likely to make the acquisition of the English past tense expressions easier for Finnish learners. Moreover, similar regularisation patterns observed in L2 speech may not surface in data consisting of more formal written language.

One would expect that the students should have acquired this feature of English grammar by the third grade of Upper Secondary school. The '*will/shall* + infinitive' and the '*be going to* + infinitive' –constructions are taught at the sixth grade of Finnish elementary school, after four years of English instruction. Hence, neither lack of explicit instruction nor lack of exposure to these constructions is likely to be the reason for the students' learning problems. Moreover, from L2 learning perspective, English future constructions are relatively regular and uncomplicated. According to my own teaching experience, they impose no greater problems for Finnish students to learn, but in their own free written production they still tend to omit the English future markers and produce the simple present tense instead.

There are two possible, and not mutually exclusive, explanations for this behaviour. Firstly, since the simple present tense is a common means for expressing futurity in English, Finnish students may overgeneralise its usage into contexts where English uses other means for expressing future time. This type of overgeneralisation of TL features which bear resemblance to L1 is a common tendency in learner language (formulated as the 'transfer to somewhere' principle by Andersen 1983). Hence, the reason for the students' overuse of the simple present tense could partially be intralingual (i.e., result from the complexity of the TL system). Another possible explanation for the students' preference for the simple present tense could be that periphrastic constructions are, as shown earlier in this study, difficult for Finnish students to learn. Finns tend to ignore the various parts of periphrastic constructions (such as the auxiliary *will*) and assume that the main verb alone renders the same meaning in English as it does in Finnish. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that Swedish-speaking learners of English, whose L1 has a future auxiliary and makes more frequent use of periphrastic future constructions than Finnish does, do seem to master the English future constructions.

A further factor which may contribute to Finnish students' omission of the auxiliary *will* is phonetic L1 influence. In spoken and informal English, *will* is often used in its contracted and phonetically reduced form, *'ll*. For Finnish learners of English, this contracted and reduced *'ll* may simply be more difficult to perceive. As already discussed in connection with phonetic lexical transfer (see sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.3), Finns have difficulties in perceiving reduced sounds and syllables in English because phonetic reduction is a feature which does not occur in Finnish. This can be seen, for instance, in Finns' tendency to omit initial unstressed syllables of English words (see section 5.2.3). Thus, it is possible that Finnish learners may not always perceive the auxiliary *will* from spoken English input, which makes them assume that future reference can be created through the present tense form of the verb in a manner similar to their L1.

6.2.5 Prepositional constructions

Deviant prepositional constructions turned out to be the single most common feature of syntactic transfer found in the corpus. The students had either used an incorrect preposition (n = 174; 18 instances/ 10,000 words) or omitted prepositions altogether (n =

184; 19 instances / 10,000 words). The relatively high frequency of prepositional constructions in English in comparison to, for example, the passive construction naturally contributes to the high frequency of deviant prepositional constructions occurring in the corpus.

Prepositions express relations between entities, a function for which Finnish uses a variety of case endings. There are also some adpositions in Finnish but they are used relatively rarely. The spatial and temporal relations that English expresses though prepositional constructions are generally expressed by case endings in Finnish. Some Finnish case endings have a relatively close translation equivalent in certain English prepositions. This is when the learning task for Finnish students is relatively straightforward; all they need to do is to map a Finnish bound morpheme (case ending) with an English free morpheme (preposition). However, most often there is no semantic correspondence between English prepositional phrases and Finnish case endings. This is when Finnish students tend to choose an incorrect preposition in English based on the semantics of the equivalent L1 expression. The students' omission of English prepositions, on the other hand, seems to involve a similar simplification process as discussed in connection with their omission of various parts of English periphrastic grammatical constructions (e.g., the passive construction, expressions for future time); they seem to regard English prepositions as redundant and assume that the basic form of the English word carries the same semantic information as its Finnish inflected counterpart.

In this study, deviant prepositional constructions will be examined under syntactic transfer, although they may sometimes be seen to involve elements that are a part of the learners' lexical knowledge (see section 5.1.1). The students' choice of incorrect prepositions could be characterised as lexical transfer in the sense that it involves semantic L1 influence and subcategorisation transfer (Jarvis 2009, see section 2.2.1). However, the omission of prepositions is likely to be the result of syntactic simplification (see above). Hence, in this study, deviant prepositional constructions are interpreted to be the result of syntactic differences between Finnish and English (to be discussed in section 6.2.5.1).

Incorrect prepositions also occurred in the Swedish corpus, but their frequency was only half of that encountered in the Finnish corpus ($n = 28$; 9.9 / 10,000 words). Moreover, the Swedish-speaking students' use of incorrect prepositions can also be attributed to influence from Swedish; they had used incorrect prepositions in contexts where Swedish and English use different prepositions in equivalent expressions, such as in *look at* vs. *titta på* 'look + on' or *die of something* vs. *dö i någonting* 'die + in'. The omission of prepositions, on the other hand, was rare in the Swedish corpus ($n = 5$; 1.8 / 10,000 words). This indicates that the acquisition of English prepositional constructions seems to be easier for Swedish-speaking students because they have prepositions in their L1 (see, e.g., Holmes & Hinchliffe 1994: 359-459).

This section is divided into three sub-sections. Section 6.2.5.1 will briefly introduce the Finnish case system. Naturally, it is not feasible, nor necessary, to describe the various prepositional meanings in English and how they differ from the meanings expressed by Finnish cases. Therefore, English prepositional phrases will be discussed at a very introductory level, and the focus will lie on the semantic aspects of the Finnish case

system. Sections 6.2.5.2 and 6.2.5.3 will explore the corpus data; the former will focus on the students' choice of incorrect prepositions and the latter on their total omission of prepositions.

6.2.5.1 The case system in Finnish and its English equivalents

Finnish differs from most Indo-European languages in that it has a very rich inflectional system. One manifestation of this is its case system; Finnish has 15[37] cases, which are used to express syntactic and semantic relations between nominal words or phrases and other sentence elements (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1173-1214; Karlsson 1999: 76-128; Holmberg & Nikanne 1993: 1-11). The cases are marked by adding case endings into word roots. The forms of these endings vary according to the inflectional category of the root word and vowel harmony (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1173, 49-51, 95-100).

The 15 cases in Finnish are usually divided into 5 groups: grammatical cases, internal locative cases, external locative cases, general locative cases and marginal cases. These are listed and exemplified in table 6.7.

Table 6.7. The Finnish case system (adapted from Holmberg & Nikanne 1993: 6-8)

Grammatical cases	Nominative	*talo*	'house'
	Genitive	*talon*	
	Partitive	*taloa*	
	Accusative	*talo / talon*	
Internal locative cases	Inessive	*talossa*	'in a/the house'
	Elative	*talosta*	'from in a/the house'
	Illative	*taloon*	'into a/the house'
External locative cases	Adessive	*talolla*	'at a/the house'
	Ablative	*talolta*	'from a/the house'
	Allative	*talolle*	'to a/the house'
General locative cases	Transitive	*taloksi*	'into a house' (change of state)
	Essive	*talona*	'as a/the house'
Marginal cases	Abessive	*talotta*	'without a/the house'
	Comitative	*taloinemme*	'together with our houses' (always pl.)
	Instructive	*taloin*	'with a/the house'

The grammatical cases (i.e., nominative, genitive, partitive and accusative) express resultativity/irresultativity and definiteness/indefiniteness. They occur in subject, object and predicative functions. These are exemplified in table 6.8 below.

---

[37] Not all grammarians agree on the exact number of the Finnish cases. However, the case system presented here is the most widely accepted one.

Table 6.8. The Finnish grammatical cases

	Nominative	Partitive	Genitive	Accusative
Subject	*Ruoka* on pöydällä 'The food is on the table'	*Ruokaa* on pöydällä 'There's some food on the table'	*Hänen* täytyy mennä 'He must go'	
Object	Syödään *jäätelö* 'Let's eat the ice-cream'	Syödään *jäätelöä* 'Let's eat some ice-cream'	Syön *jäätelön* 'I'll eat the ice-cream'	Vien *hänet* ulos 'I'll take him out'
Predicative	Se on *iso jäätelö* 'It's a big ice-cream'	Tämä on *jäätelöä* 'This is ice-cream'	Se on *minun* 'It is mine'	

The nominative case is the uninflected basic form which usually occurs as the subject of the sentence. The nominative case of the subject, object or predicative indicates a concrete or abstract whole or a definite, limited quantity (Karlsson 1999: 63-66; Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1182-84). The opposite of the nominative is the partitive, which expresses indefinite, non-limited quantity and typically marks the object of a sentence (Karlsson 1999: 76-90; Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1186-87). The genitive case has a number of different functions; besides expressing possession, it also occurs, for example, as the subject case of necessive and non-finite constructions and as the object case of aspectually restricted clauses (see examples in table 6.7). The accusative case is more restricted in its use; only personal pronouns and the interrogative pronoun *kuka* 'who' may take the accusative (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1186). However, some grammarians understand the accusative case in a much broader sense. For example, Holmberg & Nikanne (1993), Reime (1993), Toivainen (1993) and Karlsson (1999) maintain that the accusative is not a morphological case but a syntactic case which marks the object of the sentence. Hence, the nominative singular and plural, the genitive singular (*-n* -ending) and the accusative (*-t* -ending) may all mark the accusative case.

Besides these grammatical functions described above, the partitive and the accusative cases may also occur in connection with quantity adverbs (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1173-87; Karlsson 1999: 105-106). Finnish has some expressions of quantity which take an object case. The expressions correspond to some English adverbials of time duration and time frequency. This is illustrated in examples (6.65 a–b) from Karlsson (1999: 105-106). In addition, all these four grammatical cases may occur in certain fixed phrases and expressions, when their meaning cannot be specified. To give a few examples, the nominative case occurs in certain expressions of time (6.65 c from Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1183), the partitive case in adverbial clauses expressing cause (6.65 d from Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1187) and the genitive case is used in constructions expressing an experiencer (6.65 e from Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1185).

(6.65) a. Olen ollut Suomessa *viikon*
be-1Sg be-PTC Finland-INE week-GEN (ACC)
'I have been a week in Finland'

b. Olen nähnyt hänet *kaksi kertaa*
be-1SG see-PTC he-ACC two time-PAR
'I have seen him/her twice (two times)'

c. Olisi kiva tavata *joku kerta*
be-COND nice meet some time
'It would be nice to meet some time'

d. Hän teki sen *omaa tyhmyyttään*
S/he do-3SG-PST it-GEN own-PAR stupidity-PAR-POS
'S/he did it out of his/her own stupidity'

e. *Minun* oli jotenkin vaikea tajuta, että se oli totta
I-GEN was somehow difficult realise that it was true
'Somehow it was difficult for me to realise that it was true'

The six locative cases are also referred to as *semantic cases*, because they are associated with specific meanings (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1173; Holmberg & Nikanne 1993: 7). As can be seen in table 6.6, there are three internal and three external locative cases in Finnish. These six locative cases more or less correspond to English prepositions and, moreover, their syntactic behaviour is to some extent similar to prepositional phrases (see, e.g., Nikanne 1993). The locative cases form a sub-system which is structured according to two dimensions; location and direction (see Karlsson 1999: 107-108). Location is divided into internal location ('inside' or in immediate contact with) and external location ('outside'). Direction describes static location, movement towards something or movement away from something. The following figure illustrates this.

		Location	
		Inside	**Outside**
Direction	**Static**	*Inessive (-ssa)*	*Adessive (-lla)*
	Away from	*Elative (-sta)*	*Ablative (-lta)*
	Towards	*Illative (-Vn)*	*Allative (-lle)*

Figure 6.2. The locative cases in Finnish (adapted from Karlsson 1999: 107)

The internal locative cases typically express location within or movement into or out of a certain space. The space is perceived as enclosed and three-dimensional. These include expressions such as *laatikossa* 'in a box', *metsässä* 'in the forest', *televisiossa* 'on the TV',

idässä 'in the east', *kirkosta* 'from the church' and *radioon* 'to the radio' (see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1190-91). The internal locative cases are also used to indicate a close contact with a surface of an entity, such as in *tahra seinässä* (stain wall-INE, 'a stain on the wall') or in the more abstract *olla puhelimessa* (be telephone-INE, 'be on the telephone'). The external locative cases, on the other hand, indicate location on the surface of an entity or movement onto or off the surface. They are used in contexts such as *pöydällä* 'on the table', *lautasella* 'on a plate', *sohvalle* 'on(to) the couch' or *seinälle* 'on(to) the wall' (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1191-92). The external locative cases also indicate spatial proximity or location within a certain area (e.g., *kaupalla* 'at the store', *huoltoasemalle* 'to the gas station'). Some locative cases can also be used to express more abstract locations or states. This can be seen in examples such as *jäässä* (ice-INE, 'frozen'), *kuumeessa* (fever-INE, 'having fever'), *tupakalla* (cigarette-ADE 'be smoking'), *hyvällä tuulella* (good-ADE mood-ADE 'on a good mood') or *mennä kalaan* (go fish-ILL, 'go fishing').

Besides concrete or abstract locations, the locative cases also express abstract relations in general. They are commonly used in temporal expressions, but they also occur in numerous other abstract uses and fixed expressions. The inessive case, besides expressing location inside something, is also used in expressions of time. This is illustrated in examples (6.66 a–b), in which (a) expresses time duration and (b) time position (from Karlsson 1999: 108-110). The inessive case is also used, for example, in certain fixed expressions of measure or manner (c) and in phrases expressing abstract relations (d) (from Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1200).

(6.66) a. Luin   kirjan   *tunnissa*
            read-1SG-PST book-GEN hour-INE
            'I read the book in an hour'

        b. Tulen   Norjaan   *ensi kuussa*
            come-1SG Norway-ILL next month-INE
            'I'll come to Norway next month'

        c. Maksu   suoritetaan *punnissa*
            payment make-PAS pound-PL-INE
            'Payment must be made in pounds'

        d. *Missä   suhteessa*   Honda on erikoinen?
            what-INE respect-INE Honda is special
            'In which respect is Honda special?'

In its locative meaning, the elative case expresses movement away from something ('out from inside'). In temporal expressions, the elative indicates the starting point of an event (example 6.67 a). The abstract uses of the elative case include the result clause, which indicates that someone/something is becoming something (b), clauses indicating the substance something is made of (c) and clauses indicating experiencer or perceiver, such as in expressions of opinion (d) (for more, see Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1201-03).

168

(6.67) a. Hän on ollut täällä *viime vuodesta*
He has been here   last year-ELA
 'He has been here since last year'

b. *Hänestä*   tulee   lääkäri
S/he-ELA become doctor
'S/he will be a doctor'

c. Pöytä on tehty *puusta*
table   is   made wood-ELA
'The table is made of wood'

d. *Minusta* hän on sairas
I-ELA   he   is   ill
'In my opinion he is ill'

(from Karlsson 1999: 111-112)

The illative case, which in its locative meaning indicates movement into somewhere, is used in temporal expressions to indicate an end point of an event (6.68 a) or a time by which an action has not taken place (b). The illative case is also used to mark an object of certain verbs (typically denoting emotional states) (c) or in expressions of price (d) (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1205).

(6.68) a. Viikosta   *viikkoon*
week-ELA week-ILL
'From week to week'
(from Karlsson 1999: 115)

b. En   ole   käynyt   Ruotsissa   *vuoteen*
not-1SG be-PTC visit-PTC Sweden-INE year-ILL
'I have not been to Sweden for a year'
(from Karlsson 1999: 115)

c. Olin   väsynyt *kaikkeen*
be-1SG-PST tired   everything-ILL
'I was tired with everything'

d. Söimme   liikelounaan *hintaan*   110 markkaa
eat-3PL-PST business lunch price-ILL 110 mark-PAR
'We had a business lunch for the price of 110 marks'

The first of the external locative cases, the adessive, carries the locative meaning of 'on top of' or 'near'. In its temporal use, the adessive occurs in connection with expressions of time of day or year when not preceded by adjective or pronoun determiners (6.69 a) and in several 'determiner + headword' –expressions with headwords such as *hetki* 'moment', *tunti* 'hour', *viikko* 'week' or *vuosisata* 'century' (b), to name but a few. The adessive case also marks the subject of possessive clauses (c). Abstract uses of the adessive case also include expressions of means or instrument (d) and adverbial clauses expressing manner and quantity (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1201, 1197-1200; Karlsson 1999: 115-117).

(6.69) a. *Talvella*   voi   hiihtää
            Winter-ADE can-3SG ski-3SG
            'In winter one can ski'

        b. *Ensi viikolla*   lähden Lappiin
            Next week-ADE go-1SG Lapland-ILL
            'Next week I am going to Lapland'

        c. *Minulla* ei ole rahaa
            I-ADE   no be money-PAR
            'I have no money'

        d. Syön   keittoa   *lusikalla*
            Eat-1SG soup-PAR spoon-ADE
            'I'm eating soup with a spoon'

            (from Karlsson 1999: 116)

The ablative case is the most infrequent of the six locative cases. Besides its basic locative meaning (movement 'off or from a surface', 'from near'), it also indicates time (6.70 a). The ablative case has many abstract uses. The most common of these is habitive expressions, i.e., expressions indicating owner or experiencer. In connection with the ablative case, habitive expressions denote, for example, source (b) or losing something (c). The ablative case can also be found in certain expressions of measurement, among many other specific uses (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1203-1204; Karlsson 1999: 117-119).

(6.70) a. Opetus   alkaa kello *yhdeksältä*
            Teaching begins clock nine-ABL
            'Teaching begins at nine o'clock'

        b. Tänään tuli   kirje   *pojaltani*
            Today came letter son-ABL-POS
            'Today there came a letter from my son'

        c. *Pojalta*   katkesi jalka

Boy-ABL broke   leg
'The boy broke his leg'

d. Perunat   maksavat markan   *kilolta*
Potatoes cost   mark-GEN kilo-ABL
'The potatoes cost a mark a kilo'

(from Karlsson 1999: 117-18)

The final external locative case, the allative case, indicates movement towards a surface in its basic locative sense. In temporal use, it expresses an end point of an event (6.71 a). The allative also occurs in habitive expressions, in which it marks the receiver (b) or expriencer (c). These kinds of expressions often function as the complements of verbs denoting giving or communicating (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1205-1206; Karlsson 1999: 119-120).

(6.71) a. Kampanja kestää *toukokuulle*
Campaign lasts   May-ALL
'The campaign lasts until May'

b. Tuossa on *sinulle*   rahat
There   is   you-ALL money-PL
'There is the money for you'

c. *Kaikille*   sattuu   vahinkoja
Everyone-ALL happen-3SG accident-PL-PAR
'Accidents happen to everyone'

(from Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1206)

In addition to internal and external locative cases, Finnish also has two general locative cases, the essive and the translative (see table 6.7). The essive and the translative are also called abstract locative cases for they are mostly used in abstract sense. In locative meaning they only occur in certain adverbs, such as in *kotona* (home-ESS, 'at home') or in certain comparative expressions, such as *lähemmäksi* (closer-TRANS, 'go closer'). In temporal expressions, the essive case denotes time position. It is used in connection with days of the week (e.g., *lauantaina*, Saturday-ESS, 'on Saturday'), festivals (e.g., *pääsiäisenä*, Easter-ESS, 'at Easter') and with times of the day and year when preceded by a determiner (e.g., *viime kesänä*, last summer-ESS, 'last summer') (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1198). Other uses of the essive case include the state or the function of the subject (6.72 a) or the object (b) of the sentence. As the latter example demonstrates, the essive case sometimes corresponds to the English preposition *as*, such as in *ystävänäsi* (friend-ESS-POS, 'as your friend').

(6.72) a. Heikki on   Jämsässä *lääkärinä*
            Heikki be-3SG Jämsä-INE doctor-ESS
            'Heikki is (working as) a doctor in Jämsä'

        b. Pidämme   ehdotusta   *järkevänä*
            Regard-3SG proposal-PAR sensible-ESS
            'We regard the proposal as sensible'

            (from Karlsson 1999: 117-18)

The translative case is also used in certain temporal expressions. It expresses time duration (e.g., *kahdeksi viikoksi*, two-TRANS week-TRANS, 'for two weeks'), the time by which something happens (e.g., *ehtiä kotiin kello kolmeksi*, get home-ILL clock three-TRANS, 'get home by three o'clock') and the time until which something is postponed (e.g., *lykkäämme kokouksen huomiseksi*, postpone-3PL meeting-GEN tomorrow-TRANS, 'we shall postpone the meeting until tomorrow') (Hakulinen *et al.* 2005: 1199-1200). The translative generally denotes change, as in when the subject or the object of the sentence enters a certain state or function (6.73 a), or the result of a movement or change (b). Some translative expressions may also indicate manner (c) (for more, see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1207; Karlsson 1999: 125-127).

(6.73) a. Tyttö aikoo   *insinööriksi*
            Girl   intend-3SG engineer-TRANS
            'The girl intends to become an engineer'

        b. Poikasi   on   kasvanut *pitkäksi*
            Son-POS on   has grown   tall-TRANS
            'Your son has grown tall'

        c. Opettaja puhuu   *Suomeksi*
            Teacher   speak-3SG Finnish-TRANS
            'The teacher speaks in Finnish'

            (from Karlsson 1999: 125-127)

The remaining three cases, the abessive, the comitative and the instructive are called the marginal cases because in comparison to the 12 cases described above, they are rare and their use involves certain lexical and morphological restrictions. The abessive case expresses the absence or lack of something (example 6.74 a). Hence, its meaning corresponds to the English preposition *without*. The abessive cannot occur with singular nouns preceded by adjective determiners (**suuremmatta ongelmatta*, bigger-ABE problem-ABE), but is only possible with plural comparative adjective determiners (*suuremmitta ongelmitta*, bigger-PL-ABE problem-PL-ABE, 'without bigger problems'). The abessive case is also common with the MA-infinitive construction, which often corresponds to the

172

English negative infinitive (e.g., *olla tekemättä*, be do-INF-ABE, 'not to do something') (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1209-1210). Otherwise its use tends to be restricted to certain fixed expressions, and is often replaced by the preposition *ilman* 'without'. The comitative case is the rarest of all cases and it mainly occurs in fixed expressions. The comitative case is habitive in meaning and its closest English equivalents are 'with' and 'accompanied by' (example 6.74 b). The comitative case can only be used in the plural, and if it is attached to a noun it co-occurs with a possessive suffix (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1211-1212). The instructive case expresses means or instrument. It tends to occur in adverbial phrases which consist of a noun and a determiner (example 6.74 c). Many phrases containing the instructive case have become fixed adverbials of place or time (e.g., *paikoin*, place-INS, 'in some places', *puolilta päivin*, half-PL-ABL day-INS, 'at noon'), adverbs (*hyvin*, good-INS, 'well') or adpositions (*alkaen*, start-INS, 'since, from') (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1210-1211).

(6.74) a. Hänet   tuomittiin   *syyttä*
            He-ACC condemn-PAS cause-ABE
            'He was condemned without cause'

        b. Rauma on mukava kaupunki *vanhoine   taloineen*
            Rauma is   pleasant town   old-COM house-COM
            ja *kapeine   katuineen*
            and narrow-COM street-COM
            'Rauma is a pleasant town with its old houses and narrow streets'

        c. *Omin   silmin*
             Own-INS eye-INS
            'With (one's) own eyes'

            (from Karlsson 1999: 127-128)

In addition to these 15 cases, Finnish also uses adpositions, that is, prepositions and postpositions (see, e.g., Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 674-700; Karlsson 1999: 221-225; Vilkuna 1996: 46-49, 78-79). Among the Finnish adpositions are *ilman* 'without', *ennen* 'before', *kohti* 'towards', *lähellä* 'near', *ympäri* '(a)round', *alla* 'under, *edessä* 'in front of', *jälkeen* 'after', *kanssa* 'with', *sisällä* 'inside', *takana* 'behind' and *välissä* 'between'. There is sometimes a very fuzzy border between adpositions and adverbs or nouns (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 683-684; Vilkuna 1996: 46, 48). Some adpositions are also similar to locative cases. For example, the Finnish inessive, as in *Rotta on talo**ssa*** (rat is house-INE, 'the rat is in the house') can be expressed with a postposition, *Rotta on talon **sisällä*** (rat is house-GEN inside, 'the rat is inside the house'), although with a slightly different meaning. In this case, the inessive case conveys a more neutral tone, whereas the postposition emphasizes the rat being *inside* the house as opposed to *outside*. Some adpositions and cases can be used interchangeably, as in ***ilman** epäilystä* (without doubt-PAR, 'without a doubt') and *epäilyks**että***, (doubt-ABE, 'without a doubt'). Generally, the difference between

adpositions and cases is that the meaning of adpositions is more exact, whereas cases can have various abstract meanings as well (see, e.g., Vilkuna 1996: 78-79).

The above discussion of the Finnish case system has already highlighted many semantic differences between Finnish cases and English prepositions. In the following, I will briefly introduce the syntactic functions and some of the most common semantic roles of English prepositional phrases. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 657-658) divide prepositional phrases into three classes according to their syntactic functions: 1) postmodifiers in a noun phrase, 2) adverbials and 3) complements. Function (1) is illustrated in example (6.75 a), where the prepositional phrase modifies the noun it follows. Example (b) illustrates a prepositional phrase as an adverbial of time and space. In example (c), the prepositional phrase functions as a complementation of a verb.

(6.75) a.   The people *on the bus* were singing

        b.   *In the afternoon*, we went *to Boston*

        c.   We were looking *at his awful paintings*

        (from Quirk et al. 1985: 657)

The meanings of English prepositions are so diverse that it is difficult to describe them in a systematic manner. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 673-709) have, nevertheless, identified four broader categories of prepositional meanings: space, time, cause/purpose and means/agentive. Among these categories, prepositions of space form the most systematic whole. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 673-675) distinguish three types of spatial dimensions which determine the choice of the preposition: 1) point, 2) line or surface, and 3) area or volume. These are illustrated in (6.76 a–c) respectively.

(6.76) a.   My car is *at the cottage*

        b.   Our cottage is *on that road*

        c.   There are only two beds *in the cottage*

        (from Quirk et al. 1985: 673-674)

Prepositions of place also have abstract meanings, some of which are related to their concrete locative uses. As a case in point, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 685) discuss the metaphorical extension of the preposition *in*. In its concrete locative use, *in* denotes a location within an area or volume, and may be used in expressions such as *in shallow water* or *in deep water*, the latter of which also has a metaphorical meaning 'in trouble'. This metaphorical use of *in* has been extended to expressions such as *in difficulties* or *in a tough spot*. The latter phrase may only be interpreted metaphorically because in its literal sense, *spot* refers to a certain point in space and would, therefore, require the preposition *at*. Similar

metaphorical extensions may also be found, for example, with the prepositions *under* (literal meaning: vertical direction) in *he has a hundred people working under him* (metaphorical meaning: subordination), and *from/to* (literal meaning: starting point/destination) in *a letter from Browning to his wife* (metaphorical meaning: originator/recipient) (from Quirk *et al*. 1985: 686).

Prepositions of time cannot be described with similar systematicity as prepositions of place, but we may find some metaphorical extensions of spatial prepositions within them. The preposition *at* is used to indicate a point in time, such as in *at ten o'clock*, *at Christmas* or *at that time*. The preposition *on*, *on* the other hand, refers to days as periods of time, which has been extended from its locative use denoting a location on a line or surface: *on Monday*, *on the following day* or *on May* (*the*) *first* (from Quirk *et al*. 1985: 687-688). Other more or less systematic uses of time prepositions include, for instance, the use of *in* to refer to future time (e.g., *we'll meet in three month's time*) and *for* to refer to duration (e.g., *for the summer*) (see Quirk *et al*. 1985: 687-695).

Other prepositional meanings that Quirk *et al*. (1985: 695-703) have identified are cause/purpose and means/agentive. Prepositions denoting cause/purpose include *because of*, *on account of*, *for* and *from*. They may express either a material cause (e.g., we had to drive slowly *because of the heavy rain*) or a psychological cause (e.g., *for fear*). Prepositional phrases containing these prepositions answer the question *Why...?*. Prepositions expressing means/agentive include, for instance, *with* (e.g., someone had broken the window *with a stone*) and *by* (e.g., I usually go to work *by bus*). They answer the question *How...?*.

Apart from these four categories of prepositional meanings, English prepositions are extremely difficult to describe in a systematic manner. Because of their diversity, English prepositional phrases also represent a difficult category for L2 learners, who often feel that prepositional phrases can only by mastered through learning them 'by heart'. For Finnish learners of English, additional learning problems are caused by the fact that Finnish expresses relations between entities both structurally and semantically in a very different manner. The following two sections will further explore the deviant prepositional constructions produced by Finnish students. Section 6.2.5.2 will first discuss the students' prepositional choices which seem to reflect the semantics of the Finnish case system. Section 6.2.5.3 will then present the deviant patterns where prepositions had been omitted altogether.

6.2.5.2 Finnish students' incorrect choice of prepositions in English

Incorrect prepositions constituted, altogether, 25.9 % (*n* = 174) of syntactic transfer observed in this study (18 instances / 10,000 words). The deviant prepositional constructions were divided into 13 subcategories according to the Finnish case they seemed to reflect. The distribution of these prepositional constructions can be seen in table 6.9 below.

Table 6.9. Incorrect prepositions

Incorrect preposition	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Nominative	-	-	-	**-** (0 %)	
Genitive	-	2	-	**2** (1.2 %)	
Accusative	-	-	-	**-** (0 %)	
Partitive	-	-	-	**-** (0 %)	
Inessive	18	7	7	**32** (18.4 %)	
Elative	6	15	15	**36** (20.7 %)	
Illative	4	10	15	**29** (16.7 %)	
Adessive	6	3	11	**20** (11.5 %)	**174** (100 %)
Ablative	-	1	2	**3** (1.7 %)	
Allative	16	8	9	**33** (19 %)	
Translative	2	1	2	**5** (2.9 %)	
Essive	3	5	2	**10** (5.8 %)	
Adpositions	2	0	2	**4** (2.3 %)	

As the above table shows, the prepositional constructions observed in the corpus seldom involved Finnish grammatical cases (i.e., nominative, genitive, accusative or partitive). There were only 2 instances in which the Finnish genitive case had been transferred. Both of them were concerned with the expression '*reason + for*', the Finnish equivalent of which contains a genitive case:

> (6.77)   The reason *of* that war is again some stupid (pro *for*, cf. Fi. *sodan syy*, 'war-GEN reason') (B, 2000, 2)

The great majority of the deviant prepositional constructions were influenced by the locative cases. The frequencies of the transferred locative cases reflect their frequencies of occurrence in Finnish (see Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1178-1179). In Finnish, the most frequent of the locative cases are inessive, illative, elative and adessive, whereas ablative, allative, essive and translative occur more seldom.

In 32 instances, the transferred case was the internal locative marker, the inessive, which expresses location inside something and, thus, often corresponds to the English preposition *in*. In its concrete locative use, the inessive case does not differ much from its English equivalent *in*. Consequently, Finnish students do not seem to experience many problems with concrete locative reference of *in*; examples such as (6.78 a) were rare in the corpus. In abstract locative use, however, the inessive case and the preposition *in* do not always correspond to each other. This can be seen in examples (6.78 b – c). Finnish uses the inessive case with such abstract locations as *televisiossa* (television-INE, 'on the television') or *internetissä* (internet-INE, 'on the internet'), as well as in expressions of state, as in *sodassa* (war-INE, 'at war'). Sometimes the deviant usage of the preposition *in* occurred in connection with temporal expressions (6.78 d). The students had also often incorrectly used the preposition *in* in expressions of abstract relations (6.78 e) or in certain fixed expressions (6.78 f).

(6.78) a. Man has been *in* Moon, developed satellites and invented a many useful vaccinations (pro *on*, cf. Fi. *kuussa* 'moon-INE') (B, 1990, 4)

b. Except *in* television of course (pro *on*, cf. Fi. *televisiossa* 'television-INE') (B, 2000, 3)

c. But the fact is that mankind will always be *in* war (pro *at*, cf. Fi. *sodassa* 'war-INE') (B, 2000, 3)

d. I recall one chilly, darkening night *in* the beginning of October (pro *at*, cf. Fi. *alussa* 'beginning-INE') (G, 1990, 1)

e. Money is, of course, involved in this matter as it is everywhere else, *in* some extent (pro *to*, cf. Fi. *jossakin määrin* 'some-INE extent-INS') (B, 1990, 3)

f. Instead of being good *in* mathematics, I am pretty good *in* foreign languages (pro *at*, cf. Fi. *olla hyvä matematiikassa / vieraissa kielissä* 'be good mathematics-INE / foreign languages-INE') (B, 1990, 2)

In 36 instances, the students had incorrectly used the prepositions *from* or *about*, which could be traced back to Finnish expressions involving the internal source marker, the elative case. In its concrete locative reference, the elative case denotes movement away from something, and hence corresponds to the English preposition *from.* The various abstract uses of the elative case, on the other hand, differ from the use of *from*, which had led to the deviant prepositional constructions observed in the corpus. In abstract locative reference, Finnish uses the elative case to express abstract source or origin, such as television or newspaper (6.79 a). The elative also expresses a part of a whole, which in English is expressed with the preposition *of* (6.79 b). Clauses denoting experiencer or perceiver also employ the elative case, such as in expressions of an opinion (6.79 c). The

elative case also commonly occurs in adverbials expressing cause or subject, which was the most common source of deviant usage of *from/about* in the corpus (6.79 d – f). Since the elative case corresponds to the preposition *about* when indicating a subject (of a conversation or a book *etc.*), the students had sometimes incorrectly extended the use of *about* to other contexts as well (6.79 b and e), which can be traced back to Finnish elative expressions.

(6.79) a. Watching news *from* TV or reading newspapers you can't deny the fact that there are allways news about wars somewhere on earth (pro *on*, cf. Fi. *katsoa televisiosta* 'watch television-ELA') (B, 2000, 4)

        b. A very big part *about* man's food came from animals (pro *of*, cf. Fi. osa ruoasta 'a part food-ELA') (B, 1990, 5)

        c. *From* my opinion that is absolutely a good way of change (pro *in*, cf. Fi. *minun miele**stä**,* 'my mind-[ELA]') (G, 2000, 3)

        d. I think everyone dreams *from* healthy life (pro *of*, cf. Fi. *unelmoida terveellisestä elämästä* 'dream healthy-ELA life-ELA') (G, 2000, 3)

        e. I even enjoyed *about* english (pro *enjoyed English*, cf. Fi. *nauttia Englannista,* 'enjoy English-[ELA]') (B, 1990, 5)

        f. In situations such as being late *from* an appointment (pro *for*, cf. Fi. *myöhässä tapaamisesta* 'late appointment-[ELA]') (B, 2000, 1)

The illative case, which marks internal goal, was the source of transfer in 29 instances. The illative indicates movement into somewhere, and is, thus, usually translated into English as (*in*)*to*. In its locative reference, the preposition *to* was used incorrectly in instances such as (6.80 a) (concrete location) and (6.80 b) (abstract location). However, most often the deviant use of *to* occurred in connection with expressions of emotional states, which take an illative case complement in Finnish. This is illustrated in examples (6.80 c – d). Many Finnish verbs also take an illative case complement, such as *perustua johonkin* 'be based something-ILL', which had led to such deviant expressions such as in (6.80 e-f) in the corpus.

(6.80) a. I could never imagine myself *to* the crowded, stinky, little office, alone, for the whole day (pro *in*, cf. Fi. *kuvitella itseäni toimistoon* 'imagine myself office-ILL') (G, 2005, 1)

        b. Only affect to finnish people would be a little scratch *to* our identity (pro *in*, cf. Fi. *naarmu identiteettiin* 'scratch identity-ILL') (B, 2005, 3)

c. Nowadays I am a some little girl who wants belief *to* marriage (pro *in*, cf. Fi. *uskoa avioliittoon* 'believe marriage-ILL') (B, 1990, 4)

d. But now I am happy *to* my weight (pro *with*, cf. Fi. *olen tyytyväinen painooni* 'be-1SG happy weight-ILL-POS') (B, 2005, 3)

e. Finlands economy is based *to* big companies like Nokia, Metso and UPM-Kymmenen (pro *on*, cf. Fi. *perustuu suuriin yrityksiin* 'be based big-ILL companies-ILL') (B, 2005, 5)

f. Of course the consumers have influenced *to* the things that Nokia produces (pro -, cf. Fi. *ovat vaikuttaneet tuotteisiin* 'have influenced products-ILL') (G, 2005, 2)

In 20 instances, the students' deviant use of English prepositions reflected the Finnish adessive case, which marks external location. In its most typical locative use the adessive denotes position on top of a surface, which corresponds to the English preposition *on*. However, the adessive is also used to indicate unspecific location within a two-dimensional area which does not have clear boundaries (as opposed to the inessive which marks more specific location inside an enclosed three-dimensional space). This had led the students to extend the use of the preposition *on* into contexts such as in example (6.81 a). As example (6.81 b) illustrates, the students had often (*n*=8) inserted a preposition before the locative adverbial *abroad*. This can be traced back to the equivalent Finnish adessive expression *ulkomailla* 'abroad-ADE'. However, instead of the preposition *on*, the students had used the preposition *in*, which is the translation equivalent of the Finnish inessive case. This seems to reflect the phenomenon described in Jarvis and Odlin (2000), who discovered that Finnish learners of English sometimes overgeneralised the internal locative marker *in* to refer to all internal spatial relations (including internal goal and internal source). Examples such as (6.81 b) indicate that a similar overgeneralisation may also take place between internal and external markers of location. In this case, the students had used the marker of internal location *in* although the corresponding L1 expression carries the marker of external location.

(6.81) a. I have lived *on* countryside for all my life (pro *in*, cf. Fi. *maalla* 'countryside -ADE') (G, 2000, 2)

b. I would be happy, if I could work *in* abroad (pro *abroad*, cf. Fi. *ulkomailla* 'abroad-ADE') (G, 2005, 4)

Besides locative reference, the adessive case in Finnish is also used in expressions of means or instrument and in adverbial clauses of manner. Thus, it sometimes corresponds to the English prepositions *by* and *with*. My corpus also showed deviant use of these prepositions, which reflected Finnish adessive expressions. In Example (6.82 a) we have an expression of instrument and in example (6.82 b) and adverbial of manner.

(6.82) a. It is work where a person can drive *with* car (pro *drive a car*, cf. Fi. *Ajaa autolla* 'drive car-ADE') (B, 2005, 6)

b. After that nearly all man's actions had depend on animals *by* a way or other (pro *in one way or another*, cf. Fi. *tavalla tai toisella* 'way-ADE or other-ADE') (B, 1990, 5)

The ablative case was the source of transfer in only 3 occasions. Its relative infrequency is not surprising considering that the ablative is the rarest of the Finnish locative cases. The ablative marks external source, and in its concrete locative reference it indicates movement off or from a surface. The ablative is commonly used to mark an abstract source as well, as in habitive expressions indicating 'from someone'. This is what the students' deviant prepositional constructions were concerned with; all the 3 instances reflecting the use of the ablative case involved expressions of abstract source of the verb *kysyä* 'ask', which takes an ablative case complement in Finnish (6.83).

(6.83) You can also choose the things you do without asking *from* someone else (pro *asking somebody else*, cf. Fi. *kysyä joltakin toiselta* 'ask somebody-ABL else-ABL') (B, 2000, 2)

The allative case was transferred in 33 instances. The allative marks external goal, and in its locative use it indicates movement towards a surface or two-dimensional area without clear boundaries, thus corresponding to the English preposition *to*. In its concrete locative reference, the allative was the source of transfer in expressions such as *go abroad*, where the students had incorrectly inserted the preposition *to* (example 6.84 a). Most often, however, the deviant use of *to* could be traced back to abstract uses of the allative case. One of these is expressions of state or action, as in *mennä lenkille* (go jog-ALL, *go jogging*) (example 6.84 b). The allative also marks the receiver or experiencer of verbs expressing giving or communicating (6.84 c–e). In these contexts, the students had also used the preposition *for*, which indicates a receiver or experiencer in English.

(6.84) a. I really respect people who are ready to go *to* abroad (pro *abroad*, cf. Fi. *ulkomaille* 'abroad-ALL')

b. A dog is a good friend to go *to* jogging (pro *to go jogging*, cf. Fi. *mennä lenkille* 'go jog-ALL') (G, 1990, 4)

c. Pets give *to* us love and security (pro *give us*, cf. Fi. *antavat meille* 'give-3PL we-ALL') (G, 1990, 6)

d. Mum was angry *for* me (pro *at*, cf. Fi. *vihainen minulle* 'angry I-ALL') (G, 1990, 3)

e. That suits *for* me (pro *suits me*, cf. Fi. *sopii minulle* 'suits I-ALL') (G, 2000, 3)

In addition to internal and external locative cases, the general locative cases, the essive and the translative, had also sometimes influenced the students' choice of English prepositions. The essive had been transferred in 10 instances, most of which involved temporal expressions. The essive is used in time adverbials expressing time position, and it may have several English translations equivalents. In my corpus, the students had sometimes used a preposition with time adverbials which do not take a preposition at all in English (e.g., recently, last/next year). Most often the preposition the students had inserted was *in* (as in example 6.85 a), but also *on* and *at* were sometimes used. The essive also expresses the state or the function of the subject (e.g., *ystävänäsi* 'as your friend'), and hence sometimes corresponds to the English preposition *as*. Example (6.85 b) illustrates the students' incorrect use of the preposition *as*, which reflects the Finnish expression *maata kuolleena* 'lie dead-ESS'.

(6.85) a. I want to get married *in* some day (pro *some day*, cf. Fi. *jonakin päivänä* 'some-ESS-CL day-ESS') (G, 2000, 5)

        b. When she finds her cat lying *as* dead in the way (pro *lying dead*, cf. Fi. *Maata kuolleena* 'lie dead-ESS') (G, 1990, 6)

There were 5 instances which could be attributed to the use of the Finnish translative case. The translative denotes the result of a movement or change, or the state someone or something enters. It is used in expressions such as *opiskella joksikin* (study something-TRANS, 'study to become something'), which is reflected in the students' use of the preposition *to* in the equivalent English expression (6.86 a). The translative also indicates how something is interpreted or intended, as in *ele oli tarkoitettu varoitukseksi* (gesture was intend-PAS-PTC warning-TRANS, 'the gesture was meant as a warning') (Hakulinen *et al*. 2005: 1207). This type of use of the translative had influenced the students' choice of the preposition in expressions such as in (6.86 b). The preposition the students had chosen was *for*, which sometimes corresponds to the translative case in temporal expressions, such as in *viikoksi* (week-TRANS, 'for a week').

(6.86) a. Hopefully I go, before Secondary High School, in school where I can study *to* humanitarian worker (pro *study to become a humanitarian worker*, cf. Fi. *opiskella humanitaarisen työn tekijäksi* 'study humanitarian-GEN worker -TRANS') (G, 2000, 3)

        b. What can be qualified *for* a selfmade injure (pro *qualified as*, cf. Fi. *luokitellaan itseaiheutetuksi vammaks*i, 'qualify-PAS self-made-TRANS injury-TRANS')

In addition to the cases discussed above, the students' choice of incorrect prepositions in English was also sometimes influenced by Finnish adpositions. There were only 4 such

instances. All of these involved Finnish postpositions which have a direct translation equivalent in English: *kohti* 'against', *kanssa* 'with', *päällä* 'on' and *yli* 'over'. Examples (6.87 a – b) illustrate these.

(6.87) a. Is that really right *against* those animals (pro *for*, cf. Fi. *oikein eläimiä kohtaan* 'right animals-PAR against') (G, 1990, 2)

b. Catch up criminals, help people cros *over* the street and so on (pro *cross the street*, cf. Fi. *auttaa kadun yli*, help street-GEN over')

As the examples presented in this section illustrate, the Finnish case system influences Finnish students' use of English prepositions in various ways. Most often, the incorrect choice of English prepositions seemed to be influenced by the various abstract meanings of the Finnish cases. Since the concrete locative use of many Finnish cases corresponds to the use of English prepositions, Finnish students may assume that the abstract uses of Finnish locative cases also correspond to English prepositional phrases. While the students' incorrect use of English prepositions seems to involve semantic overgeneralisation, their omission of prepositions, on the other hand, concerns syntactic simplification. This is what I turn my attention to in the following section.

6.2.5.3 Finnish students' omission of prepositions in English

The students' omission of English prepositions was even slightly more frequent than their incorrect choice of prepositions (n=184; 19 instances / 10,000 words). Zero prepositions were divided into various subcategories according to the type of phrase they occurred in. The breakdown of these phrase types is shown in table 6.10 below. As we can see, zero preposition occurred in several different contexts, including verb and adjectival complements (n = 93), noun modifiers (n = 11) and different types of adverbial clauses (n = 80).

Table 6.10. Omission of prepositions

Omission of preposition	1990	2000	2005	Total	
Complementation					
- *Verb complement*	28	29	32	**89** (48.4 %)	
- *Adjectival complement*	3	-	1	**4** (2.2 %)	
Noun modifier	-	3	8	**11** (6 %)	
Adverbial					**184** (100 %)
- *Space*	9	5	27	**41** (22.3 %)	
- *Time*	4	5	6	**15** (8.2 %)	
- *Process*	6	1	4	**11** (6 %)	
- *Other*	3	2	8	**13** (7.1 %)	

The Finnish counterparts for the deviant expressions involved almost all Finnish cases. In altogether 58 (31.5 %) expressions where the preposition had been omitted, the corresponding Finnish expression involved one of the grammatical cases (nominative *n*=4; 2.2 %, genitive *n*=3; 1.6 %, accusative *n*=0, partitive *n*=51; 27.7 %). In the majority of the preposition omissions (125; 67.9 %), the corresponding Finnish phrases contained one of the locative cases (inessive *n*=24; 13 %, elative *n*=29; 15.8 %, illative *n*=27; 14.7 %, adessive *n*=18; 9.8 %, ablative *n*=0, allative *n*=10; 5.4 %, translative *n*=7; 3.8 %, essive *n*=10; 5.4 %). In addition, there was one instance (0.5 %) where the corresponding Finnish expression contained a postposition.

The single most common category of preposition omission was verb complementation (*n*= 89) (see table 6.10). This was a relatively homogenous category. The great majority of the instances involved prepositional verbs such as *think about/of, listen to, look at, look for, talk about* or *dream of*. As examples (6.86 a – e) below illustrate, the students had used the prepositional object in the manner of a direct object. Most of the corresponding Finnish verbs take a partitive object, such as *ajatella* 'think', *kuunnella* 'listen' or *etsiä* 'look for' in examples 6.88 a – c, but other types of Finnish object constructions had also been transferred, such as the elative expressions *puhua* 'talk' + elative object and *haaveilla* 'dream' + elative object in (6.88 d – e). Zero preposition also sometimes occurred within other types of verb complements, such as the copular complement *be in a negative mood* (f).

(6.88) a. When I *think childrens* in Kenya I become sad (pro *think about children*, cf. Fi. *ajattelen lapsia* 'think-1SG child-PL-PAR') (B, 2005, 4)

b. Schools should hire teatchers who *listen students* (pro *listen to students*, cf. Fi. *kuuntelevat oppilaita* 'listen-3PL student-PL-PAR' (G, 2005, 3)

c. If you are *looking someone to blame* take a look in the mirror (pro *looking for*, cf. Fi. *etsit jotakuta* 'look for-2SG someone-PAR') (B, 2005, 2)

d. Now we are *talking Finlans future* (pro *talking about*, cf. Fi. *puhumme Suomen tulevaisuudesta* 'talk-3SG Finland-GEN future-ELA') (B, 2005, 5)

e. The whole of my life I have *dreamed a rich man* with dark hair (pro *dreamed of a rich man*, cf. Fi. *haaveillut rikkaasta miehestä* 'dream-1SG-PST rich-ELA man-ELA') (G, 2000, 5)

f. On monday you are also allowed to be *negative mood* (pro *in a negative mood*, cf. Fi. *huonolla tuulella* 'bad-ADE mood-ADE') (G, 2000, 3)

There were also 4 examples where zero preposition occurred within adjectival complements. As example (6.89) below illustrates, these adjectival complements functioned as the indirect object of the sentence, marking the recipient of the preposition *for*.

(6.89) Pets are important *many kinds of people and people of different ages* (pro *for many kinds of people*, cf. Fi. *monenlaisille ihmisille* 'many kind-PL-ALL people-ALL') (B, 1990, 4)

Zero preposition also occurred within noun modifiers (*n*=11), albeit more seldom than within complements or adverbials. In example (6.90 a) the preposition *of* had been omitted within a numeral premodifier *thousands of*, which corresponds to a Finnish partitive expression indicating an amount. In (6.90 b) zero preposition is found in a postmodifying clause.

(6.90) a. The Humans short history contains *thousands wars* (pro *thousands of wars*, cf. Fi. *tuhansia sotia* 'thousand-PL-PAR war-PL-PAR') (B, 2000, 5)

b. This is few *comments The Observer's written Useless PE lessons* (pro *comments on the Observer's article*, cf. Fi. *kommentteja kirjoituksesta* 'comment-PL-PAR article-ELA') (G, 2005, 6)

Adverbial clauses represent another category where zero preposition occurred frequently. The most common types of adverbials where prepositions had been omitted were adverbials of space, time and process. In adverbials of space, deviant zero preposition constructions amounted to 41 instances. They occurred within space adverbials of location (6.91 a – b) and direction (c – d). As examples (a – b) indicate, the adverbials of location all referred to concrete locations such as *in the country*, *in the world*, *in*

Finland/Britain. The adverbials of direction, on the other hand, involved both concrete locations, such as *library / hospital / university* (example c) and abstract locations, such as *the end of the book / life / the middle of the crisis* (example d).

(6.91) a. We *live country* and we have lot of animals and we love our life (pro *in the country*, cf. Fi. *asumme maalla* 'live-3SG country-ADE') (G, 2000, 5)

b. Many people needs help *everywhere the world* (pro *everywhere in the world*, cf. Fi. *kaikkialla maailmassa* 'everywhere world-INE') (G, 2005, 4)

c. Some day one of my friends suggested to me to *go the library* and borrow some good books (pro *go to the library*, cf. Fi. *mennä kirjastoon* 'go library-ILL') (B, 1990, 5)

d. After this we discuss how discusting is that how someone can *jump flower to flower* (pro *from flower to flower*, cf. Fi. *kukasta kukkaan* 'flower-ELA flower-ILL') (B, 2000, 4)

Time adverbials with preposition omission constituted 15 instances. Zero preposition occurred mostly within adverbials of time position (6.92 a), but a couple of examples of time duration and time frequency were also found (b). For English L2 learners, knowing when to use a preposition with time adverbials may be difficult because preposition of time is often absent in English. This is the case, for example, when the temporal expression contains a deictic word (e.g., *last*, *next*, *this*, *that*) or a word indicating frequency (e.g., *every*) (see Quirk et al. 1985: 692-695). However, given the fact that preposition omission occurred with all types of adverbial phrases in the corpus, it is likely that the omission of time prepositions in the interlanguage by Finnish ESL learners is, at least partially, an L1 induced feature.

(6.92) a. *My own weding day* I want to be most beatiful and all mus be so perfekt (pro *on my own wedding day*, cf. Fi. *omana hääpäivänä* 'own-ESS wedding day -ESS') (G, 2000, 5)

b. You don't see your famil *many weeks* (pro *for many weeks*, cf. Fi. *moneen viikkoon*, many-ILL week-ILL') (B, 2005, 6)

In process adverbials, a preposition had been omitted 11 times. Example (6.93 a) illustrates a process adverbial expressing manner, (b) means and (c) an instrument. In adverbials expressing manner, such as *(in) a different / the same way*, the preposition *in* may be omitted in some contexts, but it was nevertheless interpreted as L1 induced in this study because of the high frequency of preposition omissions in all types of adverbial clauses.

(6.93) a. I'd like to know if there's somebody who thinks *completely different way* (pro *in a completely different way*, cf. Fi. *täysin eri tavalla* 'completely different way-ADE') (G, 2005, 2)

   b. Perhaps the only way is *cost of development* (pro *at the cost of development*, cf. Fi. *kehityksen kustannuksella* 'development-GEN cost-ADE') (B, 1990, 4)

   c. I have to get to do something *my hands* (pro *with my hands*, cf. Fi. *käsillä* 'hand-PL-ADE') (G, 2005, 6)

In addition to space, time and process adverbials, there were also odd examples of zero preposition in other types of adverbial clauses as well. To give a few examples, (6.94 a) illustrates a style disjunct, which seems to have been directly translated from the Finnish phrase expressing an opinion *minun mielestä* 'my mind-ELA' (*in my opinion, to my mind*). In (6.94 b), the preposition had been omitted from the appositive conjunct *for example*.

(6.94) a. *My mind* the humanitarian workers do so wonderful and important work (pro *to my mind, in my opinion*, cf. Fi. *minun mielestä* 'my mind-ELA') (G, 2005, 6)

   b. Some people *example* in Great Britain (pro *for example*, cf. Fi. *Esimerkiksi* 'example-TRANS') (G, 2005, 6)

As the above examples have demonstrated, Finnish learners of English do not only have problems with choosing a correct preposition in English, they also have problems with supplying a preposition in the first place. Similar tendency has also been observed in the English of Finnish Australians (e.g., *when we came Australia*, pro *when we came to Australia*) (Lauttamus et al. 2007: 296). However, in Lauttamus *et al*. (2007) study, preposition omission only occurred in connection with motion verbs, which has also been attested in other L2 varieties of English. In this study, preposition omission also occurred in connection with many other types of verbs, which strengthens the argument that Finns' preposition omission in English is caused by transfer. Finns' use of zero preposition has also been studied by Jarvis and Odlin (2000). They compared Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking learners' spatial reference in English, and discovered that both learner groups demonstrated L1 induced prepositional choices, but zero prepositions only occurred in the data by Finnish-speaking students. Jarvis and Odlin (2000: 550) explain that "the structural nature of the Finnish locative cases predisposes Finns to disregard preposed function words as relevant spatial markers", and characterise Finns' omission of English prepositions as a combination of transfer and simplification effects. Simplification of difficult TL material, which is a common coping strategy for L2 learners, seems a plausible explanation when it comes to less advanced learners. However, many of the learners investigated in this study ought to be on a relatively advanced level after ten years of formal English instruction and informal exposure to English in their daily lives. Another factor that could contribute to the frequent preposition omission by these

learners is phonetic L1 influence: in spoken English, prepositions are typically unstressed and phonetically reduced. Such features of English have been found to be difficult for L1 Finnish learners (see also sections 5.3.1 and 6.2.4.2). Hence, even advanced and proficient learners, who may be able to acquire many types of lexical elements and syntactic structures simply by hearing them, may not always be able to perceive which preposition a certain English phrase contains, or if it contains a preposition at all.

The preceding sections 6.2.1 – 6.2.5 have focused on the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the deviant syntactic patterns found in the whole corpus. My corpus also displayed some differences in the frequencies of these transfer patterns in the samples from the years 1990, 2000 and 2005, which have not been brought into discussion yet. The following section will examine the corpus data quantitatively and statistically. It will be devoted to answering my second research question, which is concerned with the possible changes that may have taken place in the quantity of these transfer patterns, and if they reflect an improvement in the students' mastery of these English syntactic constructions.

6.3 CHANGES OBSERVED IN PATTERNS OF SYNTACTIC TRANSFER BETWEEN 1990, 2000 AND 2005

Quantitative comparison of the syntactic transfer patterns occurring in the students' compositions from 1990, 2000 and 2005 indicated no decrease in their frequencies during this 15-year period. On the contrary, the frequencies of some of these transfer patterns had even slightly increased in the compositions between 1990 and 2005. Table 6.11 shows the numbers of instances of each transfer pattern and their frequencies per 10,000 words for 1990, 2000 and 2005. These results are illustrated in figure 6.3.

Table 6.11. Frequencies of syntactic transfer by categories

	1990		2000		2005	
	N	**/10,000**	**N**	**/10,000**	**N**	**/10,000**
The passive construction	22	6.6	22	7.8	25	7.1
Expletive pronoun constructions	32	9.6	23	8.1	38	10.8
Subordinate clause patterns	21	6.3	33	11.6	34	9.7
Future time	2	0.6	35	12.3	26	7.4
Prepositional constructions	110	33.1	97	34.2	151	42.9
Total	**187**	**56.3**	**210**	**74.1**	**274**	**77.8**

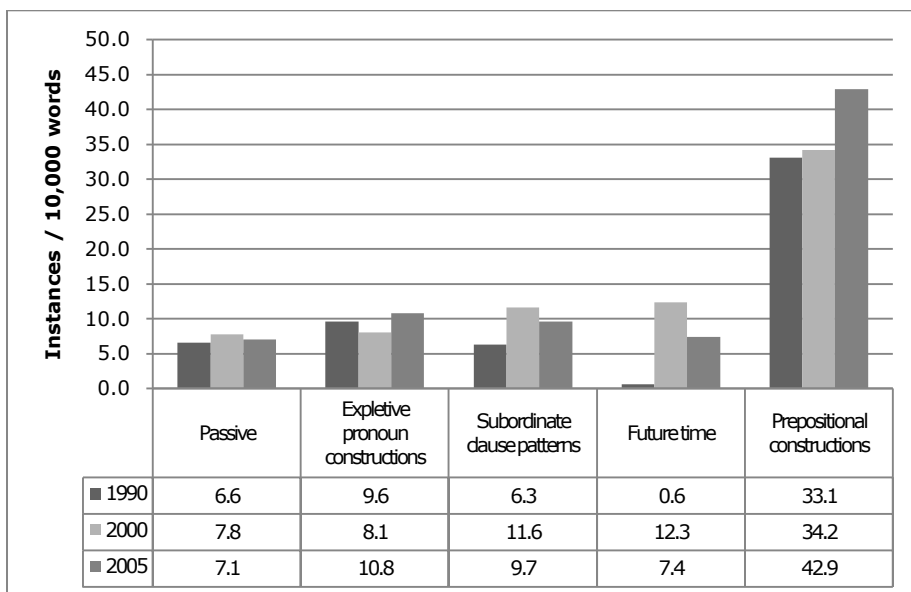|	Passive	Expletive pronoun constructions	Subordinate clause patterns	Future time	Prepositional constructions
■ 1990	6.6	9.6	6.3	0.6	33.1
■ 2000	7.8	8.1	11.6	12.3	34.2
■ 2005	7.1	10.8	9.7	7.4	42.9

Figure 6.3. Frequencies of syntactic transfer by categories

As table 6.11 and figure 6.3 indicate, none of the five transfer patterns investigated showed a decrease in their frequency. The frequencies of deviant passive constructions and expletive pronoun constructions had remained the same, but subordinate clause patterns, expressions for future time and prepositional constructions even showed slight increase. However, the only category that exhibited a statistically significant change was future time ($p < 0.0001$).

Since deviant prepositional constructions were such a frequent type of syntactic transfer in the corpus and consisted of two different types of patterns, incorrect preposition and omission of preposition, it was analysed for both of these sub-categories separately. These results are illustrated in figure 6.4 below. As this figure shows, the choice of incorrect preposition had remained approximately at the same level (1990: 17.2; 2000: 18.3; 2005: 18.5 instances / 10,000 words), but the omission of preposition showed an increase from 15.9 instances per 10,000 words in 1990 and 2000 to 24.4 in 2005 (AOV: p = 0.06; K-W=0.36).
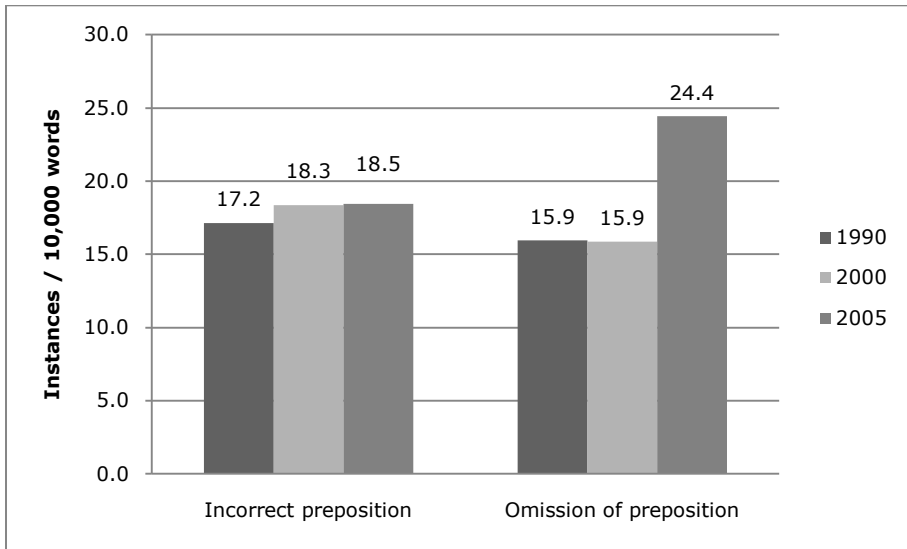
Figure 6.4. Prepositional constructions

The examination of the combined frequencies of the five transfer patterns for the three years under study reveals a clearer pattern: syntactic transfer overall had increased from 56.3 instances (per 10,000 words) in 1990 to 74.1 and 77.8 in 2000 and 2005 (AOV: $p < 0.05$; K-W: 0.096). This is illustrated in figure 6.5 below.
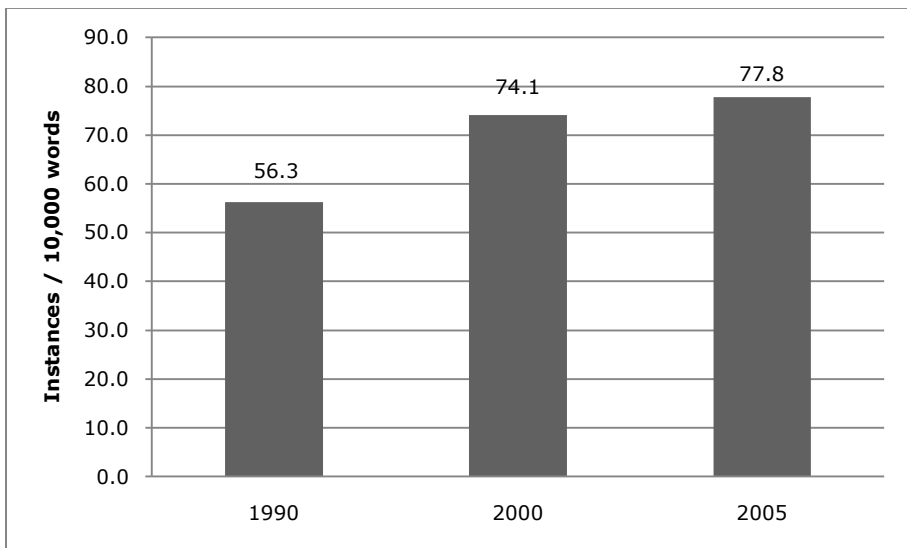

Figure 6.5. Overall frequencies of syntactic transfer in 1990, 2000 and 2005

The distribution of the five transfer patterns was relatively similar in the samples from 1990, 2000 and 2005. As the most frequent category of syntactic transfer, prepositional constructions occupied a proportion of approximately 50 per cent, leaving the other four categories proportions of approximately 10-15 per cent in each of the years. This is illustrated in figure 6.6.
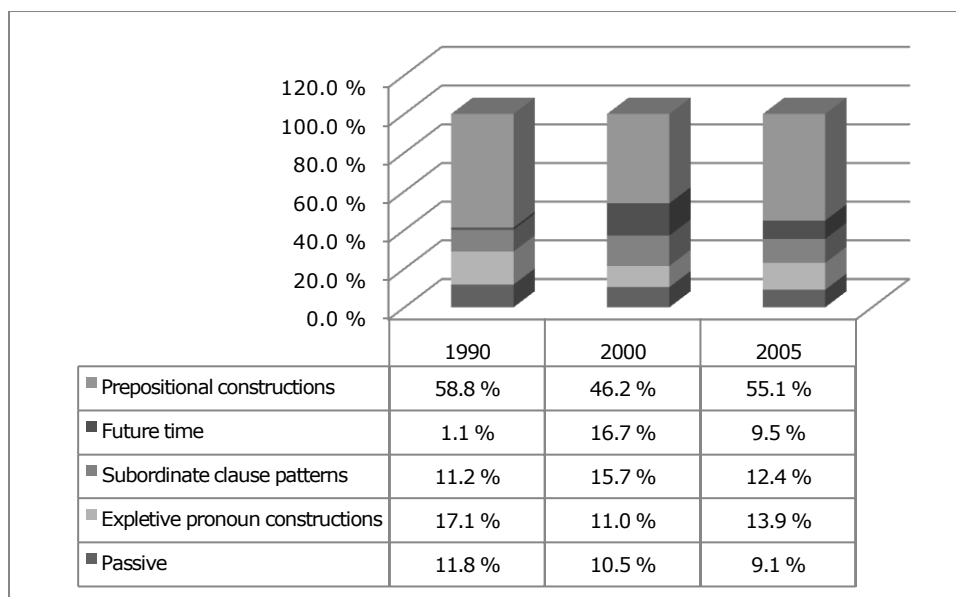

	1990	2000	2005
■ Prepositional constructions	58.8 %	46.2 %	55.1 %
■ Future time	1.1 %	16.7 %	9.5 %
■ Subordinate clause patterns	11.2 %	15.7 %	12.4 %
■ Expletive pronoun constructions	17.1 %	11.0 %	13.9 %
■ Passive	11.8 %	10.5 %	9.1 %

Figure 6.6. Distribution of syntactic transfer by categories

The distribution of syntactic transfer across the different point categories (i.e., the six categories the compositions were divided into according to the number of points they had received) reveals that syntactic transfer was, generally, more frequent in the compositions which had received lower marks. As figure 6.7 below illustrates, in the highest point category, there were, on average, approximately 10 instances, whereas in the lowest point category we find between 138-330 instances of syntactic transfer per 10,000 words. The comparison of the frequencies in these point categories between the three years under study indicates that there were no changes in the highest two point categories, but syntactic transfer had increased in the lowest point categories. This increase was statistically close to significant in point category 4 ($p = 0.0538$) and significant in category 5 ($p < 0.05$). In point category 6, the increase was not statistically significant, but it must be borne in mind that the results for this point category are based on a very small sample of compositions from 2000 (thus the seemingly high normalised frequency in figure 6.7), which makes it difficult to compare the results obtained from this category. These results suggest that the types of deviant structures investigated in this study are

190

likely to be considered errors which should not occur in the students' writing in order for them to receive high marks in the exam.

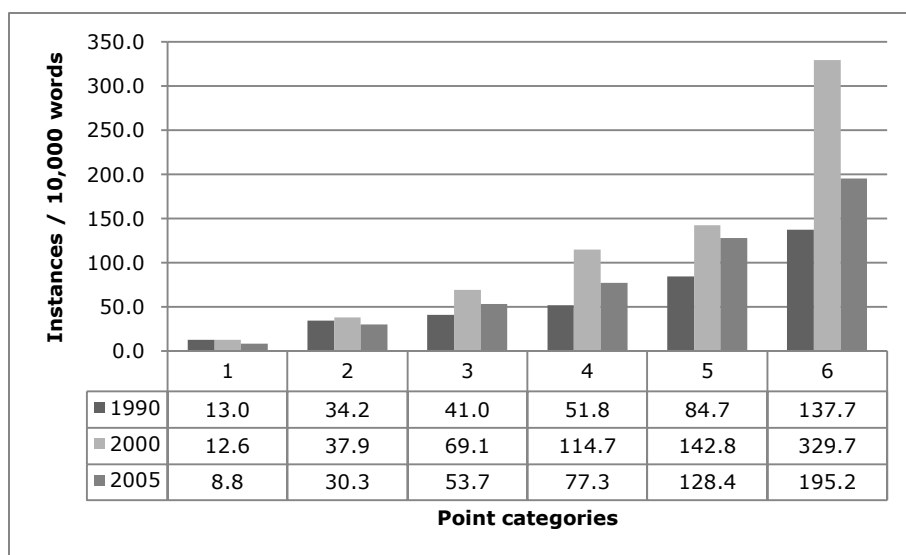|	1	2	3	4	5	6
■ 1990	13.0	34.2	41.0	51.8	84.7	137.7
■ 2000	12.6	37.9	69.1	114.7	142.8	329.7
■ 2005	8.8	30.3	53.7	77.3	128.4	195.2

Figure 6.7. Frequencies of syntactic transfer by point categories

Before drawing any conclusions regarding the learners' mastery of these syntactic structures, the frequencies of these deviant patterns are examined in relation to some of the corresponding correctly formed syntactic patterns in the corpus. This is done in order to exclude the possibility that differing frequencies of occurrence of these syntactic structures in the compositions from different years could influence the frequency of syntactic transfer patterns. Factors such as differing composition topics or possible changes in the syntactic complexity of the compositions from different years could affect the learners' usage of certain syntactic patterns and, consequently, make the frequencies of the examined deviant syntactic structures seemingly high or low. In order to confirm the validity of the quantitative and statistical results presented above, the ratio of correctly formed versus incorrectly formed syntactic patterns is examined. Since it is not feasible to search for all the possible correct equivalents for the examined deviant patterns in the data, only some of these patterns are selected. This should be sufficient for indicating whether the samples from the different years demonstrate variability in the frequencies of the examined syntactic structures.

The corresponding correctly formed syntactic patterns were searched in the data with the concordancer software *AntConc*. For the passive construction, the searches were performed with the passive auxiliary verb *be* in all its different forms according to person congruence (e.g., *is*, *are*), tense forms (e.g., *was*, *has been*, *will be*) and with different modal auxiliaries (e.g., *should*, *may* or *must be*). The searches yielded altogether hundreds of tokens, which were then manually analysed in order to separate passive uses of these

verbs or verb constructions from active forms. For the extraposition and existential constructions, the searches were performed with the words *it* and *is* (in its various tense forms) and *there is/are* (including different tense forms). Other types of pronoun usages than anticipatory and existential ones were manually excluded from the search results. For the subordinate clause patterns examined, only subordinate interrogative clauses with the subordinators *if* and *whether* were searched in the data (conditional uses of the conjunction *if* were manually excluded from the data). As to the deviant *that*-clauses found in the corpus, it was not possible to determine a single correct alternative for these patterns that could easily be searched in the data. The English constructions that could have been used instead of the deviant *that*-clauses included the *to*-infinitive, the progressive *-ing* form, different prepositional phrases and the conjunctions *because* and *so that*. However, the frequencies of the subordinate interrogative clauses should suffice for demonstrating the ratio of correctly formed versus incorrectly formed subordinate clause patterns in the data. The correct future time expressions were searched with the most common future auxiliaries *will* (including the contracted form '*ll*) and *shall*, and the future construction *(be) going to*. Since present tense forms are also capable of referring to future time in some contexts, all references to future time could not be searched for. However, since the deviant future expressions in the corpus involved the omission of the future markers *will*, *shall* or *be going to*, calculating the frequencies of the correctly formed syntactic structures containing these future markers should be sufficient in order to determine the proportion of correctly formed versus incorrectly formed future constructions. Since deviant prepositional constructions were such a numerous and variable category, it was not feasible to search for all correct uses all English prepositions. Instead, the data searches were narrowed down to the correct equivalents of the most frequent type of preposition omission errors. As discussed in section 6.2.5.3, a large proportion (48.4 %) of preposition omissions in the data involved 'verb + complement' patterns such *think about/of, listen to, look at, care about/for, dream of/about* and *talk/speak about*, which generally correspond to partitive object or elative object complement patterns in Finnish. These amounted to 28 instances in 1990, 29 instances in 2000 and 32 instances in 2005 (see table 6.10 in section 6.2.5.3). The search items were, thus, selected from the list of preposition omission errors, and they included the 'verb + preposition' patterns *think about/of, listen to, care about/for, talk/speak about/of, look at, wait for, beg for, cheat on, stare at, tell about, believe in, dream of/about* and *blame for*. Table 6.12 below shows the frequencies of the examined correct patterns and deviant patterns, as well as the percentages of the deviant patterns out of the total number of the observed patterns (both correct and deviant) for each of the examined features.

Table 6.12. The frequencies of the correct versus deviant examined syntactic patterns in the corpus

		Correct		Deviant		Total		%
		N	**/10,000**	**N**	**/10,000**	**N**	**/10,000**	
Passive	**1990**	190	57.2	22	6.6	212	63.8	**10.4**
	2000	110	38.8	22	7.8	132	46.6	**16.7**
	2005	145	41.2	25	7.1	170	48.3	**14.7**
Extraposition and	**1990**	176	53	32	9.6	208	62.6	**15.4**
existential	**2000**	194	68.4	23	8.1	217	76.5	**10.1**
constructions	**2005**	189	53.7	38	10.8	227	64.5	**16.7**
Subordinate	**1990**	11	3.3	7	2.1	18	5.6	**39**
interrogative	**2000**	13	4.6	12	4.2	25	8.8	**48**
clause	**2005**	19	5.4	11	3.1	30	8.5	**37**
Future time	**1990**	78	23.5	2	0.6	80	24.1	**2.5**
	2000	259	91.4	35	12.3	293	103.3	**11.9**
	2005	173	49.1	26	7.4	198	56.2	**13.1**
Preposition	**1990**	44	13.2	28	8.4	72	21.7	**39**
omission (verb	**2000**	36	12.7	29	10.2	65	22.9	**44.6**
complements)	**2005**	34	9.7	32	9.1	66	18.7	**48.5**

As the above table shows, the frequencies of most of the the examined syntactic patterns demonstrate relatively little variation between the samples from 1990, 2000 and 2005. The frequencies of the correctly formed passive constructions vary between 38 – 57 instances (per 10.000 words), and the percentages of the deviant passive constructions out of all passive constructions vary between 10.4–16.7 per cent. Similarly, the frequencies of the correctly formed extraposition and existential constructions varied between 53 and 68 instances (per 10.000 words), and the error percentages varied from 10.1 to 16.7. The frequencies of the correctly formed subordinate interrogative clauses were relatively low in the data (11 – 19 instances/10.000 words), which makes the proportions of the deviant constructions relatively high, 37 – 48 per cent. The frequencies of the correctly formed future constructions were noticeably higher in the samples from 2000 (91.4/10.000 words) and 2005 (49.1/10.000 words) in comparison to 1990 (23.5/10.000 words), which is likely to result from the differing composition topics for these years (see appendix 1): in 2000 and 2005, many composition topics required the students to write about the future (e.g., *Get married or stay single?*, *Finland will fall when Nokia falls*), whereas the topics from 1990 mainly required the students to write about past events (e.g., *Man – the maker and breaker*, *Why couldn't I learn it?*). However, when we examine the error percentages, we can see that out of the future constructions in 1990 only 2.5 % were deviant, while for 2000 and 2005, the corresponding error percentages were 11.9 and 13.1. Hence, the increase in the deviant future expressions presented in table 6.11 and figure 6.3 is supported by these error percentages. As to the prepositional constructions examined, correctly formed verb complementation patterns varied between 34 and 44 instances (per 10.000 words), and the percentages of the deviant patterns between 39 and 48.5. The slight increase in error percentages between 1990 and 2005 is also in line with the increase of preposition

omissions observed in the corpus (see figure 6.4). Although the examination of only some of the correctly formed syntactic patterns does not justify any far-reaching conclusions regarding the students' syntactic development, it does demonstrate that the frequencies of the examined syntactic patterns do not display any variation that would cast doubt on the quantitative and statistical analysis presented at the beginning of this section. In fact, the data presented in table 6.12 supports well the development observed in the frequencies of the negative transfer patterns examined in this study.

Overall, it can be concluded that judged by the frequencies of syntactic transfer in the corpus, the students' mastery of these syntactic constructions had not improved during the fifteen-year period under study. The pattern that emerges from these results is quite different from the results obtained from lexical transfer; the decrease in lexical transfer patterns in these students' written English indicates an improvement in their mastery of English vocabulary (see section 5.4). Thus, it seems that the lexical and syntactic transfer patterns investigated in this study have taken on two different paths of development. As illustrated by the scissor pattern in figure 6.8, lexical transfer had decreased from 81 instances in 1990 to 70.2 (2000) and 66.7 (2005), whereas syntactic transfer had increased from 56.3 in 1990 to 74.1 (2000) and 77.8 (2005).
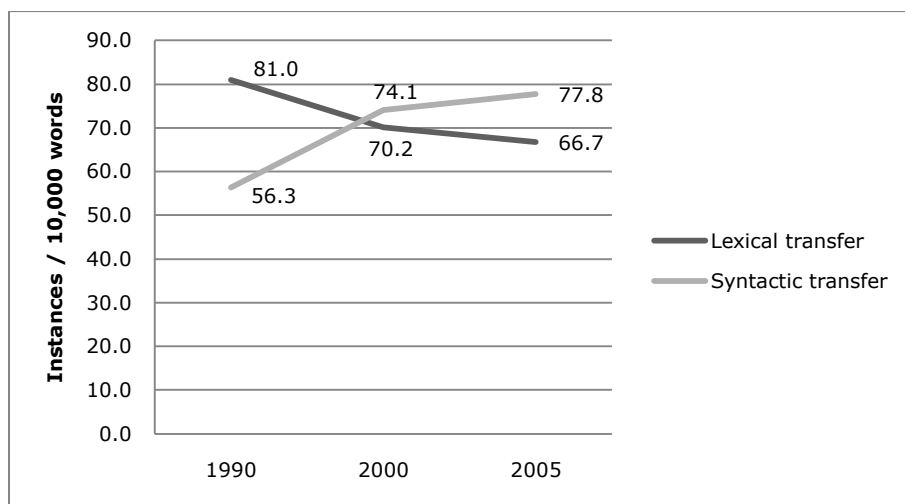
Figure 6.8. Lexical and syntactic transfer in 1990–2005

These two sets of results and the very opposite patterns they show warrant careful examination because, firstly, they reveal some interesting aspects about the process of language transfer in learners whose L1 is genetically and typologically distant from the TL, and, secondly, they have some pedagogic implications as well. These topics will be further discussed in the concluding chapter.

7 Discussion and Conclusion

This concluding chapter begins by drawing together and interpreting the results presented in chapters 5 and 6. The implications of these findings for the study of Finnish learners of English and for the field of English teaching in Finland are discussed in section 7.2. Section 7.3 analyses the contribution of this study to transfer research and SLA research. Finally, in section 7.4, the findings are critically evaluated in terms of the research data and design, and questions this study has raised for future investigation are presented.

7.1 SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF MAIN FINDINGS

This study has examined patterns of lexical and syntactic transfer that occur in the written English of Finnish Upper Secondary school students. The data analysis sought to answer two broad research questions. The first research question aimed at charting what types of transfer phenomena occur in the written English production of Finnish students. This question was addressed through the qualitative and quantitative analysis of lexical and syntactic transfer patterns occurring in a corpus compiled of 500 written English compositions by Finnish Upper Secondary school students. The identification of transfer relied on Finnish-English contrastive analysis and on the comparison of interlanguage performance by Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Matriculation Examination candidates. This data analysis brought to light a wide array of transfer effects, most of which have not been addressed in previous studies on Finnish learners of English. At the lexical level, Finnish influence was observed in the students' deviant word forms, word meanings and word use, which indicates that all these three aspects of their vocabulary knowledge are affected by transfer. Distinct lexical transfer phenomena amounted to 9 different types, which shows that lexical transfer in Finnish learners of English is more diverse with regard to its manifestations and causes than described in previous research. Many of the lexical transfer types found in the Finnish-speaking students' data were not as frequent in the data by Swedish-speaking students, which further proves the observation made by several scholars (see, e.g., Ringbom 1987, 2007) that L1 Swedish learners generally profit from cross-linguistic similarities in their acquisition of English vocabulary. At the syntactic level, Finnish influence was detected in the student's deviant formation of the passive construction, the expletive pronoun construction, certain subordinate clause patterns, expressions for future time and prepositional constructions. The comparison of the Matriculation Examination compositions by Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking candidates showed that Finnish-speaking students demonstrate a considerable degree of L1 influence in their production of English syntactic constructions which differ from the corresponding L1 structures. While Swedish-speaking students of the equivalent level seem to more successfully master the usage of the investigated

syntactic patterns, these aspects of English grammar pose difficulties for Finnish students even after ten years of formal English instruction.

The second research question was concerned with tracking a possible change in the quantity and quality of these transfer patterns during 1990-2005. This question was examined by quantitatively and statistically comparing the frequencies of the observed transfer patterns in the samples from 1990, 2000 and 2005. This data analysis revealed two developmental trends in them. The quantitative examination of lexical transfer patterns showed that lexical transfer phenomena that influence word meanings and word use had decreased, while transfer phenomena that affect word forms had increased. These changes ultimately imply certain changes in the students' mastery of English vocabulary. The increase of transfer phenomena that influence word forms was interpreted to be an indication of the students' weakened knowledge of English spelling. The decrease of transfer phenomena that affect word meanings and word use, on the other hand, can be considered to reflect an improvement in the students' mastery of semantic, collocational and grammatical aspects of English words. Overall, the total frequency of lexical transfer in the data had decreased during the investigated period, which can be seen as positive development. The quantitative analysis of syntactic transfer patterns, on the other hand, indicated that their frequency had not decreased but rather even slightly increased during the fifteen-year period under study. This observation was also in line with the calculated proportions of some of the examined deviant syntactic constructions in relation to the equivalent correctly formed syntactic constructions in the corpus. Although grammatical accuracy is only one aspect of learners' language competence, it can be concluded that, as measured through the frequency of transfer-induced grammar errors, the students' written English skills had not improved during the investigated period. This finding can be considered somewhat worrying because it suggests that the positive development observed in the students' mastery of English vocabulary has not taken place in their knowledge of English syntax. Overall, the comparison of lexical and syntactic transfer patterns and their development shows that for Finnish learners of English, transfer is more persistent at the level of syntax than it is at the level of lexicon.

It must be pointed out, though, that the results of this study are only based on small samples of data which may not reveal the whole picture of any possible development that may have taken place in the learner population as a whole. It is possible that the proportion of those students receiving higher points for the composition has grown bigger and, conversely, the proportion of those students who receive low points for the composition has become smaller, which would mean that negative transfer effects overall have decreased in Finnish students' written English. However, the proportions of better and weaker students are unlikely to have dramatically shifted because the distribution of the Matriculation Examination grades follows the Bell curve every year (see section 4.2.1). Since the composition constitutes as much as one third of the maximum number of points for the whole English examination, its evaluation is likely to play an important role in differentiating among students of different proficiency level.

Although the evaluation criteria for the compositions have remained very similar throughout the investigated period (see section 4.2.1), there is still room for interpretation

as to how these criteria are applied. Consequently, it is also possible that if the English skills of the students have improved during the examined period, the teachers and the members of the Matriculation Examination board have become stricter in their application of the evaluation criteria and, consequently, a composition that may have received high marks in 1990 would only receive average marks in 2000 or 2005. It is also possible that other parts of the examination have been made more difficult in response to the students' improved English skills. While teaching in the Upper Secondary school, I have had the opportunity to view and compare older and more recent Matriculation Examination tasks, which are used as teaching and testing material in Upper Secondary schools after the examination has been executed. I have personally observed differences in the degree of difficulty of the tasks within the listening comprehension, reading comprehension as well as grammar and vocabulary tests of the examination deriving from the early 1990s in comparison to those from the mid-2010s. This observation is also supported by the opinions of several English teacher colleagues, and the opinions of the students themselves, who find the Matriculation Examination tasks from the early 1990s considerably easier in comparison to those from more recent years.

Although any possible changes among the whole learner population can only be speculated upon, the results of this study do show that language transfer, especially in the area of syntax, is still a prominent feature in the written English of the students who receive lower marks for the composition. The question of whether the development of the examined lexical and syntactic transfer patterns is indicative of any possible development in the lexical and syntactic competence among the whole learner population is an issue that deserves to be examined in future studies.

7.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN FINLAND

Bearing in mind that transfer-induced errors only represent a narrow area of the students' English competence, I will discuss the implications and the questions the findings of this study have raised for the study of Finnish learners of English and for the teaching of English in Finland. As discussed in section 4.3, in this study, transfer-induced errors can be regarded as one measure for the standard of written English in the Matriculation Examination compositions because this task type requires the usage of formal, standard language and applies lexical and grammatical accuracy as one of its evaluation criteria. Although the examination of transfer errors does not reveal the whole picture of the students' English competence, it enables us to draw some conclusions on their written English skills and the changes taken place in them, which, in turn, raise further questions and topics for future inquiry.

The differences observed between the students from 1990, 2000 and 2005 can be considered the result of the changes that have taken place in formal and informal learning contexts for English as a foreign language in Finland during the past few decades (see chapter 3). In the 1970s, and up until the 1980s, the focus in language teaching was primarily on written language, and the learners' exposure to authentic, spoken English input was relatively scarce. Since the 1980s, after communicative language teaching methods have become prevalent in Finnish schools, spoken language

has gained more prominence in language teaching and the focus has shifted from the development of writing and translation skills to the enhancement of communicative competence. Moreover, as described in chapter 3, the increased use of English in the media and in Finnish society in general is likely to be an important factor affecting Finns' English acquisition and use by providing them with more opportunities for informal learning. Consequently, the Matriculation Examination candidates from 1990 can be considered to represent a very different group of English learners compared to the candidates from 2000 and 2005, which also shows in the types and frequencies of the transfer patterns produced by these learners.

The results obtained from the analysis of lexical transfer patterns can be seen to reflect these pedagogic and societal changes outlined above. Those students who took their Matriculation Examination in 1990 had experienced language instruction which places prominence on written language as well as on grammatical and orthographic accuracy, which is why they may have been more aware of English word forms and their accurate spelling than today's students and, therefore, made relatively few errors concerning English word forms. The fact that semantic and collocational transfer was more common in the compositions from 1990 may reflect the vocabulary learning strategies adopted by the students. When these students attended elementary school and Upper Secondary school in the 1980s, English was a foreign language rarely heard or used outside foreign language classrooms. In order to learn English vocabulary, these students may have needed to study it by learning vocabulary lists 'by heart'. When learning words as decontextualised translation equivalents for L1 words, learners are naturally more likely to be influenced by the semantic ranges and collocational restrictions of their L1 words. The students from 2000 and 2005, on the other hand, had been influenced by communicative language teaching and informal spoken English input outside the classroom. Thus, they had had more opportunities to acquire English words in context by being exposed to the language. These new modes of language learning may have helped the students to improve those aspects of English vocabulary that are needed for comprehension, spoken communication and perhaps for informal written communication, which explains the decrease of transfer errors that affect word meanings and word use. However, as seen in the increased frequency of transfer errors involving word forms, these students seem to be more unfamiliar with the accurate written forms of English words which are needed in more formal contexts of language use. Overall, the changes observed in the frequency of lexical transfer errors give rise to the conclusion that the shift in teaching methods and the changes in the informal learning environment have generally had a positive influence on Finnish students' mastery of English vocabulary.

The increased frequency of the investigated transfer-induced syntactic errors in the compositions from this period, on the other hand, can be considered a surprising finding in the light of recent evaluations of Finns' English competence (Takala 1998, 2004, Bonnet 2004) and studies on Finns' increased English usage (Leppänen *et al.* 2008), which suggest improvement in their English skills during the past couple of decades and provide a very positive picture of their current English competence and use. The results of this study do not dispute the findings that today's Finns, especially representatives of the younger

generations, may be considered relatively proficient and confident English users and that many areas of their English competence have improved. However, the results of this study do show that Finns' written English still frequently contains features that deviate from the norms of standard English, and that their mastery of English grammar may not have undergone similar positive changes observed in other areas of their English competence.

Whether this finding can also be explained by the changes that have taken place in the formal and informal learning environments is a question that deserves to be further examined. Firstly, with regard to the informal learning environment, the non-parallel development of lexical and syntactic transfer patterns implies that Finnish learners' increased exposure to and use of English has helped them to overcome negative transfer effects in certain areas of their L2 vocabulary knowledge, but not in their usage of syntactic structures which deviate from the corresponding L1 structures. For Finnish learners of English, acquisition through exposure to TL input may, thus, be more effective when it comes to L2 vocabulary, but insufficient for acquiring an equivalent level of proficiency in L2 syntax. In terms of formal classroom instruction, this finding can be interpreted to mean that the pedagogic shift from grammar and translation into communicativeness has helped Finnish students to improve their communication skills in English, which is reflected in the decrease of negative transfer in certain aspects of their vocabulary knowledge. However, it is another question whether the current approach to language teaching helps their L2 syntactic development. While traditional grammar-oriented teaching methods were accused of producing learners with some knowledge of formal grammar rules but no ability to speak in a foreign language, there might be a danger that today's communicative-based language teaching produces learners with a readiness to communicate in the foreign language but with relatively weak knowledge of its grammatical norms.

Increased informal learning may also explain the increase of certain types of syntactic transfer errors in the data. As the data analysis presented in sections 6.2.4.2 and 6.2.5.3 showed, the students' omission of English prepositions and the auxiliary *will* in future constructions had increased, which may partially be caused by phonetic L1 influence. Since Finns have been found to have difficulties in perceiving phonetically reduced and unstressed sounds in English (see, e.g., Ringbom 1987), they may not be able to perceive if a certain English phrase contains a preposition or a future auxiliary and may simply learn these syntactic patterns wrong. Thus, mere informal exposure to certain English grammatical constructions via the auditive channel is insufficient if we want Finnish students to learn them accurately. Explicit grammar instruction, on the other hand, can help the learners to direct their attention to features which may otherwise remain unnoticed because of L1–L2 phonetic differences. Formal instruction could, thus, complement Finnish students' informal acquisition by helping them make better use of the informal input they are exposed to. As also pointed out by Ringbom (2007: 109-110), in the absence of cross-linguistic similarities that would aid acquisition, specific guidance is needed for Finnish learners in order for them to understand how English grammatical structures really work. Hence, explicit grammar instruction may be considered to be of crucial importance for learners whose L1 is genetically and typologically distant from the

TL, and its importance has not diminished despite Finnish students' increased opportunities to acquire English in informal contexts.

It is another question, however, whether grammatical accuracy is considered important in the first place. Twenty years ago, these deviant syntactic constructions examined in this study would, undoubtedly, have been characterised as grammar errors, which learners should be helped to overcome through pedagogic intervention. However, according to current, more liberal views on learner language and linguistic norms, these syntactic patterns may be seen as acceptable lingua franca English. According to this approach, the goal of foreign language learning is not the native-like usage but rather communicatively effective usage of the second language. Features which deviate from native speaker norms may be considered acceptable in L2 users' speech as long as they are understood by interlocutors (see, e.g., Jenkins 2000: 158-160; 2009: 202). The question of whether the syntactic patterns examined in this study could be considered, to borrow Jenkins' (2009: 202) term, "legitimate ELF [English as a lingua franca] variants" is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of the present study, but represents an important topic of future inquiry. Since this study has identified features which are typical of the learner English of Finnish students, it would be worth investigating to what extent these types of features can be found in other learner varieties and, more importantly, whether these types of patterns are considered acceptable in terms of their intelligibility, or whether they reduce communicative effectiveness, both in ELF communication contexts and in communication with native speakers of English.

These findings also raise questions regarding the goals of future language education in Finland, and whether good grammatical competence is among those competences we should require from Finnish students in the future. Since language education in Finnish schools is generally of a high standard and it is complemented by a rich learning environment outside the foreign language classroom, there is hardly any reason to doubt that the current learning conditions are not as optimal as they could be. This makes one wonder whether there is anything more we can do to enhance Finnish students' grammatical competence in English, or if we have to accept that the types of deviant syntactic constructions observed in this study are permanent features in the English of Finnish students. The focus of language teaching should naturally not be on the detailed study of grammar rules in order to avoid potential errors, but it is worth asking whether grammar could and should be given more space in language teaching. Learning to use English effectively for communication may well be an appropriate goal at the very initial stages of English studies at elementary school level, but as the learners approach academic studies and professions, grammatical accuracy and knowledge of the norms of standard English gain more importance.

The challenges of future language education and the role of informal learning have also been discussed in a recent work by Leppänen *et al.* (2008: 426), who propose that if Finnish youngsters continue to have the opportunity to informally acquire and use English outside the classroom context, we could consider either raising the goals of English teaching in Finnish schools or reducing the number of teaching hours in the English curriculum. As discussed in chapter 3, these conclusions are based on studies examining Finns' English usage at a discourse level as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, but

they do not take any stance on the level of their English competence. As the review of earlier research presented in chapter 3 demonstrated, Finns' actual English competence and the possible changes in it have not been sufficiently examined in order to make any far-reaching decisions about the English curriculum in Finnish schools. It is not the purpose of this study to make such evaluations, either, but the findings of this study show that despite Finnish students' increased fluency and confidence in their use of English, there is still room for improvement in various aspects of their lexical and grammatical knowledge of English. This is an issue that deserves to be further examined in future studies.

7.3 CONTRIBUTION TO TRANSFER RESEARCH

This study has examined transfer in two linguistic sub-systems, lexicon and syntax. As discussed in section 2.2, earlier research addressing transfer effects in these two linguistic sub-systems has given rise to controversial findings on the role of language transfer in SLA. While lexical L1 influence is a well-established field of investigation both within SLA and bilingualism research, the mere existence of syntactic transfer has sometimes been questioned among SLA researchers. Although current transfer research acknowledges the existence of syntactic L1 influence, it has been examined in relatively few recent studies. Moreover, to my knowledge, none of these earlier studies have attempted to verify the presence of syntactic transfer by relying on various types of evidence, such as those proposed by Jarvis (2000). In the study of syntactic L1 influence, relying on multiple evidence is important in order to tease it apart from other learner processes, such as simplification and overgeneralisation of TL rules, which have been found to commonly co-occur with L1 influence (see section 2.2.2). Insufficient verification of syntactic transfer effects seems to be one of the factors that have made syntactic L1 influence a controversial phenomenon in earlier SLA literature.

This study contributes to transfer research and SLA research through its reliable identification of syntactic transfer within the methodological framework proposed by Jarvis (2000). By accumulating different types of evidence for transfer, this study has attempted to exclude other explanations but L1 influence for the observed deviant syntactic patterns. The findings of this study show that syntactic transfer is a prominent factor in the written English production of Finnish students of intermediate or advanced level, and it persists despite explicit instruction, increased exposure to, and use of, English, and regardless of improvement in many aspects of their English competence. Previous studies have not indicated syntactic transfer to be so persistent, but have rather argued that it only occurs at the early stages of TL acquisition (cf. Dommergues and Lane 1976, Jansen *et al.* 1981). This is also the conclusion presented in Jarvis (1998: 7), who states that "the general consensus appears to be that L1 grammatical influence – especially in the area of syntax – is relatively small and short-lived". A similar view is also put forward in the recent work by Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008: 183), who, after an extensive discussion of earlier studies addressing transfer in different linguistic sub-systems including syntax, state that transfer "seems to occur least of all in the area of syntax". It should be pointed out, though, that the scope of syntactic transfer may be

understood differently in different studies. For example, this study has examined prepositions under syntactic transfer, although some earlier studies have treated prepositions as morphological transfer (e.g., Jarvis & Odlin 2000) (see also section 6.2.5). Nevertheless, the findings of this study challenge the common assumption that syntactic transfer is of minor importance in second language acquisition, and demonstrate that earlier SLA research has underestimated the strength of transfer effects in L2 syntax.

This study also demonstrates how important it is for SLA theory formation to consider evidence from learners with an L1 typologically distant from the L2. It seems that a considerable amount of SLA research has focused on second language learners of English with another Indo-European language as an L1, whereas fewer studies have examined the acquisition of a genetically and typologically distant TL. This bias has, for example, given rise to claims about the non-transferability of L1 morphology (e.g., Dulay & Burt 1974, 1983), which has been proven false by evidence from Finnish learners of English (Jarvis & Odlin 2000) as well as from Estonian learners of Finnish (Kaivapalu 2005) and Ingrian Finnish learners of Estonian (Riionheimo 2007, 2009). Similarly, the influential theory about the universal acquisition order of English morphemes (e.g., Dulay, Burt & Krashen 1982) has recently been challenged by evidence from ESL learners with Japanese, Korean and Chinese as L1 pointing towards considerable L1 influence in morpheme acquisition order (Luk & Shirai 2009). Hence, it is possible that the assumption regarding the relative insignificance of syntactic L1 influence in SLA is also based on insufficient evidence. Therefore, the study of learners with an L1 which is genetically and typologically distant from the TL provides important evidence regarding issues such as the strength of transfer effects, transferability, fossilization and even ultimate attainment, which are central to our understanding of the nature of L1 influence as well as the process of SLA in general.

Besides syntactic transfer, this study has also contributed to the study of lexical transfer in two different ways. Firstly, this study has identified many different types of lexical transfer effects by relying on multiple evidence (cf. Jarvis 2000). Overall, the results of this study offer additional evidence for the differences between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking ESL learners, in favour of the latter group, in their acquisition and use of English vocabulary (e.g., Ringbom 1987, 2007, Jarvis 2000, Jarvis & Odlin 2004). The classification of lexical transfer that builds on theories of L2 learners' lexical knowledge may be considered another contribution of this study. Relying on this theoretical basis enabled the differentiation between transfer phenomena that result from the learners' (possibly) incomplete knowledge of TL vocabulary and those that involve their mastery of TL syntactic patterns. This can be considered a refinement to earlier works discussing lexical transfer (e.g., Ringbom 1987, Odlin 1989, James 1998, Arabski 2006), which seem to lack precision in their definition of the scope of lexical transfer (but cf. Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008, Jarvis 2009). The incorporation of Nation's (2001) model of different aspects of L2 learners' lexical knowledge into the classification of lexical transfer also enabled a more elaborate analysis of the various manifestations of lexical transfer, as well as the identification of the underlying causes for the observed behaviour. Moreover, this classification offered a useful tool for examining aspects of the learners' lexical development in English. The grouping of the various transfer categories according to the

different aspects of lexical knowledge they involve made it possible to analyse the quantitative changes observed in the lexical transfer patterns in the light of the diachronic changes in the students' formal and informal learning environments, and how these had influenced their lexical knowledge.

This study has also indirectly addressed the relationship between transfer and L2 development, the study of which has previously yielded controversial results. Although this study has not examined L2 development as such, some observations can be made based on the quantitative differences in the observed transfer patterns because the students from 1990 as opposed to those from 2000 and 2005 can be considered to represent L2 learners of a differing type and level of language competence. Earlier studies examining the relationship between transfer and L2 development have shown that negative transfer generally decreases as learners reach a more advanced level in the TL (see section 2.3.2). However, to my knowledge, no earlier study has compared the development of negative transfer patterns at lexical and syntactic levels of language in the course of L2 development. The results of this study suggest that negative transfer does not decrease in parallel in all linguistic sub-systems as the learners' L2 skills develop, but for learners whose L1 is genetically and typologically distant from the L2, transfer is more persistent at the level of syntax than it is at the level of lexicon.

Finally, this study has arguably added to the methodology of transfer studies in its application of Jarvis' (2000) methodological guidelines to naturalistic written material, although they are, in their purest form, better suited for elicited performance data (see also section 4.3). This study has explicitly examined two types of evidence for language transfer: inter-L1-group heterogeneity by comparing data from Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking learners and intra-L1-group congruity by contrastively analysing the pertinent lexical and syntactic patterns between Finnish and English. Moreover, this study has indirectly addressed one more type of evidence, intra-L1-group homogeneity, by selecting the investigated lexical and syntactic patterns among those that were most frequently encountered in the data, thus indicating them as being common for Finnish learners of English. This study has hopefully been able to demonstrate that it is possible to achieve methodological rigour in the study of various negative transfer effects occurring in naturalistic written language.

7.4 EVALUATION OF THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This chapter concludes by evaluating how successfully the two research questions presented in section 4.1 were answered in terms of the data and methodological approach chosen for this study, and suggesting how the investigation of these questions could be improved and expanded in future studies.

The evaluation of the first research question, which was concerned with what types of lexical and syntactic transfer phenomena occur in the written English of Finnish students, involves the evaluation of a) how reliably language transfer was identified in the data, b) how accurately this study was able to describe the observed transfer patterns in terms of the differentiation between lexical and syntactic transfer, and the classification created for them. With regard to the identification and verification of language transfer, relying on

all three types of evidence (intra-L1-group homogeneity, inter-L1-group heterogeneity and intra-L1-group congruity) proposed by Jarvis (2000) makes it very unlikely that the deviant lexical and syntactic patterns examined in this study could have been caused by other influences than transfer. Although intra-L1-group homogeneity and inter-L1-group heterogeneity could not be examined in naturalistic written data in relation to all individual lexical errors, the comparison of the frequencies of lexical error types in the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking students' data can be regarded as evidence for the presence of transfer in the Finnish-speaking students' usage of the deviant lexical patterns. The identification of syntactic transfer can be considered reliable because it relied directly on two types of evidence (inter-L1-group heterogeneity and intra-L1-group congruity) and indirectly on one additional type of evidence (intra-L1-group homogeneity) (see also sections 2.1.4 and 4.3). As pointed out by Jarvis (2000: 254), relying on two out of the three types of evidence he has proposed should be sufficient for ruling out any other causes than transfer for the observed learner behaviour. With regard to the possible confounding variables in the study of transfer (see sections 2.1.4 and 4.3), this study has addressed the other possible variables that could have caused the differences between the two learner groups. As discussed in section 4.3, in this study, the learners' age, social, educational and cultural background, type and amount of TL exposure, as well as task type and area of language use can be held constant among the subjects being investigated. Language distance between the L1 and TL is addressed through the selection of comparison groups who differ as to the degree of L1–L2 cross-linguistic distance. The possible intervening factors in this study were the learners' language background and target language proficiency. These relate to one another because the possible bilingual background of the Swedish-speaking Finns could contribute to their generally higher TL proficiency in English (see Ringbom 1987, 2007). Therefore, in this study, the interlanguage performance of these learner groups was compared across different proficiency ranges, which were based on the grading of the compositions by the Matriculation examination board (see sections 5.2 and 6.1). The results showed that the types and frequencies of deviant lexical and syntactic patterns were also different between these two learner groups in comparable point categories (see appendix 2).

In order to achieve an accurate description of the observed transfer patterns, this study has attempted to differentiate between lexical and syntactic transfer by defining the scope of learners' lexical knowledge as opposed to their knoweldge of L2 syntactic structures. Admittedly, differentiating between lexical and syntactic levels of language, as well as lexical and syntactic knowledge, is often difficult, if not impossible, because these two levels are interconnected. Consequently, some types of transfer phenomena could be characterised as lexical as well as syntactic, such as loan translations, incorrect function words and prepositional constructions. These problems of categorisation have been addressed throughout this work in their relevant sections. It should still be pointed out that the categorisation of learner language phenomena always requires some degree of interpretation, and probably no classification would be completely void of criticism. This study has hopefully been able to describe and classify the observed transfer phenomena as accurately as possible.

The evaluation of the second research question, which attempted to track a change in the examined transfer patterns and to relate this development to the changes that have taken place in the students' formal and informal learning environments, involves the critical assessment of how successfully such change can be described through the examination of a) language transfer and b) written language. Considering the complex relationship between transfer and L2 development (see section 2.3.2), this study has only proposed careful conclusions on the students' L2 development. This study has relied on the frequency of transfer-induced errors as the only measure for TL development, which is concerned with one aspect of language competence, namely, linguistic accuracy. Applying additional measures of L2 development, such as measures of lexical diversity or syntactic complexity, would allow making more conclusive observations about changes in Finnish students' written English skills. The examination of these other aspects of L2 development is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of the present study, but it represents another important topic for future investigation which would enable drawing broader conclusions regarding the development of Finnish students' English competence, and the relationship between transfer and L2 development.

With regard to the research data, it is possible that many important changes that may have taken place in the students' English competence do not become apparent through the investigation of formal written language. However, in relation to the types of deviant grammatical patterns observed in this study, it is highly unlikely that these would not exist in the spoken English of Finns. Indeed, grammar errors are likely to be even more common in spoken language production because the time pressure in spoken communication makes learners focus on the meaning rather than the form of their utterance. Considering that the material for this study derives from a written English examination where the learners are likely to display their best knowledge and carefully monitor their performance, this study may even offer an overly optimistic picture of their grammatical competence. This is an issue that deserves to be further examined with other types of data and in other contexts of language use.

Overall, this research has demonstrated that although the study of Finnish learners of English has largely shifted away from structural aspects of learner language and learner errors, structural learner language analysis can and does reveal many new aspects of Finns' acquisition and use of English. The wide gamut of transfer effects found in the compositions written by learners of such an advanced level in an examination situation where they are likely to monitor their performance for accuracy shows that transfer is a prominent factor in their written English production. Although the learning environment for English as a foreign language in Finland has become richer, the typological distance between Finnish and English has not disappeared, nor have transfer effects in Finns' acquisition and use of linguistic features that differ between Finnish and English. Consequently, the investigation of transfer effects in Finnish learners of English as well as of other structural aspects in their learner language is still as relevant today as it has always been.

References

Andersen, R. (1983) "Transfer to Somewhere" in Gass, S. & Selinker, L. (eds.) (1983), 177-201.

Arabski, J. (2006) *Cross-linguistic Influences in the Second Language Lexicon*. Clevedon: Multilingual Mattes.

Ard, J. & Homburg, T. (1983) "Verification of Language Transfer" in Gass, S. & Selinker, L. (eds.) (1983), 157-176.

Bates, E. & MacWhinney, B. (1982) "Functionalist approaches to grammar" in Wanner, E. & Gleitman, L. (eds) *Language acquisition: The state of the art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 173-218.

Bates, E. & MacWhinney, B. (1987) "Competition, variation, and language learning" in MacWhinney, B. (ed.) *Mechanisms of language acquisition*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Blevins, J.P. (2003) "Passives and Impersonals" in *Journal of Linguistics* 39 (2003), 473-520.

Bonnet, G. (ed.) (2004) *The Assessment of Pupils' Skills in English in Eight European Countries 2002: a European Project*. The European Network of Policy Makers   for the Evaluation of Education Systems. Available at: http://www.eva.dk/projekter/2002/evaluering-af-faget-engelsk-i-grundskolen/projektprodukter/assessmentofenglish.pdf (accessed 21.4.2010).

Braidi, S. M. (1999) *The Acquisition of Second Language Syntax*. London: Arnold.

Cheshire, J., Edwards, V. & Whittle, P. (1989) "Urban British Dialect Grammar: the Question of Dialect Levelling" in *English World-Wide* 10:2, 185-225.

Chomsky, N. (1965) *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press.

Cook, V. (ed) (2002) *Portraits of the L2 user*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Council of Europe (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Modern Languages Division, Strasbourg. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corder, P. (1967) "The significance of learners' errors" in *International Review of Applied Linguistics* (IRAL) 5, 2/3: 161-170.

Corder, S. P. (1981) *Error Analysis and Interlanguage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Corder, S. P. (1983) "A Role for the Mother Tongue" in Gass, S. & Selinker, L. (eds.) (1983), 85-97.

Crystal, D. (1980) *The First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. London: André Deutsch.

Dechert, H. & Raupach, M. (eds.) (1989) *Transfer in Language Production*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

DeKeyser, R. (2003) "Implicit and Explicit Learning" in Doughty, C, & Long, M. (eds.), 313-348.

Dommergues, J.-Y. & Lane, H. (1976) "On Two Independent Sources of Error in Learning the Syntax of a Second Language" in *Language Learning* 26:1, 111-123.

Doughty, C, & Long, M. (eds.) (2003) *Handbook of Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dulay, H. & Burt, M. (1974)"Natural Sequences in Child Second Language Acquisition" in *Language Learning* 24: 1, 37-53.

Dulay, H. & Burt, M. (1983) "Goofing: An Indicator of Children's Second Language Learning Strategies" in Gass, S. & Selinker, L. (eds), 54-68.

Dulay, H., Burt, M. & Krashen, S. (1982) *Language Two*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, N. C. (2003) "Constructions, Chunking and Connectionism" in Doughty, C. & Long, M. (eds.), 63-103.

Ellis, N. C. (2008) "Usage-based and form-focused SLA" in Robinson, P. & Ellis, N. C. (eds), 372-405.

Ellis, R. (1990) *Instructed Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Ellis, R. (1994) *The Study of Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: OUP.

Ellis, R. (2008) *The Study of Second Language Acquisition*. Second Edition. Oxford: OUP.

Ellis, R. & Barkhuizen, G. (2005) *Analysing Learner Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gass, S. M. (1996) "Second language acquisition and linguistic theory: the role of language transfer" in Ritchie, W. C. & Bhatia, T. K. (eds.) *Handbook of second language acquisition*. San Diego: Academic Press, 317-345.

Gass, S. & Selinker, L. (eds.) (1983) *Language Transfer in Language Learning: Series on Issues in Second Language Research.* Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers.

Gass, S. & Selinker, L. (2001) *Second Language Acquisition: An Introductory Course.* Mahwah, NJ. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Gries, S. T. (2009) *Quantitative Corpus Linguistics with R. A Practical Introduction*. New York: Routledge.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982) *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hakulinen, A. (2001) "Suomen sanajärjestyksen kieliopillisista ja temaattisista tehtävistä" in Laitinen, L., Nuolijärvi, P., Sorjonen, M-L & Vilkuna, M. (eds.) (2001) *Lukemisto. Kirjoituksia kolmelta vuosikymmeneltä.* Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 816. Pieksämäki: RT-Print Oy.

Hakulinen, A., Karlsson, F. & Vilkuna, M. (1980) *Suomen tekstilauseiden piirteitä: kvantitatiivinen tutkimus.* Publications No 6, Department of General Linguistics, University of Helsinki.

Hakulinen, A. & Karlsson, F. (1988) *Nykysuomen lauseoppia*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 350. Jyväskylä: Gummerus.

Hakulinen, A., Vilkuna, M., Korhonen, R., Koivisto, J., Heinonen, T-R & Alho, I. (2005) *Iso Suomen Kielioppi*. Hämeenlinna: Karisto.

Helms-Park, R. (2001) "Evidence of lexical transfer in learner syntax: The acquisition of English causatives by speakers of Hindi-Urdu and Vietnamese". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* 23: 71-102.

Hernandez, A., Li, P. & MacWhinney, B. (2005) "The Emergence of Competing Modules in Bilingualism" in *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 9 (5): 220-225.

Hicks, M. (1977) "Observations on Topicalization in Finnish and English" in Sajavaara, K. & Lehtonen, J. (eds.) (1977), 89-107.

Holmberg, A. & Nikanne, U. (1993) *Case and Other Functional Categories in Finnish Syntax*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Holmes, P. & Hinchliffe, I. (1994) *Swedish: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge.

Huddleston, R. & Pullum, G. (2002) *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Häkkinen, K. (2004) *Nykysuomen Etymologinen Sanakirja*. Juva: WS Bookwell Oy.

Ijaz, H. (1986) "Linguistic and Cognitive Determinanats of Lexical Acquisition in a Second Language" in *Language Learning* 36 (4), 401-451.

James, C. (1998) *Errors in Language Learning and Use.* New York: Longman.

Jarvis (1997) *The Role of L1 Based Concepts in L2 Lexical Reference*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Indiana University.

Jarvis, S. (1998) *Conceptual Transfer in the Interlingual Lexicon*. Bloomington, IN: IULC Publications.

Jarvis, S. (2000a) "Methodological Rigor in the Study of Transfer: Identifying L1 Influence in the Interlanguage Lexicon" in *Language Learning* 50 (2): 245-309.

Jarvis, S. (2000b) "Semantic and Conceptual Transfer" in *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 3 (1), 19-21.

Jarvis, S. (2009) "Lexical Transfer". In Pavlenko, A. (ed) (2009), 99-124.

Jarvis, S. & Odlin, T. (2000) "Morphological Type, Spatial Reference, and Language Transfer" in *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 22: 4 (2000): 535-556.

Jarvis, S. & Pavlenko, A. (2008) *Crosslinguistic Influence in Language and Cognition*. New York: Routledge.

Jenkins, J. (2000) *The Phonology of English as an International Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, J. (2009) "English as a Lingua Franca: Interpretations and Attitudes" in *World Englishes* 28: 2, 200-207.

Johnson, K. (2001) *An Introduction to Foreign Language Learning and Teaching*. Harlow: Longman.

Kaftandjieva, F. & Takala, S. (2002) "Relating the Finnish Matriculation Examination English Test Results to the CEF Scales". Council of Europe Helsinki Seminar, June 30 – July 2, 2002. Report available at: http://www.edu.fi/lukio/kielet/STakala.htm (accessed 14.1.2010).

Kaivapalu, A. (2005) *Lähdekieli kielenoppimisen apuna* [The facilitating effect of source language in foreign language learning]. Doctoral Dissertation. Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä University Printing House.

Karlsson, F. (1999) *Finnish: An Essential Grammar*. London: Routledge.

Karttunen, K. (1977) "The Equivalents of the Finnish Passive Voice in English" in Sajavaara, K. & Lehtonen, J. (eds.) (1977), 109-125.

Kellerman, E. (1983) "Now You See It, Now You Don't" in Gass, S. & Selinker, L. (eds.) (1983), 112-134.

Kellerman, E. (1986) "An Eye for an Eye: Constraints of the L2 Lexicon" in Kellerman, E. & Sharwood Smith, M. (eds.) (1986), 35-48.

Kellerman, E. (1995) "Transfer to Nowhere" in *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 15, 125-150.

Kellerman, E. & Sharwood Smith, M. (eds.) (1986) *Cross-Linguistic Influence in Second Language Acquisition.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Kielikokeen määräykset ja ohjeet [Guidelines and instructions for the language examination] 21.9.2007. Ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan määräyksiä ja ohjeita [Guidelines and instructions of the Matriculation Examination board]. Available at: http://www.ylioppilastutkinto.fi/fi/files/documents/Ohjeet08/kieliohje.pdf (accessed 12.1.2010).

Kielikokeet: ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan ohje rehtoreille ja kieltenopettajille [Language examinations: the instructions of the Matriculation Examination board for principals and teachers] 17.10.1997. Ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan määräyksiä ja ohjeita [Guidelines and instructions of the Matriculation Examination board].

Kiparsky, P. (2001) "Structural Case in Finnish". *Lingua* 111, 315-376.

Klein, W. & Perdue, C. (1993) "Utterance Structure" in Perdue, C. (ed.) *Adult Language Acquisition: Cross-Linguistic Perspectives*. Volume II. European Science Foundation. Cambridge: CUP, 3-40.

Korhonen, R. (1993) *Buts About Conjunctions: A Syntactic Study of Conjunction Expressions in Finnish*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura [Finnish Literature Society].

Krashen, S. (1983) "Newmark's 'Ignorance Hypothesis' and Current Second Language Acquisition Theory" in Gass, S. & Selinker, L. (eds.) (1983), 135-153.

Kroll, J. F. & Stewart, E. (1994) "Category Interference in Translation and Picture Naming: Evidence for Asymmetric Connections Between Bilingual Representations" in *Journal of Memory and Language* 33, 149-174.

Kroll, J. F. & Sunderman, G. (2004) "Cognitive Processes in Second Language Learners and Bilinguals: The Development of Lexical and Conceptual Representations" in Bhatia, T. K & Ritchie, W. C. (eds.) *The Handbook of Bilingualism*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Kroll, J. & Tokowicz, N. (2005) "Models of Bilingual Representation and Processing: Looking Back and to the Future" in Kroll, J. & De Groot, A. (eds) *Handbook of Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Approaches*. Oxford: OUP, 531-553.

Lado, R. (1957) "Excerpts from 'Linguistics Across Cultures'" in Gass, S. & Selinker, L. (eds.) (1983), 21-31.

Laki ylioppilastutkinnon järjestämisestä [Act on the Organisation of the Matriculation Examination] 672/2005. Finlex. Available at http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2005/20050672 (accessed 11.1.2010).

Larsen-Freeman, D. & Long M. H. (1991) *An Introduction to Second Language Acquisition Research.* New York: Longman.

Laury, R. (1996) "**Se**n kategoriasta – onko suomessa jo artikkeli?" in *Virittäjä* 2 (1996), 162-181.

Laury, R. (2006) " On Subordination, Finnish style: Questioning the Category of Finite Clausal Complements in Spoken Finnish" in Suominen, M., Arppe, A., Airola,

A., Heinämäki, O., Miestamo, M., Määttä, M., Niemi, J. Pitkänen, K. & Sinnemäki, K. (eds.) *A Man of Measure. A festschrift in honour of Fred Karlsson on his 60th birthday*. Turku: The Linguistic Association of Finland, 310–321.

Lauttamus, T., Nerbonne, J. & Wiersma, W. (2007) "Detecting Syntactic Contamination in Emigrants: The English of Finnish Australians" in *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 20 (2007), 273-307.

Lehtonen, J. (1979) "Speech rate and pauses in the English of Finns, Swedish-speaking Finns, and Swedes" in Palmberg, R. (ed.) *Perception and Production of English: Papers on Interlanguage*. AFTIL6. Publications of the Department of English, Åbo Akademi.

Lehtonen, J., Sajavaara, K. & May, A. (1977) *Spoken English. The perception and Production of English on a Finnish-English Contrastive Basis*. Jyväskylä: Gummerus.

Leino, J. (1999) Mitä tarkoittaa se, että? Se –pronominista subjektina ja objektina toimivan että –lauseen yhteydessä" in *Virittäjä* 103 (1999), 27-51.

Leppänen, S., Nikula, T. & Kääntä, L. (eds.) (2008) *Kolmas kotimainen: Lähikuvia englannin käytöstä Suomessa*. Tietolipas 224. Helsinki: SKS.

Leppänen, S., Pitkänen-Huhta, A., Nikula, T., Kytölä, S., Törmäkangas, T., Nissinen, K., Kääntä, L., Virkkula, T., Laitinen, M., Pahta, P., Koskela, H., Lähdesmäki, S. & Jousmäki, H. (2009) *Kansallinen kyselytutkimus englannin kielestä Suomessa: käyttö, merkitys ja asenteet* [National Survey on the English language in Finland: uses, meanings and attitudes]. Jyväskylä: Studies in Humanities 132.

Levelt, W. J. M. (1989) *Speaking: from Intention to Articulation*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Li, P., Farkas, I. & MacWhinney, B. (2004) "Early Lexical Development in a Self-Organizing Neural Network" in *Neural Networks* 17, 1345-1362.

Luk, Z. P.-S. & Shirai, Y. (2009) "Is the Acquisition Order of Grammatical Morphemes Impervious to L1 Knowledge? Evidence from the Acquisition of Plural –*s*, Articles and Possessive '*s*" in *Language Learning* 59 (4): 721-754.

Lukiokoulutus 2008 [Upper Secondary School education in 2008]. Statistics Finland. Available in: http://www.stat.fi/til/lop/2008/lop_2008_2009-06-12_tau_004.html (accessed 26.11.2009).

Lukiokoulutuksen päättäneiden ainevalinnat 2009 [Subject choices of students completing Upper Secondary Education in 2009]. Statistics Finland. Available in: http://www.stat.fi/til/ava/2009/ava_2009_2009-12-11_tie_001.html (accessed 12.1.2010).

Lukiolaki [Upper Secondary School Act] 629/1998. Finlex. Available at: http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1998/19980629 (accessed 10.1.2010).

Löflund, J. (1998) *Suomen kirjoitetun yleiskielen passiivi*. Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press.

MacWhinney, B. (2005) "A Unified Model of Language Acquisition" in Kroll, J. & De Groot, A. (eds) *Handbook of Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Approaches*. Oxford: OUP, 49-67.

MacWhinney, B. (2008) "A Unified Model" in Robinson, P. & Ellis, N. C. (eds), 341-371.

Manninen, S. & Nelson, D. (2004) "What is a Passive? The Case of Finnish" in *Studia Linguistica* 58 (3), 212-251.

Markkanen, R. (1979) *Tense and Aspect in English and Finnish. A Contrastive Study*. Studia Philologica Jyväskyläensia 13. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Meara, P. (2007) "Simulating Word Associations in an L2: Approaches to Lexical Organisation" in *International Journal of English Studies* 7 (2), 1-20.

Meriläinen, H. (1997) *Konnektorer i bruk. Finska abiturienters inlärarsvenska ur ett textlingvistiskt och språkkontrasterande perspektiv*. University of Joensuu Publications in the Humanities 20. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.

Meriläinen, L. (2004) *Aspects of Lexical Transfer in the Written English of Finnish Upper Secondary School Students*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.

Meriläinen, L. (2006) *Lexical Transfer Errors in the Written English of Finnish Upper Secondary School Students*. Unpublished Licentiate Thesis. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.

Meriläinen, L. (2008) "'My Eyes Were Standing in My Head': Lexical Transfer Errors in the Written English of Finnish Upper Secondary School students" in Nikolaev, A. & Niemi, J. (eds.) *Two Or More Languages: Proceedings from the 9th Nordic Conference on Bilingualism*. Studies in Languages, vol. 43. Joensuu: University of Joensuu, 158-167.

Meuter, R. (2009) "Neurolinguistic Contributions to Understanding the Bilingual Mental Lexicon". In Pavlenko, A. (ed) (2009), 1-25.

Miller, G. A. & Fellbaum, C. (1991) "Semantic networks in English" in *Cognition*, 41, 197-229.

Mitchell, R. and Myles, F. (2004) *Second Language Learning Theories*. London: Arnold.

Nagy, W. E., Anderson, R. C., Schommer, M., Scott, J. A. & Stallman, A. (1989) "Morphological families in the internal lexicon" in *Reading Research Quarterly*, 24: 3, 262-282.

Nagy, W. E. (1997) "On the role of context in first- and second-language learning" in Schmitt, N. & McCarthy, M. (eds.) (1997) *Vocabulary: Description, Acquisition and Pedagogy*. Cambridge: CUP.

Nation, I. S. P. (2001) *Learning Vocabulary in Another Language*. Cambridge: CUP.

Nenonen, M. (2002) *Idiomit ja Leksikko. Lausekeidiomien Syntaktisia, Semanttisia ja Morfologisia Piirteitä Suomen Kielessä*. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.

Nikanne, U. (1993) "On Assigning Semantic Cases in Finnish" in Holmberg & Nikanne (1993) (eds.), 75-87.

Oakes, M. P. (1998) *Statistics for Corpus Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Odlin, T. (1989) *Language Transfer: Cross-linguistic Influence in Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Odlin, T. (1990) "Word-Order Transfer, Metalinguistic Awareness, and Constraints on Foreign Language Learning" in VanPatten, B. & Lee, J. F (eds.) (1990) *Second Language Acquisition / Foreign Language Learning*. Multilingual Matters. Bristol: WBC Print.

Odlin, T. (1998) "On the Affective and Cognitive Bases for Language Transfer" in Cooper, W. R. (ed) (1998) *Compare or Contrast? Current Issues in Cross-language Research.*Tampere University Offset.

Odlin, T. (2002) "Language transfer and cross-linguistic studies: relativism, universalism, and the native language" in Kaplan, R. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Odlin, T. (2003) "Cross-Linguistic Influence" in Doughty, C, & Long, M. (eds.), 436-486.

Odlin, T. (2005) "Crosslinguistic Influence and Conceptual Transfer: What are the Concepts? In *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 25: 3-25.

Odlin, T. (2008) "Conceptual transfer and meaning extensions" in Robinson, P. & Ellis, N. C. (eds), 306-340.

Odlin, T. & Jarvis, S. (2004) "Same Source, Different Outcomes: A Study of Swedish Influence on the Acquisition of English in Finland" in *The International Journal of Multilingualism* 1: 123-140.

Oshita, H. (2004) "Is there anything there when *there* is not there? Null expletives and second language data". *Second Language Research* 20, 2 (2004); 95-130.

Paananen-Porkka, M. (2007) *Speech Rhythm in an Interlanguage Perspective: Finnish Adolescents Speaking English*. Doctoral Dissertation. University of Helsinki.

Paradis, M. (1997a) "The Cognitive Neuropsychology of Bilingualism" in De Groot, A. & Kroll, J. (eds.) *Tutorials in Bilingualism. Psycholinguistic Perspectives*, 331-354. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Paradis, M. (1997b) "Représentation Lexicale et Conceptuelle chez le Bilingues: Deux Langues, Trois Systèmes". In Auger, J. & Rose, Y. (eds.) *Explorations du Lexic*, 15-27. Québec: CIRAL.

Paradis, M. (2004) *A Neurolinguistic Theory of Bilingualism*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Pavlenko, A. (1998) "SLA and Acculturation: Conceptual Transfer in L2 Learners' Narratives" Paper presented at AAAL 1998, Seattle, WA, March.

Pavlenko, A. (1999) "New Approaches to Concepts in Bilingual Memory" in *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 2 (3), 209-230.

Pavlenko, A. (ed) (2009) *The Bilingual Mental Lexicon. Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Pawley, A. & Syder, F. H. (1983) "Two puzzles for linguistic theory: nativelike selection and nativelike fluency" in Richards, J. C. & Schmidt, R. W. (eds.) (1983) *Language and Communication*. Harlow: Longman, 191-226.

Phinney, M. (1987) "The pro-drop parameter in second language acquisition". In Roeper, T. & Williams, E. (eds.) *Parameter setting*. Dortrecht: Reidel, 221-238.

Platt, J., Weber, H. & Ho, M. (1984) *The New Englishes*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. & Svartvik, J. (1985) *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Reime, H. (1993) "Accusative Marking in Finnish" in Holmberg & Nikanne (1993) (eds.), 90-109.

Richards, J. C. & Rodgers, T. S. (1986) *Approaches and methods in language teaching: a description and analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rietveld, T. & van Hout, R. (2005) *Statistics in Language Research: Analysis of Variance*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Riionheimo, H. (2007) *Muutoksen monet juuret: Oman ja vieraan risteytyminen Viron inkerinsuomalaisten imperfektinmuodostuksessa* [The multiple roots of change: Mixing native and borrowed influence in the past tense formation by Ingrian Finns in Estonia]. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Riionheimo, H. (2009) "Interference and Attrition in Inflectional Morphology: a Theoretical Perspective" in Penttilä, E. & Paulasto, H. (eds.) *Language Contacts meet English Dialects: Studies in Honour of Markku Filppula*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 83-103.

Ringbom, H. (1985) "The Influence of Swedish on the English of Finnish learners" in Ringbom, H. (ed) *Foreign Language Learning and Bilingualism*. Publications of the Research Institute of the Åbo Akademi Foundation 105. Åbo: Åbo Akademis kopieringscentral, (1985): 39-72.

Ringbom, H. (1986) "Crosslinguistic Influence and the Foreign Language Learning Process" in Kellerman, E. & Sharwood Smith, M. (eds.), 150-162.

Ringbom, H. (1987) *The Role of the First Language in Foreign Language Learning.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Ringbom, H. (2007) *Cross-linguisitic Similarity in Foreign Language Learning.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Robinson, P. & Ellis, N. C. (eds) *Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition*. New York: Routledge.

Rutherford, W. E. (1989) "Interlanguage and pragmatic word order". In Gass, S. M. & Schachter, J. (eds.) *Linguistic Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition*. Cambridge: CUP, 163-82.

Sajavaara, K. & Lehtonen, J. (eds.) (1977) *Contrastive Papers*. Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies 4. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Sajavaara, K., Lehtonen, J. and Markkanen, R. (eds.) (1978) *Further Contrastive Papers*. Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies 6. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Sajavaara, K. (ed) (1983a) *Cross Language Analysis and Second Language Acquisition.* Jyväskylä Cross-language Studies 9. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Sajavaara, K. (ed) (1983b) *Cross Language Analysis and Second Language Acquisition.* Jyväskylä Cross-language Studies 10. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Sajavaara, K. (1989) "Classification of Errors: The Relativity of What, Where and Why" in Freudenstein, R. (ed) (1989) *Error in Foreign Languages Analysis and Treatment*. Marburg: Informationszentrum für Fremdsprachenforschung (IFS) der Philipps-Universität, 80-85.

Sajavaara, K. & Takala, S. (1993) *Finns as learners of English: Three Studies*. Jyväskylä Cross-language Studies 16. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Sankoff, G. (2002) "Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact" in Chambers, J. K., Trudgill, P. & Schilling-Estes, N. (eds) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Malden: Blackwell.

Schachter, J. (1974) "An Error in Error Analysis" in *Language Learning* 24: 2, 205-214.

Schachter, J. (1983) "A New Account of Language Transfer" in Gass, S. & Selinker, L. (eds.) (1983), 98-111.

Selinker, L. (1972) "Interlanguage" in *International Review of Applied Linguistics* (IRAL) 10, 2: 209-231.

Selinker, L. (1992) *Rediscovering Interlanguage*. New York: Longman.

Service, E. (1992) "Phonology, working memory, and foreign language learning" in *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 45A, 21-50.

Sharwood Smith, M. (1986) "The Competence/Control Model, Crosslinguistic Influence and the Creation of New Grammars" in Kellerman, E. & Sharwood Smith, M. (eds.) (1986), 10-20.

Shore, S. (1986) *Onko Suomessa Passiivia*. Helsinki: SKS.

Sjöholm, M. (1979) "Partial dictation as a testing device: an analysis with special reference to the achievement made by Swedish- and Finnish-speaking applicants for English, 1975" in Palmberg, R. (ed.) *Perception and Production of English: Papers on Interlanguage*. AFTIL6. Publications of the Department of English, Åbo Akademi.

Sjöholm, K. (1995) *The Influence of Crosslinguistic, Semantic and Input Factors on the Acquisition of English Phrasal Verbs.* Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press.

Sulkala, H. & Karjalainen, M. (1992) *Finnish*. London: Routledge.

Suomen väestö 2008 [The population of Finland in 2008]. Statistics Finland. Available in: http://www.stat.fi/til/vaerak/2008/vaerak_2008_2009-03-27_tie_001_fi.html (accessed 15.3.2010).

Takala, S. & Saari, H. (1979) *Englannin kielen opetus ja koulusaavutukset Suomessa 1970 - luvun alussa: IEA:n kansainväliseen yhteistoimintaan perustuva vertaileva ja kuvaileva tutkimus*. Jyväskylän yliopisto. Kasvatustieteiden tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja No. 295.

Takala, S. (1998) "Englannin kielen taidon taso Suomessa – Hyvää kehitystä" in Takala, S. & Sajavaara, K. (eds.) *Kielikoulutus Suomessa*. Jyväskylä: Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskus, 73-89.

Takala, S. (2004) "Englannin kielitaidon tasosta Suomessa" in Leimu, K. (ed) *Kansainväliset IEA-tutkimukset – Suomi-kuvaa luomassa*. Jyväskylä: Koulutuksen tutkimuslaitos / University of Jyväskylä, 255-275.

Taylor, B. (1975) "The Use of Overgeneralization and Transfer Learning Strategies by Elementary and Intermediate Students of ESL" in *Language Learning* 25:1, 73-107.

Tella, S. (2004) "Visualizing future foreign language education: from revision to supervision and vision" in Mäkinen, K., Kaikkonen, P. & Kohonen, V. (eds.) *Future perspectives in foreign language education*. Reports from the Faculty of Education, University of Oulu, 101, 71-98.

Tella, S. & Harjanne, P. (2004) "Kielididaktiikan nykypainotuksia [Current emphases in foreign language education]" in *Didacta Varia* 9: 2, 25-52.

Thomason, S. & Kaufman, T. (1988) *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tiainen, O. (1997) "Suomen eksistentiaalilause – päättymätön tarina" in *Virittäjä* 4 (1997), 563-571.

Toivainen, J. (1993) "The Nature of the Accusative in Finnish" in Holmberg & Nikanne (1993) (eds.), 111-128.

Tuokko, E. (2003) *Perusopetuksen päättövaiheen englannin kielen oppimistulosten kansainvälinen arviointi 2002*. [International evaluation of the English skills of pupils in the final stage of primary education in 2002]. Opetushallitus: Oppimistulosten arviointi [Finnish National Board of Education: evaluation of educational achievement] 3/2003. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

Tuokko, E. (2007) *Mille tasolle perusopetuksen englannin opiskelussa päästään? Perusopetuksen päättövaiheen kansallisen arvioinnin 1999 Eurooppalaisen viitekehyksen taitotasoihin linkitetyt tulokset* [What level do pupils reach in English at the end of the comprehensive school? National assessment results linked to the Common European Framework]. Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities 69. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Törnudd-Jalovaara, E. (1985) "Suomen ja ruotsin futuurista" [Expressing future time in Finnish and Swedish]. *Virittäjä* 89, 173-185.

Valtioneuvoston asetus ylioppilastutkinnosta [Government Decree on the Matriculation Examination] 915/2005. Finlex. Available at: http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2005/20050915 (accessed 10.1.2010).

Vilkuna, M. (1989) *Free Word Order in Finnish: Its Syntax and Discourse Functions*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 500. Helsinki: Hakapaino Oy.

Vilkuna, M. (2000) *Suomen Lauseopin Perusteet*. Kotimaisten Kielten Tutkimuskeskuksen Julkaisuja. Helsinki: Edita.

Wang, M., Koda, K., & Perfetti, C. (2003) "Alphabetic and nonalphabetic L1 effects in English word identification: A comparison of Korean and Chinese English L2 learners". *Cognition*, 87: 129-149.

Weinreich, U. (1953) *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. The Hague: Mouton.

White, L. (1985) "The pro-drop parameter in adult second language acquisition". *Language Learning* 35, 47-62.

Whorf, B. L. (1956) *Language, Thought, and Reality*. Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Cambridge, MA: the M.I.T. Press.

Williams, J. (1987) "Non-Native Varieties of English: A Special Case of Language Acquisition" in *English World-Wide*, 8 (2) 161-199.

Ylioppilastutkinnon kielikokeet [Language examinations of the Matriculation Examination] I/1980. Ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan määräyksiä ja ohjeita [Guidelines and instructions of the Matriculation Examination board].

Ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan yleiset määräykset ja ohjeet [General guidelines and instructions of the Matriculation Examination board] 8.12.2006. Ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan määräyksiä ja ohjeita [Guidelines and instructions of the Matriculation Examination board]. Available at: http://www.ylioppilastutkinto.fi/maaraykset/yleisohje.pdf (accessed 12.1.2010).

Ylioppilastutkinto 2007: Tilastoja ylioppilastutkinnosta [The Matriculation Examination in 2007: Statistics from the Examination]. Publications of the Matriculation Examination board. Available at: http://www.ylioppilastutkinto.fi/fi/files/ documents/ Tilastot/ Ylioppilastutkinto2007_nettiin.pdf (accessed 12.1.2010).

Zobl, H. (1982) "A direction for contrastive analysis: the comparative study of developmental sequences" in *TESOL Quarterly*, 16: 2, 169-83.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1. COMPOSITION TOPICS AND INSTRUCTIONS

Spring 1990

1. **Man – the maker and breaker**
   Man has made great inventions and magnificent constructions but has also caused a lot of destruction. Discuss these two aspects in the history of mankind.

2. **"Medicines for the soul"**
   Those words welcomed visitors to the first known library in the world in Egypt. Tell about a situation in your life when a book has been (some books have been) medicine for your soul.

3. **Animals and man**
   For better or for worse, people and animals have always lived together. You can write about pets and their importance or man's treatment of farm animals or man's exploitation of certain animals for various reasons.

4. **Why couldn't I learn it?**
   There may have been some subjects or skill you would have liked to learn at school. Could your chosen subject have replaced something else you used to study? Why?

Spring 2000

1. **Get married or stay single?**
   Would you like to live alone or with a life-long partner?

2. **Clever brains versus skilled hands**
   Are academic subjects valued too highly? Have we forgotten the importance of practical skills?

3. **War or peace?**
   Is complete peace between all countries ever possible? Or will there always be wars? What might future wars be about?

4. **Healthy life – a personal duty?**

If people get ill because they smoke, eat unhealthy food, don't exercise, injure themselves in sport etc. should they pay for the costs?

Autumn 2000

1. **Forgiven and forgotten**
   Is it always possible to forgive someone who does something wrong? Are some things unforgivable?

2. **A speech**
   You are a member of the Finnish delegation to the European Youth Conference on Linguistic and Ethnic Minorities. Write the speech you will give at the conference about minorities in Finland. Start your speech with the words, "Fellow delegates…".

3. **A magazine article**
   Write a letter to a newspaper for publication in the "Letters to the Editor" section. It should be about children and teenagers having televisions in their bedrooms. Give your opinions on the topic.

4. **Why I love Mondays**[38]

Spring 2005

1. **Useless PE lessons**
   More than three quarters of British children between 11 and 16 take no exercise each week, according to a new survey that will fuel the debate about child obesity.

   More than half of all teenagers agreed that young people are fat, lazy and addicted to computer games, but blame school and councils for failing to give them opportunities to exercise. Teenagers complained that local sport centres and green areas were being lost to building projects while the gyms springing up in their place were expensive and far from home.

   Almost all teenagers criticized how PE lessons were run. 'We don't get a say in what sport we play, so three quarters of the class don't bring their kit because they don't like the sport chosen, ' said Nico, 16.

   Source: *The Observer*, 2003

Comment on this, comparing the situation to Finland.

---

[38] No instructions were given for this topic.

2. **Me – a humanitarian worker?**
   Lots of people (doctors, nurses, firemen, teachers, engineers) volunteer to do humanitarian work either in their native countries or abroad when help is needed. Do you think you could be a humanitarian worker? If so / If not, give your reasons. What sort of work could you possibly do?

3. **Euro elections**
   Some people claim that the elections to the European Parliament seem to attract celebrities, second-rank politicians or has-beens. Is this true? Comment.

4. **Finland will fall when Nokia falls**
   How closely is the future of Finland linked to this one company?

APPENDIX 2. COMPILATION OF THE CORPUS

1990

Point category	1 (88-99)		2 (78-85)		3 (68-75)		4 (58-65)		5 (48-55)		6 (35-45)		Total
Girl / Boy	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	
Southern Finland	2	3	4	2	4	2	2	4	2	4	6	4	**39** 22.5%
Western Finland	6	7	3	5	3	5	5	3	5	2	3	2	**49** 28.3%
Eastern Finland	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	**30** 17.3%
Oulu	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	1	2	**44** 25.4%
Lapland	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	**11** 6.4%
	15	**15**	**15**	**15**	**15**	**15**	**15**	**14**	**15**	**15**	**13**	**11**	**173**
Total	**30**		**30**		**30**		**29**		**30**		**24**		

2000

Point category	1 (88-99)		2 (78-85)		3 (68-75)		4 (58-65)		5 (48-55)		6 (35-45)		Total
Girl / Boy	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	
Southern Finland	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	4	4	-	-	-	**38** 25.9%
Western Finland	7	7	7	7	7	7	5	7	2	3	-	1	**60** 40.8%
Eastern Finland	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	7	5	1	-	**30** 20.4%
Oulu	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	-	-	**19** 12.9%
Lapland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**-** 0%
	15	**15**	**15**	**15**	**15**	**15**	**15**	**15**	**15**	**10**	**1**	**1**	**147**
Total	**30**		**30**		**30**		**30**		**25**		**2**		

2005

Point category	1 (88-99)		2 (78-85)		3 (68-75)		4 (58-65)		5 (48-55)		6 (35-45)		Total
Girl / Boy	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	
Southern Finland	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	7	3	2	**40** 22.2%
Western Finland	5	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	5	2	8	9	**54** 30%
Eastern Finland	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	**33** 18.3%
Oulu	4	3	4	3	4	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	**36** 20%
Lapland	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	-	-	**17** 9.4%
	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	180
Total	30		30		30		30		30		30		

Geographical distribution of the data

	1990		2000		2005		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Southern Finland	39	22.5	38	25.9	40	22.2	117	23.4
Western Finland	49	28.3	60	40.8	54	30	163	32.6
Eastern Finland	30	17.3	30	20.4	33	18.3	93	18.6
Oulu	44	25.4	19	12.9	36	20	99	19.8
Lapland	11	6.4	-	0	17	9.4	28	5.6
Total	173		147		180		500	

Data distribution as measured by word frequencies

1990		Point categories						
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Total**
	Girls	2958	3208	2891	2858	2721	2470	**17106**
	Boys	3217	2924	2718	2546	2831	1888	**16124**
	Total	**6175**	**6132**	**5609**	**5404**	**5552**	**4358**	**33230**
	%	18,6 %	18,5 %	16,9 %	16,3 %	16,7 %	13,1 %	

2000		Point categories						
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Total**
	Girls	3030	2806	2900	2866	2737	197	**14536**
	Boys	3312	2995	2885	2713	1744	167	**13816**
	Total	**6342**	**5801**	**5785**	**5579**	**4481**	**364**	**28352**
	%	22,4 %	20,5 %	20,4 %	19,7 %	15,8 %	1,3 %	

2005		Point categories						
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Total**
	Girls	3351	2993	2936	2707	2915	2578	**17480**
	Boys	3471	2956	2840	2988	2928	2544	**17727**
	Total	**6822**	**5949**	**5776**	**5695**	**5843**	**5122**	**35207**
	%	19,4 %	16,9 %	16,4 %	16,2 %	16,6 %	14,5 %	

Total		Point categories						
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	
	1990	6175	6132	5609	5404	5552	4358	**33230**
	2000	6342	5801	5785	5579	4481	364	**28352**
	2005	6822	5949	5776	5695	5843	5122	**35207**
	%	**19339**	**17882**	**17170**	**16678**	**15876**	**9844**	**96789**
		20,0 %	18,5 %	17,7 %	17,2 %	16,4 %	10,2 %	

Compilation of the comparison corpus by Swedish-speaking students

Point category		1 (88-99)		2 (78-85)		3 (68-75)		4 (58-65)		5 (48-55)		6 (35-45)		Total	
Girl / Boy		G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B		
1988-1993	Southern Finland	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	1	5	-	-	31	47 34.6 %
1988-1993	Western Finland	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	15	47 34.6 %
1988-1993	Åland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	47 34.6 %
1995-2000	Southern Finland	1	1	2	2	2	-	5	5	-	1	-	-	19	45 33.1 %
1995-2000	Western Finland	4	4	3	3	3	5	-	-	3	1	-	-	26	45 33.1 %
2002-2006	Southern Finland	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	-	-	18	44 32.4 %
2002-2006	Western Finland	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	4	-	-	-	-	26	44 32.4 %
Total		15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	7	9	-	-	136	
		30		30		30		30		16		-			

APPENDIX 3. FREQUENCIES OF DEVIANT LEXICAL AND SYNTACTIC PATTERNS IN THE FINNISH-SPEAKING AND SWEDISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS' CORPORA IN POINT CATEGORIES 1-4

	Finnish-speaking students[39]		Swedish-speaking students[40]		*p*-value[41]
	N	N/10,000	N	N/10,000	
LEXICAL TRANSFER					
Substitution	11	1.6	13	5.2	< 0.001
Relexification	8	1.1	25	10	< 0.0001
Orthographic transfer	95	13.4	31	12.4	= 0.98
Phonetic transfer	38	5.4	4	1.6	< 0.05
Morphological transfer	18	2.5	4	1.6	= 0.46
Word form total	170	23.9	77	30.7	= 0.14
Loan translations	44	6.2	8	3.2	= 0.16
Semantic extensions	66	9.3	1	0.4	< 0.0001
Word meaning total	110	15.5	9	3.6	< 0.001
Collocations	23	3.2	8	3.2	= 0.74
Functional transfer	75	10.6	5	2	< 0.001
Word use total	98	13.8	13	5.2	< 0.01
Total	378	53.2	99	39.5	< 0.06
SYNTACTIC TRANSFER					
The passive construction	29	4.1	1	0.4	< 0.01
Expletive pronoun constructions	36	5.1	1	0.4	< 0.01
Subordinate clause patterns	42	5.9	2	0.8	< 0.01
Future time	29	4.1	6	2.4	< 0.11
Prepositional constructions	185	26	24	9.6	< 0.0001
Total	**321**	**45.2**	**34**	**13.6**	< 0.0001

---

[39] Samples from point categories 1-4: 71,069 words (359 compositions)

[40] Samples from point categories 1-4: 25,066 words (120 compositions)

[41] The significance values refer to the Mann-Whitney U-test

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN FINLAND
DISSERTATIONS IN EDUCATION, HUMANITIES, AND THEOLOGY

1. Taru Viinikainen. *Taipuuko "akrobaatti Aleksandra"? Nimikekonstruktio ja nimikkeen taipuminen lehtikielessä 1900-luvulta 2000-luvulle*. 2010.
2. Pekka Metso. *Divine Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Nicholas Cabasilas*. 2010.
3. Pekka Kilpeläinen. *In Search of a Postcategorical Utopia. James Baldwin and the Politics of 'Race' and Sexuality*. 2010.
4. Leena Vartiainen. *Yhteisöllinen käsityö. Verkostoja, taitoja ja yhteisiä elämyksiä*. 2010.
5. Alexandra Simon-López. *Hypersurrealism. Surrealist Literary Hypertexts*. 2010.
6. Merja Sagulin. *Jälkiä ajan hiekassa. Kontekstuaalinen tutkimus Daniel Defoen Robinson Crusoen suomenkielisten adaptaatioiden aatteellisista ja kirjallisista traditioista sekä subjektikäsityksistä*. 2010.
7. Pirkko Pollari. *Vapaan sivistystyön kieltenopettajien pedagogiset ratkaisut ja käytänteet teknologiaa hyödyntävässä vieraiden kielten opetuksessa*. 2010.
8. Ulla Piela. *Kansanparannuksen kerrotut merkitykset Pohjois-Karjalassa 1800- ja 1900-luvuilla*.
9. Lea Meriläinen. *Language Transfer in the Written English of Finnish Students*.

Lea Meriläinen
Language Transfer in the Written English of Finnish Students

Language Transfer in the Written English of Finnish Students is a study on the learner English of Finnish students and its development between 1990 and 2005. The study identifies and analyses some of the most frequently occurring deviant L1-induced lexical and syntactic patterns in Finns' written English. Through the examination of these patterns, the study also addresses the changes that have taken place in Finnish students' English skills during 1990–2005.

UNIVERSITY OF
EASTERN FINLAND