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Transfer of Colloquial Elements in Translation from Finnish Speech into
English Subtitles

A Case Study of the Television Series *Pasila*

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ABSTRACT:

Tutkielma käsittelee puhekielisten elementtien välittymistä lähtötekstistä kohdetekstiin käännettäessä puhetta ruututekstitykseksi. Aikaisempien tutkimuksien perusteella on esitetty, että käänöksillä on taipumus olla lähtötekstiä yleiskielisempiä. Tutkielmassa tarkastellaan tämän väittämän paikkansapitävyyttä erityisesti audiovisuaalisen kääntämisen näkökulmasta. Tutkimusaineistona käytetään televisiosarja Pasilan DVD-tallenteella olevaa suomenkielistä audiomateriaalia sekä englanninkielisiä tekstityskäännöksiä. Tekstittäminen eroaa monin tavoin muista käännösmuodoista, joten tutkimuksessa täytyy huomioida erityisesti tekstityksen tila- ja aikarajoitteet sekä viestin siirtyminen puhutusta muodosta kirjoitettuun. Rajoitteet antavat olettaa, että joitain puhekielille tyypillisiä ominaisuuksia on jouduttu jättämään pois käänöksistä repliikkien lyhentämiseksi. Kirjoitettu muoto puolestaan tekee monista elementeistä leimallisempia, minkä vuoksi esimerkiksi kiroilun voidaan olettaa olevan vähäisempää kohdetekstissä.

Tutkielman teoriaosiossa esitellään ensin puhekielen sanastollisia, fonologisia, morfologisia ja syntaksisia piirteitä etenkin suomen ja englannin kielten osalta. Sen jälkeen käsitellään yleiskielestä poikkeavan kielen esiintymistä kirjoitetussa muodossa ja tällaisen kielen kääntämistä sekä tekstityskääntämisen erityispiirteitä. Analyysissa verrataan lähtö- ja kohdetekstien puhekielisten elementtien määrää sekä millä kielellisellä tasolla puhekielisyydet esiintyvät. Tutkimusaineiston pohjalta voidaan todeta, että väittämä käänöksien yleiskielistymisestä pitää paikkansa myös audiovisuaalisten käännösten osalta. Lisäksi lähtö- ja kohdekielten puhekielisyyden havaittiin ilmenevän eri tasoilla. Ainoastaan sanaston osalta puhekielisyyksien määrä säilyi jokseenkin samalla tasolla, vaikka lähtötekstin puhekielinen sana ei aina välittynyt suoraan kohdetekstiin, vaan poisjättöjä kompensoitiin lisäyksillä muualla kohdetekstissä. Olettamus kiroilun vähentymisestä tai lieventymisestä ei kuitenkaan käynyt toteen, sillä kiroilun esiintyminen lähtö- ja kohdetekstissä likimäärin yhtä paljon.

KEYWORDS: Audiovisual translation, subtitling, colloquial language, non-standard language, spoken language, linguistic variation, standardization

1 INTRODUCTION

Translations are everywhere in contemporary Finland. They are of various kinds and we often do not even realize that we are reading or hearing a translation. Yet, there is little research on how much of what we read is actually translated. A small-scale study that Mäkisalo (2006) executed with a group of students at the University of Joensuu showed that 44–78% of the texts that the students read in Finnish were translated. Although, the outcome figures of the study are vague and individual variation is bound to exist, they can give us an idea of the current situation in Finland.

It is probable that a large portion of the translations that Finns encounter daily is formed by audiovisual translations. According to Finnpanel statistics (Finnpanel 2013), the time that Finns spend watching television has reached 3 hours per day and it is still increasing. At the same time, Finland is a small country where many films and television programmes are imported. For instance, of all film premieres in Finland, domestic productions amounted to only 5–9% in years 1994–2003 while North American productions alone amounted up to 53–64% (Tilastokeskus 2005a). In Finnish television channels the domination of foreign productions is not as strong but they have their fair share. In years 1997–2004, the percentage of domestic productions on four Finnish main television channels varied from 30 to 69%, the annual averages of Finnish programmes in all four channels together being 53–57% (Tilastokeskus 2005b). This leaves a gap of 43–47% to be filled with foreign programmes which usually require a translation. In addition to this, as Finland has two official languages, Finnish and Swedish, also many domestic productions are translated to the other language.

Translated language differs clearly from independently used non-translated language. Several linguists even consider translated language as a separate variant of the language (e.g. Jantunen & Eskola 2002, Mauranen & Jantunen 2005). As translations are so prevalent in Finnish society, it is important to understand how they influence the language and the society that uses it. Studying translations improves our understanding on how they are made, how the meanings and the connotations change during the translation process, and ultimately it can also help us to make better translations. Different types of

translation have been studied widely in Finland and elsewhere covering translations of written texts, such as prose and manuals, but also of speech as in dubbing and subtitling. However, most translation research in Finland concentrates on translations into Finnish from major languages such as English. There are some studies on translations from Finnish into other languages but few of them are postgraduate level.

Although audiovisual translations are studied widely, they still seem to be somewhat peripheral in Finnish translation research which is otherwise diverse and internationally recognized. In 2002, *Kääntäjä* magazine dedicated an issue to introducing different fields and recent developments of Finnish translation research. The issue included an article by Paloposki, Jantunen and Leinonen (2002) briefly introducing Finnish translation research in fields such as literary translation, cultural contexts and the use of corpuses in translation research, and several articles introducing those fields in more detail. However, regardless of their important role in the Finnish society, audiovisual translations were barely mentioned in the special issue.

According to Honka-Hallila and Römpötti (1999), colloquial language has been neglected in research on audiovisual language usage that has focused on rhetoric. At the same time, the existing research on translation of language variation often focuses on more specific features such as swearing (e.g. Fernández Fernández 2009), slang (e.g. Stolt 2010) or regional dialect (e.g. Leppihalme 2000). Moreover, when broader and vaguer concept of non-standard language as whole is studied, the research tends to focus on translation of prose (e.g. Nordlund, Onikki-Rantajääskö, Suutari & Forsberg 2006, Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2016) or sometimes on dubbing (e.g. Pavesi 2009, Chaume Varela 1998) while the use of colloquial language in subtitling is not acknowledged as widely. There are significant differences between the two types of audiovisual translation (for instance lip synchronization in dubbing, space and time constraints in subtitling) and therefore, they need to be studied separately.

The lack of research on colloquial speech in subtitling may be due to restriction of subtitling to mostly marginal languages (Ivarsson & Carroll 1998: 1–8) and the dominance of standard language in the media particularly in the past. However, even if

the Finnish media still tends to use standard language, the regulation is not as strict as it used to be. According to Nuolijärvi (2006) dialects and colloquialisms are nowadays more common in the media which has led to occasional complaints about ‘bad language’. The formality of language varies depending on the programme and the speaker. Entertainment programmes can have a more relaxed attitude towards language than news programmes and in fact they can use language as a stylistic device. (Nuolijärvi 2006).

As the current translation research is divided disproportionately and there is a shortage in research on colloquial speech in subtitling and on translation from Finnish into major languages, I wish to answer both of those needs in this thesis. I will examine the translation of colloquial spoken Finnish in the English subtitles of the television series *Pasila*. Since each language has different ways to convey informal tone, it will be interesting to see how Finnish colloquialisms can be translated into a major language such as English that has little contact with Finnish. My assumptive hypothesis is that the target text will use more standardized language than the source text. This assumption is based on several previous studies showing such standardization tendency (e.g. Tiittula et al. 2016, Englund Dimitrova 1997). As subtitling often requires omissions, I expect this to affect also stylistic elements which can result further standardization of the target language. Furthermore, I assume that vulgar language will be toned down in the target text because such expressions become stronger in writing (e.g. Ivarsson et al. 1998: 126–127). Since there is not so much translation from Finnish into English and English-speaking audience is such a wide target group, I believe that clear norms have not been established for this kind of translation yet. In the following subchapters, I will introduce my material and method of study in more detail.

1.1 Material

As the material for my study, I have chosen the Finnish situation comedy *Pasila*. It is an animated television series that was produced by Filmitoollisuus Fine¹ 2007–2013 and

¹ Merged with Yellow Film Ltd in 2013 (Yritystiedustelu 2017)

broadcast by the Finnish television channel YLE TV2 starting in February 2007. *Pasila*, or *Police station* as the name is translated into English, is a computer-animated television series which depicts the daily life of five police officers working at the police station of Pasila². *Pasila* was originally planned to have only one season with 12 episodes but gradually it gained popularity and became a hit during the second season. The series also participated in the famous Rose d'Or competition for television programmes in Switzerland in 2007. (*Helsingin Sanomat* 2011) The series was followed by a sequel *Pasila 2.5 – The Spin-off* which was produced from 2014 to 2016 by Yellow Film Ltd (Yellow Film 2017).

As the material for my analysis, I will use three episodes of the first season which were published on a DVD in 2008. The first season has twelve episodes that are recorded with a Finnish audio track. In addition, the DVD includes optional English subtitles to five seemingly random episodes (episodes 1, 4, 6, 8 and 11). Since I have to limit the material of the analysis, I have chosen three random episodes out of those five with English translations: episodes 1, 4 and 11. The approximate durations of the episodes vary between 22 to 27 minutes with the total duration of the analysed material being around 75 minutes. This is an adequate amount considering the wide range of colloquial elements I will be analysing in both the audio and the subtitles. The linguistic material includes approximately 8550 Finnish words in the audio and approximately 9270 English words in the subtitles.

1.2 Method

In the theoretical part of this study, I will first concentrate on the different aspects of colloquial language use in general and colloquial features of the Finnish and English languages in particular. I will discuss the functions of language variation and identify the ways that colloquial language differs from standard language lexically, phonologically,

² Pasila is a district in Helsinki, Finland

morphologically and syntactically. In the next chapter, I will address the questions of representing speech in written texts and translating linguistic variation. In the last theoretical chapter, I will concentrate on special characteristics of subtitling and see how the communication channel affects the resulting translations.

Finally, in the analytical part of the thesis, I will study the colloquialisms in the source and target texts, that is, in the Finnish audio track and the English subtitles of *Pasila*. In the analysis, I will have to take into account the conventions and constraints of subtitling as a translation form. I will begin by identifying colloquial elements in the material and categorizing them. I will examine the source and target language materials to see if the registers are the same and on which linguistic levels the colloquial elements occur. I will analyse what kind of omissions have been made in the target text and what could be the reasons behind them. In addition, I will see if the target text includes some significant additions or alterations.

1.3 *Pasila* and the English DVD translations

Pasila is satirical comedy where all characters have some sort of personality disorder and the criminal cases are rarely solved successfully or using conventional ways. The language use of the characters is colloquial and versatile, including also slangy expressions and swearing, thus making the material for research plentiful. The episodes also differ slightly from each other in terms of language use. The story of the first episode includes a criminal gang so slang and other non-standard elements are used slightly more frequently. However, it is not only the criminals that use colloquial language, but also the police officers use colloquialisms, especially when they are talking to or about the criminals.

The main character of the series is Kyösti Pöysti, Junior Inspector of Pasila police station. Pöysti is in his thirties but often behaves like a teenager. He uses colloquial and vulgar language, plays video games during working hours and at times comes to work with a hangover. The superintendent of the station, Chief Inspector Rauno Repomies, is absent-

minded, on medication and possibly suffering from multiple personality disorder. His moods change rapidly and he often breaks into singing or swearing suddenly. Repomies uses generally more formal vocabulary and pronunciation than his younger colleagues, but often he also employs non-standard sentence structures and incomplete sentences in a way which cannot be considered as representation of colloquial Finnish. Incomplete sentences are frequently used also by other characters. Another character, Police Officer Pekka Routalempi has a habit of marvelling everything which leads him to repeat incomplete phrases such as “*Oikeudenkäynti, se on jännä prosessi. Tilinteon hetki. Jännä.*” [‘Trial, it is a strange process. A moment of reckoning. Strange.’] Other reoccurring characters include television presenter Juhani Kontiovaara and police officers Tommi Neponen and Helga. Their speech is less marked, common colloquial Finnish. In the analysis, I will have to take into account the idiolect of each character. This means that I have to ignore some features, such as non-standard sentence structures and repetitions, when they do not represent typical characteristics of colloquial speech.

It can be asked what was the producer’s motivation to translate *Pasila* into English, why only five episodes were translated and why exactly those episodes were chosen. It is not clear but the subtitles may have been used in the Rose d’Or competition and later added to the DVD as an inexpensive extra feature. Other option could be that the subtitles were specially ordered for the DVD and intended for foreigners living in Finland.

The translator of the English subtitles is Mikko Lyytikäinen. He is a Finnish translator and the CEO of Movision LP³ specialized in audiovisual translation services (*Kauppalehti* 2017). Lyytikäinen has translated many Finnish language films into English, both before and after *Pasila* translations. Such works include for example *Freakin’ Beautiful World* (*Sairaan kaunis maailma*) from 1997, *Lights in the Dusk* (*Laitakaupungin valot*) from 2006, *The Grump* (*Mielensäpahoittaja*) from 2014 and *The Midwife* (*Kättilö*) from 2015 (KAV 2017).

³ Founded as Mikko Lyytikäinen LP in 1985

Audiovisual translations from Finnish into other languages are not common but there are some. Annually dozens of Finnish films are screened in international film festivals. However, apart from Kaurismäki's *Mies vailla menneisyyttä* (*The Man without a Past*⁴) that won Grand Prix in Cannes film festival in 2002, Finnish films have not received significant awards in the most eminent festivals. (Suomen elokuvaseura 2013, *Helsingin Sanomat* 2010) Yet, some recent Finnish productions have been commercially successful in international markets. Such films include for instance *Rare Exports*⁵ (2010) and the children's animation *Niko - Lentäjän poika*⁶ (2008) and its sequel (2012). Nevertheless, it seems difficult for a Finnish language film to receive much attention abroad. For instance, *Rare Exports* combines Finnish and English dialogues whereas a parallel version of *Poika ja ilves*⁷ (1998) was filmed in English to enable international distribution of the film. It seems to be difficult to distribute films and series with original Finnish audio track to wider foreign audience, and probably therefore, some *Pasila* episodes have been later also dubbed into English. The main character Kyösti Pöysti has been renamed as Jefferson Anderson in the English version and the series also carries the same name. (YLE 2017) However, in this thesis I will analyse only the subtitle translations.

In the following chapter, I will move on to discuss the functions of linguistic variation and how colloquial language manifests itself in Finnish and English. I will examine colloquial elements in several linguistic levels: lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactical.

⁴ The English subtitles on DVD publication are also translated by Mikko Lyytikäinen (Kokkola 2007: 220)

⁵ The original soundtrack of the film is partly in Finnish, partly in English. The film has been screened e.g. in Britain with English subtitles.

⁶ Dubbed at least into British English as *Niko and the Way to the Stars*, into American English as *The Flight before Christmas* and into German as *Niko – Ein Rentier hebt ab*. (IMDb 2013a)

⁷ Also known as *Tommy and the Wildcat*. The Finnish actors were filmed both in Finnish and English but the final English voices were dubbed by Canadian actors. (IMDb 2013b)

2 COLLOQUIAL LANGUAGE

Language is a means of communication and communication has many different functions. Therefore, one single language can vary greatly depending on the context it is used in and the person who is using it. (Leino 1989: 82) In fact, for example O'Donnell and Todd (1980: 26-27) recognise at least seven factors that give rise to linguistic variation: (1) individuality, (2) region, (3) class, (4) participant factors (e.g. role and purpose), (5) topic, (6) setting and (7) other language activity. Leaving regional dialects and idiolects aside, we have social and stylistic variation at hand. Register is the term commonly used for language variation of non-dialectal type, for example, differences between polite and familiar language; spoken and written language; scientific, religious, legal language, et cetera. (Leech & Short 2007: 65) This kind of situational variation can occur with the use of linguistic varieties named for example as literary language, standard language, colloquial language, vulgar language and slang. However, drawing exact boundaries between the varieties is impossible and they work more as linguistic continuum.

According to Lyons (quoted in Miller & Weinert 1998: 4–5), spoken and written varieties of a given language can also differ so much that they operate as separate, partially independent systems. The differences can occur in morphology, syntax, vocabulary and the organisation of texts. Colloquial language, for example, is typical to speech. It should be noted that with exceptions like giving a lecture, speech is usually interaction between people, thus being different from an author delivering a message to a reader of a text. The active interaction between all participants of the conversation gives speech special features that writing does not have. In comparison to writing, which is often about events 'happening there and then', speech is typically about what 'we are doing here and now'. In this sense, speech is often personal. In addition to factual information, it often conveys opinions and emotions towards what is stated. Hence, for example expletives and fillers, which are sometimes claimed to be unnecessary colloquialisms, actually serve for several different functions.

In the next paragraph, I will discuss the functions of linguistic variation and then I will move on to examine the colloquial elements that mark deviation from literary or standard language. These elements can be divided into lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactical deviations. Phonological and morphological deviations are important elements in Finnish dialects (Ikola 1989: 171–176). The English orthography, however, differs considerably from the Finnish system. The English spelling reflects the pronunciation less accurately and therefore carries only a very limited capacity to reveal phonological deviations of colloquial language from the standard pronunciation (Lehtonen, Sajavaara & May 1977: 45–59). As the English language material of my study is in written form, it restricts the observation on phonetic elements.

2.1 Functions of language variation

Different language varieties are used in different contexts and they can be given different prestige. They often have different functions and therefore also different characteristics. Completeness, regularity and logic, for example, are typical to literary language often used to convey official information which needs to be expressed accurately. Dialects instead are used typically in informal contexts of spoken interaction where long sentence structures are difficult to control and the contents of speech can be complemented with intonation, stress and visual elements. (Ikola 1989: 176)

Dialects can be divided into regional and social dialects. According to Paunonen (1989: 209–221), social dialects are a fairly new phenomenon in Finland as they only began to form when the Finnish industrialization began as late as in the second half on 19th century. As a matter of fact, until then there was no standard Finnish language either because Swedish had been the language of the upper class, education and administration. Standard spoken Finnish began to evolve only in 1863 when Finnish gained equal legal status with Swedish. The strict literary Finnish was taken as the basis for standard spoken Finnish which led to stigmatisation of dialectical speech. This can still be seen particularly in Helsinki which has never had any natural local dialect of Finnish due to its Swedish-speaking history and vast migration from all parts of Finland. Therefore, in Helsinki,

regional dialect forms have negative associations of being from ‘the outside’ or the countryside. Yet in other Finnish cities like Tampere, regional dialect has positive associations which emphasize regional identity. (Paunonen 1989: 209–221) The above example of dialect acceptance illustrates how the same language variety can have different associations in different contexts. Its function, strengthening solidarity, is only applicable in certain situations and with certain people.

Slang is an exceptional language variety. It is basically only used within its own user group whose members switch to other forms of colloquial language when talking to people from outside the group. This was at least the case of the slang used in Helsinki, according to Paunonen (1989: 226–228), until the last decades of 20th century when also the standard colloquial language of the youth began to diverge from the speech of their parents and the language that the youth had learned at home. The speech of the youth consciously breaks the rules of standard Finnish with its imperfect clauses, fillers and repetition. Paunonen (1989: 226–228) views this antinormative colloquial speech as a conscious decision of the rebelling youth. The main character of Pasila, Kyösti Pöysti, might be a good representative of this. Pasila police station is located in Helsinki and judging by his conduct, Pöysti is the youngest staff member, often behaving like a teenager and breaking rules also when in duty.

2.2 Lexical differences

In this chapter, I will discuss how colloquial and vulgar speech differ from standard speech lexically. The text is divided further into subchapters: colloquial vocabulary, slang words and swearing.

2.2.1 Colloquial vocabulary

When new words are introduced to a language, they can have different statuses. Some words become a part of neutral standard language but not all. According to Tuomi (1989: 276–285), new words are introduced to Finnish language in five ways: 1) By

compounding a new word of two old words, 2) by deriving a new word from an old word for instance with a suffix, 3) by giving an old word a new meaning, 4) by loaning a word from another language and possibly assimilating it into Finnish pronunciation and spelling system, and 5) by inventing a completely new word, which is uncommon however. How colloquial a new word is perceived often depends on how it was created. Presumably, the same methods of introducing new words can be found in any other language as well, but with the level of frequency for each category varies. For example Jackson and Zé Amvela (2007: 38-55) mention all of these methods regarding introduction of new words into English, although categorised slightly differently.

Particularly when new words are coined by shortening old words and/or adding suffixes with a possible change of meaning, new words are considered colloquial (Tuomi 1989: 283). As examples Tuomi (1989: 283) mentions Finnish words *ale* ‘sale’ from *alennusmyynti* ‘discount selling’ and *huppari* ‘hoodie’ from *hupullinen pusero* ‘shirt with a hood’ which were coined in the 1970s. According to Laalo (1989: 297–309) colloquial Finnish language adopts particularly new two-syllabic words which are shortened from long domestic or foreign words or compound words. Another typical way to coin new words in Finnish, according to Laalo (1989: 297–309), is the use of suffixes of which he mentions *-ari* and *-is*. Examples of such coinages include *eskari* from *esikoulu* ‘nursery school’ and *julkkis* from *julkisuuden henkilö* ‘celebrity’. The original longer version of the word is considered neutral standard language and continues to be used alongside with the new coinage which can be considered unnecessary and colloquial abbreviation by some. Yet, with time many abbreviations can become widely accepted into the standard language.

The first category, compound words, is clearly the most common way to introduce new vocabulary into Finnish (Tuomi 1989: 276–285). Tuomi notes that compound words can also be formed after foreign language examples (EN: *timetable*, SWE: *tidtabell*, FI: *aikataulu*) even though the origin is not always clear and after learning the new word, speakers do not detect any foreign influence. In slang, however, loan words and foreign influences are often particularly clear. Slang words might include foreign sounds or their spelling has not been adapted. Therefore, it can be assumed that explicit foreign influence

often makes a new word colloquial or slangy in style. Such words are present in the Finnish research material so I will use this as one criteria for determining informality level of the words.

According to Jackson et al. (2007: 160–162), English dictionaries often categorise certain types of words as colloquial or informal, but the divisions are not always clear. Abbreviated words, such as *broolly* for ‘umbrella’ and *champ* for ‘champion’, are often included in the colloquial category. A similar group are abbreviated coalescences, like *dunno* ‘I don’t know’ and *cuppa* ‘cup of tea’. There can also be reduplication, as in *arty-farty* ‘pretentiously artistic’. Other words, such as *barney* ‘noisy quarrel’ and *doddle* for ‘easy thing’, do not have an obvious explanation for their colloquial tone apart from the fact that their usage is generally restricted to informal contexts. Dictionaries may also mark some words or some of their applications as slang because the words have not been accepted so widely yet. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1996) for example categorises *awesome* ‘excellent’ as slang and *booze* ‘alcoholic drink’ as colloquial but *booze-up* as slang. (Jackson et al. 2007: 160–162)

Colloquial lexicon can also originate from slang. Slang terms are of temporary nature and after a certain time period they will either cease to be used, or become a part of general colloquial lexicon (Andersson & Trudgill 1990: 16–17, 78–79). In the following chapter, I will discuss the characteristics of slang in more detail and explain how slang words can become more neutral colloquial words or, with time, even entirely neutral standard language.

English loanwords reflect the history of English language and its linguistic contacts. There are borrowings from the Germanic tribes, the Vikings and the Normans. During the Renaissance, there was a strong fondness towards the classics which led to Latin borrowings. During the British Empire, many words from overseas colonies were adopted into English (e.g. *kangaroo*, *chutney*). It is also common that specialized terminology is borrowed from cultures which are seen as having expertise in the field. Therefore French ‘cuisine’ has introduced into English *sauté*, *au gratin* and Italian music world *concerto* and *soprano*. (Wajnryb 2008: 23–25) It is also possible to borrow affixes. For instance,

English has taken the suffix *-ista* from Spanish as in *Blairista* ‘supporter of Tony Blair’ or *Guardianista* ‘reader of the *Guardian*’. (Wajnryb 2008: 28–30)

In English, there are words of foreign origin which have been introduced to the language hundreds of years ago. Many words form synonym pairs of which one word is of Germanic origin and the other of French or Latin origin (for example *quick/rapid* and *find/discover*). In general, the Germanic word is considered more colloquial than the Latin equivalent (Jackson & Stockwell 2011: 40). According to Andersson et al. (1990: 112–118), the same phenomenon can be seen in English grammar which has been influenced by Latin grammar due to Latin’s past dominance as the language of the science and education. However, the level of colloquialism of these old foreign origin words is not comparable with recent foreign loanwords. The slang word *boo* or *beau* ‘boyfriend’, ‘girlfriend’ is an example of much more recent loan which comes from French word *beau* for ‘beautiful’ or ‘admirer’.

According to Popowich, Turcato, Laurens, McFetridge, Nicholson, McGivern, Corzo-Pena, Pidruchny and MacDonald (1997), spoken English, as well as colloquial varieties of any language, is rich in idiomatic expressions which are less frequent in formal language. The components of idiomatic expressions cannot be analysed individually and can only be translated as compound expressions. If the study material contains idiomatic expressions which are not used in formal language, I will consider them as part of colloquial vocabulary.

Non-standard lexical deviations can also be dialectal. However, in this research I will not concentrate on dialectal variation. Yet it is worth noting that in certain circumstances, a form or a word that has originally been a feature of a certain dialect, can gain popularity over dialect boundaries and become a part of general colloquial or standard vocabulary of a language (Mielikäinen 1989: 235, Ikola 1989: 173–176). This usually requires that the originating dialect has a dominating status due to its speaker population or social status.

2.2.2 Slang words

Slang has no clear definition. It can be defined as use of language that is below the level of stylistically neutral language, but as 'stylistically neutral language' is a vague and relative concept that changes with time, so does slang too. In general, slang includes words, expressions or uses of words that are extremely informal ranging from average colloquial words to vulgar and obscene expressions. Yet, as standard language changes with time, it can come to accept words that were originally considered slangy with these words obtaining stylistic neutrality. As slang is informal in style, it is usually used in informal contexts between speakers who have equal status. (Andersson et al. 1990: 16–17, 69–72) In the past decades, the boundary between slang and taboo words has also become more flexible. Many words related to sexual intercourse, body parts or bodily functions used to be considered extremely offensive and taboos in most contexts, but have recently lost some of their shocking power due to increasing usage. Therefore, the same word can be classified as 'informal', 'colloquial', 'slang', 'vulgar' or 'coarse slang' by different dictionaries. (Jackson et al. 2007: 160–163)

Slang is typical of spoken language as writing tends to be more formal than speech. However, slang is not a social or regional dialect. The use of a dialect is usually restricted to the speakers of one region, one social class or alike, but this is not necessarily the case of slang usage. It should also be noted that slang usage occurs mostly as informal vocabulary and with few exceptions, slang has no grammar rules that differ from those of standard language. (Andersson et al. 1990: 72–74) According to Jackson et al. (2007: 155–156), slang is typically used by members of a sub-culture like for instance a group of adolescents, criminals or soldiers. Consequently, the slang terminology created by the members of a group usually ceases to exist as the group dissolves for example when the youth ages.

According to Andersson et al. (1990: 16–17, 78–79), what distinguishes slang from other forms of colloquial language is that slang words are often considered as fashionable by their users. This also means that when a word becomes more widely used or 'old', it is no longer fashionable. Accordingly, slang is of temporary nature and the use of a slang word

spreads much like other trends, often beginning from major cities and spreading to peripheral areas. The slang words are also often meant to be startling, amusing or shocking, but as the word loses its impact over the time with many repetitions, the word dies out or loses its slanginess by becoming neutral.

As an example, Andersson et al. (1990: 16–17) take English slang words that have been used to express admiration. Different generations have referred to the same thing as *wizard* (1940s), *fab* (1960s), *ace* (1970s) and *brill* (1980s). When one slang word is replaced with a newer and more fashionable word, people who continue using those old words can be identified belonging to a specific age group. As a matter of fact, apart from showing one's trendiness, reinforcement of group membership is one of the functions of slang use.

New slang words can originate from various sources. One way is to invent a completely new expression (*freak out*, *kick the bucket*). Another way is to invent a new use for old standard language words or to modify them for example by shortening them (*high*, *hot*, *fan*). In the globalized world of today, also borrowing words from other languages is very common. These loan words can be either translated or adapted in foreign form. As English has a role of lingua franca, it has not borrowed as many words from other languages as it has given to them. (Andersson et al. 1990: 82–84) Finnish instead is a more marginal language which has extensive contacts with other languages, and accordingly it has borrowed many slang words from a variety languages. Examples of such borrowed words include *stalkata* (from English *to stalk*), *överit* (from Swedish *över* 'over'), *luukku* (from Russian люк 'hatch') and *hefe* (from Spanish *jefe* 'boss').

2.2.3 Swearing

In every language, there are swear words and they quite often resemble each other in meaning or origin. In most European languages for example religion, bodily functions and sexual intercourse are typical sources of profanities. In fact, whatever is a taboo or stigmatized subject in the culture, is often used in swearing. (Andersson et al. 1990: 14–15, 53–55)

Andersson et al. (1990: 53–61) have defined swearing as something that refers to a taboo or a stigmatized subject in the culture, should not be interpreted literally and can be used to express strong emotions and attitudes. However, they do recognize that sometimes profanities can be used as a ‘style-giver’ without expressing any emotion or attitude. In these cases, the swear word is unstressed. Their research distinguished two major types of swearing (a and b) and two secondary uses (c and d):

- (a) Expletive: Swearing used to express emotions, not directed towards others.
- (b) Abusive: Derogatory swearing directed towards others, name-calling and curses.
- (c) Humorous: Not derogatory, playful swearing directed towards others, non-offensive.
- (d) Auxiliary: Non-emphatic swearing not directed towards others, a way of speaking.

These types of curses can occur as separate swear words (*shit, bitch*), prefixes (Swe: *skitbra*), infixes (*abso-bloody-lutely*) or phrases (*give a damn*).

Men are stereotypically considered to swear more than women and this has also been proved correct by research. Gomm’s study (quoted in Coates 2004: 97–98) showed that in single-sex groups men used swear words 3 times more than women, but in mixed-gender groups both sexes reduced the amount of swearing. According to Coates (2004: 97–98), also other studies show that men use also taboo words more than women who do not use them almost at all in single-sex groups but for some reason began using them while talking with men.

When translating profanities, one must take into consideration that the effect of swear words seems stronger in written texts than in speech (Ivarsson et al. 1998: 126–127). Therefore, for example Ivarsson et al. (1998: 126–127) say that hefty obscenities should be toned down in translation. This is a difficult juggling act for the translator who should also maintain the style of the source text. Especially if a person is using swearing as a style-giver as described by Andersson et al., omissions in translation would erase important cues of the person’s character.

2.3 Pronunciation and grammar

English and Finnish languages work very differently in the terms of grammar and orthography, and therefore it is difficult to compare them straightforwardly. The English spelling is based only partially on the phoneme principle while standard Finnish is almost fully phonemic (Lehtonen et al. 1977: 41–44). However, modern colloquial Finnish is very different from literary Finnish, so one should not make hasty generalizations over the two varieties. In any case, the differences between English and Finnish mean that one cannot search for the same phonological and morphological colloquial features in both languages or expect the features to manifest themselves in the same manner.

2.3.1 Phonological features

Whereas the vocabulary choices can show the difference between formal and more relaxed way of speaking English, the pronunciation is a major marker of informal colloquial speech (Anhava 2000). Brown (1990: 57–88) lists four main patterns which occur in the phonological simplification process of informal English speech. Firstly, the articulatory adjustment of each phoneme regarding the sound surroundings is a common phenomenon in English similarly as in all other languages. Secondly, word boundaries within a sentence are in general marked with the clarity of pronunciation and aspirations, but in fast informal speech these markers often become unnoticeable and the boundaries between words blur. Furthermore, the unstressed vowels and consonants tend become weakened in informal speech. Finally, a very common feature of informal English is elision, that is, the omission of a sound which would be articulated in standard pronunciation. Most typically this occurs with letters *t* and *d* at the end of a syllable.

Since the orthography is rather uniform throughout the English-speaking world and the spelling does reveal much phonological deviations, I can mainly observe them in the Finnish audio material. However, there are some high-frequency words which are exceptions in such a way that their contracted pronunciations have acquired also written equivalents (Bybee 2004: 60–62). In the following is a list of some of those contractions which can be seen also in writing:

- greetings such as *howdy* < *how do you do* and *tsup* < *what's up*
- contractions of the auxiliary with a pronominal subject such as *I'll* < *I will* and *we'd* < *we had, we would* or *we should*
- contractions of the auxiliary with negation such as *doesn't* < *does not* and *won't* < *will not*
- reduction of *don't* as in *(I) dunno* < *I don't know*
- fusion of *to* in many phrases as in *wanna* < *want to* and *gonna* < *going to*
- palatalization of *t* and *d* before *you* as in *dontcha* < *don't you* and *betcha* < *bet you*

Yet, the level of informality of these contractions varies from relaxed to colloquial and slangy. For instance, the form *dontcha* is clearly more colloquial than the contraction *I'm*. In addition, there is the word *ain't* (or its earlier form *an't*) which is also a contraction but whose origin is not clear. *Ain't* is polysemic as it can stand for *am not, are not, is not, have not* or *has not*. It is widely disapproved non-standard expression and seen as an indication of low social status and lack of education. Nevertheless, *ain't* is used by speakers of all dialects and sociolects of English. (Donaher & Katz 2015: 1–15)

The pronunciation of colloquial Finnish is in many ways different from the standard language. In many cases these colloquial pronunciations are also shown in writing, especially when people write in relaxed contexts such as the social media. The changes include omissions of certain sounds either in word final or medial positions and certain vowel combinations turning into long single vowel sounds. In the following is a list of Jarva (2017) on some typical features of colloquial Finnish:

- Omission of final *a* and *ä* especially in front of the words *olla* ‘to be, to have’ and *ei* ‘no’, as in *meil oli* < *meillä oli* ‘we had’
- Omission of final *i* after an *s*, as in *tulis* < *tulisi* ‘would come’
- Omission of final *n* in many inflectional forms, as in *sanottii* < *sanottiin* ‘was said’
- Omission of final *t* of past participle, as in *tehny* < *tehnyt* ‘done’
- Omission of medial *i* in unstressed diphthongs, as in *punanen* < *punainen* ‘red’
- Omission of medial *d*, as in *oottaa* < *odottaa* ‘to wait’
- Medial *ts* changes into *tt* or *t*, as in *kato* < *katso* ‘look’

- Vowel combinations *ea* and *eä* change into long *ee*, as in *korkee* < *korkea* ‘high’
- Vowel combinations *oa* and *öä* change into long *oo* and *öö*, as in *katsoo* < *katsoa* ‘to look’ and *lämpöö* < *lämpöä* ‘warmth’
- Vowel combinations *ia*, *iä*, *ua* and *yä* change into long *ii*, *uu* and *yy*, as in *lapsii* < *lapsia* ‘children’ and *kouluu* < *koulua* ‘school’
- Truncation of the illative of 3rd infinitive, as in *tekeen* < *tekemään* ‘doing’

In addition to these above-listed sound changes, Jarva (2017) mentions several colloquial word forms which are part of high-frequency vocabulary and do not follow regular change patterns. They are personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and inflectional forms of some of the most common verbs.

- Colloquial short forms of personal pronouns: *mä* < *minä* ‘I’ and *sä* < *sinä* ‘you (singular)’
- Colloquial short forms of demonstrative pronouns: *tää* < *tämä* ‘this’, *toi* < *tuo* ‘that’, *nää* < *nämä* ‘these’, *noi* < *nuo* ‘those’
- Colloquial short forms of certain verbs, as in *oon* < *olen* ‘I am’, *ei mee* < *ei mene* ‘doesn’t go’ and *tuut* < *tulet* ‘you come’

Mielikäinen (2009) calls these truncations *allegro speech forms*. The contractions are non-systematic and result from articulation simplification which often occurs with high-frequency words. In Finnish language, the most prone words to this kind of contraction are pronouns, numerals and particles which appear in an unstressed position in a sentence. Furthermore, Mielikäinen (2009) mentions some other allegro speech forms which belong to other word categories. They adverbs and conjunctions, such as *siä* < *siellä* ‘there’, *sit* < *sitten* ‘then’, *kans / kaa* < *kanssa* ‘with’, *ni* < *niin* ‘so’ and *et* < *että* ‘that’. Even if these allegro speech forms can be categorised as similar contracted forms of English high-frequency vocabulary, such as *you’re* and *he’d*, the colloquialism level of each expression varies.

2.3.2 Morphological features

In order to look at morphology, we can begin by comparing the linguistic typology of English and Finnish. In an average English language text, over 70% of words are monosyllabic, whereas in a similar Finnish text under 20% of words consists of just one syllable. In fact, nearly 40% of Finnish words have three or more syllables. In addition to simple explanation that the languages have different basic structure of word stems, one also has to consider the different treatment of morphemes. Finnish is an agglutinating language which uses grammatical morphemes as suffixes, whereas English is an analytic language which uses free-moving elements, such as prepositions and determiners, to convey the same meaning. (Lehtonen et al. 1977: 38–40) This means that English has a more limited amount possible morphemes, which can be inflectional suffixes or derivative affixes which change the category of the word.

The morphology of colloquial English does not in general differ from that of standard language. Nevertheless, the slang can sometimes use affixes in a way that violates the rules of standard English. This may mean using morphemes that are rare or absent in standard language. (Dürmüller 2017) Examples of such are suffix *-o* in *geezo* (from *geezzer*) ‘old man’ or *ammo* (from *ammunition*), and intensifying infix *-bloody-* in *absolutely*. Yet, some of these word formations can become part of slang lexicon, and later, widespread colloquial lexicon. Therefore, they could sometimes be categorized also as lexical deviations.

In addition to non-standard usage of derivational morphemes, Finnish has also one or two inflectional disparities between standard and non-standard language. The omission of possessive suffix in the end of the noun is a typical feature of colloquial Finnish (Jarva 2017). This means that the possession is shown only by the possessive pronoun which is placed before the noun, for example, *mun kirja* / *minun kirja* < *minun kirjani* ‘my book’.

Nevalainen has done comparative research on colloquialisms in the corpus of translated and non-translated Finnish prose with focus on specific non-standard language features.

The majority of the features selected for the study were phonological, but one of the fourteen elements under scrutiny was a morphological feature, the omission of the possessive suffix. In addition, there was one element which Nevalainen classified as a phonological feature, yet admitting that it could also be seen as morphological. This feature is the treatment of the interrogative particle *-ko/-kö* in colloquial speech. The problem of categorization occurs because sometimes this particle can be omitted completely, as in *tuutsä < tuletko sinä* ‘do you come?’, and sometimes the pronunciation is colloquialised, as in *oottakste < oletteko te* ‘are you?’ without omitting the suffix.

2.3.3 Ungrammatical constructions

Colloquial Finnish uses some verb and noun phrases which are considered ungrammatical in the literary language. They originate from regional Finnish dialects but have now been assimilated into colloquial speech all over the country (Mielikäinen 1989: 234–236). According to Jarva (2017), the following three features are typical to colloquial language all over Finland. The first two constructions include combining a subject with an incongruently conjugated verb and the third group are ungrammatically used personal pronouns:

- Incongruence of subject in first-person plural and verb in passive, as in *me mennään < me menemme* ‘we go’
- Incongruence of subject in third-person plural and verb in singular, as in *lapset leikkii < lapset leikkivät* ‘children play’
- Use of non-human third-person pronouns *se* ‘it’ and *ne* ‘they’ in reference to people, as in *se tulee < hän tulee* ‘he/she comes’

The two verb phrases consist of a subject and a verb which are both completely grammatical as such but incongruent with each other. The last feature is ungrammatical use of a non-human third-person pronoun to refer to a person or persons.

In non-standard English, there are also many ungrammatical constructions but many of them are limited to specific language varieties. In the following are some non-standard constructions which are commonly used in colloquial English varieties:

- Double or multiple negative, as in *he won't do nothing* < *he won't do anything* (Freeborn, French & Langford 1993: 15)
- Get passive, as in *James got caught by the police* < *James was caught by the police* (Miller et al. 1998: 88)
- Omission of the auxiliary *have* in *have got* and *have got to* phrases, as in *I got some* < *I have (got) some* and *you got to* < *you have (got) to* (OED 2017)

These are some construction of non-standard grammar which are common in informal English. It is difficult to compile an exhaustive list of the most crucial features which would occur in most if not all colloquial varieties of English. The above-mentioned features however, are some which could be used in subtitles to create colloquial tone. In the analytical part of the thesis, we will see to which extent they have been utilised.

2.4 Syntactical differences

Popowich et al. (1997) describe a linguistic analysis of typical North American prime-time television broadcasts which demonstrate well many common phenomena of spoken language. The analysis consisted of 11 million words and showed the average sentence length to be 5.4 words. Approximately 75% of the sentences had a length of 7 words or less, and 90% of the sentences 10 words or less. In many cases, the sentences were incomplete, mere phrasal fragments. The syntax was also clearly more simple than that of written language, subordination was rare and parataxis common. It was also frequent to omit unnecessary words or phrases, that is, to use elliptical expressions. The analysis also revealed the use of hesitations, interruptions, repetitions, non-linguistic utterances et cetera.

2.4.1 Sentence structure

As colloquial language is typical to speech, it is constrained by its spontaneous real-time and face-to-face nature. According to Miller et al. (1998: 22–23), spontaneous speech generally has less grammatical subordination than written texts and considerably more

coordination and simple parataxis, that is, placing clauses one after another without coordinating or subordinating connectives. Furthermore, the clauses are usually more fragmented, less complex and relationships between syntactical elements are often indicated by deixis, that is, by demonstrative pronouns et cetera. The simplicity of spoken language means that there is a number of constructions which occur in written language but not in speech. However, there are also constructions which are used only in spoken language.

Many of the typical features of speech are due to the speech production process and the fact that the speaker must formulate their message in a very short time. Therefore colloquial sentences tend to be very short, but simple sentence structures are also easier for the listener to understand. The sentence formulation is not always successful and therefore interruptions, corrections, restarts and repetition are also very common in speech. On the other hand, speech is also tied to a specific moment which enables the use of deictic and elliptical expressions. The face-to-face nature means that the speakers share common knowledge and can also ask for more information if a message is unclear. (Tiitula 1992: 82–98)

2.4.2 Fillers

One of the most pronounced features of colloquial language is the use of seemingly meaningless discourse particles, fillers and hedges, such as *yeah*, *err*, *kind of* and *you know*. However, in speech these elements have functions which are absent in written texts. They can for instance mark the change of turn in a dialogue or give feedback to the interlocutor. Furthermore, utterances expressing hesitation or attitude are also more fundamental in speech than text (e.g. *maybe*, *quite*, *really*, *terribly*). (Tiittula 1992: 54–68)

According to Andersson et al. (1990: 18–19), particularly the youth is accused of extensive use of fillers. Fillers can be used in an unsystematic and unplanned manner when the speaker is not sure of what to say or how to say it, and needs time to think. Yet, Andersson et al. (1990: 99) point out that a typical filler *er-er* used for buying time in a

conversation or holding the floor, is in fact used the most by middle class men with academic education, not by lower class speakers who are typically associated with colloquialisms. Despite the stereotypes, fillers are characteristic to all spoken language, regardless of the speaker's age or background.

Moreover, Andersson et al. (1990: 93–99) emphasize that many fillers are used in a meaningful manner when the speaker wants to express for instance uncertainty or tone down their statements. According to Coates (2004: 87–94) toning down or softening their statements is more typical to women than men and they do it by using different hedges (*you know, sort of*) and tag questions (*isn't it? don't you think so?*). Similarly, women use more minimal responses (*yeah, mmm*) than men. However, Coates stresses that the way women use hedges and tag questions, should not be confused with uncertainty. The tag questions that women use are often affective, used for softening, whereas men use more modal tag questions which aim for receiving information (*You are coming, aren't you?*). As Coates' examples of hedges, tag questions and minimal responses show, fillers are not always meaningless. They can have different functions and even the same phrase can convey different meanings depending on the manner and the context it is used in.

2.5. Differences of colloquial language in English and Finnish

According Anhava (2000), the differences between the formal and informal standard English are smaller and of different nature than the differences between literary Finnish and standard colloquial Finnish. When it comes to regional dialects and colloquial varieties of English, the deviation from the standard language is mainly in the pronunciation while there are some rural and ethnic dialects which also differ from the standard language by their grammar as well. However, the formal and informal standard English, which are more interesting for my research, are different primarily in the choices of their vocabulary. Meanwhile, literary Finnish and standard colloquial Finnish differ from each other in more versatile manner. In addition to lexical disparities, there are also morphological and syntactical differences. This distinction makes it natural to speak

standard formal English but unnatural to speak literary Finnish in most situations. (Anhava 2000)

Although Finnish does not have as long literary traditions as many other languages, the norms of written Finnish are rather strong nevertheless. Therefore, Anhava (2000) views that transferring morphological and syntactical patterns of colloquial Finnish into literary Finnish is not 'natural'. However, Anhava (2000) admits the increase of colloquial words and expressions in written Finnish since the 1950s, and states that if the process goes on, literary Finnish will continue to approach standard colloquial Finnish.

Nevalainen (2003) has analysed colloquial features in translated and non-translated Finnish literature and seen that in normal non-translated Finnish text, nonstandard spelling representing dialectal pronunciation is the most important element marking colloquial speech. Whereas, in translated Finnish literature, which presumably has interference of the source language, the only typical feature marking colloquial speech was lexical, or to be more precise, the use of exclamations and fillers. Out of morphological features, the only one included in the study was omission of the possessive suffix which also occurred much more commonly in non-translated literature. Even though Nevalainen (2003) analyses the translated texts as outputs of the Finnish translators, he acknowledges that some differences in the language usage can be due to the source texts. This would make sense also from the point of view that, in translated Finnish, lexical colloquialisms are predominant even if that is a typical feature of analytical languages which Finnish is not.

3 NON-STANDARD LANGUAGE IN WRITTEN TEXTS

It is important to note the difference between actual spoken language and written speech, that is, a text which attempts to create an illusion of speech in literature, or in subtitling as in the case at issue. A written text cannot convey all the features of spoken language (see e.g. Tiittula 2001, Nevalainen 2003). Therefore, it is important for this study, to examine a few questions related to non-standard language in written texts. In the first subchapter, I will discuss the strategies which are used to represent linguistic variation and spoken language in writing. In the second subchapter, I will examine how non-standard language is usually translated and what are the general translation strategies used.

3.1 Creating illusion of speech

It is essential to note that dialogues in written fiction only represent actual speech. Furthermore, even speech in television programmes and films has originally been written in the form of a manuscript. According to Tiittula (2001), it is very difficult to represent all the features of speech in written text regardless of the accuracy of linguistic transcription. In addition to actual words, speech also communicates with intonation, stress, tone, rhythm of speech and pauses. If one tries to describe all these paralinguistic signals in literal transcription or literation, the resulting text is very difficult to read. This method is typically reserved to the purposes of linguistic research (Nevalainen 2004). Therefore, the author or the translator needs to choose which features of authentic speech should be included in its written representation. Written speech is neither actual spoken language nor a faithful representation of all of its features, but a selection of features that convey the desired illusion.

Spoken language and written texts belong to different linguistic traditions and we have different presumptions about their use. The readers of an English language novel, for instance, presume the characters to be using standard RP pronunciation unless they have been told otherwise (Freeborn et al. 1993: 212-213). The use of social or regional dialects

can be shown by cues in the writing, and certain conventions have been created to mark deviation from the standard language. However, according to Freeborn et al. (1993: 212-213), the dialects are seldom shown consistently or in great detail in writing. Even though everybody uses colloquialisms when they speak, colloquialisms in a written text are often seen foreignizing (Leech & Short 1981: 170). According to Kalliokoski (1998), this can be because of unfamiliarity of the selected language variant, or because the reader is not accustomed to encounter colloquialisms in writing in general.

In 1998 Kalliokoski claimed that use of colloquial Finnish functions as a foreignizing element because it is rare in Finnish literature. However, I believe that the effect of the Internet on today's language use should be noted. According to Nevalainen (2003), literature relies generally on standard language on most parts of narration but can also make use of varying level of colloquialisms. Moreover, he notes that literature written exclusively in regional dialect also has a fairly long tradition in Finland and has gained more popularity in the recent decades. Not only has the use of colloquial language in Finnish literature increased both in dialogues and narration (Tiittula et al. 2016), but people are also constantly in contact with written texts that imitate speech in informal electronic mails and social media. Therefore, I believe that especially young people are more accustomed to see written colloquial language even though they still have more formal expectations for the language of a novel than for a text in the social media.

We need to consider which features of colloquial language one can use in written texts to create an illusion of speech. Nevalainen (2004) suggests that it can be done both by avoiding certain linguistic features and employing others. Long and abstract words, complicated derivations and noun phrases are typical of literary language, and by avoiding them and adding more adverbs, conjunctions and pronouns instead, a writer can give impression of less formal language. Moreover, the writer can use dialectal or colloquial expressions, and deviate from the standard orthography and make use of dialectal or colloquial forms. (Nevalainen 2004)

However, because languages and their spelling systems work differently, colloquialism manifests itself in different manners in different languages. In analytic languages like

English, which has few inflectional morphemes, the vocabulary is a major stylistic factor, whereas Finnish is a synthetic language whose spoken language features appear also in the phonology, morphology and syntax. (Nevalainen 2004) This linguistic disparity of English and Finnish is likely to be seen in the analytical part of the study where I compare the amount and type of colloquialisms appearing in *Pasila* episodes in these two languages. Also the different communication channels, namely the speech and the subtitles, impact and restrict the repertoire of possible colloquial elements for each language. Since the English language material of this study is only in written form, it cannot show colloquialism with nonstandard pronunciations apart from allegro speech forms. Meanwhile, Finnish is used only in spoken form and might include some colloquial features which go unnoticed by the viewers of the show.

These features which often draw much more attention in writing than in speech are called ‘unmarked colloquialisms’ (Tiittula 2001). Tiittula (2001) explains that speech that includes many unmarked colloquialisms may seem formal, while the same features can make a text appear very colloquial. As examples of unmarked colloquialisms in Finnish speech Tiittula mentions for instance contracted colloquial pronouns (e.g. *mä* < *minä* ‘I’; *tää* < *tämä* ‘this’), omission of the final vowel (e.g. *mut* < *mutta* ‘but’, *uus* < *uusi* ‘new’) and incongruent verbal phrase constructions (*me ollaan* < *me olemme* ‘we are’). Unmarked colloquialisms are one tool to create an illusion of speech. Depending on the degree of colloquialism desired, the writer can also use marked colloquialisms such as slang. Furthermore, imperfect punctuation can be used in combination with normal standard sentence structure. (Tiittula 2001)

In speech, prosodic and non-verbal elements are also important means of conveying information. Because these cues are absent in written speech, writers can use sentence structure and punctuation to provide information on speech rhythm, intonation, et cetera. (Nevalainen 2004) In audiovisual material, the speech is supported by the picture, and if the video is translated using subtitles, the text is also supported by the original soundtrack. This audiovisual assistance can help the subtitles to convey more authentic feel of speech. Even when the reader of the subtitles does not understand the speech, they can for instance see the facial expressions of the speaker and hear the tone and the rhythm of speech.

However, there are some restrictions of course. As Tiittula (2001) notes, written text cannot overlap but must be linearized. Since speech of characters in a programme often overlaps, this can cause problems in subtitling.

3.2 Translation of non-standard language

Translating written informal spoken language is complicated because colloquial features are different in each language and they occur in different linguistic levels. Also the conventions of creating an illusion of speech in texts vary between cultures. Moreover, since linguistic varieties are used by specific groups of people, the use of a certain variety can often carry cultural connotations. (Tiittula et al. 2016)

In translation of colloquial language or any non-standard language variety, several studies have shown a tendency towards standardization (see for example Tiittula et al. 2016, Englund Dimitrova 1997). Standardization or normalization is considered to be a translation universal, a general tendency which applies to all translations independent of the language pairs, texts and cultures. According to Tiittula et al. (2016), the idea of standardization comes from Gideon Toury who discovered “the law of growing standardization”. Toury (quoted in Tiittula et al. 2016) suggested that unusual or experimental choices were avoided in translations in favour of more common options. Although the notion of an acceptable or good translation changes over time and translations have shifted towards more linguistic variation and higher level of freedom, Tiittula et al. (2016) claim that language still becomes more standardized during a translation process. Their research has shown that language usage in Finnish literature changed during the 20th century and this also affected the language of Finnish translations of the time by increasing the use of colloquial language variants considerably.

Moreover, not only are the target texts less colloquial than their source texts, studies have also shown that translated texts in a given language use more standardized language than original texts of the same language (e.g. Nevalainen 2004, Delaere, De Sutter & Plevvoets 2012). Therefore, translated language is sometimes seen as a language variety which is

separate from normal standard language (Jantunen et al. 2002, Mauranen et al. 2005). Juva (1998) suggests that the reason why Finnish translations use more formal language than original Finnish literature might be the admiration that the Finns give to foreign cultures. In my thesis, the language of the translation is English but the translator is Finnish and may follow the norms of Finnish translation culture.

Non-standard language varieties are used in literature for a reason and therefore normalising the language results in a loss of information. For instance, standardization of rural or social dialects in dialogues can wipe out the differences between the characters and change their interpersonal relations. Removing a dialect from the translation also means that geographical or temporal references are lost. Therefore, some have even claimed that it is impossible to translate a dialect. Yet, removing dialectal elements from a translation, does not necessarily mean a loss of the illusion of speech which can be conveyed also by other means, such as syntactic and dialogic devices or typical characteristics of spoken language, for instance, short sentences, elliptic sentences and interjections. (Tiittula et al. 2016, Leppihalme 2000). However, also other tendencies have been claimed to reduce the colloquial impression of translated texts. According to Tiittula et al. (2016) translators make the target texts more explicit by adding connectors and completing elliptical expressions. Furthermore, translators tend to avoid repetitions although they are prominent features of spoken language.

Englund Dimitrova (1997) has suggested a continuum model according to which translations shift from less standard varieties towards more standardized language. On the most marked non-standard end of the continuum are specific regional varieties and then more general regional or rural varieties. Next are specific social varieties and then markedly colloquial varieties. In the most standard end are neutral language and finally marked elevated style. Leppihalme's findings (2000) support this theory, although she has observed more radical leaps towards more standardized language. On the other hand, Rosa (2012: 81) suggests that regional varieties have higher prestige than social varieties.

Non-standard language varieties can be translated using different strategies resulting in different levels of standardization. Tiittula et al. (2016) mention six strategies for

translating dialects. Firstly, a non-standard variety can be completely normalized and translated with standard language. Secondly, some level of non-standardness can be conveyed with use of selected features of spoken language, often lexical or common morpho-syntactical features. Thirdly, notably non-standard language can be translated with less marked non-standard variety. Fourthly, a source language dialect can be replaced with a target language dialect. Fifthly, an imaginary language variety can be created by combining colloquial features from many target language dialects. Lastly, a source language dialect can be substituted with a target language sociolect or idiolect.

Many studies (e.g. Nevalainen 2004, Tiittula et al. 2016) suggest that while writers of original texts use colloquialisms of many linguistic levels to convey illusion of speech, translators would use mainly lexical features, such as swearwords and particles, and mostly disregard phonological, morphological and syntactical features. According to Tiittula et al. (2016), this might lead to inconsistent language use in the target text when the lexis is on more informal level than other elements. They suggest that typical colloquialisms of the target language might be absent in the translation because the source text does not stimulate directly their use because of linguistic differences. However, these differences can work also towards the other direction. Standardization of the language might occur also because colloquial features of the source language have no equivalent in the target language. (Tiittula et al. 2016)

The standardization of translations and the shift of colloquial elements to different linguistic levels has been observed for example by Englund Dimitrova's (1997) in her study on English and Russian translations of a Swedish novel by Vilhelm Moberg. Both translations of Moberg's novel used more standardized language than the source text but nevertheless included some features of spoken language. However, this had to be done on different linguistic levels due to the differences between the source and target language. I expect to see a similar shift of colloquial markers to different levels also in the study material of this thesis because of the linguistic differences of Finnish and English. Furthermore, it has been observed that the means that Finnish translators use to create illusion of speech differ slightly from those used by Finnish authors. According to Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2007: 400), the most commonly used colloquial features by

Finnish translators are lexical colloquialisms, colloquial pronouns (allegro speech forms), non-standard pronunciation and short sentence structures.

We can also consider the style of texts as a whole without fixating too much on the correspondence of each source and target sentence pair. If a target sentence has such omissions that change its style, the translator can use compensation strategy elsewhere in the target text. According to Fernández Guerra (2012: 9), the compensation strategy can be used to balance factual or stylistic losses in the target text. A translator can add compensatory stylistic elements, such as non-standard language, in another place in the translation when the feature could not be reflected in the same place as in the source text.

It is also possible to find strategies and recommendations on how to translate some specific features present in non-standard language. For instance, Ivarsson et al. (1998: 126–127) suggest that swearing should be toned down in subtitling because of two reasons. Firstly, obscene expressions of the source language have often lost some of their shocking effect if they are used frequently and therefore translating them directly would possibly result in strengthening the expression. Secondly, in subtitling profanities become stronger as they shift from speech to writing. In addition to toning down, the amount of swearing is often reduced in subtitles. According to Mattsson (2006), Swedish television subtitles reproduce only 37% of the swearwords of the source text. Furthermore, the most commonly used category of swearwords in the subtitles are words related to religion whereas in modern spoken Swedish, most swearwords are some kind of sexual references. (Mattsson 2006: 5) The difference reveals a gap between the representation of speech and actual spoken language.

Also the amount of discourse markers is generally reduced in subtitling although there is no linguistic reason for standardization. According to Mattsson (2006), this can be due to the conventions of subtitling and standards set by the television channels. Indeed, she has observed differences between the channels, with the number of discourse markers decreasing to 18–35% of the amount occurring in the source text. I will probably have similar findings when analysing the translations of *Pasila*. The characteristics and

conventions of subtitling, that also partially explain the reduction of swearwords and discourse markers, will be discussed in the next chapter.

4 SUBTITLING

In this chapter, I will compare subtitling to other forms of translation and introduce some restrictions the communication channel adds to translation process. It is important to be aware of those restrictions in order to understand the difficulties that subtitlers encounter when they strive for creating an illusion of speech. Because of the constraints, subtitlers cannot use stylistic and linguistic devices as freely as for instance prose translators (Ivarsson et al. 85–96). Furthermore, it is possible to reread a part of a novel whereas in television rereading is not possible without disturbing the viewing experience. On the other hand, in subtitling it is always possible to see the image and hear the original speech which mostly helps the translator but also limits translation liberty to some extent.

4.1 Present situation of subtitling

The history of subtitling begins in the era of silent films. The predecessor of subtitling was so called ‘intertitling’. According to Ivarsson et al. (1998: 9) intertitles were used in silent films as early as in 1903. They were texts that appeared between film images to give explanations and commentary. At the time, it was reasonably simple to replace the texts with translations into other languages. When sound films became more frequent, at first it was common to make different language versions.

Soon after the invention of sound films, it became popular to dub the speech of the actors in other languages without re-recording the whole film. However, dubbing was fairly expensive and therefore subtitle translation was also gaining popularity. Different subtitling methods were developed and subtitles were first used in France in 1929. (Ivarsson et al. 1998: 9–11) Yet, subtitling was mostly preferred by smaller countries due to its cost-effectiveness. Particularly in France, Spain, Italy and Germany nationalism was strengthening and national language was to be defended. According to Ivarsson et al. (1998: 9–11), the legislation in those countries favoured dubbing and even banned or limited subtitling.

Nowadays it is still possible to see the division between subtitling and dubbing countries. The smaller countries that prefer inexpensive subtitling include for instance Scandinavian countries, Belgium and the Netherlands. Yet for example in Australia, Wales and Ireland subtitles are used to provide services for linguistic minorities. At the same time, the popularity of subtitling in France is increasing rapidly. (Ivarsson et al. 1998: 1–8)

The advantages of subtitling are becoming increasingly important in the global world. In addition to being relatively inexpensive, subtitling is fairly fast. This is growingly important as audiovisual media distribution is more and more global and television programmes are broadcast even simultaneously in various countries. Ivarsson et al. (1998: 1–3) also believe that the modern audience appreciates the authentic versions more than before, wants to learn foreign languages and is growing more accustomed to reading subtitles. As positive side-effects subtitle translations improve mother tongue literacy and promote foreign language competence. Also the hearing-impaired benefit from the subtitles. Modern technology used with subtitles also enables reaching the audience of several different language groups with one product. For instance in Finland and Belgium cinemas in bilingual regions can show films with bilingual subtitles. In digital television the technology enables the channels to broadcast a television programme where the audience can choose from different language versions or between several different subtitles. Moreover, the hearing-impaired can choose to use subtitles that are optional and otherwise concealed. Also standard video DVD offers these multiple language options. At the moment films published in DVD can include at least 4 different language soundtracks and 32 subtitle versions. (Ivarsson et al. 1998: 1–3, 28–29, 71)

4.2 Challenges of subtitling

The following subchapters will discuss the challenges of using subtitle translations. There are people who are illiterate or suffer from reading difficulties which need to be taken into an account when deciding on adequate translation form for audiovisual media. Yet also literate audience may have difficulties in reading the subtitles and in concentrating in the video image if the texts change too rapidly or the synchronization of the subtitles

does not work. To avoid these problems there are established norms for how much text can appear in the screen at once, when it should appear and for how long it should stay visible. There are slight differences between different media, such as cinema, television and DVD (Ivarsson et al. 1998: 33–34, 65–71) but they are not essential for my research purposes and will not be discussed in detail.

4.2.1 Synchronization with image, content and takes

As subtitling preserves the original soundtrack, it avoids the problem of lip synchronization that dubbing has to deal with. However, the subtitles also have to be synchronized with the image and speech of the video. Problems can arise for instance if the audience cannot identify the speaker, or if the information given in subtitles does not match with what they see or hear.

If several people can be seen in the screen, the audience might not be able to recognize to whom the line belongs if the appearance of subtitle is timed badly. Therefore, Ivarsson et al. (1998: 72–78) state that the subtitle should not appear in the screen before the speech can be heard. Yet, they continue that it is not necessary that the subtitle disappear immediately after the line has been said. The problem can also occur when there is a series of rejoinders or a telephone discussion where the speaker might not appear in the image or the subtitles cannot change as fast as the image does. The subtitles should also coincide with cuts whenever possible. This is not always possible however, and therefore Ivarsson et al. (1998: 72–78) talk about so called ‘soft cuts’ which mean slight changes in image as in alternation of different camera angles or speakers in a conversation, as opposed to cuts that change the image more radically. As a general rule, the subtitle should correspond with what the audience sees at the time and there should be enough time for the audience to perceive the change of speaker when it occurs. (Ivarsson et al. 1998: 72–78)

Sometimes the reader of the subtitles has at least a reasonable knowledge of the language of the soundtrack. Therefore also the content of the subtitles should correspond with what is actually being said. According to Ivarsson et al. (1998: 72–78), it can confuse and

distract the audience if the order of presenting information in the subtitles differs from the order in speech.

4.2.2 Reading speed and space limitation

Reading speed is individual and all audience should be taken into account when deciding how much time is given for reading the subtitles. Yet, according to Ivarsson et al. (1998: 63–71), average reading speed in Europe is nowadays clearly faster than 40 or 50 years ago. Presumably this is due to higher education level and people being more accustomed to read, also subtitles. However, Ivarsson et al. claim there to be a clear difference of 30% in reading speed in cinema when compared to reading of subtitles that appear in television screen. Ivarsson et al. suppose that the advantage of cinema originates from big screen and higher resolution. Some of their arguments are becoming outdated as digitalization and high definition televisions are becoming everyday technology in households around the world.

When it is taken into account how fast the audience can read and that the video image cannot be covered with too much text, the general rule is that one or two lines of subtitles can appear in the screen at once. According to Ivarsson et al. (1998: 63–71), it takes some time for the eye to ‘register’ the appearance of subtitle at the bottom of the screen. Therefore, the minimum time for even very short subtitles is approximately 1,5 seconds. Similarly, there is also a maximum time of approximately 5 to 6 seconds that subtitle should appear in the screen. There should be enough time for everyone to read the text. Yet, if the subtitle remains visible for a long time still after the viewer has read it, what happens according to Ivarsson et al., is that the eye assumes that a new text has appeared and automatically begins to reread the subtitle. The eye also needs a short pause between the subtitles to register the change of texts.

When the amount of text that has time to appear in the screen is so limited, video scenes where a person, or in worst case many people, are speaking very fast is a challenge for the subtitler. According to Ivarsson et al. (1998: 85) in only a few seconds it is possible to have people talking three or four times the amount of text that there is space for in two-

liner subtitles. This leads to necessity of condensation that is discussed in the following chapter.

4.3 Solutions and conventions of subtitling

According to Ivarsson et al. (1998: 85), the characters of a television programme might speak up to 3–4 times more than what fits in a two-line subtitle and therefore the translator must decide what is essential information and needs to be included in the translation. Thus, the message needs to be condensed and some information omitted. Short dialogues can be merged into a single subtitle. This works well especially when one character asks questions and the other person answers very briefly with affirming or denying the suggestion. After summarising the message, the translator can also add complementing and specifying words (Vertanen 2001).

Audiovisual media supports the subtitles but the translator also needs to be able to read the picture and prosodic elements like intonation, tone, stress, rhythm and pauses. If a certain piece of information is already clear to the audience because it is for instance visible in the screen or mentioned previously, the translator can choose to omit it from the subtitles. According to Vertanen (2001), references to familiar characters by using proper names, titles or vocatives do not in general give new information to the audience and can therefore be omitted from the subtitles. Also introductory sentences (such as *I think that...; I would like to point out that...*) are void of new information and unnecessarily long for the subtitles. In addition, the translator needs to consider what information the audience already has received previously or what they can deduce from visual and prosodic cues. Vertanen (2001) observes that references to time and place can often be omitted because the audience already has the information or it is irrelevant to the plot. Also qualifying attributes such as the colour or size of objects can often be seen from the picture and would therefore make the subtitles unnecessarily long.

Koljonen (1995: 22–24) divides condensation strategies into syntactic and semantic condensations. Syntactic strategies include for instance omission of a clause, merging

several clauses and pronominalisation, that is, using a pronoun instead of another sentence constituent such as a proper name or a noun phrase. Semantic strategies are for example the use of generalisations, superordinate concepts or synonyms.

According to Ivarsson et al. (1998: 86–87) omission of a part of a text is less intrusive than paraphrasing. This is due to a fact that the readers of the subtitles often understand the speech partially. Furthermore, if the statement that needs to be condensed to fit in the subtitles is a direct quotation of a person, the contents of the statement should not be changed.

5 ANALYSIS

The aim of this thesis is to study the transfer of colloquial elements from source text to target text and see if the language of the translation is more standardized. In the theoretical part of the thesis, I have looked at typical characteristics of colloquial language, especially those of Finnish and English. I also discussed representation of spoken language in written texts and translation of non-standard language varieties. Additionally, I explained the basics of subtitling and examined the most important challenges and solutions characteristic to the channel. In this chapter, I will move on to analyse the source and target texts. I will first discuss the general findings and then address each colloquial feature in a separate subchapter.

To conduct this study, I had to listen to the Finnish audio track of the chosen three episodes carefully and create a transcription of what was being said. For the English material, I copied down the English subtitle texts. The linguistic material includes approximately 8550 Finnish words in the audio and approximately 9270 English words in the subtitles. As the next step, I identified different types of colloquial elements in the material and divided them into eight categories. These categories were chosen basing on the colloquial features of Finnish and English as explained in the theory section of the thesis.

However, I had to disregard some features or categorise them slightly differently from the one used in the earlier section of the study. It would have been impossible to count the exact amount incomplete sentences or elliptical and deictic expressions that would function as explicit markers of colloquial language. Furthermore, the speech of many characters of *Pasila* is characterised by incomplete sentences. Therefore, out of syntactical features, only easily-observed fillers are included in deep analysis and in the occurrence statistics that I compiled of the features. In addition, I decided to include allegro speech forms as their own category separate from other phonological deviations for two reasons. Firstly, allegro speech forms were very frequent in both languages, and secondly, English allegro speech forms are different from other phonological deviations which cannot be observed in written material.

The following table shows the frequency of colloquialisms found in the Finnish audio material and the English subtitles and how the amounts are distributed between the eight categories. The figures show the full number of instances in all three episodes under scrutiny. The categories are organised according to the number of occurrences in the Finnish material starting from the most frequent.

Table 1. The number of colloquialisms in three episodes of *Pasila*

Type of colloquialism	Number of occurrences	
	Finnish audio	English subtitles
Allegro speech forms	730	640
Colloquial words and expressions	396	350
Fillers	361	96
Colloquial pronunciation	280	n/a
Ungrammaticality	237	12
Non-standard morphology	108	3
Slang vocabulary	48	25
Swearing	36	38
Total	2196	1164

It can be seen from **Table 1.**, that the Finnish audio had clearly more colloquial elements than the English subtitles. In total, the speech had approximately 2200 colloquialisms whereas subtitles had only around 1160 colloquialisms. That indicates that in Finnish there was approximately one colloquialism per four words, while in English there was approximately one colloquialism per eight words. However, it should be noted that, unlike Finnish, English has many short words such as prepositions which do not carry colloquial features. Furthermore, one word could include more than one colloquial element. For instance, a Finnish word could belong to slang lexicon as well as have a colloquial pronunciation.

In both languages, allegro speech forms of high-frequency vocabulary were the most common elements. In Finnish, these allegro speech forms included for instance colloquial forms of personal pronouns, such as *mä* < *minä* ‘I’ and *sä* < *sinä* ‘you’, which were very frequently used. In English, the category included contracted verb forms, such as *I’d* < *I would* and *all’s* < *all is*. The second most common feature were colloquial words and expressions. The third most common category in both languages were different types of fillers, but in Finnish speech they were considerably more frequent, which was anticipated due to the restrictions of subtitling. The fourth most common colloquialisms in Finnish were colloquial pronunciations. This category could not be studied in the written-form English material. Ungrammatical constructions, such as incongruent verb phrases, and non-standard morphology were also important categories in Finnish but not so much in English. In the end, there are the categories of slang vocabulary and swearwords. The amount of slang words and swearing were quite close to each other in Finnish and English, except for the amount of slang lexicon in the first episode, which raised the total amount of Finnish slang expressions in all three episodes to nearly double in comparison to English slang expressions. The English material on the contrary had two more occurrences of swearwords which are due to the translator’s decisions to use slightly stronger expressions than in the source language.

Chart 1. below illustrates the distribution of colloquial elements in Finnish into eight categories. Allegro speech forms consist one third of the colloquialisms in Finnish. Colloquial words, fillers, pronunciation and ungrammatical constructions each represent 11–18% of colloquialisms while non-standard morphology, slang lexicon and swearing each constitute to just 2–5%.

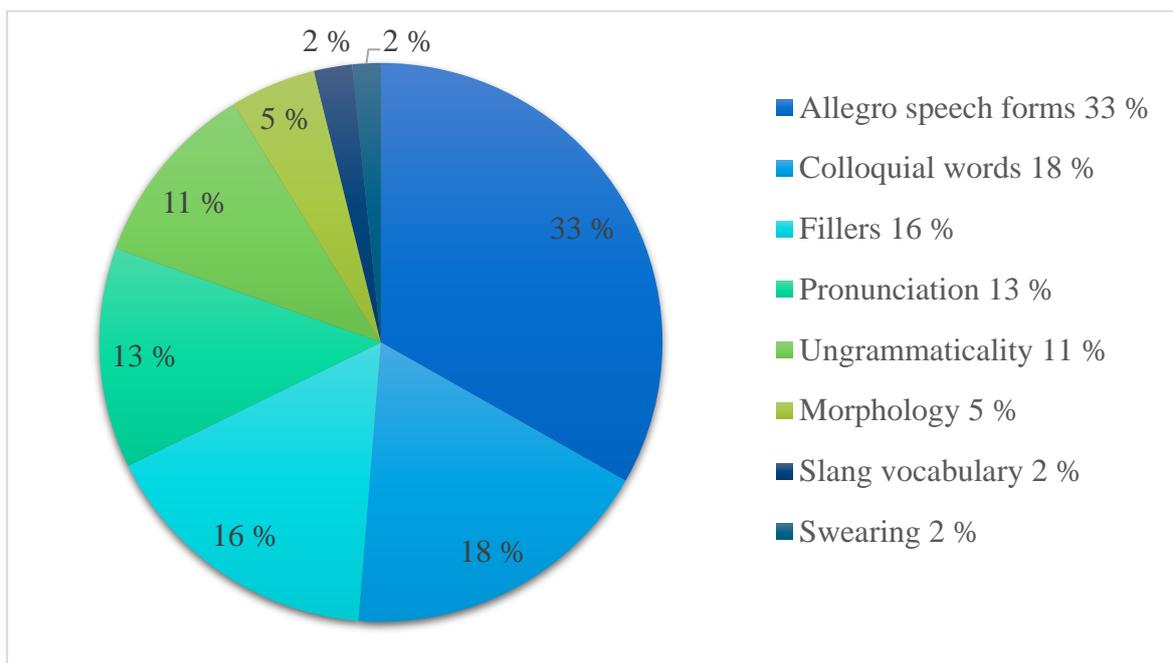


Chart 1. Distribution of Finnish colloquialisms

The division between different categories was more contrasted in the English material. As pronunciation could not be observed from the written material, **Chart 2.** of the distribution of English colloquialisms has only seven categories. The chart shows that contracted forms of high-frequency vocabulary amounted up to 55% of all colloquialisms in English. Colloquial words and expressions accounted for 30% of colloquialisms, but the other categories only 0–8% each.

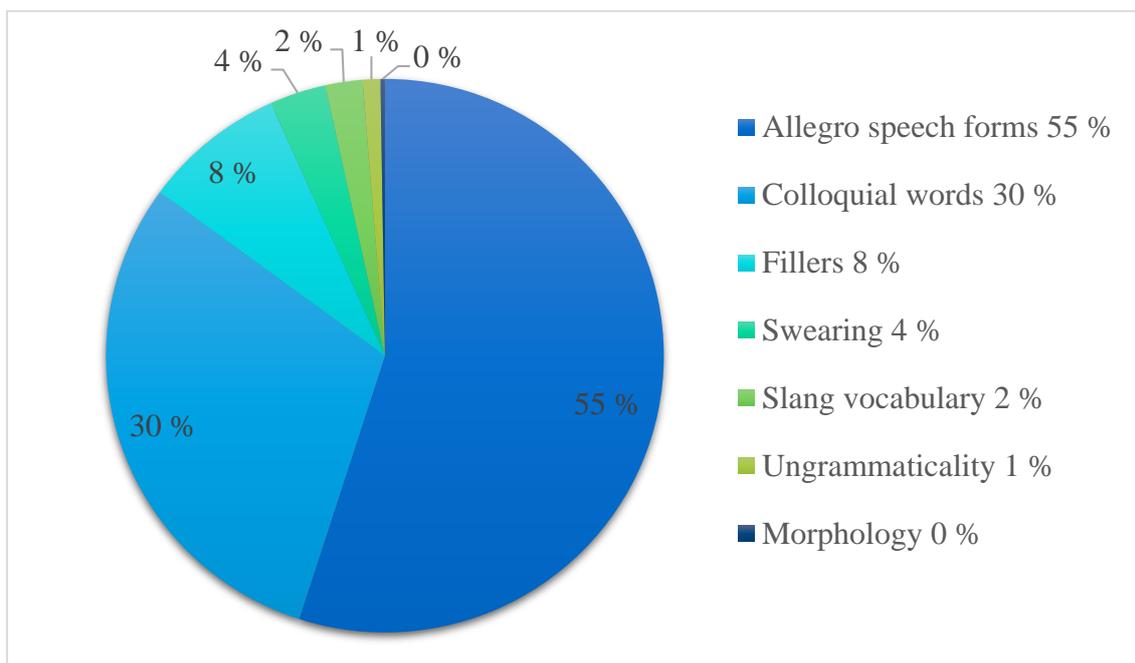


Chart 2. Distribution of English colloquialisms

The division between the categories is different in Finnish and English. This is probably partly due to the linguistic differences of the two languages and partly to the special characteristics of the different communication channels. The possible reasons will be discussed in the following analysis when relevant to the category in question.

In the following subchapters, I will discuss the previously-mentioned eight categories of colloquialisms and give examples of Finnish and English expressions that were used in the study material. The elements are discussed in the order of frequency in the Finnish material. In the end, I will also treat briefly the question of incomplete sentences which were not included in the classification for practical reasons.

5.1 Allegro speech forms

Allegro speech forms are colloquial pronunciations but they do not follow the same patterns of contraction as other words. These words have established irregularly contracted short forms because they are part of high-frequency lexicon.

In the Finnish material, instances of these colloquial short forms included personal pronouns *mä* ‘I’ and *sä* ‘you’; demonstrative pronouns *tää* ‘this’, *toi* ‘that’, *nää* ‘these’ and *noi* ‘those’; short inflectional forms of certain common verbs, such as *olla* ‘to be’, *mennä* ‘to go’ and *tulla* ‘to come’; and some frequent conjunctions and adverbs, such as *mut* < *mutta* ‘but’ and *ku* < *kuin* ‘like’, ‘than’. All of these short forms are commonly used in the audio material. For example, the short form of ‘I’, *mä*, and its inflections were used in total 252 times in the three episodes, while the formal *minä* ‘I’ and its inflections were used only 37 times. The corresponding numbers for informal *sä* ‘you’ and formal *sinä* ‘you’ were 213 and 15 times. Contracted forms of different kinds of conjunctions and adverbs were used in total 102 times. These allegro speech forms are very common in spoken Finnish. They are clearly colloquial, but avoiding them would probably result in unnaturally formal speech.

In the English material, nearly all of the allegro speech forms were contracted verbal phrases, such as *you’ve* < *you have*, *won’t* < *will not* and *everything’s* < *everything is*. In these phrases, the verb or the negation has been truncated. Some of these contractions, for instance *it’s*, are very common in English, while others are common only in notably informal speech. Additionally, some other contractions were used as well but less frequently. They were *course* < *of course*, *gimme* < *give me*, *'em* < *them*, *gonna* < *going to* and *cause* < *because*, with 1–3 occurrences each. These allegro speech forms are clearly colloquial and add to the illusion of colloquial speech created by the subtitles. However, there would have been potential for wider usage.

Example 1 below shows a Finnish sentence transcribed from the audio, its word-for-word translation made for the purposes of this study and the corresponding English subtitle. The line is from the episode 1 and belongs to a criminal whose Finnish speech is very

colloquial and often slangy. Colloquial elements are marked with bold type (apart from the omission of interrogative suffix *-ko* in the first word). The first four elements in bold are allegro speech forms. The example illustrates well how the source text has many colloquial elements which appear on such linguistic levels that they cannot be transferred to the target text on the same level.

(1) FI
*Luuletsä, et sä saat **mut vasikoimaan**?*

TRANSL
Do you think that you will get me to snitch?

EN
*You think **I'll snitch**?*

From example 1, it can be seen how the English subtitle is notably shorter than the Finnish sentence but also has less colloquial elements. The Finnish sentence includes notably colloquial features from many categories: omission of the interrogative particle *-ko*, the allegro speech forms *sä* ‘you’, *et* ‘that’ and *mut* ‘me’ and the slang word *vasikoida* ‘to snitch’. The subtitle translation includes a contraction of future tense *I'll* < *I will*, which is only somewhat informal in style, and a slang word *to snitch*. In addition, the auxiliary verb *do* has been omitted from the beginning of the question.

It is clear that, in many cases, the translator could not make use of the same colloquial features in the subtitles as in the Finnish speech but different colloquialisms had to be inserted in the translation if it were to be colloquial. In example 1, the only colloquial element carried through the translation process was the slang word *vasikoida* / *to snitch*. To compensate the omitted colloquial features, the translator inserted other features, namely the allegro speech form and the omission of the auxiliary. These additions help to maintain some of the colloquial tone of the line but the target text still appears more standardized style. Omissions of certain parts of speech, such as auxiliary verbs, were frequent in the target text and they will be discussed in more detail in the subchapter on non-standard sentence structures.

However, it seems to me that writing space and reading time did not limit the translator's choices when translating example 1. Therefore, he could have made use of other more colloquial elements even if they had made the subtitle a few characters longer. For instance, *will* future could have been replaced by clearly colloquial *going-to* future or its even more colloquial allegro speech form *gonna*. A more colloquial subtitle translation could have been for example, *You think I'm gonna snitch?* which would have fitted well to the idiolect of the criminal and would have been only some characters longer. The contraction *gonna* would have retained the colloquial tone of the source text better but this stylistic device was not made use of. However, the same *gonna* was used in the subtitles on one other occasion (see example 2 from the episode 1) where, curiously enough, the source text was not colloquial apart from the verb *vasikoida* 'to snitch'. The translator's decision to use a colloquialism in the subtitle translation could be supported by the fact that the phrase was said by a member of a criminal gang. In this example, the bold type marks the corresponding words in the sentences but only in the last sentence the word is of colloquial style. The line division of the last sentence illustrates the division used in the subtitles.

- (2) FI
*Huhu kiertää, että Nieminen **aikoo** vasikoida oikeudessa.*

TRANSL
*A rumour is going around that Nieminen **intends** to snitch in court.*

EN
*They say Nieminen's **gonna**
 spill the beans at the trial.*

In some cases, as in example 1, the translator passed the chance to use some rather obvious colloquialisms and opted for more standard style in the target text. On the other hand, in some rare occasions like in example 2, the translator added colloquial elements (other than incomplete sentences) where the source text did not have them. However, on the whole the use of allegro speech forms was more colloquial in source text than in the target text where clearly colloquial contractions were not used apart from mere occasional occurrences of *course*, *gimme*, *'em*, *gonna* and *cause*. Outside the contractions of auxiliary verbs, the translation did not make extensive use of allegro speech forms and the stylistic

potential of established colloquial contractions, such as *ain't*, *wanna* < *want to*, *gotta* < *got to*, *dunno* < *don't know*, *ya* < *you*, *dontcha* < *don't you* and *betcha* < *bet you*, was disregarded as they did not appear in the subtitles at all. For example those contractions could have helped to render the target text more colloquial.

5.2 Colloquial words and expressions

This category includes words and expressions which vary from somewhat informal to nearly slangy. In many cases, I used limited access electronic dictionaries⁸ to determine whether an expression was colloquial enough or indeed so colloquial that it belonged to the slang category.

The Finnish material included many colloquial words but not that many longer phrases. There were colloquial nouns, adjectives, verbs, greetings and interjections. Examples of those words include *jätkä* 'guy', *räkälä* 'bar, joint', *viina* 'booze', *bemari* 'BMW', *jännä* 'exciting, curious', *loisto* 'awesome', *risoa* 'to bug', *tykätä* 'to like', *moi* 'hi', *sori* 'sorry' and *joo* 'yeah'. Longer expressions where the colloquial tone originates from the word combination and not from individual words were less frequent. Examples of such expressions include *Mikä meno?* 'How's it going?', *Mattilaan on laitettava vauhtia* 'we must get Mattila going', and *meidän suhde on menossa fyysiseksi* 'our relationship is getting physical'. In the last example phrase, the Finnish expression might have caught interference from the English expression *to get physical*.

Also in the English material, there were colloquial words belonging to different parts of speech. Examples of such words include *fellow*, *kid*, *stuff*, *nuts*, *downright*, *to fancy*, *to bug*, *to be sacked*, *anyroads* and *hey*. However, unlike Finnish, the English material included also many longer colloquial phrases. This is not surprising since spoken English

⁸ For Finnish vocabulary, I used *MOT Kielitoimiston sanakirja*, and for English, *MOT Pro Englanti* and *Oxford English Dictionary*

is abundant in phrasal verbs which often have informal tone (Marks 2005). Phrasal verbs consist of a verb plus a preposition or an adverb which can change the meaning of the verb completely, as in these examples taken from the episode 1: *I thought I could **hang out** at your place* and *How come no one **comes up with** anything else?*. Furthermore, expressions formed following the construction *come and do* or *go and do* were also quite frequently. Examples extracted from the episode 4 include: ***come and try** to talk some sense into him* and ***go and talk** to that teacher*. Finally, other examples showing different colloquial constructions include: *to pull some police pranks* and *to hit the streets*.

The amount of colloquial expressions in the source text and the target text were quite close, 396 in Finnish and 350 in English. In many cases, a colloquial word in the source text had a corresponding colloquial word in the target text, as is illustrated in example 3 from the episode 4. The bold type is used here to mark colloquial words or phrases, not all colloquial features.

(3) FI
*Se **iski** Neposen [...]*

TRANSL
*She **hit on** Neponen.*

EN
*She **hit on** him [...]*

In the above example, a colloquial expression is translated with a corresponding colloquial expression. This means that the colloquial register of the source language is transferred to the target language without standardization at least as far as lexical deviations are concerned. However, in some cases, a colloquialism in the source text has not been transferred to the target text. Such a case is shown in example 4 from the episode 11.

- (4) FI
Jätkä on sekasin.

TRANSL
*The **bloke** is deranged.*

EN
*The **man**'s out of his mind.*

In the above example, the colloquial Finnish word *jätkä* ‘bloke’, ‘guy’ has been translated with a neutral expression *man* even if many words of non-standard style would have been available. This reduces the colloquial tone of the target text but might be because the translator has wanted to use more idiomatic expression. On the other hand, in some cases the source text has a standard expression while the subtitle has a colloquial expression. See below an example of this taken from the episode 1.

- (5) FI
*No, mä olen muutenki **kyllästynyt** mun duuniin.*

TRANSL
*Well, I'm anyway **tired of** my job.*

EN
*I'm **fed up** anyway.*

In example 5, the Finnish sentence has many colloquial features, such as a filler, colloquial personal pronouns and a slang word, but the adjective *kyllästynyt* ‘tired of’ is standard language. The subtitle translation has neither filler nor slang word equivalent to *duuni* ‘job’ even if their use would have been possible. Instead, the neutral style *kyllästynyt* ‘tired of’ has been translated with a colloquial expression *fed up*. This compensates for the omission of some of the other colloquialisms.

All in all, the colloquial vocabulary in the source text has often been translated with colloquial vocabulary in the target text when possible. Sometimes this has not been done but other colloquial expressions have been added elsewhere in the target text instead. The outcome is that colloquial words and expressions have been used nearly as much in the

target language as in the source language. Therefore, the source and target texts have roughly the same level of informality on lexical level.

5.3 Fillers

Fillers are the category where the characteristics of the communication channel are most visible. The Finnish audio material had approximately 360 fillers whereas the space constraints of subtitles diminished the amount to just under 100 in English. However, there is also another reason for the big gap in the numbers. Fillers are much more marked in writing than they are in speech. Thus, the Finnish speech could contain many fillers which the audience did not pay attention to, but including them in the subtitles would make them more obvious and render the text slow and difficult to read. Fillers are also often void of meaning so omitting them from the translation does not alter the message.

The fillers used in the material could be divided into subcategories which differed slightly in the two languages. The interjections and meaningless utterances were the most common category in Finnish with over 100 occurrences but had only 8 occurrences in English. Especially these non-verbal utterances could often be omitted from the translation because of the lack of meaning. Furthermore, interjections often sound similar in different languages and can thus be understood also by audience which does not understand the language of the audio. The audio track supports the translation which is therefore freer for making omissions. The Finnish interjections included, for instance, *no* ‘well’, ‘um’; *oho* ‘oh’, ‘oops’; *ai* ‘oh’; *hei* ‘hey’ and *voi voi* ‘oh dear’. The English subtitles contained only the following interjections *hey*, *oh*, *oh dear*, *oops* and *ah*.

Another type of fillers were expressions which were used to buy time when the speaker gathered their thoughts. This category was quite frequent in both languages. Examples of Finnish phrases include *no kuule* ‘hey listen’, *joo tota* ‘yeah well’ and *tai siis että* ‘or rather’. The subtitles included fillers such as *right*, *see*, *well* and *anyroads*.

There was also another category which was very common in Finnish but less so in English. This involved excessive use of deictic expressions. Deixis connects the speech to the moment and place of speech and to the people involved and therefore, it is typical of speech. However, in colloquial Finnish deixis is used excessively. The references to time and place were often meaningless fillers, as seen in examples 6 and 7 from the episode 11.

- (6) FI
*Sitähän **täs** on mietitty.*

TRANSL
*That's what we have been wondering **here**.*

EN
*That's what
we've been wondering, too.*

- (7) FI
***Nyt** on ruma vauva.*

TRANSL
***Now** that's an ugly baby.*

EN
*That's **one** ugly baby.*

In these examples, the words *täs* 'here' and *nyt* 'now' work as fillers without actually referring to any place or time. However, they change the tone of the sentences to more relaxed and personal. In example 7, the target text lacks a time reference but has added another filler (*one*) with a similar function.

Furthermore, in Finnish speech demonstrative pronouns were also used excessively, as seen from examples 8 and 9 below. Here the Finnish demonstrative determiners *se* 'that' and *tämä* 'this' are used unnecessarily without determining function. In the examples, the target text has no pronouns.

- (8) FI
*Se on jännä **se** kuolema.*

TRANSL
*It is strange **that** death.*

EN
A strange thing, death.

- (9) FI
*Kostaa **tälle** teidän vasikalle [...]*

TRANSL
*To revenge on (**this**) your snitch [...]*

EN
To have revenge on your snitch [...]

In cases where a demonstrative pronoun has been used in English, it in general follows standard grammar and carries no indication of informal style. In Finnish, demonstratives were often used also as determiners for proper names which is against standard Finnish grammar. This ungrammatical usage can be seen for example in the phrases *niin kun **tämä** Pöysti* ‘like **this** Pöysti’ and *Miten sulla menee **sen** Sallan kanssa?* ‘how’s it going with **that** Salla?’ from the episodes 4 and 1. In the target text, these non-standard determiners were omitted and no compensating informal elements were used.

Another category of fillers comprises different kind of hedges, intensifiers and other determiners which either weaken or reinforce the statement. In Finnish, the word *kyllä* ‘yes’ was used frequently as an intensifier, as in *En **kyllä** pysty luopumaan.* ‘I **surely** won’t be able to give up’. Some intensifiers were used also in the subtitles, as in *I **sure** can.* Weakening determiners and hedges were used more commonly in both languages. Examples from the Finnish material include ***vähän** vaikuttaa siltä* ‘it seems a bit like it’ and *ihan hyvä **pretty** good*. English examples include determiners like *a **bit** hectic* and verb phrases like *I guess* and *you know*. The subtitles included also some tag questions, as in *that’s what they all want, **right?*** Tag questions are typical to English but not so much to Finnish. Below are two example clauses showing a hedge and an intensifier. In

fact, example 10 from episode 1 shows use of double hedge in Finnish. The subtitles have only one weakening expression.

(10) FI
*Johtuuko se **ehkä vähän** siitä, että sä tykkäät lapsista?*

TRANSL
*Is it **maybe a bit** because you like children?*

EN
*Is it **a bit** because you like kids?*

Sometimes the intensifiers and weakeners are carried through the translation process from the speech to the subtitles, like example 10 above illustrates. Yet they were often also omitted completely, especially if the Finnish word *kyllä* was used in the source sentence. Example 11 illustrates such an omission.

(11) FI
*Se on **kyllä** totta.*

TRANSL
*It is **surely** true.*

EN
That's true.

The omission of fillers in the subtitles was to be expected because of the nature of the channel. The fillers can change the tone of a phrase but not the meaning. The space restrictions in subtitles often require omissions and fillers are elements which can often be omitted without losing valuable information. Furthermore, when fillers are added unintentionally in spontaneous speech, they can go almost unnoticed by the listeners. In written text, they would be more marked. Therefore, the smaller number of fillers in the target text was presumable.

5.4 Pronunciation

Since I have treated irregularly contracted pronunciations as a separate category called *allegro* speech forms, the category of regular pronunciation deviations applies only to Finnish material. The audio included all the most common colloquial pronunciation changes as described in the theory section, but also one other.

The most frequent deviations were omissions of an *i* both in the end of a word after an *s* and in the middle of a word inside an unstressed diphthong. The omissions occurred regularly in all parts of speech as the examples from the audio material show. The following three examples illustrate omission of an *i* in a final position: *miks* < *miksi* 'why', *sun lapses* < *sun lapsesi* 'your child' and *pitäis* < *pitäisi* 'should'. The next examples show omissions inside a word: *ratkasu* < *ratkaisu* 'solution', *sellanen* < *sellainen* 'such' and *alottaa* < *aloittaa* 'to begin'. The omissions in the end of a word are probably more marked and draw the attention of the audience. They make speech sound colloquial whereas the omissions inside diphthongs might often go unnoticed. This is also seen in the fact that many native Finnish-speakers have problems recognising so called *-otta* and *-oittaa* verbs⁹ (Maamies 2000), which some have a diphthong and some not. The last example, colloquially pronounced *alottaa*, belongs to these verbs.

Other marked pronunciations included different types of vowel lengthening which reduced the number of syllables in a word. For instance, the standard pronunciation of the following adjectives has three syllables but the colloquial pronunciation only two syllables: *tärkee* < *tärkeä* 'important', *hirvee* < *hirveä* 'terrible' and *vaikee* < *vaikea* 'difficult'. All of these examples appeared in the Finnish audio material. The same change patterns occurred also in other parts of speech such as verbs and nouns. There were altogether over 40 instances involving a vowel lengthening. A reduction in the number of syllables changes the rhythm of speech and is therefore more marked than a change occurring inside a syllable.

⁹ Finnish verbs ending either in *-ottaa* or *-oittaa*. See more in Finnish at <http://www.kielikello.fi/index.php?mid=2&pid=11&aid=1158>

Another pattern which caused substantial changes inside words was the truncation of the illative of 3rd infinitive. It leads to a reduction of syllables, an omission of several sounds and a lengthening of one sound, as in *kuunteleen* < *kuuntelemaan* ‘listening’. However, this type of phonological deviation occurred only four times in the Finnish material while the standard pronunciation was more frequently used. Other more common marked colloquializations include omissions of a final *n* in many parts of speech, as in *vähä* < *vähän* ‘a little’, *jotenki* < *jotenkin* ‘somehow’ and *sanottii* < *sanottiin* ‘was said’, and omissions of a final *t* of past participle, as in *on tullu* < *on tullut* ‘has come’, *oon yrittäny* < *olen yrittänyt* ‘I have tried’, and *on auttanu* < *on auttanut* ‘has helped’.

In addition, there was one pattern of pronunciation colloquialization which was not mentioned in my theory sources. This was colloquial pronunciations of suffixes *-kos*, *-kös*, *-pas* and *-päs* that function as tone modifiers. The suffixes *-kos* and *-kös* are attached to interrogative verb phrases, *-ko/-kö* carries important interrogative meaning and *-s* lighten the tone of the question. The colloquial realisation of *-kos* and *-kös* that occurred sometimes in the material was *-ks*. Examples of this include *onks* < *onkos* ‘is?’ and *eiks ooki* < *eikös olekin* ‘isn’t it?’. The suffixes *-pas* and *-päs* are used as tone lighteners without interrogative function. They are commonly used with passive voices and their colloquial realisation is an *-s*. Examples taken from the audio material include *katotaas* < *katsotaanpas* ‘let’s see’.

In the following example from the episode 4, we can observe three different colloquialisms in the Finnish phrase, out of which the two last ones are somewhat marked colloquial pronunciations. The three non-standard elements result in colloquial tone in Finnish, while the English subtitles only have one colloquial element, the truncation of the verb *is*.

(12) FI
 [...] *sillä on hirveen vaikeeta.*

TRANSL
 [...] *it is really hard on him.*

EN
 [...] *life's so hard for him.*

Regular pronunciation colloquializations similar to the ones shown in example 12 are very frequent in the Finnish material. However, many smaller deviations in the pronunciation, especially if they occur in a word medial position and do not affect the number of syllables, would probably go unnoticed by the listeners in many cases. More marked deviations in pronunciation are significant in creating colloquial tone in the Finnish speech. The English text, whose orthography does not reveal exact pronunciation, must rely on other means of creating the same impression, and like example 12 shows, those other means are not always present.

5.5 Ungrammaticality

The category of non-standard grammar is comprised of colloquialisms relating to verb phrases and pronouns. In the Finnish material, they are incongruent noun-verb constructions and non-standard use of personal pronouns, while in English they are omissions of auxiliary verbs in certain types of verb phrases. In addition, the Finnish material included ungrammatical omissions of certain morphemes but they are discussed in the next subparagraph on morphological deviations.

The most frequent verbal incongruence in Finnish was the combination of subject in first-person plural and verb in passive. This is a very common construction in spoken Finnish and was also used with high frequency in the research material in phrases like *me oltiin* < *me olimme* 'we were' and *me ollaan ajateltu* < *me olemme ajatelleet* 'we have thought'. The material included in total 55 occurrences of this colloquial construction and only 7 occurrences of the standard congruent construction. Another frequently used verbal

incongruence was the use of subject in third-person plural with a singular verb. This is seen for instance in the phrases *ne oppii* < *ne oppivat* 'they learn' and *meidän lapset istuu* < *meidän lapsemme istuvat* 'our children sit'. This type of incongruence appeared 44 times in the Finnish material.

Finally, the last feature of colloquial Finnish belonging to this category are references to people with non-human third-person pronouns *se* 'it' and *ne* 'they'. The informal *se* was used 99 times in the Finnish material while the formal pronoun *hän* was used only occasionally and mostly in formal situations such as in a eulogy during a funeral. Non-standard constructions, such as *se nukkuu* < *hän nukkuu* 'he sleeps' and *sillä on* < *hänellä on* 'he has', were used more frequently than standard ones in the speech of all characters.

The English material had some omissions of auxiliary verbs which are common in informal speech. The auxiliary *have* was omitted for instance in the sentences *You got everything* < *You have (got) everything*, and *Got to keep an eye on him.* < *I have (got) to keep an eye on him.* In these sentences, *have (got)* and *have (got) to* express possession and necessity. There was also one colloquialization of the idiomatic expression *had better*. In this idiom, the verb *had* is often shortened to 'd, but in informal speech it can sometimes be omitted completely. The sentence used in the episode 1 was *You better believe me!* < *You had better believe me!*. These omissions of the auxiliary verbs had some colloquialization effect on the English text but they were not frequent enough to be significant.

Furthermore, the subtitles do not make use of the other ungrammatical constructions which are typical to spoken language and were explained in the theory section. There are four cases where *get* passive could have been utilised but the translator has opted for more formal register. On the other hand, the speakers and the communicative situations in question might support this decision.

In example 13 from the episode 1, the Finnish phrase is fairly good standard language. The expression marked in bold type, *saada potkut*, is informal but the rest of the phrase is in formal register.

- (13) FI
[...] *mutta **sai potkut** liiallisen viihdekäytön takia.*

TRANSL
[...] *but **was fired / got sacked** because of excessive recreational use.*

EN
*But **was sacked** for excessive recreational use.*

The target text could have made use of informal *get* passive in order to be more colloquial. In this case, the speaker is a visiting character whose language use varies from standard colloquial to near slang in Finnish. Even if this particular sentence is not colloquial, the following lines from the same character are clearly informal. Therefore, the use of *get* passive might have been justified and for instance a translation *got sacked* could have been used. This would follow the compensation strategy that when some elements have been omitted in one place in the target text, in this case colloquial elements in the speech of the visiting character, similar elements can be added in other part of the text.

Also the double negative would have been a useful stylistic device but it was never used in the translation. The line shown in example 14 belongs to a criminal who could be shown to speak very colloquial language.

- (14) FI
On se nyt ihme, jos ei kukaan keksi parempaa kun ampuminen.

TRANSL
It is odd now if no one comes up with (anything) better than shooting.

EN
*How come **no one** comes up with anything else?*

A double negative could have been utilised in the target language and the translation could have been for instance *How come **no one** comes up with **nothing** else?.* Moreover, this is not the only sentence where double negative could have been used to reinforce colloquial tone.

Overall, the subtitles followed standard English grammar quite closely. Most ungrammaticalities were related to omission of words, partly to such omissions of auxiliary verbs which are typical to speech and were explained in this chapter, and partly to other omissions in the beginning of a sentence. I did not study these omissions in the beginning of a sentence in detail but will discuss them briefly in Chapter 5.9 on non-standard sentence structure.

In conclusion, in the source text constructions of non-standard grammar were frequent and markedly colloquial, whereas in the target text informal constructions were only occasional and their colloquial register less marked. English language dispenses a variety of ungrammatical constructions which are common in informal spoken language, but the subtitles disregard them almost entirely and employ standard constructions instead. This often gives an impression of more standardized register in the target text. Dismissal of ungrammatical constructions could result at least partly from the fact that the translator is non-native speaker of English and has probably learned the language in school. This might make him more cautious about using ungrammatical constructions.

5.6 Morphology

The most important cases of non-standard morphology in the material were related to the omission of certain Finnish suffixes. They were the possessive suffix, which is inflected according to the person, and the interrogative particle *-ko/-kö*.

In the Finnish material, the possessive suffix was generally omitted and non-standard construction was used instead. The omission occurred both with informal and formal possessive pronouns as can be seen from the following phrases taken from the episode 1: *Sillä on **mun** numero* < *Hänellä on **minun** numeroni* ‘He has my number’ and *Saat **minun** täyden tuen* < *Saat **minun** täyden tukeni* ‘You have my full support’. In both example sentences, the suffix *-ni* has been omitted regardless of the formality of the possessive pronoun (*mun/minun*). The number of possessive suffix omissions in the material add up to 80 in total. Opposite cases where possessive suffix was used according

to standard grammar amount to only 35 occurrences. Usually this meant that a formal possessive pronoun was followed by the suffix, but sometimes the suffix was also a necessary indicator of possession because the possessive pronoun had been omitted. There was also one incidental case where an informal possessive pronoun was combined with a possessive suffix: *Mun raivoni vaatii sitä!* ‘My rage demands it!’. This kind of mixing of informal and formal style is not common in spoken language. Overall, in a clear majority of cases indicating possession, a non-standard construction was used.

The omission of interrogative particle *-ko* is more marked feature of very informal Finnish. Phrases like *haluutsä* < *haluatko sinä* ‘do you want?’ were used only in informal situations. The character who used them most frequently was the protagonist, Kyösti Pöysti, whose speech was also otherwise more colloquial than that of other main characters. Yet, this kind of omission occurred in minority of cases, 28 times in total. It was used both with standard verb forms and allegro speech forms as can be seen from the examples *Oletsä poliisi?* < *Oletko sinä poliisi?* ‘Are you a police officer?’ and *Ootsä vaan umpisekasin?* < *Oletko sinä vain umpisekaisin?* ‘Are you just totally deranged?’. The second and more colloquial sentence was used by Pöysti. This kind of non-standard language use is part his character and helps to build a relaxed and rebellious image of him. The impression is not always carried through the translation process as example 15 below shows.

(15) FI
Ootsä vaan umpisekasin? Sitäkö tämä on?

TRANSL
Are you just totally deranged? Is that what this is?

EN
Are you just deranged, is that it?

Example 15 reveals that there are also other colloquial devices in Pöysti’s speech in Finnish. In addition to the omission of the interrogative suffix, the Finnish example includes two allegro speech forms (*oot* < *olet* and *sä* < *sinä*) and two other colloquial

pronunciations which are also marked with bold type. The English translation has no colloquial elements.

In some other cases, the translation compensated with different kind of colloquial omissions, namely the omissions of auxiliary verbs. On the other hand, this might also have been due to the space and time restrictions. Example 16 from the episode 1 shows several short question phrases in the source text which were said in fast pace and had to be fit into two short subtitles.

(16) FI
*Entä olet**s**ä nisti? Juot**s**ä liikaa? [...] Keskeyttelet**s**ä toisia ihmisiä?
 Naurat**s**ä omille jutuillesi?*

TRANSL

*What about **are you** a druggie? **Do you** drink too much? [...] **Do you** interrupt other people? **Do you** laugh at your own gags?*

EN

*An addict? Drink too much?
 [...]*

*Interrupt others?
 Laugh at you own jokes?*

The example shows that the source text has many successive omissions of interrogative suffix (the places are marked with bold in the example) which, along with other colloquial elements, render the Finnish speech very informal. The target text instead reveals omissions of auxiliary verbs and personal pronouns which would be corresponding to the bold typed words in the word-for-word translation. There are no other informal elements in the target text but the omissions create colloquial tone. This shows that non-standard morphology in the source text has sometimes been substituted with incomplete sentences in the target text.

In regard to English, spoken language does not usually differ from standard English in terms of morphology like explained in the theory section. Only differences which might occur are non-standard derivational morphemes. The material had a few instances of such morphemes and they occurred simultaneously in both languages. The prefix *semi-* was

used twice in Finnish speech and carried over also to the translation, as in *semi-hyvin* → *semi-fine*. Once the Finnish prefix *keski-* ‘middle’ was used in a non-standard manner in combination with an adjective, as in *keskipaha* → *semi-bad*. In the translation, the prefix *semi-* was used again.

All in all, the source text had some instances of non-standard morphology of markedly colloquial style. The target language did not have them due to linguistic differences but compensated in some cases with different kind of non-standard constructions, namely omissions of auxiliary verbs and personal pronouns. These omissions will be discussed more in the subparagraph on non-standard sentence structure.

5.7 Slang vocabulary

Using slang lexicon is marked and therefore it functions as a convenient stylistic device. It was used quite frequently in the three episodes, nearly 50 times in Finnish and approximately half as often in English. It is often difficult to define what exactly is slang. The examples of Finnish slang words usually included foreign sounds, as in *duuni* ‘job’, *briiffata* ‘to brief’ and *fyrkka* ‘money’. For English slang words, I used two electronic dictionaries but often they did not mention which register the word belonged to or they suggested different registers. Examples of English words that I categorized as slang include *booze* ‘alcoholic drink’, *wimp* ‘feeble person’ and *to screw* ‘to have sexual intercourse’. In both languages, slang words were most frequently used in the episode 1 which featured a criminal organisation.

The Finnish material included also a few instances of code-switching. Code-switching, code-mixing or language alteration means the occurrence of two languages or registers within one conversation. Usually there is a clear base language where the words or clauses of the other language are embedded. In general, code-switching has been seen as a feature of spoken language. However, drawing the line between established foreign loan words and code-switching is difficult. One solution is to consider how much the pronunciation of the foreign word has adjusted into the phonology of the matrix language. (Kovács

2009: 24–26) Accordingly, when there was a single foreign word used in a Finnish sentence and it had been inflected according to Finnish grammar rules, I treated it as an established slang word. When an expression included more than one foreign word and had no Finnish inflections, I labelled it as code-switching and counted it as one occurrence in the slang category. For instance, in example 17 the first bold type marks an established slang word with Finnish conjugation whereas the second bold type marks code-switching with two non-inflected English words. The translation has a corresponding slang word but no code-switching.

(17) FI

*No, se vähä **flippailee** välillä sen lapsensa kanssa, mutta **so what?***

TRANSL

*Well, she **flips** a bit with her child sometimes but so what?*

EN

*Sometimes she **flips**
a bit with her kid.*

So what?

The Finnish slang word *flippailla* ‘to flip’ is probably borrowed from English in which the original word belongs to slang lexicon as well. The style of the source and target text is the same since a slang word is translated with another slang word. However, in some other cases, a Finnish loanword originating from English belongs to Finnish slang lexicon but has a neutral tone in English. This explains in many cases why the Finnish material has more slang words than the English material. On the other hand, the translator could have used in English, instead of the word where the Finnish loan originated from, a non-related slang word with the same meaning. However, the problem is that the presumed English-speaking audience is varied and the word should be understood by everyone. Slang vocabulary is typically used by a restricted group of people. Furthermore, the translator is not native English-speaker and might not be able to use slang of a specific group consistently.

As for the code-switching in example 17, the translation is not able to deploy code-switching when Finnish has borrowed the phrase from English on supposition that the Finnish audience understands some English. The English-speaking audience instead could not be expected to understand code-switching with a Finnish loan. Therefore, the translation loses some of the informal tone which the source language has. On the other hand, the target text in example 17 has added a more colloquial word *kid* while the source text uses a neutral word *lapsi* ‘child’. The addition compensates only partially for the lack of other colloquial elements which are present in the source text.

5.8 Swearing

Swearing was used convergently in Finnish and English with the occurrences amounting to nearly 40 in each language. Profanities were used in many ways, as interjections like *jumankauta* → *goddammit*, as determiners like *saatanan vaikee* → *bloody difficult*, and as terms of abuse like *ovela paska* → *clever shit*. Cursing was used also in phrases as in example 18 below.

(18) FI
Avioliitot päin helvettiä [...]

TRANSL
Marriages shot to hell [...]

EN
Marriages shot to hell [...]

In brief, swearing was used very similarly in the source text and the target text. The amount was approximately the same and the intensity of profanities did not change considerably in the translation. However, some swearwords might appear slightly stronger in writing than in speech. This might apply most clearly to unstressed profanities occurring in the middle of sentence. In speech, they might be pronounced fast and be less marked than separate and stressed curse phrases whereas in writing unstressed swearwords would draw attention also in the middle of a sentence. Yet, overall there was

no noticeable differences between the source and target text in the use of vulgar language as might have been expected according to previous studies.

5.9 Non-standard sentence structure

The material was abundant with incomplete sentences and non-standard sentence structures. Instances were so frequent and the reasons for their use so varied that I had to ignore them for the most part from the study. Even if unconnected sentences and elisions are typical of colloquial syntax, in many cases the explanation behind incomplete sentences or unusual word order in the study material was the idiolect of a character, not a characteristic structure of colloquial speech. It would have been too complicated or even impossible to determine when the non-standard structure represents an actual feature of colloquial language.

It should be noted, however, that the English material contains more of certain type of omissions in comparison to the Finnish audio. The subject nouns and auxiliary verbs in question phrases are often cut off as seen below in example 19 from the episode 1.

(19) FI
Haluutsä, et mä luovun siitä?

TRANSL
Do you want that I give it up?

EN
Want me to get rid of it?

Example 19 illustrates how the Finnish source text has a complete sentence structure without omissions (bar the omission of interrogative suffix *-ko* in the end of the verb *haluut* < *haluatko*), while the target text has omitted the auxiliary verb and the subject noun. The Finnish sentence has several colloquial elements but the structure of the syntax is intact. The target text could be completed by adding the auxiliary verb *do* and the subject noun *you* like in the word-for-word translation. There are many similar examples

in the material which means that the omissions are a significant stylistic device in the target text. The subtitles often omit the subject noun also in statements as seen in example 20 from the episode 11.

(20) FI
*Mä luulen, että **se vois olla** ratkasu.*

TRANSL
*I think that **it could be** the solution.*

EN
***Could be** the solution.*

Also in this example, the source language sentence has a normal syntax while the translation has an omission, in this case an omission of the subject. The subtitle sentence could be completed for instance with pronouns *it* or *that*. This kind of omissions were abundant in the subtitles and significant in creating informal tone in English. They were also the only colloquial element which have been used in the target text without a direct stimulus from the source text. However, it would have been complicated to count the exact number of times when omissions were used as a stylistic device with the intention of creating colloquial tone. In some cases, the incomplete sentences were due to idiolectal deviations while in other cases they could also be due to space constraints of subtitling.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis was to study how much of colloquial elements in Finnish speech are transferred to English subtitles in a translation process. I decided to approach the matter with a case study on the Finnish television series *Pasila*. Using previous studies on translation of non-standard language as a basis, my assumptive hypothesis was that the language of the subtitles is standardized to some extent. Moreover, other studies have shown that colloquial elements are more marked in writing than in speech. Therefore, as my material also included transition from speech to text, I assumed that the standardization tendency would be reinforced.

For the analysis, I chose randomly three episodes of *Pasila* and examined the colloquial elements in the Finnish audio track and in the English subtitles. The research material was abundant as colloquial language was frequently used by all characters of the series. I examined the formality level of the source and the target languages by counting the number of colloquial elements in each language and I dividing them into eight categories that were based on the colloquial language features explained in the theory section. I discovered that Finnish and English differed in how frequently colloquialisms of each category were used. The categories in the order of frequency in the Finnish material were: allegro speech forms, colloquial words and expressions, fillers, colloquial pronunciations, ungrammatical constructions, non-standard morphology, slang vocabulary and swearwords. In addition, I examined if a colloquialism in the source text had a corresponding colloquialism in the target text and if other colloquial elements had been added elsewhere in the target text to compensate for possible omissions.

The linguistic material for the analysis of colloquial elements was rich and versatile but it also presented some problems. The characters of the series do not use only standard Finnish or informal Finnish. They also have their own idiolects. This is problematic especially from the point of view of a syntax analysis. The characters often use non-standard sentences structures and incomplete sentences which do not depict typical characteristics of colloquial language. This makes it difficult to analyse actual syntactical

features of colloquial language. Indeed, I had to disregard syntactical elements in the study for the most part.

Other problems with the material were the unclear influence of the translator's mother tongue and the vagueness of the presumed audience of the translation. The translator of the subtitles was a native Finnish-speaker translating into his non-native language. It is not clear how much the non-nativeness affected and restricted the variation of non-standard elements used in the target text. A native English-speaking translator would presumably be familiar with a wider range of colloquial varieties of English, but on the other hand, it is unlikely that there are many native English audiovisual translators speaking fluent Finnish. Furthermore, we do not know the intended audience of the translation but it is likely to be very varied which presents challenges to the translation. Probably the translator had to choose the vocabulary of the target language carefully in order for the subtitles to be understood by speakers of different varieties of English. The usage of slang lexicon is complicated as slang words are generally used by a limited group of people. If the audience was not clearly restricted, the used variety of English could not be too specific to a certain geographical area or a group of people, and this limits the use of colloquialisms.

When counting and categorising colloquial elements in the material, I discovered that the source language had a higher number of colloquial elements than the target language and they were divided into more categories. The Finnish material had approximately 2200 colloquialisms whereas the English had only around 1160 colloquialisms. This means that the source text had nearly 90% more colloquialisms than the target text. Some informal style deviations were scarce or inexistent in the English material due to reasons of linguistic nature. Linguistic restrictions apply mostly to morphology, but partly to ungrammatical constructions as well. Morphological deviations are generally not characteristic of informal English and they were nearly inexistent in the study material. As for non-standard grammatical constructions, they are common in spoken English but they are not as significant markers of colloquial style as they are in Finnish.

Furthermore, I observed that English could not make use of certain colloquialism categories fully due to the restrictions of the communication channel, namely the subtitles. This limitation applies mostly to the categories of colloquial pronunciation and fillers. The nature of written English is such that it does not convey phonological deviations unless they are part of high frequency lexicon and have established written contraction forms. However, these contractions were treated in the study as a separate category of allegro speech forms and therefore, the English material had no occurrences of other colloquial pronunciations. As for the space constraints of subtitles, they often result in omissions which affect especially fillers but also other parts of speech. Although fillers were used in the target text, they were nearly four times less frequent than in the source text.

Lexical deviations comprising the categories of colloquial words and expressions, slang words and swearing was the only group of features where the communication channel or linguistic differences should not have a considerable effect on the number of instances. Accordingly, the frequency figures were nearly the same in Finnish and English in the categories of colloquial words and swearing. Yet, in the category of slang lexicon, there was a disparity in the figures as the Finnish material had nearly twice the number of slang words as English. This is explained by the fact that Finnish slang typically borrows words from foreign languages, also from English. The English word that is borrowed can belong to standard lexicon but the Finnish loanword to slang lexicon. The use of such slangy loanwords in the source text created the gap in the number of slang word occurrences between the source and target text.

All in all, according to my estimation, the target text did not make use of the full potential of English language in its aim to maintain the informal register of the source text. Several colloquial elements with their stylistic potential could have been used more extensively in order to convey an illusion of colloquial speech. For instance, non-standard grammar could have been used more in the translation. As explained in the theory section, there are several ungrammatical constructions which are common in spoken English. Nevertheless, they were barely utilised in the subtitles. It is not possible to say why

exactly this is the case but I assume that this might be because the translator is non-native speaker of English and is more cautious about breaking grammatical rules.

Furthermore, the lower number of slang words in the target text was not inevitable. Even though the Finnish speech included slang words which originated from standard English lexicon, the subtitles could have made use of other slang words. In the translation, standard words which had inspired Finnish slang used in the source text could have been replaced with etymologically non-related slang words with the same meaning. In cases where this was not possible, for instance because such slang word was not available, other slang words could have been added elsewhere in the target text to compensate for the omissions. The same compensation strategy was used by the translator with colloquial vocabulary. A colloquial word in the source text did not always have a corresponding colloquial word in the target text but the total amount of colloquial expressions in the speech and the subtitles was nearly the same. However, the usage of slang lexicon might have been restricted also due to its nature of typically having a limited user group as explained earlier.

Even though the English target text did not make use of the full potential of certain colloquialisms as I have just described, it did instead utilise quite frequently another stylistic device, namely incomplete sentences. Non-standard sentence structures and incomplete sentences are undoubtable typical of spoken language even though all instances in the material were not tokens of colloquial style. The idiolects and space constraints also resulted in omissions of certain parts of speech. This made it too difficult to study non-standard sentence structures as systematically as other features and count the frequency of their occurrences. Such analysis would have widened the scope of this thesis too much. Nevertheless, incomplete sentences were used in the subtitles also for the purpose of conveying colloquial tone. Incomplete constructions were often used in the target text as compensatory colloquial elements in cases where the source text had other colloquial features which the target text could not utilise.

The hypothesis that was set in the beginning of the study was proven correct but only in some parts. The colloquial tone of the source language was standardized to some extent

in the target language and the translation was less colloquial. This was due to the general tendency to standardization of translated language, but also due to space constraints in subtitles and the linguistic differences of the source and target languages. However, in regard to lexical deviations, the number of colloquial instances was nearly the same. Colloquial vocabulary was not always translated word for word but the numbers remained on the same level as compensation strategy was used. Swearing was translated word for word without apparent toning down like I had expected. This is inconsistent with what previous studies have suggested. As for slang vocabulary, the target language was standardized and the amount of slang words reduced. To compensate for the omission of many colloquial elements of the source text, the subtitles made use of incomplete sentences to enhance the colloquial tone. Finnish conveyed informal tone by utilising phonological, lexical, syntactical and grammatical elements in a frequent and versatile manner, whereas English used solely lexical elements freely and phonological and syntactical elements only limitedly. Overall, the study confirms what previous studies have claimed: non-standard language is standardized in the translation process and the target text is rendered less colloquial than the source text.

In addition to examining if colloquial elements had been transferred from the source text to the target text, I compared the number of elements in each language to get an overview of the informality of the texts. However, I merely counted the number of instances without establishing any grading system on the level of informality of the elements. Therefore, no direct conclusions can be drawn from the frequency numbers. This would require further research and deeper analysis. One would have to examine how strong level of informality is perceived by an average audience with usage of each colloquial element. Elements of each language should be analysed separately and one would have to take into account that colloquialisms generally become more marked in written texts.

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