

The Finnish-Australian English Corpus*

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Abstract: Australia has been one of the most important destinations for Finnish emigrants outside of Sweden, North America and Canada. Yet, apart from the scholarly work of Koivukangas (1972, 1975, 1986), and Hentula (1990) little systematic attention has been paid to this ethnic group within Australia's shores. For instance, no published data seems to be available on the spoken English of this group of emigrants. In the Australian winter of 1994, I interviewed 135 Finnish Australians in order to compile a corpus of their spoken English. The following paper discusses previous corpus-based linguistic studies conducted in America on the spoken English of Finnish ethnic communities (Hirvonen 1982, 1988, 1992, 1993; Hirvonen and Lauttamus 1994; Lauttamus and Hirvonen 1995; Pietilä 1989; Halmari 1993) before presenting a brief outline of the Finnish community in Australia. It then offers a description of the interview procedure employed during this project. Finally, I hypothesize on expected results, relating these hypotheses to current models and relatively recent scholarly work on the English of American Finns.

1. Previous linguistic studies of the spoken English of Finnish ethnic communities

There have been other corpus-based studies of Finnish emigrants, but not of Finnish Australians. Most linguists, in particular Hirvonen, Pietilä and Halmari have concentrated upon the English, and Finnish, of Finnish Americans. Hirvonen has compiled two separate corpora of the speech of Finnish Americans. Pietilä (1983) did her initial work on the inter-language of Finnish emigrants to America based upon Hirvonen's earlier corpus and then compiled her own separate corpus for her later work (1989), where she paid particular attention to the social and psychological background factors which affect the English of older Finnish Americans. Halmari (1993) attempts to explain the constraints on intrasentential code-switching by applying the general syntactic principle of government-

binding theory. For her data she compiled a corpus of 8½ hours of recorded spontaneous speech of two Finnish-English bilingual children.

Pekka Hirvonen's earlier corpus, collected during 1979–1980 from Lake Worth, Florida, consisted of 47 interviews of people of Finnish descent. These included 21 interviews of Finnish-born retired interviewees (70–90 yrs), 15 Finnish-born 'active' interviewees (25–60 yrs), 5 American-born adults (45–75 yrs) and 6 American-born 'teenagers' (16–21 yrs). The interviews were informal and recorded. Each interview lasted 45–60 minutes, with the pensioners proving more talkative than the teenagers. Hirvonen was initially interested in: determining which linguistic features characterize the English of Finnish immigrants as opposed to native speakers of English; how the English of better speakers differ from that of the less proficient speakers; learning and communication strategies used by the Finns; and psychological and background factors which promote, and or hinder, the acquisition of English.

Hirvonen also began a second research project on Finnish-American bilingualism in conjunction with Michael D. Linn of the University of Duluth, Minnesota in the late 1980's. One of their aims is to try to account for language shift, and death, over three generations of Finnish Americans. Linn conducted a four-part English section and Hirvonen a five-part Finnish section (see Hirvonen 1994 for more explanation of these sections). Hirvonen has interviewed 53 informants; the representation of the first, second and third generation being 16, 21 and 16, respectively. To date, Linn has not yet completed all the interviews in English. The ultimate aim is to interview all informants in both languages.

Lauttamus (1990, 1991, 1992) refers extensively to Hirvonen's corpora in his comprehensive discussions on code-switching, borrowing and aspects of language shift in the English of Finnish Americans. In a paper co-written with Hirvonen (1995), he also discusses aspects of English interference in the lexis of American Finnish.

When Päivi Pietilä compiled her new corpus from Detroit, Michigan, and from Palm Beach County, Florida, during 1983–84, she predominantly concentrated upon first generation Finnish immigrants. She interviewed 21 elderly immigrants (average age 82.8) and 19 younger immigrants (average age 41.8). In addition to these, she also interviewed 10 second-generations Finns, again sub-divided into 6 older retired informants and 4 younger second-generation Finns. For more detail of her interview technique, hypotheses and findings, see Pietilä (1989).

Other than the above-mentioned studies, very little other published work has been conducted on the spoken English of Finnish immigrants.

The work of Karttunen (1977), Martin (1988), Poplack et al (1987) and Virtaranta (1992) is well known, but concentrates on the Finnish language rather than English. Hentula (1990) has produced a report for the Finnish Academy on the 'Characteristic features of the vocabulary of Australian Finns' ('Australiansuomen sanaston luonteenomaisia piirteitä'). This is an interesting report but focuses purely upon various aspects of the Finnish language of these immigrants. In addition to the above-mentioned studies, Jarmo Lainio (1995) has written a comprehensive report on studies of Finnish conducted in North America and Scandinavia.

Although there have been no published studies on the spoken English of Australian Finns, Michael Clyne (1975; 1981; 1984; 1987; 1991; 1992), Monash University, Melbourne Australia, has paid systematic attention to the language of immigrants in Australia. He has mainly concentrated on the German and Dutch communities and has been primarily concerned with assessing L1 data. He has paid particular attention to the maintenance of immigrant languages, language contact, code-switching constraints and language reversion. He has also written papers on the use of English foreigner talk, in particular the phonologically and syntactically marked English used in work environments. Clyne is an internationally recognised scholar in the field of language contact and a leading authority on language policy in Australia.

2. Methodology

2.1 The Finnish-Australian community today

Between 1865 and 1930, approximately 340,000 Finns emigrated to the United States, and between 1865 and the 1960's, approximately 80,000 Finns migrated to Canada. When America began to limit immigration in the 1920's, Canada, along with Australia, became one of the most important countries of destination, apart from Sweden. In fact, many of my informants stated that they would have preferred to emigrate to Canada, but that Canada had already begun to close its borders to immigrants in the early 1960's. To date, approximately 20,000 Finns have emigrated to Australia.¹ Owing to a vigorous post-war social expansion programme, Australia's greatest intake of immigrants was to occur between 1950–1970. The following figures reflect the increase in numbers for Finnish emigrants to Australia throughout this century. Prior to 1921, Finns had been counted among the Russians in Australian

statistics of population, so we have no accurate census data relating to Finnish immigrants prior to 1921.

Number of Finnish born immigrants residing in Australia:

Year	Males	Females	Total
1921	1227	131	1358
1954	1334	399	1733
1961	3939	2549	6488
1971	5747	4612	10359
1991	4431	4679	9110

The figures provided relate only to the year identified, they are not necessarily cumulative. Quite clearly the intake of Finnish immigrants increased during the period 1954–1971. It is also noticeable that more women began emigrating after World War Two. This was mainly due to young couples and families arriving in Australia. The number of Finnish-born immigrants is now starting to decrease. This can be attributed to several factors. Those who emigrated during the 1950–1970 period are now retired and becoming elderly, as most were aged between approximately 25–40 years upon arrival, and their children are at present middle-aged. In addition to these factors, it has been estimated² that approximately 30% of those who emigrate from Finland return. There are very few ‘old-timers’, that is Finns who emigrated to Australia prior to World War Two, still alive in Australia today.

According to Koivukangas (1975:186), the main reasons for men wanting to emigrate to Australia were, in descending order, general economic reasons, unemployment, love for adventure and ‘other reasons’. For women the reasons were, again in descending order, ‘other reasons’, love of adventure, keeping the family together and unemployment. Finns adapted well to Australian society economically, due to their diligence. Socially, however, they have not been as successful.

In part, the Finnish language has proven to be an obstacle to such success. This restraint still exists, partly because the first-generation Australian Finns, like the American, Canadian and Swedish Finns, established their own sub-culture upon arrival. With the formation of local Finnish halls, clubs, temperance societies, the Finnish Lutheran Church,

the Evangelical Finnish Church, a nationally organised and funded retirement village entitled Finlandia Village, and two long running Finnish newspapers (*Suomi Newspaper* and *Australian Finlandia News*)³, we can easily comprehend why the Finnish language is still today the primary language of communication for many first-generation Finnish emigrants. These institutions tend to support language maintenance. However, due to various social factors, including the present overall small number of Finnish immigrants, language shift, even language death, took place or is quickly taking place amongst the Finnish community in Australia. Most of the above-mentioned institutions are losing their ground support as the younger immigrants, those who were children upon arrival, and their children, fully integrate into the wider Australian community.

2.2 Classification of the informants

I decided to predominantly concentrate upon the post-war immigrants and their offspring. Most of the immigrants interviewed seem to have come from Pohjanmaa (a western province of Finland) or Eastern Finland, historically two of the least affluent areas of Finland. Many of those from Eastern Finland had originally come from Karelia (previously the eastern-most province of Finland, which was lost to Russia during World War Two). Interestingly, many of these Karelians expressed dissatisfaction with the way in which they had been received or settled within Finland after the second world war and included this as a factor for wanting to emigrate. Most of my informants had had a limited education in Finland, often interrupted by the Winter and Continuation wars with Russia, and came from a working class background. Many of the older male informants were war veterans. Very few of those interviewed could speak any English at all upon arrival to Australia. They had predominantly been tradespeople or small-farm holders back in Finland. Many stated adventure as their reason for migration and thought that they were only going to stay for two years before returning to Finland.

I initially made contact with the various Finnish communities by writing to the Finnish Australian Clubs in the capital cities of the east coast of Australia (Australia's most densely populated seaboard). I concentrated on the east coast of Australia as that is where the majority of the Finns now reside (cf. Figure 1: Population distribution by state or territory of Finnish immigrants). I then relied upon word-of-mouth for introductions. In general, I was overwhelmed by offers from those who wished to be interviewed. As a result, I interviewed a total of 135 informants from Hobart, Melbourne, Canberra, the Central Coast (just

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above Sydney) and Brisbane over a period of 4 months.

The informants were classified according to three criteria. Those who

Figure 1: Population distribution by state or territory of Finnish immigrants

were over the age of 18 years upon arrival into Australia I have collectively named 1A. Those who were the children of these immigrants, born in Finland, but under the age of 12 upon arrival, are collectively named 1B, and those who were born in Australia of Finnish 1A immigrants I have collectively named 2ND generation Finns. I made the distinction between 1A and 1B on the basis of the critical period hypothesis (refer to Lenneberg 1967). Admittedly, this was an arbitrary decision and this theory is still under debate. Even so, all 1B informants underwent the Australian schooling system and had clearly been influenced by this factor. I avoided interviewing informants who had been between the age

of 12 to 18 years upon arrival. I interviewed a total of 67 1A immigrants, 38 1B immigrants and 30 2ND generation Finns (see Table 1: *Distribution of interviews by Finnish communities* for further demographic detail of these interviewees).

Table 1: Distribution of interviews by Finnish communities.

	1A MALE	1A FEMALE	1B MALE	1B FEMALE	2ND MALE	2ND FEMALE	TOTAL
BRISBANE	3	7	4	5	2	6	27
CENTRAL COAST	5	4	0	2	6	4	21
MELBOURNE	13	17	3	1	0	1	34
CANBERRA	3	4	7	13	3	4	34
HOBART	5	7	1	2	2	2	19
TOTAL INTERVIEWS	29	38	15	23	13	17	135

I concentrated on collecting most data from the 1A group as they will probably yield the most interesting phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic results. However, for comparative reasons (against both the 1A group and other existing corpora of American Finns) I needed a good representation of the other two groups. By the completion of the transcription procedure, the corpus will consist of 60 1A interviews, 30

Figure 2: Generational distribution of informants.

1B interviews and 30 2ND generation interviews. Therefore, the overall corpus will consist of 120 transcribed interviews, each interview lasting, on average, from 60 to 90 minutes in duration. Both sexes are almost equally represented in each generational group (see Figure 2: *Generational distribution of informants* for further detail).

2.3 The interview procedure

All interviews were conducted in the informants' own home. I intentionally interviewed married couples to try to ensure a balance in the representation of males and females. All interviews were identical in nature across all three generational groups and were divided into 5 sections:

- Section One: Personal detail questions.
- Section Two: General domain questions.
- Section Three: A specific reading aloud exercise.
- Section Four: Two specific language exercises: Sequencing and a prepositional exercise.
- Section Five: Specific vocabulary domain exercises: nouns and verbs.

Section one consisted of 27 separate questions covering the interviewee's personal details, education, language usage details, education in Australia and Finland, feelings about Australia and questions relating to their personal identity (see Appendix 1 for a list of the questions used in sections 1 and 2). The questions within section 1 were based upon Pietilä's (1989) interview procedure and should provide comparative data against her findings on the English of American Finns. The following question often provided interesting results:

23. How would you describe your identity, do you feel as if you are
- 0. more Finnish?
 - 1. equally Finnish and Australian?
 - 2. more Australian?

For instance, the 1A informants often identified more closely with Australia, although they recognised their Finnish heritage, whereas many 2nd generation Finns associated more intimately with Finland rather than Australia, even though they had never been to Finland. The following extracts reflect certain responses of 1A informants towards question no. 23 (see Appendix 2 for an explanation of the transcription conventions employed):

- (1) Uh, yes of course Australian because uh, over 20 years here it's a, it's, it's a really change, change your, it's a ++, over 20 years, if you are somewhere 20 years you are, you are getting something, something from that country and +, and, and +, it's a language trouble.

- (2) Oh let's say probably pretty equal but more leaning to the Australian way.
- (3) Uh, I am more Australian than ma..., um, fair dinkum Australians. I'm more patriotic, Australian. An uh, but uh, I'm glad to be, glad on my, and very proud of my Finnish origin.

The above extracts are quite revealing, not only for the opinions being offered but as an insight into the types of interlanguage being employed by the 1A informants. For instance, extract (1) shows misuse of indefinite articles, constant repetition and various hesitation phenomena. Extract (2) shows how the speaker uses colloquial language ('pretty equal') but not always entirely successfully, in this case because of the misuse of idiom, for example 'more leaning to the Australian way' instead of 'but I lean more towards the Australian way of life'. However, the speaker is still communicatively successful. Extract (3) is again repetitious; we see strong use of hesitation and the speaker self-corrects as he progresses. Of course many of these strategies can also be observed in the daily speech of native speakers of English, or for that matter almost any language.

Section two consisted of 32 questions arranged according to the following domains: games and leisure, food and cooking, employment, illness and accidents and open-ended, generally philosophical, questions. The questions in the final part of this section were organised to try to elicit particular grammatical usage. For example, question no. 1 tries to elicit past time reference, whereas question no. 4 tries to elicit responses which refer to the future or to hypothetical situations:

1. Life in Australia has changed quite a lot in the past 20 years and I imagine it has in Finland. Tell me what life was like when you were a teenager.
4. What do you think life will be like in the year 2000, when the Olympics come to Australia? Do you think we will be a republic by then?

By using this form of questioning I was able to 'hide' from my informants the true task at hand, the compilation of data that provided adequate samples of speech in certain linguistic areas.⁴ Yet, at the same time I was able to elicit information directly pertinent to the sociolinguistic

influences the informants have experienced during their time in Australia.

Section three required the informants to read the following two paragraph short story aloud:

One afternoon a big wolf was waiting in a dark forest for a little girl to come along carrying a basket of food to her grandmother. Finally, a little girl did come along and she was carrying a basket of food. 'Are you carrying that basket of food to your grandmother?' asked the wolf. The little girl said yes she was. So the wolf asked her where her grandmother lived and the little girl told him and he disappeared into the wood.

When the girl opened the door of her grandmother's house she saw that there was somebody in bed with a nightcap and a nightgown on. She had approached no nearer than twenty-five feet from the bed when she saw that it was not her grandmother but the wolf, for even in a nightcap a wolf does not look any more like your grandmother than the Queen of England looks like Madonna. So the little girl took out an automatic and shot the wolf dead.

Moral: It is not so easy to fool little girls nowadays as it used to be.

This section will be used to measure elements of phonological and intonational deviation from normal patterns for standard Australian English.⁵ There was strong phonological interference from Finnish amongst the 1A informants for this exercise. Another unanticipated result was the inclusion of many reading errors, that is words were either omitted or added, as well as being mis-read, in nearly every interview across all generational groups.

Section four consisted of a sequential diagram of a soldier completing an assault course (cf. Figure 3: Soldier assault course and prepositional exercise). The informants had to describe what the soldier needed to do in order to complete the course. This is designed to elicit verbs of action and the language of sequencing. For most of the 1A informants, this proved to be quite a challenging task, as we can see from the following samples:

- (4) The soldier first have to go climb, climb to tree. Then uh, I don't know how they call that but uh, I, I call um, walkin' by hands, hangin' by hands or walkin' hands to other tree, come down to ground, walkin', um, uh, not walkin' but climbin' over brick wall,

come dine..., do..., down other side, then have to go to ground by knees, goin' under some or, or whatever it is, climbin' up by ladders to other bick..., brick wall and jump down to ground on other side + um, there is, then have to go tunnel, maked from brick, come out on other end and ju..., jump to river, swim cross to finish line.

- (5) What is man here? Um, up to tree, and he lying next to tree and do..., down and he, what is? He up, down, up, down and he, he, I don't know what this, swimming and this finished now.
- (6) §Emmä ymmärrä kaikkia näitä!#
(Try to tell me what the soldier is doing.)
A looking at the up the tree +++ §Emmä...#
(Mm, then?)
(LONG SILENCE) §Ei tullu mittään.#
(Okay try to tell me what he does from the tree here when he climbs down that tree, what does he then have to do?)
Yeah..., +++ go down the tree and ++ [jumping] +++ I don't know, §Mikä tuo on? Ei tullu mittään#
(Okay, alright.)

In fact this exercise proved to be very revealing, as the informants were no longer able to rely upon their various interlanguage communicative strategies to get by, as they did in the freer format of sections one and two of the interview. In this task they needed to describe a specific set of events, using specific vocabulary and as the above extracts show, they performed this task rather poorly. In extract (4), we see incorrect use of the verb 'to have', incorrect tense usage, aspect usage, self-correction, a lack of definite articles, misuse of prepositions and the incorrect conjugation of irregular verbs (to make – 'maked'). Extract (5) highlights an impoverished vocabulary which uses very few verbs, and extract (6) exhibits strong Finnish interference with constant switching occurring between the two languages. In this case the informant is frustrated, stating 'Emmä ymmärrä kaikkia näitä' (I don't understand all these) and 'Ei tullu mittään' (Nothing became of that – i.e. I don't know what to say). In all these extracts there is very poor use of sequencing and evidence of a limited vocabulary.

A second picture task within section four required the informants to describe the location of a ball, be it stationary or in motion, in relation to a square, ramp, container or cube (cf. Figure 3). This task was

1. Look at the picture below and say exactly what the soldier has to do to complete the assault course.



2. Look at the pictures below and describe exactly where the ball is.

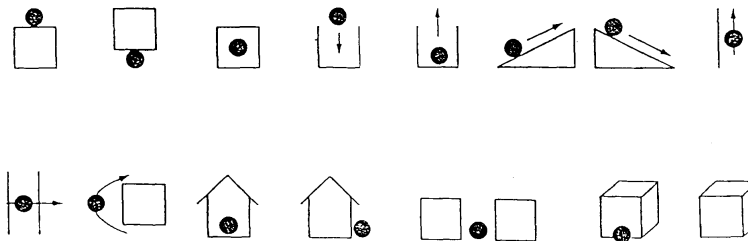


Figure 3: Soldier assault course and prepositional exercise

designed to measure the informants' proficiency in the use of prepositions, a particularly troublesome aspect of the English language for Finns, whose mother tongue is typologically agglutinative. Not surprisingly the 1A informants again performed rather poorly with this task. The extracts below highlight this fact for the first five parts of this exercise:

- (7) the ball on the top of the square
 ball under the square
 ball inside the square
 ball falling onto the container
 the ball coming out from the container, up

- (8) that one stay here
 underneath
 in the middle
 [drop] down
 [jumpin'] up
- (9) on the box
 'hind the box
 in the mid..., middle box
 go..., going a box
 go out in a box

In section five, the informants had to name certain items indicated in a picture. Each picture represented specific domains, these being a classroom, a supermarket, the exterior of a house, a living room and a kitchen. These domains correspond to earlier discussion points in sections one and two. Perhaps not surprisingly, the older male 1A informants were weak in particular domains, for example the supermarket, and the kitchen, and the older female 1A informants were weak when explaining aspects of the exterior of a house. Finally, I had the informants name fifty different verbs by naming the action taking place in pictures provided. Hirvonen (1994) and Linn used the same noun and verb pictures with their informants. Once again this should provide interesting comparative data against the English of American Finns.

I envisage that several data bases will arise out of this corpus. Sections one and two will be combined to become one database. Section three will become another, designed for specific phonological and intonational research. Sections four and five will become a third database, also obviously very language specific in nature. Unfortunately, the transcription stage of the corpus work has not yet been completed; therefore I am currently unable to offer concrete tabulated results for the various sections. At this stage, the above observations are only impressionistic. However, from the initial transcription work which has taken place⁶, it seems that sections one and two are providing the most interesting lexical and morpho-syntactic data. Because of their freer format, these sections are most useful in revealing Finnish interference and various interlanguage phenomena.

3. Research questions

The question arises as to how this new corpus will be applied. I am, primarily, interested in the phenomena of language shift and second language acquisition within the Finnish Australian community. I believe that the conventional model of complete shift, or language death, over three generations, is to be found among the Australian Finns. In fact, I hypothesize that, in many cases, this shift will have occurred, phonologically, syntactically and lexically, over only two generations. I particularly believe this to be the case among the Finns as they are a small, dispersed community. Although they possess ethnic vitality, the number of first-generation speakers is steadily decreasing. Most second generation Finns are marrying or have married English-speaking spouses. In addition, Australia, as a community, has been historically intolerant, and still basically is, of those who do not adopt the English language. In order to be socially mobile one needed to converse in English. There were no bilingual programmes at school until the late 1980's and there are not, and will not be, any such programmes in Finnish. Owing to status factors, demographic factors, the lack of institutional support and the cultural dissimilarity of the Finnish language, it is a language that is failing to be maintained. If there is not a new influx of Finnish immigrants to Australia in the near future, Finnish will soon disappear as a community language.

Table 2 highlights Thomason and Kaufman's (1988:40) expected pattern for borrowing and shift in a contact situation, as applied to English and Finnish.

Table 2: Degrees of interference in bilinguals' languages.⁷

	English (L2) > Finnish (L1) <i>borrowing</i>	Finnish (L1) > English (L2) <i>shift, 'adstratum'</i>
lexicon	very strong	moderate
phonology	weak	strong
morpho-syntax	moderate	strong

Lauttamus (1991), on the basis of Pietilä (1989) and Lauttamus (1990), argues that a more precise description can be offered on the shift of

Finnish-born immigrants. He claims that lexical interference is only weak rather than moderate. I agree with Lauttamus' (1991:35) observation that this weak interference can be explained 'by the fact that the restricted variety of English spoken by the Finnish-born immigrants is almost invariably used for non-group communication only, and therefore massive lexical interference from Finnish would be less desirable for successful communication with monolingual English speakers'. He predicts, on the basis of Hirvonen (1985) and Pietilä's (1989) work, that morpho-syntactic interference is likely to be moderate rather than strong. How these levels are arrived at is not discussed, that is how weak, strong and moderate levels are measured is not fully defined.⁸ Yet, at this initial stage of my work, I would make similar predictions upon the English produced by first-generation adult Finnish emigrants to Australia. There is strong phonological interference from Finnish, weak lexical interference and moderate to strong morpho-syntactic interference. It should be remembered that much of the error rate in the informants' morpho-syntactic production should not *only* be attributed to interference from Finnish. There is also a strong element of interlanguage deviance, where the informants have not managed to attain full competence when speaking AusE. This is an area of enquiry worthy of further pursuit.

Table 3: Predicted interference situations from English into Finnish across three generations of Finnish Australians.

	Eng.(L2) → Fin.(L1) <i>sl</i> → <i>RL</i> 1st GEN	Eng.(L?) → Fin.(L?) <i>SL</i> → <i>rl</i> 2nd GEN	Eng. (L1) → Fin.(L2) <i>SL</i> → <i>rl</i> 3rd GEN ⁹
<i>lexicon</i>	moderate/strong	strong	strong
<i>phonology</i>	weak	strong	strong
<i>morpho-syntax</i>	weak	moderate/strong	strong

I make these predictions upon the basis of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) model, the collective observations of Lauttamus, Hirvonen and Pietilä and my own intuition based upon field-work observations. SL and RL represent Van Coetsem's (1988; 1990) formalism. SL represents the source or embedded language, whereas RL represents the recipient language or matrix language. The embedded language is the source of

possible interference; it is the language of transfer, that which is borrowed from. The matrix language is the target language, for example the language in which the interview has been conducted. If represented as $SL \rightarrow rl$, this shows the source language to be linguistically dominant (and most likely socially dominant) over the recipient language. The opposite would apply for $sl \rightarrow RL$.

My predictions in Table 3 differ slightly from those offered on the American Finns by Lauttamus and Hirvonen (1995:table 3). Where Lauttamus and Hirvonen argue for only moderate phonological interference from English into the Finnish of second-generation Finns, I believe it would in fact be strong, and where Lauttamus and Hirvonen state that lexical and morpho-syntactic interference would be moderate, or unclear, I believe that in both instances it would in fact be strong. I do not believe that lexical interference from English into Finnish would decrease between the second and third generations, as has been suggested by the work of Lauttamus and Hirvonen;¹⁰ neither do I believe that the level of morpho-syntactic interference from English into Finnish would remain stable, as predicted by Lauttamus and Hirvonen.

However, the corpus under consideration is unable to test all of these hypotheses. Because all interviews were conducted in English, I am only able to effectively test my predictions for Finnish interference into English across the two generations recorded. To corroborate the predictions presented in Table 3, further field work conducted in Finnish would be required. The following presents my predictions for interference from Finnish into English of the three groups studied in Australia.

Table 4: Predicted interference situations from Finnish into English for the 1A, 1B and 2nd discourse groups.

	Fin.(L1) → Eng.(L2) <i>SL - rl</i> 1A	Fin.(L?) → Eng.(L?) <i>sl - RL</i> 1B	FIN. (L2) → Eng.(L1) <i>sl - RL</i> 2nd
lexicon	weak	weak	very weak
phonology	strong	weak	very weak
morpho-syntax	moderate/strong	weak	very weak

I intend to investigate these various predictions for each discourse community by comparing the various communities against one another. I believe the 1A discourse community will produce the most interesting results in relation to interlanguage studies and interference from the Finnish language. I also believe the 2nd generation group will prove to be quite comparable to 'native' Australian speakers. I have, in fact, also interviewed 5 native speakers to test this hypothesis. As previously mentioned, it is mainly my intention to use the 1B and 2nd discourse groups as control groups against my findings for the 1A discourse group. One problem which has arisen during this work entails the question of how to quantify these various predictions. How does one reliably score the phenomenon of interference? When is the error simply the result of a slip of the tongue or that of systematic interference? To this point, I have not arrived at an acceptable set of criteria to avoid subjective interpretations of this phenomenon.¹²

The data-bases compiled from sections 1, 2, 4 and 5 of the Finnish-Australian English Corpus will be used to conduct a morpho-syntactic investigation of the 1A first-generation immigrants. The data from section 3 will be used to conduct separate phonological investigations. The morpho-syntactic investigation will be approached from a two-tiered approach:

Level One: Interlanguage related phenomena

Here I will investigate aspects of second language acquisition which are generally accepted as common to many contact situations. I will investigate general *universals* of SLA theory, commonly shared patterns of deviations in contact situations, common SLA processes, communication strategies such as appeal for assistance, restructuring, reinforcement by repetition and so on.

Level Two: Interference/Transfer phenomena

This will be more language specific, that is aimed at the contact situation between Finnish and English, languages of two very different typologies. It will investigate specific morpho-syntactic aspects including word-order problems, position of adverbs, use of prepositions, articles and personal pronouns. Within this section various aspects of interlingual transfer will be examined, particularly communication strategies such as code-switching, code-mixing and nonce-borrowing. I am particularly interested in applying Lauttamus' (1990) notion that the processes of code-switching and borrowing are sometimes difficult to differentiate structurally, in his

ideas on smooth and non-smooth transitions at the switch-sites and in the concept of an operational interlanguage grammar existing between the source and recipient languages.

Hopefully, the Finnish-Australian English Corpus will prove to be a valuable database which will assist scholars in their investigations into contact linguistics, and contact-induced change. At the very least, it can offer comparative data against existing corpora of the English of American Finns and the recently compiled corpus of Australian English, and it has ensured that we have on record the spoken English of a group of migrants in Australia who now seem to be beginning to dwindle in number.

Notes

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- 1. These figures have been obtained from the Institute of Migration, Piispankatu 3, 20500, Turku, Finland.
- 2. This estimation has been put forward by the Institute of Migration, Piispankatu 3, 20500. Turku. Finland.
- 3. *Suomi Newspaper* was established in 1926 and is the oldest ethnic newspaper in Australia. Both papers offer a comprehensive list of Finnish Australian clubs, or various Suomen seurat, including contact addresses for New Zealand, Fiji and Papua New Guinea.
- 4. I have adopted this questioning technique from the work of Anderson (1991).
- 5. In this instance I speak of standard Australian English more as a cover term. For a more detailed discussion of broad, general and cultivated Australian speech patterns, in particular the way in which Australians pronounce their vowels, read Mitchell (1970), Hammarström (1980), Horvath (1985), Clark (1989) and Guy (1991).

6. The transcription work, being shared between the English departments of the universities of Joensuu and Oulu, is currently ongoing. Every transcript is double-checked by a native speaker of Australian English and by a native speaker of Finnish.
7. Source: Lauttamus (1991:35).
8. To be able to make such predictions the data needs to be comparable across the generations or groups in question, for example the number of errors per 100 words (see Pietilä 1989:134).
9. This group is so marginally bilingual that those involved may not be fully able to correctly borrow from English into Finnish because their knowledge of the recipient language is so poor. This outlook helps to support Lauttamus and Hirvonen's (1995) predictions.
10. Lauttamus (private conversation) attributes this to the observation that 3rd generation speakers of Finnish usually have a fairly poor command of Finnish and they tend not to borrow from English. As they do not fully understand the structural characteristics of the recipient language, they usually cannot 'borrow' lexical items successfully. Instead, they resort to other communicative strategies to solve their communicative problems. Another reason for weaker lexical interference might be due to their desire to disassociate themselves from the often stigmatised American Finnish of the first generation Finnish immigrants. They want to speak 'correct' Finnish and try to avoid using undue lexical interference.
11. 1 male in his 70's, 1 male in his 60's, 1 female in her 50's and 1 male and 1 female in their 20's.
12. I would be most interested in hearing the advice of readers on this matter.

Appendix 1: Questions used in sections 1 and 2

SECTION ONE

1. How do Australians pronounce your name?
2. How old are you now?
3. How old were you when you arrived in Australia?
4. Did you intend to stay permanently?
5. Why did you originally want to immigrate?
6. What is your first language? Finnish or Swedish.
- 7a. Where was your father born?
- 7b. Where was your father's father born?
- 7c. Where was your mother born?
- 7d. Where was your mother's mother born?
8. Where were you born?
9. Where did you live in Finland before you came to live in Australia?
How long did you live there?
10. What did your father do for a living?
11. What did your mother do for a living?
12. What do you do for a living?
13. What does your spouse do for a living?
14. To what level did you study in Finland?

15. Did you study the English language in Finland? If so how long?
16. Did you know any English before you came to Australia? If so how much?
17. Which language do you speak nowadays?
- 0 Finnish only
 - 1 Mostly Finnish
 - 2 50% Finnish/ 50% English
 - 3 Mostly English
 - 4 Entirely English
18. Which language do you use most at home?
- 0 Finnish only
 - 1 Mostly Finnish
 - 2 50% Finnish/ 50% English
 - 3 Mostly English
 - 4 Entirely English
19. Which language do you use at work?
- 0 Finnish only
 - 1 Mostly Finnish
 - 2 50% Finnish/ 50% English
 - 3 Mostly English
 - 4 Entirely English
20. How would you describe your Area/Neighbourhood/Circle of friends in early years?
- 0 Finnish only
 - 1 Mostly Finnish
 - 2 50% Finnish/ 50% English
 - 3 Mostly English
 - 4 Entirely English
21. Have you ever studied in Australia?

22. How would you say you have adapted to Australian life and society? Would you say you are/have...
- 0 hard to adjust, homesick
 - 1 no real problems
 - 2 easy to adjust
23. How would you describe your identity, do you feel as if you are
- 0 more Finnish?
 - 1 equally Finnish and Australian?
 - 2 more Australian?
24. What is your citizenship?
- 0 Finnish
 - 1 Australian
25. How do you feel about Australia, in general?
- 0 negative
 - 1 neutral
 - 2 positive
26. Are you happy in Australia? Knowing what you know now do you think you would come again?
- 0 would not come
 - 1 would probably come again
 - 2 would definitely come again
27. What language do you speak with your children?

SECTION TWO

Games and Leisure

1. What kinds of games did you play when you were younger?
2. What kinds of card games do you play? How do you play that game?

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3. What are names of the different suits of a pack of cards?
4. What is your favourite form of entertainment? Now? Earlier on? Back in Finland?
5. What is your favourite TV programme? Why? Tell me about a recent episode.
6. Do you have a favourite pet?
7. Have you ever travelled? Where to?

Foods and Cooking

1. What do you call the morning meal?
2. What do eat then?
3. What do you call the midday meal?
4. What do you eat then?
5. What do you call the evening meal?
6. What do eat then? Types of meat, potatoes, how are they prepared, vegetables, drinks
7. What is your favourite meal?
8. When you have salad what goes into it?
9. What kinds of desserts do you normally eat?
10. What do you think is the main difference between Australian meals and Finnish meals?

Work

1. Tell me about the kind of work you used to do before you came to Australia.

2. What about when you arrived, did the govt. provide a job for you or did you have to find your own work? What type of work did you do then?
3. What happened after that? Have you always worked in the same field or profession? What other types of work have you had?
4. How do you think working conditions differed between Finland and Australia when you first arrived?
5. How do you think they differ now?

Illness and Accidents

1. What is the worst illness you have ever had? Describe it.
2. Have you ever been in an automobile accident? If not tell me the worst one you have ever seen, in detail.
3. Have you ever been in a situation where you were afraid that you were going to die or something bad was going to happen to you? What happened?
4. Sometimes people say that whatever is going to happen to you will happen, that it is fate. How do you feel about that?

General

1. Life in Australia has changed quite a lot in the past 20 years and I imagine it has in Finland. Tell me what life was like when you were a teenager.
2. How is your life different from what it was when you first arrived in Australia?
3. What is your life like now that you are studying/working/playing golf, cards, in your retirement? How do you think life might be different if you were still in Finland?

4. What do you think life will be like in the year 2000, when the Olympics come to Australia? Do you think we will be a republic by then?
5. What are your opinions on the Australian flag, would you like to see it changed?
6. What would you have done differently if you had the chance to change it?
7. How has your life changed over the last few years?
8. Are you happy with, and have you been happy with, your life in Australia? Would you come again? Why? Why not?

Appendix 2: Transcription key

Speaking at the same time.	£ \$
½ sec. pause	+
1 sec. pause	++
2 sec. pause	+++
Code switching	\$ #
Borrowed words	% &
Severe phonological interference	[]
Transcriber's comments	((CAPITAL LETTERS))
Unclear text or segment	< >
Misread or missing word/s or segment/s	= \

Marginal words or 'vocalisations' (Source: Du Bois, J. *et al* 1990:78)

ah	delight, relief, regret, agreement
aha	agreement, backchannel response

uh	hesitation (filled pause)
unh	
um	

m hm	awareness, wonder, backchannel
huh hunh	awareness, wonder, backchannel
mhm unhhunh uhuh	backchannel or affirmative response (final syllable stressed)
unh-unh	negative response (initial syllable stressed)
uh-oh	alarm cry

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