LOANWORDS IN FINNISH

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Presentation given at the seminar *L'emprunt lexical : quoi, pourquoi, comment, et avec quelles conséquences ?* (Aix-Marseille Université, April 19 2022)

INTRODUCTION

In this presentation, I'll talk about some ways in which languages can be affected by contact:

- Lexical borrowing
  - What gets borrowed?
  - What does this tell us about the nature of the contact situation?
  - What does this tell us about the prehistory of the language?
  - How old are loanwords?
- Phonological adaptation
  - How are loanwords integrated phonologically?
  - Long-term effects of borrowing on the phonological system

INTRODUCTION

This will be exemplified with a contact situation from Northern Europe: the long-standing contact of Finnish (Uralic) with various Indo-European varieties

- This contact situation is a good example for many reasons
    - Among the most well-studied languages in the world
    - Contact between unrelated languages is easier to deal with than contact within a family
    - Diverse phoneme inventories shed light on strategies of phonological adaptation
   - Long-standing contact relations with clear socio-political relationship

→ Generation of hypotheses for other contact situations

OUTLINE

- Background
  - Finnish, the Uralic language family, brief socio-political history
- Loanwords in Finnish: overview
  - Amount of loanwords, donor languages, loanwords over time
- Why do languages borrow?
  - Reasons for borrowing, relationship types in contact situations, alternative strategies
- What do languages borrow?
  - Basic vs. culture vocabulary, loanwords as clues to prehistoric culture
- Phonological adaptation
  - Different strategies, effects on the phonological system
- Determining the age of loanwords
  - Cognates, phonological changes, loanwords as clues for reconstruction in the donor language
- Conclusion

FINNISH

- ~5 million speakers
- Official language of Finland
  - Alongside Swedish
- Official minority language of Sweden

- Just like its relatives, Finnish is characterised by a **synthetic**, **agglutinating** morphology (with some fusional traits)
- Word formation is mainly achieved by **suffixation**
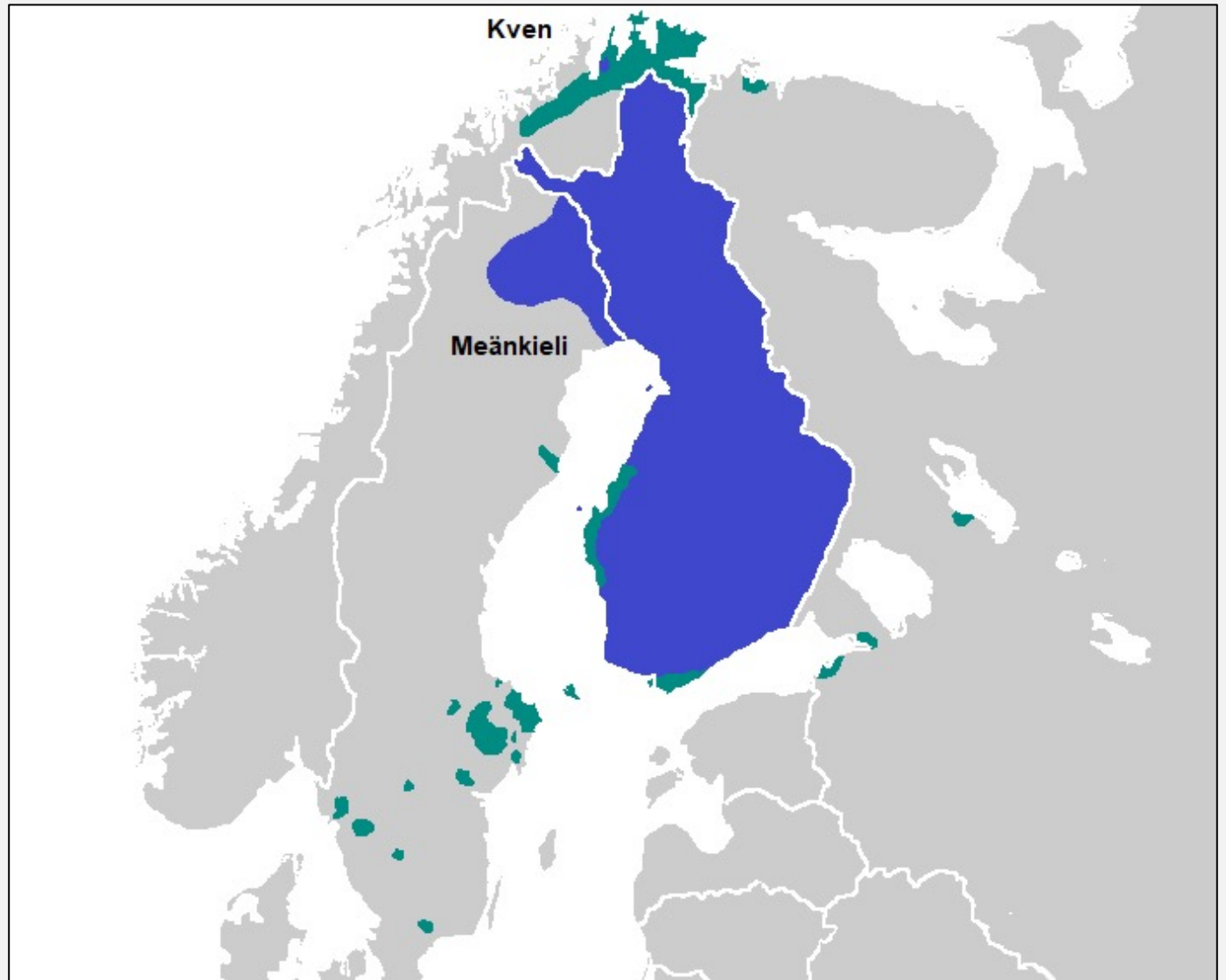
Map by user ValtteriLahti12, distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International licence (via Wikimedia Commons)
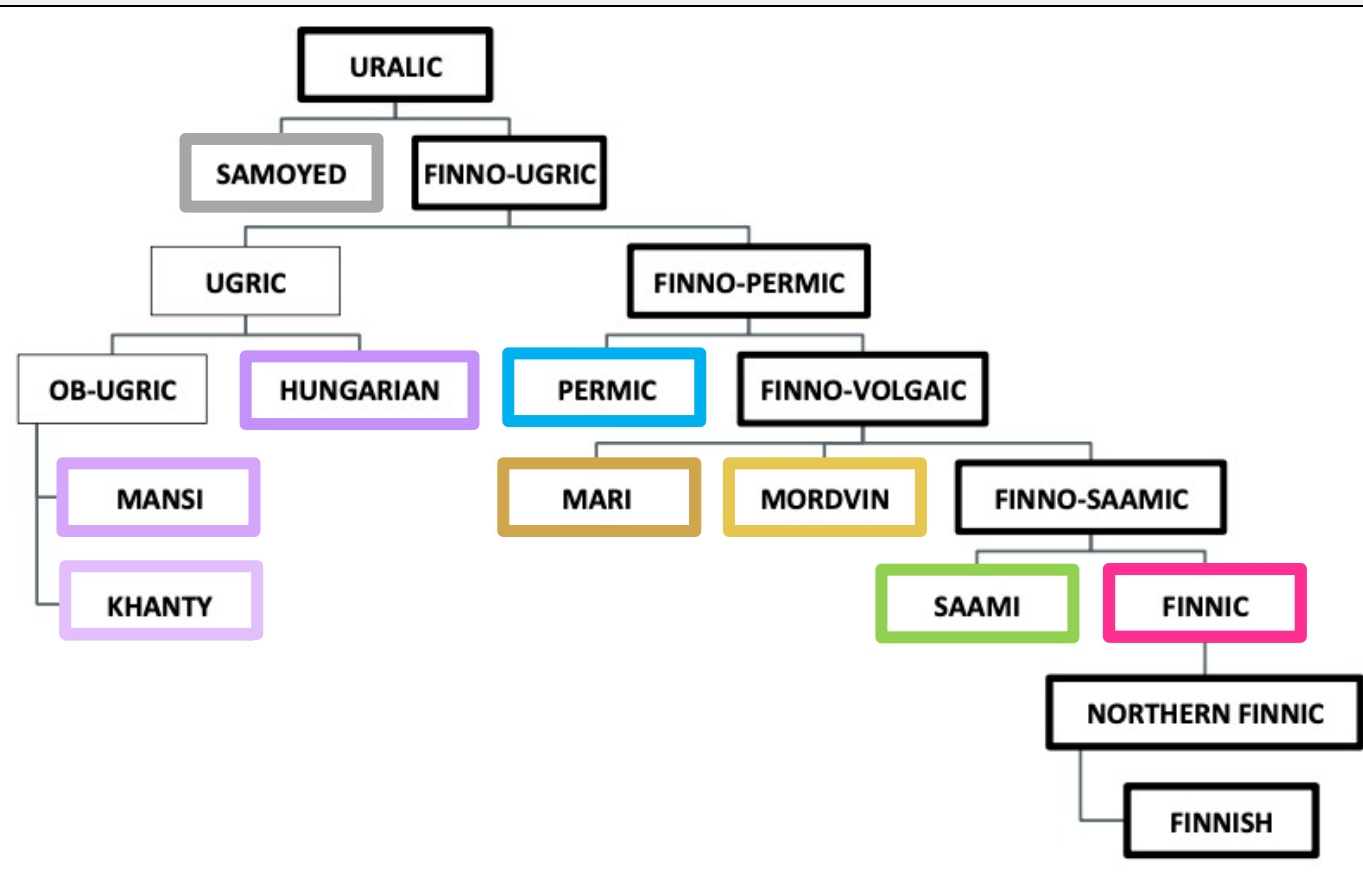
(Karlsson 1999)

THE FINNIC BRANCH

- Spoken close to the Baltic sea

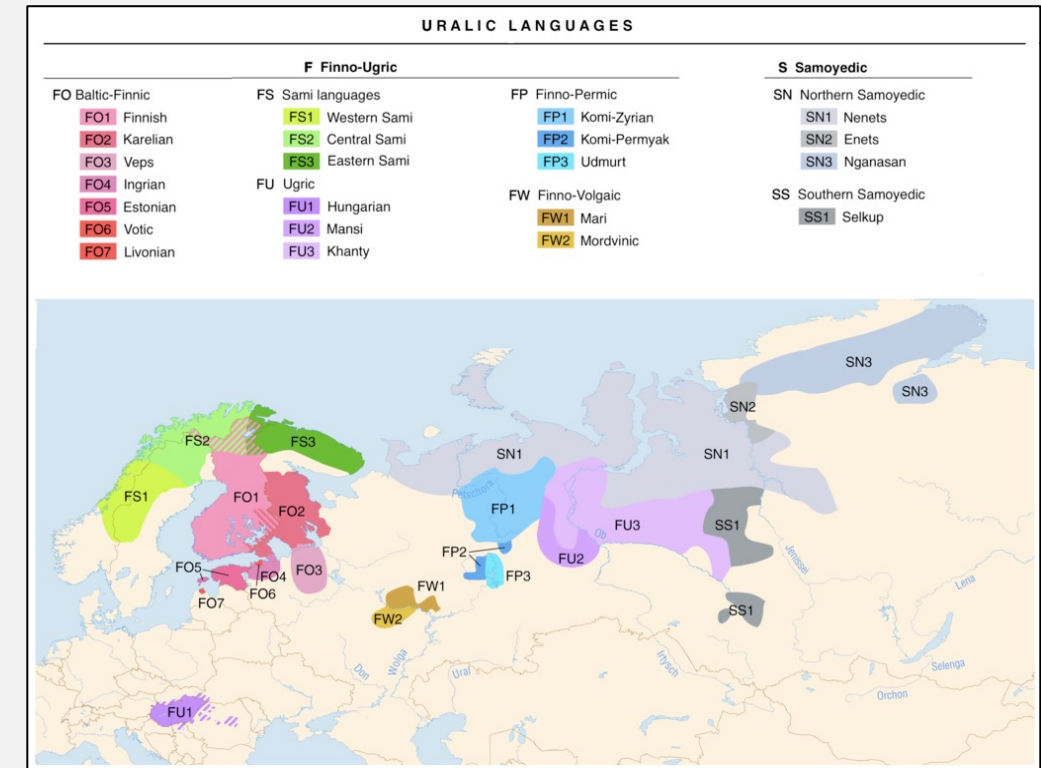- Finnish and Estonian are national languages, the rest are minority languages

Map by user ValtteriLahti12, distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International licence (via Wikimedia Commons)

THE URALIC LANGUAGES

- 9 branches

  - Saami, Finnic, Mordvin, Mari, Permic, Hungarian, Mansi, Khanty, Samoyed

- 30-40 languages (slightly more than the average language family)

- Relatively small by number of speakers, but is one of the largest ones when it comes to geographical extension

(Janhunen 2009:59)

URALIC VS. INDO-EUROPEAN

URALIC LANGUAGES

F Finno-Ugric

FO Baltic-Finnic
- FO1 Finnish
- FO2 Karelian
- FO3 Veps
- FO4 Ingrian
- FO5 Estonian
- FO6 Votic
- FO7 Livonian

FS Sami languages
- FS1 Western Sami
- FS2 Central Sami
- FS3 Eastern Sami

FU Ugric
- FU1 Hungarian
- FU2 Mansi
- FU3 Khanty

FP Finno-Permic
- FP1 Komi-Zyrian
- FP2 Komi-Permyak
- FP3 Udmurt

FW Finno-Volgaic
- FW1 Mari
- FW2 Mordvinic

S Samoyedic

SN Northern Samoyedic
- SN1 Nenets
- SN2 Enets
- SN3 Nganasan

SS Southern Samoyedic
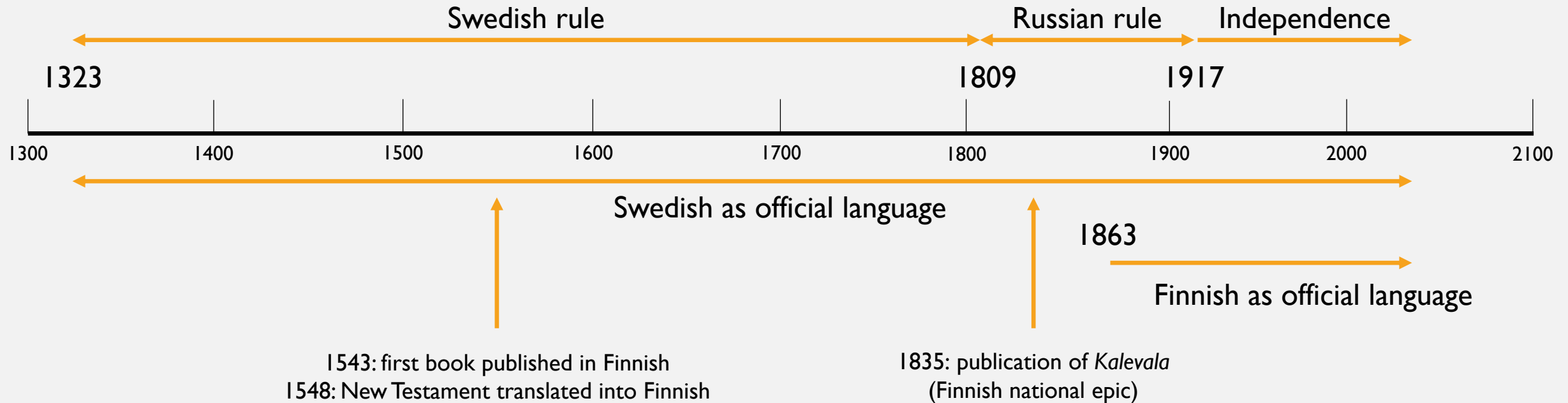- SS1 Selkup

SOCIO-POLITICAL & LINGUISTIC HISTORY

- Relatively recent as a written language
- Relatively recent as an official national language

Swedish rule — Russian rule — Independence

1323 — 1809 — 1917

1300 1400 1500 1600 1700 1800 1900 2000 2100

Swedish as official language

1863

Finnish as official language

1543: first book published in Finnish
1548: New Testament translated into Finnish

1835: publication of *Kalevala*
(Finnish national epic)

Latomaa & Nuolijärvi (2002:96-97, 101); Karlsson (1999:3); Halonen, Ihalainen & Saarinen (2014:154)

LANGUAGE SITUATION IN FINLAND TODAY

- 2 official languages: Finnish & Swedish

  - ~5% speak Swedish as a first language

  - 3 official minority languages: Saami, Romani & Finnish Sign language

  - Swedish is an obligatory subject in school for Finnish-speaking children (and vice versa)

Monolingual Finnish ☐

Monolingual Swedish ■

Bilingual Finnish > Swedish ☐

Bilingual Swedish > Finnish ☐

Bilingual Finnish > Saami ■
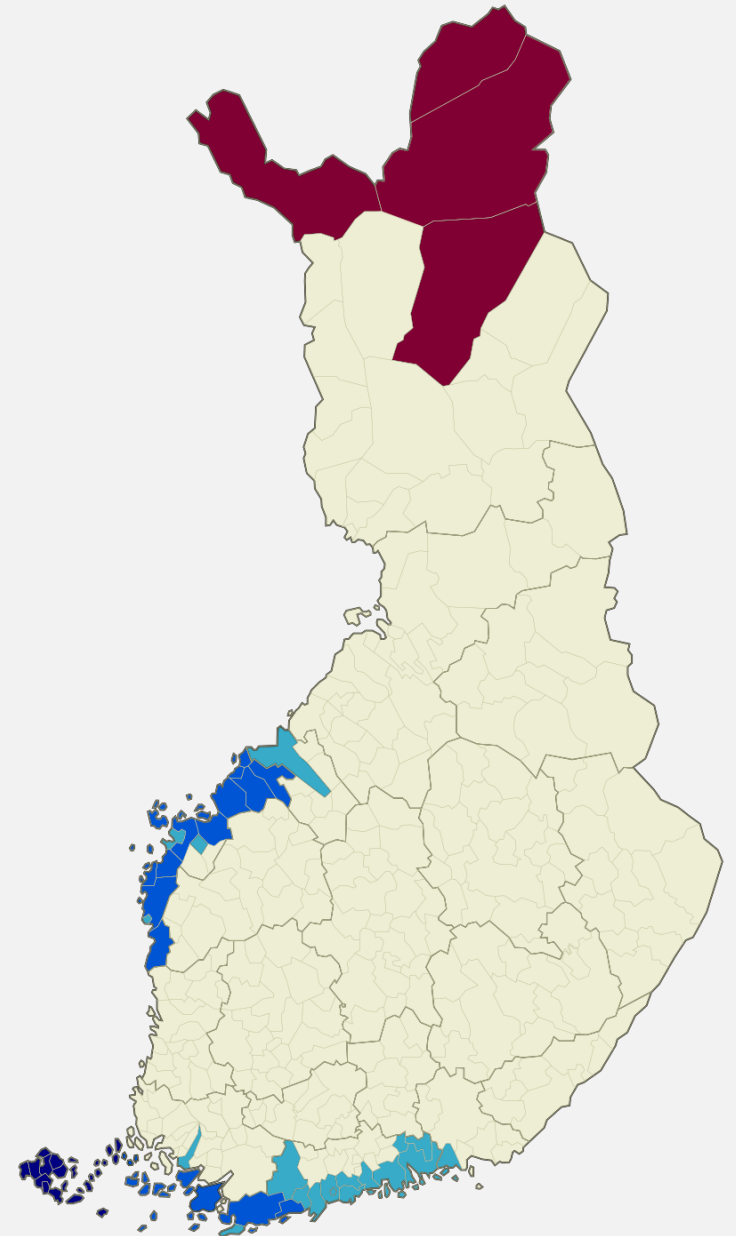
LOANWORDS IN FINNISH: OVERVIEW

LOANWORDS IN FINNISH: THE BIG PICTURE

- Loanword Typology Project (LWT Project)

  - Coding of borrowing status for 1,460 meanings from a cross-section of the lexicon

  - 41 languages

- → 1,896 Finnish lexemes

- Cases of direct contact (i.e., not necessarily the earliest etymological origin)

  - Source language

  - Age (based on cognates in related Uralic languages)

  - etc.

Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009a); Cronhamn (2018); Häkkinen (2013)

THE AMOUNT OF LOANWORDS IN FINNISH

Comparison to LWT Project results

- *very high borrowers* (> 50%)
- *high borrowers* (25-50%)
- *average borrowers* (10-25%)
- *low borrowers* (< 10%)

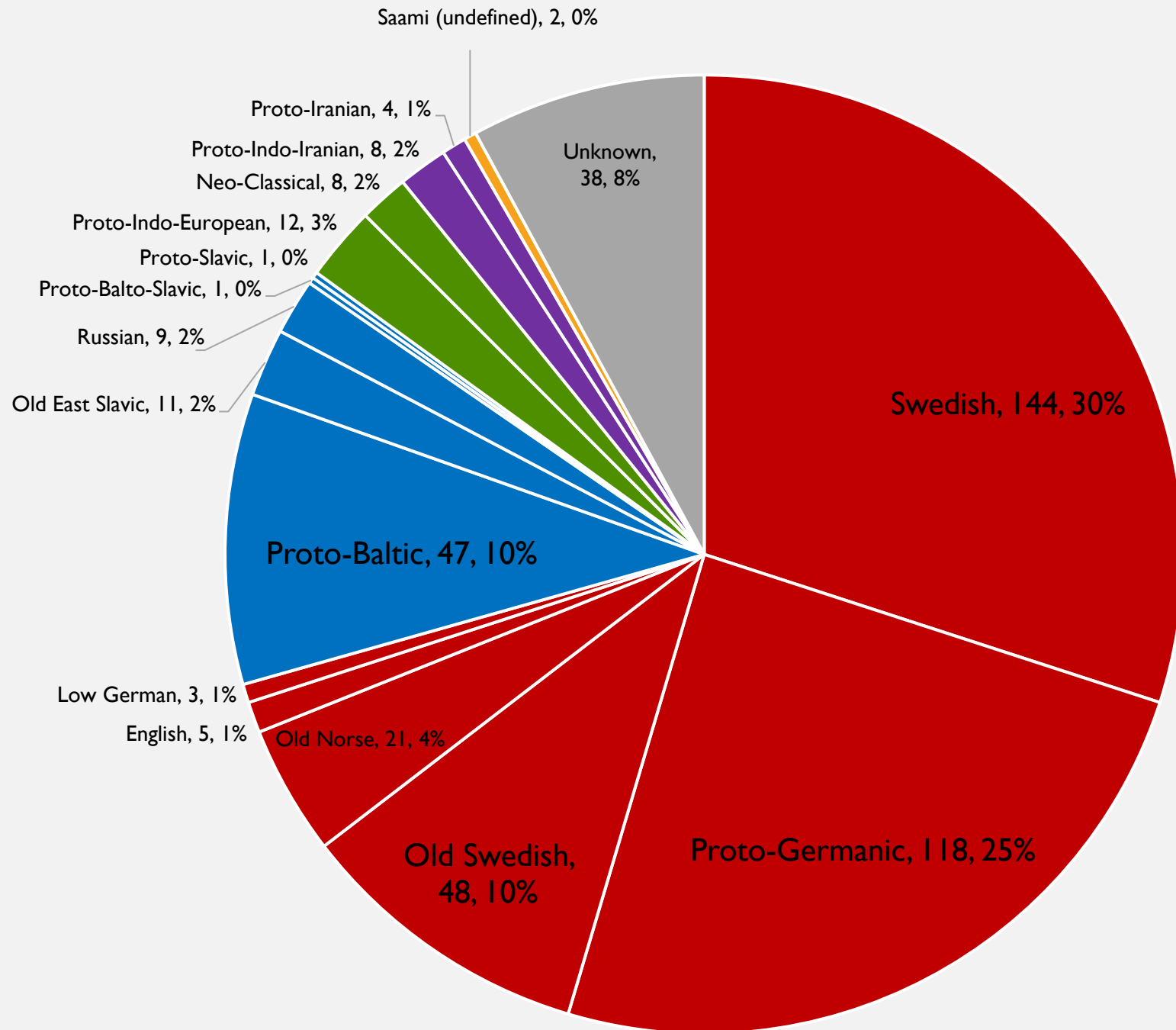Average loanword percentage: 24.23%

Finnish: 480/1,825 loanwords → **26.3%**

- Lower realm of the high borrowers
- Just above average

Tadmor (2009:56-57)

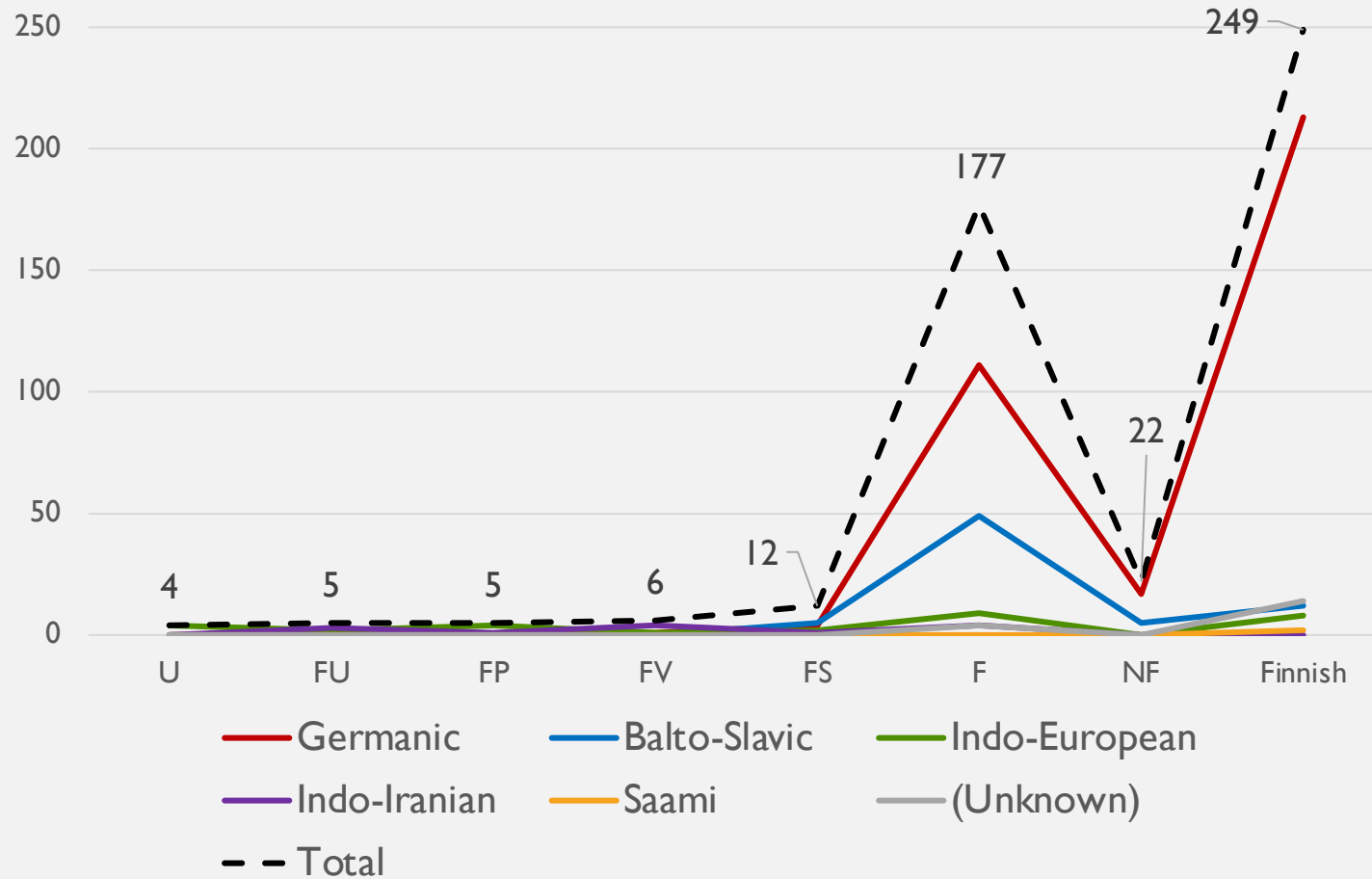| Borrowing type	Languages	Words, total	Loanwords	Loanwords, %
Very high borrowers	Selice Romani	1,431	898	62.7%
	Tarifiyt Berber	1,526	789	51.7%
High borrowers	Gurindji	842	384	45.6%
	Romanian	2,137	894	41.8%
	English	1,504	617	41.0%
	Saramaccan	1,089	417	38.3%
	Ceq Wong	862	319	37.0%
	Japanese	1,975	689	34.9%
	Indonesian	1,942	660	34.0%
	Bezhta	1,344	427	31.8%
	Kildin Saami	1,336	408	30.5%
	Imbabura Quechua	1,158	350	30.2%
	Archi	1,112	328	29.5%
	Sakha	1,411	409	29.0%
	Vietnamese	1,477	415	28.1%
	Swahili	1,610	447	27.8%
	Yaqui	1,379	366	26.5%
	Finnish	**1,825**	**480**	**26.3%**
	Thai	2,063	539	26.1%
	Takia	1,123	291	25.9%
Average borrowers	Lower Sorbian	1,671	374	22.4%
	Hausa	1,452	323	22.2%
	Mapudungun	1,236	274	22.2%
	White Hmong	1,290	273	21.2%
	Kanuri	1,427	283	19.8%
	Dutch	1,513	289	19.1%
	Malagasy	1,526	267	17.5%
	Zinacantán Tzotzil	1,217	195	16.0%
	Wichí	1,187	188	15.8%
	Q'eqchi'	1,774	266	15.0%
	Iraqw	1,117	162	14.5%
	Kali'na	1,110	156	14.0%
	Hawaiian	1,245	169	13.6%
	Oroqen	1,138	137	12.0%
	Hup	993	114	11.5%
	Gawwada	982	111	11.3%
	Seychelles Creole	1,879	201	10.7%
	Otomi	2,158	231	10.7%
Low borrowers	Ket	1,030	100	9.7%
	Manange	1,009	84	8.3%
	Old High German	1,203	70	5.8%
	Mandarin Chinese	2,042	25	1.2%

SOURCE LANGUAGES

- Germanic — 70.6 %
- Balto-Slavic — 14.4 %
- "Indo-European" * — 4.2 %
- Indo-Iranian — 2.5 %
- Saami — 0.4 %
- Unknown — 7.9 %

*PIE + Neo-Classical coinages

Cronhamn (2018)

Pie chart labels:
- Saami (undefined), 2, 0%
- Proto-Iranian, 4, 1%
- Proto-Indo-Iranian, 8, 2%
- Neo-Classical, 8, 2%
- Proto-Indo-European, 12, 3%
- Proto-Slavic, 1, 0%
- Proto-Balto-Slavic, 1, 0%
- Russian, 9, 2%
- Old East Slavic, 11, 2%
- Unknown, 38, 8%
- Swedish, 144, 30%
- Proto-Baltic, 47, 10%
- Low German, 3, 1%
- English, 5, 1%
- Old Norse, 21, 4%
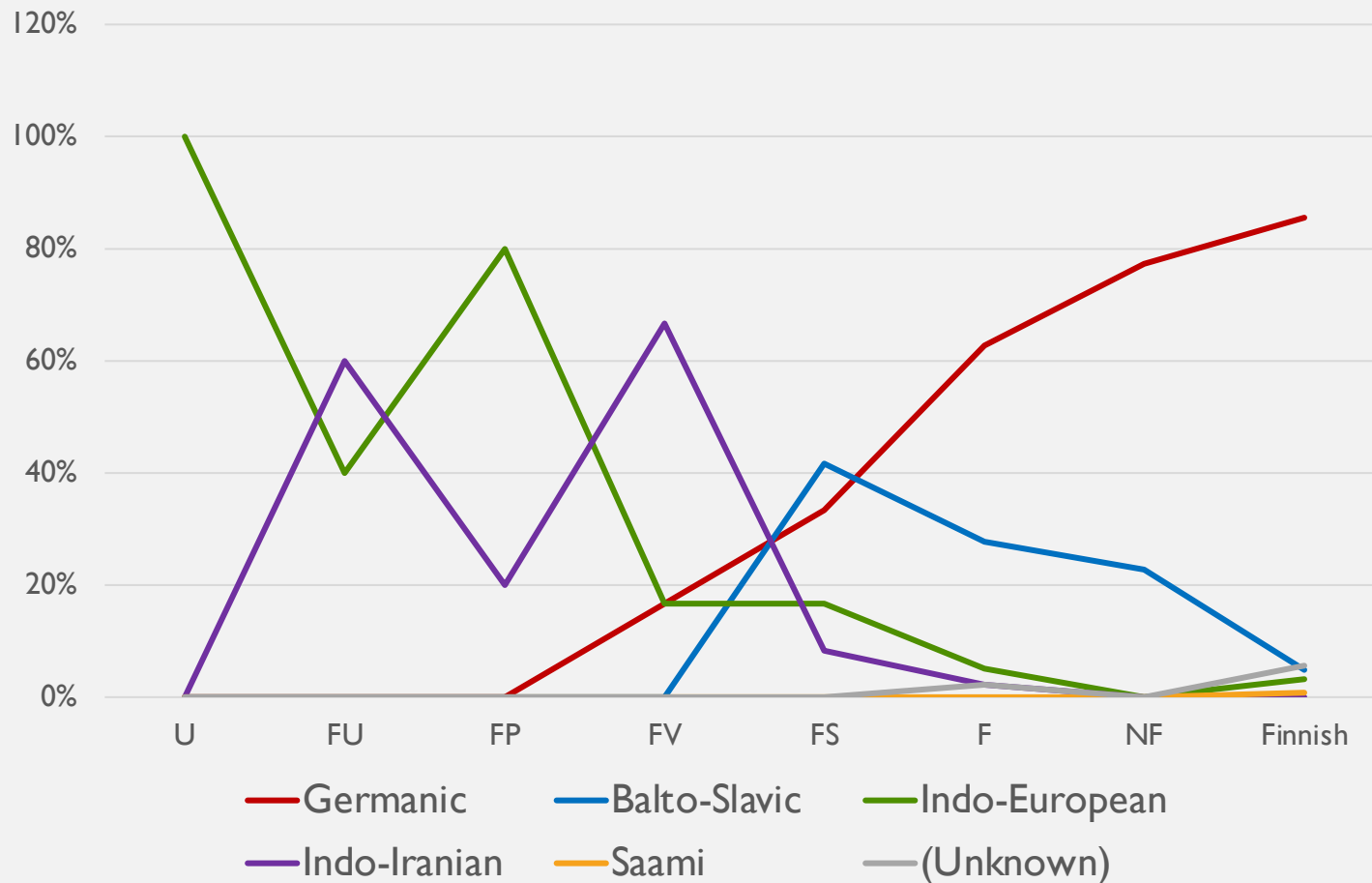- Old Swedish, 48, 10%
- Proto-Germanic, 118, 25%

LOANWORD SOURCES OVER TIME

- Most loanwords from relatively recent stages
  - Likely a product of the increasing difficulty to reconstruct older stages

Cronhamn (2018)

LOANWORD SOURCES OVER TIME

- Early Indo-European peak (before/during early branching) → decline in favour of individual branches

- Early Indo-Iranian peak → decline due to the increased geographical distance

- The Balto-Slavic contacts set in roughly at the time of decline of the Indo-Iranian contacts, probably reflecting a westward migration

- Germanic loanwords are beginning to be introduced at around the same time and increase with every stage – in contrast to the Balto-Slavic curve, which has an early peak followed by a gradual decline

- Saami loanwords are extremely uncommon, but naturally appear only after the Finno-Saamic split

→ Linguistic traces in languages can help reconstruct prehistory

Cronhamn (2018)

RELATIONSHIP TO SWEDISH

- Finnish contains hundreds of loanwords from Swedish (or from its previous Germanic stages)
  - 69% of all loanwords
  - 18% of the entire vocabulary
- Standard Swedish only has a handful of Finnish loanwords (not even *sauna*!):
  - Swe. *pojke* 'boy'   < Fi. *poika* 'id.'
  - Swe. *känga* 'boot'   < Fi. *kenkä* 'shoe'
  - Swe. *pjäxa* 'ski boot'   < Fi. *pieksu* 'leather boot'
  - Swe. *pulka* 'sleigh'   < Fi. *pulkka* 'id.'
- → Most refer to clothes/artefacts used in arctic climate

RELATIONSHIP TO SAAMI LANGUAGES

- Loanwords from Finnish (and its previous Finnic stage) are comm 	on in Saami languages, at least those spoken within the national borders of Finland

- In the study of loanwords in Finnish, only two loanwords from Saami languages were found (0.4%)

  - Fi. *norsu* 'elephant'   < Saa. **morše* 'walrus'

  - Fi. *suopunki* 'lasso'   < Saa. **suoppenje* 'lasso'

→ Name of arctic animal + tool used for reindeer herding

Aikio (2007:24-25), Rießler (2009), Cronhamn (2018)

WHY DO LANGUAGES BORROW?

WHY DO LANGUAGES BORROW?

Languages normally borrow words either out of **need** or **prestige**

- **Need**: introduction of new concept or item by contact with another group often accompanied by a loanword

- **Prestige**: donor language associated with a higher status → borrowing despite the lack of a "need" for it

Epps (2014:580) points out that "the source of the loan is likely to represent the source of the concept", and that "where loans have replaced pre-existing terms, they are likely to indicate the social importance of the corresponding concept in the interaction"

Campbell (1998:59ff.), Epps (2014)

WHY DO LANGUAGES BORROW?

3 different types of relative social status of the participants in a borrowing event:

- Languages of roughly equal social status that come into contact with one another are referred to as **adstrata**

- A more socially imbalanced contact relationship contains a **superstratum** (high prestige) and a **substratum** (low prestige)

adstratum ←→ **adstratum**

superstratum
↕
substratum

Hock & Joseph (1996:274)

WHY DO LANGUAGES BORROW?

- **Prestige** borrowings almost always imply an imbalanced relationship between the donor and the recipient language, where a superstratum serves as the donor language

  - super → sub: Eng. *pork, beef, mutton* < Norman French

- Other kinds of borrowings can take place in any kind of relationship

  - ad → ad: Eng. *guest, husband, skirt* < Old Norse
                    ('everyday' vocabulary – prestige? need?)

  - sub → super: Eng. *jaguar, tapir, toucan, manioc, tapioca* < Port. < Tupí-Guaraní

Hock & Joseph (1996), Campbell (1998:59)

WHY *DON'T* LANGUAGES BORROW?

Taboo on borrowing

- Language mixing taboo in the Vaupés region in Amazonia
  - Linguistic exogamy; pervasive multilingualism; language as a marker of ethnicity
- Linguistic purism on Iceland
  - Originally linked to nationalism & independence movement

Alternatives to need borrowing:

- **Calquing**   'iron' + 'road' → 'railroad'
  Fi. *rautatie*, Sw. *järnväg*, Germ. *Eisenbahn*, Fr. *chemin de fer*
- **Neologisms**   cf. Neo-Classical compounds (*autopilot, pandemic, post-colonial*)

Aikhenvald (1996), Campbell (1998:75-76; 276-277), Epps (2012)

NEOLOGISMS

Word	Meaning	Origin	Year
osoite	'address'	< *osoittaa* 'to show, to point'	1836
kirje	'letter'	< *kirja* 'book'	1844
sähkö	'electricity'	< *sähähtää* 'to sizzle', *säpenöidä* 'to sparkle'	1845
polkupyörä	'bicycle'	< *polkea* 'to pedal' + *pyörä* 'wheel'	1880's-1900's
sairaala	'hospital'	< *sairas* 'sick'	1860
puhelin	'phone'	< *puhua* 'to talk'	1897
savuke	'cigarette'	< *savu* 'smoke'	1910's
elokuva	'film, movie'	< *elo* 'life' + *kuva* 'picture'	1927

McRae (1997:117), Ikola (1985), Häkkinen (2013)

NEOLOGISMS

- Coinages from the 19th and early 20th centuries, coinciding with the rise of the Finnish nationalistic movement

  - Cf. publication of Kalevala (1835), promotion of Finnish to official language (1863), independence of Finland (1917)

  - Strong principle of linguistic purism during this time period

  - Increasing need of new terminology as Finnish started to get used in new domains, e.g. education, administration, science

McRae (1997:117), Ikola (1985), Häkkinen (2013)

WHAT DO LANGUAGES BORROW?

WHAT DO LANGUAGES BORROW?

Some general assumptions have been made regarding the likelihood for different groups of words to get borrowed:

- **Infrequent lexemes** are more likely to be borrowed than frequent ones

- **Nouns** are more likely to be borrowed than verbs

- **Cultural vocabulary** is more likely to be borrowed than basic vocabulary

  - Basic vocabulary: universally human concepts, e.g. body parts, kinship relations

  - Culture vocabulary: culture-specific concepts, e.g. agricultural terms, artefacts, social organization

Haspelmath (2009:35); Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009a); Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009b:15); Hock & Joseph (1996:257-258); Swadesh (1950)

WHAT DO LANGUAGES BORROW?

Culture vocabulary ⟶ Finnish has plenty of typical **need borrowings** (tropical produce, technology, societal functions, etc.):

- *tupakka* 'tobacco'   < Swe. *tobak* 'tobacco'
- *banaani* 'banana'   < Eng. *banana*
- *radio* 'radio'   < Eng. *radio*
- *pankki* 'bank'   < Swe. *bank* 'id.'

Basic vocabulary ⟶ ...but also **loanwords which cannot be ascribed to need** (kinship terms, basic necessities, body parts, etc.)

- *äiti* 'mother'   < PG **aiþīn-, *aiþōn-* 'id.'
- *tytär* 'daughter'   < PB *duktė* 'id.'
- *sisar* 'sister'   < PB *sesuo* 'id.'
- *vesi* 'water'   < PIE **wed-, *wod-, *ud-* 'id.'
- *hammas* 'tooth'   < PB *žambas* 'tooth'

"Clearly, Finnish had previously had terms for close female kin and for these body parts before borrowing these terms from neighbouring Indo-European languages, and thus it is prestige which accounts for these borrowings and not need." (Campbell 1998:60)

Campbell (1998:59-60); Cronhamn (2018, appendix); Häkkinen (2013)

AGRICULTURAL VOCABULARY
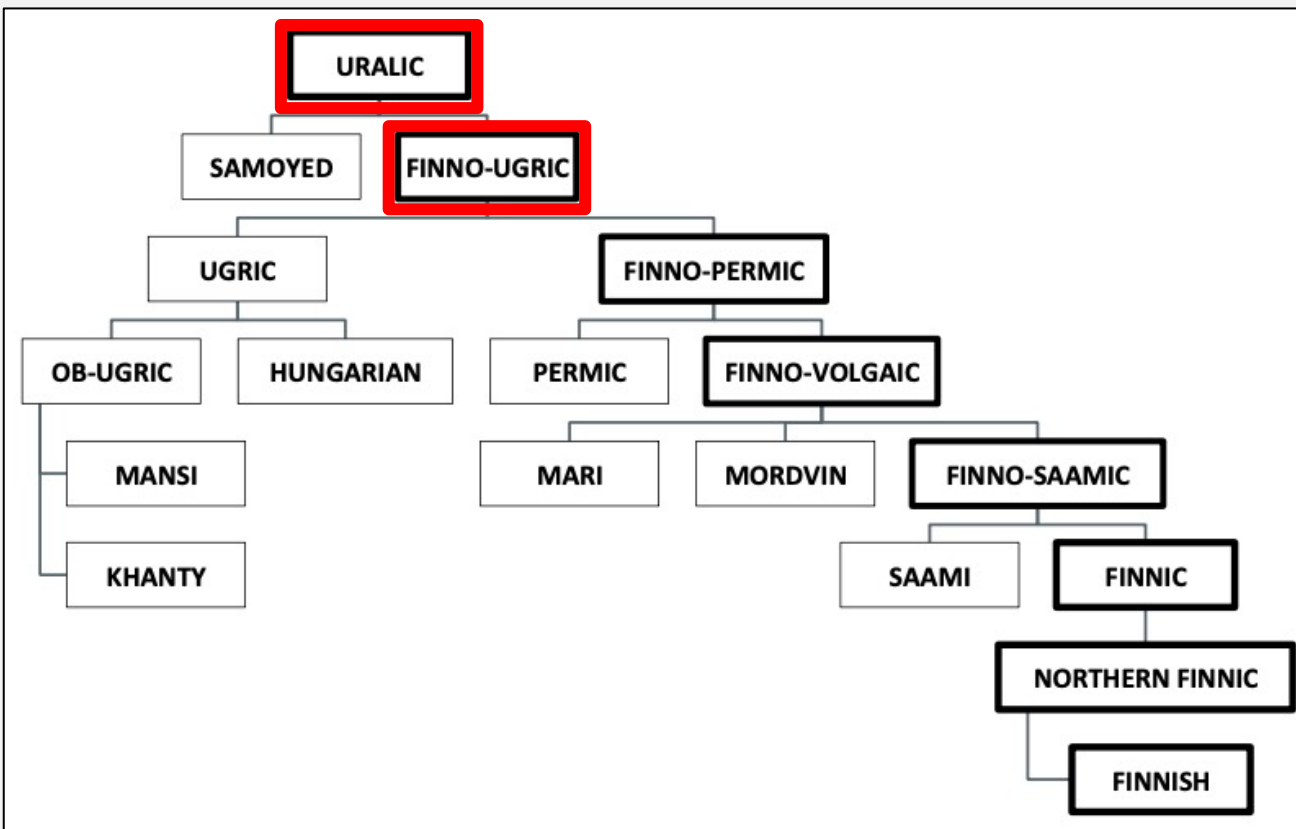
"[...] there is no Uralic or Finno-Ugric vocabulary whatsoever which unambiguously refers to the **cultivation of crops**, and only a few lexical items which putatively refer to the **keeping of domestic animals**. [...] In strikingly many cases, the agricultural vocabulary can be shown to consist of loanwords. The linguistic ancestors of Finnish, for example, appear to have begun to practise agriculture in the region surrounding the Baltic Sea, and to have acquired this activity through the mediation of their Indo-European-speaking neighbours." (Häkkinen 2001:169, my highlights)

- *jyvä* 'grain'   < PIE *jeva-, *jevo-* 'corn, grain'
- *þorsas* 'pig'   < PIE *þorḱos* 'id.'

- *varsa* 'foal, colt'   < PI *varsa-* 'manly, strong; male animal'

- *vuohi* 'goat'   < PB *ožys* 'billy-goat (male goat)'
- *sirppi* 'sickle'   < OES *sĭrpŭ* 'id.'

- *þelto* 'field'   < PG *felþo, *þelto* 'id.'
- *lammas* 'lamb'   < PG *lamƀaz-, *lambiz-* 'id.'
- *þukki* 'he-goat'   < OS *bokker, bukker* 'id.'
- *hakku* 'hoe'   < Swe. *hacka* 'pick, pickaxe'

Campbell (2013:428), Häkkinen (1998; 2001), Rédei (1986-1991)
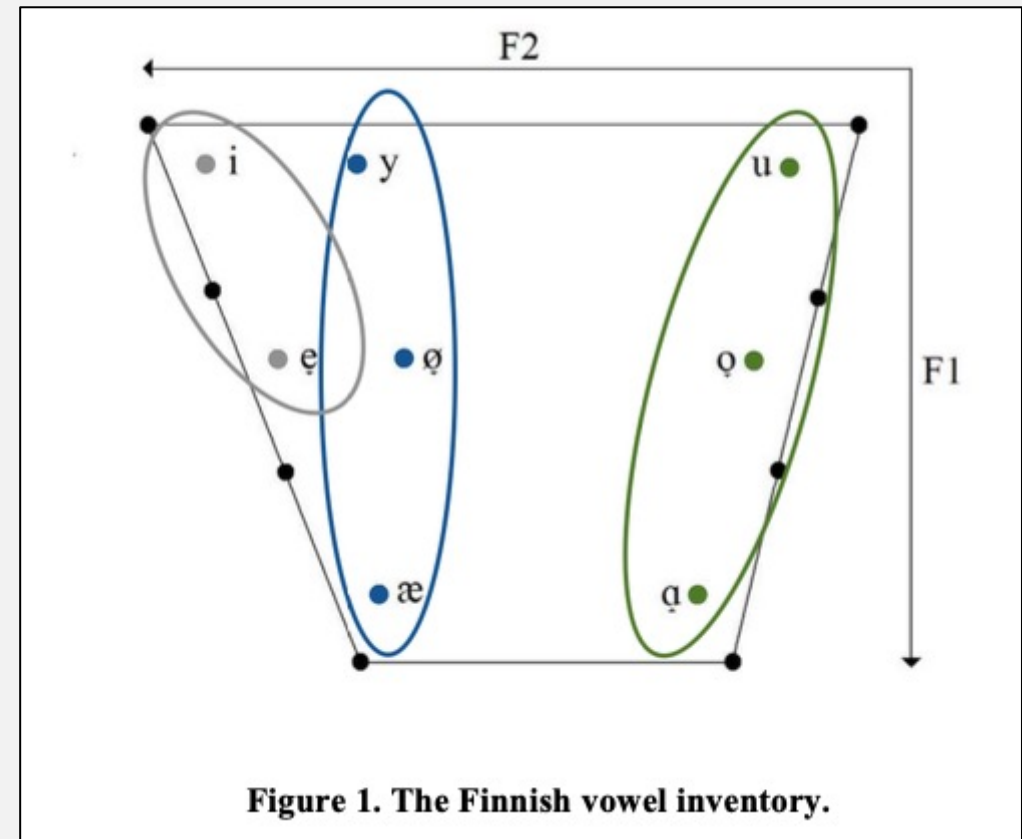
LINGUISTIC PALAEONTOLOGY
& *WÖRTER UND SACHEN*

What historical cultural inferences can we make from studying the lexicon, esp. reconstructed lexicon?

- Words inherited from a proto-language represent meanings associated with a certain cultural salience (Epps 2014:580)

  - Häkkinen (2001:169) finds that her study "yields abundant evidence from the earliest lexical strata of hunting cultures, e.g. terms for hunting and fishing equipment and for game animals"

  - No evidence for agriculturalist/pastoralist terminology

- → PU & PFU speakers led a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, and acquired agriculture from their IE-speaking neighbors?

  - Caveat: "our inability to reconstruct a word to the proto-language does not entail its absence in that language, or the absence of its referent in the lives of its speakers" (Epps 2014:584)

Campbell (2013:405; 434-435), Epps (2014:580ff.), Häkkinen (2001:169)

PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION

PHONOLOGY: VOWELS

- 8 vowels: *i, e, y, ö, ä, u, o* & *a*

- 16 diphthongs: *ei, äi, ui, ai, oi, öi, yi, au, ou, eu, iu, äy, öy, ie, yö* & *uo*

- Front / back vowel harmony

  - *pöytä* 'table' + *-llA* 'adessive' > *pöydällä* 'on the table'

  - *tuoli* 'chair' + *-llA* 'adessive' > *tuolilla* 'on the chair'

Figure 1. The Finnish vowel inventory.

Suomi et al. (2008:20-23); Karlsson (1999:10-14, 16-17)

PHONOLOGY: CONSONANTS

- 17 consonants in contemporary Standard Finnish
  - The most uncommon ones in parantheses
- Consonant gradation (morphophonemic process)
  - e.g. /p, t, k/ → /ʋ, d, ∅~j~ʋ/
- Several contemporary phonemes absent from native vocabulary
  - Voiced stops (only [d] as the weak grade allophone of [t])
  - Fricatives [f], [ʃ]

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	(Denti-)alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p (b)		t			k (g)	
Semiplosive			d				
Fricative		f	s	(ʃ)			
Glottal continuant							h
Nasal	m		n			ŋ	
Trill			r				
Lateral approximant			l				
Central approximant		ʋ			j		

Suomi et al. (2008:22-38); Karlsson (1999:28-29)

PHONOLOGY: CONTRASTIVE LENGTH

- All phonemes (both V & C) are phonemically contrasted in length
- Alternation permitted in almost any position in the word

CVCV	*tule*	come.IMP.2SG	'come!'
CV:CV	*tuule*	blow.CONNEG	'blow (of wind)' (negated form)
CV:C:V	*tuulle*	blow.CONNEG.POT	'(it) may blow (of wind)' (negated form)
CV:CV:	*tuulee*	blow.3SG	'(it) blows (of wind)'
CVCV:	*tulee*	come.3SG	'he/she/it comes'
CVC:V:	*tullee*	come.3SG.POT	'he/she/it may come'
CV:C:V:	*tuullee*	blow.3SG.POT (of wind)	'(it) may blow (of wind)'

(Karlsson 1999:12)

PHONOLOGY: SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

- Fully native words follow a **(C)V(S)(C)** template
  - S = 'segment': either V or C
    - Long vowels, diphthongs, geminates = 2 segments
  - No initial consonant clusters

- Fixed stress: first syllable

Syllable types ordered by frequency

- CV   ***ta***.lo
- CVC   ***tas***.ku
- CVV   ***saa***.ri
- CVVC   ***viet***.to
- VC   ***es***.te
- V   ***o***.sa
- VV   ***au***.to
- CVCC   ***kilt***.ti
- VVC   ***aal***.to
- VCC   ***ark***.ku

Suomi et al. (2008:65)

PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION

- **Phonological adaptation**: the substitution of non-native phonemes to fit the recipient language's sound structure

- **Phonological accommodation**: phonological patterns are modified according to the phonological rules of the recipient language

Campbell (1998:60-62)

PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION: UNPROBLEMATIC CASES

- Close match between sounds in donor and recipient language

- Not much adaptation needed

~/l, s, t, k, m, p, h/ all present in Finnish phonemic system:

- Eng. *lasso*   > Fi. *lasso* 'id.'

- Swe. *taska* 'bag, purse, pouch'   > Fi. *tasku* 'pocket'

- Swe. *lampa* 'lamp   > Fi. *lamppu* 'id.'

- Swe. *hylla* 'shelf'   > Fi. *hylly* 'id.'

- PG. **kaupa-* 'to buy, to trade'   > Fi. *kauppa* 'commerce, trade; store'

PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION: 1-TO-1 SUBSTITUTION

- Donor language sound lacks a clear equivalent in recipient language

- Some adaptation needed, but there is a 1-to-1 correspondence

/b, d, g/ → /p, t, k/ (voiced → voiceless):

- Swe. **b**ä**dd** 'bed'   > Fi. **p**e**t**i 'id.'

- ON. **b**all- 'ball'   > Fi. **p**allo 'id.'

- Swe. **g**ata 'street'   > Fi. **k**atu 'id.'

/f/ → /ʋ/ (voiceless → voiced):

- Swe. **f**ikon 'fig'   > Fi. **v**iikuna 'id.'

PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION: SUBSTITUTED WITH FEWER SOUNDS

- A sequence of sounds is substituted with a smaller number of sounds

- Often because of violation of the phonotactic structure in the recipient language

Initial consonant cluster → the last consonant in the sequence:

- Swe. **sp**egel 'mirror'   > Fi. **p**eili 'id.'

- OES. **kr**ĭstŭ 'cross'   > Fi. **r**isti 'id.'

- Swe. **sk**ola 'school'   > Fi. **k**oulu 'id.'

- ON. *__str__anða 'shore'   > Fi. **r**anta 'id.'

- PG. *__skr__ahā 'fur'   > Fi. **r**aha 'money'

PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION: SUBSTITUTED WITH MORE SOUNDS

- A sound is substituted with a larger number of sounds

- Several sounds needed to represent different traits of the donor language sound

/f/ → /hʋ/ ([-voiced], [+labiodental]):

- Swe. bi**ff** 'steak'   > Fi. pi**hv**i 'id.'

- Swe. bu**ff**el 'buffalo'   > Fi. pu**hv**eli 'id.'

- Swe. ka**ff**e 'coffee'   > Fi. ka**hv**i 'id.'

EFFECTS OF BORROWING ON THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

New phonemes:

- Voiced stops: **_b_**aletti 'ballet' (minimal pair with **_p_**aletti 'palette')
  - cf. older **_p_**e**_t_**i < Swe. **_b_**ä**_dd_**
- 'Hypercorrection': _Hurri**g**anes_ ['hur:iganes], **_G_**ronhamn

Initial consonant clusters now allowed

- **_kr_**uunu < Swe. **_kr_**ona
  - cf. older **_r_**isti < OES. **_kr_**ĭstŭ

Vowel harmony violations

- _amatööri_ 'amateur' (_a_ = [+back], _ö_ = [+front])
  - cf. older _räät**_ä_**li_ < Swe. _skrädd**_a_**re_ 'tailor' (_a_ → _ä_)

Album cover via Wikimedia Commons

Suomi et al. (2008), Duncan (2008)

DETERMINING THE AGE OF LOANWORDS

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- **Written attestations**
  - Can set a lower boundary for the borrowing
- **Cognates** in related languages
  - If the loanword is found in a number of related languages, following regular patterns of change, the most plausible proposal is that the borrowing took place in the most recent common ancestral state of these languages
- **Phonological adaptation** patterns
  - Shifts in sound substitution patterns (reflecting phonological changes) give us clues about (roughly) when a particular borrowing event may have taken place

COGNATES AS CLUES TO AGE

Proto-Finno-Ugric:

- Fi. *sarvi* 'horn' < **PFU *śorwa 'id.'** < borrowed from PII *śr̥va- 'id.'
  - cf. Saami *čoarvi*; Mordvin *śuro*; Mari *šur*; Komi *śur*; Mansi *sōrp*; Hungarian *szarv*

Proto-Finnic:

- Fi. *parta* 'beard' < **PF *parta 'id.'** < borrowed from PG *barđa- 'id.'
  - cf. Estonian *pard* (dial.); Ingrian, Karelian, Votic *parta*; Veps *bard*

PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION AS A CLUE TO AGE

Phonological changes in the recipient language:

Fi. _ranta_ 'beach, shore' (< ON *_stranða_ 'shore')
- before constraint against initial consonant clusters was abandoned
- before _d_ gained phonemic status

Fi. _krokotiili_ 'crocodile' (< Swe. _krokodil_ 'id.')
- after constraint against initial consonant clusters was abandoned
- after _d_ gained phonemic status

Campbell (2013:60), Häkkinen (2013), Suomi et al. (2008:34)

PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION AS A CLUE TO AGE

Phonological changes in the donor language:

PG *badja* 'bed'   > Fi. *patja* 'mattress'
- Before *a > e* Umlaut
- Before loss of final syllable

Swe. *bädd* [bed:]   > Fi. *peti* 'id.'
- After *a > e* Umlaut
- After loss of final syllable

Campbell (1998:70), Häkkinen (2013), Cronhamn (2018, appendix)

THE ROLE OF LOANWORDS IN RECONSTRUCTION

Earlier language stages can be reconstructed with evidence that can be uncovered from loanwords

- e.g. Finnish loanwords from Proto-Germanic

- "These loans bear evidence of things in Germanic which can be reconstructed only with difficulty from the evidence retained in the Germanic languages themselves – some of these reconstructed things are confirmed only through comparisons of Germanic with other branches of Indo-European." (Campbell 1998:69)

- Fi. *rengas* 'ring'   < PG. *hreng-az*   (cf. Eng. *ring*)
- Fi. *kuningas* 'king'   < PG. *kuning-az*   (cf. Eng. *king*)

1. Confirms that PG previously contrasted *e* and *i* before *n* (merged to *i* in all daughter languages)
2. Document the PG ending *-az* (lost in most Germanic languages)

CONCLUSION

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- Finnish is a fairly typical language from a loanword typological point of view: 26.3% loanwords
- The overwhelming majority of loanwords in Finnish come from IE, especially from Germanic languages
  - Layers of loanwords from different IE branches, likely reflecting migration history
- Borrowing patterns reflect socio-political relations and movements (e.g. the relationships to Swedish and to Saami, but also period of neologisms)
- Borrowing patterns may give clues to prehistory (e.g. in the case of agricultural terminology in Finnish)
- Loanwords adapt to the phonological system of the recipient language
  - Such adaptations can help us determine the age of loanwords
  - Long-term contact may change the phonological system
- Loanword forms can even aid in the reconstruction of ancestral stages of the donor language

KIITOS!

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