

Lexical and Syntactic Transfer in the English Language Fan Fiction Texts of Finnish Native Speakers

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Tämä tutkielma käsittelee suomen kielen siirtovaikutusta englanninkielisissä fanifiktio-teksteissä. Alan aiempi tutkimus on käyttänyt aineistonaan suureksi osaksi koulussa tehtyjä kirjoitelmia, mutta tämän tutkimuksen aineisto sen sijaan koostuu yksinomaan internetissä julkaistuista fanifiktio-teksteistä, jotka on kerätty internet-sivustolla fanfiction.net suomalaisiksi tunnustautuneilta käyttäjiltä.

Fanifiktio-tekstit ovat tekstilajiltaan varsin erilaisia kuin esimerkiksi koulukirjoitelmat. Lisäksi ne ovat omalähtöisesti julkaistuja ja laadittu ilman aikarajoitteita tai ulkoisia pakotteita. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena oli selvittää, esiintyvätkö englannin kielen *yo*-aineissa havaitut sanastoon ja rakenteisiin liittyvät siirtovaikutuspiirteet myös fanifiktio-aineistossa. Lisäksi tehtiin hypoteesi, jonka mukaan fanifiktio-teksteissä todennäköisesti esiintyy vähemmän siirtovaikutusta kuin englanninkielisissä ylioppilaskirjoitelmissa.

Fanifiktio-teksteistä etsittiin aiemmassa kotimaisessa tutkimuksessa havaittuja yhdeksää leksikaalista ja viittä syntaktista siirtovaikutuspiirrettä. Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että useimpia näistä piirteistä esiintyi fanifiktio-aineistossa vähemmän kuin ylioppilaskirjoitelmissa; osaa piirteistä ei esiintynyt aineistossa lainkaan. Havaittiin myös, että epäidiomaattisten sanojen tai rakenteiden toteaminen siirtovaikutuksesta johtuviksi ei aina ole yksinkertaista, ja siirtovaikutuksen kvantifioiminen onkin todettu alalla hyvin vaikeaksi.

Siirtovaikutusta esiintyi fanifiktio-teksteissä vähemmän etenkin sanan pintamuotoihin liittyvissä leksikaalisissa ja melkein kaikissa syntaktisissa siirtovaikutuspiirteissä. Leksikaalisista piirteistä sanojen merkitysvivahteisiin ja käyttökonteksteihin liittyviä nk. semanttisia ekstensioita ja kollokaatiovirheitä esiintyi fanifiktio-aineistossa melko paljon, mikä tukee aiemmissä tutkimuksissa tehtyjä havaintoja. Syntaksisista piirteistä prepositioiden käyttöön liittyvä siirtovaikutus oli ainoa, jota esiintyi paljon myös fanifiktio-aineistossa: epäidiomaattisen preposition siirtovaikutuksesta johtuva valinta oli aineiston kokoon nähden lähes yhtä yleistä fanifiktio-aineistossa ja ylioppilaskirjoitelma-aineistossa. Näiden piirteiden lisäksi fanifiktio-aineistossa havaittiin uusi mahdollinen syntaktinen siirtovaikutuspiirre: suomen kielelle ominaisen kysymyssana-subjektipredikaatti -sanajärjestyksen käyttäminen suorissa *wh*-kysymyslauseissa. Henkilöhahmoja sisältävissä fiktioteksteissä esiintyy luonnollisesti paljon suoria sitaatteja ja sen myötä paljon suoria kysymyslauseita, mikä voi osaltaan selittää ko. ilmiön löytymisen. Tämän piirteen tunnistaminen siirtovaikutuksesta johtuvaksi vaatisi mahdollisesti oman kontrastiivisen tutkimuksensa.

Avainsanat: siirtovaikutus, fanifiktio, leksikko, syntaksi

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1 Introduction

This study investigates lexical and syntactic native language transfer patterns in English language fan fiction texts published online by native Finnish speakers. Motivations both academic and personal underlie the project; firstly, the role that a person's native language plays in the acquisition, comprehension and production of foreign languages has been of great personal interest to me for many years. Even as far back as in my early teens I remember listening to my peers speaking English and trying to understand why certain elements of their pronunciation sounded Finnish. Naturally, to study the influence of Finnish on the production of my favorite foreign language, English, seemed an exciting and inspiring pursuit. I have also always been more interested in the systematic rather than the spontaneous, which is why I decided to study written rather than spoken language. Spoken language is a medium where a large number of mistakes are made on the spot, regardless of actual competence, whereas written texts provide more insight into the systematic workings of a learner's mind.

Personal motives aside, it is a fact that relatively few Finnish transfer studies have been carried out of late (Meriläinen 2010, 33). Much of the recent research carried out using Finnish subjects has focused on spoken English (see e.g. Rohlich 2004, Lauttamus et al. 2007, Nolte 2011), and many of the studies that do concern English language texts written by Finnish native speakers are very old and have typically analyzed texts produced in or for various Finnish schools (see e.g. Granfors and Palmberg 1976, Sajavaara 1983). The material chosen for the present study, however, consists exclusively of creative writing texts. Each text analyzed is an extract of fan fiction published online by a different native Finnish speaker, and importantly, the texts have been voluntarily published instead of being mandatory school assignments, for example. There is also a creative element present in this type of writing that is rarely found in texts written in schools or other formal

contexts, which provides the opportunity to analyze a very different type of text that past studies have generally utilized as data. The data set of the study comprises 22 fan fiction texts in total, adding up to roughly 30000 words. The fan fiction genre will be explored in more detail in chapter 3 below, while chapter 4 discusses data collection methods.

The framework for the present study is adapted from fairly recent transfer research carried out by Lea Meriläinen (2008, 2010), which analyzed a corpus that comprises written compositions extracted from Finnish matriculation examinations from three different years: 1995, 2000 and 2005. Meriläinen also analyzed a similar corpus consisting of Swedish language compositions and compared that data to the Finnish data, in order to find deviant patterns of language use that were demonstrably caused by the influence of the Finnish lexicon and syntax. Through a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis, Meriläinen discovered in her data 9 different types of lexical transfer and 5 subtypes of syntactic transfer that could fairly reliably be attributed to Finnish language influence, and in this study we will look for these same features in our fan fiction material to see in what numbers they occur, if at all, and if any new transfer patterns emerge. The aforementioned patterns will be discussed in depth in chapter 5.

The purpose of this thesis is to produce more knowledge about the ways in which the Finnish language influences the written English produced by native Finnish speakers, and especially to use the newfound opportunities of the Web to extend the scope of transfer research to voluntarily produced creative writing, as past research in Finland has largely consisted of compositions written in various school environments (Ringbom 2006, 41); as Ringbom (1987, 29) notes, foreign language learners in school are most often motivated by instrumental short-term goals (graduation, employment opportunities etc.) and not by a genuine interest in the language itself. The fact that online fan fiction is a voluntary pursuit also adds another interesting hypothesis: since fan fiction writers go out of their way to publish original texts online for everyone to read (and for an often

very critical audience; more on this in chapter 3), it is not a stretch to hypothesize that these writers would possess an above average competence in English. The research questions can, then, be formulated to be as follows:

1. Are the kind of lexical and syntactic constructions that Meriläinen (2010) attributed to Finnish language transfer found in online fan fiction texts as well?
2. Do the fan fiction texts contain less lexical and syntactic transfer overall?

To give a brief summary of what is to follow: chapter 2 of this study will discuss the theoretical foundations relevant to this study, while chapter 3 will look at fan fiction as a community and as a genre. Chapter 4 gives an account of the data collection methods and discusses the numbers as well as general relevant topics such as reliability. Chapter 5 will introduce the lexical and syntactic transfer patterns relevant to this study and outline the method used in analyzing the data. Chapter 6 presents a detailed account of the results obtained from the data, while chapter 7 presents a summary and discussion of the findings and chapter 8 presents the main conclusions reached.

2 Language transfer research

There is a large body of existing research into the influence of the native language (L1) on second language acquisition (SLA). There is no real explicit agreement on what the phenomena relating to this area of linguistics should be called, and indeed a wide range of different terminology exists to refer to the processes of studying cross-linguistic influence. Odlin (2003, 437) lists terms such as *language transfer*, *linguistic interference*, *the role of the mother tongue*, *native language influence* and *language mixing* that have all been used in transfer research to describe the same phenomenon. I have chosen to favor the term *language transfer* henceforth in this study, not least because it is a term that is still in pervasive use in modern SLA research; according to Ringbom (2006, 30) transfer remains the most commonly used term for this phenomenon.

In short, language transfer refers to the different ways in which one language may influence the acquisition of another language (Ringbom 2006, 30). Transfer can concern various subsystems of language including phonetics, spelling, morphosyntax, word functions and so on (Siegel 2009, 577). It is an avenue of research that has enjoyed considerable interest in the scientific community for the past several decades. This chapter will briefly discuss the history of the field, beginning from contrastive linguistics in the 1950s, which formulated into a science the notion that languages influence each other in the language acquisition process, and then move onward chronologically into more recent popular developments and hypotheses. Discussion will then move on to the concepts of lexical and syntactic transfer, as well as to previous transfer research in Finland.

2.1 The beginnings of native language transfer research in the 1950s

The term *contrastive analysis* was first popularized by Robert Lado in *Linguistics Across Cultures* (1957). In short, contrastive analysis of language posits that the words and grammatical features of one's native language influence the acquisition of foreign languages. The basic hypothesis is that a

learner will assume that the forms of the native language, whether they be lexical, syntactical or phonetic, apply to the target language as well, and properties shared by the two languages will promote successful second language acquisition while mismatches therein will hinder it. The aim of Contrastive Analysis was, through a descriptive analysis of the source and target languages, to predict difficulties learners are likely to encounter (Lado 1957, 2; quoted in Odlin 1987, 15).

Lado was not the first researcher to suggest the existence of native language transfer, however. Uriel Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* (1953), predating Lado's book by four years, included reviews of studies concerning language mixing, and according to Odlin (2003, 438), "looked at cross-linguistic influence far more closely than any previous investigation had". Furthermore, Odlin (1987, 6) notes that there was a large-scale controversy involving cross-linguistic influence as far back as in the nineteenth century, which inspired research that has a lot of overlap with more recent transfer research. Nevertheless, Lado's work is still regarded as a landmark in the field, and Ringbom (2006, 32) notes that although it "has ... been unfairly treated by later linguists" on the basis of "[a] few isolated, somewhat unhappily phrased, oversimplifications" (ibid), it still contains a number of original ideas that have greatly benefited the fields of contrastive analysis and second language acquisition. Ringbom also points out Lado's approach to studying second language acquisition was far more comprehensive compared to most linguists and took into consideration lexical, phonological and even cultural aspects while traditionally linguistics had focused on grammar (ibid).

2.2 The following decades: moving from surface forms to underlying structures

The views presented by contrastive analysis began to receive heavy criticism in the decades that followed, as several studies seemed to undermine the basic principles of the contrastive analysis hypothesis (Thomas 2013, 31). Duskova's (1969) analysis of the writing of Czech students demonstrated that similarities between Czech and English did not prevent errors in acquisition and

that differences between the two languages were not always a hindrance to learning (Thomas 2013, 31). Dulay and Burt found in a 1973 study that only 3 per cent of the errors they analyzed were transfer-induced and the vast majority of errors were instead identified as so-called developmental errors, which mean errors that are universal to both first and second language acquisition (Ellis 1986, 28). According to Ellis, this study by Dulay and Burt “constituted a powerful attack on the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis” (ibid), eroding its credibility further. Ellis (1986, 28-29) listed a range of studies that had attempted to quantify the influence of transfer, and while he quotes a mean value of 33 per cent transfer errors per study, he went on to note that the figures varied dramatically between studies, from a measly 3 per cent to as much as 51 per cent. Ellis concluded that the contrastive analysis hypothesis had proven very difficult to validate because of a “lack of well-defined and broadly-accepted criteria for establishing which grammatical utterances are the result of language transfer” (ibid). In particular, distinguishing between transfer errors and the aforementioned developmental errors has been exceedingly difficult (ibid).

As Thomas (2013, 32-33) describes, contrastive analysis continued to lose mainstream popularity in the 1970s. Some transfer studies (Dulay and Burt 1974; Bailey, Madden and Krashen 1974) went so far as to suggest the native language had zero demonstrable influence on the acquisition of morphological and syntactical features. However, these extreme views inspired a counter-reaction in the language research community, as the alternative models presented by the likes of Dulay and Burt could not adequately explain second language acquisition. In the 1980s, generativist approaches to SLA began to gain traction (Thomas 2013, 32-34). The principal difference between this school of thought and structuralist hypotheses like contrastive analysis was the idea that it was not the linguistic units of the L1 themselves (sounds, words, sentences etc.) that influenced the acquisition and production of L2, but that transfer instead sprung from “learners' knowledge of language *underlying* L1 linguistic units” (Thomas 2013, 34; emphasis added). This shifted the focus of transfer research from explicit surface forms (e.g. words) to implicit abstract structures and

processes that underlie them (Foley & Flynn 2013, 103). Further, the central issue in transfer research was no longer the binary question of whether or not L1 influences L2 acquisition but rather in which ways and which contexts L1 influence tends to occur (Gass & Selinker 2008, 137).

As mainstream transfer research shifted further away from surface forms to the underlying structures of language, the 1980s saw the idea of the Universal Grammar Hypothesis (UG) rise in popularity, spearheaded by Noam Chomsky's theory of Government and Binding (Chomsky 1981). UG holds that for the acquisition of any given language there exists a set of universal innate *principles* common to all cultures and all languages, and the differences between languages can be explained by language-specific *parameters*, which mean, for example, knowledge of whether a certain language permits a certain type of sentence structure (Foley and Flynn 2013, 104). It was hypothesized, then, that UG constituted a so-called initial state for the learner, a foundation from which second language acquisition begun.

A lot of the research in the 1980s and 1990s came to suggest that it was both universal principles and knowledge of one's native language that influenced second language acquisition (Foley and Flynn 2013, 105). During these decades, mainstream SLA research continued to focus heavily on the role of UG. Popular approaches included the Full Access Model, which downplayed the role of native language influence and argued that UG was the main contributor in second language acquisition. Other approaches argued the learner has no direct access to UG and native language influence is a key contributor in learning a new language (Foley and Flynn 2013, 106). Certain approaches argued an important role for both L1 and UG, while others, like the Minimal Trees Hypothesis proposed by Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1994) suggested that L1 influence is limited to certain areas of language, e.g. lexicon (Foley and Flynn 2013, 106).

2.3 Transfer research today

It was mentioned in section 2.2 that Vainikka and Young-Scholten's (1994) Minimal Trees Hypothesis limited the role of the L1 to the lexicon. Recent, post-2000 transfer research has continued to focus on the idea that the extent of the influence of a learner's native language may vary between different areas of language knowledge, e.g. lexicon, semantics, morphosyntax or phonology (Foley and Flynn 2013, 107). Modern SLA research has also begun to consider other factors such as the learner's age in relation to his or her L1 and L2; the role of the native language in second language acquisition may in fact vary depending on the age at which one begins learning a new language (Foley and Flynn 2013, 112-113). Yet another factor is that the influence of the L1 may be stronger or weaker depending on the stage of development where a difference or similarity between the native and target languages occurs (ibid). According to Foley and Flynn (2013, 113), the whole set of modern SLA research paints quite a "nuanced picture" about the role of L1 influence in language learning, and no explicit agreement on the matter exists to date. Indeed, Gass and Selinker (2008, 137) state that although it has been widely accepted since the mid-1970s that native language influences target language, no consensus has been reached on the role of transfer in the different areas of second language acquisition.

When carrying out the data analysis of the present study, it is important to consider and consult the large body of transfer research that has been built over the past decades. The sheer complexity that is involved in determining the existence and extent of the influence of the native language sets an imperative for any transfer researcher to be as rigorous as possible in his or her analysis. While it can be tempting to attribute the occurrence of a deviant linguistic feature to native language transfer, it is paramount to ensure that any such assertion is properly justified and not made in haste. To do otherwise would be to ignore the collective work of the SLA research community in the past decades, where the only consensus seems to be that the role of the native language is always complex.

2.4 Lexical and syntactic transfer in brief

The present study investigates transfer patterns involving lexical and syntactic elements. Lexical transfer refers to the phenomenon where one's knowledge of native language words influences the acquisition and production of target language words (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008, 72), whereas syntactic transfer refers to phenomena that concern more the structural characteristics of the native language and the target language.

Lexical transfer may be interchangeable with *borrowing* in informal contexts. However, whereas borrowing simply means using a native language word in an unaltered or modified form in the target language (Ringbom 1983, 207), the processes whereby lexical transfer occurs are much more complex, and such transfer is not limited to surface forms, i.e. it can occur with or without similarity in form between language items the two languages involved (*ibid*). More generally, while borrowing means carrying over unanalyzed elements of one's native language to the target language, transfer concerns filling gaps in one's knowledge of the target language with knowledge of one's native language, i.e. assuming a similarity exists between *patterns* rather than forms (Ringbom 1983, 50). Nation (2001, 27) developed into an explicit framework the idea that the knowledge of a word is a very complex concept in itself, and concluded that to master a word, one needs to be aware of its written and spoken surface *forms*, its *meanings* and the many functions and contexts in which it is *used*. This three-way division of word knowledge (form / meaning / use) was used by Meriläinen (2010, 70) as a starting point for the classification of lexical transfer elements. A detailed classification of different types of lexical transfer will be presented in section 5.1.

In syntactic transfer, the grammatical structures of the native language influence the comprehension and production of such structures in the target language. The influence of the native language on syntax has generally been more controversial than its role on the lexicon (Odlin 1987, 85), because the supposed transfer effects can often compellingly be attributed to, for example, phenomena

universal to all language learning; as we discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.3 above, some popular models that describe second language acquisition have limited the role of the native language to the lexicon, and certain studies (Dulay and Burt 1974; Bailey, Madden and Krashen 1974) attributed no role to the native language at all. Meriläinen (2010, 23) notes that the evidence for syntactic transfer has traditionally been deemed less convincing because learners tend to avoid difficult, less frequently occurring syntactic structures, so the presence of transfer is more implicit and consequently harder to detect and argue for. However, at present the influence of the native language on second language syntax is generally acknowledged (ibid). Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008, 96-102) concur, noting that while syntax and morphology were long considered immune to cross-linguistic influence, “ample instances” (2008, 96) of syntactic transfer have been documented in both the receptive and productive domains of language.

The specific types of lexical and syntactic transfer investigated in this study are presented in depth in their respective sections 5.1 and 5.2, along with a concurrent linguistic comparison between Finnish and English as regards the lexical and syntactic elements in question.

2.5 Previous research into Finnish-English language transfer

Since the present study concerns compositions written by Finnish native speakers, a look at previous research in the field is warranted. Some research into Finnish influence on English has indeed been carried out, and Håkan Ringbom (1976, 1) has called Finland “uniquely favorable” in investigating the role of the native language in second language acquisition on account of its two official languages, Finnish and Swedish. Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008, 45), too, consider this kind of “intergroup heterogeneity” useful in investigating evidence for native language transfer. Indeed, there has been quite a lot of research comparing Finnish and Swedish speaking Finns regarding their L2 acquisition of English, and a great portion of the source material for this research has involved the Finnish school system in one way or another (Ringbom 2006, 41). Odlin (2003, 438)

notes that although the teaching of English is very similar in Finland and Sweden, Swedish speakers generally pick up the language much easier compared to Finnish-speaking students owing to the linguistic similarities between Swedish and English that facilitate the learning of the latter language. Ringbom (2006, 41-42) concurs and states that research into various levels of school testing makes it clear that there is a distinct difference in both the receptive and productive competence between Finns whose native language is Finnish and Finns whose native language is Swedish.

Transfer research involving the lexicon has found that Finnish speakers do not generally tend to directly transfer Finnish language words into their English language writing (e.g. Ringbom 1987, Meriläinen 2006), because Finnish and English are typologically very different languages and share very few cognates, i.e. words identical or similar in form and meaning with a common origin (Ringbom 2006, 73). Direct borrowing into English from the mother tongue is a transfer feature that is much more common among, for example, speakers of Swedish, a language with which English shares a great number of cognates (ibid). However, other types of lexical transfer related to word meanings, namely *semantic extensions*, e.g. *I came unhappy*, from Finnish *tulla* 'come', 'become' (Ringbom 2006, 83), and *calques* i.e. literal *loan translations* of multi-word units, e.g. *home animal*, from Finnish *kotieläin* 'domestic animal' (ibid), have been found to be more common in the written English compositions of Finnish speakers compared to their Swedish-speaking peers (see e.g. Ringbom 1987; Meriläinen 2010). These, as well as other types lexical transfer will be examined in more detail in chapter 5.1.

Regarding syntactic transfer, research has found that Finnish speakers tend to struggle with certain grammatical features of English that are fundamentally different from Finnish. For example, a study by Jarvis and Odlin (2000, 535-56) analyzed the written narratives of adolescent learners and found that Finnish native speakers tended to omit prepositions in their compositions while Swedish native speakers used plenty of them, and attributed this difference to the fact that a preposition system like

the one in English is absent in Finnish and conversely a very similar system is found in Swedish. The omission of prepositions was also noted in other studies, e.g. Granfors and Palmberg (1976) and Meriläinen (2010), the latter of which also found certain unidiomatic preposition choices to be influenced by the Finnish case ending system. Studies such as Granfors and Palmberg (1976) and Sajavaara (1983) have repeatedly found that Finnish speakers also struggle with articles, since Finnish uses other means like word order and case endings to express definiteness (Ringbom 1987, 93). The frequent omission of articles was also noted in a spoken language study by Rohlich (2004) that used Finnish immigrants living in Australia as its subjects.

Meriläinen's research on the written English of Finnish matriculation examination students (2010) uncovered altogether 9 types of lexical transfer patterns and 5 types of syntactic transfer patterns where influence from Finnish is present. These are the very same patterns that will be investigated in the present study, and the basic structure for how the data is analyzed and presented is also in many respects directly adapted from Meriläinen. The lexical and syntactic features in question, and the manner in which the analysis of the present study is structured, are presented in detail in chapter 5. That chapter also contains a discussion of the linguistic differences between Finnish and English that are relevant to the transfer patterns under investigation.

2.6 On negative transfer, error analysis and the nature of the present study

Håkan Ringbom notes that there has been a tendency in transfer research to favor the investigation of *negative transfer*, i.e. transfer that hinders language learning. *Positive transfer*, which refers to situations where features of the L1 aid in the learning of the L2, has “at most been given some remarks in passing” (Ringbom 2006, 31). Ringbom disagrees with traditional approaches and attitudes to language transfer and singles out error analysis in particular as focusing on “what the learner *cannot* do rather than what they *can* do” (Ringbom 2006, 32; emphasis added). The present study does, however, exclusively concern phenomena that are typically classified as negative

transfer, i.e. underproduction, overproduction, production errors and misinterpretation (Odlin 1987, 36), which arise from linguistic dissimilarity, and does not consider the facilitative effect of linguistic similarity (i.e. positive transfer). Furthermore, the present study does fundamentally resemble Jan Svartvik's (1973, 8) description of a typical error analysis, in that its goal is to find and analyze lexical and syntactic features of written text that deviate from the forms that native speakers of English would generally use. Be that as it may, it must be said that to speak of *errors* per se in the context of this study is to imply a highly normative juxtaposition, i.e. reserving correctness and pureness for native speaker Englishes like British and American English, consequently rendering other varieties incorrect. If one were to aspire to study in a purely neutral descriptive manner the distinctive lexical and syntactic features that occur in the English produced by Finnish native speakers, it would probably be best to dispose of such terminology as *errors* altogether and replace them with a description such as *unidiomatic* instead.

As far back as in 1973 Jan Svartvik (1973, 8) noted that “[a]lthough the study of errors is a natural starting-point, the final analysis should include linguistic performance as a whole, not just deviation”, and went on to suggest *performance analysis* as a better term to replace *error analysis*. With that in mind, it is important to state that even though the present study does analyze the negative transfer of Finnish lexical and syntactic elements into English written production, the intention is not to make any broader evaluative statements about whether or not a certain fan fiction text is good or bad English or to present value judgments as to whether native-like production should be a learner's end goal. The purpose is, as stated earlier, to investigate Finnish native language influence – nothing more, nothing less.

3 Fan fiction

The source material for this study was collected from the online fan fiction portal fanfiction.net (henceforth FFN), which is the largest online fan fiction portal in the world (online source: FFN Research). Curiously, the website gives no background information nor an introduction to the fan fiction genre at all, which suggests that visitors to the site are assumed to have existing knowledge or familiarity with the subject and no separate effort is made to attract potential new membership with no prior interest in fan fiction. However, academia has naturally recognized the genre and pertinent previous research into the subject will be discussed below in order to form a picture of the genre itself and to shed some light on what, if anything, constitutes a typical fan fiction author. After all, as we briefly discussed in the introduction, one cannot consider it a stretch to hypothesize that people who write fan fiction are more likely to have a better than average grasp of English lexical and syntactic conventions.

3.1 The definition and history of fan fiction

Fan fiction refers to the creation of new stories based on an established work of fiction, commonly known as the *canon*, which provides “the universe, setting and characters” upon which fan-created material or the *fanon* builds on (Busse and Hellekson 2006, 9). A basic example of fan fiction would be a story based on J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series, using the same characters and locations, etc. Fan fiction stories commonly incorporate tropes from several popular fan fiction subgenres, such as *deathfic* (the story involves the death of a major character), *episode fix* (a rewriting of events that differs from the canon) or *alternate universe*, where familiar characters are introduced to an entirely new setting (Busse and Hellekson 2006, 11).

Fan fiction historian Mary Ellen (online source: Ellen 2000) notes that in the mid-1990s, written fan fiction existed mainly within the realm of science fiction, and stories about Star Trek were

especially popular. It has since expanded to cover other genres, and it was really the explosive growth of the Internet that led to a real surge in the popularity of fan fiction (ibid): in 2010, FFN had over three million registered users and 6.6 million published stories (Internet source: FFN Research). The dynamic nature of the Internet has also in turn made fan fiction into a very dynamic genre; Busse and Hellekson (2006, 7) note that all of fan fiction can be thought of as a constant work in progress: “[t]he entirety of stories and critical commentary written in a fandom ... offers an ever-growing, ever-expanding version of the characters... working with and against one another, this multitude of stories creates a larger whole of understanding of a given universe.” The online fan fiction communities indeed constitute a very active, critical audience; Leppänen (2009, 62) observes that fan fiction is “an active textual and cultural work” that can be quite subversive, not reduced to mere imitation of popular texts by “passive consumer dupes”.

As Leppänen (2009, 62) points out, fan fiction has become an increasingly global phenomenon as participants in fan fiction communities are often geographically far removed from each other. The web provides a medium for people with converging interests, beliefs and values to form communities quickly and easily without the need for physical proximity. These are called *communities of practice*, a term first coined by Lave & Wenger (1991, 98). To quote Eckert (2000, 35): “A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around some enterprise. United by this common enterprise, people come to develop and share beliefs, values, ways of doing things, ways of talking – in short, practices – as a function of their joint engagement in activity. Simultaneously, social relations form around the activities and activities form around relationships”. FFN clearly fits this definition, as users join because of their interest in fan fiction, but stay also for the social networking side of the affair: there are numerous discussion boards on the website that do not limit the discussion to fan fiction related topics, with many of them simply being advertised as places to casually spend time in.

Since websites like FFN are brimming with stories that incorporate established worlds, characters and the like, it naturally raises an important question concerning the legality of published fan fiction, i.e. whether or not fan fiction falls under fair use of the source material. As it stands, there is currently some disagreement on the matter. In the United States, there is even a legal precedent for fan fiction to be considered a form of copyright infringement: Swedish author Fredrik Colting's novel *60 Years Later: Coming Through the Rye*, featuring a 76-year-old version of the protagonist in J.D. Salinger's classic novel *The Catcher in the Rye*, was banned from ever being published in the country (online source: NY Times, 7 Jan 2009). Fantasy writer George R. R. Martin, best known for the *A Song of Ice and Fire* series and its TV adaptation *Game of Thrones*, holds the view that fan fiction infringes on the author's copyright and considers it bad practice overall (online source: georgerrmartin.com). Conversely, authors like J. K. Rowling fully support the practice (online source: BBC News Online, 27 May 2004).

3.2 Who writes fan fiction? - A look at the data

The website FFN Research, short for FanFiction.net research, presents a body of data assembled in 2010 that provides ample information on the user base of FFN. As we already established that FFN is the largest fan fiction portal on the web, we can trust that we can extrapolate this data to infer something about the typical fan fiction writer.

What makes defining the user base a bit problematic is that displaying one's age and gender on one's user profile at FFN is not obligatory. In the 6410 user sample assembled by FFN Research, the average age among the users who had chosen to divulge this particular information was 15.8 years. As for gender, 78 per cent of FFN members who joined in 2010 and self-specified their gender were female. Even back in 1970, years before the advent of online fan fiction, an estimated 83 per cent of fan fiction writers were women, and this figure had increased to 90 percent by 1973 (Coppa 2006, 47). If anything, the conclusion that can be drawn from this is that fan fiction seems

to be a genre – and a community – that attracts young females. As concerns Finnish speaking users, one might be inclined to hypothesize that since writing fiction in a foreign language tends to be more challenging than to do so in one’s native language, the average age of Finnish FFN users (writing in English) may be higher than the age of native English speaking FFN users. Additionally we have already posited the hypothesis that the average Finnish FFN user may possess an above-average mastery of the lexical and syntactic conventions of English.

It was a pleasant surprise to find that English language fan fiction written by Finns was so abundantly available. Leppänen (2007, 162) writes that although a lot of Finnish fan fiction is indeed written in Finnish, there is a lot of either Finnish-English bilingual or wholly English fan fiction, for a few reasons: firstly, the online community is international, and including at least some English makes the texts accessible to people who do not know any Finnish. Secondly, the use of English helps create a feeling of authenticity to the fan fiction text. Leppänen continues: “In many fans’ opinion, one criterion of good fan fiction is indeed that it manages to simulate the discourse of the original in a convincing way” (ibid). Thirdly, English interspersed with Finnish can be used for stylistic effect, or each language can have a separate function. In Leppänen’s example, the story’s narration is in Finnish and the speech is in English. Nearly all of the material used in this study is exclusively English, so the first and second reason, i.e. successfully communicating with non-Finns and authenticity, are the most relevant ones for the purposes of the study.

The role of English in online fan fiction communities is not limited simply to a marker of textual authenticity and a tool for successful communication, however. Black (2009, 419-420) concluded that the “common thread . . . in technology-mediated, out-of-school literary practices” is that they help English language learners develop an identity as “powerful language users” and “accomplished users of multiple social languages” that draw influence and expertise from their own cultural and linguistic backgrounds, even if their academic success with English is less than remarkable.

4 Data collection

This chapter presents the data of the study and, more specifically, how and why it was collected.

Section 4.1 is about the selection process of the material and why online fan fiction specifically was chosen, while section 4.2 discusses the numerical side in more detail and provides a few general remarks on issues concerning reliability.

4.1 Choosing the source material

In searching for a suitable body of source material for the study, a few important criteria emerged.

Firstly, quantity; the amount of source material to be analyzed needed to be large enough for the study to have any merit when attempting to draw plausible conclusions from the data. While the primary intention was never to carry out a heavily quantitative study based on a very large amount of corpus data, it was still considered crucial that the body of data be large enough to possibly yield meaningful new knowledge about the influence of Finnish on English. Secondly, it was important to find Finn-written English language material where novel or exceptional constructions – whether one wants to call them errors, deviations, anomalies etc. – would likely abound. Texts published through official channels such as printed media would likely have been professionally proofread and contain less transfer patterns. Moreover, it was deemed important that the texts collected have another origin besides schoolwork, since previous research in the field had focused on that, as discussed in chapter 1 and section 2.5. For these reasons, FFN (see chapter 3) was eventually selected. It was chosen as the primary source of material not because of any particular interest towards the genre itself but rather because of the easy and fairly abundant access to non-professional, voluntarily produced written English text on the site; as discussed, FFN is the largest online fan fiction community in the world.

The Finnish users whose texts are analyzed in this study were selected by running a Google query

for "site:fanfiction.net 'country: Finland'", which simply means a search for web pages located on the web domain 'fanfiction.net' that contain the phrase "country: Finland". The reason for formatting the query in this way is that on the user profiles at fanfiction.net, a user's country of origin is expressed with the aforementioned phrase, and so this kind of Google search provides a reasonably reliable strategy for finding native Finnish speakers who are registered on the site. While there is admittedly no foolproof way to verify that the users selected in this manner are actual Finnish native speakers, it is probably fair to conclude that there are very few compelling reasons for one to pretend to be Finnish on a website of this kind, and so we will simply assume that these users are in fact, with a small but naturally not nonexistent margin of error, Finns. However, a more relevant issue of concern that must not be overlooked is the fact that roughly a 5 per cent minority of Finns speak either Swedish or another foreign language as their mother tongue (online source: Statistics Finland 2011). Thus, if a user has entered Finnish as his or her nationality on the fanfiction.net website, there is – absent any specific details divulged by the user on the profile page – indeed no way to ascertain what his or her mother tongue happens to be. This ambiguity is acknowledged, and thus we will concede this issue to have a small negative effect on the reliability of the study, but one that is probably unlikely to skew the results dramatically in any particular direction, seeing as the chance of a Finnish user's mother tongue being Finnish is obviously very high simply because roughly 95 per cent of Finns do speak Finnish (ibid).

4.2 A look at the numbers and remarks on reliability

The aim was to collect a large sample of English language fan fiction text at random from a decently large number of different Finnish-speaking authors. No actual random selection algorithm was used, however; the selection of the texts was wholly a manual undertaking. Nevertheless, the selections were made prior to any knowledge about the content of the texts or the user profiles, which should match this more informal definition of randomness quite adequately.

The source material for the study consists of 22 original fan fiction texts from 22 different authors, so one text per writer, totaling 30943 words and ranging from 1041 to 1500 words each with a mean of 1407 words per text (see Appendix 4). Most of the texts were longer than 1500 words, but the length of the extract used from each text was capped at a maximum of 1500 so as not to over-represent any one author in the analysis. The extracts are still considerably longer than the assignments analyzed in Meriläinen's research (generally 150 to 200 words each), and the implications of this are briefly discussed in chapter 7 below. Although numerical data will be presented and observed in the upcoming analysis, the scope of the study may not be large enough to warrant broad, generalizable conclusions. The statistical data harvested may, however, possibly lend itself to some new interesting hypotheses concerning Finnish native language influence. Since the focus is mainly on the qualitative side of research, this of course limits the generalizability of the results, but may in turn provide "a richer picture of the course and context" of transfer (Flynn & Foley 2009, 30). When considering whatever observations are made based on the statistical data presented henceforth, the scope of the present study is to be taken into account.

It was mentioned in section 3.2 above that fan fiction is a female-dominated genre, and our sample was no exception: 17 out of 22 authors self-identified as female, and the remaining 5 did not specify their gender; none of the authors self-identified as male. 17 out of 22 authors specified their age, and the reported values ranged from 16 to 24. There was only one author that specified neither his/her gender nor age. Regarding the age values, however, it must be noted that the way the FFN website displays a user's age does not yield very useful data, because the value of the Age field is inserted manually, instead of it being an automatic calculation, i.e. one that subtracts the user's date of birth from the present date to come up with an age value that remains accurate without the need for a manual profile update. The self-reported age of the authors should perhaps mainly be taken as a means to satisfy an informal curiosity rather than as a source of reliable scientific information. A table containing basic information about the selected authors and source texts can be found in

Appendix 3. The parameters presented therein are the author's age (if specified), gender (if specified), the date of publication, what original fiction the text is based on (e.g. Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles) and descriptive story tags the author has specified (e.g. Hurt/Comfort/Drama).

One important point as regards the authorship of the texts analyzed is that one author on FFN whose page I happened to view after the data gathering process was done, explicitly stated that the second chapter of his two-chapter story had been externally spell-checked. Although this author's text is not included in the fan fiction data set of the study, this fact of course highlights the very real possibility that some of the other authors have also utilized outside help in smoothing out the language in their texts. This kind of non-professional proofreading has come to be known in online fan fiction communities as *beta reading* (Karpovich 2006, 172), a practice in widespread use at FFN as well. However, none of the authors whose texts were used in this study explicitly stated that their text had been beta read, and generally it is customary in fan fiction communities not only to acknowledge the beta reader in the header before the story text begins, but also to specifically thank them (ibid, 175). At any rate, although this information was missing from the headers of the selected fan fiction texts, the possibility of a beta reader having proofread some of the texts analyzed will be taken into consideration.

The method used to collect the source material may raise ethical concerns, as no explicit permission to use the selected texts was asked or given. I have proceeded with the assumption that since the texts were published online and are viewable by anyone, i.e. accessing the texts requires no separate registration to the FFN website or anything of the sort, the authors likely have no objections about strangers reading their stories nor should they have any qualms about utilizing their creations for benign scientific purposes. However, it is worth pointing out that since many of the authors are quite possibly very young, they may have not taken into consideration the possible consequences of publishing their works online when deciding to upload them. That said, the context in which the

selected texts will be utilized in this study can hardly be seen as malicious or detrimental to the people who authored the texts. At any rate, it is my hope that the school system continues to increasingly educate young people about the opportunities and perils of the Internet and social media so they will learn to make informed decisions regarding matters like the open publication of their written works.

5 The structure of the study

The structure of the present study is partially adapted from Lea Meriläinen's doctorate thesis "Language Transfer in the Written English of Finnish Students" (2010). Data from 1995, 2000 and 2005 were analyzed, and Meriläinen (2010, 194) concluded that the amount of lexical transfer among Finnish matriculants had decreased in the timespan between 1995 and 2005, but syntactic transfer on the other hand had increased.

In her research, Meriläinen utilized a 90 000 word compilation of matriculation examination written compositions written by Finnish speakers, which was then juxtaposed with a corpus of matriculation examination compositions written by Swedish-speaking students. This comparison was made in order to, through qualitative and statistical analysis, establish deviant features in the aforementioned written productions that were very likely to be transfer-induced, i.e. to find features that Finnish speakers exhibited significantly more than Swedish speakers and vice versa. This was done, because, as previous transfer research has demonstrated (see chapter 2), unidiomatic constructions that seem transfer-induced may in many cases be caused by either some universal feature of EFL learning or some other known or unknown source, so it is important to properly justify any assertion that the construction is caused by native language transfer.

While the present study contains no statistical mathematics, the quantitative groundwork done by Meriläinen informs the present study with an explicit set of Finnish-specific lexical and syntactic transfer patterns to look for and analyze, and the specifics of these will be discussed in the following two sections. Each subsection in this chapter will look at a specific transfer subcategory and discuss the linguistic differences between Finnish and English that are relevant to that particular type of transfer.

Chapter 6 is the analysis chapter of this study, and chapters 5 and 6 have been structured so that the

sections in each of the two chapters are symmetrically aligned. To give a few illustrative examples: section 5.2 discusses syntactic transfer as a phenomenon and the various transfer subtypes related to it, while section 6.2 contains all of the analysis of the fan fiction data that relates to syntactic transfer patterns; subsection 5.2.1 discusses the passive as a grammatical feature of Finnish and English and presents the types of passive related transfer found by Meriläinen (2010), while section 6.2.1 then discusses instances of passive related transfer in the fan fiction data.

5.1 The types of lexical transfer investigated in this study

Nation's (2001, 27) framework of what is involved in knowing a word (form, meaning and use) was mentioned in section 2.4. Using the aforementioned framework as a starting point, Meriläinen (2010, 70) derived a set of subtypes of lexical transfer for the purposes of classifying deviant constructions in the English writing of Finnish speakers. These subclassifications are presented in Table 1 below, followed by a closer grammatical examination of these transfer types and illustrative examples of each.

Table 1. Subcategories of lexical transfer (from Meriläinen 2010, 70)

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

This study utilizes the categories presented in Table 1 above in the classification of lexical transfer elements. Below follows an explanation of each sub-category.

5.1.1 Word form

Knowledge of the form of a word concerns both its spoken form, i.e. how the word is pronounced, and written form, i.e. how a word is written and spelled, and what parts it consists of (Nation 2001, 27). Word form related transfer refers to instances where a speaker will transfer word form related conventions from his or her native language to the target language.

There are altogether five subtypes of word form related transfer that will be considered. Of these five, *substitutions* and *relexifications* each constitute a form of borrowing, and Ringbom (1983, 207) notes that although English written by Finnish speakers tends to contain plenty of overall lexical transfer, borrowing from Finnish does not occur very much because Finnish and English are

unrelated languages; between more similar languages, such as Swedish and English, borrowing tends to occur much more frequently (ibid).

5.1.1.1 Substitutions

Substitutions or complete language shifts are instances of transfer where a native language word is employed in the target language in an unaltered form (Ringbom 1987, 116). As stated in section 2.5 above, Finnish and English share very few cognates, so instances of this kind tend to be fairly rare in the English writing of Finnish native speakers.

Eating healthy food, not smoking, drinking alcohol or using drugs, exercising and taking care of **hygienia** are just another part of healthy life (pro *hygiene*, cf. Finnish *hygienia*) (Meriläinen 2010, 71)

5.1.1.2 Relexifications

Relexifications are similar to substitutions in that they refer to an instance where a native language word has been used in the target language, but the difference is that the writer has modified the word to fit the word formation norms of the target language (Ringbom 2007, 82). As is the case with substitutions, relexifications too very seldom appear in the written productions of Finnish writers. The reason for this is the same as with substitutions: a lack of cognates between the two languages.

The usual pets are dogs, cats, mouses, fishes, **undulates**, and so on (pro *budgerigars*, cf. Finnish *undulaatti*) (Meriläinen 2010, 71)

5.1.1.3 Orthographic transfer

Orthographic transfer refers to the transfer of the spelling conventions of the native language into the target language. There is obviously a colorful range of different kinds of deviant spelling that can occur in a text, but not nearly all of them are transfer-induced; even native English speakers are notorious for committing many spelling errors on account of the lack of correspondence between

spelling and pronunciation in English (Ringbom 1987, 73). However, Meriläinen's research uncovered three types of orthographic transfer that are characteristic of Finnish native speakers: certain instances involving compound words, certain rules concerning capitalization and the replacement of certain single letters with familiar Finnish equivalents.

In written Finnish, compound words are generally written as a single word, or less commonly, with a hyphen (Hakulinen 2004, 396-416). In English the conventions are not as simple, and compounds written as two separate words, hyphenated and closed (i.e. no space) all abound, and the rules involved are difficult to distinguish (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1644). The spelling conventions regarding compound words often cause problems for many Finnish-speaking school students even when writing in their own mother tongue, so it cannot be considered surprising that differences in these spelling conventions between Finnish and English can possibly be a cause for confusion. Meriläinen (2010, 86) found that Finnish native speakers sometimes produce, influenced by the spelling conventions of Finnish, unidiomatic closed compounds such as in Example 1 below:

1. I know that it's hard to bring your own pet to **animaldoctor**
(pro *vet*, cf. Finnish *eläinlääkäri* 'vet', *eläin* 'animal', *lääkäri* 'doctor')
From Meriläinen (2010, 75)

Secondly, conventions regarding capitalization differ in some ways between Finnish and English, for example in the case of nationality adjectives, which are capitalized in English, but not in Finnish. Example 2 from the fan fiction data demonstrates this subtype of orthographic transfer:

2. The **dane's** had became pretty familiar in these kind of situations.
(pro *Danes*, cf. Finnish *tanskalaiset* 'Danes', *Tanska* 'Denmark'; from text 1)

Thirdly, sometimes a Finnish word that resembles the equivalent English word form but differs in spelling slightly can be a cause of confusion and result in unidiomatic single-letter substitutions like in Example 3 from Meriläinen (2010, 87):

3. Even fewer soldiers get killed but more and more **sivilians** die
(pro *civilians*, cf. Finnish *siviili*)

5.1.1.4 Phonetic transfer

Although *phonetic transfer* concerns spelling like orthographic transfer does, it differs from the latter in that instances of phonetic transfer are caused by differences between the sound systems of the native and target languages. Meriläinen (2010) discovered two subtypes of phonetic transfer in her material. Firstly, the realization of voiced phonemes as letters indicating voiceless sounds; these included plosive sounds /b/, /d/ and /g/ realized as *p*, *t* and *k*, and fricative sounds /z/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ realized as *s*. This transfer occurs because the aforementioned voiced sounds are infrequent in Finnish (Hakulinen 2004, 38-43), and of the three fricatives listed only /ʃ/ ever really occurs in Finnish, and even that one is very rare (*ibid*).

1. Those **thinks** could be real, and it is **cood** to know the dangerous **thinks**
(pro *things*, *good*)
2. When we think the **size** of Nokia here in Finland nowadays it's really minimal
(pro *size*)
From Meriläinen (2010, 89)

The second type of phonetic transfer involved stress patterns, i.e. English words where the primary stress is on the second syllable of the word and the unstressed initial syllable is reduced. Finnish words always have word-initial stress and no reduction of unstressed syllables (Hakulinen 2004, 48), and these conventions of spoken Finnish heavily influence the spoken English of Finnish speakers (Ringbom 1987, 80-90). These features of Finnish can also lead Finnish speakers to misinterpret where foreign language words begin and end and consequently result in the deviant spelling of certain words. In the words *encourage* and *amount*, the primary stress is on the second syllable, which is a likely contributor to the unidiomatic word forms in Examples 3 and 4 below:

3. I **couorage** all kind of people go to humanitarian work
(pro *encourage*); from Meriläinen (2010, 88)
4. We have now nuclear boms which destroy a great **mount** of people at ones
(pro *amount*); from Meriläinen (2010, 88)

5.1.1.5 Morphological transfer

Morphological transfer refers to the deviant use of affixes caused by native language influence. Meriläinen (2010) found one type of morphological transfer in her data, which involved the unidiomatic use of an English plural form (instead of singular), owing to the word's Finnish equivalent being plural. Example 1 below from Meriläinen (2010, 89) demonstrates this, as the standard Finnish equivalent for *wedding* is the plural *häät*:

1. I want real **weddings** in charge, were are all my friends and relatives
(pro *wedding*, cf. Finnish *häät* 'wedding', lexicalized plural) (From Meriläinen 2010, 89)

5.1.2 Word meaning

The knowledge of a word's meaning not only involves knowing what a word means and what word forms can be used to express that meaning, but also knowing other words that are either interchangeable with that word or semantically similar to it (Nation 2001, 27). Word meaning related transfer refers to instances where a learner extrapolates his or her L1 knowledge of a word's meaning into an L2 context, resulting in an unidiomatic expression in the target language. The types of transfer that concern word meaning are *loan translations* and *semantic extensions*. As stated in section 2.5, Ringbom (2006, 83) found these to be the most common types of lexical transfer among Finnish-speaking English students – far more frequent than instances of direct borrowing like substitutions and relexifications, for example.

5.1.2.1 Loan translations

Loan translations involve instances where a native language phrase or compound has been translated into the target language, resulting in a construction that either has no meaning in the target language or a meaning that differs from the one that is intended (Ringbom 1987, 115). The three subtypes of loan translation that Meriläinen (2010, 91) found were compound words, idiomatic expressions and idioms, of which idioms were considerably less frequent than the other

two.

The first subtype of loan translations involves the literal exact translation of Finnish compound words into English, i.e. every element of the compound is separately, literally translated.

1. One day in the **morning night**, so early that no one else in his family had woken up yet (pro *the small hours, very early morning*, cf. Finnish *aamuyö* 'the small hours', *aamu* 'morning', *yö* 'night'; from text 15)

The second type involves the translation of Finnish idiomatic multi-word phrases. Example 2 below shows an attempt to translated the Finnish phrase *olla huonot välit* 'be on bad terms', or literally 'have bad terms':

2. his brother who he usually **had nicely said difficult terms with**
(pro *be on difficult terms with someone*; cf. Finnish *olla huonot välit jonkun kanssa* 'have bad-PLURAL relation-PLURAL someone-GENITIVE with'; from text 15)

The third and final subtype of loan translations is the direct translation of Finnish idioms, which was rarer than the other two types of loan translation in Meriläinen's study (2010, 91). These often include metaphorical meanings that do not make sense when used verbatim in English, as in Example 3 below.

3. It was hopeless, **no matter how Berwald tried to place the things**
(pro *no matter how Berwald looked at it*, cf. Finnish *vaikka miten asioita kääntelisi ja vääntelisi*, lit. 'no matter how you twist and turn things'; from text 1)

5.1.2.2 *Semantic extensions*

Some instances of transfer are the result of mismatches between the semantic ranges of Finnish and English words. This type of transfer, called *semantic extensions* in Meriläinen (2010) and Ringbom (1987), includes instances where a native language word has multiple equivalents in the target language, and the learner has chosen to use an equivalent that is unidiomatic due to an incomplete mastery of the meanings of the target language words. Semantic extensions were the one of the most common types of lexical transfer in Meriläinen's data (2010, 92), a finding that is in agreement

with Ringbom's (2006, 83) remarks on the English of Finnish speakers. Meriläinen (2010, 93) notes that semantic extensions are generally close in meaning to the expected (normatively "correct") word, and so the intended meaning can be easily understood, but this is not always the case. Below are two examples of semantic extensions, both of which contain a Finnish verb with a wider range of meanings than its English counterpart:

1. Blue eyes rised in a little shock and the blond man **upgraded** his posture a little.

(pro *improve*; cf. Finnish *kohentaa* 'improve, upgrade'; from text 1)

2. The cameras follow them and send their **picture** to the great screens

(pro *feed, footage*; cf. Finnish *kuva* 'picture, feed, footage'; from text 9)

5.1.3 Word use

The knowledge of word use involves knowing the patterns in which a word occurs, what other words tend to occur with that word, and in which contexts the word can be used (Nation 2001, 27). Unlike transfer related to word meaning, transfer related to word use has less to do with the meaning of a word per se, but instead refers to instances where the writer does not possess a full understanding of the contexts in which certain words are used. These are divided into collocation-related transfer and different kinds of functional transfer.

5.1.3.1 Collocations

Collocational deviations are similar to semantic extensions, but unlike in the case of the latter, the unidiomatic word choices categorized as collocations are not the result of an ignorance of word meanings. Meriläinen (2010, 96) gives two word pairs, *do* vs. *make* and *end* vs. *finish*, as examples of this phenomenon and states that "the semantic contents of these verbs are practically the same" (ibid) and that the transfer is a result of "their incomplete knowledge of the contexts in which these words should be used and which words they tend to collocate with" (ibid). Examples 1 and 2 from

the fan fiction data demonstrate collocational transfer:

1. Sakura made her way next to the red head and **watched** out of the window as well.
(pro *looked*, cf. Finnish *katsoa* 'look, watch')
2. It's not like the baldy would have a slightest chance of **winning** him.
(pro *beating*, cf. Finnish *voittaa* 'win, beat')

As one can see from the above examples, both *watch* and *win* do convey the intended meaning, but the specific word choice is odd because the verbs chosen do not tend to collocate with the words and grammatical structures that surround them.

5.1.3.2 *Functional transfer*

Functional transfer refers to instances where there is something unidiomatic about a *function word* of some kind (as opposed to a *content word* like a noun or an adjective) but the syntactic structures within the phrases and sentences themselves are otherwise constructed and used correctly (Meriläinen 2010, 96). As Meriläinen herself points out, this is a type of transfer where the division between lexical and syntactic transfer is not as salient as in the previous categories, as function words are also intimately connected to syntax (ibid).

Meriläinen (2010, 97) found seven different types of functional transfer in her data. These concerned the following function words:

1. The auxiliary *olla* 'be, have'
2. Reflexive pronouns
3. The indefinite pronoun *some*
4. The indefinite pronoun *it*
5. Relative pronouns
6. Conjunctions and connectors
7. Focusing particles

The Finnish auxiliary verb *olla* has two equivalents in English, namely *be* and *have*. The first type of functional transfer found in Meriläinen's research involved mix-ups between the two English equivalents.

1. All people must **be** good life (pro *have*); from Meriläinen (2010, 97)

The second type involved using reflexive pronouns (e.g. *myself*) with non-reflexive verbs.

2. But after some time you can suddenly start to feel **yourself** lonely
(pro *feel lonely*; cf. Finnish *hän tuntee itsensä yksinäiseksi* 'he feel-3SG himself lonely-TRANSLATIVE')
From Meriläinen (2010, 98)

The third and fourth types involved the unidiomatic uses of the indefinite pronoun *some* and the demonstrative pronoun *it*. These were influenced by the Finnish words *joku* 'some' and *se* 'it' respectively.

3. At first you have to give **some** prize to the animal
(pro *a prize*, cf. Finnish *joku palkinto*); from Meriläinen (2010, 98)
4. Later **it** real world usually looks much better
(pro *the real world*, cf. Finnish *se oikea maailma* lit. 'it real world')
from Meriläinen (2010, 99)

The Finnish word *mikä* 'what' functions, among other things, as a relative pronoun. The fifth and most common type of functional transfer in Meriläinen's data involved the use of unidiomatic relative pronouns, especially the use of *what* as a relative pronoun.

- 5a. That is the question **what** I have thought about hundred
(pro *that / Ø*, cf. spoken Finnish *mitä*); from Meriläinen (2010, 101)
- 5b. That is why it is the worst invention **whose** human have ever done
(pro *which*, cf. Finnish *jonka*, a genitive form of *joka*); from Meriläinen (2010, 101)

The sixth sub-type involved conjunctions and connectors loaned directly from Finnish:

6. Thousands of years ago man didn't destroy nature **so much than** today (pro *as much as*, cf. Finnish *niin paljon kuin* lit. 'so much than') (G, 1990, 1) from Meriläinen (2010, 102)

The seventh and final category involved focusing particles, i.e. particles that draw attention to a specific part of a sentence. Example 7 demonstrates the transfer of the Finnish focusing particle *jo* 'already', which is used similarly to how *as early as* is used in English.

7. Horses and dogs have been tamed **already** in the pre-historic time (pro *as early as*, *as far back as*, cf. Finnish *jo* 'already'); from Meriläinen (2010, 102)

5.2 The types of syntactic transfer investigated in this study

By comparing her Finnish and Swedish corpora, Meriläinen (2010) found five subtypes of syntactic transfer that were influenced by Finnish morphosyntax. This conclusion was reached through a statistical analysis which demonstrated that Finnish learners exhibited higher frequencies of certain unidiomatic syntactic constructions to a statistically significant degree (Meriläinen 2010, 113).

These subtypes concern the following grammatical structures:

1. The passive
2. Future time constructions
3. Expletive pronoun constructions
4. Prepositional constructions
5. Subordinate clause patterns.

A linguistic comparison between these syntactic features in Finnish and English, as well as the presentation of the relevant transfer patterns pertaining to each, follow later in this chapter.

It must be noted at this point that a large number of deviations in both Meriläinen's data and the fan fiction data concerned either article usage or one of two types of word order patterns (namely subject-verb inversion and adverbial placement), but further discussion of these features has been

omitted from this study, even though Sajavaara (1983) and Granfors & Palmberg (1976) among others have found article omissions and deviations to occur very frequently in Finn-penned texts, as discussed in section 2.4. The decision to exclude these patterns was made on the basis of the Finnish vs. Swedish comparison carried out in Meriläinen's research. Regarding articles, Meriläinen (2010, 114) paraphrases the findings of Sajavaara (1989) and states:

[T]he article errors of Finnish students have been found to be not only complex and variable in nature, but also to display characteristics universal to all ESL learners. Thus, gaining deeper insight into this subject area would preferably require a different kind of research design with elicited data focusing on different types of article usage in order to more reliably tease apart transfer-induced article errors and learner universals.

Since it is not neither within the interests nor scope of this study to focus solely on articles, they have been excluded from the present analysis as well and will be taken into consideration as a future avenue of Finnish-English transfer research. As regards the exclusion of the deviant word order patterns that were mentioned previously (S-V inversion and adverbial placement), Meriläinen (2010, 114) found no significant difference in the occurrence frequency of these patterns between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking groups, i.e. both groups produced similar numbers of these unidiomatic constructions. For this reason, one would be hard-pressed to justify that these patterns are indeed caused by Finnish language influence, common as though they may be, and they have thus been left out of the present study, since they are likely to have an origin other than Finnish language transfer.

The aforementioned five syntactical features that Meriläinen found to occur significantly more in the written texts of Finnish speakers all have an underlying grammatical difference between the two languages, and each of these features will be discussed in turn in the following sections. Taking the scope of this study into account, what follows is by no means an exhaustive explanation of how these grammatical structures function in the two languages, but it should give a clear enough picture of the primary differences to elucidate why these syntactical features have been chosen as the focal point of the analysis in this study.

5.2.1 *The passive*

The purpose of the passive voice is to subdue the subject of a sentence, i.e. to give the clause subject the role of being acted upon, “the role of the patient” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1427). In Finnish, there exists no direct equivalent for the English 'be + third person singular + past participle' passive construction, and Meriläinen (2010, 116) notes that grammarians are not unanimous that Finnish has a feature that should be called the passive to begin with; Hakulinen et al. (2004, 1254) call these “passive-like constructions”.

The passive-related transfer patterns in Meriläinen's data all manifested as the deviant use of the active voice instead of the expected passive voice (Meriläinen 2010, 123-127). Meriläinen found that five different passive related constructions found in the Finnish language influenced the formulation of these deviant sentences.

1. The impersonal passive
2. Derivative passives
3. Zero person constructions
4. Necessive constructions
5. Active/passive verbs

The first passive-related transfer subtype involves the most common passive construction in Finnish, which is the *impersonal* or *single-personal* passive (Hakulinen 2004, 1254), used to “express the state of affairs without expressing the agent or other central participant” (ibid). The impersonal passive is a single-word verb that consists of the verb stem and a passive morpheme:

- 1a. Meille **tuotiin** vauva. ('a baby was brought to us'; from Hakulinen (2004, 1254))
Us-ALLATIVE bring-PASSIVE baby

Meriläinen (2010, 124) notes that because English passives are more complex constructions than Finnish passives in that they consist of multiple separate words, Finnish learners seem to have a

tendency to deem redundant and thus omit parts of these more complex constructions, consequently using the simpler active voice instead of the expected passive voice. Example 1b illustrates how the Finnish impersonal passive may influence the creation of an unidiomatic sentence:

1b. There is a lot of animals in the world, which **use** an awful way
(pro *are used*, cf. Finnish *käyte-TÄ-än* 'use-PASSIVE')
From Meriläinen (2010, 124)

The second subtype involves the Finnish derivative passive, i.e. passive verbs derived from active verbs with the addition of *U* into the verb stem (Hakulinen 2004, 1278). A good example of this is the verb *hoitua* 'to be taken care of', u-derived from the active verb *hoitaa* 'take care of sth' (ibid). As Meriläinen (2010, 125) notes, many Finnish passive verbs formed in this manner are lexicalized and thus users may not be aware of the fact that they convey passive meaning:

2. Most of them **base** on metal and wood
(pro *are based*, cf. Finnish *perust-U-a* 'be based'; from Meriläinen (2010,125))

The third subtype involves the Finnish zero person construction, which denotes a sentence with no noun phrase (Hakulinen 2004, 1284). The zero person construction often occurs in conjunction with modal verbs (ibid, 1288). Semantically, zero person clauses often imply some kind of generalization, as in Example 3a below (ibid, 1244):

3a. *Ei noin voi sanoa.* ('one cannot say that')
No like that can-3SG say

In Meriläinen's data, the influence of the zero person construction resulted in sentences like in Example 3b:

3b. I would like that spanish **could choose** in the Secondary School, too
(pro *could be chosen*, cf. Finnish *voisi valita* 'could-3SG choose')
From Meriläinen (2010, 125)

The fourth type involves a subtype of the zero person construction discussed above, namely Finnish *necessive constructions*. These are constructions that express necessity or obligation through the use of modal verbs like *täytyä*, *pitää*, *olla pakko* 'must, have to' (Hakulinen 2004, 1288). Example 4

demonstrates transfer involving a necessary construction:

4. Nowadays nature is so polluted, especially air, that something **have to do** (pro *has to be done*, cf. Finnish *täytyy tehdä* ‘have to-3SG do’) From Meriläinen (2010, 126)

The fifth and final type of passive related transfer was associated with verbs that are typically only used in the passive voice in English, but the Finnish native speakers had used them in the active voice because the equivalent Finnish verb is used in the active voice:

5. There is no need to be married before baby **borns** (pro *is born*, cf. Finnish *syntyy* ‘born-3SG’); from Meriläinen (2010, 126)

5.2.2 Future time constructions

Neither Finnish nor English have a morphological future tense ending (Hakulinen et al. 2004, 1468; Carter & McCarthy 2006, 361). In English, the modal forms ‘*will* + infinitive’ and ‘*be going to* + infinitive’ are widespread ways of referring to futurity (Carter & McCarthy 2006, 361). ‘*Tulla* + *MA*-infinitive’, a structure resembling the English ‘*will* + infinitive’, does exist in Finnish, but it is much less common and usually implies some kind of prognostication by the speaker (Hakulinen et al. 2004, 1470). Instead, it is very often the case that a Finnish sentence will imply futurity but be grammatically in the simple present tense, as in Example 1:

1. *Minä autan sinua* ‘I help-1SG you-PARTITIVE’ (Hakulinen et al. 2004, 1469)

Although the use of the simple present tense is a common, there are many expressions and structures that can be used to express futurity in Finnish, and most commonly these are time adverbials (Hakulinen et al. 2004, 1468).

2. *Minä autan sinua huomenna* ‘I help-1SG you-PARTITIVE tomorrow’

Meriläinen (2010,154) found that Finnish-speaking writers frequently omitted the expected English

structures 'will + infinitive' and 'be going to + infinitive' and, drawing from their knowledge of Finnish grammar conventions, used the familiar present tense instead. In Meriläinen's data, this most commonly occurred in conjunction with an adverbial expressing time (Meriläinen 2010, 161):

3. In my opinion, wars **are** wars also in the future (pro *will be*)

The present tense was also used when the surrounding context implied futurity, as in Example 4, which discusses future plans:

4. And I **am** a boss and take care of money (pro *will be*; from Meriläinen (2010, 161))

Finally, the present tense was also used in contexts where the Finnish translation of an English sentence implied a future time resultative aspect via the Finnish accusative case. Aspect refers to “how the speaker perceives the duration of events, and how different events relate to one another in time” (Carter & McCarthy 2006, 411), and the resultative aspect herein expresses the completion of an event or action in the future:

5. I don't shut out the thought that I **live** my life alone (from Meriläinen (2010, 162))
(pro *I will live my life*; cf. Finnish *elän elämäni* 'live-1SG life-ACCUSATIVE-POSSESSIVE')

In Example 5 above, the writer discusses the possibility of living his/her life alone until the very end, i.e. to completion.

5.2.3 Expletive pronouns

English uses two so-called expletive pronouns: *it*, which Quirk et al. (2005, 348-349) call “the prop *it*”, and the existential *there*.

Since the subject is generally obligatory in English and it is generally in sentence-initial position (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 238), English sentences sometimes require a prop *it* to serve as the subject, while Finnish utilizes a zero subject clause in equivalent contexts:

1. *Täällähän jäätyy.* ('It is freezing in here.');
 2. *It's warm today.* (from Quirk et al. 2005, 349)
- (cf. Finnish *tänään on kylmä* 'today be-3SG warm')

In the majority of cases, the prop *it* was omitted in Meriläinen's data when it would have served the function of a clausal subject. Example 3 is from Meriläinen (2010, 139):

3. In our culture **is unusual** if some twenty years old women is married
- (pro *it is unusual*, cf. Finnish *on epätavallista* 'be-3SG unusual-PARTITIVE')

A less common source of transfer was the Finnish genitive-inflected first person subject, which is used in necessary constructions (Hakulinen 2004, 868).

4. After many years **I have possible** to learn what I want
- (pro *it is possible for me*, cf. Finnish *minun on mahdollista* 'I-GENITIVE be-3SG possible-RELATIVE'); from Meriläinen (2010, 139)

In addition, one instance centered around the fact that English uses a prop *it* in expressions of time:

5. It isn't work, where you can go back to home when **clock is four**
- (pro *it is four o'clock*, cf. Finnish *kello on neljä* 'clock is four')
- From Meriläinen (2010, 140)

The prop *there* is another grammatical feature for which Finnish has no direct equivalent. In the overwhelming majority of cases in Meriläinen's data, *there* was omitted in the context of an existential construction. In Finnish, an existential sentence employs a locative-inflected adverbial, and the word order is generally adverbial-verb-subject (Hakulinen et al. 2004, 850):

6. *Tässä on sukat.* ('Here-INESSIVE be-3PL sock-PLURAL', cf. English *There are socks here*)

In nearly all instances involving the transfer of the existential sentence in Meriläinen's data, the clause-initial element was indeed an adverbial of place or time:

7. Almost every home is pet
- (pro *there is a pet in almost every home*, cf. Finnish *melkein joka kodissa on lemmikki* 'almost every home-INESSIVE is pet'); from Meriläinen (2010, 140)

Some of the instances in Meriläinen's data involved a subtype of the Finnish existential construction

called the *manifestation sentence*, which differs from a standard existential sentence in that it has no initial adverbial and instead begins with a verb (Hakulinen 2004, 855). Example 8 from Hakulinen (2004) is an example of a typical manifestation sentence, while Example 9 from Meriläinen (2010) demonstrates the transfer of the manifestation sentence into an English sentence:

8. *On toinenkin vaihtoehto* ‘there is another option, too’ (from Hakulinen 2004, 855)
be-3SG other-kin option
9. But **are** people, who don’t care nothing about animals
(pro *there are people...* cf. Finnish *on ihmisiä...* ‘be-3SG people-PARTITIVE’)
From Meriläinen (2010, 142)

Finally, a few omissions of the prop *there* in Meriläinen's data were influenced by the Finnish quantifier clause. This construction expresses quantity and involves a partitive-inflected noun phrase (Hakulinen 2004, 859):

10. *Meitä oli monta* ‘there were many of us’; from Hakulinen (2004, 859)
we-PARTITIVE was many

In Meriläinen’s data, transfer of the quantifier clause indeed invariably occurred as the pattern ‘subject + verb + expression of quantity’ with a partitive-inflected noun phrase (Meriläinen 2010, 142):

11. Pets are various animal species
(pro *there are various species of pets*, cf. Finnish *lemmikkejä on useita eläinlajeja*
‘pet-PARTITIVE-PLURAL be-3SG various-PARTITIVE-PLURAL animal species-
PARTITIVE-PLURAL’)
From Meriläinen (2010, 142)

5.2.4 Prepositional constructions

Although Finnish does have a few adpositions, case endings (e.g. the inessive, suffix *-ssa* ‘in’) are generally used for the same functions that prepositions have in English (Hakulinen 2004, 108).

Finnish has 15 case endings: 4 so-called grammatical cases; 8 locative cases, expressing movement, location and states; and 3 marginal cases (Hakulinen 2004, 1174-1175).

Meriläinen (2010, 150) found preposition-related transfer to be the most frequently occurring type

of syntactic transfer in her data. These instances concerned either the omission of a preposition or an incorrectly chosen preposition, and a major cause of transfer in these instances was deemed to be the Finnish case system. Although the Swedish speakers in Meriläinen's data did exhibit some preposition-related transfer likely caused by the Swedish preposition system (Meriläinen 2010, 164), it is not surprising that compared to their Swedish-speaking counterparts, Finnish speakers more frequently used the incorrect preposition or omitted the expected preposition altogether (ibid), given the fact that Finnish uses case endings instead of prepositions.

Intuitively, the connection between the Finnish language and omitted prepositions is more tenuous and less explicit than in the case of incorrectly chosen prepositions. As discussed in section 2.4, evidence for syntactic transfer is often hard to tease out because of learner avoidance behavior and other possible explanations besides transfer (Meriläinen 2010, 23; Odlin 1987, 85), especially when the supposed transfer concerns the *absence* of an expected feature. One possible explanation for a prepositional omission is always the learner tendency to simplify complex patterns. However, as Meriläinen (2010, 186) points out, simplification as an explanation for prepositional omissions is plausible when dealing with less proficient learners, but cannot fully account for it in the case of matriculation examination students with 10 years of experience studying English, and surely not in the case of fan fiction writers either. Jarvis and Odlin (2000, 550) consider prepositional omissions a combination of simplification and transfer, noting that “the structural nature of the Finnish locative cases predisposes Finns to disregard preposed function words as relevant spatial markers” and to consequently omit them.

Owing to the large number of different Finnish case endings and English prepositions that exist, a more detailed overview of the Finnish case system together with their influence on the choice of (or omission of) English prepositions will be discussed in tandem with the data analysis in section 6.2.4 below.

5.2.5 Subordinate clause patterns

As noted by Meriläinen (2010, 144), subordinate clauses in English and Finnish are structurally similar in general. However, subordinate interrogative clauses have a different word order in the two languages (verb-subject in Finnish; subject-verb in English, often preceded by *if* or *whether*). In addition, the functions of Finnish *että* 'that' clauses are often different than those of English *that* clauses (ibid).

Transfer involving three separate subordinate clause patterns were found in Meriläinen's matriculation composition data (Meriläinen 2010, 150):

1. Subordinate interrogative clause
2. *That* clause
3. *That* (conjunction) + subordinate interrogative clause

Examples from Meriläinen's data will be used below to demonstrate each of the three subtypes.

The first category contains transfer relating to subordinate interrogative clauses. Finnish learners tend to transfer the VS (verb-subject) word order used in Finnish subordinate interrogative clauses (Hakulinen 2004, 1608), where SV would be expected in English:

- 1a. Animals need to know **who is the master**
(pro *who the master is*; cf. Finnish *kuka on mestari* 'who be-3SG master')
From Meriläinen (2010, 152)

Finnish matriculants also tended to omit the conjunctions *if* and *whether* in English subordinate clauses; in fact, this was what the majority of instances involving deviant subordinate interrogative clauses were concerned with in Meriläinen's data (2010 150). In Finnish, the equivalent function is often signified with the suffix *-ko* added to the verb form (Hakulinen 2004, 1093).

- 1b. I don't know **can I do that?** (From Meriläinen 2010, 151)
(pro *if I can*, cf. Finnish *voinko* 'can-1SG-ko')

The second category involved unidiomatic *that* clauses. In Meriläinen's data, many of these concerned the transfer of the Finnish phrase *se että* ('the fact that', literally 'it that'):

2a. Nowadays the main reason why people kill animals is usually **it**, that it is fun, isn't it?
(cf. Finnish *syy on se, että...* 'the reason is that')
From Meriläinen (2010, 152)

Another common occurrence in *that* clauses was the use of a clause-initial *that* when *so that* would be the expected form to use. This is likely influenced by the fact that in Finnish, *että* clauses (*that* clauses) are often used in the same manner as *so that*, i.e. to express a purpose for something (Hakulinen 2004, 1079).

2b. But man kills pigs, **that** people can get meat (pro *so that*)
From Meriläinen (2010, 153)

The third and final type of subordinate clause related transfer involved the use of the conjunction *that* combined with a subordinate interrogative clause. Although the use of *että* 'that' is practically redundant (i.e. not obligatory and carries no explicit meaning) when it precedes a subordinate interrogative clause in Finnish, it is very commonly used in spoken Finnish.

3. If you asked the animals **that** do they want to do that
(pro *if they want to do that*)
From Meriläinen (2010, 154)

6 Analysis

The analysis performed on the source material comprises a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis with detailed descriptions and analyses of specific instances of transfer as well as observations made based on numerical data.

Qualitative analysis is indispensable to this kind of analysis because coming to any plausible conclusions about specific linguistic constructions having been caused wholly or in part by native language transfer, and further when attempting to place the constructions in specific categories of transfer, is a venture requiring a great deal of caution and logic. Great emphasis will be placed on making transparent the logic and thought process of each assertion that links a particular phrase or expression to a feature of the Finnish language. Where applicable, features with possible influence of the Finnish language will be presented and described in detail, using source literature – grammars, dictionaries, previous transfer research – to properly justify the assertions made.

The analysis of the fan fiction data comprises my independent, subjective evaluations, so a second rater was not used. For the sake of transparency, every instance of transfer is presented in the Appendix, so that my reasoning can be independently evaluated and verified.

The first step in the analysis was to go through each selected text in order and highlight all the constructions found within that were deemed unidiomatic, erroneous, non-standard or awkward, whichever term one wishes to use. After this initial process, those of the highlighted constructions that were deemed to be induced by native language transfer were coded, wherever applicable, according to Meriläinen's lexical and syntactic categories and sub-categories presented in chapter 5 above. In the following sections we will take a look at the respective figures for each category introduced in chapter 5. This should enable us to make some preliminary remarks about our findings before delving deeper into specific examples from the data. Section 6.1 below concerns

discussion of the lexical transfer patterns presented in section 5.1, while section 6.2 deals with the syntactic transfer patterns introduced in section 5.2.

6.1 Analysis of lexical transfer in the fan fiction data

Table 2 below shows the number of instances per type of lexical transfer found in the fan fiction data, along with the respective figures per 10000 words for each transfer type. These figures are then juxtaposed with the numbers from Meriläinen (2010). Because Meriläinen's study consisted of data sets from three different years (1995, 2000 and 2005), and every text in the present fan fiction data was published after 2005, only the numbers from the 2005 matriculation compositions (35207 words) will be used to lessen the effect of diachronic change. This is because Meriläinen found that the occurrence frequencies of lexical transfer had changed significantly during the 10-year timespan between 1995 and 2005 (Meriläinen 2010, 84).

Table 2. Lexical transfer pattern frequencies in Saurio (2014) and Meriläinen (2010).

		Saurio (2014); 30943 words		Meriläinen (2010); 35207 words	
	Type	No.	Per 10000 words	No.	Per 10000 words
Word form	Substitutions	0	0.00	3	0.85
	Relexifications	0	0.00	1	0,28
	Orthographic transfer	8	2.59	58	16.47
	Phonetic transfer	6	1.94	33	9.37
	Morphological transfer	7	2.26	10	2.84
	Word form total	21	6.79	101	28.69
Word meaning	Loan translations	9	2.91	23	6.53
	Semantic extensions	31	10.02	42	11.93
	Word meaning total	40	12.93	65	18.46
Word use	Collocations	9	2.91	7	1.99
	Functional transfer	9	2.91	58	16.47
	Word use total	18	5.82	65	18.46

The differences in the respective numbers above seem quite striking. In general, lexical transfer tended to occur much less in the fan fiction material than in the matriculation compositions, which would seem to support our hypothesis that the fan fiction writers exhibit less lexical transfer than the average matriculation student. However, some of these stark differences in the word form categories can be explained, and quite compellingly, by other factors besides linguistic competence.

For example, if we look at the categories that concern spelling, i.e. orthographic and phonetic transfer, we do find that both the absolute figures and the frequencies per 10000 words differ quite drastically between the two corpora. However, one must consider the circumstances in which these texts have likely been produced. If a fan fiction writer uses a text editor like Microsoft Word and a student taking their matriculation examination uses a paper and pencil, it is quite likely that the spellcheck tool would give the fan fiction writer a tremendous advantage in weeding out most spelling issues. Add to this the fact that the matriculant is working under time constraints while the fan fiction writer is not, and further the fact that the fan fiction writer may have received the help of a beta reader (see section 4.2 above), and the differences in frequency concerning word form related transfer start to feel less dramatic.

In the word meaning and word use categories, on the other hand, semantic extensions were nearly as common among the fan fiction writers as they were in the matriculation compositions, and collocations were more common. This reinforces the findings of past research (see e.g. Meriläinen 2010, Ringbom 1987) that semantic extensions and collocational deviations are common characteristics of Finnish native language transfer. Categories where considerably lower frequencies of transfer occurred were loan translations and especially functional transfer (2.91 instances per 10000 words to 16.47 instances per 10000 words), and these differences cannot quite be explained by computer-mediated aids in the same way as the differences regarding word form transfer can – with the possible exception of beta reading. Thus, it makes sense to inspect specific examples from the data to see if any interesting observations can be made. Indeed, after this broader glance at the numbers, the next step is to look at some interesting examples of lexical transfer from the data we have gathered and discuss probable links between the unidiomatic constructions produced and the features of the Finnish language. All instances of cursive text and other stylized emphasis in the following sections are mine, not of the original authors.

6.1.1 Word form

Table 3. Frequencies of word form transfer in the fan fiction data

Type	No.	Per 10000 words
Substitutions	0	0.00
Relexifications	0	0.00
Orthographic transfer	8	2.59
Phonetic transfer	6	1.94
Morphological transfer	7	2.26
Word form total	21	6.79

6.1.1.1 Substitution

No instances of substitution were found in the fan fiction data. As discussed in section 5.1.1.1, substitutions and relexifications tend to be rare in the writing of Finnish speakers. Moreover, the 2005 compositions in Meriläinen's data only contained three cases of substitution, so a low number of occurrences was expected in any case.

6.1.1.2 Relexification

As discussed in section 5.1.1.2, relexifications tend to be rare for the same reason as substitutions, and they were indeed not found at all in the fan fiction data. However, there was one instance with an interesting word choice that merits discussion:

1. Jill had hidden strength, and a hot **temperament** that appealed to him.
(cf. Finnish *temperamentti* 'temper'; from text 4)

A more typical word to use in Example 1 would be *temper*. In English, having a *quick temper* means that you become angry very easily, which is the intended meaning in the context of the story, i.e. it

has more specifically to do with the likelihood of getting angry or irritated. *Temperament* in English refers more to a person's overall disposition, 'a person's ... nature as shown in the way they behave or react to situations or people' (OALD 2000, 1337), as in *a sunny temperament*, rather than any connotations of irritability or aggressiveness. In Finnish, the semantically equivalent word for *temper* is *temperamentti*, which would suggest this is a relexification. However, although it is not very common, native speakers do sometimes use *a hot temperament* in the same meaning as this writer has done, so the decision was made not to classify this instance as transfer, especially since we are dealing with creative writing. Furthermore, it is possible that foreknowledge of an author's background may induce bias; if one knew for a fact that this sentence had been written by a native speaker of English instead, one might not even stop to consider whether or not *temperament* is a proper choice of word in this context.

6.1.1.3 Orthographic transfer

Orthographic transfer occurred much less in the fan fiction data compared to Meriläinen (2010), and possible reasons for this were discussed in section 6.1. The three subtypes of orthographic transfer examined concerned compound words, lowercase / uppercase letters and the use of a wrong letter. Presented in Table 4 below is a breakdown of the frequencies.

Table 4. Orthographic transfer frequency by type in the fan fiction data.

Orthographic transfer	No.
Compound words	4
Lowercase/uppercase letter	4
Wrong letter	0

A total of four instances of orthographic transfer were found in the fan fiction data that had to do with deviant unspaced compound words. The English word forms in question are *peanutsalad*, *cherrytree* (two instances in the same text) and *ofcourse*:

1. There's also some **peanutsalad**
(pro *peanut salad*, cf. Finnish *maapähkinäsalaatti* 'peanut salad'; from text 10)
2. Right under the **cherrytree**
(pro *cherry tree*, cf. Finnish *kirsikkapuu* 'cherry tree'; from text 17)
3. **Ofcourse** no-one told me that the prize was so high.
(pro *of course*; cf. Finnish *tottakai* 'of course', informal; from text 17)

A native speaker of English would write *peanut salad* and *cherry tree* in Examples 1 and 2. Both of these have Finnish equivalents that are closed compounds: *maapähkinäsalaatti* and *kirsikkapuu*. In Example 3, the author has elected to write *ofcourse* unspaced. The Finnish equivalent for *of course* is often written separately as *totta kai*, but the form *tottakai* is very common, especially in less formal contexts.

Altogether four instances in the fan fiction data concerned orthographic transfer related to rules of capitalization. Two instances quite clearly echoed the fact that words expressing nationality are not capitalized in Finnish:

4. Fionn said fiercely looking at the **roman** commander.
(pro *Roman*, cf. Finnish *roomalainen* 'Roman', *Rooma* 'Rome'; from text 19)
5. The **dane's** had become pretty familiar in these kind of situations.
(pro *Danes*, cf. Finnish *tanskalaiset* 'Danes', *Tanska* 'Denmark'; from text 1)

In Example 6, the transfer element is not as straightforward to detect as in Examples 4 and 5 above. This instance involved an unidiomatic lack of capitalization in a multi-part place name:

6. they were off towards **Balamb garden**
(pro *Balamb Garden*; from text 16)

Balamb Garden is the name of an educational institution in the video game *Final Fantasy VIII* (online source: Final Fantasy Wiki). In a Finnish translation of Example 6, one would naturally leave *Balamb Garden* in its unaltered English form, since it is the name of a school and not an actual, physical garden. However, this instance is still likely to be a case of transfer influenced by conventions regarding capitalization. This is because in Finnish multi-part place names containing a

common noun, the common noun component is typically not capitalized (Hakulinen 2004, 549), while in English, both elements are capitalized (e.g. *Jukataniin niemimaa* 'The Yucatan Peninsula'). This is also true for multi-part names of educational institutions, as a matter of fact (e.g. *Harvardin yliopisto* 'Harvard University'). This is a plausible reason for why this Finnish author has opted not to capitalize *garden*, even if it is, in this context, not a common noun in the strictest sense.

One instance concerned the capitalization of a title. The story in question is about a group of characters playing a round of the board game Trivial Pursuit. The phrase *Art and Literature* refers in this case to the question category in the game, rather than to the abstract concepts of art and literature themselves, and should therefore be treated like a title and thus capitalized in English (the capitalization is not necessary in Finnish):

7. Angela threw the dice and moved their piece on **art and literature**.
(pro *Arts and Literature*; from text 11)

One instance involved the use of an incorrect letter that, upon superficial inspection, seemed to be influenced by Finnish spelling conventions:

8. We leave now!" Squall said and **scooped** Zell on his arms
(pro *scooped*, cf. Finnish *skuuppi*, *-skooppi*; from text 16)

However, this was in the end not deemed an instance of orthographic transfer. The meaning of the English verb used (*scoop* 'grab') is not at all related to the Finnish words that are typographically most similar (*skuuppi* 'exclusive news story', *-skooppi* '-scope' e.g. *mikroskooppi* 'microscope'). It is possible the word forms themselves or the Finnish word-initial consonant cluster *sk-* may have influenced the writer's spelling in Example 8, but it is difficult to make a very solid argument for it.

6.1.1.4 Phonetic transfer

Two types of phonetic transfer were inspected: transfer related to phonemes that are rare in the Finnish sound system, and transfer related to differences in spoken language stress patterns. Table 4

presents the relevant figures below.

Table 5. Phonetic transfer frequency by type in the fan fiction data.

Phonetic transfer	No.
Phonemes	6
Stress	0

As discussed in chapter 5 above, the voiced plosive sounds /b/, /g/ and /d/ and voiced fricative sounds /z/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ are not common in the Finnish language (Hakulinen 2004, 38-43), and this can cause hearing comprehension and pronunciation issues for Finnish speakers. This may also contingently result in deviant spelling, with the voiced sounds realized in text as letters that signify voiceless sounds, i.e. the plosive markers *p*, *t* and *k* and the fricative marker *s*. Six instances concerning this phenomenon were found in the fan fiction data. They were found in three different texts and involved deviant spellings of the words *garbage*, *grave* and *prize*.

1. which he had thought to be just a pile of **carpage**
(pro *garbage*; from text 1)
2. Then they went to the cemetery to see **craves** of Isabella's parents.
(pro *graves*; from text 8)
3. "The thing that takes the **price**, though, is probably the phrase that got me into this mess in the first place"
(pro *prize*; from text 14)

The spelling in Examples 1 and 2 is very likely influenced by the Finnish sound system, as the words involved contain the sounds /b/ and /g/ but the letters chosen, *p* and *c*, imply the voiceless sounds /p/ and /k/. However, in Example 3 it is possible the author may simply have confused the words *prize* and *price*. Example 4 from the text of another author strengthens this suspicion:

4. Ofcourse no-one told me that the **prize** was so high. (pro *price*)

In this case, it is not plausible for the deviant spelling to have been caused by the Finnish sound system, because the *z* in *prize* implies a /z/ sound, a phoneme foreign to the Finnish language.

The other type of phonetic transfer investigated involved word-medial stress. As we previously discussed, Finnish has near-universal word-initial stress (Hakulinen 2004, 48), which can cause problems for Finnish native speakers in perceiving where a word begins. In the end, no instances of stress-related phonetic transfer were found in the fan fiction data. Three instances concerning the use of the verb *come* instead of *become* were found that initially seemed to have been caused by differences in word stress (primary stress is on the second syllable in *become*), but these were eventually deemed more likely to be semantic extensions instead:

5. We had **come** quickly friends over the road
(pro *become*; cf. Finnish *tulla* 'come', 'become'; from text 5)

6. he saw her girlfriend having a good time and he **came** very happy himself.
(pro *become*; extract from text 10)

7. Squall was as pale as anyone can **come**
(pro *become*; extract from text 16)

See section 6.1.2.2 on semantic extensions for an analysis of Examples 5, 6 and 7.

6.1.1.5 Morphological transfer

Differences between Finnish and English conventions regarding the plurality of certain words seemed to be the root cause of some transfer as discussed in section 5.1.1.5. In these instances, a plural form of an English word had been used while the idiomatic English form is singular. 7 such cases were found in the fan fiction data. However, 5 out of these 7 instances were found in a single text, and all five of those instances concerned the unidiomatic plural form *peoples*:

1. Susan heard **peoples** whispering around her
(pro *people*; cf. Finnish *ihmiset* 'person-PLURAL' from text 6)

While the author has fundamentally made the correct decision to use the plural form to translate the Finnish concept *ihmiset* (the plural form of *ihminen* 'human, person'), the English word chosen is the hypercorrect form *peoples*, which is obviously radically different semantically from the intended meaning, as it is in fact the plural form of *people* in the sense of 'a body of persons sharing

a culture'. *Ihmiset*, the plural form of *ihminen* in Finnish is derived using the standard *-nen* to *-set* substitution, which likely influenced the decision to construct the English plural using the standard way to form plurals in that language: the addition of *-s*. These instances are not strictly speaking equivalent to the types of deviant plurals found in Meriläinen (2010), but they were nevertheless classified as morphological transfer.

Another instance from the same text involved the unidiomatic plural form *each others*, the likely cause for which is the Finnish word *toisiaan* 'each other', which is plural:

2. They just looked at **each others**
 (pro *each other*; cf. Finnish *toisiaan* 'other-PARTITIVE-PLURAL-POSSESSIVE')

Finally, one instance involved the deviant plural form *hairs*. *Hair*, when referring to the area on one's head, normally only appears in singular form, unless the focus is on specific strands of hair. The decision to mistakenly choose the plural form *hairs* here was most likely influenced by Finnish, as the Finnish equivalent for *hair* is *hiukset* (the plural form of *hius* 'strand of hair'):

3. Spaniard looked sad and he buried his face in Italian's **hairs**.
 (pro *hair*; cf. Finnish *hiukset* 'hair-PLURAL-DEFINITE'; from text 3]

6.1.2 Word meaning

Table 6. Frequencies of word meaning transfer in the fan fiction data

Type	No.	Per 10000 words
Loan translations	9	2.91
Semantic extensions	31	10.02
Word meaning total	40	12.93

Although semantic extensions were more common than loan translations in both Meriläinen (2010) and the fan fiction data, loan translations were relatively much less common in the fan fiction data (2.91 per 10000 words vs. 6.53 per 10000 words), whereas in the frequency of semantic extensions there was not really that much of an appreciable difference between the two studies (10.02 per 10000 words vs. 11.93 per 10000 words). One might argue that semantic extensions have, as deviations, more to do with nuances and connotations than loan translations do; in the latter the deviation is more explicit in a sense. If one accepts that argument and also hypothesizes that fan fiction writers are more skilled than average at English writing, one might plausibly state that this is the reason why the fan fiction data had less loan translations in relative terms.

6.1.2.1 Loan translations

As discussed, loan translations are constructions where a Finnish compound word, idiomatic phrase or idiom has been translated directly into English, resulting in an English construction that is unidiomatic and in some cases difficult to understand. Table 6 shows the relevant frequencies by loan translation type in the fan fiction corpus.

Table 7. Loan translations by type

Loan translations	No.
Compound words	1
Idiomatic phrases	4
Idioms	4

One instance of direct compound word translation was found in the fan fiction data:

1. One day in the **morning night**, so early that no one else in his family had woken up yet (pro *small hours*, cf. Finnish *aamuyö* 'small hours', literally 'morning night'; from text 15)

The Finnish compound *aamuyö* 'the small hours' is translated here as *morning night*. This is a clear loan translation, as the components of the compound, *aamu* and *yö*, literally mean 'morning' and

'night' respectively.

Three instances of transfer were classified as the translation of an idiomatic Finnish phrase.

Example 2 presented below seems to be an attempt to translate the Finnish phrase *selvittää tilanne*, meaning roughly 'to straighten things out'. In Finnish, the word *selvittää* means 'to clear' and *tilanne* means 'situation, position'.

2. Now Berwald truly felt awful, and decided to **clear the position** a little.

(pro *straighten things out*; from text 1)

In one instance the Finnish genitive-inflected phrase *tämän kaiken* 'all of this' had been given a literal English translation. Any native English speaker can still probably understand the intended meaning:

3. he was that one who created **this everything**. (from text 3)

(pro *all of this*, cf. Finnish *tämän kaiken* 'this-GENITIVE everything-GENITIVE')

The Finnish word *loput* means 'the rest', i.e. 'the ones that remain', and this word is also used when referring to a specific number of things that remain, e.g. *loput kaksi palaa* 'the two remaining pieces'. In the third transferred idiomatic phrase found in the fan fiction data, the author had directly transferred the Finnish structure '*loput* + [number]' into English, although '*the rest* + [number]' is not normally used in English.

4. Then enjoy **the rest two** and also remember the picnic waiting for you (text 10)

(pro *the remaining two*, cf. Finnish *loput kaksi* 'the remaining two', lit. 'rest two')

The fourth and final instance of this type contains an attempt to translate the Finnish phrase *olla huonot välit jonkun kanssa* 'be on bad terms with someone'. The crucial detail which suggests transfer in this case is the use of *have* in conjunction with the phrase *difficult terms*. While the idiomatic English phrase contains the verb *be* (e.g. *I am on bad terms with him*), the verb in the Finnish phrase is equivalent in meaning to *have*:

5. his brother who he usually **had nicely said difficult terms with**

(pro *be on difficult terms with someone*; cf. Finnish *olla huonot välit jonkun kanssa* 'have bad-PLURAL term-PLURAL someone-GENITIVE with'; from text 15)

Finally, four instances were found where a distinct Finnish idiom had been translated into English.

In Example 6 below, the Finnish idiom that has been transferred is *tien päällä*, meaning 'on the move'. Although *on the road* is an English idiom that is close in meaning to *tien päällä*, this instance was nevertheless regarded as transfer-induced because of the writer's choice to use the word *over*; in fact, *tien päällä* literally means 'over the road' i.e. 'on top of the road'.

6. We had come quickly friends **over the road** (from text 5)

(pro *on the road*; *during the journey*, etc.)

Although not a direct translation per se, Example 7 presented below is seemingly an attempt to translate the Finnish idiom *vaikka miten asiaa käännelisi*, which means 'no matter how you look at it', or literally 'no matter how you twist and turn it around'. This Finnish idiom sometimes occurs with the verb *katsoa* 'look', but oftentimes a verb involving movement like twisting, turning and bending is used, such as *käännellä* 'turn', *väännellä* 'twist, bend' or *pyörittää* 'roll'. The phrase the author has used is *to place the things*, which carries the same basic idea of moving something into a different position.

7. It was hopeless, no matter how Berwald **tried to place the things**.

(pro *no matter how Berwald looked at it*; from text 1)

Example 8 seems to be a fairly direct translation of the Finnish phrase *millään konstilla*, which means roughly to 'with any means' or 'in any way'. *Konsti* means 'trick' or 'method'. There is no direct literal equivalent in English, and it would be more idiomatic to use something like *no matter what he tried* instead.

8. And that one thing, which Berwald couldn't find **with any methods**

(pro *no matter what he did*; from text 1)

In Finnish, *rouva Fortuna* 'Lady Fortune' is used in the same contexts as *Lady Luck* is used in

English. In Example 9 below, it seems like the author was unaware of the equivalent English idiom and has opted to use the Finnish one instead.

9. At least **the Lady fortune** didn't kick me in the ass...
(pro *Lady Luck*; cf. Finnish *rouva Fortuna*; from text 5)

6.1.2.2 *Semantic extensions*

Semantic extensions were the most common type of lexical transfer in the fan fiction data, with altogether 31 instances found. This echoes the findings of earlier research by Meriläinen (2010) and Ringbom (1987) in that semantic extensions seem to be very common in the English texts of Finnish writers. As discussed, semantic extensions refer to instances where the comparatively broader semantic range of a Finnish word results in the choice of an unidiomatic English word.

1. He actually never had to do much **job** for those things
(pro *work*, cf. Finnish *työ* 'work, job'; extract from text 1)

In Example 1 above, the expected word would of course be the uncountable *work*, but the countable noun *job* has been chosen instead. The reason for this is not complicated to infer: in the Finnish language, both *work* and *job* translate to *työ*, and it is difficult to see why this would not be the reason why the incorrect word has been chosen here. Example 2 is similar:

2. The clock hit twelve and its **voice** echoed in the big empty hall
(pro *sound*, cf. Finnish *ääni* 'voice, sound'; extract from text #18)

The same logic applies here. The word the author was looking for was *sound*, but has chosen *voice* instead. While these two have distinct meanings in English, they both translate to *ääni* in Finnish, hence the confusion.

In most cases, in line with Meriläinen's findings (2010, 93), the semantic fields of the Finnish and English words involved were close to each other and the transfer element was fairly straightforward to pick out:

3. that's the **funniest** way to spend a day off
(pro *funnest*, cf. Finnish *hauskin* 'funnest, funniest'; from text 7)
4. she only went to **train** her dance or draw.
(pro *practice*, cf. Finnish *harjoitella* 'train, practice'; from text 8)
5. The cameras follow them and send their **picture** to the great screens
(pro *feed, footage*; cf. Finnish *kuva* 'picture', 'feed', 'footage'; from text 9)

There were some cases that were more complicated, however. As mentioned in section 6.2.4 on phonetic transfer, the following three instances can arguably be classified either as a stress pattern induced form of transfer, or as semantic extensions on account of the broader semantic field of the Finnish verb *tulla*:

6. We had **come** quickly friends over the road
(pro *become*; cf. Finnish *tulla* 'come', 'become'; from text 5)
7. he saw her girlfriend having a good time and he **came** very happy himself.
(pro *become*; cf. Finnish *tulla* 'come', 'become'; from text 10)
8. Squall was as pale as anyone can **come**
(pro *become*; cf. Finnish *tulla* 'come', 'become'; from text 16)

The primary meaning of the verb *tulla* is 'to come', for example *tulla kotiin* 'come home', but it can also mean 'become' as in *tulla vihaiseksi* 'become angry'. This is the most likely reason for why *come* was chosen in Examples 6 and 7 above. In Example 8, the author may also have been attempting to use an idiomatic turn of phrase like *as pale as they come* instead of, for example, *as pale as anyone can become*.

There were also certain instances where there was hesitation to classify the deviant constructions as transfer patterns:

9. his two other brothers have **left behind**
(pro *stay behind*, cf. Finnish *jääda* 'stay', *jääda jälkeen* 'be left behind'; from text 13)

Here, the expected English word is *stay*, for which the Finnish equivalent is *jääda*. The reason why

this case was in the end classified as a semantic extension is that the Finnish translation of *to be left behind* is *jääda jälkeen*. This was deemed the likely reason for why *left* was chosen. This particular instance could also conceivably be classified as a loan translation of an idiomatic phrase.

As stated, a total of 31 semantic extensions were found and these are all presented in the Appendix chapter of this study.

6.1.3 Word use

As discussed in section 6.1, while the frequency of collocational transfer was similar in both Meriläinen (2010) and the fan fiction data, functional transfer was tremendously less frequent in the latter.

Table 8. Frequencies of word use transfer in the fan fiction data

		Saurio (2014); 30943 words		Meriläinen (2010); 35207 words	
	Type	No.	Per 10000 words	No.	Per 10000 words
Word use	Collocations	9	2.91	7	1.99
	Functional transfer	9	2.91	58	16.47
	Word use total	18	5.82	65	18.46

6.1.3.1 Collocations

The difference between collocations and semantic extensions was discussed previously in section 5.1.3.1 above. Collocations concern not an incomplete understanding of meaning but an incomplete understanding of the specific contexts in which specific words are used.

Nine instances of native language transfer involving collocations were found, and 6 of these involved the word pair *say* and *tell*. In five out of these six cases, *tell* was used where *say* would be idiomatic, and in one case the other way around:

1. Germany's face **told clearly** that Prussia wouldn't see sunlight ever again after this
(pro *said*; from text 3)
2. And I **told** that it's yours.
(pro *said*; from text 4)
3. A large banner was hanging from the branches of the trees and it **told** "HAPPY EASTER" in large orange colored letters.
(pro *said*; from text 10)
4. "No, is far away from here. I don't know the place, it took a week for me to get here" Amy **told**.
(pro *said*; from text 13)
5. doctors had **told** to him that he wont be able to walk ever again.
(pro *said*; from text 6)
6. Sakura laughed. "You're not **saying me** that you believe in stuff like that?"
(pro *telling*; from text 7)

Although the primary meaning, i.e. denotation, of the verb *sanoa* is 'say' and that of *kertoa* is 'tell', each of those two Finnish verbs can serve the same functions as *say* and *tell* do, depending on the context. Confusion arises on account of the following: *tell* predominantly only occurs as a transitive verb with a direct object (e.g. *he told me that...*, **he told that...*), while *kertoa* is very commonly used intransitively (e.g. *hän kertoi, että...* 'he say-PAST that...'). *Say* is used intransitively and with indirect objects (e.g. *he said that...*, **he said me that...*), whereas *sanoa* can be used like *tell* (e.g. *hän sanoi minulle, että...* 'he tell-PAST me-ALLATIVE that...').

One instance involved confusion as to the use of the verbs *win* and *beat*, which do not really differ at all in meaning, but when the direct object of the verb is a person, *beat* is used rather than *win*. Finnish uses the verb *voittaa* in both contexts.

6. It's not like the baldy would have a slightest chance of **winning him**.
(pro *beating him*, cf. Finnish *voittaa* 'win, beat'; from text 12)

In another instance, one of the authors had used *powers* to refer to mental strength, likely owing to the influence of the Finnish word *voima*, the plural form of which, *voimat*, is commonly used when referring to strength.

7. Usually she would laugh at same but now she used **her all powers** just for keeping small almost invisible smile on her lips

(pro *all her strength*; cf. Finnish *voimat* 'powers, strength'; from text 3)

Finally, there was one instance where the verb *watch* had been used instead of *look*. The Finnish verb *katsoa* covers the meanings and uses of both of these verbs.

8. Sakura made her way next to the red head and **watched** out of the window as well.

(pro *looked*; cf. Finnish *katsoa* 'look, watch'; from text 7)

6.1.3.2 Functional transfer

In Meriläinen (2010, 96) functional transfer was the most commonly occurring category of lexical transfer. Functional transfer is grouped into seven different subcategories, which are presented in the table below.

Table 9. Frequencies of functional transfer by type

Type of functional transfer	Saurio (2014); 30943 words		Meriläinen (2010); 35207 words	
	No.	Per 10000 words	No.	Per 10000 words
Auxiliary <i>olla</i> 'to be'	0	0.00	18	5.11
Reflexive pronoun	0	0.00	1	0.28
Indefinite pronoun	3	0.97	1	0.28
Demonstrative pronoun	0	0.00	0	0.00
Relative pronoun	5	1.62	31	8.81
Conjunctions and connectors	1	0.32	6	1.70
Focusing particles	0	0.00	1	0.28

In general, it is easy to see that the fan fiction writers exhibited far less functional transfer than the matriculation students. A very surprising finding was that there were no instances of transfer involving unidiomatic use of the auxiliary *olla* in the fan fiction data, whereas it was the second most common sub-category in Meriläinen's data with 18 instances. This type of transfer has to do with the fact that the Finnish verb *olla* carries two principal meanings, the first of which is 'to be' and the second is 'to have', and consequently learners sometimes confuse *be* and *have* when composing English. Here are two examples from Meriläinen (2010, 97):

All people must **be** good life (pro *have*)

If I **have** firemen, I could help thousand of people here in Finland or abroad (pro *was*)

One might postulate that this kind of deviant use of the aforementioned verbs signifies such a fundamentally incomplete knowledge of the norms of English that the fan fiction writers, who seem on the present evidence to possess a higher-than-average level knowledge of the English lexicon, simply do not tend to make such mistakes when composing English.

There were also no instances of deviant reflexive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns or focusing particles in the fan fiction data, but these were quite uncommon in Meriläinen (2010) as well. Of the types of functional transfer that were found, relative pronouns were the most common category (5 instances), which was also the most common type in Meriläinen's data (31 instances). In all 5 cases found in the fan fiction data, these involved an unidiomatic use of *what* as a relative pronoun, instead of *that* / *which* / *zero*.

1. He just couldn't believe all those changes **what** had happened to Susan
(pro *that*; from text 6)

2. It would be wrong if we were granted for something **what** is wrong
(pro *that*; from text 13)

Idiomatic English, of course, does not feature the word *what* as a relative pronoun. The deviant use of *what* in instances like Examples 1 and 2 above is likely influenced by the Finnish word *mikä* ('what', 'which'), which is not only used in direct questions in the manner *what* is used in English, but also as a relative pronoun. Besides Meriläinen (2010), The transfer of *mikä* 'what' was also documented in e.g. Lauttamus (2007, 298).

There were 3 instances of deviant indefinite pronoun usage in the fan fiction data, which is a bit surprising considering there was only 1 instance in Meriläinen's data, although this may of course be simply attributable to statistical variance. All three instances involved the deviant use of the indefinite pronoun *some*.

3. Every corner and island had been home to **some** humans (pro \emptyset ; from text 9)

4. The spectre watched as the boy leaned against **some** huge metal box (pro *a*; from text 22)

5. she got back in focus and watched as **some** people told a woman that they would go to search somebody (pro *a group of*; from text 22)

As noted in section 5.2 above, most English language learners, regardless of what their native language is, tend to have problems with the idiomatic use of articles. However, the deviant use of *some* as in Examples 3 through 5 is very Finnish-specific, as Finnish speakers tend to employ the

word *joku* 'some' to express indefiniteness especially when speaking, and the use of *some* as in the above examples is likely to be a transfer effect of that feature of the Finnish language.

Finally, one instance involving a deviant conjunction was found. This instance is classified as lexical transfer instead of syntactic transfer because the sentence itself is essentially grammatically correct, but the conjunction used is influenced by Finnish.

6. he watched **how** the yellow taxi drove away (pro *as*; from text 1)

The choice of *how* was likely influenced by the Finnish conjunction *kuinka* 'how'. A fluent Finnish translation of Example 6 would be *hän katseli kuinka keltainen taksi ajoi pois*.

6.2 Analysis of syntactic transfer in the fan fiction data

Table 7 below shows the number of instances per type of syntactic transfer found in the fan fiction data, along with the respective figures per 10000 words for each type. These figures are then compared with the numbers from Meriläinen (2010). Again, we will only use the numbers from Meriläinen's 2005 data to minimize the diachronic effect which was discussed in section 6.1.

Table 10. Frequencies of syntactic transfer by type in Saurio (2014) and Meriläinen (2010)

Type	Saurio (2014); 30943 words		Meriläinen (2010); 35207 words	
	No.	Per 10000 words	No.	Per 10000 words
The passive	5	1.62	25	7.10
Future time	3	0.97	26	7.38
Expletive pronouns	6	1.94	38	10.79
Prepositional constructions	87	28.12	146	41.47
Subordinate clause patterns	0	0.00	34	9.66

If the respective numbers for lexical transfer did not yet quite validate the hypothesis that fan fiction exhibit less overall transfer than the matriculants, then the above numbers concerning syntactic transfer do seem to. All other syntactic transfer features besides deviant prepositional constructions were found in drastically lower numbers in the fan fiction material, and the types of subordinate clause patterns discovered by Meriläinen were not found at all. Prepositional transfer, too, occurred less frequently in the fan fiction data, but the difference in proportions is markedly less pronounced. This serves to reinforce the findings of previous research (e.g. Granfors and Palmberg 1976; Jarvis and Odlin 2000) that Finnish speakers struggle with English prepositions, and fan fiction writers do not seem to be an exception.

6.2.1 The passive

Meriläinen (2010) found five distinct types of deviant transfer-induced passive constructions found in her study, all of which manifested as unidiomatic use of the active voice in contexts where the passive voice is expected.

Table 11. Passive related transfer by type

Passive construction type	Saurio (2014); 30943 words		Meriläinen (2010); 35207 words	
	No.	Per 10000 words	No.	Per 10000 words
Impersonal passive	3	0.97	9	2.56
Derivative passive	0	0.00	2	0.57
Zero person construction	0	0.00	6	1.70
Necessive construction	0	0.00	4	1.14
Active / passive verbs	2	0.65	4	1.14

Only two of these subtypes were found to occur in the fan fiction data. The first type involves the Finnish impersonal passive, and the second type has to do with verbs that only allow the passive voice in English but are used in the active voice in Finnish.

Three instances of transfer involving the Finnish impersonal passive were discovered in the fan fiction data. The impersonal passive is, as discussed in section 5.2.1, a one-word construction, which influenced the deviant use of the active voice in Examples 1 through 3:

1. Sadly the tradition **has forgotten** over centuries.

(*pro has been forgotten*; cf. Finnish *on unohdettu* 'forget-PRESENT PERFECT-PASSIVE'; from text 8)

2. Years had gone by after **send** Drago and Shendu back to realm.

(*pro were sent*; cf. Finnish *lähetettiin* 'send-PAST-PASSIVE'; from text 8)

3. May I remind you, that ritual was still in after they **were sending** to realm.

(*pro were sent*; cf. Finnish *lähetettiin* 'send-PAST-PASSIVE'; from text 8)

An important thing to note about the above is that all 3 instances of the impersonal passive being realized as an active voice construction were found in a single text.

The second type of passive-related transfer involved words that are used in the active voice in Finnish but only take the passive form in English. Two instances of this phenomenon were found in the fan fiction data. In Example 4, *paralyzed* is in the active voice although in idiomatic English the verb invariably occurs in the passive when the meaning is 'to become paralyzed'. The verb in Example 5, *burn*, does of course often occur in the active voice as well but requires the passive voice in this particular context.

4. he **had paralyzed** right under his waist.

(pro *had been paralyzed*; cf. Finnish *oli halvaantunut* 'paralyze-PAST PERFECT'; from text 6)

5. The visions of it, the dragon, had **burned to** his brain.

(pro *had been burned*; cf. Finnish *olivat palaneet* 'burn-PAST PERFECT-3PL'; from text 15)

6.2.2 Future time constructions

As discussed in section 5.2.2 above, Finnish does not really have an explicit future tense, and futurity is often expressed using present tense verb forms. Three types of future time related transfer emerged in Meriläinen's data, and indeed, all instances involved the use of the present tense instead of a future time construction such as '*will* + [infinitive]' (Meriläinen 2010, 160). The most common category involved the simple present tense combined with a future time adverbial. In the second type, futurity was implied in the general context even though no explicit time adverbial was used. Finally, the third type involved a resultative aspect of the predicate which implies that the action extends into the future.

Table 12. Future time related transfer by type

Future time expression	Saurio (2014); 30943 words		Meriläinen (2010); 35207 words	
	No.	Per 10000 words	No.	Per 10000 words
Present tense + time adverbial	2	0.65	13	3.69
Present tense + context	1	0.32	8	2.27
Present tense + resultative aspect	0	0.00	5	1.42

All three instances found were in a single text. Two instances involved a future time adverbial combined with a present tense verb form.

1. And I don't know if Susan **ever changes** to her old self **after so many years**
(*pro will ever change*; cf. Finnish *koskaan muuttuu* 'ever change-3SG'; from text 6)

2. **Soon starts** year of rat.
(*pro will begin*; cf. Finnish *alkaa* 'begin-3SG'; from text 6)

There was one additional instance where futurity was implied in the surrounding context:

3. Oh, you mean that. Yeah it **does**.
(*pro will*; from text 6)

However, the only reason why the context implies futurity is that Example 3 is from the same author's text as Example 2 above, and in fact immediately follows that one in the story.

6.2.3 Expletive pronouns

Unlike English, Finnish has no need for so-called prop or dummy subjects, as discussed in section 5.2.3 above. Meriläinen (2010, 138) found three separate transfer patterns for both the omission of the expletive *it* and the expletive *there*.

Table 13. Expletive pronoun related transfer by type

	Saurio (2014); 30943 words		Meriläinen (2010); 35207 words	
	No.	Per 10000 words	No.	Per 10000 words
Expletive 'it'				
The genitive subject	0	0.00	1	0.28
The clausal subject	4	1.29	10	2.84
Copula clause denoting time	0	0.00	1	0.28
Expletive 'there'				
Existential sentence	2	0.65	22	6.25
Manifestation sentence	0	0.00	2	0.57
Quantifier clause	0	0.00	2	0.57

In the fan fiction data, only one type of transfer for each pronoun was found. It is interesting to note that while the total numbers of instances found in the fan fiction data are much smaller, the transfer types that were the most common ones in Meriläinen's data were the ones that occurred in the fan fiction data as well.

Four instances involved the deviant omission of *it* as a clausal subject, likely owing to the Finnish zero person construction with no explicit subject. Once again, three out of four of these were found a single text.

1. you know what day **is**.

(pro *what day it is*; cf. Finnish *mikä päivä on*, 'what day be-3SG'; from text 8)

2. The stars had reveal that **is** time for dark chi.

(pro *it is time*; cf. Finnish *on aika*, 'be-3SG time'; from text 8)

3. Give yourself time to relax also, but **seems** like you think that doing something is the best enjoyment. (pro *it seems like*; cf. Finnish *vaikuttaa kuin* 'seem-3SG like'; from text 7)

In Example 3 above, one could argue that omitting *it* in front of *seems like* is actually a colloquialism rather than a grammatical deviation. However, this was still classified as transfer-induced because the context of the story reveals that the character is reading her horoscope in a magazine, and one would expect magazines to have full sentences and otherwise proper grammar. Nevertheless, Examples 1 and 2 are less open to interpretation.

Two cases involving the deviant omission of the existential *there* were found. Both of these cases are again from a single text.

4. Later on they even started saying that never had been a card like that

(pro *there never had been*; cf. Finnish *ei koskaan ollut ollut* 'never be-PAST PERFECT'; from text 15)

5. it had become a habit ever since he started growing a beard even though there was barely anything at this point

(pro *there was barely anything there*; cf. Finnish *siinä oli tuskin mitään* 'there be-PAST-3SG barely anything'; from text 15)

Of these two, Example 4 is more straightforward than the other, as it clearly requires an existential *there* to complete the sentence. Example 5 is interesting, however, because one cannot really ascertain whether the sentence is missing the existential *there* or the demonstrative *there*. Since both examples are from the same author, though, it was deemed more likely that he/she would have omitted the existential pronoun in this case as well. Moreover, one could argue that the demonstrative pronoun is the more essential element in the sentence, and so a Finnish writer would be more likely to omit the prop *there*.

6.2.4 Prepositional constructions

The occurrence of deviant omissions of prepositions and deviant choices of prepositions were by far the most common type of transfer found in both Meriläinen's data and the fan fiction material of this study. Meriläinen (2010, 164) makes a good point that the relative abundance of preposition-related transfer compared to the other syntactic features examined is in part explained simply by the fact that prepositional constructions are more common in the English language than, for example, passive constructions. Regardless, a detailed examination of the specific contexts in which these types of transfer occur is surely warranted, especially since the total number of prepositional transfer instances in the fan fiction data was proportionally fairly close to the respective numbers gathered from Meriläinen's matriculation composition data.

Meriläinen (2010) divided prepositional transfer into two main categories, namely omitted prepositions and incorrect prepositions. In both of these subtypes, the Finnish case system was deemed a key influence. In the table below are presented the respective figures from the fan fiction data and Meriläinen's data.

Table 14. Prepositional transfer by type in Saurio (2014) and Meriläinen (2010)

Type	Saurio (2014); 30943 words		Meriläinen (2010); 35207 words	
	No.	Per 10000 words	No.	Per 10000 words
Omitted preposition	36	11.63	85	24.14
Incorrect preposition	51	16.48	65	18.46
Total prepositional transfer	87	28.12	150	42.6

In most transfer categories discussed so far, the numerical differences between the fan fiction writers and the matriculation students have been fairly large. With prepositions, it seems as though the fan fiction writers do tend to run into difficulties too, despite their otherwise comparatively

higher knowledge of grammatical conventions. Although the number of omissions made by the fan fiction writers is less than half of that of the matriculation students, the respective total numbers of incorrect prepositions do not differ to any respectable degree and the difference in the frequencies per 10,000 words is almost negligible. A hypothetical explanation for this is that the fan fiction writers have a better-than-average grasp of *when* a preposition should be used, but are still frequently not sure *which one* to use. This means they tend to omit prepositions less often because they know one is required, but this very knowledge in turn makes them more likely to choose an unidiomatic preposition simply because they end up using more prepositions in total.

6.2.4.1 Incorrectly chosen prepositions

The majority of preposition related transfer in the fan fiction data involved incorrectly chosen prepositions which were influenced by particular Finnish case endings. The case endings that contributed to the choice of a given preposition will each be discussed separately. In Meriläinen's data, most of the incorrectly chosen prepositions were influenced by the Finnish locative cases (2010, 176), which indicate internal or external location, direction, etc. The most common of these in the Finnish language are **inessive**, **illative**, **elative** and **adessive**, while the less frequent ones are **ablative**, **allative**, **essive** and **translative** (Hakulinen 2004, 1179). Below is a table comparing the results from the fan fiction data and Meriläinen's data. The locative cases are in bold for emphasis.

Table 15. Incorrectly chosen prepositions influenced by Finnish cases

Preposition causing transfer	Saurio (2014); 30943 words		Meriläinen (2010); 35207 words	
	No.	Percentage of total	No.	Percentage of total
Nominative	0		0	
Genitive	0		0	
Accusative	0		0	
Partitive	0		0	
Inessive	5	9.8 %	7	10.8 %
Elative	4	7.8 %	15	23.1 %
Illative	14	27.4 %	15	23.1 %
Adessive	8	15.7 %	11	16.9 %
Ablative	2	3.9 %	2	3.1 %
Allative	16	31.4 %	9	13.8 %
Essive	1	2.0 %	2	3.1 %
Translative	0		2	3.1 %
Abessive	0		0	
Comitative	0		0	
Instructive	1	2.0 %	0	
Adpositions	0		2	3.1 %
Total	51	100.0 %	65	100.1 %*

**due to rounding*

As we can see, the fan fiction data is generally in agreement with what Meriläinen (2010) found; the

grammatical and marginal cases do not tend to cause much if any unidiomatic preposition choices, and that the majority of it occurs due to the influence of locative cases. Further, the proportions between the two data sets regarding individual cases are mostly in agreement as well. Notable exceptions are the elative, which was a much less frequent cause of transfer in the fan fiction material, while the allative in turn was comparatively much more frequent.

There were 5 instances of transfer involving the Finnish inessive case, which manifests itself as the suffix *-ssa* in Finnish and carries the basic meaning 'in' (Hakulinen 2004; 108, 1187), i.e. being in a place or state.

1. And Hungary was already **in halfway** to the kitchen
(pro 'halfway', cf. Finnish *puolivälissä* 'halfway-INESSIVE'; extract from text 3)
2. And that what she did **in graduation ball**
(pro 'at the graduation ball', cf. Finnish *valmistujaisjuhlassa* 'graduation ball-INESSIVE'; extract from text 8)

Examples 1 and 2 display a fairly straightforward one-on-one relationship between the Finnish inessive case and the choice of the English preposition *in*.

There were 4 instances of transfer involving the Finnish elative case. The elative suffix is *-sta*, and it primarily denotes 'moving out of a place or state' (Hakulinen 2004; 108, 1187). These manifested in the fan fiction data as a deviant *of* preposition.

3. I'm not going to give grades **of** complimentary, Kenichi-san.
(pro *for*; cf. Finnish *arvosanoja kohteliaisuuksista* 'grade-PLURAL-PARTITIVE compliment-PLURAL-ELATIVE'; from text 7)
4. Nothing, I'm just excited **of** Chinese new year.
(pro *excited about*; cf. Finnish *innoissani uudesta vuodesta* 'excited-1SG new-ELATIVE year-ELATIVE'; from text 8)

There were 14 instances of transfer involving the Finnish illative case, which carries the meaning of 'moving into a place or state' (Hakulinen 2004, 1188). The Finnish illative marker is *-hVn*, where V is the last vowel of the word, and the *h* is omitted if the resulting construction is a simple long

vowel (Hakulinen 2004, 120-121). The illative transfer cases generally involved the deviant use of the preposition *to*. The instances of transfer found involved both physical locations and more abstract concepts.

5. trying to make some sense **to** it
(pro *of*, cf. Finnish *saada järkeä siihen* 'get sense-PARTITIVE it-ILLATIVE')
6. Selphie called me and I called **to** balamb hospital
(pro \emptyset , cf. Finnish *soitin sairaalaan*, 'call-1SG-PAST hospital-ILLATIVE');
7. She silently thanked God for having her husband back **to** home.
(pro \emptyset , cf. Finnish *takaisin kotiin*, 'back home-ILLATIVE');
8. she forgot Aslan and her faith **to** him.
(pro *in him*, cf. Finnish *usko häneen* 'faith he-ILLATIVE')
9. what she said **to loud** wasn't really the question.
(pro *aloud*, cf. Finnish *ääneen* 'aloud', literally 'sound-ILLATIVE'; from text 1)

There were 8 instances of transfer involving the transfer of the Finnish adessive case. In Finnish, the adessive is marked with an *-lla/-llä* suffix, and has the basic meaning 'on', i.e. residing on an external surface or location, and primarily signifies place, states, time and ownership (Hakulinen 2004; 108, 1187, 1201). Indeed, these instances primarily involved the deviant use of the preposition *on*.

10. "Okay." said Isabella and tried to take shirt off **on** hall.
(pro *in*, cf. Finnish *käytävällä* 'hall-ADESSIVE')
11. two characters were seen **on** the backyard
(pro *in*, cf. Finnish *takapihalla* 'backyard-ADESSIVE')
12. Once everyone had their playing pieces **on** place
(pro *in*, cf. Finnish *paikallaan* 'place-ADESSIVE-POSSESSIVE-3PL')

In Examples 10 to 12 above, the preposition *on* was used in a context involving spatial location. *On* was also used in metaphorical contexts, like in Example 13 below describing an emotional state:

13. people are **on** extremely cheery mood.
(pro *in*, cf. Finnish *iloisella tuulella*, 'happy-ADESSIVE mood-ADESSIVE')

Besides spatial location, the adessive sometimes also conveys manner (Hakulinen 2004, 1201), and

in a total of two instances the adessive case had been realized as *with* in connection with the word *voice* to describe a manner of speaking:

14. "Yeah.. okay..." I said **with** a little voice and lifted my head.
(pro in, cf. Finnish *äänellä* 'voice-ADESSIVE')

There were 2 instances of transfer involving the Finnish ablative case. The ablative case usually has the basic meaning 'from' (movement outward from an external location) and manifests as the suffix *-lta/-ltä* (Hakulinen 2004; 108, 1187-1188). These instances involved the unidiomatic use of the preposition *from*.

15. You think we're gonna find any sake **from** there?
(pro \emptyset or *in*, cf. Finnish *sieltä* 'there-ABLATIVE')

16. that was definitely a huge thing to say **from** him.
(pro *for*, cf. Finnish *se oli paljon sanottu häneltä* 'it was much said he-ABLATIVE')

Example 15 above in particular demonstrates an interesting way in which Finnish differs from English in that in Finnish one finds something *from* somewhere and so the ablative, implying outward movement, is used instead of the inessive, which implies location within something, as in *find any sake in there*.

There were 16 instances of transfer involving the Finnish allative case (*-lle*), the basic meaning of which is 'movement towards an external surface' (Hakulinen 2004; 108, 1188), realized using the preposition *to*. Nine out of 16 cases where the Finnish allative had been transferred indeed involved the deviant use of *to*. Some of these dealt with actual physical locations and movement, as

Examples 17, 18 and 19 below illustrate:

17. After leaving the flower **to** craves, Jade took her friend **to** cup of tea
(pro *on the graves*; cf. Finnish *haudoille* 'grave-PLURAL-ALLATIVE'; from text 8)
(pro *for a cup of tea*; cf. Finnish *teelle* 'tea-ALLATIVE'; from text 8)

18. While she was left **to** the surface of water
(pro *on*; cf. Finnish *veden pinnalle* 'water-GENITIVE surface-ALLATIVE'; from text 22)

19. kissing her husband **to** his cheek.
(pro *on*; cf. Finnish *poskelle* 'cheek-ALLATIVE'; from text 6)

In Finnish, both the act of leaving something somewhere and being left somewhere are expressed using the allative, which implies movement towards the location where something is being left or the where the person in question will be left. This is the likely cause for why the Finnish-speaking writers have opted to use *to* in Examples 17 to 19 above. It is worth mentioning that while the phrase *left to* is commonly used in English, the connotation there has more to do with states or “plights” e.g. *I was left to my own devices*, rather than actual physical locations.

There were other instances where the allative had been realized as *to* but where the context did not explicitly concern movement or spatial relations. The allative is sometimes used in habitive functions, signifying belongings and characteristics (Hakulinen 2004, 1197), which is the function that has been transferred in Example 20. The allative is also used in conjunction with verbs expressing communication, for example (Hakulinen 2004, 1205), and this meaning can be seen in Example 21.

20. They say that it's normal **to** her, but I know that her acting is more than normal.
(pro *for*; cf. Finnish *hänelle* 'she-ALLATIVE'; from text 8)

21. doctors had told **to** him that he won't be able to walk ever again.
(pro *told him*; cf. Finnish *kertoivat hänelle* 'tell-PAST-3PL he-ALLATIVE'; from text 6)

The Finnish allative also sometimes signifies the experiencer or the beneficiary of an action i.e. ‘for someone’. The remaining 7 illative-related instances did involve the deviant use of *for* together with verbs such as *smile* and *speak*.

22. Berwald took the paper and nodded, smiling a little back **for** Elizaveta.
(pro *at*; cf. Finnish *hymyillä jollekulle* 'smile someone-ALLATIVE'; from text 1)

23. everybody wanted to hug him and speak **for** him.
(pro *to*; cf. Finnish *puhua jollekulle* 'speak someone-ALLATIVE'; from text 1)

For was used in this manner in only two texts, however, and six out of a total of seven cases were found in a single text, and so this writer's tendency to use *for* in this manner goes some way to explain why the allative was the most common cause for transfer-induced unidiomatic prepositions

in the fan fiction data (16 instances in total).

The Finnish essive case (*-na*) generally signifies the purpose or task of the subject (Hakulinen 2004, 1206). There was 1 instance of transfer involving the essive case where the aforementioned ‘task’ meaning of the Finnish essive case was conveyed using the unidiomatic preposition *as*.

24. Jackie still was in Section 13 **as** part time (pro \emptyset , cf. Finnish *osa-aikaisena* ‘part-time-ESSIVE’; from text 8)

Whether this case actually constitutes Finnish language transfer is somewhat unclear, though, because from the context of the story it cannot really be determined whether or not the intention was to refer to *part time* as a type of employment agreement or a *part time worker*. In the latter case, the use of *as* would be considered idiomatic.

The instructive case primarily conveys instrumental meaning or manner (Hakulinen 2004, 1210). There was 1 instance involving the transfer Finnish instructive case, realized as an unidiomatic preposition *with*:

25. Everybody in that room spoke only **with** whispers
(pro *in*, cf. Finnish *kuiskauksin*, ‘whisper-PLURAL-INSTRUCTIVE’; from text 3)

It has to be said that Example 25 above could possibly be caused by transfer of the ‘manner’ meaning of the adessive case as well (Finnish *kuiskauksilla*, ‘with whispers’, ‘whisper-PLURAL-ADESSIVE’), but the translative form *kuiskauksin* is intuitively more natural sounding in Finnish.

6.2.4.2 Omitted prepositions

The remaining instances of prepositional transfer involved omitted prepositions. These have been grouped according to the type of construction they occurred in.

Table 16. The omission of prepositions, by construction type

Type of construction	Saurio (2014); 30943 words		Meriläinen (2010); 35207 words	
	No.	Percentage of total	No.	Percentage of total
Verb complement	22	61.1 %	32	37.2 %
Adjectival complement	1	2.8 %	1	1.2 %
Noun modifier	3	8.3 %	8	9.3 %
Space adverbial	4	11.1 %	27	31.4 %
Time adverbial	3	8.3 %	6	7.0 %
Process adverbial	1	2.8%	4	4.7 %
Other	2	5.6 %	8	9.3 %
Total	36	100.0 %	86	100.1 %*

**due to rounding*

As discussed in section 6.2.4 above, deviant omitted prepositions were less common in the fan fiction data compared to Meriläinen (2010). In Meriläinen's data (2010, 183), the most commonly occurring type of transfer regarding omitted prepositions concerned verb complements (32 out of 86, 37.2 per cent). This type of omission was even more dominant in the fan fiction data as well, with 22 out of 36 instances (61.1 per cent) being this type. Omissions involving space adverbials were pronouncedly less frequent in the fan fiction data.

As with incorrectly chosen prepositions, various Finnish case endings were a likely contributor to the omissions. However, while the locative cases dominated the incorrect prepositions category, grammatical cases such as the genitive and especially the partitive also featured as an influence in the omitted prepositions.

As mentioned, 22 omitted prepositions involved a verb complement. Examples 1 and 2 illustrate the

deviant omission of a preposition that would function as a verb complement. In Examples 1 and 2, the source of transfer is are the partitive and the genitive cases respectively.

1. some people told a woman that they would go to **search somebody**
(pro *search for somebody*, cf. Finnish *etsiä jotakuta* 'search somebody-PARTITIVE';
extract from text 22)

2. But thanks to my ability I was able to **survive a week**, running away.
(pro *survive for a week*, cf. Finnish *selviytyä viikon* 'survive week-GENITIVE'; from text
13)

One instance involved transfer of the Finnish elative case, manifested as the omission of *in* as an adjectival complement in the phrase *interested in*:

3. she must be always sad and not **interested anything**.
(pro *interested in*; cf. Finnish *kiinnostunut mistään* 'interested-ELATIVE anything'; from
text 8)

Three instances involved an omitted noun modifier preposition in the phrases *in diameter*, *a bit of distance* and *minutes of silence*. In Example 4 the source of influence was the ablative case, while it was the genitive in Examples 5 and 6.

4. a meteorite approximately **ten kilometres diameter**, crashed into the Pacific-ocean,
creating a huge tsunami wave and major earthquakes.
(pro *ten kilometres in diameter*; cf. Finnish *kymmenen kilometriä halkaisijaltaan* 'ten
kilometres diameter-ABLATIVE-POSSESSIVE(3SG)'; from text 9)

5. "And I'm Hungry!" They heard a shout from **a bit distance** away.
(pro *from a bit of distance away*; cf. Finnish *pienen välimatkan päästä* 'small-GENITIVE
distance-GENITIVE away-ELATIVE'; from text 16)

6. After that, there was about **15 minutes silence**
(pro *15 minutes of silence*; cf. Finnish *15 minuutin hiljaisuus* '15 minutes-GENITIVE
silence'; from text 17)

Four instances involved an omitted preposition in connection with a space adverbial. Three of these concerned the transfer of the Finnish inessive case, realized as the omission of *in* in the phrase *in front of*.

7. Belgium was sitting in the floor **front of Spain**

(pro *in front of*; cf. Finnish Espanjan edessä 'Spain-GENITIVE front-INESSIVE'; from text 3)

8. He just stared to empty air **front of him** (from text 3)

9. She holed **front of her** a fen. (from text 8)

(pro *in front of him/her*; cf. Finnish edessään 'front-INESSIVE-POSSESSIVE(3SG)')

One omitted preposition involved the space adverbial *at eye-to-eye level*. It is hard to figure out an exact phrase that would have influenced the omission, but the omission is nevertheless likely influenced by the Finnish adessive case:

10. No, Jun listen" Chosaku kneeled down on the floor so they **were eye to eye level**

(pro *at eye-to-eye level*; cf. Finnish *he olivat samalla tasolla* 'they were same-ADESSIVE level-ADESSIVE'; from text 15)

Another three instances involved an omitted preposition in connection with a time adverbial, with influence from the partitive case in Example 11 and the illative case in Examples 12 and 13.

11. He was sitting on Spain's lap and **first time** ever he didn't resist.

(pro *for the first time*; cf. Finnish *ensi kertaa* 'first time-PARTITIVE'; from text 3)

12. She begged **so long** that tears dropped down from her eyes

(pro *for so long*; cf. Finnish *niin pitkään* 'so long-ILLATIVE'; from text 3)

13. There was no other choice. Expect that he had hesitated **too long**

(pro *for too long*; cf. Finnish *liian pitkään* 'too long-ILLATIVE'; from text 9)

One instance involved a process adverbial with an instrumental meaning, and the omitted preposition in this instance is *with*:

14. Turtles turned on their sensei **question mark written on their faces**.

(pro *with question marks on their faces*; cf. Finnish *kysymysmerkit kasvoillansa* 'question marks faces-ADESSIVE-POSSESSIVE(3PL)'; from text 13)

The two remaining omitted prepositions involved omitted prepositions with a clause complement.

15. for that is **the key thing being a medic**

(pro *the key thing to being a medic*; cf. Finnish *avainasia lääkintämiehenä olemiselle* 'key thing medic-ESSIVE being-ALLATIVE; from text 7)

16. **What I have been told** you mother married the Roman commander, Castus

(pro *From what I have been told...*; cf. spoken Finnish *Mitä minulle on kerrottu, niin...* 'what I-ALLATIVE tell-PASSIVE-PERFECT so'; from text 19)

In Example 16, a plausible contributor to the omitted preposition is the spoken Finnish construction *mitä minulle on kerrottu, niin...* ('what I-ALLATIVE tell-PASSIVE-PERFECT so'), which means roughly 'based on what I have been told'.

6.2.5 Subordinate clause patterns

There were 3 subtypes of transfer patterns involving subordinate clauses in Meriläinen's data, which were discussed in chapter 5 above.

Table 17. Subordinate clause patterns by type in Saurio (2014) and Meriläinen (2010).

Type	Saurio (2014); 30943 words		Meriläinen (2010); 35207 words	
	No.	Per 10000 words	No.	Per 10000 words
Subordinate interrogative clause	0	0.00	16	4.54
<i>That</i> -clause	0	0.00	13	3.69
<i>That</i> / subordinate interrogative clause	0	0.00	5	1.42

No instances of any of Meriläinen's three patterns were found in the fan fiction data. As far as subordinate clause patterns in general are concerned, five instances of a redundant pronoun *that* in front of a subordinate relative clause were found (see Examples 1 and 2 below). However, four out of five of these instances were found in a single text, so this construction only occurred in two different fan fiction texts. Furthermore, it is unclear whether these instances truly are transfer-

induced at all. Even if they are assumed to be such, they may not reflect syntactic transfer (i.e. a subordinate clause pattern) but functional transfer instead. One of the subcategories of functional transfer discussed in section 5.1.3.2 was the deviant use of the demonstrative pronoun *it*, influenced by the Finnish word *se* ‘it’. Although Examples 1 and 2 concern the deviant use of *that*, the same underlying influence of *se* may be present; in Finnish, *se* is sometimes used to refer to the subordinate clause that follows it.

1. Our friends of Narnia were just sitting at there thinking about **that**, what Aslan had just told to them

(pro \emptyset ; cf. Finnish *ajattelin sitä mitä hän sanoi* ‘think-1SG-PAST it-PARTITIVE what he say-3SG-PAST; from text 6)

2. "And **that** what she did in graduation ball." said jade.

(pro \emptyset ; cf. Finnish *se mitä hän teki* ‘it what he do-3SG-PAST’; from text 8)

6.2.6 Omission of subject-verb inversion in direct open interrogatives

One new possible category of syntactic transfer was discovered in the fan fiction data that was not addressed in Meriläinen (2010): the omission of subject-verb inversion in direct open interrogatives i.e. direct *wh*-questions. Specifically, this pattern concerns clauses with a non-subject interrogative phrase, as in Example 1 where the subject is *you*:

1. “How long **you were** there?”

(pro *how long were you there*; cf. Finnish *kuinka kauan sinä olit siellä*, lit. ‘how long you were there’; from text 8)

In Finnish, the normal word order in direct questions that contain a clause-initial interrogative pronoun is subject-verb (S-V) (Hakulinen 2004, 1592), in contrast to Germanic languages like English where verb-subject (V-S) is used in equivalent contexts. This difference is demonstrated in Example 2 below:

2. *Mistä sinä oikein puhut?* ‘What are you talking about?’ (from Hakulinen 2004, 1592)
‘what-ABLATIVE you really speak-2SG’

An important distinction to make here is that the constructions discussed herein do not concern the deviant omission of auxiliary *do* in *wh*-interrogatives, although several of these were discovered in the fan fiction data:

3. **Why I had** to lose all of them?

(pro *Why did I have...*; cf. Finnish *miksi minun täytyi* ‘why I-GENITIVE had to’; from text 6)

Although the unidiomatic English construction in Example 3 mirrors the structure of the idiomatic Finnish equivalent, the reason why instances like Example 3 were not classified as transfer is that the auxiliary *do* carries no intrinsic meaning and its omission can perhaps be explained by other common learner behaviors like avoidance and simplification. It is possible Finnish influence contributes to the omissions, but it cannot be accounted for convincingly enough, at least on the present evidence.

Eleven instances of deviant omission of subject-verb inversion in direct *wh*-questions were found in the fan fiction data that did not concern omitted auxiliaries, and so simplification is a less likely explanation for them. Of these instances, 10 instances involved a construction that does not require an auxiliary *do* in English. Of those 10, five involved a progressive construction with an auxiliary *be* and an *-ing* inflected verb:

4. "Sis...**what you're doing** here?"

(pro *what are you doing here*; cf. Finnish *mitä sinä teet täällä* ‘what you do-2SG here’; from text 8)

A further 4 instances involved the full verb *be* (i.e. non-auxiliary) and another 1 instance involved the auxiliary verb *can*:

5. "So you've been all you life there? How **you're** here now?"

(pro *how are you here now*; cf. Finnish *kuinkas sinä olet täällä nyt*, ‘how you be-2SG here now’; from text 13)

6. “How **you can** be so sure that they know about this?”

(pro *how can you be so sure*; cf. Finnish *miten sinä voit olla niin varma* ‘how you can-2SG be so sure’)

Only one of the 11 instances had an auxiliary *do* construction in it:

7. "Then **why anybody in here doesn't** seem to believe your words?" Eustace asked seriously, but calmly.

(pro *why doesn't anybody in here...*; cf. Finnish *miksi kukaan täällä ei...* 'why anyone here no'; from text 6)

It is naturally within the realm of possibility that the omission of *do* as in Example 3 can be partly caused by native language influence, but the evidence is, in my view, more compelling in instances like Examples 4 to 7. I find it a reasonable hypothesis that the Finnish speakers' omission of S-V inversion in direct *wh*-questions of this kind is at least in part, if not mostly, attributable to native language transfer. As for why this particular pattern featured fairly prominently in the fan fiction data, a probable reason is simply that stories tend to incorporate a lot of direct speech, whereas short school essays and academic texts etc. probably do not. Interestingly, 10 out of 11 instances of this transfer pattern in fact involved direct speech, i.e. quoting something a character in the story said.

Past research differs on the role of the native language in the production of English questions. For example, Spada and Lightbown (1999) found that French learners tended to transfer inversion-related properties of French questions into their written English, but a recent study by Pozzan (2011), comparing Chinese and Spanish learners, found no evidence of native language influence in the production of English questions. A contrastive study comparing Finnish speakers and speakers of another language (e.g. Swedish) regarding the incidence of this particular grammatical feature would be warranted and could possibly prove useful in elucidating what the role of the L1 really is. Online fan fiction databases provide a wealth of source material for studies of this kind because, as stated, direct speech and direct questions abound in story texts.

7 Discussion of results

The findings presented in chapter 6 demonstrate that most of the transfer features discovered in Meriläinen (2010) also occurred in the fan fiction data. Furthermore, the fan fiction data contained dramatically lower frequencies of many types of transfer. However, the much lower frequencies of spelling-related transfer can be explained by technological aids and the absence of time constraints, among other things (see section 6.1). Moreover, semantic extensions and collocations, which concern word meaning and use in context, were quite common in both the fan fiction data and Meriläinen (2010), a finding that is in agreement with the results of other previous research as well (e.g. Ringbom 1987) in that these types of transfer are common in the written English of Finnish speakers in general.

Nevertheless, the fan fiction authors do seem to possess a better mastery of many English language conventions that concern lexis and syntax and exhibit less transfer in their written productions because of it. Of the lexical transfer categories investigated in this study, functional transfer and loan translations were markedly less common in the fan fiction data than in Meriläinen (2010). The types of syntactic transfer investigated were also quite dramatically less frequent in the fan fiction data, with the one glaring exception of prepositional transfer. As regards prepositions, the difference between the present study and Meriläinen (2010) was mainly that transfer-induced preposition choices were more common than omitted prepositions in the fan fiction data of the present study, whereas it was the other way around in Meriläinen (2010).

A new potential transfer pattern was discovered during the analysis: the omission of subject-verb inversion in direct questions with a non-subject interrogative pronoun. With 11 instances found, this feature was more common in the fan fiction data than any other syntactic transfer pattern besides prepositional transfer. However, to fully verify this construction as a transfer pattern requires a more substantial analysis than the one carried out in the present venture.

Differences between the fan fiction data set and Meriläinen's data regarding the total number of subjects and mean composition size introduce an element of uncertainty that must be acknowledged here. As regards the reliability of the numerical data presented hitherto, certain concessions must be made. The number of subjects in the present study ($n=22$) is considerably smaller than in Meriläinen's 2005 data set ($n=180$), and the mean length of the fan fiction extracts is 1407 words per text, while the matriculation examination compositions have a mean length of 196 words. This means that the individual tendencies of each of the 22 fan fiction writers had much more influence on the total number of transfer-induced patterns in the fan fiction data compared to how much individual variation would have affected the numbers in Meriläinen's data. The effect of this asymmetry could be plainly seen in the frequency of some of the transfer features in the fan fiction data, as several of the features discussed in chapter 6 above only occurred in one or two of the fan fiction texts, and nearly half of all syntactic transfer in the data set – most of which was preposition-related transfer – was found in three texts (3, 6 and 8; see Appendix 4).

8 Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to find out whether the types of lexical and syntactic transfer that Finnish matriculation students exhibit also appear in Finn-penned fan fiction texts, and whether the incidence of these transfer patterns is lower among fan fiction writers as hypothesized. Despite the asymmetry between the data sets that was discussed in chapter 7 above, it seems compelling to conclude that fan fiction writers tend to be more proficient at producing idiomatic English lexical and syntactic structures and thus transfer patterns occur less frequently, and especially so because there were several transfer features that were only found in one or two fan fiction texts. Another important finding is that unidiomatic preposition choices emerged as the one category of syntactic transfer where the difference between the fan fiction writers and the matriculants was almost negligible. That prepositional transfer is so pervasive even among fan fiction writers (who seem quite proficient otherwise) reinforces the findings of Meriläinen (2010) and Jarvis & Odlin (2000) that the lack of a prepositional system in Finnish causes persistent problems for Finns using English and that the locative cases especially cause considerable amounts of transfer.

The discovery of the use of S-V word order in direct *wh*-questions, on the other hand, serves as a good reminder that the type of data being analyzed can affect the results: direct questions are likely to be much more common in creative writing than in texts like matriculation examination compositions, so transfer features involving direct questions will naturally occur more often in the former, and so on. As mentioned in chapter 7 above, this transfer feature merits an investigation entirely of its own, and should perhaps include a control group of English-speaking fan fiction authors and a group of Swedish-speaking fan fiction authors, for example.

Overall, further studies using a larger number of subjects with a smaller individual composition length are warranted because they would yield results with less individual variation and more weight on the quantitative side, which would facilitate more generalizability than the results from

the present undertaking do. It might also be beneficial to supplement the analysis with some statistical mathematics to infer more about the data. Moreover, since it is widely accepted and established in the SLA research community that the role of transfer is very nuanced and multifaceted (Foley and Flynn 2013, 113) and since in many instances in the fan fiction data the transfer element was difficult to detect, it would be interesting to study the same lexical and syntactic patterns in fan fiction texts written by native English speakers to investigate the possibility that they might exhibit the very features that were treated as transfer phenomena in this study. Yet another angle would be to carry out a comparison between Finnish and Swedish (or Finnish and some other typologically distant language) speaking online fiction writers, in the manner that Meriläinen (2010) and others have done with transfer studies on schoolwork in Finland.

All in all, transfer remains a highly complex and extremely interesting area of research. The web contains an almost unlimited supply of material for future studies, and the emergence of online portals centered on user-generated content like fan fiction provides unprecedented opportunities for analyzing voluntarily created written material.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Instances of lexical transfer in the fan fiction data

The numbers in parentheses indicate the text in which each particular instance was found. See Appendices 3 and 4 for general information about specific texts.

Orthographic transfer: uppercase/lowercase (4 instances)

1. The **dane's** had become pretty familiar in these kind of situations. (1)
(pro *Danes*; cf. Finnish *tanskalaiset*)
2. Angela threw the dice and moved their piece on **art and literature**. (11)
(pro *Arts and Literature*; cf. Finnish *kirjallisuus ja taide*)
3. they were off towards **Balamb garden**. (16)
(pro *Balamb Garden*; cf. e.g. Finnish *Jukataniin niemimaa* 'the Yucatan Peninsula' *Harvardin yliopisto* 'Harvard University')
4. Fionn said fiercely looking at the **roman** commander. (19)
(pro *Roman*; cf. Finnish *roomalainen*)

Orthographic transfer: compound words (4 instances)

1. clearly unamused by the interruption of his **cuddlemoment**, (2)
(pro *cuddle moment*; cf. Finnish *halailuhetki*)
2. Right under the **cherrytree** stood a little shadow like person. (17)
(pro *cherry tree*; cf. Finnish *kirsikkapuu*)
3. though I saw the **cherrytree** right throught him... You got the point right... (17)
(pro *cherry tree*; cf. Finnish *kirsikkapuu*)
4. **Ofcourse** no-one told me that the prize was so high. (17)
(pro *of course*; cf. Finnish colloquial *tottakai*)

Phonetic transfer related to phonemes (6 instances)

1. which all looked like just some dirty and wet **carpage**. (1) (pro *garbage*)
2. which he had thought to be just a pile of **carpage**. (1) (pro *garbage*)
3. Then they went to the cemetery to see **craves** of Isabella's parents. (8) (pro *graves*)
4. After leaving the flower to **craves**, (8) (pro *graves*)
5. Ever sense Isabella went to her parents **crave** (8) (pro *grave*)
6. "The thing that takes the **price**, though, is probably the phrase that got me into this mess in the first place," (14) (pro *prize*)

Morphological transfer: deviant plural forms (7 instances)

1. Spaniard looked sad and he buried his face in Italian's **hairs**. (3)
(pro *hair*; cf. Finnish plural *hiukset* 'hair', *hius* 'a strand of hair')
2. Susan heard **peoples** whispering around her (6)
3. The **peoples** they saw, were mostly professor Kirke's and Polly's relatives (6)
4. Of course there were Eustaces parents and some other **peoples**, who Pevensie's relatives. (6)
5. she had lost, not just one - but seven important **peoples** in that horrible train wreck. (6)
6. most of the **peoples** started silently to go back to their homes. (6)
(pro *people*; cf. Finnish *ihminen* 'person', *ihmiset* 'people')
7. They just looked at **each others** (6)
(pro *each other*; cf. Finnish plural *toisiaan*)

Loan translations: compound words (1 instance)

1. One day in the **morning night**, so early that no one else in his family had woken up yet (15)
(pro *the small hours*; cf. Finnish *aamu* 'morning', *yö* 'night', *aamuyö* 'the small hours')

Loan translations: idiomatic phrases (4 instances)

1. Another deep glance. Now Berwald truly felt awful, and decided to **clear the position** a little. (1)
(pro *straighten things out*; cf. Finnish *selvittää tilanne* 'clear position', 'clear situation')
2. he hated himself because he was that one who created **this everything**. (3)
(pro *all of this*; cf. Finnish *tämän kaiken* 'this-GENITIVE everything-GENITIVE')
3. Then enjoy **the rest two** and also remember the picnic waiting for you (10)
(pro *the remaining two*; cf. Finnish *lopun kaksi* lit. 'rest two')
4. his brother who he usually **had** nicely said **difficult terms with** (15)
(pro *be on difficult terms with*; cf. Finnish *olla huonot välit* 'have bad-PLURAL terms')

Loan translations: idioms (4 instances)

1. It was hopeless, **no matter how Berwald tried to place the things**.(1)
(pro *no matter how Berwald looked at it*; cf. Finnish *vaikka miten asioita pyöritteli* lit. 'no matter how you twist things around')
2. And that one thing, which Berwald couldn't find **with any methods**, (1)
(pro *no matter what he did*; cf. Finnish *millään konstilla* lit. 'with any method')

3. At least **the Lady fortune** didn't kick me in the ass... (5)

(pro *Lady Luck*; cf. Finnish *rouva Fortuna*)

4. We had come quickly friends **over the road** (5)

(pro *on the road*; cf. Finnish *tien päällä* lit. 'over the road, on top of the road')

Semantic extensions (31 instances)

1. He actually never had to do much **job** for those things (1)

(pro *work*; cf. Finnish *työ* 'job, work')

2. Blue eyes rised in a little shock and the blond man **upgraded** his posture a little. (1)

(pro *improve*; cf. Finnish *kohentaa* 'improve, upgrade')

3. He closely observed as Tino placed all the breakfast supplies onto the table and **handed** a steaming cup of hot chocolate in front of him. (2)

(pro *placed*; cf. Finnish *ojentaa* 'hand, place')

4. he **smoothed** the Swede's knuckles with his thumb. Berwald furrowed his brows. (2)

(pro *caressed*; cf. Finnish *silittää* 'caress, smooth')

5. After D'Artagnan had **steered** Buttercup on the horse post (5)

(pro *lead*; cf. Finnish *ohjata* 'lead, steer')

6. that's the **funniest** way to spend a day off. (7)

(pro *funnest*; cf. Finnish *hauska* 'fun, funny')

7. gather together to Holy Mountain, were chosen priestess **calls** four celestial animals (8)

(pro *summons*; cf. Finnish *kutsua* 'call, summon')

8. Then the priestess **asks** four wishes to next generation, (8)

(pro *makes*; cf. Finnish *pyytää* 'ask, request', *pyytää toive* 'make a wish')

9. she only went to **train** her dance or draw. (8)

(pro *practice*; cf. Finnish *harjoitella* 'train, practice')

10. They learned to gather energy from the bottom of the ocean and **detach** oxygen from the sea. (9)

(pro *separate*; cf. Finnish *irrottaa* 'separate, detach')

11. The cameras follow them and send their **picture** to the great screens hanging high above them (9)

(pro *feed, footage*; cf. Finnish *kuva* 'picture, feed, footage')

12. First areas to feel the **results** were the eastern Asian coast and the western American coast. (9)

(pro *effects*; cf. Finnish *seuraukset* 'results, effects')

13. A female character shouted causing a **bunch** of birds fly off the tree in surprise. (10)

(pro *group*; cf. Finnish *joukko* 'group, bunch')

14. "Dave helped me a little to **put** the banner, but otherwise I did it all by myself just for you my

- gumdrop." (10)
 (pro *set up*; cf. Finnish *asettaa* ‘put, place, set up’)
15. he **came** very happy himself. (10)
 (pro *became*; cf. Finnish *tulla* ‘come, become’)
16. "Aww... Why did you have to hide so **little!**" (10)
 (pro *few*; cf. Finnish *vähän* ‘little, few’)
17. He wasn't going up before them and realize at the top that his two other brothers have **left** behind (13)
 (pro *stay*; cf. Finnish *jäää* ‘stay’, *jäää jälkeen* ‘to be left behind’)
18. Mikey have climbed so **up**, he wasn't able to hear the voice. (13)
 (pro *high*; cf. Finnish *ylös* ‘up, high’)
19. "Hey guys! What's holdin' you?" **heard Mikey's voice** suddenly. (13)
 (pro *Mikey's voice said*; cf. Finnish *kuulua* ‘be heard, be audible’, *kuului ääni* lit. ‘heard a voice’)
20. "I'm already up" **heard a voice** and the lights were turned on. (13)
 (pro *a voice said*; cf. Finnish *kuulua* ‘be heard, be audible’, *kuului ääni* lit. ‘heard a voice’)
21. "Vampires weren't that **usual** in Egypt," Liliun defended herself. (14)
 (pro *common*; cf. Finnish *yleinen* ‘usual, common’)
22. She tried to get her feet back on **earth** but failed (14)
 (pro *the ground*; cf. Finnish *maa* ‘ground, earth’)
23. The clock hit twelve and its **voice** echoed in the big empty hall making Jun jump. (15)
 (pro *sound*; cf. Finnish *ääni* ‘sound, voice’)
24. Finally they **felt** that they landed and the exit opened (16)
 (pro *sensed*; cf. Finnish *tuntea* ‘feel, sense’)
25. "Now, you others leave!" She said and they started their **job** as the others left. (16)
 (pro *work*; cf. Finnish *työ* ‘job, work’)
26. "Yeah.. okay..." I said with a **little** voice and lifted my head. (17)
 (pro *small*; cf. Finnish *pieni* ‘small, little’)
27. I bowed my head and started to speak with a **little** voice and hoped he didn't hear me. (17)
 (pro *small*; cf. Finnish *pieni* ‘small, little’)
28. That was a part of why he had **trained** so much with his kunai and eye techniques. (18)
 (pro *practiced*; cf. Finnish *harjoitella* ‘train, practice’)
29. Putting a hi-potion inside a empty chest that was in **notably** place. (22)
 (pro *conspicuous*; cf. Finnish *huomattava* ‘notable’, *helposti huomattava* ‘conspicuous’)
30. Hopefully we can **see** again, even if you will be asleep then, (22)
 (pro *meet*; cf. Finnish *nähdä* ‘see, meet’)
31. We had **come** quickly friends over the road (5)
 (pro *become*; cf. Finnish *tulla* ‘come, become’)

Collocations (9 instances)

1. Usually she would laugh at same but now she used her all **powers** just for keeping small almost invisible smile on her lips (3)

(pro *strength*; cf. Finnish *voimat* ‘powers, strength’)

2. Germany's face **told** clearly that Prussia wouldn't see sunlight ever again after this (3)

(pro *said*; cf. Finnish *kertoa* ‘tell, say’, *sanoa* ‘say, tell’)

3. And I **told** that it's yours. (4)

(pro *said*; cf. Finnish *kertoa* ‘tell, say’, *sanoa* ‘say, tell’)

4. doctors had **told** to him that he wont be able to walk ever again. (6)

(pro *said*; cf. Finnish *kertoa* ‘tell, say’, *sanoa* ‘say, tell’)

5. Sakura laughed. "You're not **saying** me that you believe in stuff like that?" (7)

(pro *telling*; cf. Finnish *kertoa* ‘tell, say’, *sanoa* ‘say, tell’)

6. Sakura made her way next to the red head and **watched** out of the window as well. (7)

(pro *looked*; cf. Finnish *katsoa* ‘look, watch’)

7. A large banner was hanging from the branches of the trees and it **told** "HAPPY EASTER" (10)

(pro *said*; cf. Finnish *kertoa* ‘tell, say’, *sanoa* ‘say, tell’)

8. It's not like the baldy would have a slightest chance of **winning** him. (12)

(pro *beating*; cf. Finnish *voittaa* ‘win, beat’)

9. "No, is far away from here. I don't know the place, it took a week for me to get here" Amy **told**. (13)

(pro *said*; cf. Finnish *kertoa* ‘tell, say’, *sanoa* ‘say, tell’)

Functional transfer: relative pronouns (5 instances)

1. He just couldn't believe all those changes **what** had happened to Susan in all those long years. (6)

2. there's nothing **what** I can do before she wants to change her ways," Aslan answered sadly. " (6)

3. Then next older was girl who had snake eyes, reptile tail and hold huge shell **what** looks like bowl. (8)

4. "Isabella, are they talking about your necklace **what** Dad gave to you?" asked Liz. (9)

5. It would be wrong if we were granted for something **what** is wrong (13)

(pro *that / which*; cf. Finnish relative pronoun *mikä* ‘what’)

Functional transfer: indefinite pronouns (3 instances)

1. Every corner and island had been home to **some** humans. (9)

(pro \emptyset ; cf. Finnish indefinite pronoun *joku* ‘some’)

2. The spectre watched as the boy leaned against **some** huge metal box while in deep thoughts. (22)

(pro *a*; cf. Finnish indefinite pronoun *joku* ‘some’)

3. she got back in focus and watched as **some** people told a woman that they would go to search somebody. (22)

(pro \emptyset or e.g. *a group of*; cf. Finnish indefinite pronoun *joku* ‘some’)

Functional transfer: conjunctions (1 instance)

1. Silently he watched **how** the yellow taxi drove away, and disappeared into the foggy rain. (1)

(pro *as*; cf. Finnish conjunction *kuinka* ‘how’)

Appendix 2. Instances of syntactic transfer in the fan fiction data

The numbers in parentheses indicate the text in which each particular instance was found. See Appendices 3 and 4 for general information about specific texts.

Passive constructions: impersonal passive (3 instances)

1. Sadly the tradition **has forgotten** over centuries. (8)
(pro *has been forgotten*; cf. Finnish *on unohdettu* 'forget-PRESENT PERFECT-PASSIVE')
2. Years had gone by after **send** Drago and Shendu back to realm. (8)
(pro *were sent*; cf. Finnish *lähetettiin* 'send-PAST-PASSIVE')
3. "May I remind you, that ritual was still in after they were **sending** to realm." (8)
(pro *were sent*; cf. Finnish *lähetettiin* 'send-PAST-PASSIVE')

Passive constructions: active/passive verbs (2 instances)

1. he **had paralyzed** right under his waist. (6)
(pro *had been paralyzed*; cf. Finnish *oli halvaantunut* 'paralyze-PAST PERFECT')
2. The visions of it, the dragon, **had burned** to his brain. (15)
(pro *had been burned*; cf. Finnish *olivat palaneet* 'burn-PAST PERFECT-3PL')

Future time constructions: time adverbials (2 instances)

1. And I don't know if Susan ever **changes** to her old self **after so many years**, (6)
(pro *will ever change*; cf. Finnish *koskaan muuttuu* 'ever change-3SG')
2. "I know, but it's not just any new year. **Soon starts** year of rat." (6)
(pro *will begin*; cf. Finnish *alkaa* 'begin-3SG')

Future time constructions: contextual clues (1 instance)

1. "Oh, you mean that. Yeah it **does**." (6)
(pro *will*)

Expletive constructions: omission of *it* as clause subject (4 instances)

1. "Give yourself time to relax also, but seems like you think that doing something is the best enjoyment." (7)
(pro *it seems like*; cf. Finnish *vaikuttaa kuin* 'seem-3SG like')
2. "To cemetery, you know what day is." She said. (8)
(pro *what day it is*; cf. Finnish *mikä päivä on*, 'what day be-3SG')
3. "The stars had reveal that is time for dark chi." said Uncle. (8)
(pro *it is time*; cf. Finnish *on aika*, 'be-3SG time')
4. "Uncle hasn't finished yet! The stars also reveal that is time for also to something powerful." (8)
(pro *it is time*; cf. Finnish *on aika*, 'be-3SG time')

Expletive constructions: omission of existential *there* (2 instances)

1. Later on they even started saying that never had been a card like that (15)
(pro *there never had been*; cf. Finnish *ei koskaan ollut ollut* 'never be-PAST PERFECT')
2. it had become a habit ever since he started growing a beard even though there was barely anything at this point (15)
(pro *there was barely anything there*; cf. Finnish *siinä oli tuskin mitään* 'there be-PAST-3SG barely anything')

Omitted prepositions: verb complements (22 instances)

1. he should just thought ___ something else than those cruel whispers in his own mind. (3)
(pro *about*; cf. Finnish *ajatella jotakin* 'think something-PARTITIVE')
2. one of those you could talk ___ about Assassin's Creed and she knew what you were talking about. (5)
(pro *to*; cf. Finnish *puhua jollekulle* 'talk somebody-ALLATIVE')
3. I was quietly talking to Riku and Enni while listening ___ the speech with the other ear. (5)
(pro *to*; cf. Finnish *kuunnella puhetta* 'listen speech-PARTITIVE')
4. Peter told to Aslan everything about that what they had spoke ___ just couple of minutes ago. (6)
(pro ; cf. Finnish *puhua jostakin* 'speak something-ELATIVE')
5. "I'm here to report ___ you about my first day at the academy," Sakura said. (7)
(pro *to*; cf. Finnish *raportoida sinulle* 'report you-ALLATIVE')
6. We believe that it's something so ancient that we haven't heard ___ " said Tohru. (8)
(pro *of*; cf. Finnish *kuulla jostakin* 'hear something-ELATIVE')
7. "They went ahead to Holy Mountain, while we came to look ___ chosen priestess." said Wung. (8)
(pro *for*; cf. Finnish *etsiä papitarta* 'search priestess-PARTITIVE')
8. we always used to search ___ painted Easter-eggs in Easter." (10)

- (pro for; cf. Finnish *etsiä munia* ‘search egg-PLURAL-PARTITIVE’)
9. After the sandwiches, they moved ___ to avocado salad and roasted chicken (10)
(pro on; cf. Finnish *siirtyä johonkin* ‘move something-ILLATIVE’)
10. "You're always referring ___ what Splinter said!" (13)
(pro to; cf. Finnish *viitata johonkin* ‘refer something-ILLATIVE’)
11. Mikey was already climbing up, and Raph was waiting ___ Leo and Don follow Mikey's lead. (13)
(pro for; cf. Finnish *odottaa Leoa* ‘wait Leo-PARTITIVE’)
12. Don said, and pointed ___ her arm which was bleeding. (13)
(pro at; cf. Finnish *osoittaa käsivartta* ‘point arm-PARTITIVE’)
13. Amy turned to look ___ the orange clad turtle, and there was some kind of hardness in her eyes. (13)
(pro at; cf. Finnish *katsoa kilpikonaa* ‘look turtle-PARTITIVE’)
14. But thanks to my ability I was able to survive ___ a week, running away. (13)
(pro for; cf. Finnish *selvisin viikon* ‘survive-1SG-PAST week-GENITIVE’)
15. but it felt like he was every day just waiting ___ someone to send a message saying: "The world will collapse if you don't get yourself here right now". (15)
(pro for; cf. Finnish *odottaa jotakuta* ‘wait someone-PARTITIVE’)
16. So why do you even bother to search ___ it anymore?" (17)
(pro for; cf. Finnish *etsiä sitä* ‘search it-PARTITIVE’)
17. she made her way to the Fortress Hall carefully avoiding stepping on the hem of the dress which would result ___ a harsh meeting with the floor. (19)
(pro in; cf. Finnish *josta seuraisi kohtaaminen* ‘which-ELATIVE result-3SG-CONDITIONAL meeting’)
18. She met my father, my father was the healer of our tribe and went to Avalon to ask ___ help for some sickness. (19)
(pro for; cf. Finnish *kysyä apua* ‘ask help-PARTITIVE’)
19. she looked like she was thinking ___ a lot in that moment, (20)
(pro about; cf. Finnish *ajatella monia asioita* ‘think many-PARTITIVE thing-PARTITIVE-PLURAL’)
20. Searching ___ the boy's presence she found him an hour or two after, (22)
(pro for; cf. Finnish *etsiä jotakin* ‘search something-PARTITIVE’)
21. As she listened ___ the short explanation of what was where she just couldn't shake the feeling of dread (22)
(pro to; cf. Finnish *kuunnella selitystä* ‘listen explanation-PARTITIVE’)
22. some people told a woman that they would go to search ___ somebody. (22)
(pro for; cf. Finnish *etsiä jotakuta* ‘search somebody-PARTITIVE’)

Omitted prepositions: adjectival complements (1 instance)

1. she must be always sad and not interested ___ anything. (8)
(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *kiinnostunut jostakin* 'interested something-ELATIVE')

Omitted prepositions: noun modifiers (3 instances)

1. a meteorite approximately ten kilometres ___ diameter, crashed into the Pacific-ocean (9)
(pro *ten kilometres in diameter*; cf. Finnish *kymmenen kilometriä halkaisijaltaan* 'ten kilometres diameter-ABLATIVE-POSSESSIVE(3SG)')
2. "And I'm Hungry!" They heard a shout from a bit ___ distance away. (16)
(pro *of*; cf. Finnish *pienen välimatkan päästä* 'small-GENITIVE distance-GENITIVE away-ELATIVE')
3. After that, there was about 15 minutes ___ silence, (17)
(pro *of*; cf. Finnish *15 minuutin hiljaisuus* '15 minute-GENITIVE-PLURAL silence')

Omitted prepositions: space adverbials (4 instances)

1. Belgium was sitting in the floor ___ front of Spain (3)
(pro *in front of*; cf. Finnish *Espanjan edessä* 'Spain-GENITIVE front-INESSIVE'; from text 3)
2. He just stared to empty air ___ front of him (3)
(pro *in front of him/her*; cf. Finnish *edessään* 'front-INESSIVE-POSSESSIVE(3SG)')
3. She holed ___ front of her a fen. (8)
(pro *in front of him/her*; cf. Finnish *edessään* 'front-INESSIVE-POSSESSIVE(3SG)')
4. No, Jun listen" Chosaku kneeled down on the floor so they were ___ eye to eye level: (15)
(pro *at eye-to-eye level*; cf. Finnish *he olivat samalla tasolla* 'they were same-ADESSIVE level-ADESSIVE')

Omitted prepositions: time adverbials (3 instances)

1. He was sitting on Spain's lap and ___ first time ever he didn't resist. (3)
(pro *for the first time*; cf. Finnish *ensi kertaa* 'first time-PARTITIVE'; from text 3)
2. She begged ___ so long that tears dropped down from her eyes (3)
(pro *for so long*; cf. Finnish *niin pitkään* 'so long-ILLATIVE'; from text 3)
3. There was no other choice. Expect that he had hesitated ___ too long, (9)
(pro *for too long*; cf. Finnish *liian pitkään* 'too long-ILLATIVE'; from text 9)

Omitted prepositions: process adverbials (1 instance)

1. Turtles turned on their sensei ___ question mark written on their faces. (13)
(pro *with question marks on their faces*; cf. Finnish *kysymysmerkit kasvoillansa* 'question marks faces-ADESSIVE-POSSESSIVE(3PL)'; from text 13)

Omitted prepositions: other: clauses as prepositional complements (2 instances)

1. ___ What I have been told you mother married the Roman commander, Castus (19)
(pro *From what I have been told...*; cf. spoken Finnish *Mitä minulle on kerrottu, niin...* 'what I-ALLATIVE tell-PASSIVE-PERFECT so')
2. for that is the key thing ___ being a medic." (7)
(pro *the key thing to being a medic*; cf. Finnish *avainasia lääkintämiehenä olemiselle* 'key thing medic-ESSIVE being-ALLATIVE')

Incorrect prepositions: inessive, -ssa (5 instances)

1. And Hungary was already in halfway to the kitchen and frying pans. (3)
(pro \emptyset ; cf. Finnish *puolivälissä* 'halfway-INESSIVE')
2. "And that what she did **in** graduation ball." said jade. (8)
(pro *at*; cf. Finnish *valmistujaisjuhlissa* 'graduation ball-INESSIVE')
3. He had seen **in** the computer screen the pictures of what would happen if the sleeping lake Taupo would wake up. (9)
(pro *on*; cf. Finnish *ruudussa* 'screen-INESSIVE')
4. Even though Leo and Don have been **in** the plan earlier they were having second thoughts, (13)
(pro *in on*; cf. Finnish *mukana suunnitelmassa* 'along plan-INESSIVE')
5. **In** ragnarok Selphie quickly ran to the control room and started the engines (16)
(pro *aboard*; cf. Finnish *Ragnarokissa* 'Ragnarok-INESSIVE')

Incorrect prepositions: elative, -sta (4 instances)

1. I'm not going to give grades **of** complimentary, Kenichi-san. (7)
(pro *for*; cf. Finnish *arvosana kohteliaisuudesta* 'grade compliment-ELATIVE')
2. "Nothing, I'm just excited **of** Chinese new year." (8)
(pro *about*; cf. Finnish *olen innoissani uudesta vuodesta* 'be-1SG excited-1SG new-ELATIVE year-ELATIVE')
3. Her sister Liz had been worried **about of** her. (8)
(pro *about*; cf. Finnish *huolissaan hänestä* 'worried her-ELATIVE')
4. when Galahad argued **of** the nature of killing and clearly was disgusted in the way Tristan held his knighthood. (19)
(pro *about*; cf. Finnish *väitellä jostakin* 'argue something-ELATIVE')

Incorrect prepositions: illative, -hVn (14 instances)

1. She asked, but what she said **to** loud wasn't really the question. (1)
(pro *aloud*; cf. Finnish *ääneen* 'aloud', lit. 'sound-ILLATIVE')
2. Berwald took a deeper glance **to** that person (1)
(pro *at*; cf. Finnish *luoda katse johonkuhun* 'take a look somebody-ILLATIVE')
3. The other looked again pretty surprised, slowly looking down **to** the hand. (1)
(pro *at*; cf. Finnish *katsoa alas käteen* 'look down hand-ILLATIVE')
4. The boy obeyed and sat himself **to** one of the chairs of their round kitchen table. (2)
(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *istua tuoliin* 'sit chair-ILLATIVE')
5. He wasn't quite fond **to** this kind of intimacy in front of their son. But Berwald didn't seem to mind. (2)
(pro *of*; cf. Finnish *mieltynyt johonkin* 'fond something-ILLATIVE')
6. He just stared **to** empty air front of him (3)
(pro *at*; cf. Finnish *tuijottaa tyhjyyteen* 'stare emptiness-ILLATIVE')
7. But, **to** Jill's question, he had to shake his head. (4)
(pro *at*; cf. Finnish *reagoida Jillin kysymykseen* 'react Jill-GENITIVE question-ILLATIVE')
8. She silently thanked God for having her husband back **to** home. (6)
(pro \emptyset ; cf. Finnish *takaisin kotiin* 'back home-ILLATIVE'))
9. especially, she forgot Aslan and her faith **to** him. (6)
(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *usko häneen* 'faith him-ILLATIVE'))
10. trying to make some sense **to** it (15)
(pro *of*; cf. Finnish *saada järkeä siihen* 'get sense-PARTITIVE it-ILLATIVE')
11. "Selphie called me and I called **to** balamb hospital. " (16)
(pro \emptyset ; cf. Finnish *soittaa sairaalaan* 'call hospital-ILLATIVE')
12. The spectre appeared **into** a hidden room underneath the central area of the temple. (22)
(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *ilmestyä huoneeseen* 'appear room-ILLATIVE')
13. When she arrived **to** the ship she noticed that the blonde boy talking to an Al Bhed girl. (22)
(pro *at*; cf. Finnish *saapua laivaan* 'arrive ship-ILLATIVE')
14. Taking a look at area that she could see from the necklace, which was about 10 feet **into** every direction (22)
(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *10 jalkaa joka suuntaan* '10 foot-PLURAL every direction-ILLATIVE')

Incorrect prepositions: adessive, -lla (8 instances)

1. Instead it was a dark and cold morning **on** the fall 2011. (5)
(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *syksyllä* 'fall-ADESSIVE')
2. "Okay." said Isabella and tried to take shirt off **on** hall. (8)

(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *käytävällä* ‘hall-ADESSIVE’)

3. people are **on** extremely cheery mood. (9)

(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *hyvällä tuulella* ‘good-ADESSIVE mood-ADESSIVE’)

4. two characters were seen **on** the backyard. (10)

(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *takapihalla* ‘backyard-ADESSIVE’)

5. Once everyone had their playing pieces **on** place, Cam pointed at Booth and Brennan. (11)

(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *paikallaan* ‘place-ADESSIVE-POSSESSIVE-3PL’)

6. "Yeah.. okay..." I said **with** a little voice and lifted my head. (17)

(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *hiljaisella äänellä* ‘quiet-ADESSIVE voice-ADESSIVE’)

7. I bowed my head and started to speak **with** a little voice and hoped he didn't hear me. (17)

(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *hiljaisella äänellä* ‘quiet-ADESSIVE voice-ADESSIVE’)

8. a huge round table with a fire burning **on** the centre. (19)

(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *keskellä* ‘centre-ADESSIVE’)

Incorrect prepositions: ablative, -lta (2 instances)

1. that was definitely a huge thing to say **from** him. (10)

(pro *for*, cf. Finnish *se oli paljon sanottu häneltä* ‘it was much said he-ABLATIVE’)

2. You think we're gonna find any sake **from** there? (12)

(pro \emptyset or *in*, cf. Finnish *sieltä* ‘there-ABLATIVE’)

Incorrect prepositions: allative, -lle (16 instances)

1. Berwald took the paper and nodded, smiling a little back **for** Elizaveta. (1)

(pro *at*; cf. Finnish *hymyillä Elizavetalle* ‘smile Elizaveta-ALLATIVE’)

2. ...And when Antonio tried first time to teach Spanish **for** you. (3)

(pro *to*; cf. Finnish *opettaa espanjaa sinulle* ‘teach Spanish-PARTITIVE you-ALLATIVE’)

3. "Don't leave us, Roma", he whispered **for** Italian on his lap (3)

(pro *to*; cf. Finnish *kuiskata jollekulle* ‘whisper someone-ALLATIVE’)

4. Germany gave angry look **for** him but it didn't stop Prussian. (3)

(pro \emptyset ; cf. Finnish *Germany antoi hänelle vihaisen katseen* ‘Germany give-3SG-PAST him-ALLATIVE angry-GENITIVE look-GENITIVE’)

5. Spain hissed angrily **for** his friend and demanded his shut up right now (3)

(pro *at*; cf. Finnish *sähistä vihaisesti jollekulle* ‘hiss angrily someone-ALLATIVE’)

6. speaking in Italian **for** him so fast that even he probably wasn't able to understand it. (3)

(pro *to*; cf. Finnish *puhua jollekulle* ‘speak someone-ALLATIVE’)

7. everybody wanted to hug him and speak **for** him. (3)

(pro *to*; cf. Finnish *puhua jollekulle* ‘speak-someone-ALLATIVE’)

8. kissing her husband **to** his cheek. (6)

(pro *on*; cf. Finnish *suudella jotakuta poskelle* ‘kiss someone-PARTITIVE cheek-ALLATIVE’)

9. "Thank you my love," Mr. Pevensie answered trying to smile **to** his wife. (6)

(pro *at*; cf. Finnish *hymyillä jollekulle* ‘smile someone-ALLATIVE’)

10. "It's nothing Eustace. I'm fine," Lucy answered smiling **to** her cousin. (6)

(pro *at*; cf. Finnish *hymyillä jollekulle* ‘smile someone-ALLATIVE’)

11. then Peter told **to** Aslan everything about that what they had spoke just couple of minutes ago. (6)

(pro \emptyset ; cf. Finnish *kertoa jollekulle* ‘tell someone-ALLATIVE’)

12. Our friends of Narnia were just sitting at there thinking about that, what Aslan had just told **to** them (6)

(pro \emptyset ; cf. Finnish *kertoa jollekulle* ‘tell someone-ALLATIVE’)

13. After leaving the flower **to** craves, (8)

(pro *on*; cf. Finnish *jättää kukka haudalle* ‘leave flower grave-ALLATIVE’)

14. Jade took her friend **to** cup of tea. (8)

(pro *for*; cf. Finnish *viedä joku teelle* ‘take someone tea-ALLATIVE’)

15. They say that it's normal **to** her, (8)

(pro *for*; cf. Finnish *se on normaalia hänelle* ‘it be-3SG normal-PARTITIVE her-ALLATIVE’)

16. While she was left **to** the surface of water the boy was a solid being and went under. (22)

(pro *on*; cf. Finnish *jäädä veden pinnalle* ‘stay water-GENITIVE surface-ALLATIVE’)

Incorrect prepositions: essive, -na (1 instance)

1. Jackie still was in Section 13 **as** part time (8)

(pro \emptyset ; cf. Finnish *osa-aikaisena* ‘part time-ESSIVE’)

Incorrect prepositions: instructive, -n (1 instance)

1. Everybody in that room spoke only **with** whispers (3)

(pro *in*; cf. Finnish *kuiskauksin* ‘whispers-INSTRUCTIVE’)

Omission of subject-verb inversion in direct questions (11 instances)

1. "What the hell **you all are** hanging here?" he asked. (3)

(pro *What are you all...*; cf. Finnish *Mitä te kaikki hengaillette* ‘what you all hang-2PL’)

2. "**Why that voice was** so familiar? (6)
(pro *why was that voice...*; cf. Finnish *Miksi tuo ääni oli...* ‘why that voice was’)
3. "**Why Lucy is** so sad? (6)
(pro *Why is Lucy...*; cf. Finnish *Miksi Lucy on...* ‘why Lucy is’)
4. "Then **why anybody in here doesn't** seem to believe your words?" Eustace asked seriously, but calmly. (6)
(pro *Why does nobody in here seem...*; cf. Finnish *Miksi kukaan täällä ei usko...* ‘why anyone here no believe-3SG’)
5. **Why the hell she was** messing around with her tongue at a time like this? (7)
(pro *Why was she...*; cf. Finnish *Miksi hän pelleili...* ‘Why she mess around-3SG-PAST’)
6. "Hey. Isabella!" yelled Jade and run to her. "**Where you're** going?" (8)
(pro *Where are you going?*; cf. Finnish *Minne sinä olet menossa?* ‘Where you be-2SG going?’)
7. "So what **you're going** to do of that?" (8)
(pro *What are you going to do...*; cf. Finnish *Mitä sinä aiot tehdä...* ‘what you intend-2SG do’)
8. "Sis...**what you're doing** here?" (8)
(pro *What are you doing here?*; cf. Finnish *Mitä sinä teet täällä?* ‘what you do-2SG here’)
9. "How long **you were** there?" (8)
(pro *How long were you there?*; cf. Finnish *Kuinka kauan sinä olit siellä?* ‘how long you be-2SG-past there’)
10. "How **you can** be so sure that they know about this?" (8)
(pro *How can you...*; cf. Finnish *Kuinka sinä voit olla varma...* ‘how you can-2SG be sure’)
11. "So you've been all you life there? **How you're here** now?" (13)
(pro *How are you here now?*; cf. Finnish *Kuinkas sinä olet täällä nyt?* ‘how you be-2SG here now’)

Appendix 3. Basic information about the fan fiction authors and source texts analyzed

Notes: ages and genders are self-reported on fanfiction.net user profiles. The age values on the website are not automatically updated according to date of birth, so there is no way of knowing when the age value has been specified. All the authors listed Finland as their country on their profile. The authors have specified so-called story tags that describe the content of their story.

No.	Age	Gender	Published on	Story tags	Story based on
1	16	Female	Apr 11, 2010	Romance	Axis Powers Hetalia
2	17	Female	Oct 18, 2009	Hurt/Comfort/Angst	Axis Powers Hetalia
3	21	N/A	Jul 31, 2012	Drama/Hurt/Comfort	Axis Powers Hetalia
4	19	Female	Aug 14, 2012	Drama	Torchwood
5	500*	Female	Nov 6, 2011	Adventure/Romance	The Three Musketeers
6	23	Female	Apr 4, 2010	Tragedy/Family	Chronicles of Narnia
7	20	Female	Oct 30, 2011	Romance/Drama	Naruto
8	24	Female	Jan 31, 2008	Adventure/Romance	Jackie Chan Adventures
9	18	Female	Sep 2, 2012	Angst/Tragedy	Axis Powers Hetalia
10	N/A	N/A	Apr 2, 2012	Romance	Alvin and the Chipmunks
11	20	Female	May 16, 2008	Humor/Friendship	Bones
12	18	N/A	Feb 24, 2008	Drama/Romance	Inuyasha
13	24	Female	Jun 17, 2009	Friendship/Romance	Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles
14	N/A	Female	Mar 15, 2010	Romance/Humor	Twilight
15	18	N/A	Jul 9, 2012	Friendship/Family	Yu-Gi-Oh GX
16	20	Female	Jul 26, 2004	Angst/Romance	Final Fantasy VIII
17	23	Female	Oct 4, 2006	N/A	Fullmetal Alchemist
18	20	Female	Nov 12, 2005	Romance	Naruto
19	23	N/A	Aug 11, 2009	Drama/Romance	King Arthur
20	N/A	Female	Oct 24, 2012	Hurt/Comfort/Drama	The Hunger Games
21	N/A	Female	Oct 15, 2010	Drama/Romance	Naruto
22	N/A	Female	Feb 22, 2010	N/A	Inuyasha + Final Fantasy X

**This serves, I suppose, as a reminder that there are always reliability issues with self-reported information...*

Appendix 4. Numerical data about the source texts analyzed

Note: in the numbers below are included the 11 instances of omitted inversion discussed in section 6.2.6.

No.	Word count	Instances of lexical transfer	Instances of syntactic transfer	Total instances
1	1275	9	4	13
2	1041	3	2	5
3	1327	4	15	19
4	1474	1	1	2
5	1499	4	3	7
6	1226	9	15	24
7	1499	3	5	8
8	1320	7	23	30
9	1500	5	4	9
10	1490	6	4	10
11	1481	1	1	2
12	1351	1	1	2
13	1498	6	8	14
14	1495	3	0	3
15	1419	3	6	9
16	1097	3	3	6
17	1498	5	4	9
18	1472	1	0	1
19	1500	1	5	6
20	1495	0	1	1
21	1495	0	0	0
22	1491	4	7	11
Total	30943	79	112	191