## Philological Research in a European Perspective

LAURI HAKULINEN, Suomen sanaston käännöslainoja (Translation loans in Finnish). Finnish Literary Society, publication no. 293. Forssa 1969. Forssan Kirjapaino Oy. 200 pp.

In 1931 the journal *Viritäjä* published an interesting article entitled »Figurative expressions and the Finnish language» (»Kuvasanonnat ja suomen kieli»), by Oiva Joh. Tallgren (later Tuulio), the well-known Finnish scholar of Romance languages. It was a pioneering article: for the first time in the history of Finnish language research, consideration was given to the fact that many abstract meanings of words are borrowed into one language from another via bilingual speakers, thus constituting

a common European heritage.

Tallgren's article was a source of inspiration for Lauri Hakulinen, who, in the 1950's, published in Virittäjä a general survey of translation loan words in Finnish (»Kielemme käännöslainoista»), and also lectured on the subject at Helsinki University. On many occasions, e.g. in several of his articles in Virittäjä, Hakulinen has investigated the borrowing of words and the transmission of meanings from one language to another. In his book "The structure and development of the Finnish language» (»Suomen kielen rakenne ja kehitys») he presents a general review of translation loan words in Finnish; and in an article in Virittäjä in 1965 on »Some translation loan words in Finnish social terminology» (»Muutamista sosiaalisen sanastomme käännöslainoista») he examines the stages of development of some common Finnish words. In the work under review Hakulinen has begun a detailed investigation of the influence of the major European languages on Finnish. He analyses the development of figurative expressions which have their origins in Greek and Latin, and also provides many examples to illustrate the influence of other languages at different periods. He is thus working in an area of language comparison which has long awaited investigation.

At the beginning of a short introduction Hakulinen refers to his article mentioned above (1955), where he defined the term 'translation loan' as a word or expression which is formed from an expression in a foreign language by more or less slavish imitation, by transferring as it stands the latter's semantic content to an expression in the native language which has either been created for the purpose or which previously had some other meaning. Hakulinen distinguishes four main types of translation loan: phraseological, syntactic, morphological and lexical. Lexical translation loans can be divided further

into two groups according to how they have been formed: true translation loans (e.g. tasapaino, balance, equilibrium), and meaning loans (e.g. kone, machine). Hakulinen does not wish, then, to make such a detailed classification as the German scholars (Betz 1949); yet the essential in all translation loans is the meaning, the enriching of the language with a new concept.

In defining what he sets out to do Hakulinen has not followed foreign scholars, but has begun to experiment with new methods. As the object of his study he has taken those cases which in one way or another are still current in contemporary Finnish, or which throw light on the development of contemporary expressions. A second characteristic of the study is perhaps the ambitious goal the writer has set himself: he has also sought to include those words which are not self-evident instances of translation loans. On account of this the work has involved a great deal of documentation of old literary Finnish and the languages it was modelled on. Occurrences in Finnish dialects or in languages related to Finnish can often shed crucial light on the native development or the chronology of the borrowing of certain words.

From pages 18 to 191 the author deals in alphabetical order with the translation loans he has selected. There are altogether 89 word families. It would, of course, have been possible to deal with semantically similar words by semantic field, as the author himself points out, in which case the closeness of words from the same field of meaning would have been emphasized even more clearly then now, where the author has been content with cross-references.

Research into translation loans, particularly into the socalled meaning loans, can be laborious, since the borrowing may often have occurred where it would be least expected. Many old terms have acquired new meanings, according to models in other languages. In this way the Finnish language has become more and more closely linked with the European tradition, which originated with Classical Greek and was transmitted via Latin to the Germanic languages and thence to Finnish. In the case of several words, the author's detailed analyses open up quite new aspects of the differentiation of meaning, and of the origins of the whole semantic process.

Many figurative meanings adopted into Finnish have their origins in Greek, and occur in several European languages. Examples are: aine (matter), asettaa (to put, set; figuratively used as in asettaa syytteeseen, to start legal proceedings against), haaksirikko (shipwreck, wreck), hyräntahtoinen (benevolent), julki(nen) (public, open), kaatua (to fall, e.g. in battle), kallis-

tua (to incline, e.g. to an opinion), korkealentoinen (highflying, highflown), käyttäytyä (to behave), loistaa (to shine, be brilliant), menetellä (to proceed), noudattaa (to follow, e.g. an example), seurata (to follow, be a consequence of), taipumus (inclination), vaeltaa (to wander; used figuratively in religious language, meaning 'to live here below'), vahingonilo (malice, Schadenfreude). Words of Latin origin are e.g.: anteeksi (pardon), hajamielinen (absent-minded), johtua (to stem from, be caused by), kenttä (field, e.g. as in 'field of influence'), luku (chapter; literally 'reading'), luoda (to create; also used figuratively meaning 'to direct one's eyes towards'), päättää (to terminate; to decide), ratkaista (to decide, settle, determine), vietti (instinct, drive).

Modern languages, French, German, and Swedish, have in most cases served as intermediaries when figurative expressions have come into Finnish from Greek and Latin. However, Hakulinen also shows that some translation loans have their origins in the Germanic languages. German was probably the origin of e.g. the following expressions in Finnish: kuulua (to belong to), lyödä (to strike; of a clock), tunnustaa (to confess), ylipäänsä (on the whole). The author also seeks to show that some Finnish expressions may be compared with corresponding words in Old Swedish, as regards their semantic development. Expressions on the model of Old Swedish are the modern usages of the religious expressions nöyrä (meek, humble) and vanhurskas (righteous, just), and the juridical term todistaa (to testify, bear witness).

The most interesting parts of the book are the analyses of kirja (book) and lukea (to read). The author considers the present meanings of these words, and of other words related to them, to be the result of the influence of early translation loans from Russian. He thus differs from earlier scholars (Ahlqvist, Toivonen, Rapola), who took the view that the semantic development of the word kirja from »mark, decorative design» to »something written» must clearly have been a separate development in the Baltic-Finnic languages, and also in more distantly related languages. Hakulinen shows, however, that the words for "writing" in the Slavic languages have developed in exactly the same way as in the Baltic-Finnic languages: from 'kirjavoida' (to make colourful) to 'kirjoittaa' (to write). Similarly, the verb lukea (to read), which originally meant 'to count (the number of)' both in the Baltic-Finnic and in the Slavic languages, has in both these language groups come to mean 'to read something written'. The author draws the conclusion that the early semantic development of kirja and lukea, and words related to them, was based on the Old Russian semantic model. This Russian influence may have already begun before the dispersion of what are now the Baltic-Finnic peoples.

In the earlier article (Virittäjä 1965) Hakulinen has shown that many translation loans in Finnish can throw light on the vocabulary of ecclesiastical Finnish before Agricola. The generality of many of the translation loans, and the relatively high degree of semantic differentiation in the Finnish of Agricola and his contemporaries, are evidence for the assumption that the translators of the Catholic doctrine were already using some of these semantic loans. Common examples already current in medieval ecclesiastical Finnish may include the following: alamainen (humble, subservient), asettaa (to set), kadottaa (to lose), kunnioittaa (to honour), kuuliainen (obedient), kärsiä (to suffer), käyttäytyä (to behave), luku (chapter), maanpiiri (circumference of the earth), nöyrä (meek, humble), otollinen (opportune, favourable), raajarikko (cripple), sortaa (to oppress), tunnustaa (to confess), vanhurskas (righteous). The terminology of the oral language of jurisdiction, the language of the courts, may even in the Middle Ages have included anteeksi (pardon), and todistaa (to bear witness), which were subsequently adopted quite early into religious usage, and kuulua (to belong) and ratkaista (to decide, settle, determine).

According to the author, several of these translation loans occurring in Finnish dialects clearly originate from the written language, not from the native vernacular. Examples are: julkaista (to publish, make known), kasvo and korko (interest on capital), käyttäytyä (to behave), luoda (to create; direct one's eyes towards), raajarikko (cripple), todistaa (to bear witness), tunnustaa (to confess). The study of translation loans thus provides an opportunity of analysing figurative expressions in Finnish dialects, and of setting them in a broad perspective, which thus indirectly helps the dialectologist to distinguish between the authentic and the less authentic.

The study of translation loans may also occasionally give rise to the following question: why did the Finnish translator at that time choose a word formed on a foreign model, even though there was a suitable word available in the authentic vernacular? Hakulinen discusses this point, e.g. in his analysis of *kuuliainen* (obedient). The vernacular did have the verb *totella* (to obey), but the translators of Catholic ecclesiastical Finnish did not take this word as a source when forming the adjective, beginning instead to express the idea of 'being obedient' via the verb meaning 'to hear' (*kuulla*). The reason for this choice was evidently that even before Agricola the

primary meaning of the verb *totella* was 'to care, be concerned about'. The semantic tradition, then, may have occasionally been so powerful that it prevented the grafting of new meanings onto a word already present in the vernacular.

The author also considers the question of the relationships between translation loans with the same or similar meanings. In some cases they may have existed in parallel, perhaps even for some time, and then gradually become semantically differentiated. This occurred with the words kaatua and langeta (both meaning 'to fall'), which both took on the meaning of to fall in battle' under the influence of foreign models. In the 19th century kaatua displaced its synonym. The reason may have been that the expression langeta syntim (to lapse into sin) in religious language had become embedded so firmly in the general consciousness that the verb langeta was not readily allowed any other meaning than that of 'going astray'. In other cases two semantically equivalent translation loans have alternated in use. For example, the meaning 'interest on capital' was originally expressed by both the words kaseo and korko; but from the 17th century kasvo began to displace korko, presumably because the Catholic Church condemned the taking of loans, and the word korko thus acquired pejorative connotations with 'koronkiskonta' (usury). But in the 19th century korko in its turn displaced kasvo.

At the end of the book (pp. 192—200) the author has appended a word index and an index of names. Use of the word index is facilitated by the grouping of the words by language: Finnish, other Baltic-Finnic languages, other Finno-Ugric languages, Scandinavian languages, other Germanic languages, Slavic and Baltic languages, Modern Romance languages, Latin, Greek, other languages.

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## Lappische Kasussyntax

Raija Bartens, Inarinlapin, merilapin ja luulajanlapin kaasussyntaksi (Kasussyntax des Inari-, See- und Lulelappischen). Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne 148. Helsinki 1972, 180 S.

Über dreissig Jahre sind vergangen, seit die vorhergehende umfangreiche Untersuchung über die lappische Kasussyntax erschien, Johan Beronkas »Lappische Kasusstudien». Bedenkt man die in den letzten Jahrzehnten im Bereich der Sprach-