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What is This?
Near nativeness and stylistic lexical competence in Swedish of first and second generation Finnish immigrants to Sweden*

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Acknowledgments*

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Abstract

The present study aims to characterize the perception of stylistic nuances of lexical items in both Swedish and Finnish among members of the Sweden Finnish minority in Sweden, with special emphasis on Swedish.

Data on stylistic perceptions were elicited from 77 bilingual Sweden Finns and from a Swedish and a Finnish control group. The subjects were asked to describe the connotative and stylistic meanings of 14 pairs of synonymous words in Swedish (e.g., *polis – snut* ‘police – cop’) and in Finnish, using Osgood’s semantic differential. The main issue was to discuss to what extent the Sweden Finns show similarity to the Swedes and/or Finns regarding their stylistic perceptions.

The results of the analysis indicate that the various Sweden Finnish test groups (divided according to sex and generation) have a different level of competence in Swedish regarding the perception of stylistic nuances. Adult men differentiated significantly less for all word pairs, while adolescents and women perceived these words largely in the same way as the Swedes in the corresponding subgroups.

The results are discussed in the context of the ongoing debate on immigrants and integration, and suggest that a more similar language use may indicate a higher degree of integration.

1 Introduction

The acquisition of a native-like pronunciation in a second language is one of the most problematic issues in second-language learning. Independently of how much an adult learner exercises, it is very likely that there will always be a foreign accent in his/her second language (Bannert, 1979; Leather & James, 1996). This is considered as a typical example of fossilisation (Hyltenstam, 1988; Selinker, 1972). There are, however, other difficult issues in second-language acquisition, even when dealing with advanced second-language learners. One
of them is the acquisition of associative and stylistic lexical competence. Indeed, the ability
to perceive and use subtle stylistic nuances is an advanced skill which comes late in the
process of second-language acquisition (Hyltenstam, 1988; Preston, 1996; Stroud, 1988).

Most of the components of lexical competence (word phonology, morphology, lexico-
syntax, and denotative word meaning) can be taught in formal second-language teaching
situations. Associative word meaning (consisting of connotations and stylistic properties)
is, however, often neglected in the teaching of a second language, despite the fact that textual,
situational and sociolinguistic competence are considered important aspects of the overall
communicative competence (Canale & Swain, 1980; Lyster, 1994; Viberg, 1988). This neglect
may be due to two main factors: (1) in the context of second-language teaching priority is
placed on learning a basic vocabulary, suitable for many social situations; (2) the associati-
tive aspect of lexical competence is difficult to grasp. Stylistic value is a dynamic phenomenon,
and connotations are often individual and difficult to generalize. Denotations are shared by
most speakers of a language. They are part of the common language system of the specific
language community in question. Connotations on the other hand, are only shared by those
who have similar social background (Leech, 1974; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986; Stroud, 1979).
Native speakers tend, however, to expect that not only will second-language speakers be
acquainted with the prevailing norms but that they will also follow these norms. In reality,
even advanced second-language speakers have difficulties in grasping the social context
where it is appropriate to use, for instance, the noun “man,” and when to use the noun “guy.”

Second language speakers who have learned the second language in their home country
in a formal teaching situation (university, language course) before leaving for the new country,
will in all probability have a quite formal second-language command. On the other hand, second-
language speakers who acquire the second language in the new country by interaction with
inhabitants of this country, and without formal instruction, will in all probability acquire an
informal command of the second language. It is, in other words, possible to become mono-
stylistic in L2 in different ways. The latter option (i.e., second-language speakers with a
mainly informal command of the second language) is the most frequent phenomenon, common
among large groups of adults (especially immigrant workers).

Such a stylistic inadequacy may affect a second-language speaker during his/her whole
lifetime. Many of them will, however, gradually learn to style shift to a certain extent, due
to the exposure to different speech styles within his/her environment. To what extent a
second-language speaker will be able to vary on the speech style continuum depends on
several factors, among others the intensity of this exposure (see also Tarone & Swain, 1995
for a discussion on monostylism in immersion classrooms).

2 Description of word meaning

The different components of word meaning require different methods of description.
Denotational word meaning is invariable and independent of the context in which it is used
(Lyons, 1995; Palmer, 1981). One possible way to describe it is by using the componential
analysis, which divides the word meaning in chains of components with universal validity,
for instance ‘man’ = + human, + adult, + male; ‘woman’ = + human, + adult, – male (Leech,
1974; Platzack, 1977). Denotational word meaning can, in other words, be described in
distinct terms by using this particular method. This method is, of course, mostly appropriate
for the description of words with a concrete meaning; words with an abstract meaning are more problematical to deal with.

The components that compose connotational and stylistic word meaning are, however, of a more elusive and unbounded character. These components cannot be described in distinct terms, that is, “either this or that.” They have to be analyzed in indefinite terms, that is, “more/less of…” or “a lower/higher degree of…” (a specific characteristic). This implies that systematic studies of the connotational and stylistic word meaning require the use of statistical methods. Osgood’s semantic differential technique is a well known example of such a quantifiable representation of meaning (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). One critique of this method is that it only succeeds to achieve a partial and approximate description of connotational and stylistic word meaning: partial because the researcher has to make a selection out of all possible adjective-scales; approximate because the gradation of the scale in itself already constitutes a simplification (Leech, 1974). When dealing with comparative data, however (e.g., in comparing the connotative and stylistic meaning that different informant groups ascribe to a specific lexical item), the semantic differential technique is an appropriate method (see Andersson, 1981; Bjerstedt, 1958; Byrman, 1985; Oksaar, 1970).

3 The present study: Aim and subjects

Little research has been done in the field of near-nativeness and stylistic lexical competence. The present paper is an attempt to address some of the existing gaps in the field. The aim of the study is to characterize the perception of stylistic nuances of lexical items among representatives of the Sweden Finns\(^1\), the largest ethnic minority in Sweden, in both Swedish and Finnish (with emphasis on Swedish) and to clarify whether their stylistic lexical competence differs from that observed among native speakers.

For this purpose, data were obtained from a group of Sweden Finns (77 subjects), and from two control groups, namely Swedes (73 subjects) and Finns (80 subjects). Participants from these three groups were divided equally with respect to age (adolescents and adults) and sex. Nearly all subjects have labor class/lower middle class background and lived at the time of data collection (1992/1993) in the suburbs of Stockholm, Sweden, and Helsinki, Finland.

The Sweden Finnish adults (40–55 years old) were all born and raised in Finland, and had lived in Sweden for at least 20 years. The adolescents (16–19 years old) were born and raised in Sweden. Most of them had attended the so called “home-language classes,” that is, Finnish speaking classes, at primary school level, and Finnish home-language instruction a couple of hours/week at high school level. All Sweden Finnish informants used both Swedish and Finnish in everyday life.

4 Method

The Sweden Finnish subjects were asked to describe the connotational and stylistic meaning of 14 pairs of synonymous words\(^2\) in Swedish (e.g., *polis–snut* ‘police–cop’) and in Finnish

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\(^1\) This term is a direct translation of the Swedish word ‘Sverigefinnar’, referring to the large amount of Finnish-speaking people who live in Sweden. Many of them migrated to Sweden during the 1950s, 60s and 70s in order to find work.

\(^2\) The selected words are synonymous regarding their denotational meaning.
(e.g., *housut–pöksyt* ‘trousers–bags’). This was achieved by the use of Osgood’s semantic differential (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957), in this case consisting of 10 adjective scales, with one pole representing formal and the other informal language. As the examples show, one of the synonyms represents the standardized level of the language, while the other synonym represents the more informal vernacular (but it is never an extreme slang word). The words were presented in example sentences, which were stylistically neutral with the exception of the words to be tested. The two synonymous words were presented in identical sentences, in order to keep the factor “context” constant (e.g., *Kan du låna mig 100 kronor? — Kan du låna mig 100 spännc*? ‘Can you lend me 100 dollars? — Can you lend me 100 bucks?’). The 28 words were presented in random order but the synonyms were always separated from each other by at least eight other words (the word pairs are presented in the Appendix).

The Sweden Finnish subjects performed both tests, while the Swedish and Finnish word tests were each applied to the Swedish and Finnish control groups. The different groups were compared according to: (1) ethnicity; (2) ethnicity and sex; (3) ethnicity and age; using both ANOVA, followed by t-tests with Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons, and Chi-square tests.

Furthermore, an index was calculated for each word pair in each test group in order to allow an evaluation of the assessed stylistic distances between the two synonyms. This index is based on the results from the ANOVA test: the significant scales were weighted as follows:

- not significant = 0
- $p < .05 = 1$
- $p < .01 = 2$
- $p < .001 = 3$

Consequently, the highest index a word pair can get is 30 (i.e., 10 scales $\times$ 3); the lowest index is 0 (i.e., 10 scales $\times$ 0).

Finally, a rank coefficient of correlation was calculated in order to compare the way by which the different test groups ranked the word pairs, that is, from the synonyms perceived as most different to the ones perceived as most similar regarding both connotations and stylistic properties.

### Results

The main objective of the analysis was to evaluate whether one test group differentiated in a more marked way between two stylistically differing synonyms, as compared to the other test groups. Analysis of the Swedish word test indicated that the Swedes differentiated significantly more than the Sweden Finns in the majority of the word pairs: for 9 out of 14 word pairs the Swedes judge the stylistic distance between the synonyms to be significantly larger than the Sweden Finns do. Even regarding the other five word pairs the Swedes differentiated more, but in these cases the significance level of $p < .05$ was not obtained. This is of course an expected result: the Swedish subjects performed a task in their mother tongue, concerning their mother tongue. Thus, they felt in all probability more confident and safe in doing so

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3 It must be emphasized that there is no guarantee that the instrument used is one-dimensional for all the tested word pairs.
than the Sweden Finnish subjects for whom Swedish is a second language (at least for the first generation Sweden Finns). The Swedes used the more extreme values of the adjective-scales to a higher extent than the Sweden Finns did. The judgments in the Sweden Finnish test group were in general located nearer the stylistic neutral position of the adjective scales. This is illustrated in Figure 1 and 2 for the word pair krona–spänn, (‘dollar–bucks’).

A division in smaller test groups, according to sex and age, showed an interesting pattern, namely that Sweden Finnish adolescents and Sweden Finnish women perceived these words largely in the same way as the Swedes in the corresponding subgroups. On the other hand, Sweden Finnish adults and Sweden Finnish men differentiated significantly less for nearly all word pairs, as compared with the corresponding Swedish subjects.

The ANOVA test just indicates whether the two synonyms in a word pair are judged to be significantly different or not regarding a specific characteristic (i.e., on a specific adjective scale). In order to obtain a more nuanced view of the distances between the two synonyms in each word pair assessed by each test group, and of the way the different test groups relate to one another, an index was calculated for each word pair. The results of this calculations are displayed in Table 1:

As the table shows, there is a clear dispersion over the possible index values, ranging from 4 (Sweden Finnish adults regarding ge sig iväg–sticka) to 29 (the undivided Sweden Finnish test group and Swedish females regarding mamma–morsa).

Sweden Finnish adults and Sweden Finnish males have a lower index for most of the word pairs, as compared to the other groups. This is also reflected by the low sum total in these two groups. Furthermore, Swedish and Sweden Finnish adults markedly diverge in the way they evaluate the word pairs, as compared with adolescents in both corresponding groups. In the same way, Swedish and Sweden Finnish males diverge considerably more than females in these groups (Table 1). It is noteworthy that both the factor “age” and the factor “sex” seems to have a larger influence within the Sweden Finnish test group, than in the Swedish group. Finally, both Swedish and Sweden Finnish adolescents differentiate in a more marked way between the two stylistic synonyms in a word pair than the adults in the corresponding groups (Table 1).

To compare how the different test groups ranked the word pairs (i.e., from the synonyms perceived as most different to the ones perceived as most similar, regarding both connotations and stylistic properties), a rank coefficient of correlation was calculated. These coefficients are shown in Table 2.

The same pattern as described above in Table 1 was observed here, namely similar responses when comparing Sweden Finnish women and Sweden Finnish adolescents with their respective Swedish controls, and low correlation when comparing Sweden Finnish men and Sweden Finnish adults with their respective Swedish controls. It is noteworthy that in the case of the adolescents, the factor “age” seems to have a larger weight than the factor “ethnicity”: the correlation between the ranking of the word pairs by the Swedish and the Sweden Finnish adolescents is much higher than the rank coefficients of correlation for Swedes and Sweden Finns from two generations (in fact, the Sweden Finnish adults and adolescents show the lowest coefficient of correlation of all the tested groups). The same is true for the female subjects: the factor “sex” has a larger weight than the factor “ethnicity.”
Figure 1
Swedish results for Krona and spänn (dollar — bucks).
\* = p < 0.05, \*\* = p < 0.01, \*\*\* = p < 0.001

Figure 2
Swedish Finnish results for Krona and spänn (dollar — bucks).
\* = p < 0.05, \*\* = p < 0.01, \*\*\* = p < 0.001
These observations suggest that a specific subgroup of Sweden Finns, namely the adult men, show the most limited perception of the stylistic properties of these synonymous words. To further examine this hypothesis, the test groups were divided according to a multiple combination of ethnicity, sex and generation, and a sample of five randomly-selected word pairs was analyzed, using both ANOVA and Chi-square tests. The results of this analysis confirmed the above-mentioned hypothesis. Indeed, the Sweden Finnish adult men differentiated...
significantly less between the two stylistic synonyms composing these word pairs, and they diverged clearly more from the Swedish norm as compared to the other Sweden Finnish test groups. Sweden Finnish adult men thus show a higher degree of monostylism. Hypothetically, this would only concern men who have been raised in Finland, not those born in Sweden.

5.1 The Finnish word test

As already mentioned, the results from the statistical analysis (ANOVA, Chi-square) of the Finnish word test will only be mentioned briefly here. These results indicated that Sweden Finns still preserve a native-like competence concerning Finnish stylistic variation (data not shown). Only for 2 out of 14 word pairs, the Finns differentiated significantly more than the Sweden Finns. A division in smaller test groups, according to sex and age, showed that there are no major differences in the way Sweden Finns and Finns from both generations and both sexes perceive the stylistically differing synonyms. This is somewhat surprising, especially taking into account that the Sweden Finnish adolescents were born and grew up in Sweden. The results may be due to the widespread linguistic purism among Sweden Finnish immigrants, as suggested by previous research (Johansson, 1988; Lainio, 1996; Lainio, 1998). This purism has also been observed in other immigrant groups, and it is probably a reaction to prevent, or at least delay, the process of language decay and thus language shift.

As in the case of the Swedish and Sweden Finnish adolescents, the Finnish and Sweden Finnish adolescents differentiate in a more marked way between the two stylistic synonyms in a word pair, as compared with adults in the corresponding groups. This is remarkable: The general opinion among both linguists and laymen is that the stylistic distance between public and private language has decreased during the last decades, and that the language of youngsters is more leveled and less differentiated, as compared to the language of adults. A possible explanation for the results of the present study is that youngsters are more undaunted and fearless in making assessments than adult participants are, and that they use the more extreme values of the adjective scales to a higher extent. This, in its turn, may indicate that the gradation of the scale represents a shorter stylistic distance for the youngsters than for the adults.

5.2 Language attitudes

A language attitude test was also performed with the same subjects, that is, 77 Sweden Finns, 73 Swedes and 80 Finns (Bijvoet, 1998). Because the results of this language attitude test are relevant to the final discussion below, I will give a brief summary of the study.

Attitudes towards seven different varieties of spoken Swedish and Finnish have been studied by a modified matched-guise test. Different speakers, representing these varieties, have been tape-recorded. They include:

1. Standard Swedish;
2. Finland Swedish (the native language of the indigenous Swedish-speaking national minority in Finland);
3. Colloquial Stockholm Swedish;
4. Swedish with a Finnish accent, as spoken by Sweden Finns (2 samples);
5. Sweden Finnish (the Finnish variety spoken by Sweden Finns) (2 samples);
There were six speakers: three performing an individual guise, and three bilingual speakers performing two different guises each. Thus, the Finland Swedish and the standard Finnish guises were performed by one speaker, while two other bilingual speakers performed the Finnish-accented Swedish and the Sweden Finnish guises. The stimulus text consisted of a two-minute telephone conversation concerning the private sale of a used car. The stimulus text was written down to guarantee that the content was held constant, but the speakers were allowed minor deviations from a verbatim rendition. The Swedish, Finnish, and Sweden Finnish subjects were asked to judge these nine samples using Osgood’s semantic differential—in this case containing 17 seven-graded scales, half of them representing status traits (i.e., successful—unsuccessful, careful—careless), the other half solidarity traits (i.e., reliable—unreliable, kind—nasty).

The different groups were compared according to either ethnicity alone, ethnicity and sex, or ethnicity and age (generation) using the statistical tests ANOVA and Chi-square. The results of this analysis indicate that the generation factor plays a more important role than sex in the definition of language attitudes among Sweden Finns. This may be explained by the fact that Sweden Finns belonging to different generations have grown up in different countries, under markedly distinct conditions: the Sweden Finnish adult grew up in rural Finland; the adolescents in urban Sweden. In this Sweden Finnish group, subjects belonging to the younger generation (age 16–19) show to a large extent attitudes similar to those observed among the Swedes from the same generation, but different from the younger Finns. On the other hand, Sweden Finns belonging to the older generation (age 35–55) show closer similarity to the older Finns.

Comparisons of the way Swedes, Finns, and Sweden Finns ranked the matched-guise speakers (i.e., from the one judged most positively to the one judged most negatively) indicate a high consensus within and between the three groups. The Swedish standard speaker is consistently judged most positively in all groups concerning status traits. Finnish speakers are placed second and third in the ranking. This is an interesting result, suggesting a reversal of the negative status the Finnish language used to have in Sweden at the time of the first wave of Finnish immigration to Sweden (see below).

It is noteworthy that the Finnish guises recorded by the bilingual Sweden Finnish speakers were ranked higher by both Swedes and Sweden Finns than their accented-Swedish guises (so called “ethnic speech”). In line with this, it has been previously reported that accented speech is inversely correlated with high social status (i.e., the stronger the accent, the more negative the attitudes it elicits).

**Discussion**

The main results of the present study on the perception of stylistic nuances of lexical items in both Swedish and Finnish among members of the Sweden Finnish minority in Sweden can be summarized as follows: Sweden Finnish adult men show a markedly diverging perception of stylistic nuances in Swedish, as compared to the corresponding Swedish subgroup, while Sweden Finnish adolescents and women in this respect have near native competence. These results can be discussed in the light of the ongoing debate on immigrants and integration, suggesting that a more similar language use may indicate a higher degree of integration (cf. Milroy 1980, for a similar pattern, although dealing with nonimmigrant settings). The present
data, viewed together with the results of other, more sociologically oriented studies by Jaakkola (1983a, b, c, 1984), Rosenberg and Toukomaa (1994) and Lainio (1996), and with the results from the above-mentioned language attitude test I performed with the same subjects, suggest that the Sweden Finnish adult males have a lower degree of integration in the Swedish language community, and maybe in the Swedish society as a whole, than the Sweden Finnish females of the same age and the Sweden Finnish adolescents.

A possible explanation for these observations can be found by studying the process of migration. Thus, during the 1950s, 60s and early 70s, when many Finns immigrated to Sweden, the Swedish government pursued a policy of assimilation. No instruction in the home language was provided at school; Finnish parents were urged to speak Swedish to their children, and speaking Finnish was heavily stigmatized. As a consequence, many of these first-generation immigrants (especially males, see below) felt inferior to the Swedes (Savolainen, 1987). In this process of migration and adaptation to the new society, Finnish women and Finnish men came to play different roles.

The Sweden Finnish men had obvious difficulties to get adapted to the new society for different reasons, including working conditions, identity problems, the prevailing negative attitudinal climate, and so forth. While the Sweden Finnish women were often employed as care-givers or in the service sector, where there was an intense demand for the Swedish language, most first-generation Sweden Finnish men performed unskilled manual labor in factories, along with other Finnish workers. Unemployment was also more common among Sweden Finnish men than among women and resulted in extensive social problems, such as high divorce rates, alcoholism, and so forth (Rosenberg & Toukomaa, 1994). The prevailing negative attitudes among Swedes towards Finnish accented Swedish and toward Sweden Finns in general during the 1950s, 60s and 70s also contributed to the aversion of Sweden Finns to participate in Swedish language courses. All these factors together resulted in a repudiation among many Sweden Finnish men for all that had to do with Sweden, including the Swedish language (Jaakkola, 1984; Lainio, & Wande, 1996).

Finnish women, on the other hand, had a strong tradition of working outside the home to support their families, partly as a consequence of the Second World War, when most Finnish men were called up for military service and the women took under their care all aspects of family life. This is held to be one of the reasons why they adapted more easily to the demands of the new country. Unlike most other immigrant populations in Sweden, in the Sweden Finnish case it were the women who took the initiative to study for a profession, who participated in language courses, who established social contacts across the ethnical borders and who acted as cultural intermediaries for the family (Rosenberg & Toukomaa, 1994, Lainio, 1996).

The second generation of Sweden Finns faced a rather different situation. During the 70s there was an ethnic mobilization among minorities in many Western societies, demanding a recognition of their right to preserve their cultural identity. As a result of this mobilization, and of the increased internationalization of the Western world, there was a progressive change in attitudes towards bilingualism, which was now perceived as a merit and an asset. In line with this, the Swedish immigration policy developed from assimilation to ethnic pluralism and then to integration. Thus, home language instruction was provided, the amount of Finnish radio—and television-broadcasting increased, many new Finnish associations were founded, and so forth (Lainio & Wande, 1996). Due in part to these changes, many second-generation Sweden Finns became highly bilingual and well-integrated into the Swedish society (Lainio, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994).
The majority of the adult Sweden Finns who participated in the present study moved to Sweden between 1965 and 1975. In general, the female participants were slightly higher educated than the male participants and worked in areas where knowledge of the Swedish language was required. The Sweden Finnish women were extremely positive and willing to participate in the investigation. Many of the Sweden Finnish men, on the other hand, were reluctant to participate as soon as they were informed that the study was bilingual and included knowledge of and attitudes towards the Swedish language. The adolescent Sweden Finns in this investigation are highly bilingual. The majority of them attended Finnish speaking classes at primary school and Finnish home-language instruction at high school level. Thus, the participants in the present investigation fit well in the description of the Sweden Finnish immigrants mentioned above. The results among the Sweden Finnish adolescents in this study, that is, similar responses to the Swedish controls plus a native-like competence regarding the stylistic variation in Finnish, is probably a consequence of the above discussed new developments in the Swedish educational and immigration policy.

As a whole, the present results from Sweden Finnish women and Sweden Finnish adolescents concerning both the Swedish and the Finnish word test, interpreted together with the previous studies referred to above, suggest that integration into a new society does not necessarily imply the loss of contact with the original speech community. This may stimulate the acquisition of a positive double identity, both in social and in linguistic respect.

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References


## Appendix

### Word pairs

The following word pairs were included in the test. For the English translation, only the standardized form is given when no adequate translation of the informal form is available:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flicka – tjej</td>
<td>girl – chick/bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamma – morsa</td>
<td>mother – mum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pappa – farsa</td>
<td>father – dad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pojke – kille</td>
<td>boy – guy/bloke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polis – snut</td>
<td>police – cop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byxor – brallor</td>
<td>trousers – bags/pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hus – kåk</td>
<td>house – shack/hovel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krona – spänn</td>
<td>dollar – buck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skola – plugg</td>
<td>school –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smörgås – macka</td>
<td>sandwich –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betala – pröjsa</td>
<td>to pay – to shell out/to cough up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge sig ivåg – sticka</td>
<td>to leave – to bug off/to split/to pack up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gå sönder – paja</td>
<td>to fall apart –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>äta – käka</td>
<td>to eat – to have some grub/nosh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>isä – faija</td>
<td>father – dad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>äiti – mutsi</td>
<td>mother – mum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hän – se</td>
<td>he/she –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elokuvat – leffa</td>
<td>cinema – movies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housut – pöksyt</td>
<td>trousers – bags/pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasvot – naama</td>
<td>face – mug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punaviini – punkku</td>
<td>red wine –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruoka – sapuska</td>
<td>food – stuff/a bite/grub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voimistelu – jumppa</td>
<td>gymnastics – gym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likainen – paskanen</td>
<td>dirty – mucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auttaa – jelpata</td>
<td>to help – to give a hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lainata – vipata</td>
<td>to borrow – to hit (someone) for (sthg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miettiä – funtsia</td>
<td>to reflect – to figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olla vilustunut – olla flunssassa</td>
<td>to have a cold – to be stuffed up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>