

ALGUMAS NOTAS PAREMIOLÓGICAS DE PROVÉRBIOS NUM JORNAL FINLANDÊS

(Projecto jornalístico)

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Resumo

Este trabalho lida com provérbios e expressões proverbiais usados num jornal local Finlandês de média dimensão. No *Salon Seudun Sanomat* era para ser encontrado mais de cem provérbios ou expressões proverbiais durante uma semana em Maio de 2012. O documento centra-se no conceito de provérbio e o ponto de partida está na paremiologia folclórica, bem como sobre provérbios na língua Finlandesa. Os provérbios são vistos como parte da linguagem coloquial, o que ocorre tanto na forma oral e escrita. Em que proporção um provérbio em contexto oral é o mesmo fenómeno como forma escrita no jornal? Os provérbios estão na vida, desde que eles são referidos. No entanto, qual é o ponto, quando a expressão não é mais um provérbio ou não pode ser vista para se referir a um provérbio tradicional ou moderno?



“NEWSPAPERS ARE THE SCHOOLMASTERS OF THE COMMON PEOPLE” – SOME PAREMIOLOGICAL NOTES OF PROVERBS IN A FINNISH NEWSPAPER.

(The Newspaper Project)

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Abstract

This article handles with proverbs and proverbial expresses used in a Finnish regional, medium-size newspaper. In *Salon Seudun Sanomat* it was to be found over one hundred proverbs or proverbial expressions during one week in May 2012. The article touches on the concept of proverb and the starting point is on folkloristic paremiology as well as on proverbs in the Finnish language. Proverbs are viewed as a part of colloquial language, which occurs both in oral and written form. The discourse ranges over in what proportion a Finnish proverb in oral context is the same phenomenon as written form in newspaper. I argue that proverbs can be said to live as long as they are referred to. I wonder if it could be possible to define the point when the utterance is not anymore a proverb or cannot be seen to refer to a traditional or modern proverb.

Key-words: proverb, newspaper

The Newspaper Project

The idea of the study combining newspapers with paremiology in 21st century arose to discussion in Tavira at one beautiful night after the day in colloquium. The motivation was to look at newspapers from paremiologic point of view. We also decided that making serious research is allowed to be fun; it was clear that for none of us this case study could not be the main subject. In the beginning even more researchers were connected than those who presented the paper, although under the title 'newspaper group' were given papers from three countries (Estonia, Finland and Slovenia). In proceedings you are able to read the articles written by Dr. Saša Babič, Dr. Outi Lauhakangas, Dr. Piret Voolaid and me.

We were after various perspectives for proverbial utterances in European newspapers. We wanted to get use of significant expert areas in the group. It was meant that we do not very much look at others' way to handle with newspapers, so actually each article is an individual output in a common framework of one week in May 2012 paper versions of newspapers. We concentrated on the paper version of newspaper because the Internet version is living all the time, it is not always free access and the paper version is also in libraries to get free, it is for common people.

We want to thank for all of you who has during the process given tips for existing studies and articles dealing with paremiology and newspapers. This was a case study; next one might be understood to be a research within three countries and focusing on newspapers during one month. The project will go on. As feedback in sessions we got some challenging questions which we will discuss in the next study.

Introduction

The aim of this part of the newspaper project is to have a glance at the Finnish proverbs as a part of contemporary colloquial written language in everyday use and context; as Henry Ward Beecher has said: "Newspapers are the schoolmasters of the common people." [1] My part of the common case study deals with proverbs and proverbial expressions used in a Finnish newspaper, *Salon Seudun Sanomat*. During one week in May 2012 it was to be found over one hundred proverbs or proverbial expressions. The starting point is on folkloristic paremiology as well as on proverbs in the Finnish language. Modern proverbs [2] are a part of urban life, although most of the traditional Finnish proverbs use still agrarian language, although nowadays they are often used in a new context with a new meaning.

As proverbs very often are combined with the history of a nation, Finnish proverbs are combined with the Finnish origin, which has been considered as a value by itself. The connection between Finnish language and social capital roots back to the history. In the use of proverbs, social background has been more important than the individual one. Until World War II Finnish proverbs were primarily in oral use, whereas in many Central European language areas proverbs, first and foremost, have been connected with literature (Granbom-Herranen 2012, 167). Nevertheless, today the proverb in spoken language is in many ways the same as the proverb in the colloquial written form in media language, everyday political rhetoric, mass media or the Internet. These days, the native Finnish-speaking population in Finland can read and write Finnish. This has changed the position of proverbs in the Finnish language and might offer one explanation for the similarities between the use of proverbs both in spoken language and in written colloquial form. In its entirety, oral and written communication has become more and more similar in many ways. (Granbom-Herranen 2011b: 289.)

This study leans on Charles Briggs's (1988) ideas of proverb performances. To use a proverb is a small performance which has a target bound with the performance, event and used words. Performer and the audience are to share some common knowledge about the past in order to be able to connect the message with the on-going activity but it is to be accepted that there are always listeners and readers who are not capable to interpret proverbs (Granbom-Herranen 2008: 184, Ferretti et al. 2007). Proverbs are suitable to use in short performances for example because of their form (shortness, rhythm) and the succeeded proverb performance is able to sum up the whole. The presentational characteristic does not disappear when such utterances are moved to new surroundings; namely, from speech to colloquial writing. Although proverbs are quite unchangeable, their meanings can change even if, on a personal level, they are nearly always connected with the time and place in which the proverb has been learned (Granbom-Herranen 2009). Nowadays the use of the proverbs with oral background and the ones from written sources (literature) has been merged especially in colloquial written language. At the same time proverbs from literary sources have been in use in everyday language.

The significance of an utterance has some basic starting points: firstly, language is not understood only as an instrument of communication but as connected to thought as Lev Vygotski presents; secondly, there is Gottlob Frege's principle of context and thirdly, in order to be understood and interpreted, an utterance should follow Paul Grice's (1975) 'cooperative

principles'. When making a pause in the discourse the use of the proverb as a violating element brings in some new aspects. (Granbom-Herranen 2011a, 48–50.)

Finnish proverb in this study

Even if the concept of proverb is to be seen as a tool not an end in itself, the concept frames the research. Due to all the changes that have occurred both in the use of proverbs and in the everyday living context both the meaning and definition of the concept 'proverb' has changed during decades. In folkloristic the focus is on the proverb use as a part of everyday speech; in linguistic the main focus is on the proverbs in literature (Granbom-Herranen 2011b: 287; Grzybek 2012: 137). In this article proverbs are viewed as a part of colloquial language, which occurs both in oral and written form. As the time for a common, universal and multipurpose definition of the proverb has passed and each researcher makes own definitions, it comes to the question, how to recognize a proverb. In this study one of the starting points is that the use of proverbs is a part of communicative speech that is supposed to follow Paul Grice's cooperative principles of quantity, quality, relation, and manner (Grice, 1975: 45–46). All these principles can be violated either consciously or subconsciously. The use of them violates one or more of above mentioned categories. The special meaning of them is based on that they somehow differ from the on-going discourse and they conflict with one or more Grice's cooperative principle. (Granbom-Herranen 2011a: 49.) As Arvo Krikmann (2011) has pointed out, it is a fact that it is not an easy task (or even possible) to make a clear difference between proverbs, shortened proverbs or references and allusions to them. The problem of interactions of traditional proverbs, their modifications and from accidental transitive and phrases based on or derived from traditional proverbs. This is one of the points where the cultural knowledge is needed. As the viewpoint is in folkloristic paremiology and the interest is in meaning, the aim is to understand and the working definitions are enough. In this article the expression 'traditional proverb' means an utterance that in Finland is commonly accepted to be an old proverb (Granbom-Herranen 2012, 167). Otherwise the concept 'traditional' is to be understood in the meaning of typical and usual either in the past or present. A Finnish proverb is a short, independent statement that can also be understood as a generalizing expression and it is or has been a familiar utterance within the frame of a particular time and place. Proverbs are alive as long as they are used or referred to in everyday communication that takes place within a group or between some groups. The interpretation of a proverb is a matter of a situational and individual experience. When dealing with proverb, we have two

different or parallel ways: the emic language and for example the use of proverbs that is known within a group, and the researchers' etic language (Granbom-Herranen 2008, 38). [3] I tender to count with emic definition or in this case the method could be called emphatic reading method. As in defining what a proverb is, I have accepted the view of the proverb users; they use the concepts 'proverb', 'saying', 'Bible quotation', etc. as synonyms. As Maja Bösković-Stulli (1980, 181) writes, regardless of the origin, these expressions has become a part of everyday language. (Granbom-Herranen 2004, 11; 2009, 153; 2011c, 108–109). Both František Čermák (2005) and Risto Järv (2009) has pointed out it is obvious that users of proverbs cannot always identify proverbs or make difference between proverbs and other proverbial expressions. The question is if they should be able to do that?

The material and the method

Material consists of newspapers in paper format during one week; the week was 7th – 13th May in 2012 from Monday to Sunday. In this article the focus on a regional daily newspaper *Salon Seudun Sanomat* [Newspaper of Salo District]. The newspaper has been established in 1919 and it has always been published in Finnish. [4] Year 2009 the daily circulation of the newspaper was about 22'000 and there were about 56'000 readers (Kirjonen 2010). The size of the newspaper *Salon Seudun Sanomat* during the first week in May 2012 was 16–20 pages except on Sunday the newspaper included 28 pages. The newspaper is divided to sections each of them including everyday 1 to 10 pages. Most of the readers live in Salo and its surroundings. Salo is a coastal town of about 55,000 inhabitants in the prosperous south-west of Finland. The centre of the town is close the Turku-Helsinki motorway and railway. On one hand Salo has mainly been known worldwide for Nokia's mobile phone industry and its subcontractors. On the other hand the countryside in Salo surroundings represents the most agrarian areas in Finland.

Proverbs in the newspaper are approached both from theoretical and empirical perspectives. The central research method is content analysis which is understood as a cluster of methods connected with conclusions based on theoretical analyses. The content analysis is commonly used with existing text material as texts in newspapers and it differs from discourse analysis that also concentrates on the communication in written form but the contact between the sender and receiver of a message is in importance (Granbom-Herranen 2010). I divided the study to steps or phases. During the first phase I acquainted myself with everything in the newspaper in one week of May 2012. I have daily read *Salon Seudun Sanomat* already some

decades side by side with other Finnish newspapers and is aware of its relation to other Finnish newspapers. In the second phase I defined the working concept 'proverb' from the point of 21st century Finnish, presented above. The third phase concerned identifying the proverbial utterances. This might have been the most demanding phase, it took time and you had to be quite sharp all the time. I collected all kinds of proverbial expression, including phrases and idioms. Of that material I first left out idioms, then phrases. One method I used in identification was Grice's 'cooperative principles' (Grice 1975). The total number of proverbs in the material is 103. The step number four involved classification of the material. This started with content specification followed by classification. The classification was collected for a quantitative table. Of the proverbial expressions I formed categories, named traditional proverbs, references to traditional proverbs, modern proverbs and Bible quotations. The last phase was to sum up findings and draw conclusions. Ethical issues of the project concern mostly the archiving and further use of the collected proverb materials. The proverbs published in the newspaper are already public.

Results

The biggest category of the proverbial utterances, two of five, consists of traditional proverbs. Every fifth proverbial utterance was a reference to some traditional proverb. This means that more than three of five proverbs were directly connected with traditional proverbs. Bible quotations in this context might be seen as a Finnish phenomenon. They were a little bit less than one of five proverbial expressions and are a fixed, daily part of the newspaper. Bible quotations are often understood as proverbs in Finnish traditions. The amount of modern proverbs was a little bit less than one of four as the Bible quotations can be seen as traditional utterances so all together four of five approached proverbial expressions in a Finnish newspaper are connected with our past. As the constellation of proverbs is quite permanent and only one third of proverbs are supposed to change in about one hundred years (Kuusi 1994: 117–118) this means that in a Finnish newspaper in 21st century the paremiological part of colloquial language uses expressions that have connections quite far in the past.

All the sections as well as status-texts and types of texts are exclusionary. In principle a section of the newspaper might include status-texts and types of texts from all categories.

In the sections of *Salon Seudun Sanomat* a proverb could most often be found in television and radio programs, in SMS-messages and in *Päivän sana* [the words of the day]. There was only one section (announcement) in the newspaper where there were no proverbs during one week

in May 2012. Proverbs were to be found in all of the status-text classes and in all types of the texts. The sections include sub-sections as seen in the next. The sections are not situated as presented here, for example in all Finnish newspapers the death announces can normally be found in the beginning and newer combined with advertisements.

Mielipide – Opinion: editorial; opinion; column; SMS message; cartoon

Huomenta päivää [5]: *Päivän sana*; a person; some bites of news

Uutiset – News: front-page news; Salo district – Domestic – Economics; abroad & short cuts

Erityisalueet – Specials: culture & critics; sports; extra theme (during the week: building & housing; the young)

Jokapäiväiset asiat – Everyday info: comic strips; TV- program; radio program

Ilmoitukset – Announcements: advertisement; announcement; death announces / necrology

Lisäosat – Extra: supplement advertisement; internet

Even if this material was just a case study when looking at some previous researches (f. ex. Järvi 2009, Mieder 1971; 1978, Pilz 1989) it could be observed that in many cases the distribution between sections that were possible to find in all these studies had no revolutionary differences. However, the studies consider various newspapers from different era and contrasting is impossible and unnecessary.

In the newspaper proverbs are a part of all kind of speech, even if there is a difference between what kinds of utterances are to be used in various text context. Sending SMS-messages is not counted as writing so expressions in them might be not-so-dignified, for example the type of text named ‘signature’ and occurs in every SMS-message does not include any Bible quotation. Most of proverbs were in section ‘Opinion’ in the first part of the newspaper and the next proverbial section was ‘Everyday’ in the end of the newspaper. Of these two the ‘Opinion’ is mostly about regional and local things, events, actions and politics. Interesting is that the other section, ‘Everyday’ is the part of the newspaper that is quite the same all over Finland and it includes quite a lot of translations (names of TV-programs, texts in comic strips). Actually this is the part of the newspaper that can be supposed to serve the Finnish language common for the whole country, all dialects and all levels of society. The newspaper starts and ends with proverbs.

Some short observation can be done about the position of proverbs in the newspaper, although the main interest has not been in the form of text (status-text) or the location in text context (type of text). By the ‘status-text’ I mean the motivation of the position in the newspaper. The three most and equal often appeared motivation contexts for proverb use were to find them in opinions, news texts and TV&radio –programs. Proverbs were seldom combined with

pictures. The 'type of text' is to clarify the location of the proverb in texts. Previous studies (Bösković-Stulli 1980; Chlosto et. al. 1993; Järv 2009; Mieder 1971; Pilz 1989) has pointed out that the impressiveness of proverb is combined with the location of proverbial expression. As in this study the interest was not in what part (beginning-middle-end) of the texts they existed, this is not commented here. However, as the text and headlines were the most common places for proverbs, it might be connected with the need for rhetorical power. What comes to the frequency of occurrence, proverbs in interview citations, proverbs used as signatures as well as citation or quotation referring either to a known person or literature were triplets. Actually they can be said to have something common in the background; all of them are anchored with some persons – speaker or author.

Traditional proverbs:

Vanha suola janottaa. Pieni viaton välikohtaus kylpyhuoneessa paisuu yli ämpärin. [6]

[Old salt makes you thirsty. An innocent incident in bathroom overflows over the bucket.] [7]

The proverb *Vanha suola janottaa* is most often used when pointing at someone's past, something that has been near one's heart, a person, thing or object. As a title of a TV-program it gives a hint to some problems in love affairs. The sentence includes also a reference to a well-known phrase *Tulvia yli äyräiden* (f. ex. The river overflowed its banks).

The traditional proverbs were most often used in the news text and in the texts of TV-programs. It seems that a good name of a program is short and at the same time telling something but not too much about the program itself. It would be interesting to look what connects programs with proverbial title or introduction. The use of proverbs might be combined with the expectation that all readers are aware of the ground meaning and this way the proverbs can be used in the texts meant to be published in all the country. In death announces as well as necrologies only traditional proverbs were used. This might be connected with the sacrosanct label of proverbs in Finnish which are connected either with Bible or Kalevala.

References to traditional proverbs:

Kaupunki aikoo jälleen säästää ja tuntuvasti. Kansaa huijataan ja ryöstetään sumeilematta. Mitä valtiovalta edellä Kreikan älyttömässä rahaliiton tukemisessa, sitä kunnat perässä kuntalaisille tärkeiden palveluiden tuhoamisessa. [8]

[The town is again going to save money and this time a lot. People are cheated and robbed without ceremony. **What the state makes first** whit contributing of the stupid monetary union of Greece,

the municipal corporations do afterwards when destroying the services that are important for the inhabitants.]

The opinion participates to the discussion about the way how the town of Salo is to save money. Salo has been to face a new situation: due to the big changes in economics (f. ex. the biggest employer Nokia dismissed thousands of employers) all the public sectors of town had to cut their expenses; among them social services. The writer predicts that the cuts in social services helps only for a moment and in future there will be much bigger needs, saving in one and wrong place means actually more costs.

This utterance refers to the proverbs *Mitä isot edellä, sitä pienet perässä* [What the big ones do first, the little ones do afterwards]. This proverb is normally used when wanted to point out that especially at home the parents are supposed to be good examples for their children. If children use bad language or cannot behave themselves they have learned it from someone older, most often siblings, friends or parents. This thinking follows the doctrine of three estates combined with doctrines of Lutheran church, in Finnish best known under the name *huoneentaulu*, [9] a kind of regulation for law and order in the society as well as inside families.

The references to traditional proverbs were mostly used in texts combined with sport. The combination of sports and references to traditional proverbs was an interesting finding as in EUROPHRAS-2012 conference it came very clearly up that in England and Germany typical sport people prefer phrases more than proverbs, because proverbs are not a part of the colloquial language of their language world. However, proverbs in Finnish are parts of the language in all social classes; they are a part of colloquial language. When looking at the status of text, the references to traditional proverbs were to be found in news texts, articles and columns (status) that are rhetorical texts and allow more freedom to a journalist. This is not surprising as proverbial utterances are a part of the language that is connected with telling stories, discussing and meta texts. In the newspapers of one week it was not to be identified any writer or journalist, who uses especially lot of proverbs (cp. Järv 2009, 254). In the types of texts references to traditional proverbs were mostly situated in texts and headlines as the previous researches has shown out (Bösković-Stulli 1980; Chlosta et. al. 1993; Järv 2009; Mieder 1971; Pilz 1989).

Modern proverbs:

Minulle jäi rahaa 100 euroa ja pitäisi riittää 24 päivää. – Elämä on laiffii [10]
[Only 100 euros were left and it ought to be enough for 24 days. – Life is life]

This proverb was one of the rare ones that during this short period could be found more than once.

Minulla on 70 euroa, ja pitäisi sillä pärjätä kaksi viikkoa viisihenkenisen perheen. – Elämä on laiffii kaikilla 11]

[I have 70 euros and a family with five persons should manage for two weeks with it. – **Life is life for everybody**]

The proverb is as a signature of a SMS-message, meant to be published a short letter to editorial and other readers. The writer complains about the money he or she has got for living as social security or unemployment benefit. The proverb tells that the writer is not actually satisfied but does not have any choices. It is a statement pointing to social unfairness, a real or conjured. This proverb became known by the ex-ski jumper Matti Nykänen. It might be based on the well-known song by Opus 'Live is life' (1985) that is still played as background music in ice-hockey matches.

Most of the modern proverbs were used in the opinions, in the column of short letters to the editorial in the form of SMS-messages. SMS-messages are a form of speech the language is actually not understood to be as much in written form as when writing an opinion in a form of letter.

Bible quotations:

Niinpä sanon teille: pyytäkää, niin teille annetaan. Etsikää, niin te löydätte. Kolkuttakaa, niin teille avataan. Sillä pyytävä saa, etsijä löytää ja jokaiselle joka kolkuttaa, avataan. Luuk. 11: 9-10.

[12]

[So I say to you: Ask and it will be given to you; seek and you will find; knock and the door will be opened to you. For everyone who asks receives; the one who seeks finds; and to the one who knocks, the door will be opened. Luke 11:9-10]

As seen in example, the Finnish version of the quotation is a coherent whole that has very much the same structure as proverbs have. Some of Bible quotations are under the title traditional proverb while they are mostly recognized as proverbs that originate from the Bible. Actually this quotation has become four proverbs *Pyytäjälle annetaan* [One who asks, will get]; *Etsivä löytää* [Who is searching for, will find]; *Kolkuttavalle avataan* [The door will open for the one who is knocking]; *Pyytävä saa, etsivä löytää ja kolkuttavalle avataan* [One who asks will get, who is searching for will find and the door will open for the one who is knocking]. The best known of them is *Etsivä löytää* [Who is searching for, will find]. In contemporary use it can be met in two meanings, the first one is when seeking a way to a

comfort and balanced life and could be called spiritual connection; often the proverb has an introducer referring to Bible. [13] The second connection is when looking for lost or wanted things. This is a concrete and always a humorous way to use this proverb. [14]

Bible quotations are published daily under the title *Päivän sana*. As Christianity as well as Lutheran church is still very much present in Finnish society, Bible quotations are a part of Finnish everyday living even if we do not notice them. They might be recognized: most of the Finnish population still learn their Bible and Catechism in confirmation classes organized by the church. However, in newspaper texts all Bible quotations are not connected with Bible, the same has been showed out with life-stories. (Granbom-Herranen 2008, 69–70, 230-235.) As the language used in sermons has been Finnish beginning from the time of Reformation all the quotations and proverbs from Bible were to be heard in Finnish, also proverbs from Bible has mostly been a part of oral tradition. [15] (Granbom-Herranen 2008: 34; 2009a: 9.)

Conclusions

Traditional proverbs, references to traditional proverbs, modern proverbs and bible quotations are used in modern colloquial written Finnish in newspapers 2012. This is to do with the fact that proverbs in Finnish have firstly been a part of oral language. The column of short letters to the editorial in the form of SMS-messages included both modern proverbs and traditional proverbs. The explanation might be the unofficial form of this special column. This means that also those readers who usually do not write much have easy to write with mobile and they use the same everyday language as they are familiar with. This way the modern proverbs find their way firstly to the sections that is most up-to-day. In the Internet is a website for readers of *Salon Seudun Sanomat* and which functions as a real time column for opinions. In the website there were hardly any proverbial utterances to be found. Supposedly the readers participating on the discourses on Salo area by Internet are not the same as the ones sending SMS-messages.

Some differences with previous studies were to be found. Proverb use in newspaper could not be especially connected with men, unlike Järv (2009, 257) has found out in his study. All the proverbs were in Finnish, contrary to some previous studies (f. ex. Chlosta et al. 1993, 681; Mieder 1971); this might of course result from the short period in this study. Nevertheless, despite many changes in living conditions and everyday practices, without any hesitation it is clear that Finnish proverbs are living also in modern Finnish language and they have the place as a part of present Finnish communication.

The definition of the concepts traditional proverb and modern proverb are challenging. Easier is reference to traditional proverb because once the basic concepts are defined the references are to be seen. Perhaps in future there will be also references to modern proverbs. It is not easy to decide how much a proverb is allowed to change to still be recognized as a proverb. Proverbs are in life as long as they are referred to but what is the point, when the utterance is not anymore a proverb? Proverbs in Finnish newspaper is just one case, but it can be seen everywhere in all circumstances: what can be expected to survive when environment changes but the content of speech stays? It might be as Järv (2009, 266) has concluded: “What has remained unchanged, however, is the use of proverbs in newspapers, by politicians, and by the society at large.”

Endnotes

1. HENRY WARD BEECHER, *Proverbs from Plymouth Pulpit* http://www.notable-quotes.com/n/newspapers_quotes.html [24.6.2012].
2. Modern proverbs have many names in paremiological etic-language (Granbom-Herranen 2011b, 286).
3. The dichotomy of the emic and etic in language use can be handled in various ways, as we can see in the discussion between Marvis Harris and Kenneth Pike (Headlane et. al 1990).
4. The first newspaper published in Finland (that was a part of Sweden) was *Abo Tidningar* (1771) and it was published in Swedish. Today the oldest newspaper in Finland, having been published since 1824 is *Abo Underrättelser*, a Swedish language newspaper. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turku#Media> [28.3.2013]
5. ‘*Huomenta päivää*’ is a Finnish phrase: Good morning – good day / *Bom dia – boa tarde*.
6. SSS 10.5.2012, 20 (everyday info: TV- program). SSS = *Salon Seudun Sanomat*,
7. All the examples except the Bible quotations are translations; equivalents have not been used. For Bible quotation I have used English translation of Bible. <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Isaiah%204:5-6&version=NIV> [28.3.2013]
8. SSS 12.5.2012, 2 (opinion: opinion).
9. The word *huoneentaulu* could not be found in English, Germany, French or Portuguese. Instead, it exists in Swedish (*hustavla*) and Estonian (*majatahvel*). The word and the *huoneentaulu* itself are connected with the time of Reformation when also areas of present day Finland and Estonia were a part of Swedish kingdom.
10. SSS 10.5.2012, 2 (opinion: SMS).
11. SSS 13.5.2012, 2 (opinion: SMS).
12. SSS 13.5.2012, 4 (*Huomenta päivää: Päivän sana*).
13. <http://sailanblogi.blogspot.com/2007/01/etsiv-lyt-kolkuttavalle-avataan.html> [28.3.2013]
<http://hahmottelua.blogspot.com/2012/12/etsiva-loytaa-vai-loytaako-sittenkaan.html> [28.3.2013]
<http://www.lily.fi/juttu/etsiva-loytaa-ja-kolkuttavalle-avataan> [28.3.2013]
14. <http://kotikolmio.blogspot.com/2013/03/etsiva-loytaa-joskus-vahingossakin.html> [28.3.2013]
<http://namachica.blogspot.com/2013/02/etsiva-loytaa.html> [28.3.2013]
<http://lottar.blogspot.com/2012/06/etsiva-loytaa.html> [28.3.2013]

15. The first school law from year 1866 ordered Bible quotations as well as parts of *Kalevala* (the Finnish national epos) and *Kanteletar* (the collection of Finnish folk poems) to be taught at school.

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