“ENSIN OLI DIRTY DANCING. NYT TULEE DIRTY FIGHTING!”

Uses of English in the Finnish teenage magazine Suosikki
from 1969 to 2009

Master's thesis
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Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on saada selville, miten paljon englannin kieltä on käytetty Suosikki- nuorisolehessä. Tutkimuksessa haluttiin selvittää, onko englannin kielen määrä lehdessä lisääntynyt, vähentynyt vai pysynyt samana vuosikymmenten kuluessa. Tutkimuksessa selvitettiin myös englannin kielen symbolista arvoa eli millaisissa tilanteissa englannin kieltä käytettiin.


Tutkimus antaa lisää tietoa nuorten kulttuurista ja miten nuorten kielessä usein kuultua englantia on hyödynnetty nuorten suosiossa olevan lehden artikkeleissa. Jatkossa olisi mielikiintoista tutustua nuorten kulttuuriin nykyaikana ja nähdä miten heidän käyttämänsä kieli on muuttunut esimerkiksi sosiaalisen median vaikutuksesta.

Asiasanat – Keywords
English language, uses of English, youth language, youth magazine, Finland, media, Suosikki, pop, rock

Muita tietoja – Additional information
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1. INTRODUCTION

According to Dufva (2002: 32, as cited in Jousmäki 2006: 6) in today’s world, it is very difficult for any language to remain pure. Languages go through changes as the world we live in changes and evolves. The technology has taken massive leaps in the last decades as we have learnt how to use the resources available to us in ways that are beneficial for the progress of humanity. One of the main phenomena of the last century is globalization. We are able to reach some of the farthest places of the world in a matter of seconds due to informational technology. As an outcome and also one of the driving forces of globalization, the English language has strengthened its status as the lingua franca of the world. (Crystal 2002: 2) One can see English being used in many places in the world nowadays: in advertisements, magazines, TV, in the Internet... As Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 3) point out, English has more purposes now than ever before and it is used by an ever-growing number of people around the world. The use English has become a more and more common feature also in Finland.

Firstly, the present study aims to find out to what extent the English language has affected the language used in Finnish teenage magazines. The different forms of social media are spreading and especially the youth is acquainted to this. One could say that English language has become a second language to the Finnish youth, as English is the language of the internet and social media. This can be detected just by listening to a conversation between a group of young people. One can hear English words and utterances quite frequently. The teenage magazines want to connect with their targeted audience by using the same kind of language the teenagers are perceived to use by the journalists.

Secondly, the symbolic value of the use of English in the magazine is studied. Symbolic value means that a language, in this case English, is not used as a linguistic code but rather as a cultural symbol. Cheshire and Moser (1994: 451) adequately describe this type of language use “not as a system of signs but as a sign itself”. A language is often associated with something in a person’s mind. It raises feelings and connotations, either positive or negative. According to Martin (2002: 382) who studied the use of English in French advertising, English is often associated with modernity, high technology and reliability when it is used in a non-English context. Haarmann (1989: 11) states that in Japanese advertising English is typically viewed as modern, reliable and internationally prestigious. It is also associated with high quality.
The data of the present study was collected from a youth magazine called *Suosikki*, which is centered mostly on the contemporary music scene. There are many magazines that are targeted towards the younger audience so it was decided that the most suitable one for this particular study would be the one that has been in circulation the longest period of time. *Suosikki* was one of the leading youth magazines in Finland. Before the Internet became a feature in every household, *Suosikki* was one of the means for young Finnish people to find out what were the latest trends in contemporary popular culture in the United States and Europe. Hence, *Suosikki* will be the main source of data and the issues from five decades (1960’s – 2010’s) will be studied in order to find out the extent and ways in which English has been used in the magazine during the past forty years. In this way, the aim is to find out whether the language has changed through decades. As the magazine was targeted towards teenagers, the writers tried to make it as alluring to the target audience as possible by using the same kind of language as the audience itself was perceived to use. However, the writers were not teenagers themselves, hence the language used in the magazine was only the reflection of the way they perceived the youth to use the language.

The examples of English are collected from the data and counted. Modifying the methods of analyses used by Viitamäki (2003) and Bogdanova (2010), three categories are made based on the symbolic value associated with the uses of English. These categories are English as a technical display, English as a representation of popular culture and “cool” and lastly, English as a representation of intertextuality or word play. The uses of English are analyzed and with the help of graphs, it is clear to see whether there has been any change in the instances and the amount of English and their symbolic value.

There have been a few studies that are comparable to the topic of the present study. These previous studies, for example Jousmäki (2006), Hänninen and Karikoski (2011) and Viitamäki (2003) also researched youth magazines from different perspectives. The results of this research will bring new interesting information to the field of sociolinguistics. It will shed some light on the extent of how much English has actually affected the language in one Finnish teenage magazine.

The present study is structured in the following way. The second chapter serves as the theoretical background in terms of previous research that has been done around the topic of this study. As this study will focus on English used in a Finnish magazine, the second chapter will also shed a light into the history of English in Finland. Secondly, it will discuss youth culture and language in
Finland. The present study, including the research questions, aims and the method of analysis, will be presented in the third chapter. A more thorough introduction of the data for this study will also be presented in this chapter. The fourth chapter discusses the results of the present study. The fifth chapter will feature the discussion of the results and possible limitations of this study and the final chapter presents suggestions for possible future research of the topic.
2. BACKGROUND

The first section of this chapter will present some of the studies that are related to the topic of the present study. Even though, there are no studies yet which deal with the exact same topic, quite a few studies have been conducted that examine different teenage magazines and their role in the lives of teenagers, not just in Finland but in different countries as well. The second part of the chapter will present the history of English language in Finland and it will also shed some light into the culture and, most importantly, the language of Finnish youth today.

2.1 Research on teenage magazines

There have been quite a few studies that have looked into the world of teenagers by researching teenage magazines. According to Jean Chow (2004: 132), mass media have an enormous influence on the teenagers of today. On the pages of magazines one can see how they should dress, what is currently in fashion, what are the cool bands to listen to. Teenagers build their entire identities through mass media. Looking into teenage magazines gives a rather clear idea of what the mainstream teenagers should be like.

In addition to the overall picture of teen culture seen in magazines, one can also get an image of the language used by teenagers by reading teenage magazines. If one was to listen the way teenagers talk in Finland, one would notice that Finnish is not the only language used among teenagers who use Finnish as their first language. As Mauranen (2009: 1) reports, English is recognized as the lingua franca of the world. Finnish teenagers see and hear English everywhere. They are exposed to it on the radio, on TV and other means of media, such as the social media. Nowadays, the majority of movies and television shows come from English-speaking countries. There is no denying that Hollywood is the main producer of movies in most part of the world. However, the presence of English is Finland is not an issue for the youth. In Finland, children start learning English in school quite early and that is why by the time they reach the teenage years, they are already rather fluent in it.

Teenagers are one of the main consumers of mass media. According to Routarinne and Uusi-Hallila (2008: 15), media have become very important in the life of a teenager in Finland. As Kleemola (2008: 347) also points out, for teenagers the Internet is a normal and natural part of their everyday
life. It is a way for them to stay in contact with friends and thus, it is nearly impossible to find a Finnish youngster who is not a member of some social media site. As a side product of spending so much time online, they learn English almost unconsciously on their free time as well, as they surf through their social media pages and the Internet in general. In some countries, also in Europe, movies and television programs are dubbed to the country’s native language. In Finland, there is no culture of dubbing the television shows and films and thus children are exposed to the English language ever since they are very small.

The language is changing all the time and especially the slang used by teenagers is constantly morphing and going through changes. There are many different patterns of how a language changes and one of the most significant factors are loan words. Teenagers become aware of what is happening all over the world and what the current trend phenomena are. They learn about the things which are in and which are out. They also learn the new buzzwords and start using them in their own everyday life. Some people may find this horrific and an insult to Finnish language to be using so many words from other languages while talking in Finnish. Nevertheless, according to Kleemola (2008: 347), the language of teenagers should be viewed as innovative and inspiring. Kleemola further points out that the Finnish language is not on the verge of destruction as English is infiltrating into our everyday language but is enriched by teenagers and their new language (Kleemola 2008: 347).

There have been quite a few studies in Finland that have concentrated on magazines designed for teenagers. Especially the Suosikki magazine has been a target of several academic studies from several different perspectives. Quite a few of the studies, for example Aho (2000), Aalto (2004) and Tolvanen (2004), have looked into the way the advertisements in the magazines are constructed. Usually, teenage magazines contain large amount of advertisements on their pages. The youth is perceived as a profitable audience of consumption of goods and thus it is beneficial for the companies to advertise their products in a magazine designed for the younger generation in order for them to reach one of their main consumer audiences. Aho studied how the adjectives used in advertisements in Suosikki have changed through time, from 1960’s issues to the issues published in 1990’s in her Master’s thesis from 2000. Furthermore, Aalto (2004) researched in her thesis how the image of masculinity is depicted in the advertisements in Finnish youth magazines, including Suosikki. In addition, Tolvanen (2004) studied the general use of English in advertisements in Finnish teenage magazines.
In addition to studies that had their main focus on the advertisements, there are also studies concerning the language used in *Suosikki*. As an example, Holopainen (2004) studied the way the foreign articles were translated into Finnish during two different editorial periods. Her aim was to find out what kind of differences there were in the translations and what could be the reasons for the possible changes. She assumed that the word choices in the Finnish translations conveyed attitudes towards young people and the changes in the translations between the two consecutive editorial periods depicted the shifts that took place in these attitudes.

Furthermore, Jousmäki (2006) studied how English used in a Finnish Christian youth magazine helps in building the identities of its readers. In her study, Jousmäki studied issues of a Christian youth magazine called *Dynamite* published through the time span of 3 years, from 2002 to 2005. One of her research objectives was to find out which kind of English occurs in the magazine. Jousmäki claimed that the cases of code-switching and language mixing in the magazines were occurring in different contexts and they were designed to be used to have a different effect. Code-switching was mainly used as a mediator for organizing the discourse. Language mixing was more commonly used while describing for example professional jargon and music terminology (2006: 91).

An interesting observation made by Jousmäki in her research was that in cases where pure English words were used, the authors had chosen not to translate it into Finnish at all. It was assumed that Finnish people reading the magazines are fluent enough in English so that they understand what the English word means (Jousmäki 2006: 92-93). Furthermore, not only do the editors of the magazine expect the readers to have at least some knowledge of English, they also assume that the readers also know how the English words are pronounced. In her data, Jousmäki found some cases where it was obvious that, if the reader did not know how a particular English word is pronounced, the joke of the entire heading would be lost to the reader (ibid: 74). It was assumed that for many Finnish people, English is their second language. It can be interpreted that the authors were confident in believing that most Finns reading *Dynamite* have studied English in school. According to Jousmäki, this furthermore strengthens the idea of English as a world language also in Finland.

In her study, Jousmäki states that the use of English in the Christian youth magazines has diverse linguistic forms, ranging from pure English words and phrases that are clearly noticeable from the surrounding text to hybrids that morph English words into a more Finnish-like appearance. This was done, for example, by adding Finnish inflectional endings to the words or by changing the appearance of the English word so that it was written the same way as it would be pronounced, as is
the curiosity of Finnish language. (Jousmäki 2006: 91.)

One of the studies that had a topic very close to the present one was by Ojanperä (1994). She studied the Anglicisms that occurred in the vocabulary of Suosikki through the timespan of four decades (1960’s – 1990’s). As her data, she had chosen words based in English, which were used, on altogether 360 pages. She had chosen the issues published in 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 for her research. Once she had collected her list of the Anglicisms, she divided them into groups of music, fashion, movies, person, food, places and miscellaneous. Her aim was to find out whether the selection and the amount of Anglicisms used in the magazine had changed through time, whether it had increased or decreased. She also studied how the Anglicisms in the vocabulary had been modified to resemble Finnish language. She states that because Finnish language is so different from English language, it is sometimes necessary to modify the structure of the English words in such a way that they are more suitable for a speaker of Finnish.

In her study, Ojanperä also tried to identify reasons for the use of Anglicisms. According to her, the main reason is the status of English language in Finland. One can see English almost everywhere, especially among the young people. Youth culture is a very international phenomenon and during the last few decades, it has also become increasingly more commercial. As the world has become more globalized, English language has taken over in Finland. English is a maintaining trend among teenagers.

Another reason for the use of Anglicisms is to use it as a method for creating particular effects. The readers draw their attention to the Anglicisms, because it is not Finnish but something special. The English words pop up on the page with its different morphology and foreign letters. The decision of using Anglicisms instead of the corresponding Finnish words is rarely due to the fact that the Finnish translation of the word does not exist but that can sometimes also be the case. As an example of this, Ojanperä mentions the word ‘show’. According to her, this word was used often in the issues she studied and it does not have a proper translation in Finnish.

By studying the Anglicisms in Suosikki, Ojanperä also aimed to find out which type of words were typical for the youth culture of the respective decade. She assumed that the English-based words which were used in the magazines the most frequently could undoubtedly be heard quite often also in the conversation of teenagers. As an example, in the 1960’s issues, the music genre of jazz seemed to be the trend among the young people.
Based on her study, Ojanperä claimed that the use of Anglicisms in Suosikki has increased significantly since the 1960’s. She stated that this is because the culture of the English-speaking world has gradually gained popularity. For decades, English culture has had the monopoly in the world. As the technological expertise is evermore increasing people from all over the world can find out about the latest stars on the music scene and the Hollywood blockbuster movies, which set new records at the box office.

The use of English in magazines has been researched in other languages as well. For example, Hänninen and Karikoski (2011) studied the occurrence of Anglicisms in four issues in the German teenage magazine Popcorn. The aim of their study was to find out what kind of English phrases were used in the magazine and why have these particular phrases been transferred into German language. In addition, Hänninen and Karikoski wanted to look into the function of the used Anglicisms in the German text.

In their study, Hänninen and Karikoski (2011) stated that the most cases of Anglicisms in the issues were pure English words. In other words, they have not been assimilated into the German lexicon in any way. In addition, there were many cases in the magazines where an English word was combined with a German word to form a compound. This is one of the main methods of forming new words into a language. The phenomenon of code switching was found to be used quite rarely. In cases where code-switching was used, it was usually found in English phrases that were clearly separated from the German text. Code-switching was used purely as a stylistic element in the magazine to catch the reader’s attention.

The functions of Anglicisms were found to be mainly to convey extra color to the otherwise German contents. As mentioned earlier, it was used to lure the reader in with the international touch. The readers are seen as multicultural and international with knowledge of other languages. Hänninen and Karikoski (2011: 116) claim that it is also more economical to use English on the pages instead of writing the same thing in German as English takes much less space than German, which would require more page spread.

The reasons for using English in an otherwise non-English text may vary. In her study, Martin (2002) researched the use of English in advertising with a focus on the use of code-mixing in French magazines. In many cases, English was used instead of French as an attention-getting
device. (2002: 379) When potential consumers flip through magazines, they usually notice words and phrases that are out of the ordinary, in this case the use of an English word in the middle of a French magazine.

The same idea is behind the usage of English in Finnish magazines. Furthermore, the use of English in a Finnish magazine has an even more powerful effect than, for instance, the French magazines, which were mentioned earlier. Finnish and English languages differ so much from each other, not only by appearance but also grammatically as they belong in different language families. English is a part of the Indo-European language group whereas Finnish belongs to the Uralic languages. Due to this, the instances of English used in magazines amidst Finnish language will certainly pop up when reading it. English uses many letters that Finnish has not the necessity of, such as the letters 'c', 'w' and 'q'. When English words with these ‘foreign’ letters are used in an otherwise Finnish magazine, the reader is expected to be drawn to them because of their exotic appearance.

The results of the study by Martin (2002) showed that the linguistic elements of an advertisement are heavily influenced by the choice in which the technique of the whole ad was planned. The results also revealed that the use of English might have a positive effect on the consumer's contemplation on whether to buy the product in question or not.

According to Martin (2002: 383) the use of English as a pair-language in code-mixing has various symbolic values, such as modernity, technological efficiency and/or reliability. In addition to these, national identity, liberalism, universalism, science and mobility are some of the labels used to symbolize the power of English. The use of English in magazine does not evoke only positive connotations. According to the study, the negative labels associated with the use of English in a non-English magazine include anti-nationalism, materialism, rootlessness, ethnocentricism, permissiveness and alienation. In some cultures, the use of English is considered a taboo when concerning certain phenomena associated to the culture. As an example, Martin mentioned certain traditional items and services that were advertised in Japanese and Chinese media that are unlikely to be associated with the English language or ideology at all. These said items or services include for example kimonos, funeral services and both Chinese and Japanese food products. (Martin 2002: 383.)

One of the reasons for choosing English over all the other languages in the world is to convey the sense of globalization. Especially if an advertisement is advertising a product of a global company,
the use of English in the ad is only sensible. In addition, some advertisements have international celebrities appearing in them as an attention-getter, which makes English an obvious choice for language as it is the language of the world.

In another study, Clee (2009) was studying the role of English in a Finnish magazine Episodi that is focused solely on film culture. In her thesis, she analyzed four issues from 2008 and chose three articles from each magazine to study more closely. Her aim was to find out how many and what kinds of English words were used in the articles. Based on her results, she concluded that even though the Hollywood movies and by default, English-speaking movies are very popular in Finland, English language has not affected the use of Finnish language in a magazine, which is centered on the film culture.

In addition, Viitamäki (2003) studied the uses of English in advertisements in different Finnish magazines. In her study, she found out that the majority of the adverts using English in the magazines she studied were Finnish-English code-mixing. She proceeded to count the English elements in these code-mixed adverts. She then categorized the adverts according to whether the English in the advertising text consisted of a word or a phrase, a full sentence, several sentences or word play. Viitamäki included this in her study in order to find out and discuss the occurrence of particular types of English elements used in advertising texts in the code-mixed adverts. She also wanted to further analyze why these particular elements of English were used, with the help of qualitative analysis. Viitamäki used the instances of word play and the sentence types found in the data in the analysis to find out the functions of English, in particular whether English in the advertising texts can be seen as a language or a symbol.

Based on the results stated by Viitamäki, the use of English in the adverts in the sample is quite frequent and that the advertisements that do use English, are mostly done by Finnish-English code-mixing. Viitamäki also stated that the substance of the advertisement affects the use of English in advertising. She noticed that English is used most in the magazines, which are targeted to a younger audience, but also in magazines that carry and image of internationalism and luxury. Viitamäki argued that this is probably due to the fact that the possibilities on the use of English have become wider in these audiences and that English can be used both as a language and as a symbol because of the target market, a higher level of English skills can be expected. On the other end of the scale, according to Viitamäki, are the magazines which are more everyday life oriented and which have a wider target audience. Within this audience, the level of English skills varies greatly or it can be
expected to be lower.

As can be seen, studies on teenage magazines have been made. However, most of these studies (Aho 2000, Tolvanen 2004) have been using the advertisements in the magazines as their data. In the present study, different parts of the magazine were chosen as the data. The sections of a magazine that are included in the present study are covers, headings, subheadings and leads. These parts were chosen because they seem to contain the most English when compared to the actual articles. Ojanperä’s (1994) study is very similar to the present one, except the last volume she used was from 1991 whereas the last volume included in this study is from 2009.

2.2 English in Finland

Globally thinking, English has become a very widely spread language and it has speakers all over the world. During the past fifty years, English has become the language of the world. According to David Crystal (2002: 1), there were 5-7 million speakers of English around the world at the turn of the 17th century. In the middle of the 20th century, the number had increased to 250 million speaking English as their first language and around 100 million more who spoke English as a foreign language (Crystal 2002: 1). Currently, it has been estimated that more than 400 million people speak English as a second or a foreign language the total number climbs up to over a billion people according to the most radical researchers (Crystal 2002: 2).

In Finland, English is a foreign language as there are two official languages in Finland, Finnish and Swedish. According to Statistics Finland (2014), by the end of 2014, 4,868,000 Finns spoke Finnish as their native language while 290,747 inhabitants spoke Swedish. As of the end of 2013, the most spoken languages in Finland after Finnish and Swedish were Russian (66,379), Estonian (42,936), Somali (15,789), English (15,570) and Arabic (13,170) (Statistics Finland 2014). While English does not have the status of an official language in Finland, based on the studies made by Leppänen et al. (2008: 20) the status of English language in Finland has nothing but strengthened in many different areas of the society in the past few decades. As early as in the 1960's English has had its effect in the way Finns used Finnish, especially in the media used by the young people. One could hear Finns putting English words in the otherwise Finnish phrases and sentences.
Not only is English used more and more frequently by the youth, but also in working life. As Taavitsainen and Pahta (2008: 26) claim, the access to English and the ability to use it in a professional manner are one of the main keys to success in the late modern world. Many companies, in particular, have started using English as their necessary lingua franca as their have branched outside the borders of Finland and become multinational enterprises (2008: 21). English has also become the language of science in Finland (Kalaja and Hyrkstedt 1998: 345). Moreover, a good knowledge of English is a necessity in higher education in Finland where many lectures and classes are held mainly in English and are frequently joined by foreign visiting lecturers. Knowing English is also an excellent asset in trying to find a job as nowadays many hiring companies have spread globally or have international contacts. Thus, having good skills in English has become a way of profiting financially in life. According to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 5), mixing English with Finnish is not only identified with the teenagers, but also a common occurrence in the daily newspapers where English idioms and phrases have become a common feature. One could say that the status of English has changed from being a foreign language to a language that is used in day-to-day life in Finland. As Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 339) point out, the status of English has indeed changed and English can be viewed as an additional language, alongside Finnish and Swedish.

One tends to link English together with a social stereotype. If someone whose native language is not English, uses English in his/her speech, it is seen as something modern and international. It is also easy to use English in countries where it is not an official language as it is understood in the major part of the globe and it is the lingua franca of the world. Furthermore, as pointed out by Taavitsainen and Pahta (2008: 28), the phenomena which are trending in the current world, such as international communication and mass media have become an essential part of people's everyday life, not only globally but also in Finland.

According to Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 17), English started emerging into the Finnish society in the 1920's. It became a common subject in Finnish schools and also the emergence of English-speaking popular culture started to become more and more apparent. After WWII, English became an even more popular language in Finland. It became a more popular language to study than German among Finnish students. The economy in Finland started to show signs of rising after wartime and this required knowledge of English when co-operating with international partners. Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 17) further point out that the first TV-sets started to appear in Finnish
homes in 1950's which brought various kinds of English-speaking TV-shows into Finnish living rooms, although many of these were dubbed to Finnish.

In the 1960's Finnish society went through a massive change from an agricultural to an urbanized one. Finnish students became more and more interested in studying foreign languages, especially English. English had become the modern language of popular music and it was used by young people to an immense extent. Thus, studying English surpassed German and Swedish and became the most popular foreign language among the Finnish students. Finnish people also felt the need for English language as travelling abroad had become more and more common among Finnish families. In the 1960's, the dubbing of various English-speaking TV-shows and movies was ceased as the public grew more interested in hearing them in their original languages. According to Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 20) for many Finns living in that time, watching these TV-programs and movies was an indirect learning environment. Watching TV was, and still is, an excellent way to pick up new words as one hears the way it is pronounced and sees the translation in the subtitles.

During the 1970's and 1980's, Finland gradually but surely became more western due to its economic and cultural growth. This did nothing but increased and stabilized the status of importance of English language in Finland. In education, it became obligatory to study at least one foreign language in addition to Swedish. Many schools and students decided this language to be English. The ever-growing popularity of English among the Finnish youth caused English to become more and more apparent in the every-day life in a Finnish society. Youth magazines, commercials, advertisements and even job announcements started to use English as a way to catch the reader's attention by sprinkling English words into an otherwise Finnish surrounding.

The 1990's saw the rise of English as the language of international communication. The immense importance of knowledge of English in Finland continued to rise as Finland joins the European Union in 1995. Globally, Finland was known as a country of high technology, which also added to the growing need of English language. The first IB lyceums were established, where teaching is done solely in English. The use of English grew even further in popular culture and media.

The turn of the millennium witnessed the continuation of economic and cultural globalization with the development of communications technology. The English-speaking popular culture knew no boundaries in Finland and English was clearly the most popular foreign language for Finnish students. Furthermore, English was the most used language besides Finnish in their day-to-day
lives. In 2000, 87.6% of Finnish 3rd grade students chose English as their first foreign language. The growing popularity of the Internet escalated the use of English in the every-day life of Finnish people. As an example, many chat rooms used by Finns were global, thus the use of English is needed. In addition, the world of blogging started to get foothold in Finland. Many bloggers chose to write in English instead of Finnish as they wished to reach a wider audience worldwide. Furthermore, growing immigration has made Finnish society multicultural. (Leppänen et al. 2008: 17-19).

During the past few decades, English has been viewed as a very important language in Finland, not only because English has a very strong position as an international language but also due to the various structural changes which extend as far as to politics and even culture that have taken place in the Finnish society. On account of these changes, Leppänen et al. (2008) argue that the Finnish society has accumulated more and more influences regarding for example values, culture and politics that have derived from western countries, particularly the Anglo-American ones (Leppänen et al. 2008: 21). Especially in the post-war Finland, for many Finns, English symbolized Western internationality, which was considered very modern. The Finns wanted to identify themselves with the Western countries and in a way differentiate themselves from Russian cultural and political influences, which had affected the Finnish society and culture in the past.

According to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 5), even though English is not an official language in Finland, English is still encountered here on a daily basis through various venues of mass media and popular culture and entertainment, for example TV, cinemas and different kinds of electronic games and other new technology. Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 5) also point out the fact that in Finland all foreign movies and television shows are shown with their original voices with Finnish subtitles. This is not the case in many other countries in Europe, particularly in central Europe, where foreign programs and movies are dubbed instead of subtitled. Leppänen et al. (2008: 422) aptly address, the usage of English vocabulary in Finnish language is often linked to different kinds of hobbies, for example sports such as skating or music and entertainment but also to everyday life of the Finns or even expressions that convey emotions. As an example of this, Finns often say "Oh no!" when something negative happens or "Oh my god!" when they are surprised about something. Debatably, Finland has also been called the most American country in Europe and generally, the attitudes and image that Finns have towards the USA have been positive as stated by Koivusalo (1991: 10). According to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2008: 29), English idioms and phrases are not used exclusively by the Finnish youth, but by all age groups, except the oldest generation.
As Pitkänen-Huhta (2008: 107) points out, despite the fact that the status of English language is changing in the Finnish society from a foreign language to a linguistic resource that is present in our day-to-day lives, it is still taught as a foreign language in our school system. The knowledge of English among the native Finnish speakers is high. This is the result of the fact, as Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 6) point out, that English is the most popular foreign language learnt in Finnish schools. In 2000-2001, altogether 98% of secondary school students studied English. This indicates that Finnish society is well aware of the fact that English is the dominating language globally and the Finnish people want to be prepared for the widespread use of English in their life.

2.3 Youth culture and language in Finland

Jørgensen (2003: 126) claims that the use of English among teenagers has increased in the last decades. He further says that teens living in the Nordic countries use English in their speech to signal to others that they are members of the modern youth groups. The teenagers also want to provoke and differentiate themselves from the older generations (Jørgensen 2003: 126). One way of achieving this is through different linguistic devices that are used among the younger generation. Birner (1999: 3) claims that as young people interact with their peers, their language grows to include words, phrases and constructions that are different from those of the older generation. According to Jørgensen (2003: 126), inserting English words into one’s mother tongue if it is not English is common and even advised as it strengthens the idea of a common identity and a sense of belonging. However, it is unusual and not accepted among the youth for a teenager to substitute their mother tongue completely with English. This can also be applied to Finnish youth. The youth can use English to a great extent. It can be present alongside Finnish or completely replace it. One can add only a few words or phrases of English and mix it with their Finnish or go as far as to say a whole sentence completely in English.

According to Hinnenkamp (2003: 35), finding one's identity is a permanent and on-going process and communication with other people is a very important part of it. Especially the younger generation is constantly searching to identify itself with something and eagerly wants to belong somewhere. One way of managing this is through the language they use. The youth of today are constantly in situations where they use two languages simultaneously in their conversation, for
example when talking with tier friends. This phenomenon forms a so-called we-language, which is common for this group of people and it very strongly expresses a sense of belonging and togetherness within the group. (Hinnenkamp 2003: 36.) The members of the group are very comfortable using two or even more languages simultaneously in the flow of speech because the others in the group build their speech patterns in a similar way.

The era of the Internet and the subsequent world of social media and other media forums, have been the key factors for spreading English in Finland, especially among the young people. As Muhonen (2008: 169) points out, the youth of today live in a very diverse world of media. The media culture is targeted for them and it is the fastest growing part of the whole media globalization, which includes everything from television, radio and videogames to Internet, magazines and advertisements. Muhonen (2008: 169) continues that that the youth media has an integral part of the popular culture and English language has a very visible part to play in it.

According to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2008: 29), English phrases and idioms are frequently used by Finnish teenagers and even children, who not only have learnt English in school but also through their culture of mass media and video games. They further continue (2003: 5) that English has become so common in Finland that it has even infiltrated into the language used by young people. Nowadays, code-switching is very common among the youth, and even with the older generations. Taavitsainen and Pahta mention a few English utterances, such as ”you know”, “anyway”, ”who knows” and ”...about...” which can be heard in day-to-day life in Finland.

As Leppänen et al. point out (2008: 24), the language of the Finnish- speaking youth consists primarily of Finnish with elements of the English language. In other words, the main language used in conversations among the youth is Finnish. However, young people usually tend to blend English or English-based words into the flow of speech. These traces of English can be either purely English words or words, which are originally English, but they have been morphed so that they are better suited into the Finnish language, either morphologically or phonologically.

In addition to the usage of separate phrases of English, the elements of English used by the Finnish youth can also be heard in longer sentences, which consist solely of English with no Finnish whatsoever. According to Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 67), this is because young Finns have become very comfortable in using English in their speech. It is an apparent sign that English language is indeed continuously present in the lives of the youth in many ways.
The reasons for the Finnish-speaking youth to use English, varies. As MacKenzie (2014: 24) explains, the youth decide to use English as a result of semantic decisions. One language, in this case English, seems to convey the wanted meaning in a better than the other, Finnish. It can also happen that the speaker simply cannot remember the correct word in their native language but the English equivalent of the word comes to mind immediately. This also results in conscious borrowing.

In addition, switching between English and Finnish, expresses solidarity to one's own group or social distance from the other group. This is also called code-switching. Defining the term has caused some disagreement among researchers. For example, Myers-Scotton (1993: 1) stated that code-switching takes place between different linguistic varieties. On the other hand, Gardner-Chloros (2009) claimed that code-switching does not occur only between two different languages but also between dialects of the same language. According to Winford (2003: 14) code-switching happens when two languages are used within the same stretch of speech. Although the definition of code-switching varies, all researchers agree that it basically means using two or more languages or dialects in a discourse or sentence. Code-switching reveals which group a person belongs to and it helps in creating the group's identity and signals the way they are communicating with not only other members of the group but also with people from other groups.

According to a study conducted by Leppänen et al (2009), the reason for mixing English with Finnish is the result of the fact that English has become such a normal part of the everyday life for many Finnish people. 76.4 % of the participants responded that it happens without any particular conscious knowledge. This study also reveals that only 11.2 % state that they use English because they fear that they will not be understood properly if they use only Finnish. Other reasons for mixing English with Finnish are that the participants use specialized terms (42%) or they use English as a way to emphasize the point they are making (39.4%). 37.4 % also mentioned that when they cannot come up with a proper word in Finnish, they tend to use the English equivalent. 36.6 % state that they use English because the other member(s) of the conversation are also using English while speaking. (Leppänen et al. 2009: 124.)

As Leppänen (2007: 150) points out, the Finnish society experienced some massive changes after WWII had ended. Many Finnish people wanted to distance Finland from the Soviet Union and to show that culturally as well as politically it was identifiable with the Western world. This newfound
vigor to lean towards the west also affected the younger generations since the post-war era as the school system determined to a great extent which languages were studied. Leppänen (2007: 150) also acknowledges that, besides education, English has also entered the lives of young Finns via other routes, and their knowledge of English only continue to grow and prosper nowadays due to the ever-growing world of technology. Nevertheless, even as early as in the 1950’s both English-speaking popular music and films and TV-programs have been very popular in Finland.

Furthermore, Leppänen (2007: 150) states that the Finnish youth's usage of English has become a way for them to be identified as a part of the younger generation. Before they used the way they dressed or wore their hair as a route to express themselves to the rest of the society. It is a well-documented fact that nowadays basically all Finnish young people have chosen to study English at school at some point during their basic education. For example, according to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003: 5) in 2000, 87.6% of all pupils chose English as their first foreign language in comprehensive school. Even before they have started their education, they have been exposed to English language on a daily basis because practically all of them who have access to TV, film, or popular music. Due to this many Finnish young people use, either consciously or unconsciously, code-switching between Finnish and English.

There have also been fears that English is usurping Finnish language due to its rising popularity among the young people in Finland, it cannot be argued that English has pushed out Finnish. Instead, according to Leppänen (2007: 167), it seems that young Finns take up English as a communicative resource that they will then use in various ways, and design their uses of it. They mix it with the Finnish so that they are able to express and negotiate their meanings and identities. This will also give them a sense of belonging. Their language habits are shifting rapidly, and this also means that it is their language that they can mix and bend in ways that they find functional and meaningful.

When it comes to the question of how a language used by young people is constructed, Jørgensen (2003: 145) has listed a few common ideas. One of the most characteristic features in a youth language is its creativity and playful nature. With the help of these, the youth is able to break the linguistic norms and rules which are embedded in the language itself. Jørgensen points out that when the young people are playing with languages, they are creating a unanimous attitude towards this certain language that they all share. It is completely normal for them to choose certain linguistic features from a language and build them up into completely new entities and by so doing, build
unanimous values, attitudes and common group identities.

According to Jørgensen (2003: 145-146), the young people use linguistic material which is at their disposal like toys; they use manipulation, blending, separation and matching of linguistic materials and turn them completely upside down in order to create something very unique and characteristic to them. Above all, the youth's relationship with a language seems to be curious and very creative. They are very much aware of the linguistic norms that a language holds, yet they still have the courage to use the linguistic material available to them according to their own needs, disregarding and defying the official linguistic rules. The use of English among teenagers is seen as a necessity and at times, it can be used to create a certain kind of atmosphere within the group. Through linguistic choices, the teenagers identify themselves as members of the group while at the same time displaying their linguistic competence and resources. They are also building their own personal status within the group by proving that they have the capacity and knowledge of the language identified as a trademark of the group. (Jørgensen 2003: 145-146.)
3. THE PRESENT STUDY

In this section, the present study will be introduced more thoroughly. The aims of the study (3.1), the research questions (3.2) as well as the magazine used for collecting the data (3.3) will be presented. This chapter will also shed light into the method of analysis that will be used when analyzing the data collected from the magazines (3.4).

3.1 Aims

The main aim in this study is to find out how, if at all, the use of English has changed in a Finnish magazine designed for teenagers from 1969 to 2009. During this time, English has only strengthened its position as a world language and this phenomenon is evident in the increasing and varied ways of using English in Finnish magazines. It will also be interesting to find out whether English-based words were used at all in the 1960’s, when English was not as used as it is today among the youth.

I will also try to find an answer to the question of whether the role of English has become more apparent in the magazine when entering the 21st century. Since the turn of the millennium, social media have gained more and more foothold in the lives of the younger generations. Many, if not the majority of teenagers have their own profile on Facebook, Instagram and/or Twitter where they are exposed to English language. Due to the growth of global social media, English has become an even more important part of the youth's lives. It will be intriguing to see if this has had an impact on the use of English in the magazine's issues from the year 2009 when compared to for example the circulation of 1979 when the youth was not as exposed to English in their everyday lives.

Thirdly, the present study will research the question of the symbolic value of English.

3.2 The research questions

The aim of the present study is to answer the following research questions:

1. In what way, if at all, was English used in the magazine in the 1960’s when the
globalization was not as progressive as it is nowadays?

2. Has the use of English increased in the magazine coming to the 21st century as Finland has become more international and the Finnish youth more acquainted with English language, for example due to the constant presence of social media?

3. If English was used in the magazine, what is its symbolic value?

The first two questions are quite self-explanatory. The aim of the first question is to find out whether English was used in *Suosikki* and if it was, to which extent. It is hypothesized that English was not as common in the volume of 1969 as for example in 1999. Regarding the second research question, one hypothesis is that the instances of English did indeed increase in the magazine as we move closer to the turn of the millennium because English had become more frequently used in the Finnish society and among teenagers. The present study aims to find the answer to this question.

The idea behind the third research question is to find out the symbolic value of the uses of English (see section 1). Why was English used in this particular instance? For this, three different categories were chosen for different kinds of symbolic value markers. The English words found in the magazines will be divided into these categories according to their symbolic value.

### 3.3 Data

For my data, I will be using the issues of *Suosikki* magazine. The first issue was published in January 1961. Since then it was issued monthly until December 2012 when its last issue was published. Due to the fact that *Suosikki* was published for over fifty years and had more than 600 issues, five volumes from five different decades were included for the present study. The magazines published in 1969, 1979, 1989, 1999 and 2009 are studied. Overall, the data for this study includes 60 issues of *Suosikki*.

In the present study, not all sections of the magazine will be included, all the articles, reviews, columns and also advertisements. There have been various studies that concentrate on the English used in advertisements in youth magazines, for example Tolvanen (2004) and Aho (2000). In the end, it was decided to exclude the advertisements. In the present study, the cover of each issue, headings, subheadings in the actual articles and the leads will be included. The lead means the section of text found under the lead heading of an article. It guides the reader into the article by
briefly telling about the gist of it, of whom the article is about and what the article itself will hold.

These sections of the magazine were purposely because, when browsing the magazines, it seemed that English was used the most in these parts. As Ojanperä (1994) also stated, English was not found in great amounts in the actual articles of a magazine.

As I will be studying the language used in the magazines from five decades, it will be interesting to find out how much the language that was seen as used by teenagers has changed as the world has become more and more globalized. The idea is to analyze and compare the language used in the magazines from decade to decade, not from month to month. A language does not change and evolve overnight; therefore, the differences and the evolution of the language become clearer the longer the time lapse is.

3.3.1 Suosikki magazine

Suosikki was a Finnish magazine designed for teenagers and young people. It mainly focused on the music scene in Finland and around the world but it also includes articles about other contemporary fields of mass culture, such as the current trends in the world of cinema. Suosikki was established as a successor of Musikki Viesti magazine (Heiskanen and Mitchell 1985: 264). The first issue of Suosikki was published in January of 1961. Back then, it concentrated on schlager music, as schlagers had been a very popular genre of music since the ending of the Finnish wars in the 1940’s. However, it soon became clear that the youth of Finland were on the verge of change when it came to music genres. New genres of music started to become more and more popular in Finland and the schlager music was no longer the only type of music the Finnish youth listened to.

The first editor-in-chief of Suosikki was Olli Hämäläinen (1961–1962). Heiskanen and Mitchell (1985: 267) claim that even though during this time the magazine was concentrated on schlager music, there were already signs of a whole new entertainment culture in it. For example, on the pages of the magazine one could find the introductions of new kinds of Finnish celebrities, people known from TV. Television became more and more popular in Finland during the 1960’s and, according to Heiskanen and Mitchell (ibid. 262), people who were born in the end of 1950’s and in the beginning of the 1960’s grew up watching shows from the television. and by 1970’s. In addition to this, Suosikki started publishing different kinds of statistics of schlagers, namely charts.
From 1962 to 1963 the editor-in-chief was Pertti Klemola. During his era, the magazine went through some changes to appeal more to the older teenagers. According to Bruun et al. (1998: 83), he wanted the magazine to include more than just the popular culture scene so he included short stories and literature reviews. However, this did not impress the target audience.

Soon after this, *Suosikki* went through even more changes and it became known as the magazine for teenage music. Klemola was no longer the editor-in-chief. His position was filled by Isto Lysmä (1963–1968). In the 1960's it was common for *Suosikki* to write about the wilder side of youth culture of the day. Heiskanen and Mitchell (1985: 267) state that *Suosikki* was seen to monger rebellions among the teenagers. Featured in its articles were pictures of teenagers smoking cigarettes and young men with long hair that upset many older, more conservative citizens who thought that the teenagers were morally declined.

During the 1960’s *Suosikki* found its own place in the vast field of printed media. Instead of featuring only Finnish musicians and Finnish music culture, the editors of the magazine decided to go across the borders. The main target was to open windows to the big world and educate the Finnish youth when it came to the international trends. International music stars, television and new teenage music genres were included in the magazine's table of contents. New youth subcultures, such as the mods-style and bands were introduced. Foreign reporters were hired and they gave insight into the popular culture for example in the USA and Great Britain. *Suosikki* also introduced posters such as the current Miss Finland and Marlon Brando to its readers. These posters were later evolved from the size of one page into massive ones. (Bruun et al. 1998: 83.) One of the highest-selling issues of *Suosikki* was the one with a life-size fan poster of a new British super pop-band called The Beatles. In the wake of this, *Suosikki* started featuring more and more teen idols from abroad, such as The Rolling Stones and the Animals. Finnish teenagers were smitten. By 1965 the circulation of *Suosikki* had grown from 10 000 to 78 000 and it was by far the most popular teenage magazine in Finland. (Bruun et al. 1998: 83)

At the end of the 1960’s *Suosikki* to renewed itself even more by getting a new editor-in-chief, Jyrki Hämäläinen. His career as the editor-in-chief lasted for 35 years, from 1968 to 2003. Even before he became the editor-in-chief in the 1960’s Hämäläinen was already working in the editorial staff of *Suosikki* as a foreign correspondent. As Hämäläinen took over, *Suosikki* was going through rough times. The readers of the magazine were getting older and more mature and as *Suosikki* was
designed for teenagers, they found it to be too adolescent for them. The new generation of teenagers was more radical and not satisfied with what Suosikki had to offer.

According to Heiskanen and Mitchell (1985: 279), in the beginning of the 1970’s, Hämäläinen included new columns, for example, a column called Bees & Honey where the readers can send questions to a licensed doctor about their personal, physical or mental problems, questions which they may find too embarrassing to seek answers from their parents. This column proved to be extremely popular, as it was a feature in every issue of Suosikki until its cancellation in 2012. In addition, the field of music charts was expanded; LP reviews became a monthly feature. Furthermore, the number of advertisements was increased. According to Bruun et al. (1998: 83), Suosikki definitely stood out from other magazines with its innovating layout ideas. It even had some of its columns upside down every now and then. The covers used fonts that were bold and colorful. The phrases on the cover also often had exclamation marks to enhance the emphasis of the articles in the issue.

Since the 1970’s Suosikki increased its popularity and new Finnish artists and bands were fighting to be on the cover because it was an enormous advantage for their careers. More and more teens were subscribing to the magazine, at its highest the circulation was over 110 000 in 1974. (Heiskanen and Mitchell 1985: 282.)

In September of 2012, it was announced that Suosikki would publish its last issue in December of 2012. The publication of the magazine proved unprofitable, as the circulation of Suosikki had been decreasing steadily since the turn of the millennium, as other means of information technology had been made available to a larger and larger amount of people. Furthermore, as Riipinen (2013) writes, other reason for the decline of magazines' readership in general is the growing choice of selection. As an example, if one was to buy a celebrity gossip magazine, one is able to choose between the Finnish Seiska, the American equivalents Us Weekly or People, the Swedish Se & Hör or the British magazines OK! or Hello! to mention a few.

3.4 Method of analysis

The method of analysis for the present study will be a mixture of methods that were used in previous studies researching a topic similar to the present one. However, the previous studies were
researching mainly advertisements found in various magazines. Thus, it was not plausible for the present one to use the exact same methods of analysis as they did. In this section, the methods of analyses of the previous studies that will be used in the present study are presented. Furthermore, this section will also explain how these methods were modified in such ways that they were suitable for the present study.

Firstly, the method of analysis used by Viitamäki in her Master's thesis (2003) will be modified for this study. In her thesis, Viitamäki (2003) researched the functions of English in advertising in Finland. For her study, Viitamäki chose 149 advertisements collected from five different Finnish woman's magazines. In her thesis, she used both quantitative and qualitative methods when analyzing the data.

Through quantitative analysis, Viitamäki studied the percentage of advertisements using English and not using English in the magazines. This was done in order to find out the overall frequency of English use in each magazine in the data. For the present study, this method will also be used. Each section that was chosen to be included in the data, the covers, headings, subheadings and the leads, will be looked at separately from decade to decade. Each section of each decade will be studied and analyzed separately. Examples of the uses of English are presented in Chapter 4 and the literal translations appear directly under the example when needed. With the help of the quantitative method, it will be quite clear to see whether the use of English increased, decreased or stayed the same through the decades from 1960's to 2010's.

The other aim of the present study is to look at the symbolic value of English. The instances where English was used will be gathered and divided into three different categories in order to find out the symbolic values for using English in these particular instances. The idea for using categories to decide the symbolic values for the using of English in particular instances came from a study by Bogdanova (2010). She studied English terminology used in Bulgarian magazines. The focus of her study was on non-established English words; for example, single foreign word insertions, code-switching, visual code-switching, loanwords and hybrids.

Once Bogdanova had collected her data, she concentrated on the symbolic value carried by the use of English. She established four categories of symbolic associations (2010: 42):

- **English as a technical display**
Bogdanova's results from advertising discourse reflect the desire to reach and target a wider market, as well as the desire to appear to be present in the world market. The journalistic discourse instead focuses its efforts to attracting readers by projecting an image of being part of the popular culture, being part of everyday life experience. English in this case is seen as enhancing the magazine's identity and, as a consequence, that of its readers. The overall results when looking into the main articles of each magazine show little use of English in the body of the articles and provide evidence of the ways in which the English words are adapted to match the Bulgarian context and the Bulgarian reader by integrating English into Bulgarian. This is where the results illustrate the importance of the symbolic value attached to English. When looking at the symbolic associations attached to English, the majority of the instances of English in the advertising discourse fall under the category of English as the international lingua franca. (Bogdanova 2010: 61-62.)

According to Bogdanova, the majority of the English in headings and titles, in other words in the data from the journalistic discourse, shows distinctly different results in the type of associations attached to the English non-established borrowings. The majority of the value attached to English in the journalistic discourse falls under the category of English representing popular culture or 'cool'. The type of discourse is evidently one of the factors that determine the symbolic value attached to English. Even though advertising discourse and journalistic discourse are not comparable with each other as such, they do share some features, as they both have the mission of selling a product/a magazine (Bogdanova (2010: 61).

Bogdanova (2010: 62) claims that the main aim of journalistic discourse is to attract its target audience. It is also important for a magazine to maintain its regular readership by affirming the readers’ identities and their personal values through journalistic discourse. According to Bogdanova
(2010: 62), using English in journalistic discourse is directly attributed to something 'cool'. Through English the magazine is able to identify not only itself but also its readers as part of popular culture.

Even though the present study will not include advertisements in the data collection, the results from Bogdanova's study can also reflect the results of this study, as the symbolic value for using English is quite similar, regardless whether it was used in advertisements or the actual articles of a magazine.

The categories for the symbolic value that will be used in the current study are:

1. **English as a technical display**
2. **English as a representation of popular culture and 'cool'**
3. **English as a representation of intertextuality or word play**

Bogdanova (2010) used the first two categories in her Master's thesis. The third category was invented for the present study's purposes.

In the first category, English used in music terminology will be included. For instance, many names of genres of music have not been translated from English to Finnish. We use the English words when we talk about subgenres of music, for example rock, pop, blues and soul. While studying the data, it was noticed that the different genres of music have various written layout, depending on the journalist. As an example, the genre of 'rock' was written as ‘rock’, ‘rokki’ or the genre of ‘pop’ as ‘pop’ or ‘poppi’. The different written versions of these words are also included in the data.

The second category will include words and phrases that are considered to convey the world of popular culture to the readers. Worldwide, English is often used to denote fashion and modernity among other things. As Suosikki magazine is targeted for younger audience and it is centered on popular culture, which includes the scenes of music and movie industry, most of the English used in the issues fall under this category. Suosikki aims at attracting its targeted teenage audience and maintaining its readership by affirming the reader’s identity and her/his values.

The third category will include phrases that concern intertextuality and word play. Intertextuality is a method of writing that uses for example allusion to reference a text with another text. These references can be either implicit or explicit. The journalists of the magazine who have decided to
use intertextuality have done so in order to connect the article and also the reader even more firmly into the world of contemporary popular culture. When the reader can detect in the instances of intertextuality and can understand why they were used, their sense of belonging in the world of popular culture, which the magazine is spreading, is furthermore strengthened.

On the other hand, word play is a witty use of words, a technique in which as the term hints, one plays with words, for example by using alliteration, rhyming or various puns. It is used to amuse the reader. Word play often works on two levels and the audience is expected to understand the literal meaning but also the hidden implicit meaning and thus produce a humorous effect. The Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2005: 962) defines the term play on words as “an amusing use of a word with more than one meaning or that sounds like another word”.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA
This section will be dedicated to the analysis and the results. The aim of this whole study was, firstly, to see whether the use of English has increased, decreased or stayed more or less the same in a magazine targeted for teenagers during a time span of 40 years, from 1969 to 2009. The uses of English that are included in the data include words and phrases that are pure English but also examples that are originated from English but have been modified to appear more Finnish.

Firstly, a comparison section is presented. In that section, we will be able to see whether the English used in the magazine has increased, decreased or stayed the same through the decades. Different kinds of charts are used in order to compare the results in a thorough and an illustrative way.

Secondly, the symbolic values for the uses of English will be presented and discussed through categorization. The sections included in the present study are the covers of each magazine within the volume and the headings, the subheadings and the leads of each article in a magazine.

Before presenting the actual examples of English found in the data, a brief overview will be given of the music scene of the year in question in Finland. This will give insight into what kind of music teenagers were listening to at the time and thus shed some light on the overall theme of the volume of that year, since Suosikki was proud to call itself "the number one music magazine" in Finland. After this, a careful analysis is done about the volume of each decade. Each section where the data was collected will be looked at more thoroughly and the instances where English was used will be presented. It is worth to mention that only the English-based words are included in the data. The words and phrases that are considered English are highlighted in bold font. Words that have originated from other languages are overlooked. Literal translations are given directly below the example when needed.

The general discussion of the findings will be presented in Chapter 5.
4.1 The comparison of the English through the decades

In this section the uses of English in the volumes from 1969–2009 are compared with the help of graphs in order to find the answer to the research questions of the present study. The aim is to find out whether the use of English has increased, decreased or maintained the same through the decades and also to look into the symbolic value of using English through the help of categorization.

In order to find out whether one could be able to see more or less English on the pages of *Suosikki* the different sections included in the study will be looked at more carefully and each use of English will be counted. The sections of the magazine that are included in the study are the covers, the headings, subheadings, and the leads. The uses if English in each section will be counted from each of the volumes. These figures are not words that were only used once. All the instances of English, even if the same word had already appeared once, were counted as a separate entity.

![Figure 1. Instances of English on the covers of Suosikki.](image)

As one can see from Figure 1, when it came to the covers, already in 1969, English was used 12 times. Altogether four covers from that volume did not have any English at all. As was mentioned before, the covers in 1969 were very much centered on the artist who graced it. Only very little text was added to the cover. They wanted the readers to pay the most attention to the cover face, thus the
covers were left quite bare, perhaps in order to eliminate the possibility of the reader concentrating on something else. This method had died away within the next decade. In 1979, English was used on the cover altogether 29 times. All covers on the volume had at least some English. The covers had become full of light, energy and color with powerful fonts and ‘in-your-face’-rock attitude, as rock was the word at the time.

As can be seen in Figure 1, the peak of using English was in the volume of 1989, which saw in total 46 instances of English on the covers. From there the number of instances started to grow fewer. In 1999, for the first time since the volume of 1969, there was a cover, which did not include any English on it. All in all, English was used in that volume 19 times, which can be considered as quite a dramatic drop from the volume of 1989. As Figure 1 shows the instances of English continued to drop in 2009, where there were only 12 instances used on the covers. Altogether two issues of 2009 did not have any English on the covers whatsoever.

All in all, based on the data, the English that was used on the covers of Suosikki was very simple. The instances consisted of one or two words and no long sentences of English were seen. The covers are meant to let the reader know what kinds of articles the magazine has and they are lured into reading it with simple, short instances of English. When the instances of English in each decade is changed into percents, the volume of 1969 had 10% of instances, 1979 had 24%, 1989 had 38%, 1999 had 16% and lastly, 2009 had 12%.
Figure 2. Instances of English in the headings of *Suosikki*.

When studying the headings and the English used in them through the decades, one can see from Figure 2 that the instances of English followed the same pattern as they did in the previous graph depicting the uses of English on the covers of the issues. In 1969, English was used altogether 35 times (18%). From there the number was growing and the instances had risen to 54 (28%) in 1979. They peaked in the volume of 1989 with 67 instances (34%) of English. Coming to the new millennium, the number started to decline rapidly. In 1999, the number had dropped to 24 (12%) which is quite a dramatic drop. In 2009, only 19 instances (8%) of English were found in the headings. There were instances in headings, where whole sentences of English were used instead of just singular words as was the case with the covers.

As Figure 2 shows the instances of English were quite frequent in headings, in most of the volumes. The heading is usually the first thing a consumer sees and reads when flipping through a magazine. They are written in a bigger font and usually have a different, more vibrant color than the actual article itself. Using English in a heading is a good way of grabbing the reader's attention even more. This is a reason why English was used so often in the case of headings.
In Figure 3, the case of subheadings did not follow the same pattern as the other sections, instead it showed some variation. In the volume of 1969, English was used only three times (4%) in the subheadings. The number peaked the next decade with 34 instances (41%) found in 1979. When compared with the previous graphs, the volume of 1989 would have the most instances but this was not the case with subheadings. Surprisingly as can be seen in Figure 3, in 1989 the number dropped to 16 (19%) and rose again in 1999 to 23 instances (28%). The last volume of the data, 2009 had only seven instances (8%) of using English in the subheadings, which was no surprise at this point, as the last decade of the data was expected to have the least instances of English.

All in all, according to Figure 3, English appearing in subheadings was not very frequent, in any of the volumes. The subheadings are used to cut the whole article into smaller pieces so it becomes more enjoyable as a reading experience. They usually contain the gist or a direct quotation of the piece of article that follows so that the reader knows what is to come. As the articles themselves did not have very much English in them, neither did the subheadings. English was saved for places where it was clearly visible to the reader because that was usually the purpose of using English. English was used as an eye-catching effect because it stands out so clearly from the Finnish language. Subheadings are not considered to be the main attraction of an article and this is why English was not used in them very frequently.
When dealing with the leads in Figure 4, the uses of English found were enormous. Already in 1969, the leads used English altogether 89 times (21%). The number only kept climbing during the next two decades with its peak the very next decade, in 1979 with its staggering 148 instances (34%). The number dropped a little bit in 1989 (140, 32%). Figure 4 also shows that in 1999 the instances had dropped dramatically; only 38 instances (9%) of English appearing in the leads were found. The number declined even more in 2009 with its 19 instances (4%).

As a whole, English was used in almost all magazines. Only two issues, both appearing in the volume of 2009 did not contain any English whatsoever. This is quite astonishing, considering that in 2009 English was already heard everywhere in Finland, especially among the teenagers. This incident only strengthened the trend, which is quite visible when studying the Figures 1–4. The amount of English had been dropping quite drastically since the turn of the millennium and continued to drop in 2009.

As can be seen in Figures 1–4, the use of English was proven to be the most popular and frequent in the 1970's and 1980's. The incidents of English skyrocketed when compared to the volumes of 1969. This phenomenon can be explained with the fact that English had gained a more visible status in the Finnish society. Practically every household had a television and by the 1970's, the dubbing
of movies and TV-shows had been left behind, apart from children’s shows. All English TV-shows were shown in their original language with Finnish subtitles. Finnish youth had become more accustomed to the English language and with the rise of popularity of studying English in school and by default the better skills of English, they had also become more confident in using it. As Suosikki wanted to identify itself as being the main source of contemporary teen culture, it started to use more and more English in order to be alluring to the targeted readers and be a part of the world the teenagers would most often identify themselves belonging to.

Towards the end of the 1990’s and the beginning of the new millennium witnessed the drastic drop in the usage of English. This was quite surprising, as one would think that because the use of English becomes more frequent as the time passes, using of English would also rise or at least maintain the same level of frequency in a youth magazine. Specifically, in the volume of 2009, the instances were even lower than in the volume of 1969. This may partly be explained by the simple fact that English had become almost too common a feature in the lives of Finnish teenagers that it did not have the same effect it had had earlier. It had lost its symbol of modernity that it still had in 1979 and the targeted readers did not seem to be allured by seeing English in a magazine.

4.2 The symbolic value of English

One of the research questions of the present study was to find out the symbolic value of using English in the magazines. The question here is whether English was used as a language or whether it had some deeper meaning. For this purpose, the instances of English found in the data will be divided into three categories. The categories are modified from the categories used by Viitamäki (2004) and Bogdanova (2010).

The categories designed for this study are explained thoroughly in section 3.4. The categories are:

1. English as a technical display
2. English as representation of popular culture and ”cool”
3. English as a representation of intertextuality or word play

Next, the instances of the symbolic value of English will be looked at with the help of graphs.
As seen in Figure 5, the most instances of English could be located in the category of using English for describing technical terms. Because Suosikki is promoting itself as a music magazine, terminology that is related to music is very common. In the first few volumes, the terminology included only the different genres of music but later on, also other English words that are related to the music scene were found, such as back stage, comeback and single. The most common words in this category varied from decade to decade according to whichever genre of music happened to be the most mainstream. In the volume of 1969, it was pop, in the next two decades it was rock and its subgenres. In 1999, pop music started to make its comeback again and the volume of 2009 was a little bit more varied. One could not see one specific genre that was ruling Finland.

The genres of music are considered universal, which means that there are no Finnish equivalences for them. The terms describing the different genres are adopted into the Finnish language without translating them. This is the reason why the first category proved to be the most popular one. Each genre was also evolving through the decades of the data and thus, many new subgenres were created, for example glam rock, heavy metal, speed metal and rock-a-billy. There was no need to translate these either to Finnish and so the English terms made their way into the Finnish vocabulary.

By far in Figure 5, the most instances took place in the volumes of 1979 and 1989 with 155 and 150 instances respectively.
instances, respectively. This was over 70% of all the instances of English used as a technical term in all volumes. All the volumes had quite a few instances in this category. Even the volume of 2009 had 31 examples (7% of all volumes) although the overall use of English in the volume can be considered low.

Quite interestingly, in the volume of 2009, almost all instances of English were related to music. This is probably due to the fact that the nature of the magazine had gone through some changes. Even though *Suosikki* had broadened its horizon in terms of not being only about the contemporary popular culture, it also wanted to maintain its identity as a music magazine. Even though altogether the instances of English had been in decline since 1999, the music scene was still visible on the pages of the 2009's volume.

![English as a representation of popular culture and "cool"](image_url)

Figure 6. Instances of English as a representation of popular culture and "cool" in *Suosikki*.

The next category, English as a “cool” language of and something modern was also very popular in terms of deciding the symbolic value of English (see Figure 6). As *Suosikki* was known for most part of its lifespan (1961–2012) as a magazine targeted not only for teenagers but also for music lovers, many of the examples of English were related to the music scene. Even though some of the English words do have a Finnish equivalent using of them is not necessarily a part of the linguistic repertoire of this particular group, the teenagers. If a magazine wants to be a success within its target audience, it must use the language the audience uses and in this way, become a part of them...
The younger generation likes to identify themselves as being cool and modern and the usage of English is seen as being something just that.

Many of the whole sentences of English were placed at the end of an introductory paragraph. English was used even though the sentences did not contain any additional information about the article itself. They were merely a sentence or a phrase that had the only purpose of wrapping up the introductory paragraph with a modern twist of English. The English sentence at the end of an introductory paragraph might be the bonus feature that is needed for the reader to become fully interested in the article and wants to read it.

As can be seen in Figure 6, the most instances of this category occurred in the volumes of 1979 and 1989 with 66 and 57 instances respectively, which made altogether 65% of all the instances in which English was used to represent modernity in all volumes. From there it started to decline towards the volume of 2009, which had only 10 instances, which was only 5% of all the instances. Due to the fact that the whole volume of 2009 had used English quite sparingly, it does not come as a surprise that also this category had the least hits in this volume.

![ENGLISH AS A REPRESENTATION OF INTERTEXTUALITY OR WORD PLAY](image)

Figure 7. Instances of English as a representation of intertextuality or word play in *Suosikki.*

The third category, and the one which had the least instances, was English as a language of
intertextuality and word play (see Figure 7). In all the volumes, this category was used quite moderately when compared to the other categories. Intertextuality and word play can be quite difficult to grasp, especially when it is a foreign language. Even though English was becoming more and more popular among the Finnish youth to study in school, perhaps it was still considered not to be that strong that the instances of intertextuality and especially word play would be understood by the readers. In order for the instances in the data to be understood, the reader must be aware also of the other forms of popular culture, not only the music scene. Many examples of word play and intertextuality were using reference to movies and various genres of music. These references would go amiss if the reader is not aware of also the other media of popular culture. Figure 7 shows that this category had most instances during the golden era of English in Suosikki in the volume of 1989 when each issue had at least one instance of word play or intertextuality. 16 instances found in this volume was 41% of all the instances of intertextuality and or word play found in all the volumes. The volume of 2009 had only one instance (3%) of word play, which was not surprising as the overall use of English, was not very frequent.

The instances of word play and intertextuality were not explained or translated to the reader. It was left to them to grasp it and if they did not, it did not pose any threat their reading experience of the actual article as it was not depending on understanding the word play. Their main purpose is to act as an amusement to the reader and in a way, test their knowledge of the contemporary world of popular culture.

Overall, as Figures 5–7 show, the instances in the different categories when looking at the symbolic value of English seem to follow the same pattern as the overall use of English in the volumes of Suosikki. The volume of 1969 has quite a few instances in the first two categories. This was quite surprising as the use of English among the Finnish teenagers is only starting to rise with the status of English as the most popular foreign language in school is established. The last category had only seven instances in the volume, which can be expected, as word play can be quite difficult understand, especially when it is in a foreign language. As could be expected, the next two decades had many instances in the first two decades. However, the volume of 1979 had only eight instances (20%) in the third category, which is quite surprising. The instances in this category peaked in the next volume, but that volume too had only 16 instances. Word play and intertextuality is can be quite a difficult field of journalism and apparently, it was not used very often. The volumes of 1999 and 2009 saw a decline in all the categories when compared to the previous volumes.
4.3 Analyzing the instances of English 1969-2009

The next section will be dedicated to analyzing the instances of English found in the volumes included in the data. All five volumes are analyzed carefully and individually. Before each analysis, a brief overview concerning the Finnish music scene of the year in question is made. The instances that are considered English or English-based are written in bold. Literal translations appear directly below the examples when needed in italics. Translations are not offered if the whole data sample is regarded as English.

4.3.1 An overview of 1969

The music scene in Finland in 1969 was mainly revolving around Finnish artists. Such names as Tapani Kansa, Danny, Markku Aro and Kirka were the idols of many Finnish teenage girls and their songs were atop of the Finnish hit lists frequently. However, quite surprisingly, according to Mitä Missä Milloin 1970 (1969: 307), approximately 40% of over 15-year-old Finnish people said that they most enjoyed old schlager songs and the Finnish tango music. The newer version of schlager music, the so called "rautalanka" rock (lit. steel wire rock) which according to Bruun et al (1998: 46) was characterized by playing instrumental numbers with extremely loud electric guitars. This type of music was preferred only by around 10% of the people who took part in the questionnaire.

Nevertheless, because the youth was the most active group in the field of easy listening, the record companies and agencies listened to them. In order to find out which artists and bands were the most popular. Of course, the music scene did not revolve only around Finnish acts. For example, the Beatles, Rolling Stones and Frank Zappa were extremely popular worldwide, and also in Finland. During 1968-69, many popular pop artists and groups visited in Finland, for example Fleetwood Mac, Blind Faith, The Hollies and The Beach Boys. (MMM 1969: 309)

4.3.2 The volume of 1969

The first volume included in the present study is the volume of 1969. This volume had 12 issues altogether. When scanning the covers of the volume, it is clear to see that the main focus is on the person who is in the cover, which is a close-up of a very popular artist. All of the covers of the
volume had a Finnish artist on them. Presumably, Finnish music was very popular among the teenagers of that time. The covers in 1969 did not have much text on them, only a few lines of what the issue included but the main idea of each issue was to draw attention on the cover face.

However, the covers of 1969 did indeed have some English on their covers. Mostly, there were words functioning as attributes to a noun, such as:

(1) Revolution Extra!

(2) Erikoisnumero Super Extra!
   (Special number Super Extra!)

(3) Suosikki kertoo superjutussaan kaiken mitä tapahtuu.
   (Suosikki tells in its superstory everything that happens.)

One English word which was used quite often was the word ‘show’. The Finnish equivalent for this word would be esitys but it does not have the same connotations in Finnish as it does if one uses the corresponding English word. In Finnish esitys is a more formal word than if one was to use the English word show.

(4) Kesä- show 1969 jutut julki!
   (The stories of the 1969 Summer Show revealed!)

(5) Elvis Väri show väreissä!
   (Elvis Colorshow in color!)

English was not used very frequently on the covers of the volume of 1969. The magazine presumably tried to lure the targeted audience with the cover photo of an artist, which was most often Danny, who was a very popular artist in Finland. According to Elävä arkisto (2012) his music career started in 1964 and he had a number of hits for example “Kauan” (“Downtown”), “Kesäkatu” (“Summer in the city”) and “Tuulen suojaan” (“Yellow river”). He also was the first artist to have his own annual big music shows in Finland which included a big orchestra, dancers, other singers, hosts and special effects, for example pyrotechnics. Each year, the show had a different script, choreography and costume design. It was something that had never been seen before in Finland. (Elävä arkisto (2012): Danny 70 vuotta.)
One hypothesis was that English was not used very often in the volume of 1969. Quite surprisingly though, one begins to notice that English was used frequently. When it came to the actual headings of the articles, the music genre that is related to the article in question was most often in English.

(6) Ole hiljaa, jollet tunne soulia!
(6) Be quiet if you do not know soul!

(7) Rehtorit ja rock
(The principals and rock)

(8) Pastori ja paroni soulin pyörteissä.
(A reverend and a baron caught up in soul.)

(9) Maanviljelijä tai pop-laulaja – yhdentekevää!
(A farmer or a pop singer – it doesn't matter!)

(10) Rock my soul, Vesa-Matti!

In addition, some intertextuality and word play were used in the headings of the articles.

(11) Benno ja Soul Side Story

The extremely popular movie called West Side Story was released in 1961, which was adapted from a Broadway musical from 1957, and the heading of the article in question is a direct reference to the movie's title.

Moreover, Elvis Presley was very popular in the 1960's, also in Finland. The headings of the issues of 1969 made quite a few references to the works of the King of Rock'n'Roll.

(12) In the ghetto – vakavaa asiaa nuorisolle
(In the ghetto – serious talk for the youth)

(13) Jailhouse Rock!

Quite curiously, Elvis' movie Jailhouse Rock from 1957 did have a Finnish translation, Rock'n Roll Suosikki (lit. A Rock'n' Roll Favorite) but the journalist of the article decided not to use the Finnish title of the movie. This was because the article itself was about a juvenile prison in a small Finnish city of Kerava that is a part of the Helsinki metropolitan area. The English name suited better when considering the theme of the article. However, it was not expected of the reader of the article to know the original name of the movie because it was quite clearly explained in the lead of the article. Even the name of the movie was literally translated into Finnish.
In 1958 Elvis became the idol of the youth in Finland with his movie Jailhouse Rock.

The 1960's were also known worldwide with the hippie movement and the slogan "Make love not war" was used frequently on different occasions. The hippie culture was further popularized by the massive pop and rock festival called Woodstock, which is considered a very important moment in popular music history. Suosikki's volume of 1969 also featured a few articles concerning the hippie movement in the magazine with clear intertextuality to popular culture revolving around it. An example of this:

Let the sunshine in!

The name of the article is a reference to the very popular stage musical Hair which made its debut on Broadway in April 1968. One song of the musical is called "The Flesh Failures (Let the Sunshine In)". In this case, the reader is expected to understand the reference without any further explanation in the article itself. However, if the reader does not make the connection between the movie and the title of the article and the message is somewhat lost in translation, it is not considered to be a very great loss in terms of understanding the idea behind the whole article. Presumably, more effort would have been made in getting the intertextuality across to the reader had it been completely necessary for the overall understanding of the article that follows.

English used in subheadings in the volume of 1969 was not very frequent. Only three instances were found.

Mr. Beautiful

(pop star and marriage)

When analyzing the leads of the volume of 1969, it is clear that English is used very frequently, altogether 89 times. Even purely English sentences were used.

Fire, fire, fire! Tunnista toiseen, fire and feeling, tulta ja tunnetta!
(Fire, fire, fire! One hour after another, fire and feeling, fire and feeling!)

Turku – what's going on?
As one can see in the first example, the phrase is translated into Finnish at the end. The usage of English is getting more emphasis when it is translated into Finnish, as though it is said two times instead of just once. The reader does not have to rely on his own language skills to know what the English words mean as they are explained to him so to make sure that the message is not lost.

In the second example, the article of the heading in question is about the procrastination of the city of Turku's emergence in the Finnish disco scene.

There were also other instances where the English phrase was translated into Finnish.

(20) ...lyöttäytyivät yhteen ja perustivat bändin, joka kantaa nimeä Blind Faith – Sokea usko.
(…got together and formed a band called Blind Faith…)

In another instance, in one issue there was an article about teenage girls and their mothers. The mothers were asked some questions about how they perceive the youth culture of the day and whether it is hard to be a mother of a teenage girl when things can get quite tumultuous. The heading of the article was:

(21) Mothers of Invention (Kekseläisyden äidit)

The translation was offered immediately in the actual heading. In this case, it was also crucial for the reader to understand what the heading actually meant. It acts as a nice quirk and gives more insight into the actual article if the heading is understood properly. The heading also uses intertextuality as Frank Zappa's band The Mothers of Invention was reaching its height of popularity in the late 1960's.

(22) Hippie- liike loi uuden musiikin: All you need is love
(The hippie movement created a new genre of music: All you need is love)

This is a direct reference to the very popular song by the Beatles in 1967. It is expected that the readers know this and what it means and are able to connect it with the fundamental ideals of the hippie movement, including peace and love.

The volume of 1969 included also other political issues in its magazines. The 1960's is known as being part of the era of race segregation. Especially the news from the United States reached
Finland and people were aware of the events that were taking place there when it came to racism and the on-going fights between the whites and the blacks and the various demonstrations for equal rights between the people, regardless of the color of their skin. One article had a heading:

(23) Tämä on todellinen black power!
(This is the real black power!)

The article in question is about two musicians, Stevie Wonder and José Feliciano. Wonder is African-American while Feliciano is of Hispanic origin. They are both blind and very popular in the United States. The reader is expected to know about the struggles of the minority groups in the U.S that relate to the term 'black power'.

As was the case on the covers of the 1969 volume, the word show was used very frequently also on the inside of the magazine:

(24) ...mainio vuosi 1969 showelämän hurjassa hullun myllyssä.
(a great year of 1969 in the whirlwind of show life.)

(25) Näin tehdään show!
(This is how you prepare a show!)

(26) ... Suomen showbusineksen suurimpana kohtalon yönä.
(...on the most fatal night of Finnish show business.)

(27) Ei sensaatioita show- kiertueella.
(No sensations on the show tour.)

Based on the number of times a genre of music was mentioned in the headings and the introductory paragraphs, the form of music that was the most covered in Suosikki in 1969 was pop music. The word ‘pop’ as an attribute was mentioned altogether 37 times, for example, pop-music, pop-musician, pop singer and pop star.

4.3.3 An overview of 1979 in Finland

In 1979, the two main genres in the music industry in Finland were disco pop and rock music, which reflected the 1950's nostalgia. One of the most popular bands of the latter mentioned genre was Teddy and the Tigers. In addition, punk music had its massive breakthrough in Finland in the late 70's. According to Mitä Missä Milloin (1979: 338-339), the artists who sold the most LP's in Finland were for example, Francis Goya, Donna Summer and Abba. The most popular songs included ”Y.M.C.A” by the Village People, ”Summer Night City” and ”Chiquitita” by Abba and
"One Way Ticket” by Eruption.

When looking at the Finnish charts of artists and bands who sold the most records in 1979, the ones who seemed to enjoy the most popularity were for example Pelle Miljoona, Tuomari Nurmio and Kontra.

Overall, the end of the 1970's saw a big recession in the sales and production rates in the music industry in Finland. Specifically, Finnish music could not add up to the foreign music that was pouring into Finland. Illegal copying of music was among the biggest problems in the music industry in Finland. According to Mitä Missä Milloin (1980: 326-327), the record producers claimed that the copying of songs and records with the help of cassette recorders was a real issue and needed to be stopped. For example, Germany had legislated a special copyright tax to be added to the price of a cassette recorder. Many other countries followed Germany's lead but Finland did not as it proved to have many side effects. As an example, it would not have been fair for a journalist to have to pay the extra tax because they need cassette recorders in their work. (MMM 1980, 1979: 334-340.)

4.3.4 The volume of 1979

The volume of 1979 had also 12 issues altogether. When looking through the covers of the magazines, it is clear to see that some massive changes have been made to the magazine since 1969. The changes were made mainly due to Jyrki Hämäläinen replacing Isto Lysmä as the editor-in-chief. The most visible change was the appearance of the magazine covers. In 1969, the covers had very little text on them, with the face of a popular contemporary pop musician gaining the most attention from the reader. Coming to 1979, the covers are filled with writing in different font and bold, different colors. An interesting contemporary artist is on the cover of each magazine but he/she is not the only attraction of the magazine cover anymore. The texts on the covers are very eye-catching and luring and definitely gain just as much attention from the reader as the cover face.

In Finland, as in Western countries in general, many rock bands enjoyed great success during the 1970's, for example Led Zeppelin, Pink Floyd, The Who and Black Sabbath. Suosikki proudly calls itself as ‘Rock magazine no. 1’ on each of its covers. The music genre rock also has its fair share on the covers on the volume:
A new music genre that had landed in Finland in the late 1970's was punk, thanks to such hugely successful bands as the Sex Pistols and the Ramones. Even though rock music was the mainstream genre and it was clearly visible when reading the magazine, also punk scene had gained a fair share of space on the pages.

A word that appeared very frequently on the cover is super used as an attribute to emphasize the greatness of whatever it is attributed to.

Moving on to the headings of the issue, it is noticeable that rock music was featured the most in the issues of Suosikki in 1979.
As rock music was evolved in the 1950's from genres such as blues, folk and rhythm and blues, the fifties was a current theme in the issues of 1979. The magazine wanted to take the readers back to the roots of the mainstream music genre.

Furthermore, different kinds of intertextuality and word play were used frequently.

The first example is again a direct reference to the famous musical from 1957 *The West Side Story*. This particular band is from Anjalankoski, which was a town in eastern Finland. It is a funny quirk by the journalist of the article to unite a small band from Finland to a major Hollywood success movie. The intertextuality is not explained in any way but the reader supposedly is aware of it.

The second example is a reference to the extremely popular song by the Beatles “All You Need Is Love” from 1967. However, as it is an article about the more contemporary genre of music, they have replaced the word love with a more suitable one, rock. In the article, they do not refer to the Beatles’ song nor explain the heading in any way.

The third example is interesting as it explains the term *in-people* with another English phrase *the beautiful people*. One would assume that the explanation was in Finnish so that the reader had no
difficulties in understanding the term correctly. The fact that it is in English proves that the magazine is counting on the readers to know English well enough to get the meaning. The journalists do not want to patronize the Finnish teenagers by explaining all the English phrases to them. It might just be that the readers are actually gaining more confidence because they are realizing that they actually do understand the English used in the magazine without the translations.

The fifth example is using English to create a rhyme. It also wraps up the lead with a funny quirk and undoubtedly, it would not have the same effect had it been in Finnish.

In the last example, some understanding of intertextuality is needed. The Ramblers had released an album which had a song by Eddie Cochran on it called "Something Else". Thus, there can be two different ways of understanding the heading, connected to either the actual song or the idea that the band is something else, something that has not been heard before.

However, there were also instances where the English phrase was indeed translated into Finnish in order to avoid any kind of misunderstandings.

(51) **Ladies first** eli naiset ensin

(52) **World exclusive copyright** – maailman yksinoikeus

(53) Kuka on **queen bee** (superpulu)?

In the second example, it is quite obvious that the magazine wants to emphasize the fact that it has the exclusive copyright for the article that follows. In addition, it wants to acknowledge that it is not just an exclusive copyright in Finland or even in Europe but in the world. The reader has the feeling that the article in question is something very extraordinary and mind-blowing and are drawn to reading it even more.

In the third example, the term **queen bee** might be a difficult one to understand. According to Emma Gray (2012), it was coined in 1973 by American sociologists. In the school world, it refers to the phenomenon in which teenagers, especially girls form groups or cliques which are often formed by shared characteristics of the persons in the groups, for example the lifestyle or school success and other forms of popularity. The queen bee is a girl who is considered the most popular and beautiful in the group, the class or the whole school by other students. The term was translated as ‘superpulu’ (lit. ‘Super pigeon’) presumably by the journalist of the article because the official Finnish
translation of the word is not known. Nowadays, the term is well known and used in its English form whereas the Finnish term ‘pulu’ has gone out of fashion. However, in the 1970’s the term was not common and it was necessary to translate it so that the readers were aware of what the heading and the whole article itself was about.

As far as the leads are concerned, whole English sentences were not uncommon in 1979. They were used as a kind of slogans, specifically as the wrapping end sentence of the lead. Presumably the readers' skills of English were good enough to understand a sentence which was solely in English so direct translations were rare.

(54) **Rock’n’roll on the Red Square**, pazalusta!
(55) **Rock’n’roll, fifties is still going strong!**
(56) **Rock’n’roll is here to stay!**
(57) **Run up and catch the beat!**
(58) **Go, baby, go!**
(59) **Oh boy!**
(60) **Boogy! Yeah!**
(61) **Yeah! Roll over!**

In the first example, the article is about a Finnish singer Mikko Alatalo and his band performing in the Soviet Union in 1979. These types of events were quite uncommon during the Cold War era, which was a major political phenomenon between the Soviet Union and the western countries, particularly the United States. In the heading of the article, they have added even a word of Russian, pazalusta with the writer's version of a Western transliteration. The subheadings of this particular article also contain English sentences.

(62) **Flew in from Miami Beach BOAC**
(63) **Didn't get to bed last night**
(64) **I'm back in the USSR**

These quotes are a direct reference to the song by the Beatles called ”Back in the U.S.S.R.” which was released in 1968. The intertextuality in this case is not necessarily caught up by the reader as the actual song was released over a decade earlier though it still is a major rock classic. The Beatles had disbanded already in 1969 and the teenage readers of *Suosikki* were not necessarily very
familiar with their songs. The references were not explained in the article so knowing that the subheadings were from the Beatles' song was not a crucial element when it came to understanding the article itself as it was not about the Beatles at all.

At times, it feels as though English was used in the issues just for the sake of it. Some of the English phrases do not have any deeper meaning to them. The last four phrases on the list above are examples of this. They are phrases which were added to the end of a lead to make them look more alluring and to catch the eye of a teenaged reader by sounding more modern and international.

One of the most interesting instances where English was used was in the sentence:

(65) ...tämän jälkeen erotat pullahiiriistuffin AIDOSTA rockista. 
(...after this you will recognize the REAL rock from the lame wannabe-stuff.)

The using of the English word ‘stuff’ in an otherwise Finnish sentence is intriguing and quite uncommon. It would have been easy to use a Finnish equivalence to replace the word but the magazine is trying to appeal to the youth by code-switching to English whenever it suits them. The teenagers were becoming more and more familiar with English in the 1970’s so perhaps Suosikki wanted to appear as contemporary and ”cool” as possible by mixing English with Finnish as boldly as it wanted and in quite unusual instances.

Another genre of music which had made its way to Finland, and thus also to the pages of the volume of 1979 was disco music. Even though rock genre was the most represented type of music in Suosikki, disco also got its share on the pages with its different ways of spelling.

(66) discomatoilu- diskotanssin alalla on uusi laji
( the disco worming – the new type of disco dancing)

(67) kiihkea disco- fiilinki on yhä in!
(The passionate disco feeling is still in!)

With the emergence of disco music and the continuing popularity of rock music, many subgenres of that also appeared in the Finnish music scene. These genres did not have a Finnish translation but used the original English term instead. These include genres such as motown, rockabilly with its spelling variation and doowop

(68) Finnish king of rockabilly
4.3.5 An overview of 1989 in Finland

Some of the biggest names of 1989 not just internationally but also in Finland were for example Guns'n'Roses, Elvis Costello and R.E.M, which gained attention with their opinionated songs which revolved around for example environmental problems. Many artists made a successful comeback in 1989, including Roy Orbison and Paul McCartney and Keith Richards as solo artists. Some of the biggest Finnish artists in 1989 were Kirka, Leevi & the Leavings, Eppu Normaali, Albert Järvinen as a solo artist and Sleepy Sleepers. (Mitä Missä Milloin 1989: 370.)

One of the new genres that caused quite a lot of discussion in 1989 was house and its subgenre acidhouse. The moderately new genre of rap and hip hop seemed to have worn off its novelty internationally but in Finland it was still had quite a strong fan base.

According to Mitä Missä Milloin (1989: 365) some of the biggest hits of the year included "Teardrops" by Womack & Womack, "Especially for You” by Kylie Minogue and Jason Donovan, "Like a Prayer” by Madonna and "If You Don't Know Me By Now“ by Simply Red. Many female artists made their break-through in 1989, including Debbie Gibson and Tanita Tikaram and the girl group Bananarama. The records with the most sales included Madonna's Like a Prayer, Sam Brown's Stop, Bon Jovi's New Jersey and the Pet Shop Boys' Introspective. Among the most popular Finnish artists based on their record sales were Kirka, Irwin Goodman, Sleepy Sleepers, Hector and Topi Sorsakoski. The year 1989 also saw various concerts held in Finland, for example Womack & Womack, Ozzy Osbourne, B.B. King, Pink Floyd and R.E.M. (MMM 1989: 361-371.)

4.3.6 The volume of 1989

The volume of 1989 had 14 issues instead of the usual 12. Based on the covers of the volume, it seems as rock music is still going strong in the Finnish music scene but new genres are also getting more and more space on the covers. The covers have the same appearance as in 1979 with a great
amount of text been fitted around the cover face. Interestingly, not only artists and musicians have gotten the privilege of being on the cover of the magazine. In this volume, also actors are included as cover faces, for example Tom Cruise and Kata Kärkkäinen. Even though Suosikki was still branded as a music magazine, other areas of popular culture were gaining more and more column space in the magazine.

Based on the covers, it is obvious that rock music and its subgenres was the most influential genre of music in 1989.

(72) Masters of the rock
(73) 10 rock- vuotta
(10 years of rock)
(74) Giants of rock: Anthrax, Helloween
(75) The Master of Rock
(76) Hard rockin sankarit
(77) The heroes of hard rock
(78) It's more than rock – but you like it!
(79) Vuoden kuumimmat rock- häät
(The hottest rock wedding of the year)

In addition, on the covers of this volume, word play and intertextuality were used quite often.

(80) Kata – Playgirl vai hittitähti?
(Kata – a playgirl or a hit star?)

(81) Andy McCoy: satusetä vai million dollar baby?
(Andy McCoy : a storyteller or a million dollar baby?)

(82) He gave rock a good name!

The first example is referring to the article of Kata Kärkkäinen. She was noted as being the playmate of the month in the December 1988 issue of Playboy. The cover heading is a reference to the magazine and compares her career as a Playboy model and a singer.

The last example is using word play in the actual heading of the article. It is about one of the most successful bands of the 1980's, Bon Jovi. One of their hit singles is called "You Give Love a Bad Name". The name of the article is referencing to this song. No explanation of the word play is
included but it is assumed that most of the readers understand this word play, as Bon Jovi was at the height of its fame in the end of the 1980's.

The volume of 1989 was also using English titles for movies that did have a translated title in Finnish. This is presumable used as an effect to sound more international and modern by using the original movie titles.

(83) James Bond – Licence to kill
(the official Finnish title: James Bond – Lupa tappaa)

(84) Indiana Jones The Last Crusade
(the official Finnish title: Indiana Jones ja viimeinen ristiretki)

Quite frequently, in this volume, the English word ‘special’ was used as an attribute to emphasize the article in question.

(85) Rock Special

(86) USA Special

(87) Batman Special

(88) Alice Cooper Special

English was also used as an alluring feature on the cover with no specific deeper meaning to it. With only the appearance of English on a magazine cover would give it the air of modernity and would appear more appealing to the younger audience.

(89) Hot love – Kuumat romanssit
(Hot love – hot romances)

(90) Lovesexy: Prineen ja Kimin kuuma romanssi
(Lovesexy: The hot romance of Prince and Kim)

When analyzing the volume in general, more and more terminology related to music scene was used in the volume. Previously in the data, only the genres of music were in English but in 1989, also other words related to music were written in English even though the words also have an equivalent word in Finnish.

(91) ... alkoivat laulaa playbackina Lontoon klubeissa...
(... started to sing playback in the clubs of London...)
(92) ... ja ensi single, cover 70-luvun hitistä...
   (... and the first single, a cover from the 70's hit...)

(93) ... back stagelta kaunis ja kunnianhimoinen tyttö nousi...
   (... from the back stage, a beautiful and ambitious girl rose...)

In addition to the rise of using English to describe music terminology, new genres of music were emerging. Some of these genres do not have a Finnish equivalent while others do, yet the writers still decided to use the original English terms instead.

(94) **glamrock- remmi**
   (*the glam rock posse*)

(95) **speedmetal- bändien aateli**
   (*the nobility of speed metal bands*)

(96) **folk- ja country- pohjaisten pop- tunnelmointien takaa**
   (*behind the pop atmosphere which is based on folk and country*)

An interesting observation is that in the previous volume in the data, from 1979 was still using the Finnish equivalence of **glam rock** which was **säähkyrock**. In the volume of 1989, no instances of the term **säähkyrock** were noted. It had been replaced by the English term.

In addition to these genres, a completely new genre of music was making its debut in the Finnish music scene. Dance music was the new thing with its many subgenres.

(97) Tanssimusassa on myös valinnan varaa, rytmejä löytyy funkista houseen, souliin, technoon, euroon, new beatin ja ties mihin! **This is serious dancing!**
   (*There's a lot of varieties to choose from in dance music, you can find rhythms from funk to house, soul, techno, euro, new beat, you name it! This is serious dancing!*)

(98) Uusi suunta: Tiskijukista tähtiä – **disc jockeyt** kehittivät uuden **trendin. It's all in the mix!**
   (*A new direction: The disc jockeys became stars – they created a new trend. It's all in the mix!*)

As one can notice in both these cases, complete English sentences were used to wrap up the leads.

English was used more frequently in the magazines because Finnish teenagers were used to its presence and the magazines were relying on them to know the English words. The phenomenon of translating some of the English phrases that were used in the magazines, which was quite common earlier had systematically disappeared coming to the late 1980's.

Furthermore, the usage of complete English phrases and sentences had become more common in the 1980's.
There's a beat going on!

It's spring! It's fun! It's real love!

One – two – three – four – five: Glam is still alive!

You can love them, you can hate them. But you can't ignore them.

Rock'n'roll, partyman! Let's have fun!

There's a whole lotta shakin' goin' on!

Intertextuality and word play were not uncommon in this volume either.

Ensin oli dirty dancing. Nyt tulee Dirty fighting!
(First there was dirty dancing! Now it's dirty fighting!)

I saw him standing there!

Tämä billion dollar baby oli Alice Cooper!
(This billion dollar baby was Alice Cooper!)

Born to be my baby! Jon Bon Jovi salahääät Las Vegasissa!
(Born to be my baby! Jon Bon Jovi's secret wedding in Las Vegas!)

Welcome back to the Stone Age!

Whatever happened to Baby Jane?

From Russia with love!

Jacksonien klaanin Star Wars jatkuu hurjempana kuin koskaan!
(The Star Wars of the Jackson clan continues wilder than ever!)

The first example is a heading of an article that is about the latest movie called Road House starring Patrick Swayze. He was known to the majority of people by starring in the hugely popular movie Dirty Dancing in 1987. Road House contains lot of violence and fighting and the heading of the article is a word play from the two movies.

The second example is regarding to an article about Paul McCartney's concert. One of his hit songs, though it was originally recorded by the Beatles, is called "I Saw Her Standing There". Thus, the heading is coming from the point of view of the audience meaning that they saw Paul McCartney standing on the stage. Even though it would seem like a quite self-explanatory reference, it was still explained quite thoroughly in the lead of the actual article.

The fifth example is about a Finnish thrash metal band called Stone. The writer of the article has
come up with a funny quirk about the actual band and mixing it with the pre-historic era.

The sixth example is an article about an American rock band called Jane's Addiction. The heading of the article is a direct reference to a 1962 movie *Whatever Happened to Baby Jane?* The article itself is about the current problems the band Jane's Addiction was facing with drugs and alcohol.

The seventh example is regarding to an article about Bon Jovi performing in Moscow. While the heading of the article is referring to the actual event of Bon Jovi performing in Moscow, it is also an intertextual reference to a James Bond movie of the same name from 1963. This particular piece of intertextuality is not explained to the readers in any way and it might have gone unnoticed by some as the movie is quite old and it is not a certainty that all the readers know the original title of the film. However, this was not seen as a problem in understanding the article so it was not necessary to explain the references to the readers.

The last example is a heading to an article about the famous Jackson family. In the 1980's many members of the family were singers in their own right, including Michael, Janet and LaToya. The heading is making a connection between the on-going family feuds that were the center of attention in many tabloid magazines and uses the title of the famous movie franchise to emphasize that.

When studying the data from 1989, an interesting phenomenon in the using of English in the volume emerges. It has become more and more common to use English in words and phrases that have nothing to do for example with music. English is used with words that had a perfectly acceptable equivalent in Finnish.

(113) ...on **highschoolista** lähtien ollut Jonin tyttö.
(who has been Jon's girl since high school.)

(114) Meillä on totisesti muitakin **hobbyjä** kuin Jack Daniels!
(We certainly have other hobbies than just Jack Daniels!)

(115) ... **babysitterinä** toiminut mummo
(... a granny who worked as a baby sitter)

(116) Brosin tuore Amerikan valloitukset Debbie Gibsenin **supporterina** olisi ansainnut...
(The Bros' latest trip to conquer America as Debbie Gibsen's supporting act should have deserved...)

Once again, it can be assumed that these English words were used as a sign of internationality, which was growing rapidly in the 1980's. The writers were not content with using English only in
words that described the music scene. They wanted to expand the English vocabulary into normal every-day words, mix Finnish with English whenever they wanted. By 1989 English was the most studied language in Finnish schools as, according to Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 17), it had surpassed German and Swedish already in the 1960’s. Thus, the targeted audience of Suosikki could be counted on to have the language skills needed for reading the magazine and understanding the occurrences of English which were becoming ever-more common.

4.3.7 An overview of 1999 in Finland

In 1999, the genre of eurotechno continued its triumphant march across Europe and in Finland as well, for example Basement Jaxx and Vengaboy were extremely popular in Finland. The hip hop band Bomfunk MC's was one of the first Finnish bands to succeed not only in Finland but also internationally. In addition, pop music was very well received; the Backstreet Boys and Ricky Martin were among the most popular artists around the world as well as in Finland. One of the main music events of the year were the two concerts by the Backstreet Boys in Helsinki in August of 1999. Furthermore, Britney Spears had her major breakthrough in 1999 with her hit ’’...Baby One More Time’’.

Among the Finnish bands and artists that were extremely popular in Finland in 1999 were the heavy rock bands Amorphis, Children of Bodom and Stratovarius. Other bands that succeeded well in Finland were for example the girl duo Nylon Beat, the dance pop group Aikakone and the rock band Apulanta and the massively popular pop group Ultra Bra. (MMM 2000. 1999:347-355.)

4.3.8 The volume of 1999

When moving 10 years forward in time to 1999, it is quite striking to notice that when scanning the covers of this particular volume, English is not used to the same extent as for example in 1989. Some covers do not have English at all, which was not expected. The few examples where English was used, were the same instances as in the covers of the previous decades, as attributes.

(117) Songbook Supreme

(118) 2000-luvun megababe Britney

(Britney, the megababe of the 2000's)
Other instances of English on the covers were just random words here and there without any specific deeper meaning to them.

(121) Extra Hanson Fan Magazine

(122) Band of the century – BSB!

Suosikki was not anymore a magazine designed only for music lovers. By 1999, it had clearly broadened its horizon and moved to the overall contemporary popular culture scene in Finland, including movies, games and celebrity gossip.

(123) Raju juorupaketti – Confidential!
(A rough gossip package - Confidential!)

(124) James Bond – The World is not enough

(125) Danger Zone! Anoreksia syö tähtiä!
(Danger Zone! Anorexia is eating away the stars!)

Interestingly, the covers of the volume did not have any less text on them, only the use of English seemed to have somewhat lessened. The covers had just as much life in them, different colors and fonts. Finnish had become the main language used on the covers.

Many movies were mentioned by their original title names, even though they also have translated titles.

(126) Shakespeare in Love ja Saving Private Ryan- elokuville satoi palkintoja
(Awards were raining on Shakespeare in Love and Saving Private Ryan)

(127) ... kauhuhitti I Know What You Did Last Summer
(...the horror hit I Know What You Did Last Summer)

In some cases, English was used to create alliteration. Not only does it sound better when using alliteration, it also catches the reader's attention. Arguably, English does not have exactly the same effect it did in the earlier volumes of the data because seeing English has become more and more common in the every-day lives of Finnish people. Regardless of this, it still catches one's eye if one sees English being mixed in an otherwise Finnish sentence.
(128) BSB – show: hysteriaa, hypeä ja hikeä!
(The BSB- show: hysteria, hype and sweat!)

(129) Boyzone backstage
(Boyzone on the backstage)

(130) Nobodysta nörtsisankariksi
(From a nobody to a nerd hero)

(131) Pyhimys vai playboy?
(A saint or a playboy?)

(132) Babystä prinnessaksi
(From a baby to a princess)

The last example is a subheading. It is not the most usual case of alliteration as it has a voiced bilabial stop [b] and a voiceless bilabial stop [p] as the starting consonants of the word instead of [p] and [p] or [b] and [b] as would usually be the case when using alliteration. However, this also works because the two different letters sound quite the same when pronounce by a Finnish person, as [p] is almost never aspirated in Finnish. The letter [b] is not very common in the Finnish language meaning that Finnish does not have very many minimal pairs containing [b], for example. It is not crucial for a Finnish person to clearly distinct the two sounds [p] and [b] and as a result they tend to sound very similar.

The stars who were interviewed for the magazine were also directly quoted without translating the quotes into Finnish. Usually, these quotes were saved for the end of a lead, again as if to wrap it up before going into the actual article.

(133) Ooh, Tom, thanks so much! Yammy!

(134) Thank you, I will never forget this!

(135) Fasten seat belts, this is your captain speaking!

Intertextuality and word play were also present in this volume, although to a lesser extent.

(136) Wild wild Salma

(137) Never ever, Geri

(138) I will always love you – not!

(139) BSB:n omien sanojen mukaisesti: Larger than life!
(As the BSB say themselves: Larger than life!)

(140) Onko maailmankiertue lopullinen goodbye?
The first example is the heading of an article about Salma Hayek. She had become famous around the globe after starring in the very successful western movie called *Wild Wild West*. Thus, the heading of the article is directly linking Salma Hayek to the movie.

The next example is combining two rival girl bands of the 1990's, the Spice Girls and All Saints. Geri was a member of the fore mentioned before leaving the group in 1998. "Never Ever" was debatably the most famous song of another successful girl band, All Saint. The rivalry of these two bands was well known. Mixing the two bands together in this way was meant to evoke feelings within the readers that were fans of either of the two bands.

The third example is the heading of an article about Whitney Houston and her marriage that was in crisis at the time. Most of the readers of the magazine are probably acquainted with the arguably most famous song by Whitney Houston “I Will Always Love you”. In the heading, the name of the song is linked to the troubles, which Whitney Houston's marriage is facing by adding the twist ‘-not ‘ to the end.

The next example is an article about the concert the Backstreet Boys did in Helsinki. The heading is saying the gist of the whole show and also using a direct reference to their famous hit single "Larger Than Life".

The last example is about the world tour of the Spice Girls. There had been rumors circulating that
the best-selling girl band of all time was on the verge of breaking up. One member had already left the band the previous year and they were continuing their world tour as a four-piece band. The fact that the article is including this particular English word in the otherwise Finnish sentence is a direct reference to a song by the Spice Girls called “Goodbye”.

The very last example is a heading of an article about a Hollywood actor Ryan Philippe. His latest movie at the time was called *54*. The movie was about the legendary club in New York City called Studio 54.

The last two examples are the subheadings of the same article. The subheadings themselves are translated quotations from the hugely popular songs by the band Queen. The actual songs are called “The Bohemian Rhapsody” and “Show Must Go On”. It was decided to use these translations in the article even though it was not about Queen itself.

None of these examples of intertextuality were explained to the reader. They are probably thought to be self-explanatory to such extent that had they opened the reference to the readers, it would have seemed redundant. It would have seemed that the magazine was not giving the readers enough credit and trust them to cope with the English word play by themselves.

Even though *Suosikki* had become more than just a music magazine, it did still have quite a lot of coverage about the music scene, not just in Finland but also around the world. The different genres of music were still mostly in English as was the overall terminology related to the music scene. Some of the English words used do have a Finnish equivalent while others do not.

(147) punkrockia?
(*punk rock?*)

(148) Svedupoppi jyrää!
 (*The Swedish pop rules!*)

(149) Rockissa on glamouria!
 (*Rock has glamour!*)

(150) kotimaisen eurodancen veteraani
 (*The veteran of domestic eurodance*)

(151) Bomfunkin electrohouse jyrää!
 (*The electrohouse of Bomfunk rules!*)
In one instance, a direct quotation by the rap artist Coolio was translated into Finnish except the last words, which were kept in English.

(155) ...Jos Viva- musiikkikanava ei halua videoitani, niin f*ck them!
(...If the music channel Viva does not want my videos then f*ck them!)

It is clear to see that the last words were not translated into Finnish because it contained strong language. Tolvanen (2004: 60-61) claims, it is possible that using English in situations such as this, has a neutralizing effect. If a word that is considered as taboo is said or in this case written in English, it does not necessarily stir as much disdain and resentment than it would had it been written in Finnish.

4.3.9 An overview of 2009 in Finland

The year of 2009 proved to be the year of strongwomen in Finland. Some of the most popular songs of the year were Katy Perry's "I Kissed a Girl" and Lady Gaga's "Poker Face". Britney Spears, Beyoncé and Lily Allen's albums were among the best-sellers of the year. Furthermore, when looking at the Finnish most popular artists of the year, pop music seemed to be the genre that gained the most listeners. Anna Abreu, Anna Puu and Lauri Tähkä & Elonkerjuu were among the most popular artists when looking at their record sales. Furthermore, the concert year of 2009 was versatile. Britney Spears, The Eagles, AC/DC, Faith No More, Metallica and Madonna were just some of the bands and artists whose tours reached Finland. (MMM 2009: 345-355.)

4.3.10 The volume of 2009

The volume of 2009 is the year from the last decade of the data collected for this study. When looking at the covers of this volume, it is clear that the theme of the magazine has somewhat changed. The editor-in-chief was Ville Kormilainen and the magazine itself seemed to have moved
even further away from the music-oriented magazine it started out to be. The volume of 2009 did not have very much English on the covers either. This trend had started already in the previous volume from 1999. Some issues did have English on them at all. The most common examples for using English seemed to be when music genres were presented.

(156) Rapin miljoonamiehet!
(The men of rap with millions)

(157) Hiphopin hurja historia!
(The wild history of hip hop!)

(158) Suomipunkkia!
(Finnish punk!)

The turn of the millennium saw the rise of new high technology and since technology was present in the every-day life of almost all teenagers in Finland, the magazine wanted to add this side of life to the magazine as well. The names of these new technology devices do not have a Finnish translation, instead the original English or slightly modified names are also used in Finland.

(159) 70 tuotetta testissä: mp3-soittimet, miniläppärit, blu-ray-soittimet, pelikonsolit...
(70 products in the test: mp3 players, mini laptops, blu-ray players, game consoles...)

As mentioned on p. 56, English swear words are used more often than their Finnish equivalents. It does not seem as bad if one swears in English as in Finnish and this applies also to the written media.

(160) Mr. Asshole – Sunrise Avenuen Samu Haber ei ole mukavan miehen maineessa. Miksi?
(Mr. Asshole – Samu Haber from Sunrise Avenue does not have the reputation of a nice guy. Why?)

On the actual pages of the volume, most English was used to describe the genres and subgenres of music. Many new subgenres had emerged during the last decade and more often than not, these genres did not have a Finnish equivalence but instead were called by their original title.

(161) death metal- yhtye Amoral
(the death metal band Amoral)

(162) Fallout Boy tunnetaan yhtenä emo- ja punkpop-skenejen suurimmista nimistä
(Fallout Boy is known as one of the biggest names in the emo and punkpop scene)

(163) menevää katu- rockia punk- otteella
(nice street rock with a punk attitude)
Other than when describing music terminology, English was not used much at all. There were not any instances of intertextuality or word play in the entire volume. Only a couple of other instances of English were found.

(165) You’ve got a friend!
(166) Made in Japan!
(167) Straight outta west coast!
(168) On with the show!

As one can see, all the other instances were complete sentences written in English. However, these sentences did not bring any particular additional meaning to the actual articles, for example in terms of intertextuality. English was used quite rarely in the volume of 2009. It was seen as nothing special and it did not have the ‘wow-effect’ it may have had in the earlier decades when English was used much more often in Suosikki.

**Summary of findings**

After careful research of the selected data, it became apparent that the use of English has indeed increased during the span of 40 years. Especially, English used on the covers of Suosikki has grown exponentially. As the layout of the magazine became more and more ‘in-your-face’, bold and vibrant, so has the use of English grown to get the reader’s attention and, since the magazine is targeted for teenagers, to imply that Suosikki is aware of the reader’s own identity through the use of English, the language of popular culture.

In the issues of volume of 1969, English was used surprisingly often. The majority of the words were related to the genres of music, mostly pop music as it was a very popular genre at the time, if not the most popular. Word play was not used very often, as it is always somewhat difficult to guess whether the reader understands it. Even though it is not necessary to comprehend the word play completely, as it usually does not affect the understanding of the article itself, it is still meant to be understood. In the cases where English was used, it was quite simple, one word here and there. If a sentence contained only English or if a phrase was written completely in English, it is was also usually translated into Finnish after the English part. This implies that the writers of the magazine
were not counting on the readers’ ability to understand English. English was used because it was considered ‘cool’ and contemporary among the teenage readers. In cases where the translations are not used, one can assume that the English phrase is not so important that it would be vital for every reader to understand the meaning of it.

The next two decades, 1979 and 1989, were very triumphant for English language in *Suosikki*. The instances of using English increased dramatically and also other words than just music related terminology were used. The knowledge of English among the Finnish youngsters had increased since 1969 as the education of English blossomed. This resulted in the magazine using English more boldly and fearlessly. The journalists were counting on the readers to understand the English in the magazine and no literary translations were needed. Especially word play was used quite frequently. The case of word play is always a demanding field, especially in a second language but the journalists nevertheless did not see the need to explain them in any way.

In the volume of 1999, the instances of English started to decrease. For the first time since 1969, some of the covers did not have any English on the at all and also in the other sections of the magazine English had lost its foothold to Finnish. Furthermore, the volume of 2009 saw the most significant drop in the use of English. For example, altogether two covers had no English at all. When looking through the magazines of the volume, it was immediately visible that English had lost its glory and modernity to Finnish. By 2009, English had become so normal in the Finnish society that it was seen as nothing special, it does not catch the reader's attention as it used to do. In the earlier volumes English was seen as something modern and exciting, one would get the feeling of internationality when reading an article with words in English sprinkled here and there.

Another factor for the drastic decrease of English in the new millennium is probably due to the fact that the whole nature of the magazine had changed since the volume of 1999 when English was used more frequently on the pages of *Suosikki*. In 2009, the editor-in-chief had changed and the magazine was not seen primarily as a magazine for the contemporary music scene in Finland. More and more articles related to fashion and make-up were added and *Suosikki* had also come closer to the world of teenagers. Its articles dealt with problems faced by the youth of the day, including bullying, loneliness, eating disorders and such. These kinds of articles were not present at all in the previous volumes of the data.

The other main aim of the present study was to look at the symbolic value of English. Was English
used because the word does not have a Finnish equivalent or does it have a deeper meaning? For this, three categories were designed based on the ones used by Bogdanova (2010). The categories were:

1. English as a technical display
2. English as representation of popular culture and "cool"
3. English as a representation of intertextuality or word play

As has become clear from the data of this study, English language is not used only for symbolic value in the magazines studied. There were instances where English was used because the Finnish equivalence for the word does not exist. This was often the case with the different genres of music. These were always either written in English or with a Finnish orthography. (pop, poppi, rock, roikki, heavy metal, hevimetal).

The using of English to promote the magazine as being something cool and modern was also the symbol of value in many instances in the data. As Hujala (1997: 77) pointed out, according to teenagers, English simply sounds better than Finnish. It is more appealing and fashionable. In addition, in Suosikki English was used as a way to make the magazine seem “cooler” and trendier to the eye of the targeted audience.

One would think that the journalist wants the readers to understand the instances of English. In the samples used in this study, this was made clear by the type of English used in the magazines. The vocabulary, sentence types and word play were made accessible to the audience of second language readers. The English used in the magazines in the 1960's was pretty moderate and presumably very understandable to the reader, even if they had only started studying English in school. When approaching the turn of the millennium, the use of English did indeed increase and longer sentences of English were used. Presumably, the journalists kept in mind the increasing knowledge of English among the Finnish teenagers and that gave them the courage to start using English more boldly than before. The use of English word play and intertextuality became more and more popular starting from volume of 1979. The magazine was giving more credit to the readers and their knowledge of English and their ability to cope with the sometimes quite difficult instances of word play.

Based on the results, the use of English does indeed have a clear mission and status in the magazine. Because the use of it is not explained or translated, especially towards the turn of the millennium, it
is clear that the language itself has become a part of the repertoire of the magazine media. At the same time, also the reader knows the use and its conventions. The reader must understand this form of language, the mixing of English with Finnish, which is particularly common in the music scene. Furthermore, the English used in the latter volumes of the data becomes more and more grammatically complex and whole sentences are used, not to mention word plays. Much of the understanding of these instances is left to the reader as no explanations or translations are offered.
5. DISCUSSION

In the present study the main aim was to study a youth magazine *Suosikki* for five decades (1969–2009) and find out whether the use of English in it had increased, decreased or stayed the same. Finland went through some massive changes economically and socially during those 40 years, for example as a society Finland changed from an agricultural one to a highly industrialized and further to a post-industrialized information society as described by Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 20). As stated by Taavitsainen and Pahta (2008: 26), with the wave of globalization and internationalization, Finland started having many international connections. In the wake of this, the knowledge of other languages and especially English was highly appreciated and valued. English became the most studied language in Finnish schools, surpassing German and Swedish. Nowadays, English seems to be almost a second language to the Finnish younger generation because English is seen and heard everywhere in Finland, on the streets, on TV, radio, all forms of social media.

The data was collected from the volumes of 1969, 1979, 1989, 1999 and 2009. The sections in the magazines that were included in the study were the covers, the headings, subheadings, and the leads. The examples of English were collected and compared between the different decades in order to find out how much the use of English has increased or decreased. There have been quite a few studies about *Suosikki*, such as Tolvanen (2004), Aho (2000) and Aalto (2004). However, the majority of those studies researched the use of English in the advertisements. Studies that were about the actual articles were quite rare. The method of analysis used in the study was based on analyses used by Viitamäki (2003) and Bogdanova (2010). The instances of English were searched and counted volume by volume. With the help of graphs (see Figures 1-4), it was possible to see whether the use of English had changed in the sections included in the data. The different volumes were also compared with each other. When analyzing the symbolic value of English used in the magazine (see Figures 5-7), three categories were made based on the categories adapted from Bogdanova (2010). The instances of English were placed in these categories according to their symbolic value.

One of the key findings of the study are that the use of English became more frequent in the volumes of 1979 and 1989 but started to decline quite rapidly in 1999 and especially in the volume 2009 which had the lowest number of instances of English. This was surprising as it was thought that the use of English would increase from decade to decade. The other main finding was in the case of symbolic value, English was most often used when describing some music-related term or to
represent English as something modern and cool. Using English as a representation of word play or intertextuality was also found but it was not as common.

The current study has shed light on how English language is used in Finnish teenage magazines. As the study included magazines published in the 1960's, it was interesting to see how the use of English has changed in some ways and how it was still used in the same contexts and situations as in the volume of 2009. The magazines read by teenagers and other young people usually depict the culture of the youth. It shows what the contemporary fashion is and also other trends in the fields of music, movies but in addition to this, one can also find the current trends of language on the pages of teenage magazines. The magazines try to appeal to teenagers by using the same language they use in their everyday speech. The present study was able to illuminate the language that was used by the younger generation starting from the 1960's onwards and how the appearance of English has changed the way the younger generation speaks which in turn will give some information of the youth culture of the time.

As this study included magazines from five decades, it was able to give quite clear results of the possible changes of the use of English in Finnish magazines. Globalization has taken massive steps worldwide during the past 40 years and by researching these teenage magazines, one can get a rather clear picture just how much the spreading of Americanization and Anglicisms has affected Finnish print media designed for teenagers.

According to Leppänen and Nikula (2007: 362), the use of English in a Finnish youth magazine is important for the writers and their intentions of negotiating their group identities and their attempts to show their worthiness of being a member in the said group. English language is viewed as being an appropriate code for a cultural magazine, which in this case is targeted towards the young generation, who are very accustomed to using English frequently alongside Finnish. To them English has already become a common way of communicating with each other and it is seen as a way of helping them identify themselves with the group and justifying their belonging in it.

In her study, Muhonen (2008: 176) studied the English used by radio moderators in radio shows in Finland. According to Muhonen, the moderators used English amidst their Finnish to make the radio speeches more enjoyable to the listeners. The use of English also brought a sense of playfulness and gave more color to the radio shows. This can also be said about English used in written media. Having English in an otherwise Finnish text brings something new and exciting to
the text. English in the magazine was used either as purely English or it was changed so that it was morphologically closer to Finnish. That is the way the teenagers themselves were thought to speak by the journalists. By doing this, Suosikki wanted to emphasize even further that it is a part of the youth culture and wants to be identified as being as close to the younger generation as possible by using the exact same language the teenagers themselves were thought to use.

Furthermore, based on the previous studies, English was used to emphasize its symbol of modernity and internationality. These studies were mainly investigating the advertisements, not only in teenager magazine but also in magazines for people of all ages. The results of the present study confirm these findings. Even though English was mostly used for describing music genres, using English as a symbol for something “cool” and modern was also very popular.

Moreover, according to Muhonen (2008: 196), the way English is mixed with Finnish in today's world is a part of the ‘we code’ that the teenagers share with each other. Due to the fact that Suosikki is targeted towards the younger generation, it is important for the magazine to be alluring and credible in the eyes of the target audience. In order for that to happen, the magazine needs to be able to “communicate” with the audience in the right way and in the right code. This is probably why the using of English in Suosikki has not been a problem for the readers. They presumably have the needed skills of English and they are a part of this inside group, which the magazine is targeted to.

Even though the results of the present study did manage to give a quite clear idea of how English has affected the magazine during the decades, over-generalizations should not be made. By no means did all teenagers read Suosikki even though it was very popular for example in the 1970’s. Language used in the magazine was not used by all teenagers. Furthermore, the journalists of the magazine were adults so the language they used in their articles was the way their written representation of the way they thought the youth was using English in their speech.

Moreover, Suosikki identifies itself as a music magazine and it is mainly concentrated on the music scene in Finland. The magazine tends to put the most emphasis on the genre that happens to be the most popular and mainstream in Finland at the time. The genres that did not have as wide a fan audience as the most popular ones, such as classical music or trance music, were usually completely forgotten and excluded from the magazine. There are many other music magazines in Finland that are centered on different genres of music, the ones that are not so mainstream. These magazines
include for example Soundi, which labels itself as a rock music magazine, Inferno that centers on metal music and Rondo with its focus on classical music. These magazines may use English in a completely different way or they may even not use it at all. In addition, these magazines tend not to market themselves as being targeted for the younger generations but for music lovers of all ages. Suosikki’s readership consisted mostly of people in their teens and early 20's and that is why English was used in it as often as it was. Tolvanen (2004: 72) claims that mixing English with Finnish is the way the teens speak and Suosikki wanted to identify itself as being part of the youth culture through using English. Tolvanen further points out that the English utterances used in her data was often very casual and non-formal. According to her, the advertisers are designing the ads like this in order for them to sound like the teenagers. This was also true in the present study as the English found in the data was not very formal. Furthermore, the symbolic values that English has in other kinds of music magazines may differ greatly from the ones included in the present study.

In addition, as the language of teenagers is changing rapidly and constantly, the examples found in the study may not be included in the language of the youth anymore. The last volume was published in 2009 and even the examples of English found in it can already be considered by some teenagers to be too old-fashioned. The results of the study are merely showing what the language was like at the time when the volume was published. It cannot be generalized as showing what kind of language the teenagers are using today. As Kleemola (2008: 347) reminded, the language of teenagers is very innovative and creative and continues to change.
6. CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate the use of English in a Finnish teenage magazine *Suosikki*. The data started from 1969 and the last volume included was the volume of 2009. The first target of interest was to find out whether the use of English has changed during those 40 years as the world has changed into a more technological one and English language has found its way into the Finnish society. The second aim was to analyze the symbolic values of the instances of English found in the volumes.

The data provided answers to the research questions of the study and the results are quite clear. The results showed that the use of English was quite frequent already in the volume of 1969 and continued to rise in the next two volumes, 1979 and 1989. After this, the amount of English started to decline rapidly towards the end of the millennium and dropped to an all-time low in the last volume of the data, in 2009. This was a surprise as it was hypothesized that the instances would grow from decade to decade as the use of English becomes more and more common in the Finnish society and every-day life. The change in the nature of the magazine itself and the fact that English does not have the same effect of admiration and modernity it once had may be some of the reasons for this decline. The results from the research on symbolic value of English showed that the English language has quite a few different “missions” in the magazine. Most frequently, it is used as a technical term. Some words simply do not have a Finnish equivalence and there is no other way but to use the English term to describe it. This was the case with many words relating to the music industry. English was also used very frequently as a representative of something modern and cool. In addition, word play and intertextuality played an important part in the uses of English although fewer instances of this were found.

It will be interesting to see how this phenomenon is continuing to evolve. The youth culture and hence the language used by teenagers is constantly changing and molding into new trends. Especially, the language is changing rapidly; new words are being borrowed into Finnish constantly. This phenomenon will never come to an end. Therefore, there will always be room for future research in this field of study. With the help of magazines that are targeted towards the younger audience, the kinds of identities the readers are building for themselves would be worth studying. Many sections in *Suosikki* were not included in the present study, for example sections where the readers can write about the troubles they are facing in their lives. Teenage magazines can be studied
from several different points of view. Furthermore, the field of symbolic value can always be researched further. The categories used in the study can be modified even further but they serve as a good base to start as they have proven to be more than adequate in previous studies, such as in the studies of Viitamäki (2003) and Bogdanova (2010).

Granted, the future of printed media cannot be predicted. The world is continuing to change into a more digital one. Due to the vast popularity of the mass media, teens are aware of the current and new trends in English language and they are adopting it to their own language. The youth spend a great portion of their time in the social media, such as Facebook, YouTube, Instagram and Pinterest. The world of social media offers a multidimensional and interesting view into the life of a teenager and it holds many different venues for getting an insight into a teenager's mindset and how they perceive the world they live in. Without a doubt, this would be an interesting place for future research.
7. BIBLIOGRAPHY


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