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Helsinki: A Multisemiotic Analysis of Tourist Brochures

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Abstract

This thesis analyses tourist brochures as a genre of print media, focusing on the city of Helsinki, the capital of Finland. Drawing on the systemic-functional theory of language by Halliday (1978, 1994), the study conducts a multisemiotic discourse analysis of the collected materials, focusing on language, image, colour, composition and typography. The analysis attempts to show how both content and appearance of the brochures have changed, and which factors have motivated the change in the representation of Helsinki.

Treating language and image as semiotic resources, or modes (Stöckl 2004), and composition, colour and typography as sub-modes, the theoretical framework of the study emphasises the interaction between modes and sub-modes. This interaction is seen as important for the genre of tourist brochure, due to its capability in the process of meaning-making in limited semiotic space, which is a typical feature of the genre.

The theory of metafunctionality is used to establish links between the verbal and visual elements in the brochures. The analysis, based on systemic-functional grammar, shows a trend of using relational identifying and attributive processes to describe the introduced locations, assigning them with identities or into categories. The portrayed locations or activities introduced using these processes often co-exist in the visual elements. In addition, the analysis presents examples of how composition, colour and typography are used to organise and enhance the content.

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1. Introduction

Helsinki is the capital of Finland, situated on the shore of the Baltic Sea. The city was founded by Swedish King Gustav Vasa in 1550, to compete with the Hanseatic city of Reval (Tallinn, Estonia), located across the Gulf of Finland. However, only 11 years later Sweden acquired the city of Reval in the Livonian War, which led into the situation where further development of Helsinki was seen as unnecessary. In the early 19th century, Helsinki was still a small town with few thousand inhabitants. Rapid growth took place during the 20th century, and currently the population of the city is over half a million. Although the Hanseatic League is long gone, and Helsinki and Tallinn are now capitals of independent countries, competition in certain areas still exists between the two cities.

Tourism is one of the areas where competition still exists between Helsinki and Tallinn, as it is a lucrative service industry. Tourists visit the cities for purposes of leisure and recreation, providing the local hospitality, travel and other services associated with tourism with income. In addition to the taxes levied from the businesses involved in tourism, governments encourage tourism because the resulting economic growth generates employment. However, advertising and promotion is needed for the development of tourism. The potential tourist has to be given reasons why Helsinki is the city to visit, instead of Tallinn. As a result, tourism advertising is an increasingly important part of the tourism industry.

In addition to advertisements, information regarding locations and activities associated with tourism is provided to tourists in different media. A particularly interesting from of print media is the tourist brochure, typically a

small-sized leaflet containing information on the city and its parts. The brochures often attempt to include a wealth of information within limited space, using both language and images for this purpose. As a subject of research, the genre of tourist brochure is interesting, as the representations of the city are carefully constructed through discourses. The purpose of the tourist brochure is to portray the city in a positive light and as an attractive destination for tourists. This applies especially to Helsinki, due to its role as the capital of Finland, a country with unique geo-strategic location between west and east during the Cold War.

The tourist brochures produced by the city of Helsinki may offer perspectives on how the representation of the city has changed over time. Helsinki has experienced a transition from a seemingly neutral capital between the Cold War adversaries to a capital of country belonging the European Union: it is a reasonable to expect this change to be reflected in the material produced by the city. In addition, other types of social change may have affected the way Helsinki is represented. The purpose of this thesis is to observe the change that has taken place using interdisciplinary methods for discourse analysis.

As the tourist brochures employ both language and image to convey the information, the organisation of the content and the visual appearance is often planned carefully. Linguistic studies involving tourist brochures have been limited to this date, focusing on the language used in the brochures (e.g. Guijarro and Hernández 2001). However, as tourist brochures use multiple semiotic resources in meaning-making, alternative approaches covering each semiotic resource are needed for a detailed analysis of the discourses affecting the content.

A solution to this research problem may be found in *multisemiotics*, a theory based largely on systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) (Halliday 1994). SFL sees language as having three metafunctions, which have been extended to cover other semiotic resources, such as image (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 2001), art and architecture (O'Toole 1994), colour (Kress and van Leeuwen 2002) and typography (Stöckl 2005). Together, these theories may be applied to the analysis of tourist brochures describing the city of Helsinki, and for adopting a multisemiotic approach to discourse analysis, as opposed to focusing on a single semiotic resource, such as language. Disregarding everything but language would result in an incomplete analysis.

Using *multisystemiotic* methods, the purpose of this study is to analyse tourist brochures produced by the city of Helsinki during different periods, based on the material collected for this study, which dates from mid-1970's to the present day. This thesis uses Stöckl's (2004) definition of *modes* (language, image), the semiotic resources carrying the actual content and *sub-modes* (colour, composition, typography), which participate in meaning-making and interact with the modes. By analysing the modes and sub-modes, the thesis attempts to observe the changes affecting representation of the city of Helsinki on all levels.

As one of the major purposes of the tourist brochure is to describe different locations to the tourist, the main focus in the mode of language is on Relational Identifying and Relational Attributive processes, which fall under the Ideational metafunction. These processes may assign entities with identities and attributes, and can be used for describing the city and its parts. The changes in the entities acting as Tokens and Carriers in the respective

processes may show how changes have affected (1) the use of these processes and (2) their participants. Correspondingly, the Representational metafunction is used to separate and analyse the portrayed entities in the mode of image. One of the central goals of this thesis is to use the theory of metafunctionality to create links between the modes of language and image, as tourist brochures often use both modes to reinforce their message.

The sub-modes of composition, colour and typography are included in the analysis due to their role in the meaning-making in tourist brochures. The meaning-making capability of the sub-modes is based on their interaction with the modes. By adjusting their properties, the sub-modes can create additional meaning, highlight or omit certain entities. The inclusion of the sub-modes in the analysis of tourist brochures aims to illustrate the role of the sub-modes in meaning-making in a detailed manner, especially when the modes and sub-modes operate in a semiotic space with limited space, which is a typical feature for the genre of tourist brochure.

The thesis begins with a chapter introducing the genre of tourist brochure, and how this particular print media should be approached within a multisemiotic theoretical framework. The definition of the genre is followed by the theoretical framework of this study, which assesses previous research that is relevant from the standpoint of tourist brochure analysis. Chapter 4 introduces the materials and methods used in this study, followed by a detailed analysis in Chapter 5. The concluding Chapter 6 discusses the results of the analysis and its implications.

2. On tourist brochures

Tourist brochures are a form of print media intended for tourists, offering information on, for example, locations and events. Like other forms of contemporary print media, the design of tourist brochures is not limited by strict rules. This results in immense variation in appearance among the genre of the tourist brochure. Traditional examples may range from a small booklet to a foldable leaflet: more innovative tourist brochures may imitate other print media products, as exemplified by a series of brochures included in this study, which imitate a booklet usually found inside a compact disc album (see Section 5.2).

Another factor causing variation in tourist brochures is tailored content: a brochure whose intended audience are the tourists visiting Helsinki on a guided tour is likely to offer information on traditional landmarks that are seen as culturally valuable from the perspective of both local people and the tourists. However, a brochure intended for young backpackers[1] may combine the information on traditional landmarks with nightlife, concert venues and generally things associated with youth culture. The need to create tailored content for varying audiences has been acknowledged in advertising (Kobayashi 1980): the same principle may be employed when planning and producing tourist brochures. From the point of view of this thesis, analysing the variation in content offers a chance to examine how multisemiotics in tourist brochures vary according to the target audience of the brochure.

The following sections attempt to define a tourist brochure and trace the common features that are found in the

1. A backpacker is an independent traveller, aiming for low costs in both travel and accommodation.

genre of tourist brochure. Achieving a firm definition of the genre of tourist brochure in print media is essential, due to the excessive amount of print media advertisements in circulation today, in order to assure the validity of the selection process of the material. The definition of the genre is followed by its theoretical requirements: what kind of tools are required for a multisystemiotic analysis of tourist brochures, and what type of an approach is needed to analyse the discourses associated with Helsinki during different periods of time.

2.1 Defining the tourist brochure

The presence of advertising in everyday life has become one of the most prominent features of our age. Advertisements approach us through multiple channels: they fill our mailbox, both on our computers and in our apartments, and look down on us on the street. It is estimated that a citizen of the United States encounters daily an average of 3000 advertisements (Beasley & Danesi 2002: 10). The stock of companies like Google has skyrocketed as the result of simple word-based advertising on the internet[1], yet internet advertising has not replaced traditional print media advertising, but instead they co-exist and support each other. In fact, many might agree that the amount of print media advertising arriving by direct mail or through other channels of distribution has increased during the previous years. This increase in the amount of print advertisements can be explained by the existence of a consumer-oriented culture (Beasley & Danesi 2002) and the fact that the tools and skills for graphic design and production are readily available for a larger audience (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001).

1. The Google "Adwords" are an interesting phenomenon: a highly successful form of marketing that only relies on the mode of language, whereas internet advertising is typically multisemiotic.

As mentioned earlier, the tourist brochure is a genre of print media advertising, but the growing amount of print media advertisements makes it increasingly difficult to define what actually falls into the category of tourist brochure. The following subsections analyse this problem from the viewpoints of language, audience, and distribution, attempting to find a solution that would provide a reliable definition of a tourist brochure to aid in the selection process of this study.

2.1.1 Language-based definitions

Finland has two official languages: Finnish and Swedish. However, the role of English as *lingua franca* has also affected the language situation in Finland: the use of English in Finland has increased and extends across different domains, from academia to advertising (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2003: 5–8). The situation makes defining a tourist brochure increasingly difficult. It is not possible to expect that an English text is always targeted at tourists, as the English language also serves other purposes besides intercultural communication. This prevents selecting English-language advertisements for this study simply on the basis that they are written in English. It is important to acknowledge, however, that at the same time the code-mixing of English and Finnish in print media advertising is a field of study that should be paid attention to in the future.

Tourist brochures are often localised into multiple languages. The languages most important for Helsinki are, in addition to English, the major European languages such as French and German. Helsinki currently promotes itself as a gateway between Europe and Asia, due to the city's favourable location and the effective infrastructure of the Helsinki-Vantaa airport. As a result, tourist information is now

offered also in Japanese and Chinese. The extensive localisation of tourist brochures could be used as a criteria when selecting material for a study analysing the tourist brochures concerning Helsinki, by choosing only material that has been localised into more than one language. However, this criteria is questionable because of the role of the English language as the language of youth culture and media in the world. As a result, the designers and producers of a tourist brochure do not necessarily feel the need to localise a brochure intended for younger audiences: the expectation is that the audience understands (and possibly even favours) English. Limiting the study to material that has been localised into more than one language would considerably increase the risk of having to disregard a large amount of material especially valuable from the point of view of this study. To sum up, it can be said that the various roles of the English language in Finland and across the world prevent the use of a specific language as a defining criteria when choosing material for the study of tourist brochures. The existing situation forces to adopt an approach in defining a tourist brochure that focuses on the audience, as explained in the next subsection.

2.1.2 Audience and distribution-based definitions

As it has been suggested that language-based definitions are unsuitable for defining the genre of tourist brochure, the focus has to move to the actual content and audience of the tourist brochure. It was pointed out that variation within the audience causes variation in the content and appearance of the tourist brochure. This variation is a key factor in resolving the problem of defining the tourist brochure.

As the variation in tourist brochures originates from the audience itself, no tourist brochure can be expected to

appeal to all audiences. Whether the audience of a tourist brochure comprises of pensioners on a holiday or young backpackers, there always exists a division between the tourist and the local resident. The reason why tourist brochures do not appeal to local residents may be the solution for defining the genre of tourist brochure.

The separation between the tourist and the local resident can be explained by two concepts originating from systemic-functional linguistics: the context of culture and the context of situation (Butt et al. 2003: 4). The context of culture is present in the tourist brochures, as the brochures themselves are a product of a certain culture, produced for the purpose of communicating information to members of other cultures. Yet the producers of these brochures as members of the culture rarely show interest in the products they have created. This is explained by the context of situation, which is divided into three variables: Field, Tenor and Mode[1]. These variables roughly correspond to the subject of the text, the participants and the type of text in question. Together, these three variables can be used to define the genre of the tourist brochure. The tourist brochure promotes a city or its parts (Field), the brochure is directed to members of foreign cultures (Tenor) and the print media in question is a brochure (Mode). The Tenor of the tourist brochure affects its Field, and as a result the brochures rarely contain useful information from the perspective of the local resident.

The method of distribution is another factor that makes the tourist brochure less appealing to the local resident. The brochures can be picked up from stands, for example, in

1. In systemic-functional linguistics, grammatical functions are marked by using a capital for the initial letter of the function.

tourist information offices or at important entry points to a country, such as harbours and airports. The distribution of tourist brochures is a part of what Kress and van Leeuwen (2001: 86) refer to as the social practice related to the text in question: the tourists expect to find information in the form of a tourist brochure on arrival. Whether the tourist brochure should be seen solely as information provided by the local culture to a member of a foreign culture is questionable in today's consumer-oriented culture: instead, the tourists are offered a combination of easily digestible information on what to see and where to spend their money. Tourist brochures can be placed alongside a continuum ranging from informational to commercial, but rarely, if ever, a tourist brochure can be situated in the extreme end of this continuum.

Language-based definitions of a tourist brochure offer a less solid alternative than defining a tourist brochure according to the context of situation and the distribution method used in making the brochures available for the audience. The concepts of the context of culture and situation can also be extended to other modes besides language, moving away from approaches that focus only on language, and towards multisemiotic study of tourist brochures. With the criteria for defining a tourist brochure in this study now concluded, the next section explores the common features found in tourist brochures, regardless of the intended audience.

2.2 Common features of tourist brochures

In the genre of tourist brochure, the Mode in the context of situation possesses certain qualities that set the tourist brochure apart from other print media. This section introduces several qualities of the Mode and how they affect the process of designing and producing tourist brochures. Regardless of the specifics of the Tenor, a common feature is the space limitation set by the Mode. This feature of the Mode is the result of the distribution method. An effective tourist brochure contains compact information and is of compact size, making the brochure easy to carry around. As a consequence, tourist brochures require careful design when *placing* and *planning* text and images, because the brochure has to fulfil its communicative purpose and to adhere to the generally accepted principles of aesthetics in the particular culture, while following the size requirements of the mode. Composition, colour and typography are responsible for organising the content into a form that carries the typical features of the Mode of tourist brochure. Alltogether, composition, colour and typography make up the canvas on which language and image operate.

Another feature of the genre is variation in both Field and Mode according to variation in Tenor. Different audiences share different tastes and values: targeting a specific group means changing the Tenor of the genre from general to specific, which inevitably requires adjustments of the variables of Field and Mode as well. Advertising the nightlife and design boutiques with an accompanying picture of a church is not effective, as no link exists between the portrayed subjects. As a result, change and variation are reflected in every mode and sub-mode, explaining why the

brochures intended for the young and the old are different in both content and design.

Section 2.3 examines the methodological requirements of multisemiotic tourist brochure analysis: the required tools for explaining the variation tourist brochures are covered in greater detail, as well as the need for tools for discourse analysis that link this variation to developments and changes in Helsinki and the global world.

2.3 The requirements for analysing tourist brochures

The previous sections introduced the reasons for variation in tourist brochures. Variation that extends across all modes and sub-modes is a concept that can only be approached by developing suitable multisystemiotic methods for analysing all aspects of the variation. In the recent years, the development of the theory of multisemiotics, the use of different semiotic resources in the meaning-making process, has opened new possibilities for extending linguistic research (cf. Ventola et al. 2004; O'Halloran 2004; Levine and Scollon 2004; Baldry 2000). This is a significant step forward in being able to analyse tourist brochures: forcing a monomodal approach focusing solely on the mode of language would disregard a large amount of valuable information that takes part in the meaning-making process. Thus, multisystemiotic analysis is more of a requirement than an option when analysing tourist brochures.

Using shared concepts in describing different modes is essential: it allows establishing links between the modes. The modes of language and image are the most important modes for communicating information in tourist brochures, while the sub-modes of colour, typography and composition support the "core modes" that carry the actual content of the brochure. A study analysing tourist brochures has to be able

to describe all these elements and to explain the variation that takes place among the elements. The logical point of departure for a multisystemiotic analysis is the theory of systemic-functional linguistics. This results from the fact that theories seeking to describe other modes and sub-modes draw heavily on the theories of Halliday (1978, 1994). As a semiotic theory, the systemic-functional linguistic theory can be extended to cover multisemiotics, whereas the formalistic linguistic theories are limited in their capability of extending analysis outside the mode of language. The purpose of multisystemiotic analysis is the study of the meaning-making process across modes, which requires the flexibility offered by semiotic theories. The systemic-functional grammar (SFG) functions as an adept tool for analysing the mode of language and, equally importantly, discourse. Halliday points out that "a discourse analysis that is not based on a grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text" (1985: xvii). Using the theories of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2001) and O'Toole (1994) that are based on systemic-functional linguistics, the notion of discourse analysis based on grammar can be expanded to other modes and sub-modes operating in tourist brochures.

The aim of this chapter has been (1) to define the genre of tourist brochure, (2) to describe the reasons for variation and common features among tourist brochures and (3) to briefly describe multisemiotics and its methodological requirements. Now that a general view of the dynamics of tourist brochures and multisemiotics has been established, Chapter 3 looks into the subject of multisemiotics in greater detail from the standpoint of multisystemiotic tourist brochure analysis.

3. On modes and sub-modes

This chapter explores the modes of language and image, and the sub-modes of composition, colour and typography in closer detail. Each mode and sub-mode are covered in their own sections. In addition to reviewing previous research that is relevant from the standpoint of tourist brochure analysis, the sections also seek to pay attention to the interaction between modes and sub-modes. Recognising the interactional capabilities of the modes and sub-modes is essential for multisystemiotic analysis, as the interaction extends across every mode and sub-mode in print media.

While this study does not cover sub-modes beyond composition, colour and typography in the theoretical background of this thesis, it is important to acknowledge that external factors such as paper quality and shape can take part in the process of meaning-making. In any case, this study emphasises interaction and its role in tourist brochure design, considering these external features to be of lower importance in terms of this study.

As the theories required for tourist brochure analysis have their roots in linguistic research, Section 3.1 covers the mode of language. The section incorporates a brief review of previous linguistic research that is not based on systemic-functional theory, but may provide insight into the role of language in society, and its consequences for tourist brochure design. The other main mode covered in this study, image, and its function in tourist brochure design is explored in Section 3.2. The importance of establishing a link between the modes of language and image through the use of shared concepts was introduced in Chapter 2. Thus, Chapter 3 attempts to create a framework using these concepts for a multisystemiotic analysis of tourist brochures.

Interaction between the two modes that realise the visual and verbal elements in composition is a central theme in Subsection 3.3.1 that covers the sub-mode of composition. In this subsection, the systems of information value zone, framing and salience are explored in the light of tourist brochure analysis. While this study acknowledges the significant role of the sub-modes in organising information contained in the core modes, the sub-modes are considered to be in a supporting role in tourist brochure design[1]. Consequently, the subsections covering composition, colour and typography seek to find a new approach for analysing sub-modes, offering an alternative layered model that is more suitable for analysis that focuses on tourist brochures.

3.1 Language as a mode

In order to fully appreciate language in tourism advertisements of today, a review of relevant linguistic research conducted in earlier times is necessary. Although the focus is on multisemiotics, the research conducted before the development of the theory of multisemiotics offers insight into how the changes in society and language have affected advertising. The relationship between the language of a target group of an advertisement and the language of advertising should not be neglected, because advertisements seek to identify with the consumers, and the most efficient way to identify with the potential customers is through social processes involving the consumers' own language variety. This section begins with a brief overview of linguistic research conducted in urban context during the 20th century, and how these developments relate to the

1. As opposed to, for example, a work of art such as a painting, where image and composition are dominant.

language situation today and its reflections in tourist brochures.

3.1.1 From social class to lifestyle

Linguistic research in urban environment is a relatively new field of study. Before the 1960's, linguistic research focused mostly on dialectology and largely ignored cities as potential locations of linguistic fieldwork. A pioneering study in the field of urban sociolinguistic research was done by William Labov in 1966, who studied the distribution of linguistic variables among different social classes in New York City. Although Labov's (1982: 42) study was limited to observing features of speech among urban inhabitants, it showed that language is involved in creating coherence among social groups. In more recent research, Labov (2001: 516) has analysed how linguistic change takes place in social groups, concluding that the changes often originate from upper working class. From the point of view of tourism advertising, studying the features of the language of a social group offers a chance to create advertisements that adopt the language variety of the target group. The target group is thus more likely to identify with the advertised product. In a society stratified by classes, defining the target groups was relatively easy: in the world of today, the situation is increasingly complicated due to the deconstruction of class-based views on society.

Labov's work has been valuable for the development of sociolinguistics and the study of linguistic change, but its class-based approach has been the subject of debate for some time. The concept of 'lifestyle' presents a challenge to Labov's approach, as the concept ignores previously "stable social positionings such as class, gender and age" (van Leeuwen 2005: 144), and instead creates coherence among a

group through shared consumer behaviour. This concept poses a problem for both linguistic research and tourism advertising. Linguists can no longer expect the society to fit into predetermined social classes: although social classes still exist, their role is diminishing. Labov's "leaders of the linguistic change" do not necessarily appear from the upper working class anymore, but instead from groups associated with a certain lifestyle, which becomes popular or trendy in the eyes of a larger audience. As lifestyle becomes associated with linguistic style (van Leeuwen 2005: 148), it poses a problem for tourism advertising as lifestyles are easily discarded and replaced by other lifestyles. The high mobility of subjects and lifestyle's capability to transform require constant observation of consumers, their lifestyle and the associated linguistic style. Bolter and Grusin (1999: 231) have suggested that in our age, media is the vehicle for defining both personal and cultural identity. As identities associated with a certain lifestyle are acquired and renewed through media dominated by advertisements, the linguistic style associated with a lifestyle can be extended to cover also the mode of image and the sub-modes of composition, colour and typography. As lifestyle is based on consumption and 'taste', tourist brochures have to be designed in a way that the particular lifestyle is reflected in their Field, Tenor and Mode.

The dynamics of contemporary society cannot be ignored in linguistic research, especially when analysing social change and its reflection in print media such as tourist brochures. The process of transitioning from a class-based society to a lifestyle-based society inevitably sets new requirements for the use of language and image. Acknowledging this development is essential for analysing the material of

this study: it may help to explain why tourist brochures no longer attempt to present a view of the whole city, but instead offer information on specific locations or events that are seen as favourable to the city's image and are likely to attract tourists who identify themselves with a certain lifestyle. Describing the change requires discourse analysis that extends across language and image. The systemic-functional theory allows this extension, and thus provides a suitable framework for analysing the language in tourist brochures without detaching the mode of language from other modes and sub-modes: the next subsection explores the capabilities of systemic-functional grammar in multisystemiotic analysis of tourist brochures.

3.1.2 Systemic-functional grammar

Choosing systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) for analysing tourist brochures was based on the fact that other modes and sub-modes besides language draw heavily on SFL. As SFL is a semiotic model of language, it has proved to be more flexible than traditional theories describing language, because it can be extended to other modes. The benefits of using a theory that shares the same concepts to describe different modes in a multisystemiotic analysis were described earlier, stressing the importance of avoiding analysis that is purely descriptive. This subsection, however, focuses on the systemic-functional grammar (SFG) as a tool for analysing the mode of language in tourist brochures. It introduces the metafunctions of language, focusing on the Ideational and Textual metafunctions and their applications in tourist brochure research. The extension of the metafunctions into other modes besides language is also introduced in this subsection.

SFG sees language as having three metafunctions: Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual. The Ideational metafunction encodes experience, while the Interpersonal metafunction encodes interaction. The Textual metafunction is responsible for organising meanings created by Ideational and Interpersonal metafunctions into a coherent whole. While these metafunctions apply to both written and spoken language, they can also be extended to the mode of image (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 40-41). Naturally, all three metafunctions operate in tourist brochures. The Ideational metafunction can be used to describe different locations, the Interpersonal metafunction may persuade the tourist to explore the described locations and the Textual metafunction organises the meanings created using the two other metafunctions. Although this thesis focuses on the role of Ideational metafunction in semiosis, the Interpersonal metafunction and its capability to persuade the reader should not be ignored. The rest of this subsection explores the Ideational and Textual metafunctions, and their central role in the mode of language in tourist brochures.

The Ideational metafunction is divided between Experiential and Logical meanings: the former represents experience through language, while the latter shows the relationships between Experiential meanings (Butt et al. 2003: 5). Particularly interesting for tourist brochure research are Relational processes included in the Experiential meanings, as the functions of Relational processes are Identifying and Attributing (Halliday 1985: 115). Identifying processes involve two entities, the Identified and its Identifier. This process that creates relationships between entities can be used to assign values to any location or event in a tourist brochure. Halliday

(1985: 115) introduces two grammatical functions related to the process of Identifying: Token and Value, where Token is the entity that is being identified, and Value is the entity that assigns Token its identity. Carrier and Attribute are the corresponding functions in Relational Attributive processes, although they are not as flexible as Identifying processes, because they are not reversible, and thus lack a passive structure (Halliday 1985: 114).

Creating an image for a city relies on the Token and Value, Carrier and Attribute relationships in advertising, as these grammatical functions are used to assign the city or its parts with certain qualities or to place them into categories and classes. Examining the relationships created through Identifying and Attributive processes in tourist brochures provide a possibility to track the changes in society, both in Helsinki and in the outside world, by focusing on the shifts in both Tokens and Values, and Carriers and Attributes.

In addition to the Ideational metafunction, the Textual metafunction is significant for tourist brochure design in all modes and sub-modes. It was pointed out in Chapter 2 that the brochures have to pay attention to cohesion and the efficient use of semiotic resources during the design process, due to limited availability of compositional space. Faced with these requirements, the Textual metafunction is responsible for aiding the effective organisation of information in tourist brochure design in language, image, composition, colour and typography.

The purpose of a tourist brochure is to describe and promote, and this purpose is reflected in the language of tourist brochures in (1) meaning-making on the level of Ideational metafunction, and (2) in the way of presenting the

information on the level of Textual metafunction. The Textual metafunction is responsible for realising the purpose of tourist brochure in different types of texts. Alterative strategies may be employed to achieve this goal. As an example, although generally texts in leaflet-sized tourist brochures are relatively short, the texts can be even more fragmented, as exemplified by a series of brochures analysed in Section 5.2. In this case, cohesion can be created by structural choices, such as repetitive thematic progression, instead of the use of lexical devices. In this thesis, the Textual metafunction is reserved for explaining the cohesion in tourist brochure design in Chapter 5. Together, the Ideational and Textual metafunctions create an image of a city for the tourist, associating the entities acting as Tokens with positive Values, categorising them using Carriers and Attributes, and presenting them to the reader in a coherent and attractive package. To further illustrate the capabilities of the Textual metafunction, Kress and van Leeuwen (2002: 349) have shown how colour creates cohesion in print media in both composition (colour use in the background) and typography: the same strategies are used in creating cohesion in tourist brochures. From the viewpoint of composition and the visual elements of a tourist brochure, different compositions realise different textual meanings (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 41). Continuing with the the concept of metafunctionality, the following section describes the mode of image and its capabilities and function in tourist brochure design.

3.2 Image as a mode

The extensive use of the mode of image is typical for tourist brochures, as image provides the channel for communicating visual content. Language alone is hardly sufficient for this purpose, for the space reserved for text is often limited. Image, however, possesses better representational qualities than language. A picture may indeed be worth a thousand words, especially when operating in a limited compositional space. When combined, the modes of image and language are capable of offering a wealth of information to the reader of the tourist brochure within a limited space. However, the brochures also manifest discourses, as Kress and van Leeuwen point out:

> Pictorial structures do not simply reproduce the structures of 'reality'. On the contrary, they produce images of reality which are bound up with the interests of the social institutions within which the pictures are produced, circulated and read. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 45)

Thus, the content of the tourist brochure is never objective: the brochures attempt to present their subject in positive light, rarely showing the negative sides of society. In the mode of language, discourses that are realised in tourist brochures are often expressed through the use of the Ideational metafunction. To establish a connection between the two modes, the corresponding process in the mode of image has to be defined.

O'Toole (1994), who applies the metafunctions in his analysis of art, offers a clearer view on how the Ideational metafunction operates in the mode of image than Kress and van Leeuwen (1996). While Kress and van Leeuwen briefly describe represented participants acting as Carriers who receive Attributes (1996: 49), O'Toole presents his view on the

Ideational metafunction in the mode of language in a more detailed manner. According to O'Toole (1994: 281), the Representational metafunction in the mode of image is the metafunction corresponding to the Ideational metafunction in language. O'Toole describes the ranks of the Representational metafunction as shown in Table 1:

Function Unit	REPRESENTATIONAL
WORK	Narrative themes Scenes Portrayals Interplay of episodes
EPISODE	Actions, events Agents-patients-goals Focal/side sequence
FIGURE	Character object Act/Stance/Gesture Clothing Components
MEMBER	Part of body/object Natural form

Table 1: Rank scale for the Representational metafunction. O'Toole (1994: 24).

O'Toole's description of the Representational metafunction is applicable to the analysis of image in tourist brochures, as the rank scale allows separating entities from the mode of image. Kress and van Leeuwen's view on Carriers and Attributes is a tempting option as the concepts also exist in the mode of language, but this only represents a half of the Intensive Relational processes in the mode of language. As the separation between Identifying and Attributive is unclear in the mode of image, O'Toole's rank scale presents a more suitable alternative. On the level of an entire work - a tourist brochure - O'Toole's view offers a flexible choice for describing the use of image: it can analyse the

narrative themes created by multiple visual elements, or a single visual element as a scene or portrayal. This capability allows O'Toole's theory to cope with a wide variety of material that use different strategies in the use of image. This is an essential feature, as tourist brochures from different periods employ different strategies. In connection to Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996: 45) ideas on how pictures reflect ideologies by affecting the production of the image, also O'Toole acknowledges the similar role of modality in art, in the mode of image:

> "They include the way a depicted scene is Framed (e.g. included/partially obscured/excluded by the edge of the picture); deliberate Omissions from the scene; the Symbolic overtones of certain objects, attributes or colours;" (O'Toole 1994: 188)

O'Toole's views on framing, omitting and colouring apply to both photography and illustrations in tourist brochures. As the analysis in Chapter 5 shows, the conscious choice of omission through framing has been used in the tourist brochures to exclude elements in the mode of image that disagree with the overall view of Helsinki provided by the brochure.

The power of modality is demonstrated by its capability to present life-like pictures as well as extreme abstractions. The whole range can be found from tourist brochures: in one brochure, the cover may have a photograph of the Cathedral and harbour in Helsinki, whereas in another brochure the Cathedral and the sea may be more abstract, achieved through reduction of the amount of colours used. An extreme type of abstraction through modality is a depiction of a culturally valued entity, which has evolved into a symbol of the city. For example, the twin towers of the Cologne Cathedral are a prominent symbol for the German city

of Cologne. Plate 1 shows how the logo is implemented into a postcard advertising the football World Cup of 2006:

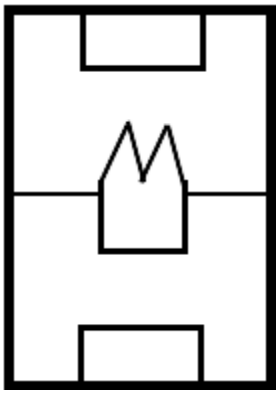

Plate 1: An illustration of a German football card advertising the city of Cologne during the football World Cup of 2006.

The conscious implementation of logos such as the one above in Plate 1, and the consistent use of similar layouts, colouring and typography is known as a type of *visual branding*, an often used marketing technique of creating a "personality" for a product. In tourist brochures, the use of "city logos" can be the result of visual branding, or the fact that the entity subject to abstraction is seen as culturally significant and valued from the perspective of the city and its inhabitants, as Plate 1 shows.

Although this study relies mostly on the work of O'Toole (1994) and Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2001) as the core theories for developing the method of this thesis, the increased interest in multisemiotics has produced valuable new information applicable to tourist brochure research. Yuen (2004: 163) stresses that despite the increase in multimodal research, certain areas of research have not received the attention they deserve. In Yuen's case, this area is the multisemiotic print advertisement. Yuen (2004: 164) proceeds to propose a generic structure for a print

advertisement, a structure that could also be used for analysing tourist brochures. Yuen refers to the previously introduced concept of an abstract "logo" as an Emblem, also distinguishing elements such as an Announcement and Call-and-Visit Information. The material presented by Yuen includes advertisements promoting such products as cars and electronics: however, the advertisements in question are single-page advertisements. A tourist brochure, however, often consists of multiple pages, and a single page may have multiple of what Yuen (2004: 165) refers to as the Locus of Attention. As a tourist brochure rarely focuses on a single subject in the way a single-page tourist advertisement does, Yuen's work could be more effectively applied to the analysis of tourist posters than tourist brochures, as they are often more focused than tourist brochures. A tourist brochure may contain multiple separate visual and verbal elements. For analysing multiple elements, O'Toole's rank scale (1994: 24) may prove more suitable, whereas Yuen's model (2004) may be adept for print media with simpler structures. In any case, this situation shows how the variation in Field, Tenor and Mode of print media sets requirements for multisystemiotic analysis.

O'Toole's (1994: 188) view of modality and Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996: 45) theory on what influences the reproduction of reality in the mode of image, combined with O'Toole's (1994: 24) rank scale for Representational metafunction provides the study with means of explaining the choices made during the previous decades in the design of the tourist brochures promoting Helsinki. This section concludes the discussion on image as a separate mode. Having now covered both language and image, Section 3.3 focuses on the sub-modes of composition, colour and typography. As all of

these sub-modes are capable of modifying visual and verbal elements and are in constant interaction with the modes of language and image, the sub-modes are a significant part of the multisemiotic theoretical framework of this thesis.

3.3 Sub-modes

Composition, colour and typography have been referred to as sub-modes throughout this study, based on a model of multimodality in print media by Stöckl (2004: 12). The complex relationship between modes and sub-modes, in which the sub-modes can modify the meanings carried by the core modes by altering their own properties has increased the interest in researching the sub-modes. Examples of this work include a study of colour (Kress and van Leeuwen 2002) and a study of typography (Stöckl 2005), both drawing on SFL in their theoretical background. This study extends the concept of sub-mode to the concept of composition, acknowledging its meaning-making potential through organising the information contained in both verbal and visual elements. Subsections 3.3.1, 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 are dedicated to the analysis of sub-modes of composition, colour and typography, and how they participate in the meaning-making process in tourist brochures.

3.3.1 Composition as a sub-mode

Modes and sub-modes both create and manage a wealth of information and meaning potential in print media. Creating coherence between different elements, the process of composition is responsible for organising the elements into a meaningful whole. Composition does not only organise the information, it creates additional meaning through the placing of elements and managing the interaction between the elements: the meaning potential of composition relies solely on manipulating the products of other modes and sub-modes.

This subsection introduces composition in detail, focusing on its aspects that are relevant to tourist brochure design.

The starting point for composition is the semiotic space (van Leeuwen 2005a: 198). It serves as the space in which the verbal and visual text are connected to the sub-modes of colour and typography. Lim's (2004: 222) Integrative Multi-Semiotic Model (IMM) for print media presents the semiotic space as a Space of Integration, where the language and the visual interact on the levels of content and expression. Although the IMM clearly demonstrates the complex structure of the meaning-making process in a multisemiotic text, the model itself may be too complex for analysis of tourist brochures. However, including ideology in the context plane in the model serves to explain the change that can be witnessed in the tourist brochures of Helsinki.

The limited space for semiosis within the Mode variable in the context of situation was first introduced in Chapter 2. This limitation forces the designer of the tourist brochure to carefully place the verbal and visual elements in the semiotic space, the goal being the maximal efficiency in communicating the intended information to the reader. The placing of elements is often motivated by information value zones. However, Kress (2003: 69) points out that the position in semiotic space has meaning potential, not meaning, as the meaning varies according to the context of culture. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 203) suggest that Asian design may have a tendency to focus around Centre and Margin. The material of this study being a product of a Western culture, the focus will be on information value zones prominent in Western design. However, cultural tendencies are not definitive and do not set limits to the process of design. In fact, the most successful advertisements often break away from the norms and

present themselves as something new, while still adhering to the taste of the audience targeted by the advertisement.

Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996: 208) model presenting the dimensions of visual space can be used for analysing the placing of verbal and visual elements in tourist brochure design. Although the model can be interpreted as a canvas where the elements and information value zones exist, it does not incorporate the sub-modes of colour and typography. When analysing composition, acknowledging the continuous interaction between the sub-modes and modes during the process of composition is of utmost importance. As the sub-modes possess the capability to modify and manipulate the verbal and visual text, their presence in the model makes it easier to present the two other systems involved in composition in addition to information value zones: framing and salience. These systems can also be realised through the sub-modes of colour and typography. Combining the sub-modes with information value zones, Figure 1 presents a model for analysing small-sized print media, such as tourist brochures:

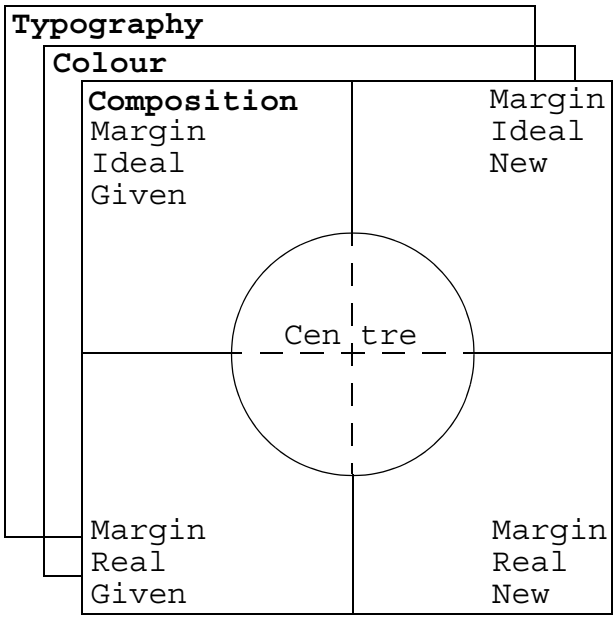

Figure 1: Information value zones and sub-modes in composition, adapted from Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 208).

Including the sub-modes of colour and typography in a model of information value zones is not a statement against the original model dealing with only the concept of information value zones in composition, but instead an enhancement, which may serve to provide a clearer view on how the sub-modes of colour and typography operate in the same semiotic space as a part of the process of composition. The presence of colour and typography also illustrates how these sub-modes are also present in the systems of framing and salience to elements, although it is not explicitly implied in the enhanced model. The role of colour and typography alongside language and image in compositional systems are explained in more detail in Subsubsections 3.3.1.1, 3.3.1.2 and 3.3.1.3.

3.3.1.1 Information value zones

The information value zones can be seen as extending horizontally from left to right, vertically from top to bottom, or diagonally across the centre in the semiotic space. The functions of placing two or more elements in certain locations in the semiotic space have been defined by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) as Given and New (left and right), Ideal and Real (top and bottom) and Centre and Margin (centre and its surrounding margins). The material of this study did not include examples of the Centre and Margin information value structures, which Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 203) suggest as being more prominent in Asian design. As a result, the remainder of the subsection focuses on the more common structures of Given and New, and Ideal and Real.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 188), there exists a similarity between language and composition through the sequential structure of information. The Given and New implement this sequential structure in the compositional space. The older material of this study includes examples of sequential information structure realised through the function of Given and New, by placing the verbal element in the location assigned with the value of Given, and the verbal element in the corresponding location of New on the right. The verbal text presents the architecture in Helsinki through Given and New structures in the mode of language, while the visual text supports the verbal text by providing a visual reference to the different styles of architecture found within the city. As a result, the double page works as an integrated multisemiotic text comprising of language, image and composition. Plate 2 shows an example of a Given and New structure in a tourist brochure.



Plate 2: An example of Given and New structure in a tourist brochure.

The other two functions, Ideal and Real are associated with the top and bottom of the semiotic space. Whereas the Given and New are often closely connected, the Ideal and Real are not (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 193). In advertising, the top section functioning as the Ideal often seeks to create an image to associate with the advertised product, while the bottom section presents the Real, that is, the product or related information. The content pages in the material of this study do not rely on Ideal and Real structure to present the information to the reader. This may result from the the fact that in advertising, the Ideal is often a visual element, while the Real is a verbal element. The communicative purpose and the semiotic space reserved for composition in the tourist brochures does not usually allow the use of a such structure, as the visual element reserves

most of the semiotic space. However, the material collected for this study showed that Ideal and Real have often been used during the previous decades and the current decade in the cover of a tourist brochure. A powerful image is more effective than a piece of a text in the cover of a brochure, as it can be connected to a location or an event through the use of an Ideal and Real structure. The Ideal and Real can also be separated using the system of framing, as explained in the next subsubsection.

3.3.1.2 Framing

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 183) define framing as follows:

> "The presence or absence of framing devices (realized by elements which create dividing lines, or by actual frame lines) disconnects or connects the elements of the image, signifying that they belong or do not belong together in some sense."

This definition describes framing as a process operating in a predefined environment, such as a tourist brochure. Although it serves to explain the inclusion or exclusion of an element in or from a semiotic space and the technique of creating the effect, the description does not adequately take into account the initial creation of the semiotic space in question. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001: 45) offer an alternative explanation concerning framing in connection to their theory of multimodal design: "the idea of design - a deliberateness about choosing the modes for representation, and the framing for that representation". The suggestion that design involves choosing the modes and a part of a social reality which is represented (framed) is interesting from the point of view of tourist brochures, which seek to portray their subject in positive light. These processes are naturally guided by discourses operating in the background.

A closer look on Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996: 183) description of framing defines the basics required for examining this system of composition, although it requires extending in order to be able to fully explain how framing works in design. The elements that create divisions in the semiotic space are often created using the sub-mode of colour, as contrasting properties of colours allows the recognition of the border between different elements. Typography can also create divisions in the mode of language through variation in the use of fonts. In tourist brochures, the function of framing devices is indeed to connect and disconnect. A brochure advertising Helsinki from 2005 shows the dual use of a coloured line as a framing device: it serves to separate different images, yet it runs through several pages, thus connecting them to one another (see Plate 10). Tourist brochures included in this study display also exclusion of elements through the process of framing. Section 5.1 shows how a certain building has been excluded from the pictures depicting Helsinki by focusing on a whole created by the other buildings that represent the same architectural style, unlike the building excluded from the image. This shows how framing can work very selectively in photography, reflecting ideology. In this case, the Uspenski Cathedral with its Byzantine architecture is a symbol of Russian influence in Finland, while the dominant ideology at the time stressed Finland's neutrality and Western cultural heritage. The problem of a Byzantine church excluded from the image due to its conflict with the neighbouring neo-classical buildings also introduces the system of salience, which has been used in later tourist brochures to adopt a more neutral approach to the issue.

3.3.1.3 Salience

In Plate 7, the Byzantine church is situated in the background while the coherent whole formed by the neoclassical buildings and the Helsinki Cathedral dominates the foreground of the picture. The foreground is salient in the picture, having more visual weight (van Leeuwen 2005a: 198) than the other elements. In this case, salience is created by focus and the use of wide angle, although the relative size and contrasting colour tones also participate in creating an effect of salience. Salience can also be achieved through framing and placing the element into a certain information value zone.

An interesting concept for tourist brochure research is the concept of cultural salience, introduced by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 185), who use the cultural salience of a female body as an example. While it is undoubtedly true that this is the case in the Western culture, it also raises the question whether the concept of cultural salience can be extended to inanimate objects, such as buildings. Therborn (2002: 39) suggests that alongside the places of religious worship, the significant components of "capital city outfits" are museums, operas, libraries, universities and theatres. Therborn's claim can be connected to the idea of tourist brochure as a representation of social reality. The context of culture and its value systems define the content of a tourist brochure: a traditional tourist brochure presents the elements that are culturally salient, such as important buildings or generally accepted truths about the distinctive features of the culture.

3.3.2 Colour as a sub-mode

The linguistic study of colour is an extensive field of study with many different possible approaches. To present a single example, in anthropological linguistics the focus of the study can be the colour vocabulary of a language. As the scope of the subject is sufficient for a thesis of its own, it becomes obvious that the study of colour requires a clear focus and theoretical framework. In this thesis, Halliday's metafunctional theory and its operation in the domain of colour serves as the tool for analysing colour use as a part of the multisystemiotic analysis of tourist brochures. Kress and van Leeuwen (2002) have presented a grammar of colour based on the theory of metafunctionality, with the emphasis being on the role of colour in different communicative situations and the shared meanings of colours that may be generally accepted within a particular society. The rest of this subsection reviews Kress and van Leeuwen's research on metafunctionality in the domain of colour, and how their research may be applied to tourist brochure research.

Before introducing the specific metafunctions and their operation in colour, the question whether colour is a mode or a sub-mode has to be addressed. While it appears that colour does operate in all three metafunctions and is therefore metafunctional, it does require "a broadly social semiotic multimodal framework" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2002: 345). If the requirement for the status of a mode was to fulfil all three metafunctions, colour could be considered a mode: yet colour by itself is not capable of performing complex communicative tasks. Kress and van Leeuwen (2002: 345) explain the role of colour in communication by pointing out that "it is clear that cultures do not expend the same energy at all times on all the potentially usable semiotic

resources". In the Western culture, the modes of language and image are more developed than colour[1], thus rendering it to the role of a sub-mode. The point is, however, that although colour is a sub-mode, its metafunctional capabilities express the wide range of options how colour can be used together with the modes of language and image and other sub-modes. As a result, the application of colour's metafunctional capability in tourist brochure design is also interaction-oriented, as the following description of the different metafunctions attempts to show.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2002: 347) begin by analysing the Ideational metafunction in colour, arguing that colour can denote various entities, such as social status of people (clothing), nation states (flags) and corporations (specific colours). The final example is the most interesting from the point of view of this thesis, as the connection between a colour and a corporation is formed by the process of visual branding. Visual branding seeks to unify the visual image of a corporation by repetitive use of signs and colours. In visual branding, colour schemes are strictly defined using models such as RGB, where the different colours are reproduced using a combination of red, green and blue. To illustrate how sensitive human eye is to colour, an individual who has been heavily subjected to the visual image of the brand may be able to recognise a fake product, because the manufacturer of the counterfeit product has been unable to reproduce the exact colour used in the logo of the original manufacturer. The process of visual branding is in no way exclusive to the world of commerce, but instead it can be applied to any public organisation. An example of visual

1. Until recently colour has also been expensive to produce, which has further limited its use.

branding of a city is the logo on the cover of the Helsinki tourist brochures as illustrated in Plate 3.



Plate 3: Variations of the "Helsinki" logo in different tourist brochures.

The square box with the text "Helsinki - all points considered" retains the same colour, while the box on its left changes its colour according to the overall colour scheme of the brochure. Repeating the blue box and the text attempts to attract the readers attention, imposing the logo on the readers' minds. For example, in a situation where a reader is walking around Helsinki, a similar sticker on the door of a store can then operate as a sign denoting a location that has been introduced in one of the brochures produced by Helsinki, or is otherwised endorsed by the city.

The Interpersonal metafunction in the domain of colour is more problematic from the standpoint of tourist brochure, as this type of print media does not necessarily rely solely on "colour acts" to communicate. By using the term "colour act" as a corresponding term to a "speech act" (in the mode of language), Kress and van Leeuwen (2002: 348) stress how colour can be used for different purposes. Drawing on an example from print media, Kress and van Leeuwen point out that colours can be used to warn or advise in print media. Important information can be made stand out by introducing

colours into the design that differ from the colours used for the background and the fonts that are used for the headings and body text.[1] This lends salience to the verbal or visual element.

In their presentation of the Textual metafunction of colour, Kress and van Leeuwen (2002: 349) introduce their idea on how colour both distinguishes and connects different elements. This, of course, applies to more than just print media, but in this study, the idea of colour functioning in a separating or connecting role is significant. In the contemporary brochures analysed in Section 5.2, the locations are introduced in numbered lists that use different colours for each instance of number, heading and body text. This allows the reader to distinguish the elements, although the purpose is not necessarily to emphasise important information, but instead to aid the reading process by separating the information. Repeating the same colours also creates a textual effect. Thus, it can be suggested that in tourist brochures and other genres of print media, the Textual metafunction participates in organising information by separating and connecting elements through colour use. However, to fulfil its purpose succesfully, the use of colour has to be harmonius. Regarding colour harmony, Kress and van Leeuwen (2002: 349) point out the shared properties of colours that work together, such as the same value of brightness, saturation and so on. This important feature in all design involving colours is present also in the material of this study, and it will be presented in Chapter 5.

After presenting the three metafunctions and their operation in the sub-mode of colour, it is reasonable to

1. For example, a certain brochure excluded from this study used the combination of red and yellow colours to present information about the emergency phone numbers in Finland.

analyse the capabilities of colour, which can be realised when all three metafunctions operate simultaneously. The idea that colour can, but does not necessarily fulfil all three metafunctions at the same time is introduced by Kress and van Leeuwen (2002: 350). Considering the application of colour as a semiotic resource, in their previous work Kress and van Leeuwen (2001: 25) have connected the use of colour to discourse, in an analysis of a home decoration magazine. The topic of the issue is repeated throughout the magazine not only in content, but also in the use of colour that create an allusion of the topic. The colours reflect elements of nature: the idea of nature is then carried on to household items through the use of colour. The brochures analysed in Subsection 5.1 exhibit similar use of colour: the cover depicts Helsinki, "Daughter of the Baltic", in a photograph taken from the sea, an idea which is further repeated within the content pages in the form of illustrations resembling blue waves. The imagery supports the discourse that promotes Helsinki as a special seaside capital. This might serve as an example how colour functions as a semiotic resource. While colour might be overshadowed by langage and image in contemporary communication, it is capable of realising a variety of meanings and performing different functions. Yet this situation may be changing: as producing colour becomes more affordable, and programs capable of colour manipulation and colour printers become more widespread, the use of colour may receive more attention in communication.

Kress and Van Leeuwen's research (2001, 2002) provides a basis for including colour in the multisystemiotic analysis of tourist brochures. However, as this thesis also covers other modes and sub-modes, the analysis of colour focuses on instances where colour use is in significant role. Continuing

with the theory of metafunctionality, Subsection 3.3.3 covers the sub-mode of typography, which is, like every other mode and sub-mode that are realised through the visual sensory channel, affected by the sub-mode of colour.

3.3.3 Typography as a sub-mode

In its written medial variant, the mode of language relies on typography in conveying the message. While the meaning potential of language has been widely researched over an extended period of time, typography as the sub-mode that realises the mode of language has received little attention. Recent research has attempted to prove the potential of typography as a semiotic resource, resulting in what can be roughly divided into two types of approaches applicable to multisystemiotic analysis of tourist brochures. Stöckl (2004, 2005) presents a view of typography's role in print media and explores the possibility of creating a grammar for typography, whereas van Leeuwen (2005a, 2005b) associates typography with connotations and lifestyle. This subsection seeks to offer insights into how recent advances in typographical research might be integrated in the multisystemiotic analysis of print media.

Stöckl (2005) points out how extensive the variation in typography can be, dividing typography into four different domains: microtypography, mesotypography, macrotypography and paratypography. These domains, in turn, are made of what Stöckl (2005: 210) refers to as the typographical building blocks that extend from the domain of microtypography to paratypography, including such features as type face (microtypography), spacing (mesotypography), emphasis (macrotypography) and paper quality (paratypography). These typographical choices that affect the appearance of written language are made in every domains of typography. Although

this thesis seeks to explain the practical reasons for typographical choices in tourist brochures, Stöckl's work on the grammar of typography is important for multisystemiotic analysis, because it establishes the relationship between typography, colour and composition on the level of macrotypography. This connection is significant, as interaction between the sub-modes is one of the key factors in successful tourist brochure design. Depending on whether the point of departure in designing the colour use in a tourist brochure is typography or composition (either or both of these requirements may be predefined when creating an unified visual image for a location or an event), the background and the colour of the type must work together.

Van Leeuwen (2005b) does not seek to establish any specific domains of typography, but instead suggests that the typographical choices carry certain connotations. Using the example of a font with an 'industrial' connotation[1], van Leeuwen (2005b: 139) exemplifies how the meaning that originates from the typographical choice is carried across to the packages of childrens' toy guns. According to van Leeuwen (2005a: 146-147), typographical choices are also becoming associated with certain values, which in turn are associated with different lifestyles. The fonts in van Leeuwen's study are widely known and used, but not necessarily in the field of advertising. This is the result of the trend of striving towards individuality in the modern world, as both advertisers and consumers seek to differentiate themselves from the masses (Machin & van Leeuwen 2005: 585). As language style and lifestyle become closer, typographical choices gain more importance as

1. As an example of how fonts may carry multiple connotations, I personally associate this font with military, not industry.

typography functions as the medial variant of written language. This change can also be seen in the Helsinki tourist brochures, as in the contemporary brochures the font used in the title reflects its content. The title "smooth nordic oddity" (see Plate 10) is filled with colour, which changes gradually across the title in horizontal direction from light blue to yellow. The title also has a drop shadow on its lower right-hand side and a white outline around the letters, blending the title smoothly into the background. Another brochure of the same series, entitled "BOHEMIAN NORDIC ODDITY" (see Plate 8) uses a simple font with white colour and capital letters, that stands out clearly from the dark background. This may be an indication of how typography is now expected to interact with other sub-modes through adjusting its qualities on the level of macrotypography.

The purpose of this subsection has been to introduce two different approaches to typography, as well as to point out how modern print media design expects typography to interact with its environment. Typographical choices need to work on two levels: (1) they need to create a coherent whole with other elements co-existing in the compositional space, and (2) the designers need to pay attention to the possible connotations carried by certain fonts. Finding shared concepts between modes and sub-modes using SFL-based theories was one of the requirements for the theoretical framework of this study: Stöckl provides a starting point for this requirement by applying the Hallidayan metafunctions to typography:

> "First, typography works on the 'ideational' level as it refers to, comments on or reinforces verbal messages of the text - pictorial typography can express ideas on its own by virtue of representing objects. Second, typography functions 'inter-personally': it says something about the nature or emotional state of the writer, anticipates the aesthetic inclinations of the addressees or indicates the nature of the communicative contact between writer and reader. Third, graphic design is 'textual' when it serves to visually structure a verbal message and bring out its logical make-up." (Stöckl 2005: 212)

An example of typography operating on the Ideational level is the use of a bold font face to make writing more salient, in order to emphasise the entity. Stöckl's notion of the reader's aesthetic inclinations may serve to explain why the typographic conventions in tourist brochures have changed: both typography and aesthetic inclinations are dynamic, and change to maintain interpersonality. The capability of typography to convey Interpersonal meanings is illustrated in Benjamin et al. (2007: 126), who suggest that the newly designed covers fo a series of classic works in philosophy use the breaking of typographical rules to encourage readership. At the same time, the design of the covers carries allusions of the history of the books and their content: it could be suggested that this is the Interpersonal metafunction at work. The Textual metafunction may be seen as operating in both domains of mesotypography and macrotypography (Stöckl 2005: 210). In the domain of mesotypography, Textual metafunction is responsible for organising the verbal text, whereas macrotypography can be seen as establishing a link between other sub-modes, assembling verbal and visual text. Indeed, it may be suggested that the views of van Leeuwen (2005a, 2005b) and

Stöckl (2004, 2005) may be explained with the theory of metafunctionality, at least to some extent.

Chapter 3 as a whole has attempted to build a broad multisemiotic theoretical framework, consisting of two modes, language and image, and three sub-modes, composition, colour and typography. The aim has also been to have the framework use shared concepts for the purpose of multisystemiotic analysis. The shared concepts have originated from the theory of metafunctionality, which shall be further refined to develop the multisystemiotic method of this thesis in the following chapter.

4. Materials and methods

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the materials collected for this study and the methods that are used in the multisystemiotic analysis of the materials. Section 4.1 presents the materials and their sources, whereas Section 4.2 focuses on the methods derived from the theoretical framework of this thesis, which was presented in the previous chapter.

4.1 Materials

Various sources contributed materials for this study. The Helsinki Collection of the Helsinki City Library[1] provided material from 1970's to 1990's. The collection does not systemically collect everything related to Helsinki, which has resulted in a rather mixed range of print media products ranging from posters to books. Contemporary tourist brochures from the year 2005 were retrieved from Helsinki City Tourist Office[2]. Previous brochures were not available or stored, which raised the thought about possible document loss affecting contemporary brochures, due to the rapidly changing cityscape. The acquisition of these brochures would have enabled the tracing of recent developments in content and design.

Earliest tourist brochures found in the Helsinki Collection employed only the mode of language. Although their approach that gave both directions and descriptions was particularly interesting as the use of brochure required to start from a specific location and follow a predefined route, these brochures were excluded from this study as it focuses on multisemiotics in print media. Nevertheless, brochures using only the mode of language could be studied within a

1. The Helsinki Collection is a closed collection, access can be requested in the Main Library of Helsinki City Library.
2. Helsinki City Tourist Office can be found on the internet at the following address: http://www.hel.fi/tourism

multisemiotic framework as a study of semiotics of space and language.

As the collection consisted of a wide range of print media, a preselection was made on the basis that the materials used both language and image to convey information. The preselected materials were narrowed down using the definition of the genre of tourist brochure presented in Subsection 2.1.2, resulting in the inclusion of six brochures in this study. As complete reproductions are not possible, colour reproductions of every page included in the analysis are provided in Chapter 5, along with full reproductions of text in the brochures in Appendix A.

4.2 Methods

The multisemiotic theoretical framework of this thesis was presented in Chapter 3 as having two modes and three sub-modes available for meaning-making in tourist brochures. Language and image were considered to be the core modes responsible for carrying the content of the brochure, whereas composition, colour and typography were considered to be sub-modes that interact with the information contained in the core modes in several ways, organising information and creating additional meaning.

The theoretical framework drew heavily on Halliday's notion of metafunctionality (1994), which has been carried across to other modes and sub-modes by various researchers (e.g. Stöckl 2005; Kress and van Leeuwen 2002; O'Toole 1994). The theory of metafunctionality is central in this thesis, for it was suggested in Section 2.3 that using shared concepts would enable multisystemiotic analysis to establish links between modes and sub-modes. Although focus is on the analysis of Ideational metafunction in language and Representational metafunction in image, the analysis of the Textual metafunction in all modes and sub-modes is given a secondary role. This is necessary, because the brochures themselves are multisemiotic, and they employ the Textual metafunction to create cohesion in every semiotic resource used.

Supposing that the functions of Token and Value, and Carrier and Attribute are partly responsible for semiosis in tourist brochures, the associated Relational Identifying and Relational Attributive processes in the Ideational metafunction should be the main subject of study in the mode of language. The change in the entities occupying the functions of Token and Carrier may then be extended to

explain the dynamics of the content from two perspectives: (1) the effect of lifestyle as a stratifying force in society, and (2) how the change in society has affected the concepts of cultural salience (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 185) and the role of "capital city outfits" (Therborn 2002: 39). Surveying the change in Tokens and Carriers with the these two concepts in mind may help to explain how the content of the tourist brochures has shifted from landmarks and monuments to shopping malls, stores and nightclubs. Moreover, it may allow tracing the developments in Helsinki and the global world, and how the dominant discourses are reflected in tourist brochures.

The use of O'Toole's (1994: 24) rank scale for Representational metafunction may allow tracing the changes in society and their reflections in the mode of image in tourist brochures. The rank scale enables separating the entities existing in the mode of image and analysing them as entities existing on the scale. Acknowledging that images produce a certain type of reality is important. The images in tourist brochures are not there for the mere reason of supporting the mode of language. Instead, they have their own purpose and reflect discourses in their reproduction of reality. O'Toole's (1994: 188) views on modality function in the same way. It may be suggested, that any change in discourse should be reflected in both image and language. To sum up, the analysis of image uses the rank scale to distinguish elements and their interacting combinations, acknowledging that discourses determine the content represented in the image.

Three systems operating in the sub-mode of composition were introduced as a part of the theoretical framework of this study. The systems of *information value zones*, *framing*

and *salience* were all seen as capable of organising and modifying verbal and visual elements in composition. Operating in the semiotic space with other modes and sub-modes, the three systems were also affected by the sub-modes of colour and typography. Subsection 3.3.1 presented an enhanced version of Kress and van Leeuwen's model of information value zones (1996: 208), which incorporated the sub-modes of colour and typography, emphasising their role in interaction with composition and the systems of framing and salience. This interaction between the sub-modes is supposed to be responsible for textuality across multiple semiotic systems and the creation of additional meaning.

Analysing each feature of the sub-modes of colour and typography separately would require a significantly longer study. Instead, the supposition that metafunctionality may guide the operation of both colour and typography allows syndicating the analysis of these two sub-modes within composition. However, in certain cases more communicative resources may be invested in one sub-mode than in the other. In these cases attention should be paid to the meaning-making process in the particular sub-mode. The analysis of the sub-mode of colour as a separate semiotic resource is based on Kress and van Leeuwen (2002), whereas typographical analysis uses both Stöckl's (2005) and van Leeuwen's (2005b) views on connotation where appropriate.

This section has attempted to present certain hypotheses based on the theoretical framework of this thesis, and the methods that may be employed in multisystemiotic analysis of tourist brochures, in order to find out whether these hypotheses are true to certain extent. The aim has been to maintain a multisemiotic perspective and avoid separating the modes and sub-modes, but instead to work towards methods

that would be capable of establishing links across semiotic systems. The next chapter employs these methods in performing a multisystemiotic analysis of the materials collected for this study.

5. Analysis

Chapter 5 comprises of an analysis of the materials collected for this study, split in two separate sections. The reason behind the division is to separate the older material from the contemporary brochures, as they vary in their content, use of language and visual appearance. The sections contain three subsections: the first two for the modes of language and image that carry the actual content of the brochure, and the third for a combined analysis of the sub-modes of composition, colour and typography.

5.1 Past

The first section of the analysis focuses on the brochures produced approximately between late 1970’s and early 1990’s. Assigning exact dates to the materials proved difficult, as the brochures did not include any data on the year of publication. Rough estimates are based on the visual appearance of the brochures, as well as on the subjects portrayed in brochure photography: the presence or absence of new buildings helps in assigning a date to the brochure. The following three subsections analyse the modes of language and image and the sub-modes of composition, colour and typography in these brochures.



HELSINKI

Daughter of the Baltic

Finland

Helsinki is a modern city. Here the tourist does not come face to face with the past as he does in many old European capitals. Yet there are areas in Helsinki which give a genuine and comprehensive picture of the atmosphere and architecture of the past.

History. Great fires destroyed the old wooden Helsinki many times, but it was always rebuilt. The only remains of the trade and seafaring town that Swedish King Gustav Vasa founded in 1550 at the mouth of the River Vantaa are the foundations of a church. The massive walls of the Suomenlinna fortress date from the 18th century. Helsinki became Finland's capital in 1812. Many of the city's historically interesting sights date from the beginning of the 19th century, when the administrative centre was built around the Senate Square. Helsinki had a population of 4 000 in 1812. At the turn of the century the figure was 79 000 and it is just over half a million at present.

Architecture. The Empire style buildings around the Senate Square — the Cathedral, University and Government Palace, for example — are still the finest architectural achievements in Helsinki. It has been said of the Helsinki of the Empire period that it was the last European city designed as an entity and created as a work of art. The historic Senate Square will always hold the place of honour in the capital.

New business centres and civic buildings are being planned and built all the time, and the centre of the city is expanding. For example, a new business centre has developed around Hakaniemi Square. The City Theatre and the City Administration Building for social affairs are on the shore of Eläintarha Bay. The concert and congress hall Finlandia is in Hesperia Park on the shore of Töölö Bay. Traffic problems, restoration of the old and construction of the new while preserving the city's image are current topics in Helsinki at the moment.

In planning new areas and developing old ones the aim is to make the city a balanced whole with several regional

Plate 4: Helsinki, Daughter of the Baltic.

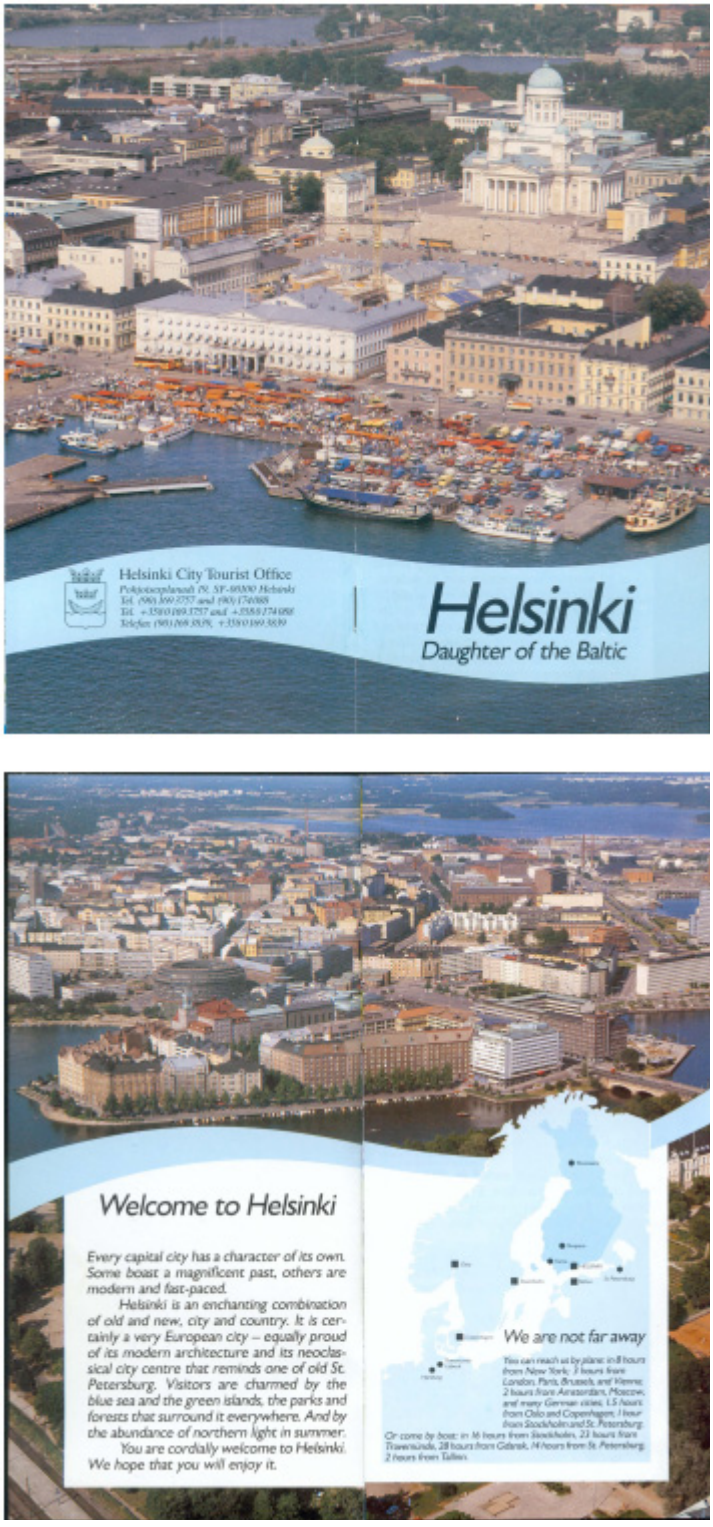

Plate 5: Helsinki, Daughter of the Baltic, 1980's. Cover and first double-page.

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The past and the present

Though definitely a modern city, present-day Helsinki clearly illustrates Finland's eventful history. Helsinki was founded in 1550 by the Swedish King Gustavus Vasa. Finland's long history (1155—1809) as part of Sweden left a lasting impression on Finnish culture and institutions. Helsinki remained a small town until 1809, when the Russian Empire conquered Finland and made it an autonomous Grand Duchy directly under the Russian czar.

The turning-point for Helsinki was 1812, when it became Finland's capital. The country's administrative and cultural centre was built around Senate Square, with the Government Palace (the former Senate) on one side, the University on another and on the third the Cathedral, which dominates the square and the view from the sea.

The Russian period ended in 1917, when Finland became independent. Ever since then, Helsinki has been a fast-growing modern capital, with a population today of about 500,000 people.

Helsinki is a bilingual city, about 7 per cent of the population being Swedish-speaking. There are two official state churches: the Lutheran and the Greek Orthodox.

Plate 6: Helsinki, Daughter of the Baltic, 1980's. Second double-page.



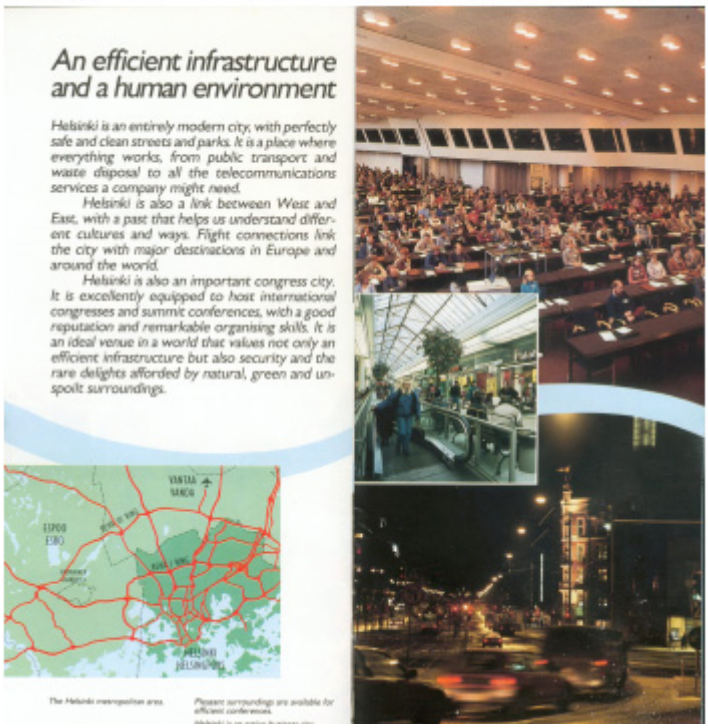

Plate 7: Meet Helsinki. Cover and sixth double-page.

5.1.1 Language

The title "Daughter of the Baltic" deserves to be mentioned as an introduction to this subsection, as it is used as the headline in two brochures. “Daughter of the Baltic” is the name of a trilogy by Maila Talvio, a Finnish author who wrote during late 1920’s and 1930’s. Talvio herself was an advocate of the Finnish nation and culture, described as fiercely anti-Swedish and suspicious of the emerging Soviet Union: her attitudes were reflected in her work, such as “Daughter of the Baltic”, which emphasised the thought of an independent Finland. While the title may carry a connotation to an avid reader familiar with the author, in most cases it is likely to be interpreted as a typical nickname for the city of Helsinki, in the fashion of “City of Light” (Paris) or “Big Apple” (New York City, NY).

An analysis, based on SFG and focusing on Relational Identifying and Attributive processes pointed towards the use of these processes to describe the city of Helsinki and its parts.

The Empire style buildings around the Senate Square - the Cathedral, University and Government Palace, for example	are still	the finest architectural achievements in Helsinki.
Identified: Token	Process: Identifying	Identifier: Value

Table 2: Clause with an Identifying process from “Daughter of the Baltic”.

The Token in Table 2 may indeed contain the entities that Therborn (2002: 39) refers to as the capital city outfits: the assigned Value reflects their status in the city. According to Halliday (1985: 86) modality of a verb expresses opinion: in this case the continuity expressed by the adverb "still" further emphasises the Token-Value relationship. The Token also includes the Helsinki Cathedral, which is also a prominent Figure in the mode of image in this particular brochure. Whereas locations possessing high cultural salience tend to be described using Identifying processes, the Attributive processes seem to be used for purposes of classification and categorisation, as Table 3 shows:

Helsinki	is	a modern city.
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Table 3: Clause with an Attributive process from "Daughter of the Baltic".

The Attributive process suggests to the reader that Helsinki belongs to the class of modern cities. While this may not be as informative as an Identifying process, the Attributive processes help the reader to place the city in a category, connecting Helsinki with the constructed idea of a modern city in the mind of the reader.

As the purpose is to analyse the interaction between the modes of language and image, the co-existence of Tokens, Carriers and Figures in the two modes deserve attention. If the overall goal of a tourist brochure is to present a favourable view of the city to the reader, all communicative resources should be directed towards achieving this goal. A common way to do this is to repeat the same entities in both modes. However, "Daughter of the Baltic" uses an alternative

strategy to reflect the same concepts in both language and image, as Table 4 shows:

Helsinki	is	a city of sea and light blue northern sky.
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Table 4: Clause with an Attributive process from "Daughter of the Baltic".

The Attributive process assigns the Carrier with an Attribute containing the two nominal groups. What is worth remarking is how the Attribute is reflected in the Figures of Plate 4. Although Figures and Attributes are not equivalent, they both exist in corresponding metafunctions in the modes of language and image. This could suggest that a tourist brochure does not necessarily lift the Figures only from Tokens and Carriers, but they may also originate from the Attributes.

The first brochure presented a view of Helsinki as a seaside capital: the same discourse is repeated partially in the second brochure titled "Daughter of Baltic". Repetition is one of the strategies that discourses use to reinforce their position. Table 5 shows an example of how an Attributive process is used to describe Helsinki:'

Helsinki	is	a city by the sea.
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Table 5: Clause with an Attributive process from 1980's "Daughter of the Baltic".

While the representation of Helsinki in the mode of language is relatively simple in this Attributive process, the extent of this discourse becomes obvious when observing the mode of

image. The sea is a typical Figure in the brochure, often in salient position, as in the cover of the brochure (see Plate 5). In addition, an illustration of a wave, a Member of the Figure sea is also a recurring theme on the content pages of the brochure (see Plates 5 and 6). This might serve as an example of how a seemingly simple concept, presented in a single clause in the mode of language, is much more prominent in the mode of image. Thus, the discourse is reflected in both language and image.

The Identifying processes are not limited to presenting culturally salient locations in tourist brochures. They can also be used to reinforce discourses that manifest perceived cultural stereotypes, such as the role of sauna in Finland, as the clause in Table 6 shows:

The sauna	is naturally	the most typical way of relaxing during one's spare time.
Identified: Token	Process: Identifying	Identifier: Value

Table 6: Clause with an Identifying process from 1980's "Daughter of the Baltic".

The inclusion of sauna in the brochures as a Finnish speciality is featured on both old and new brochures. The Identifying process complemented by the adverb "naturally" reinforces the discourse that sauna is something typical for the Finnish people: this specialty is again used as a marketing ploy in "Bohemian Nordic Oddity", but within a different context (see Subsection 5.2.2 and Plate 8).

The third brochure, "Meet Helsinki" is essentially the same as the 1980's "Daughter of Baltic" brochure, with the exception of a renewed cover and added content. Table 6 shows

how the added content describes Helsinki in relation to other capital cities using an Attributive process, which attempts to explain why Helsinki should function as a link between west and east. A hypotactic elaborating clause helps to define the role of Helsinki as a link between west and east, as seen in Table 7:

Helsinki	is also	a link between West and East, with a past that helps us understand different cultures and ways.
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Table 7: Clause with an Attributive process from "Meet Helsinki".

Whereas the earliest "Daughter of the Baltic" brochure (see Plate 4) describes Helsinki as a "travel link" between west and east, the "Meet Helsinki" brochure actually attempts to elaborate on the role of Helsinki as something more than a travel link (see Plate 7). This represents a change from the earlier brochures that attempted to portray Helsinki as having a western cultural heritage, or avoided mentioning the issue at all.

Table 8 shows how an Attributive process is used to categorise Helsinki as a city, attributing it with properties that may be seen as suitable for a city wishing to function as a link between west and east, whereas the Attributive process in Table 9 offers a more detailed description of the Attribute introduced in Table 8. The clause complex in Table 8 uses a hypotactic elaborating clause to illustrate the positive properties of a modern city, whereas the clause

complex in Table 9 uses a hypotactic elaborating clause to define the postmodifying prepositional phrase.

Helsinki	is	an entirely modern city, with perfectly clean and safe streets and parks.
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Table 8: Clause with an Attributive process from “Meet Helsinki”.

It	is	an ideal venue in a world that values not only an efficient infrastructure but also security and the rare delights afforded by natural, green and unspoilt surroundings.
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Table 9: Clause with an Attributive process from “Meet Helsinki”.

Table 9 is a particularly interesting example, as the Attribute combines the concepts of efficiency and security with the concept of nature, attempting to create an image of Helsinki as being a unique city. Considering the earlier brochures focused mainly on general descriptions of Helsinki, this is a significant step forward in understanding how the modern tourist brochure design was developed:

successful tourism advertising requires providing something special and unique.

The added content does not aim to describe the architecture and landmarks of Helsinki. Instead, the verbal element describes Helsinki as a member of the international community, focusing on its functions and unique features that justify claiming this new role for the city. Changing the title to "Meet Helsinki" may also be seen as reflecting this new position. The motivation for this may have been to attract more business, but in addition the brochure reflects the change experienced by Helsinki and Finland during the late 1980's: changes in the global political situation forced the city and country to reinvent themselves in order to keep up with the development.

To sum up, the use of Relational Identifying and Attributive processes to describe Helsinki or its parts during the era varies. Relatively simple clauses repeat discourses that are meant to be associated with Helsinki: also the absence of modal structures in verbal groups suggests that the statements regarding Helsinki are to be taken as being stable. The following subsection examines what type of discourses are realised in the brochures in the mode of image.

5.1.2 Image

"Daughter of the Baltic" differs from the later materials by using only an illustration to provide a visual reference of Helsinki to the reader (see Plate 4), whereas the later brochures employ photography for this purpose. Using the rank scale for Representational metafunction, the illustration can be divided into four Figures: the tower of the Helsinki Cathedral, sea, sun and an island with a lighthouse. These Figures seem to reproduce a stereotypical view of Helsinki:

to understand their cultural significance, they have to be analysed as separate Figures.

The Figure representing the cathedral tower can be linked to Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996: 185) concept of cultural salience and Therborg's views (2002: 39) on the components of a capital city: the verbal element lists the cathedral among the finest architectural achievements in Helsinki. Although the building was designed and completed during the time when Finland was a part of Russian Empire, for many the Helsinki Cathedral is the symbol of the capital of independent Finland. The neoclassical cathedral may be seen as a symbol of Finland's western cultural heritage. In this discourse, the eastern culture embodied by the Uspenski Cathedral with its Byzantine architecture is seen as foreign to Finland. How a culturally salient element of a city is capable of meaning-making in an illustration can be exemplified with a simple thought experiment: replacing the illustration of the cupola of the Helsinki Cathedral with the Byzantine-styled cupola of the Uspenski Cathedral. Including the symbol of eastern cultural influence in Helsinki would emphasise the city’s eastern cultural heritage.

Although the illustration is not as detailed as a photograph, the Figures of the cathedral tower, the sea, sun and the island with a lighthouse are clearly recognisable due to their degree of modality. The degree of modality differs between these four Figures, with the cathedral cupola possessing the highest amount of detail, therefore placing it higher on the scale of modality than the other Figures. Adjusting modality in the mode of image is a potent tool for evoking discourses in both illustrations and photographs, as it allows ranking the visual elements by increasing or decreasing their visual weight.

Several discourses operate in this brochure. The most prominent discourses in the mode of image are the discourses promoting the Helsinki Cathedral as a symbol of Helsinki and the location of the city by the sea. These discourses also exist in the mode of language (see Tables 2 and 4), their function being the promotion of this idea to the reader. It is the cultural salience possessed by the entities represented in the Figures that justifies their position as the dominant discourses in the brochure.

Unlike its predecessor, the 1980's brochure "Daughter of the Baltic" relies on photography to present the reader with a visual of Helsinki. On the rank scale, photography in the brochure may be seen as ranging from a complete Work on the cover (see Plate 5) to two Works and a Figure presenting architectural details of Helsinki (see Plate 6). Instead of separating the verbal and visual elements, the brochure relies on multisemiotics to carry the message across to the reader.

The use of image in this particular brochure can be divided into two categories according to their degree of salience: (1) background elements and (2) foreground elements. Page two of the brochure (see Plate 5) uses the aerial image of the districts of Kallio and Hakaniemi to provide a background for the verbal element and the foregrounded visual element consisting of the map. Although in this case there is no explicit link between the visual and the verbal elements in the foreground and background, positioning the reader into a bird's eye view offers a general, welcoming view of the city in the background. The background also features sea as a Figure in a different setting besides the usual harbour and the Helsinki Cathedral. It is important to realise that every element contributes to

the semiosis, regardless of their degree of salience. In this composition, the background image and the more salient elements consisting of the text and the map work together to provide the reader with a visual and a reference, placing Helsinki on the map. Moreover, the recurrence of sea as a Figure strenghtens the discourse promoting Helsinki as a seaside capital.

The foreground elements operate differently. They generally seem to possess an equal degree of salience as the verbal elements. Plate 6 presents an example, where the verbal element as Given position is complemented by equally salient and detailed photography as New. The explicit link between the verbal and the visual elements is created using captions. The examples of foreground and background visual elements show how variation in salience is used in design to create different meanings and to organise the information contained in modes and sub-modes; further elaboration on image and its relation to compositional systems is included in Subsection 5.1.3.

Whereas Plate 5 represents a view of Helsinki that omits the entities that represent the city's eastern cultural heritage, the cover of the "Meet Helsinki" brochure in Plate 7 presents a different view to the reader. The camera now faces the sea, including the previously omitted Uspenski Cathedral as a Figure in the Work. Yet the camera is positioned in an angle that places the Helsinki Cathedral in the foreground, leaving the Uspenski cathedral in the background. This shows how the photographer can provide the reader with images of reality that carry different meanings easily by omission, framing or simple changes in photography technique.

A recurring theme in the visual elements of Plate 6 was the detailed presentation of architecture and famous landmarks. The additional content in Plate 7 describes Helsinki from a different perspective in the mode of language, using the Attributive processes to focus on unique features of Helsinki and its relation to outside world. The changes in the mode of image show how the designers have taken a multisemiotic approach in designing this content, as the photography features such Works as a shopping mall, a congress hall and fast-paced traffic during the dark hours in Helsinki. Together, the visual and the verbal elements work towards portraying Helsinki as a modern metropolis. This represents a turn away from the traditional tourist brochure, an increasingly popular trend in tourism advertising, which continues up to this day.

5.1.3 Composition, colour and typography

"Daughter of the Baltic" was printed on one side only, and folded in a way that only the cover remained visible (see Plate 4). The resulting layout prohibited the use of different verbal and visual elements in the content pages, although when opened the brochure reveals a horizontal structure. The cover forms the visual element on the left that introduces Helsinki, the "Daughter of the Baltic". The left side acts as what Kress and van Leeuwen see as the Given, as "something the viewer already knows" (1996: 187). The verbal element on the right form the New, which provides detailed information about Helsinki to the tourists.

In addition to the system of information value zones that realises the Given and New structure in the brochure when it is opened, an example of the compositional system of salience can be found on the cover. Plate 4 shows how the Figure of the cathedral tower is salient due to its higher degree of modality and relative size. Adjusting salience through modality, as in this case, results from the reduction of detail by reducing the amount of colours used. As the illustration in this brochure demonstrates, the capability of colour to modify the meaning created in the mode of image is by no means insignificant.

The fonts used for both the cover page and the content pages have a traditional typeface and possess consistent proportions in the domains of micro-, macro- and mesotypography. Variation in these domains is used to draw the readers attention: the use of different fonts with varying sizes establishes a hierarchy of city-title-country. In the content pages, the use of a bold font face emphasises the key word, thus eliminating need for separate headings for each section. In this brochure, the meaning potential of

typography is dismissed by preferring a simple pattern of use, instead of making typography interact with other sub-modes in a more extensive way.

Chapter 4 presented a hypothesis that the purpose of image in a tourist brochure is to portray a certain view of reality. In the 1980's "Daughter of the Baltic" (see Plates 5 and 6), a certain type of discourse is realised in the mode of image through the process of framing. The focus on the aerial photograph of the Senate Square is used to present Helsinki in a way where only the neoclassical centre is shown. The Uspenski Cathedral with its Byzantine cupolae is omitted from the Work, as it is arguably the most notable remain of Russian influence in Helsinki. As Byzantine architecture is commonly associated with Russia, realising the discourse that portrays Helsinki as a neutral capital seems to be influential in this brochure.[1]

Apart from the system of framing, Plates 5 and 6 present examples of the use of information value zones in composition. In addition to the Given and New structure in Plate 6, which was presented in Subsection 5.1.2 in connection with background and foreground images, Plate 5 shows and Ideal and Real structure in the cover of the brochure, where the visual element occupies the role of Ideal, and the verbal element consisting of the title is the Real. The first double-page in Plate 5 presents a complex compositional structure that features both horizontal and vertical structures. Ideal is the aerial view of eastern city centre: complementing this view is Real, consisting of a Given and New structure. The map as New provides Given with

1.Partly due to its architecture, Helsinki has stood in for Soviet Union and Russia as the shooting location for several films during and after the Cold War, such as *Dr. Zhivago* (1965), *Gorky Park* (1983), *White Nights* (1985) and *The Jackal* (1997).

detailed information on the location of Helsinki. Together they are Real, acting as the description of the cityscape in Ideal.

In the light of this example it seems that increasing complexity of multisemiotics requires increased attention to composition, and especially to the placement of verbal and visual elements according to the information value zones. Using alternating information value zone structures affects the textuality of the brochure: as a result, a Figure resembling a wave is featured on each page. This Figure both creates cohesion and separates different visual elements, and carries the connotation of sea, which is a recurring theme in both language and image.

The Figure wave carries the connotation of the sea due to its shape and colour. As Plates 5 and 6 show, the colour blue in different hue appears in several Figures: the sea, the sky and the wave. In these Figures, the textual metafunction in the sub-mode of colour uses the recurrence of blue to unify the visual appearance of the brochure and to create the desired connotation of Helsinki as the "Daughter of the Baltic". From a technical perspective, the use of natural colours in photography and the absence of post-production editing also restricts the use of colour: in order to maintain textuality, the Figure wave requires the use of a hue that is in agreement with the colour in photography. Thus, it seems that in this particular brochure photography is ranked higher than the illustration in the hierarchy of colour in design.

Although the analysis of the brochure presented in Plates 5 and 6 suggests that the brochure in question is an increasingly complex multisemiotic product, it seems that typography as a sub-mode and therefore as a semiotic resource

is not used extensively. The size of the font face varies according to the type of the text, whether the text in question consists of headline, body text or caption. This serves to separate the different types of text in the brochure. The font faces, although italicised, are very traditional, unlike the modern use of typography in tourist brochures, which may vary according to the overall look of the brochure. However, the consistent use of typography is in agreement with the other modes and sub-modes of the brochure.

This concludes the first section of the analysis, which has attempted to show what type of content was included in the earlier brochures, and how this content was selected and represented. Beginning with general descriptions of the city and its attributes and associated values, the final brochure already showed a trend of moving towards a more commercial approach, attempting to present Helsinki as an attractive location for business besides the usual content describing the city itself. The following section shows how the tailoring of content to respond to the demands of a specific audience is a central approach in contemporary tourist brochure design.

5.2 Present

Section 5.2 presents a series of brochures produced in 2005. A central feature of these brochures is the extensive interaction between modes and sub-modes. The content shows a change towards advertising the city for an audience associated with a certain lifestyle. In Tokens and Carriers, a transition can be identified, moving from traditional landmarks to entities associated with different lifestyles.

Although this thesis does not analyse the material qualities of the brochures or their pagination, it has to be mentioned in connection with these three brochures that their size and the way they are folded corresponds to that of a booklet accompanying a compact disc album. As the introduced locations are numbered in the brochures, the idea of the brochure resembling a CD booklet becomes even more clear. In this case, the connotation carried by the choice of imitating a compact disc album booklet may be an attempt to associate with youth culture. Reproductions of these three productions are presented in Plates 8, 9, 10.[1]

1.The reproductions in Plates 8, 9 and 10 include both sides of the brochure: the cover on the left and the content on the opposite side on the right.

Plate 8: Bohemian Nordic Oddity.

Plate 9: Groovy Nordic Oddity.



Plate 10: Smooth Nordic Oddity.

5.2.1 Language

"Bohemian Nordic Oddity" focuses on locations outside the centre of Helsinki. As the title of the brochure suggests, the included locations are alternatives to the locations usually found in the centre of Helsinki. Instead, the described places include second-hand stores, small restaurants and bars.

The language of the brochure presents an interesting division in the distribution of Attributive and Identifying processes. Attributive processes are often used to categorise less-known locations, whereas those with a longer history are often described using Identifying processes. An example of an Identifying process that is emphasised by the high modality of the verbal operator is presented in Table 10:

Mare Chiaro	has to be	Finland's most idyllic pizzeria.
Identified: Token	Process: Identifying	Identifier: Value

Table 10: Clause with an Identifying process from "Bohemian Nordic Oddity".

Most of the restaurants in the brochure are introduced using Attributive processes. The exception is Mare Chiaro, a restaurant that opened in the Kallio district in the early 1980's. The restaurant is still popular among the young and old crowd in both in and outside of Kallio.

Previously, Identifying processes were reserved for architectural landmarks, and generally for Tokens that represented high culture. Yet in these brochures, locations outside the sphere of high culture have Identifying processes describing them. The change, whereby small restaurants

appear as Tokens and Carriers, may be an indication of a change in the attitudes prevailing in a society. As the distinction between high culture and popular culture has diminished, it seems that Identifying processes are now used for describing the locations that create the city's image.

"Groovy Nordic Oddity" relies on Attributive processes to assign nightclubs, bars and shops to different categories. Table 11 shows an example of an Attributive process assigning a bar to a category:

Underbar	is	a small urban bar in Kruununhaka that is decorated with the pop art work of hip Finnish artist Alvar Gullichsen.
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Table 11: Clause with an Attributive process from "Groovy Nordic Oddity".

As the attributive process is limited in its capability to describe the location in detail, a hypotactic elaborating clause provides details to the description. According to Halliday (1985: 204), the purpose of these clauses is to further characterise otherwise specific clauses. In tourist brochures, this structure may be used to further illustrate a location introduced using an Attributive process.

As the brochure also attempts to present a cross-section of the Finnish music scene in Helsinki, the use of

Attributive processes is also extended to describe Finnish music in general, as shown in Table 12:

Finnish music	is	hot and happening.
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Table 12: Clause with an Attributive process from "Groovy Nordic Oddity".

The use of Identifying processes is reserved for assigning identities to smaller Tokens such as monthly club nights specialising in specific genres of music. Although Identifying processes can be used to describe permanent locations such as bars and nightclubs in greater detail, it is not necessary as most of them fall within the category of a nightclub, bar or a café. If they do not possess any special qualities, the description is enough as the brochure supposes that the reader knows the features of a certain category. This is not the case with a club night, as the concept is more dynamic and versatile. Table 13 presents an example of this type:

"Music is Better"	is	the club for modern electro and indie music.
Identified: Token	Process: Identifying	Identifier: Value

Table 13: Clause with an Identifying process from "Groovy Nordic Oddity".

The distribution of Relational Identifying and Attributive processes seems to vary according to the subject. Locations that possess high cultural salience are more likely described using Identifying processes, as are those locations that do

not necessarily possess high cultural salience, but have existed for a longer period of time (see Table 14).

The Jumo Jazz Club	is	the most active jazz club in the south-centre of town.
Identified: Token	Process: Identifying	Identifier: Value

Table 14: Clause with an Identifying process from "Groovy Nordic Oddity".

The Identifying process is used to highlight the jazz club, which has been a venue for the friends of jazz music in Helsinki for several decades. It is worth noting how this venue is highlighted using an Identifying process, as the typical choice in the brochure for this type of clause would prefer the use of an Attributive process.

The way the identity of the locations is constructed in "Smooth Nordic Oddity" does not differ from the other brochures in the same series. The distribution of Identifying and Attributive processes is similar: prestigious locations are described using Identifying processes, whereas the function of the Attributive process is to place establishments into categories and classes. Table 15 shows, again, how two different locations belonging to the same class are described using different processes:

The number one rock club in Helsinki and all of Finland	is	the legendary Tavastia.
Identifier: Value	Process: Identifying	Identified: Token

Table 15: Clause with an Identifying process from "Smooth Nordic Oddity".

A famous venue, Tavastia, is described using an Identifying process. Due to the passive structure in Table 15, the marked focus of the Value arguably serves to further emphasise the club's reputation, which is also reflected in the Token. Unlike Tavastia in Table 15, a newcomer is presented using an Attributive process, as shown in Table 16 below:

Liberté	is	a music club in Kallio that hosts the latest live music.
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Table 16: Clause with an Attributive process from "Smooth Nordic Oddity".

Attributive processes are often used as what may be labelled as introductory clauses in tourist brochures, followed by a more detailed description in the subsequent clauses; an example was included in Table 10. Some of the introductory clauses are generic and thus applicable to basically any place, such as the following example in Table 17, which introduces Erottaja Bar in downtown Helsinki:

This stylish café / bar	is	a timeless favourite.
Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Table 17: Clause with an Identifying process from "Smooth Nordic Oddity".

The sentence following the Identifying process in Table 17 describes the concept of the bar: "Creative minds, trendy fashions and stylish business come together here for a glass of wine or beer." As efficient use of space was recognised earlier as one of the key requirements in tourist brochure

design, extending the use of Identifying processes would create a stronger link between the bar and its identity, and take less space. The previous sentences could be improved through combining the sentences and changing the Attributive process to an Identifying process, for example, in the following way as shown in Table 18:

This stylish café / bar	is	the timeless favourite of creative minds, trendy fashions and stylish business.
Identified: Token	Process: Identifying	Identifier: Value

Table 18: Changing an Attributive process to an Identifying process.

The process of designing tourist brochures is detail-oriented, and the designers pay attention to the interaction of the modes and sub-modes. However, attention has to be paid also to the content, especially in the mode of language. Systemic-functional grammar is a competent tool for analysing the copy from a viewpoint of meaning-making instead of formal rules of grammar: this allows tracing typical features and improving the copy based on the findings, as exemplified by the previously analysed sentence.

5.2.2 Image

The Figures in previous brochures have presented the reader with mostly architectural details: Episodes showing Agents doing various things in the city were rare. "Bohemian Nordic Oddity" (see Plate 8) employs alternative strategies in the use of image. The verbal and the visual elements are on

opposing sides of the brochure, providing the designer with an extensive semiotic space for the visual element.

Running from left to right, the images present a total of five Episodes and four Figures, joined together by a colourful line, which both separates and connects the Episodes and Figures. The Episodes contain such images as a young man enjoying a cold drink after sauna, a young girl browsing through the books in an antiquarian bookstore, a crowd of people in front of a musician, and people at a hot dog stand during nighttime. The Figures include two instances of hot dog stand menus, a guitarist, a young man on the street and the façade of an apartment block.

The themes represented in the Episodes and Figures are naturally the complete opposite of the content in the mode of image in the brochures presented in Section 5.1, but it has to be noted that the aim of the brochure is to create an image of bohemian Helsinki, associating the portrayed activity with bohemian lifestyle. The photographs present the Tokens and Carriers introduced in the verbal elements in the mode of image. Together, the Episodes and Figures create the image of the bohemian Helsinki. An interesting feature is the inclusion of sauna in both visual and verbal elements of this brochure. For Finns, sauna rarely carries any bohemian connotations, but it seems that the brochure attempts portray sauna as something bohemian to a foreigner that is not familiar with the Finnish culture. The reason for this might be an attempt to provide another Finnish specialty to the tourist, although it is in fact a common tradition in Finland, also featured in the verbal element of the older brochures (see Table 6).

The use of image in “Groovy Nordic Oddity” (see Plate 9) differs from “Bohemian Nordic Oddity”, which employed a

series of Episodes and Figures to present the nightlife in Helsinki. Although “Groovy Nordic Oddity” has similar themes in the mode of image, it does not possess a sequential structure as its predecessor did.

Themes included in the three Episodes and two Figures consist of architecture, shopping, design furniture and the act of playing a musical instrument. Although the verbal elements focus on the same themes, the images themselves are not connected to each other. Both the visual and the verbal elements in the brochure seem to have little in common, but it may be claimed that the themes presented by the brochure appeal to a certain subculture that appreciates the type of lifestyle portrayed in this brochure. This might serve to explain the loose linking between the elements, although the effective use of the mode of image in this case is questionable.

Image is capable of presenting considerably more information in the same semiotic space than the mode of language. Therefore the use of image in a tourist brochure should be used to present action and entities that are beyond the descriptive capability of the mode of language. This includes the linking of images to one another, in order to form a whole. In this brochure, the Episodes and Figures are placed in random order, negating possible further meanings that could be achieved by organising the visual elements.

In “Smooth Nordic Oddity” (see Plate 10), verbal elements introduce a wide variety of different locations and events, loosely associated with the theme of "smooth" Helsinki. The result is a problematic situation for the mode of image: how to present the concept of "smooth" in the mode of image? The designers have employed four Episodes and a Figure to represent the concept.

The idea of smoothness is most evident in the cover image, which is a close-up of a female person's face. The flawless skin may evoke the idea of smoothness, but besides that there is no connection to Helsinki. In fact, it could be suggested that this is the type of use of the cultural salience of female body in advertising that Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 185) mention. In the background, behind the salient female face, is a close-up of the face of a man. In this Episode, she seems to whisper something in his ear. Again, all Episodes and the Figure are connected by a colourful line that runs through the female's mouth.

The transition between the images in composition use a different strategy than the two other brochures in the same series, but only on the right hand side of the brochure: the images blend smoothly into each other. The left-hand side uses a sharp framing to separate the two images, which is obviously the complete opposite of a smooth transition between images.

The themes in the Episodes and the Figure have little in common: they include a local DJ, a female in two different outfits and a man having a drink in a bar while reading a magazine. Apparently the idea is to present the different sides of Helsinki, especially with the female figure, who is seen in both formal and casual, sporty outfits. However, there is no other connection between the Episodes and the Figure.

5.2.3 Composition, colour and typography

The visual element of “Bohemian Nordic Oddity” may be read as a sequential Given and New structure, portraying a night out in bohemian Helsinki (see Plate 8). Suggested activities begin with sauna and shopping, and continuing to a concert and finishing the night with a late night snack at a hot dog

stand. Although this is just a single interpretation of the compositional structure, it shows how composition sequences the Episodes to tell a story. The Figures among the Episodes provide extra detail and fill up the empty space between the Episodes, thus justifying the sharp and asymmetric framing that is used in the brochure. Also the modal qualities of the Episodes vary: the clear, natural lightning in the Episodes on the left change into blurry and dark as the story told by the images progresses. This shows how modality can be used for creating additional meaning.

The use of the colour green is a central theme in "Bohemian Nordic Oddity". A transparent green line with a drop shadow runs through the images, whereas the verbal element has a green background and numbering. As the modality of the images changes throughout the brochure, the green line running through the Episodes and Figures helps to link both the visual and the verbal elements through the use of a common colour scheme. Otherwise, there would be little or no connection between the two sides of the brochure. This is obviously important, because language and image have to work together: Tokens and Carriers are used to introduce the locations, whereas Episodes and Figures show what type of action takes place in the locations.

Compared to the older brochures, variation within the field of typography is notable. The title of the brochure shows how the interaction between colour, composition and typography allows the effective use of a rather simple font face in an otherwise complex design. The pure white and the font face following traditional design, contrasted with the Figure of the street and the hot dog stand in low lighting, accompanied by the green line element running through the image is powerful in all its simplicity. As the font and the

colour interact with the background in a successful way, there is no need to impose any special effects (such as a drop shadow) on the title in order to make it more salient. The use of typography in the verbal element is varied but simple. Large numbers are used to separate paragraphs, whereas bold font faces in the content offer reading aid and add salience to the Tokens and Carriers.

A notable feature achieved by composition in “Groovy Nordic Oddity” is the linking of images, achieved even when the order and placement of the images do not carry meaning (see Plate 9). In addition to a colourful line running across the series of images that connects the images, the edges of the images are cropped to be round. This creates a puzzle-like effect that joins the pictures together, while also creating an idea of the images belonging together. To further illustrate this effect, one has to think of the images in the brochure having square edges: this would produce an awkward result, as the images would be seen as separate entities arbitrarily placed next to each other.

As opposed to the colour use in "Bohemian Nordic Oddity" brochure, which relied on dark colours, the "Groovy Nordic Oddity" brochure uses bright colours in its imagery. This choice makes sense, as the idea suggested by the title, "groovy" is not usually associated with darkness. Again, the line that crosses the visual elements possesses similar colour as the background and typography on the reverse side. The same feature was used in “Bohemian Nordic Oddity” to link the different sides of the brochure together.

The juxtaposition of a white title and a dark background proved to be an effective choice in “Bohemian Nordic Oddity”. As "Groovy Nordic Oddity" uses a lighter colour in its imagery, a white title would be obviously lost among the

visual elements. This exemplifies how interaction is required from both image and typography, as well as colour. The solution has been to adapt the colour featured in the line that crosses all of the images, and to make the font face of the title sharper than the line, thus lending the title more salience. As a consequence of this effect that creates depth in the image, both the image of the drummer and the line fall into the background, making the title stand out in the cover of the brochure.

"Smooth Nordic Oddity" takes little advantage of the possibilities of creating additional meaning through composition, as opposed to the more creative apporach demonstrated by "Bohemian Nordic Oddity". However, there seems to be a logic behind the placement of visual elements: the theme of pairing of males and females is repeated on all three pages. However, the employment of two different strategies of framing (sharp and smooth) in transitions between visual elements differs from the usual trend in this series of brochures, which generally strive for harmony in all aspects of composition.

The idea of smoothness is reflected also in both colour use and typography. The common graphical element in this particular series of brochures, the line, has been used in a different way according to the theme of the brochure. In this case, the colours of the line blend smoothly into the background as they are transparent. The curves of the line can also be described as being smooth.

In typography, the title font is modified according to the overall image of the brochure. Using the same colours as the line, the colour in the title of the brochure changes gradually from light blue to yellow: the two main colours featured in the line element. Additional salience and

coherence is achieved by adding a drop shadow carrying the same colours featured on the line on the title text. Connecting the title text and the line through colour use extends the connotation of smoothness carried by the line into the domain of typography.

This concludes the second part of the analysis. Together, the two sections have attempted to show how tourist brochures that advertise Helsinki have undergone a change in both content and appearance. By presenting examples in 17 tables, the analysis has attempted to show how the Tokens and Carriers and their associated Values and Attributes have changed over time, and how the change affecting these functions is also reflected in the mode of image. The results of the analysis are discussed in the light of the theoretical framework of this thesis in Chapter 6.

6. Discussion

This final chapter discusses the analysis conducted in Chapter 5 in relation to the theoretical framework and the method of this thesis: whereas the analysis focused on the modes and the sub-modes, this chapter attempts to place the results within a wider context. Beginning with analysing the social change on a general level, the chapter moves on to explain how this change is manifested in the modes and sub-modes, and what are the implications of this study for future research in the field of multisemiotics and tourist brochures.

6.1 Discourse and change in society

Looking at the material analysed in Chapter 5 in chronological order, the change in content of the brochures is obvious. The content is determined by the underlying discourses, which are always dynamic. The idea of a dynamic discourse is a key concept for understanding the content and change during different periods.

The dominant discourse in the early brochures presented in Section 5.1 is the discourse seeking to portray Helsinki as a seaside capital and a neutral ground between west and east. The earliest "Daughter of the Baltic" brochure mostly ignores the history and the geographical location of Finland and Helsinki (see Plate 4). Instead, the brochure focuses creating an image of the city as an active seaside capital: good connections between west and east are mentioned briefly. Those familiar with the history of Finnish foreign policy during the era may notice the way certain subjects were not to be discussed in public. To sum up, the brochure realises the discourse of neutrality through strict framing in the representation (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001:45) of Helsinki; in this case by largely ignoring the history and geopolitical

situation. The later "Daughter of the Baltic" brochure takes a completely different direction (see Plates 5 and 6). Instead of strictly limiting the content to describe Helsinki alone, the content of the brochure attempts to place the city on the world map, although being careful of not leaning too much into either western or eastern direction. This shows how discourses operate simultaneously in both modes: the discourse of neutrality is supported by different discourses in both brochures, with each discourse using different strategy to support the dominant discourse of neutrality.

Later brochures realise completely different discourses, with "Meet Helsinki" (see Plate 7) representing a phase of transformation combining both discourses of neutrality and commercialism, of which the latter has emerged as the dominant discourse in the contemporary brochures (see Plates 8, 9, 10). This is a remarkable change that is linked to the theories introduced in Subsection 3.1.1: the change in the processes that organise and shape society. The view of society being stratified by social class (Labov 1982 [1966], 2001) is challenged by the concept of social grouping around lifestyle (van Leeuwen 2005). As lifestyle involves the renewal of identity through consumption, the brochures analysed in the study showed significant changes in their content, moving away from presenting only culturally valuable landmarks and tourist attractions and instead portraying Helsinki as being associated with a particular lifestyle, thus hoping to attract visitors identifying themselves with the same lifestyle.

6.2 Social change in language and image

The chosen method for analysing the change in society focused on the Relational Identifying and Attributive processes operating in the Ideational metafunction of language. SFG

analysis showed a trend that a change has taken place in the elements largely responsible for semiosis in tourist brochures; in both Tokens and Carriers, and the associated Values and Attributes. Over time, typical clauses found in the brochures have changed from general descriptions with Helsinki as Token or Carrier to the use of Relational Identifying processes to describe smaller entities, such as monthly events in the Helsinki music scene. Generally, the trend in the brochures is from general towards detailed.

In the contemporary brochures, Relational Identifying processes were preferred when describing locations with long traditions. This applied to, for example, concert venues and small restaurants that would not have been culturally salient enough to be included in a brochure during earlier times. Previously, the use of Relational Identifying process was reserved for describing major tourist attractions of high cultural value. The Relational Identifying process allows assigning the introduced entity with an unique identity, whereas the Relational Attributive processes are used for categorising locations and generally receive less emphasis. This became evident in the contemporary brochures, where locations essentially belonging in the same class (a concert venue) were described using different processes according to their status.

The Representational metafunction, presented by O'Toole (1994) as the counterpart of the Ideational metafunction in the mode of image was the focus of the analysis of photography and graphic design in the tourist brochures. The distribution of Figures and Episodes varied in different brochures, but more importantly, interaction existed between the modes of image and language. In the early brochures the discourse promoting Helsinki as a seaside capital was

strongly emphasised in both modes, presenting the Tokens and Attributes assigned to Helsinki in the mode of language as Figures in the mode of image.

Similarly as in the mode of language, the themes in the mode of image showed a trend of change. Whereas the early brochures preferred to portray general images of the locations with high cultural value and salience, the contemporary brochures included close-ups of individuals in the city and detailed views of different locations. This development follows the trend also observed in the mode of language, accompanied by the increased editing of photography, which has been used to create additional meaning. Regarding modality, or truth value in image, variation existed between the brochures from different periods, as shown in Figure 2:

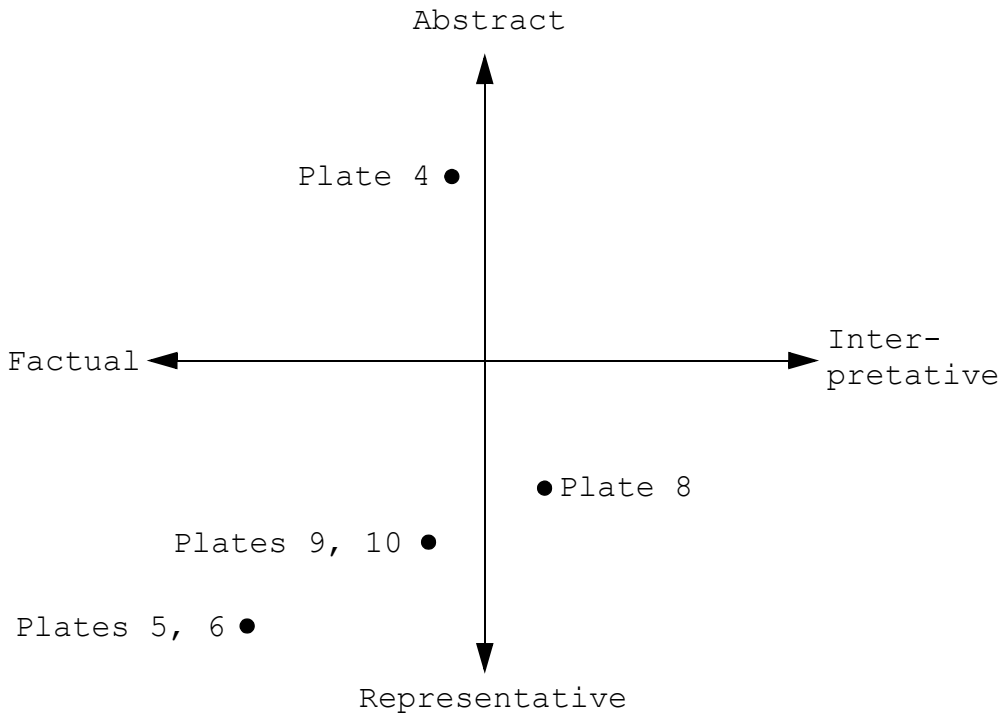

Figure 2: Degrees of modality in the Representational metafunction

Figure 2 shows a suggested placing for the analysed brochures according to their visual appearance. While the axis of abstract-representative measures modality, the axis of factual-interpretative measures the amount of graphic editing (adjustment of colour, effects and so on). For example, a Work with low modality such as Plate 4 is placed on the abstract end of the axis, whereas Plate 8 with moderate post-processing is closer to the representative end, but also on the interpretative side.

To sum up, the modes of language and image co-operate in tourist brochure design. However, the extent of co-operation has differed during different periods, but the current trend seems to prefer extensive co-operation where the sub-modes also have an important role. This co-operation requires adapting the theory of multisemiotics to cope with the increasing amount of information contained in both modes and sub-modes, and with the interaction between the both of them. A challenging situation emerges as any study wishing to attempt multisystemiotic analysis has to also strive to maintain focus on certain subjects. As a result, if some domains may need stay outside the center of attention, they should never be neglected completely, as it would work against the very idea of multisemiotic discourse analysis.

6.3 Development and meaning of composition, colour and typography

One of the major challenges of this study was the inclusion of the sub-modes of composition, colour and typography: each of the sub-modes alone presents an extensive field of study worth of detailed analysis. As the discourses operating in the tourist brochures were mostly present in the core modes of language and image, sub-modes received less attention than the core modes.

Although the discourse analysis focused on the core modes, the discourses operate also in the domains of the sub-modes. In the analysis this could be seen in composition, the sub-mode responsible for organising the visual and verbal elements into coherent whole, and occasionally creating additional meaning. The latter was exemplified in "Bohemian Nordic Oddity" (see Plate 8) by the sequential structure created by composition, where the Figures and Episodes were organised as a Work to portray how a night out in Helsinki might progress. In addition, the systems of framing and salience were used in the brochures to omit unwanted elements and bringing additional visual weight to Figures that were seen as valuable. Naturally, the employment of systems of framing and salience are also manifestations of certain discourses involving Helsinki.

The extensive variation in the use of colour came obvious in the analysis of the material. The examples ranged from the adjustment of modality through amount of colours used to the colouring of illustrations both connecting and framing visual and verbal elements. In the latter case the discourse of Helsinki by the sea was evoked by a repeated wave Figure on each double-page of the brochures in Section 5.1. Both colour and typography also showed their interactional capabilities in the brochures analysed in Section 5.2. The increased use of colour requires colour harmony, which the brochures achieved through carefully co-ordinating the use of colour in photography, illustrations and typography. The same interactional capability was achieved in the domain of typography, where especially the fonts used in brochure titles adapted to the overall image of the brochure. To sum up, as the design of a tourist brochure design becomes

increasingly complex, the interaction between the modes and sub-modes increases.

6.4 Implications and future research

Comparing multimodal discourse analysis to a discourse analysis focusing on a single mode, it could be claimed that both theories are capable of producing similar results in the analysis of tourist brochures. However, the key advantage of multisemiotic discourse analysis is the capability to show how the discourses operate and influence us through multiple modes and sub-modes, thus reinforcing their message. This notion is of utmost importance when conducting discourse analysis of any form of contemporary print media, where the mode of image is gaining ground from the mode of language.

In the analysis of tourist brochures, SFG seemed to be capable of providing information on how semiosis takes place in tourist brochures. In the mode of language, the study of distribution of Relational Identifying and Attributive processes revealed a pattern that can be used to improve the copy. Similar improvements may be achieved in the mode of image through composition. This type of analysis might be employed to improve both content and its organisation, conveing the maximum amount of information within limited space. However, persuasive language and attractive images are not capable of standing in for meaningful content directed at a specific audience: this should be a priority in future design of tourist brochures.

The theory of multisemiotics is a capable theoretical framework for analysing different types of print media. It is important, however, to also acknowledge the need to further develop the theory to analyse other media. Digital media; web pages, computer games, video and even Flash animations are examples of possible subjects of future

research. In fact, these subjects have already received attention in such works as Knox (2007), Machin (2004) and Burn and Schott (2004). Dismissing this field of study as unimportant due to its extremely dynamic nature, especially when the content created by individuals, as opposed to professionals, is increasing at a growing rate in services such as YouTube[1] and flickr[2]. Multisemiotic discourse analysis already has the basic concepts ready, but increased research is needed to refine the theory for new forms of media.

1. YouTube - http://www.youtube.com
2. flickr - http://www.flickr.com

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Appendix A: Complete texts of the analysed tourist brochures

Contact information and business hours have been omitted from Sections A.4, A.5 and A.6 in order to save space.

A.1 Daughter of the Baltic

HELSINKI
Daughter of the Baltic
Finland

Helsinki is a modern city. Here the tourist does not come face to face with the past as he does in many old European capitals. Yet there are areas in Helsinki which give a genuine and comprehensive picture of the atmosphere and architecture of the past.

HISTORY. Great fires destroyed the old wooden Helsinki many times, but it was always rebuilt. The only remains of the trade and seafaring town that Swedish King Gustav Vasa founded in 1550 at the mouth of River Vantaa are the foundations of a church. The massive walls of the Suomenlinna fortress date from the 18th century. Helsinki became Finland's capital in 1812. Many of the city's historically interesting sights date from the beginning of the 19th century, when the administrative centre was built around the Senate Square. Helsinki had a population of 4000 in 1812. At the turn of the century the figure was 79 000 and it is just over half a million at present.

ARCHITECTURE. The Empire style buildings around the Senate Square - the Cathedral, University and Government Palace, for example - are still the finest architectural achievements in Helsinki. It has been said of the Helsinki of the Empire period that it was the last European city designed as a entity and created as a work of art. The historic Senate Square will always hold the place of honour in the capital. New business centres and civic buildings are being planned and built all the time, and the centre of the city is expanding. For example, a new business centre has developed around Hakaniemi Square. The City Theatre and the City Administration Building for social affairs are on the shore of Elaintarha Bay. The concert and congress hall Finlandia is in Hesperia Park on the shore of Toolo Bay. Traffic problems, restoration of the old and the construction of the new while preserving the city's image are current topics in Helsinki at the moment.

In planning new areas and developing old ones the aim is to make the city a balanced whole with several regional centres. These centres have their own schools, sport fields, libraries and shopping centres - many also have swimming baths. The idea is to combine the advantages of urban living with those of rural life.

CULTURE. Helsinki's development into Finland's cultural centre began in 1820s, when the State University founded in Turku in 1640 was moved to the new capital. Besides the University, Helsinki now has several other collogees and institutes. Many of the country's most important musems are located here. The capital has two permanent symphony orchestras, the Helsinki Philharmonic and the Finnish Radio Symphony Orchestra, plus the National Opera with its orchestra and ballet. The theatres of Helsinki give performances in Finnish and Swedish.

COME TO HELSINKI AND RELAX. Helsinki is a city of sea and light blue northern sky. The colourful Market Square is characterized by the glittering sea, an abundance of flowers and fruit, white gulls and busy saleswomen. A short voyage away, facing the open sea, are the sea fortress of Suomenlinna and the Pihlajasaari recreation park, whose sandy beaches and smooth rocks are very popular with Helsinki-ites in summer. A ride on a ferry will take you to Korkeasaari, Helsinki's zoo. Seurasaari Island is a national park and unique open-air museum. The Linnanmaki amusement park and various restaurants provide evening program for the tourist. Several rooftop restaurants offer views of the sea or the city. The menus may include such Finnish delicacies as reindeer, burbot roe, pies, bear meat, special casseroles, and crayfish at the end of summer.
But the best way to relax is the sauna. Many Helsinki hotels have excellent saunas.
There are good connections to Helsinki from everywhere and it has become an important travel link between west and east.
Welcome to Helsinki.

Helsinki City Tourist Office

A.2 Daughter of the Baltic, 1980's

HELSINKI
Daughter of the Baltic

Welcome to Helsinki

Every capital city has a character of its own. Some boast magnificient past, others are modern and fast-paced. Helsinki is an enchanting combination of old and new, city and country. It is certainly a very European city - equally proud of its modern architecture and its neoclassical city centre that reminds one of old St. Petersburg. Visitors are charmed by the blue sea and the green islands, the parks and forests that surround it everywhere. And by the abundance of northern light in summer.
You are cordially welcome to Helsinki.
We hope that you will enjoy it.

We are not far away

You can reach us by plane: in 8 hours from New York, 3 hours from London, Paris, Brussels, and Vienna; 2 hours from Amsterdam, Moscow and many German cities; 1.5 hours from Oslo and Copenhagen; 1 hour from Stockholm and St. Petersburg. Or come by boat: in 16 hours from Stockholm, 23 hours from Travemunde, 28 hours from Gdansk, 14 hours from St. Petersburg, 2 hours from Tallinn.

The past and the present

Though definitely a modern city, present-day Helsinki clearly illustrates Finland's eventful history. Helsinki was founded in 1550 by the Swedish King Gustavus Vasa. Finland's long history (1155-1809) as part of Sweden left a lasting impression on Finnish culture and institutions. Helsinki remained a small town until 1809, when the Russian Empire conquered Finland and made it an autonomous Grand Duchy directly under the Russian czar.
The turning-point for Helsinki was 1812, when it became Finland's capital. The country's administrative and cultural centre was built around Senate Square, with the Government Palace (the former Senate) on the other side, the University on another and on the third the Cathderal, which dominates the square and the view from the sea.
The Russian period ended in 1917, when Finland became independent. Ever since then, Helsinki has been a fast-

growing modern capital, with a population today of about 500,000 people.
Helsinki is a bilingual city, about 7 per cent of the population being Swedish-speaking. There are two official state churches: the Luther and the Greek Orthodox.

Old and new architecture

The Swedish period has left very few traces in Helsinki's architecture. The old wooden centre was destroyed several times by fire and again rebuilt, but has now vanished. Among the few enduring remnants of 18th century Helsinki are the massive walls of Suomenlinna fortress (original Swedish name Sveaborg).
Helsinki's finest architectural achievement is the neoclassical centre around the Senate square, which was created at the beginning of the 19th centure to match the growing dimensions of the brand-new capital.
Helsinki also boasts several interesting Art Nouveau buildings from the beginning of this century, most of them in the southern parts of the city, as well as beautiful examples of the National Romantic style such as the Railway Station, the National Theatre, the National Museum and others.
Most of Helsinki's architecture, however, is quite modern. Works by world-famous architects such as Alvar Aalto and others can be seen all over the city. The concert and congress hall Finland and Temppeliaukio Church are the best-known examples.
The fast-growing city has developed several older and newer business and residential centres in all directions and suburbs, making the city a balanced whole that combines the advantages of cityscape and countryside.

Culture to your taste

As a meeting-point between West and East Helsinki has a lot to offer to visitors who take an interest in culture. Helsinki is not only the capital of the country, but also its intellectual centre, where the widest variety of musical events, theatres, museums, art galleries and exhibitions is available. The Finnish National Gallery is one of the most popular.
The over 350-year-old Helsinki University, the country's most important academic institution, has greatly influenced the development of the city's intellectual life. Nowadays Helsinki also has several other colleges and institutes.

There are three permanent symphony orchestras performing in the city: the Helsinki Philharmonic, the Radio Symphony Orchestra and the orchestra of the National Opera. The new opera building is an important addition to Helsinki's cultural offering. Friends of light music will also find a varied programme to suit their personal tastes. The highlight of the year is the Helsinki Festival, when the parks and concert halls are filled with music and visual arts.
Those interested in famous Finnish design will have the best opportunity to study it in Helsinki. There are permanent and temporary exhibitions and collections to impress you, and shops that have lots to offer to anyone who is keen on taking home lovely souvenirs.

How to spend your spare time

One of the most impressive things about Helsinki is the sea, which surrounds it on three sides. Helsinki is a city by the sea.
Whoever takes pleasure in the sea and nature should visit some of Helsinki's beautiful islands: the historical sea fortress Suomenlinna, the unique national park and open-air museum on Seurasaari, the zoological park on Korkeasaari, or the beach on Pihlajasaari. The colourful Market Square, which itself is worth a visit, is the place to start out on most of the sea trips.
As a seaside city Helsinki also has a lot to offer anyone who appreciates fish. Salmon, herring, pike perch, whitefish, burbot roe, crayfish - to mention the most usual ones. And how about other Finnish specialities: reindeer, elk, cloudberries, arctic brambles, pies, casseroles, or the specialities of the Russian tradition?
And if sport is more in your line, there is a lot to do in Helsinki - both in summer and winter. The Finns themselves are very keen on athletics, football, ice hockey, Finnish baseball - take your pick.
The sauna is naturally the most typical Finnish way of relaxing during one's spare time - so don't forget to try it too.

A.3 Meet Helsinki

MEET HELSINKI

Welcome to Helsinki

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The sauna is naturally the most typical Finnish way of relaxing during one's spare time - so don't forget to try it too.

An efficient infrastructure and a human environment

Helsinki is an entirely modern city, with perfectly safe and clean streets and parks. It is a place where everything works, from public transport and waste disposal to all the telecommunications services a company might need.
Helsinki is also a link between West and East, with a past that helps us understand different cultures and ways. Flight connections link the city with major destinations in Europe and around the world.
Helsinki is also an important congress city. It is excellently equipped to host international congresses and summit conferences, with a good reputation and remarkable organising skills. It is an ideal venue in a world that values not only an efficient infrastructure but also security and the rare delights afforded by natural, green and unspoilt surroundings.

A.4 Bohemian Nordic Oddity

Bohemian Nordic Oddity
24 Solid Things in Helsinki

1. GENUINE HELSINKI
Helsinki's traditional yellow grill kiosks offer the summer's best coffee and juice moments. In the wintertime nothing tastes better than Finland's traditional night food, meat pies. Just queuing up in the sub-zero is an experience!

2. SECOND HAND
One person's old clothing is another person's cool style. The Valtteri Flea Market Hall in Vallila lets you look through other people's sartorial histories. In the city centre, head for the Hietalahti Flea Market, which is a great place to spend the day. The Hietalahti Market Hall houses wonderful antique booths throughout the year.

3. THE BEST ROCK CLUB
This is where every band wants the chance to perform. Up-and-coming bands take to the stage in Semifinal, while Tavastia is home to the giants. Finnish and international bands perform most evenings throughout the week.

4. SHOPPING TUNNELS
Should the rain catch you out in central shopping area, just head underground. Helsinki has an ever-expanding network of subterranean tunnels that allow you to walk from one shopping centre to the next without having to go outdoors.

5. BOHEMIAN TASTES ON YOUR PLATE
Mare Chiaro has to be Finland's most idyllic pizzeria, playing classic Finnish hits to enhance the atmosphere. Be prepared to wait, however, as this small restaurant is often packed. Matushka offers inexpensive Russian food and beer. Both estabishments have colourful clientele that range in age from 18 to 70.

6. RETRO HELSINKI
Karhupuisto Park is a good place to start exploring Kallio district. Sex shops, antiquarian bookshops, bars, pizzerias, tattoo studios and everything else can be found when wandering these streets. You can also discover some real finds. Wanha Kaarle specialises in lovely and strange items from the 1950s. Tapettitalo meanwhile offers beautiful old-fashioned handmade wallpaper - ideal for reminding you of your trip to Finland when

redecorating back home.

7. KALLIO'S GAY BARS
Check out these two down to earth establishments if you just want to be yourself.

8. HAKANIEMI'S ARTIST RESTAURANTS
Hakaniemi has some great local restaurants that are popular among actors, poets and musicians. Rytmi lets you listen to some good music and check your e-mails in a cultural setting. Savel plays classic Finnish hits and brings the idyllic aestethic of the past into the present.

9. HEAVY METAL THUNDER
Finland is an oasis for fans of heavy metal music. Tuska is an annual heavy metal festival in the heart of the city in mid July. Spinefarm Records is a well-known record label for heavy metal bands, while Combat Rock Industry specialises in punk-based rock music.

10. HEAVY METAL KARAOKE has been a great success throughout Finland. Air guitars wail and long hair whips the tables - great! Check it out at Hevimesta or Corner Bar. For more traditional karaoke try Pataassa.

11. FINNISH SAUNA
When you are in Finland, you have to try a sauna. Kotiharjun Sauna lets you wash, enjoy a massage, and listen to Finns tell straightforward tales of joy and suffering.

12. RUSSIA IN HELSINKI
The wonderful Russian restaurant Saslik reflects the splendour of tsarist Russia. Exclusive, but authentic. If you are not hungry, have a cup of Russian tea at the Russian Tearoom on Sofiankatu 5.

13. THE LEGENDARY KAURISMAKI BARS
Check out the restaurant complex founded by the legendary Kaurismaki brothers. Start at the nostalgic Soviet-styled Moskova Bar, move over to the Corona Bar to play some billiards, and then head downstairs to the Dubrovnik to listen to some live music or clubbing.

14. HOME COOKING
In these classic home-cooking restaurants, the steaks are as thick as VHS cassettes - and the butter is not spared.

15. BOHEMIAN HANGOUTS

Seahorse is a classic among cultural people in southern Helsinki, offering Finnish food and drinks in a true Finnish atmosphere. Salve offers a real maritime atmosphere in this old sailor's restaurant, with huge dishes to satisfy all appetites.

16. HAKANIEMI MARKET SQUARE
Head to Hakaniemi Market, where you can buy fresh ingredients and handicrafts, or just sit in the cafes and watch the people go by. This is where the real Finns go about their business. Next door you will find an indoor market hall that is open year round. Take the Metro to Hakaniemi.

17. LOVE, ANARCHY AND INDIE FILMS
The Love & Anarchy film festival takes place each autumn in Helsinki's classic cinemas, the Bio Rex, Maxim and Kino Engel. The Kesakino Engel also screens films outdoors in the summertime.

18. OLD-TIME GLAMOUR
One of Finland's oldest cultural restaurants, Elite has been a hangout of major artists since 1932. Many of the establishments famous clients are remembered on the walls of its stylish interior.

19. SAUNABAR
This unique bar is a favourite among young people and lets you enjoy a sauna without reservation and play billiards in a laid-back atmosphere. Music is played in the evenings, and there are occasional live performances.

20. YRJONKATU SWIMMING HALL
Wallpaper magazine rated this as Europe's third best indoor swimming experience. Here you can enjoy nude swimming in a Roman setting.

21. THE CABLE FACTORY is a multifunctional art and culture centre that houses galleries, theatres, museums and a restaurant.

22. ZETOR AND THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS
Countryside hick restaurant in the heart of the city. Here you can party among tractors without having to show off.

23. TIMELESS CINEMA
Take a seat in the Orion Theatre and enjoy classic and independent films on the big screen.

24. KUNSTHALLE ART AND DINNER
Taidehallin klubi (the Kunsthalle Club) offers excellent food alongside the Kunsthalle Art Gallery. The restaurant also houses an idyllic small bar that offers tapas.

A.5 Groovy Nordic Oddity

Groovy Nordic Oddity
24 Hot Things in Helsinki

1. KIASMA is a museum of contemporary art that offers exhibitions alongside the Kiasma theatre, a cafe and an excellent shop for art books.

2. MYYMALA2 is an independent gallery for young artists. It also has a fantastic boutique where you can buy posters, clothes, jewellery, music, fashion and visions. Check out Vanskap, for example, a brand created by three young graphic artists that produce pop products for art lovers. The brand includes a voodoo doll with a nametag where you can write the name of your archenemy and get to work with the needles!

3. CREATIVE SHOPPING
Lux Shop sells works by young designers in its new boutique in the city centre. Brands include Pusipusi, Sohjo, Napa Books, Ikla Wright and Dernier Cri, Rinne Niinikoski.

4. FINE FASHION
Finnish clothing design is on the rise thanks to creative young entrepreneurs. Check out some of these boutiques if you want to fill your suitcase with fabulously stylish products. These designers combine Finnish design tradition with a true vision for the future.

5. STREET CREDIBILITY
Youth culture has taken over in street fashion. Clothing brands inspired by music, skateboarding and street art are big thing these days. With their Finnish sensitivity, the following brands manage to maintain the street credibility of their inspirations.

6. UNDERGROUND MUSIC
Finnish music today is hot and happening. New bands are combining elements from various different genres to create their own sound. And the Lefthanded, Uusi Fantasia, Imatran Voima, Itavayla, The Millioners, ... The list of bands is long and their rise progressive. Check out the posters and

flyers, or grab a copy of the Clubland leaflet to find out about all the gigs.

7. ARABIANRANTA SHORELINE
The old Arabia ceramics factory is now home to the factory outlets of Iittala, Arabia and Hackman, the makers of fine Finnish designer products. The are is also home to the University of Art and Design Helsinki, the Pop & Jazz Conservatory, and a new residential area that features the latest technological solutions.

8. CHASING TRENDS
The bars in the Punavuori district stand up to international comparison with their unique clientele and interiors. Helsinki is cool, and here you can feel it. Enjoy!

9. JOGGING FROM HISTORY TO THE FUTURE
Karhu Originals is a Finnish sports brand that is nearly 100 years old. The company's visionary product development has proven to be a goldmine among young people, who can't get enough of the latest reproductions. Karhu is the nobility of retro sneakers, an original product that is avalailable at many boutiques in the city centre.

10. TOURING CLUBS
Music is Better is the club for modern electro and indie music, Kompostikopla stands for roots reggae, and Ghettoblaster adds a bit of hip-hop to the recipe. These clubs are held around twice a month in different locations, so check out the flyers and posters on the streets. Great DJ's, live music and special guest stars!

11. A STYLISH NIGHT ON THE TOWN
Underbar is a small urban bar in Kruununhaka that is decorated with the pop art work of hip Finnish artist Alvar Gullichsen. Vinyl Lounge combines a record shop and drinks bar in a stylish package that plays house music.

12. ALTERNATIVE MUSIC MECCA
In Stupido Shop, the guys behind the desk are happy to recommend good albums from the shop's wide assortment - everything from alternative country to electronic, and vinyl to DVD's. Stupido Records is housed in the same premises; the record label is known for the band Elakelaiset (fast waltz "humppa" versions of MTV hits) and Aavikko (modern electronic music).

13. FASHIONABLE PUBLICATIONS

Annual Bulgaria Magazine is a young independnt design publication that presents the latest visual culture and fashion trends. Pap Magazine is Finland's only magazine dedicated to international fashion.

14. THE LATEST STAR IN CLUBLAND
Rosegarden s a cellar-style nightclub with two dance floors hosted by the hottest DJ's in town. Different programme for each evening; for example house or electro on Friday could be followed by Finnhits on Saturday. There are also live shows. Rosegarden is a popular late-night destination when other bars begin to close.

15. ANTEEKSI
Combined studio of several designers that also hosts exhibitions and parties. Architects, illustrators, clothes designers and interior designers all work under the same roof.

16. ELECTRIC FESTIVAL FUN
Flow is a dance music festival hosted by Nuspirit Helsinki in the old railway warehouses opposite the Parliament House in August. Avanto is a media art festival for non-conformist audiovisual art, held in November at Kiasma and Gloria.

17. A LOOK AT DESIGN TODAY is Finland's self-appointed National Design Team. It represents the future of Finnish design, offering fresh ideas from emerging designers. Design Forum Finland sells works by promising young Finnish designers and features its own gallery plus unique cake cafe.

18. CLASSIC FINNISH DESIGN
Tomorrow's Antique offers a cure for your design blues by offering you original Finnish design classics. Aero sells new Finnish and international design classics. The surrounding streets make up Helsinki's new Design District.

19. EAT HELSINKI
The HelsinkiMenu presents dishes made from fresh local ingredients inspired by our four seasons. The HelsinkiMenu is offered in restaurants throughout the city centre.

20. DO YOU FEEL LUCKY?
Try your luck in the luxurious setting of the Grand Casino. Even if you don't hit the jackpot, you can feel reassured by the fact that all proceeds go to charity. The casino offers playing tables and entertainment.

21. NIGHTCLUBS IN THE CITY CENTRE
If you are looking for high-quality, international nightclubs that offer food, dancing and drinks, check out one of the following establishments. Restaurants are open during the daytime. Teatteri and Mecca, both clubs are open until 4am during the weekends and until late during the week too.

22. JAZZ
The Jumo Jazz Club is the most active jazz club in the south-centre of town. The venue is especially popular among the young jazz generation. The club also offers rhythm music, so check out the schedule to se what's on.

23. CHARMING CAFES
Ideal places to rest your feet and watch the world by. These classic, old-time establishments offer a wide assortment of cakes and drinks.

24. MODERN FACILITIES
Kirjasto 10 is a modern music library where you get to use the latest technical equipment. You can even rent time in a modern studio to make your own music video. Aralis is a new library and information centre, that brings together three different art libraries.

A.6 Smooth Nordic Oddity

Smooth Nordic Oddity
24 Pure Things in Helsinki

1. KONEISTO FESTIVAL OF ELECTRONIC MUSIC
The Nordic region's top electronic music festival features the best Finnish musicians and DJ's alongside top international artists. Video art and performances can also be enjoyed throughout the week.

2. ROCK CITY
The number one rock club in Helsinki and all of Finland is the legendary Tavastia. Hot new bands take the stage at the smaller, underground club next door, Semifinal, while Tavastia itself plays host to some of the greatest names in rock. Check out the top Finnish and international acts most evenings of the week.

3. RECORD SHOPS ON VIISKULMA
Helsinki's best record shops can be found on Viiskulma (Five Corners), a veritable Bermuda Triangle of world music. Digelius has a fantastic collection of rare jazz albums,

Eronen sells soul and reggae, and Lifesaver the wide range of rhythm and hip hop records sold by the city's top DJ's.

4. TRAMS AND CITY BIKES
Tired of walking? Trams 3T and 3B serve as an excellent and inexpensive sightseeing tour and cover the same figure-8 route through Helsinki but in opposite directions. Helsinki also has its very own pub tram that operates regularly in summertime and during other seasons can be reserved for unique parties. During the summer you can also grab a city bike, which can be rented for a two-euro deposit.

5. UNDERGROUND CULTURE
Liberte is a music club in Kallio that hosts the latest live music. The club offers electronic and organic music composers the chance to perform in a perflectly intimate setting. Make sure to get there in time if you want to catch the performances. This is a seriously underground venue, so be warned!

6. EROTTAJA BAR
This stylish cafe/bar is a timeless favourite. Creative minds, trendy fashions and stylish business come together here over a glass of wine or beer. DJ's provide the entertainment on werekends before you head to the next club or retire for the evening.

7. SWIMMING IN THE ICE
When the lakes and sea freeze over in the winter, brave Finns cut a hole in the ice to go swimming. Although the thought of swimming in freezing cold weather may seem crazy, they say the feelimg afterwards is exhilarating and indescribably relaxing. These days more and more young people are checking out this extreme sport!

8. URB FESTIVAL/SKATEBOARDING
Check out the urban scene at the URB Festival end of July to beginning of August. This festival at Kiasma and the Stoa Cultural Centre in Itakeskus features all the essential elements of every true B-Boy, including breakdancing, graffiti art and free hip hop gigs. The area around Kiasma, the Museum of Contemporary Art, is also a favourite hangout for skaters in the summertime.

9. NORDIC FITNESS SPORTS PARK
Did you know that you can row boats right in the heart of Helsinki? If you don't like the water, you can also enjoy the

surrounding nature and architecture by renting some poles and going Nordic Walking around Toolonlahti Bay.

10. KAIVOPUISTO SHORELINE
Kaivopuisto Park is a popular place to enjoy the summer days, where you can stroll, lie on the grass, sit in the cafes, check out the nightlife, hang out at the skate park, or catch a ferry to the islands.

11. OUTING TO SUOMENLINNA
For a true summer idyll take the ferry from the Market Square out to Suomenlinna for a picnic. A UNESCO World Heritage Site, Suomenlinna is a historical sea fortress that is now home to a community of artists. With a history dating back to 1748, the islands feature lots of beautiful architecture to admire. Ferries depart to Suomenlinna from the Market Square three times an hour during the summertime and once an hour during wintertime.

12. HELSINKI FESTIVAL
The Helsinki Festival is the highlight of the city's cultural year, offering an international and Finnish programme for the entire family in every sphere of the arts. The Huvila Festival Tent symbolises this end-of-summer happening, hosting an impressive line-up of stars. The festival culminates in the Night of the Arts. The Helsinki Festival will be held from end of August to beginning of September throughout the city centre.

13. HIETANIEMI BEACH
"Hietsu" is where people come to sunbathe, play beach volley and swim. Helsinki's main beach is very popular on hot summer days. The beach is also the venue for weekend concerts and night time swimming. Take bus 55A to the last stop.

14. THE ESPLANADES AND THE ESPLANADE PARK
The Esplanade Park is a favourite hangout for young people. The stage at the Market Square end of the park offers free entertainment all summer long. Favourite shops along the include the Moomin Shop, Artek, Marimekko and Aarikka, all of which offer unique Finnish designer products. Check out also Kalevala Koru for Finnish jewellery.

15. ICE
This offers a great opportunity to enjoy winter activities along the shoreline. It pays to be sensible, however: be aware at all times of the thickness of the ice and what to do in case the ice breaks. There's also Brahen kentta, an

excellent ice-skating rink in the heart of Kallio that has great ice and lovely hot chocolate.

16. KORJAAMO
The Korjaamo Culture Factory is situated in a restored tram depot. This unique and trendy complex houses the editorial offices of cultural magazines, a modern cafe/bar, a gallery and even an ice-skating rink in the wintertime. During the sumemrtime the rink serves as a design flea market. A tram museum is located next door.

17. AMUSEMENT PARK AND THE ZOO
Linnanmaki is Helsinki's classic amusement park that features Europe's oldest wooden roller coaster and free admission. Helsinki also has a zoo on Korkeasaari Island that is open year round. During the summertime you can get there by ferry from the Market Square.

18. COMMUNICATING FROM CAFES
Mbar is a fun and stylish cafe/bar in Lasipalatsi that has internat connections and DJ's. Wayne's coffee serves great coffee and offers wireless internet connection around the city centrum.

19. SWIMMING
Helsinki's Swimming Stadium is situated in the heart of Helsinki alongside the Olympic Stadium. There is also a ten-metre diving platform that offers a great view as you prepare to dive into the pool, which is heated in cooler weather.

20. RAINBOW CLUBBING
DTM is proud to be the largest gay cafe/disco/club in the Nordic region. DTM has two dance floors on two floors, and during the daytime it is open as a cafe. Here you can relax and party into the morning. Karaoke and drag performances.

21. KALLIO BARS
Get out of the centre and check out hip Kallio, the nearby students' and workers' district. Kola is a favourite hangout for students and features a retro interior and laid-back atmosphere. Pub Heinahattu is favoured by garage rockers and features a fantastic jukebox and band posters.

22. FLASHY BAR HOPPING AT MIKONKATU
The pedestrian street in the city centre features restaurants, bars and clubs to suit all tastes. One of its specialties is the Ice Bar, where you can enjoy your drink real cold all seasons of the year. Uniq, Sling In, On the

Rocks, Eatz, Helsinki Club, Bar Fly, Grand Casino Helsinki and other fun establishments can all be found on Mikonkatu or Yliopistonkatu.

23. LOST BUT WANT TO CONTINUE?
Lost and Found is a favourite late-night destination for party people in the southern parts of the city centre. The dance floor downstairs is usually packed and lets you dance your heart away to old Euro-disco hits.

24. PIHLAJASAARI
This island is well worth the short cruise, boasting a nudist beach and lots of rocks on which to soak up the sun.