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ENGLISH ON THE FINNISH WEB PAGES
– representations of Finnish towns and municipalities

A Pro Gradu Thesis in English

by

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Tutkielmassa tarkastellaan suomalaisten kaupunkien ja kuntien englanninkielisiä verkkosivuja. Julkisyhteisöjen verkkoviestintä kasvaa jatkuvasti, joten on tärkeää selvittää, kuinka englantia käytetään kotisivuilla. Työn tutkimuskysymykset ovat: 1) Kuinka suomalaiset kaupungit ja kunnat kuvaavat itseään englanniksi verkkosivuillaan? 2) Millainen imago kunnille ja kaupungeille syntyy tiettyjen kielellisten valintojen kautta? 3) Kenelle verkkotekstit on suunnattu? 4) Millaiset resurssit verkkosivujen suunnittelussa on ollut? Vaikuttavatko nämä julkaistuun materiaaliin? 5) Mikä on verkkosivujen tekstien genre?

Tutkimusaineistoa tarkastellaan diskurssianalyysin keinoin. Havaintoja tehdään erilaisista kielellisistä valinnoista, ja niitä tutkitaan kuuden kaupungin ja kunnan verkkosivujen 'general information' (yleistietoa) -osioista. Myös verkkosivujen genretyyppiä tarkastellaan. Aiemman vastaavan tutkimuksen puuttuessa verkkosivujen analysoimiseen koostettiin oma tutkimusmetodi aineiston alustavan analyysin perusteella. Ensimmäiseksi tarkasteltiin tutkittavien tekstien aihevalintoja sekä lauserakennetta. Tämän jälkeen tekstien verbivalintoja jaoteltiin transitiivisuusanalyysin avulla. Lisäksi luokiteltiin käytettyjä adjektiiveja sekä analysoitiin substantiivien sekä *we* ja *our* -pronominien käyttöä. Myös kontaktin ottamista lukijaan arvioitiin representaation ja imagon luomisen näkökulmasta.

Tulokset osoittavat, että kunnat ja kaupungit pyrkivät kuvaamaan itseään melko yksinkertaisesti. Muun muassa sanasto ja lauserakenne ovat varsin helppotajuisia. Toiset kunnat ja kaupungit korostavat teksteissä selkeästi parhaita puoliaan muun muassa subjektiivisesti arvioitavien adjektiivien avulla ja pyrkivät aktiivisesti luomaan positiivisen imagon, kun taas toiset kertovat enemmän faktatietoa eivätkä pyri läpinäkyvästi vaikuttamaan lukijaan. Kunnat ja kaupungit varovat kuitenkin suostuttelemasta lukijaa liikaa, sillä esimerkiksi suoraa kontaktia otetaan lukijaan varsin harvoin. Modaalisuuden vähyys vaikuttaa siihen, että kaikki kerrotut asiat (myös subjektiiviset mielipiteet) esitetään varmana ja perusteltavana tietona. Transitiivisuusanalyysi paljasti, että kunnat ja kaupungit korostavat omia piirteitään relationaalisten prosessien avulla, mutta eivät kuitenkaan kuvaa itseään erityisen aktiivisiksi, sillä materiaalissa prosesseissa toimijana on monesti joku muu. Aineistosta oli myös havaittavissa, että tekstit on suunnattu lähinnä turisteille. On myös mahdollista, että verkkosivujen suunnitteluun käytetyt voimavarat vaikuttavat sivujen kielellisiin valintoihin.

Kuntien ja kaupunkien julkaisemissa verkkoteksteissä esiintyy piirteitä sekä mainosteksteistä että informatiivisemmasta puolesta. Yleisten kommunikatiivisten päämäärien perusteella voidaan kuitenkin väittää, että verkkosivut kuuluvat promotionaalisten tekstien genreen.

Asiasanat: discourse analysis. genre. image. representation. web pages.

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1 Introduction

During the last couple of decades, the use of English language in Finland has become increasingly ordinary. To name just a few of the uses, international corporations utilise English in their everyday operations, advertisements in magazines and television contain a great deal of English and English vocabulary is adopted into the Finnish language. It is commonly known that English is widely used, for instance, as the language of international trade, but in this process of Finland becoming more international, also public institutions in Finland have had to start taking into account that some of their customers need to be addressed in the English language. Good examples of such organisations are Finnish towns and municipalities. Today it is no longer enough to serve people only in Finnish and Swedish, but also foreign languages need to be used in order to communicate with people who speak other languages. Inhabitants of foreign origin, tourists and other visitors need information in English, too.

One area where the use of English in towns and municipalities can be seen is the web pages on the World Wide Web. As websites can be accessed anywhere in the world by people who do not speak Finnish or Swedish, also Finnish towns and municipalities have realised the opportunities or need of having websites also in English. Various web pages produced by Finnish municipalities contain sections in English, providing information that has been considered important to be spread to the whole world.

Although many towns and municipalities in Finland have their web pages also in English, the pages have not been studied very much. Thus the present study approaches this rather untouched area of the use of English in Finland and pursues to see how certain Finnish towns and municipalities represent themselves in English, i.e. what kind of material and how it is published on the World Wide Web (the WWW hereafter). The topic was chosen because it combines two areas of my personal interest: linguistics and communication studies. After all, finding a subject with a combination of these two fields was

my starting point when looking for a topic for my thesis. I realised the WWW would provide a great deal of suitable material for such a study and as it turned out that the websites of Finnish towns and municipalities and the use of English on them have been barely studied, there seemed to be a clear gap for the present study and that made the topic even more interesting. By studying these web pages, I am able to make observations of fresh data and thus also produce novel information both about the use of English in Finland and also about the ways in which the WWW is utilised in Finnish towns and municipalities. Even though English has become an important lingua franca (i.e. a means of communication for people who share no other common language and who do not speak English as their mother tongue) also in Finland, it has not been studied whether English is actually used in a similar manner as Finnish on the web pages. Thus this study in its part will provide information on the position of English in the Finnish society.

The texts on the web pages will be approached with the help of discourse analysis. Linguistic choices of the web pages, such as the use of adjectives, nouns as well as the overall contents (i.e. what kind of information is included in the texts) will be analysed, paying attention to how the towns and municipalities represent themselves in English. After all, the way language is used creates a certain image of the place, be the choice conscious or not. One could argue that it is almost impossible to write a neutral piece of text, since the writer always has a certain point of view when creating the text. The choices made can also reveal or at least hint the target group of the text (and the website). Thus the choices made in designing the English web pages, as well as the effects that those choices have in creating the image or constructing the target audience, are the main focus of this study.

Although the main approach of my study will be discourse analytic, I will also draw on communication studies when studying representation. I have chosen to do so, because the WWW is a fairly new media for organisations to practise their public relations and influence public's view of them. The WWW provides a channel for towns and municipalities to improve their public image, disseminate information and also attract people to visit them. Hence studies on

communication help me in studying the image that is conveyed through choices of language.

In addition, genre analysis will be utilised. It is interesting to see what kinds of texts are published on the web, i.e. whether the web is perhaps a new tool for promoting a town or a municipality or a channel for sharing information. In this study, the genre of the texts is also taken to contribute to representation. After all, the type of the text clearly influences the way a certain place is pictured.

The study is structured so that firstly, I will introduce the web as a medium for communication and deal with how it is used as a tool for public relations. Secondly, I will look at how Finnish towns and municipalities use the web and which languages are used on the web pages. This is followed by the analytic framework, research set up and analysis of the present study. The thesis will end by discussing the findings of the study.

2 The web as a mass medium

When talking about computer-based communication systems, the two terms the Internet and the WWW are often used interchangeably among the researchers. There is, however, a clear difference between them. As Rosengren (2000:101–102) puts it, whereas the Internet is a network of computers using the same communication standard (Internet protocol), the WWW refers to a "hypertext program" (the Hypertext Transfer Protocol), which can be used to distribute, for instance, text and pictures over the Internet. As the websites are published on the WWW, that is the term that is mostly used in the present study, but because of the different ways of using the terms, the Internet is also used at times. Rosengren (2000:102) uses the term Internet when discussing the type of medium, and therefore it is also used in the following.

The Internet is often seen as an interactive means of communication, allowing its users to communicate with one another. Yet on the WWW the producers of the sites offer the same information for everyone, the readers having no actual influence on what is published there. This creates a sort of a controversy. Is the Internet really a means of interpersonal communication, between two persons or is it perhaps best defined as a mass medium? Rosengren (2000:102) avoids this problem by defining the Internet as an "interpersonal mass medium", a medium which builds "virtual communities". However, in this study the Internet will be approached from the point of view of mass communication. This is because the present study does not focus on the interpersonal opportunities web pages offer, but concentrates on the representational choices the producer(s) of the web pages have made. In addition, classifying the Internet as a mass medium is backed up by the features Fairclough (1995b:36) uses when defining mass communication. In his view the crucial issue in distinguishing mass communication is that the time and place of the production of the text are different from those of consuming it. This is enabled by the use of technology (Fairclough 1995b:38). Although Fairclough mainly discusses newspapers, radio and television as forms of mass communication, it is

justified to include also the Internet in the same group since similar temporal and spatial as well as technology issues can be related to the Internet, too.

Another issue Fairclough (1995b:39) highlights is the types of audiences. Mass communication is aimed at a mass audience, in the way, for example, television programs are available for almost anyone to watch. Also web pages are, at least in theory, free for anyone to access. Therefore, Fairclough's definition also confirms the classification of the Internet as a mass medium.

3 The web, practising of public relations and creation of image

The development of the WWW has offered PR persons a new tool for practising their business. In this chapter one will take a look at the role of the web pages in public relations and see also how they can be used in creating an image for a town or a municipality.

3.1 Web pages as part of public relations and marketing

Wilcox, Ault and Agee (1998:261) state that communication via computers is of growing importance to PR practitioners. They see the WWW in particular as a powerful tool for public relations. Web pages offer PR practitioners the opportunity to convey messages to the audiences in the form they want themselves, since there are no gatekeepers to control the contents of, for example, home pages. Wilcox et al. (1998:456) also point out that web pages allow public relations practitioners to both inform and persuade people. On the Internet organisations are able to inform the public about their activities, projects and policies.

Salam, Rao and Pegels (1998:76), in turn, discuss the use of the Internet as a marketing tool. They state that because of the Internet, marketers are able to target and communicate with highly involved people all over the world. Although Salam et al. concentrate on corporate advertising on the Internet, their argument can be applied to web pages as such, thus also to those of towns and municipalities. The WWW allows towns and municipalities to contact those people who are interested in finding out information about them. Also Oravisto (1996:96) points out that the WWW provides municipalities with a new opportunity to inform people and to create positive images of their operations. It is thus fair to assume that although towns and municipalities are not selling any concrete products as traditional companies do, the WWW offers them a channel to communicate and even attract people.

Even though it is thus recognised that the WWW is a useful device in communicating one's business to the audience, it is interesting to notice that at least Wilcox et al. (1998:471) do not consider online media (the WWW, that is) a similar form of written public relations as, for example, news releases, annual reports or advertising. Although one can also include other material on the WWW besides text (pictures, audio, video etc.), written communication and texts still play a significant role there, too. Yet Wilcox et al. (1998:471) do not deal with the WWW when discussing writing as a part of public relations. However, it must be kept in mind that this does not mean the WWW would not be part of public relations, it just points out that the WWW is not perhaps considered a traditional form of publishing. For example, as Wilcox et al. (1998) give information on how to prepare news releases and completely ignore writing on the WWW, it is all the more interesting to study web pages to see what kinds of texts are published there. Being a rather novel medium of communication without any explicit advice on what kind of information should be presented there and above all, with little control, it is possible for each organisation to decide what it wants to tell about itself on the WWW as long as certain regulations, such as laws, are taken into account.

3.2 Public relations and the image of towns and municipalities

Varey (1997:109) sees public relations as dealing with issues related to a positive image and goodwill as well as affecting long-term public opinion. Although Varey considers public relations from the point of view of the business world, similar issues can be claimed to exist also in the public sector, that is, for example in managing towns and municipalities. After all, although towns and municipalities are not aiming at making profit in a similar manner as traditional business organisations, they also need to pay attention to their stakeholders and their opinions. In fact, Lehtonen (1998:133) considers that, in the same way as individuals, also municipal organisations need to be able to communicate information that helps in creating and enforcing their desired image. In addition, he mentions that their objective is that the image conveyed would be as positive as possible (Lehtonen 1998:139). According to him, the

image is created by means of, for instance, informing and advertising. This is where the link between the image and web pages can be clearly seen. Websites are a means of communicating desired information to the readers and thus one cannot deny their impact on creating a certain image of their subject matter.

Overall, the concept of organisational image is a product of the interaction between the organisation and its stakeholders. As a result of this interaction, the interest and involvement in the organisation evolves and mental pictures (i.e. images) are created. (Varey 1997:113.) This general definition of the organisational image applies to towns and municipalities as well, since they also work in cooperation with their stakeholders. In their case, they are not, however, clients in the same way as in traditional business organisations, but inhabitants and other interest groups. Varey (1997:113) argues that the aim of organisational communication is to equalise the desired and actual image of the corporation. This is done, for instance, by constructing a steady profile for the organisation and enforcing guidelines which aim at unifying internal and external communication. Varey (1997:113) sees that alongside marketing, public relations work for attaining the goals an organisation has set for itself among external publics.

According to Lehtonen (1998:131), the most usual way of defining municipal image is to see it as the impressions or knowledge of the municipality of either the administratives, inhabitants or outsiders. Lehtonen (1998:129) is of opinion that in principle, an image is not in any way related to the objective features of the subject matter. Rather, it is evaluated subjectively, but at the same time it is a picture of the reality defined by cultural models and selected perceptions of the social surroundings. Although, according to the definition, an image is a picture of reality, it is the only real information one can get of the subject matter.

What is then the difference between image and identity? Koskinen (2002) sees identity as a self-portrait, something that illustrates one's relationship to oneself and the environment. Image, in contrast, is an impression of some subject (Koskinen 2002). According to Juholin (2001:149), in turn, image or

reputation of an organisation is created by its actions, what it tells about those actions and what others tell about them. Thus, it is image that is being investigated in the present study, not identity, since one is interested in how the reader sees the town/municipality when reading its web pages.

When a marketing person is creating a certain image for a product, there is a clear goal behind it. The product is given additional value by attaching certain images into it (Lehtonen 1998:135). Lehtonen continues that when marketing, for example, an area or a town, factors giving extra value influence, for instance, one's ideas about oneself when living in the area.

A very interesting idea suggested by Lehtonen (1998:135) is also that, as there are no more major differences in, for instance, the services the towns and municipalities can provide, adding extra value in marketing becomes necessary for them. As it is otherwise quite impossible to make any kind of distinctions between towns and municipalities, the crucial issue is what kind of additional services each of them are able to provide. Those may be, for example, the closeness of the sea, nature, opportunities for various hobbies, depending on which issues are important for each of them. (Lehtonen 1998:135.)

The report by Suomen Kuntaliitto ('The Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities') (2001a:31) argues that for operating successfully, municipalities need profiling. This means analysing their strengths and constructing their image based on those issues. Through communication municipalities are able to influence their image. However, the image of a municipality entails not only its strengths but also its weaknesses, possibilities and threats (Suomen Kuntaliitto 2001a:31). Image is created through action but at the same time also other actors and the media affect it. It is worth noticing that whether one communicates or not, an image will always be created. However, the more consistently a municipality communicates its own messages, the more likely they will also affect its image. (Suomen Kuntaliitto 2001a:31.) Thus, active communication of one's agenda is essential when aiming at a positive image. In fact, Suomen Kuntaliitto (2001a:32) mentions that the aim of profiling is to emphasise the desired things that already exist.

According to the report by Suomen Kuntaliitto (2001a:32), the corner stone of profiling is the image one has chosen to pursue (the desired image). The municipality needs to decide how it wants to be seen by the stakeholders and by which things it wants itself to be recognised. In those municipalities where the image is positive and it is what one wants it to be, communication and marketing are used to reinforce the image. However, if the image is negative or it is not in coordination with the desired image, the issues emphasised in the desired image are not true. It should be noticed that image cannot be based on lies.

4 WWW in towns and municipalities

In the instructions of Suomen Kuntaliitto (2001b:10) for communication on the WWW it is pointed out that usually municipalities have been using the Internet as a means of mass communication rather than for informing certain target audiences. However, it is argued that designing the pages for a target audience would be important for the WWW communication of municipalities. It is mentioned that the main target group for the web pages of a municipality is inhabitants.

In the instructions it is also said that the inhabitants can be divided into different categories according to their age, need for knowledge and skills in using the WWW. Thus different target audiences are for example school children, students, people in working life and retired people. What is more, also those people who are thinking of moving to the municipality (for instance immigrants) are considered to be inhabitants in this case. Other target groups are tourists, companies and associations. (Suomen Kuntaliitto 2001b:10.)

Dimbleby and Burton (1998:177) consider audiences from the point of view of mass communication. They argue that one can define and construct a certain audience for a media product. Nevertheless, Dimbleby and Burton (1998:177) also observe that audiences are active groups of people who decide themselves what they want to read or watch. Thus the media has to take into account the wishes and opinions of the audiences when designing products for them.

The concept of audience is also approached from the point of view of public relations. Wilcox et al. (1998:234) see the audience as a mixture of groups that possess different cultural, ethnic, religious and economic features. Because of this complexity it is rather challenging for PR practitioners to direct their messages to the audience and thus knowledge of different segments of audience is essential in developing PR campaigns. One needs to aim the messages to those people who are acknowledged most attractive when considering the purpose of the campaign. (Wilcox et al. 1998:234.) Wilcox et

al. (1998:234–235) recognise that certain segments can be defined more easily than others since they share certain characteristics that are common to everyone within the group. Such groups can be, according to Wilcox et al., for instance businesspeople in Rotary clubs. It is also worth paying attention to the word “campaign” that Wilcox et al. (1998) use. Although web pages usually are not a part of some short-term campaign, still those of the towns and municipalities can be seen as a particular campaign, too. After all, websites are constantly promoting the place and can thus be seen as campaigning for making the town/municipality well-known.

4.1 Web sites as a communication tool for towns and municipalities

Overall, it has been a growing trend for different organisations to have their own web pages. This is also true in the case of Finnish towns and municipalities, since, according to the web page of Suomen Kuntaliitto (2004a), in the summer of 2004 each of the 444 municipalities in Finland had their own website. The trend of having web pages is not, however, totally new, since the advantages of having a website were considered at least already in the mid-1990s by Oravisto (1996:96). She states that by bringing decision-making and public services as well as the duties and the rights of the inhabitants on the WWW, municipalities can intensify their social communication. The WWW can also improve the functioning of administration since today people are able to go through municipal documents any time they like. Earlier this was possible only during certain office hours. In addition, web pages provide inhabitants the opportunity to contact the decision-makers and the officials of the municipality. (Oravisto 1996:96.)

As far as the potential of web pages is concerned, Oravisto sees that a good website attracts tourists and investors and creates confidence in the operation of the municipality. She also briefly considers the purpose of having the pages in different languages, since she argues that if one wants to attract tourists and foreign investors, one should pay attention to the versions in different languages (Oravisto 1996:96–97.) However, she does not discuss much

whether the Finnish version and for example the one in English should contain similar information. Although Oravisto (1996:97) states that one should take into account the cultural differences and the problems they can possibly create on the sites in different languages, she does not actually say what kind of information should be provided in each version. However, it is worth noticing that when she discusses the opportunities of the WWW in developing decision-making and municipal services, she obviously means only the pages in either Finnish or Swedish. Naturally it has to be admitted that Oravisto (1996:96) sees also Finnish and Swedish pages as attracting possible tourists and investors, but in Finnish and Swedish there seems to be some other functions besides marketing, too. In fact, both the words *inhabitant* and *tourist* are mentioned when talking about the sites in domestic languages but when the versions in other languages are considered, only *tourist* appears. Hence one can quite easily detect a certain division in Oravisto's views about the functions of different versions of web pages. Thus one can notice different approaches to directing the audiences of web pages.

4.2 Designing websites for towns and municipalities

Suomen Kuntaliitto (2004b) defines certain criteria for designing web services for municipalities. It is said that web pages of good quality are easy to use, serve the needs of the inhabitants and other target groups as well as are up-to-date and reliable. Thus also Suomen Kuntaliitto distinguishes different target groups for the material published on the WWW, in a rather similar manner as Oravisto (1996) does. However, Suomen Kuntaliitto does not say anything specific about the pages in foreign languages and their target audiences.

In the instructions of Suomen Kuntaliitto (2001b) for communication on the WWW the main contents of the web pages of towns and municipalities are specified, too. These include:

- contact information (addresses, phone numbers, email addresses etc.) of the personnel and elected officials
- certain documents (e.g. records of the town council and government)

- basic information about the municipality (for instance statistics concerning the economy as well as the history of the town)
- current information about the issues at hand and the opportunity to influence those issues
- information about current events in the area
- search engine or at least site map
  (Suomen Kuntaliitto 2001b:13.)

4.3 Languages used on the web pages of Finnish towns and municipalities

According to the instructions for communication on the WWW (Suomen Kuntaliitto 2001b:10), in bilingual municipalities their WWW pages need to be provided both in Finnish and Swedish. In addition, it is mentioned that language minorities should be paid attention to when designing web pages. Furthermore, it is also suggested that the websites of Finnish municipalities could also be accessed outside Finland, too, and thus central information concerning the municipality should also be provided in other languages, at least in English.

A random search of websites reveals that at least some smaller municipalities in Finland have also English versions of their web pages. Some information on the Internet services of the Finnish municipalities is provided by Taloustutkimus (2002). This study, which was conducted for The Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities and the Ministry of the Interior, investigated also the languages used on the websites. According to this study (Taloustutkimus 2002), of the 448 Finnish municipalities 278 answered in the study and 96 per cent of those stated that they use Finnish on their web pages. However, what is more interesting in the results of the study is that, even though Finland has Swedish as the other official language, it is more common to have web pages in English than in Swedish. More specifically, 39 per cent of those who answered said that they have web pages also in English whereas Swedish was used by only 28 per cent of the municipalities (Taloustutkimus

2002). Thus, at least according to the situation at the end of the year 2002, English is the second popular language on the web pages of Finnish towns and municipalities. Naturally one has to take into account that the use of Swedish depends on the location of the town or municipality since in Swedish-speaking areas it is naturally common to have web pages in Swedish, too, but yet it is interesting why English is chosen over Swedish in several cases. It would be intriguing to know whether designers of the web pages think English has something more to offer than what Swedish does. The fact that English is widely recognised as an international lingua franca might have some impact on the choice of languages on the websites, too. By choosing to use English instead of Swedish, the designers of the website perhaps aim at reaching a wider audience for the pages. However, this does not quite explain why the other official language of Finland is often ignored on the websites. After all, one would easily assume that the main target audience of the web pages of towns and municipalities would be Finnish citizens. As there also Swedish-speaking people in Finland, one could presume they would be provided information in their own language. However, this lack of Swedish may also greatly depend on resources available for designing web pages, meaning both economic and human resources. There might not be people who know enough Swedish and then again not enough money to hire external people to produce the Swedish version.

The difference between the use of English and other foreign languages on the websites is even more radical. The study by Taloustutkimus (2002) reveals that, out of the 278 Finnish towns and municipalities, 15 per cent had a German version of their pages, followed by Russian with five per cent and French with only three per cent of the web pages. Judging by these figures, English thus seems to have a rather strong position as the ‘semi-official’ second language on the Finnish web pages of towns and municipalities. Because of this position English has, it is all the more interesting to see how it is actually utilised on the WWW.

Yet it also crucial to remember both the economic and human resources affecting the design of the web pages and therefore these need to be considered

in this study too. This part of the study was conducted by sending a short questionnaire to all the towns and municipalities chosen for this study. The questionnaire consisted of five questions, which inquired about different issues concerning the web pages.

4.3.1 Languages on the web pages of the present study

As far as the websites of the present study are concerned, a fairly wide variety of languages is used on them. However, certain trends can be detected, since two of the three smaller places (Haukipudas and Kemijärvi) have used only Finnish and English on their web pages.

Besides Finnish and English, Kerava has also used a third language, that is Swedish. Jyväskylä, Oulu and even somewhat surprisingly the small municipality Soini have information at least in seven languages.

TABLE 1. Languages used on the websites examined

Haukipudas	**Jyväskylä**	**Kerava**	**Kemijärvi**	**Oulu**	**Soini,**
Finnish	Finnish	Finnish	Finnish	Finnish	Finnish
English	English	English	English	English	English
	Swedish	Swedish		Swedish	Swedish
	Russian			French	German
	French			German	Danish
	German			Italian	Estonian
	Spanish			Portuguese	Russian
	Italian			Spanish	
				Russian	

Although the number of languages used on certain pages seems large, it is worth noticing that the amount of material in each language is not quite comparable. On Jyväskylä's websites English is used as the default language on their international pages and, although there is material also in several other languages, they are much more limited than the English version. The same can be found out on Oulu's pages where there is much less material available in Swedish than there is in English. In other languages one can only find some additional information, no actual pages. Also Kerava's website contains more material in English than in Swedish. On Soini's website, in turn, one provides material mostly in Finnish. Although several other languages are used, there are only short introductions of the municipality in English and German, for example. As well as Soini, also Haukipudas settles for having only one page in English. Kemijärvi's English web pages, in turn, are much broader than those of Haukipudas and Soini, but still they contain only a part of the material found in Finnish.

4.4 Summary of the main aspects of the WWW

Judging by the figures, the WWW seems to be a fairly important means of communication for Finnish towns and municipalities. Otherwise one would not expect each of them to have their own web pages. As for designing the pages, the benefits of the websites have been realised (services can be offered round the clock) and at least in theory it also seems that one has observed the importance of defining certain target audiences for the websites. However, in practice one can argue that, for instance, people speaking languages other than Finnish have not been properly taken into account. Web pages of towns and municipalities may not offer similar material in different languages. What is obvious, nevertheless, is that English is a very popular language on the web pages of Finnish towns and municipalities.

5 Analytic framework

As I want to consider versatile aspects of the websites of towns and municipalities, i.e. how they represent themselves as well as the type of genres in them, there is not a ready-made approach, but what is thus necessary is a combination of insights from a number of sources. The analysis is mainly based on a discourse analytic approach, but also genre theory is introduced, since it provides tools for defining the type of genre of the web pages.

5.1 Discourse analysis

Within the field of linguistics, the concept of discourse has been defined in various ways. For example, Fairclough (1992:3) has suggested that while some see discourse as consisting merely of, for example, spoken dialogue, most commonly it is seen as written text or spoken language. Yet other definitions are given in social theory where discourse is seen as a way of constructing knowledge and social practice (see, for example, Pietikäinen 2000). Fairclough (1992:4) combines these two fields and treats discourse and discourse analysis as three-dimensional. In his view, discourse event (that is, any instance of discourse) is at the same time 1) a piece of text, 2) an instance of discursive practice (referring to the production and interpretation of the text) and 3) an instance of social practice (e.g. how different institutions shape the discursive event and vice versa.)

As these definitions already suggest, there are two main approaches to discourse analysis: the linguistic and social approach. Moreover, the linguistic approach can be divided into formalist and functionalist views (Schiffrin 1994 as quoted by Pietikäinen 2000:58). Formalist approaches investigate the structures and forms of discourse and functionalist views focus, for instance, on uses, meanings and functions of discourse (Pietikäinen 2000:58). The social approach, on the other hand, sees a connection between language use and social practice (Pietikäinen 2000:61). According to this approach, meanings

that language creates are constructions of social practice, ever-changing and rather tightly connected to their context (Pietikäinen 2000:62).

Fairclough's view of discourse represents that of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Pietikäinen (2000:66) summarises this view as follows: "--- in CDA, discourse means language use as social practice, and it is seen as non-individual, action, historical, and constructive." CDA thus approaches discourse from a multifaceted point of view, seeing it not only as either linguistic or social phenomenon but as connected to the overall construction of society. As Pietikäinen (2000:65) puts it: "In the broadest sense, this particular point of view entails incorporation of linguistically and socially oriented approaches to discourse analysis ---". However, for example, Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258) point out that CDA investigates linguistic forms of social interaction. Thus, one can see that although CDA aims at linking linguistic and social approaches, it utilises methods of linguistics in its analysis.

With respect to the term 'critical' in CDA, Fairclough (1995b:54) refers to Bourdieu (1977) who sees social practice and language use connected with such causes and effects that may not necessarily be visible in normal conditions. According to Fairclough (1995b:54), for example the connection between language and power is one area which people are not totally aware of. Criticality is thus needed in order to reveal such connections in discourse analysis. Without being critical one would not be able to investigate the texts on a deeper level. In studying websites this means scrutinising and evaluating, for example, what kind of effects the medium and the writer(s) have on the outcome (that is, the web text). It is also crucial to look at which issues (choices of verbs, nouns and adjectives, for instance) have made the text the way it is.

As far as the present study is concerned, the ideas of Fairclough's CDA will be applied selectively. As the aim of this study is to concentrate on examining how English is used on the web pages of Finnish towns and municipalities, the main focus will be on the linguistic analysis of the texts. With respect to criticalness, one does approach the texts from a critical point of view, but not

as politically (or ideologically) oriented as Fairclough (e.g. 1992) does. The present study is more an evaluative one, and the criticalness of the analysis is thus about assessing the effects of the linguistic choices in representing the towns and municipalities. One ponders why certain choices have been made (what the motive behind them is) and sometimes also how else the issues could have been phrased. Hence, the linguistic choices on the web pages are debated and that is what makes the present study a critical one. However, Fairclough's views are useful as far as the discursive practices are concerned. Discursive practices refer, for instance, to the methods of both production and interpretation of texts (Fairclough 1995b:16). Each text is bound to be influenced by both of these (for instance, a text designed for a website may differ from a newspaper article because they are produced for different causes), and thus the second of Fairclough's levels of discourse is taken into account in the present study, too.

The third, social level of the discourse is left with less attention since the aim of the study is not to examine power relations and the construction of identity in web texts. However, one cannot totally ignore the consideration of power in this study either. After all, as Pietikäinen (2000:67) argues, media discourse is one place where power struggle takes place. Nevertheless, in the present study the focus is not on, for instance, the power relations between the producers of the texts and the audiences, but on the ways in which the texts are constructed. By that I refer to the power the towns and municipalities have in deciding what kind of material they want to publish on their web pages. When making such decisions they undeniably exercise power over the audience, providing them the information they prefer themselves and keeping them ignorant of everything else.

5.1.1 Textual analysis

Textual analysis, as a part of discourse analysis, has two components: linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis (Fairclough 1995a:188). According to Fairclough (1995a:188), linguistic analysis consists not only of the traditional

levels of analysing, for example, grammar up to the sentence level and vocabulary, but also of an investigation of the text above the sentence level and the structure of the text. Intertextual analysis, on the other hand, "shows how texts selectively draw upon *orders of discourse* – the particular configurations of conventionalised practices (genres, discourses, narratives, etc.) which are available to text producers and interpreters in particular social circumstances ---." (italics in original) (Fairclough 1995a:188.) Fairclough further divides intertextual analysis into manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The former refers to cases where previous texts "are overtly drawn upon within a text" whereas the latter deals with how mixtures of orders of discourse construct discourse types. (Fairclough 1992:117–118.)

From Fairclough's (1995a:188) point of view, textual analysis requires analysing the form or organisation of the text. He clarifies that this does not mean opposing the analysis of form to content or meaning, on the contrary, he asserts content cannot be thoroughly investigated without considering the form of the texts. That is because Fairclough (1995a:188) sees that "contents are always necessarily realized in forms, and different contents entail different forms and vice versa."

As far as the present study is concerned, one of the key ideas, adopted from Fairclough (1992:64), is that discourse as a practice not only represents the world but signifies it and constructs it in meaning. In his view, discourse comprises three different constructive effects: construction of social identities, social relationships between people and systems of knowledge and belief. In addition, Fairclough (1992:65) states that discursive practice is constitutive in another way too, that is, it affects the transformation of society. Changes in the everyday behaviour of people may partly originate in discourse. In the present study the emphasis, however, is not textual construction of the whole society but that of towns and municipalities. Websites create images and invite people to see the towns and municipalities in a certain way. This may also affect their behaviour, since an appealing website may, for example, persuade the reader to visit the place. Respectively, web pages can also have negative effects. For instance, if the reader either feels disappointed or is discontented with the

information given on a website, s/he may even tell his/her negative impressions to a friend and thus affect his/her opinion and behaviour, too. It thus possible to argue that the linguistic choices on websites are a part of constructing the way people see towns and municipalities.

5.2 Representation

Fairclough's (1995b) work on media discourse functions as a starting point for my analysis of the websites of Finnish towns and municipalities. One of the issues Fairclough (1995b:4) introduces is the concept of representation. He defines representation as the choice of which things are included in a text (and which are excluded, respectively). Although Fairclough (1995b:3–5) considers representation when he discusses the structure of a TV-program, observations of such choices are of importance in the analysis of the websites, too. In fact, in the present study representation is the key word, since it covers the ideas of investigating how, why and with what kind of results English is used on the Finnish web pages. For instance, representation is closely related to defining the target audience of the sites, since one may assume that different kinds of material are used when the text is aimed at inhabitants or tourists, for example. Thus the choices of publishing certain material are about how the town or municipality represents itself on the web pages.

Fairclough (1995b:104) argues that there are two aspects of representation: structuring of propositions as well as combining and sequencing of them. Structuring of propositions is related to how events, relationships and situations are represented, their combination is concerned on the local coherence between clauses (how clauses are put together into complexes of clauses, what kind of relations of cohesion are set up between them and what kind of argumentation is used in different texts) as well as global text structure (what kind of decisions are made about available activity types or generic schemata). Fairclough thus examines both these aspects in relation to clause(s), since in his view a clause is in one sense correspondent to one proposition.

Representation has also been investigated by Hall (1997) who is mainly interested in investigating how representation connects meaning and language to culture. Hall (1997:24–25) introduces three different theories for studying the representation of meaning through language: the reflective, intentional and constructionist approaches. Although these approaches are not central in the present study, it is worth briefly introducing them, since especially the constructionist approach relates to the views utilised this study, too. The reflective view sees that the meaning is in the object and language only reflects it. The intentional approach, in contrast, emphasises that, with the help of language, the author gives meanings to the world. According to the constructionist approach, meanings are constructed by using representational systems, i.e. concepts and signs. Hall (1997:25) argues that social actors are in a significant position, since they are the ones creating the meanings. In addition, Hall (1997) acknowledges the discursive approach by Michael Foucault as one variant of constructionist approach. Thus it is obvious he also sees discourse as an essential part of representation. It is also worth noticing that Fairclough's (1995b:103–104) view of media texts shares certain aspects with Hall's (1997) constructionist approach. Fairclough (1995b:103–104) states that "[…] they [media texts] constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on the social positions and interests and objectives of those who produce them." Thus, it seems obvious that an analysis of web texts is closest to the constructionist approach, taking into account also the social factors in producing the texts.

Whereas Fairclough sees representation as choices of which issues to include in a text, Hall (1997:15) makes a more general description of the concept and sees representation as being part of making meanings. In Hall's (1997:15) view, representation is essential in both creating and exchanging meanings between members of a culture and language, and signs as well as images are the means for doing this. Hall (1997:15) emphasises that the process of creating meanings is in no way simple, but as he does not concentrate on examining texts in a similar manner as Fairclough does, he does not get into details how to make certain representations in texts. In contrast to Fairclough, Hall (1997:17) sees representation as "the production of the meaning of the

concepts in our minds through language". Thus it seems for Hall representation is more closely related to the conceptual level of language, and to individual words, instead of larger units of texts.

In Lehtonen's view (2004:44–45), in turn, etymologically representation is about bringing something present again. It can mean a physical representative of something, or someone (as, for example, the members of the parliament) or symbolising or illustrating something. According to Lehtonen (2004:45), seeing representation as symbolising or illustrating means the term can be described as depicting something in a certain way. He continues that when thinking about language as representation, one needs to remember that the symbols of the language do not depict the objects as they are but, as the prefix 're-' already suggests, in a different way.

Like Lehtonen (2004), also Fairclough (1995b:103–104) argues that media texts do not represent reality but create their own ideas about it, according to the producers of the texts and their positions in the society. Various choices are made when writing and those choices create variations of the reality. Thus analysing representational processes is about looking at the choices made, what has been included in the text and what has been left out. In addition, attention is paid to, for instance, the issues that are represented directly and indirectly as well as which issues are of primary or secondary importance. One is also interested in looking at the different process types that are used for representing issues.

In the present study the choices of what has been included in the texts will be examined by comparing the different websites. Of course, one can investigate what each of the web pages contain, but it would be fairly challenging (and perhaps even useless) to define all the other possibilities the texts could be like. Thus, by comparing different web pages one can see what kind of choices different towns and municipalities have made, i.e. what kind of issues they have wanted to include and, respectively, exclude from the websites.

As far as directness and indirectness are concerned, on the web pages one can look at, for example, the amount of direct address to the reader. After all, this implies whether there is an obvious desire to appeal to the reader or is it done, for instance, in a more subtle way. The primacy of certain issues, on the other hand, can be examined with the help of topics and their order, for example.

In the examination of representation, social motives, ideologies and power relations come up repeatedly when analysing the choices (Fairclough 1995b:104). The final goal in analysing representation is to describe the net of possibilities within which the choices are made. Fairclough uses Halliday's (1985) systemic functional grammar as a basis for his analysis. (Fairclough 1995b:104.) What the grammar can offer for the present study, too, is transitivity analysis which is one means of examining linguistic representation. It provides a fairly thorough way of looking at the construction of the texts (who are presented as the active ones in the texts, what kind of actions take place there etc.) and is thus a means for looking at how the towns and municipalities wish to describe themselves on the web.

5.2.1 Transitivity analysis

According to Halliday (1994:106), mental pictures of reality can be built via language. A clause has an important role in this, since "it embodies a general principle for modelling experience – namely, the principle that reality is made up of PROCESSES (capitals in the original)." Halliday (1994:106) continues by clarifying how the clauses work:

> Our most powerful impression of experience is that it consists of 'goings-on' – happening, doing, sensing, meaning, and being and becoming. All these goings-on are sorted out in the grammar of the clause. Thus as well as being a mode of action, of giving and demanding good-&-services and information, the clause is also a mode of reflection, of imposing order on the endless variation and flow of events. (Halliday 1994:106.)

Halliday (1994:106) argues that the key by which these 'goings-on' can be dealt with is transitivity. It is a grammatical system which can be used to sort out experiences into certain process types.

The main process types Halliday (1994:106–107) defines are material, mental and relational ones. The material process refers to actions and events, for instance, someone doing something or something happening. Mental processes, in turn, deal with inner experiences, whereas relational process refers to classifying and identifying, i.e. relating certain features to another. In addition, also behavioural, verbal and existential processes can be sorted out, but these are more or less borderline cases or mixtures of the three main types.

According to Halliday (1994:107), processes are usually made of three parts: the process itself, the participants and circumstances. Normally, processes are realised by verbs, participants by words belonging to the nominal group and circumstances by adverbials or prepositional phrases (Halliday 1994:109).

In material processes the participant is called the Actor, the one who does something. Downing and Locke (2002:114) call the same participant an Agent, but in this study the Hallidayan term is utilised. Downing and Locke, however, explain the concept in a more understandable way than Halliday. Actor is something "that is capable of operating itself or others, usually to bring about some change in the location of properties of itself or others" (Downing & Locke 2002:114). It is also possible to have to have a second participant in a material process, i.e. a Goal, the one something is directed at (Halliday 1994:109). Downing & Locke (2002:114–121) define the participants more carefully and introduce, for example, the Affected and Effected, but as in the present study one is mainly interested in investigating who is the active participant and perhaps who or what is the goal of the action, such detailed definitions are not necessary.

Example:	All these companies	work	in a global environment.
	ACTOR	MATERIAL PROCESS	CIRCUMSTANCE

Further, mental processes express feelings, thinking and perceiving. Thus, in order to have a mental process, there needs to be a human-like participant involved in the process. (Halliday 1994:114.) Halliday (1994:115) calls the two

participants of mental processes a Senser and a Phenomenon: something that is "sensed".

Example:	I	like	milk and cookies.
	SENSER	MENTAL PROCESS	PHENOMENON

According to Downing & Locke (2002:125), mental processes are normally stative verbs such as *know*. Nevertheless, dynamic verbs (e.g. *watch*) are also possible.

The third main type of processes is relational one, expressing being, but not in the sense of existing, as Halliday (1994:119) puts it. In his words, "a relation is being set up between two separate entities". Downing and Locke (2002:131) describe relational processes as "being something or somewhere". They argue that material and mental processes have stronger meanings than relational ones. Relational processes only establish a relation between the Carrier and either the Attribute, some circumstance or expression of possession.

Halliday (1994:119) defines three types of relational processes: intensive (x is y), circumstantial (x is at y) and possessive (x has y). All these three can be expressed either as in attributive (x is an attribute of y) or identifying (x is the identity of y) mode. Halliday (1994:120) calls the participant of the mental process either a Carrier or Identifier, depending on whether attributive or identifying modes are examined.

Downing & Locke (2002:131), in contrast, always call the participant a Carrier and as the present study does not aim at a detailed analysis of the different participants, this simpler approach is utilised. What is also important as far as the present study is concerned is that Downing and Locke (2002:131–132) adopt a useful way of describing the Attributes of the processes, since they separate characterising and identifying Attributes. In summary, they make a distinction between what the Carrier is like and what it actually is. According to Downing and Locke (2002:132), characterising Attributes can be realised by

adjectives whereas identifying ones cannot. As for nouns, it is usually an indefinite noun that realises a characterising Attribute. Definite nouns, in contrast, are used as identifying Attributes. Moreover, only identifying Attributes are reversible (i.e. the positions of the subject and subject complement can be changed without affecting the meaning of the clause). (Downing & Locke 2002:131–132.)

Example:	Cosmopolitanism	is	part of Vaasa's everyday life.
	CARRIER	RELAT. PROCESS	ATTRIBUTE (CHARACTERISING)
Example:	Kemijärvi	is	the third biggest waterway system in Finland.
	CARRIER	RELAT.	ATTRIBUTE (IDENTIFYING)
Example:	The density	is	2,7 inhabitants/km^2.
	CARRIER	RELAT.	CIRCUMSTANCE
Example:	Oulu	has	Finland's second largest university and many public and private research institutes.
	CARRIER	RELAT.	ATTRIBUTE (POSSESSED)

In sum, transitivity analysis provides a thorough way of investigating how different issues are represented. In fact, all the aspects of the analysis are not even needed in the present study, since, for example, when examining Actors, defining the active participant and perhaps the Goal of the action is enough. No further analysis is therefore needed. What is important, though, is that defining the types of processes, participants and circumstances goes beyond the level of looking at, for example, verbs and nouns. Transitivity analysis makes it visible, for instance, who does what to whom and with what kind of actions (i.e. material processes) as well as reveals what someone, or something, is described to be like (that is, relational processes).

5.2.2 Previous studies related to representation in media

Next I will introduce a few previous studies that concentrate on different aspects of representation. Although representation has been investigated in quite a few studies, as far as I know, representation on websites from the point of discourse analysis has not been studied earlier. Studies that have used other kinds of data can nevertheless be found. Representation in newspapers, for

example, seems to be of interest to many researchers that utilise discourse analysis. Web sites, too, have been studied, but for instance Mohammed (2004) studies the self-representation of small developing countries on the WWW from the point of view of content analysis. Among other things, he is interested in finding out what the contents and characteristics of the web pages are, but does not approach the issue with the help of discourse analysis. Also Dominick (1999:647) has studied personal websites and he talks about self-presentation, seeing it as a process where people manage the impressions others have of them. Nevertheless, Dominick (1999) does not investigate textual features of the pages, but concentrates on the contents of the pages, such as the kind of personal data (e.g. résumés and family information) published on the pages.

However, as far as the present study is concerned, more relevant studies can be found, too. Although the methods of these studies are not directly applicable to the purposes of the present study either, they still give insight into the overall methodology when approaching web texts from the point of view of representation.

Pietikäinen (2000, 2002) has studied the representation of Sami identity in Finnish newspapers. Her approach draws on CDA and she not only describes ways of representing the Sami in Finnish news discourse, but she also looks at the role of representations in the politics of Sami identity. Pietikäinen is interested in finding out what kind of identity is communicated via certain choices related to discourse. Pietikäinen (2002:591) sees that news representations of the Sami are a result of textual features that contribute to the representations. Textual features also denote the journalistic practices that work as a frame for the choices made in reporting a piece of news. Pietikäinen (2002:591) analyses particular textual features, which she has chosen based on previous studies and also by attempting to combine "politics of indigenous identity, journalistic practices and language use in news".

In her study topics, topic order, quotation patterns, ethnic labelling and distribution of grammatical agents are considered. According to Pietikäinen (2002:591), the first of these sheds light on the context of representation

whereas topic order gives insights into the structure of the text and also tells about the prioritisation of topics. The analysis of quotation patterns, on the other hand, reveals who are considered relevant sources of information. Choices in both ethnic labelling and distribution of grammatical agents reveal how the Sami are seen as socio-political agents. In the present study the focus is somewhat different from Pietikäinen's study since my aim is not to investigate the identity of some group on the web pages, but the images of towns and municipalities. However, the study shares certain features with Pietikäinen's work (2000, 2002).

Although, for example, quotation patterns cannot be analysed in the present study for the simple reason that websites of towns and municipalities do not contain interviews which would allow such analysis, yet Pietikäinen's study offers guidelines for the analytic framework for this study, too. The topics and their order in the web pages can be looked at, as well as the transitivity analysis with grammatical roles.

Erjavec (2001) has studied media representation of the Roma in Slovenia. With the help of critical discourse analysis and Halliday's transitivity analysis in particular, she investigates how thematic choices and form structures are used in newspapers to make the discrimination of the Roma a natural phenomenon.

Erjavec (2001) asserts that journalistic practice often looks for consensus in representing issues. By making certain choices, only one natural interpretation of the discrimination of the Roma is built in the newspapers.

> In news discourse, facts which would confirm the representation of the minority and which would be necessary to understand it all are often either mentioned briefly or are absent, whereas peripheral facts are presented as central. (Erjavec 2001:703.)

The findings of Erjavec (2001) show that linguistic choices are crucial in painting certain pictures of the issues at hand. One can emphasise one thing over another and thus create even false implications. It is worth taking this into account when examining the representations of towns and municipalities, too.

5.3 Genre theory

Besides representation, the present study focuses also on the type of discourse used on the web pages. It is interesting to investigate the purposes the texts, that is, whether they are designed to be advertisements, for example. Thus, the genre of the web texts is considered when examining the web pages.

According to Bhatia (2004:22–23), genre analysis examines ”situated linguistic behaviour in institutionalized academic or professional settings”, but as there are different orientations to it, genre analysis can be defined as, for instance, “typification of rhetorical action” as Miller (1984) sees it or “consistency of communicative purposes” which is, for example, Bhatia’s (1993) own way of approaching the issue. Despite the differences of the orientations, Bhatia (2004:22) argues that genre theory also has several things in common. For example, the theory suggests that genres are communicative events which can be recognized and which have communicative purposes that are known in the community where they are used. In addition, although one usually connects genres with certain rhetorical contexts and there is a set of shared communicative purposes within each genre, Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995:3) argue that genres are always dynamic. Bhatia (2004:25) agrees with them and points out that genres can be manipulated and that they often exist in, for instance, hybrid forms.

Furthermore, Bhatia (2004:57–58) introduces a theory of genre colonies. These colonies cover a range of different types of texts, which, however, share certain characteristics. As stated by Bhatia (2004:59), it is the communicative purposes of the genres of a particular colony that resemble each other. Communicative purposes, on the other hand, can be, for instance, persuasiveness and capturing of attention. (Bhatia 1993:45–46.)

Bhatia (2004:59) deals with promotional genres as one type of a genre colony. Examples of such genres, according to Bhatia (2004:60), are advertisements, promotional letters and book blurbs. In addition, he sees, for instance, job application letters as a related genre. He admits that traditionally job

applications have not been considered similar to sales promotion letters, but asserts that, in fact, they do have a common communicative purpose as well as similar use of lexico-grammatical and discoursal resources (Bhatia 2004:60). Bhatia (1993:45–75) has conducted a closer examination of the two and as he has found out they share exactly the same elements, he suggests it would be interesting to see whether other samples of promotional genres could be seen as one genre or sub-genres of one particular genre (i.e. promotional genres).

Thus, according to Bhatia (2004:61), there is a variety of other genres that have promotional goals, too, although they might not be regarded as pure advertisements. As he mentions, for instance, travel brochures and public campaigns as examples of such genres, one can also begin to consider web pages as a similar genre. Although websites are not considered advertisements in the same way as, for instance, traditional print advertisements, still they can be seen as forms of promotional texts. After all, there usually is a motive for designing websites, that is, to spread information about the place and perhaps to gain publicity. Although Bhatia (2004:61–62) does not include websites in his colony of promotional genres, he emphasises that new genres can be included in it. However, it is worth noticing that from Bhatia's (2004:62) point of view, for example, company brochures are only a peripheral member of the colony of promotional genres. He sees them as a mixture of promotion, information and opinions and thus they are not a pure example of the genre.

This opinion of Bhatia's (2004:62), however, is what makes it interesting to study websites. It is worth investigating whether they are purely promotional or is there something else included in them, too. And if there is, what have the towns and municipalities chosen to present there.

5.3.1 Web pages and genre analysis

Genre analysis has been applied by Luzón Marco (2002) to the investigation of web pages. Although she has not conducted linguistic analysis in the same way as in the present study, some of her findings are worth looking at in this study,

too. Based on the study by Mannion and Sullivan (1999), Luzón Marco (2002:41–42), sees corporate home pages (CHPs hereafter) as a genre which can be used to create the identity and image of the company by controlling the information that is published about the company. In addition, they are useful in persuading the potential customers. Luzón Marco (2002:42) defines CHPs as "hybrid information-and-publicity (or telling and selling discourse)", which is originally a definition by Fairclough (1992). Although the present study does not investigate corporate home pages, but those of public organisations, one can still compare whether these two have anything in common. That is, whether the websites of public organisations can be seen as a hybrid genre, too.

Luzón Marco (2002:43) observed that there are certain elements that can exist on corporate home pages. Their purposes can be divided into four categories, which are 1) building a positive image, 2) giving product information and offering the products to the potential customers, 3) building the customer relationship and 4) requesting and sharing information about the web page itself. According to Luzón Marco (2002:43–49), the four categories can be realised by different elements. For example, the creation of a positive image can be done by using slogans or catchphrases at the centre of the page or by publishing positive announcements and news related to the company in question.

Luzón Marco (2002:45) also argues that websites can be seen as advertising texts. On CHPs this is clearly related to the products the companies are promoting, but in the case of the present study, one can investigate whether the towns and municipalities are able to present their services in a similar manner.

When discussing the main characteristics of the genre of the CHPs, one of the main observations Luzón Marco (2002:50) makes is that CHPs have both informative and persuasive goals. She sees that there is a great deal of information on the pages, but the writers have chosen it to be such that it builds as positive image of the company as possible. Therefore the main target behind designing web pages is, according to Luzón Marco (2002:50), image creating. She points out that although CHPs are a new type of a genre, they still have

many characteristics in common with promotional genres, such as sales promotion letters. For instance, the use of evaluative vocabulary is usual on the CHPs, since it is an effective means of creating a positive image. Features of advertising and the genre of news can also be found on the CHPs.

In addition to the purpose of the genre of the CHP, Luzón Marco (2002:50–52) also discusses the functionality, form and content of the CHPs. Naturally, one must bear in mind that web texts are constantly updated and that they contain hyperlinks to other texts, which makes them nonlinear. Moreover, the form (or the design) of the page surely can affect the attention it gets from the reader. However, as the present study concentrates on linguistic analysis on one piece of text on each web page, these features are not of great importance in this study. The content of the pages, nevertheless, will inevitably be discussed when analysing the pages, since the decisions about what kind of information is included in the pages can reveal what is emphasised on the pages and in the town or municipality.

6 The present study

6.1 Research questions

The present study focuses on examining the use of English on the web pages of Finnish towns and municipalities, the material they have chosen to be published on the pages, as well as the ways in which the material is represented. Thus the main research question is:

- How do Finnish towns and municipalities represent themselves in English on the web pages?

Representing themselves in a particular manner, the towns and municipalities convey a certain picture of themselves to the reader. In addition, the linguistic choices made on the web pages are also important in defining the target group of the texts. Thus, the main research question is complemented by questions that will also be considered.

- What kind of an image of the town or municipality is produced by representing the place in a particular manner?
- Whom does the text appeal to, i.e. what kind of a reader would be interested in the material found on the pages? What kinds of language and discourse choices reveal this? Can one say there is a certain target audience designed for the text?

These particular questions are interesting because, as far as I know, there does not exist any studies in Finland that would have concentrated on similar issues on similar data. By posing such questions it is possible to investigate how language functions as a means of both creating a certain image and designing a target audience for a web text. It is all the more interesting to investigate Finnish web pages written in English, since although an increasing number of towns and municipalities have websites also in English, the material published on them has not been investigated earlier. All the places may not have the resources for designing similar pages both in Finnish and in English and obviously that may also affect the way the place is represented on the WWW.

Thus, an additional research question is needed in order to analyse the impact of the resources on the web pages.

- What kind of resources do the towns and municipalities have in designing the web pages? Does that affect the material published?

As web texts are a fairly new mode of communication, it is also interesting to see what kind of texts they actually are, i.e. do they, for instance, mainly provide factual information or are they perhaps a new medium for advertising. This relates to the concept of genre and thus one more research question is needed in order to get a versatile picture of the websites:

- What is the genre of the texts on the web pages?

By analysing the genre of the web texts one is able to investigate what kind of genre(s) are used when introducing a town or municipality, since obviously there is a difference if one, for instance, relies on the means of advertising and promotional discourse and not those of, for example, journalistic style.

6.2 Data of the present study

The data of the present study consist of six web pages of Finnish towns and municipalities. As the study concentrates on the use of English on Finnish web pages, the primary criteria for choosing a certain web page was thus that it contains material also in English.

Due to the scale and qualitative approach of the present study, only a sample of the Finnish web pages of towns and municipalities was chosen to be examined. However, in order to acquire as diverse sample as possible within the limits of the study, the web pages chosen represent towns and municipalities of different sizes as well as different locations in Finland. Otherwise the pages were chosen randomly, that is, web pages of suitably sized and located places were browsed through and as far as pages containing material in English were found, those were included in the data. This means that not all the web pages of Finnish towns and municipalities were checked. After all, by choosing the random

pages found, it was made sure that one was not able to choose, for example, the 'best' representatives of the web pages available. Originally the number of the web pages was twelve and they can be seen below with the first URL referring to the opening page in Finnish, the other to the opening page in English. The dates refer to the date when a particular site was saved.

- Helsinki: <http://www.hel.fi>, <http://www.hel.fi/english/index.html> 22.1.2004

→ capital of Finland, located in the southern Finland, population 500,000

- Oulu: <http://www.oulu.ouka.fi/index.asp>, <http://oulu.ouka.fi/city/english/> 21.1.2004

→ city of technology, located in north-west Finland, population 120,000

- Jyväskylä: <http://www.jyvaskyla.fi>, <http://www.jyvaskyla.fi/international/> 20.1.2004

→ located in the middle Finland, population 80,000

- Lappeenranta:<http://www.lappeenranta.fi/index.html>, <http://www.lappeenranta.fi/english/index.html> 19.1.2004

→ located near the Russian border in eastern Finland, population 58,000

- Vaasa:<http://www.vaasa.fi/258241.shtml>, <http://www.vaasa.fi/webeng/default.htm> 19.1.2004

→ Swedish-speaking area, located in the west coast of Finland, population 57,000

- Kerava:<http://www.kerava.fi/Etusivu.asp>, <http://www.kerava.fi/home_eng.asp> 18.1.2004

→ a small town in southern Finland near Helsinki, population 30,000

- Haukipudas:<http://www.haukipudas.fi/Default.asp>, <http://www.haukipudas.fi/English/English.html> 18.1.2004

→ a municipality near Oulu, population of 16,500

- Sotkamo:<http://www.sotkamo.fi>, <http://www.sotkamo.fi/e_index.html> 1.2.2004

→ a municipality in north-east Finland, well-known tourist area, population approximately 11,000

- Kemijärvi:<http://www.kemijarvi.fi>, <http://www.kemijarvi.fi/index_engl.htm> 18.1.2004

→ a small town in northern Finland, population approx. 10,000

- Karkkila:<http://www.karkkila.fi/default.asp>, <http://www.karkkila.fi/document.asp?siteID=1&docID=115> 18.1.2004

→ a municipality located in the southern Finland, population approx. 8,800

- Soini:<http://www.soini.fi>, <http://www.soini.fi/engles.htm> 22.1.2004

→ a small municipality in southern Ostrobothnia, population approx. 3,000

- Tervo:<http://www.tervo.fi/kunta/default2.htm>, <http://www.tervo.fi/kunta/english/index.htm> 16.1.2004

→ a small municipality located 60 kilometres west of Kuopio, population 1,900

Later on, the number of the websites examined was reduced to six, mainly because of the scale of the study. In order to be able to have a proper look at the linguistic choices made on the pages, one had to cut down the number of the pages. According to preliminary observations, six pages seemed a manageable amount of text and thus Haukipudas, Jyväskylä, Kemijärvi, Kerava, Oulu and Soini were chosen for the final examination. Again I tried to select places of different size as well as location.

As the towns and municipalities update the information found on their web pages, it was essential to save the websites on one's own computer in order to be able to examine unchangeable versions of the pages. Otherwise conducting analysis on the texts would have been impossible. As some of the websites

chosen are relatively extensive, the pages were saved by using a web collection utility, which allows one to save entire web pages. As there were some problems with the saving process, certain smaller websites were saved manually, one sub-page at a time, using the 'save as' function of the web browser.

The initial intention was to save all the pages during one day but as the saving process was rather time-consuming because of the size of the pages, they were mainly saved during one week in January 2004. The first saving was done on January 19th, the last on 22nd. However, later it was noticed that the web pages of Sotkamo had not been completely saved and thus a re-save was done on February 1st. Thus the versions of the web pages are not from the same date as was planned at first, but this did not prove to be a problem in terms of the analysis of the pages and success of the study. As the present study concentrates on examining and making observations about web pages in general (e.g. what kind of information is published in English and how it is presented), the range of time taken for saving the pages presents no complications for conducting the study.

6.2.1 The texts under investigation

As the aim of the present study is to investigate linguistic representation in English, consideration of, for example, pictures and the overall layout of the pages was left out. Nevertheless, the first problem related to the selection of texts on the websites was the number hyperlinks found. For example, in sections dealing with tourism and travelling there may be hyperlinks to travelling services or some other organisations. The site was then not actually produced by the same organisation (the town or municipality) as the sites where the link was found. As it would have been extremely difficult to define which of the sites should then be included in the analysis, it was decided that only those pages which have the same address as the town or municipality in question were examined. This was done to restrict the massive amount of data which can be found on certain websites.

Yet further restrictions of data needed to be made for conducting more detailed analysis. As the web pages chosen for the present study vary quite remarkably in their size, the two extremes being one single page in English (Haukipudas and Soini) and a rather large set of pages containing different sections for different information (e.g. Jyväskylä). Due to the scale of the study, examining all the textual material found on all the web pages was not possible and thus the focus of the linguistic analysis needed to be defined more carefully.

The most significant problem in selecting the material to be analysed was that the websites do not contain identical material. Thus one cannot choose similar pages to be compared but other criteria for the selection needs to be set. In this study the texts were chosen to represent mainly the section containing 'general information' about the towns and municipalities. This was simply because most of the websites had either such a section or page. However, certain issues are worth noticing. Firstly, the texts chosen from those sections do not necessarily contain information about the same issues. As far as possible, introductions of the towns or municipalities were selected but if there was not such a text available, other material concerning 'general information' was chosen**.**

In Appendix (1) one can find simple diagrams of the English web pages, illustrating the structure of the different websites. I have not included all the sub-pages of the more extensive web pages in the diagram, but concentrated on illustrating where the texts examined are located. It is possible, though, to get an idea of the differences in the extent of the English web pages by looking at the diagrams. Appendix 2, in turn, contains the texts examined in this study. As I merely concentrated on the texts and did not consider the overall layout of the web pages, I have only included the texts and not, for example, the photos and other material found on the websites.

6.3 The method of analysis

The present study is mainly qualitative in nature, which means that my main interest is not to count the exact numbers of the different features contributing to representation. The quantitative method will, nevertheless, be used twice (when examining the process types and sentence structure), since checking their numbers is a convenient way of showing which of them are the most popular ways of representing issues on the web pages.

However, before analysing the linguistic features of the web pages, I will first map out the resources in designing their websites. A questionnaire with five open questions was sent via email to each town and municipality, and the answers will be analysed in order to look at what kind of emphasis has been put especially on the English pages. I will also group the answers in order to show if different towns and municipalities have made similar kinds of choices in designing their web pages.

As for the linguistic analysis, Fairclough's (1995b) observations of media discourse seemed relevant for the present study. However, as Fairclough's work (1995b) does not provide ready means for studying websites, apart from transitivity analysis, I started by pre-examining the data for linguistic features that are crucial as far as representation and the creation of image are concerned. Leppänen's (2004) checklist of stylistic analysis was also used as a resource in the process.

After defining the relevant linguistic factors, I will start the more detailed analysis. I will deal with each of the linguistic features in turn and see how they represent the place in question and affect its image. Although in many cases I will go through each web page separately, I do not aim at defining the images of each town/municipality as such, but rather at describing how different linguistic features are used on the web pages on the whole. This means identifying the factors that influence both the images of the place and also the genre of the web texts.

Firstly, topics and their order will be investigated to get a general picture of the choices made when designing the pages. It is interesting to see what kinds of matters have been considered crucial in each town and municipality. Secondly, I will deal with sentence structure. I will analyse the numbers of different sentence types on each web page and see whether the texts are simple or complex because of the sentence structure. I considered sentence structure worth looking at, since, for example, having complex sentence structures can make the text more challenging to read. This, again, may affect both the audience of the text and also the way the reader sees the place the text deals with. Very complex texts may not accessible to persons with little knowledge of English and thus they may get an inadequate picture of the place, too. It is therefore intriguing to see what kind of sentence structures the towns and municipalities have decided to use.

Transitivity analysis, in turn, will be used in order to see what kind of verbs are utilised on the web pages. I will first count the numbers of the different process types and then investigate what kind of issues are presented with each of them. Besides verbs, also other word choices will be looked at, since especially adjectives proved to be crucial when creating a certain image for a town/municipality. I will classify the different types of adjectives on the websites according to Quirk & Greenbaum's (1993) as well as Greenbaum & Quirk's (1999) categories and see what kind of adjectives are used on the websites. In addition, noun phrases add to the picture of the place, therefore these will be looked at, too. During the initial examination of the web pages I also noticed that personal pronouns seemed significant as far as representation was concerned. Thus, uses of *we* and *our* as well as their effects on the image will be considered in this study, too. Moreover, certain pragmatic aspects will be approached, too, since I will examine the use of modality as well as occurrences of direct address to the reader in the texts. Investigating the amount of modality reveals how categorically the issues are represented on the web pages. Direct address to the reader, in turn, will be looked at since it indicates whether the town or municipality wants to suggest a contact with the

reader. Although these two features do not directly picture the place in a certain manner, they indirectly influence the way the reader sees it.

Thus, the analysis of the study will start by examination of the contents of the websites and proceed towards more specific details, i.e. individual words. One can argue that this is justified because of the fact that when visiting a web page, one often skims it quickly through to find out whether it contains interesting and useful material. It is thus natural to start the analysis by examining the topics and their order, since it gives an overview of the matters dealt with on the web pages. Sentence structure, in turn, is examined next because it involves looking at longer stretches of words. Only after that does one delve into more detailed issues, i.e. individual words. This is done by transitivity analysis as well as investigation of other choices of wording. Modality and direct address to the reader will be investigated last, since they provide a more pragmatic angle to the matter of representation and are thus best dealt with separately.

7 Representing the towns and municipalities

In the following one will find the analysis concerning the ways the towns and municipalities represent themselves. Section 7.1 deals with the resources the towns and municipalities have had when designing the websites, and from section 7.2 onwards, one concentrates on the linguistic means of representation.

7.1 Resources in designing the web pages

In order to find out how the towns and municipalities have designed their websites and what kind of resources they have had for doing that, a short questionnaire was sent via e-mail to twelve towns and municipalities originally chosen for the study. The questionnaire was sent for the first time in January 2004 and seven answers were received. In March 2004 a reminder was sent to the remaining towns and municipalities and three answers were received. Thus the answer rate was 83%. However, as the data were further limited later on, all the towns and municipalities chosen for the final analysis had answered to the questionnaire. The questionnaire included the following questions (originally in Finnish):

1. Why has _____ (the name of the town/municipality) chosen to have web pages in English?
2. What kind of resources has _____ had in producing the web pages? (Has outsourcing been used or has the town/municipality prepared the websites itself? Is there, for example, one certain person responsible for the web pages? Thus, the exact sum of money is not important, the focus is more on general information about the production of the websites.)
3. On what grounds has the English material been chosen?
4. Has the same person designed both the Finnish and the English version?

5. Does the producer of the English pages speak English as a foreign language or as a mother tongue? If the producer uses English as a foreign language, has the material been proof-read by a native speaker of English?

In the following I will summarise the results of the answers received.

The reasons for having web pages also in English (question 1) vary quite a lot. Jyväskylä and Oulu reported that the needs of, for example, immigrants had been considered when designing the pages. However, in Jyväskylä's case it was pointed out that the pages are also quite an important marketing tool for the town. In addition, also tourists and stakeholders were mentioned when considering the reasons for having English websites. Also in the answer from Kemijärvi it was mentioned that, for example, international events and tourism were paid attention to when designing the pages

The smaller the towns and municipalities are, the less attention was reported to have been paid on the needs of inhabitants speaking foreign languages. In fact, judging by the answers, it seems there is not necessarily any kind of target group defined for the English page(s). In Kerava's case it was mentioned that the target group is foreign people interested in the town but for instance Haukipudas gave no particular reason for having English pages. In Soini, on the other hand, the benefit of having the pages in other languages besides Finnish was recognised, but no specific reason was given in the answers.

As far as the production of the web pages is concerned (question 2), Kemijärvi and Kerava reported they had used outsourcing when designing the pages. That is, they had used experts in solving the technical issues related to designing websites. Soini, in turn, did not mention outsourcing, but on their web pages the name of the outside producer is clearly published. Haukipudas, Jyväskylä and Oulu indicated they had designed and produced the pages themselves. Haukipudas, though, mentioned that the English page was produced by the local high school.

As for the contents of the web pages, five out of the six towns and municipalities (Haukipudas, Jyväskylä, Kemijärvi, Oulu and Soini) reported that they had produced the material themselves (for example by different departments/units). Kerava, however, did not clearly mention who had designed the contents of the pages. The updating of the pages was often divided between several persons, although at least in bigger towns it was mentioned that certain people were working on the issues related to the websites.

As for selecting the material in English (question 3), Haukipudas and Soini had settled for introducing the town/municipality briefly. Kerava, in turn, had utilised brochures published in English and transferred the same material onto the websites. Kemijärvi reported they had thought about the needs of foreign tourists as well as foreigners in general. As for the bigger towns, Oulu had designed the contents of the English pages by paying attention to the point of view of a foreigner (an immigrant), Jyväskylä to the needs of different types of visitors on the pages (foreign inhabitants, students, tourists etc.)

When inquiring about the person(s) who had designed the Finnish and English version (question 4), four towns/municipalities (Haukipudas, Kemijärvi, Kerava and Jyväskylä) informed that different persons had either designed or written versions in different languages. In contrast, Oulu and Soini said the same person is mainly responsible for both of them. However, they also mentioned that other people such as language experts were consulted.

As far as the native language of the designer of the English pages is concerned (question 5), there seemed to be some variation between the places. Haukipudas, Kerava and Oulu reported that either the designer was a native speaker of English, or the material was proof-read by one. In contrast, non-native speakers had produced the English material in Kemijärvi and Soini. In Jyväskylä both native and non-native speakers of English had participated in the production of the texts.

In sum, it seems there are as many methods for designing and producing the websites as there are towns and municipalities. Some (Jyväskylä and Oulu) do everything by themselves whereas others (such as Kemijärvi and Kerava) rely on outside experts at least in technical matters. What is significant, however, is that, judging by the answers, the bigger the place is, the more attention is paid to the English version of the web pages and their target groups. Besides perhaps having more money, there probably are more foreign inhabitants and tourists in those places and thus more information in English is needed.

7.2 Topics and topic order

Next I will concentrate on the linguistic choices on the web pages. I will start with the most general level of choices, that is, the topics. Topics as well as their order obviously reveal what kind of issues the towns and municipalities want to emphasise on their websites. Naturally, they also give implications of the intended audience of the web pages, since inhabitants and visitors, for instance, appreciate different kinds of information on the websites.

As the web pages containing general information are fairly short on each of the websites, one has not utilised subheadings very often. In fact, Kemijärvi is the only one utilising them. However, as, for instance, the website of Jyväskylä illustrates, there are actually several different topics covered. Each of the topics is dealt with the maximum of three sentences, which means neither of them is particularly thoroughly covered. This is, nevertheless, not surprising, since one would not even expect a page containing general information to be an extensive description of the place. In addition, web texts need to be short in order to be convenient for the readers to read. The following table presents the topics covered on the websites examined. The topics are in the order of appearance.

TABLE 2. The topics covered on the web pages

Jyväskylä	**Oulu**	**Kemijärvi**	**Soini**	**Hauki-pudas**	**Kerava**
Introduction of the town	Introduction of the town	Introduction	Basic information about the town	Basic informat-ion	Main features of the town
Education	Administrat-ion	Neighbour-ing municipalit-ies	The history and today of the wood processing industry	History	
Culture	Oulu as a technology centre	Sister cities		Means of livelihood	
Business life	Services and education	Accessibility		Sights	
Landscape and surround-ings	History (the growth of Oulu)	Distance in kilometres		Sewage project	
Access-ibility	Oulu as a gateway and influences of EU in Finland and Oulu	Nature			
Brief facts		Bedrock and soil			
		Waterways			
		Climate			
		Flora and fauna			

The topics on Jyväskylä's web page are just rough definitions, but still one can spot certain issues that are emphasised on the page. Jyväskylä is often called *the Athens of Finland*, referring to the many possibilities of education in the town. It is therefore not surprising to find that one of the first issues on the web page, too, is education. Jyväskylä has created an image of a town of students and this image is maintained also on the web pages. If education was not that

important of an issue, it would probably not be mentioned among the first lines of the text.

The rest of the topics as well as their order provide no special observations. The strengths of Jyväskylä are equally represented, since neither of them is given more space in the text. It is, though, worth noticing that Jyväskylä seems to emphasise its culture and business knowledge and leave the landscape and surroundings of the town with least attention by positioning them as one of the last topics.

In addition, there are no obvious marks of the intended audience of Jyväskylä's text. Of course, for example, as one introduces the possibilities for studying, there is an implication that one tries to appeal to the potential students moving into the town. Nevertheless, one can also argue that all the information published also serves a tourist. As none of the topics is dealt with in a detailed manner, they just briefly describe the town for a visitor. Nevertheless, it is worth noticing that, in contrast to other towns and municipalities, Jyväskylä has included hyperlinks after some of the topics (studying, culture and business). Thus one serves various kinds of readers, both those that are satisfied with short introductions and those that want more detailed information.

Oulu's website is somewhat more complex as far as the topics are concerned. Whereas on Jyväskylä's website each topic is covered in turn, on Oulu's website the issues are mixed. The beginning of Oulu's text is not very unusual, since all the web pages examined start by a short introduction of the town or municipality. These introductions often contain information, for instance, about the location and population of the place. Stating these facts thus seems a convenient way of creating an initial impression of the place.

However, what seems intriguing on Oulu's website is that the administration of the town is introduced next. For instance, the name of the mayor may not be of great importance to a tourist or other sudden visitor, but someone staying longer in the area. The fact that one has shortly explained the election system

of the city board and council, too, clearly indicates that the text is aimed at someone who is not familiar with the Finnish communal administration. Thus, one can argue that the text is aimed at a foreigner planning to move to Oulu. Nevertheless, it is quite surprising that such a piece of information is given in such an early stage. Although one would be an immigrant, it would seem logical that one would be searching information about what the town is like, not the people leading it.

Judging by the topics, the development of Oulu into a modern town with a great deal of high technology seems to be one major issue in creating the town's image. In addition, the writers clearly want to emphasise the importance of the town by describing its status as a link between different parties.

As for Kemijärvi's website, the short introduction of the town at the beginning of the text could be aimed at different audiences. There are, however, certain details which reveal that the inhabitants of the town are not included in the intended audience.

Example 1: The town is surrounded by the lakes Kemijärvi and Pöyliöjärvi.

For instance, Example (1) probably does not interest people who already live in Kemijärvi. After all, they must know the names of the surrounding lakes. A further hint of the intended audience is given in Example (2), which contains information about the services that are available in the town.

Example 2: The town of Kemijärvi has a selection of hotel, cottage and youth hostel accommodation, and restaurant services to offer its visitors, as well as the Lapponia Hospital, banks, service stations, offlicence and shops.

The contents of the example quite clearly show that the text is aimed at visitors and tourists, since one has even included the word *visitors* in it. In addition, people planning to move to Kemijärvi most likely will not be using, for instance, the services of the local hotels. Introducing such information thus limits the intended audience quite effectively.

Overall, the beginning of the text clearly paints the desired visitors an attractive picture of Kemijärvi by emphasising the opportunities it offers. Nevertheless, the following topics are not in accordance to this 'visitor view'. For example, such topics as the means of livelihood, neighbouring municipalities and particularly sister cities are not that interesting to a random visitor. Rather, they would perhaps be useful for someone planning to move into the town. However, the next topics dealt with in the text, covering accessibility and distances to certain neighbouring places, are useful for both the visitors and prospective new inhabitants. The topics covered are thus somewhat controversial as far as the intended audience is concerned.

The importance of nature in Kemijärvi is emphasised by the fact that the latter half of the text deals with topics related to nature. Already the subheadings (*nature*, *bedrock and soil*, *waterways*, *climate* as well as *flora and fauna*) reveal the emphasis on nature in the text. First the general features of the nature of Kemijärvi are introduced, but after that the text moves into describing more specific details. Thus, a total change of discourse takes place. It is natural that websites are also used for informative ends, but the Kemijärvi text clearly illustrates that it is possible to use different genres in a web text. This kind of a change, however, makes it difficult to define to whom the text is directed. General information about nature serves anyone interested in visiting or perhaps even planning to move to the town. Nevertheless, the text contains such details that are of secondary importance to a regular visitor. Yet the writers have seen it important to include this information on the web pages. It is difficult to understand this otherwise than just to see it as an indication of emphasising the role of nature in Kemijärvi. It may well be that nature is one of the few attractions in the area and thus it is described in a versatile manner on the website, too. The intended audience of Kemijärvi's text will also be discussed later on when dealing with the uses of nouns and noun phrases (see section 7.5.2, page 95).

The web pages of Soini and Haukipudas both contain topics that are given quite a lot of space. Actually, one can argue that there are only two main topics on Soini's website. Whereas the first part of the text is useful both for the

potential new inhabitants and tourists, it can be argued that a visitor is perhaps not that interested in, for instance, the effects of the latest depression on wood industry. Of course, it seems that this particular industry is an essential part of the municipality and thus telling about it reveals certain important features of it. However, perhaps a person planning to move to Soini would be more interested in such information, since s/he might, for instance, like to work for the wood industry. This observation of the intended audience is supported by the fact that one mentions nothing about the possible attractions or services on the web pages. Thus, it seems as though the needs of the tourists would not have been considered when designing the web pages. After all, different kinds of services are perhaps the most important issue a random visitor is interested in.

In the Haukipudas text the latter half of the text deals with a sewage project designed in the area. It seems very likely that a visitor does not appreciate such information. One can argue only inhabitants would be interested in reading about it, since they are the ones that benefit from the project. However, as the beginning of the text only introduces the municipality briefly and is thus not useful for the inhabitants, one can wonder what the actual intended audience is. The two parts of the text are totally different from each other and thus it seems particularly odd that they have been published together. It seems as though one has needed some material for the website and thus decided to publish whatever is available in English. In fact, Haukipudas indicated in its answers to the questionnaire (see section 7.1, page 49) that the local high school had designed the English website. It thus implies the municipality itself has not had much influence on the contents. Also the fact that the Finnish version is much broader than the English web page (Haukipudas and Soini both have only one page in English) can be seen as an indication that one has not put much emphasis on developing the section in English. Thus it may be that one has not even defined a proper target group for the web page. If this is the case, one can question whether these kinds of English web pages actually benefit the municipality, or the reader, very much. The municipality conveys a rather confusing picture of itself and the reader probably will not get as much information as s/he would like to have. Judging by the answers to the

questionnaire, one can argue that at least some smaller towns and municipalities have the English web pages just because one is 'supposed' to have them, not because they would have a true motive behind them. Of course, by having English web pages one can indicate that also the needs of foreign people are considered, but being truly useful for the readers would mean that one would need to use time and money for designing the web pages.

Out of all the web pages examined in the present study, Kerava's text seems somewhat different. Namely, one can argue that the whole text just introduces the main features of the town. There is thus only one topic in the whole text. Of course, various issues such as travelling to Kerava are dealt with on the page, but as each issue is only briefly mentioned, one cannot really talk about separate topics. The contents are, however, such that they are probably aimed at both tourists and people planning to move to Kerava. The present inhabitants, in contrast, gain nothing by reading the general information. Of course, this is somewhat obvious, since it is natural that people living in the area already have certain knowledge of the basic issues.

However, when examining the website of Kerava, one has to take into account the fact that the text studied is not officially called 'general information'. It is the opening page of the English version and thus there may be certain differences compared to the other web pages. In fact, it seems rather logical that one has not introduced any 'heavy' information at the beginning of the pages, but settled for describing the town briefly. After all, the main idea probably is to get the reader involved in the business and invite him/her to read further. Whereas, for instance, Haukipudas and Soini have included also weightier information in their texts, Kerava does not need to do that, since there are sub-pages (accessible with hyperlinks) where part of the material can be placed. Hence, it is not rational to argue that Kerava does not want to include other topics in its text, since the opening page simply is not the best place for introducing all the possible issues.

In sum, there seems to be no common format for the topics presented as general information. Each web page contains at least a short introduction of the

town or municipality, but as for the rest of the text, a wide range of issues is included. The choices of topics direct the texts at certain audiences, since, for instance, introducing the election system in Finland (as on Oulu's web page) clearly indicates that the target audience is the possible immigrants. Overall, however, it seems that the target audience is tourists, not the people living in the town or municipality. In addition, the topics give hints about the issues that are considered important in the particular town/municipality. In certain cases (e.g. Haukipudas) the topics included can also be seen as an implication of the possible shortage of resources in designing the English web pages.

7.3 Sentence structure

When taking a closer look at the sentences of the web texts investigated, their structure seems fairly simple. In the following table one finds the numbers of different sentence types. As for the coordinated and subordinated sentences, the numbers refer to the whole sentences, i.e. one has not, for instance, separated the main clause and the subordinated clause, but treated them as one subordinated sentence.

TABLE 3. Numbers of the different sentence types

sentence type	**Haukipudas**	**Jyväskylä**	**Kemijärvi**	**Kerava**	**Oulu**	**Soini**
simple	4	6	19	5	15	10
coordinated	2	4	5	2	6	3
subordinated	7	8	9	4	8	3
total number of sentences	**13**	**18**	**33**	**11**	**29**	**16**

Simple sentences make the text easily comprehensible, since the reader does not have to stop pondering the meaning of the clause. Glancing through web texts is not similar to, for example, reading novels, since the information needs to be quickly adoptable. The reader probably will not even read all of the text

but just skims it through and reads the parts that seem important. Having short, simple clauses helps the reader to do that.

About a third of the sentences on the websites of Haukipudas and Jyväskylä are simple clauses. Kemijärvi, Kerava, Oulu and Soini, on the other hand, utilise them even more, since at least half of the sentences are simple ones. Thus, it seems that the idea has been to produce relatively simple text. The following example is from the web pages of Kemijärvi. Similar cases can be found on each of the websites.

Example 3: There are many different rocks in Kemijärvi area.

As Example (3) shows, simple clauses are easily comprehensible, since the issues are presented briefly. One can therefore argue that the writers have considered the readers' needs and written a text that is easy to understand. However, it is also possible to see another reason behind this kind of a choice. Depending on the person that is responsible for the English text, simple syntax may also be due to his/her language skills. It is always more difficult to formulate complex clauses than to say the things with individual clauses. One therefore cannot forget the resources in designing the pages. If language professionals are or are not used when writing the text, it may have direct impacts on the final result, i.e. the appearance of the text.

Although one uses fairly many simple clauses on the web pages, a whole text consisting only of simple clauses would very soon become extremely monotonous. Thus, also coordinated and complex (i.e. subordinated) sentences are used on the web pages. Greenbaum & Quirk (1999:262) define two types of coordination: syndetic and asyndetic. In syndetic coordination, which is more common, one combines two units of same syntactic level with a coordinating conjunction. In asyndetic coordination the coordinators are missing. (Greenbaum & Quirk 1999:262.) Complex sentence, in turn, consists of a main clause and one or more subordinate sentences (Greenbaum & Quirk 1999:283).

Coordinated sentences are less used on the websites than complex ones, but all the towns and municipalities utilise at least a couple of them. Examples (4) and (5) are from the web pages of Oulu and Soini.

Example 4: Over the centuries, the operating environment in Oulu has changed but the basic situation has changed only slightly.
Example 5: For example, the distance between Soini and the City of Vaasa is about 160 km, and the distance from Soini to the City of Helsinki is about 350 km.

Although coordinated sentences are often somewhat more complicated than simple clauses, yet coordination only combines two main clauses. This means that the clauses are independent from each other and thus perhaps fairly easy to understand, too. The immediate effect, however, is that the text is more varied and interesting as there are not just simple clauses put together. Maintaining the reader's attention naturally requires certain actions and not having a boring text is definitely one of those. Either long, complicated sentences or mere simple clauses would easily have a negative effect and the reader would get bored with the text. Having clauses that are challenging enough, but not too difficult, is one of the means of creating an attractive text and possibly also a positive image of the place. After all, if one gets bored even with a text that presents a certain place, the result may be that s/he may not get interested in the town/municipality either. Or at least s/he will find other sources from where to search for information.

As for subordination, the texts by Haukipudas and Jyväskylä contain the highest number of subordinated clauses when compared to the total number of sentences. Thus, one can argue that the writers have not been afraid of challenging the reader. However, as the subordinated clauses do not contain, for instance, heavily modified noun phrases, the complexity of the clause structure does not play a significant role in reading the text.

Example 6: The Jyväskylä region – comprising of the city of Jyväskylä and four municipalities surrounding it – has over 140 000 inhabitants.
Example 7: It is a challenge especially in northern periphery where cool climate and long distances make the solving of the waste management extremely difficult. (HAUKIPUDAS)

As Examples (6) and (7) illustrate, subordinated sentences are not very difficult, either. They are not particularly long and provide additional information about the main clause. Thus, they often have an explanatory function. One cannot really see them as making the text more complicated, but just combining two clauses so that two separate simple clauses are not needed.

Although mainly the sentences which include subordinated clauses are fairly simple, one can find at least one exception on Oulu's web pages.

Example 8: To some extent membership has meant adaptation to supranational decision making and to common markets which offer Finnish industry growing production and export possibilities.

The reason for the complexity of the sentence is that the whole construction of the sentence is awkward. One has included perhaps too many issues in one sentence and thus made it difficult to understand it. In addition, one can question whether the subordinated clause is 'good' English or would it be better re-phrased, because the referent of the relative pronoun is unclear. The problems concerning the analysis of odd linguistic choices will be discussed more thoroughly in section 8.1.

Overall, one can argue that the sentence structure seems simple because the issues dealt with are usually quite familiar to the reader, i.e. one has not used, for instance, unfamiliar vocabulary. If the sentence structure was simple, but one would not understand the words, the whole point of the text would remain unclear.

In sum, the sentence structure of the web pages examined is not particularly complex. One could argue that one major reason for the relative simplicity of the sentence structure is that the web pages can be read by both native and non-native speakers of English. Naturally the texts include coordinated and subordinated sentences, but as they are not particularly challenging, anyone with basic skills in English can read the texts.

7.4 Transitivity analysis

Next the different types of verbs in the texts will be investigated with the help of transitivity analysis. By examining the processes I will be able to identify, for example, which parties, if any, are represented as the active ones on the web pages. This, in turn, is interesting, because it clearly contributes to the image of the place. For instance, I want to see whether the places want to represent themselves as actively doing something or do they choose to describe what they are like (and what their qualities are like, factual or perhaps evaluative).

There are primarily two types of processes, material and relational, that are typical of all the pages. In Table (4) one can find the total number of each process type.

TABLE 4. Numbers of the different processes on the websites

Process types	**Haukipudas**	**Jyväskylä**	**Kemijärvi**	**Kerava**	**Oulu**	**Soini**
Relational	11	15	28	7	24	12
Material	6	11	6	4	13	6
Existential			4			2
Mental				2	1	
Verbal				1		
Seemingly material			2			
Total	**16**	**24**	**40**	**14**	**38**	**20**

Naturally, as the total numbers of the processes are different on each website studied, one cannot make any direct comparisons between the web pages. However, what is obvious is that each website contains more relational processes than material processes. Kemijärvi uses relational processes the most, since there is a significantly higher number of them than any other processes altogether. In relation to the number of relational processes, other

towns and municipalities use more material processes than Kemijärvi, but still their number is in each case smaller than those of relational ones. Jyväskylä seems to be the place using material processes the most.

As for other processes, Haukipudas and Jyväskylä use none. Kemijärvi, Kerava, Oulu and Soini, nevertheless, each use at least one other process type than just relational or material. However, judging by these websites, it seems that existential, mental and verbal processes are relatively rare on these kinds of web pages. One is not referring much to, for example, emotions or thoughts on the web pages dealing with general information. The focus seems to be on what the town is like, what it does or what happens there. Although one cannot make any final judgements based on individual websites, yet one can argue that there seems to be certain characteristic features in web texts. For instance, journalistic texts often include interviews and thus also verbal and mental processes are used when communicating the information. On the websites, in turn, they are utilised more rarely. Because of the fairly low number of these processes, only the occurrences of mental processes will be dealt with in the analysis, since they are the most interesting cases of the less used processes.

Compared to Halliday's (1994) and Downing & Locke's (2002) definitions of the process types, there is a novel one invented for this study, that is, the seemingly material processes. These verbs look like material processes, but do not express any actual doing or causing and thus semantically they resemble relational processes (e.g. *run* in Kemijärvi's text when talking about ridge chains that cannot actually move anywhere). These special cases will be dealt with when looking at the material processes in the texts. First, however, one looks at the relational processes on the web pages.

7.4.1 Relational processes

The use of relational processes on the web pages is in no way surprising. After all, one of the main goals of the websites is to introduce the town or municipality, and therefore descriptions of the places can be found on the

websites. Relational processes, especially the intensive (x is y) and possessive (x has y), are extremely useful descriptive strategies, as they present the qualities of the town or municipality. In addition, Downing & Locke (2002:135) claim that the use of relational processes is very common in English. Thus, it seems only natural that one can find them on the websites, too.

Judging by the websites studied, relational processes are an extremely useful way of introducing a variety of issues. Since the Carrier of the clause is not active in what it is doing (i.e. it just is), relational processes can be seen as rather neutral. As Downing and Locke (2002:131) claim, too, relational processes do not have very strong meanings, since only a connection is created between two participants with a relational process. However, it is worth noticing that this observation of neutrality only applies to the verb and that way to the Carrier, too. The town or municipality is presented as a passive participant, but the Attributes related to it with a meaningless process may not be neutral at all. This is also the reason why relational processes are very flexible in conveying different kinds of ideas.

The most neutral way of using relational processes is perhaps conveying facts that are unquestionable. Although the numbers of such cases on each website vary quite extensively, each of them, however, contain informational relational processes. On Kemijärvi's website, almost three fourths of all the clauses are relational and most of these are neutral ones, since the Attributes related to the Carriers are informational.

Example 9: Kemijärvi is the town of industry, agrobusiness, forestry and tourism.
Example 10: Pine hills with waterways and wet lands are typical landscape in Kemijärvi.

The qualities of Kemijärvi are briefly and effectively introduced with two different participants that are combined with a neutral verb. One might very well come across this kind of language, for instance, in print brochures of other organisations, too, but as the issues are presented as factual, the reader probably does not consider them part of promotional genre. What makes the assertions seem like impartial descriptions of the town is that one has not

utilised any Attributes that could be questioned by the reader. If one says there are pine hills in Kemijärvi, there must be some unless the writer is lying, and that is not very likely on an official website.

Oulu, too, relies on the use of relational processes. A great deal of the relational processes have the town itself as the Carrier. This may be a conscious choice made by the writers of the pages, since, although there is a risk of too much repetition, it can be considered an effective way of introducing the town. At least such a construction leaves no uncertainty of whose characteristics are described in the text. All the other towns and municipalities utilise the technique, too, but not to the same extent as Oulu. The following sentence is an example of this, and also of the informational clauses.

Example 11: Oulu has the sixth largest population amongst Finnish towns.

As Example (11) shows, the matter represented is such that its truthfulness can be tested. The neutrality and the informational content of the text is due to the fact that the writers have not included their own opinions in the sentence (i.e. no verbal or mental processes), but settled for introducing the facts. Claiming something to be *the sixth largest* is such an assertion that the reader understands there must be some numerical evidence to back up this argument. In addition, it probably will not impress the reader in any particular way to name the town as only the sixth biggest as far as population is concerned. Therefore one cannot really consider it a persuasive strategy either.

In Kerava's text, about a half of the total number of processes are relational processes. Overall, the contents of these clauses are highly evaluative, since there is only one case that contains pure factual issues.

Example 12: Kerava is part of the greater metropolitan area, about 30 kilometres to the north from Helsinki.

Although one can argue whether any town in Finland can be called a metropolis, yet this is the only sentence where the characteristics of Kerava

have been described in an objective manner. The distance from the capital can easily be measured and found either true or false. However, the writer has managed to slip in a slight implication that Kerava is, in fact, a part of a metropolis. This can be seen as an indirect suggestion that Kerava, too, is an important place in Finland, which, in turn, is a subjective evaluation. Thus, one can argue that there are not any purely factual relational processes in Kerava's text.

Examples of neutral and informational constructions can also be found on the web pages of Haukipudas, Jyväskylä and Soini. The following cases are rather typical examples that could be found on many of the websites studied.

Example 13: About 60% of the working population are in service trades, 36% in industry and only 1,5% in primary production. (HAUKIPUDAS)
Example 14: Jyväskylä is a school and university town with 38 000 students during the academic year, providing a diversity of educational offerings for people of all ages.
Example 15: Most parts of Soini are more than 200 metres above sea level.
Example 16: Throughout the era of wooden ships Finland was the world's most important tar producer. (SOINI)

The description of the means of livelihood in Haukipudas is probably included in the text just for sharing basic information about the municipality. One does not try to impress the reader in any way. The writers have not used evaluative Attributes, but factual ones. However, having informational constructions are also part of creating the image of the place. They give the reader basic knowledge about the town or municipality and thus suggest a certain picture in the reader's mind. Of course, this piece of information may not be the most crucial in building a positive image, but still it contributes to the whole of the of impression. After all, although the information is neutral, it describes the qualities of the municipality and thus enables the reader to form an opinion of the place in question.

Example (14) from Jyväskylä's web pages is somewhat more controversial. Overall, Jyväskylä's website contains very few purely factual relational processes. In fact, this example is one of the few not utilising any evaluative expressions. However, even though one just describes the number of students

in the town, it is possible to see this clause as appealing to the reader. Namely, if the reader is a person planning his/her studies, it may seem promising that so many people have decided to go to study there. It is therefore worth noticing that although one might seem to be publishing facts, there may be a promotional goal behind the choices of selecting the material.

On Soini's web page most of the relational processes are extremely factual. Examples (15) and (16) are typical cases. The qualities that are expressed with the help of relational processes are such that the reader cannot question them, since they are not matters of opinion. This reflects the whole tone of the Soini's text, which is very factual and not persuasive. This observation will be examined more carefully when looking at other choices made on Soini's page.

However, the use of relational processes on the websites is not always neutral and purely informational. By using Attributes that are not as factual as, for example, the type of natural phenomena in Example (10) (see page 64), the writers can make evaluations of the place. In addition, if no modality is used in relational processes, the neutrality of such a clause is no longer that clear. In fact, as Example (17) shows, relational processes with no modality can be seen as stating issues that are actually matters of opinion as categorical facts.

Example 17: The town of Kemijärvi is the centre of versatile services and culture: spa-swimming halls, culture centre, music school, 200 kilometres of officially marked snowmobile routes, 80 kilometres marked boat routes and five ski centres (Pyhä, Luosto, Suomu, Salla and Ruka) close to the town.

When one says *Kemijärvi is the centre of versatile services and culture* (stress on the word *is*), the reader is not actually given the choice to determine whether that is actually the case, particularly because the clause is followed by a long list of services in Kemijärvi. However, when compared to the services available in bigger cities, one could argue that actually Kemijärvi lacks certain services. The point is, nevertheless, that the reader is invited to accept the author's view of the versatile services. It would be quite another thing to suggest that Kemijärvi, for example, offers certain services, since the effect

would not be that powerful. Example (17) includes the assertion that Kemijärvi has everything one could even imagine.

But what is the reason for such a powerful effect? When thinking about Downing & Locke's (2002:131–132) definitions of characterising and identifying Attributes, the power of Example (17) becomes apparent. The Attribute of the clause is an identifying one, and thus it does not only describe the qualities of the place, but states what kind of a town it is. It is given as a fact that the Attribute equals with the Carrier, i.e. that Kemijärvi really is the centre of services and culture.

As Example (17) suggests, relational processes with certain kinds of identifying Attributes can be very effective in creating certain images of the town in question. They make strong claims. Whereas the more informational relational processes only convey undeniable facts, these kinds of clauses can be used to publish information that aims at influencing the attitude of the reader. One promotes the good qualities of the place and presents them as an inseparable part of the town or municipality. Naturally the reader has the right to doubt what s/he is being told, but s/he is clearly invited to accept the view that is offered.

Similar examples can also be found on Oulu's web pages:

Example 18: The region is well known for its rapidly growing high technology industry which sells its products throughout the world. The city is thus also an international growth centre.

Example 19: Oulu is located on the Northern part of the Baltic Sea with good communication links to the largest European centres and its airport is the second busiest in Finland. In conclusion the city is a natural gateway to the Euroarctic Barents region. The strong and well developed infrastructure of Oulu offers flexible links both to Europe and to the Northern regions of North-West Russia.

Firstly, the Oulu region is described as well known for its high technology industry. There is no universal standard for measuring how well known someone or something is, and thus it has just been the decision of the writers to describe the town that way. The place is given favourable qualities by

characterising it with evaluative features. Furthermore, what is intriguing here is that the writers have used one evaluative assertion to justify another. Although the town has high technology with products marketed around the world, this does not mean that the town would be an international growth centre. The writers, however, suggest that by their formulation of the second clause. They equate two things that are closely related, but the sheer existence of high technology does not mean there is anything growing in the city. Without thinking about the matter more closely, the reader, however, may accept the view and does not realise that, in fact, the writers have not given any real evidence for their assertion. In this case, though, even the type of the Attribute does not explain the effect. In contrast to Example (17), the Attributes are characterising ones and thus it is not given as an undeniable fact that Oulu is a growth centre. However, as this case shows, justifying one characterisation with another may very well be enough to convince the reader of the issues presented.

Similar uncertain assertions can be found in Example (19), too. Here, though, the use of adjectives is also worth noticing. The communication links are asserted to be *good*, which obviously is a matter of opinion, but actually the whole concept of *communication links* remains vague. What does it mean, where does it refer to? Probably the first thing that comes to mind is telephone and computer connections, but why would they say there are good links to the largest European centres? After all, one would assume that these kind of connections would be of high level to anywhere in the world. One might therefore assume that the claim is that it is easy to reach other European cities from Oulu in the sense of travelling. Nevertheless, the subordinated clause brings in the airport and its high utilisation rate and therefore it remains somewhat unclear what the other *communication links* are. Are they referring to the flight connections or perhaps something else? When thinking about the location of Oulu, putting emphasis on the flights would sound credible, since otherwise one can argue it is not that easy to reach other European cities from Oulu. No matter where one is referring to, there seems to be a desire to create an impression of closeness. Describing Oulu as the place with *good communication links* can be seen as trying to diminish the fact that Oulu is

actually situated in northern Finland, with fairly long distances to other towns even in Finland.

Moreover, calling Oulu *a natural gateway to the Euroarctic Barents region* is a rather powerful claim. Of course, the location of the town speaks for itself and thus it may be justified to call Oulu a gateway to the north, but as one says it is a *natural* one, it is no longer that impartial a statement. What natural is there about Oulu being a gateway? The writers do give reasons for calling the town a gateway and thus the relational process is not without any evidence, but still the naturalness cannot be explained in any way. The well-developed infrastructure is not an obvious reason for being a gateway, since some other town or even municipality might have similar facilities to offer, too. Claiming it as a given fact that Oulu is this natural gateway may thus be regarded as a wish to stand out, to be somewhat better than all the other places in the area. Thus, this is clearly a promotional act. The reader is asked to accept the view that Oulu has been given a special status as this gateway. What seems obvious is that by using such expressions one aims at creating a certain kind of image in the minds of the readers. One could even argue that Oulu is described the one and only middleman between Europe and Russia and thus the importance of the place is strongly emphasised.

Cases of not so neutral relational processes can also be found on the web pages of Jyväskylä. The relational processes in the Jyväskylä text mainly introduce the characteristics of the town itself. As has already been noticed on other pages, this is in no way surprising.

Example 20: Today it is a bustling centre for business, education, sports and culture and has over 80 000 inhabitants.
Example 21: Jyväskylä is home for a large variety of cultural activities such as concerts, festivals, museums and theatres.

As the examples above point out, again it is the Attributes that create the evaluative expressions. *Bustling centre* and *home* are expressions which probably create vivid images in the reader's mind and thus help to form an opinion of the place. Although *home* in Example (21) does not refer to any concrete home of some person, choosing such a word can be seen as a way of

presenting Jyväskylä as familiar and safe. As the town is home for cultural activities, then why not for different people? Many people consider home the best place in the world, so it should not be underestimated what kind of effects it has when one calls a town a home. There may be a desire to create warm feelings, or at least interest, towards the place. *A bustling centre* in Example (20), on the other hand, creates the impression of a lively and progressive town. Of course, this is once again only an evaluation made by the writers, since cannot really make exact estimations of the liveliness of the place. Moreover, one can even question where the word *bustling* refers to. Is it the people who generate the bustling or the amount of services available? The concept, thus, remains rather vague. Of course, we have a certain picture of what *bustling* means and therefore the reader is probably invited to see the town as an active place which constantly offers its inhabitants something to do.

Kerava, too, utilises relational processes that clearly have promotional ends. The website contains a couple of rather powerful expressions where the relation is set up between the place and certain qualities that are debatable. In Downing & Locke's (2002:131–132) terminology, both the clauses entail characterising Attributes, which are used to make strong evaluations.

Example 22: The town is home to a flourishing and varied cultural life.
Example 23: Travelling to Kerava by land, sea or air is quick and easy.

Both the examples show that the relational processes Kerava uses are often rather boastful because of the choices of adjectives as Attributes. It is just an opinion of some or certain people to say that Kerava has an active cultural life and the reader may or may not agree with that. As s/he cannot be sure whether the case is actually so, too many similar assertions might even start irritating him/her. Especially in Example (22) the relational process emphasises the impression that Kerava just cannot help being so well-equipped with cultural services. Although it is the desire of the town to paint as positive picture of the town as possible, it may be dangerous to praise it too much. After all, there hardly is a place without any weaknesses, and if one only emphasises the good aspects of the town/municipality, the reader may start suspecting whether one

is actually telling the truth. Kerava shows consideration as it, though only once, expresses hesitation:

Example 24: Opportunities for hobbies are almost boundless.

Although the rest of the text advertises Kerava as a town with almost no weaknesses, this one clause expresses that the authors of this page can show consideration. Even though one tries to convey as good as image as possible, it is realised that lying is not the right way to do that. If the town lacks certain services, it is wise to admit it right away. In this case, it is done by the adverb *almost*, which modifies the adjective *boundless*. Nevertheless, *boundless* is the key word in this sentence. If one thinks about all the possible hobbies in the world, it seems impossible to offer them all in one town, at least when one is not talking about a big city. It seems the authors have realised it may not be that bad if Kerava cannot offer them all, since less is enough, too. Constructing such a clause, as well as the previous ones, is clearly an indication of promotional goals. The best sides are emphasised and negatives features are diminished or even ignored.

Overall, the use of relational processes on the pages of Haukipudas is similar to those of other towns and municipalities. At the beginning of the text, the characteristics of the municipality are introduced.

Example 25: Haukipudas is an active municipality situated by the Gulf of Bothnia, with the river Kiiminkijoki flowing through its area.

Example (25) is a typical instance of the sentences on many of the home pages studied. Due to the relational process, the features of the municipality are presented as something that is evident. The municipality itself does not have to do anything to acquire these qualities. Of course, for example, the location of Haukipudas by the Gulf of Bothnia is undeniable and thus it is justified to tell that with a relational process. However, the example also contains a more evaluative feature. It is stated as a fact that Haukipudas is an active place, but there is no mention of who has actually said that. Of course, the first and perhaps most obvious alternative is the writer of the page. Naturally, the whole

municipality (or more precisely the people living there) may see the place as an active one, but it is the writers who have said it out loud, since they probably want to convey as positive image of the municipality as possible.

7.4.2 Material processes

As for the material processes, they are particularly useful in emphasising the activity of the Actor, since, as Downing & Locke (2002:114) refer to them, they are processes expressing doing and causing. One might thus assume that material processes on the web pages would be effective in presenting the town or municipality as a responsible party for all the actions taking place there. That way one could perhaps create the impression that the place is doing its best to please its inhabitants.

However, at least on the web pages examined, this does not seem to be the case. Firstly, when compared to the relational processes, the sheer number of the material processes is lower on each web page. Secondly, there are only a few cases where the actual town or municipality is positioned as the subject of the clause. And moreover, fairly often in those cases the subject is not the Actor, since the clause is in passive voice.

The text by Haukipudas is a good example of this 'not-emphasising-itself'. Although there are six material processes on the web page, there is only one clause in which the municipality is the subject, and that one, too, is in passive voice.

Example 26: The municipality of Haukipudas itself was founded in 1866.

As example (26) shows, Haukipudas is not given an active role, it is not responsible for its own foundation. In fact, semantically *the municipality of Haukipudas itself* is the object of the sentence. It is, though, worth noticing that no one else is given the active role either. The writers have considered it unimportant to include information about the founder of the place and thus put more stress on the municipality itself. Naturally, it might have been difficult to

determine who were the exact founders of the place and perhaps even more difficult to include that information on the pages. After all, one can argue that a long list of names would not serve anyone. It seems therefore only natural to exclude that information.

The only material processes on the websites of Haukipudas containing active voice have human beings as the Actors.

Example 27: The first inhabitants settled in the Haukipudas area over 4000 years ago most of them being fishermen from the southern parts of Finland.
Example 28: Many people come here to see the river Kiiminkijoki, which has been included in "Project Aqua", an international programme for the protection for waterways, and the beautiful wooden church dating back to 1762.

Example (27) is an interesting one, even though at first glance there seems to be nothing particular about the clause. A short historical aspect is offered, but keeping in mind Fairclough's (1995b:4) definition of representation (which things are included in the text and which are excluded), one can look at the sentence from another angle. The first inhabitants are given an active role in the sentence and hence it is suggested that they came to the area of their own will. Nevertheless, the same thing could have been expressed by using passive construction, but in that case, the sense of free choice would have not been so powerful. By using the active voice, the construction of the clause can be seen as implying that the Haukipudas area was so appealing even 4000 years ago that people wanted to move there. Of course, these kinds of choices can also affect the image of the municipality. After all, if people have lived there for thousands of years, it must be at least a decent place today, too.

Example (28) presents another kind of a case. Here the Actor refers to the people of today and thus all the readers are in a way included in an active role. Although there is no direct reference to the readers, there is a suggestion that anyone can be among the people coming to Haukipudas. Of course, it also implies that people come there because they wish to see the attractions there. Saying that there are plenty of people coming to see them also emphasises the assertion that the sights there really are worth seeing.

On Oulu's web pages the number of the material processes is fairly low, compared to that of the relational processes. Thus the text is not particularly dynamic in the sense that there is not much active doing in the sentences, just being and having. And again, even though there are also cases where the town is the Actor, there seems to be a tendency to use passive constructions with material processes. In this way one is able to hide the active participant and perhaps give more attention to some other participant.

Example 29: The city, which is the largest employer in the region, employs over 8,000 people.
Example 30: The city of Oulu was founded by the order of King Carl IX of Sweden at the mouth of the Oulu River in 1605.
Example 31: Oulu is lead by a city board and council which are elected and which have representation from 7 political parties.

Example (29) is one of the few cases where the town as the subject of the clause is actually given an active role. In fact, the material process has been used metaphorically, since literally the town cannot give jobs to anyone. After all, it is not an animate being. However, as we usually talk about organisations employing people, the reader probably pays no special attention to this. What is, nevertheless, suggested is that the town is a significant factor, since it is able to offer so many people a living.

Examples (30) and (31) do contain material processes, too, but the verbs are in the passive voice. In Halliday's (1994:110) terms, in a passive construction the subject of the clause is the goal of the process. And as was in Example (26) (see page 73), also in these cases the formal subjects are actually the semantic objects of the sentences. By positioning the active participants as the agents, the attention is paid to the town itself. The writers have thus put more emphasis on repeating the name of Oulu than, for instance, the founder of the town. Of course, for instance, as Example (30) is the first sentence of the whole text, it would perhaps sound confusing if one would start talking about an old Swedish king instead of the town. It is therefore quite understandable to use the passive construction and thus point out that the main topic here is Oulu. The same applies to Example (31). It is not considered necessary to emphasise the roles of the city board and council as enforcing the decisions made, but just to

introduce that Oulu is in the hands of these representatives. Thus, although one would not be using the town as the Actor, the material processes can effectively be used as directing the reader's attention. And what Examples (30) and (31) point out is that, as well as relational processes, also material ones are useful in describing the characteristics of the town or municipality.

Also Jyväskylä utilises material processes in the passive voice on its pages. Interestingly, Example (32) shows that one does not need an active subject in order to create a positive picture of the main issue.

Example 32: Every year several domestic and international congresses are held at the congress and trade fair centre, Jyväskylä Paviljonki.

Although one has not mentioned who organises the congresses, yet the overall contents of the expression emphasise that Jyväskylä Paviljonki is an important place for these kinds of meetings. In fact, as the organisers probably are not in any way related to the town, it is perhaps a conscious decision to exclude that piece of information. After all, presumably the writers only want to promote Paviljonki and alongside also Jyväskylä, not the different meetings themselves. By asserting that there are already several events in Paviljonki per year, the readers are invited to see it as a significant place. It is not directly said that all the interested should come to Paviljonki right away, but it is implied that as others have considered it a good place for congresses, there is no reason for others to think that way, too.

As has become clear, the towns and municipalities very rarely use themselves as the Actors. However, material processes are convenient for activating the role of the reader. The following example is from the web page of Kerava:

Example 33: Everything here is conveniently close at hand, so if you wish you can easily dash from one place to another by bike.

The use of the material process in the subordinated clause in a way transfers the reader to Kerava and very powerfully creates the impression of how easy it is to move about there. An abstract issue (the distances) is also made very

concrete by including the bike in the clause. The reader very likely considers dashing something that does not take a very long time and thus the goal of the text has been reached: Kerava must be a comfortable place to live as one does not have to travel long distances to find, for example, a certain shop. And most importantly, one has included the reader in the text and given him/her a role to play, too. Thus the text is not just about describing the town, it invites the reader to picture him/herself actually being there.

Besides directing the reader, Kerava's text also uses material processes for presenting other issues.

Example 34: Kerava has gained international recognition for the layout of its centre, the pedestrian shopping street, the pedestrian-cycle path network, as well as for the floral arrangements in its parks.
Example 35: Concerts and different events draw people during the summertime to the Aurinkomäki park in the centre of town.

Example (34) emphasises the positive characteristics of Kerava. Thus it is one of those few cases which position the town as the Actor. Although it is not directly said that Kerava has done something to receive this attention, yet it is implied that recognition does not come for free. It is obvious that the writer wants to emphasise that Kerava is worth seeing, especially because of these renowned sights. S/he does not, however, mention anything about what kind of recognition the town has gained. The reader may thus assume that Kerava has even won some competitions, even though nothing explicitly like that is said. Through vagueness, the interest of the reader can, however, be caught. Example (35), on the other hand, openly declares that the events in the park are so appealing that they even *draw* people there. Drawing is a highly concrete verb which implies that the people cannot resist going to the Aurinkomäki park when there is something to see. Naturally, also the reader is invited to see the events as attractive and thus also consider the whole Kerava a pleasant place to visit or even live in. Hence, one can argue that there seems to be a promotional goal behind presenting the issue in such a manner.

As Example (35) on Kerava's pages, also Soini's page contain material processes that introduce issues that have nothing to do either with the town itself or the readers. In Soini's case they involve the wood industry in the area.

Example 36: Different kinds of wood processing products have been exported from Soini for hundreds of years.
Example 37: Nowadays long rigs transport timber and wood processing products to different harbours every day.

Overall, as the writers have dealt with the issues related to wood industry relatively extensively, it seems it is a rather important means of livelihood in the area. As one can observe, Example (36) is in the passive voice, which means there is not an active participant in the clause. But as Example (32) (see page 76) already pointed out, in these cases the actual actors are not important as they are not in any relation to the municipality. Therefore one does not want to put any extra emphasis on introducing them. As in Example (36), the main thing for Soini is to tell that wood industry is important for the municipality. Example (37) is thus the only one where one also presents someone responsible for the actions represented in the clause. Of course, one can also question whether it is just a means of making the text more vivid, since in Example (37) it is the *rigs* that have been given the active role. They do not promote the image of Soini in any way and thus one can argue it is just a matter of style to represent the issue in such a way.

On Kemijärvi's web pages, in contrast, most of the material clauses somehow represent the nature of the Kemijärvi region. Interestingly, the material processes representing the nature seem to be fairly exceptional on the web pages of towns and municipalities.

Example 38: Nearly twenty smaller rivers empty into the lake of Kemijärvi in the town's area.
Example 39: 40-50 % of rain falls on the ground as snow.

The use of the material processes in Examples (38) and (39) present the nature as an active participant. Halliday (1994:114) mentions that one of the things that distinguish mental processes from material ones is that mental processes always need at least one human-like participant. However, one can argue that

sometimes also material processes turn inanimate into human-like beings. Even though rivers or rain have no own will, still Examples (38) and (39) utilise material processes that give the actors animate characteristics. Thus, one can argue that nature is given a special position in the text, since it is described as a powerful element. The key for this is the fact that the writers have used the verbs metaphorically and hence given the Actors qualities that are not considered normal for them.

Furthermore, there are even more metaphorical cases of material processes on Kemijärvi's page. Nevertheless, although the verbs express that something is done, the subjects cannot really be seen as the Actors. Therefore for cases like these, a new process type, the seemingly material process, was created for this study. After all, Halliday's (1994) six process types do not quite cover such instances. The following examples are instances of such cases.

Example 40: Two ridge chains run from the north-west to the south-east.
Example 41: Pyhätunturi in the neighbouring municipality with five hill tops and deep gorges reaches the height of 540 m.

Examples (40) and (41) point out that, although the processes are material and thus dynamic, no one would even think, for instance, that ridge chains would literally be running anywhere. Compared to, for instance, rivers that constantly flow (Example (38), see page 78), we know these are stable entities. However, the author has chosen an active verb instead of phrasing the sentence as, for example, an existential clause ('There are two ridge chains from north-west to south-east.') As it is not justified to say that the author wants to emphasise the activeness of the ridge chains, one rather obvious explanation for this could be that the author is simply trying to make the text stylistically more varied. After all, Kemijärvi's text contains mostly relational clauses and repeating similar forms and structures throughout the text very easily makes it boring to read. The use of these seemingly material processes in the Kemijärvi text may thus also be a means of enlivening the story, i.e. they are used as a stylistic device. Example (42) supports this observation. At the same time, it is an exception among all the other material processes on Kemijärvi's page.

Example 42: Every now and then, one comes across pieces of stone with petrified wave formation on them.

It would be possible to formulate the sentence differently, but the author has once again decided to use a material process. However, the 'actor' of the clause is *one*, which cannot be identified as anyone particular, it is just an 'empty' subject. Nature is thus not the active participant here. Nevertheless, the choice of the process clearly makes the text more vivid, since in a way it includes the reader into the text. A similar case of including the reader was found on Kerava's page, too (Example (33), see page 76). The use of the pronoun *one* makes the impression that any reader of the text could be one of those to find the waves on the stones. Although the rest of the text takes no notice of the reader, since s/he is not addressed in any way, this one sentence all of a sudden does it, although not directly. However, as the topic of the sentence is such that one would not perhaps assume addressing the reader here, it seems possible that the sentence is formulated as it is just because of creating variation in the text. After all, it seems that finding some wavy formations on ancient stones is not perhaps the most appealing thing in Kemijärvi. If the writer really wanted to appeal to the reader, s/he would probably have used direct address on other occasions, too. Now, however, the only explanation seems to be just to make the text more colourful.

7.4.3 Mental processes

In addition to the two main process types, Kerava also utilises a couple of mental processes. This is exceptional, at least among the websites examined in the present study.

Example 43: Please feel welcome to visit and spend time here!

Although Example (43) can be seen as a directive speech act, it is not an impolite demand but a routine way of expressing a warm wish. Appealing to one's feelings makes the process an effective one, since the reader is truly invited to find the atmosphere in Kerava a pleasant and welcoming one. For

example, stating ‘you are welcome to visit and spend time here’ would not have the same effect since, although the reader is wished welcome, s/he is not given similar promise of a nice feeling. Mental processes can thus function as an effective means of establishing a more polite and warmer relationship with the reader, since by using them one can promise other things than just material goods.

A mental process is also utilised in Example (33) (page 76). In this one the reader is not, however, promised similar things as in the previous one. Here the use of the verb *wish* implies that the reader is given the freedom of choice. Although this is utilised only once, the reader is invited to get the impression that in Kerava one is able to do what s/he desires. It is possible to use one’s bike if one wants, but naturally, no one is forcing to do that.

As the mental processes seem to be rather effective in whatever messages they are conveying, it seems rather surprising that they are not used more on the websites of the towns and municipalities. In fact, in the texts chosen for this study, Kerava’s website is the only one utilising them. One explanation for this could be that the towns and municipalities are more geared towards factuality and have regarded mental processes as too intimate. Namely, one usually wants to decide oneself what to make of things. Inner sensations are a part of our private issues which we may not want to share with other people. Using too many mental processes on the pages might even be considered too informal. A moderate number of them might, however, be a useful means of involving the reader in the matter, creating positive feelings.

7.4.4 Processes in a nutshell

Relational processes are used both for conveying information and persuasive messages. Naturally, informational processes contribute to the construction of the image by broadening the readers’ knowledge of the town or municipality. What is interesting, however, is that they can also be utilised when appealing to the reader. That is, presenting attractive information can be seen as an attempt

to create a positive image. Of course, the more direct way to do this is to use evaluative Attributes in relational processes. However, one cannot make any generalisations. Especially Soini and also Kemijärvi rely more on informational relational processes whereas Jyväskylä and Kerava use more evaluative ones.

Material processes, even somewhat surprisingly, do not emphasise the activity of the places. The passive voice is used fairly often. What is done, instead, is that other participants are portrayed as the active ones (such as nature on Kemijärvi's website or even the reader, as on Kerava's page). Moreover, material processes are also used metaphorically, making the text more vivid. After all, writing an interesting piece of text also affects the image the reader creates. As other processes are very rarely used on the web pages, it seems evident that the writers have considered relational and material processes the most suitable for their goals.

As for genre, transitivity analysis very clearly suggests that web pages indeed combine two different genres: informational and promotional ones. However, it is worth noticing that also informational processes are sometimes used for promotional ends.

7.5 Wording

Next I will examine the wording, that is, the use of adjectives, nouns and noun phrases as well as certain pronouns on the websites. As verbs (i.e. process types) reveal, for instance, what the places say to be like and who are represented as the active participants in the texts, choices of other words make even more obvious contributions to the image desired. The town or municipality uses, for example, certain nouns to describe itself and thus establishes a particular picture of the area. As image is an impression (Koskinen 2002), word choices can be relatively powerful in defining the place. There is a definite difference between calling a place, for instance, a 'lively centre' or 'peaceful environment'. As the reader may not have any

previous knowledge of the town or municipality, the text on the websites may create certain assumptions about it.

7.5.1 The use of adjectives

The use of adjectives is one of the most obvious features which contribute to the creation of a particular image. Adjectives can be neutral but also very biased, because they can be used to convey facts that are undeniable, but also matters of opinion. This is why it is also crucial to examine their use on the web pages, too. Roughly, there are two main types of adjectives on the websites: factual and evaluative ones. The first ones are, as the name already suggests, those that are based on facts whereas the evaluative ones characterise the issues more freely, that is, express, for instance, matters of opinion.

Greenbaum & Quirk (1999:141–146) classify adjectives according to both syntax and semantics. Syntactically adjectives can be divided into attributive and predicative adjectives. Furthermore, Greenbaum & Quirk (1999:142–144) divide the attributive adjectives semantically into intensifying, restrictive, adverb-related and denominal adjectives. Intensifying adjectives, in turn, can be divided into emphasizers, which heighten the effect (a *clear* mistake), amplifiers, which "scale upwards from an assumed norm" (a *complete* disaster) and downtoners, which are the opposite to amplifiers and lower the effect (a *feeble* explanation). Restrictive adjectives obviously somehow "restrict the reference of the noun" (a *particular* occasion). Certain adjectives can also be related to adverbs, although they are not intensifying or restrictive (a *possible* reason). Denominal adjectives derive from nouns and they are usually in attributive position (a *criminal* court). (Greenbaum & Quirk 142–144.) All these can be seen as examples of factual adjectives, since they are not something to be argued about, but undeniable qualities.

Although Greenbaum & Quirk (1999:142–144) utilise also semantic classification when dealing with syntactic subclasses, they also divide adjectives purely based on semantics. According to Greenbaum & Quirk

(1999:145–146) adjectives are either stative or dynamic, gradable or nongradable, inherent or noninherent. They argue that adjectives are typically stative (Greenbaum & Quirk 1999:145). However, there are also certain adjectives that can be seen as dynamic and these are, for example, *funny*, *calm* and *cruel* (Greenbaum & Quirk 1999:145). Gradability/nongradability of the adjectives, in turn, refers to comparison (*big, bigger, biggest*) or use of intensifiers (*very* handsome). According to Greenbaum & Quirk (1999:145), all dynamic and most stative adjectives are gradable. An inherent adjective, on the other hand, is something that "applies to the referent of the object directly" (a *cold* beer). A non-inherent adjective instead does not mean the object is literally cold, for instance (a *cold* person). (Greenbaum & Quirk 1999:146.)

In an earlier grammar Quirk & Greenbaum 1993:125) also introduce semantic sets for defining the usual adjectival order. There they also name general adjectives that can be either subjectively evaluative (*lovely*) or objectively evaluative (*wealthy*) adjectives. In addition, there are adjectives denoting either age (for instance, *young*), colour (*blue*), material (*wooden*), resemblance to some material (*metallic* voice) or style (*Finnish* food). Especially the first two of these are useful when looking at the adjectives on the web pages, since they are the basis for defining the evaluative word choices. Unfortunately, Quirk & Greenbaum (1993:125) do not give any specific definitions for the subjectively and objectively measured adjectives. However, it seems obvious that objectively evaluative adjectives are much closer to the factual adjectives, since they are not matters of opinion in the same sense as the subjectively evaluative ones.

For instance, Kemijärvi's web page contains an example of the factual adjectives.

Example 44: Geobothanically Kemijärvi belongs to the northern boreal zone.

The adjective in Example (44) is one of the neutral ones on Kemijärvi's website, since it only states the fact that Kemijärvi belongs to this particular zone. The two denominal adjectives are indisputable and thus the author of the

text probably does not have any ulterior motive in choosing the words *northern* and *boreal*. Similar cases are, for example, adjectives such as *western* and *continental*, which are denominal, too.

More factual adjectives can be found on the pages of Haukipudas.

Example 45: As a purpose of the Sewper project was to create an alternative waste disposal model for sparsely populated cool temperature regions. It is a challenge especially in northern periphery where cool climate and long distances make solving of the waste management extremely difficult.

The adjectives in Example (45) clearly show that the use of adjectives is directly related to the topics covered. Half of the Haukipudas text deals with a waste disposal project and thus because of the topic, the text probably does not try to appeal to the reader, but merely introduces the project to him/her. Such a project would hardly be a reason for anyone to visit the place, for instance, and thus one needs not to use subjectively evaluative adjectives, either. In fact, using such adjectives might even sound odd, considering that waste disposal systems can hardly be seen appealing. However, when thinking about the types of adjectives in Example (45), one comes across problems. It is not easy to apply Greenbaum & Quirk's (1993, 1999) definitions of different subclasses of adjectives in each case. For example, *alternative* proves to be fairly difficult to categorise. One could, however, see it as adverb-related. *Northern* is obviously a denominal adjective, but *cool* and *long*, in turn, are much more complicated cases. Most likely they are considered objectively evaluative adjectives, but one can also question whether they can truly be objectively measured. What is long for one person, may not be that to another. However, Quirk & Greenbaum (1993:125) see, for instance, adjectives defining size as examples of objectively evaluative adjectives and therefore both of these can be considered such cases. Moreover, what is important is that objectively evaluative adjectives are factual by their nature.

Whereas Jyväskylä, Oulu and Kerava use only a few factual adjectives, on Soini's web page it is the only adjective type utilised. Naturally, they are descriptive in style, but not such that can be seen as the opinions of the writers.

Example 46: Large forests and marshes are also typical of Soini.
Example 47: For example, tar burning, a bygone use of forests, was an important means of livelihood in Soini.

Large, being an adjective denoting size, is an example of objective measurement. It could, however, very easily be replaced with a subjectively evaluative adjective. If one wanted, the forests could have been described as, for example, 'magnificent', but the writers have decided to settle for stating the size of them, i.e. a fact that can be justified. Of course, this can also indicate the attitude of the Finnish people towards forests. For a foreigner, seeing a large forest might be a rare experience, but as the Finnish people have grown perhaps too familiar with seeing forests, it is not realised that one could use them as a part of advertising the uniqueness of the place. Another way of approaching the lack of evaluative adjectives is to see it as a means of not being too persuasive. The use of subjectively evaluative adjectives very easily makes the text similar to advertisements and if this has not been the goal of the writers, it may have been a conscious decision to avoid such adjectives altogether.

In addition, one can argue that although *important* in Example (47) is a more evaluative adjective than *large* in Example (46), it is, however, based on verifiable facts. Calling something important naturally defines it better or more valuable than others, but in this case the importance of tar producing is a fact which can be proven true. It is based on the amount of income that was brought to the area and thus it is justified to call this livelihood an important one. The adjective is therefore an objectively evaluative one.

Compared to the factual adjectives, especially subjectively (and sometimes also objectively) evaluative ones are much more effective in pursuing a positive image. The writer wants the reader to accept his/her own view, although it is just his/her way of seeing things. Thus such choices of adjectives are especially interesting when studying the way the town represents itself. Judging by the numbers of the different adjectives on each page, it seems different places have decided to use dissimilar tactics in introducing themselves. For instance,

Kemijärvi utilises only a few subjectively evaluative adjectives on its web page. The following example, though, is a rather powerful one.

Example 48: Kemijärvi also has some very attractive events made by many firms and volunteers.

Claiming something to be attractive is a matter of subjective opinion, not an objective truth. Adjectives such as *attractive* can be seen as a way of appealing to the reader, presenting as positive picture of the place as possible. Although the reader makes the final decision about what s/he thinks about the place, based on versatile information and not just one piece of text, adjectives can be used to persuade him/her to see it in a certain light. This is clearly an example of promotional discourse. However, as there are only a few such adjectives on Kemijärvi's website, the overall effect is not that powerful. After all, in a longer text a few evaluative adjectives easily get lost, i.e. the reader does not pay any special attention to them. The writers have thus probably not wanted to make ready judgements about the place, but given the readers the right to form their own opinions.

The text by Haukipudas, however, contains a few more evaluative adjectives.

Example 49: Nature is varied here offering beautiful views of the sea, river, forests and marshes, together with excellent possibilities for fishing, hunting and other outdoor activities.

Evaluative adjectives are utilised when describing the nature of the area as well as the activities related to that. Once again, the writers have made the decision to use these particular words, although they can be questioned. *Beautiful* and *excellent* are clear examples of subjective measurement, but *varied* could also be one of objective evaluation. Nevertheless, it also promotes positive aspects of nature in Haukipudas and thus it is not only subjectively evaluative adjectives that have impact in creating a positive image. As for the contents, especially when thinking about nature, it would seem rather difficult to find descriptive words that would be based on pure facts. Of course, one could settle for saying that 'nature offers views of sea, river...', but as we are talking about a text that is very likely designed to raise interest in the reader, such a

choice of construction just would not do the job. As the writers have decided to include information about nature in the text, it is obvious they consider it something important in the area. Thus, it also seems natural that they want to emphasise its best qualities. This is very easily done by selecting adjectives just like in Example (49). And although it is a matter of opinion what is, for example, *beautiful*, when one claims such a thing on a web page, the writer raises certain expectations of the type of the landscape in the reader. These expectations need to be met, at least in some measure, if the reader, for example, decides to visit the place and make a judgement him/herself. One cannot therefore rely on lies, even though it might be appealing. If the visitor is let down when s/he actually goes there to see the nature, it certainly does not do any good for the image of the municipality. In contrast, the visitor would probably feel disappointed and think badly of the municipality afterwards.

Jyväskylä utilises quite a few evaluative adjectives. Some of the choices of adjectives reflect the desire to establish an image of a versatile town. Obviously, the intention is that they tell the reader that it is worth coming to the town, since it has so much to offer him/her.

Example 50: Jyväskylä is home for a large variety of cultural activities such as concerts, festivals, museums and theatres. The Jyväskylä Arts Festival, which is the oldest on-going summer festival in Scandinavia, concentrates on non-verbal theatre. Jyväskylä is also a broad-based city of music with its own Symphony Orchestra as well as a children's music orchestra called Loiskis.

Example 51: The landscape of Jyväskylä is varied with lakes , forests and hills within a walking distance of the city centre.

The word *large* in Example (50) is a strong assertion of the amount of cultural activities, although it is an objectively evaluative adjective. If one had replaced *large* with, for instance 'a great deal of', the implication would have been somewhat different. In that case, the writer would not have set any exact limits for what is a large amount of activities, but just stated that there are a lot of them in Jyväskylä. Now, on the other hand, it is directly said that the number of cultural events in Jyväskylä is, in fact, extensive. However, one can wonder who is to say what is large and what is not. Of course, this is a matter of opinion and it is up to the reader whether s/he accepts the view the author of

the page suggests. Also *broad-based city of music* with the objectively evaluative adjective includes the assertion that in Jyväskylä one can find almost everything s/he wants as far as music is concerned. The writer has given examples of the variety of the musical selection and thus there is some back-up for the claims that s/he makes. An interesting curiosity is that it is completely ignored that, in fact, there has been years of public debate whether one should build a concert hall in Jyväskylä. A lack of a concert hall might be considered a major shortage by a person interested in music and thus perhaps even a reason for disagreeing with Jyväskylä's 'broad-basedness' in music. Of course, such issues are therefore avoided in these kinds of texts that are aimed at attracting people. It would not be advantageous to reveal such quarrels and thus the writer(s) have exercised their power and published only material that is in the best interest of the town.

In Example (51) the objectively evaluative adjective refers to the landscape. Here the aim is probably to emphasise the easiness of the town. One does not need to go far from the centre to find nature in Jyväskylä. And as the landscape is varied, it is also implied that Jyväskylä is not boring or monotonous, since it is not just blocks of flats even in the centre. This kind of information might be of interest to a reader who is planning to move there. For a random visitor it may not be essential whether there are trees just around the corner, but when one lives there for a longer period of time, issues concerning the residential environment probably start to weigh.

Kerava's web page, in turn, contains mainly adjectives that aim at creating as positive picture of the town as possible. As the text is fairly short and most of the sentences include subjectively evaluative adjectives, the impact is even more powerful. Examples (22) and (23) (see page 71) are perfect examples of this. *Flourishing* (subjective measurement) and *varied* (objective measurement) in Example (22) do give very strong indications of what the cultural life is like, but in fact, they only represent the view put forward by the writer. A critical reader may even consider the choices of words rather pretentious, but the most important observation is that as the reader is not given any evidence of what the cultural life is actually like (examples of, for instance, concerts and

exhibitions), s/he is thus not able to deduce her/himself whether the adjectives are correct or not. One therefore needs to settle for the information that is given and accept the view at least as long as proven wrong.

Example (23) is also a rather powerful one, although the adjectives convey information that can be tested whether it is true or not. However, once again, one cannot make any exact definitions of what is *quick* and *easy*. The readers are offered this view, but in fact, someone might very well consider it exhausting to, for example, drive to Kerava by car. Naturally, it depends on the person that reads the text, but as the WWW is an international medium, it is possible for an Australian to read the English text. From his/her viewpoint, travelling to Kerava may not be quick and easy at all. Obviously Kerava wants to picture itself as appealing a place as possible, but considering the scope of the medium, it is somewhat risky to assert that it is easy to get there. However, this kind of formulation of the sentence gives hints about the intended audience of the text. When saying *travelling* there is unproblematic, it is also implied that the text is aimed at a tourist.

Adjectives can also be used to create comparisons and thus they are a means of standing out from others. Gradability of the adjectives can be utilised for emphasising certain characteristics that are of top of quality in the town in question. An efficient way of persuading the reader to see, for instance, some product more appealing than the others is to advertise its qualities that distinguish it from the other products. Thus, attractive categories are established, for instance, with the help of comparative and superlative forms. The web pages examined show that also towns seem to have a desire to stand out from others, since there are several cases where comparative forms are used. Kemijärvi exploits them a few times.

Example 52: Kemijärvi is <u>one of the best</u> lakes for fishing a pike and <u>the northernmost</u> biotope for a pike-perch.
Example 53: Waterways are a part of the river Kemijoki, <u>the biggest</u> waterway system in Finland.

Although in Example (52) it is implied that there are also other good lakes for fishing pike, yet one cannot deny that Kemijärvi is one of those, too. The

expression can thus be seen as objectively evaluative. As one does not mention which ones the other lakes might be, the reader is invited to be happy with the information given. After all, why bother searching for other lakes when there is one already mentioned? Clearly, the town seems eager to advertise its strengths at least to those interested in fishing. The second superlative in the same sentence, however, does not have similar evaluative sense. It does, though, emphasise the uniqueness of the biotope, but this information has to be based on facts, not something the author can decide him/herself.

Example (53) is a basic example of 'standing out'. It clearly implies that Kemijärvi is something unique in Finland. In this particular case the assertion is most likely verifiable (objective measurement, that is) and the reader has no option but to agree that indeed Kemijoki is a grand river. What makes this intriguing is that the river Kemijoki does flow elsewhere in Lapland, too, and it is not the property of Kemijärvi. Mentioning the river in the text, nevertheless, connects it with Kemijärvi and gives it extra value.

On Oulu's website the use of comparative adjectives can even be seen as characteristic of the page. There are several cases where the qualities of Oulu are compared to those of other places by using superlative forms of the adjectives. Some of them emphasise the unique characteristics of the town, whereas others make comparisons to other towns.

Example 54: Oulu has Finland's second largest university and many publics and private research institutes.
Example 55: After the trading embargo in the Gulf of Bothnia was removed, trade became free and the sailing fleet of Oulu grew in the 1860's to be the largest in Finland.

Comparative forms are handy in positioning the matter in question. For instance, Example (54) clearly indicates that the University of Oulu is a significant place of education and research (objective measurement), at least in the Finnish scale. After all, otherwise it probably would not be the second largest in the number of students. Of course, one does not actually say anything about, for instance, the quality of teaching, but perhaps one believes the size of

the university will appeal to the reader and thus invite him/her to consider it a qualified university.

Example (55), on the other hand, is somewhat different example of representing the place as the best one. With its past tense, the clause refers to the history of the town. Of course, the size of the sailing fleet over 140 years ago does not affect the modern people very much, but one can find a more indirect way of impressing the reader. What is implied in this sentence is that Oulu was an important and perhaps wealthy place already decades ago (objective measurement). After all, otherwise it would not have had the money to have such a big sailing fleet. Naturally, the reader is also persuaded to think the same way about the situation today.

As the previous examples show, most of the comparative forms on Oulu's page describe issues that can be measured somehow. There is, however, one case which is much more questionable.

Example 56: Oulu is considered northern Europe's most significant centre of competence.

Defining Oulu as the most significant centre of competence naturally aims at emphasising the positive qualities of the town and initially the reader may feel impressed. After all, the town is pictured a place with versatile skills, and probably offering great chances for the people living there. In Quirk & Greenbaum's (1993:125) terminology, one suggests a subjectively evaluative adjective to be one of objective evaluation. Nevertheless, the reader may also start wondering about the source of this consideration. Who is it that considers Oulu this important place? It has already been noticed when examining the verbs that by using passive constructions the text can either emphasise or hide certain participants responsible for the actions. In this case it is not even mentioned who regards Oulu as the most significant centre of competence. Of course, it is not important to the writers to emphasise that since they have managed to convey a positive definition of the town without being too specific about the source. Depending on who the source is, revealing it might even make the effect a less impressive one. Now the readers can imagine that it is

some important authority who has said that, although it may really just be an opinion of the people living in Oulu. As readers, we are not to know that and that is probably just what the writers have wanted. No matter who has said it, the main thing is that it pictures Oulu in a positive light.

Not all the towns and municipalities, however, utilise comparative or superlative forms of the adjectives. For instance, one cannot find any in Soini's text, and Haukipudas and Jyväskylä make comparisons only a couple of times.

Example 57: The Jyväskylä Arts Festival, which is the oldest on-going summer festival in Scandinavia, concentrates on non-verbal theatre.
Example 58: The nearest town is Oulu (120 000 inhabitants), a major technological centre in northern Finland.

The superlative form (an objective measurement) in Example (57) from Jyväskylä's website is clearly much more promotional than the one in Example (58) (also objective). Whereas Haukipudas only tells about its closest town, Jyväskylä emphasises the unique nature of an event taking place in the town. Of course, however, one can argue that Haukipudas is trying to get extra value for itself by establishing a sort of a connection with a more familiar place.

In addition to Haukipudas and Jyväskylä, Kerava seems to count on its uniqueness, since one has not used many comparative forms on the website. One can, however, find a completely different reason for this lack of comparative forms. After all, it is possible that there just is not anything that could be compared to other places. After all, Kerava is not one of those towns that come to mind when thinking about interesting places to see and visit. The only occasion where one uses comparative form can be seen in Example (12) (see page 65). The aim of this adjective is not, however, to differentiate Kerava from other places, but rather connect it to a more significant district, the area of Helsinki. Of course, this way one wants to attach positive qualities to Kerava, too. It remains, nevertheless, somewhat uncertain whether also Kerava is considered a metropolis itself. Claiming such a thing would be rather foolish, keeping in mind that Kerava is, also from the point of view of Finnish towns, a small town and definitely not a metropolis. Yet even being a part of the

metropolitan area (even though not being one itself), implies that very likely all the services that one can wish are within a reach of Kerava.

To conclude, there seems to be two trends in using adjectives on the web pages. Whereas, for instance, Haukipudas and Soini use mainly factual adjectives (denominal and objectively evaluative ones), others rely on subjectively evaluative adjectives or objective ones that seem to create a positive impression. One could argue that some towns and municipalities use more obvious ways in promoting themselves and persuading the reader. Comparative forms of adjectives seem to be particularly useful in distinguishing one from the others. As many towns and municipalities have, for instance, similar services to offer, this seems to be one way of emphasising the best aspects of a certain place.

7.5.2 The use of nouns and noun phrases

The use of different nouns on the web pages is also one way of establishing a certain image. As the web pages can be read by anyone who can access the web, and thus the readers' knowledge of special vocabulary or jargon varies quite significantly, it is not surprising to find that there is a great deal of nouns on the websites that seem rather everyday and neutral. After all, one needs nouns in order to give basic information about the town or municipality. Example (59) from Soini's website illustrates this:

Example 59: Soini belongs to a watershed region where the rivers and creeks flow in three different directions.

The nouns in Example (59) are not special in any way, since they just convey facts about the place. A great deal of similar cases can be found on each of the websites examined. The particular nouns have probably been chosen just because they are appropriate for expressing the issues wanted. These kinds of choices of nouns can thus be seen as the basis of each web page. Nevertheless, as well as adjectives, also nouns can have evaluative meanings.

Example 60: The town of Kemijärvi is East Lapland's service center and the northernmost town in Finland.

Being a metaphorical expression, the word *center* creates a sense of importance. In fact, as it is used twice in this sense in the text (see Example (17), page 67), the impact is even more powerful. If one does not know anything else about northern Finland, one might even think Kemijärvi is perhaps the number one place where all the facilities are available. However, one ought to notice that in fact it is only said that Kemijärvi is the centre of East Lapland and thus there may not even be other towns to which to compare it. For the writers the main thing, however, is to emphasise the best aspects of Kemijärvi and thus it is not important to state whether there even are other towns in the area. The metaphor *center* thus conveys an idea of Kemijärvi as a focal and significant place. Once again, these kinds of choices seem very typical of promotional language.

Nouns belonging to different register

Other intriguing uses of nouns can be found towards the end of the text. There the text concentrates on the nature of Kemijärvi and describes it with concepts that represent quite another discourse type than promotional texts.

Example 61: Empetrum-Vaccinium-type pine woods (= pine, crowberry and lingonberry) are typical of this area.

The noun phrase containing the Latin name of a certain type of pine woods is rather detailed. One could even argue that such information can be found in textbooks on biology. At least a person with no special knowledge on biology would perhaps not appreciate this kind of information very much. After all, it is only an odd pair of words which says nothing to him/her. Thus, there is a sudden change of register in the text. The everyday-type informative register is altered into that of more scientific one. Another example of the vocabulary of biology is, for instance, the noun phrase *northern boreal zone* (see example (44), page 84). Also the word *biodiversity* is used in the text. These are clearly not everyday terms and in fact, if the common reader is not familiar with such vocabulary, it may thus remain unclear to him/her what is said in the text. Why

change the register and introduce this kind of information on a web page? One possible explanation is that using unfamiliar jargon makes everyday topics sound something special and more interesting. It is not the same to say that there are lots of lingonberries in Kemijärvi when one can state that Empetrum-Vaccinium-type pine woods are typical of the area. Quite a usual matter (at least in Finnish nature) all of a sudden seems much more intriguing and rare, since one suggests there is something scientific about it, something that could interest even biologists. Therefore it might be worth seeing for a common person, too.

However, one can also see the choice of using scientific terminology as a means of targeting the text to persons interested in natural science. As the Latin names probably are not important for the common reader, it may be that the writers are actually trying to appeal to researchers. They would certainly know what the terminology means and perhaps even get interested in looking at the place more closely. One can thus wonder whether the choices reflect the target group of the text or the fact that one tries to represent the issues as intriguingly as possible. Moreover, the writers may have just wanted to add something special in the text and thus make it more versatile, without even thinking about the effects those choices may have.

On Jyväskylä's website, too, one can find a few nouns that may be somewhat unfamiliar to certain people.

Example 62: Internationally Jyväskylä is perhaps best known for the architecture of Alvar Aalto, for the world championship rally "Neste Rally Finland" and for Graphica Creative, an internation triennale for graphic art.
Jyväskylä is one of Finland's five centres of growths. Special expertise can be found in the fields of paper manufacturing and paper machinery as well as energy production, environmental, information and welfare technology.

Unless one is, at least in some way, acquainted with art, the word *triennale* will probably tell him/her nothing. However, because of the formulation of the clause, the word is not crucial in understanding the meaning of the whole clause. The reader probably will not stop pondering this particular word but continues reading further as s/he realises it has something to do with art.

Although one can argue that *triennale* belongs to another register, that of art books or other similar sources, having a single different noun phrase does not affect the register of the whole text and therefore the reader may not pay very much attention to it. A little later, other noun phrases belonging to a different register (perhaps business terminology) occur when *environmental, information and welfare technology* are described as an essential field of special expertise in Jyväskylä. Especially *welfare technology* is such a term that very likely only few people know what it actually means. However, as it is only a part of a longer list, one has not put any special emphasis on it. It is not essential to know the term exactly, the list itself implies that there are several fields of expertise in Jyväskylä. Nevertheless, there is also a case where the use of less familiar terminology is in a more crucial position.

Example 63: The Human Technologies Centre Agora focuses on developing human-centered information technology and creates new kind of interaction between high-level research, education, enterprises and the local community.

Human technology is another concept of business and scientific terminology that does not tell the average reader very much. Yet it is considered so important that one has introduced it as a part of general information. What might be the reason for this? One obvious explanation is that Agora is considered such an important factor in creating good reputation that it needs to be included in here, too. However, it is possible to look at the choice from another angle. Perhaps such special vocabulary is included because the terms sound very convincing in the ears of a person ignorant of such a field. Even though one does not know exactly what it means, it creates a feeling of a progressive and modern town. Having too many difficult concepts on the page would probably make it too complicated for the common reader, but as there are only a few of them, it is indeed possible to see them as adding to the attractiveness of the place.

Repetition and semantic networks

Besides using difficult or unfamiliar nouns, nouns and noun phrases can become important in another sense, too. Repetition and words belonging to the same semantic network are one way of contributing to the desired image. Examples of this can be found on Oulu's website. For instance, words such as *gateway* and *link* are used a few times. These are all metaphors, since in reality a town cannot function as a concrete gateway, for instance. The use of these metaphors, however, suggests that there is a desire to portray the town as a mediator. As a *gateway* and *link* it brings together all the other parties, as if they would not have any contact with each other without Oulu.

Another set of words representing the same semantic category include *centre of competence*, *growth centre*, *high technology* and *high level*. All these very clearly promote Oulu as a progressive town with versatile knowledge. This description is, nevertheless, in no way surprising, since Oulu is often described one of the centres of competence in Finland. This is clearly a positive aspect of Oulu and thus it seems only natural to convey this image to the foreigners, too. It is worth making oneself unique and for Oulu the key for that seems to be the amount of versatile competence in the town.

The general information sections of other towns and municipalities do not contain as clear semantic networks as Oulu's does. Only the text on Jyväskylä's web pages includes four mentions of different centres, i.e. *centre*, *centres of growth*, *skiing centre* and *city centre*. The two first are more metaphorical expressions, but the latter two are, however, actual 'centres', and thus they not do not refer to the whole town. Yet one can argue that the repetition of the word *centre* conveys a feeling of importance, a sense that one can find many important things in Jyväskylä.

Moreover, Jyväskylä, Oulu and Kemijärvi have made an interesting choice since they call themselves *cities*. Jyväskylä and Oulu constantly do this whereas Kemijärvi uses *city* only once in the title and utilises *town* in other occasions. Kerava, in turn, has decided to use *town*. According to Collins

English Dictionary (2000), *city* refers to "any large town or populous place" whereas *town* is "a densely populated urban area, typically smaller than a city and larger than a village, having some local powers of government and a fixed boundary". What is thus the intriguing part is that one can argue whether Jyväskylä, Oulu and especially Kemijärvi are places of such size that they could be defined as cities. Kemijärvi obviously has doubted this itself and has refrained from using the term after the title, but why not use town there, too? Does *city* perhaps sound more appealing than *town* and captures the reader's attention? It may be that the use of *city* implies that the place perhaps has more to offer than a smaller town does. Using *city* may also reflect the desire to otherwise distinguish the place from smaller ones. However, one also needs to take in to account the possibility that the writer does not know the difference between the two terms. Whatever the reason is, calling a place *city* definitely defines it much more grand than just a regular town.

In sum, the nouns and noun phrases used on the web pages are rather everyday-type. Naturally, this may relate to the fact that anyone must be able to read the texts published on the WWW. Although some less common words are used, they are usually in a minor position as far as understanding the meaning of the whole sentence is concerned. Semantic networks, although quite rarely utilised, and also some evaluative nouns seem to be useful in emphasising certain characteristics of the town. Only a few times (mainly on Kemijärvi's website) such noun phrases are used that the whole register of the text changes.

7.5.3 The use of pronouns we and our

On the web pages of public organisations, the use of the personal pronoun *we* can be seen as one means of making the text more intimate. It creates the feeling of unity, since *we* usually refers to a group of people somehow belonging together. Thus, whereas a proper noun is a very neutral expression, by replacing it with a pronoun *we*, one can add human characteristics to the clause. It is not just a faceless organisation saying something, but a group of actual people. If one states, for instance, that 'we can offer you the best time of

your life', the use of *we* can be seen as an implication that all the inhabitants think that way. The use of the pronoun thus creates the impression of a group of real people. Instead of referring to a town by its name, the use of the pronoun *we* clearly creates a different impression of the place in question. Of course, using *we* is just a choice made by the writer(s) and no one could ever be completely certain whether everyone truly thinks that way. In fact, one can also argue that *we* can be used as an 'institutional we', not referring to all the inhabitants but, for instance, the people working for the town. However, it very much depends on the context whether *we* can be interpreted as an institutional one or not. For example, people working for the town cannot really promise to offer the visitor the best time of her/his life, since there is probably a great deal of other people (in shops, hotels etc.) influencing that. Thus, using *we* includes perhaps not each and every inhabitant in the town, but at least those that will be in contact with those who go there.

Overall, the websites studied do not contain many pronouns referring to the town or municipality. Usually one either repeats the name of the place or calls it a town or municipality. However, there are a couple of exceptions, since Kerava and Soini use the prounoun *we* instead of calling itself by name.

Example 64: We have space enough for a centre that forms a nucleus reminiscent of larger towns, yet still have verdant parks and residential areas with lush gardens and paths. (KERAVA)

Example 65: In the 1980's the processing industries expanded to the metal and graphics industries but in the 1990's the industries have started to decline due to a prolonged depression in Finland. However, in recent years we have been able to get a few new jobs in these industries. (SOINI)

Example (64) portrays the whole town as a community of people. Although literally the citizens do not own the town, yet in this example it is implied so. It is presented as if the town was a family welcoming the visitors to enjoy the facilities available. If one would replace *we* with, for instance, the name Kerava, the impression would be quite different. There would be a certain amount of detachment in the expression, but, one can argue, at the same time also a degree of neutrality. This is due to the fact that by using *we*, the authors directly state that they live in Kerava, too, and thus the reader can doubt their impartiality when describing the area. The utilisation of the name of the town,

in contrast, would have implied that perhaps they are outsiders, who are just neutrally presenting the characteristics of the town. Kerava, though, seems to want to create a sense of intimacy and thus it uses the pronoun *we* instead of more neutral alternatives.

Example (65) from Soini's website is somewhat different. One is not talking about the municipality itself, but discussing the problems of the wood processing industries. As such it is rather exceptional that negative issues are brought up in a text like this. Nevertheless, what is interesting is that, as one has been able to improve the situation, the pronoun *we* is used. The processing industries probably have nothing in common with the municipality and thus one can argue it has not influenced the creation of new jobs in any way. Why say "we have been able to get a few new jobs…"? It seems as though the municipality would like to take some of the credit for making new jobs. And of course, that would be favourable to them, since that way the municipality would be seen as actively developing itself. Alternatively, the use of the pronoun may not refer to the activeness of the municipality at all. Instead, it may just refer to the fact how all the inhabitants (*we*) benefit from those new jobs. In small municipalities each job available is very valuable and thus one wants to emphasise their meaning to the citizens. In a small place the sense of unity is quite easily created and the use of the pronoun may also refer to the fact that all the inhabitants have been hoping for new jobs.

On Kerava's website one also uses the first person plural possessive pronoun *our*.

Example 66: Welcome to <u>our</u> modern and verdant town, which <u>can</u> boast more pedestrian-cycle paths than any other town in Finland.

The possessive pronoun creates the impression that the citizens actually own the place. One usually calls something his/her own only if it really belongs to him/her. Calling a whole town one's own is thus a fairly strong assertion. It is implied as if the citizens can decide what the town looks like, for instance. In addition, there is a suggestion that the whole town is a united one and the inhabitants collectively own the place. After all, it is *our modern and verdant*

town. It seems as though all the citizens share the same view of Kerava. What one probably is after is that the reader would see the town as a friendly place where the citizens want to do their best to get the visitors feel welcome.

As can be seen, there are only a couple of cases where the pronoun *we* is utilised. When thinking about the reason for this, one possible reason may be that the authors of the web pages have decided to retain the neutral way of describing the towns and municipalities. In addition, if they would use the pronoun *we*, they could not be sure whether all the citizens would really agree with the things they say. An important consideration in the creation of an image of a public organisation is that all the topics are based on facts. One cannot include lies if the reader will later find out that actually they were not true in the first place. Including statements that are not accurate would very likely just cause negative publicity and affect the image unfavourably. It is thus better to stick to the truth and express the issues in a more neutral way (i.e. by the use of proper nouns).

In conclusion, pronouns are used rarely on the web pages. Thus, one can argue that the rare cases are even more effective in bringing the text (and the town/municipality) closer to the reader. Uses of *we* and *our* create a sense of unity and ownership and therefore contribute to establishing a certain image of the town.

7.6 Pragmatic aspects of linguistic representation

The last section of the analysis deals with pragmatic aspects of linguistic representation, i.e. one looks at the ways in which modality is used in the web texts as well as how the reader is directly addressed in them.

7.6.1 Modality

Modality can be expressed by using modal auxiliaries, such as *can*, *may* and *must*. (Greenbaum & Quirk (1999:60–61). There are, however, also other

means for doing it, since Downing & Locke (1995:383–384) introduce a list that includes, for example, lexical verbs (e.g. *allow*), modal adjectives (*possible*) and even particular intonation in speech. The main interest in this study, though, is the use of modal auxiliaries. Downing and Locke (1995:382) argue that every time one states a declarative clause, a decision needs to be made whether to use a categorical statement or utilise modalising. Using, for instance, *may* in *It may be raining*, the person avoids making a categorical statement (e.g. *It is raining)* and committing her/himself completely to the truth of the proposition. In fact, Downing & Locke (1995:382) say that by modalising one either makes as assessment or expresses a judgement of the truth of the situation.

According to Greenbaum & Quirk (1999:60), the meanings of the modal auxiliaries can be further distinguished into two types, that is, intrinsic (also called deontic) and extrinsic (epistemic) modality. The first one expresses permission, obligation and volition whereas the second one stands for possibility, necessity and prediction. Moreover, Downing & Locke (1995:383) mention that in deontic modality, one "intervenes in a speech event" whereas in epistemic modality the contents of the clause are commented on. Greenbaum & Quirk (1999:60), however, argue that these two types do not shut out one another, since all the modal auxiliaries can have both deontic and epistemic meanings.

The clauses in the web texts of the present study are very often categorical assertions, since one rarely uses modal auxiliaries. On a website the writer is responsible for the contents and can thus include only those pieces of information that support the image desired. This may also be the reason for not having much modality. The issues that are presented are pure facts and thus the writer does not have to express any kind of hesitation in committing her/himself to the truth of the proposition.

On the whole, there are only four clauses which entail modal auxiliaries. These can be found on the pages of Jyväskylä and Kerava (see also Example (33), page 76 and Example (66), page 101).

Example 67: Special expertise can be found in the fields of paper manufacturing and paper machinery as well as energy production, environmental, information and welfare technology.
Example 68: In Jyväskylä art as a hobby can be started even before school age and continued until a professional qualification is attained.

As one immediately notices, *can* is the only modal auxiliary utilised on the web pages. According to Greenbaum & Quirk (1999:60), *can* expresses either possibility, ability or permission. As these examples illustrate, the modal auxiliaries on the web pages represent the first two of these. They do not weaken the message conveyed in any way, but as, for instance, Example (68) shows, express that, if wanted, the reader is able to take interest in art. Examples (33), (67) and (68) are thus quite clearly instances of epistemic modality. Example (66), however, is a more problematic case. The use of c*an* seems to express ability and, as far as the definitions by Greenbaum & Quirk (1999:60) are concerned, neither deontic nor epistemic modality is described to express ability. However, Downing & Locke (1995:389) define the different types of modality more accurately and according to them, ability is expressed through intrinsic (i.e. deontic) modality. In fact, Downing & Locke (1995:393) further suggest that one can express intrinsic possibility, ability and permission by the modal auxiliaries *can/could* and *may/might*. Thus, one can argue that Example (66) is actually an instance of intrinsic modality.

The use of only few modal auxiliaries on the web pages contributes to the creation of positive images. As the reader might consider modality an indication of hesitation (i.e. the writer is not totally committed to the truth of what is being said), it is avoided in the texts, since one does not want to present issues that might be, for instance, uncertain. Thus the towns and municipalities rely on categorical statements. However, one can question whether modality would actually harm the place or perhaps even suggest a more positive picture of it. After all, that way the place would imply it has not only used information that is sure to be beneficial for it. This, in turn, could be seen as an indication of openness and willingness to tell things the way they are. Nevertheless, the contents of the web pages may also affect the rarity of the modal auxiliaries. As one publishes, for instance, information about the number of inhabitants

(Oulu: *In January 2003 the city had 124 588 inhabitants*), modality is not needed because of the factual contents. After all, it would convey a rather vague picture of the town if one used, for instance, *may* in the sentence ('In January 2003 the city may have had 124 588 inhabitants.') The initial impression would be as if the town was not even able to keep a record of the people living in the area. Hence, it seems obvious that the type of information strongly influences the use of modality on the web pages.

In sum, modal auxiliaries are very rarely used on the web pages. By not modalising their statements, the writers indicate that they are behind every word that is said and thus the texts are full of categorical assertions. One must, however, bear in mind that the selection of material on the websites is one possible reason for the moderate use of modality, since the writers are able to discard, for example, unfavourable information.

7.6.2 Direct address to the reader

Addressing the reader directly is one key element in involving him/her in the text. As Luzón Marco (2002:47) sees it, there are certain components on the corporate web pages that aim at giving a feeling of being at "home". In addition, their goal is to indicate that the company wants to do its best as far as the customers' needs are concerned. Luzón Marco (2002:47) does not, however, explain more carefully what she means by conveying the feeling of being at "home", but gives examples of the components having that capability. In her view, these elements are a part of strengthening the relationship between the reader and the company and it can be done, for example, by including thank you notes, welcome messages as well as contact information on the web pages. Among others, feedback to customers and even a possibility to customise the web pages is mentioned. (Luzón Marco 2002:47–48.) Particularly the first two elements, however, are of interest in the present study, since one can argue that by using, for instance, welcome messages one makes a direct contact to the reader. It can be argued that such components make the text more intimate, since the reader is invited to be involved in the issues. Although Luzón Marco

(2002) concentrates on corporate web pages, similar observations can also be made on the pages of public organisations. If one wants to make contact to the reader, the easiest way to do this is to address him/her directly.

The addressing of the reader, however, seems to vary on the web pages of towns and municipalities. In Kemijärvi text, the reader is directly addressed only once. This is the title of the text, which says:

Example 69: Welcome to the city of Kemijärvi

Direct address appeals to the reader right away and makes the place seem warm and welcoming. It is also worth noticing that the text on Kemijärvi's website welcomes the reader to Kemijärvi, not to the websites. Thus the writer has assumed that the reader will be a person coming to Kemijärvi in the (near) future and not just someone reading the pages out of curiosity. Welcoming people to Kemijärvi is a straightforward wish to have more people come to the area. In fact, as the text starts with such an expression, one automatically assumes that next s/he will receive only positive information about the town. Welcoming someone is a polite act, but clearly a promotional one, too. Therefore it seems natural that the rest of the text will also emphasise the best aspects of the area and strive to convince the reader that it really is worth coming to the town. An interesting detail is that, if one looks at the Kemijärvi pages in Finnish, a similar expression of welcoming cannot be found anywhere. It seems thus rather obvious that the English pages are aimed at tourists or occasional visitors.

Even though the opening line of the page might suggest something else, no more direct addresses to the reader are made in the Kemijärvi text. There is, however, one more indirect way of including the reader (the use of *one* in a passive construction), which was already dealt with when discussing Example (42) (on page 80). This lack of direct address is quite surprising when considering the beginning of the text. Nevertheless, one possible reason for this may be that the writers may have strived to create a neutral and detached style. The goal of text may well be that the reader unconsciously picks out the

positive sides of Kemijärvi and visits the place, without being directly persuaded into doing it (e.g. 'Come and visit Kemijärvi.') If the writer used a high number of direct addresses in the text, it might have the effect that the tone becomes too persuasive. The reader might perhaps feel that s/he is being manipulated and refuses the encouragement to do what is suggested.

Kerava's text, on the other hand, addresses the reader much more often. There are three direct addresses to the reader and two somewhat more indirect ways of addressing. The first case takes place already in the headline, which, similarly to Kemijärvi's web page, welcomes the reader to Kerava. As browsing through the town's websites is not the same as visiting the place itself, there is a strong assumption that the reader will be travelling to Kerava. The intended reader is thus someone not living in the area. In fact, this interpretation is supported by the observation made when comparing the Finnish and the English versions of the website. In the Finnish version the opening headline welcomes the reader to the web pages of Kerava. There is, hence, a clear difference between the two implied readers. The one reading Finnish is assumed to be a person living in Kerava, since s/he needs not to be welcomed there. Thus, also the information that the person is looking for is probably quite different compared to that of a random visitor. One can therefore make certain assumptions about the contents of the whole pages just by looking at the titles. It is also possible that the English version contains more promotional language than the Finnish pages. After all, if one is looking for information concerning the meetings of the city council (provided only in Finnish), it is not very likely to find promotional language on those pages.

Welcoming the reader continues also in Example (66) (page 101). The impact here is the same as in the headline, making the reader feel a wanted visitor. Perhaps the repetition even emphasises the influence, but at least it is a convenient way to begin the text. As for the rest of the text, the reader is not addressed in a direct manner until towards the end of the text (see Example 43, page 80). It seems as though after describing the place otherwise, the writer wants to guarantee that the reader gets a positive impression of the place and wants to visit it. Thus by targeting one's words directly to the person reading

the text, the writer aims at establishing a connection between the town and the reader.

The indirect ways of including the reader in the text are similar to that of Kemijärvi's page. Kerava utilises *you* in Example (33) (see page 76) and thus creates the impression that it is just the person reading the text who is being referred to. The text is clearly not a detached one. As was already mentioned before, the reader is given the choice to involve him/herself in the actions taking place.

The texts of Haukipudas, Oulu and Soini, in contrast, contain no direct addresses to the reader. The reader is not included in any way, not even in a more indirect way, such as the use of *you* in passive constructions. This can be seen as an indication of a wish to stay neutral and not rely on persuasive strategies. As the reader is not given any special position in the text, it is totally up to him/her to make his/her mind about the place based on the information given. Alternatively, as in Oulu's case, the writer(s) may have decided to use other means for persuasion (for instance, the use of adjectives). However, there is yet another way of looking at the matter. At least as far as the web pages of smaller places are concerned, one needs to take into account also the resources in designing the pages. For instance, compared to the Finnish version of Soini's websites, the English version is just a very short piece of text. It seems that one has not put very much emphasis on the English version and thus there may not even be a persuasive goal for the English page. In addition, the writer(s) of the text may not be that familiar with the conventions of writing either persuasive or web texts. Judging the text as detaching the reader may thus not even be a conscious decision, but just a coincidence.

Jyväskylä's web page which contains general information about the town includes no indications of direct address either. One does not wish the reader welcome or encourage him/her to visit the place, for instance. Thus there are no obvious marks of trying to influence the reader. In addition, the more indirect ways of addressing the reader are also rare. For example, *you* is never used in passive constructions. Such choices could have easily made the text

more intimate, since the reader would feel the issues truly concern him/her, too. Example (68) (see page 104) is a good example of this kind of a case. The writer has chosen to use the passive construction and thus made the text quite detached. There is no mention of the person who might be interested in such a hobby, and instead, the hobby itself has been positioned as the subject of the clause. This is rather surprising, since, for example, by saying 'In Jyväskylä you can start…', the writer would have taken the reader into account and offered him/her personally the possibility to have art as a hobby. Of course, the initial message of the clause would be the same in both cases, but the sense of personal involvement would be significantly different. One can argue that perhaps, as Jyväskylä uses, for instance, very evaluative adjectives, the writers have considered it too dangerous to use also direct address to the reader. Too much persuasive language might backfire, since the readers would consider the text too influential.

However, the special characteristics of web texts become clear in Jyväskylä's case. Even though the page containing general information does not utilise direct address, the previous page containing the link to general information (the opening page of a section called *Visiting*) contains several cases of direct address. There the writers, for example, wish the reader welcome to Jyväskylä and also utilise the pronoun *you* (e.g. "you can enjoy the beautiful Finnish nature…") It is therefore worth noticing that web texts are fragmented and this Jyväskylä example shows that they can also vary enormously in style. This detail, however, sets the neutrality of the general information section in Jyväskylä's web page into quite another light. It is no longer necessary for the writers to persuade the reader in that part of the page, since it has already been done earlier. It also seems logical from the point of view of the construction of the web pages. When a person comes to the section called *Visiting*, it is perhaps best to appeal to him/her right away, get him/her interested in the issue. Only after that one will look at the other links on the page and find the general information section. When one goes to look at it, s/he is already somewhat involved in the business and perhaps needs not be persuaded that heavily. This might also be a possible reason for the relative neutrality of the web page investigated.

As for directly addressing the reader, there seems to be no pattern on the different web pages. Some use it (occasionally), others do not. Overall, direct address has not been used very extensively, but what it often shows is that the texts are aimed at tourists, not the inhabitants. Direct address can thus be seen as an implication of promotional discourse, since citizens hardly need to be persuaded anymore. However, using it too much might make the texts too obviously persuasive and thus this might be one reason for the moderate use of direct address.

8 Discussion

At times I faced certain problems when conducting the analysis of the present study. It is worth bringing them out, too, since they illustrate that linguistic analysis is never black-and-white. Thus, in this section I will first discuss these problems and then the findings of the present study.

8.1 Difficulties in analysing the texts

Difficult and non-idiomatic English clause structures sometimes make it difficult to understand a text. In addition, one can argue that also analysing a text is not always very simple because of the odd choices of language. For instance, transitivity analysis of the web pages was occasionally rather difficult because the texts contain awkward constructions. For instance, sometimes it feels as if one had made a direct translation from Finnish to English and not realised such constructions cannot be used in English. The language used is thus not idiomatic English and therefore it is also difficult to understand the meaning of the verb. One needs to look at the sentence from the point of view of Finnish and try to deduct what the writer has probably meant by it. It is therefore challenging to determine the type of the process in transitivity analysis. An example of these difficult sentences can be found, for instance, on Oulu's web page.

Example 70: A significant amount of high technology has been concentrated in the area.

When examining the verb, it remains unclear whether the writer approaches the matter from a concrete or abstract point of view. That is, does s/he refer to, for instance, concrete buildings that have been built in the area or just the idea that there is a great deal of business involving high technology in Oulu? Is the clause then a material or relational one? It is not obvious whether the process deals with doing or being. These kinds of cases are rather problematic when conducting transitivity analysis and perhaps also when reading the text.

In certain cases the problem concerns not only the processes, but the whole message of the clause remains unclear because of strange language use. Kerava's web page contains a perfect example of this.

Example 71: There is a feeling here that the joy of doing your own thing is no less important than guest stars.

No matter how many times the reader looks at this sentence, it is bound to remain a mystery to her/him. If one would have to guess, there may be some Finnish sentence behind this, but the translation has failed. One can only wonder what kind of consequences these kinds of clauses have. If one does not even understand what is being said, there is a great possibility that the reader will even discard the text as an impossible one to read. In addition, if the text contains a great deal of mistakes, it may imply that the town or municipality has not put enough effort in designing the web pages and thus underestimates the reader. At least one can question whether such cases create a positive image for the town/municipality. After all, inaccuracies imply that the town/municipality is not perhaps able to function properly, since it cannot even produce correct texts.

8.2 The findings of the present study

The findings of the present study show that the ways in which towns and municipalities represent themselves on the web vary quite significantly. Thus, one cannot construct any common framework that would describe the linguistic choices made on each web page. However, it is possible to make observations of the range of linguistic choices.

As for verbs, the towns and municipalities examined represent themselves mainly by using relational and material processes. The third main process type suggested by Halliday (1994), mental processes, is much less used. Thus, one can argue that mental experiences and sensations are not part of introducing a town or a municipality on the WWW. One both disseminates information and persuades the reader by using the first two process types. Relational processes

describe the place and state what it is like whereas material ones tell what is actively done in the towns and municipalities. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, though, the places themselves are not represented as the dynamic ones, but the readers and other participants, such as nature are activated.

An important observation was that a novel process type was used on the web pages. This was called a seemingly material process, since it resembles a regular material process, but being metaphorically used, it is not quite similar to that. It is therefore questionable whether the process types Halliday (1994) suggests manage to cover all the different cases of using verbs. It seems as though Halliday (1994) concentrates on the literal meanings of the verbs, but does not take into account the metaphorical point of view. Of course, this aspect may not be crucial in every case, but at least when examining the web texts of the present study, this lack of taking into account the possible metaphorical uses of language turned out to be a major deficiency. In the texts examined the metaphorical material processes were very likely used for enlivening the texts and thus their actual significance could not have been properly dealt with if one had not set a new process type.

Introducing and also promoting the different aspects of the place is a major goal for the towns and municipalities. Adjectives are a convenient way to do that and the towns and municipalities use factual (e.g. denominal and objectively evaluative adjectives) and subjectively evaluative adjectives for that purpose. Naturally, subjectively evaluative ones are most obviously promoting the place and persuading the reader, but as some places use them very moderately or not at all, the use of adjectives is not only about establishing as positive image as possible. They can also be used for describing the town/municipality more objectively. Comparative forms of adjectives, in turn, are useful in representing the place in relation to other towns or municipalities.

As adjectives, also nouns and noun phrases are sometimes used for emphasising certain characteristics of the town. This is done by using evaluative nouns, repetition and semantic networks. However, the most

important observation as far as the nouns and noun phrases are concerned is that the towns and municipalities use fairly simple words. Almost anyone with some skills in English is able to read the web pages, since the noun phrases are not particularly strange or difficult. Another indication of the simplicity of representation on the web pages is the sentence structure on the web pages. Even the subordinated sentences are relatively easy to understand. Thus, the towns and municipalities represent themselves so that the reader is not discouraged by the difficult or complex linguistic choices.

Although the towns and municipalities try to appeal to the reader by using, for example, certain adjectives and nouns, one can also find signs of detachment on the web pages. For instance, the use of pronouns is in a rather minor role on the web pages. At least the towns and municipalities of this study mainly use their name when referring to themselves and thus they retain a certain amount of detachment. However, *we* and *our* are utilised a few times and thus a different, perhaps a more united, image of the place is created.

Detachment is also conveyed by a pragmatic aspect of the texts, that is, the moderate use of direct address to the reader. The towns and municipalities seem to avoid having too much direct contact with the reader, perhaps because they would be too obvious in trying to appeal to the reader and even please her/him. However, those times that direct addressing is used, it shows that the texts are aimed at tourists, thus making the text a promotional one. It is, nevertheless, worth keeping in mind that only one sub-page of certain websites was examined in this study and thus the amount of direct address to the reader may be misleading. Being fragmented, web pages may include different kinds of texts and therefore also direct address could perhaps be found on other sub-pages. Thus, although this data showed signs of detachment, other kinds of findings are possible, too.

Another pragmatic feature, the rare use of modality is what makes the texts sound very certain. Of course, there are issues on the web pages which are undisputable facts and thus one could not even include modal auxiliaries into such sentences. However, categorical statements of issues that are clearly

matters of opinion are much more intriguing. After all, the lack of modality invites the reader to see these matters as objective truths. Thus, one can argue that the towns and municipalities avoid using modality in order to be more attractive. The only times modality is utilised are such that modality expresses possibility or ability to do something. Hence, the careful use of modality definitely aims at creating a positive image. This is, however, not surprising, since the writers are able to publish whatever material they like and negative information is bound to be discarded. Representing one's weaknesses is thus not a part of the web pages of public organisations.

In sum, one could claim that the towns and municipalities try to balance between being informative and promotional. There are signs of both straightforward appeal and then on the other hand, of detachment, a desire to stay somewhat neutral. Of course, each place makes its own decisions of what to include on the pages and thus the final outcomes are rather different in each case. This is very easily noticed when looking at the topics introduced on the websites, too. The sections of general information contain rather dissimilar information. There is no common format for the web pages and although short introductions of the town or municipality are always included, otherwise each place represents itself as it wants. Naturally, this is also one way of guaranteeing the uniqueness of each web page. If there was a single framework each of the towns and municipalities followed, the reader would probably very quickly find the pages too similar. It would be very difficult to distinguish one town/municipality from another and thus also the creation of a distinct image would become more challenging. Constructing unique web pages is thus an important means for painting a certain picture of the place, since that way one can emphasise those matters that are considered crucial in a particular town or municipality.

As has become clear, it is obvious that by publishing material in English on the WWW, each place actively takes part in building a certain image for itself among the non-Finnish speakers. Nevertheless, as this study concentrated on making general observations of the linguistic choices on the web pages, one cannot define any exact images for the towns or municipalities examined, since

the towns and municipalities have different means in pursuing the desired image. Others (such as Kerava) very openly emphasise the positive aspects of the town and take direct contact to the reader. At the same time they, however, risk being too obvious in painting a positive picture, since the reader may not believe all that is said and may even be irritated for being too openly persuaded. The goal of the town, however, seems rather obvious, creating an image of an attractive town which wants to make the people feel welcome. The other extreme is Soini's web page, where very few persuasive devices are used. One can, however, spot a different desire on Soini's web page. As wood processing industry is a fairly large topic on the website, the goal probably is not persuasion of the reader, but establishment of an image of a municipality which lives on forest industry. Overall, emphasising and repeating certain issues can be seen as an implication of trying to establish a certain picture of the place. For instance, semantic networks of nouns are a powerful means for doing this.

As for defining the target audience of the web pages, the analysis showed that there are certain features which clearly indicate that the pages are aimed at tourists. For instance, welcoming the reader to visit the place is a typical example of this. In addition, the types of topics introduced on the web pages are such that they do not interest a citizen. The choice of data, however, may have had an influence on this. As I examined only sub-pages containing general information (or similar, if such a page did not exist), the material might be somewhat unbalanced. Of course, some details (such as the area of the town) can also be checked by the citizens, too, but otherwise it would probably be other kinds of information an inhabitant would be interested in. Thus, in order to be able to define the target group of the English web pages more carefully, one ought to look at the whole pages, not just one sub-page.

However, it is worth paying attention to the fact that some of the web pages analysed (those of Soini and Haukipudas) consist of only one page in English. As so little information is included in the pages, one can even question whether the English page benefits anyone very much. At least it can be seen as an indication that the needs of foreign readers have not been considered very

thoroughly when designing the web pages. As both of these municipalities are fairly small, this may be due to the fact that there are not many foreign inhabitants or even visitors in the municipality and thus information is not needed in English. However, another reason may be the resources, since not all the places have similar amount of money to invest in the websites. Although none of the towns/municipalities reported they did not have the money for designing more extensive web pages in English, still Haukipudas indicated that the local high school had produced the page in English. It seems that one has not even planned a more thorough English version. Thus, although one cannot be sure of the exact sums of cash, it seems that at least some of the places have not considered the English page worth spending much money.

The differences in the amount of money as well as human resources may also affect the linguistic choices on the web pages. For instance, the web pages studied contained certain awkward sentence structures which may be due to the lacking skills of the writer. For instance, a non-native and non-professional writer may produce language that may cause misunderstandings. What is worth noticing is that these kinds of issues may also affect the image of the place negatively. After all, it is not very flattering for the town/municipality to be judged negligent. If it is impossible for the place to compose a proper piece of text, the reader may not be convinced of its skills to provide other services either. Nevertheless, one must remember not to generalise too much, since not even the nationality of the writer explains all the cases. Namely, Kerava indicated that a native speaker of English had translated the text from Finnish and yet it contains one sentence that is not understandable. One can, however, argue that, although it might seem a tempting idea to have also English pages, it is worth evaluating whether one has the capability to design proper English pages. It is not reasonable to have the English pages just for the sake of having them, there ought to be some kind of a goal behind them. Especially problematic linguistic choices may in fact have the counter-effect and the English web page turns out to have a negative impact on the image. Moreover, having an English website may be considered as a sign of the trend of ‘being international’, but one can question whether, for example, one web page manages to convey that.

The analysis showed that the exact discourse type of the web pages is rather difficult to define. There are clear examples of promotional aims, but at the same time also more objective information is included. For instance, Soini's English web page contains no obvious signs of promotional discourse, but as was noticed in the analysis, for example, Jyväskylä's web page (see page 64) included information that first looks like neutral, but when examining it from another angle, a persuasive aim can also be found. It is therefore rather challenging to name only one genre for the web pages of public organisations. This observation is in accordance with what Luzón Marco (2002:50) says about corporate home pages. In her view, CHPs have both informative and persuasive goals. Although there is a great deal of information on the pages, it is such that a positive image of the company is created. (Luzón Marco 2002:50.) As Bhatia (2004:59) sees the communicative purposes of a text as a deciding factor when defining the genre, one can thus argue that web pages actually are a part of the genre colony of promotional genres that Bhatia (2004) introduces.

Yet it remains debatable whether the web pages are a central member of the colony, since Bhatia (2004:62) sees that, for example, company brochures are only a peripheral member of the colony of promotional genres because of the mixture of promotion, information and opinions. According to this opinion, web pages would obviously be a peripheral member, too, but I would also like point out that, as the analysis of the present study showed, the line between information and promotion is very thin. In fact, depending on the angle, a piece of text can be seen as either one. It is therefore worth arguing whether it is useful to make distinctions between central and peripheral members. It is obvious that web pages contain promotional material and thus they can be seen as part of promotional genres.

As was planned in the theoretical framework of this study, linguistic analysis was the main focus of this study. However, at this stage it is essential to consider the two other levels of discourse dealt with in the theory (see pages 21–22). Although discursive practices and the social level were not the main

interests in this study, one can argue they actually do have an impact on the representation of the towns and municipalities on the web pages, too. By discourse practices Faiclough (1995:16) refers to, for instance, the production and interpretation of texts. In the case of web pages, the medium of publication, the WWW, probably has an influence on the linguistic choices. As was noticed in the analysis, for example, relative simplicity is one of the key elements on the web pages studied. One cannot produce long and complicated texts, since anyone with an Internet access can read them and thus, for instance, the language skills of the reader cannot be known. Although no one monitors the material published on the WWW, one still needs to think about how to present issues if one, for instance, wishes to convey a certain image to the readers.

As for the social level, power relations are not perhaps the most obvious issue when considering representation. However, each of the linguistic choices made can actually be seen as a sign of exercising power, since the producer(s) of a web text decide what kind of material is published and how it is represented. The reader has to settle for what is told or look for other sources in order to find out more. Especially, negative or non-beneficial issues concerning the place are not present on the web pages. Of course, this is due to the desire to create a positive image, but at the same time it can be seen as deprivation of information. The reader, however, is perhaps accustomed to the idea that texts belonging to the promotional genres rarely contain unfavourable material and probably will not even miss that kind of material. Nevertheless, what is done is that the writer(s) select the information they think is best for the place and thus exercise their power in creating a certain image for the place.

9 Conclusion

When starting the present study, it quite soon became clear to me that there were not many previous studies directly related to mine. Although web pages had been studied earlier, examining representation with the help of discourse analysis seemed to be a rather novel way of approaching them. Thus, I could not find any exact method for my analysis, either, and had to construct an own one. As the features analysed in this study were selected based on an initial examination of the chosen web pages, they may not suit other studies as such. Depending on the selection of data, also other linguistic features might turn out crucial. However, I chose to study those linguistic aspects that seemed central in my own data and did not even try to build a general framework for studying representation on the WWW. As I managed to make observations of representation, the creation of image as well as the genre of the texts, I believe the choices I made were correct. If wanted, one could have easily concentrated only on making, for example, a detailed transitivity analysis of the web pages, but as I wanted to have a more versatile view on the texts, I decided to include other features in the analysis, too.

Apart from the extra work of constructing the method for the analysis, the new way of looking at the web pages turned out interesting. Web pages of public organisations were rather novel data and thus the findings of the present study are unique. The study was successful since I was able to point out certain features that are central in representing towns and municipalities in English on the web. Perhaps it is not possible to say anything conclusive about the status of English in Finland just by looking at the results of this study, but yet one is able to get a picture of the different ways of utilising English in Finland and on the websites of towns and municipalities. In addition, the strength of the study was that the data were versatile and I was thus able to see the differences in how dissimilar places represent themselves. Although the data of the study were limited to six web pages, I believe they quite well manage to represent the different types of web pages available.

Although answers to the research questions were found, there is always room for improvement and further studies. For instance, in order to make more extensive observations of the linguistic choices, one ought to study whole websites. The pages containing general information are not perhaps the best and most versatile representatives of the whole websites, because they are pages where one has gathered basic information about the place. It is thus possible that, for example, persuasion may be conducted elsewhere. This clearly is a weakness as far as the reliability of this study is concerned, but because of the scope of the study, limitations needed to be made. In further studies one could at least look at a few different texts on the same web page. In addition, one could also take into account the overall layout of the web pages and see if that adds something to the textual analysis. Furthermore, the influences of the discourse practices could be addressed, too. Although they were discussed also in this study, there is room for more thorough investigation of, for instance, the methods of producing web texts and their influences on the texts.

Moreover, as for the actual linguistic choices, a more detailed analysis of the possible features would perhaps be useful. For instance, adverbs could very well be a major factor in representing a certain place in other kind of data. The features investigated in this study are, thus, not an exhaustive list of the issues to be studied when looking at representation, but such that suited this data.

Although I chose to study places of different sizes and locations in Finland, it might also be interesting to look at the web pages of similar size. In this study, it became clear that very likely the resources in designing the English pages had an impact on the outcome. Thus, as for further study, one could choose towns or municipalities with similar circumstances as far as the money is concerned and see whether there is or is not variation in representing issues then. Moreover, it would also be intriguing to look at the web pages of other public organisations and see whether they differ from those of the towns and municipalities. Comparisons between corporate web pages and those of the towns and municipalities could be informational about the amount of using

promotional features, i.e. exactly how much do the towns and municipalities use similar features as those organisations that aim at gaining financial benefit.

To get a full picture of the position of the English language in Finland, one could also examine the Finnish web pages and make comparisons of the two different versions. That way one would be able to take a look at the differences and similarities on the web pages and really see what the status of English is, that is, does one publish the same material in a similar manner both in Finnish and in English. Although English clearly has become a part of the web pages of Finnish towns and municipalities, the present study already suggests that the two languages are not used similarly in each case (e.g. English pages are not always very extensive) and thus it would be essential to take a more closer look at the phenomenon.

To conclude, judging by the findings of the present study, the use of English on the web pages still varies quite enormously. Although many towns and municipalities have realised the potential of having English web pages, it seems that one has not perhaps put all the possible effort into them. There definitely seems to be a need or at least a desire to be international, i.e. offer information in other languages than Finnish, but for instance the resources may set certain limitations to that wish. Overall, to get the best out of the English web pages, one ought to put serious effort into them and design websites that truly suit the needs of the possible readers.

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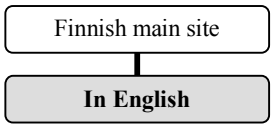
Appendices

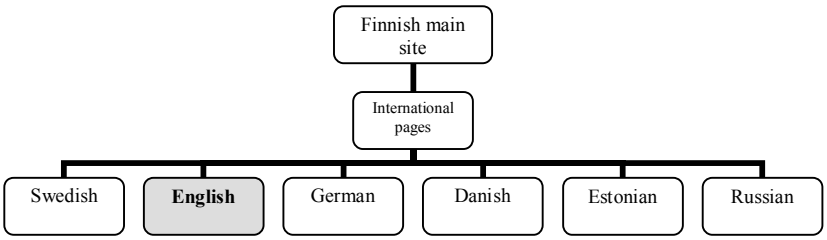
APPENDIX 1

Diagrams of the web pages examined

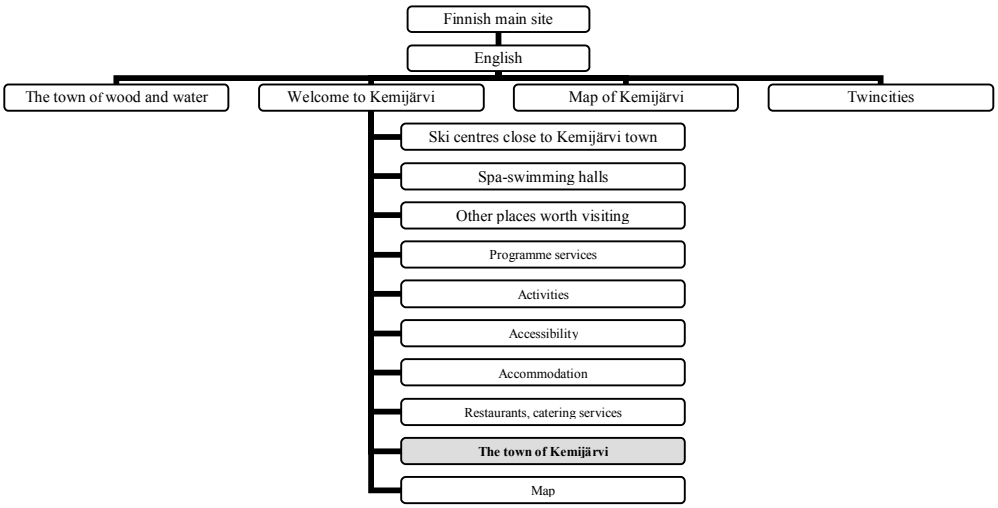
Haukipudas



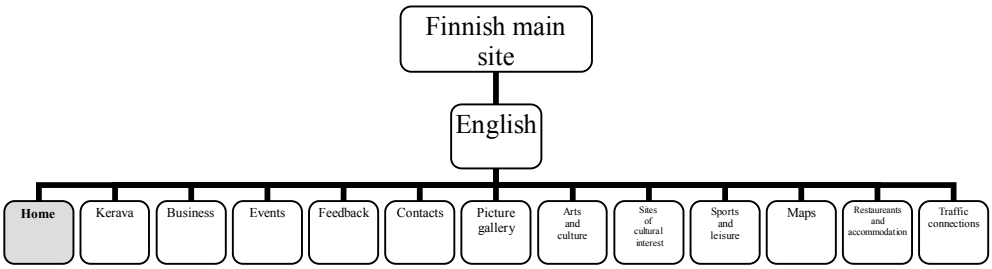
Soini



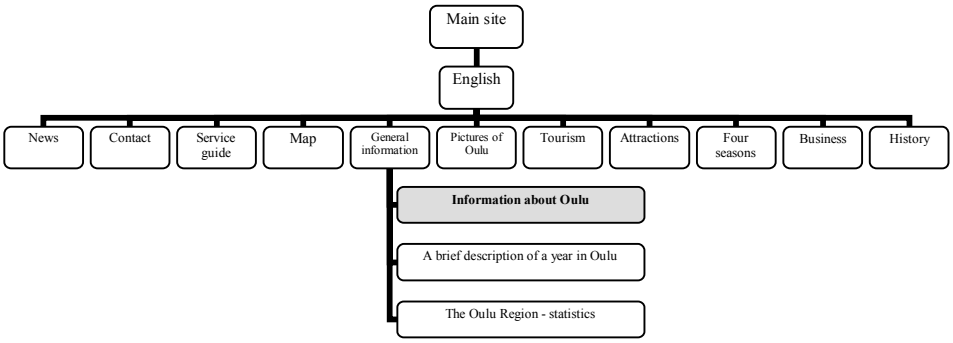
Kemijärvi



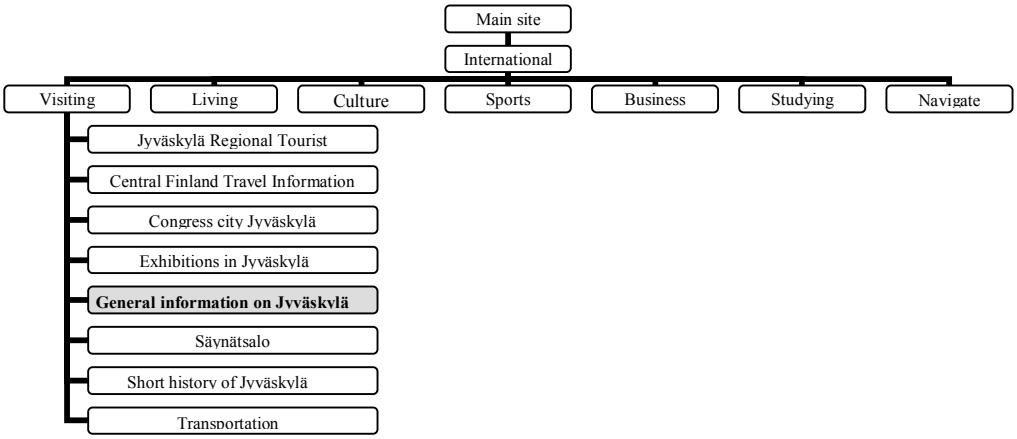
Kerava



Oulu



Jyväskylä



APPENDIX 2

The texts examined in the study

HAUKIPUDAS – IN ENGLISH

- Haukipudas - The second biggest in Oulu region

Haukipudas is an active municipality situated by the Gulf of Bothnia, with the river Kiiminkijoki flowing through its area. Nature is varied here offering beautiful views of the sea, river, forests and marshes, together with excellent possibilities for fishing, hunting and other outdoor activities.

The first inhabitants settled in the Haukipudas area over 4000 years ago most of them being fishermen from the southern parts of Finland.

The municipality of Haukipudas itself was founded in 1866. Nowadays the number of inhabitants is about 16000 and it is constantly growing. About 60 % of the working population are in service trades, 36 % in industry and only 1,5 % in primary production. The nearest town is Oulu (120000 inhabitants), a major technological centre in northern Finland.

Many people come here to see the river Kiiminkijoki, which has been included in "Project Aqua", an international programme for the protection of waterways, and the beautiful wooden church dating back to 1762.

SEWPER PROJECT

As a purpose of the Sewper project was to create an alternative waste disposal model for sparsely populated cool temperature regions. It is a challenge especially in northern periphery where cool climate and long distances make the solving of the waste management extremely difficult. Sewper project was funded to research solutions for this problem.

Partners and working groups:

The municipality of Haukipudas Finland (lead partner), The University of Highland and Islands Scotland, the municipality of Pajala Sweden and the municipality of Vefsn Norway.

The research was carried out in three working groups, each handling a special area of the project and each having a representative from every participating country. The working groups were: solid waste, liquid wastewater and social working group.

See the Sewper project final report.

OTHER LINKS:

- Haukipudas Industrial Estate Ltd
- Haukipudas High School

JYVÄSKYLÄ – GENERAL INFORMATION

The city of Jyväskylä was inaugurated as a town in 1837 and is located in the lake district of Central Finland. Today it is a bustling centre for business, education, sports and culture and has over 80 000 inhabitants. The Jyväskylä region - comprising of the city of Jyväskylä and four municipalities surrounding it - has over 140 000 inhabitants.

Jyväskylä is a school and university town with 38 000 students during the academic year, providing a diversity of educational offerings for people of all ages. The multi-disciplinary University of Jyväskylä and the Jyväskylä Polytechnic are among Finland's leading research and educational institutions with an increasing number of international students. More information on studying

Jyväskylä is home for a large variety of cultural activities such as concerts, festivals, museums and theatres. The Jyväskylä Arts Festival , which is the oldest on-going summer festival in Scandinavia, concentrates on non-verbal theatre. Jyväskylä is also a broad-based city of music with its own Symphony Orchestra as well as a children's music orchestra called Loiskis. In Jyväskylä art as a hobby can be started even before school age and continued until a professional qualification is attained. More information on culture

Every year several domestic and international congresses are held at the congress and trade fair centre, Jyväskylä Paviljonki. Internationally Jyväskylä is perhaps best known for the architecture of Alvar Aalto , for the world championship rally "Neste Rally Finland" and for Graphica Creativa, an international triennale for graphic art.

Jyväskylä is one of Finland's five centres of growth. Special expertise can be found in the fields of paper manufacturing and paper machinery as well as energy production, environmental, information and welfare technology. An important incubator for new business and companies is the Jyväskylä Science Park, combining newest research and development to the needs of business life. The Human Technologies Centre Agora focuses on developing human-centered information technology and creates new kind of interaction between high-level research, education, enterprises, and the local community. More information on business.

The landscape of Jyväskylä is varied with lakes, forests and hills within a walking distance of the city centre. The Laajavuori skiing centre and recreation area provides excellent opportunities for winter sports and other activities.

Lively pedestrian precinct and beautiful university campus right in the city centre are central places for different events.

The Jyväskylä region is easily reached by land and air: the distance of 270 kilometres from Helsinki takes only 35 minutes by plane and some 3 hours by car or by rail.

Facts about Jyväskylä:

founded in 1837
area 137 km2
inhabitants 82 000, 160 000 in the urban area
first class university and polytechnic
excellent self-sufficiency in terms of jobs
special expertise in paper manufacturing, information, energy, welfare technology and environmental technology

KEMIJÄRVI – THE TOWN OF KEMIJÄRVI

WELCOME TO THE CITY OF KEMIJÄRVI.

The town of Kemijärvi is East Lapland's service center and the northernmost town in Finland. The town is surrounded by the lakes Kemijärvi and Pöyliöjärvi, as well as the river Kemijoki, the largest river of Finland. The total area in Kemijärvi is 3 942,19 km² , 453 km² (11,5 %) of which is water.

The town of Kemijärvi is the centre of versatile services and culture: spa-swimming halls, culture centre, music school, 200 kilometres of officially marked snowmobile routes, 80 kilometres marked boat routes and five ski centres (Pyhä, Luosto, Suomu, Salla and Ruka) close to the town. Kemijärvi also has some very attractive events made by many firms and volunteers.

The town of Kemijärvi has a selection of hotel, cottage and youth hostel accommodation, and restaurant services to offer its visitors, as well as the Lapponia Hospital, banks, service stations, offlicence and shops.

The number of inhabitants is about 10 500 (3 / 2001), more than 60 % of them live in the centre or in the immediate surroundings. The density is 2,7 inhabitants / km².

MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD

Services 37%, industry 32%, business 8%, agriculture and forestry 5%, traffic 5%, others 13%.
Kemijärvi is the town of industry, agrobusiness, forestry and tourism. The modernized pulp factory of Stora Enso, the door factory of North East Wood,

as well as the high-tech firms of Salcomp and Polarcomp are some examples of international business in the town of Kemijärvi.

NEIGHBOURING MUNICIPALITIES

Rovaniemi municipality, Posio, Salla and Pelkosenniemi.

SISTER CITIES

Vardo / Norway, Vadso / Norway, Kantalahti / Russia and Sobetsu /Japan.

ACCESSIBILITY

By plain: Helsinki-Rovaniemi and Helsinki-Kuusamo daily. www.finnair.fi
By train: Helsinki -Kemijärvi (car)express train daily. Good bus connections from Rovaniemi railway station, too.
By bus: From Rovaniemi, Sodankylä, Kuusamo and Salla.
By car: Highway 5 (E75) Kuusamo-Kemijärvi and Sodankylä-Kemijärvi, main road 82 Rovaniemi-Kemijärvi, road 944 Ranua-Kemijärvi.

DISTANCE IN KILOMETRES

Rovaniemi 85, Ranua 137, Posio 148, Kuusamo 143, Sodankylä 110, Pelkosen-niemi 57, Savukoski 120, Salla 64, Pyhä 48, Luosto 72, Suomu 45, Ruka 111.

NATURE

Pine hills with waterways and wet lands are typical landscape in Kemijärvi. Two ridge chains run from the north-west to the south-east. Outitunturi, Peniöntunturi and Suomutunturi are fells over 400 m high. Pyhätunturi in the neighbouring municipality with five hill tops and deep gorges reaches the height of 540 m. There are about twenty hills with the height of more than 300 m.

BEDROCK AND SOIL

The most of the bedrock belongs to Central Lapland granite complex. Iron ore has been mined in the western part. There are many different rocks in Kemijärvi area. In the northern part the bedrock belongs to Central Lapland schist belt with volcanic rocks. Pyhätunturi is among the oldest mountains in the world, mainly composed of quartzite derived from the shoreline and sea-bottom sands of an ancient sea. Every now and then, one comes across pieces of stone with petrified wave formation on them. Soil is mainly boulder clay causing typical hilly land formations. The shore and sandbanks of the river Kemijoki are mostly grit, sand and silt.

WATERWAYS

Waterways are a part of the river Kemijoki, the biggest waterway system in Finland. Kemijärvi is the third biggest lake in the province of Lapland. Nearly twenty smaller rivers empty into the lake of Kemijärvi in the town's area. There are 396 five-hectare lakes and ponds in Kemijärvi. Kemijärvi is one of the best lakes for fishing a pike and the northenmost biotope for a pike-perch.

CLIMATE

The climate in Kemijärvi is continental with relatively warm summers and cold

winters. 40-50 % of rain falls on the ground as snow. Permanent snow cover falls in the middle of November and it disappears in the middle of May. The sea-son with ice and snow on the ground lasts for nearly 7 months. The season with 24 hours of sunshine, with the sun not setting at all, lasts for three weeks in June.

FLORA AND FAUNA

Geobothanically Kemijärvi belongs to the northern boreal zone. Empetrum-Vaccinium-type pine woods (= pine, crowberry and lingonberry) are typical of this area. Hylocomium-type open spruce tree woods are found in the east and in the north but there are only few birch tree woods in the whole area. More than ten protected areas can be found in Kemijärvi. Predators, e.g. wolves and bears are very rarely seen. Pyhätunturi National Park has a biodiversity of alpine habitats, rocky habitats, wet lands, aapa mires, woods, ponds, streams and groves. Vegetation is very rich giving shelter for different animals and hundreds of small birds.

KERAVA

WELCOME TO KERAVA

Welcome to our modern and verdant town, which can boast more pedestrian-cycle paths than any other town in Finland. Kerava is part of the greater metropolitan area, about 30 kilometres to the north from Helsinki. Travelling to Kerava by land, sea or air is quick and easy. Everything here is conveniently close at hand, so if you wish you can easily dash from one place to another by bike. We have space enough for a centre that forms a nucleus reminiscent of larger towns, yet still have verdant parks and residential areas with lush gardens and paths. Kerava has gained international recognition for the layout of its centre, the pedestrian shopping street, the pedestrian-cycle path network, as well as for the floral arrangements in its parks.

Opportunities for hobbies are almost boundless. The town is home to a flourishing and varied cultural life. There is a feeling here that the joy of doing your own thing is no less important than guest stars. Concerts and different events draw people during the summertime to the Aurinkomäki park in the centre of town.

Please feel welcome to visit and spend time here!

OULU – GENERAL INFORMATION

The city of Oulu was founded by the order of King Carl IX of Sweden at the mouth of the Oulu River in 1605. Oulu, which is located on the shore of the Gulf of Bothnia, has been the province's capital since 1776.

Oulu has the sixth largest population amongst Finnish towns. In January 2003 the city had 124 588 inhabitants. The area of Oulu is 411,1 square kilometres.

Coordinates: 65.01° N, 25.48° E
Elevation: 0 meters (0 feet)
Region: Oulu, Finland
Time Zone: East European Daylight Time (GMT + 2:00)

Oulu is led by a city board and council which are elected and which have representation from 7 political parties. The mayor of Oulu is Mr. Kari Nenonen. The chairman of the city council is Mr. Jorma Ypänaho and the chairman of the city board is Mr. Matti Pikkarainen.
▸Administrative organization of the City of Oulu
Oulu is considered northern Europe's most significant centre of competence. A significant amount of high technology ability has been concentrated in the area.

The city, which is the largest employer in the region, employs over 8,000 people. The inhabitants are provided with high level health and children's day care services. Oulu has also almost 100 different teaching establishments. The most significant of these is Oulu University which was founded in 1958.

The history of the internationalisation of the city of Oulu began as early as 1605 with the founding of the city. After the trading embargo in the Gulf of Bothnia was removed, trade became free and the sailing fleet of Oulu grew in the 1860's to be the largest in Finland.

Back then the most important exports from Oulu were furs, salmon and later also tar which was used throughout the world to protect wooden ships. Today the basic idea behind the city's international activities is to develop Oulu into the leading centre of competence for the entire northern Europe. The "tar" of the city of Oulu today, is internationally competitive high level know-how and ability.

Oulu has Finland's second largest university and many public and private research institutes. The region is well known for its rapidly growing high technology industry which sells its products throughout the world. The city is thus also an international growth centre.

Oulu is located on the Northern part of the Baltic Sea with good communication links to the largest European centres and its airport is the second busiest in Finland. In conclusion, the city is a natural gateway to the Euroarctic Barents region. The strong and well developed infrastructure of

Oulu offers flexible links both to Europe and to the Northern regions of North-West Russia.

Finland's decision to become a member of the European Union in 1994 was significant, both for Finland and for Oulu. To some extent membership has meant adaptation to supranational decision making and to common markets which offer Finnish industry growing production and export possibilities. Over the centuries, the operating environment in Oulu has changed but the basic situation has changed only slightly. The city has always been, and remains, a gateway to the North between East and West.

THE MUNICIPALITY OF SOINI

The municipality of Soini is situated in the eastern part of South Ostrobothnia, close to the border of the former provinces of Ostrobothnia and Central Finland; since 1997 in the province of West Finland. Soini belongs to a watershed region where the rivers and creeks flow in three different directions.

Most parts of Soini are more than 200 metres above sea level. The area of the municipality totals 573 sq km, of which about 20 sq km are inland waters. There are about 160 small ponds and lakes in Soini. Large forests and marshes are also typical of Soini.

31.10.2003 the population of Soini was 2683 people.

The wood processing industry in Soini began in the first half of the 20th century with the establishment of the first sawmill. In the 1980's the processing industries expanded to the metal and graphics industries but in the 1990's these industries have started to decline due to a prolonged depression in Finland. However, in recent years we have been able to get a few new jobs in these industries.

Different kinds of wood processing products have been exported from Soini for hundreds of years. For example, tar burning, a bygone use of forests, was an important means of livelihood in Soini. Throughout the era of wooden ships Finland was the world's most important tar producer. First there were tar boats and horse-drawn tar sleighs carrying barrels of tar from Soini to harbours on the western coast of the Gulf of Bothnia.

Nowadays long rigs transport timber and wood processing products to different harbours every day. For example, the distance between Soini and the City of Vaasa is about 160 km, and the distance from Soini to the City of Helsinki is about 350 km.