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Place branding and translocal chronotopes in Finnish municipality slogans

Eero Voutilainen, Tomi Visakko, Paula Sjöblom, Ulla Hakala & Terhi Ainiala

Abstract

This article examines the pragmatics of Finnish municipality slogans by focussing on slogans that include a toponym, that is, a place name other than that of the municipality. We approach our data of 51 slogans from the standpoint of translocal chronotopes – imagery of time, place and social life that connects the municipality with another place. We demonstrate that toponyms position the municipalities geographically, culturally, socially, historically, economically, and politically. We also analyse responses that the slogans evoke in public online discourses. We argue that the interpretation of the slogan is affected by the choice of toponym as well as by structural and interdiscursive choices. The findings are discussed from the perspectives of discourse studies, onomastics, and place-branding research.

Keywords

Chronotopes, place branding, promotional discourses, slogans, toponyms

1 Introduction

Brand management is a task that unites many sectors of modern market-driven societies. Companies constantly compete for clients and investors through branding and, similarly, in the public sector, individual municipalities vie for dwellers, taxpayers, businesses, and tourists by constructing appealing place brands through different media and different strategies. In this article, we examine a specific branding technique employed in municipality slogans that associates the municipality with some other place, region, or localisable entity by using place names, *toponyms*. In other words, we aim to determine how Finnish municipalities position themselves in relation to other named places through the slogan genre as part of their promotional and place-branding efforts. We approach this imagery that links places to one another in terms of *translocal chronotopes*, which we analyse from a new kind of interdisciplinary perspective, combining discourse studies, onomastics, and place-branding research. We argue that the concept of *chronotope* – imagery of place, time, social life, and lived environments – serves as a useful pivot for the coordination of interdisciplinary approaches (see also De Fina and Perrino, 2020) and offers a new approach in the study of slogans. At the

same time, we aim to show how chronotopes are bound to specific genres: their purposes, conventions, and ideological contexts.

Place branding has attained an important position in brand management and branding research, but also in practical place development. However, compared to companies and product brands, the ability of municipalities to use large-scale promotional elements is limited due to financially limited marketing resources, diverse target groups, and the political decision makers being heavily involved in the branding process which leads to unoccupied control and inconsistency (Cassinger and Eksell, 2017; Roper and Davies, 2007; Zenker and Braun, 2017). Places do not have a single identity that can be clearly branded; they can have different meanings to different target groups and evoke different associations in their minds. Accordingly, as suggested by Hubbard and Hall (1998, p. 7), places are 'constituted through a plethora of images and representations' that can be mediated by visual symbols as well as by verbal expressions. In this article, we examine the discursively constructed imagery in the slogan genre, which is central for both the external image and for the internal identity of the place brand. Our analysis also illuminates some of the ways in which the chronotopic perspectives chosen in slogans can become ideologically contested and reformulated in different contexts of uptake.

Despite the growing interest of municipalities in promoting their offerings and the active use of slogans, few studies have focused on municipality slogans. Most research has been conducted on tourism marketing and destination branding (see Tsaor, Liao and Tsai, 2020; Gali et al., 2017; Miller et al., 2008; Kladou et al., 2017; Kohli et al., 2013) but slogans from the municipality-branding perspective have not been extensively discussed. Even fewer studies have been conducted on municipality slogans from a linguistic point of view (see Medway and Warnaby, 2014). Therefore, one motivation for this study stems from the lack of previous interdisciplinary research on slogans. Our empirical analysis was conducted in Finland where most municipalities have one or more slogans that are used in promotional communication. It has been noted that many regional institutions incorporate the place name along with a description of the purportedly inherent qualities of the region into their promotional materials, such as slogans – simultaneously commodifying the name itself (Medway and Warnaby, 2014). The focus of this study is on translocal municipality slogans that contain a place name *other* than the municipality's own name and thus connect the place to some regional, institutional, or sociocultural context. We argue that the other place name, or translocal reference point, affects how the municipality is viewed by the public.

According to Aaker (1996), a slogan resembles a ribbon that ties up the brand, packs the important features inside and offers a hint of the secrets inside the package. We use the term *slogan* for a genre of established, concise textual artifacts that municipalities repeatedly utilise in their promotional discourses to create an awareness of the place and to differentiate it from others. A slogan is often interdiscursively linked to the strategy of the municipality as well as to other promotional and administrative materials used by the municipality. In many cases, a slogan aims to capture the essence of the place and its brand promise. It is, thus, equivalent to concepts such as a tagline, strapline or unique selling proposition (USP) adopted in branding research and practice (Henthorne et al., 2016; Medway and Warnaby, 2014; Lee et al., 2002).

In this article, we aim to understand the function of translocal chronotopes in the attempt by municipalities to create place branding and promotional communication. To achieve this, we analyse what types of place names are used in municipality slogans, how these slogans are morpho-syntactically constructed and how they engage in translocal positioning, that is, how they are used to relate the municipality to other places. Using a few qualitatively illustrative examples, we also examine what types of responses and interdiscursive relations the use of place names in slogans gives rise to. Our purpose is to show that the conventions of the slogan genre, in terms of both structural formats and typical choices of translocal reference points, shape the chronotopic imagery evoked in slogans as well as its reception and recontextualisation.

This study proceeds as follows. Section 2 introduces the Finnish context and data collection of the study. In section 3, we present the theoretical and methodological framework of the study, covering promotional discourses and place branding (3.1), chronotopes (3.2), and place names (3.3). Section 4 presents our analysis of the structure and functions of translocal municipality slogans, as well as some of their key properties in discourse. In section 5, we conclude the paper by discussing the theoretical contributions and practical implications of the study.

2. Data of the study

Finland is a country in Northern Europe with a population of approximately 5.6 million. In 2021, Finland was divided into 309 municipalities, of which 107 defined themselves as urban communities and 202 were rural districts. The smallest municipality, Sottunga in the Åland

Islands, has only about 90 inhabitants, while the largest is the capital, Helsinki, with approximately 654,000 inhabitants.

Our data have been collected from all the current slogans of Finnish municipalities. We have also included former slogans when the information has been in our possession. To obtain the data, we conducted a survey in October 2020. The questionnaire was sent to all municipalities in Finland, and we received answers from 81 municipalities (response rate: 27.5%). The survey inquired about municipalities' current and previous slogans. In addition, we systematically collected our data from the webpages of the municipalities (from 12/2020 until 1/2021). We have also used older data on previous slogans from the 2010s that were collected by the authors of two articles published in the Finnish media (Yle, 2012; M&M, 2017).

The majority of the municipalities in Finland have at least one municipal slogan. In 2020, at the time of the data collection, as many as 267 municipalities (86%) of all municipalities had one or more slogans. As a fair number of municipalities have more than one slogan, including slogans in different languages – especially in Swedish or English – the total number of different slogans in 2020 was 603. However, our present focus is on those slogans that include a place name other than the municipal name. Consequently, the data of this article include 46 slogans, containing 51 instances of such place names. These data have been incorporated into an openly coded corpus for a data-driven linguistic analysis. This subset of our collection contains no slogans in Swedish and four slogans in English. However, in this article, we have focused on only Finnish slogans. Including the English slogans in our data would have required us to contextualise, analyse and compare data from two very different languages. Moreover, a systematic comparison of languages would have required more English language slogans. All this would have considerably complicated the analysis, and English language slogans were thus left out of the scope of this article.¹

In order to illustrate and analyse the effects and responses that translocal slogans evoke, we have also collected some threads from public online forums in which selected slogans are discussed. Moreover, in order to understand how slogans stem from or become recontextualized in other discourses, we have collected data from municipality webpages, blogs

¹ The English language slogans with another place name in our collection are *Pearl of Botnian Bay* (Hailuoto), *Capital of Northern Scandinavia* (Oulu), *Hollywood of Finland* (Pornainen), *The Capital of Lapland* (Rovaniemi).

and strategy documents, as well as other institutions' webpages to illustrate the interdiscursive webs that selected slogans are part of. Such materials have been chosen on qualitative grounds so that they are directly linked to slogans analysed in section 4. These materials are analysed together with the slogans they are related to and presented in more detail there.

3. Theoretical and methodological viewpoints

In this section, we present three important angles of our interdisciplinary study: place branding, the concept of chronotope in discourse studies and the cognitive onomastic orientation to place names. The first sub-section on place branding places the slogan genre and its promotional characteristics in a wider interdiscursive and interdisciplinary context (3.1). The second subsection on chronotopes presents, operationalises and justifies the relevance of our main concept (3.2). The third subsection deals with proper names as part of chronotopes, which is a central aspect of our data and analysis (3.3).

3.1. Promotional elements in place branding

Marketing communications and promotional elements aim to position the place and raise its profile. Yet, these promotional materials are frequently blamed for creating images that are different from reality. Slogans have also been criticised for their role in undermining other aspects of place branding, but, as Wilson (2020) shows, they are still widely used. Anholt (2008) emphasises that places cannot build or change their reputation by a catchphrase; it can only be influenced to some degree. According to Zenker (2021), slogans can be useful elements in a place's secondary communication. At best, slogans can leave a touchpoint in people's memory, and increase awareness of the place and help it stand out from the crowd. The use of other place names in slogans can result in *halo effects*, transferring the impressions of another place to the municipality itself (see Han, 1989; Stock, 2009; White, 2021). The association with that other place can therefore contribute to a beneficial image and create an added value for the municipality. However, the reverse is also possible – the link to another place can unintentionally result in unfavourable associations, or stigmas (see Han, 1989; Stock, 2009; White, 2021).

From the standpoint of discourse studies, municipality slogans and other brand-oriented marketing materials can be situated within what Bhatia (2004) calls the *colony of promotional genres*. A colony is a constellation of genres that differ in terms of specific purposes and

audiences but shares a similar goal, such as promotionality. The concept of colony focusses on the ways in which a wide variety of genres, such as job applications, book blurbs and advertorials, approach the promotional task. This concept also focusses on how promotional discourses move in society and “colonise” new types of contexts (such as the neoliberal commodification of educational discourses; see also Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 94; Fairclough, 2010; Martín Rojo and Del Percio, 2020). The websites of the municipalities, incorporate a variety of genres, such as slogans, public announcements, service brochures, press releases, reports and strategies. Many of these are hybrids marked by purposes that are administrative, informational, and promotional.

Promotional practices, such as slogans, which present a calculated, idealised image of the municipality to the public, constitute a part of the municipality’s *interdiscursive performance* (Bhatia, 2017). Interdiscursive performance refers to the processes in which professionals utilise, mix, or bend a variety of available resources (such as genres, discourses, registers, visual and verbal styles, textual practices, and professional identities) in order to accomplish effective social actions in particular contexts. It is important to note that the slogans themselves, despite being relatively compact textual artifacts, often interweave and crystallise many surrounding discourses, including long-standing branding efforts, recent publicity campaigns, local cultural, and historical or literary traditions. Moreover, as will be apparent in the analysis, slogans often rely on recognisable interdiscursive and intertextual associations. The real-life success of a slogan as a touchpoint therefore depends on the audiences’ ability to contextualise the slogan and the toponym embedded in it in the intended ways.

The challenges associated with slogans may, in part, stem from the complexity of the agency underlying the interdiscursive performance. The identity of the municipality is crafted collaboratively, which includes municipality officials and employees as well as marketing and media agencies (see also Bhatia, 2017, p. 46–51). Slogans also anticipate and are ultimately interpreted by multiple audiences: insiders and inhabitants within the municipality, prospective inhabitants, potential investors and other vital interest groups as well as neighbouring municipalities who compete in the same arenas or for the same resources. The interpretation of promotional discourse, then, takes place in a complex field of interdiscursive and sociopolitical relations and is affected by competing perspectives, interests, and language ideologies (see also Parmentier, 1994).

3.2 Chronotopes in slogans

The concept of *chronotope*, first proposed by Mikhail Bakhtin (1981), offers a nuanced tool to explore how language is used to evoke images of time and space. Bakhtin describes the chronotope as “the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships” (1981, p. 84) and proposes that it is conventionally conceived differently in different literary genres. The concept of chronotype has been later adopted particularly by linguistic anthropology to illustrate how understandings of time, place, and cultural ways of life, including different types of personhood, become constructed in discursive practices (for example, see Silverstein, 2005; Agha, 2007; Blommaert, 2018; also Schryer, 1999). Blommaert (ibid.) describes chronotopes as groups of features that are used to construct spatiotemporally situated identities, actions, and norms in light of underlying value judgements. A modern analysis of chronotopes underlines the dynamicity of chronotopic representations and highlights their inseparable connection with historical processes through shared knowledge, values and ideologies (De Fina and Perrino, 2020). (For example, see Blommaert, 2015; Blommaert and De Fina, 2017; De Fina and Perrino, 2020). Chronotopic imagery, then, here refers to the selective, value-laden conceptual structure and iconic content of the slogan that represents the municipality as a specific kind of place in time and as a lived environment populated by specific types of people.

The concept of chronotope is closely linked to the notion of scale (Blommaert 2015). Scale pertains both to the chronotopic imagery itself and its recognizability by different interactants (see also De Fina, Paternostro & Amoruso 2020). The imagery invoked by slogans ranges from small-scale details of local life within the municipality to larger-scale regions and their characteristics, such as the whole country or Nordic economy. Moreover, some of the elements used in slogans may only be recognizable to readers with sufficient knowledge about local life or its historical background, whereas other elements and their significance are accessible to most readers. Slogans, thus, manage chronotopic relations (De Fina and Perrino 2020) and cross-chronotopically “synchronize” (Blommaert 2020) different images into a coherent format as they construct a specific, idealized view of the surrounding world for their promotional purposes (see also Manning 2020). The resulting construct, then, is a *chronotopic identity* (De Fina and Perrino 2020) for the municipality, an effort to crystallize the particularity of the municipality, both as a lived and experienced place and as a commercial brand.

In translocal municipality slogans, the chronotopic identity highlights the relationship between the municipality and another named place, the translocal reference point. This relationship is constructed through varying linguistic and interdiscursive choices. In the analysis, the chronotopes are dissected into three overlapping dimensions. The dimension of *place* refers to the spatial aspect of the chronotope. It includes the type (e.g., natural or cultural place) and the scale of the translocal reference (e.g., a local place within the municipality, a nearby place, a larger geographical or cartographic region, an international domain). The dimension of place also includes the directional, logical and logistical aspects of space: how the translocal relation is conceptualised in terms of inclusion, access, or movement from one place to another. The dimension of *time*, first, covers the basic temporality or atemporality of the chronotope: whether time figures explicitly in the imagery or whether it is presented as timeless or static. Secondly, the dimension of time involves aspects such as the duration or the recurrence or singularity of events. Finally, it includes different temporal scales and frames (e.g., modern time, historical time, physical time, the microtime of everyday human interaction). The third dimension of *lived environments* involves the type and scale of the social domain (e.g., home, family, business, civil society, administration) represented in or implied by the slogan as well as the related roles and identities. The third dimension also involves the kind of perspective from which the chronotope approaches human experience (e.g., subjective vs. collective; emotional vs. intellectual) or effaces it altogether with abstract or impersonal imagery.

3.3. Toponyms and their functions

Our position is that proper names are a part of what is referred to as the meaning potential (see Halliday, 1978) of language, and selecting a proper name in a text is a deliberate choice from a set of optional choices. To use a proper name instead of a common noun is an act and to use a certain proper name (such as a surname) rather than another name (such as a first name) is an act. Therefore, names have a discursive function like any other units of language.

Proper names, as elements in language, are rather special by nature. A proper name refers to one identified object only; thus, it is *monoreferential* in distinction to a common noun or appellative which, in turn, refers to an object as a representative of its class. One of the main objects of onomastic research are place names, *toponyms*. *Macrotonyms* generally refer to major places, whereas *microtoponyms* are used in small-scale user circles. (Ainiola et al. 2016:

13-16, 66; Van Langendonck and Van de Velde, 2016). In this article, our interest lies in macrotoponyms, widely recognised names in the Finnish context.

The majority of the toponyms included in the slogans of this study are the traditional place names that the early inhabitants of the area have originally used. Place names can be divided into two groups: culture names and nature names. *Culture names* are names of cultivated places, that is, places developed by people, and *nature names* are those of natural places. Culture names include, among others, settlement names which, in turn, include names of districts, cities and municipalities. Nature names, on the other hand, include topographic names (such as names of hills, valleys, forests) and hydronyms (such as the names of lakes and rivers) (Ainiala et al. 2016: 66-67; Hough, 2016).

Scholars espouse different views on whether proper names have a meaning. Some refer to philosophers who claim that proper names are merely labels that have no meaning whatsoever (for example, see Mill, 1906; Kripke, 1972). In recent decades however, especially cognitive linguistic theories have offered a new basis for the semantics of names (for example, see Nyström, 1998; Sjöblom 2006; Van Langendonck, 2007; Leino, 2007; Van Langendonck and Van de Velde, 2016). Names can be considered symbolic units with form and meaning, acting in the cognitive network like other symbolic units. The basic difference between the meaning of names and appellatives is that names are words that are used for individual entities perceived as a whole, while appellatives are words that are used to classify several entities into the same group according to their specific features. The meaning of proper names is the relation between the form of the name and the cognitive domains evoked by the referent (as in the entity that the name refers to) (Sjöblom 2006; Ainiala et al. 2012: 32-35.).

The meaning of a proper name is important regarding all the other functions that names can have in addition to their basic function, identification. For example, the practical function of many place names is to guide: a transparent name, such as *Church Road* or *Long Lake*, has indicated the route even before maps. In addition, toponyms can have various sociocultural functions and connotations. With names, people have taken possession of places even though those places were originally named by native peoples. With names, people can also integrate into certain cultures or certain communities. Place names can also express the regional context and carry the history and the cultural values of places, thus making them a particularly useful

resource for the construction of chronotopes. In other words, names carry heritage (Ainiala et al. 2012; Hakala et al. 2015.).

4. Translocal municipality slogans in discourse

We argue that the most frequent use of chronotopic imagery in the data is to claim a central and unique position for the municipality in relation to a translocal reference point expressed by the toponym in the slogan, whether a natural or a cultural place. This section gives an overview of the different ways in which the slogans in the data construct their chronotopic identity by foregrounding, for example, geographical, economic, logistic, sociocultural, or aesthetic characteristics that purportedly differentiate the municipality in question, as a competitive advantage, from others that could claim the same translocal reference. In table 1 below, we give a concise overview on how the three overlapping dimensions of chronotopical imagery – place, time, and the social and experiential aspects of the environment (see 3.2) – manifest themselves in our data of Finnish municipality slogans.

Table 1. Overview of slogans

Nature names

- 1) Soutupitäjä Saimaan sylissä ‘A rowing parish in the lap of [lake] Saimaa’ (Sulkava)
 - Spatial dimension: A close connection to the Saimaa lake (biggest in Finland)
 - Temporal dimension: Atemporal, but with a reference to an annually recurring event
 - Social and experiential dimension: Reference to a sports event, an international rowing competition (Sulkavan Suursoudut); allusion to a close interpersonal contact (see 4.1 for “in the lap” cases)
- 2) Pirkanmaan Portti Päijänteelle “Pirkanmaa’s gate to [lake] Päijänne” (Kuhmoinen)
 - Spatial dimension: The municipality as a metaphoric “gate”, an access point, from the Pirkanmaa province to the Päijänne lake (second biggest in Finland)
 - Temporal dimension: Atemporal, but the “gate” metaphor implies temporally recurring traffic
 - Social and experiential dimension: Access to the lake implies both recreational and economic opportunities

3) Aurajoen alkulähteillä ‘at the source of the River Aurajoki’ (Oripää)

Spatial dimension: The municipality situated in relation to Aurajoki (a major, historically significant river) framed from the standpoint of its point of origin (or even its conditions of existence)

Temporal dimension: Atemporal (but the “source” aspect implies a direction of flow and a temporal dimension; the significance of the river implies a historical time frame)

Social and experiential dimension: Implied historical, cultural, and aesthetic importance; “source” as a metaphor for creativity (with historical connotations)

4) Kymijoen kaupunki ‘the town of [river] Kymijoki’ (Kouvola)

Spatial dimension: A sense of belonging to the Kymijoki river

Temporal dimension: Atemporal

Social and experiential dimension: Emphasis on the type of municipality, town as opposed to smaller municipalities in the area

5) Turku 2029 - Pohjoisen Itämeren kiinnostavin kaupunki, ‘The most interesting city of the Northern Baltic Sea’ (Turku)

Spatial dimension: As the Northern Baltic Sea proper lies between the area of the Swedish capital Stockholm, southwestern Finland, and Estonia, the comparison probably includes the Finnish, Swedish, and Estonian capitals and other nearby coastal cities (but possibly excludes northern cities, the southern Baltic cities and St. Petersburg).

Temporal dimension: A specified year as a temporal reference point for an achieved ideal state

Social and experiential dimension: Non-specified interestingness (for individuals as well as businesses)

6) Kolin kaupunki ‘the town of [mount] Koli’ (Lieksa)

Spatial dimension: An inherent connection with Koli, the most prominent mount in the region, situated in a national park

Temporal dimension: Atemporal (implied historical and geohistorical frames)

Social and experiential dimension: A town (i.e., a cultural site) near an impressive natural site; an access point to a well-known and traditional tourist attraction with major cultural-historical importance.

Culture names

7) Suomen paras pikkukaupunki ‘the best little town of Finland’ (Loviisa)

Spatial dimension: A small town against the backdrop of entire Finland

Temporal dimension: Atemporal

Social and experiential dimension: Emphasis on a specific type of municipality and living environment (small town vs. both countryside and big towns)

8) Yrittävä kulttuurikunta Järvi-Suomessa 'Enterpreneuring/endeavouring culture municipality in Lake-Finland' (Mäntyharju)

Spatial dimension: Located in Lake-Finland (part of Finland known for its large concentration of lakes),

Temporal dimension: Continuous, iterative process by a collective (coded in the participle form -vA)

Social and experiential dimension: Emphasis on entrepreneurship framed as a collective attitude towards life, combined with culture and nature

9) Koti keskellä kaunista Kainuuta 'home in the centre of beautiful Kainuu' (Ristijärvi)

Spatial dimension: A physical and immersive centrality in the Kainuu province

Temporal dimension: Static

Social and experiential dimension: Emphasis on everyday life and aesthetic experience

10) Pohjolan energiapääkaupunki 'the energy capital of the North' (Vaasa)

Spatial dimension: Implied centrality (cf. 'capital') in the Nordic region

Temporal dimension: Atemporal

Social and experiential dimension: Emphasis on industry and business

11) Lapin sydämessä 'in the heart of Lapland' (Pelkosenniemi)

Spatial dimension: Geographic centrality in Lapland (the Finnish Lappi province)

Temporal dimension: Atemporal

Social and experiential dimension: Implied authentic touristic experiences, isolated living environments and peace of nature

12) Swingaava Savon Pariisi 'the swinging Paris of Savo' (Joroinen)

Spatial dimension: Implied centrality or importance ('Paris') in the Savo province

Temporal dimension: A continuous and iterative process (participle form -vA)

Social and experiential dimension: Cultural life and aesthetic experiences implied by the juxtaposition with Paris and music ('swinging'); 'swinging' may also refer to a well-known local golf course.

In general, all place names that occur in the municipality slogans in our data are macrotoponyms well-known to Finns. The nature names used as translocal reference are

usually culturally and economically prominent places also often valued as tourist destinations and for their aesthetic properties. They predominantly include hydronyms, that is, names of water systems (14 out of 16 nature names). Although Finland is often branded as a country of hundreds of thousands of lakes, the majority of hydronyms used in slogans refer to a few well-known lakes, such as Saimaa (5 out of 14 hydronyms) (ex. 1) and Päijänne (3 out of 14 hydronyms) (ex. 2). Some slogans link the municipality to rivers (ex. 3-4) and to the seaside (ex. 5). Only one slogan includes a topographic name (ex. 6). The uniqueness or centrality of the municipality, evoked by the slogans, is usually geographical and, potentially, economic (ex. 2, 5), logistic (ex. 2, 3), touristic (ex. 1, 5, 6), or experiential (ex. 1). The dimensions of time activated in the slogans range from the typical atemporal or static (ex. 9) to different directional emphases (ex. 2, 3) or iterative perspectives (ex. 8, 12).

The most typical culture name in the slogans is *Suomi* 'Finland' (15 out of 40 culture names; see ex. 7). In some cases, the country name *Suomi* contains a part that specifies and demarcates a more precise part of Finland (ex. 8). Some slogans include the name of the province where the municipality is located (ex. 9). A few slogans place the municipality in an even larger geographic frame (ex. 10). The centrality in these cases is usually at least partially geographical. Many include a word that emphasizes metaphorical, non-specified centrality, such as 'capital' (ex. 10) or 'heart' (ex. 11). In addition, many slogans emphasise a specific domain of society in which the municipality claims superiority, such as business opportunities (ex. 8, 10), culture (ex. 8, 11), or everyday life (ex. 7, 9). In a few cases, the municipality is compared humoristically to a famous foreign place (ex. 12).

Interestingly, the explicit description of temporal reference points is rare in the data (see however ex. 5). As municipality slogans are conventionally not structured as full sentences, tense does not figure in the examples either. Slogans, then, are prototypically atemporal. However, certain grammatical patterns may be seen as implying a temporal aspect through directional emphases (ex. 2, 3) or iterative perspectives (ex. 8, 12). Similarly, certain lexical choices - or recognizable intertextual links (see ex. 23 later) - may indirectly activate historical frames.

In terms of syntactic and semantic structure, the slogans in the data can be grouped in four prototypes. These conventional structural types strongly affect the nature of chronotopes in our data. As will be demonstrated below in section 4, differences in structure also shape the

functional properties of the slogans and enable different forms of recontextualisation in new contexts.

NP I: toponym [genitive, -n] + (adjective [superlative]) + noun [nominative]

- 13) Pohjanmaan sydän 'the heart of Ostrobothnia' (Kauhava)
- 14) Saimaan kirkkain tähti 'the brightest star of Saimaa' (Puumala)

NP II: (adjective) + noun [nom] + toponym [locative case -lla or complement of PP/NP]

- 15) Aito saaristolaiskunta Etelä-Ahvenanmaalla 'An authentic archipelago municipality in South Åland' (Föglö)
- 16) Koti Pohjantähden alla 'Home under the North Star' (Urjala)

NP III: (adjective) + toponym [genitive, -n] + noun [partitive, -A]

- 17) Onnellista Saimaan saaristoelämää, 'Happy Lake Saimaa archipelago life' (Enonkoski)

PP: pre-/postposition + toponym [as complement]

- 18) Keskellä Kasvu-Suomea 'in the middle of Growth-Finland' (Loppi)
- 19) Päijänteen rannalla 'on the shore of Päijänne' (Luhanka)

The majority of the slogans consist of a single noun phrase (NP) in the nominative case. Toponyms in these types of slogans appear as modifiers in the genitive form indicating possession or belonging to a place, time or group (see Jaakola, 2004; VISK § 573). The municipality, thus, appears as belonging to the place - or it may, indeed, be implied that the place is "in possession of" the municipality (e.g. ex. 4, 6). Such slogans classify and characterise the municipality while simultaneously delineating the characterisation geographically. Some slogans (15), in contrast, have a toponym in a locative case that functions as a post-head modifier within the noun phrase (VISK § 587), denoting a specific location, direction, or boundary. Alternatively, the toponym may complement a pre- or postposition (PP) (16) or a noun in a similar function (cf. 19). In semantic terms, the first two prototypes identify, characterise, or classify the municipality and, in this respect, they are similar to predicative clause types ('X is Y'). Indeed, they can be paraphrased with such clauses in other texts produced by the municipality. Some NPs (17), however, occur in the partitive case. For these slogans, the semantic relationship between the municipality and the content of the slogan remains somewhat more ambiguous. Instead of identification or characterisation (*'Enonkoski is

happy life'), the relationship becomes interpreted as an inclusion ('Enonkoski contains happy life'), existence ('Happy life can be found in Enonkoski'), or a signification ('Enonkoski means a happy life').

In the last structural prototype (18-19), the slogans consist of a mere prepositional or postpositional phrase (PP). The most frequent PP is *keskellä* ('in the middle of'). In semantic terms, such slogans denote a mere spatial relationship (instead of an entity). The other reference point (*what* is in the middle of mentioned place) is left implicit, but the formulation indexically presupposes the municipality as the other member of the relation. In this group, then, the semantic relationship between the name of the municipality and the slogan is an inferred spatial relationship.

In section 4, we examine some examples of these structural and semantic variants in more detail in a broader discursive context and in relation to actual responses. We analyze their linguistic choices, interdiscursive sources and their recontextualization in other online contexts.

The first section (4.1) focuses on slogans that include a hydronym, a typical characteristic in our data. They construct a translocal relationship with a natural place, emphasizing lived personal experience, but from quite different perspectives. The two following sections, in contrast, look at slogans that build an association with different kinds of culturally and institutionally constructed places: the "growth corridor of Finland" (4.2) and the so-called "organic Finland" (4.3). Although structurally similar, these slogans differ decidedly in terms of their interpretation. This selection of cases, thus, presents both some of the most typical aspects and some of the most interesting contrasts in our data.

4.1. Hydronyms and happiness: nature names and subjective experience

We argue that nature names are especially useful resources for constructing imagery that is grounded in subjective experience. Hydronyms, in particular, are often used in the data to foreground lived personal experience and an emotional connection to the municipality.² Such

² Bodies of water, especially the Baltic Sea and the thousands of lakes in Finland, are highly valued in Finnish culture. Macrotoponyms that refer to watery places thus convey several positive meanings shared by many Finns. For instance, in 2020, there were over 508,000 summer cottages in Finland, most of them on the shores of the Finnish Lake District or in the south-western archipelago (Statistics Finland 2020).

uses differ decidedly from slogans in which water is envisioned as a path or instrument in order to achieve rational, economic, or logistic purposes (see section table 1). The first example (20) uses as translocal reference Lake Saimaa, which is located partially within the municipality, and presents it as a place of “happy archipelago life”. The slogan draws attention to the municipality as a lifeworld and as a locus of experience for an individual person or a family.

(20) Enonkoski – Onnellista Saimaan saaristoelämää ‘Happy archipelago life of Saimaa’

The place name *Saimaa* may provoke various positive associations shared in Finnish culture: beautiful lake scenes, summer cottages and bathing, the long history of water traffic with canals as well as with the sympathetic and endangered Saimaa ringed seal. As a consequence, the slogan activates imagery of lakeside residency on a valued property (both in financial and experiential sense).³ Moreover, the adjective *happy* builds an interdiscursive link to cultural ideals of happiness, which have attained a prestigious position in modern discourse orders and in the evaluation of modern identities, particularly in the pervasive field of self-help discourses (see Visakko & Voutilainen 2020). Happiness is often desirable not only as a personal experience but also as a socially recognised characteristic of successful individuals or communities.⁴ Together, these elements evoke a promotional strategy that markets the municipality as a desirable place of residency to people outside the municipality and builds cohesion and collective pride among current residents.

The slogan of Enonkoski also has frequently used variants without the lake (Saimaa) name: *Liikuttavan onnellista saaristoelämää* (‘movingly happy archipelago life’), *Liikuttavan onnellinen Enonkoski* (‘movingly happy Enonkoski’) (also used as its vision statement). The variants stem from a physical education and health project in the area.⁵ Using the polysemous adjective *liikuttava* ‘moving’, the slogan engages in word play between a literal and figurative interpretation of the word: physical exercise and an emotional reaction. Semantically, the verb form includes a zero experiencer – the person who is moved is left open – and this invites an

National romantic depictions of lake and seashores have an important role in the representations of Finnish culture and way of life.

³ Furthermore, this strategy can be envisioned as a salient choice, as the Enonkoski municipality is situated on a lakeside with few nearby islands that do not form a typical archipelago.

⁴ Another context that the slogan may activate are recent research results in which Finland has been ranked as the happiest nation in the world. These results have been extensively highlighted and widely circulated by the Finnish media.

⁵ <https://enonkoski.fi/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Kuntastrategia-2018-2021-toimeenpanosuunnitelma.pdf> [March 10, 2022]

identification by the reader. Moreover, the characteristics of the slogan enable its parts to be recontextualised. Because of its focus on everyday experiences, the words in the slogan can be used to describe other events and entities within the municipality. For example, in the local daily newspaper *Itä-Savo*, a reader praises an exercise event organised by the municipality and describes the municipality, herself, her co-participants and the entire event as ‘movingly happy’.⁶

(21) *“Kiitos Liikuttavan Onnellinen Enonkosken kunta – – Annoitte meille liikuttavan Onnellisen päivän – – Kiitoksin Enonkosken liikuttavan onnelliset mukana olijat.”*

‘Thank you, Movingly Happy Enonkoski municipality - - You gave us a movingly Happy day - - With thanks, the movingly happy co-participants from Enonkoski’

The writer in the example begins by addressing the municipality with the wording of the slogan as ‘movingly happy’. She then proceeds to describe the event and, finally, the co-participants of the event by using the same words. In other words, the linguistic signs of the slogan are recontextualised to refer to many different types of targets, creating semantic prosody that connects the brand of the municipality to the everyday lifeworlds and experiences of the inhabitants.⁷

A different perspective to life in the archipelago is constructed in example (22):

(22) *Kökar – Maaginen saaristo Itämeren reunalla ‘Magical archipelago on the edge of the Baltic Sea’*

As in the previous example, the municipality is explicitly connected to the archipelago which is localised more specifically with the name the *Baltic Sea*. However, in this slogan, the entire municipality is identified as an archipelago, not merely as a site of archipelago life. In addition, the archipelago in this slogan is labelled as “magical”, which resembles the “happy” that occurs in the example above, but with different interdiscursive associations. The “magical” refers to an entity that is unpredictable in a positive sense and surpasses the everyday world, and it could thus be associated with tourism discourses of exoticized places and specifically with their inherent nature (such as *Magical New Zealand*).

⁶ <https://www.ita-savo.fi/paakirjoitus-mielipide/3875937> [10 March 2022]

⁷ This can be compared to the types of slogans that consist of anthropocentric adjectives that can be used to describe both the municipality (as an institutional collective) and its inhabitants (as individuals) (such as *Valtimo – sympaattinen & toimelias* ‘sympathetic & active’).

Our third example (23) approaches the translocal relationship in anthropomorphic terms:

(23) Taipalsaari - *Koti Saimaan sylissä* 'a home in the lap of Saimaa'

Like the first example, the focus in (23) is on the lifeworld of an individual or a family, as indicated by the noun *koti* 'home'. The anthropomorphic expression *in the lap of Lake Saimaa* describes the contact with the lake as intensive and holistic. The expression also opens a broad intertextual network, evoking references such as the popular song *Sylissä Saimaan* 'In the lap of Lake Saimaa' and numerous other uses of the expression as a catchphrase in different local and national contexts. Similar anthropomorphic rhetoric occurs in the expression *äiti Saimaa* ('Mother Saimaa'), which is also used frequently in different contexts.

In these slogans, the place that the municipality becomes connected with, is a concrete, objectively identifiable and recognizable natural place, which readily enables the construction of experiential imagery. Next, we look at different kinds of cultural names and the types of translocal chronotopes they enable.

4.2. Culture names and connections

The examples in this and the following section involve translocal positioning in relation to abstract, institutional entities with spatial dimensions and coordinates that are not as conventional and clear-cut as in preceding analysis but are made relevant and foregrounded by the slogan in different ways. Two slogans in the data (24–25) link the municipality to what is referred to as the *Growth Corridor of Finland*, both claiming a central position in relation to the corridor. In other words, both slogans draw from similar interdiscursive resources (the materials of the *Growth Corridor of Finland*) and chronotopic imagery (a focus on "centrality", which in itself is an established generic convention in slogans).

(24) Hausjärvi – keskellä Suomen kasvukäytävää 'in the middle of the Growth Corridor of Finland'

(25) Janakkala – Suomen kasvukäytävän keskipisteessä 'at the centre [point] of the Growth Corridor of Finland'

Established in 2013, the Growth Corridor of Finland is a collaborative network formed by 20 municipalities or cities, 3 regional councils, 4 chambers of commerce, and the business federation of Finnish entrepreneurs (Suomen Yrittäjät). Geographically, the participants of the network are clustered along one of Finland's principal railways, linking, since 1862, the capital,

Helsinki, and the third-largest city, Tampere (see Figure 1). Although the main purpose of the corridor is to promote and sustain economic growth, the promotional materials of the municipalities emphasise other aspects of the corridor, such as its history and its ability to connect people, businesses and institutions.

According to a blog post from 2019, the slogan for Janakkala is designed to reflect the historical fact that the first stop on the railway line was situated in the municipality because it lies exactly halfway between Helsinki and Tampere. This explanation emphasises that the slogan both “depicts well the location of Janakkala in the physical center point between Helsinki and Tampere” and “thus continues the municipality’s historical tradition” of foregrounding the link between the railway and the identity of the municipality.⁸

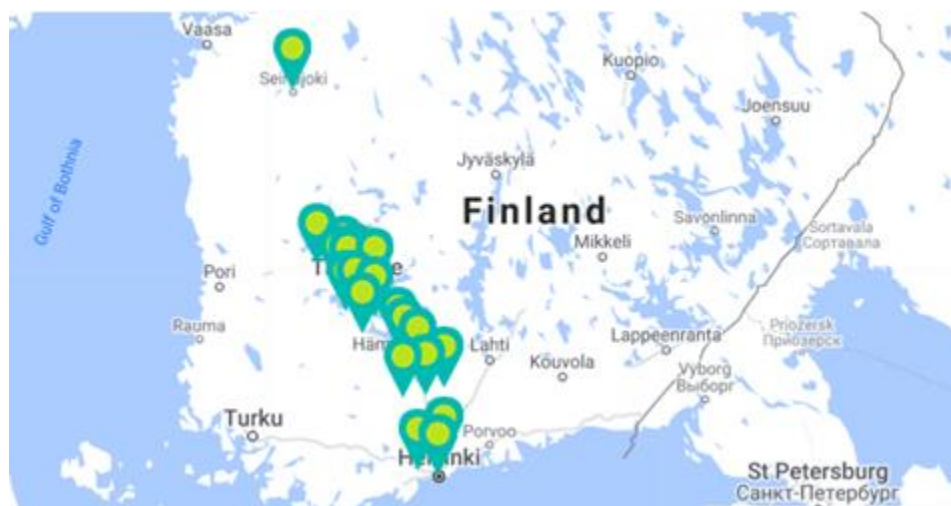


Figure 1. Participating municipalities (screenshot from Google Maps, fair use).

Although the Growth Corridor is an institutional network, it is bound to geography in a number of ways. In addition to being anchored in a specific constellation of municipalities, the railway and other routes provide a two-way path of movement, indeed a “corridor” between the municipalities – which is foregrounded by promotional discourses. For instance, the English-speaking video on the website of the Growth Corridor introduces two fictive characters: Pekka who “enjoys the pace of the city life”, and Mari who “lives with her family in the heart of nature”.

⁸ <https://www.suomenkasvukaytava.fi/janakkalan-kunta-pyrkii-olemaan-aktiivinen-toimija-suomen-kasvukaytavalla-seka-itse-verkostossa-mutta-myos-fyysisesti-kasvukaytavan-alueella/> [1 May 2021]

The Growth Corridor is depicted as an “ideal place to live and work” for both types of people.⁹ Similarly, the official webpages of Hausjärvi state that the municipality offers an opportunity to live spaciouly in a rural-like manner in a population center and yet only within an hour’s journey from the services in larger cities such as Helsinki and Tampere.¹⁰

From the standpoint of chronotopic imagery, the corridor figures both as a vector-like path that links and makes accessible a variety of places and as a hybrid of all the diverse environments that it encompasses. The municipalities claim a central position from which any part of the corridor and all of its diversity can be accessed quickly, which can be considered to be a relative advantage compared to the larger cities at the end points of the corridor (Helsinki, Tampere). The “centrality” of the municipalities is therefore not a static position but rather a dynamic access to different directions and places along the path.

As we can see, while the Growth Corridor is an abstract, constructed entity, it is pre-existent and spatially anchored independently of the slogan. The slogan presupposes a set of somewhat incontestable and unproblematic entities (the corridor and its component municipalities) and relations (both municipalities “in the middle” from specific perspectives). The next case, in contrast, is spatially performative in a more comprehensive sense, as it attempts to construct a translocal relation that is not unambiguously pre-existent.

4.3. Contesting translocal relations

This section examines a different type of institutional construct, “Organic Finland” (*Luomu-Suomi*) and its spatial anchoring. Unlike the Growth Corridor, Organic Finland is not inherently linked to specific municipalities or cartographic regions. The modifier of the compound, *luomu-* (“organic”; abbr. of *luonnonmukainen*, literally ‘in accordance with nature’), does not delineate Finland geographically but rather characterises or classifies it from a certain standpoint. Organic Finland could, in other words, refer to anywhere that agriculture is practised or its products are consumed. However, only one municipality in our data, Kiuruvesi, adopts this construct for translocal positioning (26):

(26) Kiuruvesi – Luomu-Suomen pääkaupunki ‘the capital of Organic Finland’

⁹ The video has been removed from the Growth Corridor’s updated website (www.suomenkasvukaytava.fi/), but it can be found in the archive of the company that produced it (tussitaikurit.fi/suomen-kasvukaytava-taynna-mahdollisuuksia/ [10 March 2022]).

¹⁰ See the municipality website: <https://hausjarvi.fi/>

The “capital” metaphor is a recurring element in municipality slogans, claiming a central and leading position in some areas or domains of life. In addition to the slogan, the vision statement of the municipality, which is embedded in the municipality’s strategy text but is also used in a slogan-like manner on the municipality’s website, includes a variant of the slogan (27):

(27) Elämäniloa luomu-Suomen pääkaupungissa ‘Joy of life in the capital of Organic Finland’

This variant is an example of another common semantic characteristic found in municipality slogans. This features a slogan composed of two NPs forming a chronotope that combines the “capital” and “organic” aspects with more personalised imagery, that is, the qualities of life that are felt within the municipality. From the standpoint of spatial relations and chronotopic imagery, it is important to point out that the variant has two embedded levels: 1) it maps the [symbolic if not geographic] centre of Organic Finland onto Kiuruvesi and 2) projects “joy of life” imagery within the bounds of the municipality. Furthermore, *luomu-Suomi* itself appears to evoke images of natural purity, such as clean waters (see example 28 below).

As was mentioned earlier, as a discursive construct, Organic Finland does not appear to have any clear-cut spatial dimensions or geographical anchoring. This means that its status as a toponym is not entirely apparent.¹¹ It seems that the expression has emerged and gained popularity, at least partly, as the name of a specific competitive strategy for Finnish agriculture. Early occurrences of the expression include, for instance, the final report of a research project in 1997, entitled “Organic Finland? The final report of the project: The economic effects of the environmental impacts of agricultural production alternatives” (*Luomu-Suomi? Maatalouden tuotantovaihtoehtojen ympäristötaloudelliset vaikutukset -projektin loppuraportti*) (Miettinen et al. 1997). Correspondingly, in other writings on similar topics, the expression co-occurs with alternatives, such as “Cattle Finland” (*karja-Suomi*). In short, for these uses, the expression does not refer to a specific region but rather a mode of agricultural production.

¹¹ As Organic Finland does not have an unambiguous geographic referent, defining the expression as a toponym is somewhat problematic. However, as the whole expression (“Organic Finland”) refers to a single abstract entity, it can be considered monoreferential, like company names or product names, and not merely a categorising or characterising appellative (“organic”) attached to a proper name (“Finland”). Traditionally, in Finnish normative orthography, when a capital letter occurs in the modifier part of a compound toponym (such as *Luomu* ‘Organic’ in *Luomu-Suomi* ‘Organic Finland’), it is used to express that the modifier delineates a part of the whole region (for example, compare: *Itä-Suomi*, ‘Eastern Finland’). Contrastively, a lower-case letter in the modifier signals that it instead categorises the region as a whole (for example, compare *koti-Suomeni*, ‘[my] native Finland’). The aim of our analysis is to demonstrate that the line is not clear-cut but context-dependent.

Describing a municipality as the “capital” of Organic Finland therefore constitutes a claim that might be called “spatially performative” in the sense that it links the construct to a specific municipality and then positions the municipality centrally in relation to the construct while at the same time, implying something about the surrounding (“non-capital”) regions. The validity of that claim then becomes contestable *between* municipalities (why would Kiuruvesi be the capital and not some other municipality?) and empirically observable *within* the municipality (does Kiuruvesi indeed fulfil the appropriate criteria?).

That claim, in fact, can be readily challenged. For instance, in a thread entitled “The capital of Organic Finland?” on the popular *Suomi24.fi* forum, the original poster wonders whether the slogan is still in use.¹² In the ensuing exchange, a number of anonymous commentators strongly question the validity of the slogan by citing concrete counter-evidence.

(28) *Mitä saatanan luomua kun myrkytetty peltoja sekä järvet pilattu maatalous paskalla yök luomua tosissaan on ei ansaitse luomusuomi nimikettä Kiuruvesi*

‘What fucking organic [production] when they’ve poisoned fields and ruined the lakes with agricultural shit yuck organic indeed doesn’t deserve the title organic Finland this Kiuruvesi’

(29) *turha maalais imago pois vaan ja luomu nimike pois koska ei ole sitä todellakaan!*

‘They should drop the pointless rural image and the term organic because it’s not like that at all!’

(30) *Mistä Kiuruvedellä toimivasta kaupasta löytyy näitä niisanottuja Luomutuotteita?*

‘In which store in Kiuruvesi can you find these so-called Organic products?’

(31) *Missä tämä Luomu näkyy Kiuruvedellä?*

‘Where can this Organic be seen in Kiuruvesi?’

The *Luomu* part alone activates a heated debate in online discussions. The word appears to be stigmatised in the sense that many associate it with a certain ideological and political standpoint. In other words, this term seems to be politicised and polarising, even when the participants seem to agree to a certain extent on the empirical facts and measures (that is,

¹² <https://keskustelu.suomi24.fi/t/16679372/luomu-suomen-paakaupunki> [10 March 2022]

increasing ecological sustainability in agricultural production). Some commentators in the forum thread describe the slogan as a politically biased construct, serving the interests of the Centre Party in particular (*Kepu sitä hehkutti. Nyt totuus paljastui*, ‘The Centre Party raved about it. Now the truth has been revealed.’). One commenter also links *Luomu* with a negative and unnecessary “rural image” (despite the slogan’s metaphorical head noun “capital”). It is interesting that in the municipality’s new strategic overview (2022–2025), the focus on “organic” seems to be reduced and the municipality frames its policy on agriculture in terms of “rationally green economy” (*järkivihreä talous*), perhaps as a subtle jab aimed at other proponents of green ideologies, such as the Green Party whose constituency is largely concentrated in urban centres.¹³ As we can see, the slogan is closely linked to a complex field of interdiscursive, political, and regional tensions concerning how ecological, economic, and environmental questions should be conceptualised.

It is important to note that part of the original motivation behind the slogan seemed to be the strategic commitment by the municipality to increase the use of organic products and locally produced food in municipality-sponsored operations – as explained in the “Food Services” section on the municipality website. For instance, at some point, the cooks employed by the municipality took a course on organically and locally produced food.¹⁴ In fact, the “Agriculture” section of the website hardly mentions organic production, let alone foregrounds it as a major theme.¹⁵ The real-life consequences, nevertheless, include debates centred on farming and agricultural production. That is, the slogan and the felicity of its spatial performativity becomes contested in some audience segments in terms that may partially differ from what the municipality intended.

¹³ The elements of the slogan, “capital” and “Organic Finland”, also occur, for instance, in an entry in which the municipal manager, who has a background in the Centre Party, comments on the decision by the capital, Helsinki, to discontinue serving meat-based foods in city functions as an undertaking that is contrary to the spirit of “Organic Finland” that Kiuruvesi’s slogan aims to encapsulate and that includes an “appreciation of [all] food”. (<https://www.kiuruvesi.fi/Suomeksi/Ajankohtaista/Kaupunginjohtajan-ajankohtaiset-asiat>) [16 March 2022]. This shows that, in this local world of discourse, the actual capital (Helsinki) is not part of “Organic Finland” and, in fact, stands in contrast to the values and political principles of “Organic Finland”.

¹⁴ <https://www.kiuruvesi.fi/Suomeksi/Palvelut/Ruokapalvelut/Lahi--ja-luomuruoka> [16 May 2022].

¹⁵ Similarly, several other parts of the website simply talk about “clean locally produced food” (*puhdasta lähiruokaa*). The new strategy overview (2022–2025) merely mentions agriculture in terms of “sustainability,” “local production,” “the new opportunities of bio economy,” and “the reduction of harmful effects of agriculture on the environment” as manifestations of “rational greenness”. (<https://www.kiuruvesi.fi/Suomeksi/Kuntatietoa/Suunnitelmat-ja-ohjelmat>). The slogan is the only a part in which *Luomu* continues to be mentioned.

5. Findings and discussion

The slogans of Finnish municipalities use place names other than that of the municipality to construct translocal chronotopes which highlight the municipalities' distinctive features and values as a form of place branding. Translocal chronotopes in the data are used to claim a central and unique position for the municipality in relation to a selected translocal reference point, whether a natural or a cultural place. Our analysis demonstrates that translocal chronotopes position the municipalities in several ways: geographically, historically, culturally, economically and logistically as well as politically.

To achieve our aims, we have adopted an original combination of structural, textual and interdiscursive linguistic methods, combined with insights from onomastics, branding research and linguistic anthropology. Perspectives from place-branding research have allowed us to tap into background motives underlying the formulation of slogans and use this information in our analysis and interpretation of our data. Empirical discourse analysis has been an effective means of analysing the interpretations and (un)popularity of slogans in different contexts. Combining these methods with onomastics has increased our understanding of names as discursive resources and functional parts of authentic texts. Our analysis demonstrates that even ostensibly insignificant textual artifacts, such as single nominal phrases used as slogans, may prove to be complex and revealing objects of analysis.

Our findings on translocal municipality slogans support the seminal notion by Bakhtin (1981) that chronotopes are essentially genre-bound constructs: slogans as a genre have distinctive linguistic structures and functions that affect the ways in which they convey chronotopes. Whereas much of previous research has focussed on chronotopes mediated by narrative genres (see De Fina and Perrino 2020), our data explores the construction of collective chronotopic identities in a very different kind of data. Translocal slogans are formulaic textual artefacts that lack predicate verbs and the basic elements of deictic grounding, such as tense or person, which have been identified as central to chronotopic processes (see Perrino and Kohler 2020). Slogans, thus, are bound to specific structural formats. These structural formats, in turn, constrain the chronotopic formats (Blommaert 2020) that slogans are able to project on the municipality. In particular, we have demonstrated that proper names can be used to construct collective identities and chronotopic relations and to navigate between different scales by invoking regional and sociocultural contexts. Moreover, our analysis on the uses and

interpretations of translocal slogans illustrates the ways in which chronotopes are constantly both reinforced and challenged, creating dynamic representations with contrasting values and ideologies (cf. Blommaert, 2015; Blommaert and De Fina, 2017).

Like others who have studied chronotopic brand identities (see Perrino and Kohler 2020), we have demonstrated that translocal chronotopes can be sometimes used to construct continuity and tradition. However, as slogans as textual artefacts are non-narrative and atemporal, the means are different: continuity and tradition are evoked inferentially or interdiscursively, by recognizable elements in the slogan or surrounding materials that interpret, explain or contextualize it. Blommaert (2020) emphasizes the normative and morally evaluating function of chronotopic “formats”. In our data, however, human activities and individual actors are relatively backgrounded. The explicit scalar focus of the chronotopes is on broader “scenery,” or general structures. Positive images of social life or entrepreneurial opportunities, nevertheless, inferentially imply the presence of proper inhabitants and good administration (cf. Goebel and Mann 2020). Translocal chronotopes, as schemes of evaluation, focus on cartographic relations. That is, images of social life, entrepreneurial opportunities, or other future prospects within the municipality become mapped in relation to larger-scale geographic entities.

This article has shown some potential practical implications for the devising of municipality slogans. For instance, we have demonstrated that the linguistic form of slogans plays an important role in their social life and the ways in which they can be recontextualised in other settings. Moreover, according to our observations, slogans that refer to institutionally constructed culture names, such as *Luomu-Suomi* ‘Organic Finland’ or *Suomen kasvukäytävä* ‘Growth Corridor of Finland’, may be prone to ideological contestation. Culturally esteemed nature names, by contrast, do not seem to activate similar strong responses as likely but might instead be perceived as worn-out and glossed over as typical promotional imagery. Each choice therefore has inherent halos and stigmas.

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