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The Local Political Economy of Languages in a Sámi Tourism Destination Authenticity and mobility in the labeling of souvenirs

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4 **The Local Political Economy of Languages in a Sámi Tourism**
5 **Destination. Authenticity and mobility in the labeling of souvenirs¹**
6

7 **Abstract:**

8 In this article we use ethnographic and discourse analytic approaches to
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10
11 examine how the labelling of tourist souvenirs affects and is in turn
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13 affected by the local political economy of language of a tourist
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15 destination, which is also a minority language space. We begin by
16
17 arguing for the importance of our particular focus of study, souvenir
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19 labels, in the process of global and local tourism, and consequently as
20
21 evidence of the interplay of languages, politics and economics. We then
22
23 consider the distinctive features of the local political economy of
24
25 language in our particular case study, the multilingual Sámi village of
26
27 Inari in Northern Finland. In a related discussion, we describe how
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29 Inari functions as a site of experiential cultural tourism, and how the
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31 purchase of souvenirs is part of the tourist experience. We then go on to
32
33 describe a number of practices that we have observed in the choice and
34
35 use of linguistic and visual resources for the labelling of souvenirs in
36
37 Inari, the delicate balancing act that takes place in these practices
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39 between authenticity and mobility, and, how this reflects and is
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41 reflected in the local political economy of language.
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50 **Keywords:** local political economy of language, Sámi, tourism, souvenirs,
51 multimodal discourse, mobility, authenticity
52

53 **Running title:**

54 The labeling of souvenirs
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56
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60

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4 Abstrakti
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8 Tutkimme tässä artikkelissa etnografista ja diskurssianalyttistä
9 lähestymistapoja hyödyntäen miten matkamuistot ja niiden kuvaaminen
10 nimikelapuissa rakentuvat kielten paikallisessa poliittisessä taloudessa samalla
11 sitä rakentaen. Tarkasteltavana oleva turistikohde on alkuperäisenä
12 saamelaiskylänä markkinoitu Inari Pohjois-Suomessa, joka kuuluu
13 uhanalaisten saamenkielten kotiseutualueeseen. Aluksi kuvaamme
14 matkamuistojen tarkastelun kiinnostavuutta kielten, politiikan ja talouden
15 tutkimuksen risteymässä. Seuraavaksi tarkastelemme Inarin kieliympäristöä ja
16 sen nivoutumista paikalliseen poliittiseen talouteen. Tämän jälkeen kuvaamme
17 Inarissa myynnissä olevien matkamuistojen ja niiden nimilapuissa tehtyjä
18 kielellisiä ja visuaalisia valintoja. Matkamuistojen multimodaalisen diskurssin
19 analyysimme kuvaa, miten niihin liittyvät käytänteet tasapainottelevat
20 autenttisuuden ja liikkuvuuden rakentamisen välillä samalla kun ne nivoutuvat
21 paikalliseen kielten poliittiseen talouteen.
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INTRODUCTION

The ways in which languages are used in tourism are a significant component of the local political economy of languages (Gal 1989; Heller 2005) in any tourist location. This is particularly the case where tourist sites are simultaneously sites of complex multilingualism and changing socio-economic processes. Our focus in this article² is one such site, namely *Sámiland*, the traditional Sámi area in the northernmost part of Scandinavia and Russia. In *Sámiland*, the use of language and other semiotic resources for touristic and other economic purposes involves questions of legitimacy, authenticity and categorization (cf. Hall, Muller and Saarinen 2009; Heller 2003; Author 2010). The transition of indigenous, endangered local languages to valuable and exchangeable objects has various implications in terms of who can have legitimate access to these resources, how the profit should be circulated and who gets to decide. In this way, the sociolinguistics of tourism (cf. for example, Jaworski, Thurlow, Ylänne-McEwen and Larson 2009; Ploner 2009; Pujolar 2006) both reflect and affect the local political economy of language.

In this article we examine one aspect of the sociolinguistics of tourism and its interaction with the local political economy as revealed by the ways in which languages and other semiotic resources are used in the labeling of souvenirs in *Sámiland*. Our study is focused on the labeling of souvenirs for sale in a selection of outlets in the Sámi village of Inari. We take as our

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2
3
4 starting point the understanding that these small and somewhat banal
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6 multimodal language practices in the labelling of souvenirs are actually very
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8 strategic and indicative. In discursive terms the labeling practices are both
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10 constructed and constitutive, gaining and changing identities, values and
11
12 functions through dynamic social interaction (cf. Jaffe 1999; Ploner 2009).
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14 Through the ethnographic and discourse analytical examination of these little
15
16 texts, and the trajectories along which they circulate, this paper attempts to
17
18 contribute to the growing body of work in the sociolinguistics of tourism
19
20 (Coupland, Garrett and Bishop 2005; Heller 2003; Thurlow and Jaworski
21
22 2010; Phipps 2007; Pujolar 2006) and relates to recent discussions on language
23
24 and globalization (cf. Blommaert 2010; Coupland 2003, 2010; Heller 2003),
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26 especially in relating to minority languages and multilingualism.
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32 We begin by situating souvenirs and their labels as part of the
33
34 multimodality of the co-produced tourist experience (Prentice 2001). We then
35
36 go on to describe the local political economy of language in Inari, and the
37
38 situation of Inari as a site of cultural and nature tourism. Next, we present the
39
40 particular combinations of multimodal resources that are used in the labeling
41
42 and by implication the narrating of souvenirs for and by tourists. Our
43
44 sociolinguistic focus is on language choice and on the selection and use of
45
46 particular linguistic and visual resources for particular functions. An
47
48 interesting and complex tension emerges from the data between the resources
49
50 used to cue authenticity and the resources used to ensure the mobility (cf.
51
52 Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005; Heller 2007) of the souvenir, and
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4 we organize the presentation of our findings around this tension. In the final
5
6 section, we discuss what this tension might imply for the local political
7
8 economy of language in sites of tourism exchange, which are also sites of
9
10 complex multilingualism.
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13 14 15 SOUVENIR LABELS AND CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL TOURISM 16 17

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20 Souvenirs are an important part of the multilayered and multimodal tourism
21
22 space; as mentioned above, they are a way of extending and continuing the
23
24 tourist experience, and as such, they form part of the overall narrative that the
25
26 tourist constructs of this personal experience in a particular place (cf. Schouten
27
28 2006). They can be seen as part of the material culture of the tourist place,
29
30 which in turn, as Scollon and Scollon (2003) remind us, is constructing and
31
32 also constructed by circulating discourses, interaction orders and experiences
33
34 of individuals in that place.
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39 The souvenir retailer, souvenirs themselves and their labelling all act as
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41 advertisements for the place and provide an element of differentiation and
42
43 authentication between ‘there’ and elsewhere, between that particular
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45 heritage and other cultures, and between locally-made and elsewhere-made.
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47 This interest in the possibilities and constraints of souvenirs to cross, mix and
48
49 move temporal and spatial boundaries is related to ‘new mobility’ research (cf.
50
51 for example, Sheller and Urry 2006; Urry 2007), particularly in relation to the
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53 mobility of language resources and practices between different places,
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4 domains, genres and practices and the consequences of this mobility
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6 (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005; Pennycook 2010; Author 2010).
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9 Souvenir labels can also be seen as part of what Thurlow and Jaworski
10
11 (2010), building on Billing's (1995) work on banal nationalism, call 'banal
12
13 globalisation'. They use this term to highlight how all mundane use of
14
15 language and other semiotic resources displays, play around with and
16
17 potentially contests global order(s) in tourism and linguistic hierarchies in
18
19 general. As such, souvenirs and their labelling practices, while having a
20
21 material base (cf. Jack and Phipps 2005), are indicative of larger processes and
22
23 practices related to the local economy of language, as argued above. In our
24
25 case, we locate the labelling practices of Inari souvenirs in a nexus of the
26
27 shifting complexities of the local political economy, particularly because they
28
29 aim at responding to the emerging and changing tourist encounters and market
30
31 demands, whilst at the same time balancing with local credibility. Against
32
33 these tensions and potentials, we observe two processes emerging in souvenir
34
35 labelling practices: one is a combination of particular resources to construct
36
37 authenticity for the tourist consumer; the other is a combination of particular
38
39 resources to allow souvenir mobility across scales. We are not arguing that
40
41 authenticity and mobility are necessarily dichotomous; nor that they are fixed,
42
43 material properties of particular languages and products. Rather, as we shall
44
45 see below, our data suggest that perceptions of both authenticity and mobility
46
47 are needed for souvenirs to travel across various contexts and scales.
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4 We see authenticity as discursively constructed, always situated in a
5
6 particular communicative event and subject to alterations and interpretations
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8 (cf. Bruner 2001). These constructed characteristics of authenticity make it
9
10 also a valuable resource in cultural tourism. We are using authenticity here in
11
12 terms of consumer/tourist authenticity in experiential cultural tourism, which
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14 Waller and Lea (1999 cited in Prentice, 2001) identify as having four different,
15
16 but inter-related dimensions: experience of closeness to the culture of the
17
18 place; experience of the emptiness of the place, particularly of other tourists;
19
20 experience of independence in the tourist experience – that is, being facilitated
21
22 rather than being herded; and experience of the perception of the landscape, or
23
24 the mindscape (Prentice 2001), that has already been formed by the tourist and
25
26 that links intertextually to imaginings of the place. By mobility, we refer to the
27
28 extent to which languages and other semiotic resources can be used to make
29
30 other objects mobile across scales of places (from Inari to Japan or France),
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32 domains (from cultural politics to tourism), and practices (museum
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34 representations to individual experiences) away from their original place
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36 (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005; Author 12010).
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44 We extend this to encompass the biography of the souvenir label. The
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46 linguistic and multimodal choices made for the souvenir labels are the starting
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48 point for this biography which then follows a textual trajectory that starts with
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50 its initial entextualisation. Interestingly, some souvenirs are entextualised from
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52 the start as such, while others are initially entextualised as a product for local
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54 use. The souvenir and its label follow various trajectories with varying
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4 participants and participant frameworks (e.g. from producer to wholesaler;
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6 wholesaler to retailer; retailer to tourist/consumer; from tourist to
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8 friend/relative/work colleague etc.). Along with the text of the label, each
9
10 stage allows for particular resources to be used to narrate these physical
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12 objects as souvenirs and to construct a link between them and the touristic
13
14 experience of a particular place³.
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18 While souvenirs as objects of the material world have multiple
19
20 meanings and modalities (cf. Davis and Marvin 2004), we focus on the
21
22 multimodal discourse of souvenir labels and labelling practices. We see the
23
24 label, the souvenir and the place of purchase as working together: the product
25
26 is the three-dimensional, existing object; the label is what also narrates it, and
27
28 plays an important role in bringing it to life as a souvenir, enabling it to be a
29
30 way of interacting with iconic sites and recreating the tourist experience out of
31
32 context. To understand the entextualisation and relocalisation processes (cf.
33
34 van Leeuwen 2008; Pennycook 2010), the choices and combinations of
35
36 particular resources and the various transitions, we first need to explore the
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38 political economy of language in Inari of which these souvenir labels are born
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40 and to which they contribute.
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49 THE LOCAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF LANGUAGES IN INARI
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51 VILLAGE
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4 The cultural tourism site which this article focuses on is, as mentioned
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6 earlier, the Sámi village of Inari, which is located geographically in
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8 Finnish Lapland, but simultaneously also belongs to the transnational and
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10 multilingual Sámiland of the indigenous Sámi nation⁴. This area, also
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12 known as *Sápmi* or North Calotte, has always been a multilingual and
13
14 multicultural place undergoing changes, not only because of mobility
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16 linked to traditional livelihoods centering on reindeer herding, hunting,
17
18 and fishing, but also because of cultural practices such as the seasonal
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20 move between summer and winter habitats and trade (in furs, tar and
21
22 dried fish). Language hierarchies and repertoires have also been affected
23
24 by the wider socio-political processes including the ‘birth’ of the
25
26 Scandinavian nation states and of Russia/ the Soviet Union in the early
27
28 20th century, and the consequent redrawing of national borders (the de
29
30 facto splitting of Sámiland, cf Author 1 et al. 2010). Contemporary
31
32 multilingualism is also related to education, media, new technology and
33
34 tourism which bring global languages, particularly English, to the region.
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36 In the context of the new globalized economy, and with the new types of
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38 job opportunities it brings (for example in tourism) and the market value
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40 it creates for locality, the value, function and experiences of
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42 multilingualism and particular languages, such as indigenous Sámi
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44 languages, are also renegotiated and reinvented (Author 12010).
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53 The historical and social trajectories of Sámi communities in the
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55 last fifty years or so have transformed Sámi languages from community
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4 languages into endangered languages known only by a few people. In the
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6 contemporary Sámi context, the forces that have a particularly strong
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8 impact on the language situation are linked, on the one hand, to Sámi
9
10 political and linguistic rights, and, on the other, to global processes such
11
12 as tourism, one of the increasing sources of revenue nowadays. The
13
14 region and its people are living through a shift from modern to post-
15
16 modern, from local to simultaneously global, from regional to
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18 transnational. Inari village, the central focus of this article, is an example
19
20 of these simultaneous and at times contradictory processes and provides
21
22 us with a site to explore conditions and consequences of these changes in
23
24 the context of tourism and globalisation. This multilayeredness makes it
25
26 possible to construct and perform various kinds of ‘Sáminess’ in a
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28 constructed touristic borderzone (cf. Bruner 2001).
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34 Similar to many other minoritized language communities (cf. e.g.
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36 Lacy & Douglass 2002; Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos 2004; Notzke
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38 1998), tourism in the Sámi context has included negotiation and
39
40 contestation of access, ownership and commodification with regard to
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42 linguistic and cultural resources. Recent disputes have concerned, for
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44 example, the use of Sámi symbols in tourist souvenirs and in the
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46 decoration of hotel interiors, and use of Sámi dresses by local hosts in
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48 tourist events. (see e.g. Länsman 2004; Saarinen 1999; Varanka 2001).
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51 Such disputes throw up many complex and interconnected issues, which
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54 are relevant in any consideration of how tourism, with its ‘rhetorical,
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4 discourse-based character' (Pujolar 2006: 26) can use local resources in a
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6 site like Inari to construct the tourist product. Having looked at the local
7
8 political economy of language, we will now move on to look at Inari as a
9
10 site of cultural tourism.
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12 13 14 15 INARI AS A SITE OF EXPERIENTIAL CULTURAL TOURISM 16

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19
20 Inari village is a very small, rural village in the far north of Finland, the Sámi
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22 domicile area. It is located at the shore of Lake Inari and for its 750
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24 inhabitants, it provides a basic, although somewhat truncated infrastructure of
25
26 services. The peripheral character of Inari is also reflected in the mixture of
27
28 ways people make their living, typically through a flexible combination of
29
30 some of the traditional means of living (i.e. reindeer husbandry, forestry,
31
32 fishing) with the service and tourism industry. According to official Finnish
33
34 statistics (Tilastokeskus, accessed 16.6.2009), 79 percent of the jobs in the
35
36 region are within services, while only 11 percent are within primary industry
37
38 (ie. farming, reindeer husbandry). Tourism is a significant part of the regional
39
40 economy: for example, in the year 2005, tourism brought over 80 million
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42 euros to the Inari municipality and in 2007, there were 2.2 million visitors in
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44 the region that has on average 0.5 people living per m² (see Luiro, accessed
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46 2.10.2009). About half of the visitors are international tourists, British,
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48 German, French and Russian tourists representing the biggest groups, but there
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50 are also growing markets in Southern Europe and Asia.
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4 Tourism impacts on the lives of the locals in more than just an
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6 economic way: it has also structured the services available in the village.
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9 Despite its small size, Inari hosts two hotels with restaurants, a camping site
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11 with cottages, a tourist information point, several tourist services, several
12
13 souvenir and handcraft shops, and the nationally and internationally
14
15 recognized Sámi culture and nature museum *Siida* with over 100,000 visitors
16
17 annually (Puolakka 2008).
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21 Inari is especially central for the Sámi community, as it is the symbolic
22
23 and institutional focal point for the Sámi languages with many central Sámi
24
25 institutions and services, such as schools, media and the Finnish Sámi
26
27 parliament. The village has four official languages, i.e. Northern Sámi, Inari
28
29 Sámi and Skolt Sámi together with the national majority language Finnish.
30
31
32 While it is nowadays rather rare to actually hear the Sámi languages spoken in
33
34 shops and on village roads, they are, to an extent, visible in the linguistic
35
36 landscape of Inari village (Author 1 et al. in print).
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38

39
40 Linguistic landscapes and audioscapes are key in the multimodality of
41
42 the contemporary tourist experience (cf. Jaworski, Thurlow, Lawson and
43
44 Ylänne-McEwen 2003; Pujolar 2006). In the context of Inari tourism, the
45
46 visual and aural closeness of Finnish and the Sámi languages (all Finno-Ugric
47
48 languages, but mutually unintelligible) may for the non-Finnish speaking
49
50 tourist mean that the Finnish linguistic landscape and audioscape are sufficient
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52 to give this feeling of being in another country and to confirm and remember
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54 the visit. However, when needed, the guide or locals can point towards the
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4 usage of indigenous languages in Inari, thus emphasizing the `indigenous`
5
6 character of the place.
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8
9 In a tourism context, Inari is branded as having two major attractions:
10
11 unspoiled nature and indigenous Sámi culture. In this positioning of Inari, we
12
13 can see key tropes of the marketed authenticity of experiential cultural
14
15 tourism, namely `the promotion of naturalness` (Prentice 2001: 17) in the case
16
17 of unspoilt nature, and `the offer of origins` (Prentice 2001: 9) in the
18
19 indigenous Sámi culture. The village itself is described in the tourism websites
20
21 (see e.g. <http://www.visitinari.fi>) and brochures as a `genuine` and a `real`
22
23 village, where `the heritage of the native people has remained active and vital`.
24
25 These are familiar and unchanging representations of indigenized and
26
27 ethnicized cultures in tourism (cf. Bruner 2001). We can see this as an
28
29 attempt to both commodify local resources which previously did not have this
30
31 market value and to differentiate this destination from other Northern
32
33 destinations. In the current phase of globalization and cultural tourism,
34
35 perceptions of periphery and authenticity have become valued attributes of
36
37 touristic places and experiences (cf. Lacy and Douglass 2002; Shepherd 2002).
38
39 This provides a good example of how authenticity and mobility are neither
40
41 fixed nor dichotomous.
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49 To meet the other expectations of tourists, Inari, too, is full of imported
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51 goods, such as husky safaris (huskies do not belong to the natural habitat of
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53 Scandinavia), and snowmobile safaris (the snowmobile is used locally for
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55 transportation and reindeer herding). Santa Claus is also on call all year round,
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4 the Northern lights (traditionally believed to be traces of a fox waving its tail)
5
6 can be 'hunted' for good luck and fertility, and alongside local food (fish,
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8 reindeer, mushrooms and berries) one can enjoy imported king crab or,
9
10 alternatively, pizza and hamburgers with Coke as anywhere else. To a certain
11
12 extent these goods and practices brought by tourism are now also consumed by
13
14 locals and they have become part of the multilayered environment of Inari.
15
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17
18 Inari is constructed for the domestic and global tourist as a place of
19
20 geographic and cultural escape, a gateway to places of physical beauty,
21
22 heritage culture, a place apart from everyday life, with its own temporal
23
24 dimension. Despite the complexities of the sociolinguistic, political, economic
25
26 and cultural situation of Inari described earlier, the souvenirs being sold to
27
28 tourists have to encompass a coherent narrative of the place with unique,
29
30 authenticating characteristics of the tourist experience there. In the following
31
32 section, we look at how this happens through the multimodal discourse of
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34 souvenir labels.
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41 DATA AND METHODS

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46 In our research on the souvenir labelling practices in Inari, we are employing
47
48 multimodal discourse analysis and ethnographic analysis (cf. Hult 2009;
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50 Author 2010; Scollon and Scollon 2003). The ethnographic approach helps us
51
52 to identify and explore the patterns and embeddedness of the souvenirs to the
53
54 political economy of language and the tourism experience in Inari (as outlined
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4 above), and to identify the trajectory which tourists follow when buying
5
6 souvenirs in Inari. Multimodal discourse analysis is crucial for examining
7
8 linguistic, textual and other semiotic aspects of language practices. The data
9
10 were collected systematically by our research team during four intensive field
11
12 work trips in 2008-2010. The data consist of fieldwork notes, on-site
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14 observations, informal discussions with tourists and tourist service providers,
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16 photographic documentation of the key tourist attractions, key tourist
17
18 souvenirs shops, souvenirs and their labels, and souvenir items
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22
23 Our analysis proceeded through four interrelated steps. First, with the
24
25 help of on-site observations, informal discussion and tourist guidebooks, we
26
27 identified the Inari tourist trail and the typical activities the tourists engaged
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29 with. The data suggest that in Inari, with the help of tourist maps and advice
30
31 from guides and the tourist information point, tourists are actively directed
32
33 towards and guided along this relatively clearly marked trajectory and, based
34
35 on our field work observations, tourists seem to, more or less, follow it. The
36
37 most typical trail, one across the village, along the main road and shore of
38
39 Lake Inari, passes the main tourist attractions and several souvenir outlets in
40
41 the village. Tourists generally start from a small wooden church at one end of
42
43 the village and then make their way to the village centre, making stops in the
44
45 tourist information point, several tourist outlets, and, after crossing the famous
46
47 *Juutua* salmon river, end up in the large, modern looking building of *Siida*, the
48
49 Sámi cultural and nature museum. Even though the tourist trajectory in Inari
50
51 is very short, less than one kilometre, the viewing and potential purchase of
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4 souvenirs is a central activity of that trajectory and of the visit to Inari itself:
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6 browsing for and purchasing souvenirs make up, in our own observations, a
7
8 significant amount of the time tourists spend on the trajectory.
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10
11 Our second step was to identify the key souvenir shops for our analysis
12
13 on souvenir labels. Based on our on-site observations, we focussed on the most
14
15 popular souvenir shops where the tourists purchase souvenirs. These were the
16
17 Museum Shop in *Siida*, the Sámi handcraft guild's *Duodji* shop, the largest
18
19 souvenir outlet *Näkkäljärvi*, and the souvenir shop in the tourist information
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21 point.
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24
25 The souvenir shops differ in their profiles and the range of souvenirs
26
27 they sell, thus creating a different space and potentially different experience
28
29 for souvenir browsing and purchasing. For example, the souvenir shop within
30
31 the Tourist Information Point and the *Näkkäljärvi* souvenir shop with its
32
33 cafeteria provide souvenirs ranging from objects made by Sámi artisans and
34
35 local handicrafts people to mass produced tourist 'kitsch' with some indexing
36
37 of Lapland, Sámi culture or just 'being on holiday'. In contrast, the two other
38
39 souvenir shops under scrutiny are located at the centre of Sámi community
40
41 practices, i.e. the Sámi *Duodji* shop sells only objects made by accredited Sámi
42
43 handicrafts people and also sells Sámi language teaching materials and
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45 materials for Sámi dress making. The *Siida* museum shop similarly
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47 emphasizes Sámi artefacts, although there are also other kinds of souvenirs on
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49 sale.
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4 In our third step, we examined and compared the range of souvenirs
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6 available in these shops, together with making observations of the tourists
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8 purchasing souvenirs and holding informal interviews with sales personnel
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10 about souvenir selling and purchasing practices. The experiences of the team
11
12 members themselves both as tourists in Inari and of purchasing souvenirs were
13
14 also utilized.
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18 In our final step, we moved on to examine the multimodal discourse of
19
20 Inari souvenir labels. For this, we selected 32 different souvenirs and their
21
22 labels, which represented the range of souvenirs and labelling practices found
23
24 in our previous analytical steps. As mentioned above, we wanted to look at the
25
26 particular resources used to narrate physical objects as souvenirs and to
27
28 construct a link between the objects and the touristic experience of Inari. These
29
30 labels were analysed according to language choice, visual trope (colour, flag,
31
32 animal figure etc), indexes of production/producer (handmade, Sámi Duodji
33
34 etc) and the type of souvenir (clothes, food etc). In this analysis, we also
35
36 utilized our fieldnotes and on-site observations. In addition, we examined the
37
38 indexing of various scales (local, national, international, global) in the
39
40 linguistic and semiotic choices on the souvenirs. The scalar model proved
41
42 particularly useful in helping to relate to the global economic and cultural
43
44 flows manifesting in complex, overlapping and disjunctive orders and spaces
45
46 (Appadurai 1990; Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005). Aiello and
47
48 Thurlow (2006: 154, see also Thurlow and Aiollo 2007) suggest the concept
49
50 of the semioscape as a way of tapping into the circulation of semiotic symbols
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4 under emerging global conditions. In the next section, we discuss some
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6 examples which are illustrative of the multimodal discourse of souvenir labels
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8 in Inari.
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10 11 12 13 NARRATING SOUVENIRS IN INARI: AUTHENTICITY AND MOBILITY

14 15 **Relative importance and functions of different languages**

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20 The languages that appear on the labels are a key way of constructing the link
21
22 to place. The languages chosen and the various functions they seem to have in
23
24 the labels can be seen to represent a micro-level interplay of the global,
25
26 national, regional and local layers in constructing the local political economy
27
28 of language. They form a multilayered system in which use of each resource
29
30 tries to open an access to the mobility and authenticity continua. In the labels
31
32 that we looked at English is, perhaps not surprisingly, the primary language in
33
34 which this link is made, through the use of stock phrases and buzzwords, such
35
36 as ‘made in’, ‘hand-made in’ et cetera. Finnish plays a smaller role, and is
37
38 almost always accompanied by English. The place names are typically in
39
40 Finnish (rather than in their English version, e.g. Lapland, Northern Finland),
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42 thus constructing the link to the place, while English, linked to its function as
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44 lingua franca and as a language of marketing, serves to make the product
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46 mobile, by for instance situating a Finnish product, company or place name in
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48 relation to global navigation points (see examples below).
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4 German is the next most common language to be used on labels,
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6 although it is much less significant than English or Finnish. The use of
7
8 German can be seen to index the important role of Germany in trade and
9
10 tourism for Finland and to the fact that German has traditionally been part of
11
12 the Finnish language education and repertoire until very recently. However, in
13
14 the local political economy of languages in Inari, it can be seen also to point
15
16 towards the particular historical presence of German in Lapland. This is
17
18 related to the presence of over 200,000 German soldiers in Lapland (doubling
19
20 the number of the inhabitants in the area at the time) during World War II
21
22 (specifically from 1941-1944) as a part of the alliance between Finland and
23
24 Germany, which ended with the devastating 'Lapland war' in 1994- 1945 and
25
26 consequent withdrawal of German soldiers from Finnish soil (cf. Junila 2000).
27
28 In the tourism context, this has resulted in a steady flow of German tourists,
29
30 some of whom have been attracted by the possibility to revisit the old war sites
31
32 and by the fact that many locals, particularly those belonging to older
33
34 generations, know at least some German.
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41 Two instances of using Norwegian and Swedish relate to the
42
43 neighbouring countries and mobility of people and products between them, on
44
45 the one hand, and to the official status of Swedish as Finland's other official
46
47 language on the other. A number of labels also used Northern Sámi, the
48
49 biggest of the Sámi languages, but Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi, the other two
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51 local Sámi languages, are still unused resources for this purpose.
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4 English can be seen as operating on a global scale in these souvenir
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6 labels, as the lingua franca of international tourists, indicating accessibility and
7
8 mobility. German operates on a European level, indexing both the historical
9
10 processes and the customizing attempts of tourism providers and souvenir
11
12 producers and retailers. Norwegian and Swedish operate on a regional
13
14 (Nordic) scale, and the use of Swedish also references Finland's official
15
16 language policy. While these language scales work more towards making the
17
18 product mobile, Finnish and Sámi work more towards localising and
19
20 authenticating the product. Apart from the possibility of 'tourist language
21
22 learners' taking it as their task to learn the local languages (cf. Phipps, 2007),
23
24 in the international tourism context, Finnish and Sámi do not circulate that
25
26 much beyond national or local scales. Rather, they seem to need the help of
27
28 English for such mobility, unless they are turned into an emblem/visual, and
29
30 then they might easily work as 'authentic' or 'local' enough to index
31
32 originality. Author 2 (2005) has argued that 'foreign' languages can act
33
34 primarily as visual and symbolic resources in advertising, and we would see
35
36 here that Finnish (apart from its role for domestic tourists) and Sámi are part of
37
38 the visual means for supporting and authenticating English language labels.
39
40 Pujolar (2006) makes the point that national languages, particularly the big
41
42 European national languages, do not always deliver clues to authenticity as
43
44 they are too widely known and too 'ordinary'. In such a case, he argues that
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46 smaller languages and traditionally minoritised languages are more suited for
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48 authentication. This seems to be the case in Inari souvenir labels as not only
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4 indigenous Sámi, but also Finnish is, in global terms, a ‘small’ language, with
5
6 its own exotic index.
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9 We can see an example of this in Figure 1, which depicts a vest that
10
11 can be purchased in the Näkkäljärvi souvenir shop, the largest souvenir shop
12
13 in Inari. The vest is a modified, “tourist version’ of a Sámi vest in that the fur
14
15 inside the vest is fake fur, and the colours of the vest resemble Sámi colours
16
17 (bright red, blue and yellow), but are not quite the same. These vests are sold
18
19 all over Finnish skiing resorts and they are not linked to Inari in any particular
20
21 way, apart from the purchase place. In Figure 1 we can see how the producer’s
22
23 name and address as well as housekeeping items such as ‘phone number’ are
24
25 in Finnish; however, the country is given as Finland rather than *Suomi* (the
26
27 Finnish word for Finland), and the ‘wallpaper’ or background against which
28
29 this information is printed is made up of a motif of snowflakes and reindeers,
30
31 using a colour scheme of the Finnish national colours, blue and white.
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39 Figure 1. Näkkäljärvi souvenir – label of a souvenir vest
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44 **Resources for narrating authenticity** 45 46 47

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49 Different tourists are looking for different kinds of narratives and indexes of
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51 what is perceived as authentic in the souvenirs they purchase for themselves
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53 and for others. Pujolar (2006) points out that many tourists are willing to
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55 sacrifice authenticity for accessibility, whereas other tourists are willing to
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4 forego easy accessibility and go off the planned route in search of greater
5
6 experience of authenticity. We can see a parallel in the souvenir purchasing
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8 practices and discourse of souvenir labels in Inari. The souvenir labels we
9
10 observed range on a scale from easily accessible (for example, the use of a
11
12 Finnish flag, or the term ‘made in Finland/Lapland’) to a text in Sámi language
13
14 only or the Sámi flag, which, if the tourist is not guided through the tourist
15
16 trajectory, thereby enabling them to ‘learn authenticity’ (Prentice, 2001), may
17
18 make little sense to them. One tension as regards what is perceived and sold as
19
20 ‘authentic’ in the Inari context lies between the protection of traditional Sámi
21
22 handicrafts and their commodification in tourism, and this is reflected in the
23
24 labelling practices of the next example. Traditional handicrafts are usually
25
26 perceived to be high on the authenticity continuum and potentially they could
27
28 ‘speak’ to the self-aware and reflexive tourist (cf. Grünewald 2006). We would
29
30 like to argue, however, that the kind of resources used and the way they are
31
32 used in the labels accompanying the products impact on the mobility of these
33
34 handicrafts across scales and cultural and linguistic boundaries. Our first
35
36 example of this is a label from a Sámi handicraft product, a set of beads, on
37
38 sale only in the Sámi handicraft *Duodji* shop, illustrated in the next figure.
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49 Figure 2: Duodji souvenir – label of a piece of jewellery
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53 This piece of jewellery is an authenticated Duodji product: Duodji is a
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55 northern Sámi word and means an act, activity or product, but it is mostly used
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4 to refer to Sámi handicrafts made of traditional Sámi materials, by traditional
5
6 Sámi methods and by Sámi people (cf. Kulonen, Seurujärvi-Kari and
7
8 Pulkkinen 2005; Lehtola 1997). The Sámi Duodji is a protected brand,
9
10 supported and supervised by the Sámi craft guild to guarantee the Sámi
11
12 authenticity of the product by guaranteeing that it is made by a Sámi person
13
14 using traditional Sámi ways and materials. Only products which fulfil all these
15
16 criteria are sold in Duodji shop. The shop itself is very small, basically two
17
18 small rooms, and clearly marked as a Sámi shop with usage of Sámi flag, Sámi
19
20 colours, Northern Sámi signs, the playing of Sámi music in the background
21
22 etc. In a tourism context, Duodji represents ‘indigenous handicrafts’ that
23
24 reflect and respond to tourism present in the local environment in an attempt to
25
26 market and sell these local items to a larger market (cf. Grünewald, 2006).
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32 The label here simply contains the name of the product (which means a
33
34 pearl), in Northern Sámi and Finnish, a bar code, a product number and a
35
36 price. The language choice and the hierarchical ordering of languages on this
37
38 label represent a micro-instance of the language policy that seems to be
39
40 operating for Duodji souvenirs. The Duodji labels are all either monolingual
41
42 Northern Sámi labels or bilingual Northern Sámi and Finnish, indexing the
43
44 products first and foremost as Sámi products, but also facilitating multilingual
45
46 practices, apparent both within the Sámi community itself and in the
47
48 surrounding environment. As noted above, the use of other Sámi languages in
49
50 the labels or products themselves is very rare, indicating the dominant position
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52 of Northern Sámi as the main Sámi language.
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4 The number on the product which is given on the label (see Figure 2)
5
6 is also a way for Duodji personnel to identify the maker of the product (needed
7
8 for later payment). Interestingly, in terms of selling their products, these
9
10 handicrafts makers have chosen not to mark or 'brand' their products by using
11
12 their name and individual identity, relying instead on the strength of the
13
14 Duodji brand.
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16

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18 In this particular example, the product number and the utilization of
19
20 Northern Sámi and Finnish as particular local resources do not seem to us to
21
22 afford international mobility for the souvenir and easy recontextualisation out of
23
24 the context of Inari: the narrating of the product is left entirely to the tourist,
25
26 and an example from our own experience illustrates this well. One of our team
27
28 members purchased one of the cheapest items in this shop, a pair of woollen
29
30 socks knitted in the traditional Sámi way and by a Duodji craftperson, which
31
32 cost the considerable sum of 40 euros (as a souvenir to bring back home
33
34 outside of Finland as a gift). The label was very similar to our example above.
35
36 The recipient of the socks was less than impressed by the present, shocked at
37
38 the cost, and at a loss as to why anyone would pay so much for woollen socks,
39
40 seeing them as nothing special. This illustrates that ways in which many
41
42 Duodji souvenirs are perhaps at the extremely high end of a notional
43
44 authenticity continuum, but at the low end of a mobility continuum. The
45
46 narrative that supports the products needs to be created for the tourist in order
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48 for it to be mobile enough to work outside of their local or production context
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4 or place of purchase, particularly where the souvenir is a gift rather than a
5
6 remembrance for the tourist themselves.
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9 This also reminds us that the meaning of a souvenir does not derive
10
11 only from the utilisation of indexicality to a particular place, but gains
12
13 meaning also through the act of purchase and giving. As Jaffe (1999) shows
14
15 with her study on greeting cards, the meaning of an object is always also
16
17 relational and therefore has an interpersonal nature apart from any ideational
18
19 and identifying characteristics (cf. also Thurlow and Jaworski 2010). Kopytoff
20
21 (1986: 65) reminds us that commodities are not only materially produced as
22
23 things but they also need to be culturally marked as being a certain kind of
24
25 thing. Furthermore, the meaning of a thing, like a souvenir, varies in time and
26
27 space and between individual social actors. In our next example, the linguistic
28
29 and semiotic choices on the label fulfil at least some of this narrative function.
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37 **Making authenticity mobile**

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42 As our last example showed, even with the authenticating nature of the Duodji
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44 brand label, many of the Duodji souvenirs still need significant narrative work
45
46 and other supporting resources in order to become mobile outside of the
47
48 local/indigenous scale. One response to this is an emerging labelling practice
49
50 in Duodji souvenirs whereby local resources are combined with other
51
52 linguistic, discursive and visual resources to add mobility without
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54 compromising appeals to authenticity. As mentioned earlier, one dimension
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4 identified by tourists as indicating greater authenticity of experience was the
5
6 directness of the link to the culture, to 'real' people and a corresponding lack
7
8 of tourists, an exclusivity of the touristic experience (not in terms of luxury,
9
10 but in terms of not sharing it with a mass market). One way in which this is
11
12 narrated in another type of Sámi Duodji label is by the inclusion of a signature
13
14 and a number on the label. It is interesting to note that there are no more
15
16 textual or visual clues on this label than on the previous one discussed above.
17
18
19 However, the use of the signature and the product number enhance the
20
21 potential for mobility, since the signature of the craftsman creates a link to
22
23 the 'real' experience, a real person, and the numbering of the item cues
24
25 exclusivity, signalling to the tourist that these are not mass-produced goods.
26
27
28 The use of signatures and numbering are global ways of constructing
29
30 authenticity, which contribute to the mobility of the Sámi Duodji souvenirs
31
32 and help with the recontextualisation of the souvenir texts beyond the local
33
34 contexts.
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40 However, some Duodji products are beginning to utilize even more
41
42 obviously global resources in a more explicit way to enhance mobility of local
43
44 resources on a global scale. As Thurlow and Aiello (2007) argue, globally
45
46 available and globally recognized visual resources, such as maps and booklet
47
48 formats, have potential for meaning beyond one scale and context and are
49
50 therefore often chosen by local producers to gain mobility. In the next
51
52 example, the product, a bookmark in the Sámi national colours, has a label
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54 which is in the form of a mini-booklet, consisting of four pages. On the front
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4 page of the booklet there is the name of the manufacturer, *Ságat*. The producer
5
6 is a recognised Sámi fabric designer, who has also worked for leading Finnish
7
8 fabric companies. When we open the booklet, we find a map and text in
9
10 Northern Sámi, as we can see in Figure 3:
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16 Figure 3. Duodji souvenir – the booklet label
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21 In this label, the map of Europe can be seen as a global resource,
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23 although it is mixed with local resources by the fact that it utilizes the Sámi
24
25 national colours. The names of the countries on the map are in English, again
26
27 giving accessibility and mobility, and the visual includes the Arctic Circle, an
28
29 icon and a metonym for this tourist place, and one that is globally distributed.
30
31 The Arctic Circle also cues authenticity in that it alludes to ‘naturalness’ and
32
33 emptiness (see discussion above). The map can be seen as an attempt to make
34
35 an explicit link to Sámiland, not just Lapland or Finland, and thus serves as a
36
37 place-branding technique, by ‘situating’ Sámiland and clearly delineating it as
38
39 a separate place. Finland is there, but it is backgrounded. This choice shows
40
41 some of the complexities regarding different and to an extent competing
42
43 perspectives on the Northern territory: the label ‘Sámiland’ foregrounds the
44
45 symbolic and political construction of transnational Sámiland which developed
46
47 as a part of the Sámi political movement particularly in the latter half of the
48
49 20th century (Lehtola 1997) and to which many Sámi people ascribe., This has
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4 the effect of downplaying the nation-state perspective to the region,
5
6 represented as Finland and its province Lapland.
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9 On the opposite page of the label we see text in Northern Sámi “*Mu*
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11 *njeallje jagiáiggi – ivnnit mátterván hemiiddán eatnamiin*’ (The four seasons-
12
13 colours from the land of my forefathers). We would argue that Northern Sámi
14
15 functions here as part of the visual of the label for the majority of tourists. It
16
17 provides another cue for authenticity, the mobility having been taking care of
18
19 by strategic deployment of the map (cf. Aiello and Thurlow 2006). Here we
20
21 can see at least two processes taking place simultaneously. One is a process
22
23 which makes the Northern Sámi language an emblem, a visual element
24
25 indexing both the place and the uniqueness/authenticity of that place.
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29 Regardless of whether the tourist recognizes this as a Sámi language (or takes
30
31 it as Finnish), the text serves this function. The second process is that Northern
32
33 Sámi is becoming a language used in marketing and branding, expanding the
34
35 domains in which Sámi languages are usually used, indexing for people with
36
37 Sámi resources a new (added) value and function (cf. Author 12010), and this
38
39 has inevitable consequences for the local political economy of language. The
40
41 mobility of the narrative is further supported by the inclusion of parallel
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43 translations of the text into English, German and Japanese on subsequent
44
45 pages of the booklet.
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51 52 53 **Making mobility authentic** 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

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4 While many of the Duodji souvenirs have to work to become mobile beyond
5
6 local and indigenous circuits, they have relatively guaranteed access to what is
7
8 taken as authentically Sámi. For the many other Inari souvenirs, such as the
9
10 vest in the first example, the situation is almost the opposite. These souvenirs
11
12 may be made by locals (not necessarily by Sámi people), or imported from
13
14 other parts of Finland and beyond, and consequently they do not have
15
16 unproblematic access to Sámi traditions and associated indexes of authenticity.
17
18 Therefore, they may have to draw on other linguistic and semiotic resources to
19
20 construct their authenticity. At the same time, this means that in their souvenir
21
22 production, they are not confined by the Sámi traditions and policies (as for
23
24 example in the Duodji brand), and are therefore ‘free’ to make the most of a
25
26 range of diverse resources from various local and global scales in order to
27
28 maximise mobility while constructing authenticity. We observe several
29
30 strategies of how this is done in Inari souvenir labelling practices.
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37 As mentioned earlier, the initial entextualising of the label appears
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39 significant here, since not all of the Duodji products are (or have traditionally
40
41 been) entextualised as souvenirs from the beginning; instead they were (and
42
43 still are primarily) produced for the Sámi community. This is in contrast to the
44
45 next example, a label from a hat purchasable in Näkkäljärvi souvenir shop
46
47 (the largest outlet), which has been entextualised and so intentionally narrated
48
49 as a souvenir from the start. An explicit narrative is created for the product,
50
51 linking it directly to Lapland as a place. Lapland is a resource that is not just
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53 locally, but also globally available, and it could be argued that it is metonymic
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4 of not just Finland, but the other Nordic countries as well. Furthermore, in
5
6 contrast to ‘Sámiland’ or ‘Sápmi’, the name ‘Lapland’ does not have the
7
8 connotation of indigenous culture and traditions, hence using ‘Lapland
9
10 resources’ for marketing and economic purposes is far simpler politically than
11
12 utilizing Sámi resources. Not surprisingly, in labels using Lapland resources,
13
14 nature is foregrounded as a key attribute, with the associated tropes of purity
15
16 and otherworldliness used to cue authenticity. The English text reads as
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19
20 follows:

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24
25 Wild Lapland Products Oy was established in the 1960s. The original
26
27 idea was to develop products inspired by the history of Lapland and its
28
29 beautiful, pure nature and to awaken the product user’s interest in
30
31 Lapland. These original principles have been followed when developing
32
33 the product. We hope these warm thoughts also reach you with this
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35
36
37 product.

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41 The English text appears in a multi-lingual label, which utilizes national and
42
43 international resources - with Finnish and Swedish versions ahead of the
44
45 English version - but not Sámi language resources. The different language
46
47 versions are indicated by the respective national flags, although of course
48
49 Swedish is an official language of Finland, and so is both a national and
50
51 international resource. The English version is indicated by the British flag,
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56 which positions English as an international rather than global resource, when it
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4 is in fact much more likely to function as the latter for the majority of tourists.
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6 The kind of local-national-global dynamics and contradictions, exemplified
7
8 here in the usage of flags, can be found across tourism discourse and practices,
9
10 which are deploying the dialectics of familiar and exotic, authentic and banal,
11
12 real and fantasized (Favero 2007; Sheller and Urry 2005). As with the Duodji
13
14 label discussed above, the narrative for the souvenir is constructed
15
16 multimodally: the booklet form of the label serves to reinforce and support the
17
18 idea of a founding narrative for the brand to accompany and make the product
19
20 mobile across places. Through these choices of linguistic and visual resources,
21
22 the souvenir is made mobile and is easily recontextualised across a range of
23
24 trajectories. The narrative also functions as a guarantee for the authenticity of
25
26 the product as a ‘genuine’ product from Lapland and its ‘pure’ nature, and as
27
28 the outcome of thoughtful and longstanding development.
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37 **Breaking down dichotomies**

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41 Yet another process that we observe in Inari souvenir labelling practices is a
42
43 playful and creative use of linguistic and other semiotic resources to ensure
44
45 mobility whilst at the same time retaining a ring of the ‘real thing’ in the
46
47 tourism context. To adapt to the new political economy of tourism and to
48
49 profit from it, discursive resources such as new genres, humour, irony and play
50
51 with languages are a way to gain access to local resources. without crises of
52
53 legitimacy, and to speak to tourists across different scales (cf. Author 1 2010).
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4 The above example shows that while English may give accessibility and
5
6 mobility, on its own it may not be a sufficient cue for place or authenticity – it
7
8 may be too ordinary, too mobile, with no link to the locality (cf, Pujolar 2006).
9
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11 So, while we find instrumental use of English on souvenir labels in Inari, it
12
13 rarely appears on its own without visual means to support the place /
14
15 authenticity link.
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18 In Figure 4, we can see an example of a ceramic bought in the Siida
19
20 Museum shop. The language of the label is primarily English, the brand
21
22 *Dragonía* being a unique piece of language play designed to create a
23
24 differentiated product (cf. Moore 2003). It is also a case of language mixing
25
26 and creativity: the English word ‘dragon’ is fused with a Finnish suffix – ‘ia’,
27
28 meaning the place or the house of the Dragon. The person’s Finnish name and
29
30 their title ‘ceramicist’ work as indexes of authenticity (see above). Again, as in
31
32 the Duodji example above, the signature links to the ‘real’ person, the ‘real’
33
34 culture, and the inclusion of the internationalism ‘ceramicist’ links to the fact
35
36 that they are a ‘real’ craftsperson. The discursive link to place is explicitly
37
38 made through the use of the adjective ‘Finnish’ along with the other standard,
39
40 well-known and often used trope of authenticity, ‘handmade’ (cf. Prentice
41
42 2001), which ensures its rhetorical appeal travels well across scales
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49 While the use of English here narrates the product into a souvenir and
50
51 guarantees its mobility, the visual, indexing the art of ‘primitive’ cave-type or
52
53 Shamanic drawings, offers an additional authenticating support to the
54
55 souvenir, providing a valuable narrative resource. The figure seems to be a
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4 fox, which has a well-established role in traditional local folklore, indexing in
5
6 a subtle way the place. The global meaning potential of a fox may relate to its
7
8 mythological role in many cultures as an animal between times and places,
9
10 dusk and dawn, associated with magic and cunning. The image of a fox is thus
11
12 both local and global. Taken together, these visual and language practices
13
14 deploy rustic imagery, which simultaneously indexes both the local and global.
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20 Figure 4. Siida museum shop souvenir – ceramics
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25 Having looked at these different practices, we would now like to
26
27 discuss their implications for the local political economy of language in Inari
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29 and beyond in terms of the sociolinguistics of tourism and of globalisation.
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34 DISCUSSION 35

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39 Souvenir labels, as the examples above show, illustrate the challenge in all
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41 tourism discourses and practices of having to balance delicately between the
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43 construction of mobility and the construction of authenticity in choosing and
44
45 deploying multimodal local and global resources. There is a need to construct
46
47 authenticity and to differentiate the place, its culture and its language – and of
48
49 course its souvenir products. In terms of the souvenir labels we examined, the
50
51 ‘right’ degree of ‘authenticity’ accompanied by resources for mobility seems
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53 to make a perfect match, although the judgment of what is the ‘right’
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4 composition is of course always locally made and varies between tourists. It is
5
6 co-constructed by the tourist and producer/provider and subject to
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8 renegotiation and reconstruction as the souvenir text travels along differing
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10 trajectories and participant frameworks. A product that is not differentiated
11
12 enough is not attractive/worth buying, but if this goes too far, then the souvenir
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14 may not be mobile enough, may not work out of its context or may need too
15
16 much explanation – the ultimate ‘real’ souvenir, it can be argued, may be a
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18 banal, everyday object.
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22 The labels discussed and analysed above represent the complexity of
23
24 the local political economy of language in Inari and the difficulties of
25
26 categorising particular languages in relation to each other and in relation to
27
28 wider economic and political issues. For example, Sámi languages seem to be
29
30 powerful resources for authenticating souvenirs, something which, on the one
31
32 hand, reinforces their strong local solidarity role, and, on the other, opens up a
33
34 status role resulting from the possibilities offered by this commodification and
35
36 the global valuing of local authenticity in tourism. However, the use of only
37
38 one of the Sámi languages, the largest one in terms of speakers, namely
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40 Northern Sámi, reinforces an internal linguistic hierarchy, which tends to
41
42 downplay and ignore internal multilingualism in the Sámi community,
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44 particularly when using the languages beyond the local context.
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51 English seems to be the ultimate resource for mobility, but it is not
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53 enough on its own and does not seem to offer a sufficiently authenticating
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55 narrative to accompany the souvenir of a local experience or encounter. So,
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4 while Sámi languages alone are not enough, changes in the local political
5
6 economy and the dynamics of local-global relations, mean that neither too is
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8 English. Finnish, the language of the nation state and of (recent) domination,
9
10 from the Sámi point of view, plays a lesser authenticating role. A number of
11
12 'supercentral' (De Swaan 2001) lingua francae of the current era are also
13
14 present, and, while they may seem to be randomly selected, each of these
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16 choices of languages, as we saw in the case of German, tells a story about
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18 local, national and global language regimes, historical, contemporary, and
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20 future.
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25 Souvenir labels of course are only one part of the sociolinguistics of
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27 tourism in Inari and elsewhere, but nonetheless they are one small piece of
28
29 evidence of actual linguistic and visual choices made from available resources
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31 which reflect and in turn create the local political economy of language. We
32
33 argue that the tension, evidenced in our ethnographic and discourse analytic
34
35 study, between resources utilized for authentication and resources utilized for
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37 mobility in multimodal souvenir discourse tells us something about this local
38
39 political economy of language. It would seem that the more 'authentic' the
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41 product, in the sense that it utilizes resources traditionally operating on a local
42
43 scale, the greater the need for a supporting narrative, which is provided either
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45 by a guide, a guidebook or an encounter which the tourist has during their visit
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47 (e.g. buying a souvenir which reminds them of the colours they encountered at
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49 Inari), or through the multimodal discourse of the label. Thus, either the label
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4 talks for itself and supports the product, or the tourists themselves must do
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6 this.
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9 This reflects the necessity for multilingualism in peripheral minority
10 language spaces such as Inari, where mobility continues to be afforded through
11 other languages. As Author 2 (2005) has argued, token use of a minoritised
12 language in a status domain such as advertising (and in this case tourism) can
13 be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the use of the language in this
14 prestigious and modern domain can challenge the position of the language in
15 existing regimes and hierarchies. On the other, the token usage and the need
16 for supporting resources from other, more dominant languages, can simply
17 reinforce a marginal position for the language.
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30 Under the conditions of ‘the new economy’, and with its shift towards
31 the production of services rather than goods, cultural tourism in peripheral
32 areas like Inari is facing several new opportunities and challenges. The broader
33 change underlying these questions can be seen as a change from a discourse of
34 political rights to a discourse of economic development. As regards languages,
35 this means expanding our understanding of what language is and does,
36 particularly moving from perceiving language as a marker of ethnolinguistic
37 identity to perceiving it also an economically interesting skill or a commodity
38 (Heller 2005). While this is nothing new for world languages, lingua francas
39 and large national languages, in a minority language context, these changes
40 and shifts may create new opportunities for minoritized languages. Of course,
41 these changes, related to authenticity and originality as in the Sámi case,
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4 simultaneously raise important and tricky questions of ownership, boundaries
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6 of commodification and the basis for identity politics.
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9 A final clue about the local political economy of language offered by
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11 the discourse of souvenir labels is in terms of the changing nature of
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13 multilingualism in an area such as Inari and Sámiland in general as a result of
14
15 being part of the global tourist route. Multilingualism for touristic purposes
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17 seems able to make a fairly easy transition towards heteroglossic and
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19 ‘truncated’ practices without becoming entangled with issues of identity, local
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21 cultural politics or issues of representation and legitimacy. Using a little bit of
22
23 a particular language on a label does not need to indicate any kind of fluency
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25 or competence or ownership. Indeed, the pragmatic or commercial imperative
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27 may sometimes be used to override such concerns. However, the use of such
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29 languages may impact on local (and global) notions about fluency, competence
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31 and ownership, which in turn may feed back into debates about representation,
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33 legitimacy and identity. Similarly, for the tourist, the appearance of particular
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35 languages (their language or not), may or may not affect their own particular
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37 practices and ideologies. This is the reflexive nature of the local political
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39 economy of language and its intertwining with new economic processes.
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Figure 1. Näkkäläjärvi souvenir – label of a souvenir vest

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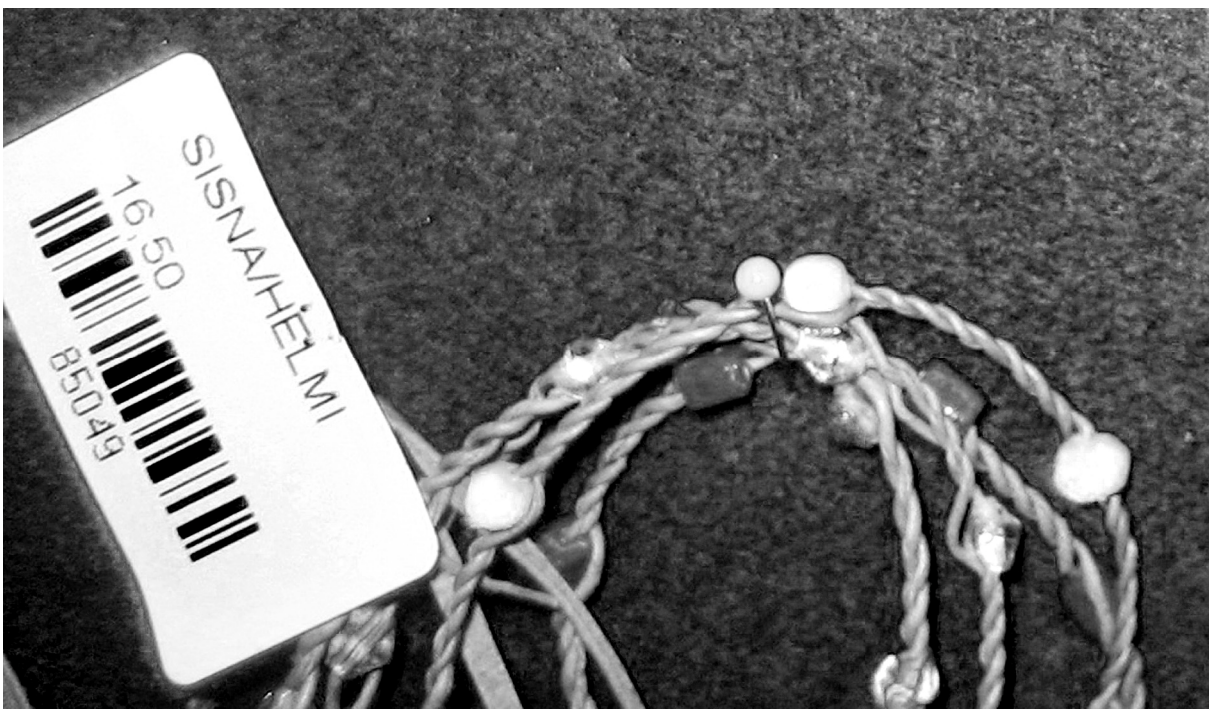


Figure 2: Duodji souvenir – label of a piece of jewellery



Figure 3. Duodji souvenir – the booklet label



Figure 4. Siida museum shop souvenir – ceramics

NOTES

¹ We would like to thank the reviewers and the editors of this journal for extremely valuable comments on the earlier versions of this article. We also wish to thank X X for her help in the ethnographic work in the research reported here.

² The impetus for our analysis of souvenir labelling practices arose from our larger research project called X.X , focussing on multilingualism in minority language communities under emerging global conditions, particularly in Sámiland. (see Y.Y.). The project is funded by the Academy of Finland.

² This relates to our understanding of space as a complex and dynamic social construction (Lefebvre 1991), which is produced and experienced in human interaction. The dynamics between language, multimodal practices and (public) space are a growing focus of research notably within the transdisciplinary fields of linguistic landscape and goasemiotics (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; Shohamy and Gorter 2009).

⁴ Today it is estimated that, of approximately 60,000 to 80,000 Sámi people, half speak one of the nine Sámi languages. The most dominant language is Northern Sámi, with approximately 30,000 speakers throughout Sámiland, whereas other Sámi languages have only very few speakers in a very local language community, with as few as 250 to 400 speakers each (Kulonen, Seurujärvi-Kari and Pulkkinen, 2005).

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