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Accessibility in Tourist Communication

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Foreword

It is our great pleasure to present the first volume of Cultus 9, an issue entirely dedicated to the language of tourism in a cross-cultural perspective. A high number of articles have been submitted for this issue by international academics and researchers. For this reason, eight articles are being published in volume 1, edited by Elena Manca and Cinzia Spinzi, the remaining ones will follow in volume 2, edited by David Katan and Cinzia Spinzi.

We would like to thank all the authors for contributing to this field of study, and to this issue, with their high-quality, innovative and interesting work and for their dedication and patience.

In addition, we would like to thank those members of the Scientific Committee who have contributed to the making of this volume and whose work has increased the quality of the articles even more.

We are sure that this issue will be very useful for future research in Tourism Discourse studies.

Elena Manca and *Cinzia Spinzi*

Official Tourist Websites and the Cultural Communication Grammar model: analysing language, visuals, and cultural features

Elena Manca

Abstract

This paper aims to analyse the homepages of four official tourist websites, namely the websites which promote Italy, France, Germany, and New Zealand according to a new framework, labelled here as 'Cultural Communication Grammar'. This methodological approach combines the approach of Multimodal analysis (Halliday 1978, 1984; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) with the framework provided by Intercultural studies (Hofstede 1991, 2001; Hall 1982, 1983; Brake et al. 1995; Katan 2006) and aims at classifying the cultural features represented on official tourist websites through the analysis of language and visuals.

Findings reveal that cultures systematically select definite linguistic and visual communication modes in the way they describe their cultural values, exchange information between participants and structure the messages which carry the content of the communicative event.

1. Introduction and previous research

Official tourism destination websites are the 'official' representation of a place and act as mediators in the relationship between tourists and destinations at a pre-trip stage. As Pritcher and Morgan suggest (2005: p. 94) tourist websites, together with brochures and travel guides, shape potential tourists' expectations long before they arrive at their destinations; for this reason, the representation of destinations in official tourism websites can be considered as "the codified and authorised versions of local culture and history". Furthermore, the internet "with its capacity to incorporate a virtual world of information about tourist destinations plays a seminal role as mediator in the process of construction of a collaborative tourist-destination identity (Hallet and Kaplan-Weinger, 2010: p. 117). In fact, it is through the cooperative, negotiative, mediated interaction of websites and tourists that identities for destinations and their visitors are constructed (*ibidem*: p. 116). Tourism is, therefore, not only a way of

accessing the world but it is also a means of locating ourselves in it (Franklin, 2003: p. 26). Websites, through different communication modes, act as mediators of meaning transmission and importantly contribute to the negotiated process of identity construction for the destination advertised and for the potential tourist (Hallet and Kaplan-Weinger, 2010: p. 121). This explains why studying tourism discourse is of utmost importance: it is part of that cultural system where identities are constructed, where the ordinary is transformed into the extraordinary, where alterity is pre-packaged and turned into an object of consumption (see Hummon 1988; see Francesconi 2007).

A website is a complex text whose components are not only made up of language but also of a set of culturally and functionally dependent modes which all contribute to the overall meaning, and make the text function as a full system of communication. In tourist websites, the combination of both verbal and visual communication evidently contribute to the achievement of the final aim: language, images and sounds are strategically combined together to inform, attract and persuade the potential tourist at the pre-trip stage.

Recent studies on the analysis of tourism discourse through a multimodal approach have focused on the interconnections between language, visuality, travellers, tourists and space representation, on the way composition is conveyed to the readers thanks to various interrelated systems of information, and on the role of images in representation and identity construction (Francesconi 2007, 2011, 2012, 2014; Maci 2010; Denti 2012). To my knowledge, apart from a study conducted by Manca (2016), no previous research has focused on the identification of a framework for the classification of systematic relationships between the selection of images, language and the cultural values of the countries being advertised in official tourist websites.

For this reason, this paper sets out to analyse the homepages of four official tourist websites, namely the websites which promote Italy, France, Germany, and New Zealand according to a new framework, labelled here as 'Cultural Communication Grammar'. This methodological approach combines the approach of Multimodal analysis (Halliday 1978, 1984; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) with the framework provided by Intercultural studies (Hofstede 1991, 2001; Hall 1982, 1983; Brake *et al.* 1995; Katan 2006) and aims at classifying the cultural features represented in official tourist websites through the analysis of language and visuals.

2. Systemic Functional Grammar, Visual Grammar and Cultural Communication Grammar

Prior to the homepage analysis, this section briefly presents the theories on Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday 1978, 1984) and on Visual Grammar (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) which constitute the Multimodal approach, and the cultural models proposed by Hofstede (1991), Hall (1982), and Lewis (1996). After that, these theories and frameworks will be combined in the Cultural Communication Grammar approach and applied to the analysis of the homepages of four official tourist websites in order to identify systematic cultural features in their visual and linguistic communication modes.

2.1 Systemic Functional Grammar

Halliday's social semiotic theory (1978) focuses on how people use language in the accomplishment of their everyday social life. In Hallidayan terms 'use' equals 'function' and the latter is interpreted as a fundamental property of language itself which is basic to the evolution of the semantic system (Halliday, 1984: p. 17). Language is semantically complex because it is structured in such a way as to make three main meanings (or metafunctions) function simultaneously: ideational, interpersonal and textual.

The ideational metafunction refers to how human experience is construed in a text (Halliday, 2004: p. 30). This metafunction is divided into two components: the Experiential, which is concerned with "the features that can be thought of as representing the real world as it is apprehended in our experience" (Halliday, 1985: p. 19), and the Logical, which refers to the logical structure of the clause complex. The major grammar system which is involved in this kind of meaning is the system of Transitivity which provides "the lexicogrammatical resources for construing a quantum of change in the flow of events as a figure – as a configuration of elements centred on a process" (Halliday and Mathiessen, 2004: p. 213). Depending on what they describe, the different types of processes which are construed by the Transitivity system in the grammar can be Material, Mental, Verbal, Behavioural, Existential, and Relational. Other two aspects of the clause which are described in the analysis of the Transitivity structure are the selection of participants that is realised in the

verbal group of the clause, and the selection of circumstantial meanings expressed through adverbial groups or prepositional phrases (Eggins, 2011: pp. 214-215). The second grammar system of the ideational metafunction is realised in the clause complex through the system of Taxis and of Logico-semantic relation. Their structural resources are parataxis, hypotaxis, projection (when a clause is quoted or reported by another clause), and expansion (when one clause extends on the meanings of another).

The interpersonal metafunction refers to the clause as "a piece of interaction between speaker and listener" (Halliday, 1985: p. 20). Language is not seen as a way of reflecting, as in the experiential metafunction, but as a way of acting. This metafunction is configured through the grammar system of Mood and Modality (Eggins, 2011: p. 183). In the act of speaking, speakers take on different speech roles and, in so doing, they assign to their listeners a complementary role. The basic speech roles we can take on in the exchange are 'giving' and 'demanding' (Eggins, 2011: p. 144). Furthermore, we can also choose what kind of commodity we are exchanging, namely 'information' or 'goods and services' (*ibidem*). These variables imply the use of the four basic speech functions, that is to say statement, question, offer, and command which are encoded by means of three main syntactic Moods, that is to say declarative, interrogative and imperative.

The Textual metafunction is the third strand of meaning which is realised simultaneously and refers to the clause as a message. The system involved is the Theme which sees the clause as divided into two components: the Theme (the point of departure of a message) and the Rheme (new information about the Theme, the part where the Theme is developed). The message in the clause "thus unfolds from thematic prominence – the part that the speaker has chosen to highlight as the starting point for the addressee – to thematic non-prominence" (Halliday, 2004: p. 89). What is chosen as a thematic element in the clause may vary in that it is selected by the speaker/writer. Themes can be marked or unmarked on the basis of the structural element which is selected to occupy the initial position. An unmarked Theme is a Theme which conflates with a Subject in a declarative, with a Finite operator or a WH-element in an interrogative, with a Predicator in imperative clauses.

Forms of marked Theme, for example, in a declarative is an adverbial group or prepositional phrase functioning as Adjunct in the clause, which

is, however, very common (Halliday, 2004: p. 98) or the Complement, which is least likely to be thematic.

The other system at work in the way grammar manages the discourse flow is Information, which is a system not of the clause but of a separate grammatical unit, the information unit (Halliday, 2004: p. 115). This unit is a structure made up of two functions, the Given and the New, which represent what is already known or predictable and what is new or unpredictable. For this reason, ideally, each information unit should start with a Given element accompanied by a New element. However, structurally, the obligatory element is only the New while the Given is optional due to its anaphoric/cataphoric nature and, consequently, to the fact that it can be subjected to ellipsis (*ibidem*: p. 116). Although the information unit is parallel to the clause there is not always correspondence between Given-New and Theme-Rheme.

2.2 Visual grammar

The three metafunctions elaborated by Halliday (1978) have influenced the social semiotic framework of 'Visual Communication Grammar' developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). They adopt different labels to refer to Halliday's ideational and textual meanings, which in visual communication become 'representational' and 'compositional', and they keep the Hallidayan label 'interpersonal' meaning to refer to the interaction between participants in visuals.

The representational meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: p. 45) refers to the way aspects of the world are represented by semiotic modes. This system of meaning is expressed through two types of images:

1. Narrative images, which involve processes such as Action processes, Reactional processes, Speech and Mental processes, and Conversion processes;
2. Conceptual images, including Classificational processes, Analytical processes and Symbolic processes. Narrative images describe the unfolding of actions and contain vectors, that is to say depicted elements which form an oblique line, such as bodies, limbs, tools, roads etc. On the other hand, conceptual images represent participants in terms of their more generalized, stable or 'timeless' essences (van Leuween and Jewitt, 2001: p. 141) and do not have vectors.

The interpersonal meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: p. 114) refers to the interaction between represented participants (the elements depicted in the images) and interactive participants (the producers and the viewers of the images). The interactive meaning of images is configured through four elements:

1. Contact (presence/absence of gaze establishing an imaginary relationship with the viewer in which demand is asked for or offer is given), 2. Social Distance (intimate, social, or impersonal depending on the sizes of frames, namely close-up, medium or long shot), 3. Attitude (involvement/detachment expressed by perspectives and angles), and 4. Modality (real, not-real depending on the appearance of what is depicted and by its degree of correspondence with what we normally see in real life).

The third and last meaning, the compositional one, is related to the way elements are placed and composed in images. This system of meaning is configured through elements such as:

1. Information value (the placement of elements in the various areas of the image);
2. Salience (expressed through foregrounding or backgrounding, size, contrast in colours, sharpness etc.);
3. Framing (presence/absence of dividing lines, frame lines, etc., which connect or disconnect elements).

2.3 Cultural Communication Grammar

A similar tripartite framework, as those developed for the study of language and visuals, can be applied to the study of cultures through the analysis of the way messages are communicated. In fact, modes of communication such as clauses or images:

1. are the expression of cultural values,
2. are interactive cultural events in which messages and information are exchanged,
3. are structured and organized according to the values and conventions which are typical of each culture.

For this reason, what is meant here by 'cultural meaning' is the way cultures express and represent their cultural values, the way their members interact in events where information is exchanged and the way messages are structured and organized in communicative events which imply the use of language and/or visuals. Three strands of cultural meaning can, thus, be identified in this model:

1. 'expressional', aimed at the expression and description of cultural values and orientations;
2. 'liaisonal', referring to the way participants exchange information between them;
3. 'structural', related to the structure of the contents being exchanged in the communicative event.

The basic unit of analysis of this new model is comprised of the clause and/or the visuals used as systems to convey messages in a communicative event. An example of such a unit of analysis is a website page which usually conveys information by using both linguistic text and pictures.

Each of the three meanings or metafunctions of the Cultural Communication Grammar model are systematically realised by different systems which allow us to classify specific cultural meanings.

The expressional meaning refers to the way aspects of a culture are expressed and represented through the linguistic and visual modes. This metafunction is configured through the systems of 1. Doing and 2. Being. These two systems derive from the orientation of Action elaborated by Brake *et al.* (1995: p. 39) following Kluckhohn (1961), Hofstede (1991) and Hall (1982, 1983).

The Doing corresponds to action and separates the level of behaviour from the level of identity. This means that what we are does not correspond to what we do.

The Being corresponds to the state, to non-action and operates simultaneously on the level of identity and behaviour, thus interpreting what we do and what we are as equal (see Katan, 2004: p. 316).

Table 1. The expressional meaning and its systems

The implications connected with these two tendencies are visible on both the features of language and visuals: those cultures that tend towards the Doing are more likely to convey facts rather than feelings and opinions in linguistic communication, and to use more often Narrative images in visual communication; conversely, a tendency towards the Being implies a more frequent use of personal feelings and opinions in linguistic communication, and more emphasis on Conceptual images in visual communication.

Those cultures which tend towards the system of Doing are also very likely to be "individualistic cultures" (Hofstede 2001) and "low-context cultures" (Hall 1982); conversely, the cultures which tend towards the Being will tend to show features of "collectivistic cultures" (Hofstede 2001) and of "high-context cultures" (Hall 1982, 1983). In individualistic cultures, members tend to look only after themselves and their immediate family. The opposite occurs in collectivistic cultures in which relationships among individuals are very strong and there is a tendency to be integrated in cohesive in-groups. Individualistic cultures rely less on a network of shared knowledge, events and contexts; for this reason, information has to be more explicit and the object of communication is much more important than the way it is communicated. Conversely, in collectivistic cultures, information flows more easily among members of groups and there is less need for explicit communication: in communicative exchanges, how something is communicated is much more important than the contents which are actually communicated.

Cultures which realise the expressional metafunction through the system of Doing are expected to construe themselves through explicit verbal messages, focus on facts, concrete items and words, argumentation, Material processes and Narrative images. On the other hand, cultures which realise this metafunction through the system of Being are more likely to reflect their reality through implicitness, focus on feelings and opinions, use of abstract words and nominalisation, symbolism, sensory language, Existential and Relational processes, and Conceptual images.

The liaisonal meaning refers to the way different cultures interact in communicative events. This meaning is realised through two main components: 1. Directness, 2. Indirectness. These two systems are strongly related to the extent to which the members of a culture accept and expect that power is distributed equally or unequally. This attitude is defined by Hofstede (2001) as the dimension of Power Distance: different tendencies towards an equal or unequal distribution imply different interactional features.

Table 2. The liaisonal meaning and its systems

Directness corresponds to a direct style of communication which is linguistically effected through a dialogic and informal style, salutations and engagements markers such as 'you' or 'yours', imperative forms and questions; Indirectness is illustrated by a less dialogic and formal style, impersonal forms and expression, indirect address, declaratives.

Cultures which express the liaisonal meaning through the system of Directness will also be more likely to use images depicting human participants which seek to establish a contact of offer and demand, and images which occupy large sections of the space available; cultures that configure this meaning through the system of Indirectness will tend to use more frequently images without human participants, or images in which participants seek to establish a contact of offer (but rarely of demand, being this always a feature of high interactivity).

The third meaning of cultural grammar is the structural meaning which refers to the way modes of communication are culturally structured to convey meaningful messages. This meaning is realised through two main components which are labelled 1. Linearity, 2. Circularity.

Table 3. The structural meaning and its systems

Linearity refers to messages which are characterised by the KISS principle, that is to say 'keep it short and simple'; according to this principle, messages are reader-friendly and linear, particularly because the relationship between cause and effect and the main points of the message are easily identifiable and clear (see Katan, 2006: p. 55). Cultures which realise the structural meaning through this system in linguistic communication are very likely to adopt the principle of linearity in the way visuals are organised in a message. For example, websites will tend to be characterised by high granularity with well-defined clusters[1], clear paths, and continuity of shapes.

Circularity is a component which is illustrated by messages characterised by the KILC principle ('keep it long and complete'), by a writer-oriented attitude, hypotaxis, and by a circularity which is achieved through a major emphasis on background details (see Katan, 2006: p. 55). Cultures which express the structural meaning through Circularity will tend to organize visuals in websites, for example, by putting more emphasis on features such as continuity of colour, empty spaces, presence of more than one path to follow.

The limits of this model are obvious: as suggested by Lewis (1996: p. 27) there are over 200 recognised countries in the world, and the number of cultures is considerably greater if regional variations are also taken into account. On the other hand, particularly in those text types such as commercial or promotional websites which are aimed at an international audience, cultural differences may be blurred because they may have been adapted through the use of a 'lingua franca' which may neutralise cultural peculiarities (cfr. Spinzi 2016).

However, attempts to categorise cultures will always be made, and cultural theories will always be developed because predicting a culture's behaviour is of utmost importance in cross-cultural events to develop not only successful strategies of communication, but also to search and create some kind of unity and, for example, to standardise policies (Lewis, 1996: p. 29).

Cross-cultural studies and theories, therefore, contribute to facilitating better relationships, reducing misunderstandings among the members of different cultures, helping individuals acquire "deepening insights into the target (partner's) culture" and adopt "a cultural stance towards the

[1] In visual analysis, granularity refers to the property of texts constituted by graphically distinct functional units or clusters (Francesconi, 2014: p. 163).

partner/colleague, designed (through adaptation) to fit in suitably with the attitudes of the other" (Lewis, 1996: p. 28).

The following sections of this paper describe the application of the model, illustrated and defined here as 'Cultural Communication Grammar', to four tourist websites, namely the four official tourist websites promoting Italy, France, Germany, and New Zealand as holiday destinations.

The aim of this analysis is to show that the messages conveyed through linguistic and visual strategies in these websites reflect the expressional, liaisonal, and structural meanings which are typical of the way cultures represent themselves or are represented.

3. Data and analysis

As already stated above, the four official tourist websites selected for analysis are those which promote Italy, France, Germany and New Zealand. The choice of these countries is not random as countries were chosen with reference to the scores[2] attributed to them along cultural dimensions by Hofstede (1980; 2001), and in particular along the Power Distance dimension. This dimension expresses the degree to which the less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally (*ibidem*). For this reason, countries with low scores on Power Distance are expected to communicate by using a more informal style characterised, for example, by direct address, questions and Imperative forms of verbs. Conversely, countries with high scores on this dimension will tend to use a more informal style of communication mainly characterised by impersonal expressions and a frequent use of declaratives (Manca 2016). Italy and France were chosen for their high scores on Power Distance (namely, 50 and 68) and Germany and New Zealand for their low scores on Power Distance (namely, 35 and 22). These four countries also belong to two different cultural groups: Italy and France are high-context cultures whereas Germany and New Zealand are low-context cultures. Furthermore, in Lewis' model (1996: p. 33), Germany and New Zealand are defined as linear-active countries, that is to say they are characterised by a very linear way of dealing with things and tasks, sticking to facts, are unemotional, and use logic. Conversely, Italy and France are

[2] Dimensions are measured on a scale from 0 to 100 and results are described and detailed on the website geert-hofstede.com from which scores have been taken.

more multi-active, they tend to change plans, juggle facts, get first-hand (oral) information, are emotional, complete human transactions, and confront emotionally.

It is hypothesised here that all the similarities and differences described above will correspond to the activation of different systems in the realisation of the three meanings of Cultural Grammar.

The unit of analysis adopted in the present investigation is the homepage, defined as "the first page or computer screen of information that a viewer sees when accessing a website" (Zhao *et al.*, 2003: p. 78). The homepage is a very important section of the website as it is the visitor's first impression and communicates the tone of the site. Its appearance is strategically designed to stimulate the visitors' interest and to tempt them to explore the website further (West, 2012: p. 293). For this reason, it is more likely to contain most of those cultural features which are typical of the way cultures represent themselves or are represented.

3.1 The homepage for Italy

Figure 1. Homepage of the website www.italia.it

The analysis of the homepage of the official tourist website for Italy starts with the identification of the expressional meaning. As visible in Figure 1, the linguistic content of the page is only comprised of captions to pictures. These captions do not contain verbs but only phrases containing specific or general geographical names, and general and specific names of attractions, such as *Arte e storia – Roma – Fori imperiali* (Art and History – Rome – The Imperial Fora) or *Laghi – I laghi del Trentino Alto-Adige – Lago di Braies* (Lakes – Trentino Alto-Adige lakes – Braies Lake). The processes

described, although implicitly, are Existential, because the elements *c'è/ci sono* (there is/there are) have been omitted but are implied. Even though the presence of specific captions may seem to be related to a description characterised by facts and details, there are no explicit messages which can guide the reader towards a better understanding of what is offered and described, such as longer descriptions or explanations.

Images almost never depict human participants but monuments and attractions, and, for this reason, they can be defined as Conceptual.

The expressional meaning in the Italian website is, thus, configured through the system of Being.

The absence of explicit verbs and of human participants in images make the level of interactivity of this homepage very low. The style is monologic, the Italian attractions are 'offered' to viewers, and no direct contact is established. For this reason, the liaisonal meaning is realised through the system of Indirectness.

The homepage of the Italian website is characterised by two main colours, light-blue and white, which create cohesion among the different clusters constituting the page. However, the space in the homepage is not completely occupied by pictures and captions and the different sections constituting the homepage are separated by blank spaces. The path to follow in order to visit the sections of the website is characterised by two alternatives: the top bar contains the following links: *Scopri l'Italia* (Discover Italy), *Idee di viaggio* (Travel Ideas), *Notizie* (News), *Video* (Videos), *Info* (Information), and *Mappe* (Maps). Scrolling down the page, we find a cluster featuring a side-scrolling gallery containing highlights from other sections of the websites, and, scrolling further, we find again the first three links of the top bar, but this time represented through a set of pictures with accompanying captions. The various sections of the website, therefore, can be accessed from several entry points on the homepage.

All these features suggest that the structural meaning of this homepage is expressed through the system of Circularity.

3.2 The homepage for France

The linguistic content of the website france.fr is mainly made up of captions to pictures (Figure 2). Most of these captions do not contain verbs but only noun phrases, such as *Weekendfrance: ecotourisme, charme et*

insolite (Weekendfrance: ecotourism, charm and extravagance), *Le verre dans tous ses éclats au MusVer, Nord* (The glass and its splendour at the MusVer museum, Nord), *Courchevel, le ski pour tous* (Courchevel, skiing for everybody), *Le Mont-Saint-Michele, le retour à la mer* (Mont-Saint-Michele, the return to the sea). These captions could be said to express the expressional meaning through Existential processes elliptical of the verb 'to be'. Furthermore, captions are not accompanied by longer texts; and what is offered and described in the homepage is perfectly clear only when the textual links are accessed.

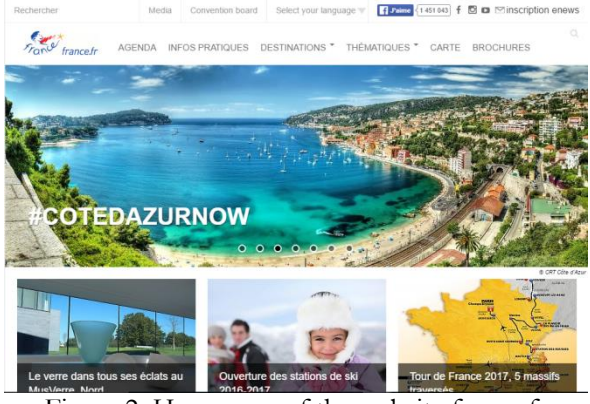

Figure 2. Homepage of the website france.fr

Most of the images available on the homepage are not Narrative but Conceptual, and the few human participants depicted are tourists and visitors enjoying museums and destinations. Apart from one case, participants always represent the stereotype of the tourist enjoying the destination described or advertised.

The expressional meaning in the French website is, thus, configured through the system of Being.

As for the liaisonal meaning, the language used is mainly monologic: there is only one sentence containing the imperative form and one question in the captions to the pictures in the side-scrolling gallery (*Découvrez sa carte postale vidéo de Paris* – Discover Paris video postcard, *Quel amateur des vins êtez-vous?* – What kind of wine lover are you?), but the rest of the linguistic content available on the homepage is characterised by a very low level of interaction. In the few pictures of the homepage featuring people, the participants depicted never try to establish a contact of demand, through a direct gaze, with viewers: human participants look at

works of art or at what is around them. There is only one picture where a human participant, a child, looks directly at viewers showing some snow in his cupped hands and inviting readers to enjoy the French ski resorts; but most of the pictures on the homepage are a clear example of offering goods and services rather than of demanding.

This suggests that the liaisonal meaning is mainly expressed through the system of Indirectness on the French homepage.

In terms of layout, this homepage is comprised of many clusters, which are, however, separated by blank spaces, and the two colours which characterise the whole page are white and grey. The path to follow in order to visit the various sections of the website is not clear-cut: links to news and events seem to be predominant at the centre of the homepage while the links to destinations can be found in the video section reported in the lower part of the homepage, or can be accessed through the links *Destinations* and *Thématiques* (Themes) in the upper bar, or still through the links *Destinations* and *Idee de vacances* (Holiday ideas) at the bottom of the page.

These features suggest that the structural meaning of the French homepage is expressed through the system of Circularity.

3.3 The homepage for Germany

Figure 3. Homepage of the website www.germany.travel

The official homepage of the German website can be defined as a cover homepage (Cucchi, 2015: p. 13) because it only displays the menu of the website (Figure 3). Each picture corresponds to a precise section of the

website, and captions are characterised only by nouns: *Städte & Kultur* (Cities & Culture), *Freizeit & Erholung* (Free time and Relaxation), *Reiseinformation* (Travel infos), etc. Interestingly, 3 out of 12 sections are characterised by a caption in English *Specials*, *Events*, and *Follow me*. No processes are described but what clearly appears from a look at the linguistic content is a high focus on specific facts and details. In terms of visuals, 6 out of 11 pictures are clearly Narrative due to the presence of vectors emanating from the human participants depicted in most of the pictures.

As suggested by all these features, the expressional meaning tends to be expressed through the system of Doing.

As for the liaisonal meaning, the website seems to be predominantly monologic even though the message *Willkommen im Reiseland Deutschland* (Welcome to the tourist country of Germany) and the caption *Follow me* are two examples of interactive communication. As for pictures, only one out of 8 featuring human participants depicts two women looking directly at the viewer, thus establishing a contact of demand. For this reason, the liaisonal meaning tends to be configured mainly through the system of Indirectness, although a tendency towards Directness is also present.

The structural meaning is clearly expressed through the system of Linearity: the path to follow to visit the website is clear and only one alternative is provided for readers. There is no predominant colour, and cohesion is created more thanks to the use of similar shapes for clusters (well defined rectangles and squares) rather than through colours.

3.4 The homepage for New Zealand

The homepage of the New Zealand website seems to be linguistically characterised by messages containing Material, Mental, and Verbal processes, such as: 'Let us show you New Zealand', 'Welcome to the official travel website for New Zealand', 'Your Middle-earth journey begins here', 'Get inspired', 'Walking & Hiking', etc. Images are 11, and 7 of them are clearly Narrative. This means that the tendency of the New Zealand website is that of realising the expressional meaning through the system of Doing.

Figure 4. Upper section of the newzealand.com homepage

Figure 5. Central section of the newzealand.com homepage

The liaisonal meaning is expressed through the system of Directness both linguistically and visually. The linguistic content used as caption to the various images on the homepage is characterised by high interactivity due to the presence of imperative forms, personal pronouns such as 'us', 'our', 'you', and 'your', and salutations. All the pictures but one depict human participants and the image which occupies the central part of the homepage (see Figure 5) is an example of contact of demand, due to the woman's gaze which is directly addressed at the viewer. Furthermore, the size of the first two pictures (Figure 4 and Figure 5) acts as an invitation to join the New Zealand world and thus contributes to create interactive communication.

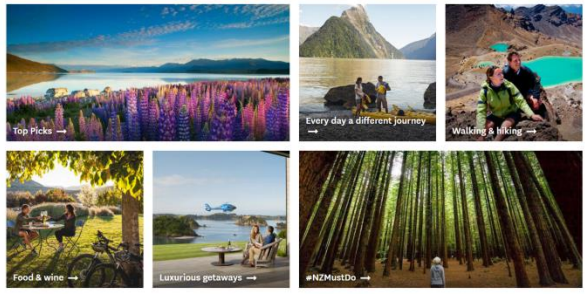

Figure 6. Lower section of the New Zealand website homepage

The structural meaning is configured through the system of Linearity as the high granularity of the homepage suggests. Cohesion is not achieved through colours but through the shape of the different clusters and the linear way in which they are organized across the homepage (Figure 6).

The presence of more than one path to access the different sections of the website is not an aspect of circularity because the different paths available do not constitute different entry points to the same sections but they allow viewers to choose where to start their virtual tour of New Zealand: either from a specific destination or from a specific activity, or still from one of the several recommended trips.

4. Discussion of findings

Table 4 will help us summarise the results achieved and comment on the similarities and differences identified across the four cultures thanks to the Cultural Grammar framework.

	Italy	**France**	**Germany**	**New Zealand**
Expressional meaning	Being	Being	Doing	Doing
Liaisonal meaning	Indirectness	Indirectness	Indirectness/Directness	Directness
Structural meaning	Circularity	Circularity	Linearity	Linearity

Table 4. The systems which configure the three meanings in the four homepages

The Italian and the French homepages realise the three meanings through the same systems, that is to say Being, Indirectness, and Circularity. This implies that the type of tourist promotion adopted by the two countries focuses more on how contents are presented, provides readers with 'offers' rather than making 'demands' and leaves readers free to choose their own paths and destinations. As observed by de Mooij and Hofstede (2011: p. 85), and confirmed by Manca (2016), in collectivistic cultures (such as the Italian and the French ones) a relationship of trust should be created first in order to sell a product and this can be achieved only by showing and presenting the alternatives available and without directly addressing and inviting readers to take action.

The German and the New Zealand homepages realise the expressional and the structural meanings through the same systems, that is to say

through Doing and Linearity. These choices are related to a type of promotion which emphasises more facts and details and which guides readers along well-defined paths and both virtual and concrete itineraries. Contents are much more important than form, and aims are clear and easily accessible. The only difference between these two cultures is a different perspective in the realisation of the liaisonal meaning: while the New Zealand promotion is direct and aims to get readers to take action immediately, the German promotion prefers to give readers time to absorb information before convincing them to take advantage of the products offered.

This methodology clearly needs to be further researched and applied systematically to different text types and to a wider range of cultures in order to avoid (over) generalisations and to avoid making statements on how a culture really works by considering only individual examples.

However, the results achieved are in line with what Hall (1982, 1983) and Hofstede (1980, 1991, 2001) have theorised, particularly in the identification of groups of cultures with similar features, such as high- and low-context cultures, and collectivistic and individualistic cultures. The Cultural Communication Grammar model aims to allow researchers to classify systematically the linguistic and visual features which are preferred by each culture in (tourist) communication and to understand how different cultures perceive, process and interpret information. The advantages of these classifications are varied, particularly in the promotional and commercial domains: products can be localised more easily according to specific cultural peculiarities, and, consequently, persuasion can be activated according to the more appropriate cultural strategies thus making the promotion more successful.

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Perception or Perspective? Adjusting the representation of Italy and the UK for the tourist: the *Made in Italy* and *This is Great Britain* campaigns

Stefania M. Maci

Abstract

The OED defines perspective as "the aspect of a subject or matter, as perceived from a particular mental point of view", while perception is "the process of becoming aware or conscious of a thing or things in general". As far as I know, in linguistic terms, we only have a definition of the latter: perception is 'everything we can be aware of' and refers to experiences and how things appear to us: perception is what Lakoff and Johnson (1999: p. 103) call the embodiment of concepts.

If we apply these two concepts to tourism, we can see that tourist perceptions of a destination overlap with the concept of perspective to such an extent that language reconstructs, reassembles and shapes the (unknown) destination to form a stereotype. In this way, the discourse of tourism enhances both a 'strangehood' approach and an impression of authenticity (Dann 1996), describing what is native and typical of a destination. This authenticity, however, is fictitious, because the real destination has been greatly manipulated: the location is reduced to simply offering a few attractions of an almost semiotic and symbolic nature.

What happens when the destination is a well-known country, such as the UK or Italy, when no cultural clash is expected and the tourist does not envisage the presence of any form of exoticism[1]? In these cases, does the perception of perspective prevail in tourist campaigns? An analysis of the Made in Italy and This is Great Britain campaigns reveals the co-occurrence of overlapping multimodal strategies where interwoven texts and images offer amplified meanings.

[1] Exoticism is a term deriving from the French term *exotisme* with its connotations of both 'sensing diversity in as otherness' (cf. also Segalen 2002) and describing the process whereby such otherness is experienced by a traveller. In the Anglo-Saxon world, these two connotations coincide in Said's (1983: pp. 226-47) Theory of the Traveller and the Orientalism approach (1980), which include the implications the epithet 'colonialism' entails. For an in-depth analysis of exoticism, colonialism and post-colonialism applied to travel, see Forsdick 2001.

1. Introduction

The OED defines perspective as "the aspect of a subject or matter, as perceived from a particular mental point of view", while *perception* is "the process of becoming aware or conscious of a thing or things in general". As far as I know, in linguistic terms, the definition we have of *perception* is: it is everything we can be aware of and refers to experiences, and the way in which things appear to us. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: p. 103) define *perception* as the *embodiment* of concepts.

Figure 1. *Perspective*

Figure 2. *Perception*.

So, while in Figure 1, above, the interpretation of the visual is determined by its particular *perspective*, or the angle from which one see things, in Figure 2, it is the *perception* of the object that allows us to become aware of its reality.

In most cases, when we perceive, our brain makes 'allowances' for things and, in a way, mentally 'airbrushes' images to make them *seem* clearer and look better than they really are, as in the example in Figure 3:

Figure 3. Torre Colimena (TA), Italy.

In Figure 3, above, for instance, the photo was taken from inside a car. While shooting the picture, the author concentrated on the beauty of the fortress and did not realize that the car windscreen was acting as a mirror (lower part of the shot), or that part of the car windscreen had a blue tint that modified the colour of the sky in the picture (upper part of the shot). This photo is a good example of how the brain masks what you really see and, in other words, makes or lets you see what you want to see.

What is perceived in terms of *perception* and *perspective* is, most of the time, communicated through language. All human activities are based on communication, for instance: when we pass information on to other people, or when we warn people of approaching danger; when we express our feelings; when we challenge other people; when we show our interlocutor where, socially, we come from. Some of these functions we are aware of (when we give information), others less so (e.g. when we indicate our social provenance). Even when we (mis)communicate we use language. Language is based on a *symbolic* system, with several functions (to inform, to express, to direct etc.). It is symbolic because it uses symbols (i.e. words) which stand for other things (i.e. the referent), mostly referring to the non-verbal world, such as: physical objects (concrete); inner feelings (abstract); abstract relations (comparisons, deduction, equations etc.); and metatext (language itself).

Generally, the process of decoding communication is not an easy one. Janicki (2010) explains why understanding other people and their communication through discourse may be problematic through the structural differential theory, a three dimensional chart illustrating the process of abstraction. When words as symbols are discussed, linguists often use the diagram shown below, in Figure 4, elaborated by Ogden and Richards (1923), to visualize more effectively the relationship between symbols and referents.

The diagram in Figure 4, however, includes a third element, the *concept,* which is placed in the mind. It is mental, something you can imagine, envisage or see as a mental picture or description (Janicki 2010).

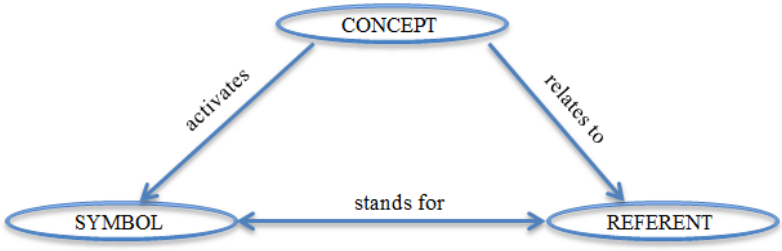


Figure 4. *Symbol-Concept-Referent* relation. Adapted from Ogden and Richards (1923).

For instance, if one person says: 'I bought a pair of socks, yesterday', the listener activates a general concept of *socks,* which may not necessarily coincide with the *socks* the speaker refers to. And this may cause misunderstanding.

As Janicki (2010) puts it, our minds appear to be crucial in mediating between symbols and their referents, between words and what they refer to. Still, while the fact that we can talk and write about verbal reality (language) should be borne in mind, what is most important to remember is the difference between language as a symbolic system and the non-verbal reality, i.e. the bottom left of the diagram, mainly the world of physical objects. In our opinion, it is in the *concept* area that we activate our *experience* and extrapolate our meaning. It is here that we give sense to the world. It is precisely here where we create our expectations or our *perceptions* of the world.

One may wonder what happens when we apply these concepts to tourism. For instance, if one says 'I went to Venice yesterday', what comes to mind is a concept, a mental picture of the idea of 'Venice', which corresponds to your knowledge of Venice, and which may not refer to the real 'Venice' the speaker has experienced:

Figure 5. Venice (in reality) – *Perception*.

So, if we re-adapt Ogden and Richards's (1923) diagram and apply it to tourism, things will be as depicted in Figure 6, below:

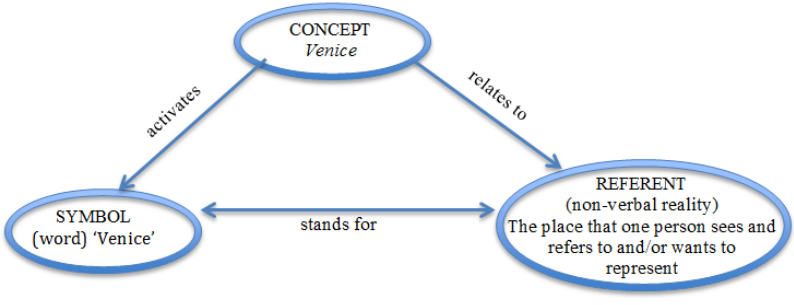


Figure 6. *Symbol-Concept-Referent* relation applied to tourism.

What happens, however, when other people depict the world for us? In other words, if the perception of reality is specifically tailor-cut and given from a particular angle, can we recognize what the *perception* is and what is reconstructed as a *perspective*?

2. Aim of the study

The issue of *perception* versus *perspective* in tourism is not a simple one. Indeed, language reconstructs, reassembles and shapes an (unknown) destination to form a stereotype (Dann 1996; Cappelli 2006; Maci 2013). In this way, the discourse of tourism enhances both the 'strangehood' approach *and* the impression of authenticity (Dann 1996), describing what is native and typical of a destination. This authenticity, however, is fictitious because the real destination has been greatly manipulated: the location is reduced to simply offering a few attractions of an almost semiotic and symbolic nature. This is further amplified by the use of images, which act as stereotypical clichés of a tourist resort, in which local people, if any, are always smiling; seaside resorts have beautiful white sandy beaches, crystal-like water and wonderful blue skies; safaris are represented as if normally done in mild temperatures, as sunset-coloured pictures suggest, and include non-aggressive wild animals; skiing holidays are depicted in mountains covered with snow under a deep blue sky with a warm sun. Clearly, the tourism industry seems to offer a *perspective* of reality which is sensed by the tourist as *perception*. Yet, when the tourism industry communicates through textual and visual means, and represents these 'authentic' destinations, one may wonder what concept frames the symbol and the referent, and whether the symbol and the referent are visualised in the same way.

If this might seem easy to achieve for exotic destinations, one may speculate whether the tourism industry achieves the same result, i.e. that of offering a perspective of reality, when the destination is a well-known country, such as the UK or Italy, when no cultural clash is expected and the tourist does not envisage the presence of any form of exoticism.

The research question here is then:

– *in the case of British and Italian tourism promotional campaigns, how are Italy and the UK represented (perception) and to what extent, if any, are their images adjusted (perspective) for the tourist?*

3. Literature background and methodological approach

The analysis of communication in terms of *content, referent* and *symbol*, its relation to one's experience and the capability to give the world meaning has a strong relation to the social structure in which people using that language live. This is made clear by Bakhtin (1986), who implies that language is used within particular social situations and claims that speaking occurs in speech genres which guide interaction and are determined by the social structure.

The idea of the objectification of knowledge through society has also been developed by Günther and Knoblauch (1995). Since socially constructed institutions and corresponding legitimations (or "ideologies", in Bakhtin's term, 1986) depend on the mediation and transmission of knowledge, the communicative processes by which this knowledge is transmitted to the individual are of crucial importance. The social stocks of knowledge – which are a resource for most of the objectified knowledge taken for granted within a given society – are built up, maintained, transmitted and modified in communicative processes.

Although language and communication are central aspects of tourism studies, tourism discourse remains a relatively unexplored area of study. Recently, however, various methodological approaches have been applied to tourism studies, with good results. Feighey (2006), for instance, adopted a CDA approach and considers any instances of tourism discourse as both a 'discursive' and a 'social' practice. Cross- and inter-cultural analyses of tourist experiences are based on postmodern and reflexive ethnographical methodologies (Davidson 2005). A great contribution has been made by the genre-analysis approach (Swales 1990, 2004; Bathia, 1993, 2004), which has been fundamental in the identification of the moves and steps in: tourist photographs; diaries; travelogues; postcards; brochures; flyers; inflight magazines; travel guides – also from an intercultural perspective (Candlin 2006). Since, however, the discourse of tourism employs both language and images in combination to create "an integrated whole" (Van Leeuwen, 2004: p. 10; see also Kress and van Leeuwen 1996), most tourism texts are investigated via a multimodal approach (e.g. Francesconi 2011a e 2011b, 2014).

In order to create meaning, we employ a set of social and cultural given resources defined as *modes* (Kress, 2010: p. 79). Traditionally, the most commonly used modes of communication are written and oral language (Bezemer and Jewitt 2010). When other modes of communication are

employed in conjunction with language, their potentialities are amplified. In this sense, "'mode' is privileged as an organizing principle of presentation and communication and therefore treated as a central unit of analysis" (Bezemer and Jewitt, 2010: p. 183). As different modes of communication are used simultaneously here to create complex multimodal communicative events, our analysis will follow a socio-semiotic approach, on the basis that when different communication modes (in this case verbal and visual) are interwoven, they contribute to meaning-making.

Texts can therefore be analysed as a visual chart in which any elements, images included, can be read and interpreted. The layout or *composition* (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: pp. 181-229) of elements in a framed space both presents information and orients the reader to classifications of knowledge (Kress, 2010: p. 92). Kress and van Leeuwen suggest that texts, in Western society, are read in such a way as to form a Z-reading pattern which defines *zones* where different visual elements, and corresponding informational values, are set. Thus, information placed on the left-hand part of a page is normally classified as *Given* (where old pieces of information are put); information placed on the right-hand part of a page is *New* (where new information or an expansion of information previously provided is developed); what is positioned at the top is *Ideal* (where there is a representation of what the world should be like), and what is located at the bottom is *Real* (where what the world is actually like is shown). Elements placed in the *Centre* carry the nucleus of information, whereas all the rest are sited in the *Margins* and are subsidiary to the centre. Furthermore, elements are not only located according to the *Given-New*, *Ideal-Real* and *Centre-Margin* triptych, but also in such a way as to attract the reader's attention and direct it to different levels of importance.

In fact, as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) state, even interaction with the reader is established through multimodality, which is the norm rather than the exception in communication. It is based on the interplay of different modes, visually reproduced in various ways, such as: contact between people depicted in the image and the viewer; their social distance determined by the angle of perspective and the size of the frame; the presence of cultural symbols; modality (represented by sharpness of focus, tonality and colour contrasts); the interrelation of information systems given by information value, salience and framing. The assumptions resulting from an analysis of these visuals, however, need to be checked via a closer examination with the text, because the meaning thus conveyed

by the visual is more effectively represented when the visual interplays with writing (cf. Francesconi 2011a, 2011b).

While most studies of tourism discourse tend to see how promotion is amplified by the interrelationship between the visual and written elements of a tourist text in a multimodal approach, to the best of our knowledge, no multimodal study has ever investigated the extent to which, if any, *perception* is adjusted for the sake of *perspective* in a commonly-shared cultural representation of the destination. In order to carry out this analysis, I compared two campaigns: the Italian *'Made in Italy', a tailor-made holiday* campaign, comprising seven posters, and the British *This is Great Britain* campaign, made up of ten posters. Although the intention was to apply a corpus-linguistic approach, this could not be done because the Italian subcorpus did not contain enough tokens (35 items vs 106 tokens for the English subcorpus). The analysis will therefore be mainly a socio-semiotic one on the visual level, and a qualitative one on the textual level.

4. Discussion

4.1 Branding. How Italy and the UK are sold to prospective tourists

In all the tourism texts written in English and created for promotional purposes, the most prominent stylistic feature is orality. This is reflected in the systematic use of a dialogic oral style, which has several functions, the most important being:

- "linguistic markedness" (Hatim, 2004: p. 230);
- "ego-targeting" (Dann, 1996: p. 185).

Hatim (2004) defines linguistic markedness as the use of linguistic expressions and forms that are less 'normal' than comparable expressions potentially available in a comparable context. The purpose of this function is to make the text stand out and attract attention. The 'non-ordinariness' of the dialogic oral style of a written text has the result of 'pulling' the reader into the scene. The resulting textual description unfolds as if the reader were travelling through the text into the imaginary (Sulaiman, 2014: p. 505). Similarly, the ego-targeting function (Dann 1996) aims to make the reader stand out and be involved in the scene.

Through the use of witty language, places, peoples and projected experiences are described in such a way that prospective tourists would

like to 'live' them – conforming to a marketing strategy successfully used to promote tourism worldwide (Rogal, 2012: 49). According to Rogal (2012: 55), people travel not because of the beauty of a destination but because of its promise. A promise can be sold if mental images and feelings are aroused through branding.

> In order to be successful, a brand generally needs to evoke given mental images and feelings in the audience. More than just a logo or a slogan, branding is a process whereby a product or service is clearly and consistently defined by a set of Core Values. (Francesconi, 2011a: p. 342)

What follows is a representation of branding for Italy and the UK. We will see how branding is realized in both visual and textual terms, and what core values are put forward in each campaign.

4.2. *'Made in Italy', a tailor-made holiday* campaign

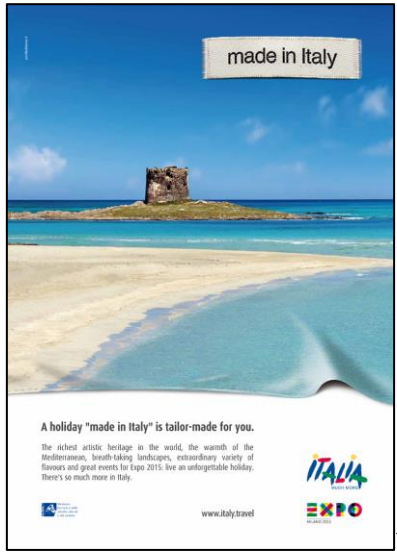
Every year, the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNTWO) issues statistical documents related to the world's top destinations. In 2015, it released a document, relating to 2014,[2] which put Italy in fifth position, preceded by China, Spain, the US and France. In order to increase visibility in the foreign tourism market, ENIT, the Official Italian Board of Tourism, launched a campaign to promote the Italian brand: '*Made in Italy', a tailor-made holiday* campaign. The campaign, though heavily criticized for its high cost (€5,000,000), was inaugurated in 2014 (available at www.italy.travel.it) and targeted Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, Scandinavia, the UK and Russia, i.e. countries that represent an inbound market of almost 50% tourism revenue. The advertising campaign is divided into various sectors, including: culture and wellness, gastronomy and wine, seas and lakes, artistic cities, mountains and parks, activity holidays, and mediaeval village travel**.** Special attention was also paid to the Expo 2015 event in Milan.

The seven adverts forming the *Made in Italy* campaign can be seen below, in Figures 7a–g. The adverts are similar in layout: they are in a portrait format; in each case there is a visual in the upper part of the poster, normally depicting people offered as a model in a more or less famous destination, such Venice or the Three Peaks of Lavaredo. In other

[2] http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284416899 [18/7/2016].

cases we can admire either the natural beauty on offer or a (mediaeval) village.

a



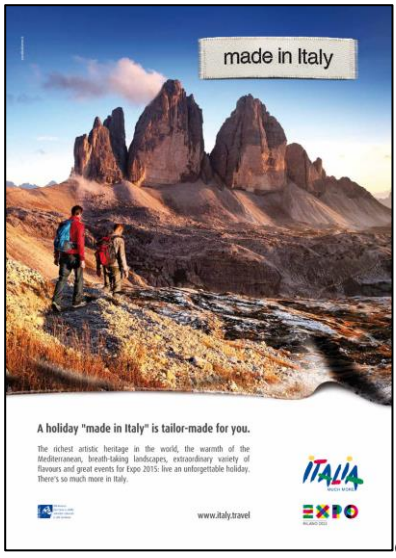
b

Figures 7a and 7b. *Made in Italy, a tailor-made holiday* campaign.

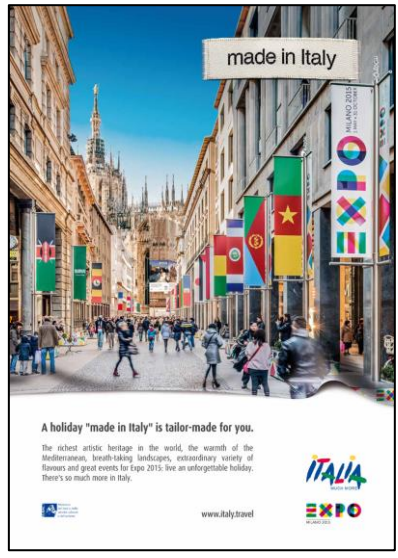
c

d

Figures 7c and 7d. *Made in Italy, a tailor-made holiday* campaign.

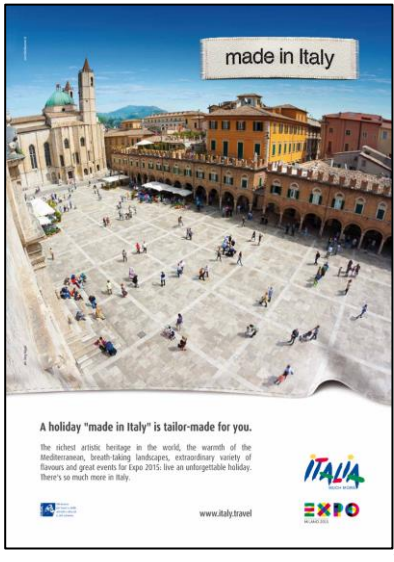


e



f

Figures 7e and 7f. *Made in Italy, a tailor-made holiday* campaign.



g

Figure 7g. *Made in Italy, a tailor-made holiday* campaign

None of the places are described in the posters and it is up to the potential tourist to identify them. As a matter of fact, we were able to identify all but one of them: Venice (Fig. 7a); Stintino (Fig. 7b); Cinque Terre (Fig.

7c); the Three Peaks of Lavaredo (Fig. 7e); Milan, Corso Vittorio Emanuele II (Fig. 7f); and Ascoli, Piazza del Popolo (Fig. 7g). Only Figure 7d cannot be identified: it depicts an unknown Alpine destination.
Certainly, some of these destinations can easily be recognized by a non-Italian tourist (Venice, the Dolomites, Stintino and probably Cinque Terre, for instance), but others cannot – and indeed one place was not even recognised by us, not to mention Pescara which was a bit hard to identify amongst the myriad of piazzas which characterize most Italian mediaeval towns.

As an Italian, I would have grouped Venice and Ascoli as destinations representing artistic cities and mediaeval villages; Milan as culture; Cinque Terre as seas; the unknown destination together with the three Peaks of Lavaredo as areas linked to wellness, mountains and parks. When downloading images from www.italy.travel.it, each file has a name representing the sector it refers to rather than having the name of the destination. So, Cinque Terre is named 'Borghi' (*Villages*); Venice is 'Cultura e benessere' (*Culture and Wellness*); Pescara is 'Cultura e citta d'arte' (*Culture and Artistic Cities*); Milan is 'Expo2015'; Stintino is 'Marelaghi' (*Seas and Lakes*); the Dolomites are 'Natura' (*Nature*); and the place we could not recognize is called 'Vacanzaattivitàbenessere' (*Activity: Holidays and Wellness*). The functions these destinations are assigned are not immediately obvious. As an Italian, and as a Venetian in particular, I would never have ever attributed the quality of 'wellness' to Venice, for instance. As far as I know, there is no spa in Venice.

In analysing this advertising from a socio-semiotic perspective (Kress and van Leeuwen 2004), all the ads have an identical layout: each is in a portrait format, they all have a visual at the top (the *ideal*) and text at the bottom (the *real*). The visual element of the advertising campaign, positioned in the upper part of the text, represents the *ideal*, i.e. how the world should be. Indeed, this *ideal* is represented in a very idealized or even stereotypical way.
As fas as the Venice advert is concerned, we see a woman, in a dressing gown, having breakfast on a balcony, relaxing in the sun, with her eyes closed, sipping her *cappuccino*, accompanied by an orange juce and a croissant. She is clearly not alone, as the two glasses on the tray testify. In the background, we can admire the Grand Canal and a gondola. Never has the Venetian reality been so *ideally* reconstructed. First, rarely Venetians would have breakfast like that. Venetians usually have their capuccino and a croissant standing at a bar – orange juice, if present, is real orange squash

which is never, ever, mixed with milk (according to Italian cultural culinary beliefs, milk and citrus create acidity!). Secondly, the Grand Canal is the main waterway of Venice, and as such it is usually full of traffic, as we can see in Figure 8, below:

Figure 8. Traffic in the Grand Canal, Venice.

The woman in the visual is *offered* as a specimen: she is not looking at the camera, she is offering herself as a model for the ideal tourist in Venice, as if to say: "Look at me! You could be like me, if you come here!" The idea of people as specimens of/in a perfect destination, and therefore on an ideal holiday, can be detected in all the advertisements where people are present (Figs 7d–g), people who never look at the camera. What is more, they are always depicted in a long shot, suggesting a distance, also a social one, which invites prospective tourists to observe them from the 'outside' and imagine how they themselves would fit in or what they themselves would experience if they were in the models' place. The shot of Ascoli (Fig. 7g) is also taken from a high vantage point. While the front view neutralizes the perspective and shows things 'how we see them', a perpendicular top-down view is the angle of maximum power (Kress and van Leeuwen 2004), one directed towards objective knowledge by letting

the viewer contemplate it from a god-like viewpoint. The same perspective is selected for Cinque Terre (Figure 7c), in which no human being is present. Stintino, on the other hand, is represented as beautifully deserted (the dream of all tourists) from a frontal perspective: the visual seems to invite potential tourists to the white sandy beach depicted, with its crystal-clear water, which is exactly how 'we see it' in the picture.

The slogo, i.e. reproduction of the same slogan throughout the campaign, says *Made in Italy* and is printed on a textile label, as if all the visuals are a made-in-Italy fashion outfit. In this way, the connection between 'Italianicity' characterized by natural beauty, cultural and artistic heritage and fashion is established. This is further supported by the fact that the visual in the lower-right part is folded over, exactly as if it were a piece of fabric.

The text is situated in the lower part of the advertisement and is physically separated by the visual, because it is printed on a white background. It is identical for all the advertisements and says:

> **A holiday "made in Italy" is tailor-made for you**
> The richest artistic heritage, breath-taking landscapes, extraordinary variety of flavours and great events for Expo2015: live an unforgettable holiday, there's so much more in Italy.

According to the socio-semiotic approach by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2004), any element positioned on the bottom part of the text is classified as *Real*. So, even though the text situated in the lower part of the advertisement may not be a real representation of the world, for its author this text should be interpreted as *REAL* by the readers. In other words, this is how the marketing creators want the text to be interpreted: as a real representation of Italy in words. It is a clever but and false description of the reality which has to be perceived as true. Indeed, after seeing the *ideal* representation of Italy (*perspective*), the *real* description of such a world can be better perceived and accepted: what you can see is described as a tailor-cut holiday, one made exactly for the tourist, and because of this it becomes an unforgettable experience.

4.3. *This is Great Britain* Campaign[3]

[3] A different version of this paragraph has already been printed in Maci (2013).

According to UNWTO,[4] in 2010, the United Kingdom was seventh amongst the top ten destinations classified according to international tourist arrivals, preceded by France, the USA, China, Spain, Italy and Turkey. Given such competition and considering the events that were to characterize Britain in 2011–2012, i.e. the Royal Wedding of Prince William and Catherine Middleton, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and the Olympic Games, the Prime Minister supported the *GREAT* Britain campaign, launched in April 2011 and focusing on ten areas of British excellence, all emphasising that the UK is one of the very best places to visit, study, work, invest and do business in.

The GREAT Britain brand was promoted all over the world through images that focus on pillars representing the country's excellence, i.e. the *Countryside*, promoting British nature, *Creativity*, promoting British talent, *Entrepreneurs*, advertising British business, *Green*, focusing on Britain's attitude to sustainable energy and the environment, *Heritage*, endorsing UK museums, *Innovation*, supporting innovative thinking, *Knowledge*, sponsoring British education, *Music*, *Shopping*, *Culture* and *Sport*, to which *Technology* was added later.

Figure 9. *This is Great Britain* campaign.

Printed advertisements for the GREAT Britain campaign are very simple in their creativity: the pay off, or slogo, says *X is GREAT*

[4] See http://mkt.unwto.org/en/publication/unwto-tourism-highlights-2012-edition ([17/12/2012]).

Britain, where X stands for one of the pillars mentioned above. The slogo occupies almost half of the page; if the advertisement has a vertical (portrait) layout, the advert is accompanied by a Union Jack positioned at the bottom of the advertisement, whereas if it has a horizontal layout, this is on the right.

An analysis based on a socio-semiotic perspective (Kress and van Leeuwen 2004) reveals that the slogo is set in the upper part of the text, representing an *ideal* world to be presented. It is the visual element (vertical layout) that is the *real* representation of the world. So, just to give an example, in the first advert in Figure 9, the slogo "Countryside is GREAT" represents the *Ideal* (because it is located at the top), while the visual (located at the bottom) represents the *Real* part of the text. The visuals are shots of the Glenfinnan Viaduct in the Scottish Highlands (for the *Countryside* theme);[5] Corpus Christi College, Oxford University (for the *Knowledge* pillar); a Manchester City-Fulham football match (for the *Sport* pillar); a portrait of King Henry VIII (for the *Heritage* pillar);[6] a shot of *Touch Bionics*, a Scottish supplier of world-leading prosthetic technologies (for the *Innovation* pillar); the Olympic Velodrome in East London (for the *Green* pillar); a concert which took place during the Reading Festival (for the *Music* pillar); a Nicholas Kirkwood shoe in Selfridges (for the *Shopping* pillar); the Oscar-winning characters Wallace and Gromit, (for the *Creativity* pillar);[7] and Sir Richard Branson, founder of the *Virgin* group (for the *Entrepreneurs* pillar). Therefore, what is described and idealised in words (X is GREAT), is illustrated in reality through these images, which speak louder than words.

In the lower part of each image there are two captions, one on the left, the other on the right. This divides the text into *Given* and *New*.In the *Given* part, we normally have a general description of what is represented in the visual; for instance, we can read (following the order of the pillars given above): "Some of the world's most inspiring places" (*Countryside*); "Home to four of the top ten universities in the world" (*Knowledge*); "The most popular football league in the world" (*Sport*); "Three of the top five museums and galleries in the world" (*Heritage*); "85 Nobel Prizes in science and technology alone" (*Innovation*); "The world's first truly sustainable Olympics and Paralympics" (*Green*); "From Glastonbury to

[5] Stonehenge (England) and the Brecon Beacons (Wales) are also depicted for the *Countryside* pillar.

[6] Devon Castle is also one of the sites used for the *Heritage* pillar.

[7] The *Creativity* pillar also has a photo of the British stylist Vivienne Westwood.

Glyndebourne; Adele to the Beatles, Britain is home to the world's greatest music" (*Music*); "London is the shopping capital of the world" (*Shopping*); "From art to architecture; film to fashion, British talent leads the world" (*Creativity*); "The easiest place to set up a business in Europe" (*Entrepreneurs*).

In the *New* part, the text is a noun, the place or event depicted in the visual. The *Known* element described in a caption is visualised by a central image of what is depicted in words, which bridges the gap to the *New*, linguistically described as a noun, the element or event depicted in the photo. In a sort of inverted logic, similar to dramatic inversion ('In came the man'), what is actually new (the fact that Britain is one of the easiest places to set up a business thanks to government policy) is described as being already *known* and therefore taken for granted, whereas what is unknown, i.e. the place, event or person/people, is represented as *new*. The implicit idea is that one should not see Britain as a static nation, but rather as a dynamic one, one able to revive old taken-for-granted ideas and make something extremely new and *GREAT,* to be exploited for a potential tourist, student or businessperson. Interestingly, the Union Jack is positioned at the bottom of the poster. Indeed, because of its position, the flag can be interpreted as the *Real* part, while the *Ideal* is the photo. So, what is represented as idealised or even stereotyped is to be interpreted as the reality, represented by the flag. In other words, the hidden message is that any dream can come true in the UK.

The slogo at the top of all the advertisements reveals what is depicted in the visuals: the ideas expressed in the advertisements suggest that they are not only *GREAT* but also *GREAT Britain.* A whole world of concepts is realised through the pun on *GREAT*. The name of the nation, with the adjective *GREAT,* represents the appeal of the nation and the opportunities that the same nation can offer to people visiting or deciding to live in that *GREAT* country. The opportunities offered in *GREAT Britain* are *GREAT* in themselves, but they are *GREAT* precisely because they are in *GREAT Britain*. This seems to be confirmed by the colour used for the adjective *GREAT*: the similar red that is used in the flag. This, together with the capital letters used for the slogo, foregrounds the text and emphasises the grandiosity of the concept expressed and depicted in the photo. Yet, at the same time, Britain is *GREAT* also because it is *GREAT Britain*. It seems, therefore, that the name of the country is not given by chance but is self-predicting. In other words, the concepts

described in the advertisement texts are not only *GREAT* but also *GREAT Britain*: they represent the UK and they are the UK and its spirit.

4.4. Comparing The *Made in Italy* and *This is GREAT Britain* campaigns

The *perceptions* of both countries, Italy and the UK, are constructed in such a way as to have a highly positive *perspective* of them. Indeed, as we have seen, in the Italian campaign, the photos convey a striking and idealized representation of Italy, with its natural beauty and artistic heritage blended with a hint of fashion; the UK, on the other hand, focuses on more elements: natural beauty and artistic heritage, but also business, technology, education, sport, music and shopping. Although in both cases the visual representation seems idealized, the depiction of Italy seems to be even more of an oversimplified stereotype. This is also supported by the type of body copy, i.e. the text accompanying the visual element of the advertisements, as we can see in Table 1, below:

Italy	**The UK**
A holiday "made in Italy" is tailor-made for you The **richest artistic** heritage, **breath-taking** landscapes, **extraordinary** variety of flavours and **great** events for Expo 2015: live an **unforgettable** holiday, there's so much more in Italy.	1. Some of the *World's* most **inspiring** landscapes 2. Home to four of the **top** ten universities *in the world* 3. The most **popular** football league in the world 4. Three of the **top** five museums and galleries *in the world* 5. 76 Nobel Prizes in Science and Technology 6. The *world's* first truly **sustainable** Olympics and Paralympics 7. From Glastonbury to Glyndebourne, Adele to the Beatles, Britain is home to the *world's* **greatest** music 8. London is the **shopping** capital *of the world* 9. From art to architecture; film to fashion, British talent leads the world 10. The UK is one of the **easiest** places to set up a business in Europe

Table 1. Body copy of the *Made in Italy* (left) and *This is GREAT Britain* (right) campaigns.

The table presents the text found in the *Made in Italy* campaign, on the left, and the *This is GREAT Britain* campaign, on the right. While in the Italian

campaign we have the same identical text for all the visuals, as shown in paragraph 4.2, and reproduced above, in the *This is GREAT* campaign, there are 10 different texts (one for each ad), reproduced in the second column. In both subcorpora, adjectives are indicated with emboldened fonts and substantives are underlined, while words and expressions indicating various gradients of the qualifier are written in italics. As explained in paragraph 3, a corpus linguistics analysis could not be carried out because of the paucity of tokens in the Italian corpus.

Generally, tourism texts achieve *authenticity* in Dann's (1996) terms. According to Dann, the *authenticity approach* explains the motivation behind tourism as a search for authenticity, and in this quest tourism discourse enhances the impression of authenticity through explicit expressions describing what is *native* and *typical* of the destination in a way that is, of course, only fictitious, as the real destination has been greatly manipulated and commercialized for the sake of developing tourism. As we have explained in paragraph 2, *authenticity* is realized by the tourism industry as a *perspective* of reality sensed by the tourist as *perception*. More specifically, *authenticity* is realized by adopting two lexical strategies: the use of emotive words (Dann 1996), which refer to a tourist's expectations about the holiday package rather than to qualities related to the destination; and to the use of words belonging to the destination language, which confers an exotic flavour on the text and provides local colour. The texts that we have here adopt only the first strategy, i.e. the use of emotive words realized by means of adjectives.

Adjectives can be *static*, if they describe fixed characteristics of the properties identified, or *dynamic*, if they refer to properties regarded as temporary or changeable, applied as a value judgement or experienced as sensory perception. Not only are both static and dynamic adjectives socially determined, they are also connotatively perceived and evaluated by the author and the recipient of the message (Pierini, 2009: pp. 98-99).

The Italian corpus is characterized by such adjectives/phrases as: "richest artistic", "breath-taking", "great" and "unforgettable", accompanied by the superlative "more"; the British corpus comprises the following adjectives: "inspiring", "top", "popular", "sustainable", "greatest", "shopping" and "easiest" which, as we can see, can be premodified by superlatives, or postmodified by numerals, giving the idea of a country leading the world.

The Italian corpus seems to be characterized by one static adjectival phrase, i.e the one describing the heritage (*richest artistic*), while all the other

qualifiers are dynamic adjectives that are highly emotional as they refer to experiential emotions (*breath-taking*, referring to the landscape; *unforgettable*, referring to the holiday) and to the extraordinariness of the experience that the holiday can offer (the *extraordinary* variety of things that tourists can taste, the *great* events they can take part in).

The British corpus, too, has one static adjective (*sustainable*), which is however applied to a novel event: the Paralympic Games offer *sustainability* to all athletes, and thus they offer a new way of looking at sport. All the other adjectives are dynamic qualifiers. British landscapes are *inspiring* and, as such, they are experientially rich in emotions; the extraordinariness of the holiday is conveyed by such adjectives as *greatest* and *easiest*; and again, they premodify noun groups in an unexpected way (the UK has the *greatest music* and is the *easiest place to set up a business*). Furthermore, the campaign offers an image of Britain whereby tourism can be pursued differently, whose popularity lies not only in shopping and football –it has, incidentally, *world* popularity (*the most popular football league in the world; the world's shopping capital*) – but also in the cultural and education fields (*top ten universities in the world*; *top five museums and galleries in the world*). The overall picture offered by the campaign is one of positive evaluation, it seems to transmit both a sense of euphoria and dynamism not found *anywhere else in the world*.

Table 2, below, summarizes the types of adjectives found in the two campaigns (third and fourth columns), divided according to a static and dynamic classification (first column) and semantic classification (second column):

	Semantic Category	**Sample Adjective – Italy**	**Sample Adjective – the UK**
static	*Sustainability*		sustainable
	Tradition/history	richest artistic	
dynamic	*Emotional impact*	breath-taking unforgettable	inspiring
	Extraordinariness	great extraordinary	greatest easiest
	Popularity		top popular shopping

Table 2. *Static* and *dynamic* adjectives in the Italian and British campaigns.

Beside the semantic and static/dynamic classification of adjectives, we can see that the types of adjectives used in both campaigns are cliché adjectives. Cliché adjectives supply "a sense of safety to potential tourists, and satisfy their expectations" (Pierini, 2009: p. 112), in that they bridge

the gap between the known reality of the potential tourist's world and the unknown cultural universe of the destination. In other words, adjectival clichés ideologically impose a stereotypical imagery that is necessary to promote a tourist destination. The clichés found in the Italian and British subcorpora magnify positive appraisals of the promoted destinations and suggest a reading whereby positive judgements and evaluations are assigned. Clearly, the tourist locations described are intended to be the most famous, the most beautiful and the most popular ones. Yet, the British subcorpus applies them in an unexpected context: not only does Britain have *inspiring landscapes*, it is also *home to four of the top ten universities in the world*; it has *three of the top five museums and galleries in the world*, the *most popular football league in the world* and *the world's first truly sustainable Olympics and Paralympics*; it is *home to the world's greatest music* and *is the shopping capital of the world*. The collocational pattern of these clichés breaks with any conventional image promoting Britain and positions it as a leading country in the world.

4.4.1. Promise of a place: branding as *perspective*

In paragraph 4.1, we said that one of the main reasons why prospective tourists travel is also because of the promise of a place (Rogal 2012) and that this promise can be sold if mental images and feelings are evoked by branding (Francesconi 2011b). The promise of a place is sold in two different ways, by reproducing branding and core values, as summarized in Table 3, below:

Italy	**United Kingdom**
Core values: 3 pillars: Heritage, Nature, Fashion	Core values: 10 pillars: Countryside, Knowledge, Sport, Heritage, Innovation, Green, Music, Shopping, Creativity, Entrepreneurs
Visual cliché	Visual cliché YET a break with expectations
Identical text	Text changes
Cliché (evaluative) adjectives	Cliché (evaluative) adjectives but applied to new contexts
Authenticity conveyed by the logo?	Authenticity conveyed by the interrelation between visual and text
Commodification of culture	New interpretation of culture
Idea of immobility	Idea of a dynamic country

Table 3. Branding of Italy and the UK

ENIT says that the core values of Italy are: culture and wellness, gastronomy and wine, seas and lakes, artistic cities, mountains and parks, activity holidays and mediaeval village travel**.** Yet The Italian branding seems to offer just three core values. The core values which are offered and which represent Italy, and therefore the way in which Italy is to be perceived – the *perspective* from which Italy should be been seen by prospective tourists – are heritage, nature and fashion, the latter only because of the *made in Italy* label. The visual elements characterizing the *Made in Italy* campaign are visual clichés: as we have seen, there are models offered as tourist specimens, giving an idea of what a real holiday in Italy would be like; a blue sky and beautiful sunshine frame either crystal-like water or extraordinary stunning mountains on itineraries or beaches which are off the beaten track. Even mediaeval villages or modern cities are offered as the best ever, that cannot be missed. The ideas conveyed by the visuals are further confirmed by the text, which is characterized by adjectival clichés. Furthermore, it is identical on all the adverts. This transmits an idea of the crystallization of a perfect holiday in Italy which, by commodifying Italian culture, may ultimately convey a sensation of immobility. Of course, this is also what the tourist may desire: the chance to stop for some time, slow down and jump at the chance to enjoy such immobility.

The British branding, on the contrary, proposes the same core values as the pillars suggested by the campaigns, that is: Countryside, knowledge, sport, heritage, innovation, green, music, shopping creativity and entrepreneurs. The visual and textual elements create a sense of novelty. Although the text is rich in cliché adjectives, these are used to describe particular contexts (popularity *and* museums and universities, together with sport and music, for instance), which add to the whole campaign a feeling of intense dynamism, confirmed by the fact that each visual has a specifically constructed text. Visually and verbally, culture is given a new twist, and the *perspective* from which Britain has to be perceived is full of vigour.

5. Conclusion

As Dann states (1996), tourism texts are constructed to enhance an impression of authenticity, but this is only fabricated, as real destinations are greatly manipulated in ways to offer attractions of a semiotic and

symbolic nature. In this way, tourist perceptions of a destination are influenced by a text which creates a perspective manipulated so much that the destination is reconstructed, reassembled and reshaped to form a stereotype (Dann 1996; Cappelli 2006; Maci 2013). Given this, we may wonder what happens when this operates in texts attracting prospective tourists belonging to the same European cultural cluster, such as in the case of Italian and British tourism advertising campaigns created for Western tourists. The research question posed was, therefore, the following:

– *in the case of British and Italian tourism promotional campaigns, how are Italy and the UK represented (perception) and to what extent, if any, are their images adjusted (perspective) for the tourist?*

The representation of a country's identity is complex. In general, in the case of (self-)identity, reality is filtered according to a universal processes of simplification and standardisation to help individuals orient themselves in the world. When applied to tourism, the process of simplification and standardisation necessary for orientation in the world has been defined by Urry and Larsen (2011) as "the tourist gaze".
In the Italian campaign, we have a tourist-gaze version of a country which will tend towards fixed stereotypes. This *perspective* of the reality is a sort of 'feel at home' leitmotif, in which the foreign element is framed and domesticated to be consumed passively.

In the British campaign, we have a tourist-gaze version of the country (i.e. a particular *perspective* of the UK) in which the "cultural tourist" travels "with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy […] cultural needs" (Katan, 2012: p. 84), so that the campaign has the same role as 'Cicerone', a knowledgeable guide (Katan, 2012: p. 85). The campaign may be seen as a Grand Tour of the UK for the European tourist.

> As Brown points out: 'places are ascribed significance based on visual culture, myth, narrative of timeless or lost civilization' (1999, p. 300) – and this meaning is complicated because it is ascribed from the outside but appears to originate within the local culture (Urry 2002), where people – wanting to take part in the dominant economy – rewrite it in multiple new ways. (Rogal, 2012: p. 66)

The *perspective* of a destination, therefore, is aptly reconstructed for marketing purposes, on the one hand as to be *perceived* 'feel at home' and

on the other to be *perceived* as a dynamic and modern cultural Grand Tour for the Western holidaymaker.

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Promoting Venice through digital travel guidebooks: a case study of texts written in English and in Italian

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Abstract

The city of Venice is currently advertised using the Internet as its main 'market' place, the promotional message being conveyed in Italian and in English used as a lingua franca*, addressing not only prospective tourists from English-speaking countries as also tourists who use English to communicate outside their country.*
Considering the role of Italian and English in the promotion of Venice, the present study contrastively analyses digital travel guidebooks, all available online, written in the two languages. The contribution examines, in particular, instances of the 'languaging' technique used to describe the most interesting aspects of the local Venetian culture.
According to Dann (1996: p. 184) 'languaging' in tourist texts is "the impressive use of foreign words, but also a manipulation of the vernacular, a special choice of vocabulary, and not just for its own sake". In this respect, Venice is full of cultural and dialectal characteristics that rarely have a corresponding term in Standard Italian or in a foreign language. The work investigates the strategies used to promote the local Venetian culture to non-Venetians as well as to non-Italians, thus considering whether the linguistic techniques employed vary according to the different levels of presumed previous knowledge that the authors attribute to the visitors according to their nationality.

1. Introduction

The *Annual Survey* conducted by the City of Venice Tourist Board (Miraglia 2015) calculated that – in 2014 – 9,983,416 tourists visited Venice, of which 1,501,481 were Italians and 8,481,935 were foreigners (*ibidem*: p. 12). Considering that the population of residents is of 56,355 units[1], these numbers give a fairly accurate idea of the impact that mass tourism has on local life and culture. For this reason, it is of primary importance to promote the city, highlighting the fact that it is a complex

1 In the language of population census, the term unit is commonly used to indicate the "the resident person" (www.ine.esen).

tourist destination, not only an 'outdoor museum' but also a living city with real inhabitants, a workplace and a city with a remarkable historical and cultural heritage that must be saved from the commercial exploitation that mass tourism destinations generally experience.

In its *Making Tourism More Sustainable – A Guide for Policy Makers*, the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) defines sustainable tourism as a "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities". In the case of Venice, the problem of sustainability involves the environmental impact of a massive number of tourists on the city's infrastructures as well as their behavior during their stay, for example their use of public spaces and facilities, damage to monuments, impediments to the everyday activities of the population, and a general lack of direct interaction – and reciprocal knowledge – between tourists and the local community.

The connection between sustainable tourism and language might not be directly identifiable. However, the importance of mutual understanding between tourists and the host community is one of the goals that the UNWTO indicates for achieving a real sustainable tourism. Mutual understanding is obviously accomplished also through language and the use of linguistic strategies that help reduce the distance between 'hosts' and 'guests'. In this respect, one strategy is certainly the use of English – today's global lingua franca *par excellence* – to promote the city. In addition, those terms for which a translation in English is too complex, Italian or Venetian are often used. The technique of using foreign words in a tourism text is called 'languaging' (see section 4). The use of this technique becomes, then, fundamental in explaining the local culture to foreign tourists and, if 'languaging' fails, then one of the goals in achieving sustainable tourism fails, too. This paper aims to draw attention to the importance of the correct use of 'languaging' to succeed in the mutual understanding between host community and tourists who might belong to very different cultures.

Miraglia (2015: p. 31) provides a list of nationalities visiting Venice: the first twelve in 2014 were the USA, France, the UK, Germany, Japan, China, Australia, Spain, Brazil, South Korea, Canada, and Russia. As mentioned earlier, English plays a fundamental role as a *lingua franca* through which promotion is expressed not only to tourists with English as a native language but also to tourists who are speakers of other languages and use English to communicate when they are outside their own country.

Considering the importance of English and Italian as promotional languages, as well as the role of the Internet as the main market place to present the city to prospective tourists, the present study contrasts digital travel guidebooks (henceforth, DTGs), available online, written in English and in Italian. The contribution examines, in particular, instances of the 'languaging' technique (i.e., the use of foreign words to engage the reader's attention) used to describe the most noteworthy aspects of the local Venetian culture.

Venice is full of local cultural and dialectal characteristics that rarely have a translation in Standard Italian or in any other language. The work investigates the strategies used to promote the local culture to non-Venetians as well as to non-Italians, thus considering whether the linguistic techniques employed vary according to the different levels of presumed previous knowledge that the authors attribute to the visitors according to their nationality.

As already stated, correctly conveying the local Venetian culture and describing what characterizes the everyday life of its inhabitants is essential in promoting mutual understanding and, as a consequence, the tourist's 'sustainable behaviour' towards the host community. 'Sustainable behaviour' means that a quality, low-impact tourist informs him/herself on the local culture, on the citizens' everyday life and socio-cultural rituals and, once at the destination, they will not see the locals as actors in a show but as real members of a community who is hosting them. This is the opposite of the 'unsustainable' behaviour in disruptive mass tourism that sees the city as some sort of product to be quickly consumed, visited, without any contact with the local culture except to buy mass-produced souvenirs and book hotels and restaurants.

2. Corpus and methodology

A qualitative investigation of culture-specific lexical items in five DTGs written in English and in five DTGs written in Italian will be conducted with particular focus on their use of the 'languaging' technique and, thus, on the differences or similarities in transmitting information on the host culture to Italian, non-Venetian tourists as well as to foreigners. The analysis will also enquire whether there are different levels of presumed previous knowledge that the authors attribute to the visitors according to their nationality.

The DTGs analysed were as follows, with numbers from 1 to 5 listing the texts in Italian and numbers from 6 to 10 the texts in English:

1. *Venezia* (by PaesiOnline),
2. *Guida di Venezia* (by WeeAGoo),
3. *Guida di Venezia* (by Venezia.net),
4. *Venezia City Book* (byTravelItalia.it),
5. *Venezia* (by ArrivalGuides).
6. *TripAdvisor's Venice Guide*,
7. *The Rough Guide to Venice and The Veneto*,
8. *The Venice City Guide* (by Travelplan.it),
9. *Venice Guide* (by Venezia.net),
10. *Introducing Venice* (by Alison Bing for Lonely Planet).

Some of the DTGs in English, such as texts number 8 and 9, were written by Italian authors and are available on the same website as the corresponding text in Italian (such as text number 3). After comparing the English and the Italian versions, the English one does not appear to be a translation of the Italian version, or vice versa, because they contain different information, tailored to meet the demands of a foreign and of an Italian tourist, respectively.

It should also be specified that the DTGs are contained in websites, and they are actually related to them, indeed reference is made to the possibility of visiting the hyperlink leading to the corresponding website or to downloading the app. The DTGs are, however, not to be considered a summary of either since an analysis of the apps, the pdfs and the DTGs ascertained that they illustrate different content. For instance, while the website also contains links to hotels, companies for local transportation, airports, and so on, the app focuses more on the users' reviews of the destination. Also, unlike the apps, the DTG provides practical information in specific sections and the rest of the DTG text is used to describe itineraries, providing historical and artistic information on individual sites as well as on the city in general.

3. DGTs in Tourism Promotion

The use of guidebooks during a travel experience can be considered as old as the tourism phenomenon itself, which is commonly believed to have

started "as far back as the Babylonian and Egyptian Empires" (Maci, 2013: p. 225). When travelling for leisure or business, many visitors consult what they consider authoritative and reliable supports that describe how to enjoy the experience in the best possible way, avoiding unpleasant surprises such as booking the wrong or an unsuitable accommodation, finding the right way to reach a site, opening/closing times, tickets availability, and so forth.

New technologies have facilitated access to this kind of information, and have challenged the role of the traditional, printed travel guidebook. So guidebooks have been 'forced' to adapt. Indeed, websites are now available for all, performing the same function as traditional guidebooks with the advantage of real-time, continuous update of information. Applications for tablets and smartphones can be used to learn about specific details about the destination as well as to search for other tourists' opinions and reviews, also in this case often in real time. Some websites offer a free download, in PDF format, of DTGs that tourists can consult at the destination even if they do not have access to the Internet.

The possibilities offered to tourist operators by these texts and to the tourists themselves are various: the tourist, for example, can consult them before the travel experience, and choose which operator offers the best service. The DTGs follow the tourist during the stay, giving access to online information in the main website.

The research question developed in this study revolves around the way in which DTGs transmit elements from, and information on, the local culture of the destination, helping tourists approach the host community in a sustainable way.

4. Languaging

Dann (1996: p. 184) defines languaging as "the impressive use of foreign words, but also a manipulation of the vernacular, a special choice of vocabulary, and not just for its own sake". This technique is exploited particularly when the reader is believed to have little knowledge of the concepts, thus transforming the writer into a trustful authority because s/he appears to be an expert on the host culture. This is a technique that Jaworski *et al.* (2003: p. 17) also call "language crossing … creating a linguascape of the travel destination". This anticipates what tourists will find and experience upon their arrival.

The technique of languaging is used particularly for terms belonging to the eno-gastronomic field, or to represent very specific elements (natural, architectural or cultural) of the host community, referring especially to some lesser known aspects. For instance, in the official tourism website of the City of Venice (*Venezia Unica*), the dedicated section describes some specific aspects of the 'Venetian lifestyle' as in the following quotation, in which the bold and italic types are as in the original:

> The **bacaro** or small bar where you go to drink an *ombra* - i.e. **a glass of wine** and eat *cicheti* - snacks, small servings of seafood, cold meats, and vegetables – has become a social gathering spot and a hangout for meeting friends. You can still do your **grocery shopping in little shops** (i.e. "*botteghe*") like once upon a time...[2]

Instances of languaging can also be specific lexical devices, such as alliteration and onomatopoeia (e.g. in "Dodging the Doges' Palace" Epstein 1994, in Dann, 1996: p. 185), which can enhance the use of humour to make the promotional message more effective. An alternative strategy is the use of expressions supposedly familiar to the tourist but employed in unusual contexts, making the message more exotic and, therefore, more inviting. An example is a multi-author travel blog[3] in which users can create guides to their favourite places based on their own experiences. One of the authors, Chris, has created a 'drinking experience' section called "an ombre in Venice. The best places to get a glass (ombre) of wine and some snacks (cichetti) in Venice, often from early in the morning". The author plays with the word '*ombre'* (in Italian, literally, 'shadows') which, in Venetian, means 'glasses of wine', and the Spanish word for 'man' (*'hombre*') which has a similar sound, summarising the content of the guide, namely his 'manly' experience with drinking traditions in Venice.

Words in the local dialect are at times embedded in the promotional text, following specific typographical patterns which are typical of the 'languaging' technique: foreign words are inserted in their original form and a definition, a paraphrase or a literal translation in English is provided in brackets immediately before or after the term itself. Other devices to mark the specific term are the use of typographical symbols such as single

[2] Available at http://www.veneziaunica.it/en/content/venetian-lifestyle. Last visited: 01.11.2016.

[3] Available at https://jauntful.com/antimega/lJgks7z7T. Last visited: 01.11.2016.

or double quotation marks (e.g., '…' and "…"), angled quotation marks (e.g., «…»), bold type or italics. One example is the quotation provided above from the *Venezia Unica* website.

This technique has become particularly productive in the language of tourism promotion because it reduces the sense of strangeness, which Dann (1996) calls "strangerhood", that a foreign tourist might feel towards the host culture. In fact, the concept of 'strangerhood' conveys the sense of distance that a destination might have from the tourists' usual area of familiarity ("centre" in Dann's 1996 terms). The use of languaging is also a way of reducing this distance, at the same time establishing the authors of tourism texts as the 'experts' who help the 'non-expert' tourist fill the cultural gap, "render[ing] the exotic more familiar" (Jaworski *et al.*, 2003: p. 16). In fact, "performing phrasebook dialogues, offering translations, providing local terminology, and so on, not only make host languages accessible but also help ... familiarise with the destination as a whole" (*ibidem*: p. 20).

4.1. Languaging in the promotion of Italian destinations

As regards the investigation of languaging to promote, or represent, Italian destinations, the interest in this topic is relatively recent. For instance, Cappelli (2013) studied the use of languaging in guidebooks, expatriate travel blogs and travel articles/travelogues. The qualitative analysis shows that the use of words in the language of the host community has the main function of reducing the linguistic and cultural distance between tourists and the destination. Cappelli (2013), in turn, mentions some background studies, namely: Cortese & Hymes (2001), in which languaging is presented in its function of "positioning" (Cappelli, 2013: p. 353) the individual within a specific social culture; it is also represented as "language rooted in memory" (Cortese & Hymes, 2001: p. 199) linking the individual to the local culture. In this case, the tourist might not have some previous knowledge of the language and the local culture, so languaging can be used to create, before the visit, specific feelings in the prospective visitor's mind; once at the destination s/he will recall those feelings, thus re-creating the emotions that the text had previously evoked. Incidentally, in their analysis of guidebooks, Fodde & Denti (2005) come to the conclusion that languaging serves to anticipate what tourists will experience upon their arrival.

In the present contribution, the term languaging refers to the technique of using Italian and Venetian words in the English texts, and terms or expressions in the local Venetian dialect in Italian texts, along with the corresponding translation or paraphrase that the authors of the texts might provide.

5. Data and results

A preliminary analysis of the DTGs ascertained that there are several functions of the languaging technique in the texts: it is used to help tourists become accustomed to the 'terminology' they will find once at the destination; it is also used to underline the strong local identity still felt in Venice – despite some dialect levelling, depopulation, immigration and its role as a mass tourism destination. Finally, the DTGs use languaging for specific 'items', i.e., toponyms, streets, landmarks, popular traditions (especially eno-gastronomic), as well as to highlight local curiosities.

Furthermore, it can be noticed that there is no common, homogeneous way to indicate, graphically, items in the local language even from the same category or in the same text and this makes the texts look rather unprofessional, written without a specific editorial line. For example, in *The Venice City Guide* (TravelPlan), topographical elements of the city in Italian and in Venetian are indicated in three different ways in the same paragraph: first, using no typographical differentiation, then using italics, and finally using inverted commas, as the following extract shows (bold type is as used in the original):

> **The names of the calli, campi and campielli (lanes, squares and little squares in Venice).** The Venetian *Calli* have unusual names that are usually either taken from the city's history or from an event that took place right on the very spot, or from the jobs of the people who lived in that lane or square. The names of the streets are written on small white squares that are placed on the outside of the buildings and that are called **"nizioleti"** (tissues).

The following sections will report other examples of the terms and expressions found in the DTGs.

5.1. DTGs in English

The examples reported in Table 1 illustrate the main techniques used to report and explain the terms in Venetian for each DTG. No emphases were added and the use of italics or bold type reflects the usage found in the actual guidebooks. The terms or any other element in brackets are as in the originals; explanations on the use of the term in the DTGs or its meaning in the local dialect as well as its cultural significance that help better understand the nature of the term itself are added in footnotes.

DTGs (ENG)	'Toponyms', street names, etc.	Landmarks	Eno-gastronomic Traditions	Local Curiosities
TripAdvisor Venice Guide	Fundamente, Fondamenta, Fondamente[4]	St Mark's Square, Piazza San Marco[5]	enjoy a half-glass, or *ombra* (shadow), of wine and antipasti	------
The Rough Guide to Venice and The Veneto	A canal is a **rio**, and an alleyway that cuts through a building is a **sottoportico** or **sottoportego**, to give its dialect version	Piazza San Marco, Arsenale, Palazzo Ducale	A distinctive aspect of the Venetian social scene is the *bácaro* which in its purest form is a bar that offers a range of snacks called *cicheti* (sometimes spelled *ciccheti*); the array will typically include *polpette* (small beef and garlic meatballs),	Floods, **acque alte**… the *acqua alta* begins… - walkways of duckboards (*passerelle*)

[4] These three names are used alternatively in those parts of the TripAdvisor Guide that do not report the tourists' reviews but are presumably written by the author of the DTG.

[5] Generally, the use of untranslated place names is accepted whenever there is no established translation for that term. However, in the present case, the untranslated place names were considered instances of languaging because – from the context in which they appear in the DTGs – some of the authors seem to treat them as such, not as real place names. This is especially so in those cases in which an 'official', established translation does exist (such as St Mark's Square).

			carciofini (artichoke hearts), … *polipi* (baby octopus or squid)…	
The Venice City Guide (travelplan.it)	**The names of the calli, campi and campielli (lanes, squares and littles squares in Venice). The Venetian *Calli...***	Piazza San Marco, The Ponte della Libertà bridge, Church of the Pietà, San Marco Tower Bell	We can begin our journey to discover Venetian food with cicchetti (hors d'oevres) that can be found in all the **bacari** (pubs) counters, The Venice Carnival has also invented some official sweetmeats: «fritole» (fried sweets) and «galani».	The rising water, «nizioleti» (tissues), The «mascherer i» were founded to meet…

Table 1. DTGs in English.

As already mentioned, the authors of these DTGs do not follow any particular pre-established strategy when reporting terms in Italian or in the local dialect, alternating the use of italics, bold type and quotation marks. The meaning or the referent of the term is paraphrased either in brackets after the term or in the main text between commas.

In Table 2, the results for the last two DTGs in English are shown.

DTGs (ENG)	**'Toponyms', street names, etc.**	**Landmarks**	**Eno-gastronomic Traditions**	**Local Curiosities**
Venice Guide (Venezia.net)	Small squares (campielli), numerous canals («rio»)	Doge's Palace (Palazzo Ducale), Piazza San Marco (St Mark's Square)	here you can eat a wide selection of typical hors d'oeuvre than can substitute a meal – called CICHETI	«Volo dell'Angelo » (Angel flight), Volo della Colombina (flight of the little dove)
Introducing Venice (Alison Bing for Lonely Planet)	*Calli* (alleyways), *sestieri* (neighbourhoods)	Punta della Dogana, Giardini Pubblici, Ponte dei Scalzi, Crossing the Rialto	*Spritz* (*prosecco*-based drink), *cicheti* (traditional bar snack), *un ombra* [sic] (half-glass), *crostini* (sandwich)	*Barene* (mud banks), *acqua alta* (high tide), The Venetian *bea vita* (beautiful life), *befane* (witches), *sagra* (feast)

Table 2. DTGs in English.

In Table 2, in the *Venice Guide* text, foreign words are never highlighted though they are either preceded or followed by a translation in English. In the case of the *Lonely Planet* DTG, the writer uses italics followed by a translation in round brackets. However, in this case, she often adapts the meaning to fit into an English word, actually eliminating some important characteristics and socio-cultural connotations of the traditions indicated by the terms, especially as regards the category of eno-gastronomic traditions. For example, '*cicheti*' is glossed as 'bar snacks'. This gives the incorrect idea that they are be found only in bars or pubs, whereas they are actually also served in any restaurant of the city.

Some inaccuracies are also present, such as the use of "*un ombra*" instead of the grammatically correct "*un'ombra*", or the translation of "*befane*" with the reductive 'witches', whereas it indicates a traditional figure of the good-natured witch, or a very old woman dressed in rags, who brings presents and sweets to children every 6th January.

5.2. DTGs in Italian

Table 3 reports examples of the languaging technique used in the Italian DTGs. The strategies used are not substantially different from those in the DTGs in English. The use of italics is less frequent probably because the guidebooks are written in Italian and the local terms are just treated as regionalisms, not as terms in another language, as in the case of the DTGs in English. Back translations are in square brackets.

DTG (ITA)	**'Toponyms', street names, etc.**	**Landmarks**	**Eno-gastronomic Traditions**	**Local Curiosities**
Venezia (PaesiOnline)	quartieri storici (**sestieri**) [historical neighbourhoods], calli (vie) [alleys]	Ca' vs Cà	I Cicchetti rappresentano l'aperitivo veneziano [Cicchetti are the Venetian aperitif], Per gustare, infine, gli ottimi ciccheti veneziani, cioè gli stuzzichini che anticipano il pranzo e che sono tipici della zona, una tappa obbligata sono i bàcari, l'equivalente veneziano del pub [Finally to taste the exquisite Venetian ciccheti, the appetizers that anticipate lunch, typical of the area, are the must-visit bàcari, the Venetian equivalent to the pub]	vennero governati da un duce o duca, detto "doge" in dialetto veneto [they were governed by a leader or duke, called "doge" in the Veneto dialect]

Table 3. DTGs in Italian.

Table 3 also shows that, for the DTG *Venezia*, specific terms do not stand out from the rest of the text. Explanation of the terms is provided through a paraphrase rather than through the use of single words. Some terms are not even explained, as in the case of 'ca' (clipped form of the word '*casa*'/house, indiscriminately alternated in the text to the incorrect spelling '*cà*'), or in the case of '*nizioleti*' (signs for alleys and squares) or '*sottoporteghi*' (pedestrian passageways through buildings), which are both left without a paraphrase or a translation in Standard Italian. This lack of full explanations for local terms might be interpreted as a levelling to a general Italian culture, as if the author presumes that the Italian-speaking visitors would not mind missing the explanation or that they already know the meaning of that dialectal word.

Another example in the DTG *Venezia* is the use of '*calli*' explained only in the middle of the guide after it had already been used several times. This guide also omits the local names of food and does not mention the 'high water' phenomenon, which might be a problematic issue as the visitors will not know how to handle the situation if it arises. Apart from *Venezia* (PaesiOnline), mention of 'high water' is also missing in *Venezia* City Book (TravelItalia.it) and in *Venezia* (ArrivalGuides). This important information is, however, present in all the DTGs in English, although it is not always thoroughly explained.

Table 4 illustrates how the DTGs in Italian show an even greater variation than the DTGs in English when they describe Venice and report local terms.

DTG (ITA)	**'Toponyms', street names, etc.**	**Landmarks**	**Eno-gastronomic Traditions**	**Local Curiosities**
Guida di Venezia (WeeAGoo)	oltre un ponte o una calle (tipica strada veneziana) [over a bridge or a calle (typical Venetian alley)]	Ca'	Le ricette più rinomate della cucina veneziana (il baccalà mantecato, pasta e fagioli, risi e bisi, le patate alla veneziana) [The most renowned recipes of the Venetian cuisine (the creamed codfish, pasta with beans, rice with peas, Venetian-style potatoes], **Bacari**, le tipiche taverne che devono il nome ad un vino pugliese popolare in città alla fine del diciottesimo secolo [Bacari, the local taverns owing their name to a Puglia wine popular in the city at the end of the eighteenth century]	I Dogi (capi del governo) di Venezia [The Dogi (leaders of the government) of Venice], Glossary with local terms (gondola, briciole [*sic*] e paline [*bricole and decorated poles], calle, cicheti, ombra [shadow], altane [turrets], baccalà [codfish], fondamenta [base of buildings], lancia [motor boat])

Guida di Venezia (Venezia.net)[6]	------	***i Veneziani erano soliti raccogliersi in confraternite chiamate Scuole***, parola che deriva dal greco schola e che significa per l'appunto unione di persone [The Venetians used to gather in brotherhoods called Schools, term deriving from the Greek *schola* and which indeed means a gathering of people]	i tipici CICHETI (antipasti) [traditional cicheti (hors d'oeuvre)], Ma anche le soiole vengono spesso marinate nel saor… insieme con i bovoleti aglio e olio, l'anitra arrosto e i fasioi (fagioli)[7] [Sole is marinated in the *saor* (sweet-and-sour) sauce... as well as the *bovoleti* (snails) with oil and garlic, roast duck and *fasioi* (beans)]	**«il volo dell'Angelo»** [the flight of the Angel], **«il Volo della Colombina»** [the flight of the *Colombina*, lit. Little Dove]
Venezia City Book (TravelItalia.it)	Calle [alley][8], campo/campiello [square/small square], fondamenta [base of buildings], ramo [a narrow *calle*], ruga [a *calle* with shops and houses], sestieri	No other information except for the meaning of *Scuole*	----	----

[6] The examples from this DTG are reported in bold and italic types as in the original.

[7] In this particular example, the author of the DTG uses terms for food and traditional dishes alternating the Standard Italian with the Venetian spelling (e.g. the fish called 'sole' is indicated with the local spelling of 'soiole' instead of the Italian 'sogliole'). This alternation is not indicated with any typographical convention, so it makes it difficult for the reader to distinguish between a local usage and a possible typo.

[8] The terms indicated in this column are part of a glossary, included in the DTG, in which the terms in Italian (rarely in Venetian) are provided just with a very short explanation.

	[neighbourhoods], terrà o terà [a *calle* where a canal used to flow, now paved]			
Venezia (ArrivalGuides)	… esplorate i labirinti dei piccoli quartieri. I sestieri[9] più interessanti sono… [explore the labyrinths of the small neighbourhoods. The most interesting sestieri are…]	----	fegato alla veneziana (fegato di vitello con polenta bianca) [Venetian-style liver (calf liver with white polenta)]	I bacari sono luoghi semplici in cui mangiare i cicchetti, antipasti veneziani [The *bacari* are simple places where you can eat *cicchetti*, Venetian appetizers]

Table 4. DTGs in Italian.

The guidebook *Guida di Venezia* (Venezia.net) contains more historical facts and anecdotes than the *Venice Guide* version in English but, on the other hand, it contains more words in the local dialect, given in a glossary at the end of the main text, in which the explanation of the meaning is reported. In this particular case, it is also worth mentioning that the DTGs *Guida di Venezia* (WeeAGoo) wrongly reports the name '*briciole'* (meaning 'crumbs') instead of the correct term '*bricole'* (wooden signpost poles for boats in the lagoon).

In some of the guidebooks, terms in the local dialect are not highlighted in any way, making it difficult for the reader to differentiate the terms in dialect from the rest of the text in Italian. The DTGs in Italian provide also scant explanations or synonyms, so the actual function and nature of the thing, dish or tradition referred to must often be inferred from the context, increasing the distance between the reader and the text. This tendency was noticed in all the DTGs in Italian, which makes them more similar to texts written by amateurs rather than by professionals in the field, especially if compared to the DTGs in English.

[9] 'Sestieri' recurs as an untranslated Venetian term in the original DTG in Italian.

6. Conclusive Remarks

The analysis of the languaging technique used in DTGs in English and in Italian shows that, generally, DTGs highlight local terms using typographical strategies that have a well-established tradition in the language of tourism promotion, even though the frequency and homogeneity of these conventional strategies is not the one generally found in tourism texts (cf. Dann 1996). At times, the DTGs use italics, bold type, quotation marks, commas, and so forth, but they do not use a homogeneous style for the same category of items. This happens also within the same DTG, regardless of the number of authors who contributed to the text. The overall impression produced is that of lack of a coherent writing style and a general lack of attention to detail.

In addition, the analysis showed that the DTGs in English make a more frequent use of definitions, translations and explanations to accompany terms in Italian or in the Venetian dialect than the DTGs in Italian. This can be attributed to the fact that the linguistic and cultural gap between the guests and the host community is greater, and not only presumed by the authors but understood by the DTC authors in English.

All the DTGs in Italian, on the other hand, omit many elements and explanations, presuming a higher level of previous knowledge than what might actually be possessed by Italian, or by Italian-speaking, tourists. The omission increases the intra-national distance, creating a sense of incompleteness in the contents of the texts in Italian. Some guides simply give the literal meaning of the terms while others omit any form of explanation. For instance, *Venezia* (PaesiOnline) indicates that 'sestieri' is another name for 'quartieri' (literally, neighbourhoods), while *Guida di Venezia* (Venezia.net) does not provide any synonym or explanation. In this case, the word 'sestiere' might have been considered a familiar term to the general Italian tourist in the latter guide but it was not considered so in the former. It can be presumed that the decision regarding which terms are part of a passive Italian knowledge of local Venetian culture was left to the authors. The difficulty in ascertaining whether a term is omitted because its knowledge is taken for granted is also due to the lack of any authority on the subject (e.g. a dictionary or a glossary) that gives any information on what local terms are understood nationally. Even a source of this kind would not help since the author would not know if his/her particular readers would actually possess that level of knowledge, thus we might think that the guides that omit explanations of local terms aim at

addressing a public with a wider general knowledge, while those DTGs address a public who has none. The digital medium of the guidebooks, especially in the case of the Italian ones, does not fully justify the lack of homogeneity that emerges from the analysis of the languaging technique, nor can the dis-homogeneity be accounted for by the authors' assumptions regarding the tourists' presumed knowledge of the local culture. In both cases, the result is that of clumsy texts, written amateurishly, which do not favour the promotion of the city and its image. In actual fact, the risk of using incorrect languaging techniques that fail to transmit the importance of the local culture might mean that mutual understanding is not achieved. After all, guidebooks are the first means of communication between the host community and the prospective visitors, so making the tourists aware of the culture and traditions they will find once at the destination might be a first step towards the development of a quality tourism in Venice.

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Popularization and accessibility in travel guidebooks for children in English

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Abstract

Tourist guidebooks are among the most investigated genres in tourism discourse both for their function and for their linguistic features. Through language, they lead the tourists and their "tourist gaze" (Urry 2002; Urry and Larsen 2012) in their real or imaginary journey. They also mediate the tourist experience. They contribute to closing the gap between the tourists' culture and the destination's culture (Fodde and Denti 2005), and make culture-specific knowledge and specialized concepts accessible. Guidebooks for children represent an interesting subgenre in this regard. Children generally do not have well-established cultural filters and needs. Their "tourist gaze" still needs to be built and developed and their expectations about the destination (if any) might be completely different from those of the adult travellers. Moreover, the contents presented must be suitable for their cognitive abilities and general knowledge. In this paper, guidebooks for children are discussed in terms of popularization discourse and accessibility. More specifically, data from guidebooks for children between the ages of 6 and 12 are discussed. Focus is on the structural and linguistic properties which emerge from the need to make new information suitable for the intended readers.

1. Introduction

Travel guidebooks are a popular genre in tourism studies (Cappelli 2006; Maci 2013; Peel and Sørensen 2016). They have been investigated from many perspectives and within different traditions of research. Sociologists, anthropologists, marketing experts, historians and linguists have tackled the main features of the genre in order to highlight its contribution to the creation of the image of destinations, sights and local people. Language is crucial to these analyses, and several studies have focused on the language of guidebooks as a means of social control. Linguists have discussed the main rhetorical strategies used for the portrayal of places (Bhattacharyya 1997; Van Gorp 2012) as well as processes of lexical specialization. The many independent studies converge in identifying two main functions of guidebooks: a leading and a mediating function.

Guidebooks "lead" travellers by offering recommendations for accommodation, restaurants, itineraries, etc.. They also provide useful information on the best sights, on the local culture and language, and on the history, geography and heritage of the destination. For this reason, they can be seen as one of the "informational" genres of tourism discourse with a more or less direct promotional effect.

Most importantly for the present discussion, guidebooks "mediate" the experience of the traveller. They choose what is worth seeing and the way to describe it. They also choose what is culturally meaningful and present the local culture to the readers in a way that makes it easily understandable for them. For this reason, Cohen (1985) defined guidebooks as "culture brokers", because they choose and interpret the sights for the tourist. In so doing, they contribute to the "process of sacralisation" of the destination (Crang 2004), that is, to the symbolic transformation of sights into "must-sees". They also participate in the "circle of representation" of the tourist experience (Jenkins 2003), by both creating and reinforcing travellers' expectations.

The mediating function of guidebooks is mostly realized through the linguistic cross-cultural representation of the "other" (Bhattacharryya 1997; Van Gorp 2012). By presenting "foreign culture in a nutshell" (Dybiec 2008), guidebooks guide the tourist gaze (Urry 2002). Through discourse, they provide instructions on how to interpret the foreign culture and thus reduce the cultural gap between the travellers' home culture and the destination's culture. The metaphor of the "tourist-child" led by the hand by the "guidebook-teacher" illustrates well the role of the genre in the processes of socialization and enculturation of the traveller. All these aspects are strictly related to the concept of "accessibility", because through specific communicative strategies, guidebooks make many relevant aspects of the target culture understandable and, therefore, accessible for the tourist (e.g. art, history, geography, language, traditions, etc.). They create connections between the "known" and the "new". They provide interpretive tools for the tourists by helping them integrate their culturally-predicated expectations and needs with the destination's culture. They take advantage of available mental representations to help tourists make sense of what is new and unfamiliar to them[1] and of the importance of the items selected as culturally relevant.

[1] A good example of this type of strategy is provided by the description of the iconic skyline of San Gimignano as the "Tuscan Manhattan". This allows American tourists to easily understand the function of towers in medieval Tuscany in terms of both living

Guidebooks for children represent an interesting and yet vastly unexplored subgenre in this regard. Young travellers generally do not have well-established cultural filters and needs. Their "tourist gaze" still needs to be built and developed rather than guided, and their expectations about the destination (if any) may be completely different from those of adult travellers. Moreover, many of the concepts and mental representations available to adult tourists may not be available to children for lack of knowledge or cognitive skills. This necessarily forces a shift in the main parameters according to which guidebooks have been investigated. Rather than attracting, guidebooks for children should entertain. Rather than guiding the tourist gaze, they will be contributing to its creation, while at the same time educating the young readers and providing them with the knowledge they need to interpret a new and foreign environment. At the linguistic level, this emerges in the strategies used to popularize (specialized) knowledge.

Section 2 presents the aim of the research. Section 3 discusses the concepts of accessibility and popularization. Section 4 presents the data and the methodology of the analysis. Section 5 illustrates the features of guidebooks for children as a genre in its own right and shows ways in which cognitive development shapes format and content. Section 6 presents the verbal and visual strategies used to enhance accessibility in guidebooks for children. Finally, section 7 draws some conclusions.

2. Aim of the research

The socialization and enculturation of the tourist relies on the way in which authors decide to present information about destinations and sights. In order to "sacralise the sights" (MacCannell 1989), they describe them in terms of their relevance within a certain cultural framework. If the reader is part of that same framework, mediation is easier. In that case, author and reader can rely on a larger amount of shared knowledge. The farther the cultural references and framework, the more important (and complex) is the mediating role of guidebooks.

Most adult tourists approach travel with a variable amount of knowledge about the destination's history, geography, art or customs. They also come equipped with knowledge about their own culture and the world. Such

spaces and symbols of political and economic power.

knowledge may have been acquired through experience or learnt through years of formal education. It provides the foundations for the acquisition of new knowledge through the integration of novel and old scripts. In other words, stored knowledge can be exploited to make sense of new "data" and to transform them into new knowledge.

Depending on their age, young travellers might lack the necessary "infrastructure" to make sense of the sights or of the culture of the destination. They might, for instance, not be aware of the differences in lifestyle throughout history. They might not be familiar with specialised vocabulary or concepts. They might not be able to apply cultural relativity to interpret the customs they encounter at the destination. They might not even have the cognitive skills to process complex stimuli. For these reasons, the way in which the destination, its culture and sights are presented to them is especially interesting.

The paper presents the results of a qualitative study of the strategies used in guidebooks for children to make cultural-specific or technical terms and concepts accessible for the reader. The underlying hypothesis is that the same processes at work in the popularization of scientific knowledge can be observed in guidebooks, both for adults and for children (as discussed in Cappelli and Masi 2015). Popularization is here intended as the reformulation, reconceptualization and recontextualization of expert discourse that meet the background encyclopaedia of lay readers (Myers 2003; Hyland 2005; Calsamiglia and Van Dijk 2004; Garzone 2006; Gotti 2013; Mattiello 2014). There is little doubt that much expert knowledge is presented in guidebooks in a way which is accessible to the non-expert reader. All guidebooks include sections about history, geography, art, architecture, and economy. Famous sites are described in terms of their artistic and symbolic value, sometimes with reference to technical concepts. The aim of the analysis, which is part of a wider project focusing on popularization strategies in English and Italian guidebooks at large, was to verify which strategies are used in English guidebooks for children between 6 and 12 years old, and to identify the ways in which contents are adjusted to make them suitable for the presupposed knowledge and cognitive skills of young travellers.

3. Accessibility and popularization of knowledge

Popularization and accessibility are related domains. Calsamiglia and Van Dijk (2004: p. 370) describe popularization as "a vast class of various types of communicative events or genres that involve the transformation of specialized knowledge into 'everyday' or 'lay' knowledge [...]. This means that popularization discourse needs to be formulated in such a way that non-specialized readers are able to construct lay versions of specialized knowledge and integrate these with their existing knowledge".

Popularization discourse has received a fair amount of attention over the past decade (Gotti 2013). Studies have focused on its rhetorical structure, lexical choices, textuality, and on the specific strategies used to make expert content understandable to the non-expert reader (e.g. use of narration or figurative language, explanation, etc.). Many linguistic strategies have been identified as typical of popularized discourse: explanation in all its various forms, such as definition and exemplification, metaphors, descriptions, comparison, and analogy. They all have a common function, namely to allow language users to relate new representations to old representations (Calsamiglia and Van Dijk 2004; Gotti 2013). In other words, they make sure that new concepts become "accessible" to the reader.

In the case of guidebooks for children, the concept of "recontextualization" proposed by Calsamiglia and Van Dijk (2004) assumes special relevance. The authors claim that "popularization discourse must always adapt to the appropriateness conditions and other constraints of the media and communicative events" (*ibidem*: p. 371). Guidebooks for children represent a specific subgenre, shaped partly by generic constraints, and partly by the particular nature of its intended readership. Since children's general knowledge is limited when compared to the average adult's, recontextualization processes shape the linguistic code in a more dramatic fashion. Young readers need to be "guided" more extensively in their interpretation. For this reason, it is especially interesting to study how, and how well, guidebooks for children approach accessibility.

Accessibility can be described as a measure of the ease with which mental representations and pieces of stored information are retrieved from memory (cf. Ariel 1990, 2001). The theory of accessibility developed by Ariel over three decades accounts for the choice of referring expressions in a text and for the functioning of reference chains in textual

interpretation. It focuses on the way in which linguistic markers instruct the addressee on how to access specific mental representations "by indicating to him how accessible this piece of information is to him at the current stage of discourse" (Ariel, 2001: p. 29). The model has received some criticism (cf. Reboul 1997) and it has, to my knowledge, remained mostly confined to the level of textual analysis. However, it provides a good starting point to investigate accessibility at the level of discourse as well.

According to Ariel (1990) the choice of a specific referring expression presupposes the belief that the addressee has some mental representation of the entity being referred to, or that such representation can be more or less easily constructed. Cognitive and pragmatic (i.e. extra-linguistic) factors play a role in such choice. Cognitive factors are especially interesting for the present discussion and include the presupposition of the referent's accessibility. The less accessible the mental representation, the more informative will the referring expression chosen have to be to allow the addressee to correctly identify the intended referent in the text.

The relationship between degree of mental accessibility and reference derives from the interplay of three main parameters: informativity, rigidity and phonological size (Ariel 1990). Informativity deals with the amount of lexical information that the referring expression provides about the entity referred to (e.g., *the church with the marble portal* presupposes lower accessibility of the referent compared to *the church*). Rigidity refers to the ability of the referring expression to reduce the number of possible interpretations (e.g., *the large buildings* is less rigid than *the temples*). Phonological size refers to the fact that phonologically heavier forms usually mark a lower level of accessibility of the referent (e.g., *The UK* marks a higher degree of accessibility than *The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*).

Ariel (1990) proposed a scale of referring expressions. Depending on whether the referent is assumed to be more or less accessible, the speaker will choose an expression which marks high (e.g., pronouns), intermediate (e.g., short definite descriptions such as *the beautiful square*) or low accessibility (e.g., full name + modifier such as *Raffaello, the painter*). In other words, the addresser assists the addressee in recovering the intended referent or mental representation by offering "cues", that is, by choosing one or the other referring expression depending on the degree of accessibility he assumes the referent or mental representation have for the addressee.

Even if the theory was not developed to discuss accessibility of meaning per se, Ariel's procedural approach to referent retrieval and her concept of mental accessibility offer an interesting perspective to discuss mediating strategies in informational tourist materials. It connects nicely with the suggestions that come from the literature on popularization discourse, because they both presuppose assumptions on the background knowledge shared by the addresser and the addressee. Together, they offer a framework to analyse the linguistic strategies used in travel guidebooks to make the destination and its culture accessible to tourists and to guide their gaze. The linguistic strategies used to popularize "difficult" concepts are, therefore, interpreted in the present study in terms of accessibility enhancement or creation.

4. Data and methodology

The data discussed in section 6 come from a qualitative analysis of a small corpus of children's guidebooks in English. This choice was made for several reasons. Firstly, guidebooks for children are an intrinsically multimodal genre: separating texts from images would inevitably result in a partial picture of the accessibility strategies adopted. Secondly, concept accessibility enhancement and creation often relies on more than just one linguistic form or expression. Automatic extraction of data from the corpora would limit the range of observable phenomena. The aim of this preliminary investigation was to obtain an overview of the different strategies adopted to make concepts relative to the sights or the destinations accessible for the young travellers. The frequency of the individual phenomena and their statistical relevance in the genre was therefore not measured. The quantitative analysis of the data remains an interesting question for further research.

In the choice of the materials to include in the corpus a broad definition of guidebooks was adopted. Texts that are immediately recognizable as guidebooks in the classic sense of the term were included alongside with sticker books and lift-the-flap books about well-known destinations. The underlying assumption is that the macrofunction of such materials for a young readership is comparable to that of traditional guidebooks for an older audience.

For the present study, only data from guidebooks originally written in English for children between the ages of 6 and 12 (middle childhood) were considered. The texts included in the corpus are listed below.

1. *Rome City Guides for Kids (ZigZag City Guides)*
2. *This is Rome* (Universe Publishing)
3. *This is London* (Universe Publishing)
4. *Kids' Travel Guide Italy and Rome* (Flying Kids)
5. *Kids' Travel Guide Rome* (Flying Kids)
6. *Kids' Travel Guide London* (Flying Kids)
7. *Kids' Travel Guide Paris* (Flying Kids)
8. *Kids' Travel Guide New York* (Flying Kids)
9. *A smart kids' guide to Ancient Greece* (CreateSpace)
10. *A smart kids' guide to Impressive Italy* (CreateSpace)
11. *Mission London. A scavenger hunt adventure* (Aragon Books)
12. *Around the globe. Must see places in Europe* (Baby Professor)
13. *Around the globe. Must see places in the Middle East* (Baby Professor)
14. *Not for parents London* (Lonely Planet)
15. *Not for parents Rome* (Lonely Planet)
16. *50 Things to spot in London* (Usborne)

5. Cognitive factors influencing format and contents of guidebooks for children

Guidebooks for children have a long-standing tradition in the English-speaking world. The first instances of what could be called modern guidebooks for children were published in the UK in the 1950's. They were illustrated books about some of the most famous cities in the world by the Czech artist Miroslav Sasek. His illustrations were accompanied by short texts. The first books in the series, *This is Paris* and *This is London*, were published in 1959 by W. H. Allen in the UK and by Macmillan in the US, and they were reprinted at the beginning of the 21st century. Since their publication, a plethora of titles have appeared, some by independent publishers and some by the "big names" in the industry, such as Lonely Planet.

Guidebooks for children differ from guidebooks for adults in many ways, ranging from their format to their content (Cappelli and Masi 2015). These aspects are shaped by the characteristics of the age group for which they are intended. They vary from the traditional book format to the lift-the-flap-book and collector's cards format. They represent a hybrid genre, which includes features of picture books, activity books, card games,

information books and personal journals. The older the target audience, the more "traditional" the format (Figure 1).

Figure 1

Guidebooks for children lack some of the sections found in guidebooks for adults (Maci 2013). More specifically, since children do not choose hotels and restaurants and do not normally travel by themselves, the "useful information" sections are not included.

The contents and their presentation seem to take into account the cognitive skills of the different age groups for which they are intended. According to the psychological literature, childhood can be divided into four main phases (Valkenburg and Cantor 2001). Throughout the stages of infancy (0-2), early childhood (3-5), middle childhood (6-12) and adolescence (13-19), children vary in terms of ability to concentrate and to self-regulate, attention span, interests and relational skills. Research on youth tourism shows that young travellers want "activities, sensory experiences and play, where they are active and absorbed – preferably with other children" (Gram, 2005: p. 11). Later in childhood and adolescence, peer social interaction becomes most important and travelling "with" is more relevant than travelling "to". Even though they are clearly aware of differences involved in being away from "home", children seem to be attracted by the culturally familiar aspects of travelling rather than by the differences (Cullingford 1995). Recollection studies provide support for these observations and highlight how childhood holiday memories shift

from being prevalently egocentric to being prevalently social and converge on three main aspects: the importance of having fun, excitement and adventure; the memory of sightseeing, education and learning as partly negative experiences, and the importance of feeling grown up and independent (Small 2008).

All these aspects, as well as our knowledge about children's cognition, shape the structure, language and look of guidebooks for young travellers. Young children (0-5) have little eye for detail and quality, therefore books addressing this age group, including information and guidebooks, are rich in simple, colourful illustrations, and hands-on activities such as stickers or flaps. They usually include popular fictional characters, which can provide an anchor to known elements. They exploit fairy-tale-like narration (Valkenburg and Cantor 2001).

During the early school years, centration (the ability to centre one's attention only on striking features of objects) decreases and children develop an improved ability to distinguish between fantasy and reality. Their attention span is longer and they start to prefer social play and faster paced entertainment. They can appreciate complex plots and characters and more difficult and varied contents, including humour. They are more responsive to verbally oriented information. Guidebooks for this age group include longer texts, anecdotes and "fun facts", and game-like activities with a formative aim (see Figure 2, which presents the local currency).

Figure 2

Most guidebooks include a fictional character who guides the child towards discovering the destinations. This "imaginary friend" can either

be a popular character or a peer, such as Leonardo in the Kids' Travel Guides series. The opinion of peers plays an increasingly important role in children's lives. Through late middle childhood (9 to 12), kids develop a more complex interest in real world phenomena and entertainment designed for adults. By the age of 9, they prefer realistic entertainment and become attached to real-life heroes such as sport and movie stars, which is reflected in the choice of anecdotes in guidebooks (Valkenburg and Cantor, 2001). They also develop a taste for collecting and accumulating, which makes cards the perfect choice for this age group. Guidebooks for teenagers are similar to guidebooks for adults in format, but they are often written in a more "subversive", "not-for-parents" style (see Lonely Planet "not-for-parents" series)

This accommodation of the psychological features of the target audience is in itself a way to increase content accessibility. The next section discusses some of the ways in which linguistic and iconic resources also contribute to enhance accessibility in this genre.

6. Popularization strategies for accessibility

Popularization discourse resorts to a large number of rhetorical strategies to make expert contents accessible to non-expert readers (Garzone 2006; Gotti 2013; Mattiello 2014). The most common strategies found in the corpus are explanation in its different forms (e.g., description, denomination, analogy, exemplification and definition), anchoring to the reader's background knowledge and life experience, attribution (i.e. the explicit mention of the source of the information provided), use of more than one semiotic code at the same time and generic hybridization.

6.1. Explanation

Explanation is by far the most common strategy found in guidebooks. It is present in the corpus with various types of textual instances.

6.1.1 Explicit explanation of general and technical concepts

An interesting phenomenon observed in guidebooks for children is the frequent inclusion of very explicit explanatory passages focusing on

general concepts relative to tourism and the genre itself (often in the form of negation of the genre). Thus, it is quite common to find a more or less brief comment on the hybrid nature of the genre, and instructions for the reader on the best way to make the most of it.

> 1. This is not a guidebook. And it is definitely not-for-parents. It's the real inside story about one of the world's most famous cities – London. In this book you will hear fascinating tales about famous and infamous people, creepy underground places, dark history and strange characters galore. (*Not-for-parents London*)
> 2. Tourism is a term that describes a person traveling solely for recreation. These travellers are called tourists. […] Sometimes tourists can seem out of place or appear to stand out with his or her surroundings. Typically a tourist enters into a culture different from his or her own for a brief visit. Many people call this kind of travel going on vacation or going on holiday. (*A smart kid's guide to Ancient Greece*).

The same strategies are used to present concepts that might be useful to interpret the sights and which the author assumes are not yet available to the target reader as in (3):

> 3. Renaissance is French for "rebirth." The Renaissance period started in Florence. There was a lot of new growth in the arts, architecture, and science. (*Kids' Travel Guide Italy and Rome*)

6.1.2 Definition and description

"Definition" and "description" are often used interchangeably in the literature on explanation. Calsamiglia and Van Dijk (2004) distinguish between the two by specifying that definitions explain unknown words and descriptions explain unknown things. However, in a case like (4), the distinction between the two categories is quite blurred.

> 4. Have you spotted any domes in Rome? What is a dome? A dome is a structure that looks like the top half of a circle and is hollow inside. (ZigZag City Guides *Rome*)

Regardless of the terminological issue, definition/description is probably the most common explanatory strategy found in guidebooks for children. Definition is often instantiated through juxtaposition of specialized terminology and non-specialized vocabulary as in (5) and (6).

> 5. When the Pope dies or retires, the Cardinals from all over the world come here to choose a new Pope. At a special meeting, a "conclave," every Cardinal casts his secret vote. (*Kids' Travel Guide Italy and Rome*)
> 6. The Colosseum is full of underground passages, the *hypogeum*. (*Kids' Travel Guide Italy and Rome*)

These passages exemplify the variety of forms juxtaposition can take. General terms can be followed by a specialized term in quotes, in italics, or between dashes. Other possibilities include the use of brackets and a different order of term and definition, as in (7) and (8):

> 7. It's also been a mint (a place where money is made), a place to store weapons, and even a zoo". (*Kids' Travel Guide London*)
> 8. To the north was the vast emperor's throne room (the *aula regia*); to the west a basilica (used by the emperor to meet his advisers) and to the south a large banqueting hall, the *triclinium*. (*Kids' Travel Guide Rome*)

As is evident from these examples, popularization strategies are rarely used in isolation. Most commonly, more than one strategy is used in the same passage, as in the case of generalization in (7). Frequently, terms are defined in terms of more familiar concepts as in (8), where references to throne rooms and banqueting halls are likely to be easily accessible to English-speaking children.

The "basilica" example in (8) is especially interesting because the word is defined in functional terms. The reader might, in fact, be familiar with the label, but not with the specialized sense. In present-day English, a basilica is a place of worship. In the Roman times, though, the basilica was a place for political meetings. In terms of accessibility of mental representations, this seems an interesting case in which explanation strategies help the reader form (or retrieve) the correct mental image by disambiguating between competing referents.

6.1.3 Generalization

Example (7) also contains an instance of generalization. Generalization consists in paraphrasing or providing a general definition to substitute specific elements. Thus, "a place to store weapons" is a generalization of the technical term "armoury". Generalization is usually opposed to exemplification (Calsamiglia and Van Dijk 2004). Surprisingly, exemplification is very rare in guidebooks for children, and in the few cases in which it occurs, it is introduced explicitly by markers such as "for example" as in (9).

9. Each Italian region is known for its favorite way to eat pasta. For example, in the capital city there are two favorite ways that Romans eat their pasta: Carbonara or Cacio e Pepe. (*A smart kids' guide to Impressive Italy*)

6.1.4 Analogy and metaphor

Metaphors are rare in the corpus. The few instances found are mostly idiomatic as in (10).

10. The Roman Forum was the heart and soul of ancient Rome. It was the public square where Romans did their banking, trading, shopping, chatting, and praying. (*Kids' Travel Guide Italy and Rome*)

Analogy is often used to provide an anchor to the reader's culture as in (11).

11. Ancient Rome's Fort Knox, the Temple of Saturn was the city treasury. (*Not-for-parents London*)

6.2 Attribution

Attribution is often generic in guidebooks for children. It usually includes a mention of legends or hearsay and, only rarely, reference to more "prestigious" sources as in (13).

12. One legend says that after a huge, flood of the Tiber River, a little boat was left on this exact spot! That was, the inspiration for the fountain's statue! (*Kids' Travel Guide Italy and Rome*)
13. "Busy emporium for trade and traders", it was described by the Roman historian, Tacitus, one thousand nine hundred years ago." (*This is London*)

6.3 Anchoring to the reader's experience, culture or time

Anchoring to the reader's experience, culture or time is extremely pervasive in guidebooks for children. It is done through several different strategies. Forms of direct address which call the readers to some sort of action are frequent, and often prompt them to compare the world as they know it and as it used to be as in the following examples.

14. Before television, you could count on a church mosaic for a hefty bit of drama. Tiny tiles of coloured marble and gold were put together to tell stories. (*Not-for-parents Rome*)
15. Track down these two complex designs. Keep a look out above your head and beneath your feet. […] When you find it, imagine the time it would take to carve and construct this without the use of today's power tools. (*Mission London*)

This type of strategy is quite common, as are word play and explicit comparisons as in (16) and (17).

16. Rome was not built in a day, but the Coloseum was built in eight years. The work was finished in the year 80, and there was room for 50,000 people to sit inside and watch the gladiators fighting. But if you go inside today all you see are cats and tourists and photographers and postcard sellers." (*This is Rome*)
17. Rome is the capital of Italy and is famous for its history and beauty. You may notice things in Italy don't always look the same as they do where you are from." (Zig Zag city guides *Rome*)

Anchoring is often created through intertextuality. More specifically, guidebooks use fairy-tale-like narration and recognizable formulas typical of children's literature and nursery rhymes.

18. Let's go right back to the beginning. Once upon a time there was a motherly she-wolf and two baby brothers called Romulus and Remus. […] According to the legend…" (*This is Rome*)
19. Old Father Thames / London Bridge not Falling Down / Remember Remember the Fifth of November… / With an oink, oink here… (Titles of sections in *Not-for-parents London*)

A distinctive and very common strategy found in the corpus is game-like activities aimed at raising children's awareness about relevant aspects of the destination. They usually prompt reflection on the similarities and differences between "home" and the destination, or between past and present lifestyles. Thus, an introductory passage about London might be followed by questions such as "what is the capital city of your country?", "does it have a nickname?", "do any major rivers flow through your country's capital city?" and "what is the main language in your country?" (Kids' Travel Guides *London*). In some guidebooks, children are asked to spot the "odd object" in a picture. Illustrations usually include characters from older times with present-day items such a mobile phone or a wrist watch.

Other activities are aimed at verifying that some complex concept has been understood as in Figure 3, which presents the extension of the Roman Empire, after its exceptionality is discussed in the preceding pages.

Figure 3

Some guidebooks include rebus-like activities where children have to read a passage in which some technical terms have been substituted by images. This type of activity is meant to favour retrieval of newly learnt words and concepts through associative processes. In all these activities, the iconic apparatus has a fundamental role.

6.4 The fundamental role of the iconic apparatus

Images play a decisive role in accessibility creation and enhancement in guidebooks for children. The genre is inherently multimodal: the role of colours, images and layout is just as (if not more) important than the text. Text and images cannot work independently. The visual apparatus contributes to making meaning accessible by engaging young readers through various strategies exploiting a complementary relation between codes. The younger the reader, the more difficult is the separation of linguistic and iconic resources. In materials for the younger travellers there are only illustrations. Guidebooks discussed in this paper present an alternation of photographs and drawings. The latter are still prevalent, even though creative collage-like compositions make their appearance, where photos and illustrations are integrated (cf. Lonely Planet Not-for-parents series).

Figure 4 provides an excellent example of integration of semiotic codes to contrast and compare past and present. These pages are taken from "This is Rome", considered to be one of the first guidebooks for children in the English speaking world (Candles 1960). It was published in 1959 and it is ideally meant for 5-12 year old children. The images complete the text. Moreover, they offer an extra layer of meaning for older readers, be they adults reading with children or older children who have the cognitive skills and the socio-pragmatic competence to process this kind of humour. Younger children might only be able to focus on the most basic layer of meaning involving the different look of ancient and contemporary Romans. Older readers, however, will also grasp the humourous intent of the illustrator to portray ancient Romans (e.g., emperors and leaders) side-by-side with present-day Romans (e.g., eager pasta eaters and barmen). Sasek's fine humour was recognized by critics from the start. Thus, in a review, Candles (1960) wrote: "The book may seem to appeal to very small children, but it is designed for the sophisticated reader who will enjoy the incongruous contrasts and who

will not be puzzled by the abrupt -- and unexplained -- turns of the text. The book is full of unanswered questions. […] Older boys and girls will know the answers, or where to find them; younger children attracted to the book by its gay colour and many pictures will be merely baffled. Sophisticated readers will enjoy not only the brilliant draughtsmanship and the warm comedy but also the fine economy with which Mr. Sasek uses words. He employs no tricks but colours the plainest statement with his own wry humour." (p. 21).

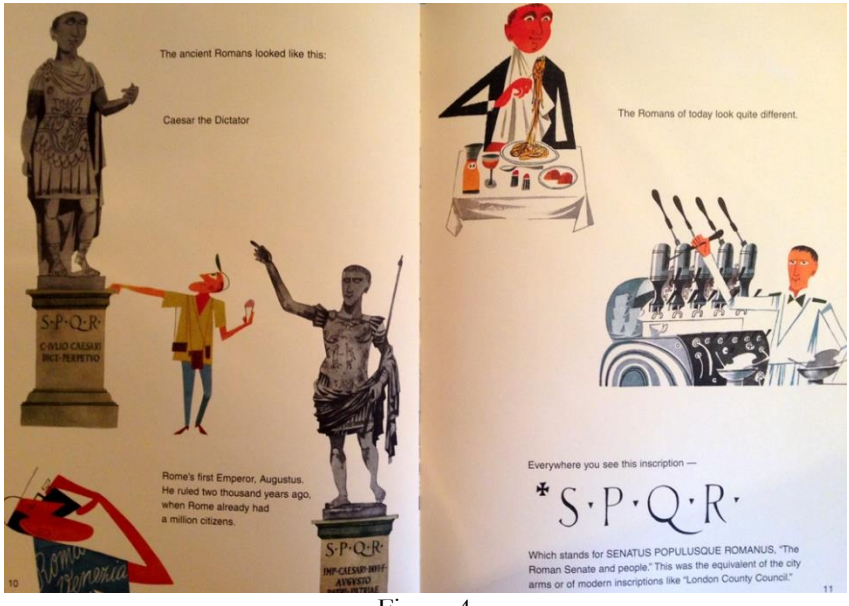

Figure 4

Illustrations are also used to help young travellers make sense of what they see, such as the common gestures used in non-verbal communication at the destination.

Figure 5

The discussion of images in a separate section is just an artificial distinction for the sake of the present discussion. The iconic apparatus accompanies and often integrates the other popularization strategies mentioned above, as in the case of the rebus-like activities mentioned in section 5.3. A thorough discussion of the role of the iconic apparatus in guidebooks for children would be outside the scope of the present publication. However, the analysis of the corpus shows a coherent use of images in the data, which can be essentially grouped in three macrofunctions: explaining the text to make concepts more accessible, integrating the text by providing extra information in an immediately accessible way, and engaging the reader to focus his/her attention on relevant aspects of the attractions or the destination. In this sense, guidebooks for children exploit visual resources like other genres for children such as early non-fiction books (Mallet 2004; Sezzi 2012).

7. Conclusions

The analysis of the popularization strategies in guidebooks for children confirms that the need to transform and recontextualize expert knowledge for young travellers shapes the genre at many different levels. The general aim of children's guidebooks seems comparable to that of non-fiction books for children (e.g. history information books, cf. Sezzi 2012). Given the limited knowledge of the readers, the development of their cognitive skills and the lack of a consolidated tourist gaze, guidebooks for children oscillate between instruction and entertainment, with the latter ultimately being subservient to the former.

This macro-purpose affects the organization and the style of the genre. Accuracy of information, which is fundamental for the formative intent of the genre, is pursued through the interaction between the text and the reader and through encouraging questioning and debate. New knowledge and ideas are made accessible through a series of different strategies meant to create links with the reader's existing knowledge and mental representations. Mental accessibility comes in a rich array of degrees. If we borrow the concept from Ariel's (1990) model, we can compare the different strategies observed to the different accessibility markers that she discusses.

Just like the accessibility markers, the various strategies identified in the corpus are connected to factors such as the presupposed familiarity with

topic, the distance between mentions of an entity in a text (e.g., in the interplay of text and images) and the competition between referents (e.g., the basilica example discussed in 6.1.2).

Accessibility and multimodality seem to be indissolubly intertwined in the genre. Various semiotic resources are used simultaneously to make new concepts accessible. Popularization strategies such as explanation, anchoring, and attribution simultaneously exploit verbal and visual materials. The interplay of language and images is used to guide children in the process of retrieving or constructing the correct mental representations. Intertextuality offers familiar contexts in which novel concepts can be presented. This provides scaffolding for the interpretation of new information while leaving cognitive resources available for the integration of old and new scripts.

The entertaining nature of the game-like activities is of paramount importance. Such activities are meant to promote critical thinking and reflection on the similarities and differences between the known and the new. Through this, young travellers learn about their own culture and the new culture they have a chance to experience. In this sense, through "edutainment", guidebooks contribute to the creation of their tourist gaze. Ultimately, this should not be too surprising, because, as Henry Miller (1957) once wrote, "one's destination is never a place, but rather a new way of looking at things".

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ELF narratives of ancient and modern 'odysseys' across the Mediterranean Sea: An Experiential-Linguistic Approach to the marketing of Responsible Tourism

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Abstract

This paper introduces an interdisciplinary research exploring the emotional experience of Italian seaside resorts whose geographical position in the Southern Mediterranean coasts has always determined their destiny as places of hospitality and hybridization of languages and cultures. A cognitive-pragmatic model of Experiential Linguistics and some strategies of Experiential Place Marketing will be applied to the 'emotional promotion' of Responsible Tourism in order to enquire into the effects of emotions upon the tourists' perception of the holiday as an experience of 'personal and cultural growth'. This is expected to develop from their appraisal of (a) non-western migrants' dramatic narrations of journeys across the sea, reported in their variations of English as a 'lingua franca' (ELF), and (b) epic narratives of Mediterranean 'odysseys' towards 'Utopian destinations' belonging to the western cultural heritage, translated from ancient (Greek and Latin) into modern ELF variations. The target of the marketing plan are tourists playing the role of 'intercultural mediators' with migrants in one of the seaside resorts of Salento, a southern-Italian area affected by migrant arrivals. To facilitate the tourists' process of 'experiential embodiment' of past and present dramatic sea voyages, the cultural project of Responsible Tourism is designed to introduce tourists and migrants to an 'Ethnopoetic analysis' of two corpora of modern and ancient oral sea voyage narratives – the former collected during ethnographic fieldworks in reception centres for refugees, and the latter including extracts from Homer's Odyssey and Virgil's Aeneid. The purpose is to directly involve tourists and migrants as if they were 'philologists' and 'ethnographers' exploring how such ancient and modern oral narratives are organized into spontaneous 'verse structures' reproducing the sequences and rhythms of human actions and emotions in response to the traumatic experience of violent natural phenomena which, through the use of ergative syntactic structures, become metaphorically personified as mythological monsters, or as objects and elements endowed with an

[1] The authors have contributed equally to the overall drafting of this paper. Maria Grazia Guido is responsible for sections 1, 2, 3; Lucia Errico for section 4; Pietro Luigi Iaia for section 5; and Cesare Amatulli for section 6.

autonomous, dynamic force capable of destroying the human beings at their mercy. The Ethnopoetic analysis and translation, together with the subsequent multimodal rendering of such journey narratives into a promotional video for place-marketing purposes aim at making both tourists and migrants aware of the common socio-cultural values of the different populations that have produced them.

1. Research Context: Utopian vs. Dystopian schemata

This paper introduces an ongoing interdisciplinary research aimed at the tourists' exploration of the emotional experience of Italian seaside resorts whose geographical position on the southern Mediterranean coasts has always made them places of hospitality and hybridization of languages and cultures.[2] An enquiry will be carried out into the effects of emotions upon international tourists' perception of the holiday as an experience of personal and cultural growth. Research is grounded on an integrated cognitive-pragmatic model of Experiential Linguistics (Sweetser 1990; Langacker 1991; Lakoff and Johnson 1999) and Experiential Place Marketing (Jani and Han 2013; Prayag *et al.* 2013) applied to the 'emotional promotion' of Responsible Tourism (Roseman 2001; Hosany and Prayag 2011; Ma *et al.* 2013; Lin *et al.* 2014) – a form of tourism aiming at advertising the tourists' experience of problematic socio-cultural situations[3] – such as the promotion of holiday destinations affected by migrants' arrivals.[4] From the corpus of ethnographic data collected for this research in the course of a pilot study focusing on encounters between tourists (playing the roles of intercultural mediators) and migrants/asylum seekers, both groups hosted in seaside resorts, it was

[2] This research is hosted by the *Centro di Ricerca sulle Lingue Franche nella Comunicazione Interculturale e Multimediale* directed by Maria Grazia Guido at the University of Salento. The Centre promotes research projects on the use of modern and ancient lingua francas, involving academic scholars as well as social and institutional partners.

[3] The definition of "Responsible Tourism", as a form of sustainable tourism whose aim is "to create better places for people to live in and for people to visit", was introduced during the 2002 Cape Town Summit on Sustainable Development and, in 2007, it was adopted by the World Travel Market (http://responsibletourismpartnership.org/).

[4] This is in line with the principles of Responsible Tourism stating that it "endeavours to make tourism an inclusive social experience and to ensure that there is access for all, in particular vulnerable and disadvantaged communities and individuals", and that it "makes positive contributions to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage and to the maintenance of the world's diversity." (http://responsibletourismpartnership.org/).

observed that misunderstanding between tourists and migrants is not just due to differences in the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic structures of their respective native languages transferred to their variations of English as a 'lingua franca' (ELF) in contact in situations of intercultural communication (Guido 2008). In fact, misunderstanding is also due to the interacting groups' different experiential 'schemata', meant as the socio-semiotic knowledge shared with their respective primary/native speech communities (Carrell 1983). This view would indeed enlarge the notion of ELF, here intended as non-native speakers' different linguacultural variations of English, to encompass their different schemata transferred into ELF uses and hindering communication.

In the case in point, the focus is, on the one hand, on tourists' and migrants' different 'migration schemata' that come into contact – and often into conflict – as they interact, insofar as migrants take a first-person involved stance towards the migration experience, whereas tourists tend to adopt a third-person detached stance. On the other hand, research also explores the two conflicting 'voluntary-work' and 'place-marketing' schemata which usually come to be hybridized in Responsible Tourism by local administrators who frequently act as 'tour operators' to promote seaside resorts endangered by migrants' mass arrivals, in order to bring tourists back.[5]

Such seaside resorts, for example in Southern Italy, are often perceived differently by tourists and migrants as they respectively actualize the 'Utopia vs. Dystopia (anti-Utopia)' archetype in experiencing the holiday places. The term Utopia itself has two Ancient-Greek etymological derivations: *eu-topos*, meaning 'place of good and harmony', and *ou-topos*, meaning 'no place', 'nowhere'. Utopia, from Thomas More and Francis Bacon to Jonathan Swift's Dystopia, has always been represented as a counterfactual island of happiness and justice alternative to the observer's real corrupted society. The Observer, in the structure of the Utopian genre, is a Traveller landing in Utopia after a dangerous journey. Such a

[5] Some cases in point are: Lampedusa, offering voluntary-work camps where tourists feel like mediators, enhancing their sympathetic understanding of the migration experience; Malta, where a website advertises the need for 'volunteers' willing to assist huge numbers of African refugees landing there and to educate them in English on "European customs" (http://www.gooverseas.com/blog/volunteering-in-malta-beyond-tourism-websites). An extreme case is represented by the agency for Refugee-Camp Tourism providing in Rwanda "life-enriching activities" that offer "unique insights into the harsh lives of refugees" (http://newdawnassociates.com/new/signature-tours/akagera-humure-refugee-community-visit/).

Utopian archetype is often revisited in Responsible Tourism for Experiential Marketing purposes, aiming at activating in the minds of responsible tourists two opposite, and yet coexisting, schemata – namely, the 'Social-Utopia' and the 'Recreational-Utopia' schemata. Indeed, these tourists are encouraged to act as 'mediators' towards migrants and, eventually, even become 'tourist-resort entertainers' playing the 'Robinson Crusoe' role and casting immigrants in a supporting 'Friday' role. In so doing, they turn the 'immigrant-reception schema' into a 'tourist-reception schema'. Immigrants, on the other hand, tend to activate a Dystopian schema as they feel obliged to accept the unfamiliar roles imposed upon them of 'tourism promoters', according to a widespread 'touristicization-of-migrants' model of Responsible Tourism.[6]

Instances of such Utopian/Dystopian schema conflict can be identified in the corpus of conversation data collected in landing places, which offer evidence of the extent to which ELF variations used by interacting tourists-as-mediators/entertainers and immigrants-as-tourists with the purpose of achieving successful 'Utopian communication', often turn into 'Dystopian miscommunication' due to participants' schematic divergences – as evident in the following brief extract (Guido 2016) from a conversation between a female Italian 'tourist-mediator' (IM – using Italian-ELF and switching from a 'recreational-Utopian schema' to a 'social-Utopian schema') and a Nigerian immigrant (NI – conveying, through his Nigerian Pidgin ELF variation, a 'Dystopian schema' as well as an experiential 'migration schema' in conflict with that of his Italian interlocutor):[7]

[6] The Town Council of Lampedusa, for example, has adopted as its official anthem a reggae song performed by a famous pop band, the *Sud Sound System*, together with a group of African immigrants, on the topic of the migrants' 'epic' sea voyage as they invoke a 'sweet Muse' for a safe journey – a classical-literature feature which, together with the Caribbean music, does not actually belong to the African migrants' cultural schemata, alienating them even more from their experience of the island ("Row, row, to Lampedusa we go, / Go, go, for a better life we row, yeah, / *O dolce Musa, portami a Lampedusa / O dolce Musa*, bring me to Lampedusa, yeah […]" - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=szZ84o6H7Qw).

[7] Conversation symbols: [ ] → overlapping speech; underlining → emphasis; ° ° → quieter speech; (.) → micropause; (..) → pause; :: → elongation of prior sound; hhh → breathing out; .hhh → breathing in; > < → speed-up talk; = → latching.

Annotated transcription
IM: we had a great fun together (.) we eat sing karaoke dance (.) play football together every day (.) this is wonderful (.) eh? *[Recreational-Utopian schema]* (.) an example that can help the other people >to understand the migrants<= *[Social-Utopian schema]*
NI: =no (.) dem no:: understand di migrant (.) dem no understand di sea *[Dystopian schema]* […] °you know?° (.) >dem bin trow mi broda down di sea< (.) fo warn di oder pipul in di boat >so dem no go complain fo di bad journey<= *[NI's experiential migration schema] [No, they don't understand the migrants, they don't understand the sea, you know? They threw my brother down in the sea to warn the other people in the boat not to complain about the bad journey]*
IM: =°oh yes° (.) >you told us< (..) °I'm sorry° (..) he know to swim?
NI: a (..) a (..) wen a bin look in di sea mi broda bin de swim (.) yes= *[when I looked into the sea my brother was swimming, yes]*
IM: =so don't worry (.) he got safe (.) be sure *[IM's experiential migration schema]*.

Noticeably, misunderstanding between IM and NI is not caused by linguistic differences in their respective ELF variations in contact, but rather by their different experiential 'migration schemata' in conflict. NI's account of his traumatic sea voyage to Italy during which he witnessed his brother being thrown out of the boat into the sea is immediately dismissed by IM who, in her 'recreational-Utopian' set of mind, prefers to avoid stressful thoughts. Instead she envisages NI's brother swimming to safety, thus strengthening NI's hopeless experience of having actually landed in an unsympathetic Dystopia.

2. Research objective and method

To avoid such misunderstandings in migration contexts, the present research project in Responsible Tourism aims at making both tourists and migrants aware of their respective ELF variations in contact by highlighting their linguacultural and schematic similarities, rather than their pragmalinguistic differences, and by promoting a hybrid use of ELF, enhancing mutual accessibility to shared experiential schemata and to common narrative ways of expressing them. More specifically, the ultimate

objective of the present research is to provide tourists and migrants in contact with a cultural and emotional experience expected to develop from their appraisal, on the tourists' side, of the migrants' dramatic ELF narrations of voyages across the sea (Guido 2008, 2012) and, on the migrants' side, of the epic narratives of Mediterranean 'odysseys' towards 'Utopian places' belonging to the western cultural heritage, translated from ancient Greek and Latin epic tales into a hybrid ELF variation which enhances accessibility to the narrated experiences by reproducing the shared linguacultural features of the tourists' and migrants' experiential schemata, thus fostering successful intercultural communication.

The research was carried out in collaboration with the local administration of Castro,[8] a seaside resort in Salento, Southern Italy, which has always been a crossroads of peoples, from the Paleolithic Age to Illyrian, Balkan, Messapian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Norman and Arab migrations, up to the Ostrogoth and Lombard invasions. In Book III of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Aeneas lands in *Castrum Minervae*, the ancient name of Castro, describing it as a sea voyage to Utopia. Castro, thus, represents the setting of this marketing campaign in Responsible Tourism, promoted it as the mythical Utopia, welcoming voyagers. Castro becomes a place of hospitality, of social good and of natural beauty, an alternative to the real, corrupt and xenophobic society. Like Ulysses who was asked to narrate his dangerous voyage at each landing, tourists and migrants in Castro are guided to co-create a common ELF variation and share cultural and experiential journey narratives.

In the first part of this ongoing research, the method adopted is the Ethnopoetic Analysis (Hymes 1994, 2003) according to which ancient and modern ethnic oral narratives are organized into spontaneous verse structures reproducing sequences and rhythms of human actions and emotions in response to traumatic experiences of violent natural phenomena (waves, wind, etc.), metaphorically personified as mythological monsters, or as objects and elements with an autonomous, dynamic force destroying humans.

In the present research, an ethnopoetic analysis is applied to two corpora of ancient and modern oral journey narratives with the objective of involving tourists and migrants into a listening to and/or reading aloud of such sea-journey narratives, thus playing the roles of ethnographers and

[8] The authors wish to thank the Mayor of Castro, Dr. Alfonso Capraro, for his invaluable logistic support for this research.

philologists first and then, eventually, embodying them by dramatization in an actual and collective space of enactment (Guido 2005).

In Phase 1, the ethnopoetic analysis was carried out on a corpus of journey narratives collected in reception centres for migrants; in Phase 2, analysis and translation into ELF was carried out on a corpus of extracts from Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid* – among other classics of the Ancient Greek and Latin tradition. In the second part, such ancient and modern journey narratives and their experiential rhythms were rendered into multimodal representations (Kress 2009) through the production of a video aimed at achieving promotional/emotional (*premotional*) effects in order to make tourists and migrants aware of the shared dramatic experiences of populations of different cultures producing them in past and present times, as illustrated in the following three case studies.

3. Case Study 1: Ethnopoetic analysis of migrants' oral journey narratives

Case study 1 focuses on the analysis of an extract from a corpus of African migrants' oral sea-voyage narratives, illustrating how the personifications of violent natural elements (e.g., stormy sea, high winds etc.) as well as inanimate objects (e.g. boats) are actually due to ergative clause structures [OVS] placing the Object in Subject position as if it were an animate Agent endowed with its own energy (Talmy 1988). Such ergative structures – typical of Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Afroasiatic languages spoken by earliest populations living in natural environments experienced as hostile to humans – still survive in many modern African languages and are eventually transferred to the structures of the ELF variations that African migrants use for intercultural communication.

The following extract from an oral narrative in Nigerian Pidgin English used as an ELF variation by a Nigerian migrant landing in Italy (Guido 2008) has been organized into 'ethnopoetic verses', which are narrative lines each characterized by a rhythm that emphasizes the emotion underlying the narrated story and each marked by an ergative personification of a natural element in subject position (i.e., 'sea', 'waves', 'wind', 'water') against which the migrants (identifying themselves with the 'boat' carrying them and, metonymically, with their own 'hands' frantically trying to bail the water out of the boat) have to fight for survival.

Ethnopoetic transcript
di boat bin struggle struggle against di se:::a (.) .hh-heavy won night .hhh
[*the ship struggled desperately against the heavy sea in the night*]
di wave dem bin de ri::se (.) like tower, na cold cold o o =
[*The waves were rising like towers and they were so cold!*]
di b-boat bin sai::l against won stro::ng wind. .hhhh
[*The boat sailed against a strong wind*]
di se::a bin swe:::ll (.) bi::g big round di boat, =
[*the sea swelled tremendously around the boat*]
di boat bin sink (.) heavy (.) and dee:::p o o. (..) .hhhh
[*the boat sank, heavy and deep!*]
di boat bin don fight di sea and di::ve = and fight (.) til i bin stop
[*the boat had fought against the sea and dived and fought till it stopped*]
>mek water cold cold bin break against di boat< .hhh
[*so that the freezing water broke against the boat*]
water don de kom for di boat every wie,
[*water started entering from everywhere*]
no use di hand dem bin de throw dat water out, out, out, o o.=
[*it was no use that the hands were throwing the water out, out, out!*]

Evidence of ancient ergative structures in this extract can be found in the personification of inanimate objects, such as the 'boat', and of the natural elements, which are in grammatical, logical and psychological subject position within the ergative clauses (Halliday 1994) as if they were endowed with their own autonomous, dynamic force capable of destroying the human beings at their mercy. Furthermore, the regular non-stressed/stressed iambic rhythm of the oral ethnopoetic verses, sometimes suddenly broken by a stressed/non-stressed trochee (as in the first iambic verse unexpectedly turned into a trochee with the stressed adjective "heavy" at the beginning of the phrase), reproduces the fast, irregular pulse of the migrants' heart overwhelmed with terror.

Such ergative structures and the rhythms of oral sea-voyage accounts can be identified also in classical epic narrative of the ancient Greek and Latin traditions, reproducing earliest oral journey narrations where human beings fighting against a hostile natural environment marked the cognitive, emotional and communicative dimensions of the sea-voyage reports.

4. Case Study 2: Ethnopoetic analysis of classical epic narratives of Mediterranean voyages

Case study 2 proposes an ethnopoetic ELF translation of epic narratives of Mediterranean voyages from classical literature[9] aimed at *(a)* making Western tourists rediscover their 'identity roots' as people of seafaring voyagers, who faced the violence of natural elements and extreme emotions personified in their narratives as animate subjects, subsequently turned into mythological monsters, and *(b)* communicating such 'Western identity roots' to non-Western migrants who crossed the sea to come to Italy. The ELF variation chosen for the translation of classical journey narratives was meant, on the one hand, to be accessible to both native and non-native English-speaking tourists as well as to migrants and, on the other, to reproduce faithfully the figurative language and the ethnopoetic rhythms of the original epic narratives. Hence, the translations of the Classical Greek and Latin literature here proposed are not the conventional ones stylistically devised for aesthetic purposes, but they instead intend to render the original folk use of the epic narrative as an oral dramatized account of dreadful journeys across the sea through the two lingua francas of ancient times (Greek and Latin), into a modern variation of English as a lingua franca for contemporary intercultural communication.

In the present case study, a comparative ethnopoetic analysis will be carried out between the original texts drawn from Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid,* and their translation into ELF. The interest in exploring voyages of classic heroes like Ulysses and Aeneas lies in the fact that they have represented constitutive models and sources of inspiration for Western literature also because of the linguistic and narrative structures through which these voyages have been narrated.

The first extract under analysis is taken from Book XII of *Odyssey* and includes verses referred to the "Scylla and Charybdis" episode, and verses describing Ulysses who finds himself alone in the middle of the stormy sea. Such verses were selected as they show evidence of Homer's extraordinary ability to turn archetypal images of sailors exploring sea routes into new visions of places, events and characters in action (Merkelbach 1951: 205). In their long voyage across the Mediterranean sea, Ulysses and his companions reach the straits where Scylla and

[9] The ethnopoetic translations from classical literature into ELF were carried out by Lucia Errico, the author of this section.

Charybdis, in subject position within the verses, personify the wild violence of the stormy sea, stressed by the fast pace of the hexameter. Scylla is a huge tidal wave personified as a six-head monster snatching sailors up (cf. Pauly 1975); Charybdis is an enormous swirling vortex swallowing voyagers. It is a liquid abyss, a way to the afterlife (Carpenter, 1958: p. 109) belonging to the fabulous world of sailors (Kerényi, 1963: p. 41).

In the original Ancient-Greek verses, such personifications of natural elements (Charybdis, the giant water vortex; Scylla, the tidal wave; Jove, the storm; the ship; the lightning; the waves: hands and feet, metonymically representing the agonizing sailors) are all represented as animate agents causing the reported terrifying events and they are, in fact, collocated in ergative subject position within the verse clauses, thus suggesting possible Proto-Indo-European origins of such oral journey narratives – ancient forms of sea-voyage tales still persisting in the classical literary tradition.

Furthermore, the metrical scanning of the hexameter stresses the emotional intensity of the events narrated in these ancient oral tales by applying the principle of 'recurrence', based on the repetition of figurative images, tones and rhythms capable of emotionally charging the sense of narration, thus triggering in listeners empathic responses and greater mnemonic capacities. The ethnopoetic translation of these Ancient-Greek verses into ELF, which follows, is intended to render the original fast pace of the rhythm and the ergative personification of natural elements by diverging from the regular iambic rhythm of the narration through the unexpected introduction of the trochee, which stresses the first monosyllabic words in each ethnopoetic verse, thus reproducing the rapid pulse of the frightened sailors' thumping hearts. The repetition of the "and" conjunction speeds the rhythm up even more, stressing the voyagers' mounting terror.

Odyssey: verses 234-239 and their ethnopoetic ELF translation
ἡμεῖς μὲν στεινωπὸν ἀνεπλέομεν γοόωντες:
Then we entered the Straits in great fear of mind,
ἔνθεν μὲν Σκύλλη
for on the one hand was *Scylla*,
ἑτέρωθι δὲ δῖα Χάρυβδις δεινὸν ἀνερροίβδησε θαλάσσης ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.
and on the other *dread Charybdis* kept sucking up the salt water.

ἦ τοι ὅτ᾽ ἐξεμέσειε, ὑψόσε δ᾽ ἄχνη ἄκροισι σκοπέλοισιν ἐπ᾽ ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔπιπτεν:
As *she* vomited it up, the spray reached the top of the rocks on either side.

In this passage it is possible to perceive Ulysses' feeling of terror, but also of sublime fascination for the δεινὸν (danger, misfortune) that he is experiencing (Stanford, 1959: p. 413). The original description of the frightening "Charybdis scene" is subdivided into two phases (suction and regurgitation), marked by a sequence of three onomatopoeic verbs (Frisk, 1970: p. 270), which are:

1) verse 236: the aorist ἀνερροίβδησε, from ἀναρροιβδέω, which means "swallow back", "suck down again", and deriving from ῥοῖβδος, which means "roaring noise";
2) verse 237: the iterative optative ἐξεμέσειε, from ἐξεμέω, "vomit forth", "disgorge";
3) verse 238: ἀναμορμύρεσκε, iterative of ἀναμορμύρω, "roar".

The Ancient-Greek iterative verbal forms reproduce precisely what Ulysses had previously been told about Charybdis by the sorceress Circe (verse 105) – namely, that Charybdis, three times a day, regularly vomited water up and three times every day "she" kept sucking it up. In the translation from Ancient Greek verses to ELF ethnopoetic verses, these three key verbs are rendered through two onomatopoeic verbs: "sucking up" and "vomited up". This is an emotionally-charged report by an eyewitness, Ulysses, a frightened report of what he can see (the foam, the boiling water, and the bottom of the sea) which also evokes, through the use of onomatopoeic verbs, what he can hear (Elliger, 1975: pp. 146-147).

Odyssey: verses 244-249 and their ethnopoetic ELF translation
ἡμεῖς μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἴδομεν δείσαντες ὄλεθρον:
While we were taken up with this,
and were expecting each moment to be our last,
τόφρα δέ μοι Σκύλλη γλαφυρῆς ἐκ νηὸς ἑταίρους
Scylla pounced down suddenly upon us
ἓξ ἕλεθ᾽, οἳ χερσίν τε βίηφί τε φέρτατοι ἦσαν.
and snatched up my six best men,
σκεψάμενος δ᾽ ἐς νῆα θοὴν ἅμα καὶ μεθ᾽ ἑταίρους

ἤδη τῶν ἐνόησα πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὕπερθεν
ὑψόσ᾽ ἀειρομένων.
and in a moment I saw their hands and feet struggling in the air
as Scylla was carrying them off.

Suddenly Ulysses can hear a cry, he turns back, takes a look at the ship, rolls his eyes looking for his companions and can see them up there while they are stirring, in the tentacles of Scylla (Merry and Riddell, 1987: p. 254). Suddenly Scylla, with her tentacles, snatches six sailors[10] from the ship while Ulysses cannot but look petrified and horrified at how she devours them. Significantly, in the "Scylla and Charybdis" scene a change in style is evident, first descriptive, then dramatic. Drama is conveyed by the narrative device of simultaneity: Scylla is suddenly snatching and devouring six sailors while Ulysses is spellbound at the frightening sight of Charybdis. Such a simultaneity creates a special effect of dramatic pathos and extreme tension (De Jong, 2001: p. 304). Ulysses' tale focuses on the terrible death of his companions through the use of specific emotional markers:

1) verse 245: in Ancient Greek, the dative μοι represents an empathic marker functionally employed to emphasize Ulysses' affection for his men. In the ELF ethnopoetic translation here proposed, this empathic dative is rendered through the possessive adjective "my" ("my six best men");
2) verse 247: the aorist participle σκεψάμενος conveys a sudden dramatic effect, translated into ELF as "in a moment I saw", marking how Ulysses, as a viewer, suddenly realizes the tragic event;
3) verses 246-247: in the ELF translation, the repetition of the "and" conjunction at the beginning of each verse speeds up the rhythm, stressing the voyagers' mounting terror.

Odyssey: verses 415-417 and their ethnopoetic ELF translation
Ζεὺς δ᾽ ἄμυδις βρόντησε καὶ ἔμβαλε νηὶ κεραυνόν:
Then Zeus let fly with *his* thunderbolts,
ἡ δ᾽ ἐλελίχθη πᾶσα Διὸς πληγεῖσα κεραυνῷ,

[10] Not coincidentally, perhaps, six is a typical number for casualties, recurring in episodes about death of friends or companions (cf. Fränkel 1921: pp. 86-87 and Griffin 1980: pp. 112-115).

and the ship went round and round,
ἐν δὲ θεείου πλῆτο,
and was filled with fire as the lightning struck it.
πέσον δ᾽ ἐκ νηὸς ἑταῖροι.
The men all fell into the sea.

In this stormy scene, the presence of Zeus emphasizes the fact that it is not an ordinary storm, but a punishment from God on Ulysses and his companions. The ethnopoetic rhythm of both the original and the translated verses (all but the last one starting with a stressed trochaic syllable, and two of them beginning with "and" underlying the sailors' increasing anguish), has a vital role in triggering in listeners the perception of nature as a living force, stressed by the personifications of the natural elements whose fury represents the cause of terror (cf. Moulinier, 1958: p. 101). Zeus himself is an ergative personification of "the storm" that breaks down with frightening violence, also involving in its fury the other ergative agents of the "lightning" striking the "ship" that "went round and round" till all the sailors fell into the sea.

The second extract under analysis is drawn from Book III of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and it represents the happy ending to be desired after a frightening sea voyage of the kind analyzed before. In this extract in Latin (another 'lingua franca' of the ancient times), Virgil reports of Aeneas landing in *Castrum Minervae*, the ancient name of Castro. Indeed, the correspondence among literary sources, topographic data and new archaeological discoveries seems to validate the hypothesis of Aeneas' landing in Castro where the temple of the Goddess Minerva was located. This arrival in many ways resembles the sailors' arrival at Utopia after a frightening sea voyage. The very description of *Castrum Minervae* is reminiscent of Thomas More's land of *Utopia*, welcoming voyagers in a personified crescent-shaped harbour with rugged coasts resembling two arms extended to embrace tired voyagers, like a protecting and reassuring friend.

Aeneid: verses 530-536 and their ethnopoetic ELF translation
Crebrescunt optatae aurae portusque patescit
The wind we longed for rises, a harbour opens,
iam propior, templumque adparet in arce Minervae.
as we near, a temple appears on Minerva's Height.
Vela legunt socii et proras ad litora torquent.
My companions furl sails and turn prows to shore.

Portus ab Euroo fluctu curvatus in arcum,
The harbour is carved in an arc by the eastern tides:
obiectae salsa spumant aspargine cautes;
its jutting rocks boil with salt spray and hide the bay:
ipse latet; gemino demittunt bracchia muro
towering cliffs extend their arms in a twin wall,
turriti scopuli, refugitque ab litore templum.
and the temple lies back from the shore.

This passage is characterized, in both its original Latin and ethnopoetic translation into ELF, by a cinematic quality reproducing the sequence of the sailors' perception changing while moving from far away to close up to the harbour of *Castrum Minervae*. From a distance, *portusque patescit* ("a harbour opens as we near"), and the temple *adparet* ("appears") while approaching. The harbour seems to be hidden within the coast behind *turriti scopuli* ("towering cliffs"), and the temple *refugit* ("lies back"). Also here, as in the *Odyssey* extract, personifications of natural elements recur: the force of the sea (*Euroo fluctu*, v. 533) fuelled by the wind that had carved out the harbour's shape; the harbour itself 'embracing' landing voyagers between the two foaming promontories battered by the waves that, like arms, rescue them. The intense emotional impact of the rhetorical technique employed makes sailors of the past, as well as migrants and tourists of the present times, all become modern representations of the cognitive archetype of the traveller in search of Utopia, at the 'identity roots' of human beings.

Reproposing such archetypal characters in ancient and modern sea-voyage narratives is designed to guide both tourists and migrants through a process of internalization of the figures of Ulysses and Aeneas and aims triggering emotional processes of empathy and identification with these classical heroes, as well as experiential embodiment of such navigation tales. The ultimate objective is to help 'responsible tourists' experience solidarity with migrants and accept some responsibility regarding their destiny. To this end, the ethnopoetic translation of ancient classical verses into ELF is justified, and by modernising the ancient metrical forms of hexameter typical of epic narrative the verses become cognitively and culturally accessible to a much wider group of tourists and migrants.

In this sense, translation becomes a re-creation of the Ancient-Greek and Latin 'lingua francas' within a contemporary ELF variation. Tourists and migrants will therefore become more aware of the socio-cultural

values of the differences between the Western/non-Western and ancient/modern populations that have produced such narratives through ELF. This variation of the English language is stylistically and structurally adapted to their everyday modes of communication (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Guido 2012) allowing immediate emotional involvement. Also this use of ELF translation complies with the pragmatic and the conversational strategies that refer to the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic structures of migrants' and tourists' native languages transferred to their use of English as a 'lingua franca' for international communication.

5. Case Study 3: Multimodal representation in 'Premotional' Marketing

Case Study 3 focuses on another dimension of the re-textualization of ancient and modern sea-voyage narratives which consists in rendering their dramatic images and frantic rhythms into a multimodal representation aimed at emotionally involving both responsible tourists and migrants, primarily for promotional purposes. In fact, one of the crucial objectives in Responsible Tourism is to promote the Mediterranean seaside resorts affected by the mass arrivals of migrants in order to bring tourists back. More specifically, the Multimodal approach (Kress 2009) adopted at this stage is applied to the making of a video as a "multimodal composition" (van Leeuwen 2005) fulfilling both promotional and emotional (or *premotional*) aims.[11] In it, the migrants' ethnopoetic verses from Case Study 1 are employed as captions to highlight mythical images, and some epic verses analyzed in Case Study 2 are used as captions underlying the images of migrants' dreadful voyages through an interaction between acoustic, visual and textual elements. This blend of different modes of representation aims at underscoring the migrants' shocking experiences and, at the same time, promoting Responsible Tourism in Castro, viewed as a new Utopia of peace, hospitality, natural beauty, hybridization of languages and cultures and intercultural communication.

[11] The video was created by Pietro Luigi Iaia, the author of this section, and can be watched at the following link: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B8fqW19SmcjebmZqYmVFaDVNWDQ/view?usp=drive_web&pref=2&pli=1

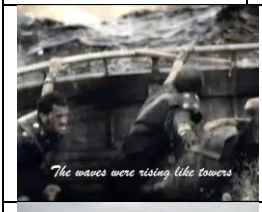
Indeed, this video may represent a prototype for one of the creative activities planned in this Responsible-Tourism project involving both tourists and migrants (for instance, after they have together performed the cultural tasks of collecting and annotating migrants' narrative journey reports, and carrying out on them – as well as on a corpus of ancient sea-voyage narratives – an ethnopoetic analysis and ELF translation, thus performing the roles of ethnographers and philologists). The "represented participants" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) in the video – namely, modern migrants and sea-voyagers of the classical tradition – exemplify the integration between ancient and contemporary 'odysseys'.

This alternative premotional marketing strategy for advertising Mediterranean seaside resorts focuses on the role of the receivers' emotions at the time of choosing their holiday destination; and the audiovisual dimension of this strategy is an essential part of the meaning making process (Kress 2009), as evident from its employment in several audiovisual translation studies (Chaume 2004; Díaz Cintas 2005; Perego and Taylor 2012; Iaia 2015). In this specific multimodal advertisement, images have been taken from a re-enactment of the *Odyssey* broadcast by *The History Channel*, from news videos about migrants reaching the Mediterranean coasts of Italy, and from a video of Castro available on *YouTube*. The dynamic alternation of real and mythical voyages, the use of a cinematic and musical score,[12] and the inclusion of selected verses from Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, along with the migrants' ELF narratives, are designed to help receivers (tourists and migrants) perceive the experiential similarities between epic voyages and dramatic migrations and attain the personal growth advocated by premotional marketing.

The blending of emotional and promotional objectives, and of ancient and modern odysseys, is realised in extralinguistic terms thanks to the adoption of "narrative" and "conceptual" images. Narrative images represent "unfolding actions and events" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: p. 59) and mainly coincide in the premotional campaign with the enactment of Ulysses' sea-voyage. Conceptual images refer to modern migrations, conferring upon them a "generalized" and "timeless" essence (*ibidem* 2006: p. 79). Table 1 illustrates the "multimodal composition" (cf. Baldry and Thibault 2006) of the first part of the advertisement, and in

[12] The musical score of this video is from the soundtrack of the movie *Requiem for a Dream*, by Darren Aronofsky (2000), it is entitled *Marion Barfs*, composed by Clint Mansell and performed by the Kronos Quartet.

particular the association between images in the visual frame and epic/ELF verses:

	DESCRIPTION		VERBAL CAPTION	
VISUAL FRAME	Narrative	Conceptual	Epic verses	ELF accounts
	Cut to a thunderstorm and a night sky			The ship struggled against the heavy sea in the night
	Ulysses and his men are trying to keep the ship stable			The waves were rising like towers
		Cut to migrants on a rubber boat before being rescued	Then we entered the Straits in great fear of mind	
	After a vortex appear in the water, Ulysses is encouraging his men			The boat sailed against a strong wind
	Cut to one of Ulysses' men			The boat sailed against a strong wind

		The migrants in the rubber boat are rescued by the Italian navy	Scylla pounced down suddenly upon us	
		The migrants in the rubber boat are rescued by the Italian navy	And snatched up my six best men.	
		The migrants in the rubber boat are rescued by the Italian navy	I saw their hands and feet struggling in the air	

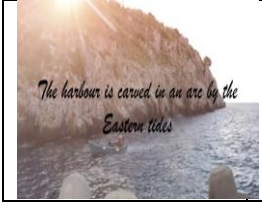
Table 1. Multimodal analysis of the first part of the premotional video.

This first part of the video introduces the dramatic tone of the scenes, regarding Ulysses' alarmed stance on the upcoming struggle against Scylla and the migrants' anguished stance on their hazardous journey in a rubber boat, desperately requesting help from the Italian Navy approaching them. The receivers' attention is attracted by the rapid movement from narrative to conceptual patterns, and by the fast cinematic pace and dramatic soundtrack that convey the traumatic experience represented in such ancient and modern odysseys.

The video switches from ethnopoetic verses from modern migrants' journey narratives, which appear as captions below images taken from the performed *Odyssey*, to epic verses from the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* translated into ELF, which appear as captions below the images of modern migrants crossing the sea. This structure is designed to activate in viewers an 'arousal/safety' emotional pattern driving them to watch the video till its end, when the promotional slogan appears.

Table 2 below illustrates the multimodal construction of the second part of the premotional video, switching from images of migrants rescued by the Navy, to representations of Ulysses and his companions valiantly struggling against natural elements depicted as the monster Scylla, the tidal wave, and Charybdis, the huge swirling vortex, until they reach the anti-

climax of such frantic scenes with the arrival of the boat in the safe haven of Castro.

	DESCRIPTION		VERBAL CAPTION	
VISUAL FRAME	Narrative	Conceptual	Epic verses	ELF accounts
	Cut to Ulysses, who is troubled about Scylla's attack			
	Scylla is approaching the ship			The boat sank, heavy and deep!
	Scylla is attacking one of Ulysses' men			
	Scylla is still attacking Ulysses' ship			Water started entering from everywhere
		An aerial view of Castro, with a calm sea		
		A view of one of the harbours of Castro	The harbour is carved in an arc by the Eastern tides	

	An aerial view of Castro	Towering cliffs extend their arms in a twin wall	

Table 2. Multimodal analysis of the second part of the premotional video.

The rapid and unexpected cinematic switch from mythical to actual odysseys has been devised with the purpose of reproducing the speedy rhythm of the original narratives and attracting the receivers' attention to the mounting feelings of anguish and terror. The aim is to trigger in receivers an emotional response that should paradoxically produce a positive response to the promotional effect of the video upon them.

Such a positive promotional dimension is evident towards the end of the video, when the images of Castro are linked to the description – from Virgil's *Aeneid* – of a Utopian harbour that "is carved in an arc by the Eastern tides". These verses are no longer placed below the images but at the centre of the frame, and are followed by the slogan "Castro – the coast of Utopia".[13] Captions, in this video, represent an intersemiotic subtext guiding the receivers' interpretation. In fact, receivers do not perceive them as organized within the spatial and temporal constraints of conventional subtitles (Neves 2009) as they merely underscore the sailors' emotional report to the tragic events that they are undergoing. To reproduce such reports 'graphically', a non-conventional font was selected, the *Brush Script MT*, as it is reminiscent of a handwritten account of the sailors' narratives. This relationship between emotional and promotional dimensions is illustrated in the following Table 3, where only the initial images that contain the verbal captions are included, along with the indication of the time frame (in the "HH:MM:SS" format).

[13] This slogan also introduces a cultural reference to one of Tom Soppard's recent plays, *The Coast of Utopia*.

T	VISUAL FRAME	VERBAL CAPTION	DIMENSION
00 : 00 : 03		The ship struggled against the heavy sea in the night	Emotional
00 : 00 : 06		The waves were rising like towers	Emotional
00 : 00 : 12		Then we entered the Straits in great fear of mind	Emotional
00 : 00 : 20		The boat sailed against a strong wind	Emotional
00 : 00 : 31		Scylla pounced down suddenly upon us	Emotional
00 : 00 : 35		And snatched up my six best men.	Emotional

00:00:38		I saw their hands and feet struggling in the air	Emotional
00:00:45		The boat sank, heavy and deep!	Emotional
00:00:50		Water started entering from everywhere	Emotional
00:00:57		The harbour is carved in an arc by the Eastern tides	Promotional
00:01:02		Towering cliffs extend their arms in a twin wall	Promotional
00:01:09		CASTRO – THE COAST OF UTOPIA	Promotional

Table 3. Multimodal analysis of the relationship between emotional and promotional dimensions.

6. ELF in the marketing of Responsible Tourism: retrospects and prospects

This paper has illustrated the current stage of an on-going experiential-linguistics research project on the marketing of Responsible Tourism to be applied to seaside resorts in Southern Italy affected by the mass arrivals of migrants, which has been deterring tourists from choosing these locations for their holidays. The project intends to promote an intercultural model of responsible tourism by combining both promotional and emotional (*premotional*) place-marketing strategies. Activities encompass the production of multimodal videos as well as the collection of narrative data, ethnopoetic analysis and translation carried out by tourists and migrants acting together as ethnographers, philologists, and video-makers.

The aim is to integrate tourists and migrants by focussing on their cultural roots as seafaring peoples and allowing them to learn about their respective ancient and modern sea-voyage narratives. This can be possible through the use of an accessible variation of English as a lingua franca employed for intercultural communication, as well as for the translation of classical epic sea-voyage narratives so as to disclose their rhythmical and structural similarities with the modern migrants' oral journey reports organized into ethnopoetic verses.

The ultimate research aim is to monitor tourists' emotions and behaviours after experiencing responsible tourism in order to: *(a)* increase attractiveness of the destination for tourists; *(b)* tackle prevailing views of tourism as recreation and lack of commitment or, worse, as morbid curiosity about migrants' landing places; *(c)* encourage tourists to return to the southern resorts of the Mediterranean sea, which today is considered as the 'largest cemetery in Europe' because of the many tragic migrant boat sinkings; *(d)* expand tourists' empathic understanding of the migration experience today situating it within a cultural context that goes back to the ancient and glorious epic literature about odysseys across the Mediterranean sea.

Findings of this research may be of help to marketing practitioners in tourism in many ways. Indeed, understanding the effects of multimodal videos on both tourists and migrants can be useful to increase cultural integration, thus reducing potential negative stereotyping of Mediterranean resorts affected by mass arrivals of migrants. As a result, the cultural and social effects expected in the marketing plan could be met through such an experiential-linguistic approach. Indeed, private or public players in the

tourist sector (e.g., hotels or institutions) could use the cultural activities proposed in this research, such as videos developed after journey-narrative analysis and translation, to promote their places and have both tourists and migrants share the same emotions through the use of English as lingua franca.

Thus, insights from the present research could be used by resorts to improve their relationship with current tourists and attract new ones by developing an image associated with responsible tourism. Interestingly, this approach would point to a new way for the development of sustainability in tourism marketing. In particular, the social dimension of sustainability would be strengthened, allowing marketers to combine social responsibility, cultural integration, and tourism development.

Consequently, instead of being perceived negatively, the presence of migrants could be managed as an added value of the resorts. The presence of migrants, rather than discouraging tourists from choosing these locations for their holidays, would increase the image of such places associating them to social sustainability, history, emotions, and creativity. Through the development of marketing tools capable of emphasizing the opportunity of experiencing integration with migrants as a way to grow personally and culturally, tourists could play the role of 'intercultural mediators' between local residents and migrants.

Here, emotional marketing would play a central role. The opportunity to better understand today's migration situations and stories could activate in tourists a particular empathic feeling, thus developing a unique image for these coastal resort towns. A responsible tourism image, based on the integration of people from different cultures but with similar roots, could be strategically promoted. Moreover, the marketing tools analyzed in this research would also help to emotionally engage both tourists and migrants through the ancient epic literature related to the Mediterranean sea, thus contributing to the 'promotion' of epic narratives from classical literature. Methodology and insights from this research conducted on the Italian Southern coast may then also be applied to other resorts in the Mediterranean area interested in integrating tourists with migrants.

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Beauty is in the eye of MygranTour. A case study of migrant-driven intercultural routes across Europe

Laura Centonze

Abstract

The present study attempts to investigate the relation between tourism perception as well as the process of appropriation/subjectivisation of the main tourist landmarks on the part of tourist guides in their routes across some of the most important European cities. Specifically, we report the preliminary results of a case study that was carried out on so-called "migrantourism", a newly-emerging phenomenon whose objective is to assist the integration of migrant citizens into nine participant European cities (i.e. Turin, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Marseille, Paris, Valencia and Lisbon) by means of informal intercultural walks on which migrants act as tourist guides. In this role, they are committed to illustrating the city's main tourist attractions from their own perspective and experience. By means of Wordsmith Tools 7 (Scott 2016), we shall provide an overview of the different perspectives adopted by migrants in the revisitation of their past experience as new arrivals/tourists. By analyzing the transcriptions of some videos available on the internet, we shall see the extent to which the different perspectives on the description of each of the cities involved in the project encode concepts linked to culture-bound elements and locations (e.g. customs and traditions, historical key facts), as well as experiences of integration, either successful or not, by migrants, which can be seen to be informed by their native lingua-cultural schemata (see Guido 2008, 2016). As Mitchell (2001 cit. in Knudsen and Greer 2008) states, "the meaning of landscape, like all meaning, is created, recreated, and contested in social processes". As well as providing a brief tour d'horizon of the main features of the diverse lingua franca variations found in the scripts, this study contributes to the already existing literature in the field of intercultural communication and the negotiation of meaning and tourism accessibility to culture-bound elements on the part of migrants.

1. Introduction

Migrantourism is a phenomenon which is gradually spreading all over the world and most of all in the main European capital cities. It originated a

few years ago from a project called "MygranTour: a European network of migrant driven intercultural routes to understand cultural diversity" promoted by associations which, among others, included Oxfam, Viaggi Solidali and also enjoyed the support of the European Union[1]. The project boasts the collaboration of nine cities (Turin, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Marseille, Paris, Valencia and Lisbon) and is aimed at enhancing cooperation among stakeholders as well as the integration of migrants into the cities taking part into the project. As explained on the MygranTour website, the play on words is inevitable and successfully describes the main activities and ideas behind such an ambitious project:

> "**From Mygrantour to Migrantour**: **My Gran Tour**: the way each of us has of travelling in our own city, the places and routes that reinforce our sense of belonging to the place in which we live, that make us feel at home.
> **Migrant… Tour:** The routes of migrants, walks accompanied by new citizens, that take us in discovery of intercultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhoods, uncovering stories and secret corners that not even born-and-bred locals know as well.
> From **Mygrantour** to **Migrantour**: a change in one letter and yet in this small difference lies a long, fascinating and absorbing journey that has led us from the very first moment we imagined the path to today: we have come a long way. A simple name has become a logo that you will find in this virtual space alongside the names of cities and migrants. It will help you recognise the routes created and the people working daily to offer you the **Migrantour urban intercultural walks**[2]".

The analysis of tourism in general has been gaining momentum over recent decades due to the large-scale expansion of the tourist phenomenon throughout the world[3]. As a whole, in the literature

[1] The website of the project: http://www.mygrantour.org/.

[2] http://www.mygrantour.org/en/the-project/#the-project (last accessed 23/06/2016).

[3] With regards to this, Guido's *ELF in Responsible Tourism: Power relationships in unequal migration encounters* (in Pitzl and Osimk-Teasdale 2016: pp. 49-56) analyses the role of power asymmetries in the misunderstandings occurring in responsible tourism practices between tourists and migrants: the former being welcomed in voluntary-

concerning the study of tourism discourse across cultures, two parallel trends can be identified: 1) the linguistic characterizations of tourism information through the comparison of audio guides, brochures as well as travel blogs (Cappelli 2013; Luzón 2016), 2) the implications and challenges of carrying out research that relies on translated materials and on their quality/reliability (cf. Hogg *et al.* 2014). Furthermore, also different approaches to the analysis of the language of tourism/tourists have been adopted over the last decades, which range from corpus-driven/based analyses (Kang 2011; Gandin 2013), semantic annotation (Capriello *et al.* 2013) to automated analysis by means of dedicated software (García-Pablos *et al.* 2016).

Within the framework of the perception and reception of the tourist product on the part of tourists as well as tourist guides, we witness a two-fold scenario: on the one hand, tourist guides (in Yasumara's (1994) words, the "hosts") whose first language is other than the one spoken in the visited country (e.g. migrants acting as tourist guides as part of promotional campaigns undertaken by municipalities and countries all over the world) and acting according to their own socio-cultural schemata (Carrell 1983) in the cultural promotion of the cities according to what they believe to be relevant to the tourists ("guests", Yasumara 1994); on the other, tourists coming from all over the world to visit places of interest. Such a dichotomy inevitably brings about a contrast of different cultures and diverse perceptions of the tourist experience on both sides, which are characterized by different linguistic and lexico-semantic choices. As a consequence of such a process, we get a vision of the whole tourist experience which is subjective – if not 'distorted' – and gives origin to stereotypes and commonplaces within social interaction as well as to different social system.

With special reference to the above-said, Wang (1999: p. 350) deals with the issue of authenticity in tourism experience, which he explains as

> "[...] products of tourism such as works of art, festivals, rituals, cuisine, dress, housing, and so on [which] are usually described as 'authentic' or 'inauthentic' in terms of the

work camps and acting as mediators; the latter committed to promoting the tourist destination. It shows the extent to which the tourists'/mediators' willingness to achieve mutual understanding and cooperation with migrants leads to the imposition of their own socio-cultural schemata (pp. 50-51).

> criterion of whether they are made or enacted by local people according to custom or tradition".

He goes on to point to three different types of authenticity in tourism, i.e. 1) *object-related (objective) authenticity*, which he describes as the "authenticity of originals, [...] a museum-linked usage of the authenticity of the originals which are also the toured objects to be perceived by tourists" (*ibidem*, p. 351); 2) *activity-related (existential) authenticity* which refers to the feeling and state of being which is activated through the tourism experience, and 3) *constructive (symbolic) authenticity*, "the result of social construction, not an objectively measurable quality of what is being visited" (*ibidem*). In the light of this, tourism has begun to be perceived as a cultural phenomenon providing useful insights into the *Weltanschauung* of tourists who, from their own perspectives, "tend to see the world in similar ways according to a shared map or model of reality" (Katan, 2012: p. 84). In addition to this, the idea of a so-called "tourist gaze" (Urry and Larsen, 2011), which characterizes a reality that is filtered by means of a process of appropriation, simplification and standardization of the tourist experience, has also acquired even more importance.

Drawing on Wang's (1999) third type of authenticity (i.e. constructive/symbolic authenticity of the tourist experience), by means of a corpus-driven approach to data, the present case study attempts to: 1) investigate the perception of and the accessibility to the tourist experience in Italy and in other European countries; 2) identify and compare the different attitudes towards the tourist experience on the part of non-local tourist guides; 3) provide some examples of appropriation/subjectivisation of the tourist experience by migrant tourist guides in their routes across some of the most important European cities; 4) last but not least, raise awareness of the emergence of new advances in the study of tourism accessibility not only on the part of tourists, but of tourist guides as well, and propose a new analysis which does not only concentrate on Urry and Larsen's tourist gaze, but also on the tourist gaze of (migrant) tourist guides. For the purposes of the present case study, we shall take into account a small set of videos made available on YouTube, in which migrants act as tourist guides to newcomers/tourists by providing their own perspective in the description of their own experience as tourists in the hosting country.

2. Materials and methods

For the purposes of our analysis, we compiled a small corpus of transcriptions of the MygranTour videos available on the promotional website[4] of the project as well as on Youtube on a dedicated channel[5], in which the migrant tourist guides describe cities to visitors. Details about the videos taken into consideration are given in Table 1. Each video is approximately six up to ten minutes long, depending on the excerpts available on the web.

Video 1 (French)	"MyGranTour Marseille: Marseille vous invite!"
Video 2 (French)	"MyGranTour Paris: le monde en ville"
Video 3 (Portuguese)	"MyGranTour Lisboa"
Video 4 (Italian)	"MygranTour Genova: la città vecchia raccontata dai nuovi cittadini"
Video 5(Italian)	"MygranTour Milano: Porta Venezia dai Promessi Sposi al Corno d'Africa"

Table 1. The MygranTour study sub-corpora.

In Table 2 the breakdown of the corpus is represented and sorted out by file size and number of types (different words) in the corpus. We transcribed each video by focusing on the discourse of the migrant tourist guides taking part in the MygranTour project; we isolated any comments and/or overlapping provided by the interlocutors outside the description of the cities and, after transcribing each video, we used Wordsmith Tools 7 (Scott 2016) in order to easily and automatically generate frequency lists and have a closer look at collocates throughout each of the study corpus sections. Since the aim of our case study was to have a look at word frequency lists, we applied a stop list whereby we isolated prepositions, adjectives as well as pronouns and any other item which was not relevant to our analysis.

	Text file	**File size (words)**	**Number of types (different words) in corpus**
1	Migrantour Genova	2,795	483
2	Migrantour Milano	1,793	314
3	Migrantour Marseille	1,459	211

[4] http://www.mygrantour.org/ (last accessed 07/04/2016).

[5] https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCo93AM3STwFNf1hDHeXc_WQ (last accessed 07/04/2016).

4	Migrantour Paris	1,289	201
5	Migrantour Lisboa	1,235	198

Table 2. Breakdown of the MygranTour study sub-corpora

By using the *Wordlist* and *Concord* commands available in Wordsmith Tools 7 we concentrated on the most-frequently occurring words and their collocates across the different corpus sections and then compared the results for each of them. For the above, we considered the first fifteen most frequent nouns as listed in Wordsmith Tools 7, as in each of the sections this represents the threshold for any term related to the tourist experience and, as Vaughan and Clancy (2013: p. 5) points out, "a small corpus builder can address issues of representativeness by ensuring that the samples collected are typical of the speech domain represented by the corpus".

3. Noun frequency lists and main collocates in the MygranTour study corpus

3.1 The French section

As already explained in section two, by means of Wordsmith Tools 7 we extracted all the instances of words available in the different sections of the corpus. Here follows the list of the first fifteen words for the French corpus section (files 1 and 2).

Word	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Ville	17	1.15
Marseille	15	1.02
Belsunce	6	0.41
France	6	0.41
Centre	5	0.34
Port	5	0.34
Quartier	5	0.34
Canebière	4	0.27
Marseillaise	4	0.27
Paris	4	0.27
Place	4	0.27
Empire	3	0.20
Guerre	3	0.20
Histoire	3	0.20
Monarchie	3	0.20

Table 3. Word frequency lists and percentages in the French corpus section

As transpires from Table 3, the most frequently occurring words are *ville* (En.[6] *city*, 17 occurrences), *Marseille* (15 occurrences), and *Belsunce* and *France* (6 items each) immediately followed by *centre* and *port* (En. *centre* and *harbour*, 5 occurrences found); it is also interesting to note how figures for *Paris* (4 instances) are lower than those found for *Marseille* (15 instances), although the size of the corpus sections does not vary significantly (respectively 1,459 and 1,289 words); in addition to this, the main focus of the whole description carried out by the migrant tourist guides appears to be mainly focusing on the historical key facts and main characters in the history of both cities, as also highlighted in the main collocates of *ville* found within the French subcorpora:

	Keyword	
Le centre-	**ville**	de Marseille
La	**ville**	du Second Empire
La	**ville**	pendant la Monarchie de Juillet
La	**ville**	au temps de Charles X
La	**ville**	des jésuites astronomes
Une	**ville**	perdue de reputation
La	**ville**	"sans nom"
La	**ville**	de Gaston Deferre

Table 4. Main collocates for *ville*

The other most frequent words in the current section also appear to display a more history-related collocational profile, which for reasons of space we are not able to provide in tables, but some of which can be summarized as follows. *Belsunce* is mainly associated with la *deuxième guerre mondiale* (En. World War II), during which the area witnessed migration flows from Africa and Egypt; France's main collocates are represented by *république* (En. *republic*) and *présidence*, when introducing the different presidents of the French Republic and their projects for the valorisation of monuments in Paris; *centre* is mainly associated with *ville* and with the names of the two cities represented in this section, i.e. Paris and Marseille; *port* represents a very interesting word, as it is exclusively used to describe the city of Paris as 'port de mer', an initiative which traces back to The Middle Ages. *Quartier* is a word which is found 5 times in the corpus and whose collocates include, beside *historique* (En. *historical*), also *Panier*, which is one of the main historical parts of Marseille, where a Greek colony was erected in 600 BC. *Canebière* itself is one of the main historical streets in

[6] The English translation is provided in brackets throughout the paper.

Marseille. *Marseillaise* is the national anthem, and is found to be mainly associated with *armée* (En. *army*), *empereur* (En. *emperor*) and *hymne* (En. *anthem*); *Paris* collocates with *histoire* (En. *history*) and *capital* (En. *capital*); *place* (En. *square*) is used to introduce the most famous squares in Paris, *Place de la Bastille*, *Place de la Concorde*, *Place des Pyramides*, and *Place de la République*; *empire* (En. *empire*) is associated with ordinal numbers *second* (En. *second*) and *premier* (En. *first*), when talking about the two different empires, the former led by Napoléon Bonaparte and the latter by Napoleon III; *guerre* (En. *war*) also collocates with ordinal numbers *première/seconde* (guerre) *mondiale*, when talking about World War I and World War II; *histoire* (En. *history*) collocates with the two cities of Marseille and Paris, and once with *France* as well, whereas *monarchie* (En. *monarchy*) collocates with *juillet* (En. *July*) and with *révolution française* (En. *French Revolution*).

In the following section, along the same line, we shall discuss our findings for the Portuguese corpus section.

3.2. The Portuguese section

Word frequency lists in the Portuguese corpus section are collected and represented in Table 5, according to frequency and percentage:

Word	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Bairro	6	1.58
Diversidade	5	1.32
Mouraria	4	1.06
Cidade	2	0.53
Imigrantes	2	0.53
Lisboa	2	0.53
Terra	2	0.53
Arte	1	0.26
Bangladesh	1	0.26
Casa	1	0.26
Chinatown	1	0.26
Chineses	1	0.26
Encontro	1	0.26
Indianos	1	0.26
multicultural	1	0.26

Table 5. Word frequency lists and percentages in the Portuguese corpus section

The most frequent words within the Portuguese corpus section are *bairro* (En. *quarter*, *district*, 6 items found), *diversidade* (En. *diversity*, 5 items), *Mouraria* (4) and *cidade* (En. *city*), *imigrantes* (En. *migrants*), *Lisboa* (*Lisbon*) and *terra* (En. *land*) with only 2 instances. If we have a closer look at the frequency lists of the Portuguese corpus section and compare it with the French one, there seems to be a shift in the description from main historical key facts (as we shall see in the Italian corpus sections) to more intercultural aspects of the city of Lisbon (e.g. *diversidade*, *imigrantes*, *encontro*, *multicultural*). This is also backed up by the occurrence of words and proper nouns related to nationality (e.g. *Bangladesh*, *Chinatown*, *Chineses*, *Indianos*) as well as by the main collocates which were found in the Portuguese corpus sections:

	Keyword	
Ao Fado viveram no	**Bairro**	, como Mariza
Oje o	**Bairro**	mais cultural da cidade
um	**Bairro**	que se tiem degradado
Una grande	**diversidade**	cultural
La	**diversidade**	linguistica
La	**diversidade**	de culturas
La maior	**diversidade**	cultural de Lisboa

Table 6. Main collocates for *bairro* and *diversidade*

The main collocates for the two most frequent words within the Portuguese corpus section are related to the (inter)cultural aspects of the city: *fado*, for instance, is a typical music genre in Portugal, and *bairro* is also associated with the adjective 'cultural' as well as with 'degradado', the latter pointing to the failure in safeguarding the cultural heritage of the city of Lisbon; as far as *diversidade* is concerned, here as well we find adjectives referring to the cultural and linguistic diversity in Lisbon, which is also emphasized by adjectives like *grande* and *maior*. *Mouraria* collocates with adjective *multiculturais* (En. *multicultural*) and *rotas urbanas* (En. *urban routes*), which refers to the project which introduces intercultural pathways across the city of Lisbon; *cidade* is associated with *maravilhosa* (En. *wonderful*) and *migrantes* (En. *migrants*); *imigrantes* collocates with *São Paulo*; *Lisboa* collocates with *capital* and *teatro* (En. *theatre*); *terra* (En. *land*) is found to be associated with *cultura* (En. *culture*) and *hábitos* (En. *customs*).

3.3. The Italian section

In this section, we shall have a closer look at frequency lists including the first fifteen most-occurring words within the Italian corpus sections of migrantourism, which are listed in Table 7 below:

Word	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Genova	8	1.00
Città	7	0.88
Cosa	5	0.63
Negozio	5	0.63
Mondo	4	0.50
Parte	4	0.50
Casa	3	0.38
Culture	3	0.38
Luogo	3	0.38
Prodotti	3	0.38
Storie	3	0.38
Vissuto	3	0.38
Angolo	2	0.25
Cuore	2	0.25
Mercato	1	0.25

Table 7. Word frequency lists and percentages in the Italian corpus sections.

Beside the noun of the city of *Genova* (En. *Genoa*, 8 items) the main words occurring in the Italian corpus sections are *città* (En. *city*, 7 items found), the general noun *cosa* (En. *thing*, 5) and *negozio* (En. *shop*, 5), followed by *mondo* (En. *world*) and *parte* (En. *part*). If we have a look at the words following them in the list, we also notice the presence of terms such as *culture* (En. *cultures*, 3), *luogo* (En. *place*, 3), *prodotti* (En. *products*, 3), *cuore* (En. *heart*, 2): all of them being terms related to a more 'personalized' way of perceiving the city and its landmarks; one could say that the description provided by the migrantourist guides in Italy is more subjective than in the other two subcorpora considered for the purposes of our study; in addition to this, if we consider the collocates for the most occurring words within the relevant corpus (e.g. *Genova* and *città*), we find that the description of the cities also incorporates examples of the integration process experienced by the migrantourist guides (Table 8):

	Keyword	
--	**Genova**	deve il suo fascino a
--	**Genova**	, città di porto
La interculturalità di	**Genova**	---
La mia	**città**	di adozione
La	**città**	è scrigno nuovo da scoprire
---	**città**	di migranti
---	**città**	con palazzi eleganti

Table 8. Main collocates for *Genova* and *città*.

Further evidence for a personalisation of the tourist experience on the part of migrant tourist guides is also provided by the noun *cosa* (En. *thing*), which collocates mainly with adjectives expressing delight and wonder, e.g. *una cosa bella*, *una cosa interessante*, *una cosa nuova*, etc.; *negozio* (En. *shop*) collocates with *moda* (En. *fashion*) and *souvenirs* as well as with *tessuti* (En. *textiles*); *mondo* (En. *world*) is found to collocate with the verb *scoprire* (En. *discover*), the adjective *nuovo* (En. *new*) and *affari* (En. *business*); *parte* (En. *part*) is associated with *più bella* (En. *the most beautiful*), and *nuova* (En. *new*); *casa* (En. *home*) and *culture* (En. *cultures*) both collocate with *incontro* (En. *meeting*)

4. Conclusions

The present study has attempted to provide some insights into a newly-emerging phenomenon, i.e. migrantourism; more specifically, by means of a corpus-driven approach to the analysis of data, it has demonstrated the extent to which tourist guides belonging to different realities and linguacultural backgrounds (cf. Cogo *et al.* 2011; Guido 2008) tend to elaborate their experience as tourists by giving more emphasis to different aspects of their experience as tourists: the description of the cities by French migrant tourist guides appears to be mainly related to historical key facts (Tables 3 and 4); the Portuguese description concentrates on the intercultural aspects of the city of Lisbon and on diversity (Tables 5 and 6), whereas the Italian corpus sections display more subjective descriptions which also rely on aspects of integration on the part of the migrant tourist guides.

In the light of such findings, the issue raised in the Introduction section, i.e. whether it is possible to take into consideration a 'tourist guide gaze' as opposed/as an additional feature to Urry and Larsen's tourist

gaze, inevitably acquires importance in the study of the discourse of tourism and, more specifically, in the reception of tourist products (e.g. brochures, audio-guides, and so forth) on the part of tourists. Of course, given the small amount of data provided by the web in such a perspective (i.e. *migrantourism*), it is impossible to generalize findings and concentrate on other factors; notwithstanding this, it might be well worth considering the approach adopted in the present study from a much wider perspective, by implementing bigger corpora of spontaneous discourse by tourist guides and, where possible, create multilingual corpora from which it would be possible to infer and better understand the different attitudes of tourist guides. In addition to this, the analysis could also be combined with other approaches, e.g. the analysis of suprasegmentals, proxemics, gestures within the exchange of information between migrant tourist guides and tourists; last but not least, it would also be interesting to look at the occurrence of culturemes (Vermeer 1983), i.e. terms concerning institutions, gastronomy, geography which are untranslatable, as well as the use of hyperonims, paraphrases in the description of tourist landmarks by migrant tourist guides.

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Translanguaging and its effects on accessibility in Travel Writing. A Case Study: H.V. Morton on Apulia

Thomas W. Christiansen

Abstract

Within the field of applied linguistics and particularly bilingual education, scholars (see C. Baker 2001; García 2009) are paying increasing attention the phenomena of translanguaging *whereby languages (seen as manifestations of the activity of communicating, rather than as separate systems) are used in conjunction with each other as expression of an individual's linguistic repertoire. Such an approach recognises that the relationship between languages is fluid and dynamic rather than rigid and mutually exclusive. It can also be relevant to areas such as creative writing, when authors mix and match forms from different sources not only to reflect their own linguistic repertoire but also for stylistic effect appealing to ethos and establishing authorial stance (Cherry 1998, Kockelman 2004). In the specific genre of travel writing, such translanguaging can be used as a strategy partly (but not exclusively) to introduce items from the source language, adding the lingua-cultural insights that readers of such works may expect, thereby establishing the expertise and credentials of the writer.*

In this paper, we will examine the writings of H.V. Morton specifically regarding his visit to Apulia in 1966 contained in the work: A Traveller in Southern Italy (1969). Analysis will concentrate on the types of phenomena which are accessed through translanguaging, mainly in Italian but also in other codes such as local dialects, Latin, or French. We examine whether these concepts are explained further to the reader, either through accompanying translations, glosses, or by means of cohesive ties, such as co-reference or anaphora (Reinhart 1983, Cornish 1999, Christiansen 2011). Instances of translanguaging will be categorised and compared in an effort to explain when and why each is used. The aim will be to show how introducing unfamiliar forms and concepts through translanguaging can empower readers, as active participants in the discourse to access the relevant culture by adapting and expanding their own lingua-cultural schemata.

1. Introduction

Travel writing is one of oldest literary genres dating back to Homer at least. This, however, does not mean that it has become predictable or

formulaic: quite the opposite in fact, as Raban (1987: pp. 253-54) points out:

> As a literary form, travel writing is a notoriously raffish open house where different genres are likely to end up in the same bed. It accommodates the private diary, the essay, the short story, the prose poem, the rough note and polished table talk with indiscriminate hospitality. It freely mixes narrative and discursive writing. Much of its 'factual' material, in the way of bills, menus, ticket-stubs, names and addresses, data and destinations, is there to authenticate what is really fiction; while its wildest fictions have the status of possible facts. Because of this genial confusion, the travel book has always been a favourite haunt of writers, just as critics, with some justification, have usually regarded it as a resort of easy virtue.

One recurrent feature of travel writing is the encounter with alterity which is made more accessible to the reader: encountering the unfamiliar and comparing it to the familiar. To cite Thompson (2011: p. 9):

> To travel is to make a journey, a movement through space. Possibly this journey is epic in scale, taking the traveller to the other side of the world or across a continent, or up a mountain; possibly, it is more modest in scope, and takes place within the limits of the traveller's own country or region, or even just their immediate locality. Either way, to begin any journey or, indeed, simply to set foot beyond one's own front door, is quickly to encounter difference and otherness. All journeys are in this way a confrontation with, or more optimistically a negotiation of, what is sometimes termed alterity. Or, more precisely, since there are no foreign peoples with whom we do not share a common humanity, and probably no environment on the planet for which we do not have some sort of prior reference point, all travel requires us to negotiate a complex and sometimes unsettling interplay between alterity and identity, difference and similarity.

The issue of accessibility – the degree to which a text is easy to process mentally and decode (see Fulcher 1997)[1] – lies at the heart of translation; indeed, in the main, translation can be seen as one of the principal ways in which concepts, whether familiar or unfamiliar, expressed by unfamiliar words in another language can be made familiar or recognisable in the addressee's own language. Of course, not all words or expressions can be rendered satisfactorily accessible in another language, at least not without lengthy additional explanation, which is the case when the original concept

[1] Fulcher uses the term as an alternative to the concept of text difficulty in the Flesch reading index (Flesch 1949).

referred to is itself unfamiliar (see for instance Baker's examples of *Speaker (of the House of Commons)* or *airing cupboard* in English - 1992: p. 18).

One strategy, which may at first seem diametrically opposed to translation is that of *translanguaging*. In effect, this involves the deliberate use of words and expressions from other languages.

Translanguaging (García and Wei 2014) entails aspects of language transfer such as code mixing or switching but, while these are often associated with lack of competence, whereby the speaker confuses different codes, it is seen a natural part of bi- and plurilingualism, because it: "refers to a systematic shift from one language to another for specific reasons" (Coyle *et al*, 2010: p. 16). It is a phenomenon which, in recent years, has received increasing, long-overdue, attention. It entails aspects of language transfer such as code mixing or switching but, while these are often associated with lack of competence, whereby the speaker confuses different codes, it is seen a natural part of bi- and plurilingualism, because it: "refers to a systematic shift from one language to another for specific reasons" (Coyle *et al*, 2010: p. 16). Traditionally, languages have been seen as separate and static entities, the mixing of which has been viewed as accidental or undesired and as such been termed *interference*. Against this view, some maintain that languages constitute activities whereby cognitive input becomes linguistic output (*Languaging*; Swain 2006). Instead of being autonomous fixed entities with well-defined boundaries, languages constitute fluid resources which may be used either individually or in conjunction with each other. As we hope to show in this paper, translanguaging constitutes a stylistic choice whereby a speaker draws deliberately on whose repertoire of different languages to enhance the message, not just to compensate for linguistic deficiencies.

In this article, we will examine closely this phenomenon as a feature of the travel writing of one particular author, H.V. Morton[2] in his description of

[2] Henry Canova Vollam Morton (1892-1979) was a journalist (most notably for the *Daily Mail, Daily Express, Evening Standard* and *Daily Herald*) and travel writer who authored hundreds of articles and dozens of travel books on Great Britain and Ireland, Italy, Spain, Greece, South Africa and the Middle East (1925 – 1969). His total sales exceeded 3 million copies. He published six books specifically on Italy: *A Traveller in Rome* (1957); *This is Rome* (1959); *A Traveller in Italy* (1964); *The Waters of Rome* (1966); *The Fountains of Rome* (1966); and *A Traveller in Southern Italy* (1969). In 1965, he was awarded the *Ordine al Merito della Repubblica Italiana*. His works reflect a keen interest in history, archaeology, architecture, the classics and the Bible. In an acclaimed and controversial biography, Bartholomew (2004), who had had full access to Morton's private papers, highlighted the stark contrast between Morton's urbane gentlemanly public persona and the more seedy

Apulia as found in his 1969 work *A Traveller in Southern Italy*.[3] Our aim will be to ascertain how frequent translanguaging is, in what kinds of context it is used, and how it compares to other strategies used to render elements of the unfamiliar culture accessible such as translation and the exploitation of cohesive devices (in particular co-reference and anaphora - Reinhart 1983, Cornish 1999, Christiansen 2011).

2. The corpus

In the words of Bartholmew (2004: p. 220), Morton's *A Traveller in Southern Italy,* his last original work,

> (…) lacks the zest of his earliest books, but it manages the intrinsic problem of loading historical, guide-book information on the narrative of a journey pretty well: the narrative does not buckle under the weight. It does, however, bear the marks of its origin. This is no carefree, random journey, undertaken by a free spirit. It is the dutiful tour on behalf of the Italian Tourist Board.[4]

The parts relating specifically to Apulia,[5] constituting Chapters II-V and part of VI, amount to 61,693 words. Within this, Morton dedicates 14,763 words to the province (county) of Foggia, 10,180 to the city of Bari, 17,077 to the province of Bari (including what is today the province of

private self. As an aside, within the field of linguistics Morton's writing style and approach was the acknowledged inspiration for an article entitled "In search of English: a traveller's guide" by David Crystal (1995).

[3] Published by Methuen, London.

[4] "Dutiful tour", it may have been, but this did not stop the elderly Morton speaking his mind when he was moved to. On the sailor's monument in Brindisi: "[…] a piece of Fascist architecture, an example of bad manners in stone and brick. This was an out-of-scale ship's rudder, a monstrous gaunt tower of much the same height, I should say, as Nelson's Column, which, conceived as a memorial to mariners in the nineteen-thirties, looks, like so much official architecture of that period, as though it had been designed by someone wearing a uniform too tight for him and anxious to impress his superiors." (pp. 161-2)

[5] Morton prefers the term *Apulia* (from Latin), which he uses 66 times, to its alternative *Puglia* (from Italian) which he uses only twice – discounting four uses as a component of the proper name *Canosa di Puglia*.

Barletta-Andria-Trani); 12,043 to the provinces of Brindisi and Lecce; and 7,630 words to the province of Taranto.[6]

3. Use and frequency of languages other than English in corpus

Given the relatively small size of this corpus and the diversity and variety of the elements being searched for, and ourselves being familiar with the text from various readings, we opted not to use specific concordance software but rather to tag by hand. This involved simply reading through the text noting down and categorising any words or expressions which did not constitute part of the English lexicon. Often, these words were marked by use of italics or sometimes quotation marks, making our task easier, but frequently they were just inserted within the text with no special indication.

In Figure 1. We give the numbers for the languages other than English[7] (henceforth LOTE) found in the text:

[6] Although he was chauffeured around, it is clear that Morton did not always have expert advisors on hand, at least when writing up his notes; he refers to the inhabitants of Lecce as *Leccians* (p.167) instead of *Leccesi*. He also says that the column in Piazza Sant'Oronzo is topped by one St. Donatus, "the patron saint of Lecce" (p. 203) when in fact, as its name suggests, a statue of Sant'Oronzo (the real patron saint of Lecce) adorns the top of the said column.

[7] In fact, the text does also contain much lexis from archaic varieties of English and one noticeable extract (approx. 280 words, pp. 188-9) from an early 17th century work in Early Modern English, which is not easily accessible to a modern reader. Interesting as these could also be argued to be from the point of view of translanguaging, we exclude them from this analysis.

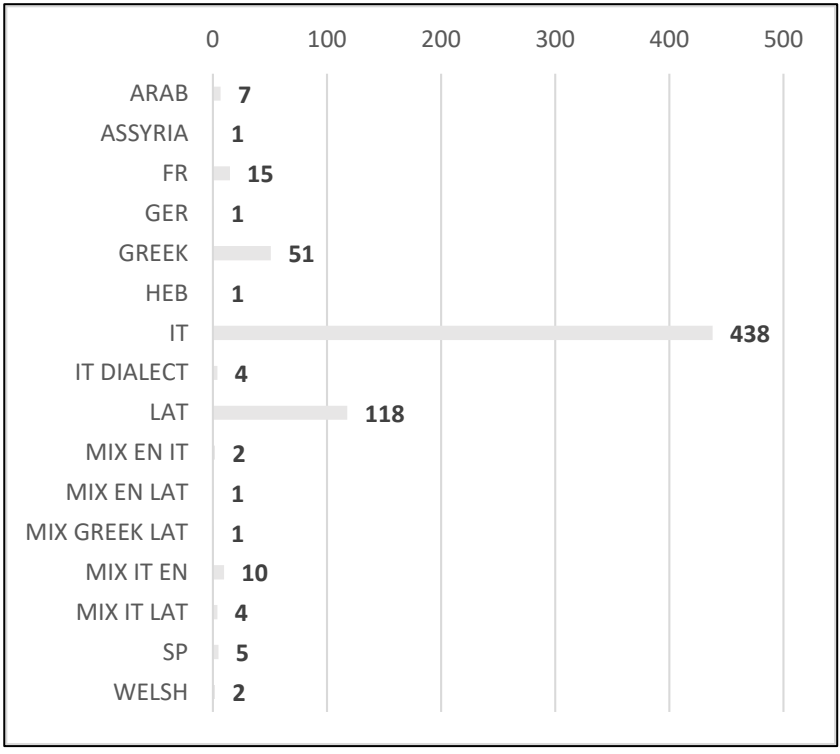


Figure 1. LOTEs found in corpus

As can be seen, although the majority of the text is in English (61,032 out of 61,693 words: or over 98% of the text), Morton uses expressions from a wide variety of languages or mixtures of the same, but most notably Italian, Latin and Greek.

The first stage in our analysis was to look at the contexts associated with each language. This we did by categorising each instance into a base category. Having done this, we grouped together the base categories, where possible, into four general categories: Classics; History Local Context; Religion. In Table 1, we show the base categories that we were able to identify and how they were classified into general categories (in square brackets):

Name	Phrase	Term	Title (honorific)	Title (work)
Name Biblical Name Classics [C] Name Establishment [LC] Name Historic [H] Name Local Institution [LC] Name Nickname [H] Name Place Epithet [LC] Name Tour [LC] Name Religious Figure [R] Name Road [H] Name Saint [H] Name Wind	Phrase Prep Phrase	Term Local Event [LC] Term Architecture [H] Term Citation [LC] Term Classics [C] Term Gastronomy [LC] Term History [H] Term Local Context [LC] Term Local Fauna [LC] Term Miscellaneous Term Religious [R] Term Scientific (Abbreviated) Term Townspeople [LC]	Title Local [LC] Title Religious [R] Title Religious as Term [R] Title Saint [R] Title Saint (Name Place) [LC]	Title Book Title Book (Abbreviated) Title History [H] Title Hymn [R] Title Opera Title Poem Title Prayer [R]

Key: C = Classics; H = History; LC = Local Context; R = Religion

Table 1. Base categories of instances of LOTE found in corpus

As can be seen, many of the base categories did not fall into any of the four general categories and can be treated as miscellaneous. There are also some areas of overlap; for example, names of saints could be seen as both Religion and History. Reading the text, the saints that Morton wrote about (e.g. St. Nicholas, St Francis, St Joseph of Copertino) were treated as characters from history rather than as religious figures.

In Figure 3, we show which of these general categories are most commonly expressed by which LOTE:

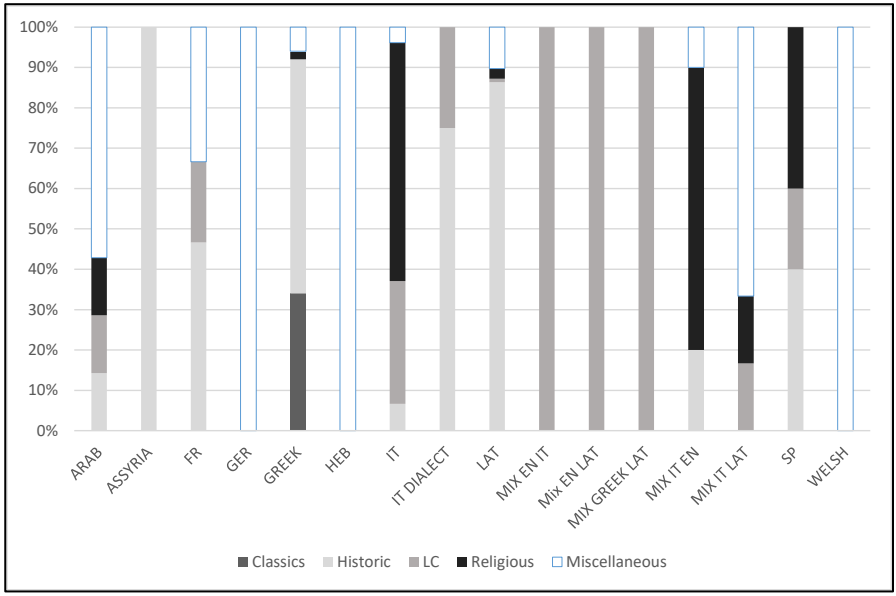


Figure 2. Contexts in which LOTEs are used in corpus

This shows that different languages tend to have different functions. For example, Greek is used mainly for classics and history; Italian mainly for the local context and matters relating to religion. German, Hebrew and Welsh by contrast are used only in few expressions for miscellaneous items.

An interesting counterpoint to translanguaging (the use of words and expressions from LOTEs) are expressions in English that appear to be implicit translations, that is, used without the source phrase being present. For example "Faithful Andria" on Table 2 is clearly a translation of the Latin phrase *Fidelis Andria* (Frederick II's nickname for the place and the name of its football team), although this form does not appear in the text.[8]

[8] "Frederick II, who loved to stay there, so the Andrians will tell you, more than in any other town in Puglia. Among the imperial fads was the composition of Latin slogans for his towns which he inscribed upon arches and walls, some bitter, some sweet. His adjective for this town was 'faithful Andria', and the inhabitants still treasure the description." (pp. 141-142)

Sometimes but not always, these are marked in the text with quotation marks. The examples that we were able to identify are listed below in Table 2:

Term/Expression	Frequency
'Brother Ass' (p.179)	1
Centre of Salentine Studies (p.167)	1
Dante Society (p.167)	1
'dry'(p.54)	1
'faithful Andria' (p.143)	1
Grand Admiral of Castile (p.179)	1
Province(s) (passim)	9
Salentine Academy of Letters and Arts (p.167)	1
'singing doors' (p.141)	1
'The Kiss of Love' (p.138)	1
'thirsty' (p.54)	1
'wine-dark' (p.175)	1
'Wonder of the World' (passim)	3

Table 2. Implicit translations into English in corpus

Morton's use of the term *province*, presents an interesting example of adoption of a cognate word in English to a term in the local language (*provincia*) instead of the standard form (*county*). Perhaps this is because the two concepts are slightly different (England and Italy then and now have different systems of local government, making direct comparison misleading)[9] or maybe Morton uses *province* to conserve some of the formal characteristics (the spelling and the sound) of the original expression – the two explanations not being mutually exclusive.

Translanguaging on the part of Morton can be seen clearly when it comes to the names he uses for saints (excluding cases where these are components of place names e.g. *S. Giovanni Rotondo*). Figures for these are given in Table 3:

[9] In British English, *province* is a complicated term used to refer to larger divisions of a country e.g. Northern Ireland (constituting part, but not *all*, of Ulster, one of the four historic provinces of Ireland). More simply, in Canada, the same term is used to refer to the geographical entities corresponding to what in the USA or Australia are legally defined as States, namely Quebec, British Colombia, Manitoba etc.

Name	Freq	Name	Freq	Name	Freq
S. / San Cataldo	3	S. Giuseppe	0	S. / San Michele	0
St Cathal	1	S. Joseph	1	S. Michael	2
		St. Joseph	4	St. Michael	11
S. / Santa Caterina	0	Joseph	9		
St. Catherine	3			S. / San Nicola	10
		S. Marco	1	S. Nicholas	3
S. Francesco	0	St. Mark	4	St. Nicholas	32
S. Francis	1				
St Francis	20	S. / Santa Maria	12	S. / San Paolo	0
		Madonna	14	St. Paul	5
		St. Mary	0		
		Virgin	9	S. / San Pietro	1
				St. Peter	4

Table 3. Names of saints in corpus

The data in Table 3 is interesting because it shows how Morton variously refers to the same saint in English, in Italian or indeed a mixture of both. This is the case with *St. Cathal / S. Cataldo, St Mark / S.Marco, St. Peter / San Pietro* and most notably with *St. Nicholas / S. Nicola*. In the case of Saint Mary, he only uses the Italian form or the English epithet[10] *Virgin*.
A particular aspect of Morton's translanguaging in this context is his use of the Italian abbreviation *S.* for *Santo* etc, which is also sometimes extended to cases even when the saint's name itself is in English (i.e. S. *Francis; S. Joseph; S. Michael; S. Nicholas*).[11]

In the case of St Nicholas at least, Morton tends to use the Italian version when he is talking about the saint in the local context of Bari, the city that St Nicholas is the patron saint of, the place where his relics are conserved and the venue of a local religious festival. By contrast, with St Joseph of Copertino, he never uses *S. Giuseppe* even when speaking of the latter's life in his hometown. Perhaps, this is because the name *Giuseppe* in Italian is so different from its English version *Joseph* and there is a concern about accessibility. Furthermore, St. Joseph, to Morton obviously an

[10] Descriptive noun phrase – see Christiansen (2009, 2011)
[11] Interestingly, when talking about a town in the province of Taranto, Morton gives its name as *St Castellaneta Marina*, leaving the Italian abbreviation *St* (which stands for *stazione* – railway station). He probably does not translate this because, as we must confess to having done, he inadvertently registered it in his mind as *saint,* as in English (a common element of place names), despite the fact it appears in an Italian noun phrase.

endearing character (also known as *Brother Ass* – see Table 2), is the one saint who is sometimes referred to without any religious title.
On a related note, when speaking about another religious figure, Padre (now Saint) Pio of Pietrelcina, whom he met in the flesh, Morton always refers to him as *Padre Pio* (210 times) never as *Father Pio* (or *Pious)*. Preserving the alliteration of the [*p*] sound in the Italian version may be a factor here. By contrast, he speaks about another priest, one Father Carty, using only the English title *Father* (four times). Interestingly. However, referring once to the younger, unordained Pio, he uses the English title *Brother,* not *Fratello, Fratel,* or *Frate.*

Also, in the case of Rudolph Valentino (a native of Castellaneta in the province of Taranto), Morton only uses the English version of his name (which was also his screen name, although in Italy he was always known as *Rodolfo*). He even almost completely Anglicises his full name: *Rudolph Alfonso Raphael Peter Philip William de Valentino* [sic] *d'Antonguolla* [sic] (and not *Rodolfo Alfonso Raffaello Pierre Filibert Guglielmo di Valentina D'Antonguella*) (p.207).

4. Strategies and factors affecting accessibility of instances of translanguaging in the corpus

Turning to the accessibility of instances of translanguaging, or how the use of words and expressions from LOTEs can affect the comprehensibility of a text, it can be seen that three strategies were employed by Morton: translation, explanation, cohesion, together technically with a fourth option, namely to do nothing (see Table 4 below). The first three are summarised and illustrated in Figure 3:

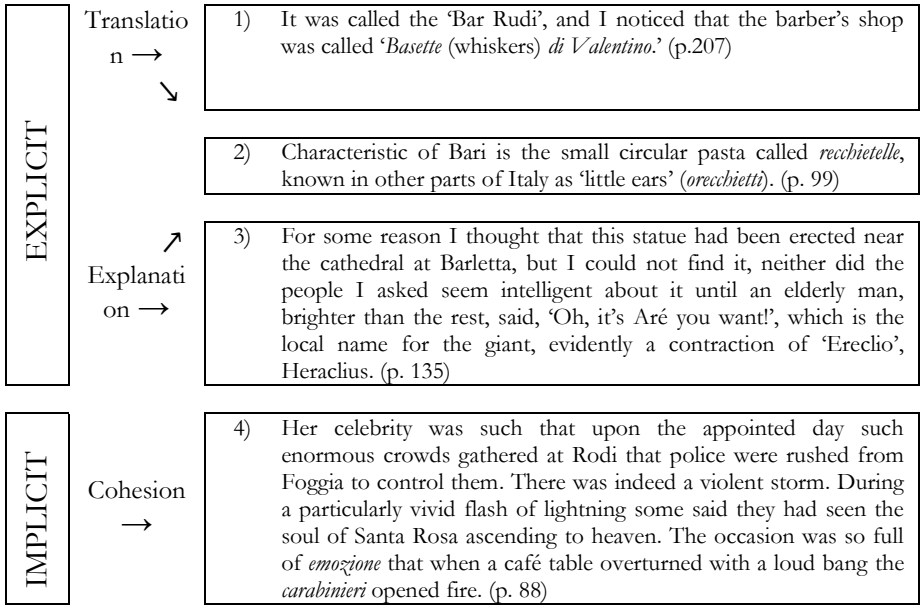


Figure 3. Strategies affecting the accessibility of instances of translanguaging

As shown on Figure 3, translation and explanation are both explicit and involve drawing the addressee's attention towards the word's meaning, either by translating it or describing it. Cohesion is implicit, and works by providing links with other items in the text that, largely through a process of inference (see Sperber and Wilson 1987), make that item accessible (e.g. if A=B and B=C, then A=C).

Translation and explanation can be very similar since the line between a translation which is not strictly literal (i.e. *paraphrasing* as opposed to *metaphrasing*) and an explanation can be difficult to draw: e.g. rendering the idea of *emozione* from example 4 with *emotion* (its formal equivalent in English) or with *excitement, anxiety, passion, commotion* (non-formal, more paraphrastic equivalents). In our analysis, something is classed as explanation when it contains equative *be* or similar phrases such as: *which is*, *in other words*. Example 2 is an illustration of translation (*little ears*) and explanation (*small circular pasta*) combined – underlying also how they may complement and reinforce each other.

Cohesion is often based on co-reference and anaphora with some antecedent in the text (see Christiansen 2011). Example 4 in Figure 3 contains an example of coreference, with the definite article in "the *carabinieri*" functioning as a demonstrative deictic device indicating that the

referent is accessible and retrievable in the discourse or text, as it is in this case with the occurrence of "police were rushed from Foggia" a line or so before.

Emozione in Example 4 is an instance of an item in an LOTE which is not rendered accessible by translation, explanation or cohesion. Presumably, the addressee is either expected to be familiar with the term in Italian or to guess its meaning from the form alone (although its cognate in English, *emotion*, has a slightly different meaning) or somehow to divine its meaning from the context (although no cohesive devices are added to facilitate this, as they are with *carabinieri*).

Accessibility through cohesion is an implicit process and thus it can be difficult to pin down. There are many different types of cohesive device (see Halliday and Hasan 1976; Christiansen 2011) which link items within a text in a variety of different ways. We should also emphasise that cohesion occurs naturally as part of the unconscious encoding of the discourse into a text and will come about whether there is translanguaging or not.

Two more examples of cohesion and accessibility may serve to give an idea of the variety of ways in which cohesion may make instances of translanguaging accessible:

> 5) Appealing to a passer-by, I was directed to a doorway off the main street which led by way of a flight of ancient stairs into a grotto *trattoria*. Tables covered with spotless cloths were set at various levels beneath a rough rock ceiling and upon each stood a carafe of red wine. (pp. 70-1)

In Example 5, a link is established between *grotto*, the modifier of *trattoria,* and *rough rock ceiling* in the next sentence. This makes it clear that *the tables covered with spotless cloths* etc. are part of the *trattoria*, which therefore must be a place for eating in. In Example 6, Morton is talking about the castle in Manfredonia:

> 6) Few visitors ever come to Manfredonia and the town cannot afford the luxury of a gatekeeper. However, a notice on the gate said that the key could be obtained upon application to the town hall. I visualized the procedure: the long explanations at the *municipio* and the frantic messengers sent out to discover the town clerk: then the despair, the regrets, and the apologies because the man with the key had taken it with him into Foggia! (pp. 63-4)

In Example 6, the antecedent for *the municipio* is *town hall* at the end of the previous sentence (thus in rhematic position and therefore salient or prominent in the discourse – see Cornish 1999) as part of the longer noun phrase *application to the town hall*. The rheme of the next sentence is the application procedure, referred to by the more general noun phrase *the procedure*, which is identified as situated at *the municipio*; a link is thus established between *procedure* and *the municipio*, which mirrors *application to the town hall*.

One role that cohesion plays in the rendering of terms in LOTEs accessible would seem to have close links with translation and explanation. One of the factors affecting noun phrase selection in identity chains of co-referential items is the *informative function* (Christiansen 2009), whereby referring expressions are used not simply to designate a referent but to add further information about it. This happens in contexts where the referent is readily retrievable and where, revealingly, a general referring expression like an anaphor (e.g. pronoun) would be *referentially efficacious* (see Christiansen 2009).

In a translanguaging context, referring by means of a term from another language can be seen as *indirect translation* because the use of an unfamiliar term to refer to something whose referent is readily accessible is in itself informative: in effect, making the addressee aware of what the referent is called in another language. It thus, like an epithet (a descriptive noun phrase), adds further information about it. This process is illustrated in Example 7:

> 7) I then went to a chemist. In Italy the chemist, with Latin logic, sells medicines. He does not sell cameras, watches, bath salts, beauty preparations, cigarette lighters, pencils, lipsticks or razors. This means that the average *farmacia* is still dignified by some memory, no matter how remote, of Aesculapius; indeed some have later associations and look as if they had only just removed the stuffed alligator. (pp: 193-4)

In this example, cohesively speaking, *farmacia* constitutes a paraphrase (of an interlingual kind) for *chemist* in the first line and occurs at a point in the text where an anaphor such as *it* would have sufficed to designate the referent, as shown by Example 8 where we substitute the anaphor *it* for *farmacia* without compromising coherence:

> 8) I then went to a chemist. In Italy the chemist, with Latin logic, sells medicines. He does not sell cameras, watches, bath salts, beauty

> preparations, cigarette lighters, pencils, lipsticks or razors. This means that **it** is still dignified by some memory, no matter how remote, of Aesculapius; indeed some have later associations and look as if they had only just removed the stuffed alligator.

The informative function cannot be associated with every case of cohesion in a translanguaging context, in exactly the same way that not every use of an epithet in an identity chain can be said to either. In Example 4, replacing *carabinieri* with an anaphor, the pronoun *they*, leads to confusion, as shown by Example 9 below:

> 9) Her celebrity was such that upon the appointed day such enormous crowds gathered at Rodi that police were rushed from Foggia to control them. There was indeed a violent storm. During a particularly vivid flash of lightning some said they had seen the soul of Santa Rosa ascending to heaven. The occasion was so full of *emozione* that when a café table overturned with a loud bang **they** opened fire.

This replacement, *they*, would not reliably designate the referent because, at that point, the antecedent (the police rushed from Foggia to control the crowd) is not salient enough (see Cornish 1999) – separated as it is by two full sentences focussing on the storm. The addressee would likely be left in doubt about who opened fire in the last sentence and might easily assume that it was somebody unidentified in the crowd, noting that *they* in the fourth sentence obviously refers to *some* in the same sentence, not the police sent to control the crowds. It cannot therefore be said that *carabinieri* in Example 4 has an informative function or that it constitutes an indirect translation. Rather it is a simple case of translanguaging, where the addressor seems to assume that the term will be accessible (familiar already to the addressee).

This brief analysis brings to light the issue of how translanguaging affects the cohesion of texts. It would indeed be interesting to see how cohesion, especially of the lexical kind (reiteration, collocation[12]) functions. According to Hoey (2004, 2005), lexical cohesion involves *lexical*

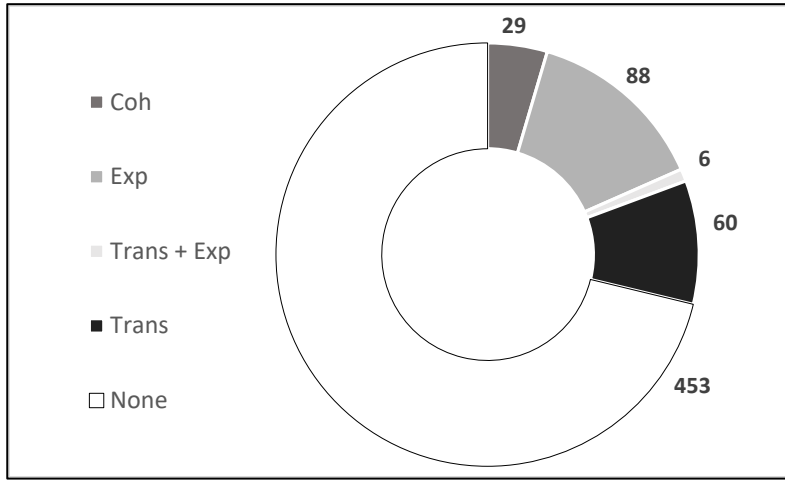
[12] Collocation, in particular, an important source of cohesion, would be a fertile area for research because, conventionally (see Firth 1951, Halliday and Hasan 1976), it is said to be based on statistical frequency of the co-occurrence of certain linguistic *forms* (e.g. *hard* and *work*; *serious* and *problem, blue* and *moon*); with translanguaging, such statistical frequencies would be less likely to hold and consequently, the concept of collocation, at least as conventionally conceived, would be less relevant.

priming: words being stored together with their linguistic co-text and social/cultural context. Priming allows the language user to build up an inventory of the kind of lexical patterns or linguistic structures in which a term typically occurs.[13] Translanguaging would seem to complicate such a relationship considerably at least at the formal, textual level. However, at the deeper, discoursal level (that of the message content), it may prove to be that such inventories exist between concepts which may then be manifested in different languages within the same text. For example: the lexical item *chemist* in the mind of an English speaker will be stored together with the items *medicine*, *lipstick* etc. In the discoursal substratum these would presumably be equated with concepts standing for the relevant denotata. These concepts are presumably linked in a way mirroring the networks among the lexical items (and thus such conceptual links would be the cause of lexical priming). If this were so, then what we could call provisionally *concept priming* would neatly account for phenomena like that which we briefly describe as *interlingual paraphrase* in Example 8 and may accommodate other kinds of translanguaging (as in the use of the term *stuffed alligator* together with the Italian term *farmacia*). The latter relationship stems from mental association and looks like collocation but is based not on frequency of co-occurrence of the lexical forms but on that of the concepts as they are activated within discourse. It would require even more sophisticated tools to analyse and measure than those employed for collocation. However, such a description must be seen as only provisional before specific research is carried out and careful consideration is made of the proper theoretical framework within which this phenomenon may be treated.

5. Relative frequency in Corpus of Translation, Explanation and Cohesion

Looking at the relative frequency of translation, explanation and cohesion in Morton's text allows us to see which strategies are preferred (Figure 4):

[13] A related concept is Sinclair's earlier *idiom principle*: the idea that language is seen as a set of choices at the segmental level and not at that of individual words (the so-called *open principle* of most other theories of language) but "of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analysable into segments" (Sinclair, 1991: p. 110).



Key: Coh = Cohesion; Exp = Explanation; Trans = Translation

Figure 4. Relative frequency in Corpus of Translation, Explanation and Cohesion in instances of translanguaging

Perhaps what is most striking on Figure 4 is how many instances of translanguaging in the corpus are not defined in any way ("none"). Of the strategies to make them more accessible, the most frequent is explanation (see Example 3 above), followed by translation (Example 1), then cohesion (Examples 4-6) and lastly, by a significant degree, by translation coupled with explanation (Example 2).

It is interestingly to look at the types of words and expressions in each category. In Table 4 we list the words and expressions that occur twice or more in each:

Cohesion ↓				**None ↓**	
Baresi			7	*S / San / Santa* etc.	91
Carabinieri			3	*Pio*	62
Farmacia			2	*Padre* (title)	61
Lidi/o			2	*Piazza*	17
Manna			2	*Tarantolata/i/o*	12
Total	13/29	%	44.83	*Maria*	9
Explanation ↓				*Padre* (term)	9
Magna Graecia			13	*Sipontum*	8
Trulli/o			13	*Nicola*	7
Cannae (term)			10	*Camillus*	5
Capitanata			4	*Vitus*	5
Clito			3	*Via Appia*	4

Far figura			3	*Archytas*			3
Manna			3	*Ciborium*			3
Aré			2	*Condottieri*			3
Cantina			2	*Rosa*			3
Finibus Terrae			2	*Ave Maria*			2
Murge			2	*Cesarea*			2
Parthenoi			2	*Chevalier*			2
Sacco			2	*di Leuca*			2
Total	61/88	%	69.32	*di Sipontum*			2
Translation + Explanation ↓				*Don*			2
Disfida			2	*Egnatia*			2
Total	4/6	%	66.67	*Ido Morganweg*			2
Translation ↓				*Laocoon*			2
Taras			23	*Leucius*			2
Tarentum			12	*Pellegrino/Pelligrino*			2
Total	35/60	%	58.34	Total	324/453	%	71.53

Table 4. Most frequent items in categories of Coh, Exp, Trans + Exp, Trans

Surprisingly perhaps, the category where there is no definition of the item (None) is where the greatest number of items which are used repeatedly are found. As the bottom row in this category shows, together these make up 324 out of the total 453 instances (see Figure 4) or 71.53%[14]. The lowest percentage of repeated items is for cohesion (44.83%). Cohesion, translation plus explanation, and explanation all come between 58.34% and 69.32% - a difference of just under 11%.

Some of the items, particularly near the top of the None list in Table 4 (e.g. *San* etc;[15] *piazza, padre as a term*), constitute items which, though technically from LOTEs, may be familiar to educated or well-informed addressees, especially those with an interest in Southern Italy: these being exactly the readership, it could be argued, that the book is aimed at. Some of the terms also relate to Roman Catholicism, (*padre*,[16] a term from Italian and Spanish, *Ave Maria* from Latin) and thus may be familiar to its adherents or to those interested in it. Many of the items are also proper names of some kind (e.g. *Pio*;[17] *Cannae*; *Maria*; *Nicola*; *Camillus*; *Vitus*;

[14] Here as elsewhere on this table, percentages are given to two decimal figures.

[15] Again, excluding cases where the title occurred as part of a place name, e.g. *S. Giovanni Rotondo*.

[16] In the context of the armed forces of most English-speaking countries, the term *padre* is used colloquially for any military Christian clergyman: Anglican, Roman Catholic, Baptist etc.

[17] The case of *Padre Pio* (as a unit, 61 times) is worthy of special attention. Because so much of the text is dedicated to him (most of Chapter 2), much information is in fact

Archytas; *Rosa*; *Cesarea*; *di Leuca; di Sipontum; Egnatia*; *Laocoon*; and *Leucius)* which constitute labels rather than *epithets* (see Christiansen 2011). While an epithet (usually a noun phrase with a common noun at its head) designates its referent essentially by describing it, a *name* designates by convention alone, functioning as an abstract label, and thus requires specific background knowledge. Unfamiliar names even in the addressee's own language are therefore not referentially efficacious and therefore detrimental to accessibility. By using so many names without further explanation, Morton seems to be assuming a high degree of background knowledge on the part of the reader.

6. Conclusions

From our various analyses of the data, it emerges that translanguaging in the corpus is most often not rendered accessible through cohesion, explanation or translation. This means that either the addressee is expected to share the same rich and varied linguistic repertoire of the addressor (see Figure 1) or that they are expected to be able to process the text without knowing the meaning of many of the translanguaging items which occur within in it.

The former option would seem most likely and it would thus seem fair to conclude that the degree of translanguaging found in this corpus indicates that accessibility is not the main priority of the addressor. It seems that Morton expects the addressee to guess the meaning of unfamiliar words from the context or judges that they can be left in to add "local colour" even if their precise meaning remains unclear. In such cases, "authenticity" takes precedence over "accessibility".

Another motive may be Morton's desire, conscious or not, to establish his authorial stance or *ethos* – the speaker's identity as it is constructed and/or deployed in discourse (Baumlin 1994; Cherry 1998). This is a fundamental tool in persuasion (Johnstone 2009). By doing this, Morton puts himself in a position of authority over the reader, which leads the reader to find his presentation of the areas that he visits more acceptable and credible. Morton's background in journalism may be a factor in this.

given about him, both as a person and as a religious figure. Never, however, is the term *padre* as it applies to him defined nor is the English equivalent for the name *Pio* (*Pious*) given, as happens with many saints', popes' or historical figures' names.

With regard to the "adding local colour" aspect of translanguaging mentioned above, by *not* rendering everything immediately accessible, Morton is forcing the reader to face the unfamiliar and make sense of it within the context of the specific discourse. His strategy here is similar to that which, in translation, Venuti (1985) calls *foreignizing*, It could be argued that the objective here is still of accessibility but of a kind where more active effort is required on the part of the reader, and it is this extra effort which enables the readers, as active participants in the discourse, to access the relevant culture by adapting and expanding their own lingua-cultural schemata.

Accessibility, how easy a text is to process and understand, then is a concept that can be analysed at different levels and from different perspectives. Translanguaging may not always constitute a mere obstacle for the addressee on their way not only to an understanding a specific text but also to the wider discourse of which the same text is a manifestation (see Christiansen 2011). At times, it may constitute a longer, but more picturesque and ultimately more rewarding route: in effect conveying linguistically the experience of the traveller, as opposed to the mere tourist, i.e. someone who encounters the unfamiliar, and strives to understand it without prejudice and on its own terms.

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"Dancing with the Spider": popularization at work in intangible tourism-travel discourse

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Abstract

The multifarious and multifaceted notion of heritage encompasses natural or cultural forms, including objects, places and practices, in their tangible or intangible expressions (Harrison 2010; Richards 2014). Deeply-rooted in local cultures, imbued with their histories, values, beliefs, social organization patterns, traditional dances notably epitomize "intangible heritage" (Smith 2006; Smith & Akagawa 2009). Their representation and communication in tourist texts, yet, poses serious challenges, due to their complexity and elusiveness. This is mainly overcome through "popularization discourse" (Calsamiglia & van Dijk 2004; Garzone 2006; Gotti 2012), whereby specialized discourse is transmitted to the lay public, by the means of visual, acoustic, verbal, and audio-visual resources. The inspection of popularization modes and forms, in a selection of tourist materials about Salento traditional dance forms (de Martino [1961] 2005), is the scope of this paper. Among the wide-range of ever-expanding tourist texts (Francesconi 2014), particular attention is devoted to an institutional video, a brochure, two travel guides, and a travel reportage. Results reveal problems of partiality and generalization in pre-trip promotional texts, as well as inaccuracies and incoherencies in on-trip informative instances.

Addu d'ha pizzicata
la tarantala embelenata?
No t'ha pizzicata
la tarantala embelenata
chiui taranta nun ci n'ha.[1]

1. Introduction

From the *Psychedelic Trance Tarantella* song by the Salento group Kalascima, the verses above evoke and narrate the ancient Taranta myth, whereby the

[1] Where did the poisonous tarantula bite you?/ It did not bite you, the poisonous tarantula/there's no taranta anymore. Translation provided on the 2014 CD.

effects of the poisonous local spider can only be cured through a choreutic, musical and chromatic ritual. The lyrics of the song, in the local dialect, are accompanied by vibrant music, where traditional instruments combine with contemporary technological sound effects. Interconnections across sensory experiences, art forms and ages are not surprising, as the current age is undergoing a considerable *tarantella* revival and, more in general, the growing popularity and appeal of traditional dances. From a socio-semiotic perspective, dance is seen as a semiotic resource, i.e., a resource for making meaning, within a given social context (Kress, 2014: p. 62). Indeed, traditional dances narrate and celebrate deeply-rooted local cultures: their histories, their values and beliefs, their social organization and dynamics. Acknowledging the wide range of Southern-Italian *tarantelle* (encompassing diverse, yet similar, dance forms, such as, *Tarantella calabrese, Tammuriata campana, Pizzica Pizzica salentina*), this work addresses Salento traditional dance forms, namely *Pizzica pizzica salentina*, *Pizzica tarantata* and *Pizzica scherma,* as boasting a special relation with *Tarantism* (www.tarantarte.it).

Already widespread in the second half of the fourteenth-century, in its basic forms, within the peasant community in the Salentine Peninsula, the phenomenon of *Tarantism* has been attracting critical attention from different disciplines, approaches, and standpoints (De Martino [1961] 2005). For a long time, it was wrongly interpreted and described as a medical problem, and simply ascribed to arachnidism, to the clinical effects of the poisonous tarantula spider. Symptoms were identified in depression and paranoia, fear and delirium, vomiting and sweating. Hence, the "curing" dance was based on the regular repetition of definite choreutic cycles, an intense rhythmic motion, with feet tapping the ground and, in the end, the dancers collapsing. It was only in the second half of the XX century that this explanation was rejected (*ibidem*).

On the basis of his 1959 on-the-ground observation, the ethnographer Ernesto de Martino argued that: "the symbol of the *taranta* [i]s a mythical-ritual horizon of evocation, configuration, release and resolution of the unresolved psychic conflicts which "re-bite" in the obscurity of the unconscious." ([1961] 2005: p. 36) Far from being reduced to a medical condition, the exorcistic *taranta* dance was described as enabling one to express intimate conflicts in a public context, the depersonalizing discourse permitting symbolic resolution of the tensions (*ibidem*: p. xi). In a two-stage process of identification and detachment, the *tarantato/a* experienced the need to dance with the spider, to be the tarantula itself, to

superimpose and impose his/her dancing rhythm, to force the tarantula to dance, until it was exhausted (*ibidem*: p. 36).

While stressing the cultural and historical peculiarities of an autonomous, independent, and localized phenomenon, de Martino ([1961] 2005) claimed that *Tarantism* impacts universal chords in the human mind and heart. It concerns us all: in our psychological tensions, conflicts, and in our need to cope and dance with them, for final resolution. *Tarantism*, thus, resonates along a more living and vibrant intangible heritage horizon, which stimulates a dialogue between past and present, between self and other, between locals and visitors. In this vein, the present paper seeks to investigate *Tarantism* as embedded within intangible heritage tourism discourse. It centres on the way tourist texts, instantiated in their generic configurations, negotiate cross-cultural communication and make intangible heritage accessible to a wider audience. Based on previous studies on tourism discourse (Francesconi 2014), the working hypothesis is that information on intangible heritage is presented in a superficial way, through rhetorical strategies of generalisation. Proposing popularization discourse as the main paradigm, this work seeks to answer the following research question: what popularization strategies are adopted and how do they operate within the selected tourist texts?

The work is organised as follows: after the preliminary introduction on *Tarantism*, the theoretical underpinnings of intangible heritage, tourism discourse and popularization discourse will be illustrated. Following this, text analysis will be offered, and attention will be specifically paid to the articulation and negotiation of popularization strategies in promotional and/or informative materials on the Apulia region, dealing with traditional dances as intangible heritage forms. Instances will be discussed in their meaning-making generic configurations. Concluding remarks will end the article, with observations on potentials and constraints of intangible heritage tourism discourse.

2. Intangible heritage, experiential tourism, and tourism discourse.

Overall, the multifarious and multifaceted notion of 'heritage' encompasses natural or cultural forms, and, as such, includes objects, places and practices "that have some significance in the present, which relate to the past" (Harrison, 2010: p. 5). According to Harrison, a variety of historic, architectural, aesthetic, but also spiritual and emotional values,

are then ascribed to heritage and make the concept even more elusive. Heritage may, as well, find material or immaterial expression, as the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (with a list of intangible assets complementing the more traditional and established 1972 List of Heritage sites) testifies to.

Italian intangible heritage on the UNESCO list includes, among a few others, Pantelleria head-trained bush vines, the Mediterranean diet, Sardinian pastoral songs and Sicilian puppet theatre. At the moment of writing, the Neapolitan art of pizza-making is being evaluated by the committee for the 2016 cycle. Alongside these selected and accredited assets, a wide range of valuable, yet less appraised, intangible items, such as, languages, music, dance, ceremonies, should also be acknowledged, as they uniquely reveal people's attachments, identities or sense of belonging (Smith 2006). From the perspective of tourism discourse, they increasingly attract visitors, who wish to go beyond a superficial holiday and establish more intimate contact with the visited destination, through a heritage tourism experience.

Within the widely established form of heritage tourism, Richards (2014) identifies a contemporary 'creative turn' and observes that holiday-makers are interested in less tangible tourism assets and in more popular cultural forms. They approach the performing arts from an experiential viewpoint, seeking a direct involvement in art events, courses, and activities. Unlike passive sight-contemplators and compulsive facility-consumers, guests co-participate in and co-construct what becomes a culturally enriching experience. This seems to reveal an anti-tourist trend in tourism practices (Culler 1989; Francesconi 2014): the traveller/tourist plays a more active role within the holiday experience and prefers less conventionalized and institutionalised, or rather, less 'touristy' solutions.

The aforementioned traditional Salento dances can be easily placed within this creative and experiential tourism context. Challenges, however, arise from the heritage perspective, in terms of heritage accessibility and issues of understanding, interpretation, preservation, and, most importantly, respect. Only as a result of this preliminary process, can choreutic forms be communicated within a form of intangible heritage tourism, which avoids risks of simplification, manipulation, stereotyping (Aime 2000), and subsequent "staged authenticity" (MacCannell 1976). In other terms, the key concept of accessibility in this *Cultus* issue (Cappelli 2016) may be addressed both from synchronic and diachronic perspectives, referring a) to *accessing* the past phenomenon of *Tarantism*, in

its development and evolution, and b) to *making* intangible heritage *accessible* to potential and real tourists across cultures.[2] In the former connotation, accessibility is intended as a form of understanding, in the latter, and the focus of this paper, as a form of communication.

Importantly for tourism communication, tourist texts trigger the process of the "tourist gaze" (Urry 2002), whereby visitors' destination perception is organised and filtered by the tourist industry. Celebratory, stereotyped images and narratives are generally deployed, which obliterate the complex, the problematic, and the negative, and which enact a (seemingly) simple, clear, transparent, univocal meaning-making process (Francesconi 2007, 2014). Yet, tourism discourse is less homogeneous than expected. On the one hand, it reflects the segmented and multifaceted nature of tourism itself, as the distinct and fluid forms of sport tourism, eco-tourism, spa tourism, heritage tourism, among others, demonstrate. On the other hand, it showcases a variety of different genres, to be considered in their communication purposes, target, privileged trip-stage, as well as in their multimedial and multimodal configurations. All these aspects affect processes of destination-image formation, and, in turn, the degree and extent of, interest in, knowledge of, and focalisation on, the site/sight. Text awareness is thus needed, in order to question a) how intangible heritage is communicated in tourism discourse, and b) how polysemous heritage accessibility can be textually negotiated.

[2] A prominent role in making traditional Salento dances accessible is played by cultural associations, which can inform, educate and involve potential and real tourists before they leave their homes or when they are on holiday. I have personally come into contact with Tarantarte dance school, founded by teacher, dancer and choreographer Maristella Martella, and based in Bologna and Lecce. The dance school offers courses in Milan, Paris, Rovereto, to name but a few, aimed at promoting the knowledge, appreciation and experience of Southern-Italian traditional dances (www.tarantarte.it). Moreover, it organizes week-long workshops in Salento, welcoming expert, enthusiastic or amateur dance-lovers to attend seminars, workshops, and exhibitions. I believe such cultural associations may be actively involved in the planning of intangible heritage tourism events and experiences. By intertwining the two connotations of the term accessibility, they may offer insights into how to raise awareness of the heritage value of the traditional dance form and, ultimately, promote a more responsible and sustainable tourist experience.

3. Popularization discourse and strategies

In order to unpack meaning and knowledge in tourism discourse, this article adopts the paradigm of popularization, whereby specialized discourse is transmitted to the lay public (Calsamiglia & van Dijk 2004; Garzone 2006; Gotti 2012). As such, the social process of popularization is to be addressed both in its epistemic and discursive aspects, as the specialized knowledge is, at the same time, reformulated and recontextualised in order to respond to the new tourist communication situation and to the profile and needs of its non-specialized tourist participants. These, in the end, integrate such newly acquired knowledge with their existing background knowledge.

Popularization is generally investigated as the communication of scientific discourse to the general public. A seminal study conducted by Calsamiglia and van Dijk (2004) has addressed popularization discourse, in the Spanish press, about the sequencing of the human genome. Alongside newspaper articles on specialized topics, the documentary film also epitomises popularization discourse, according to Gotti (2012: p. 145): it features a lower use of specialized terminology and a higher frequency of concepts and terms from everyday language. Moreover, Garzone (2006) has inspected popularization in ESP discourse, with a focus on hedging strategies. Concern with the context of communication in terms of participants, participant roles, interests, motivations and knowledge is, thus, central in popularization process and in popularization discourse examination. Here, popularization discourse is examined in the presentation of intangible heritage discourse within travel and tourist texts, which address the general public and, specifically, travel-enthusiasts and potential visitors.

After the acknowledgment and inspection of context of communication, text-internal features require close observation. In the analysis of the verbal structures operating within popularization discourse at the textual level, Calsamiglia and van Dijk (2004) outline a wide range of textual techniques of explanation, such as, denomination, definition/description, reformulation or paraphrase, exemplification, generalisation and analogies in the forms of comparisons and metaphors. Gotti (2012) pinpoints a specific popularization technique for definition in the juxtaposition between the specialized term and its periphrasis, the two parts being generally associated by a comma, a dash, a parenthesis or a disjunctive conjunction. Alternatively, metalinguistic elements may be

adopted, such as, *called, known as, that is, meaning*. Elsewhere, popularization implies forms expressing the semantic approximation in the proposed metaphors, similes, and periphrasis.

In the following section, strategies of popularization will be unpacked in a selection of tourist texts, i.e. an institutional video, a brochure, two travel guides, and a travel reportage. The different genre instances will be considered in their context and modes of use, communication purposes, multimedial and multimodal configurations, as affecting intangible heritage accessibility.

4. Text analysis and discussion

Available on the Italian National Tourist Board website for North America, the 4:58 video on Apulia devotes an excerpt to traditional dances, combining visual and audio semiotic resources in the meaning-making process. The vibrant, self-confident male voice claims that "Apulian folklore is particularly interesting" and mentions ancient stories and traditions: intangible heritage falls under the 'folklore' umbrella term. Yet, the dynamic image shows human represented participants dancing Tarantella in traditional costumes, holding the *fazzoletto*, while a soundtrack accompanies the images with traditional music. This multimodally expressed popularization discourse performs a strategy of exemplification: while the verbal text offers a generalizing hyperonym, the dynamic images and the soudtrack simultaneously perform a function of exemplification. The latter, yet, remains vague.

This multimodal and exemplifying form of intangible heritage communication may be read in light of the text genre it expresses. Freely available online, institutional promotional videos (Francesconi 2011; Pan, Tsai & Lee 2011; Poonia & Chauan 2015) are generally delivered in order to offer a brief and general idea of the destination, in its natural and cultural aspects, avoiding any detailed or accurate portrait. With the aim of capturing and holding the viewers' attention, the meaning-making process is performed through the symultaneous and congruent unfolding in time of different semiotic modes and modal resources, namely dynamic images, soundtrack, and voice-off, among others. The diverse systems are orchestrated in such a way as to construe a pleasant atmospheare, whereby to deliver a simple and accessible message.

A similar process of generalization, albeit without any specific visual co-text, is visible in a section devoted to the Puglia and Basilicata regions, within the 2016 *Kuoni* brochure to Italy:

> Whilst the cuisine here is more simple than in the north, Puglia offers a true taste of traditional Italy with its captivating combination of year-round sunshine, historic towns, rich culture and gorgeous countryside and coast.

The adjective 'traditional' and the syntagm 'rich culture' encompass all forms of heritage, with no further distinction. From the multimodal perspective, images on the same page feature Puglia sights, with no visual reference to intangible heritage assets. As seen before, the adopted strategy of popularization may be due to the communication function. The brochure is, indeed, the promotional text *par excellence* and is freely taken by potential or existing tourists, in order to get an idea of the facilities offered by the destination. Available in printed or digital forms, it shows a simple structure, catchy images, as well as euphoric and celebratory language. Generally used to accompany salient photographs, vocabulary is clear, simple and understandable. If facilities are often accurately described, the destination is generally depicted through a panoramic view, avoiding extendend and detailed accounts on natural and cultural heritage (Francesconi 2007; Hiippala, 2015).

A different treatment of heritage concepts can be envisaged in the following text, which expresses, indeed, a more informative genre. In the *Lonely Planet Guide* (2014: p. 126), the intangible heritage term *Pizzica* is introduced and thematised, as being closely related to the ritual *Tarantism*:

> *Pizzica* developed from the ritual *tarantismi*, a dance meant to rid the body of tarantula-bite poison. It's more likely the hysterical dancing was symbolic of a societal psychosis and an outlet for individuals living in bleak, repressed conditions to express their pent-up desires, hopes and unresolved grief. Nowadays, *pizzica* (which can be quite a sensual dance) means 'party', with all-night dances held in various Salento towns throughout summer, leading up to Melpignano's humdinger affair.

The syntagm 'ritual *tarantismi'* is followed by a comma, and the juxtaposed definition equates 'the ritual tarantismi' with a dance form. The next

sentence pinpoints an alternative origin for the *pizzica* dance, not to be found, as believed in the past, in arachnidism but in psychological and social conflicts. The last sentence pursues *pizzica* contemporary appeal: the heritage term is presented through a metalinguistic technique for definition (the verb 'means'), whereas the parenthesis embeds the property of sensuality, hedged through the modal verb of possibility 'can', which specifically indicates optionality, and may refer to some contemporary forms of *neopizzica*.

Some pages later (p. 132) in the same text, within a box devoted to the town of Galatina, we find the following passage:

> It is almost the only place where the ritual *tarantismi* (Spider Music) is still practised. The tarantella folk dance evolved from this ritual, and each year on the feast day of St Peter and St Paul (29 June), it is performed at the (now deconsecrated) church.

The inception thematises the exclusive connection between the place (Galatina) and the heritage phenomenon (Tarantism). The key term is written in italics and juxtaposed with its twofold definition: first, the pre-determining hyperonym (ritual) and, secondly, the here-proposed equivalent in parenthesis (Spider Music). Notably, *tarantismi* is, in this passage, associated with music, not with dance: cross-references and coherence within the guide seem weak. The second sentence expands the first one, by enhancing the 'still practised' concept and introduces the 'tarantella folk dance' as developing from *Tarantism*. Once more, a juxtaposed hyperonym (folk dance) is adopted as popularization strategy: here it follows, rather than anticipating, the heritage term. From the semantic viewpoint, *tarantismi* is associated with music, thus only selecting one of the multiple components. Overall, the *Lonely Planet Guide* seems to provide more detailed information on intangible heritage, albeit showing some inaccuracies.

In its "Lecce and Salento section", the *Rough Guide to Puglia* (2013: p. 66) devotes an extended box to 'The Dance of the Spider'. The first paragraph opens with the town of Galatina, in its connection with Tarantism.

> The small town of Galatina has long been a pilgrimage centre for *tarantate* – women (mostly) who have been "possessed" by the mythical spider of Puglia. **Tarantism** dates back centuries in this

> region, with the earliest known accounts of it appearing in manuscripts from the fifteenth century. Victims believed that they had been bitten by the Italian tarantula, or the European black widow spider.

The explanation is here marked by the dash, anticipating the definition. In its opening, the passage connects Galatina (presented as a small town) and *tarantate*. Written in italics, the heritage term here foregrounds gender issues, associating *Tarantism* with women, even though the adverb *mostly* in parenthesis hedges the assumption. Soon after, a second hedging strategy, in the inverted commas, nuances the verb 'possessed'. In order to express the legendary nature of *Tarantism*, the adjective 'mythical' is adopted to connote the spider. This concept is further explained in the third sentence, where the verb 'believe' introducing the spider-bite effect clarifies the fictitious nature of the story. The second sentence presents the time-rooted value of *Tarantism*, as testified in ancient documents found in the Puglia region. Interestingly, this passage devoted to "Lecce and the Salento" inscribes the spider and the phenomenon within a broader regional dimension.

The second paragraph describes the choreutic and musical ritual in detail, as related to its curing potential.

> After descending into a funk of symptoms that included vomiting and sweating, fear and delirium, depression and paranoia, the only cure was the rite of the tarantula, which involved trance-dancing to the local *tarantella*, or *pizzica*, for days on end. The *pizzica* musicians – typically a violinist, guitarist, accordion and tambourine player – would perform fast and feverishly, engaging the victim in a call-and-response ritual, until eventually they were released from their misery.

Notably, this passage defines *pizzica* as the "local tarantella", thus retrieving the broader and inclusive semantic value. However, the passage below writes of *pizzica* music: making the reader think that *pizzica* only corresponds to music. This third and last chapter centres on the religious and tourist development of the phenomenon: the cult of St Paul as *tarantati* patron saint, on the one hand, and activities, events for a larger public, on the other.

> The cult has continued to fascinate Salentines and others into this century, with the myth and music being both preserved and reinvented. St Paul, patron saint of the *tarantate*, is revered and celebrated to this day in Galatina and surrounding villages. On June 29, the feast day of Sts Peter and Paul, musicians, dancers, *tarantate* and tourists gather at the chapel of St Paul near Galatina's cathedral in the early hours (around 4.30 or 5am) to pay their respects before the crowds arrive for the official early morning Mass. Today, *pizzica* music is enjoying a boom in the Salento and elsewhere. It's worth timing your visit to coincide with the all-night music festival The Night of the Tarantula (La Notte della Taranta; www.lanottedellataranta.it), held in late August at Melpignano, between Galatina and Otranto.

The box ends with recommending a volume for further *tarantism* and *pizzica*-related information:

> *Dances with Spiders* by social anthropologist Karen Lüdtke (Berghahn Books 2009) is a very readable account of the history of the ritual, and the resurgence of *pizzica* in recent years.

To sum up, both guides provide a more extended and detailed account of traditional dances, which may be read as text-genre specificity. Macro-genres in tourist and travel literature, travel guides are composite in their structure and include diverse sections, such as, historical information boxes, itineraries, and glossaries (Antelmi, Held & Santulli 2009; Cappelli 2016; Denti 2012; Peel & Sørensen 2016). Given their cost, these items are generally purchased only after destination choice performance, in order to get updated, reliable and exhaustive information on the to-be-visited site, and to acquire recommendations for accommodation, eating, sight-seeing, and venues. Today, a wide range of guides exists, distinct in tourist segment, target audience, medium, structure, layout, granularity, and language strategies. Consistently, the analysed instances show different strategies of popularization: the *Rough Guide* offers a more extended and detailed picture of *tarantism* than the Lonely Planet guide does, even though featuring a problem of localization. In turn, the *Lonely Planet* deploys weaker internal coherence, as *tarantismi* is associated, first, with music and, later, with dance.

The last example in this panoramic overview is from the travel magazine "Travel and Leisure". On February 14, 2011, Michael Frank posted an article on "Traditional Life in Puglia, Italy" where he devoted a section to the Salento and its cultural heritage:

> So much about the Salento is specific to the province: the dialects; the food; the music (Alan Lomax visited in 1954 and made several notable recordings); and above all the tarantella, a dance whose origins are still in dispute, but which is believed to have originated in the 15th century around Taranto. Peasant women believed they were bitten by spiders and could only purge their bodies of the venom, and their souls of the accompanying hysteria, by whirling in frenetic circles. The tarantella, which was practiced well into the 1960's, has undergone a revival in recent years and is celebrated at summer festivals in Melpignano and Galatina. I spent a Sunday morning in Galatina looking at the frescoes in the basilica of Santa Caterina d'Alessandria, where Old and New Testament stories are given such a pungent specificity that the serpent in the Garden of Eden has long flowing tresses and an oddly coy, knowing grin, as though she alone was immune to the spider's transforming bite.

In this extended passage, previously seen popularization issues can be found. First, the hyperonym 'tarantella' is used in place of more local choreutic forms, thus resorting to a strategy of generalization. Secondly, only women are associated with *Tarantism*, enacting a process of ideologically-driven partiality. Indeed, several cases of male *tarantati* existed, as De Martino [1961] 2005 demonstrated. The analysed instance offers a comprehensive picture of the Salento dance experience, albeit resorting to a technique of generalization. Once more, such choice may be read against the backdrop of generic configuration. Also a macro-genre within travel discourse, the travel magazine includes distinct genres, such as, travel reportage, travel advertisements, letters, among others (Berger 2004; Godnič Vičič 2011). Written by a professional travel journalist in the first person, the travel reportage offers a personal travel account. Directly experienced itineraries, encounters, anecdotes are narrated, providing up-to- date, detailed and reliable information, the verbal text being complemented by professionally taken photographs. Inaccuracies identified in pupularization discourse, rather than to the text genre

communication function, may be, thus, due to a lack of knowledge in the author.

Table 1 sums up strategies of popularization adopted in the analysed text instances.

5. Concluding remarks

A widely used definition of heritage is related to "the present day use of the past" (Timothy & Boyd 2006). In this paper, the term 'use' has been related to and embedded within tourism discourse, more specifically within intangible heritage tourism discourse. Attention has been given to the revival and appeal of Salento traditional dance forms, read as interpreting and evoking the autonomous and distinct historical and religious phenomenon of *Tarantism,* for the benefit of both locals and visitors. Text inspection has addressed textual representation and mediation, through popularization discourse.

The popularization of intangible heritage discourse in travel and tourist texts raises both epistemic and discursive issues. Indeed, the reformulation and recontextualisation of specialized discourse affect, on the one hand, what knowledge is reported and, on the other hand, how such knowledge is textually mediated. Modes and forms of popularization discourse derive from the communication forms and functions of the text, which, in tourism discourse, instantiate into genre forms. Some exemplary text instances have been selected and analysed, which represent the composite and layered nature of tourism discourse: an institutional video, a brochure, two travel guides, and a travel reportage. Overall, problems of partiality and generalization have been noticed in pre-trip promotional texts, as well as inaccuracies and incoherencies in on-trip informative texts.

To conclude, the specificity a) of intangible heritage tourism within the tourism domain and b) of intangible heritage tourism texts within tourism discourse can be confirmed. A first reason can be found in the increasingly acknowledged cultural and historical value and appeal of intangible heritage itself. A second reason may be envisaged in the ontological and epistemic elusiveness of intangible heritage, which is constantly questioned, reinterpreted, reconceptualised, in order to overcome risks of simplification and stereotyping, on the one hand, and ideological manipulation and exploitation, on the other hand. As a result, popularization discourse and popularization strategies play a pivotal and

delicate role in intangible heritage tourism texts. Only if properly performed, they can contribute to knowledge dissemination and to sustainable tourism fostering.

The exploratory study is limited for various reasons, basically in extent and validity. Future research should, on the one hand, extend the range of considered tourism text genres, respecting a balance between printed, digital and audio-visual materials. The voice of the traveller should also be addressed, as expressed in online travel reviews. On the other hand, consistent, representative and balanced corpora of texts should be compiled, where the frequency of occurrences and their statistic validity may be checked on a larger scale, through quantitative and computer-driven investigation. Contrastive text analysis may be then conducted, in order to observe text behaviour, and, in particular, popularization strategies, when intangible versus tangible heritage is represented in tourist texts. A second, contrastive line of analysis may compare verbally expressed popularization and multimodally expressed popularization. This is the scope of future inspection.

text instance	denomination	visual mode	definition	description	expansion	popularization strategies
ENIT video	(Apulian) folklore ancient traditions	dynamic images	-	-	-	Intersemiotic exemplification
Kuoni Brochure	rich culture		-	-	-	Generalisation
Lonely Planet Guide	Pizzica	Italics	-	-	Origin: developed from tarantism	Detailed information
	(ritual) tarantismi	Italics	a dance (after a comma)	-	Purpose: meant to aid the body of tarantula-bit poison	
	(nowadays) Pizzica		means 'party'	Property: can be quite a sensual dance	Location in time and space: All-night dances in various Salento towns throughout the summer	weak internal cohesion
	Tarantismi	Italics	(Spider Music)		Location: still practiced in Galatina	
	tarantella folk dance				Origin: evolved from the ritual *tarantismi* performed each year on June 29th	hedging
Rough Guide	Tarantate	Italics	Women (after dash)	Property: who have been possessed by the spider of Puglia.	Extent in time: dates back centuries in this region … Reason: victims believed they had been bitten by the Italian tarantula …	Detailed information
	Tarantism	bold				
	Local *tarantella*	italics	Reformulation: or *pizzica*	Property: involved trance-dancing	Extent in time: for days on end	
	Pizzica musicians		Hyponyms: Typically a violinist, guitarist, accordion and tambourine player		Manner: fast and feverishly Result: until eventually they were released from their misery.	sexist bias hedging
	Cult				Use: myth and music both preserved and reinvented	
	Pizzica music	italics			Resonance: enjoying a boom in the Salento and elsewhere Exemplification: The Night of the Tarantula, held in late August in Melpignano	
Travel and Leisure Magazine	The Tarantella	-	A dance (after a comma)		Origin (when, where): whose origins are still in dispute, but which is believed to have originated in the 15th century around Taranto. Origin (who): peasant women who believed they were bitten by spiders.	Detailed account Generalisation sexist bias
	The Tarantella	-			Resonance: recent revival and summer festivals.	hedging

Table 1. Popularization in travel/tourist texts.

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domain-specific texts, whose semiotic configurations transcend traditional boundaries between tourism and travel domains, and question stable and rigid conceptual and generic distinctions.

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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