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Accessibility in Tourist Communication
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CULTUS

the Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication

TOURISM ACROSS CULTURES Accessibility in Tourist Communication

2016, Issue 9, Volume 1

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Table of Contents

Foreword – <i>Elena Manca</i> and <i>Cinzia Spinzi</i>	1
Official Tourist Websites and the Cultural Communication Grammar model: analysing language, visuals, and cultural features <i>Elena Manca</i>	2
Perception or Perspective? Adjusting the representation of Italy and the UK for the tourist: the Made in Italy and This is Great Britain campaigns <i>Stefania M. Maci</i>	23
Promoting Venice through digital travel guidebooks: a case study of texts written in English and in Italian <i>Daniela Cesiri</i>	49
Popularization and accessibility in travel guidebooks for children in English <i>Gloria Capelli</i>	68
ELF narratives of ancient and modern ‘odysseys’ across the Mediterranean Sea: An Experiential-Linguistic Approach to the marketing of Responsible Tourism <i>Maria Grazia Guido, Lucia Errico, Pietro Luigi Iaia, Cesare Amatulli</i>	90
Beauty is in the eye of MygranTour. A case study of migrant-driven intercultural routes across Europe <i>Laura Centonze</i>	117

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

Thomas W. Christiansen 131

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

Sabrina Francesconi 153

Notes on contributors 170

Guidelines for contributors 174

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

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 ‘strangeness’ 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 exoticism¹? 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.

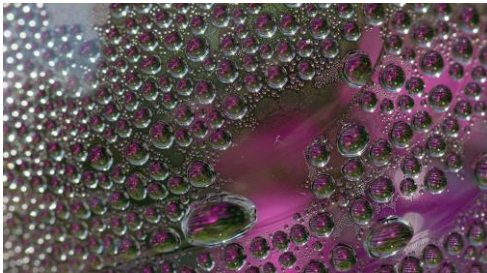


Figure 1. *Perspective*



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 sees 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).

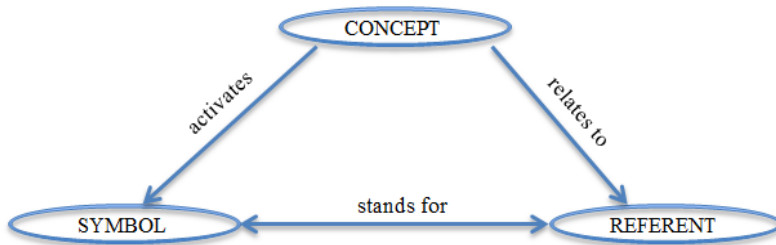


Figure 4. *Symbol-Concept-Referent* relation. Adapted from Ogden and Richards (1923).

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:

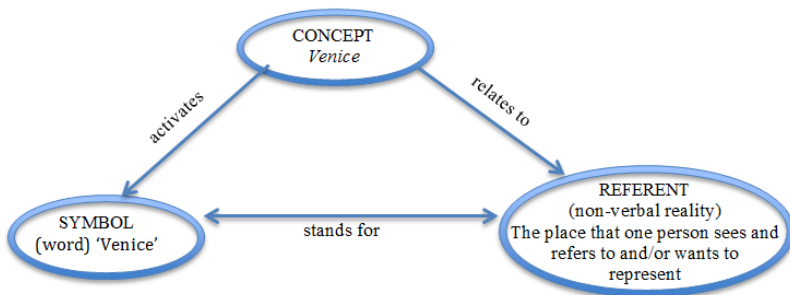


Figure 6. *Symbol-Concept-Referent* relation applied to tourism.

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.

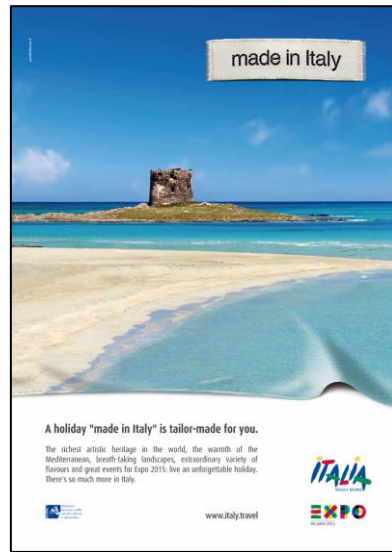
The seven adverts forming the *Made in Italy* campaign can be seen below, in Figures 7a–g. The adverts are similar in layout: they are in a portrait format; in each case there is a visual in the upper part of the poster, normally depicting people offered as a model in a more or less famous destination,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

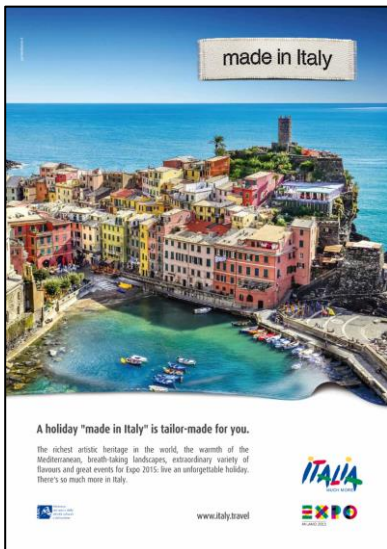


a

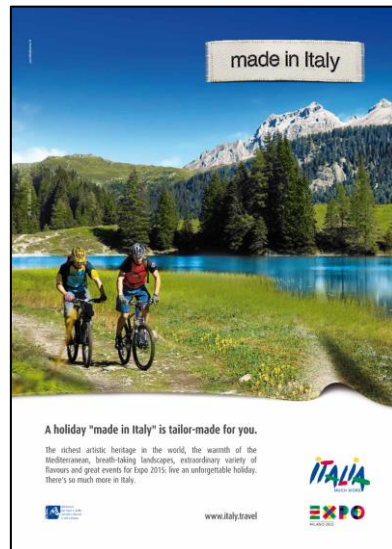


b

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

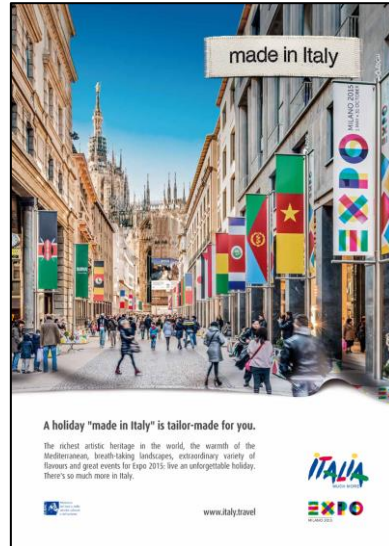
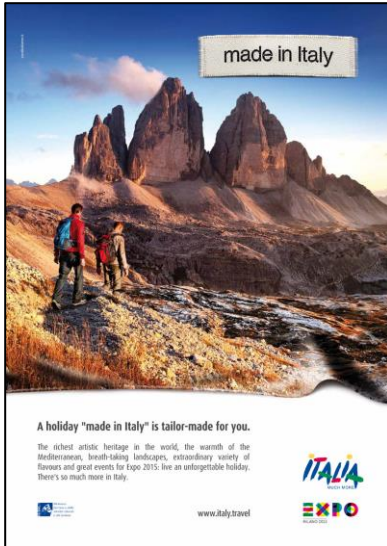


c



d

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



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

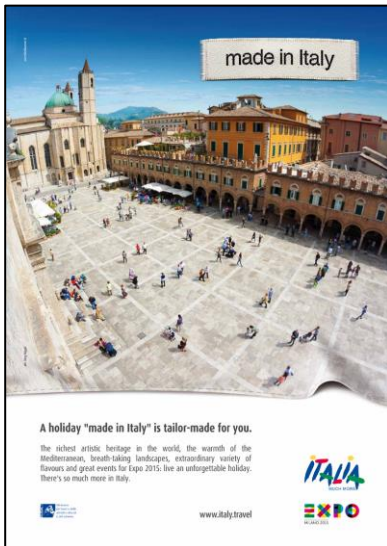


Figure 7g. *Made in Italy, a tailor-made holiday* campaign

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 città 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 far 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 juice 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 slogan, 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 slogan 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 slogan, 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 .	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Some of the <i>World’s</i> most inspiring landscapes 2. Home to four of the top ten universities <i>in the world</i> 3. The most popular football league in the world 4. Three of the top five museums and galleries <i>in the world</i> 5. 76 Nobel Prizes in Science and Technology 6. The <i>world’s</i> first truly sustainable Olympics and Paralympics 7. From Glastonbury to Glyndebourne, Adele to the Beatles, Britain is home to the <i>world’s</i> greatest music 8. London is the shopping capital <i>of the world</i> 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):

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