

Mediterranean Heritage in Transit

Mediterranean Heritage in Transit:

*(Mis-)Representations
via English*

Edited by

Lucia Abbamonte and Flavia Cavaliere

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



Mediterranean Heritage in Transit: (Mis-)Representations via English

Edited by Lucia Abbamonte and Flavia Cavaliere

This book first published 2016

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2016 by Lucia Abbamonte, Flavia Cavaliere and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-8716-1

ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-8716-8

CONTENTS

Introduction	vii
Chapter One.....	1
Food, Family and Females: (Southern) Italy in U.S. Advertising Lucia Abbamonte and Flavia Cavaliere	
Chapter Two.....	54
‘You wanna piece o’ me?’: A Sociolinguistic Survey on the Cultural and Linguistic Representations of Italian Americans Maria Grazia Sindoni	
Chapter Three.....	84
The Sopranos’ Mobspeak: Stereotyping Italian American Culture Amelia R. Burns	
Chapter Four.....	115
Saint Joseph’s Feast, Texas Style – a Traditional Sicilian Identity in Modern Times Douglas Mark Ponton	
Chapter Five.....	143
‘Just as I imagined ...’: A Multimodal Investigation of Sicilian Heritage in Travel Websites Mariavita Cambria	
Chapter Six.....	161
Mediterranean Landscapes as Heritage: An Ecostylistic Analysis of a Sardinian Tourism Website Daniela Francesca Viridis	
Chapter Seven.....	178
Exploring the Online Advertising of the Maltese Archipelago’s Heritage through Ecostylistics Elisabetta Zurru	

Chapter Eight.....	204
Appreciating the Mediterranean Diet: Popularizing Nutritional Discourse Online Anna Franca Plastina	
Chapter Nine.....	224
EUnited in Diversity: Turkish Women between Tradition and Modernity Maria Cristina Aiezza	
Chapter Ten.....	255
<i>Bebek of the Bosphorus: A Children’s Story, or a Cross-Cultural Journey?</i> Stefania Tondo	
Contributors.....	270

INTRODUCTION

It is mainly within and around Mediterranean itineraries that the European Union (EU) seeks its intangible cultural heritage. EU aims to develop reflective societies, where knowledge can be created in connection with peoples' heritage, in keeping with its strategic research agenda.¹ In the same years as the *McDonaldization/Starbuckization* of society (Ritzer 1993; 2008), aspects of Mediterranean cultures have both survived and flourished beyond their natural boundaries, frequently acquiring new connotations/meanings through the medium of communication in English. Through diverse awareness-raising initiatives, it encourages peoples to repossess and safeguard their own unique, 'indigenous' cultures. The focus is on 'the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces [...] – that communities recognize as part of their cultural heritage'².

In the arena of contemporary cultural heritage, this volume brings together many different strands of analysis, helping to shed light on the complex and multifaceted phenomena that constitute the vibrant socio-semiotic landscape of the Mediterranean. The latter, in fact, can be seen both as the possible unifying referent of diverse physical and anthropic environments and as a metonymic embodiment of contemporary social and lingua-cultural paradigm shifts. Such issues have been investigated across a wide range of (transdisciplinary) theoretical analytical frameworks, and also from an educational perspective. *Mediterranean Heritage in transit – (mis)representations via English* views this vibrant scenario from a dynamic cross-cultural perspective, and investigates the domains of identities and stereotypes, advertising, films, myths and festivals, landscapes, fluid knowledge and new technologies, culture-bound terms, migrating words and food.

More specifically, the first four chapters revolve around issues of intra- and inter-group identities, as related to itineraries of more recent or historicized migrations, and how such multifaceted identities are variously

¹ <http://www.jpi-culturalheritage.eu/joint-call/2014>.

² Euromed Heritage Programme IV, (2008-2012); UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention (2003).

re-shaped by/through the media, and via the medium of English (Abbamonte 2010). Increasingly, English serves as the global means of linguistic communication in traditional and new media, thus becoming free from its geographic boundaries (Cavaliere 2015; Cagliero, Jenkins 2010, 10-11).³

At the intersection of Italian and North American lingua-cultural frameworks, in a dynamic interplay of symbols and clichés, the complex issue of national identities and misrepresentation via English is central in the chapter *FOOD, FAMILY AND FEMALES: (SOUTHERN) ITALY IN U.S. ADVERTISING* by Lucia Abbamonte and Flavia Cavaliere. Their chapter focuses on US TV commercials of Italian food products, or ‘Italian-sounding’ food and shows how, while pursuing the pragmatic goals of advertising goods, visual media often construct and broadcast unbalanced portrayals. More specifically, Americans of Italian heritage are frequently represented through anachronistic behavioural models, such as an ethnocentric sense of family, fixation on food, and mafia. Indeed, nation-based stereotypes are typically re-mediated through inter/intra-textual references in a process of re-semiotization that appears to be a fundamental component of advertising strategies, which are illustrated and commented on by the authors according to their relevance for the analysis. Drawing on two diachronically selected sub-corpora of US TV commercials (1980-1999 and 2000-2010), the analysis shows how Italian American women were firstly depicted either as caring mothers and good cooks, or overweight grandmothers wearing housecoats or aprons. In the 1980-1999 corpus, the

³ R. Cagliero and J. Jenkins (eds) 2010. *Discourses, Communities, and Global Englishes*. Bern: Peter Lang; L. Abbamonte 2010. ELF as the Medium in the Psychoanalytic Discourse Community: Science and International Dissemination, edited by R. Cagliero and J. Jenkins (2010 *op. cit.*). See also: F. Cavaliere 2015. ‘Globalizzazione, Americanizzazione ed Inglese come lingua franca’. *Logos* 10:153-159; J. Jenkins 2013. *English as a Lingua Franca in the International University. The politics of academic English language policy*. London: Routledge; S. Sweeney 2013. ‘The culture of International English’. Cambridge University Press. Retrievable at: http://peo.cambridge.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2:simon-sweeney-questions-the-implications-of-internationalisation-and-asks-some-searching-questions-of-the-elt-profession; D. Crystal 2012. *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: CUP; A. De Houwer et al. (eds) 2011. *English in Europe today: sociocultural and educational perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins; R. McCrum 2011. *Globish: How the English Language Became the World’s Language*. New York: Viking; B. Seidlhofer 2011. *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca*. Oxford: OUP; R. Facchinetti, D. Crystal, and B. Seidlhofer (eds) 2010. *From International to Local English – And Back Again*. Bern: Peter Lang.

typically Italian deli-food fixation is displayed in the setting of welcoming kitchens, and the sense of family appears to be mostly ethnocentric/clannish. Such re-contextualization of the 'Italian' social/ethnic group in the US commercial semiosphere was mainly carried out through the advertising practices of building multimodal metaphors which could, in turn, produce comic, grotesque, and even paradoxical effects. In the pragmatic dimension of TV commercials, 'Italian national identity', with its culture-laden elements pertaining to the preparation and consumption of healthy, fresh, Mediterranean food was transferred beyond its socio-cultural cradle and re-shaped in a persuasive, if inaccurate, meta-fictional setting. In such a setting, the womanly stereotype was reinforced by the ethnic stereotype, thus creating the commodification of the 'Italian caring, nurturing mamma' and Womanly Homemaker in a patriarchal society. In those years, up to the late 1990s, time spent cooking and serving the family was still represented as a positive value for women.

In more recent times, Italianicity stereotypes have been re-shaped to meet and reinforce the perceptual expectations of the audience, according to the characteristics of the goods advertised. In the examples from 2000 onwards, as the multimodal analysis of the visual/verbal pictorial patterns of the language/s of the TV commercials highlights, a significant evolution of the 'typically Italian' Food, Family & Females (FFF) stereotypes can be observed. In particular, the 'aproned' housewife is replaced with the classy male cook (or chef), thus representing the new reverse myth of 'man as a helpmate to woman'. The time spent enjoying 'traditionally prepared' food has become the new value. These more recent stereotypes still revolve around the enjoyment of food as the central point of the happy lives of not exclusively idealised families, but also couples and other kinds of (social) groups – in a more leisured and glamorous dimension.

Maria Grazia Sindoni in 'YOU WANNA PIECE O' ME?' – A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY ON THE CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF ITALIAN AMERICANS also addresses the construction and development of cultural identities, where the preservation of the system of values of the culture of origin in a different context is a major focus of attention. Apparently, new values and ways of life tend to weaken links with the source culture and strengthen them with the receiving culture. This process tends to modify the language and symbols of identity that have been imported from the source culture, to a significant extent. Sindoni highlights how 'networked' identities in bilingual individuals are likely to emerge, encouraging creative uses of language and alternative constructions of the self, as ethnicities take on new connotations according to the context in which they are found. In her chapter, the effects of such

modifications in the Italian-American context of the ‘second’ and ‘third generation’ are examined from a socio-linguistic perspective, in order to address specific research questions about Italian Americans’ perceptions of Italian culture and language – the latter, to some extent, being shaped by the contact of the two different cultures – and the contribution that the media gives to the somewhat vague idea of Italianness.

To address such questions, Sindoni selected a random sample of Italian-American informants, subscribers of Italian-American Facebook groups, whose first language is American English. Her investigation followed a pragmatic approach, and informants were invited to think about identity definitions through the recollection of specific speech acts (mainly idioms, proverbs, swear words and terms of endearment) that they were able to recall from their daily experience. Their answers were mostly related to negative stereotyping of Italian culture and identity. Most examples recalled had associations with the worst and most stereotyped representations of Italy in the United States, shaping a monolithic representation of Italian Americans as mainly thriving in illegal activities. Hence, the strong attachment to the language and culture of their origins that was assumed in this sample of informants conflicts with their somewhat stereotyped representation of their group in both intra- and inter-group dynamics. Sindoni’s data show how ethnic stereotypes tend to be perpetuated and not fully rejected, which is also true in unexpected contexts, such as the rampant militancy found in ethnically aware individuals.

From a contiguous perspective, the mis-representation of Italian-American identities is also investigated in *THE SOPRANOS’ MOBSPEAK: STEREOTYPING ITALIAN AMERICAN CULTURE* by Amelia R. Burns. The author starts from the consideration that Italian Americans have been unjustly but effectively stereotyped by the U.S. entertainment industry, which almost exclusively depicted them as either gangsters, or losers, or both. A notable example is the successful mafia-themed TV series ‘The Sopranos’. This series has had a great impact on the American audience in the last decade and, at the same time, has raised many questions about its derogatory stereotyping of Italian Americans in the media, through its coarse language and violent scenes. Burns’ corpus-based study (comprising the English subtitles of the first season of this TV show) aims at analyzing the peculiar language used in ‘The Sopranos’: a mixture of Italian(isms) and English loanwords, slang and Mafia jargon.

By identifying the main characteristics of the Italian American sub-language, this chapter manages to outline the lingua-cultural mis-representation of Italian Americans sketched out in the series. Indeed, ‘The

Sopranos' depicts the typecast of the 'typical' Italian American male, as uneducated, violent and criminal, with a strong passion for food, confined within the net of his own family, to which he is loyal to death, unless betrayed. His direct, crude and vulgar language appears instrumental to convey his power through words. Burns' investigation shows how this derogatory re-shaping of an otherwise rich and multifaceted cultural heritage, also performed through lexical re-semanticization and other linguistic strategies, has turned trite stereotypes into a sub-cultural norm.

Douglas Ponton's chapter addresses issues of identity formation/evolution, questioning the impact of migration on the sense of self and community found among Sicilian immigrants into the US. In *SAINT JOSEPH'S FEAST, TEXAS STYLE – A TRADITIONAL SICILIAN IDENTITY IN MODERN TIMES*, Ponton is concerned with the contribution made, by indexes of traditional Sicilian identity, to second and third generation immigrants from Sicily to Bryan, Texas. In this community, the ancient ritual of 'the altar of Saint Joseph' (*la tavola di San Giuseppe*) is carried on, using details taken with them by the immigrants when they left the Poggioreale area, in western Sicily, in the early twentieth century. Observance of the festival has become an important marker of personal and collective identity for the members of this American community, who see themselves as continuing a cultural and religious tradition with strong family associations. The annual festival in Bryan is the subject of a documentary by anthropologist Circe Sturm and cultural historian Randolph Lewis, from the University of Austin, Texas. The viewer of the film may be struck by a sense of temporal and cultural dislocation of the event with its surrounding social context. The film raises delicate questions about cultural integration, which are standards of anthropological investigation in this area. How far, for example, is it possible or desirable for immigrants to absorb the cultural practices of the host nation? How far does adherence to social rituals, or linguistic and cultural patterns brought with the immigrant from the mother country impede successful integration? Observance of the altar of Saint Joseph is one such social practice that enacts group values, and thereby underscores a sense of personal and collective identity. The St. Joseph's altar in Texas may tie the participants, not even to modern Sicily, but to patterns of language and social ritual that were anachronistic when their ancestors emigrated.

The chapter explores these issues, firstly by an examination of the ritual as currently practiced in modern day Sicily, comparing it with historical accounts of the festivity, then through interviews with some of the participants in the Bryan festival. Their evaluative language, both in the film itself and in the ethnographic interviews, is explored using the

Appraisal Framework (Martin and White 2005). Not only is Sicily a focus for their identity work, but an identity for the island itself will be seen to emerge.

The following three papers explore the language of tourism in diverse multimodal representations. The authors illustrate the various textualization of the tourists' experiences in Mediterranean destinations, mainly expressed through the social media, and representing the shared social imaginary to some extent. The papers also investigate how, in tourist (e-)communication, information and promotion are skillfully shaped so as to evoke an attractive symbolic dimension.

In 'JUST AS I IMAGINED ...': A MULTIMODAL INVESTIGATION OF SICILIAN HERITAGE IN TRAVEL WEBSITES by Mariavita Cambria, this island is again the focus of attention, as represented through the lens of contemporary webwired travel writers. Comments and posts sent to travel websites are both a common way of getting information about the places people wish to visit and, at the same time, a mirror of the typical representations of those places in our reflective societies. From a multimodal discourse analysis perspective, Cambria highlights how websites such as Trip Advisor encompass several (mini)genres sharing common patterns and features with semiotic resources, working together in the meaning making process.

By adopting a blended multimodal corpus-based approach, she investigates key collocates and concordances of multiple keywords to examine how collocations in the representation of some of the most attractive places of Sicilian cultural heritage have changed over the years (from the 18th to the 21st century) and across different media (traditional travel writing and webgenres). The data are interpreted with reference to the wider notion that such interactive representations are the result of the dominant social imaginary to a varying extent – an imaginary that significantly contributes to the creation of the concept of cultural heritage.

The main purpose of Daniela Francesca Virdis' investigation, MEDITERRANEAN LANDSCAPES AS HERITAGE – AN ECOSTYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF A SARDINIAN TOURISM WEBSITE, is to identify the stylistic strategies of the language of tourism, which are deployed in the portal *SardegnaTurismo*. Her methodological approach relies mainly on the new discipline of *ecostylistics*. Through this lens, Virdis highlights how the 'Interests' sub-sections represent the Mediterranean landscapes on the island not only as natural scenery, but also, and primarily, as one of the most distinctive and remarkable features of its cultural heritage. More precisely, an explicit connection is made between the physical Mediterranean environment on

the one hand, and regional identity and ethnic culture (art, thought, traditional practices, and way of life) of the islanders on the other. The latter are depicted as having been shaped by that specific environment. More specifically, this chapter focuses on the semantic, syntactic and discursive devices utilised to positively evaluate Sardinia's unique, hybrid 'cultural' scenery and to present it as such to the English-speaking and international tourist.

In Elisabetta Zurru's chapter, *EXPLORING THE ONLINE ADVERTISING OF THE MALTESE ARCHIPELAGO'S HERITAGE THROUGH ECOSTYLISTICS*, it is argued that a country's official tourism website can become the ideal means for conveying certain 'representational politics', whose aim is to positively showcase the country, for promotional reasons. If the selection of information to share is the first step in this 'representational process', a second, fundamental step is constituted by the distribution of the information itself. Indeed, the organisation of a website into homepage and linked pages, main sections and sub sections, and the exploitation of such tools as direct links and/or the juxtaposition of related articles, suggest both the hierarchical relations existing between the information contained in the same section and the relations of interdependence existing between the information contained in different yet related sections. Thirdly, the linguistic choices characterising the textual aspect of a tourism website constitute, together with the visual language typically used in websites, deliberate choices meant to attract and persuade the reader/tourist, to inspire him/her by the representation of the country offered in the web portal.

Given this premise, the aim of Zurru's article is to carry out a linguistic investigation of the official tourism website of the Maltese archipelago. Besides providing the tourist with practical information, the website focuses extensively on the identity of the islands as Mediterranean. Such identity is constantly referred to through both distributional – direct links and related articles – and linguistic references to the historical and cultural heritage of the archipelago, which 'lies virtually at the centre of the Mediterranean' and whose climate is 'typical of the Mediterranean'. In particular, the first subsection of the first main section 'What to see & do' bears the title 'Culture and Heritage' and a number of links focus on the description of the historical and cultural development of the places listed, rather than the geographical characteristics of the landscape. As we might expect, the subsection 'History' provides tourists with an extremely detailed account of the historical development of the archipelago, from 5200 BC to the 21st century, further strengthening the idea of an ancient land 'lying virtually at the centre of the Mediterranean', rich in history and

culture. The theoretical and methodological paradigms of stylistics and ecostylistics were used to identify the linguistic and textual strategies utilised to represent the Maltese cultural and historical heritage as ‘truly Mediterranean’.

The chapter by Anna Franca Plastina, APPRECIATING THE MEDITERRANEAN DIET: POPULARIZING NUTRITIONAL DISCOURSE ONLINE, addresses issues of use and re-use of a food-related cultural heritage. Indeed, the Mediterranean diet was inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2010 as follows: ‘the Mediterranean diet (from the Greek *diaita*, or way of life) constitutes a set of skills, knowledge, practices and traditions ranging from the landscape to the table. [...It is] characterized by a nutritional model that has remained constant over time and space [...] in the Mediterranean communities of which Soria in Spain, Koroni in Greece, the Cilento in Italy and Chefchaouen in Morocco are examples’ (Unesco, 2012: 20). As Plastina illustrates, nutritional discourse is relatively new, given that nutrition emerged as a science only in the early 20th century, or the ‘vitamin era’, and, in particular, the socio-cultural and scientific prestige of the Mediterranean diet rapidly grew from 1975 onwards, when the real pioneer of modern nutrition research, Ancel Keys, coined the definition of *Mediterranean Diet* and promoted its benefits worldwide. The American physiologist and epidemiologist’s interest in the Mediterranean Diet focused on the association between this eating style and protection against several chronic degenerative diseases and disorders. The Mediterranean Diet reflects food patterns typical of Crete, much of the rest of Greece, and southern Italy in the early 1960s. Its traditional dietary model was popularised as a Food Pyramid by Oldways Preservation and Exchange Trust in 1994, with the aim of providing a nutrition education tool for the general public and scientific community.

Plastina’s study focuses on the newly emerging nutritional discourse practices, with particular emphasis on the language of appreciation of the Mediterranean Diet in online discussion forums in English. A corpus of threads discussing the Mediterranean Diet was collected from online forums and analysed in terms of the three subtypes of appreciation: reaction, composition and valuation pertaining to the Appraisal Framework (Martin & White, 2005). In juxtaposing positive and negative discursive features, the study explores the current status of appreciation of the Mediterranean Diet as a global cultural heritage.

A bridge over the Mediterranean sea, suspended between East and West, Turkey reflects the coexistence of an old national heritage and new cultural models, as Maria Cristina Aiezza illustrates in her study EUNITED

IN DIVERSITY: TURKISH WOMEN BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY. Turkey is still a candidate for accession to the European Union. The country is the object of a media campaign that aims to testify the progress made in the adaptation to European standards. The Europeanization of Turkey is also enacted by means of the discursive construction of a European Turkish woman, recognizing its importance among the priorities of the EU's social policies.

This chapter focuses on the videos, 'Turkish women – Between tradition and modernity' (released in 2005 by the European Commission Audiovisual Service on the occasion of Turkey's admission to negotiations for accession), 'Focus on Southeast Europe: Turkey – Gender Equality' (2009), and compares them with more recent promotional audiovisual material that appeared in the section 'Enlargement Policy' of the EUROPA website (www.europa.eu), which is specifically dedicated to EU promotional discourse.

Based on a multimodal critical discourse analysis approach, Aiezza's multifaceted investigation examines the linguistic and semiotic strategies (Wodak, Chilton 2007) enacted by the EU for this campaign. In particular, her analysis reveals how visual and textual choices (such as framing of shots, lexicon, modality and narratives - Kress, van Leeuwen 2006), depicting Turkey through the lens of Western values, can contribute to drawing the country closer to the West.

The study discusses which aspects and values of the Mediterranean culture are stressed and which are downplayed in the representation of Turkish women, and how their voices are exploited to narrate themes other than the female condition (Schiffrin, Tannen, Hamilton 2001). The progress of the whole country is thus propagandized in various economic and social areas, all for the purpose of consensus formation about enlargement policies.

Situated at the crux of East and West, where Islam meets Christianity, Asia meets Europe, and history faces the new, contrasting tendencies and thrusts of our fast-evolving communities, Istanbul is a cosmopolitan and Mediterranean symbolic city *par excellence*. Stefania Tondo's study, *BEBEK OF THE BOSPHORUS – A CHILDREN'S STORY, OR A CROSS-CULTURAL JOURNEY?*, revolves around the fascination of multicultural encounters. Written in English by the American Wylla Waters, and illustrated by Betül Akzambaklar, *Bebek of the Bosphorus: A Children's Story* (2008) has a long historical connection with Istanbul. Tondo explains how this charming story, published by Çitlembik/Nettleberry, may be read both as a vehicle for the transportation of local culture across the world and in the g/local perspective that editorial enterprises of this kind generally require.

Bebek, the youngest member of a family of ferryboats that lives on the Istanbul Bosphorus, is never taken seriously because she is so young. However, one day, when a cruel wizard suddenly hits Istanbul and its bridges are closed, Bebek feels bored and left out no longer, and works overtime with her family to transport stranded passengers home across the waters of the Bosphorus.

The appealing story and the attractive illustrations introduce readers around the globe to life in Istanbul. The book presents the multifaceted Istanbul culture and, in its journey across the world of Children's Literature, mirrors the travels of its protagonist Bebek: here characters, places and themes coming from around Istanbul are rich with ideas for children's fantasy literature, and readers of all ages are involved. Turkish culture and landscape are given new life and meaning through the medium of literary communication for children in English, and through the mediation of the adult world involved in spreading and sharing cross-cultural children's literature.

Given the variety of perspectives and methodological approaches adopted by the authors in investigating their specific topics, revolving around representations of Mediterranean heritage, this volume can offer useful insights to students and practitioners of discourse analysis. More specifically, from an educational perspective, *Mediterranean Heritage in transit – (mis)representations via English* can be used in first and second level University Degrees in Foreign Languages, Communication, Political Sciences, Media and Cultural Studies, not to mention specific courses in linguistics, multimodal studies, critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics.

The book includes worksheets for each chapter with proposed activities for university students who may be engaged in analyzing webpages, reading and producing tourist brochures, studying subtitling techniques in TV series and comparing multi-language subtitles and dubbing, or replicating experiments, such as implementing a sociolinguistic survey after the design of specific research questions. All these activities are designed to put best practices into effect by enhancing the reading and learning experience and encouraging self-study and self-evaluation in keeping with the theoretical strands proposed in the chapters, thus incorporating research into classroom procedures. The assumption is that a sound method can be successfully reproduced in other contexts: teachers and researchers will be able to transfer their experiences to other contexts, for example by adopting the chapters' analytical frameworks, methods and contents in other social, linguistic and cultural contexts.

The volume's principle value, then, can be found in its double design: the chapters can and should be read as research papers and can be utilized both as sources for structuring activities in a range of different classes, and as materials for self-study. One rationale of the book lies in the attempt to *bring to the fore the role of English in representing the Mediterranean heritage*, although English is not defined as a Mediterranean language. It also emphasises the flexibility of the English language in (re-)shaping representations so as to address global, rather than geographically-bound audience/s. At the same time, the book attempts to bridge the gap between academic research and class practice at the university level.

CHAPTER ONE

FOOD, FAMILY AND FEMALES: (SOUTHERN) ITALY IN U.S. ADVERTISING

LUCIA ABBAMONTE AND FLAVIA CAVALIERE

1. Introduction

In the world of the media, which is responsible for shaping viewers' conceptions of social reality, clichéd portrayals have led to the creation of fixed 'Imagined Communities' (Anderson 1983, Kramsch 1998) that are exploited especially in the pervasive, multimodal communication of advertising. Actually, according to the 'dissociation model' (Devine 1989), the audience uncritically activates stereotypical thoughts when faced with a member of a stereotyped group. Particularly in television commercials and print ads, the perceptual expectations of the audience seem to be not only met but also reinforced – as our study will highlight. Television commercials (TVcomms) have become a significant part of the American narrative and part of the cultural landscape. Indeed, through the (commercial) media lens, the notion of 'national identities' is generated frequently through a dynamic interplay of symbols, myths, clichés, and conventional anachronistic behavioural models, which are more easily communicated. A case in point are Americans of Italian heritage who are frequently represented through anachronistic behavioural models such as an ethnocentric sense of family, a fixation on food (Cinotto 2013), and Mafia-themed scenarios (Cavaliere 2012), thus perpetuating a-priori etiquettes, which often convey derogatory meanings that can alter audience attitudes towards this minority group and their identities. More specifically, in American television food commercials, Italian American women have been depicted in the role of family cook – either as caring mothers or as overweight grandmothers – thus playing a pivotal role in a family life typically revolving around food preparation and consumption. Drawing on selected TVcomms, we investigated from a multimodal

discourse analysis perspective (van Leeuwen 2008, 2013; Kress and van Leeuwen 2001, 2006) the (mis-)representation in US advertising of such Italian American women and its diachronic evolution.

More specifically, our analysis highlighted how nation-based stereotypes are re-mediated through a process of metaphoric re-semiotisation, which appears to be a successful social practice and a fundamental component of advertising strategies. The visual and verbal communication modes of these strategies were a major focus of this study.

2. Background – from identity to stereotype, an overview

A comprehensive definition of ‘identity’, a key issue in research domains ranging from psychology to social sciences, lies beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, its exploitation in the language of advertising in association with national, racial, and gender issues is relevant to the aims of our investigation.

At the crossover of Italian and North American lingua-cultural frameworks, the complex issue of national identities plays a pivotal role and these identities are variously represented and advertised in media communication. As highlighted by Anderson in his seminal texts (1983; 2006), modern nations can be considered as a sort of cultural metanarrative and as an ideological and socio-cultural enclosure or space-container where people share consensual values and are held together by various factors, including the interaction between capitalism and the print media, and the development of vernacular languages-of-state.

In other terms, a country is not only represented through its geography and landscapes, arts, products, and artefacts, but also through the verbal output and receptivity of its speech community, which shares metaphors, images, and icons (Hymes 1980), and through the recurring topics or even commonplaces and truisms that frequently occur in discursive interactions. Such (mis-)representations contribute to shaping the controversial and often-discussed notion of ‘national identities’, which are not a clear cut matter. Indeed, globalisation, migration culture, and trans-national identities seem to be challenging the nation-bound concept of citizenship and linguistic nationalism, i.e. the association of one language with membership in one national community (Kramersch 1998, 72). In the contemporary world, different cultures are increasingly ‘interconnected and entangled with each other’ (Welsch 1999, 198). At the same time, in the global cultural flow, mediascapes, – i.e. both images and the electronic and print media via which cultural images are carried (Appadurai 1990;

1996) – play a fundamental role in the construction of both self-identities and national vs. foreign cultural identities.

From a psychological perspective, as they develop, human beings acquire a psychological system from which they can build internal representations of objects and events by which they can categorise; or, in other terms and to varying extents, they build ‘psychollages’ (Mancuso 2004, 307). It is by now a shared notion that such a process is enhanced through (over-)exposure to representations on a regular basis; indeed, viewers tend to absorb biased contents a-critically. From this perspective, Gerbner (1993; 2002), among others, illustrated how the media is responsible for ‘cultivating’ viewers’ conceptions of social reality. By acting as a pervasive sixth sense, the visual media often constructs and broadcasts unbalanced portrayals, which are predictably filtered through and mediated by viewers’ race, socioeconomic status, area of residence, and racial predisposition. To put it simply, the transition from ‘identity’ to ‘stereotype’ mainly consists in a process of simplification, since stereotypical representations are an effective way of simplifying and diffusing complex notions by representing marked clichéd traits. This transition may increase emotional identification, contributing to the creation of cultural boundaries between Us and Others, i.e. insiders and outsiders of one’s specific national community, also through the use of exclusive rather than inclusive language.¹ Such stereotypes, basically, refer back to petrified forms of ‘Common Ground knowledge’, i.e. socio-cultural knowledge underlying all (discourse) comprehension and interaction in given cultures or epistemic communities (van Dijk 2003). In advertising, such knowledge is exploited to represent a *tranche de vie* in order to make the advertised goods palatable and alluring. Overall, unbalanced portrayals and stereotypes are commonly found in advertising, since they can be easily understood and adopted/adapted, thus providing a quick way of communicating with large audiences, either by intentionally setting them up or by challenging them. The exclusive language of TVcomm sketches expose ‘narrowed’ or focused identities from a comic or grotesque perspective, pragmatically realised to impress and persuade the target audience.

In brief, as is well known, one of the most influential nationalities to have migrated in large numbers to the United States is the Italians; between 1880 and 1920, more than four million Italian immigrants arrived

¹ Whereas inclusive language does not stereotype, demean, or patronise people based on gender, race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or other factors, the exclusive language of advertising tends to do the very opposite, by sketching out ‘narrowed’, comic, and even grotesque identities.

in the United States, forming 'Little Italies' wherever they went. Bringing their food, culture, and entertainment to the nation, another large wave of Italian immigrants arrived in the country following WWII, bringing the total number today to 17,558,598.² Italian American communities have often been characterised by strong ties with family and fraternal organisations, such as the Catholic Church and certain political parties (Alba 1985).

In particular, Italian women who arrived in the US during the period of mass immigration had to cope with new and often difficult socio-economic contexts. Women of Italian immigrant families worked hard to maintain a full meal schedule for large families (Goode 1984a). Mothers, in charge of raising the children and providing family care, usually displayed great resourcefulness in reconciling their cultural traditions, which placed the priority on family, with these new circumstances (Giordano and Tamburri 2009; Bonomo and Palamidessi Moore 2011). Married women usually avoided factory work and preferred home-based work such as tailoring or running small shops, whereas unmarried women were generally employed in the garment industry as seamstresses, often in precarious working conditions.

Over the decades, job opportunities progressively expanded for Italian American women since they often had a formal education and were willing to leave the Little Italies and commute to work (Gardaphe 2004). In summary, the second half of the 20th century was a period in which Italian American women were prominent in virtually all fields and there was a growing awareness of their role and identity, as The National Organization of Italian American Women (NOIAW founded in 1980) shows.

3. Aims

Against this background, our study aimed to examine from a broad Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) perspective (see Methodology) how in US advertising, especially TVcomms, ethnic stereotypes create fossilised metaphors of Italian American women that can alter audience attitudes towards this group. Indeed, what happens when national identities and culture-laden elements representing them are transferred and/or depicted outside the socio-cultural cradle from which

² J. Jerreat, 1 September 2013. 'Where America came from', *Daily Mail*. Retrieved at <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2408591/American-ethnicity-map-shows-melting-pot-ethnicities-make-USA-today.html#ixzz3afjW5onc>

they originated? The present investigation addressed this question, and attempted to show how and to what extent these actual societal groups can be far from the fixed image of ‘advertised’ communities – which are often portrayed in an ironic, funny, grotesque, or even derogatory way.

Regardless of a multifaceted, ever-developing reality, these cultural etiquettes are perpetuated in the media, especially in TVcomms, where American women of Italian heritage are frequently represented through female anachronistic behavioural models. Indeed, through the multimodal resources of advertising, such meanings can be built that alter audience perception. Hence, an effort of the present investigation was to highlight some aspects of the dynamics and visual/verbal pictorial patterns of the language(s) of advertising (see below).

In this light, we investigated the diachronic evolution of the ‘typically Italian’ *Food, Family & Females* (FFF) stereotype over the decades. We showed how in US TVcomms of the 1980s to the 1990s, Italian American women were depicted either as caring mothers and good cooks or as ‘aproned’ grandmothers with their hair in buns, whereas in 2000-2010 US TVcomms, the foregrounding of new and more fashionable stereotypes is recognisable. These more recent stereotypes mainly revolve around the enjoyment of food as the central point of the happy lives of not exclusively idealised families, but also couples and other kinds of (social) groups – in a more leisured and glamorous dimension.

4. The language of ads: multiplying and refracting meanings

4.1. Key theoretical notions

Advertising, or ‘the largest, most pervasive, and most successful enterprise on the planet’ (McKenna 1999, 103), constantly impinges on our daily lives, yet we are often unaware of its more subtle forms of persuasion, or of the extent to which it manipulates our (consumer) culture (Dyer 1988) through its sophisticated use of both visual and verbal rhetoric for deliberate effects. In studying the languages of advertising, a constant effort has been made to apply the notions of rhetoric (i.e. the art of persuasion) to both texts and images, as, for example, in Scott’s *The Need for a Theory of Visual Rhetoric* (1994), which anatomised the design of an advertisement as the succession of *invention*, *arrangement*, and *delivery*. In the wide domain of research and literature on advertising and its languages – ranging from applied/applicable linguistics and (multi)media studies to experimental research on consumer response and

practical advice on how to make a successful advertisement – a groundbreaking contribution is to be found in *The Rhetoric Of The Image* by Roland Barthes (1964). In his 1964 essay he analysed an image used to advertise Panzani pasta to exemplify how different messages can be conveyed by a system of signs. Starting from the consideration that the word ‘image’ stems from the Latin term ‘*imitatio*’, Barthes questioned whether and to what extent images can convey meaning since they are essentially imitations. Then, in brief, he posited the need for taking into account both the linguistic message and the *denoted/connoted* values of the images, or in other terms, the *un-coded* iconic messages (what the images actually show) and the *coded* iconic messages (i.e. in Saussurean terms, the *signifieds*). Barthes illustrated how every image is polysemous and subjacent to its signifiers, along a ‘floating chain’ of signifieds, among which the reader can select some and ignore the rest. Barthes placed advertisements alongside poetry, myth, and dream. Almost all images in advertising are accompanied by *linguistic messages* which can function either as *anchorage* – (i.e. by focusing on one of the multiple meanings/interpretations of the images, thus ‘subjugating’ the freedom of the image), or as *relay* (i.e. a more equal relationship, where both text and image work together to bear the intended meaning, as, for example, in a comic strip). In the Panzani pasta advert, the role of the denoted/un-coded image is to naturalise the symbolic message, by displaying the ‘innocent’ picture of a tomato, some packets of pasta, a tin, a sachet, some tomatoes, onions, peppers, and a mushroom. Now, largely, since meaning is construed at the crossroads of the creator and consumer engagement, some shared connotations/coders shape the rhetoric of the image. In the Panzani pasta advert, whose linguistic code is the French language, additional signifieds can be found: the sign Panzani, apart from the name of the brand (denotation), gives by its assonance the additional signified of ‘Italianicity’ (connotation).³ Further, the open bag letting its contents spill out over the table suggests the healthy habit of shopping for oneself and buying fresh food. Moreover, in brief, the fresh vegetables in the bag suggest a quasi-

³ ‘*Signs*, and hence *signifiers*, come from specific social places and cultural sites. The red and white check tablecloth in a restaurant [in England as in other places in Europe] is a *signifier* of “Mediterranean-ness”. The oversized peppermill waved by the waiter over my plate is a signifier of “Italian-ness”. Many signs/signifiers bring, with the *frame* of their *provenance*, additional meanings into a specific mode – whether an instrument in music – the ukulele, the mandolin; or a French accent in speech, pronouncing *maison* with a nasal vowel; or a beret as a part of my dress’. (Kress 2010, 157).

identity with the contents in the Panzani sauce, as Barthes exhaustively explained (1964).



Panzani pasta visual

Ahead of his time, Barthes' essay voiced the pervasive tendency at the end of the century towards 'mono-modality'. From the 1960s onwards, the need for crossing the boundaries and developing semiotic frameworks applicable to various modes of communications, from paintings to poetry, fashion to the cinema, advertising to music, and so on, was increasingly felt. In other terms, a particular set of narrative conventions was inevitably shifting over the years, owing to the advent of 'the pictorial turn', i.e. philosophical attention to imagination, imagery, and non-linguistic symbol systems and a setting aside of the 'assumption that language is paradigmatic for meaning' (Mitchell 1994, 12).

There was a growing awareness during this period that within a given socio-cultural domain, the 'same' meanings could be expressed in different semiotic modes. In the words of Kress and Leeuwen (2001, 1),

For some time now, there has been, in Western culture, a distinct preference for monomodality. The most highly valued genres of writing (literary novels, academic treatises, official documents, and reports, etc.) came entirely without illustration, and had graphically uniform dense pages of print. Paintings nearly all used the same support (canvas) and the same medium (oils), whatever their style or subject. In concert performances, all musicians dressed identically and only conductor and soloists were allowed a modicum of bodily expression. The specialised theoretical and critical disciplines which developed to speak of these arts became equally monomodal: one language to speak about language (linguistics), another to speak about art (art history), yet another to speak about music (musicology), and so on, each with its own methods, its own

assumptions, its own technical vocabulary, its own strengths, and its own blind spots. *More recently, this dominance of monomodality has begun to reverse.* Not only the mass media, the pages of magazines, and comic strips for example, but also the documents produced by corporations, universities, government departments, etc., have acquired colour illustrations and sophisticated layouts and typography. And not only the cinema and the semiotically exuberant performances and videos of popular music, but also the avant-gardes of the ‘high culture’ arts have begun to use an increasing variety of materials and to cross the boundaries between the various art, design, and performance disciplines, towards *multimodal Gesamtkunstwerke*, multimedia events, and so on. [Our emphases]

Actually, multimodality is increasingly shaping communicative actions, encouraged and in turn encouraging technological progress in the field of (social) media. Predictably, the goal-oriented, dynamic, and fast-evolving domain of advertising is taking full advantage of such progress by creating *new genres* to better exploit the potentialities of new media (to give just one example, *in-game advertising* for video-games users). However, a constant feature in this field is the use of metaphor.

4.1.1. Metaphors in advertising

Advertisements mainly rely on metaphors, which have also undergone ‘a pictorial turn’. While recent research has focused almost exclusively on the verbal and cognitive dimensions of metaphor, Forceville (1996) has argued that metaphor can also occur in pictures and proposed a multidisciplinary model, also relying on the relevance theory (see note 9), for the classification and analysis of ‘multimodal metaphors’ in advertising. Such metaphors were defined as ‘metaphors whose target and source domains are each represented exclusively or predominately in different modes’ (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009, 24), such as (1) pictorial signs; (2) written signs; (3) spoken signs; (4) gestures; (5) sounds; (6) music; (7) smells; (8) tastes; and (9) touch. In more detail, pertaining to the spatial distribution of pictorial elements, three forms of metaphor can be identified (Van Mulken, Le Pair, Forceville 2010): *Similes* (the target and source are visually presented separately), *Hybrids* (the target and source are fused together), and *Contextual Metaphors* (either the source or target is visually absent).

Further, metaphoric and iconic hand gestures are particularly effective at conveying core semantic properties of products compared to other non-gestural images, given that the synchrony of speech forms and gestures creates the conditions for an imagery-language dialectic (McNeill 1992, 2005).⁴

Another relevant notion for defining the conceptual background of the languages of advertising is *resonance* – an aspect of the formal structure of an advertisement – which occurs when there is a repetition of elements, or when a phrase is given a different meaning by its juxtaposition with a picture (McQuarrie and Mick 1996). Such redundancy within an advert leads to an exchange, condensation, or multiplication of meaning. In other terms, the elements must echo or mirror one another, suggesting a *doubleness* within an advertisement: either one thing or class of things has multiple meanings, or multiple elements are joined into a single meaning (McQuarrie 1989). Here follows the classic taxonomy of rhetorical figures in advertising according to McQuarrie and Mick (1996):

⁴ In summary, a cultural metaphoric gesture is the ‘palm up open hand’, in which the hand(s) present a discursive object. In other terms, in the so-called ‘conduit’ metaphor (i.e. a metaphor recurring in the general European metaphor culture and in other cultures, but not universally) an abstract idea is presented as if it were a substance in the hand or a container. At verbal level, possible examples are ‘the movie had a lot of meaning’, where the movie is a container, or ‘she handed him that idea’, where an idea is on or in the hand.

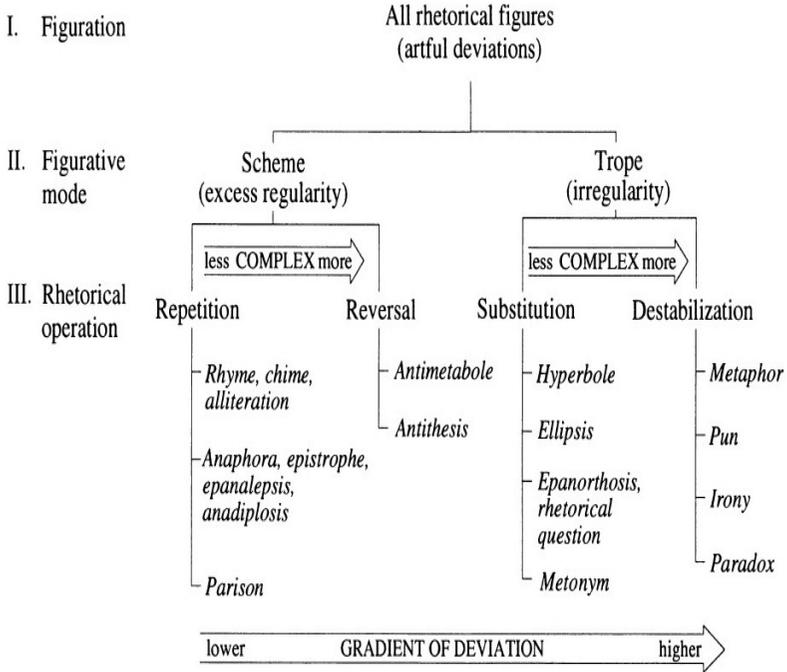


Figure 1: Taxonomy of rhetorical figures in advertising.

To better illustrate such a way of analysing adverts, below is a practical application of such taxonomy, elaborated (with some approximation) by Stella and Stewart (2005):

Type of Trope	Definition	Example
Metonym	Use of a portion, or any associated element, to represent the whole	'The imports are getting nervous' (Buick automobile)
Ellipsis	A gap or omission that has to be completed	'Everyday vehicles that aren't' (Suzuki)
Hyperbole	Exaggerated or extreme claim	'Experience colour so rich you can feel it' (Cover Girl Lipstick)
Epanorthosis	Making an assertion so as to call it into question	'Chances are, you'll buy a Ranger for its value, economy, and quality. Yeah, right'. (Ford pickup truck)
Rhetorical Question	Asking a question so as to make an assertion	'Don't you have something better to do'? (Hewlett-Packard plain paper fax)
Antanaclasis	Repeating a word in two different senses	'Today's Slims at a very slim price'. (Misty ultralight cigarettes)
Resonance	A phrase is given a different meaning by its juxtaposition with a picture	'Will bite when cornered' (with a picture of a car splashing up water as it makes a turn). (Goodyear tires)
Irony	A statement that means the opposite of what is said	'Just another wholesome family sitcom' (with a picture of the male lead licking cream off thighs). (HBO cable TV)

Substitution (Simple Tropes)

Destabilisation (Complex Tropes)	Syllepsis	A verb takes on a different sense as the clauses it modifies are upheld	‘Built to handle the years as well as the groceries’. (Frigidaire refrigerator)
	Homonym	One word can be taken in two senses	‘Make fun of the road’. (Ford automobile)
	Metaphor	Substitution based on an underlying resemblance	‘Say hello to your child’s new bodyguards’. (Johnson & Johnson Band-aids)
	Paradox	A self-contradictory, false, or impossible statement	‘This picture was taken by someone who didn’t bring a camera’. (Kodak film)

Figure 2: Tropes of substitution and destabilisation in advertising

In a slightly different vein, as regards the range of possible systemic/functional relations between image and text, the taxonomy proposed by Marsh and White (2003, 653) can be a useful frame for analysing the verbal/visual relationship in advertising.

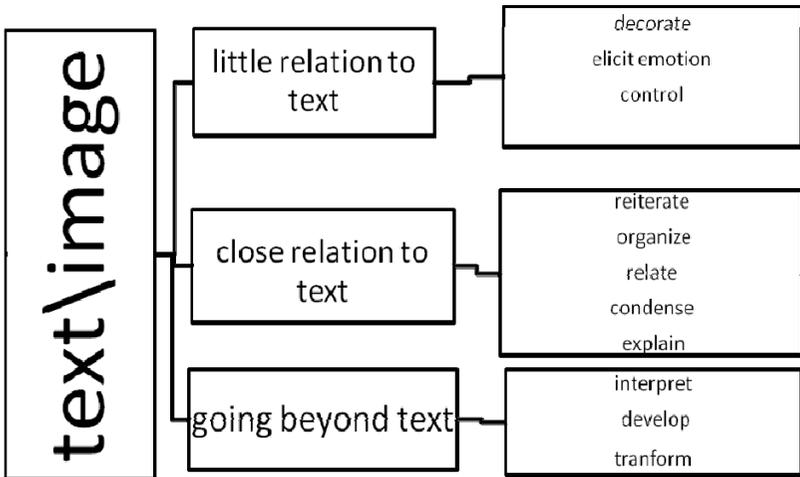


Figure 3. Text-Image relation (adapted from Marsh and White 2003)

4.1.2. Recent research

Research on the language of advertising is becoming increasingly multidisciplinary, ranging from cognition and neuroscience to decision making, marketing, statistics, and emotion retrieval from the web (Burns, Matarazzo, Abbamonte 2014). Indeed, studies on consumer behaviour, drawing from research on emotion regulation, have made clear how crucial the emotional system is to decision making (Watson, Spence 2007). As every advertiser knows, emotional stimuli make far more effective prompts than purely rational arguments when it comes to changing opinions and provoking a response (Beattie 2008), such as choosing one brand over another. This is a rich and promising territory of study, whose aims include investigation into the causes and consequences of emotions based on consumer behaviour, and of the influence of specific emotions on consumer decision making (Han, Lerner, Keltner 2007). Furthermore, research on the languages of advertising increasingly relies on updated technology, such as eye tracking for investigating consumers' processing/interpretation of meaningful visual elements (Lagerwerf, van Hooijdonk, Korenberg 2012).

At the foreground of contemporary research is the fact that the World Wide Web has become the fastest growing advertising medium in this decade, thus making *online advertising* of paramount importance to the advertising and media industry (Ha 2008). A momentous technological turn has occurred, entailing essential questions such as, how has the digital revolution changed the advertising world? What is different and what has stayed the same about writing ads in the digital age? How can social media and other techniques be integrated into advertising? (Sullivan and Bennet 2012). Fast-evolving, sophisticated technologies are now necessary to fully exploit the multimodal, multifaceted resources of contemporary (cross-)media communication. Sophisticated degrees of differentiation are increasingly required for the advertising genres to be effective across different media, and academic research is striving to keep the pace with such rapid (technological) developments.

4.2. The language of ads from a practical perspective

Adverts consist of a tagline and catchy image, the body of the ad, which provides information about the product, and the logo, which displays the brand's personality. Text and image not only co-occur, but together they co-determine the meaning of the whole advert (Bateman 2014, 32). In the case of print media ads, these elements are processed on average in a couple of seconds, while the average length for TVcomms can vary from

60 seconds (which was the norm in the 1950s) to 15 seconds. In summary, advertising is meant to address or create needs in order to sell products, mainly by giving the viewers an impression of both the values that are attached to that brand, and the intended target audience for the product. In his influential *Confessions of An Advertising Man* (1988), a distillation of his concepts, tactics, and techniques, Ogilvy⁵ listed the most persuasive words in advertising (such as: *amazing, magic, miracle, bargain, quick, wanted...*), which were expected to trigger audience interest in a product, but which are now considered as clichés, as usually happens with over-used vocabulary.⁶

By and large, in order to persuade consumers to buy goods, by engaging their needs and wishes, advertisers utilise different themes proven to appeal to the audience, i.e. 'lines of appeal', (Dyer 1988) such as: ideal families; luxurious, glamorous or elite lifestyles; success stories; romantic love stories; fantastic scenarios; beautiful natural settings; beautiful women and handsome men; sex appeal; arrogance; humour; nostalgia and childhood worlds (Fowles 1976, 1996), and, more recently, cyber-world scenarios.

A peculiar and to a varying extent intrinsically derogatory line of appeal is represented by gender and racial stereotypes. Men are typically presented in executive suits taking managerial decisions, driving powerful cars, or using heavy machinery. Males are taller than females, except when comic effects are desired, while females are either associated with kitchen and cleaning equipment and domestic financial decisions, or are presented as ornamental and seductive, often shown lying on beds and floors, not to mention their portrayal in un-ethical ads (Furnham and Bitar 1993). In some detail, a 2004 study listed five typical clichés of woman as portrayed by advertisers: the Super-Granny, the Beauty Bunny, Alpha females, the Fashionista, and good ol' Perfect Mum.⁷ On the other hand, caricatures and stereotypes of men exist as well (e.g. the Bumbling Buffoon, the Beer-guzzler, the Purse-holding Husband, and so on).

⁵ Regarded as the father of modern advertising, David Ogilvy, at the age of 37, founded his New York-based agency, which was later to form the international company known as Ogilvy & Mather. Ogilvy was responsible for some of the most impressive advertising campaigns ever created.

⁶ Nowadays, the language of advertising makes use of a direct mode of address (the most commonly used word in advertising is *you*) and short, active words. Commercials have lot to communicate in under a minute, and need to be both entertaining and eye opening while getting the message across (Wiedemann 2008).

⁷ K. Crawford. Ads for women are 'Miss Understood'. *CNN* 22 September 2004. http://money.cnn.com/2004/09/22/news/midcaps/advertising_women/index.htm

In our case, the stereotypical representations of Italian-Americans, apart from the (previously mentioned) overarching cliché of having a food fixation, exploit both phonological features and iconic signs in order to depict 'role model' characters. Actually, the men are often uneducated, dishonest and/or violent, with swarthy complexions and heavy Italian-American/Southern Italian accents. Quotations from mob films are frequent, as are silence and innuendos, in recurrent mafia-themed scenarios (Cavaliere 2012). The women are generally either caring mothers and good cooks or grandmothers, as we shall see later in the chapter.

Furthermore, as shown in Sardar and van Loon (2010, 110-111), the techniques exploited in advertising campaigns can be identified as follows:

- weasel words, i.e. the use of empty but catchy words;
- endorsement, i.e. celebrities advertise products;
- statistical, i.e. statistical proofs are displayed;
- expert, i.e. the appeal of fabricated experts is exploited;
- mystery ingredient, i.e. new discoveries/formulas;
- complimenting the user, i.e. flattering the consumer.

As concerns images, they are the key to understanding the message of the ad, and they work on many different levels. Images are most effective when they move beyond a literal representation of the product to a metaphoric level. Text and image do not occupy distinct territories, and their reciprocal positioning is meaningful in itself. For example, elements of a visual composition may be either detached by lines, blanks, and other devices, or connected through the mere absence of such detaching devices and/or through vectors, similarities of colour and shape, etc. In brief, the framing of text and illustration in magazine adverts meet (some of) the following criteria:

- ✓ SEGREGATION, i.e. elements occupying different territories;
- ✓ SEPARATION, i.e. elements separated by empty spaces;
- ✓ INTEGRATION, i.e. text and picture occupying the same space;
- ✓ OVERLAP, i.e. frames may be porous;
- ✓ RHYME, i.e. two elements having a quality in common, such as a colour or a form, e.g. colour similarity is the visual equivalent of textual rhyme;
- ✓ CONTRAST, i.e. two elements differing in terms of quality (van Leeuwen 2008, 13 and *passim*).

In summary, a basic difference between print and film advertisements is that print ads visually represent the target and source of a pictorial metaphor simultaneously, while in film ads these can be presented sequentially.

Both modes (print and film) can depict evoked (target-source) similarities through similar expressions, gestures, colours, textures, positions, etc., while film commercials can utilise camera framing techniques or lens movements to depict similarities.

The repertoire of devices that can be used to represent two things as visually similar is very wide, but moving images obviously have more ways (sound, music, etc.) to realise the intended effects, and, consequently, to make multimodal metaphors richer and map the target to the source domain more effectively.⁸ Relevant differences between print ads and the film commercials can be summarised as follows:

- ✓ different order in which target and source are cued;
- ✓ different channel(s) through which target and source are cued;
- ✓ different uses of verbal messages;
- ✓ different processing time of metaphors.

The positioning of the image is crucial to its impact on consumers. For example, the camera angle and where it places the viewer are relevant: the choice between an eye level shot and a low angle makes a difference. The presence or absence of colour and its quality are also relevant. Furthermore, especially for TVcomms, (which require additional tools of analysis, as will be illustrated below), the body language of the models and in particular the hand gestures (see above) ‘co-operate with speech to convey propositional or semantic information and we should regard the gestures and the spoken utterances as different sides of a single underlying mental process’ (McNeill 1992, 1). The setting or *mise-en-scène*, and the costume and accessories of the models, are also important conveyors of information and are essential for disambiguating the mode of the message (e.g. whether it is a parody of other media text). In sum, it is the combination of different semiotic levels (visual image, music, words, the anchorage provided by the caption, body language, gestures, setting, and costumes) and their reciprocal positioning/overlapping that create (the intended) meaning/s.

⁸ For clarity’s sake, following Lakoff and Johnson (1980), in the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, LOVE is the target domain whereas JOURNEY is the source domain; and in the metaphor SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS ARE PLANTS, SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS is the target domain whereas PLANTS are the source domain.

5. Methodology

To be effective, our analysis needed to consider the complex issues of identity vs. ethnic stereotype, as refracted through the communicative multiverse of advertising. Hence, a multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) approach was chosen because of its transdisciplinarity.⁹ In brief, from a MCDA perspective, and by using its tools, it is possible to account for how images, photographs, diagrams, and graphics work to create meanings communicated by a text, though in different modes requiring different literacies. One of these tools is social actor analysis (van Leeuwen 1996), i.e. a linguistic and visual inventory of the ways we depict and categorise people(s) as well as the underlying entailed ideological effects. More specifically, people can be both personalised and impersonalised, represented either as individuals or as generic types.

Indeed, bringing certain aspects of persons' or ethnic groups' identities to the foreground while keeping other aspects in the background is a commonly used strategy in the language of advertising. Furthermore, the MCDA approach is conversant with other disciplines and utilises their categories for developing a new and focused methodology. Thus, the integration of textual analysis into multi-disciplinary research is facilitated as this analysis moves along the dimension of the dialectical relationship between semiosis and other elements of social practices (as in multimodal/hybrid texts) and highlights pragmatic uses of languages (van Leeuwen 2008, 2013; Kress and van Leeuwen 2001, 2006). Furthermore, MCDA can be concerned with every contemporary and/or diachronic process of social (trans)formation and (fictional) re-contextualisation, such as:

- ✓ globalisation, transition
- ✓ information/learning society
- ✓ knowledge-based economy
- ✓ persuasion, commodification
- ✓ re-contextualisation/genre-mixing
- ✓ colonisation and appropriation

In particular, from a MCDA perspective, an investigation of the modes of speech (lexis, syntax and grammar, and rhythm) can also focus on aspects that are relevant *in the meaning making process of advertising*,

⁹ For a useful précis of such an approach, which is grounded on CDA and Systemic Functional Linguistics, see the Appendix for Self Study.

such as code-switching, language blending (in our case, English/Italian), voice-over, songs, and loud/low voice alternation. Complementarily, the modes of sound, colour, movement, light, and tracing, with their different metrics and prosodies (Kress 2010), need to be taken into account in terms of their reciprocal relation with visual elements and images, which in synergy build up the highly metaphoric language of advertising.

5.1. Corpus

Our corpus consists of a qualitative selection of US TVcomms for Italian(-style) food products, retrieved from the web, which allowed us to isolate ‘traits’ that significantly depict stereotypical identities of Italian American women. Qualitative analysis is particularly appropriate for showing implied representations and interpreting these in a broader cultural or ideological context. The selection moved along two different time spans, and the Italian(-style) food commercials have been accordingly divided into two subcorpora, 1980s-1990s TVcomms, and 2000-2010 TVcomms (see the Appendix for the complete corpus with links to websites). In the corpus selection, we followed the criteria of relevance.¹⁰ Indeed, our TVcomms were retrieved from YouTube, the very popular

¹⁰ The notion of relevance, amplified from the usual acceptance of the word, traditionally pertained to psychological and cognitive studies (among others, Higgins and Bargh 1987; Humphreys and Garry 2000; Fecteau and Munoz 2006), and has recently been utilised in communication studies and linguistics as well. Moving from Grice’s maxims of conversation, in the 1980s and 1990s, Sperber and Wilson developed the Relevance theory (1986; 1997), with attention given to the context and the cognitive environment where the speech acts take place. In brief, the relevance theory considers that linguistic communication is based on *ostention*, i.e. the communicator ‘shows’ meaning, and *inference*, i.e. the recipient deduces new information presented in the context of old information. Such deduction is spontaneous and gives rise to *contextual effects* in the cognitive environment of the audience, which are a necessary condition for relevance. The greater the contextual effect, the greater the relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1986, 119). In some detail, any utterance said on a specific occasion is relevant, as well as whatever bears on the meaning of an utterance; also, data or findings taken to bear on some phase or aspect of linguistic analysis are relevant. Accordingly, speakers/writers are expected by a maxim of relation to make their contribution to an interchange relevant rather than irrelevant (see also Jaworski and Coupland 2006). From this and contiguous perspectives, Content value, Cognitive value, Socio-emotional value, and Information source value become relevant (Soojung, Oh 2009).

video-sharing website created in 2005.¹¹ YouTube provides users with the opportunity to upload for free content that they deem relevant, as in the case of the TVcomms of our corpus, with the intention of sharing it and, possibly, generating discussion around it with a (potential) community. Hence, the contemporary diffusion of commercials originally intended for television through the dynamic YouTube digital model can be considered as an indicator of the commercials' lasting relevance to the audience, confirmed by the number of times the commercials are viewed and the variety of comments on them.¹² Furthermore, the relationship between YouTube and the advertising world is growing stronger: 'YouTube pitches itself to advertisers as the medium of the future [...and predictably], in five years, the majority of advertiser-supported videos will take place on a mobile device' (Lieberman 2015). For the purposes of the present analysis, it is to be noticed that the advertising of authentically Italian brands, rather than Italian-style brands, has become increasingly popular among YouTube users in the last decade.

6. MCDA framing of television commercial data

We qualitatively analysed and classified the selected TVcomms according to their lines of appeal and metaphorical domains illustrated in 4.1.1 and 4.2, as practically enacted through a synergy of words, images, and sounds. We also highlighted the occurrence of key words and notions/activities. For the sake of brevity and readability, only eight representative and relevant examples will be given of such classification for each time span (1980s-1990s; 2000-2010) in the tables below. However, to better illustrate the multimodal dynamics of such TVcomms, for each time span a full MCDA of one of them is provided.

¹¹ Bought by Google in 2006, YouTube allows users to watch, upload, and share videos through easily available technology and is the world's largest video site, boasting more than 1 billion users who upload 300 hours of video a minute (Wegert 2015). In this way, a very wide variety of user-generated and corporate media videos can be displayed, including TV clips, music videos, video blogs, and educational videos.

¹² This can be easily checked on the corresponding websites. However, a quantitative analysis of YouTube users' perception/reception of such TVcomms lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

6.1. Watching the ‘MORE AMOUR’ RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE television commercial (1980s-1990s)

This popular TVcomm¹³ opens with a pretty mother in a green apron stirring ragù in a boiling pot while a lively granny, returning from the grocery store with a shopping bag, exclaims, ‘That’s what a kitchen can smell like! Tomato, basil, garlic’!

Shot I. That’s what a kitchen can smell like!



When the grandmother bends to kiss the granddaughter, who is sitting at the table doing her homework, she perceives a different aroma and, while their gazes cross, cries in surprise, ‘Perfume’! Then, ‘Carol, you let her wear perfume at her age’!

Shot II. Perfume!



The mother smiles while the (grand)daughter explains that it is a trendy scent called ‘amour’. The grandmother replies that ‘there is more “amour” in a good spaghetti sauce than any perfume ever made’. Then the

¹³ RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LkJ2xY_vvkg

husband comes in and says, ‘Mmm...the ragù smells good’ and kisses his wife. Then he jokes with his mother-in-law and they both put some bread into the ragù to taste it. The final shot is an image of the three adults with the overlaid phrase ‘Ragù Spaghetti Sauce - That’s Italian!’ while their gazes and gestures focus on the ragù to convey the intrinsic commercial message – Buy RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE!

Shot III. That’s Italian!



The lines of appeal in this commercial are the happy family and the values of tradition and, more specifically, the (stereo)typically Italian tradition, as explicitly expressed in the final shot. At the visual-verbal level, the (connotation of) ‘Italianicity’ is naturalised not only through the typically Italian colours of the product in the glass jar: red, green, and white, but also through the overlaid phrase ‘That’s Italian!’ Furthermore, the iconicity of the sign ‘RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE’ includes both an Italian word, ‘Spaghetti’, which is typically associated with ‘being Italian’, and the Italian spelling of ‘ragù’, instead of the original French spelling (*ragout*).

Secondly, where is the product situated? Significantly, the setting for the commercial is a warm, homey kitchen where three female generations interact. The grandmother and mother’s activities revolve around food appreciation and preparation, which are typically deemed worthy occupations for women, and the girl is explicitly reminded of the inadequacy of perfume as compared to the aroma of a good spaghetti sauce. Indeed, the discourse is focused on the smell of food, which acquires a highly metaphoric value through *verbal repetition*. The ragù smell, which cannot be actually ‘smelled’ by the audience, is verbally referred to four times: as the proper aroma for a kitchen, as more appropriate to women than perfume, as a signifier of love (more ‘amour’...), and as an appeal for men (once the husband smells the ragù,

he cannot help kissing his wife). The traditional middle-class gender-role stereotype that situates the woman in the kitchen, while the man has only to enjoy the food, is thus glorified.

In more detail, at the visual level, the boiling pot and the ‘Ragù Spaghetti Sauce’ jar, one next to the other, occupy a foreground position for most of the TVcomm’s duration. Their proximity suggests an identification (Shot I) that is paradoxical, especially for deli-food experts (as Italians are deemed to be): no sauce in a jar can compare to authentic hand-made ragù. Likewise, the granny’s bag clearly evokes the healthy habit of shopping for oneself and buying fresh food, thus reinforcing the illusion of non-processed, healthy ragù. Finally, the wide, emphatic gestures of the characters evoke what are deemed typically Italian gesticulations.

Then, one more paradox can be noticed: the technique used to promote ‘Ragù Spaghetti Sauce’ is to have a celebrity, Donna Divino (acting the young mother), endorse it. Indeed, her success story as musical theatre actress, singer, and dancer is quite different from the typical life of a housewife.

An overarching dimension is jocularly – the overall fictional mood is that of a cheerful family sitcom, as the well-timed laugh track conveys. Taking our trajectory from Barthes (1964), who placed advertisements alongside poetry, myth, and dream (see 4.1 above), we can say that non-literal-fictional is a typical dimension of the languages of advertising, which evokes, reinforces and, at the same time, plays with stereotypes.

6.2. Trope and technique-based analysis of 1980s-1990s television commercials

In the table below, we framed schematically similar examples from the same time span to give a visual and synthetic representation of the occurrence and configuration of the mentioned stereotypical values.

Lines of appeal	Key words/notions	Scenario	Technique	Multimodal metaphor	Other tropes	Brands	Stereotypes
Ideal traditional families, nostalgia	Voice over [VO] 'Ragu, a tradition for Sunday dinner for three generations...that's Italian'; 'This [grandparents' home] is a great place to grow up!'	Outdoor; Indoor: kitchen & dining room, large family at dinner table;	Expert: Grandma	'Right from here, I can smell grandma's sauce... still smells terrific'; warm voices;	Paradox: A tinned sauce is far from slow-cooked traditional Italian sauce	RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE ¹⁴	A woman who cooks, cares for, and feeds others (=caring mamma)
Ideal families, nostalgia for childhood world	'Maggie, you cook like mamma'!	Indoor: kitchen	Expert: 'Same good things mamma used'; 'Like mamma's kitchen in a jar!'	'Wonderful aroma'; hugs; lively voices	Resonance: Verbal ('mamma'); Gesture (hugs)	RAGU ITALIAN COOKING SAUCE ¹⁵	Caring mamma; wife like mamma

¹⁴ RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GttOfT1sDrUQ&NR=1>

¹⁵ RAGU ITALIAN COOKING SAUCE

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HUnwx6MnIWk>

Nostalgia	[VO] 'Remember when the only way to get slow cooked tasting spaghetti sauce was to cook all day?'	Indoor: kitchen	Expert: Grandmas, traditional knowledge	Italian opera, persuasive voice over	Resonance: three grandmas	RAGU SLOW COOKED HOMESTYLE ¹⁶	Grandmas with buns and white aprons stirring ragù
Ideal family	[VO] 'A fresh taste you don't get from a jar'.	Indoor: kitchen & dining room, family at dinner table	New product	Plurality of lively voices and overlapping laughter producing musicality	Comparison: 'Compares favourably to your cooking'	RAGU PASTA MEALS ¹⁷	Caring mamma
Tradition	[VO] 'Wednesday is Prince spaghetti day'.	Outdoor: North End of Boston; Indoor: kitchen & dining room, large family at dinner table	Expertise: Italian heritage	Italian name (Anthony Martignetti)	Hyperbole - 'Prince spaghetti is something that grows you'	PRINCE SPAGHETTI ¹⁸	Caring mamma

¹⁶ SLOW COOKED HOMESTYLE <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I2ONww-py4w>

¹⁷ RAGU PASTA MEALS <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5UHOery51M>

¹⁸ PRINCE SPAGHETTI <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KINAYCcXgUw&NR=1>

Tradition	[VO] 'It brings out the Italian in you.'	Indoor: kitchen & dining room	Expertise: an authentic Italian, 50 year-old recipe	Italian opera, singing wife (soprano), assertive voice over	Comicality	RAGU ¹⁹	Housewife (cooking for husband's boss)
Tradition	'Fuggedaboudit, best sauce I have ever tasted'!	Indoor: kitchen & dining room	Compliment the user: [VO] For people who know sauce	Mafia-themed music, clatter of dishes, and sound of a police siren	Hyperbole/paradox - 'better than my wife's sauce'	PALMIERI ²⁰	Caring wife, only male table, Mafia-tinged Southern Italian accents
Ideal family	'This is sauce'!	Indoor: dining room, small family at dinner table	Endorsement: Joe Mantegna	Italian-style country music	Hyperbole - 'this is sauce!'	RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE ²¹	Caring mamma

Table 1: MCDA framing of the 1980s-1990s television commercial data

¹⁹ RAGU <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lbNXHDwyOGE&NR=1>

²⁰ PALMIERI <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=86bymNPLcbw>

²¹ RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bzkzsr0nPGA>

6.3. Discussion

During the 1980s and 1990s, TVcomms fictionalised an old Italian-style world and, no matter the brands they advertised, depicted caring mothers and/or overweight grandmothers in white aprons who spent their time on food preparation for the whole family, endlessly stirring their ragùs. Nostalgia for childhood worlds, which are brought back to memory by delicious aromas, as well as ideal family life are recurring lines of appeal. The scenario almost invariably involves a sequence of kitchen and dining rooms, where large, three-generation families enjoy dinner. The fathers and other men are usually served by the women, and the family dinner becomes a time-space of ritual, which creates good memories and ensures the healthy and happy growth of the family, as apparent in the selected of key words/notions (*tradition, grow up, cook like, Sunday dinner, Italian*). As shown by the research data of anthropologist Judith Goode (1984a), the family dinner is a lasting tradition in stable ethnic communities, such as Italian-American communities:

Immigrants commonly maintain traditional eating customs long after the languages and manner of dress of an adopted country become routine [...]. Individual families often develop their own distinctive style of cuisine, which is recognised within the community and preserves family identity. Particular recipes and kitchen utensils are passed down to perpetuate the family's special taste preference and style. [...Apparently,] being Italian isn't so much in the types of food eaten, but it lies in the platters on which food is served. A standard meal schedule became a way of reinforcing traditional family values on a daily basis. [...The family dinner] was a setting where families informally taught their children about what was important and passed along lifestyles and values. [...] It is probably characteristic of any community where relationships are stable, families remain in the neighbourhood, their children marry each other, and where there is continuing interaction between the generations (Goode 1984a, 168-171 and passim).

The advertising techniques used in the 1980s and 1990s mainly exploited the 'expert', i.e. the grandmother, and her carefully preserved recipes. Indeed, 'in third generation families where mothers work, the grandmother is active in preparing meals and teaches the granddaughter how to cook. Mothers-in-law are also very much involved in teaching their daughters-in-law how to cook in the style of their husband's family' (Giordano 1986, 96). Interestingly enough, according to Goode,

Very few of the Italian-American women studied made their own pasta. [...] They were much more concerned about the 'gravy' than the pasta it was ladled over. It's an ironic counterpoint to the current pasta craze – from rotini to zita – that is sweeping America, [...which is] a reaction to the modern, mechanised world. [Indeed,] any homemade food is a reach to a romanticised past when life was seen as more natural and genuine (Goode 1984b, 74).

Additionally, endorsements by celebrities are also used to promote products, as well as the technique of flattering the consumer.

Italianicity is the overarching dimension; the sound track, with its Italian style music, opera in particular, plays a significant role in these highly metaphorical TVcomms, as well as the use of Italian names. In sum, through hyperboles, paradoxes, comparisons, and resonances, the stereotype of an Italian American woman that cooks, cares for, and feeds others comes to visual life in an old world Italian setting.

6.4. Watching the BARILLA tortelloni television commercial (2000-2010)

In this TVcomm²² we see a handsome, charming young man shopping for fresh food in an open-air market in the setting of a historical Italian city centre.

Shot IV. *Palazzo* arcade and vegetable market



He bumps into a beautiful fair-haired female tourist, leisurely strolling around with a map of Italy in her hands, and they both beg their pardon in their languages (Italian and English), while smiling and looking into each other's eyes. Then, the scene moves into a modern and trendy restaurant's

²² BARILLA Tortelloni

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gj7ITz-dxMI&feature=related>

kitchen, where we discover that he is the head chef. From an open door, he catches a glimpse of the guests: (predictably) the fair-haired lady he bumped into is sitting amongst them. He lovingly chooses himself the shape of pasta, then cooks and dresses it and, finally, subverting the restaurant's practice, goes to her table to smilingly serve her. Only a few words are audible and the soundtrack consists of an opera-like Italian song (A. Bocelli's *Mille lune, mille onde*), which goes on until the final shot of the tagline 'BARILLA, *The choice of Italy*'.

Shot V. The tagline



The lines of appeal of this commercial clearly revolve around romance-tinged sex-appeal: hyperbolic wafts of charm are visually represented through the smiles and exchanged looks of extraordinarily glamorous human beings, and audibly enhanced via the sonorous Italian song. The ambience of such interplay is leisurely Italian, represented first through the framing of an open-air market in an ancient *piazza* (shot IV) and then an elegant restaurant, not to mention the classy, spotless grey uniform of the chef. Furthermore, the Italianicity is represented through both the iconic image of the tourist's guide to Italy, in the foreground of this shot, and the sonority of the Italian music lyrics, as well as the tagline 'The choice of Italy' in the final shot. The tagline is both depicted under the written product name (Barilla Tortelloni) and uttered with a quasi-Italian accent in the voice-over of the final shot. The main characters each speak only one word: 'sorry' – '*scusi*', thus enacting an interaction in two languages, probably meant to suggest the feasibility of another kind of (food consumption) interaction. The chef's gestures and movements, typically Italian to some extent, though in a measured way, are well tuned and in accord with the ambience. His initial shopping trip in a typically Italian open-air market, where lively coloured tomatoes and vegetables are well displayed, is recalled visually, and deceptively, by the fresh food images on the packet of Tortelloni and by his preparation of the dish with decorative fresh sage.

Shot VI – The map



Shot VII. The preparation



The appeal of BARILLA Tortelloni to US consumers is thus built around the stereotype of a charming Italian man who cooks for a woman appealing to him. With a more specific multimodal focus on the sensory dimension, the main senses aroused are hearing (rather than smell) and sight: visual observation is carefully guided through precise gaze vectors and the way the shots are framed.

6.5. Trope and technique-based analysis of 2000-2010 television commercials

In the table below, we framed schematically similar examples from the same time span to give a synoptic representation of the data.

Lines of appeal	Resonant key words/notions	Scenarios	Techniques	Multimodal metaphors	Other tropes	Brands	Stereotypes
Romantic love stories; beautiful woman and handsome man; ideal family with pretty girl	A male chef cooking for somebody he cares for	Outdoor (Italian street); Indoor (restaurant kitchen, and al fresco restaurant)	Expert: Chef; weasel words: [VO] The choice of Italy	Italian opera-like music (A. Bocelli's <i>Mille lüne, mille onde</i>)	Code switching + Surprise effect (' <i>papa!... ciao!</i> ')	BARILLA Piccolini ²³	Charming Italian male chef
Glamorous lifestyle; beautiful women and handsome man; ideal family	Beautiful, perfect mum doing the cooking	Outdoor (Italian countryside); Indoor (kitchen, dining room, family at table)	Weasel words: [VO] It's a meal and it is Barilla	Italian opera-like music (A. Bocelli's <i>Mille lüne, mille onde</i>)	Interaction in two languages – 'perfect meal' – " <i>si perfetto</i> "	BARILLA Plus (proteins) ²⁴	Charming sexy Italian male neighbour; smiling, trendy, no-apron mom
Ideal family	Ideal family at table, father serves ragù	Indoor (kitchen, small family at dinner table)	Weasel words: [VO] Feed our kids well	Lively music; Brand's name as iconic signifier; OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ	Paradoxical suggestion to substitute fresh vegetables for Ragù	OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL ²⁵	(Fake) fresh healthy food; caring father

²³ BARILLA Piccolini <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=huYSgO2S70I>

²⁴ BARILLA PLUS http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O6UjrZ2Xe_A

²⁵ OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bxTSEuJdstw&NR=1>

Tradition & fantastic, Italian-tinged scenarios	[VO] A little more of Italy than she expected... straight from Italy	Indoor (super-market, home); Outdoor (Italian landscape)	Compliment the user: [VO] Italy is served (if you buy what you deserve); Expert: Chef	Italian accordion music	Paradoxical suggestion: by opening a freezer door to take frozen food, an animated touristy Italian scenario comes to life	BERTOLLI Chicken Florentine & Farfalle ²⁶	Italy as a land of: music, gallant charming men, picturesque landscapes, leisure time
Glamorous lifestyle; beautiful woman and handsome man	[VO] Tonight is family style	Indoor, glamorous kitchen	Compliment the user: [VO] Expect More. Pay Less	Noise, and pop/rock music	Antithetical relationship between visual and verbal components	OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL. ²⁷	Trendy glamour, not specifically Italian
Handsome man and beautiful woman; love affair	[VO] Date night is easy with Buitoni pastas and sauces; a man cooking for somebody he cares for	Indoor (kitchen, dining room, couple at table)	Italian recipe expertise	Lively music	Resonance: integration of voice, over and characters' thought bubbles	BUITONI ²⁸	Man who cooks for and serves a woman

²⁶ BERTOLLI CHICKEN FLORENTINE & FARFALLE <http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7qtg/bertolli-chicken-florentine-and-farfalle-a-little-more-italy>

²⁷ OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL <http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7qfx/target-everyday-collection-spaghetti-song-by-sleigh-bells>

²⁸ BUITONI <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xFBC28NkBAg>

Appealing Italian life-style	Francesco Cirio. Autentico Italiano dal 1856 (tagline)	Various outdoor & indoor scenarios	Compliment the user: When you open a Cirio can, you get the best of Italy	Lively, harmonious music	Metonym : with a single Italian product you get the whole nation	CIRIO ²⁹	Italy as a land of: History & Nature, Music & Art, Sport & Passion, Fashion, Easy Lifestyle, Food & Wine
Tradition, authenticity, ideal family, relaxed life-style	[VO] Quality Never Stops	Outdoor & indoor	Expert: 'Authentic Italian recipes'; weasel words: 'true works of art, handmade'	Piano forte music		BELGIOIOSO mozzarella cheese ³⁰	Smiling, tender, no-apron mom

Table 2. MCDA framing of the 2000-2010 television commercial data

²⁹ CIRIO <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lujPn9mMvZk>

³⁰ BELGIOIOSO https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmMSdY_ozwJU

6.6. Discussion

Between 2000 and 2010, we can observe a significant development in men's roles in television commercials for Italian(-style) products, in so much as the male character acquires an active role in food preparation/serving, either as a chef or cooking for somebody he cares for, as synthetically highlighted in the presentation of key notions. Conversely, women mostly do not cook anymore and have become prettier and more stylish. Analogously, the ideal family, though no longer a fixed feature, has become more glamorous, and the lines of appeal in the commercials of these years mainly revolve around emerging love stories involving beautiful women and handsome men, with a lavish display of sex appeal. This is in line with the (d)evolution of the traditional family structure, which erodes the centrality of the traditional dinner around the dining room table. There is a greater variety of settings, ranging from kitchens to restaurants and outdoor scenarios. The advertising techniques exploit the 'expert', which in the commercials of these years tends to coincide with the brand or the chef, employ weasel words, and flatter the consumer. Again, Italian-style music plays a significant role in these commercials, but it is mostly contemporary and lively, though it includes accordion and opera-like music and songs. The use of language switching (English-Italian) and the iconic value of brand names and taglines significantly contribute to depicting a new stereotypical Italian dimension, where a more fashionable woman leads a more relaxed, out-of-the kitchen life, while the family grows smaller and the father/partner is no longer served but is serving. Apparently, shared socio-cultural rules for food use and function have changed. These new foodways can both increase family happiness/merriment and facilitate intriguing male/female encounters.

7. Concluding remarks

As we have observed, the more 'traditional' 1980s-1990s TVcomms mainly depict women of Italian heritage as good cooks, either as caring mothers or (overweight) grandmothers wearing housecoats or aprons, and the sense of family appears to be ethnocentric or clannish. We can say that advertisers have re-voiced/mimicked fictional old-worlds (as portrayed in popular movies, e.g. mob movies as well as neo-realist films)³¹ thanks to

³¹ For example, the Italian filmic characterisation of the Corleone family in *The Godfather* surfaces especially in scenes portraying members of the Corleone family during their domestic private life, which include not only a wedding party, but also a baptism, dinners, and so forth. Here the *ordine della famiglia* (the order

the potential of semiosis mobility across boundaries and practices. Such ongoing re-contextualisation of the 'Italian' social/ethnic group in the US commercial semiosphere is mainly carried out through the advertising practice of building multimodal metaphors, which can produce, in turn, comic, grotesque, and even paradoxical effects. In the pragmatic TVcomm dimension, the 'Italian national identity' – in itself a simplification, like national identities usually are³² – with its culture-laden elements pertaining to the preparation and consumption of healthy, fresh, Mediterranean food is transferred outside its socio-cultural cradle and re-shaped in a persuasive, if inaccurate, meta-fictional setting. In this setting, the female stereotype is reinforced by the ethnic stereotype, thus creating the commodification of the 'caring, nurturing Italian mamma' and Womanly Homemaker in a patriarchal society.

In those years, up to the 1990s, time spent cooking for and serving the family was still depicted in advertising as a positive value for women, though, in real life, daily cooking was no easy task for women of Italian heritage, who strived to provide daily meals for large families. Over the decades, Italian mothers have had no easy time providing family care and keeping their family-centred traditions alive.

Anyway, such advertised stereotypes were very well liked, as evidenced, for example, by the great popularity of the PRINCE SPAGHETTI 'Anthony!' commercials, which brought Boston's North End, with its historical Italian enclave into homes across the US (Demarco 1981). The commercial marked a bygone era when mothers could simply yell out of the window to find their children, and, incidentally, may have made the North End more attractive to outsiders. So much for the romantic aspect.

On the other hand, stereotypes also have an unpleasant side and can work as objectionable hypostasis, variously altering the audience's

of the family) is meant to (re-)glorify a highly controlled and controlling hierarchical patriarchal family system and put women back in the home, supporting their men from behind the scenes. Cooking in the kitchen in particular plays a big part in the trilogy: in over 87 scenes, food and drink are in the foreground, thus reinforcing one of the most common stereotypes about Italians: their all-pervasive food fixation (Cavaliere forthcoming).

³² Taking our trajectory from Barthes (in particular *Mythologies* 1957), we can agree that the *national identity* is *represented* and projected in terms of *cultural myths*. Myths have the *naturalising* effect of transforming history into nature [i.e. *artefact* into fact], as if the signifier provides a foundation for the signified: myth is speech justified in excess. Myth prefers to work with poor, incomplete images, where meaning is already relieved of its fat (flesh and blood), and *ready for a signification*, such as *caricatures*, *pastiches*, *symbols*, and, we could add, *TV commercials*.

perception of given 'ethnic groups'. To give one example, after 'Anthony' (Martignetti), in real life, grew up and got a job at the distribution centre for *Stop & Shop*, an East Coast supermarket chain, things became less romantic:

Although today the company's website boasts of their commitment to 'diversity', Martignetti's supervisor, by many accounts, regularly referred to him as a 'spaghetti bender' and 'meatball', in addition to a few far more offensive ethnic slurs. After filing complaints through corporate channels with no success, Martignetti sued his employer for discrimination. The suit was settled out of court in 2004 for an undisclosed sum (Kovalchik 2009).

The underlying question that can be asked is: have authentic cultural values, practices, skills, and traditions been transmitted through advertising? Apparently not. Even when ads and TVcomms have not been (intentionally) racist, sexist, or otherwise biased, their common side effect could be to reinforce stereotypes, which could be variously (mis-)used. Gender bias, as well as ethnic and racial biases in a variety of forms and instantiations, have a long history in advertising – inescapably leading to pervasive stereotyping – that is still being written. Not only Italian Americans, but also (or mainly) African Americans, or Asian Americans, are frequently framed in unflattering fixed portrayals by national or local brands and agencies in order to meet audience expectations – a 'privilege' of Italian Americans being the Mafia connection (Cavaliere 2012). However, with the contemporary world of social media acting as 'taste-police' and giving immediate feedback, many such campaigns quickly garner criticism for being (overtly) sexist and/or racist and are shut down.

As our study has highlighted, the dynamics and visual/verbal pictorial patterns of the language/s of advertising are energetic and evolving quickly. In recent times, Italian stereotypes have been re-shaped to meet and reinforce the expectations of the audience, according to the characteristics of the advertised goods. In our examples from 2000 onwards, we have observed the diachronic evolution of the 'typically Italian' Food, Family & Females stereotype, and, in particular, how the 'aproned' housewife cook has been replaced with the classy male cook (or chef), thus representing a new reversed myth of 'man as helpmate for woman'. In other words, the romantic American idea of Italian-style food as an important aspect of family cohesion and tradition, which has defined Italian-American identity, has been outshined by more glamorous settings for food preparation and enjoyment than the traditional Italian kitchen and dining room.

Time spent *enjoying* 'traditionally prepared' food has become the new value in Italian(-style) product advertising, since in these more glamorous (meta-)fictional worlds a greater portion of time is (leisurely) spent outdoors. These more recent stereotypes still revolve around food and its (facilitated) preparation and consumption, though not as the focus of only traditional families but also other kinds of (social) groups or couples. Furthermore, there has been a significant evolution of the scenarios used in the TVcomms of our corpus, which now include elegant restaurants and costumes, and architectural, historical, or picturesque sights, depicting a more flattering and alluring image of 'Italianicity'. Indeed, the advertising of Italian brands, rather than Italian-style brands, has become increasingly popular in the last decade, bringing about the new myth of Italian elegance, food expertise, and (historical) charm, which the addition of Italian language, songs, and scenarios makes more synaesthetically perceptible. In other words, 'just as language cannot be reduced to words and syntax, but needs visualisation in order to function, so images are inseparable from language, in their very visuality' (Bal 1999, 82). Through the pragmatically devised framing of products' images, taglines, and auditory settings, and that of characters' transitive gaze vectors, gestures, and proxemics, an ongoing multi-sensorial process of configuration takes place, where an evolving Italianicity reaches beyond its Mediterranean boundary. Through a skilful process of pragmatic multimodal re-semiotisation, such Italianicity acquires new connotations/meanings, finalised to appeal to the American audience's popular imagination. Overall, in audiences' perceptions, connections between 'nationality' and 'culture' persist even today, mainly depending on the values and opinions prevailing in the communities – or, in other terms, their *endoxa*, as Black synthetically defined them (1979, 29), borrowing from Aristotle. In our case, such perceptions are enhanced in order to suggest pervasively the purchasing of the advertised goods, which are metaphorically laden with positively configured and evolving values of Italianicity.

References

- Alba, Richard D. 1985. *Italian Americans: Into the twilight of ethnicity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Anderson, Benedict. [1983] 2006. Revised Edition. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy'. *Public Culture*, 2(2): 1-24.

- . 1996. *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bal, Maria Gertrudis. 1999. *Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Barthes, Roland. 1964. 'Rhétorique de l'image'. *Communication*, 4, 41-42. Translated by Richard Howard. 1985. 'Rhetoric of the Image'. *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art and Representation*, 21-40. Oxford: Blackwell.
- . 1957. *Mythologies*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Bateman, John. 2014. *Text and Image: A Critical Introduction to the Visual/Verbal Divide*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Beattie, Geoffrey. 2008. 'What we know about how the human brain works', in *How public service advertising works*, edited by J. Lannon, 219-231. Henley on Thames: World Advertising Research Centre.
- Black, Max. 1979. 'More about metaphor', in *Metaphor and thought*, edited by Andrew Ortony, 19-43. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bonomo, Albright, and Carol and Christine Palamidessi Moore, eds. 2011. *American Woman, Italian Style*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Burns, Amelia Regina, Olimpia Matarazzo, and Lucia Abbamonte. 2014. 'Corpus Linguistics and the Appraisal Framework for Retrieving Emotion and Stance – The Case of Samsung's and Apple's Facebook Pages', in *Recent Advances of Neural Network Models and Applications Smart Innovation, Systems and Technologies*, edited by Simone Bassis, Anna Esposito, Francesco Carlo Morabito, 283-293. New York and London: Springer.
- Cavaliere, Flavia. 2012. 'Mafia on the US screen: setting the stereotype straight', in *A Lifetime of English Studies. Essays in Honour of Carol Taylor Torsello*, edited by Fiona Dalziel, Sara Gesuato, MariaTeresa Musacchio, 633-645. Padova: Il Poligrafo.
- . [forthcoming]. *The Italian American Legacy*.
- Cinotto, Simone. 2013. *The Italian American Table: Food, Family, and Community in New York City*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Crawford, Krysten. 2004. 'Ads for women are Miss Understood'. *CNN* 22 September 2004.
http://money.cnn.com/2004/09/22/news/midcaps/advertising_women/index.htm.
- Demarco, William M. 1981. *Ethnics and Enclaves: Boston's Italian North End*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press.

- Devine, Patricia. 1989. 'Stereotypes and Prejudice - Their Automatic and Controlled Components'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56(1): 5-18.
- Dyer, Gillian. 1988. *Advertising as Communication*. London and New York :Routledge.
- Fecteau, Jillian, and Douglas P. Munoz. 2006. 'Salience, relevance, and firing: a priority map for target selection'. *Trends Cogn Sci*. 10(8): 382-90.
- Forceville, Charles. 1996. *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising*. London and New York: Routledge.
- . 2008. 'Pictorial and multimodal metaphor in commercials', in *Go Figure! New Directions in Advertising Rhetoric*, 2015, edited by Edward F. McQuarrie and Barbara J. Phillips, 272-310. Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe.
- Forceville, Charles, and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi, eds. 2009. *Multimodal Metaphor*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fowles, Jib. 1976. *Mass Advertising as Social Forecast: A Method for Future Research*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- . 1996. *Advertising and Popular Culture (Feminist Perspective on Communication)*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Furnham, Adrian, and Nadine Bitar. 1993. 'The Stereotyped Portrayal of men and Women in British Television Advertisements'. *Sex Roles*, 29(4): 297-309.
- Gardaphe, Fred L. 2004. *Leaving Little Italy: Essaying Italian American Culture*. Albany: SUNY.
- Gerbner, George et al. 1993. *The Global Media Debate: Its Rise, Fall, and Renewal*. Norwood: Apex Publications.
- Gerbner, George et al. 2002. 'Growing up with television: Cultivation processes', in *Media effects. Advances in theory and research*, edited by Dolf Zillman, 43-67. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Giordano, Joseph. 1986. 'The Family Dinner'. In *The Italian-American Catalog. A Lavish and Loving Celebration of and Guide to Our Culture, History, Neighborhoods, Family, Food and Drink*, edited by J. Giordano, 95-96. New York: Dolphin Book.
- Giordano, Paolo A., and Anthony Julian Tamburri, eds. 2009. *Italian Americans in the Third Millennium: Social Histories and Cultural Representations*. New York: American Italian Historical Association.
- Goode, Judith G., Karen Curtis, and Janet Theophane. 1984 a. 'Meal Formats, Meal Cycles and Menu Legislation in the Maintenance of an Italian-American Community'. In *Food in the Social Order: Studies of*

- Food and Festivities in Three American Communities*, edited by Mary Douglas, 143-218. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.
- Goode, Judith, Janet Theophane and Karen Curtis. 1984 b. 'A Framework for the Analysis of Continuity and Change in Shared Sociocultural Rules for Food Use: The Italian-American Pattern', in *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*, edited by Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, 66-88. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Ha, Louisa. 2008. 'Online Advertising Research in Advertising Journals: A Review'. *The Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising*, 30(1): 33-50.
- Halliday, Michael Alexander Kirkwood. 1978. *Language as a Social Semiotic*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, Michael Alexander Kirkwood. 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Revised by Christian M.I.M Matthiessen. 3rd edition. London: Arnold.
- Han, Seunghee, Jennifer Lerner, and Dacher Keltner. 2007. 'Feelings and Consumer Decision Making: The Appraisal-Tendency Framework'. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 17, 3: 158-168.
- Hasan, Raquiya. 1996. 'What's going on: a dynamic view of context in language'. In *Ways of Seeing, Ways of Meaning*, edited by C. Cloran, D. Butt, and G. Williams, 37-50. London: Cassell.
- Higgins, Edward Tory, and John Bargh. 1987. 'Social cognition and social perception'. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 38: 369-425.
- Humphreys, Macartan, and John Garry. 2000. 'Thinking about salience'. *Early drafts from Columbia*: 1-55.
- Hymes, Dell. (1974) 1980. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: an Ethnographic Approach*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Jaworski, Adam, and Nikolas Coupland, eds. 2006. *The Discourse Reader*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Jerreat, Jessica. 2013. 'The map that shows where America came from'. *The Daily Mail*. 1 September 2013. Retrieved at <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2408591/American-ethnicity-map-shows-melting-pot-ethnicities-make-USA-today.html#ixzz3afjW5onc>.
- Kovalchik, Kara. 2009. 'Whatever Happened to the Prince Spaghetti Kid'? *Mental Floss* 17 August 2009. <http://mentalfloss.com/article/22541/whatever-happened-prince-spaghetti-kid>.

- Kövecses, Zoltán. 2005. *Metaphor in culture: Universality and variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kramsch, Claire. 1998. *Language and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kress, Gunther. 2003. *Literacy in the New Media Age*. London: Routledge.
- 2010. *Multimodality*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Kress, Gunther, and Theo van Leeuwen. 1990. *Reading Images*. Geelong: Deakin University Press.
- Kress, Gunther, and Theo van Leeuwen. 2001. *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Kress, Gunther, and Theo van Leeuwen. (1996) 2006. *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. London: Routledge.
- Lemke, Jay L. 1998. Multiplying meaning: visual and verbal semiotics in scientific text, in *Critical and Functional Perspectives on Discourses of Science*, edited by James Robert Martin and Robert Veal, 87-113. London: Routledge.
- Lagerwerf, Luuk, Charlotte M.J. van Hooijdonk, and Ayalies Korenberg. 2012. 'Processing visual rhetoric in advertisements: Interpretations determined by verbal anchoring and visual structure'. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 10/2012; 44(13): 1836–1852.
- Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lee, Victoria, and Geoffrey Beattie. 1998. 'The rhetorical organization of verbal and nonverbal behaviour in emotion talk'. *Semiotica*, 120(1/4):39-92.
- Lerner, Jennifer S., and Dacher Keltner. 2000, 'Beyond Valence: Toward a Model of Emotion-Specific Influences on Judgment and Choice', *Cognition and Emotion*, 14/4: 473-493.
- Lieberman, David. 2015. 'YouTube Pitches Itself To Advertisers As The Medium Of The Future'. *Deadline*. 29 April 2015. <http://deadline.com/2015/04/youtube-advertising-newfront-future-video-1201418305>.
- Machin, David. 2007. 'Visual discourses of war: a multimodal analysis of the Iraq occupation', in *Discourse, War and Terrorism*, edited by Adam Hodges and Chad Nilep. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 123-142.
- Mancuso, James. 2001. 'Reconnecting to an Italian-American Ethnic Self'. 27 April 2015 <http://www.sersale.org/mancuso/venturfr.html>.
- 2003. 'A psychology of immigrants interacting with members of established culture groups', in *Crossing Borders – Going Places*,

- edited by Jörn W. Scheer, 151-166. Geissen, Germany: Psychosozial-Verlag.
- . 2004. 'Discussing non-conscious processes involved in autobiography', in *Considering counter narratives: narrating, resisting, making sense*, edited by Michael G. W. Bamberg and Molly Andrews, 307-317. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Marsh, Emily E., Marilyn D. White, 2003. 'A taxonomy of relationships between images and text', *Journal of Documentation*, Vol. 59, 6: 647 – 672.
- Mayr, Andrea. 2012. 'Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis Semiotix XN-7' *Semiotic Profile*, 25 April 2015
<http://semioticon.com/semiotix/2012/03/multimodal-critical-discourse-analysis/>.
- McGuire, William J. 2000. 'Standing on the Shoulders of Ancients: Consumer Research, Persuasion, and Figurative Language'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 27: 109-114.
- McKenna, Stephen. 2009. 'Advertising as Epideictic Rhetoric' in *Rhetoric, the Polis, and the Global Village* edited by C. Jan Swearingen and Dave Pruett. Taylor and Francis e-library: 103-110.
- McNeill, David. 1992. *Hand and Mind. What Gestures Reveal about Thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2005. *Gesture and Thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McQuarrie, Edward F., and Barbara J. Phillips [2008] 2015, eds. *On figure: New directions in advertising rhetoric*. New York: Routledge.
- McQuarrie, Edward F. 1989. 'Advertising Resonance: a Semiological Perspective', in *SV - Interpretive Consumer Research*, edited by Elizabeth C. Hirschman, 97-114. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research.
- McQuarrie, Edward. F., and D.G. Mick. 1992. 'On Resonance: A Critical Pluralistic Inquiry into Advertising Rhetoric'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 19:180-197.
- McQuarrie, Edward F., and David Glen Mick. 1996. 'Figures of Rhetoric in Advertising Language'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 22: 424-438.
- McQuarrie, Edward F., and D.G. Mick. 1999, 'Visual Rhetoric in Advertising: Text-Interpretive, Experimental, and Reader-Response Analyses', *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 26, June, 37-54.
- McQuarrie, Edward F., and David Glen Mick. 1996. 'Figures of Rhetoric in Advertising Language'. *Journal of Consumer Research*. 22(4): 424-438, 27 March 2015.

- <https://gates.comm.virginia.edu/DGM9T/Papers/McQuarrie%20and%20Mick%201996%20Figures%20of%20Rhetoric.pdf>.
- McQuarrie, Edward F., and Barbara J. Phillips. 2015. *Go Figure! New Directions in Advertising Rhetoric*. New York: Routledge.
- Mitchell, William John Thomas. 1994. *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ogilvy, David. 1988. *Confessions of An Advertising Man*. New York: Atheneum Press.
- Sardar, Ziauddin, and Borin Van Loon, 2010. *Introducing Media Studies: A Graphic Guide*. Duxford: Icon Books.
- Scott, Linda M. 1994. 'Images in Advertising: The Need for a Theory of Visual Rhetoric'. *The Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 21, No. 2: 252-273.
- Soojung, Kim, and Oh Sanghee. 2009. 'Users' relevance criteria for evaluating answers in a social Q&A site'. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*. Volume 60, Issue 4: 716-727.
- Sperber, Deirdre, and Dan Wilson. [1986] 1995. *Relevance: Communication & Cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sullivan, Luke, and Sam Bennett. 2012. [4th ed]. *Hey, Whipple, Squeeze This: The Classic Guide to Creating Great Ads*, Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley.
- Stella, Jason, and Adam Stewart. 2005. Tropes in Advertising: A Web-Based Empirical Study. *Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising*, 30, 1: 93-105.
- Toncar, Mark F, and James M. Munch. 2003. 'The Influence of Simple and Complex Tropes on Believability, Importance and Memory'. *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice*, 11, 4:39-55.
- van Leeuwen, Theo 1996. 'The representation of social actors in discourse', in *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis*, edited by Carmen R. Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard, London: Routledge, 32-70.
- . 2008. *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- . 2013. 'Colour Schemes', in *Multimodality and Social Semiosis: Communication, Meaning-Making, and Learning in the Work of Gunther Kress*, edited by Margit Boeck, and Norbert Pachler, 62-71. London: Routledge.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 2003. *Ideology and discourse A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Barcelona: Pompeu Fabra University.
- van Mulken, Margot, Rob Le Pair, and Charles Forceville. 2010. 'The impact of perceived complexity, deviation and comprehension on the

- appreciation of visual metaphor in advertising across three European countries'. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42 (12): 3418-3430.
- Watson, Lisa, and Mark T. Spence. 2007. 'Causes and consequences of emotions on consumer behaviour: A review and integrative cognitive appraisal theory'. *European Journal of Marketing*. Vol. 41, Issue: 5/6: 487-511.
- Wegert, Tessa. 2015. The Future of Advertising on YouTube. 7 May 2015. <http://www.clickz.com/clickz/column/2407301/the-future-of-advertising-on-youtube>.
- Welsch, Wolfgang. 1999. 'Transculturality: The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today', in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, edited by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash, 194-213. London: Sage.
- Wiedemann, Julius. 2008. *Advertising Now! TV commercial*. Berlin: Taschen.
- Wodak, Ruth, and Martin Reisigl. 2001 *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Appendix

TELEVISION COMMERCIAL WEBSITES³³

BARILLA <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ajO-uacZ1Ro>
 BARILLA https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V6r_SNYoCbM
 BARILLA <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W4OfZYFPZPI> 1
 BARILLA Plus http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O6UjrZ2Xe_A
 BARILLA Tortelloni <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gj7ITz-dxMI&feature=related>
 BELGIOIOSO https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mMSdY_ozwJU
 BERTOLLI Chicken Florentine & Farfalle
<http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7qtg/bertolli-chicken-florentine-and-farfalle-a-little-more-italy>
 CIRIO <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luJPn9mMvZk>
 LEGGO <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IHvU80WIhQg>
 New BARILLA piccolini
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=huYSgO2S70I>
 OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bxTSEuJdstw&NR=1>
 OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rx8ozL73RF0>
 OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL <http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7dFq/ragu-chili-mac>
 OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL <http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7fSG/ragu-mission#products>
 OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL <http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7k1d/ragu-participation-award>
 OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL <http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7k29/ragu-sleepover>
 OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL <http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7kDs/ragu-cleaning-face>
 OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL <http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7kq2/ragu-parents-bedroom>
 OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL
<http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7kUL/ragu-new-hamster>
 OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL
<http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7qfx/target-everyday-collection-spaghetti-song-by-sleigh-bells>

³³ Last accessed in June 2015.

OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL

<http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7YuH/ragu-cursive>

OLD WORLD STYLE RAGÙ TRADITIONAL

<http://www.ispot.tv/ad/7YuX/ragu-backpack>

PALMIERI <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=86bymNPLcbw>

PREGO <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=juerZc2G7vE>

PRINCE SPAGHETTI

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KINAYCcxgUw&NR=1>

RAGU FRESH ITALIAN PASTA SAUCE

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RMh-ZGbggss>

RAGU ITALIAN COOKING SAUCE

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HUnwx6MnIWk>

RAGU PASTA MEALS <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5UHOery51M>

RAGU PASTA SAUCE

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lbNXHDwyOGE&NR=1>

RAGÙ SLOW COOKED HOMESTYLE

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I2ONww-py4w>

RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gHp9ZjCP0AY>

RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LkJ2xY_vvkg

RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GuOtT1sDrUQ&NR=1>

RAGÙ SPAGHETTI SAUCE-GARDEN STYLE

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bzkzsr0nPGA>

SLOW COOKED HOMESTYLE <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I2ONww-py4w>

Suggested Classroom Activities

Step A

Here follows a short passage on Dolmio products; after reading it, answer the questions below:

OUR HISTORY

The makers of DOLMIO® are passionate about food. Since our beginnings in 1986, we have understood that meals shared with family and friends are cherished moments. As such, only the finest quality ingredients are selected for our pasta sauces to provide the best taste and quality. In the early 1980s, people became more health conscious. Pasta, which is low in fat and a good source of carbohydrate, really took off and the Pasta sauce market was dominated by canned products. In Australia, in 1985 Masterfoods test-launched Alora Spaghetti Bolognese sauce into the Grampian TV area in a 500g re-sealable glass jar. From Australia, Alora moved to a small launch in Scotland, became an immediate hit, changed its name to Dolmio, and began to grow in popularity in the UK and Ireland, and then started rolling out globally. For the first time, spaghetti bolognese was easy to cook and with the product being sold in a jar rather than a can, it was positioned as high in quality with a focus of the naturalness of its ingredients. Dolmio took an existing family favourite meal and made it easier and even more accessible; turning it into an experience the whole family could enjoy sharing together. As we've grown over the years and across countries, Dolmio has always evolved at the pace of the consumer. We've understood and reflected what's going on in society, rather than set out to change it. The one thing that's never changed is the simple promise that lies at the heart of Dolmio – tasty Italian food the whole family loves coming together to share and enjoy.

WHO WE ARE

Dolmio brings millions of families in homes around the world together by giving them the perfect opportunity to enjoy their mealtimes around the table. Dolmio is the spark that brings people together. The spark that gets the conversations going and the laughter flowing.

<http://www.dolmio.co.uk/about-us.aspx>

QUESTIONS:

1. What are Dolmio products and where are they mostly sold?
2. Which relationship exists between the family and food, according to Dolmio's philosophy?
3. Which words (adjectives, nouns, and/or verbs) best convey the message of this brand?
4. What are Dolmio's ethics?
5. How can you describe the relationship between these products and the consumers' needs?

Now, discuss your answers with your fellow students, while considering the increasing importance of the Mediterranean diet outside its region.

Step B

Connect to the websites below, where you can watch various TVcomms of Dolmio products, and look for more.

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZR6JEYN1zk>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zZF6NERAKIQ>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MVydtEa0Tk>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RPvIIMZeCdI>
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sWhJXmHm_MU

Watch each of them twice (or thrice) and

- write down the scripts;
- describe the characters and their gestures;
- describe the settings.

Step C

Please now express your opinion by ticking the answer that you agree with most.

1) The use of the Italian-style family, impersonated by animated cartoons, makes the TV commercials

- More funny
- More persuasive
- Grotesque
- Don't know

2) The use of Italian-tinged language and tunes makes the scenes

- Amusing
- Stereotypical
- Ridiculous

3) The use of the female cartoons of Italian heritage makes the scenes

- Funny
- Clichéd
- Annoying

4) While watching the TV commercials, do you perceive the female characters' attires, gestures, and proxemics as stereotypical?

- Yes
- No

5) If yes, do you find their identities

- Funny
- Clichéd
- Irritating

6) What particular elements help you identify female Italian-American stereotypes?

- The set of the scene
- Domestic private life/Family scenes

- Cooking in the kitchen
- Hierarchical, patriarchal family system
- Furniture/Home wear
- Clothing, hairstyle
- Gestures/Facial expressions
- A change in cadence
- Background music
- Others _____

7) What kind of role(s) do such women of Italian heritage present?

8) How would you gauge the 'burden' of tradition?

- Overwhelming
- Don't know
- Modest

9) Do you perceive any shift from such traditional representations to actual contemporary women?

- Very Much
- Don't know
- Not at all

10) Do you perceive any significant difference in the representation between the younger woman of Italian heritage and the older one?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

11) If yes, does this make the scenes more

- Enjoyable
- Clichéd
- Irritating

12) What elements help you identify such new stereotypes?

- The set of the scene
- Domestic private life/ Family scenes
- Cooking in the kitchen
- Attitude (if yes, how? _____)
- Furniture/Home wear
- Clothing, hairstyle
- Gestures/ Facial expressions
- Background music
- Others _____

13) How would you rate the overall quality of these TV commercials?

- Effective
- Do not know
- Terrible

14) Who is the target audience of these TV commercials?

Express your opinion(s).

Discuss your answers with your colleagues and consider whether the choice of using animated cartoons is captivating or ridiculous.

Step D

SELF STUDY

The multimodal critical discourse analysis approach

Here follows a useful précis of the MCDA approach we used in this chapter, which you should use for your exercises in TV commercial analysis, abridged from Andrea Mayr (2012).

*Halliday's work has also contributed many of its analytical tools for the kind of linguistic analysis carried out in **Critical Discourse Analysis** (CDA). CDA is probably the most comprehensive attempt to develop a theory of the inter-connectedness of discourse, power, and ideology. The term '**critical**' principally means unravelling or '**denaturalising**' ideologies expressed in discourse and revealing how power structures are constructed and negotiated in and through discourse. CDA research specifically analyses institutional, political, gender, and media discourses which 'testify to more or less overt relations of struggle and conflict' (Wodak 2001:2). Because of its solid analytical foundation, Halliday's work helps CDA practitioners to ground concerns about power and ideology in the detailed analysis of language. Both fields also share the view of language as socially constructed: language both shapes and is shaped by society. [...M]ore recently there has been a visual turn inspired by scholars who **have incorporated visual images into concepts of discourse and have moved towards broader multimodal conceptions** (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Machin 2007). This extension of CDA into visual semiotics also has its origins in early Hallidayan theory, which maintains that language is only one semiotic resource out of many and that several forms of representations, linguistic and non-linguistic, are used in the construction of discourse. For example, while political and ideological views of newspapers can be expressed in the choice of different vocabularies (e.g. 'resistance fighters' vs. 'insurgents') and different grammatical structures (e.g. active vs. passive constructions), visual structures in the form of images just as much can convey ideological meanings. Applying some of the linguistic principles found in SFL [...i.e. a set of tools derived from SFL that allows us to study the choices of visual features as well as lexical and grammatical choices in language], Multimodal Critical*

*Discourse Analysis (MCDA) shows how **images, photographs, diagrams, and graphics** also work to create **meanings** communicated by a text, which are often more implicit or indirect than language. [...] One of these tools is **social actor analysis** (van Leeuwen 1996), a linguistic and visual inventory of the ways we can describe and classify people and some of the ideological effects that these classifications can have. According to van Leeuwen, people can be personalised or impersonalised, represented as specific individuals or as generic types. Certain naming strategies therefore foreground aspects of a person's identity while backgrounding others. [...For example] the British media representations of young people often construct them as a problem, [...especially in tabloid] newspapers. [Mayr. 2012:1-2, our emphases Semiotix XN-7 Semiotic Profile <http://semioticon.com/semiotix/2012/03/multimodal-critical-discourse-analysis/>]*

Guidelines for the MCDA of a television commercial

Taking your trajectory from the analyses in this chapter, choose a few TV commercials, from either the ones in step B or those in the Appendix, and then watch them a couple of times. Then, according to your own analyses, fill in the other columns.

CHAPTER TWO

‘YOU WANNA PIECE O’ ME?’: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY ON THE CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF ITALIAN AMERICANS

MARIA GRAZIA SINDONI

1. Cultural identities and language perception

This paper reports on a longitudinal study about the language of Italian American and ethnic stereotypes in *inter-group* and *intra-group* perceptions (Trudgill 2002). The pilot phase was carried out between 2008 and 2009 and a second step was developed in 2013 and 2014. The overall aim of this study is to investigate how cultural and linguistic identities are constructed in multilanguage and multicultural environments, with specific reference to Italian American young adults, mainly of second generation, but occasionally including some third generation informants. The construction and development of cultural identities is a complex process and many factors determine failure or success in the preservation of the system of values of the culture of origin in a different context (Makoni 2007; Cinotto 2014). An imaginative re-creation of a new set of values that cease to be carriers of the original environment steadily show signs of a new culture, modified by the effects of connection with the new contact culture.

By way of an example, a popular website, *Italian American Network*, features a section called “Shop from Italy”, where products, such as *Olivella*, *Armonie Toscane* or *The Horto Botanico Soaps by Nesti Dante*, can be found. These websites sell “Italian” culture and “Italian” products that are completely unknown to Italians living in Italy, but they are perceived to be Italian by the effect of cultural transfer, so that everything can be Italian, sometimes only by claiming to be so (Fellin 2010). A

popular chain letter, “You know you’re Italian when...”, evokes language and behaviour that are markers of a presumed *Italianness*: “You know you’re Italian if you know the words to Dominick the Donkey¹ (...) your father owns 5 houses, has \$300,000 in the bank, but still drives a 76 Monte Carlo.” However, any Italian living in Italy would be at loss if presented with these claims. These examples indicate that there is no such thing as *Italianness*, *Britishness*, or *Americanness* in terms of permanent and stable identity (Cinotto 2014). Cultural identities are constantly fluctuating and ethnicities take on new connotations according to the context in which they are incorporated or cannibalized.

As Kruse has pointed out in one of his pioneer studies on the matter, the notion of community is often referred to ethnicity in the American society at large. He thus argues that (1988, 217):

It must be remembered that a large proportion of the problems which result from living in an ethnic neighborhood is due to the “minority” group aspect of local community life. Regardless of the degree to which the particular group is either despised or idolized by the dominant society, minority status is part of the psychological, cultural and social structure of the neighborhood. This situation also effects the socialization process of the young, organizational performance, as well as intra-group and intergroup interaction.

Research literature has shown that complex and multifaceted cultural and linguistic influences (e.g. in bilingual individuals or in multicultural backgrounds) favour the emergence of “networked” identities, also encouraging creative uses of language and construction of the self, which is alternative to mainstream language and culture (Makoni 2007). The new values and adaptive strategies may weaken links with the source culture and consequently strengthen sentiments of affiliation with the new culture, in any case significantly modifying language and symbols of identity belonging to the original source culture (Auer 2007; Pennycook 2010).

In social evaluation of variation in a *change* perspective, Kristiansen draws a distinction between *subjective* factors (social values and evaluations) and *objective* factors (all the others), thus bringing together theories advocating “subconscious attitudes” that work for language change (2011). Drawing from theoretical and field work by Labov (1972),

¹ Dominick the Donkey, also called Dominick the Italian Christmas Donkey, is a Christmas song written by Ray Allen, Sam Saltzberg and Wandra Merrell, and was recorded by Lou Monte in 1960. The song is about a donkey who helps Santa Claus bring presents (“made in Brooklyn”) to children in Italy “because the reindeer cannot climb” hills in Italy.

studies on speech communities are based on *subjective facts* on language use. According to Kristiansen (2011), the evaluation problem cannot be solved on the basis of facts about language use (the objective or manifest changes), but by considering independent evidence, i.e. the subjective or latent correlates. To this end, in this study, both discursive and experimental data will be taken into account. Discursive data are responses to, or comments about, language use, with particular reference to *evaluative responses with indirect language-related relevance*. The latter responses involve questions that indirectly refer to language, for example related to positive, negative or neutral evaluation about a given topic that can be used as a reference to study language-related values. In this case, questions of identity can be loosely investigated by analysing discursive data and, in particular, evaluative responses with indirect language-related relevance. Experimental data are far more used in the present study. These evaluations may concern the informants' own language and/or other people's language. However, as Kristiansen himself claims, any study in "attitudes" and "ideology" needs to be grounded in broader concepts, such as social meanings, norms, and values, for example with reference to Labov's classic distinction between overt and covert norms (1966). In turn, social values need to be considered as graded along a *continuum* from *overt* to *covert*, whereas consciousness is scaled from *conscious* to *unconscious*. Following this approach, unconscious acts of forms of covert social identifications will be addressed.

This study thus analyses linguistic and cultural self-perceptions in second-generation Italian Americans, with the caveat that "self-perception" does not equate with real language use. Self-perception is studied via a sociolinguistic investigation and is considered a fundamental marker of cultural identity, taking into account that what one may *self-perceive* linguistically is equally, if not more, important than what one actually *does* with language.

This work is thus designed to answer the following research questions:

- How are Italian Americans, as a speech community, defined by other communities, according to subjective evaluations by Italian Americans?
- What kind of Italian speech acts are frequently used by Italian Americans?
- What is the contribution that the media gives to language use and ethnic identification of Italian Americans?

The starting point for this analysis is the idea that ethnicity is more fluid than we like to think and that cultural identities are permeable to a wealth of influences, even in the case of ethnically-aware individuals. Ethnic-awareness and experiences of discrimination in American society have been studied in groups of teenagers from various backgrounds (e.g. African-, Arab-, Latino-, and European-American in Flanagan et al. 2009; Italian American in Haller 1993). In this study, the notion of ethnic awareness is attached to an individual who consciously operates a range of different practical and symbolic actions in a deliberate and repetitive fashion to perpetuate their cultural origins at both individual and community level (Sindoni 2008; Cinotto 2014). However, as will be shown in the following Sections, even ethnically-aware individuals, who are intentionally conservative in their approach to their origins and culture, are unconsciously and unavoidably subject to the shock wave of their receiving culture. Even in the more ethnically conscious and intellectually committed Italian American communities, the power of the media and the “cultural transfer effect” turn Italian culture and language into a completely new and hybrid entity (Crystal 2007; Carnevale 2009).

2. Method, sample selection and data collection

The cultural and linguistic effects produced by the clash of a source culture and a receiving culture is far from easy to define, let alone gauge. The method to gauge concepts such as “perception” or “self-perception” can hardly be purely quantitative. Collecting sociolinguistic data can be achieved via a number of different methods, such as those followed by traditional dialectology, the use of the traditional sociolinguistic interview, and more recent polling techniques, including recent advances in rapid and anonymous surveys (Starks and McRobbie-Utasi 2001). This study is based on a survey designed to respond to the specific research questions here addressed and has been followed by structured, semi-structured and free interviews to the end of expanding and enriching data. The method follows some of the guidelines devised by Hochstetler and Tillinghast (1996) for sample selection and data collection. More specifically, this study is based on: 1) random selection of Italian American second and third generation informants; 2) individual questionnaires followed by one-to-one interviews; 3) two-fold goal: investigating linguistic self-perceptions of a homogeneous community and lexical items to compile a wordlist. The language investigated in this study has been analysed, broadly speaking, by following a pragmatic approach, so that informants

were prompted to associate specific contexts of use when mentioning isolated lexical items, idioms or general illocutionary speech acts.

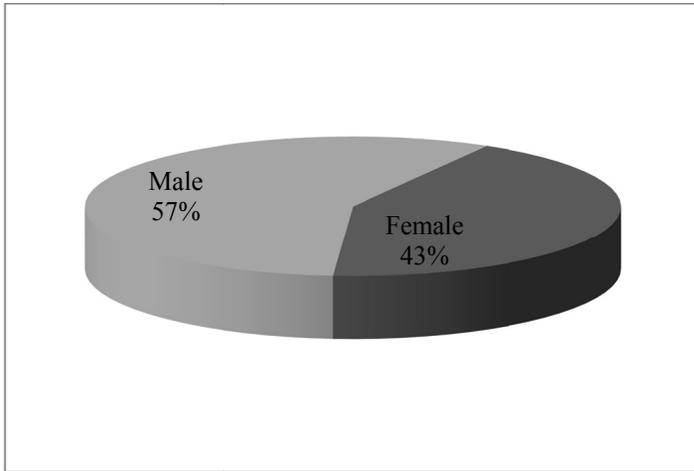
Informants were reached using a popular social networking platform, *Facebook*, by sending out a questionnaire upon request to subscribers of some of the most popular Italian American groups. Informants were mainly found from a group called “ItalianAware’s Advancement of Real Italian Culture in America”, which counted c. 300 subscribers at the beginning of the project and more than 2,500 to date. The initial hypothesis was that the selected informants had sociodemographic features in common (e.g. age, IT familiarity, educational background). A consequent strong attachment to their culture was easily predictable due to their voluntary subscription to the *Facebook* group. Furthermore, their subscription was antecedent to project participation, thus confirming their interest in Italian American culture prior to the questionnaire’s administration. However, no specific details as to which research questions and specific areas of investigation were provided, in order not to contaminate data or influence the informants’ answers. The questionnaire was explicitly addressed mainly to second generation Italian Americans, even though, as mentioned in Section 1, a number of third generation informants was incorporated in the study. By “second generation”, we refer to informants born in the United States from at least one foreign-born parent (i.e. Italy). This choice was made for two reasons: 1) this sociodemographic variable makes the clash of source and receiving cultures remarkably strong and 2) the proximity to the source culture in terms of direct daily contact with parent(s) and also with the receiving culture in all other areas of social life allows a comparison between two opposite poles, i.e. Italian *versus* American culture.

The questionnaire is shown in Appendix 1 and is made up of 19 questions, 11 closed and 8 open. It is divided into two parts: the first part explores informants’ sociodemographics, eliciting social, linguistic and cultural variables (e.g. age, gender, mono or bilingualism, family, education), whereas the second part elicits lexical items, idioms, proverbs and overall linguistic self-perceptions and also those conveyed by others (e.g. other mainstream or minority community, the media, etc.).

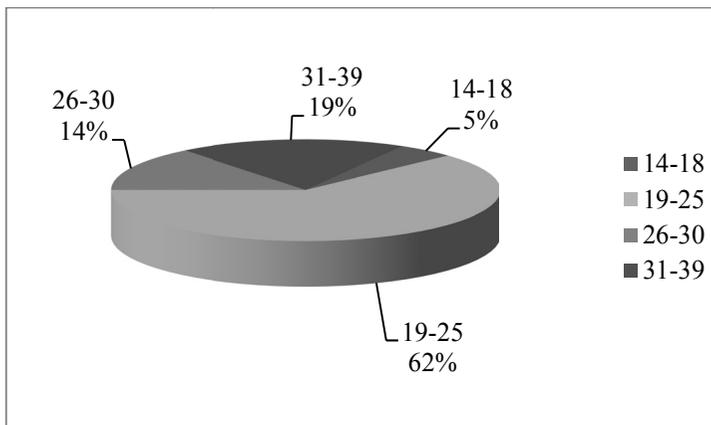
63 informants were included in the first stage of study (2008-2009), all of which accepted to be interviewed via Skype. In a second stage of the study (2013-2014), all the informants were contacted to repeat the interviews, with particular reference to Italian Americans in the media. However, only 45 informants out of the original 63 responded in the second stage of the project. A limitation in this approach is that only a

percentage of the earlier 63 were incorporated in the second stage, even though c. 72% of informants represents a significant figure.

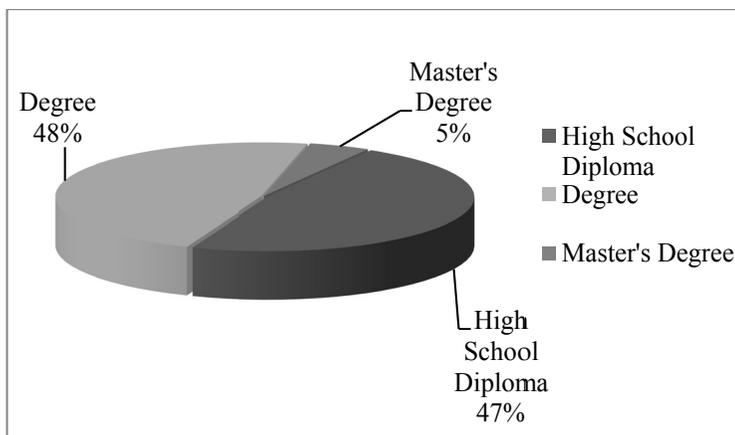
Below Graphs 1, 2 and 3 report on the original informants' sociodemographics.



Graph 1. Informants' gender.



Graph 2. Informants' age.

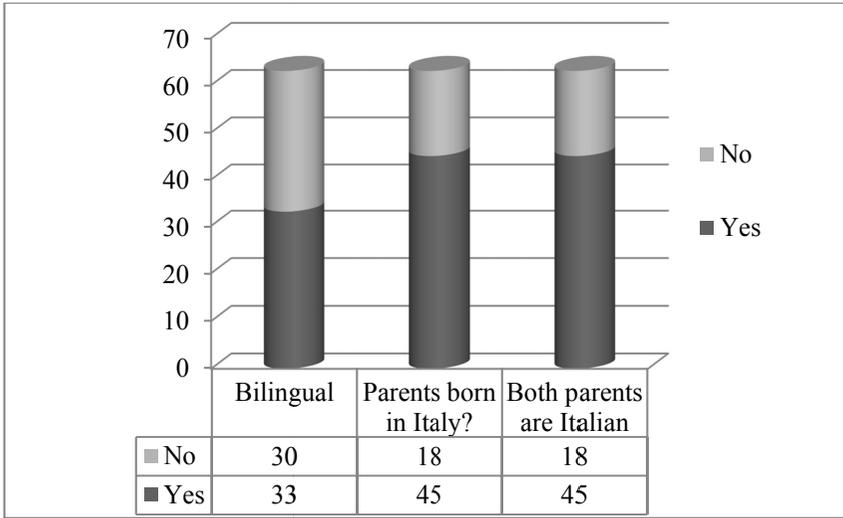


Graph 3. Informants' educational background.

With regard to gender, the majority are male (57%, cf. Graph 1). The selection of a homogeneous group of informants was confirmed also in terms of their age, as 62% belong to the 19-25 age range (cf. Graph 2). The initial hypothesis that college students were likely to be recruited via *Facebook* was confirmed, and especially so because earlier data collection was carried out in 2008, when *Facebook* subscription was not yet a global phenomenon. Should the project be repeated today in its previous form, a significant change in age range would be expected given the constant expansion of *Facebook* subscriptions for all ages and consequent loss of group homogeneity. For the second stage of the project, the same group of informants was contacted, in order to avoid the aforementioned problem.

Educational background is almost equally divided into two categories, as reported in Graph 3: those who have a high school qualification (47%) and those who have a University degree (48%) and this is consistent with the age range shown in Graph 2. Graph 4 reports on the language background of the informants, with reference to their perceived status of bilingualism (note that perception and real bilingualism are different status). Furthermore, it gives evidence of the origins of the informants' parents, giving details with regard to their country of birth and whether the parents were both born in Italy or not. The interesting fact that emerges from Graph 4 is that 45 out of 63 have both parents born in Italy and this reinforces the hypothesis of a strong commitment to Italian culture and language for c. 71% of informants. Conversely, the informants' self-

perception of being of bilingual status is balanced, with a slight predominance of “yes” answers (i.e. 33%).



Graph 4. Family language background.

In the following Sections, an analysis of the informants’ answers will be provided and discussed.

3. Discussion of results

In the second section of the questionnaire and in the individual interviews with informants, specific questions, with reference to language use, were dealt with. This section featured open questions and informants had the chance to fully write their answers with no time/word limits. In addition, structured, semi-structured and free interviews with all involved participants were added in a second step of the study to clarify and extend the answers provided beforehand. With reference to the Italian words/expressions as (mis-)used by participants, it was possible to create a definite set of categories after a close inspection of the answers provided in the questionnaires and interviews.

The most frequent examples in Experiment 1 (> 9, i.e. recurring at least nine times in the surveys and interviews) have been divided into broad categories and shown below:

- Greetings (*ciao; come va?; come stai?; che fai?; che success?;*)
- Expressives (*San Antonio!; mama mia; manangia; mizzica*)
- Swear words (*stupido; favangul; sfatcheem; va fa napoli; t'amazz; strunz; cabbados; chi sse ne frega; digraziato*)
- Terms of endearment (*beddu/a miu/a*)
- Directives (*camina; mangia mangia; alestatati, mu*)
- Idioms (*E bruna ma bedda; this is na brutta figura*)

It cannot be overstated that what I have loosely defined as “speech acts” are not actually taken from real conversations, but *elicited items*. The latter are thus only indicative of informants’ perceptions of their and others’ language use, and are likely to have been highly influenced by the media, as will be shown in Section 3. Furthermore, the categories that have been identified are illuminating in this respect, as they are highly ritualized language routines, and as such, were easy to be recalled by informants out of context. As Drazdauskiene claims, “stereotypes or clichés are segments of speech identical to or larger than a word combination which recur syntactically and even lexically unchanged generally in identical contexts of situation” (1981, 67).

Overall, we may argue that the elicited items are drawn from the informants’ experience of informal, routinized, colloquial and expressive use of language (Haller 1993). “In diametric opposition to individual variation, routinized language represents the prototypical case of conventionalization” (Ferguson 1996, 9) and this seems consistent with the position of our informants, who are likely to have recalled habitual formulaic routines during surveys and interviews. Furthermore, such findings also indicate the high conversational nature of these items, as early research on conversation has shown, for example with routines, such as politeness formulas, proverbs, clichés, amounting to a great part (c. 20% according to Sorhus 1977) of ordinary conversation (Hymes 1962; Coulmas 1981).

Many studies on formulaic routines and conversation, including the classic studies by Ferguson, also highlight their importance for cognate areas of studies, such as language learning and second language acquisition. The latter point is particularly relevant in this context, as most informants are, in a way or in another, “learners” of Italian, and such routines clearly help them build up their knowledge of both Italian culture and language.

It is also worth noticing that what informants report as Italian use is actually based on dialectal forms, mainly from the South of Italy (e.g. Sicily, Campania, Calabria). Once again, informants are not aware of the

difference between Standard Italian and dialectal varieties, which are widely used in conversation in some regional contexts, but not in formal or official usage. The overwhelming majority of items and formulas are in Southern dialects, even though informants claimed that these are examples of “Italian”.

Another remarkable aspect that has emerged is the attempt at writing items in their written surveys by using the American spelling: for example *capeeshe* for the Italian *capisci* (*do you understand?* Or, more probably, *you know what I mean*); *ladzaruni* for *lazzarone* (i.e. *scoundrel*); or *que puzza* instead of *che puzza* (i.e. *what a bad smell!*), confusing the Spanish spelling (i.e. *que*) with the Italian spelling (i.e. *che*); *fabbene* instead of *fa bene*, imitating the Central and Southern Standard pronunciation. When asked about the meaning of *fabbene*, all informants explained it as “all right”, that in Italian is *va bene* and not *fa bene*. All these examples clearly show that the informants’ knowledge of Italian is grounded in speech and oral conversation.

As many informants claimed during the interviews, the frequency of occurrence of directives is explained in terms of the pervasive presence of the *nonna* in their family lives, who used to (and, in some cases, still does) give orders. One informant also tried to provide explanations for her answers, for example about *mu* and specifically “dialect for dammelo, that is give it to me.”

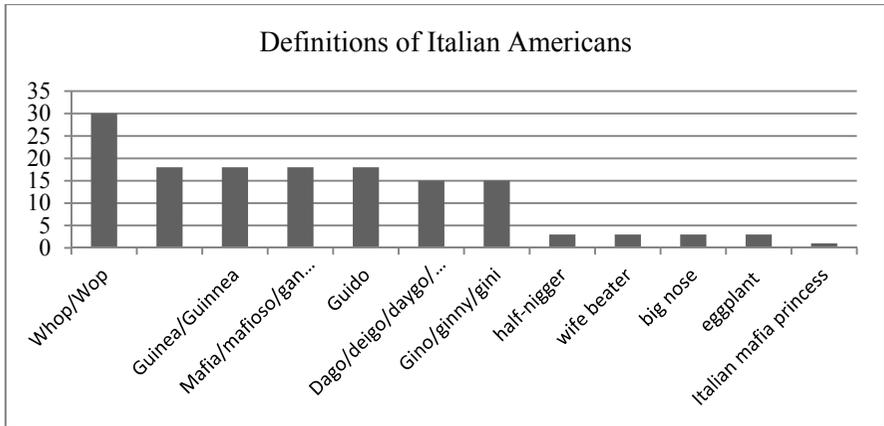
Greetings also deserve further exploration: they have undergone a process of translational shift and can be, in some cases, interpreted as *false friends*: for example, if *ciao* is used as both a greeting and leave-taking formula and is very common in Italian, other greeting formulas seem to be attempts at translating common American greeting formulas, such as *che success?*, i.e. *what’s up?*, that is very frequent in US, but not at all in Italy, at least not as a greeting formula. The same may be said about *che fai?* and *que fai?* (i.e. *what are you up to?*) that would be perceived by an Italian speaker as an uncommon formula of greeting.

Furthermore, as will be illustrated in the following Section, “Hollywood Italians” have been profusely drawing from the regional varieties of Standard Italian (Rossi 2008). In short, these forms do not imply an active knowledge of language and display a low coefficient of variation, also confirming the “readiness” of formulas, clichés, etc. The second phase of this study, which took place in 2013 and 2014 with a smaller sample of informants, partially confirmed previous results, as can be seen below (Experiment 2):

- Greetings (*ciao; come va?; ch' iur è?; come stai?; che fai?; que fa?; che successo?*)
- Expressives/Interjections (*vergogna; mama/mamma mia; managia/managgia; que puzza; che buono; capeeshe?; bedda matre; fabbene!; puzza!*)
- Swear words (*ladzaruni; mangiacake; mi cugliuni; stupido; vafangul/o; t'amazz; strunz; chi sse ne frega; digraziato; camurria si!*)
- Terms of endearment (*beddu/a miu/a*)
- Directives (*facitilo; piglia u tilefunu; camina; mangia; non sporcari*)
- Idioms (*A faciti bbeni*)

In the second part of the experiment, most categories are reproduced by informants, who recalled their previous answers and were able to extend them. The most frequent semantic area that recurs deals with *food*, as regular entries in question number 9 show (e.g. *proshoot, antipast*).

Question number 10 enquired about definitions of Italian American people by other communities, mainly, but not exclusively, mainstream Americans. When informants were prompted to think about how other people define Italian Americans (cf. *intragroup* and *intergroup*, Trudgill 2002), they came up with a number of colourful – but highly derogatory – definitions that are reported in detail in Graph 5 below, also reporting on the main variants. It is controversial and hardly verifiable whether different spellings correspond to different pronunciations or inability of informants to write the word in a standardized form. For example, *whop* is an example of hypercorrection, standing for *wop*, generally held to be an acronym for *without papers*.



Graph 5. Words used by non Italian Americans to define Italian Americans (Experiment 1).

As LaGumina et al. argue (2000), Italians who settled in the United States in the wake of mass immigration, suffered from intense ethnic prejudice and racism. Furthermore, they claim that the epithets used were to become a permanent mark of *Italianness* for future generations: “this prejudice established their subordinate status in American society and shaped the expression of Italian ethnicity for succeeding generations” (LaGumina et al. 2000, L). One of the most subtle forms of prejudice was the use of derogatory epithets that broadly referred to their ethnic identity and the related practice of anglicising individual and family names by American authorities. According to LaGumina et al.’s study, the most common epithets are *wop*, *dago*, and *guinea*. All these three labels have been named by participants in this study, with a prominence of *wop* that was mentioned by c. half of the informants.

In the *Merriam-Webster*, *wop* is defined as: “Italian (usually offensive).” The first known use is traced back to 1908 and a note gives additional etymological information: “Italian dialect *guappo swaggerer, tough*, from Spanish *guapo*, probably from Middle French dialect *vape, wape, weak, insipid*, from Latin *vappa*, i.e. *wine gone flat*.” An online resource, *Wordreference*, is more explicit and gives the following: “cafone italiano (slang).”

However, more information on these colloquialisms and epithets are to be found in the *Urban Dictionary*, that is a web-based dictionary that includes more than 7,740 million definitions to date. Entries are regulated by volunteer editors and rated by site visitors. All the definitions that have

been incorporated in this study are reported *verbatim* and have not been corrected, as they are users' definitions without professional editing. The top-rated entry for *wop* is reported here: "An epithet used for those of Italian descent. WOP stands for WithOut Papers. Many Italian immigrants had no papers to identify themselves and were branded as WOPs."

Greaseball is the second-rated item, defined by the *Merriam-Webster* as "a person of Hispanic or Mediterranean descent (usually offensive)" and its first known use is dated in 1922. The *Urban Dictionary* provides a much more explicit definition that is overtly racist: "another derogatory term for an italian. A greaseball is someone who looks like they don't take showers all that often. Italians seem to be naturally greasy and unheigenic. Therefore this name was made to describe this certain breed of italians who lack etiquette and basic hygiene." The *Urban Dictionary* reveals connotations and usage that expand on what can be conventionally found in more traditional lexicographic tools, such as a dictionary or thesaurus.

Guinea is a reference to inhabitants of the coastal area in Western Africa as the so-called "Guinea Negro" (LaGumina et al. 2000). As historians and sociolinguists have pointed out, Italians in the United States were not considered initially as Caucasians and were scorned as inferior to African blacks. Guinea is absent from traditional lexicographic resources, but a comment in the online and free version of the *Merriam-Webster* reports the use of this term in Mario Puzo's novel, *The Godfather*, and complains about the absence of explanation of this specific use of the term (i.e. "Come on, anybody that has read anything by Mario Puzo i.e. 'The Godfather' and other of his books has seen the word 'guinea'. Disappointed that there isn't an explanation for the word here other than referring to gold and gold coins"). In effect, in the script of the *Godfather*, *guinea* occurs 8 times, *wop*, *daigo* and *greaseball* only once. The *Urban Dictionary* reports the following explanation: "The most vile racial slur that can be used against an Italian-American. Refers to the Guinea Coast of Africa; using this slur is a very offensive way of implying that Italian-Americans are non-whites (something we tend to get very defensive about!!). Unlike the 'N-word', which African-Americans sometimes use to address each other, no Italian-American would ever address another Italian-American using this word. Nor would they use the word 'wop' (also offensive, but not in a racial way). HOWEVER, it IS common for Italian-Americans to refer to each other as 'dago'; this is used the same way that blacks use the N-word with each other."

This entry is very instructive as it draws parallels in the way Italian Americans and Afro-Americans are addressed in *intergroup* and *intragroup* dynamics, also showing that what is allowed in intragroup

dynamics is not allowed in intergroup dynamics (see Spears 2006 for African Americans, see Kruse 1988 for Italian Americans).

Guinea and *guido* are also explained as follows in the *Urban Dictionary*: “Italian racial slur; Only for One Italian to define another Italian. As Black People use the word N*gga. Guineas and Guidos are NOT the same thing. People usually say, Guidos are Italian. Not true. Guidos are basically wanna-be Italians. Men that dress like the stereotypical Italian or Italian American just to receive recognition by others. Many people tend to call Italians ‘Guido.’ Best bet is to just not call an Italian a Guinea if your NOT Italian, unless you want a pissed off Italian wanting to kick your ass.” The latter definition highlights once more intergroup and intragroup dynamics in minority communities.

Dago is defined by the *Merriam-Webster online* as: “a person of Italian or Spanish descent (usually offensive)”. What is more interesting is one comment by one user that refers back to a very popular film to talk about the use of this term: “Mick called Rocky dago in the first Rocky movie when Rocky gets a message from Mick about Apollo looking for sparring partners. *I wondered by the tone if it was meant to be offensive or not*” (emphasis mine). The emphasised sentence clarifies the fact that even when the context of utterance is clear (the user watched the film), the intended meaning may be unclear, especially for those who *do not belong* to the group.

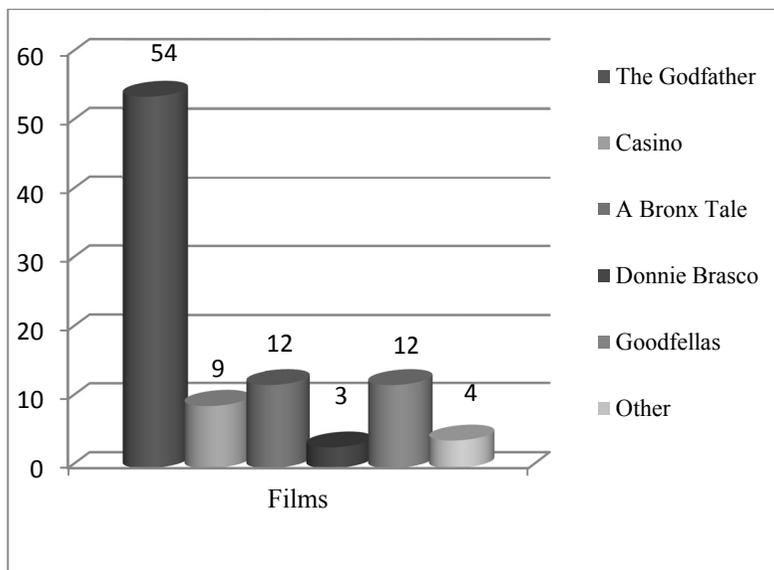
The importance of the media in the creation and maintenance of stereotypes is thus central to any reflection on cultural identities, especially in the context of migration and clash between mainstream and alternative cultures and languages. Alternative lexicographic resources, such as the *Urban Dictionary*, help understand how pervasive the media is, such as cinema and TV, in the interpretation of words and expressions that may be carriers of identity. In the following Sections, some reflections on the use of Italian American language in the media will help clarify how central the media is to the shaping of cultural and linguistic identities, even in highly ethnically-aware individuals.

4. Media and identity

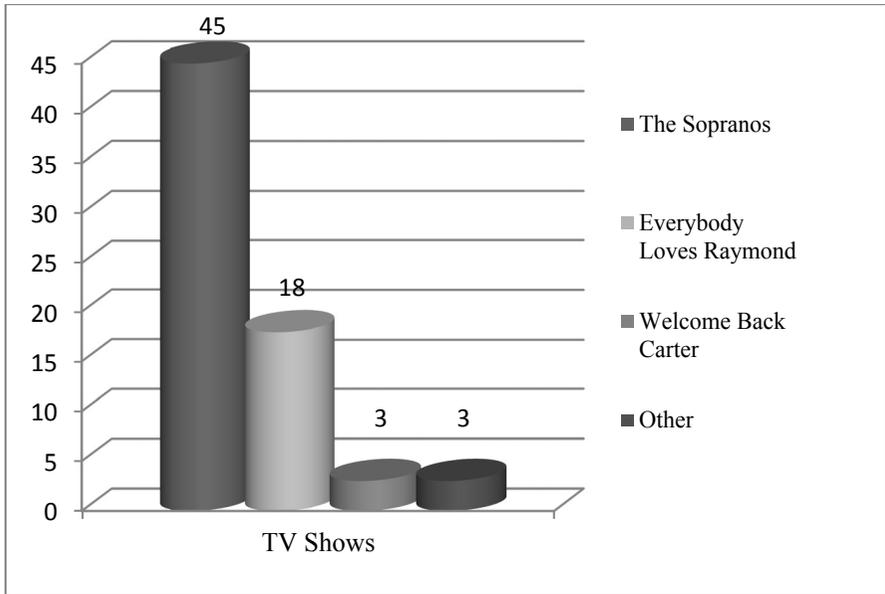
Previous studies on the media and Italian culture and language have explored different facets of the issue (Cavaliere 2012), for example investigating how non-Italians (mainly Europeans, Americans, and North Africans) perceive Italian cinema (Rossi 2007, 2008, 2011) and how the Italian cinema is evaluated in other countries (Repetto and Tagliabue 2001). In commenting on the findings of his interviews, Rossi (2007)

reports that his informants identified as “Italian” Francis Ford Coppola’s *The Godfather* (1972). Rossi argues that the film’s Italian American setting and Coppola’s deployment of a wide range of stereotypes of Italian Americans have contributed to the overall identification of the Italians of the film with Italians *tout court*, and to such an extent that the informants were drawn to believe that that film was also shot and produced in Italy. Repetto and Tagliabue (2001) also comment on non-Italians’ ideas about the Italian cinema, finding a general preference for Neorealism and *Commedia all’Italiana* in foreigners. This stands in stark contrast with what Italians themselves seem to favour, i.e. more recent films, such as those directed by the Academy Award winning Benigni, by Troisi, and Tornatore. When it comes to television, informants generally displayed negative evaluations, however, they were nonetheless able to quote a greater number of shows and celebrities than films, actors and directors (Rossi 2007). In our survey, many findings confirm the high degree of stereotyping of the Italian language and culture and the influence that they have on Italian Americans themselves.

Graphs 6 and 7 report on films and TV shows that feature Italian American characters in the years 2008-2009, whereas Graphs 9 and 10 report the same data for the years 2013-2014.



Graph 6. Films on Italian American themes (Experiment 1).



Graph 7. TV shows on Italian American themes (Experiment 1).

What is striking about these results is their almost unanimous convergence. We might expect similar results from a group of Italians, who do not have access to the full American TV show schedule, but here it is evident that Italian Americans are also bound to the monolithic representation of Italian Americans as stereotyped by the media (Bondanella 2004). In question 11 almost 86% of informants named *The Godfather* as an example of media representation of Italian American culture in cinema and c. 71% named *The Sopranos* as an example of media representation of Italian American culture in TV. Both examples, in cinema and TV, bring about associations with the worst and most stereotyped representations of Italy in the United States, shaping a monolithic representation of Italian Americans as thriving in illegal activities, interested in food and alcohol, and playing around with a multitude of women (Cavallero et al. 2011). Lotardo provides examples of how Italians may be described: they are “overly interested in food”, “hot tempered and violent”, “talk with their hands”, they are “associated with the mob”, “overly tan”, “steroid users”, and “loud and obnoxious” (2010).

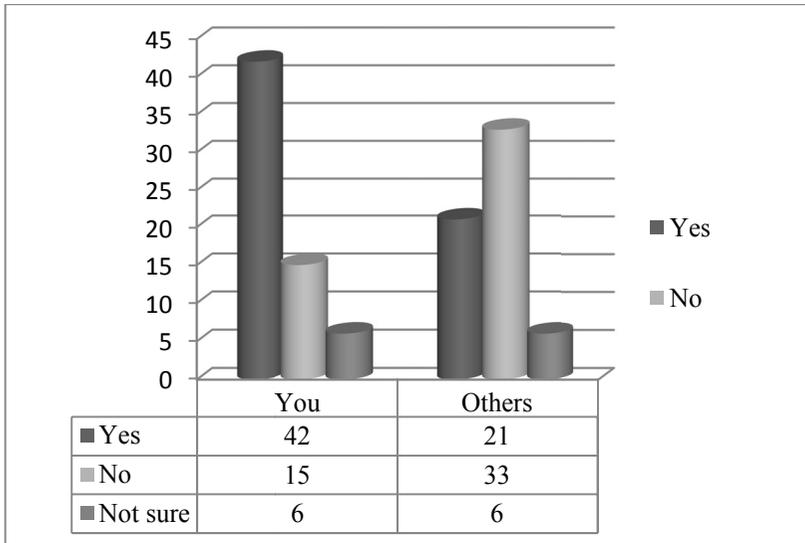
Further exploration into what informants claimed about the uses of Italian American language in the media can be seen in the list of categories below:

- Greetings (*ciao; che success?; come stai?*)
- Food
- Curses/swear words (*strunz; stupido; paesano; meschino; disgraziato; vafangul*)
- Stereotypes/interpersonal formulas (*Fuggedaboutit; You wanna piece o' me?; Do you know who I am?; He's a friend of ours; Are you talking to me?*)
- Proverbs/Idioms (*Leave the gun, take the cannoli; It's nothing personal, it's business*)

A comparison with what was discussed above allows us to claim that most categories are identical or overlap, thus creating a striking parallel with what happens in real life and in the fictional world (i.e. cinema and TV). However, far from disputing the points of contact between reality and fiction, it is more interesting to notice that informants seem to live in an *in-between world*, where the reality of their family cultural background is almost indistinguishable from what happens in (highly negative) stereotyped and fictional world(s). Again, the use of stereotypes and clichés is overwhelming and this has nothing to do with speakers' efficiency and resourcefulness. As Drazdauskiene explains, stereotypes are “routinized discourse units caused by standardized conditions of communication and identical contexts of situation” (1981, 67).

Such findings can be explained both in terms of the type of language elicited in this experiment and also in terms of the high use of clichés in the media, especially when it comes to characterizing Italian American types and characters. In years 2008-2009 and 2013-2014 informants claimed that they drew many of their examples of Italian language from cinema and TV.

A further question probes into this state of affairs, enquiring as to whether they have ever used or heard the words or expressions used by fictional characters in the real world. Their answers are summarised in Graph 8 below.



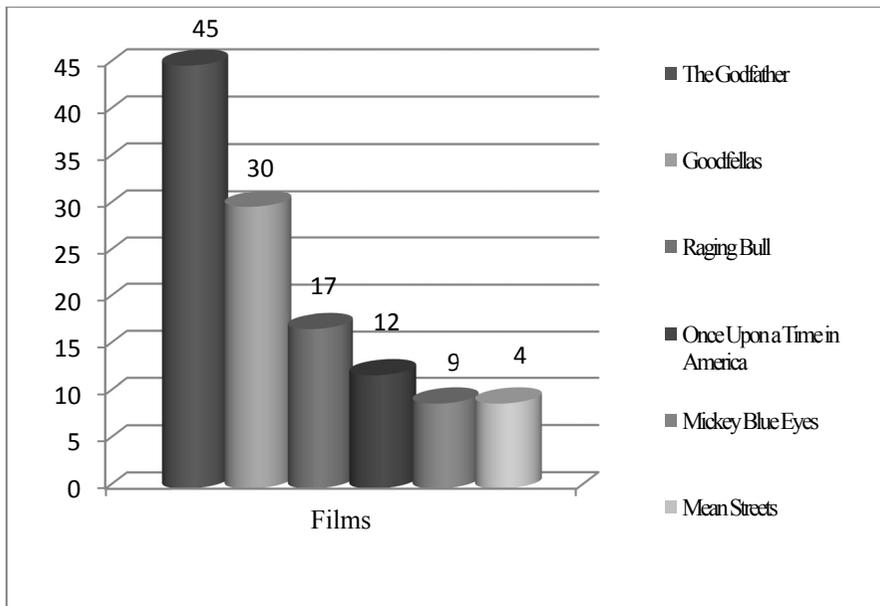
Graph 8. Language use in fiction and reality (Experiment 1).

At first sight, data from Graph 8 is rather remarkable as it is contradictory: on the one hand, 42 informants claimed they used words or expression heard from fictional characters, on the other hand, only 21 claimed that they had heard words or expressions outside the fictional world.

In the second step of the project, the same questions were asked to the same sample of informants, even though only 45/63 of them were available to replicate the experiment. Graphs 9 and 10 reproduce the films and TV shows about Italian Americans that were mentioned by the informants. It is interesting to notice that informants came up with a greater number of answers, maybe because they were already familiar with the questions and were also able to do some research before submitting their answers. With regard to films, *The Godfather* and *Goodfellas* were once more mentioned, but also other films were included in their answers, for example *Rocky*, *Raging Bull*, *Once Upon a Time in America*, *Mickey Blue Eyes*, *Mean Streets*, *My Cousin Vinny* (6), *Mac* and *Moonstruck* (both 4).

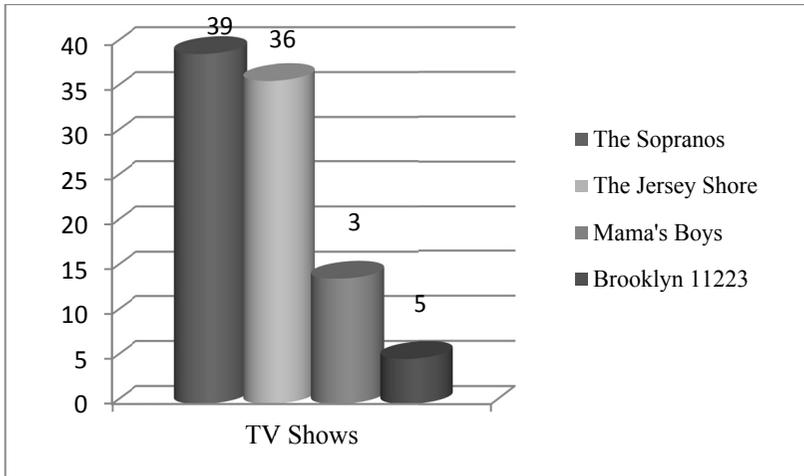
Some informants were more specific in their answers and claimed that they wanted to mention films which “do not involve mafia and guido guys” and to this end included *Rocky*, *My Cousin Vinny*, *Mac* and *Moonstruck* to “show that Italy is much more than guido guys and mafia”, as one informant claimed. He also admitted he had to do some research to

find out films without mafia and gross stereotyping, as he had not been able to recall any film on his own.



Graph 9 - Films on Italian American themes (Experiment 2).

With regard to TV shows, the experiment replicated in 2013-2014 also showed additional results. TV programme schedule had in the meantime grown richer and popular shows, such as *Jersey Shore*, had appeared and struck the American imagination. However, the interviewees were ready to criticize the negative impact that *Jersey Shore* had had on the public image of Italian Americans, also citing as an example the disapproval from Italian American activists against the “attack” on Italian American culture, as instantiated in the free use of the “g-word”, as claimed by New Jersey state Senator Joe Vitale, who compared the “g-word” to the “n-word”, referring to the derogatory term for African American (Rohrer 2010). However, *The Sopranos* was once more mentioned by the overwhelming majority of informants as the most common example of Italian American in the media, again reinforcing negative stereotyping.



Graph 10 - TV shows on Italian American themes (Experiment 2).

5. Conclusive remarks

Despite the fact that informants reported a higher number of stereotyped speech acts with reference to fictional characters, most categories identified in this study coincide or overlap, for example *greetings*, *swear words*, *terms of endearment* and general stereotypes, clichés and formulas used as discourse markers in interpersonal terms. These categories reinforce ethnic stereotyping as they are grounded in racial monolithic representations that are mostly based on negative attributions. This state of affairs has been found in both datasets and has been confirmed in the two experiments carried out in this study.

A reciprocal influence between media and speech communities is part of the dynamics of global society/local communities. However, a strong attachment to the language and culture of their origins that was assumed in this sample of informants conflicts with their somewhat stereotyped representation of their group in both intra- and intergroup dynamics. The total absence of a counter-narrative or of a counter-representation speaks louder than words. Informants almost unanimously showed signs of loyalty conflicts, especially with regard to how the media represents their group.

It cannot be overstated that when it comes to language use, self-perception is very different from real language use. However, much can be learnt from what is thought and perceived by speakers, as these feelings

and perceptions can be even more powerful than real language use in terms of identity construction and a sense of wholeness with oneself and one's own community (De Fina, Fellin 2010).

Furthermore, even ethnically-aware individuals are subject to the pervasive power of media discourse. An unabridged comment by one informant is worth reporting here: "While the shows and movies can be entertaining, I find that they totally do not represent Italian-Americans AT ALL. Italians are more than people who curse, cook, drink wine, eat in large, obscene amounts, cheat on his or her spouse, and of course involve themselves in criminal activity. Italians discovered this country, we invented the telephone, we have wonderful cinematic accomplishments that DO NOT involve crime. We were the creators of the MODERN WORLD through the Renaissance!! Italian-Americans are highly educated and SO SO SO MUCH MORE than what popular culture believes us to be. There has to be a way to change this."

While she defends Italian culture with passionate words, another aspect should not go unnoticed: she rejects negative stereotypes by perpetuating other stereotypes instead of proposing alternative strategies or counter-discourses, for example by suggesting direct knowledge or first-hand experiences of the culture or people in question rather than adopting rigid, static and aprioristic viewpoints.

This shows that conventionally representation implies some degree of stereotyping, and, whether to a greater or lesser extent, this impinges on the way we look at ourselves and others. The development of alternative counter-discourses or counter-narratives, which should go beyond (derogatory) representations reinforced by the media, is far from easy and straightforward, but future lines of research on the matter to this end are more than needed.

References

- Auer, Peter, ed. 2007. *Style and Social Identities. Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity*. Berlin: Gruyter.
- Bondanella, Peter. 2004. *Hollywood Italians. Dagos, Palookas, Romeos, Wise Guys, and Sopranos*. New York and London: Continuum.
- Carnevale, Nancy C. 2009. *A New Language, A New World: Italian Immigrants in the United States 1890-1945*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- Cavaliere, Flavia. 2012. "Mafia on the US Screen: Setting the Stereotype Straight". In *A Lifetime of English Studies. Essays in Honour of Carol*

- Taylor Torsello* edited by Fiona Dalziel, Sara Gesuato, Maria Teresa Musacchio, 633–647. Padova: Il Poligrafo.
- Cavallero, Jonathan J. 2011. “Gangsters, Fessos, Tricksters, and Sopranos.” *Journal of Popular Film & Television* 32.2 (2004): 50–63. *Communication & Mass Media Complete*. Web. 8 Dec. 2011.
- Cinotto, Simone, ed. 2014. *Making Italian America: Consumer Culture and the Production of Ethnic Identities*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Coulmas, Florian ed. 1981. *Conversational Routine: Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Crystal, David, 2007. *How Language Works*. New York: Penguin US.
- De Fina, Anna and Luciana Fellin. 2010. “Italian in the U.S.” In *Immigrant Language Patterns in the U.S.* edited by Kim Potowski, 195–205. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Drazdauskiene, Maria Liudvika. 1981. “On Stereotypes in Conversation, Their Meaning and Significance”. In *Conversational Routine: Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech* edited by Florian Coulmas, 55–68. The Hague: Mouton.
- Fellin, Luciana, 2010. “The Question of Language in the Italian American Experience.” In *Languages, Cultures, Identities of Italy in the World*. Selected Proceedings from the AISLLI Conference 2009 edited by Fabio Finotti, 449–462. Venezia: Marsilio Editori.
- Ferguson, Charles A. 1996. *Sociolinguistic Perspectives. Papers on Language in Society 1959-1994*, edited by Thom Huebner. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Flanagan Constance, Syvertsen Amy K., Gill Sukhdeep, Gally Leslie S., and Patricio Cumsille. 2009. “Ethnic Awareness, Prejudice, and Civic Commitments in Four Ethnic Groups of American Adolescents.” *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 38(4): 500–518.
- Haller, Hermann W. 1993. *La lingua perduta e ritrovata: l’italiano degli italo-americani*. Firenze: La Nuova Italia.
- Hochstetler, Lee and Tim Tillinghast. 1996. “Discussion on Sociolinguistic Questionnaires.” *Notes on Literature in Use and Language Programs* 48: 48–61.
- Hymes, Dell. 1962. “The Ethnography of Speaking”. In *Anthropology and Human Behavior* edited by Thomas Gladwin and William C. Sturtevant, 13–53. Washington, DC: Anthropology Society of Washington.

- Krase, Jerome. 1988. "Italian American Community Organizations: Problems and Prospects for Future Study." In *The Melting Pot and Beyond: Italian Americans in the Year 2000* edited by Jerome Krase and William Egelman, 217–222. Staten Island: AIHA.
- Kristiansen, Tore. 2011. "Attitudes, Ideology, and Awareness." In *The Sage Handbook of Sociolinguistics* edited by Ruth Wodak, Barbara Johnstone, and Paul E. Kersill, 265–278. London: Sage.
- Labov, William. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- . 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- LaGumina, Salvatore J., Cavaoli, Frank J., Primeggia, Salvatore, and Joseph A. Varacalli, eds. 2000. *The Italian American Experience. An Encyclopedia*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Lotardo, Jenna. 2010. "Italian American Stereotypes in the Media." Accessed May 3, 2014. <http://uhaweb.hartford.edu/LOTARDO/>.
- Makoni, Sinfree B. 2007. *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2010. *Language as a Local Practice*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Repetto, Monica, Tagliabue, Carlo, eds. 2001. *Vecchio cinema Paradiso. Il cinema italiano all'estero*. Milano: Il Castoro.
- Rickford, John R. 1987. "The Haves and Have Nots: Sociolinguistic Surveys and the Assessment of Speaker Competence" *Language in Society* 16(2): 149–177.
- Rohrer, Finlo. 2010. "Why Are Some People Offended by TV Show Jersey Shore?" BBC News Magazine, July 20, 2010. Accessed May 5, 2014. <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-10808472>
- Rossi, Fabio. 2007. *Lo straniero in Italia e l'italiano all'estero visti dal cinema (e dal teatro)*. In *Vicini/lontani. Identità e alterità nella/della lingua*, edited by Elena Pistolesi and Sabine Schwarze, 131–153. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- . 2008. *Hollywood Italian: l'italiano all'estero ritratto dal cinema statunitense. Rilievi linguistici*. In *Migrazione e identità culturali*, edited by Stefania Taviano, 107–121. Messina: Mesogea.
- . 2011. *Gli stereotipi filmici e pubblicitari dell'italiano all'estero*. In *Le frontiere del Sud. Culture e lingue a contatto* edited by Maria Bonaria Urban, Ronald de Rooy, Ineke Vedder, and Mauro Scorretti, 45–61. Cagliari: CUEC.
- Sindoni, Maria Grazia. 2008. "Linguistic Representations of Italian/American Identities." Paper presented at AAIS-AATI, Taormina, May 22-24.

- Sorhus, Helen. B. 1977. “To Hear Ourselves – Implications for Teaching English as a Second Language”. *English Language Teaching Journal* 31: 211–221.
- Spears, Arthur K. 2006. “Perspectives: A View of the ‘N-Word’ from Sociolinguistics”. *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*. Accessed September 4, 2014. <http://diverseeducation.com/article/6114/>
- Starks, Donna, McRobbie-Utasi, Zita. 2001. “Collecting Sociolinguistic Data: Some Typical and Some Not So Typical Approaches” *New Zealand Journal of Sociology* 16(1): 79–92.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2002. *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Online reference resources

www.wordreference.com
www.urbandictionary.com
www.merriam-webster.com

Appendix 1

Give your answers by ticking the box or writing a full answer where required.

This is ONLY for US born people with (grand)parent(s) born in Italy.

1. Are you bilingual? (i.e. do you speak and write perfectly in both Italian and American?)

Yes

No

2. Are you male or female?

Male

Female

3. How old are you?

14-18

19-25

26-30

31-39

more than 40

4. What is your school qualification?

Diploma (Senior High School)

Degree

Master's Degree or more

None of the above

5. If you speak fluent Italian, where did you learn?

At home

At school

6. Where are your parents/grandparents from? Please specify location.

North Italy _____

Central Italy _____

South Italy _____

7. Were your parent/s born in Italy?

Yes

No

8. Are both your parents of Italian origin?

Yes

No

9. What are the most used Italian words/expressions in the circle of your family (including yourself)/relatives/acquaintances? (Think of Italian words/expressions "mixed" with American, if any).

10. Are there words that non-Italians use to define Italian American people? If so, which ones? Are they good, bad or neutral?

11. Can you name TV shows or movies featuring Italian American characters? Name the two most popular shows/movies in your opinion.

12. What are the Italian words or expressions that Italian American characters use in these TV shows/movies? Give some typical examples.

13. Have you ever used these words or expressions in your real life? If so, specify which ones.

Yes _____

No

14. Have you ever heard these words used by fictional characters outside TV/cinema?

Yes by _____

No

15. Do you like Italian American TV/movie characters? Do you feel represented by them? Why?

16. (Answer only if you don't speak Italian or have just basic knowledge). Most Italian words that you know are about ... (choose ONE answer).

- Family relationships
- Proverbs/idioms
- Traditions
- Sports, leisure time
- Food
- Swear words
- Other _____

17. Who do you mainly use Italian words or expressions with?

- With other Italians
- Only with your family/relatives
- With close friends
- With everyone, including non-Italians
- Other _____

18. What is the most important symbol of Italy? (i.e. flag, language, sport, food, people, music, other...)

19. Have you ever visited Italy? If so, specify how many times and how long.

- Yes _____
- No

Thank you, you helped a lot!

If you are interested in the outcomes of the Italian American Language and Identity Research Project, please email me at mgsindoni@unime.it and I'll give you all the details.

Appendix 2

How to do a sociolinguistic survey/experiment

Rickford (1987) claims that one of the main concerns of linguistics is assessing the linguistic competence of individuals or groups. He thus contrasts the approach of *formal linguists*, who pay little attention to observations and rely on intuitions, and that of *sociolinguists*, who are interested in direct observations, especially drawing on spontaneous data. However, what is observation? How should one go about designing a sociolinguistic experiment?

In Section A, you can find basic guidelines to carry out a sociolinguistic survey. Level: students with basic knowledge of sociolinguistics and linguistics (undergraduate students).

In Section B, a more elaborate set of guidelines is outlined, for a dissertation project and/or experiment. Level: students with a more thorough expertise in sociolinguistics (postgraduate students).

Section A

Step 1. Introduce your hypothesis or research questions. Present them in a clear and detailed way and make sure they can be tested: no overgeneralisation and no claims that cannot be proved.

Examples: “We assume that Italian Americans are interested in learning Italian.” This hypothesis can be checked in several ways, for example by asking direct questions or enquiring whether informants participate in Italian language classes. Conversely, “we assume that Italian Americans are proud of their origins” is a sweeping generalisation and, as such, is difficult to prove, at least in quantitative terms.

Step 2. Describe your methodology. Use a step-by-step procedure and make sure that your experiment can be replicated. This is useful to see how robust your findings are.

Example: Illustrate how you want to prove your hypothesis or address your research questions, for example by compiling a questionnaire, which directly addresses the questions you raised. Firstly ask questions to know about your informants’ sociodemographics, or independent variables, (e.g. gender, age, family background, and other relevant information), then

other questions more directly linked to what you are most interested (dependent variables).

Step 3. Present your data in a chart, table, or list. This should correspond to your hypothesis or directly answer your research questions.

Step 4. Discuss your findings: do they support your hypothesis? Do they answer your research questions? If not, why not? What might you do differently if you were to go on with your experiment?

Section B

The following are more fine-grained guidelines for a sociolinguistic project/experiment/dissertation.

Step 1. Introduction: state of the art and research questions

- Outline the main issues that will be dealt with in your study/experiment.
- Write your research questions. Avoid a long list and complex, unrelated questions: they should be limited in number and be testable.
- Why are your research questions important to be addressed? If possible, point out gaps in research literature (e.g. are there similar studies? What was missing? Which other questions were not addressed and why do they matter?).
- What kind of data are you studying? Lexical, phonological, syntactic? Spoken, written, digital? What are the main variable(s) and possible variant(s) of the main variable(s)? For example, written words to be spoken.

Step 2. Selection of the sample of informants

- Describe the speech community that will be tackled in your study. Who makes up this community? Who is not part? How did you decide who can be incorporated and who cannot? (For example: Italian Americans of second generation or Italian Americans who speak Italian, etc.).
- Is the speech community a cohesive group? How do you know?

Step 3. *Methodology*

- What steps did you take to select your sample of informants? (For example, how did you select the main variables and how did you investigate their sociodemographics, i.e. how you know about their gender, age, etc.?).
- Explain how you found your informants and how you involved them in your study (what did you tell them? Did you meet them in person? Or did you use other methods? What was their reaction?).
- How was the data collected? Was it written, recorded, transcribed? How many questions or items were elicited?
- How were the results analysed? Did you create statistics for your analysis?
- Describe the dependent and independent variables involved in the study. Define the envelope of variation for linguistic dependent variable(s); define those which correlate to dependent ones for independent variable. The latter can be 1) social (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity); 2) stylistic (e.g. casual conversation vs. formal writing); 3) linguistic (e.g. co-text, pragmatic value, pronunciation, etc.).
- Provide list(s) or table(s) to summarize your findings.

Step 4. *Discussion of results*

- What did you find out? Discuss each independent variable, commenting on how they correlate with dependent variables. Was there any interaction between the variables?

Step 5. *Conclusions*

- Do your data support your hypothesis or answer your research questions? To what extent? Be sure to answer all the questions raised in the introduction.
- Are there unexpected findings? Discuss them.
- How can your study be improved? Point out problems and limitations in your experiment.
- What could be possible further lines of research for future studies on the matter?

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOPRANOS' MOBSPEAK: STEREOTYPING ITALIAN AMERICAN CULTURE

AMELIA R. BURNS

1. Background

Since the beginnings of the nineteenth century, mass emigration has played an important role in the socio-demographic history of Italy. According to census data, more than 24 million Italians left their country in the 1900s, migrating both overseas and within the European continent.

This migration took place in several waves at different times. By 1915 more than 14 million people had already left Italy, whereas during the two wars and the fascist period the exodus was much more contained (Corrà, Ursini 1998, 563; Tirabassi 2005); after 1945, migration started to increase again (about 300,000 individuals a year). From 1960 on, the demographic movements were basically directed from southern Italy towards other European countries, while the favourite destination of Sicilians was still the USA (Tirabassi 2005).

The United States of America is the country which has attracted the highest number of Italian migrants, about 5.7 million (data from Tirabassi 2005), particularly in the period before World War I. Yet even in the year 2000, some 15,723,555 US residents, representing 5.6% of the entire population, declared themselves to be of Italian ancestry¹, representing the fifth largest ethnic group in the United States, with Italian being the fourth European language spoken in U.S. homes.

¹ www.census.gov

STATE	AMOUNT	%
New York	2,737,146	14.4
New Jersey	1,503,637	17.9
California	1,450,884	4.3
Pennsylvania	1,418,465	11.6
Florida	1,003,977	6.3

Table 1: Italian American population in the U.S.

Table 1² shows the U.S. States with the highest population of Italian Americans.

The vast majority (88%) live in or near a big city, have small families (one child), low divorce rates (8%), and white collar jobs (66%).

There are several important political organizations who advocate for Italian Americans, and for issues involving this ethnic group. The National Italian American Foundation (NIAF)³ is the major advocacy group in Washington, D.C. for Italian Americans. Its mission is to preserve and protect Italian American heritage and culture. Another important organization is The Commission for Social Justice (CSJ)⁴, which is the anti-defamation arm of the Order Sons of Italy in America (OSIA)⁵, founded in 1979 to fight the stereotyping of Italian Americans by the entertainment, advertising and news industries. As part of its Positive Image Program, the CSJ conducts research, produces studies, teaching tools, pamphlets, exhibits and other materials regarding the achievements and contributions of Italian Americans.

Despite their record of achievement in countless fields, Italian Americans have been stereotyped by the media almost exclusively as either gangsters or losers, or both (OSIA).

²All figures based on the United States Census 2000. See www.census.gov. Compiled by the Research Department of the National Italian American Foundation.

³ www.niaf.org

⁴ www.nyscsj-osia.org

⁵ www.osia.org

Today, in the United States, there are many common stereotypes about Italian Americans⁶. Just to mention some examples, they are described as: overly interested in food; clannish; great singers; hot-tempered and violent; ignorant and uneducated. Furthermore, it is common belief that Italian Americans talk with their hands, and women are either elderly overweight housewives and grandmothers who wear black dresses, housecoats and aprons, or young sexual temptresses.

All these stereotypes have pervaded the U.S. entertainment industry, presenting Italian American characters and plots in a manner that is unbalanced, unfair, and damaging (Cavallero 2004) to the collective reputation of an estimated 26 million Americans of Italian descent. The increase in mob movies can be mainly attributed to the commercial and critical success of "The Godfather." After its release in 1972, an average of eight mob movies a year has been made⁷.

The Sopranos is one of the TV series which has had a great impact on the American audience in this last decade, both for its plot and for the language of the dialogues. It was first broadcast in 1999 and it went on until 2007 when the 6th season marked the end of the series, though probably only temporarily.

The main characters are members of a mob-family of New Jersey, and the protagonist, Tony Soprano, is a gangster going through a profound personal crisis that leads him to ask for the support of a psychotherapist. The Italian cultural trademark is evident right from the first scenes of the season. A great importance is given to the values of family and respect, stressing the dominant role the church has for the characters' lives. This is particularly true for the female characters, as in the case of Tony's wife, Carmela. Tony's children are taught to be respectful of rules and authority, even though the example given within the family is completely opposed to the imparted teachings. A special mention should be made about the character of Tony's mother, Livia. An atypical mother, who shows neither love nor affection towards her son, other than during family reunions and dinners. She is so blinded by fear of being abandoned, and thirsts to control other people's lives, that she even tries to have her only son killed by her brother-in-law, Tony's uncle, Jun. The focus is mainly on the reality of the characters, with their weaknesses and their cruelty as mobsters.

⁶ For further reference see the study conducted by the Italic Institute of America on the *Italian Culture in Films (1928-2002)*, <http://www.italic.org/mediaWatch/filmStudyPrint.php>, and Cortes (1987).

⁷ <http://www.italic.org/>

The strategic choice of hiring actors with Italian origins was crucial for the attempt to achieve a realistic effect with the series, which was awarded five Golden Globes, twenty-one Emmy Awards and many other prizes.

There have been several critical analyses of the series, mainly concentrating on the stereotyping of Italian-Americans, on racism, on misogyny and homophobia, as well as the impact of the series on the audience from a socio-psychological perspective (Gabbard 2002; Lavery 2002; Greene, Vernezze 2004; Yacowar 2003; Vincent 2008). Nevertheless, the many conferences on *The Sopranos* have not exhausted the wide spectrum of linguistic analysis concerning this show. The Italian language in the USA has been observed for almost a century now (cf. Corrà, Ursini 1998, 565-566 and 571-572 for a brief overview) and the phenomenon that has attracted most interest is the so-called 'Italian-American' vernacular, described as a "mixed language" by Menarini (1947, 173), which is frequently represented in this series.

2. Aims

This chapter investigates the many Italianisms occurring in the dialogues the series, and attempts to give some insights into the cultural aspects of the dialogues, to give a better understanding of the Italian American identity proposed, and to define the extent and quality of the stereotypes as compared to reality, thus addressing some of the many controversial questions raised about the stereotyping of Italian Americans in the media. Major foci of the present analysis will be the peculiar blending of Italian and English in the language of the dialogues, and the use of slang and Mafia jargon. In order to achieve this objective, the subtitles of the first season of the series were analyzed using corpus linguistics tools. Much of the language in Italian was not subtitled, and hence does not occur in the original wordlist generated through the elaboration of the subtitles. These omitted sentences, mainly concerning idioms, ways of saying and culture-bounded expression, will be treated separately within this chapter.

3. Methods

Lexicon is the most volatile part of a language. New words enter our vocabulary everyday, while others fall into disuse, although these changes are difficult to perceive without longitudinal studies. There are several procedures for the creation of new terms: coinage, derivation, composition, abbreviation, shift of grammatical category and semantic

redefinition. All these mechanisms are called endogenous because they occur within the language itself. However, the vocabulary is also the most permeable part of a language. It can also undergo variations through the introduction of words from other languages, coming from cultural exchange and migration. The writers of the show have attempted to fit the language to the setting, hence the American Italian characters speak non-standard American, to mark their social class, education, and affiliation to the Mafia. Accordingly, this television series lexicon was analyzed diastatically, i.e. in relation to the speakers' social class, education, and affiliation to a particular social group, the Mafia. Due to the specific context of use, it is necessary to refer to the language of *The Sopranos* as mainly slang, an informal non-standard variety of speech spoken by a specific group of people.

3.1. Materials

This study was carried out through the analysis of the series' subtitles⁸, in particular the dialogues of the 13 episodes of season 1 which form the SopranosCorpus; and through the study of the Italian which was not subtitled.⁹The first season was selected because it is considered the one which had the greatest impact on the audience and which introduced right from the beginning words pronounced in the first episode the Italian-American "mob lexicon".

The choice of analyzing the dialogues of *The Sopranos* TV series is coherent with the objective of this chapter, as film scripts rarely reflect genuinely real language use. In the specific case of *The Sopranos*' language, it is evident how the Italian American speech is exaggeratedly stereotyped, in order to create and strengthen clichés. This is all reinforced by the strategic choice of hiring mainly Italian Americans in the cast; in fact, as David Chase, creator and director of *The Sopranos*, explains: "I knew that we needed actors with New York – New Jersey roots and, whenever possible, theatre experience. [...] Being Italian also helped." (Chase 2002).

⁸ These subtitles, downloaded from TVsubtitles.net, are intended for viewers who can hear the audio, but cannot (fully) understand the language. Accordingly, the subtitles are meant to convey the spoken content but not the sound effects.

⁹ The omitted Italian will be studied in paragraph 3.3.

3.2. Corpus Analysis

As shown in table 2, the Corpus comprises 150,916 tokens and 6,593 types. A total of 755 Italianisms were counted, mainly represented by names, nouns, adjectives, verbs, interjections and profanities. Among these words, it is possible to distinguish some that have become Italian loans in the American-English language, and others that are typical of the Italian American slang, which mainly need to be recognised as regionalisms, especially pertaining to Southern Italian dialect, and in particular to the dialect spoken in Campania – in fact, the main characters of the series are originally from Avellino.

SopranosCorpus	
Tokens	150,916
Types	6,593
Italianisms	755

Table 2: SopranosCorpus Overall

All the Italianisms present in the subtitles were detected by close analytical reading of the texts, and grouped into macro-categories.

In table 3 it is possible to see the clusters in which the isolated loans have been grouped:

CLUSTER	FREQUENCY
People	596
Food	60
Curses and Slurs	27
Places	18
Others	54

Table 3: Clusters of Italianisms

In order to carry out the analysis, a representative selection of these Italianisms was investigated¹⁰, with a particular focus on those words typical of mob-slang and profanities (see Appendix 1).

¹⁰ However names and last names, contributing most of the instances, are left out of this study.

4. Analysis

The first cluster, related to people, sees the occurrences of words pertaining to courtesy language (*signora, signore*) or mob personalities (*capos, goombah*), although there are some references to public Italian or Italian American personalities which are intended by the writers to show them in a positive light (e.g. Andretti, Michelangelo, Meucci).

Among the words included in this cluster there is “American”, which appears in three different forms: *ameddigan* (1 occ.), *meddigan* (2 occ.) and *l'american* (1 occ.). *Ameddigan* and *meddigan* are used in the same sequence by Tony Soprano in episode 10:

- Tony: Guys like me, we're brought up to think **the meddigan** are fuckin' bores. The truth is, the average white man is no more boring... than the millionth conversation over who should have won, Marciano or Ali.
- Dr. Melfi: So am I to understand that you don't consider yourself white?
- Tony: I don't mean white, like Caucasian. I mean a white man, like our friend, Cusamano. Now, he's Italian, but he's **ameddigan**. He's what my old man woulda called the wonder bread wop. Eats his Sunday gravy out of a jar.
- Dr. Melfi: You seem to want to branch out. What's stopping you?
- Tony: The guys. What they'd think if I started hanging out with **the meddigan**. (S1E10)

L'american occurs just once in episode 8 in a dialogue between Christopher, Tony's nephew, and his wife Adriana:

- Christopher: I'm startin' with the dialogue.
- Adriana: "I managed to get the drop on him"? Do you mean to say, "I managed to get the drop on him"? Or is he saying "manuge," like "manugia **l'american**"? My Tennessee William. (S1E8)

It is possible to notice that in the first sequence the terms *ameddigan* and *meddigan* (with a preference for *meddigan* to *ameddigan* when it is preceded by the article *the*) are adopted by the same person, Tony, during his therapy, in a moment of anger. Instead, *l'american* is used by a woman, Adriana – who is making fun of her husband's movie script – in the locution *manugia l'american* (darn American!). Adriana is, therefore, much clearer in her Italian pronunciation compared to Tony who stresses the dialectal influence in his speech.

Goombah and *goomah* are respectively godfather and godmother, but in the specific context of mobspeak they acquire a different meaning. *Goombah* refers to a fellow of Italian origins, and has a positive connotation. In the analyzed season of the series *goombah* is used once, in its plural form *goombahs*, in episode 3, by Tony's friend Artie.

Artie: Two **goombahs** from the old neighborhood. (S1E3)

The female *goomah* (3 occ.) acquires a totally different meaning from the male *goombah*, referring to a mistress or a lover. The following excerpt shows how Carmela tolerates the presence of *goomahs* in Tony's life, while she feels betrayed because he is seeing a psychiatrist.

Carmela: I could deal with the **goomahs**. I knew I was better than them. As stupid as it sounds, I viewed them as a form of masturbation for him. I couldn't give him what he needed all the time. You're a man, father. You know that thirst. I was too busy with the house and kids to quench it. But the psychiatrist-- you know, she's not just a **goomah**. For the first time I feel like he's really cheating... and I'm the one who's thirsty. (S1E6)

As said, several popular Italians are mentioned as well – as shown in Appendix 1 – in particular four out of seven represent great Italian personalities (Andretti, Michelangelo, Meucci, Versace); Sacco and Vanzetti, who were unfairly executed in 1927 in the U.S., are mentioned to support racist theories against Italian immigrants; finally, Al Capone is mentioned twice in episode 10, when discussing famous mobster activities.

The second cluster expresses the close relationship between Italians and food, especially those culinary specialties typical of Southern Italian regions, such as cannoli, sfogliatelle and capicollo¹¹. This relationship is very evident in American commercials as well, as in the case of *Uncle Ben's pasta bowl* print ad which reads “If you eat an Uncle Ben's pasta bowl, don't be surprised if you start talking like this afterwards”, mocking Italian American speech.

The cluster named “curses and slurs” is the most representative of the mob-speak (24 occurrences). Insults and obscene language characterize most of the dialogues, in line with the presentation of characters with low education and a criminal attitude. This language is a demonstration of

¹¹ See Appendix 1 for translations.

virility, and indeed it is mainly used by men, conveying their toughness, as in episode 9 when Tony talking to his friend in a restaurant gets upset because of a boy who is wearing a cap: “Look at the fuckin' faccim over here. Wearing a cap in a nice restaurant like this” (S1E9).

The different pronunciation of Madonna is interesting to notice within the sequences. It occurs five times, four of which are interjections. As the following concordances will show this word is pronounced *marrone* (*marone*) when expressing irritation and frustration, and *Madonna* – as in the locution *Madonna mia!* – when it expresses fear, stressing the “d” sound.

In Episode 5 Carmela is talking to the priest, who is excusing himself for his feelings towards her; Carmela doesn't want to hear his words and tries to stop the conversation using the interjection *marrone*.

Priest:	Carmela. I don't know where to begin. It's-- it's not that I don't have desire for you in my heart.
Carmela:	Marrone , father, please.
Priest:	But last night... was one of the most difficult tests from God ever for me. (S1E5)

Another example can be found in episode 6, when one of the Capos, talking to Tony, expresses his frustration due to Uncle Jun's attitude.

Capo:	When Jackie was acting boss no one minded, 'cause it all evened out at the end of the day. But your uncle-- Marone! Does he eat alone. (S1E6)
-------	--

In this next sequence Tony passes out, and his family, in panic, rushes to see how he feels.

Tony's son:	Mom, daddy just fell! Mom!
Carmela:	Tony!
Tony's son:	Dad!
Carmela:	Get back!
Uncle Jun:	Madonna mia! (S1E1)

The places cited in the fourth cluster are mainly cities of the Campania region. It is interesting to notice that *Naples* is used as a synonym for *Hell*, as it is considered a bad place to live.

Finally, in the last cluster all the other Italianisms were included, such as *maghenett* a dialectal form for coffee pot; *tarantella*, a well-known popular southern dance; Mafia (14 occ.) and La Cosa Nostra (1 occ.), very important phrase in this context, even though it is not very frequent. Clearly, these two words are hardly ever mentioned by the members of the

“family”, since they always suspect wire-tapping; in fact, out of 14 occurrences of Mafia, Tony only uses this word twice (when talking to his daughter in episode 8) denying the existence of it, and La Cosa Nostra is used just once in the same passage by Tony’s daughter.

Another word in this cluster worth analyzing is *agita*. In Italian this word comes from the verb *agitare* (to upset)¹², but in the series it is used as an adjective or as a noun. In particular, the word *agita* occurs three times, of which twice as adjective and once as noun.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| Uncle Jun: | I don't like to, Livia, but I'm all agita all the time.
(S1E1) |
| Tony: | My uncle's been boss of the family ten fuckin' minutes, already I got agita . (S1E6) |
| Carmela's friend: | I mean, let's face it, Jackie's work is what killed him. All that agita brought on the disease.
(S1E13) |

Many of the Italianisms included in Appendix 1 were found in the Merriam-Webster online dictionary. Nevertheless, it is interesting to notice that some of the Italian words not listed in Merriam-Webster are actually very common in the U.S. By setting the advanced search options of the search-engine Google on language – English and region – U.S., interesting results were obtained. An example is the word *Sambuca*, the liqueur, which occurred 1,180,000 times, and its collocate “Sambuca di Sicilia” which occurred 318,000 times; *sfogliatella* (type of pastry that looks like a clam shell) 239,000 occurrences; *arancini*, (fried rice balls) 625,000 occurrences; and the phrase *Cosa Nostra* which occurs 1,200,000 times, against the 209,000 occurrences of its English rendering *this thing of ours*¹³.

¹² *Agita* is the third person singular of the present simple s/he/it *upsets*.

¹³ According to the results provided by google n-grams, the calque *this thing of ours* has been in use since the 1950s, with a first peak in the 1970s and a constant increase in use since 2000. This increase could be justified by the release in 2003 of the film “This Thing of Ours” directed by Danny Provenzano which received critical acclaim from the Chicago Tribune and the New York Post, among the others.

4.1 Omitted Sentences Analysis

Some Italian sentences were not included in the English subtitles. The reasons behind these omissions are not clear. However, it is possible to suppose that the authors believed it was not necessary to overload the subtitles with Italian, probably considering them either visually obvious thanks to the gestures accompanying the line (see examples 1, 4 and 5 below), or later translated (see example 2), or, finally, murmured in noisy conversations (see example 3).

A selection of these excerpts will focus on the use of Italian to convey information and feelings linked to traditions and/or values. In particular, these passages show: courtesy; proverbs; wishes; threats; affections.

1. Courtesy

A first example of omission can be found in the first episode when Tony and Carmela Soprano arrive at a restaurant and the maitre welcomes them with typical Italian expressions of respect. After the greetings, the maitre walks the couple to their table, inviting them to follow him using an expression of courtesy, “Da questa parte” (“this way”), which was omitted in the subtitles.

Maitre: Mr. Soprano, buonasera.
Months we don't see you.
Whereyoubeen?
Signora Carmela.
Omitted: Da questa parte. (S1E1)

2. Proverb

Another omitted line is to be found in episode 2, when at the nursing home Tony, Carmela and Olivia are talking to the director.

Director: Livia, did you ever hear the old Italian saying – my aunt used to go:
Omitted: Col tempo la foglia di gelso diventa seta
Carmela: What does that mean, Bonnie?
Director: Time and patience...change the mulberry leaf to silk. (S1E2)

In this dialogue the omitted sentence is an Italian proverb, accurately translated into English by the director herself. With this quotation the director is trying to endear herself to Olivia, showing they have common Italian roots, therefore the same traditions and values.

3. Wishes

In the sequences of celebrations and conviviality Italian is very often used to convey wishes and greetings. This next passage is an example extracted from episode 8, in which Dr. Melfi is having dinner with her family, and discussing her patient (Tony) and Italian Americans in general¹⁴. The discussion ends with a toast in honour of the Italian Americans.

Dr Melfi's father: To we, the 20 million.

Family : Salute.

Salute.

Dr. Melfi's father: **Omitted**: pecientanni (S1E8)

It is a tradition in Southern Italy's regions to end a toast with a wish of long and healthy life, "pecientanni", literally "may you live 100 years".

4. Threats

In this same episode, the FBI is searching Tony's house. Tony verbally attacks an agent who has just involuntarily broken a bowl. The agent's name is Grasso, so Tony takes his Italian roots for granted, and addresses him directly in Italian:

Tony:Grasso

Omitted: Ti faccio un culo cosi!¹⁵

Grasso: your ass! (S1E8)

This omitted statement is accompanied by vulgar hand gestures – a circle with two hands – typical of Southern Italian mob attitude.

5. Affections

The last case to examine was found in episode 9. The excerpt below shows a passage between Tony and his Uncle Jun when meeting at the golf course.

Tony: How you feel?

Uncle Jun: **Omitted**: comm' si bell! (S1E9)

This omitted sentence conveys an affectionate feeling from Corrado towards young Tony, meaning "what a dear you are!". As seen in all the previous examples as well, the Italian language is used as a vehicle for

¹⁴ See paragraph 4 for more details on the discussion.

¹⁵ A possible translation could be: "I'll kick your ass!"

sentiments and feelings, both positive and negative. In this last passage Uncle Jun is trying to manifest “sincere” love for his nephew, while planning Tony’s murder behind his back.

5. Concluding remarks

5.1. Italian Americans: Stereotypes vs Pride

Research on stereotyping has commonly highlighted a distinction between “individual” and “cultural” stereotypes: “‘cultural stereotypes’ represent a community-wide, consensual set of beliefs, while ‘individual stereotypes’ are a set of associations held by an individual about a social group” (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, Gaertner 1996, 280). Stated differently, “from one perspective stereotypes are represented within the mind of the individual person, from the other perspective, stereotypes are represented as part of the social fabric of a society, shared by the people within that culture” (Stangor, Schaller 1996, 4). That is, while one may be aware of a given stereotype about a particular social group, one may have his or her own view of such a group that may or may not align with the popular stereotype. Devine (1989, 5) argues that “although they may have some overlapping features [...] stereotypes and personal beliefs are conceptually distinct cognitive structures”.

In the case of *The Sopranos*, the linguistic component plays a substantial role in the creation and reinforcement of cultural stereotypes. Therefore, the notion of sociolinguistic stereotype (Labov 1973, 2001), being a shared impression conveyed by the linguistic component of a cultural stereotype, seems to apply in this context. Indeed, the sociolinguistic stereotype appears to be so exaggerated that it activates the perception of a speaker’s identity for all members of a speech community, thereby constituting a sociolinguistic “cultural stereotype”.

These ways of perceiving a social group are well known to the scriptwriters of *The Sopranos*. The description of the characters is essentially mediated by their language. It is through the dialogues that it is possible to define the characters’ personalities, culture, education and geographical roots; in other words, their social identity. The language is a clear example of how a social group can be represented, both in a negative and a positive manner.

Through the corpus-based linguistic analysis of *The Sopranos* presented in this chapter I detected some specific language markers connoting Italian American stereotypes. The retrieved Italianisms were grouped into five clusters (people, food, interjections and insults, places,

others – see appendix 1), which represent the main points of characterization of the Italian Americans found in *The Sopranos*.

In the second part of the analysis the omitted sentences were studied, and, as indicated, they mainly communicate traditions and values through expressions of courtesy, wishes, threats, affections, as well as proverbs.

In conclusion, the Italian American image created by *The Sopranos* retraces the stereotype of the Italian American male: uneducated, violent and criminal, with a strong passion for food, confined within the net of his own “family”, to which he is loyal to the death, but will show no qualms about reacting against if betrayed. The language adopted is direct, crude and vulgar, as if to convey his power through words. The Italian American stereotype is explicitly discussed in the first season of the series just once, in one specific sequence of episode 8, representing a conversation held at Dr. Melfi’s dinner with her family:

Dr. Melfi’s ex-husband: People like him are the reason Italian Americans have such a bad image.

...

Dr. Melfi’s ex-husband: Ask any American to describe an Italian American, and invariably he’s gonna reference the Godfather, Goodfellas.

Dr. Melfi’s son: Good movies.

Dr. Melfi’s ex-husband: And the rest are gonna mention pizza.

Dr. Melfi’s son: Good movies to eat pizza by.

...

Dr. Melfi’s ex-husband: It’s a synergy. News items and the constant portrayal of Italian Americans as gangsters. Italians against discrimination did a study, and in its height, the mafia in this country had less than 5, 000 members. And yet, that tiny, insignificant fraction... cast such a dark shadow over 20 million hard-working Americans... (S1E8)

It may be true that many stereotypes are grounded in some fact, and it is a fact that some of the most visible, well known members of organized crime have been of Italian descent. The Mafia stereotype is based on actual truth, but the media has perpetuated it, and made it seem to be much more a cultural norm than it is in reality. In fact the incarceration rate was much higher in the early 1900s for English and Welsh born immigrants than for Italian born immigrants, and the stereotypes about education and ignorance also spring from the fact that the original immigrants were less highly skilled workers. In addition, many struggled with the language and did not attend school regularly. However, the portrayal of Italian

Americans almost exclusively as gangsters conflicts with the facts. In fact, according to the U.S. Justice Department, only about 5,000 people are involved in organized crime. The ethnic breakdown includes people of Hispanic, Asian, Russian, Jewish and Chinese ancestry as well as Italian. Even if all 5,000 criminals in organized crime were Italian American that would constitute .0025 percent of the nation's estimated 20 million Americans of Italian descent. Furthermore, the U.S. Census Bureau reports that two-thirds of the Italian Americans in the work force are in white-collar jobs as executives, physicians, teachers, attorneys, administrators, etc.

To conclude, I would like to quote the words of the famous Italian American chef, Mario Batali, on the regaining of Italian pride in the U.S. (Cole 2005, 94)

“My father stopped speaking Italian because his father so badly wanted to be an American. A lot of Italian-American immigrants lost their language and a lot of their tradition, but now it's coming back. It used to be, I think, that Italian wasn't cool. Italians were the street sweepers and the marble guys and the yard guys. Now Italian design is cool with Pavarotti and Ferrari. Everyone is like, hey, Italy is hip. It's no longer “vergogna” to be Italian. It's not a shame to have that culture and have that language”.

—Mario Batali

References

Books

- Auer, Peter, 2002. *Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Carnevale, Nancy C. 2009. *A new language, a new world: Italian immigrants in the United States, 1890-1945*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Chase, David 2002. *The Sopranos. Selected scripts from three Seasons*. New York: Warner Books, Inc.
- Cole, Bruce 2005. *Fearless and Free: Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of the National Endowment for the Humanities*. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Gabbard, Glen 2002. *The psychology of the Sopranos: love, death, desire and betrayal in America's favorite gangster family*. New York: Basic Books.
- Labov, William 1973. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- 2001. *Principles of Linguistic Change- Volume 2: Social Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lavery, David 2002. *This thing of ours: Investigating The Sopranos*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 2006. *Reading The Sopranos. Hit TV from HBO*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Tirabassi, Maddalena ed. 2005. *Itinera. Paradigmi delle migrazioni italiane*. Torino: Edizioni della Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli.
- Vincent, Christopher J. 2008. *Paying respect to The Sopranos: a psychosocial analysis*, Jefferson: McFarland.
- Yacowar, Maurice 2003. *The Sopranos on the couch: analyzing television's greatest series*, London/New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Chapters from edited collections

- Corrà, Loredana, Urini, Flavia 1998. "I migranti romanzi in età moderna", in *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik (LRL) VII* edited by Günter Holtus et al. eds., 559-585. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Dovidio, John, Brigham, John, Johnson, Blair T., and Gaertner, Samuel 1996. "Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination: Another look". In *Stereotypes and stereotyping* edited by Neil Macrae, Charles Stangor, & Miles Hewstone, 276-319. New York: Guilford.
- Menarini, A. Iberto 1947. "Sull'italo-americano degli Stati Uniti". In *Ai margini della lingua*, 145-208. Firenze: Sansoni.
- Stangor, Charles and Schaller, Mark 1996. "Stereotypes as Individual and Collective Representations". In *Stereotypes and stereotyping* edited by Neil Macrae, Charles Stangor, & Miles Hewstone, 3-40. New York: Guilford.
- Kristiansen, Gitte. 2003. "How to do things with allophones: Linguistic stereotypes as cognitive reference points in social cognition" In *Cognitive Models in Language and Thought: Ideologies, Metaphors and Meanings*, edited by René Dirven, Roslyn Frank, and Martin Pütz, 69-120. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Journal Articles

- Cavallero, Jonathan J. 2004. "Gangsters, Fessos, Tricksters, and Sopranos: The Historical Roots of Italian American Stereotype Anxiety." *Journal of Popular Film & Television*, Volume Number: 32 (2), 50-73.

- Cortes, Carlos E. 1987. "Italian Americans in Film: From Immigrants to Icons." *Italian American Literature*, MELUS, Volume Number: 14, No. 3/4, 107-126.
- Devine, Patricia G. 2001. "Stereotypes and Prejudice: Their Automatic and Controlled Components". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Volume Number: 56, 5-18.
- Greene, Richard and Vernezze, Peter 2004. "The Sopranos and philosophy: I kill therefore I am", *Popular culture and philosophy*, Volume Number: 7. Peru: Open Court Publishing.

Websites

- Cambridge Dictionaries Online. Accessed 16 March 2015.
www.dictionary.cambridge.org
- Collins Dictionary Online. Accessed 15 March 2015.
www.collinsdictionary.com
- Dizionario De Mauro Paravia online. Accessed 15 March 2015.
www.demauroparavia.it/
- FBI, Famous Cases, Al Capone. Accessed 9 May 2014.
www.fbi.gov/about-us/history/famous-cases/al-capone
- FBI, FOIA, Mafia Monograph. Accessed 9 May 2014.
<http://foia.fbi.gov/foiaindex/mafiamon.htm>
- FBI, Organized Crime. Accessed 9 May 2014.
www.fbi.gov/hq/cid/orgcrime/lcnindex.htm
- Italic Institute of America. Accessed 10 June 2014.
<http://www.italic.org/>
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online. Accessed 13 March 2015.
www.merriam-webster.com
- National Italian American Foundation. Accessed 10 June 2014.
<http://www.niaf.org/>
- Online Etymology Dictionary. Accessed 13 March 2015.
www.etymonline.com
- OSIA Order Sons of Italy in America. Accessed 20 May 2014.
<http://www.osia.org/public/commission/commission.asp>
- Oxford Learners Dictionaries Online. Accessed 15 March 2015.
www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com
- Sito ufficiale di HBO e dei Soprano. Accessed 26 February 2015.
www.hbo.com/sopranos/
- The Commission of Social Justice. Accessed 14 May 2014.
www.nyscsj-osia.org

The Sopranos - Subtitles (Season 1). Accessed 28 June 2014.

<http://www.tvsubtitles.net/tvshow-18-1.html>

Urban Dictionary Online. Accessed 13 May 2014.

www.urbandictionary.com

U.S. Census Bureau. Accessed 13 May 2014.

www.census.gov

Appendix A

WORD	Freq	MEANING
PEOPLE		
CAPOS (CAPPOS)	4	the head of a branch of a crime syndicate. Origin of <i>capo</i> : Italian, head, chief, from Latin <i>caput</i> . (Merriam Webster online)
GOOMAH	3	mistress, also pronounced as “coo mahd” or “goo mahd”.
CAPONE	2	Alphonse Gabriel “Al” Capone (January 17, 1899 – January 25, 1947) was a famous Italian American mob boss who led a Prohibition-era crime syndicate ¹⁶ .
MEDDIGAN	2	See ameddigan.
AMEDDIGAN	1	literally “American,” used to describe any American of non-Italian descent. Often pronounced “Merigone”.
ANDRETTI	1	Mario Gabriele Andretti (born February 28, 1940) is a retired Italian American world champion racing driver, one of the most successful Americans in the history of the sport ¹⁷ .
AVELLINESE	1	Person coming from Avellino
L’AMERICAN	1	The American
MAFIOSO	1	a member of the Mafia or a mafia (Merriam Webster online)
MEUCCI	1	Antonio Santi Giuseppe Meucci (April 13, 1808 – October 18, 1889) was an inventor, best known for developing a voice communication apparatus which several sources credit as the first telephone.
MICHELANGELO	1	Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni (6 March 1475 – 18 February 1564), commonly known as Michelangelo , was an Italian Renaissance painter, sculptor, architect, poet, and engineer.
GOOMBAHS	1	crony, close pal, buddy. Literally, “godfather” in Italian.
SIGNORA	1	a married Italian woman usually of rank or gentility —used as a title equivalent to <i>Mrs.</i> (Merriam Webster online)

¹⁶ See <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/history/famous-cases/al-capone>

¹⁷ Tony calls his son Andretti when playing car-race on the pc.

SIGNORE	1	an Italian man usually of rank or gentility — used as a title equivalent to <i>Mr.</i> (Merriam Webster online)
TARANTINO	1	Quentin J. Tarantino (born March 27, 1963) is an Italian American film director, screenwriter, producer, cinematographer and occasional actor.
PAISAN	1	form of <i>compaesano</i> ; dialect form of “compaesano” meaning compatriot, fellow countryman, comrade. Often pronounced “pie zan” and commonly used by Italian Americans.
PRINCIPESSA	1	Princess ¹⁸
SACCO AND VANZETTI	1	Ferdinando Nicola Sacco (April 22, 1891–August 23, 1927) and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (June 11, 1888–August 23, 1927) were anarchists who were convicted of murdering two men during a 1920 armed robbery in South Braintree, Massachusetts. After a controversial trial and a series of appeals, the two Italian immigrants were executed on August 23, 1927.
VERSACE	1	Donatella Versace (born 2 May 1955 in Reggio Calabria) is an Italian fashion designer, as was her brother Gianni Versace, the founder of the Versace clothing brand.
FOOD		
CANNOLI	7	a deep-fried tube of pastry filled with sweetened and flavored ricotta cheese. Origin of cannoli: Italian, plural of cannolo small tube, diminutive of canna. (MerriamWebsteronline)
ZITI	5	medium-sized tubular pasta. Origin of ziti: Italian, plural of zito, alteration of zita piece of tubular pasta, probably short for maccheroni di zita, literally, bride’s macaroni. (MerriamWebsteronline)
CAPICOLLO	4	spiced Italian ham, also dialecized as “cap i coal” or “capagool”.
CAPPUCCINO	4	espresso coffee mixed with frothed hot milk or cream and often flavored with cinnamon. Origin of cappuccino: Italian, literally,

¹⁸ Used in reference to the girls working at the club “Bada Bing” (S1E7).

		<p>Capuchin; from the likeness of its color to that of a Capuchin's habit. (Merriam Webster online)</p> <p>In the series two varieties of this drink are mentioned: "Double cappuccino suprema" and "decaf cappuccino prima non-fat magnifico"</p>
ESPRESSO	4	<p>plural espressos. Coffee brewed by forcing steam or hot water through finely ground darkly roasted coffee beans. Origin of espresso: Italian (caffè) espresso, probably literally, coffee made on the spot at the customer's request. (Merriam Webster online)</p>
MACAROONS	3	<p>Macaroni - pasta made from semolina and shaped in the form of slender tubes. Origin of macaroni: Italian maccheroni, plural of maccherone, from Italian dialect maccarone dumpling, macaroni. (Merriam Webster online)</p>
PIZZA	3	<p>a dish made typically of flattened bread dough spread with a savory mixture usually including tomatoes and cheese and often other toppings and baked —called also pizza pie. Origin of pizza: Italian, perhaps of Germanic origin; akin to Old High German bizzo, pizzo bite, bit, bīzan to bite. (Merriam Webster online)</p>
SFOGLIATELLE	3	<p>type of pastry made of layered dough that looks like a clam shell, often pronounced as "svolia tell".</p>
MOZZARELLA	2	<p>a moist white unsalted unripened cheese of mild flavor and a smooth rubbery texture. Origin of mozzarella: Italian, diminutive of mozza, a kind of cheese, from mozzare to cut off, from mozzo cut off, docked, from Vulgar Latin mutius, alteration of Latin mutilus. (Merriam Webster online)</p>
REGALEALI	2	Sicilian wine
REGOLARE	2	See espresso
SUPREMA	2	See cappuccino
ARANCIN	1	<p>fried rice balls coated with breadcrumbs, said to have originated in Sicily in the 10th century. Arancini are usually filled with ragù (meat sauce), tomato sauce, mozzarella, and/or peas.</p>

BISCOTTI	1	Biscotto – a crisp cookie or biscuit of Italian origin that is flavored usually with anise and filberts or almonds —usually used in plural (biscotti). Origin of biscotto: Italian, biscuit, cookie, from (pane) biscotto, literally, bread baked twice. (Merriam Webster online)
BRACIOLE	1	a thin slice of meat wrapped around a seasoned filling and often cooked in wine. Origin of braciola: Italian, literally, slice of meat roasted over coals, from brace live coals, probably of Germanic origin; akin to Swedish brasa fire. (Merriam Webster online)
BUCCETIN	1	Bucatini- a thick spaghetti-like pasta with a hole running through the center. The name comes from Italian: buco, meaning “hole”, while bucato means “pierced”.
CALZONE	1	a baked or fried turnover of pizza dough stuffed with various fillings usually including cheese. Origin of Calzone: Italian, from calzone (singular of calzoni pants), augmentative of calza stocking, from Medieval Latin calcea, from Latin calceus shoe, from calc-, calx heel. (Merriam Webster online)
CHIANTI	1	Tuscan wine
GAVADEL	1	Cavatelli- a type of pasta in the shape of small, smooth pea pods.
LASAGNA	1	1. pasta in the form of broad often ruffled ribbons. 2. a baked dish containing layers of boiled lasagne, and usually cheese, a seasoned sauce of tomatoes, and meat or vegetables. Origin of lasagna: Italian lasania, from Vulgar Latin lasania cooking pot, its contents, from Latin lasanum chamber pot, from Greek lasanon. (Merriam Webster online)
MAGNIFICO	1	See cappuccino
MATRICIANA	1	traditional Italian pasta sauce based on guanciale (dried pork cheek), pecorino cheese and tomato, originating from the town of Amatrice, Lazio region.
MONTEPULCIANO	1	Montepulciano d’Abruzzo, Italian wine from Abruzzo region

NIGHT'S SFOGLIATELL	1	See sfogliatella
PANCETTA	1	unsmoked bacon used especially in Italian cuisine. Origin of pancetta: Italian, from diminutive of pancia belly, paunch, from Latin pantic-, pantex. (Merriam Webster online)
PASTA	1	a shaped dough (as spaghetti or ravioli) prepared from semolina, farina, or wheat flour. Origin of pasta: Italian, from Late Latin. (Merriam Webster online)
PASTIN	1	the smallest pasta, shape like little stars. "Pasteen" in dialect.
PRIMAVERA	1	served with a mixture of fresh vegetables (as zucchini, snow peas, and broccoli) —usually used postpositively "pasta primavera". Origin of primavera: Italian (alla) primavera in the style of springtime. (Merriam Webster online)
PROSCIUT	1	Prosciutto – plural prosciutti or prosciuttos: dry-cured spiced Italian ham usually sliced thin. Origin of prosciutto: Italian, alteration of presciutto, from pre- (from Latin prae- pre-) + asciutto dried out, from Latin exsuctus, from past participle of exsugere to suck out, from ex- + sugere to suck. (Merriam Webster online)
ZABAGLION'	1	a very soft wine custard usually served over fruit or pound cake.
SPAGHETTI	1	pasta made in thin solid strings. Origin of spaghetti: Italian, from plural of spaghetto, diminutive of spago cord, string, from Late Latin spacus. (Merriam Webster online)
SAMBUCA	1	Italian anise-flavoured, usually colourless, liqueur.
CURSES AND SLURS		
MARRONE	3	literally "Madonna", generally used as "damn" or "damn it". Sometimes pronounced "ma don".
FACIA BRUTA	2	an insult literally meaning "ugly face."
MADONNA	2	See marrone

AFINOCCH	1	gay, fag, often pronounced “fenook”, and based on the Italian word for fennel (“finocchio”) which can also be used, in context, to mean homosexual. Supposedly, the use of “finocchio” for “gay” has roots in the middle ages, homosexuals were burned at the stake and fennel seeds were sprinkled on the embers to help cover the stench.
APISCIATOIO	1	Toilet – vulgar word
APOVERETTO	1	Poor man
BACCALA’	1	salt cod, but often used by Southern Italians as an insult meaning fool, idiot.
(CRAZY) CIALTRONE	1	Crazy scoundrel
(FUCKIN’) FACCIM	1	also spelled “sfaccim”, literally “sperm of the devil”, , (Southern Italian dialectal word) used loosely to describe somebody as a bum, but much, much worse. A really naughty, bad word. Often pronounced “facheem”.
(FUCKIN’) MAMALUK	1	someone who did something foolish or silly. Usually aimed at males, a term to use with a friend or family member in a teasing way that may also be a veiled insult against their manhood.
(FUCKIN’) PAZZO	1	Crazy
(LITTLE) LECCA FICA	1	Pussy licker
MANUGE	1	shucks, shoot, damn, darn, etc. Sometimes pronounced “manugia” or “manegia”.
MANUGIA	1	See manuge
MARONE	1	See marrone
MINCHIA	1	“minchia” means “cock” (not penis) in Sicilian dialect even if well understood and partially used in the rest of Italy, especially south-side. Although when it’s used in the north of Italy or in the rest of the world it gives a “Sicilian” connotation to the sentence.
COGLIONE	1	Italian slang for “testicle”. Plural is “coglioni”. Used to actually mean testicle, or to say that someone is an idiot, a prick, or to manifest annoyance.
FINUK	1	See afinocch
PISCIA	1	Slang for urine
STUGATZ	1	dialect form of “questo cazzo” literally meaning “this dick” but often used as “yeah right,” or “forget it,” or “fuck it.”

PLACES		
VESUVIO	5	Neapolitan volcano – the name of a restaurant in the series
AVELLINO	4	city in the Campania region.
BORDELLO	2	whorehouse
MURANO	2	Island linked by bridges in the Venetian Lagoon, known for quality glassmaking
NAPOLI	2	Va a Napoli! – literally “Go to Naples”, generally used as “Go to hell” since Naples at one time was not considered a very nice place.
CASA	1	Casa Soprano – The Soprano household
CASERTA	1	City in the Campania region.
PALAZZO DELLA DONNA	1	In the series it is supposed to be the name of an historical building in Sicily.
OTHERS		
MAFIA	14	a secret criminal society in Sicily or on the mainland. Origin of mafia: Mafia, Maffia, a Sicilian secret criminal society, from Italian dialect (Sicily), probably from mafiusu. (Merriam Webster online)
SALUTE	4	literally: “to your health”; cheers (said before drinking); bless you (said after sneezing). Many Italians say this.
SI	4	yes
AGITA	3	(Southern Italian dialect) – nervous.
BUONANIMA	2	Used to refer to a dead person – of blessed memory.
FONDAMENTA	2	foundation
OMERTA	2	conspiracy of silence. Origin of omertà: Italian. (Merriam Webster online) the code of silence and one of the premier vows taken when being sworn into the Family. Violation is punishable by death.
BUONA FORTUNA	1	Good luck
BUONASERA	1	Good evening
CAPISCI	1	Italian word meaning “do you understand?”, when used by Italian mobsters it assumes a threatening meaning.
CIAO	1	used conventionally as an utterance at meeting or parting. Origin of “ciao”: Italian, from Italian dialect, literally, (I am your) slave, from Medieval Latin sclavus. (Merriam Webster online)

COME ESTA?	1	Come sta? – How are you?
LA COSA NOSTRA	1	“this thing of ours,” a mob family, the Mafia.
CREDENZA	1	cupboard
FIORE	1	flowers
MAGANET	1	Macchinetta del caffè – coffee pot
MANGIA	1	Eat (You mangia Uncle Jun)
MORTE	1	Death
PIAZZA	1	an open square especially in an Italian town. Origin of piazza: Italian, from Latin platea broad street. (Merriam Webster online)
SCUOLA	1	School
STATA ZIT	1	be quiet, shut up.
TARANTELLA	1	a lively folk dance of southern Italy in 6/8 time. Origin of tarantella: Italian, from Taranto, Italy. (Merriam Webster online)

Appendix B

Speak English like a “Soprano”¹⁹

Livia Soprano – It’s nice of you to pick me up for the party, Junior. At least somebody cares about me.

Junior Soprano - These kids today... crazy **cialtrone!**

Livia –**I feel it in my gut**, he thinks once he has me locked in a nursing home, I’ll die faster. Well if his father were still alive, **you can bet your boots**, he’d show more decency and respect for his mother.

Junior – Well My brother John was a **man among men**.

Livia – **Buonanima!** He was a saint, that kid was **born with a silver spoon**.

Junior – Anyway, lots of things are different now from Johnny’s and my day, I’m not free to run my businesslike I want.

Livia – **Manuge!** Isn’t that awful.

Junior – Just this week, your son **stuck his hand in**. Made it a hundred times more difficult for me. Plus, **he thumbs his nose at New York. Capisci?**

Livia – **Stata zit**, Junior! You’re makin’ me very upset!

Junior – I don’t like to, Livia, but I’m **allagita** all the time. I’ll tell you something else, our **goombahs** are complaining. We used to be recession-proof. No more. Someone here **is rattin’** for the government. Our friends **get chatty** after, uh, **Regaleali**, and say to me, “Junior, why don’t you **take a larger hand in things?**” Something may have to be done, Livia, about Tony.

Livia – I don’t know. You talking about **clipping him?**

Junior – Nobody would **slap my wrist** if I did.

¹⁹ Adapted by: Season 1 Episode 1, Scene 30 – Inside Junior Soprano’s Car

VOCABULARY

Agita:	(Southern Italian dialect) – nervous.
Buonanima:	Used to refer to a dead person – of blessed memory.
Capisci:	Italian word meaning “do you understand?”, when used by Italian mobsters it assumes a threatening meaning.
Cialtrone:	scoundrel
Goombahs:	crony, close pal, buddy. Literally, “godfather” in Italian.
Manuge:	shucks, shoot, damn, darn, etc. Sometimes pronounced “manugia” or “manegia”.
Regaleali:	Sicilian wine
Stata zit:	be quiet, shut up.

IDIOMS

A man among men – 1. A superior or remarkable man who stands out from other men; a leader or exemplar for other men. 2. A man who is accepted on the same terms, and as having the same worth, as other men in society.

EXAMPLE 1: He is **a man among men**: unselfish and all-encompassing.

EXAMPLE 2: He had always been the outlier, until finally, here in the city he could walk as if **a man among men**.

(to) clip someone – (*Mob slang*) to kill/assassinate someone.

EXAMPLE: If he doesn't pay, **clip him**.

(to) be born with a silver spoon (in one's mouth) – born into wealth and privilege.

EXAMPLE 1: I certainly was not **born with a silver spoon in my mouth**.

EXAMPLE 2: I've heard people say I was ‘**born with a silver spoon**’ and never had to do anything.

(to) be ratting (on someone) – to violate the Code of Silence (*omertà*) after getting caught by the cops or federal agents.

EXAMPLE: No power on earth can keep them from **ratting on** you.

(to) bet one's boots – to be certain.

EXAMPLE: You can **bet your boots** they're doing something!

(to) feel something in one's gut (gut feeling) – a strong belief about someone or something that cannot completely be explained and does not have to be decided by reasoning.

EXAMPLE 1: My **gut feeling** is that he is responsible.

EXAMPLE 2: I **feel something in my gut**. Apprehension. Sadness. Hope.

(to) get chatty – become very talkative.

EXAMPLE: If they **get chatty**, try just floating some questions.

(to) slap one's wrist – go give a light punishment or reprimand.

EXAMPLE: You could **slap his wrist** for saying it.

(to) stick one's hand in – to try to become involved in something that does not concern you.

EXAMPLE: He'd better stop **sticking his hand in** my business!

(to) take a hand in – assume a larger control of something.

EXAMPLE: It was necessary for the police to **take a hand in** clearing the street in front of the theatre.

(to) thumb one's nose at – to show no respect rules, laws, or powerful people or organizations.

EXAMPLE: He couldn't **thumb his nose** at the international institutions.

Practice Your Idioms

Fill in the blank with the missing word:

1. Do we keep on yelling at him or do we just slap his _ and punish him?

- a. wrist
- b. hand
- c. head

2. There was a guy in the street, and they almost _ him accidentally during the shootings.

- a. clipped
- b. cut
- c. snipped

3. She'd secretly always envied her sister's ability to _her nose at convention and just be herself
- a. sniff
 - b. thumb
 - c. tap
4. I thought that my _feeling was probably a good one with people.
- a. inner
 - b. gut
 - c. skin
5. Ralph was an remarkable man. All his colleagues considered him a man men.
- a. between
 - b. among
 - c. apart
6. Warn me the next time he wants to take a hand _choosing the dishes.
- a. on
 - b. in
 - c. at
7. "Big Joe was caught by the cops last night." - "I'm sure he won't be ratting _us!"
- a. of
 - b. about
 - c. on
8. Those rats are trying to stick their _in my business!
- a. thumbs
 - b. nose
 - c. hands
9. He got _with the police, confessing crimes they did even know he committed.
- a. mouthy
 - b. talkative
 - c. chatty

10. You can bet your __he's doing everything possible as a law enforcement official to solve the problem.

- a. foot
- b. shoes
- c. boots

Answer Key

PRACTICE YOUR IDIOMS

- 1. a
- 2. a
- 3. b
- 4. b
- 5. b
- 6. b
- 7. c
- 8. c
- 9. c
- 10. c

CHAPTER FOUR

SAINT JOSEPH'S FEAST, TEXAS STYLE – A TRADITIONAL SICILIAN IDENTITY IN MODERN TIMES

DOUGLAS MARK PONTON

1. Introduction

Integrating with the host culture represents a perennial challenge for immigrants. It usually involves adopting new cultural and linguistic forms, selecting the elements of their own culture that are worth preserving, and deciding on what can be abandoned and left behind forever. In Pérez Firmat's description, there is a three-stage process, the 'substitutive' when one tries to reduplicate 'home', then 'destitution', a feeling of alienation and rootlessness, to be finally followed by 'institution', when a new relation between person and place is established (1994, 10-11). Experiences are disparate and multiform, with a cline of potential outcomes that range from, at one end, complete and successful integration with the host culture and, at the other, failure to adapt to the new country's social and linguistic practices, and even eventual repatriation.

During the process of adaptation to the host culture, many immigrant groups find solace and support in each other's company, and it may be that cultural forces from the native culture play a cohesive role, assuming in certain cases a unifying power even greater than that exercised in the emigrant's native land. McFarland (1990), for example, discusses the role of Orangeism as an ethnic and cultural force amongst immigrant communities from Ireland in nineteenth and early twentieth century Scotland. On the same topic, Kaufmann (2008) illustrates the cohesive function of native cultural elements, and Ó Catháin shows how Irish nationalism constituted a response to the "ongoing condition of exile, with its isolation, alienation, sectarian strife and economic exploitation" (Ó Catháin 2008, 115). In a paper which provides an important background

for this chapter, Dzialtuvaite (2006) explores the history of Lithuanian immigration into Scotland, and shows how Catholicism provided an initial focus for maintaining a distinctly Lithuanian identity among the group, which gradually waned as successive generations became assimilated with the local population. She says that religion provided them with “the only strong base to nurture their identity, culture and language” (ibid, 85), that “the community’s identity had become bound up with Catholicism” (ibid, 82), and that the principal event in these processes was the Lithuanian mass.

Dzialtuvaite’s paper laments the demise of a distinctly Lithuanian identity in Scotland. By contrast, this chapter can be read as celebrating the survival, in the USA, of a Sicilian identity linked, as in the case of the Lithuanians, to a religious ceremony. The short film, *Texas Tavola*, documents the observation, among a community of Sicilian immigrants in Bryan, Texas, of the ancient ritual of ‘the altar of Saint Joseph’ (*la tavola di San Giuseppe*)¹. In this festival a wealthy Sicilian family, on the saint’s day, would invite the poor of the community to a feast in his honour. The details of the festival are those taken with them by the immigrants when they left the Poggioreale area, in western Sicily, in the early twentieth century. Thus, observance of the festival has become a central index of personal and collective identity for the members of this American community. As Malpezzi and Clements (2005, 30) say, in their authoritative description of the Italian emigrant experience, “most Italian colonies were actually groupings of immigrants from the same region or village”. They also offer the following interesting speculation about the reasons for the survival of traditions such as the Saint Joseph’s altar:

Many came with the idea of eventually returning to Italy; and, even though in some cases their plans never materialised, their intentions reinforced their desire to hold on to their traditional behaviour patterns, a tenacity that was then passed on to their descendants (ibid, 20).

The viewer of the documentary, who may be used to images of all-American festivals like the superbowl or the academy awards, can hardly fail to experience a sense of temporal and cultural dislocation in comparing the event with its surrounding social context. Enthusiastic devotion to a particular saint is not an American phenomenon, but is associated with Roman Catholicism, especially in countries like Italy and

¹ The film, the work of Austin professors Circe Sturm and Randolph Lewis, can be viewed online at Folk Streams: <http://www.folkstreams.net/film,206>, last visit 28/08/2014.

Spain. Moreover, the participants in the Saint Joseph's altar in Bryan are demonstrating their fidelity not to the ritual as practised in modern Sicily, but to patterns of language and social behaviour that, arguably, were already anachronistic when their predecessors emigrated all those years ago. In the case of the Todaro family, the Saint Joseph's altar seems to have provided a focus for family identity, challenged by the traumas of emigration and adaptation to new, sometimes hostile, realities. As the film explains, the young community faced its share of the hardships associated with, in Ó Catháin's words, the "ongoing condition of exile".

2. Aims and purposes

This chapter explores what Sicily can represent as an index of identity, for this group of immigrants in modern America. It explores the question via the identity model proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), through interviews with some of the film's protagonists and in conversation analysis of the data collected. It thereby attempts to implement what Bhatia et al (2008, 5) refer to as an "ethnographic approach to discourse analysis". As Omoniyi and Fishman (2006, 1) say, in their introduction to their own attempt to bridge sociology and linguistics:

One of the many tasks that confront interdisciplinary research is how to harmoniously manage and integrate the delicate interface between two or more theoretical traditions such that a critical paradigm of analysis is established.

In this case, linguistic analysis of evaluative patterns and identity inferences is blended with sociological observations of the kind found in Dzialtuvaite's work, all within the context of a description of a film. In the contemporary multi-medial communicative scenario, in fact, cross-mediality is increasingly coming to the fore, and this study therefore attempts to contribute to the dialogue between the fields of linguistic ethnography, discourse analysis, and cultural studies.

3. The Saint Joseph's altar in Sicily and in Bryan, Texas

Many of the details of the Bryan celebration correspond to descriptions of the Saint Joseph's altar as practised in Sicily in bygone days, and as it is still practised today, although Pitré's description of the festivity in Ribera, a small country town in western Sicily not far from Poggioreale, reveals some differences (Pitré 1900). For example, a traditional part of the

celebration seems to have been the construction of a wooden tower (the so-called *stràgula*), decorated with laurel and an image of the saint, to which typical Sicilian breads (*cudduri*), symbols of abundance, would be tied. The town band, and an enthusiastic crowd, would accompany this construction on a trip around the town before the celebration of the altars. As McCaffety (2003, 20) relates, a parade of this kind is still performed in New Orleans, but this seems not to be the case in Texas.

Perhaps more significant, from Pitré's account, is the fact that the Saint Joseph's altars were reproduced all around the town in numerous families. It was a community celebration that had a civic, collective aspect, but which was also performed at the level of the individual family. Pitré says that, in intervals between the various courses, the head of the house would fire a rifle shot from his doorway. The prestige of the household would increase in proportion to the number of shots fired. In Texas *Tavola*, by contrast, what we seem to see is a single showcase event organised by one family, which becomes the focus of the entire celebration within the community.

Correspondence between ancient Sicily and modern Texas seems complete, however, in the area of food preparation. Pitré writes:

From the first day the laurel entered his house the benefactor or rather, for this is not the work of a single person, his whole family, sets to work to prepare food for the saints: country plants, wild fennel, asparagus and broccoli cooked in every imaginable way, pasta fried and coated with sugar, boiled rice coloured with saffron, *pignolata* (a kind of pastry), *frittelle* (pancakes), enormous *cannoli* (pastry rolls) full of *ricotta*, and all the richest dishes of Sicilian cuisine. All these delicacies, prepared over a few days, are put on plates and then, on the morning of the 19th, displayed on a large table covered with a clean white tablecloth in a room decorated with *coulters*, handkerchiefs and other objects. One detail worthy of note is that bread, a constant symbol of abundance, is always present in the form of enormous loaves attached to the walls.

The film includes scenes of culinary preparation involving most of these ingredients, and the final altar illustrates that, as in Sicily, the food is lavish and abundant (figure one):



Figure 1: the altar

Most accounts of the Saint Joseph's altar, including those of Pitré, make it clear that the spirit of the ceremony is to assist the poor. There are folk tales of an ancient Sicilian famine, of vows made to Saint Joseph, and, following liberation, of the poor invited to the tables of the wealthy. In Pitré's account the 'saints' are represented by paupers of the community, who are served first, with a taste of all the food on offer. As well as impersonating Joseph, Mary and Jesus, in the Ribera festival the thirteen apostles are also present². The Bryan version of the festivity seems to ignore this element of the tradition. There is a large crowd of guests, but none of the homeless drifters, winos or other social outcasts who are such a familiar feature of America's largest cities³. The three saints are represented by two members of the host family plus the local priest.

Another correspondence regards the ceremony of the *tupa tupa* (knocking), in which the saints knock twice upon a house door and are refused admittance, before being admitted to the room in which the altar is situated (McCaffety 2003, 73). Once admitted, in Pitré's account of the

² A thirteenth apostle was called to substitute Judas.

³ In fairness to the Texas community, it must be said that this element of the festivity seems to be disappearing from celebrations of the altar in Sicily as well.

Ribera festival, the saints are led to table and invited to eat. In the Bryan festival, instead, there is a curious ritual. The priest anoints the hands and feet of seated participants with some reddish substance, possibly wine, while the others saints stroke their hands and feet. One of them kisses the hands and cleans them with a cloth. The saints shuffle round the company on their knees to each in turn.

Another difference is that, while Pitré describes the food as served on a single plate, sweet and savoury together, the mixture to be consumed as a sign of ‘devotion’, the plates in the Texas version appear to be duly divided. At the end of the Bryan ceremony the guests are presented with a bag containing objects traditionally found in the Saint Joseph’s altar (McCaffety 2003, 13) such as the ‘lucky’ fava bean, and bread. Texan touches are the *pignolata* cake specially shaped into the form of a haystack, and a lemon to symbolise Sicily.

3.1. The shifting scene: from Bryan to Poggioreale

In the words of Texas filmmakers Circe Sturm and Randolph Lewis:

This 34-minute documentary examines the Tavola di San Giuseppe, an important religious event at which a single Sicilian-American family hosts almost 1,000 guests in honour of St. Joseph. Both anthropologically and visually, the event is remarkable to witness, with hundreds of hand-made breads and cakes, elaborate religious rituals, and beautiful prayers spoken in Sicilian dialect with a Texas accent! Our film traces one particular tavola back to three small villages in Western Sicily - Poggioreale, Salaparuta, and Corelone. With rare historic photos and traditional Sicilian music complementing the video footage, it explores the tavola’s deep importance to Sicilian-American communities in East Texas. These communities have often been overlooked as part of the Italian-American experience, but their vibrancy and a sense of Italianità remain strong even after three generations in the Lone Star state.

The first minutes of the documentary contain shots of the Bryan community preparing for the altar. Some participants discuss their parents’ experience as immigrants, their own knowledge of Italy and the Sicilian dialect. They speak of the altar of St. Joseph and what it means in their family and in the community, and there are many shots of food preparation. The key central section is shot in Poggioreale, in the old part of the town, which was destroyed by an earthquake in 1968. This provides a sense of ‘old Sicily’, of the birthplace of the St. Joseph tradition. Then the film returns to Texas, with the celebration of the altar, more interviews with participants and some testimonies that communicate the depth of

feeling towards the ceremony, hopes that the younger generation will carry it forward, and fears that perhaps this will be the final one.

With the shifting of the scene from Bryan, Texas to Poggioreale, Sicily, in the central section of the film, the directors provide multimodal cues to guide viewers' responses, and deal with the essence of the experience of emigration, as well as introducing Sicily as a key index for the Todaro family identity. An introductory text, shown in a still on the film, underlines the essential connections between Sicily, the Todaro family, and the notion of tradition; indexes of collective and personal identity bound up intrinsically with one special place in Sicily, the 'small village in western Sicily', Poggioreale:



Figure 2 (screenshot from Texas Tavola)

After the earthquake, Poggioreale was rebuilt lower down the hillside, and what remains, in the words of anthropologist Circe Sturm, who introduces the sequence, is "a ghost town" (figure three):



Figure 3: old Poggioreale (screenshots from Texas Tavola)

The choice of accompanying music for this central part of the film is a traditional song, a powerful evocation of rural Sicily, a sort of lullaby. The words speak of a bandit, who some local figure wanted to see dead. A mother comforts her children in the refrain *'fai la ninna, fai la nanna, 'che lu patri e a la campagna'* (go to sleep, your daddy's in the fields). The words express the fatalism of peasant existence:

“Mamma mamma, mamma mamma, non te la piglia al cori
Se son bu alla campagna, non son bua li duluri”⁴

The earthquake and destruction of the old town presented the filmmakers with a potent symbol to suggest the feelings of an emigrant community, uprooted and compelled to cross an ocean to re-settle in an alien culture. In Kress and Van Leeuwen's sense, words and music combine with image to evoke both action and emotion (2001, 2). The shots of the ghost town, the fallen masonry, the air of desolation conveyed in this sequence, have the effect of locating 'Sicily' – as a cultural, geographical, social and religious matrix – beyond an impassable barrier. It might still represent an idea for future generations of Italo-Americans, but it is a ruin. The future and the present, the film suggests, are here and now, in Bryan Texas. The survival in Bryan of the Saint Joseph's altar ritual, therefore, as well as an act of gratitude towards a protective patron, is also an act of memory. In Eliot's words, it represents 'the roots that clutch', 'the branches that grow' out of the 'stony rubbish' of a vanished world⁵; the survival of a people's roots, their language, culture and traditions.

4. Ritual and emerging identities

Ritual is a central feature of human social organization, serving a cohesive function as the expression of the shared values of a group (Alexander 2011, 25). Festivals like the St. Joseph's altar illustrate Geertz's notion of ritual as the expression of a community's knowledge of life and attitudes towards it, and the transmission of these from one generation to another (Geertz 1973, 89). Geertz (1973, 5) also referred to man as “an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun”, webs which are identified with culture. However, not only does man produce culture; he is also, in a sense, produced by it. The identities we develop are shaped by the cultures we find ourselves in (Fløttum et al 2006, 16). As Hanks (2009, 129) says, ritual can have a strong impact on

⁴ Mother, don't take it to heart. There are worse things in life than the aches and pains of country work.

⁵ What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of man,
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,
And the dry stone no sound of water.
(T.S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*).

habitus, because it engages “the dispositions, evaluations, body and mental orientations of practitioners through the repeated doing of practice”.

The Saint Joseph’s altar ritual is a powerful re-enactment of cultural and religious material that provides identity cues, all the more forceful because they occur in an immigrant community, whose ancestors kept the traditions alive in order to avoid dilution and loss of collective identity. On his website, philosophical blogger Alvaro Vargas writes:

Ritual can make the intangible, tangible. By engaging participants in a performative process, it allows them to participate in the embodiment of cultural values, often playing out the scenarios of how these values came to be in the first place.⁶

In this perspective, the differences identified above between the Bryan ceremony and those found in Sicily become relatively unimportant. By carrying on the tradition in the form in which it was brought from Sicily and practised within the Todaro family, the participants are asserting the continuance of this particular ritual as a vital index of their collective identities.

In the conversation analysis that follows, the role of ‘Sicily’ in participants’ self-constructed identities is explored, using the *toolkit for identity* described by Bucholtz and Hall, which provides the following guidelines:

1. Identity is the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore is a social and cultural rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon;
2. Identities encompass macro-level demographic categories, temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles, and local, ethnographically emergent cultural positions;
3. Identities may be linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, stances, styles, or linguistic structures and systems;
4. Identity may be in part intentional, in part habitual and less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation, in part a construct of others’ perceptions and representations, and in part an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures. (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 585).

Identities are not viewed as subjective, psychological realities that distinguish individuals from one another; rather, this account emphasises the social dimension of identity. Through appropriate performance of

⁶ <http://workisplay.com/?p=65>, last visit 20/10/2014.

ritual actions, individuals demonstrate a personal identity that conforms to certain norms, which are socially approved in this particular group (see Gee 1999, 14-17). The 'linguistic and semiotic practices' (Bucholtz and Hall parameter 1) or 'linguistic structures and systems' (3) and the 'ideological processes and structures' (4) all relate to participation in the Saint Joseph's altar ritual.

At one point in the ceremony, for example, the host is leading a call-response invocation to Saint Joseph:

"Di' vi salve San Giuseppe tutto cchino de' purità!"

The other participants respond:

*"Aja tolto de' li bisogna, de' l'estrema 'ri siccità!"*⁷

On one level the host's identity '*emerges*', in Bucholtz and Hall's terms, as the leader of this particular group, since she is positioned as such by her institutional role within the ceremony. More importantly, by the use of this fragment of antique Sicilian with its liturgical reference to Saint Joseph, the kind of identity she develops is circumscribed by the cultural and 'ideological' associations of such phrases. By responding appropriately, the other participants also develop analogous identities. It is not that, by performing a Sicilian ritual that has survived from a remote past, these modern Americans are suddenly transformed into rustic Sicilians from a bygone era. Perhaps, by conforming their own behaviour to a ritual that has meaning for their social group, we can say that they develop, at least temporarily, a hybrid identity. Fundamentally, however, they demonstrate belonging, to the Todaro family, in whose collective identity observance of the Saint Joseph ritual is an important component.

5. The interviews

In 2014, several members of the Todaro family from Bryan were invited, by the town mayor, to visit Poggioreale for the Saint Joseph's altar, and

⁷ "God bless you, Saint Joseph, full of purity!" / "You took us from our need, saving us from a terrible drought!" Speakers of ancient Sicilian will, I hope, pardon any errors in my transcription.

for a special viewing of the documentary. This was the opportunity for the interviews that took place and are recorded below⁸.

5.1. Speaker One

1	Q:	Can you say what it meant to you to come to Sicily, first of all?
2	R:	Today was very special.. last year we decided not to say a
3		rosary for an altar base er say the rosary and we felt like we had
4		planned this trip to come to the feast of San Giuseppe.. then
5		Circe called us and said I am showing the film in Poggioreale of
6		Europe..altar.. very very special St Joseph wanted us to be here
7		at this time.
8	Q:	And what does Sicily mean to you?
9	R:	My padre is from Sicily an Italiano always Italiano..very close
10		and famiglia so important very important and this is my third
11		trip to Sicily..the second trip I came..on the first trip I came we
12		found Vicenza and Carla who lives here in Poggioreale cousins
13		when we went to see her she cried many many tears because she
14		thought she would never see anyone from the USA and then last
15		time when we came we spent two days with her she cooked all
16		kind of food at lunch we were twenty at supper we were thirty
17		every all the famiglia came to meet and eat as one big family
18	Q:	Great. And do you think I mean do you think er that San
19		Giuseppe will continue in Texas?
20	R:	We're hoping but she said the ones that are more familiar with
21		the tradition are getting fewer and fewer and the kids are living
22		a different lifestyle..no time they work constantly don't have the
23		time to devote to what it takes to prepare the altar
24	Q:	But do you think Sicily is still important to the young people?
25	R:	Oh yes very very very important and so the way the city is
26		developed when you have an altar and you're one or two so
27		many people come and the parking is a problem
28	Q:	Oh
29	R:	Very neighbours my neighbours do not like parking so you have
30		to make preparations for the parking for everyone to come
31	Q:	Do you think there's still discrimination against the Italian
32		community in Bryan? Um. Or do you think they've become
33		accepted?

⁸ I conducted these interviews with four members of the Todaro family, all participants in the film, at Poggioreale, in March 2014.

34	R:	Very accepted now very definitely my parents my teachers spoke to us Italian all the time and but they didn't want us that to be our primary language because back then you know it was very discriminative in the public school the italianos sat in the back of the classroom americanos sat up front
35		
36		
37		
38		

(Q= Questioner, R= respondent)

The speaker responds to Sicily in terms of extreme positive evaluation: 'very special' (2), an evaluation which, in Martin and White's terms, can be labelled + *Judgement, normality (intensified)*. The socially cohesive function of such judgements is emphasised, the framework distinguishing between *esteem* (milder forms of judgement to do with capacity or normality): "Sharing values in this area is critical to the formation of social networks (family, friends, colleagues, etc.)"; and more weighty forms of judgement, *sanction* (the ethical/moral dimension): "these underpin civic duty and religious observances" (Martin and White 2005, 52). It is noticeable, in fact, that three of the four interviewees use explicit lexis to evaluate Sicily extremely positively, while the third (speaker two) evaluates it indirectly ("Wow, this is a real good experience" Speaker 2, 11-12).

The positive identity associations of Sicily for the first speaker emerge in this rather incoherent fragment:

My padre is from Sicily an Italiano always Italiano very close and famiglia so important very important (9)

The positive evaluation 'so important very important' (+ *J Normality, intens.*) applies to a semantic bundle which links notions of fatherhood and a close-knit family group with Italy and, more specifically, with Sicily. By her code-switching for terms like 'padre', 'italiano' and 'famiglia' (9-10) and 'americano' (38) she emphasises the key importance for her of such terms. Intensification occurs in line 25, where she says that Sicily is 'very very very important' for young people in Texas. However, she does not expand on this. In an apparent change of topic, she speaks of parking difficulties in the city. Because of Grice's relevance criterion (Grice 1975), it is possible to 'hear' this answer as an attempt to account for young people's failure to continue the tradition, i.e. that they would willingly organise the celebrations but for fear of insuperable problems with parking. She has already suggested that young people lack the time to carry the tradition forward (22-23). Thus, her assertion that Sicily is

extremely important for young people might refer to something which she wishes were true, rather than to the realities of the situation.

5.2. Speaker Two

1	Q:	First of all what does it mean for you to be in Sicily today or in
2		this period?
3	R:	Kind of an honour for me because not only do I come back to
4		where I'm from and my roots but my mum's altar and the
5		traditions that came from here became.. you know a real part of
6		my life.. you know for me to hear about Poggio..Poggioreale
7		and to hear that my ancestors were from here didn't become
8		like really real until we were here and we saw the people and
9		everybody attends to us the traditions are the same things are
10		the same and like I said it brought it to a point in my life where
11		I can understand it better and you know.. realise that wow this is
12		a real good experience
13	Q:	Can you speak Italian?
14	R:	Very very little very little
15	Q:	What does Italy what does being having a Sicilian heritage..
16		what does it mean to you to be part Siciliano?
17	R:	Oh I think it defines me and the fact that you know I know
18		where I'm from you know I have a good idea of my roots I was
19		able to trace my roots back to two.. you know about ten square
20		miles to this patch of ground right here and you know we go
21		and see where my grandfather was raised and you know those
22		kind of things I think that all my life especially since St
23		Anthony was such an Italian parish there are a lot of people there
24		from here and a lot of people that we understand the traditions
25		from here and we understand that we participate in those
26		traditions you know to come back and see that this is where it
27		came from you know it's a good thing for me I like it
28	Q:	Yeah and how do you think the young people in Texas feel
29		towards the San Giuseppe altar and the tradition?
30	R:	I think it's a fun day for them
31	Q:	Yeah
32	R:	I don't think that we carry the same passion my parents do or
33		you know the passion my grandfather did but I hope that we
34		carry it on and I hope that it becomes a part of our lives too
35	Q:	Hm.. do you think that the Italian community in Bryan in Texas
36		in America do you think there still is discrimination or do you

37		think that..
38	R:	I think in some ways not nearly as much as when I was younger
39		but right now I do think that er Saint Anthony's is a church you
40		know on this side of the road less than a mile across the road is
41		Saint Joseph's which is a Polish Czech different you know so
42		that has always been there you know there's always that.. road
43		down the middle so being able to say that we're discriminated
44		against you know like in business in that kind of no I don't
45		think but I do think that there are people that choose to be
46		around like people you know (inaud.)

This speaker offers a more detached sense of identification with Sicily and being Sicilian than the first. He admits that he speaks 'very little' Italian (14), and uses no Italian words at all, even to the extent of using the American 'Saint Joseph' (41), though the interviewer has referred to 'San Giuseppe' (29). His narrative features a discourse of 'personal self-discovery', visible in phrases like 'I come back to where I'm from', 'my roots' (3-4), 'a real part of my life' (5-6), 'a point in my life where I can understand it better' (10-11), 'it defines me', 'I know where I'm from' (17-18), 'I have a good idea of my roots' (18), 'it's a good thing for me' (27). Such a discourse positions the speaker as a modern American engaged in the kind of self-conscious process of exploration of family origins typical of progressive societies with histories of immigration. Nevertheless, the statement 'it defines me' is a strong one, and the speaker proceeds to stake his claim to an authentic Sicilian identity by reference to a specific 'patch of ground' (20) from where his roots originated, an interesting observation in the light of the apparent rootlessness of much of modern-day America. The speaker underlines the connection between the Saint Joseph's altar as practiced in Sicily and that in his own community during his upbringing. By saying 'we participate in those traditions' (25), however, there is, again, a certain element of detachment. The speaker does not construe complete identification, for example by saying 'those are *our* traditions'.

His reference to the response of the young to the tradition is with a colloquial phrase: 'it's a fun day for them' (30). This is quite different to the first speaker's claim of Saint Joseph's 'importance' although, as we saw, she was unable to provide a convincing tale in support of her claim. However, the speaker's next remark (32) shows that, though in his fifties himself, he sees himself as part of the 'young people' group! He recognises that his generation lack the passion shown by his parents and grandparents for the tradition (32-33), and the wish that he expresses, that

his generation will carry it on, once more reveals an element of detachment:

I hope that we carry it on and I hope that it becomes a part of our lives too
(33-34)

From the fact that the speaker is describing a desirable future state and not a current reality (*'to become'* versus *'to be'*), we can infer that his attitude towards the tradition is that, while he sees it as a good thing, which he is glad to have learned more about, there are limits to its current role in his existence.

5.3. Speaker Three

1	Q:	What does it mean for you to be in Sicily today?
2	R:	Indescribable
3	Q:	Indescribable
4	R:	Yes 'cause my heart feels such joy
5	Q:	Your mother is Vancy?
6	R:	Yes
7	Q:	Oh ok
8	R:	Yes because I'm trying to carry on the tradition from what they
9		do very hard to carry on with it
10	Q:	So you're a generation of Bryan Texan Sicilians-
11	R:	Yes-
12	Q:	Carrying-
13	R:	Ross is my brother and here it's just our generation doesn't
14		have the dedication as they did plus we do not have the time cos
15		we work so much in America that it's a.. my heart is filled with
16		just great joy to be here to be here for the feast of Saint Joseph
17		and to thank Saint Joseph Jesus' friend for all the many graces
18		and blessings he has bestowed on our family through the
19		intercession of Jesus
20	Q:	Okay.. um and what does Sicily mean to you?
21	R:	Sicily
22	Q:	Are you a Sicil-American or Sicilian or how would you what
23		does Sicilian mean?
24	R:	When I was younger I really felt American but as I've grown
25		older and come here I feel the pull of the old family and the old
26		traditions and I've I want to grow more into that and er I would
27		like to come back and maybe spend more time here but it would
28		probably be many years before I get back

29	Q:	When you retire maybe?
30	R:	Yes which is many years away
31	Q:	Okay
32	R:	But yes I love Sicily I think it'll always be a special place in our
33		heart cos my grandfather was born here and the traditions that
34		he instilled in us and the faith that he instilled in us was born
35		here so it has a special meaning to us
36	Q:	Do you think the festival means something to young
37		generations in Bryan in Texas generally or
38	R:	Erm.. those that have really strong catholic Italian backgrounds
39		or who were brought into the family that have the strong faith I
40		think those will carry on and I think it does because I have
41		many cousins that are trying to-
42	Q:	Carry it on-
43	R:	Yes-
44	Q:	And do you think there's still discrimination against the Italian
45		community there or-
46	R:	No not like it was when I was a child we were kind of
47		somewhat ridiculed but it kind of stopped at my generation it
48		was on the edge there but um you know I remember us really
49		not having friends at a young age that were not Italian we only
50		stayed in that circle but as the time changed and everything we
51		kind of married non Italians and that was my mother cried
52		(laughter) but now she loves him (laughter)
53	Q:	And how do you think Americans would react to the festival of
54		saint Joseph, or do you think it means something only for the
55		Sicilian community?
56	R:	I think that if they walked into it it would not mean much to
57		them at all but I think the poorer you know the show of faith
58		and the customs and the traditions I think it draws the non
59		believer into you know a special place that they hold it in their
60		hearts because people ask me that are not Italian is there going
61		to be an altar this year
62	Q:	Ah that's interesting and do they come to the altar?
63	R:	Yes
64	Q:	They're accepted in the same way as..(inaud)
65	R:	They're..no-one is turned away we have brought in people that
66		were walking across the street er you know at my mother's
67		house and they said what's going on and we said come eat and
68		they're going what does it cost and we say it is free

This speaker's replies feature the Affect system of evaluation (Martin and White 2005: 42), again intensified as she describes the associations Sicily has for her: 'my heart feels such joy' (4), 'my heart is filled with just great joy' (15-16), instances of + *Affect: Happiness*. The basic emotion of love is also in evidence in 'I love Sicily I think it'll always be a special place in our heart' (32), an instance of + *Affect: Inclination*. Of interest here is the plural pronoun, 'our', an indication that the speaker identifies so strongly with the family that she feels able to speak for them. Sicily is not only of personal importance to the speaker; rather, she recognises its collective importance, an inference borne out by her repeated use of a plural subject in the following:

my grandfather was born here and the traditions that he instilled in us and the faith that he instilled in us was born here so it has a special meaning to us (33-34)

This speaker uses a lot of lexical items from a semantic domain of religion: 'dedication' (14), 'Saint Joseph Jesus' friend' (17), 'the many graces and blessings he has bestowed on our family through the intercession of Jesus' (17-18), 'really strong catholic Italian backgrounds' (38), 'the strong faith' (39). However, it is noticeable that 'the faith' here clearly refers to the tradition of the Saint Joseph's altar, which was born in Sicily, rather than to the Christian religion generally. Her happy emotional state, which she expresses initially with the high intensity adjective 'indescribable' (2), is closely linked to the experience of returning to the place where her family's 'faith' originated, as she says in lines 32-35.

5.4. Speaker Four

1	Q:	How do you feel about the trip? How do you feel about Sicily?
2	R:	Oh my God-
3	Q:	Overwhelming-
4	R:	Overwhelming and to me Saint Joseph was the key person in
5		arranging this because we planned this trip er a year ago and it's
6		gonna be my sister my daughter my older son and his wife and
7		about four weeks ago I guess one of my aunts said Circe's
8		gonna be in Poggioreale for the altar and I said you're kidding
9		and so I called Circe (inaud) and I never thought that we would
10		be here for the Saint Joseph's altar and that they were going to
11		show the film I-
12	Q:	It's incredible-
13	R:	Incredible and it was like unbelievable and having brought a

14		guide with us this morning that took us to the old town it was it
15		was awesome knowing that my dad had lived in that area and
16		we were walking in places where he walked and he worked
17	Q:	Did you see his house?
18	R:	No I don't know where he taught (?) I don't because when my
19		daddy moved to America he never wanted to come back
20		because it was too hard when he left the first time and so he had
21		some land here and er he decided that he was going to go ahead
22		and will it back to his family here so (inaud.) it saddens me now
23		because we had the property but I think my dad and my mum
24		would be overjoyed knowing that we carried on the tradition of
25		the Saint Joseph's altar because daddy used to say five rosaries
26		a night when he was alive because that many altars in Bryan
27	Q:	Okay
28	R:	And he was the only one that could really say it in Italian and so
29		we would go from one altar to another to say four or five
30		rosaries and (inaud) Cecily one of my godmothers oh she would
31		say five different rosaries one to the baby Jesus one to Saint
32		Joseph and others to the others but there was no way you could
33		learn it because it was embedded in her head
34	Q:	And what about Sicily how do you feel do you feel more
35		Sicilian or American how do you feel what place does it have in
36		your life and in your family?
37	R:	I love Sicily if I could move to Sicily (inaud) in America you
38		know but Sicily is so beautiful it's so (inaud) the scenery is so
39		fantastic and as we were driving I remembered my daddy
40		talking about some of the different I guess they're provinces
41		right? Yeah
42		Because he would talk about Trapani and he would talk about
43	Q:	Sciacca he would talk about well he would mention Corleone
44	R:	but Corleone was one which he
45		Yeah
46	Q:	Because he would talk about Trapani and he would talk about
47	R:	Sciacca he would talk about well he would mention Corleone
48		but Corleone was one which he would not talk a lot about it was
49		mostly Poggioreale
50		And how do you feel the Sicilian community in Bryan is
51	Q:	accepted by Americans is there still discrimination that you talk
52		about in the film or no?
53		Er we have to be careful because our kids kind of joke about it
54	R:	because we were in the juke boxes and-

55		Juke boxes?
56	Q:	We were Italian and everybody thought you know we were in
57	R:	the mafia they joked about it it kind of hurt you know that they
58		were associating us with the mafia because we were not-
59		You were in the juke box..?
60	Q:	We were in the juke box business (laughter)
61	R:	But what about the young generation do you think the young
62	Q:	generation will carry on the tradition do you think it's important
63		that they do?
64		I do not feel that my family will do it because my daughter
65	R:	married an American my son Ross is American and my
66		youngest son's wife is American they don't they don't feel as
67		close to the saint as I do possibly my daughter after this trip
68		might feel a bit closer we have some daughters my best friends
69		that may carry on the tradition and er I think it will continue but
70		it's not going to be as many as there were the tradition is dying
71		But do you think it's important that it carries on?
72	Q:	Oh yes it's our tradition it's our heritage and you know I just
73	R:	hope that somehow one of my great-grandchildren will you
74		know take it (inaud)

The final speaker echoes the sentiments of the second, in describing the experience of coming to a physical place in Sicily, of interacting with it in a physical sense (18-21). She refers to places apart from Poggioreale; to Trapani (46), Sciacca (47) and Corleone (48), developing an image of the island as a place in its own right rather than simply the cradle of the Todaro family's 'faith'. Again, in searching for the correct terminology ('provinces', 40), reference to the semantic field of administration contrasts with some other speakers' less grounded representations. Her connection with Sicily has a material element, visible when she describes the possibility that her father may have willed her 'property' in Poggioreale (21-22). She is also the only one of the four to allude to the mafia as a possible reason for the negative perceptions of Italian immigrants when her ancestors emigrated (56-58). Thus, the island appears with some of its better-known historical and geographical contours indicated, which her earlier references to Corleone also hinted at. Her evaluation of Sicily is emotive: 'I love Sicily' (37), (+ *affect, inclination*) but she also stands back from it and offers aesthetic judgements: 'Sicily is so beautiful' (38), 'the scenery is so fantastic' (38-39), (+ *Appreciation, reaction, intens.*).

The plural pronoun 'our' (53), once more, underlines the speaker's sense that observation of the Saint Joseph's altar is absolutely central to the family identity. She makes an implicit distinction between Sicilian and American, even within the family, as she describes her son Ross as 'American', and lists the various family members who married Americans. 'Closeness to the saint' (68) is associated with a Sicilian rather than an American identity.

6. Discussion

The data was now analysed in terms of Bucholtz and Hall's four identity categories. A word or two must be said in explanation of the application of these criteria. As already indicated, the first refers to identity as:

the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore is a social and cultural rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 585).

In reading the transcripts, I have coded under this feature instances in which the interviewee responded not as a single subject but rather in such a way that the identity which emerged had something of a plural, or social aspect. For example, in the following exchange:

Q: Can you say what it meant to you to come to Sicily, first of all?

A: Today was very special last year we decided not to say a rosary for an altar base...

The question is an invitation for the interviewee to express some personal anecdote, but instead she exploits the singular/plural ambiguity in the pronoun 'you' to answer for her family. Thus, an identity is expressed which leans towards a social rather than an individual dimension.

The second criterion refers to:

macro-level demographic categories, temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles, and local, ethnographically emergent cultural positions (ibid);

Bucholtz and Hall intended to create a sort of 'identity tool-kit' which could be applied to many different analytical contexts. Thus, their criteria contain features that may not be relevant for the specific case. Here, for example, the relevant 'tool' refers to 'macro-level demographic categories' such as 'Americano', 'Italiano', etc. The other features are

discarded. Similarly, for the third criterion, the relevant features are ‘stances’ (evaluations) and ‘linguistic structures and systems’. Here, instances of speaker evaluation were recorded, as well as instances of code-switching. For the fourth criterion, the relevant feature is the component relating to ‘larger ideological processes and structures’. Here, any references to the Saint Joseph’s altar ritual were noted. The results can be seen below (table one):

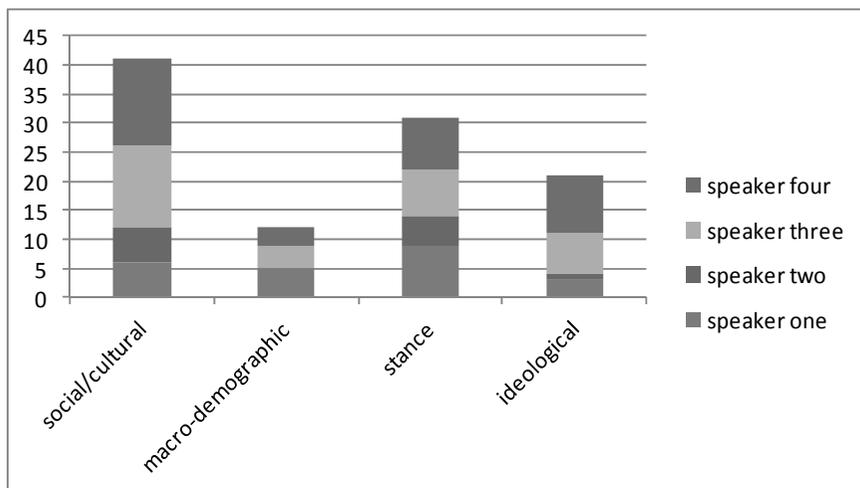


Table 1: Identity in Texas Tavola interviews⁹

The most significant category is clearly that of the socio-cultural dimension of identity. As in the example just given above, the four respondents all emphasise the social rather than the individual dimension of identity. Repeatedly a communal narrative is developed, emphasising the importance of the family, the collective rather than the individual dimension. Speaker two is the only one whose narrative seems illustrative of a sort of ‘self-discovery’ discourse, but even he concludes by referring to a collective dimension, using the non-specific plural pronouns ‘we’ and ‘our’ to indicate a notion of ‘family’:

⁹ The numbers refer to the number of times a particular feature occurs in the transcripts of the individual speakers. See also the table in the appendix for some examples.

I hope that we carry it on and I hope that it becomes a part of *our* lives too (S.2, 33-34).

In terms of speaker evaluations (criterion 3), it is noticeable that the stance towards Sicily, towards the people of Poggioreale, the experience of visiting the town and so on, is characterised by positive evaluations, frequently intensified, and this is found in the discourse of all speakers (table two):

Speaker one	Today was very special	+ App., quality, intens.
Speaker two	Kind of an honour for me	+ Affect, happiness
Speaker three	My heart feels such joy	+ Affect, happiness
Speaker four	Oh my God	+ Affect, happiness

Table 2: instances of speaker evaluation

As we saw above, this pattern of evaluation is socially cohesive, indicating that the speakers share a common attitude towards the phenomena in question.

The third and fourth speakers, in particular, are those whose answers feature most 'ideological content', the ones who focus most on the specifically religious content of the event.

In their different ways, the four analytical categories permit us to observe the different facets of the identity work performed during the interviews. It is clear that, for all the interviewees the experience of visiting the family home in Sicily, participating in the indigenous version of the Saint Joseph's altar ceremony, coming into contact with Sicily, its landscape, its traditions and its people, was a powerful experience, and one that confirmed the centrality in their family identity of the ceremony of the Saint Joseph's altar.

7. Conclusion

Texas Tavola is a powerful film, perhaps because its subject matter, emi/immigration is intrinsically moving. Perhaps the emotional impact can be accounted for because it describes the survival of an antique social practice from the mother country, one which ties the participants to patterns of thought, feeling and behaviour that clash with such habits in the host country. America has its own social rituals, but none with such a European, Catholic dimension. Therefore the viewer may wonder whether, in keeping alive the tradition of the Saint Joseph's altar in 21st century

America, the immigrants are salvaging the most precious part of their cultural heritage, or simply refusing the challenge of full integration in the host country. Such dilemmas have been faced by all emigrant populations through the ages.

Sicily, in the film and in the ethnographic part of this study, emerges as an index of common, family identity, and as the origin of values jealously preserved and passed down the generations in the ritual of the Saint Joseph's altar. To treat identity, as Bucholtz and Hall do, as an emergent phenomenon and an interactional achievement, is a perspective that usefully combines with linguistic ethnography and conversation analysis. Again, the study shows how evaluative language can represent a significant dimension in the construction of identities with common features, confirming the intuitions in this respect of Martin and White.

Sicilians in the USA appear generally to have achieved a harmonious balance between what is due to their host country, in identity terms, and the need to maintain contact with their native traditions. Dzialtuvaite, in her paper, compares the failure of the Scottish Lithuanian community with the more successful Jewish and Irish immigrant populations in this respect. These groups, she says, achieved "integration without complete assimilation", meaning by the latter term the annihilation of any native identity features (Dzialtuvaite 2006, 84). It would be interesting, as a follow-up to the current paper, to conduct some ethnographic work among the younger generations of Sicilians in Bryan, Texas, to see what the Saint Joseph's altar ritual currently means for them, and what its future might be.

References

- Alexander, Jeffrey C., 2011. *Performance and power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bhatia, Vijay K., Flowerdew, John and Jones, Rodney H. 2008. Approaches to discourse analysis. In *Advances in discourse studies*, edited by Vijay K. Bhatia, John Flowerdew and Rodney H. Jones, 1-19. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bucholtz, Mary, and Hall, Kira. 2005. *Identity and interaction. A sociocultural linguistic approach*. *Discourse Studies*, Volume 7(4-5): 585-614. DOI: 10.1177/1461445605054407.
- Fløttum, Kjersti, Dahl, Trine and Kinn, Torodd 2006. *Academic voices across languages and disciplines*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dzialtuvaite, Jurgita 2006. The role of religion in language choice and identity among Lithuanian immigrants in Scotland. In *Explorations in*

- the sociology of language and religion*, edited by Tope Omoniyi and Joshua A. Fishman, 79–85. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gee, James P., 1999. *An introduction to discourse analysis*. New York and Abingdon: Routledge.
- Geertz, Clifford 1973. *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic books.
- Grice, Herbert P., 1975. Logic and conversation. In *Syntax and semantics 3: speech acts*, edited by Peter Cole and Jerry L. Morgan, 41-58. New York: Academic Press.
- Hanks, W. 2009. Context, communicative. In *The concise encyclopedia of pragmatics*, edited by Jacob L. Mey, 119-121. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Kaufmann, Eric 2008. The orange order in Scotland since 1860: a social analysis. In *New perspectives on the Irish in Scotland*, edited by Martin J. Mitchell, 159-191. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Kress, Gunther and Van Leeuwen, Theo 2001. *Multimodal discourse. The modes and media of contemporary communication*. London and New York: Bloomsbury.
- Malpezzi, Frances, M. and Clements, William, M., 2005. *Italian-American folklore*. Little Rock: August House.
- McFarland, Elaine 1990. *Protestants first: Orangeism in nineteenth-century Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Martin, James, R. and White, Peter, R. R., 2005. *The language of evaluation: appraisal in English*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McCaffety, Kerri 2003. *St. Joseph altars*. Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican.
- Ó Catháin, Máirtín 2008. 'A winnowing spirit': Sinn Fein in Scotland, 1905-38. In *New perspectives on the Irish in Scotland*, edited by Martin J. Mitchell, 159-191. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Omoniyi, Tope and Fishman, Joshua A. 2006. Introduction. In *Explorations in the sociology of language and religion*, edited by Tope Omoniyi and Joshua A. Fishman, 1-13. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Pérez Firmat, Gustavo 1994. *Life on the hyphen: the Cuban-American way*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Pitré, Giuseppe 1900. *Feste Patronali in Sicilia descritte da Giuseppe Pitré*. Torino/Palermo: Clausen. Online at: https://archive.org/stream/bibliotecadelle20pitrgoog/bibliotecadelle20pitrgoog_djvu.txt, last accessed 21/08/2014.
- Vargas, Alvaro 2014. Work is play. Online at: <http://workisplay.com/?p=65>, last accessed 21/08/2014.

Appendix 1: Data

	Social-Cultural	Macro-Demographic	Stance	Ideological
Speaker 1				
Instance/s	all the famiglia came to meet and eat as one big family	My padre is from Sicily an Italiano	very very very important	we decided not to say a rosary for an altar base
Total	6	5	9	3
Speaker 2				
Instance/s	we go and see where my grandfather was raised		Kind of an honour for me	we participate in those traditions
Total	6	0	5	1
Speaker 3				
Instance/s	I'm trying to carry on the tradition from what they do	I really felt American	my heart is filled with just great joy	to thank Saint Joseph Jesus' friend
Total	14	4	8	7
Speaker 4				
Instance/s	we planned this trip er a year ago	We were Italian	Overwhelming	Saint Joseph was the key person in arranging this
Total	15	3	9	10

Note: Here the numbers indicate the occurrences, in the data, of the specific feature (e.g. the transcript of Speaker 1 has 6 instances of the social-cultural category, etc.)

Appendix 2

Self-study

1. Watch the film *Texas Tavola* by Randolph Lewis and Circe Sturm: <http://www.folkstreams.net/film,206>. (last visit 20/10/2014).

Find out:

- when the family arrived in Bryan
- How many of them speak Italian? Sicilian?
- What were some of the initial problems in Texas?
- Why is the Saint Joseph's altar important?
- Do they think the tradition will survive?
- What items are the participants given to take home?

Write down your answers and then discuss your findings with the class.

Classroom activities

1. Look at the interviews and say which speaker/s
 - uses non-English words? What do they mean?
 - talks about discrimination. What story/ies do they tell?
 - is most committed to Saint Joseph?
 - would move to Sicily if they could?
 - remembers their father telling them about Sicily?
2. Read the methodology paragraph and answer the following:
 - What are the main types of evaluation in English? (see Martin and White 2005, or visit the Appraisal Framework website: <http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/>)
 - Visit Alvaro Vargas's website: <http://workisplay.com/?p=65>, and make notes on his notion of ritual.

3. Now discuss with your classmates:
 - What rituals are you aware of in your own village/town/area?
 - What do they mean to the participants in terms of identity?
 - If you made a film about one, what aspects would you emphasise?
 - From a multimodal perspective, discuss the music/camera angle/filters/accompanying texts, etc. that you might like to use for specific scenes
 - Devise some questions for participants and, if possible, conduct some interviews with them. Discuss the results with the class.

CHAPTER FIVE

‘JUST AS I IMAGINED ...’: A MULTIMODAL INVESTIGATION OF SICILIAN HERITAGE IN TRAVEL WEBSITES

MARIAVITA CAMBRIA

1. Introduction

In their critical reflections on contemporary travel writing, Holland and Huggan (2003) refer back to meaningful precursors. In their words, there is a moment in Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), already a satire on travel writing, when Gulliver says that he can no longer stand to look at another travel book and declares:

I thought that we were already stocked with books of travels that nothing could now pass which was not extraordinary; wherein I doubted some authors less consulted truth than their own vanity, or interest, or the diversion of ignorant figure. (161-162)

Two centuries later Claude Lévi-Strauss rather ironically comments:

Amazonia, Tibet and Africa fill the bookshops in the forms of travelogues, accounts of expeditions and collections of photographs, in all of which the desire to impress is so dominant as to make it impossible for the reader to assess the value of the evidence put before him. Instead of having his critical faculties stimulated, he asks for more of such pabulum and swallows prodigious quantities of it (*Tristes Tropique*, 1955: 17)

As a genre, travel writing has always had a mixed reception, being considered by some as essentially frivolous or even morally dangerous. The genre has proved to be immune to criticism, it is extremely robust and nowadays exceptionally popular. Travel has also emerged as a key theme in the fields of humanities and social sciences with an increasing

production of scholarly work in the area (Bendinex and Hamera 2009, Hulme and Youngs 2002). The description of peoples, their nature, customs, religion, forms of government and language is so embedded in travel writing as to call into question issues of representation and perception of the other. The relations with the analysis of ethnography, thus with the history and function of anthropology, are of course compelling in travel writing. Several studies concerning travel writing and its connections with gender, anthropology, sociology and postcolonial issues have flourished highlighting the cogent association between travel writing and representation of social phenomena (Mills 1991, Clifford 1997).

The prevailing/dominant imaginary of a society in a set time expresses itself also via the use of language in the representation of “other” cultures and places. This is also true of travel writing, a genre which has evolved through time (Berkenkotter 2007). Traditional travel accounts have, for instance, often been compared to ethnographic texts and modern guidebooks. Nowadays travel writing has a plethora of fascinating outcomes: comments and posts sent to travel websites, for example, are a common way of getting information on the places people wish to visit. At the same time, they are a mirror of the representation that is given of that place, which is, as said, often the result of a more or less dominant imaginary, an imaginary that also contributes to the creation of the concept of “cultural heritage” (Palumbo 2011).

Moving from the assumption according to which texts are often produced by some sort of imaginary (Marzo and Meo 2013), and adopting a blended multimodal corpus-based approach (Baldry 2011), this paper investigates positive keyword collocates and concordances to examine some collocations in the representation of the Greek/Roman amphitheatre in Taormina, one of the most visited places of Sicilian cultural heritage. It will do so by first analysing the multimodal structure of a *tripadvisor.com* page drawing attention to the meaning-making resources at work, and then through a qualitative analysis of a corpus made up of reviews posted to the travel website in 2014.

2. Aims and Purposes

The aim of the paper is twofold. First the study explores webgenres in terms of multimodal genres by highlighting some of the features of the TripAdvisor page and then it examines the collocation of keywords related to Sicilian cultural heritage in travel writing via the use of a small corpus of comments posted to *tripadvisor.com*.

Travel websites such as TripAdvisor provide directory information and reviews of travel-related contents and often include interactive travel forums. Some of these websites have been also early adopters of user-generated content, in that the website services are free to users who provide most of the content and the website is supported by an advertising business mode.

Multimodality can offer valid help in analysing representation because it is an interdisciplinary approach that connects socio-cultural analysis to linguistic and semiotic analysis (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001). There is an indissoluble link between society, culture and language since culture can be defined as a “set of semiotic systems, a set of systems of meaning, all of which interrelate” (Halliday and Hasan 1985, 4). A profusion of studies have emerged in recent years emphasizing the role of multimodal studies in deciphering the complex scenarios created by web-based texts, web genres and digital discourse in general where the interaction among verbal and non-verbal resources is at its highest (Cambria et al. 2012, Sindoni 2013, Moschini 2014). One of the aims of this paper is to investigate the structural components of what makes a digital discourse and the first step is to look at the components of the web page seen as the result of a system of representation (Hall 1997).

As argued by Baldry and Thibault (2006) a web page is a hybrid visual-spatial unit which has some “pagey” properties such as the top-down, left-right organization integrated with some “screeny ones”. It has a dynamic nature allowing the reader to interact physically with it: clusters responding to mouse clicks or rollover create hyperlinks and the possibility to interact with the page. In interacting with a web page, users can access a wide array of potential actions; each user can interact individually with the page and create his or her own way of reading it. What hypertext brings to the fore is that “there are no *a priori* structures that cause or guide meaning-making activity from start to finish” (Baldry and Thibault 2006: 118). Hence the home page of a travel website, as a web page, has an action potential allowing the reader to construe personal activities, in that it contains a series of information-potential choices which can be activated through a succession of active links to different sections of the web page concerning information on the place to visit. Thus, readers derive their own texts, their own travel guide, if you like, from a mixture of several choices made while interacting with the web page and its links.

3. Sicily's legendary resorts

Figure 5.1 is a screenshot taken from the TripAdvisor page related to Taormina showing some of its main features. In multimodal terms, those websites encompass several genres and mini-genres (Baldry and O'Halloran 2010) having common patterns and features with semiotic resources working together in the meaning-making process (Halliday 1978; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). TripAdvisor pages have similar patterns of meaning-making resources, as pages on different locations aim at offering readers an idea of the region they wish to visit. The page is structurally divided into several macro clusters, each corresponding to a precise function of the page. We could easily horizontally divide the page into three main areas.

The screenshot shows the TripAdvisor page for Taormina, Italy. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the TripAdvisor logo and various menu options like 'Hotels', 'Flights', 'Vacation Rentals', etc. Below the navigation bar is a search bar with the text 'Search for a city, hotel, etc.'. A banner below the search bar says 'We scout over 200 sites for the best hotel prices.' The main content area features a large image of Taormina with the text 'TripAdvisor Taormina Italy' and '65,448 reviews and opinions'. To the right of the main image is a sidebar with category filters: Hotels (89), Vacation Rentals (334), Flights, Attractions (86), Restaurants (217), Forum, and Travel Guides. Below the main image is a section titled 'Volcano Mount Etna and the Ionian Sea' with a 'Log In with Facebook' button. To the right of this section is a 'Don't miss the best of Taormina' section with images and text. At the bottom, there is a 'TripAdvisor Top-rated Hotels in Taormina' section with a grid of hotel categories: All Hotels, Best Value, Luxury, Family, On the Beach, B&B, and Vacation Rentals. Below the grid, it says 'Travelers are talking about these hotels'.

Figure 5.1. TripAdvisor page on Taormina

The top part of the webpage is characterized by a photo accompanied by links to specific areas of interest for the readers. Facts on the locale are constructed on a shared imaginary of what that setting evokes and meaning-making resources are employed in order to be as attractive as possible. In the case of Taormina, for instance, readers are immediately welcomed by a photo of Isola Bella, which stands at the top right of the main photo. On the right there are links to some main areas of interest (hotels, flights, attractions etc.) while the text below the picture says:

Volcanic Mount Etna and the Ionian Sea provide the cinema-worthy backdrop for Taormina, Sicily's legendary resort town. Twisting medieval streets and a second-century Greek theater add to its romantic air, which inspired the writings of D.H. Lawrence and Truman Capote. Take a cable car to the beach, or walk uphill behind the Church of St. Joseph for panoramic views.

Taormina is defined as “Sicily’s legendary resort town” and its historical and cinematographic links are immediately evoked together with references to famous English and American writers. As it happens with many tourist guides, the text is a mixture of informative, descriptive and persuasive writing all aiming at catching the readers’ attention. Next to the promotional message, we find the link to the social networks, with the interpersonal appeal underlined by “see what your friends say about Taormina”, and at the side are Taormina highlights.

The lower part is graphically the least appealing one with links to “TripAdvisor Top-Rated Hotels in Taormina”. A section on “travelers are talking about these hotels” is situated below to catch readers’ attention and to establish an interpersonal function via the appeal to personal opinions.

As said in the introduction, the aim of this paper is to explore the way some travel websites help construct the representation of Sicilian heritage, in particular the Greek amphitheatre in Taormina. To do so a distinct area of the website has been selected for further analysis, specifically the one containing comments on “attractions”. This area has been chosen because it is the one which is more directly linked to Sicilian heritage and, as it emerges from Figure 5.1, it is also the one which has an extremely high number of reviews (more than 9,000). Moreover, as a genre, reviews are particularly relevant to the issue of representation.

4. Methodology and Corpus Construction

This paper investigates the language used in reviews posted to travel websites and is based on a blended approach, putting together different

tools to explore the form and the content of a specific area of travel websites, i.e. reviews on a particular aspect of Sicilian heritage. As said, most of the substance of travel websites is based on user-generated content, i.e. provided by the users of the websites. Several studies have investigated the multifarious relationships of these kinds of environments and of the genres used in the exchanges (Bolter and Grusin 1999, Lemke 2005). According to Leech (1997: 9), corpus analysis can be illuminating “in virtually all branches of linguistics or language learning”.

In this paper, the approach to Participant analysis follows Halliday’s three broad areas of meaning potential: ideational, interpersonal and textual, and their correlation with register categories (Martin 2010, Eggins and Martin 1997, Ghadessy 1999). Halliday’s ideational meaning is interpreted in terms of the world as categories of experience. This means that the ideational metafunction is constructed as realising a part-whole structure based on the principle of constituency: a given unit (i.e. a Participant) has a function in a larger whole (O’Halloran 2008).

To explore in more detail the representation of the Greek amphitheatre in Taormina, a corpus of texts has been created and for the purposes of this paper, it is important first to describe the methodology of the corpus construction.

Web texts and genres are evolving rapidly, and are increasingly difficult to process systematically (Cambria et al. 2012). Several hurdles had to be overcome to create a corpus from online resources. The analysis had to characterize and quantify the type-token distribution and, at the same time, collect intertextual data on the reviews such as their links to photographs or other hyperlinks which are often present in the reviews. This data, which clearly puts forward the need for mini-genre analysis, requires further steps towards understanding the whole meaning-making process, i.e. taking the analysis beyond a string of words and, in this way, moving at the discourse level. The corpus construction process went through several stages. The first was to choose the area of the website deemed of interest for the purposes of this article. The “Greek amphitheatre” contained at the moment of writing 2,681 reviews. A set time span was chosen in order to construct the corpus, therefore 500 reviews posted in the period January 2014-January 2015 were chosen. TripAdvisor reviews have a precise layout and are in themselves mini-genres containing some fixed elements. A multimodal analysis (results given in the next section) of the Participants in the reviews was carried out before analysing the corpus.

After the selection of the texts, the second step was to create ‘txt. Files’ containing readers’ reviews to cross-check frequency ratios. The British

National Corpus of English was chosen as a reference corpus. A corpus of over 30,000 words was created from reviews to *www.tripadvisor.com* on the “Greek Amphitheatre” (GAR henceforth). Quantitative and qualitative analyses of the corpus were carried out to see the collocation of some keywords with the concordance tool Ant Conc (<http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html>). Pictures, avatars, videos and links were analysed separately but, for purposes of space, are not analysed in this paper. As the reviews contained some recurrent sentences (for example “helpful votes”, “attraction visited” etc.) those sentences were taken away from the txt. files in order not to affect the linguistic analysis. A discussion on the results of the analysis of the Participants and on the language used is provided in the next sections. For matters of clarity, results are divided into two sections: Section 1 accounts for the structure of the web environment used, while Section 2 shows the language analysis of the comments.

5. Results

5.1 Evaluative orientation and field-like prosodies

Figure 5.2 shows the web environment and the organization of the reviews. Each contributor has his/her own web space in the reviews and the review is structured to be very aesthetically pleasing. The left side of the review contains the contributor’s profile. Participants choose a picture of themselves or a sort of avatar, in some cases typically exemplifying their alter ego, and they may also choose a name or an acronym by which they are recognized within that particular community, such as *jfarlam* in Figure 5.2. Contributors then indicate their origin. Under this first cluster of material, there is some information related to the role of the contributor in the TripAdvisor environment. There are several steps in the “career” of a contributor that go in a cline from the simple “reviewer” to “top contributor”, according to how often the contributor has participated in the reviews. After that, there is an indication of the number of reviews given, number of attractions visited, number of cities reviewed and, last but not least, number of helpful votes given to them. This last detail on the participant is particularly interesting for the general reader as it may be interpreted as a sign of more reliability of the contributor on the topic. Moreover, with a click on the contributor’s name, readers receive a detailed account of the contributor’s TripAdvisor history as it emerges in Figure 5.3. With another click on “full profile” one can get a complete account of the contributor’s travels and interests.

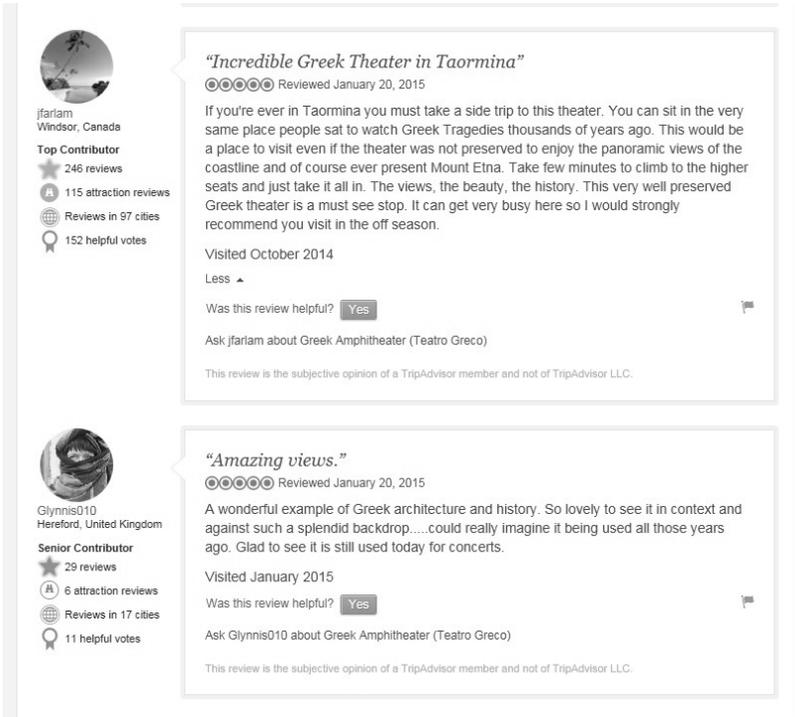


Figure 5.2. An example of TripAdvisor reviews

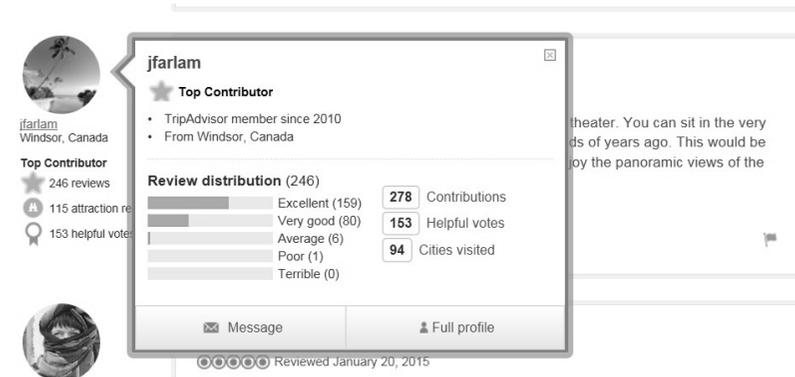


Figure 5.3. jfarlam profile

The other part of the review is the one containing the text of the review itself. As Figure 5.2 clearly shows, the text of the review is graphically contained in a bubble so as to indicate that the participants are taking part in a sort of conversation. This is also emphasized by a sort of “title” of the review which contains in brackets a brief extract from it and a green ballot evaluation of how favourable the reviewer considered the place (one to five where 1 is terrible and 5 is excellent). In Figure 5.2, for example, jfarlam gives the title: “Incredible Greek Theater in Taormina” and awards 5 green ballots. The evaluation is followed by the date when the review was written. Under that, there is the text of the review and below the review, there is a space where the reader may give a vote for helpful comment or contact the reviewer to ask for further information. TripAdvisor declines responsibility for the content of reviews not having “excellent” (i.e. five green ballots) as a rate by declaring that: “This review is the subjective opinion of a TripAdvisor member and not of TripAdvisor LLC”.

In the case of the reviews, they all refer to a specific topic, i.e. the Greek Amphitheatre and all the contributors are giving their opinion on their visit to the place. From a (Hallidayan) Systemic Functional perspective, the interpersonal metafunction concerns language as interaction (speech acts, dialogic moves), the expression of attitudinal and evaluative orientation (modality) and the taking-up and negotiating of specific subjective positions in discourse. It is taken as being expressed by field-like prosodies and as scopal in character (i.e. declarative, interrogative sentences) and as attendant to the relationship between the reader and people, events and objects. The interpersonal meaning is closely related to tenor, which points out how people relate to one another when communicating. It should be remarked here that the interpersonal meaning potential of the linked object in the review is also made explicit through three multimodal parameters: appeal, orientation and action (Baldry and Thibault 2006). As such, the reader can make an appeal among the several reviews. The orientation is contained in the option “Was this helpful?”, thus realising the potential for action by commenting. Asking the contributors further questions below their comment is another way of interacting as it emerges in Figure 5.4, where “laughing cat” is asking where to look for a calendar of events at the theatre and “motcombetraveller” answers by indicating that there is a website calendar.

Questions & Answers

Here's what previous visitors have asked, with answers from representatives of Greek Amphitheater (Teatro Greco) and other visitors

2 questions [Ask a question](#)

TheLaughingCat
Leeds, United Kingdom

I'm looking to treat my mum to an opera here for her sixtieth next year with the whole family, however I cannot find a schedule for events. Are there any websites which show this?

1 month ago

Answer

motcombetraveller
Molcombe, United Kingdom

The taormina web site has an 'events calendar' and gives links to the box office

1 month ago

0 Votes

TheLaughingCat
Leeds, United Kingdom

I'm looking to treat my mum to an opera here for her sixtieth next year with the whole family, however I cannot find a schedule for events. Are there any websites which show this?

1 month ago

No answers yet [Answer](#) [Be the first to answer](#)

[See all questions \(2\)](#)

Figure 5.4. Questions & Answers in the reviews

The textual meaning relates sections of text to each other and to their context. It is associated with mode, the channel used to communicate and how those texts are seen in the context of culture and of situation. In the case of the reviews, we are dealing with a genre in which the social context is people reviewing sites, hotels or facilities related to tourist places (field), interacting with other people (tenor), making use of a web channel of communication to do so (mode).

5.2 Frequencies and ideational meanings

The other aim of this paper is to investigate how words related to Taormina and in general to Sicilian heritage collocate in the corpus. As said in the corpus construction section, GAR is a corpus of 35,456 words. Complexity factor (lexical density) is 16.7 per cent and readability (computed by the Gunning-Fog index) is 10.1, when 6 stands for “easy” and 20 for “hard”. The average syllables per word is 1.74 and average sentence length (words) is 18.44. Type/token ratio is 62.7 per cent.

The first step in the comment analysis was to observe the list of words used by the commentators with the concordance tool Ant Conc (<http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html>). The second was to create a keyword list. A keyword analysis not only indicates the ‘aboutness’

(Scott 1999) of a particular genre, but can also reveal the salient features which are functionally related to that genre. In this study, GAR has been compared to BNC World Edition, because the reference corpus incorporates major varieties of English. Keywords are those words whose frequency is unusually high (positive keywords) or low (negative keywords) in comparison with a reference corpus. In the case of the present study, only the positive keywords have been taken into consideration because the general aim was to discover the most common clusters in the representation of “Greek Amphitheatre”. Table 5.1 shows the resulting GAR 20 positive keyword list with BNC as a reference corpus.

Positive Keyness			
Rank	Frequency	Keyness	Keyword
1	3145	793.536	the
2	1373	340.270	and
3	1128	277.765	is
4	584	139.421	you
5	527	124.992	for
6	503	118.924	with
7	439	112.704	greek
8	420	107.826	Taormina
9	443	103.774	see
10	368	84.890	we
11	353	81.122	but
12	304	78.045	amphitheatre
13	293	75.221	teatro
14	299	67.590	there
15	294	66.340	view
16	257	65.979	greco
17	256	65.722	theatre
18	246	63.155	etna
19	254	56.363	visit
20	253	56.114	worth

Table 5.1. Positive keyword list in GAR

Analysing the top 20 words in GAR, it emerges that the majority of words are obviously related to the area of commenting/reviewing the place. Table 5.1 shows that 8/20 positive keywords are function words being personal pronouns, prepositions, determiners or conjunctions. The

remaining 12 positive keywords are content words. 4/20 are locative adjectives, 3/20 refer to a place, 4 are verbs (2 are used also as nouns) and 1 (worth) is used either as a noun, an adjective or, as Quirk et al. define it, a “marginal preposition” (1985, 669). A closer look at the positive keywords in the list shows that some of them occur mostly in combination. *Greek* is the first content positive keyword and it occurs 227/439 times in the cluster *Greek amphitheater*, 17 times in *Greek amphitheatre*, 48 times in *Greek theater* and 45 times in *Greek theatre* while there are only 3 occurrences of *greek teatro*. The prevalence of the American spelling seems a matter of fact in the corpus. *Teatro* occurs 248/293 times in the cluster *teatro greco*, 9 times in *teatro antico*. *Taormina* is for most of the occurrences preceded by prepositions *for* (129 times), *in* (101 times), *of* (54 times), *to* (23 times), *over* (8 times) and *around* (3 times). *Taormina* also occurs in cluster with adjectives. In these cases the most common ones are *beautiful* (59), *wonderful* (18 times) and only in two cases with a negative connotation as in *overrated Taormina*. In this case the contributor writes:

We attempted to go one morning at 10.00am but even at that hour we trudged up the approach road behind a crowd all heading for the ticket office. Overcrowded, overrated Taormina was turning out to be a mistake for us. (Angel Josie, Devon – Reviewed 18th October 2014).

Etna occurs 121 times in the cluster *mount Etna* and 34 times in *mt. Etna*. If we have a look at bigger clusters, it occurs in strings with *view* as in “spectacular views of Mount Etna”. *View* in itself deserves a separate treatment: 80 per cent of the times it is used as a noun and it is found in cluster with positive adjectives that go along the cline from *nice* (8 times) to *amazing* (18), *spectacular* (23) and *wonderful* (30 times). 20 per cent of the time it is used as a verb as for instance when “Van Vlear” from San Francisco writes:

This amphitheater is not that well preserved and mostly renovated but the view is spectacular. If you are in Taormina, it is in the center of the town and easily accessible so there is no reason not to view it. (Reviewed 24 December 2014).

Visit deserves a very similar treatment as 22 per cent of the time it occurs as a verb while 78 per cent as a noun. When it occurs as a noun it is often found in the string with *worth* as in “Well worth a visit” (88 times).

The list of positive keywords allows for other considerations: most entries present paratactic links, such as coordination by *and* which ranks

2nd in the positive keyword list with 1373 occurrences. The presence of the adversative *but* in the keyword list seems to imply that it is used to introduce the “other side of the matter” of what the reviewer is saying. The entries below are taken as examples for in-depth analysis.

Kartoeffelchen, London (UK) - Contributor

“Interesting, but expensive entrance fee.”

Rate: Average

Reviewed 21 December 2014

Initially I thought the theatre was worth a visit, as I have never seen a Greek Amphitheater before, and I thought the view from the amphitheatre was breathtaking. However after visiting the one in Siracusa (in the later part of my trip), I thought the entrance fee was rather expensive.

Patrick S, Cairns Australia - Senior Contributor

Rating: Average

“Expensive, overrated, but nice view”

Reviewed January 18, 2015

The view is worth the money but the theater was not very interesting. As usual, no information in English...

trvlbufElmhurst, Elmhurst, Illinois - Top Contributor

“Interesting if you have the time.”

Rating: Average

Reviewed 19 December 2014

This is a worthwhile attraction if you have the time, while in Taormina. It was filled with scaffolding during our visit and this does take away from the experience. It must be great for an actual performance during the summer months. Interesting but not memorable, like the Valley of the Temples in Siracusa.

The titles of the entries begin with adjectives immediately followed either by the adversative *but* or by *if*. They all contain a recurrent pattern of “complaint” in the corpus, that is the ticket price which is considered by many (more than 150 entries) as expensive compared to other sites. Another reason for complaints is the lack of information in English. The entries are mainly focused on ideational meanings with a prevalence of material (e.g. *visiting*), mental (e.g. *seen*, *thought*) and relational (e.g. verb to be with the role of identifying and specifying characteristics and features) processes. The reviews confirm that the view from the amphitheatre is excellent but they both make a comparison with other theatres in Sicily, which are usually considered better. To this extent, *however* is used to stress the difference to the other Sicilian theatres.

Modality markers are very frequent in GAR, with *must* occurring 158 times (half of which as a noun in sentences such as “a must”). In the entry by trvlbufElmhurs, *must* is used to reinforce the shared idea that the theatre is a great place for performances. Another recurring modal marker in GAR is *can* (142 times). *Could* occurs 46 times and it is found especially after wish-sentences as in “I wish I could go to a concert there”.

The various enunciations of the contributors reflect their experience, attitude and assessments concerning the describing events and/or the communicated propositions that is the contributor’s stance (Palmer 2001). Studies on modality in English have highlighted this category as being relevant to the world, not so much the way it is as the way it might potentially be (Tsangalidis and Facchinetti 2009, Palmer and Facchinetti 2004). This may revolve around people’s beliefs about it or around their potential actions in it. There are various linguistic means of expressing this in English and GAR contains several stances of this usage often related to complaints about Taormina: e.g. with adverbial phrases and prepositional phrases (“*Probably* someone was rehearsing in the theatre”; “It’s *in their power* to decide when to close the theatre”), with adjective phrases (“It’s *likely* that you won’t find anybody speaking English”), with noun phrases (“the *probability* of finding it open in the afternoon is rare”) and, as shown, with verb phrases.

The two major types of modality in English, the propositional one which has to do with beliefs and knowledge about logically possible or logically necessary situations (commonly referred to as epistemic) and the other, event-oriented, which has to do with potential actions and is frequently called deontic are both present in GAR. In the comments, epistemic modality is often used in relation to complaints around the theatre whereas the deontic one is used when contributors want to emphasize the beauty of the place and the “necessity” to visit it.

6. Concluding remarks

Following Stuart Hall (1997), representation is one of the central practices that produce culture and language – it is one of the media through which thought, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture. Representation through language is therefore central to the processes by which meaning is produced. This is a basic premise that underpins meaning-making processes. Multimodal studies have in recent years emphasized the role of several semiotic resources in the meaning-making process. This has become a crucial issue for online digital communities creating digital discourse. In travel websites several semiotic resources are

co-deployed to create representations of places which have an appeal to the general community of readers and travellers. To this extent, several web environments are used to facilitate the access to travel information. Results from the corpus show that the description of a typical place belonging to Sicilian heritage is in line with a common feeling about Sicily being the home of ancient culture and lovely weather. Via the construction of e-identities, the contributors also further reinforce what they are saying by posting photographs and other comments. A language analysis of the keywords in the reviews has confirmed the main semantic areas generally associated with Sicily and its cultural heritage i.e. the marvellous views and the fascinating past. This has also been confirmed by the use of modals, especially epistemic modality, often referring to the degree of probability or the estimation of the chances that what is expressed in the clause applies or not with a strong emphasis that such estimation depends exclusively on the speaker's opinions with highly subjective sentences.

References

- Baldry, Anthony P. 2011. *Multimodal Web Genres*. Como-Pavia: IBIS.
- Baldry, Anthony P., and Kieran O'Halloran. 2010. "Research into the Annotation of a Multimodal Corpus of University Websites: An Illustration of Multimodal Corpus Linguistics". In *Corpus Linguistics in Language Teaching*, edited by Tony Harris and Maria Moreno Jaen, 177-209. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Baldry, Anthony P., and Paul Thibault. 2006. *Multimodal Transcription and Text Analysis*. London: Equinox.
- Bendixen, Alfred, and Judith Hamera (eds.). 2009. *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berkenkotter, Carol. 2007. "Genre evolution? The case for a diachronic perspective". In *Advances in Discourse Studies*, edited by Vijay K. Bhatia, John Flowerdew and Rodney J. Jones, 178-191. London: Routledge.
- Bolter, Jay D., and Grusin Richard. (1999). *Remediation: Understanding New Media*. Cambridge (MA), MIT Press.
- Cambria, Mariavita, Cristina Arizzi and Francesca Coccetta (eds.). 2012. *Web Genres and Web Tools*. Como-Pavia: IBIS.
- Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.
- Eggs, Suzanne, and Jim R. Martin. 1997. "Genres and Registers of Discourse." In *Discourse as Structure and Process*, edited by Teun A.

- van Dijk, 230-56. London: Sage.
- Ghadessy, Mohsen (ed.). 1993. *Register Analysis: Theory and Practice*. London: Pinter.
- Hall, Stuart (ed.). 1997. *Representation. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Halliday, Michael A. K. 1978. *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London: Arnold.
- Halliday, Michael A.K., and Ruqaiya Hasan. 1985. *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*. Geelong: Deakin UP.
- Holland, Patrick, and Graham Huggan. 2003. *Tourists with Typewriters. Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writings*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Hulme, Peter, and Tim Youngs (eds.). 2002. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kress, Gunther, and Theo van Leeuwen. 1996. *Reading Images. The Grammar of Visual Design*. London-New York (NY): Routledge.
- Kress, Gunther, and Theo van Leeuwen. 2001. *Multimodal Discourse. The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Arnold.
- Kress, Gunther. 2010. *Multimodality. A Social Semiotic Approach to Contemporary Communication*. London: Routledge.
- Leech, Geoffrey. 1997. "Teaching and language corpora: a convergence". In *Teaching and Language Corpora*, edited by Anne Wichmann, Steven Fligelstone, Tony McEnery and Gerry Knowles, 1-23. London: Longman.
- Lemke, Jay. 2005. "Multimedia Genres and Traversals". *Folia Linguistica* 39 (1-2): 45-56.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1984. *Tristes Tropiques*. Translated by John and Doreen Weightman. New York: Atheneum.
- Martin, Jim. 2010. "Language, register and genre". In *Applied Linguistics Methods. A Reader*, edited by Caroline Coffin, Theresa Lillis and Kieran O'Halloran, 12-32. London-New York: Routledge.
- Marzo, Pier Luca, and Milena Meo. 2013. "Cartografie dell'immaginario." *Im@go* 1: 4-17.
- Mills, Sara. 1991. *Discourses of Difference. An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Moschini, Ilaria (ed.). 2014. "Percorsi linguistici e semiotici. Critical Multimodal Analysis of Digital Discourse". Special Section of *Lea – Lingue e Letterature d'Oriente e d'Occidente* 3: 197-288. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.13128/LEA-1824-484x-3>

- O'Halloran, Kieran. 2008. "Systemic functional-multimodal discourse analysis (SF-MDA): constructing ideational meaning using language and visual imagery." *Visual Communication* 7 (4): 443-475.
- Palmer, Frank. 2001. *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, Frank, and Roberta Facchinetti (eds.). 2004. *English Modality in Perspective*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Palumbo, Bernardino. 2011. "Politics, Heritage and Globalization in South Eastern Sicily in the 'Patrimonialization' Process." *Il nostro tempo e la speranza* 7: 7-15.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Longman: London.
- Scott, Mike. 1999. *WordSmith Tools*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sindoni, Maria Grazia. 2013. *Spoken and Written Discourse in Online Interactions. A Multimodal Approach*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Swift, Johnathan. 1960 (1726). *Gulliver's Travels*. New York: Signet.
- Tsangalidis, Anastasios and Roberta Facchinetti (eds.). 2009. *Studies on English Modality*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Classroom activities and self study

1. Define travel writing. Give some examples of genres in travel writing.
2. List the textual features of a review.
3. Visit the TripAdvisor webpage, build up a profile and write a review on a place you particularly enjoyed visiting.
4. Visit the TripAdvisor webpage, select a review which has a poor rating and one that has an excellent rating. How is the opinion of the contributor constructed? List the words that are related to the poor and to the excellent review.
5. Can you describe the most common functionalities of travel websites? Make a screenshot of a travel website. What semiotic resources are used in it? How are they combined?
6. Give some examples of genres "born and bred" on the web.
7. What is a semiotic resource? How do semiotic resources interplay in webgenres?
8. Below you can see a screenshot of a tourist location. How is the representation of the place built up? How are the semiotic resources used in the meaning-making process?

Write a Review ¹²
Search for a city, hotel, etc.

[Petra - Wadi](#) [Hotels](#) [Flights](#) [Vacation Rentals](#) [Restaurants](#) [Things to Do](#) [Best of 2015](#) [More](#)



33 accommodations
ready for you in Wadi Musa, Jordan

[BOOK NOW](#)

Booking.com



TripAdvisor

Petra - Wadi Musa

Jordan

25,031 reviews and opinions
 8,523 candid traveler photos

(last updated Jul 2011)

- Lodging** (54)
11,169 Reviews
- Vacation Rentals** (1)
- Flights**
- Attractions** (51)
10,791 Reviews
- Restaurants** (45)
1,802 Reviews
- Forum**
1,225 Posts

Petra, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, is one of the New Seven Wonders of the World. Travelers have fascinating places to explore here, including the breathtaking 2,000-year-old Treasury, the narrow Siq gorge (the main entrance to Petra), and the High Place of Sacrifice.



See what your friends say about Petra - Wadi Musa

[Log in with Facebook](#)

Explore more destinations in

Jordan



CHAPTER SIX

MEDITERRANEAN LANDSCAPES AS HERITAGE: AN ECOSTYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF A SARDINIAN TOURISM WEBSITE

DANIELA FRANCESCA VIRDIS

1. Mediterranean Landscapes in Sardinia: Introduction, Methodology and Aims

SardegnaTurismo (<http://www.sardegnaturismo.it/en/>) is the English web portal that the Autonomous Region of Sardinia (Italy) has devoted to promoting tourism on the Mediterranean island¹. Launched in the first months of 2012, this institutional portal provides a prospective English-speaking and international visitor with detailed information covering a wide variety of areas of interest, from accommodation, eating and travelling, to museums, feasts and itineraries, thereby outlining an exhaustive and serious survey of Sardinia's tourist trade. Together with the several sub-sections and pages that make up the web portal, the website section headed "Interests" is the one which contains most of the textual materials in the portal, hence which best offers interesting evidence for stylistic and discursive scrutiny.

Notably enough, the "Interests" sub-sections all represent the Mediterranean landscapes on the island not only as natural scenery, but

¹ The Italian and English web portal is frequently modified in its visual and textual contents; the version investigated in this article was downloaded at the end of August 2012. The English website is a translation from the Italian original version (which may account for its long sentences and complex syntactic structures). I have decided to scrutinise the English website rather than the Italian, given that English is the language of international tourism and prospective visitors worldwide are more likely to refer to and be influenced by the English translation and its linguistic and discursive strategies.

also, and primarily, as one of the most distinctive and remarkable features of its cultural heritage. More precisely, explicit connection is made between the Mediterranean physical environment on the one hand, and the regional identity and ethnic culture (art, thought, traditional practices, and way of life) of the islanders on the other, which are depicted as having been shaped by that specific environment. This is clearly conveyed by a large number of descriptive phrases and clauses which abound in evaluative expressions, such as “numerous towns have scenic views of the rugged mountain environment, that [sic] represent some extremely attractive naturalistic and cultural worlds”, “Sardinia is further characterised by territorial specificity of great interest that represents dense microcosms of well exploited and exploitable environmental and cultural wealth”, “The pulsating heart of the island includes territories rich in tradition and exceptional natural landscape”.

For these textual and discursive features, in this chapter the section “Interests” of *SardegnaTurismo* is analysed by applying the theoretical framework and the methodology of ecostylistics (Goatly 2010; Wales 2010; see also Viridis 2012). Based on both ecolinguistics (Myerson and Rydin 1996; Harré, Brockmeier, and Mühlhäuser 1999; Mühlhäuser 2003; Fill and Mühlhäuser 2006; Döring et al. 2008; Fill and Penz 2008) and stylistics (Leech and Short 2007; Jeffries 2010; Jeffries and McIntyre 2010; Burke 2014; Simpson 2014; Stockwell and Whiteley 2014), ecostylistics is a new investigational approach mainly consisting of examining texts dealing with representations of landscape, space and place by adopting the paradigm of stylistics—namely, linguistic description followed by critical interpretation and evaluation (for more detailed information on the aims and scope of the discipline and for another ecostylistic study, see Zurru, this volume).

My main research purpose is to identify and scrutinise the several stylistic strategies that are deployed in the portal to linguistically construct the characteristic representation of the Mediterranean island as distinctively intermingling cultural heritage and regional identity on the one hand and landscapes on the other. To be more exact, this chapter focuses on the semantic, syntactic and discursive devices which are utilised to sketch and positively evaluate Sardinia’s unique, hybrid ‘cultural’ scenery and to present it as such to the English-speaking and international tourist.

2. Background: Tourism Discourse on Sardinia

SardegnaTurismo is a website featuring suitable data for ecostylistic analysis, but also, and firstly, a text belonging to the specialised genre of tourism discourse, written by professionals and complying with its practices and conventions. This genre is therefore briefly presented here, with special reference to the research developments concerning the Mediterranean island. Tourism discourse on Sardinia has been extensively investigated, both linguistically and multimodally, by L. Fodde and O. Denti (see their most recent publications relevant to the themes and issues in this chapter: Fodde and Denti 2005; Denti 2007; Fodde and Denti 2008; Fodde and Denti 2012; Denti 2012a; Denti 2012b; Fodde and Van Den Abbeele 2012).

Denti (2012b) examines the historical evolution of the tourist genre by discussing a corpus of nineteenth- and twentieth-century travel books and guides on Sardinia. As this scholar notes, travel books usually provide informative depictions of the island characterised by the authors directly narrating their experience and reporting their ideas and observations, in short, conveying positive or negative evaluation of what they visited. Contemporary travel guides, instead, have abandoned this personal, autobiographical and evaluative viewpoint and commonly portray Sardinia in a more matter-of-fact, easy-to-use and value-neutral way. Because tourism discourse is founded on and shares a number of features with informative and instructive discourses, the language of travel guides, as well as travel websites, is generally straightforward: it is actually typified by plain lexemes deployed in a denotative way (primarily when depicting geographical characteristics or telling historical events), modal auxiliaries and imperative clauses (Denti 2012a: 151).

The didactic and educational way travel guides and websites deal with their subject matter and accompany the visitor in their journey has the aim of promoting the island as a tourist destination and convincing the prospective traveller to visit it. Although this persuasive aim is shared by SardegnaTurismo, the ecostylistic study in Section 3 tries to demonstrate that the textual sequences from the website taken into consideration here are not characterised by an objective and straightforward use of language communicating practical details, but by evaluative lexemes and figurative language expressing emotions. These sequences, lacking in concrete information, thereby resemble travel books more than contemporary travel guides and websites in this specific respect.

Denti has also investigated a contemporary corpus of English tourism discourse on the Mediterranean island. When listing the recurrent themes

in the corpus, this scholar points out that several texts observe that Sardinia was and still is isolated and underdeveloped, and describe it as a desolate and mysterious region (Denti 2012a: 109-119). These motifs can be traced back to nineteenth- and twentieth-century travel books, from W. H. Smith's to J. W. W. Tyndale's, from M. Davey's to D. H. Lawrence's well-known *Sea and Sardinia*. More precisely, among other authors and comments, while the businesswoman Davey highlighted the impact on the island of its large number of colonisers, the lawyer Tyndale was impressed by its landscape and the obscure origin of the people's customs (Denti 2012b).

These features of the island can also be found in the sequences from SardegnaTurismo investigated below (see Texts 1-3). However, whereas such characteristics as being remote and a former colony are normally regarded as negative—so is the case with the travel books—on the website they are reversed and presented as positive, even pleasant traits which can fascinate tourists. To be more exact, the island's supposedly isolated geographical position is depicted as “the heart of the western Mediterranean”; being desolate and “uninhabited” has allegedly allowed Sardinia to “preserv[e] its own freshness”; “magical” is the adjective qualifying both the natural scenery of the ‘mysterious’ island and the activities to enjoy there; colonisation is not portrayed as military aggression but as the result of several peoples gazing at, admiring and being “irresistibly attracted” by the area and its physical environment; its centuries-old customs are implicitly praised in the sentences “Sardinia is the Heart of Mediterranean Culture” and “Sardinia is the Heart of Ancient Knowledge”.

In a word, what was unfavourably represented as backward in the texts scrutinised by Denti, particularly in the older ones, is, instead, favourably extolled as culturally authentic on the website. In this author's words,

the role of culture and knowledge in today's tourism is originating a return to traditions, to the roots in the Romanticism traditional Grand Tour journeys, where the aim of the traveller was educational, the research of cultural origins. This type of cultural tourism emerges in the search of authenticity and of the retrieval of peoples' own historical and artistic roots (Denti 2012a: 12).

Consequently, the contemporary tourist has the educational objective of visiting the cultural heritage of the country s/he has travelled to, an objective triggered by promotional, even competitive, tourism discourse alluring visitors and their money—the exact opposite of the authenticity advertised. According to Denti (2012a: 110-111), this is one of the

reasons, if not the main reason, why the contemporary texts on Sardinia utilise a new cross-cultural discourse intermingling the more conventional semiotic pattern of the three Ss (Sun, Sand and Sea) with such issues as nature, heritage and history, thus simultaneously addressing both sea-lovers and culture-lovers. A different tourist identity is thereby created for the island, i.e., the seat of authentic culture and heritage, as is confirmed by the theme of its uniqueness being one of the most frequent in the contemporary corpus (Denti 2012a: 111). These cultural and heritage-related aspects and their agreeable qualities provide a focus for research and for the ecostylistic analysis below.

3. Sardinian Landscapes as Heritage: Ecstylistic Examination and Results

3.1. The SardegnaTurismo website section “Interests” is organised into sub-sections about such various topics as “Wellness”, “Taste”, “Festivals”, “Towns” and “Traditions”. The homepage of the section lays out two main columns. The one on the left displays the introductory paragraph to the entire section; the one on the right the shorter introductory paragraphs to the sub-sections, shown in three narrower columns and two webpages; at the top of all texts are photographs visually representing those topics (for online tourism communication and further information on SardegnaTurismo, see Denti 2012a: 143-155). As if to highlight the issue of the physical and natural setting and its relevance to this tourist and promotional discourse, the introductory paragraph is headed by the picture of a beach with clear blue water, and makes linguistic reference to the island’s Mediterranean landscape; the paragraph reads as follows:

[Text 1]

Long uninhabited, despite its ancient geological origin, Sardinia has preserved its own freshness, capturing the gaze and admiration of many who, in the flow of centuries, irresistibly attracted by the geographical position, the heart of the western Mediterranean, have made it the object of the most different designs: the Phoenicians followed by Carthaginians, the Romans afterwards, the Byzantines, the Spanish and the Piemontese [sic]. (<http://www.sardegnaturismo.it/en/temi>)

In stylistic terms, the paragraph, a short narrative text providing basic geographical and historical information, opens with a foregrounding device (Douthwaite 2000), namely, in Hallidayan (2004) terms, with a marked topical theme composed of the verbless clause “Long uninhabited” and the prepositional phrase “despite its ancient geological origin” (for the

selection of theme in tourism discourse, see Fodde and Denti 2008, 160-164). The two structural and functional constituents precede the sentence grammatical subject “Sardinia”, thereby conveying an atmosphere of expectation, and provide its Mediterranean natural scenery with two remarkable but, as encoded by the preposition “despite”, contrasting characteristics, i.e., its being unpopulated for a long time and its old geological features. Nevertheless, this opposition is only apparent, since both these aspects, reinforced by the subsequent prepositional phrase “in the flow of centuries”, allude to the island’s “long” and “ancient” social and cultural history, therefore to its peculiar past and tradition.

The actual contrast presented in the paragraph is that between the experiential or ideational content of the marked topical theme (the antiquity of the Mediterranean island) and the content of the following rheme (“Sardinia has [...] the Piemontese [sic]”). Here the positively value-laden quality of “freshness”, nearly a human personality trait, is attributed to the “ancient” island, which is thus almost personified (see also the lexical verbs “preserved” and “capturing”, presupposing an animate agent). Sardinia’s freshness is phrased as the linguistic cause triggering the chain of effects narrated in the embedded non-finite clause “capturing the [...] the Piemontese [sic]” through several positive evaluative expressions: firstly its physical environment, together with its regional identity, won “the gaze and admiration” of its future colonisers, subsequently it made them feel “irresistibly attracted”, lastly it became “the object of the most different designs”.

Among other linguistic strategies, the paragraph is made stylistically complex by two instances of apposition (Quirk et al. 1985, 1300-1321), viz., one constituent whose elements are two noun phrases with one and the same function in the sentence and referent in the real world. The first, graphologically signalled by a colon between the two elements, is realised by the noun phrases “many who [...] different designs” and “the Phoenicians [...] the Piemontese [sic]”. More precisely, the head of the former noun phrase (the quantifier “many”) introduces and summarises all the coordinated noun phrases constituting the latter noun phrase and communicating the relatively large number of peoples who occupied the Mediterranean island or, rather, who admired and were allured by it. In the praising tourist and promotional discourse of the text, colonialism and aggressive occupation, encoded by the list of nations, actually acquire an uncommon positively value-laden connotation: the more peoples are

reported to have colonised the island, the more charming its landscape and ethnic culture must appear to its international visitor².

The second apposition in the paragraph, realised by the two noun phrases “the geographical position” and “the heart of the western Mediterranean”, is even more linguistically, and consequently ideologically, marked. While the former noun phrase “the geographical position” mentions Sardinia’s physical location by deploying value-neutral, unbiased technical terms, the latter, “the heart of the western Mediterranean”, glosses the former and offers more detailed information about that location by means of a phrase whose head is the extremely positive evaluative noun “heart”. This realises a common example of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980): the “heart” source domain is often utilised to figuratively refer to a target domain, here the island, as the seat of human feeling and thought and, more notably, as the central, vital and essential part of another, usually larger, given entity, here the western Mediterranean area. Hence, the figurative use of the noun “heart” also provides an instance of world-deixis (Short 1996, 277-278), to be more exact, one where Sardinia is assumed to be the default deictic centre. The foregrounding means of conceptual metaphor and world-deixis, along with their positive connotations, are further emphasised by two discursive devices, one graphological and the other visual:

1. The position of the metaphor in the text: given that the bodily organ is alluded to at the very centre, namely, heart of the paragraph, and given that its form imitates the meanings it represents, this realises a case of iconicity in Leech and Short’s (2007, 187-196) terms;
2. The photograph at the top of the paragraph depicting the paragraph itself: a number of white rocks emerge from the sea water; their overall outline is heart-shaped. As a result, this visual conceptual

² The unusual pleasant connotation of colonialism and of the ‘catalogue’ of nations in the portal is very different from that acquired by a similar list of nationalities in a corpus of four articles about Sardinia published in *The National Geographic Magazine* and analysed in Viridis (2009, 81): “With regard to the different occupiers, their broad range may suggest, as it has suggested to some islanders, that Sardinians were and still are so powerless and weak, both physically and mentally, as to be easily dominated by people from any country, in the Mediterranean and beyond, all of whom possess better qualities and abilities than they do. Moreover, the close succession of distinct nationalities on the island may also indicate that the Sardinian people and their identity have been altered and corrupted, again physically and mentally, and may now be perverted and with even worse features and talents than before colonisation. It is this racist standpoint which is also supported and expanded in the four articles in the corpus”.

metaphor recalls and confirms the linguistic and graphological ones, and the leading, vital role of Sardinia in the Mediterranean heritage and culture.

3.2. The one examined above is not the only instance of the heart conceptual metaphor on the website; it indeed occurs eight times on the homepage of the section “Interests”, each occurrence presenting one of the short introductory paragraphs to the sub-sections in the right column of the webpage³:

[Text 2]

Active Sardinia / Sport in Sardinia is the Heart of Adventure ... air, land, water. [...]

Sardinia culture / Sardinia is the Heart of Mediterranean Culture ... [...]

Taste of Sardinia / Sardinia is the Heart of Genuine Flavours [...]

Sardinia events / Sardinia is the Heart of Entertainment ... [...]

Sardinia sea / The sea in Sardinia is a Heart of Water ... [...]

Sardinia nature / Sardinia is an Island with a Green Heart [...]

Towns of Sardinia / Sardinia is the Heart of your Emotions [...]

Sardinian traditions / Sardinia is the Heart of Ancient Knowledge ... [...]

(<http://www.sardegaturismo.it/en/temi>)

The eight opening wordings are roughly based on the same formula, which can be divided into two parts, separated by a new line in the original layout and by a slash here. The first part, including the proper noun “Sardinia”, consists of the sub-section heading (e.g., “Active Sardinia”), the second in the first words of the sub-section paragraph, which comprise the heart conceptual metaphor (e.g., “Sport in Sardinia is the Heart of Adventure ... air, land, water. [...]”):

[First part] adjective + Sardinia, OR Sardinia(n) + noun, OR noun + of + Sardinia

[Second part] (noun + in +) Sardinia + is + the Heart of + noun + suspension points

The stylistic tool of repetition makes the text cohesive and coherent (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), and constitutes a foregrounding example of parallelism (Short 1996, 13-16, 36-78), where some features are held constant while others are varied, and which invites the reader to search for

³ Of the sub-sections composing the section “Interests”, two open with dissimilar wordings: “Sardinia wellness / Sardinia is the Island of Wellness ... [...]”, “Sardinian festivals / The traditional festival in Sardinia is The Island that Dances ... [...]”.

meaning connections between the parallel structures. The first part of the formula hints at the main attributes of the Mediterranean island and at its tourist offer, ranging from activity and cultural holidays to its entertaining events and popular traditions. By varying the several characteristics of the proper noun “Sardinia”, the parallel pattern accordingly underlines the wide variety of those attributes and that offer; moreover, it gives prominence to the fact that most of the tourist offer is directly linked to and openly depends on the island’s natural scenery, i.e., its sea, nature and towns.

A more detailed description of Sardinia’s diverse tourist offer is made in the second part of the formula by means of the heart conceptual metaphor. In most of the eight opening wordings, an identifying relational process sets up, in Hallidayan (2004) terms, a symbolisation $x = y$ or, in plainer terms, a relationship of identity between the two concepts of “Sardinia” and “the Heart of + noun”. The regional identity of the Mediterranean island is hence constructed as distinctly being a source of energy, enthusiasm and ardour for all the various tourist “Interests” mentioned above, therefore as the ideal location to pursue and indulge them (see especially the noun phrases “air, land, water”, “Mediterranean Culture”, “a Heart of Water”, “an Island with a Green Heart”). Consequently, the connection between that identity and those “Interests” on the one hand, and the island’s physical environment and geographical position on the other is here made more explicit.

3.3. The relation of the Sardinian landscape to both the ethnic culture of the Mediterranean island and the activities which can entertain and amuse the international visitor there is fully developed and elaborated in the paragraphs introducing the “Interests” sub-sections. Here are the seven paragraphs most relevant to this relation:

[Text 3]

Active Sardinia / Whatever your ideal element is you will find an incredible choice of the most enchanting places to practice [sic] your chosen sport in close contact with nature ...

Sardinia culture / you will find Nuraghi dating back thousands of years, rocks sculptured by time and the elements into strange shapes, monuments which bear witness to the island’s rich history ...

Taste of Sardinia / a table laid with delicacies before a crystal clear sea or surrounded by green valleys. Tasting the island’s traditional specialities never ceases to be an extraordinary discovery ...

Sardinia events / music, theatre, feasts, festivals, sporting events. However, it is the scenery that makes these events unique, magical places which make every occasion unforgettable ...

Sardinia sea / white sandy beaches, limpid water in all shades of blue and green. Enjoy the magical experience of a swim in this breathtaking seascape or dive down to admire the seabed ...

Sardinia nature / unspoilt countryside, protected marine parks, woods and forests, navigable lakes and marshland where flamingos nest and offer spectacular pink displays ...

Towns of Sardinia / towns overlooking the sea or immersed in rugged countryside, surrounded by mountains, houses painted like pictures or perched on the top of rocky cliffs ...

(<http://www.sardegnaturismo.it/en/temi>)

What the reader and visitor immediately notices and is struck by is the fact that the natural scenery + regional identity + tourist activities combination is ubiquitous. From a quantitative viewpoint, the sketches of the physical environment are often longer and more informative than those dedicated to the “Interests” the paragraphs should allegedly consider. To be more exact, in “Active Sardinia” the title topic of sport is only alluded to in very general terms at the end of the paragraph, after mentioning “your ideal element” and “an incredible choice of the most enchanting places” to exercise, and before the prepositional phrase “in close contact with nature”. “Sardinia culture” is nearly entirely composed of three noun phrases referring to archaeological, natural and historical monuments which constitute a distinctive and integral part of the landscape of the Mediterranean island (see “Nuraghi”, the massive Bronze and Iron Age stone towers only found there), and not, for instance, equally distinctive paintings or sculptures kept in museums indoors.

In “Taste of Sardinia”, typical food is described as normally enjoyed “before a crystal clear sea or surrounded by green valleys”; accordingly, the “extraordinary discovery” hinted at in the second sentence of the paragraph is not only gastronomic but also, unpredictably, environmental. An analogous discursive strategy is employed in “Sardinia events”: after listing several activities in the first sentence (“music, theatre, feasts, festivals, sporting events”), the second depicts them as “unique” and “unforgettable” not in their own right, but only thanks to “the scenery” and its “magical places”.

“Sardinia sea”, “Sardinia nature” and “Towns of Sardinia”, the three sub-sections whose subjects more directly deal with natural scenery, have a parallel discursive structure: they are mostly, if not wholly, composed of coordinated noun phrases abounding in pre- and post-modification and multiple realisations (“limpid water in all shades of blue and green”, “marshland where flamingos nest and offer spectacular pink displays”, “houses painted like pictures or perched on the top of rocky cliffs”). The only internal deviation (Short 1996, 59-62) from the noun-phrase-only

norm is in “Sardinia sea”: here two coordinated imperative clauses unsurprisingly invite the visitor to explore the sea or, perhaps more unexpectedly, the seabed. A noteworthy characteristic of the island’s tourist physical environment as portrayed principally in these three paragraphs is that it looks like an untouchable work of art, uninhabited or unpopulated not only by visitors but also by the islanders: even the “Towns of Sardinia” are represented as belonging less to their villagers than to the landscape as a whole.

In the seven paragraphs Text 3 consists of, places and locations on the Mediterranean island are referred to in general (“the most enchanting places”, “the scenery that makes these events unique”, “magical places which make every occasion unforgettable”) and primarily in detail by means of an extensive range of nouns and noun phrases mentioning the diverse constituents of the island’s physical environment or, rather, environments: from rural areas (“unspoilt countryside”, “rugged countryside”) to mountains (“green valleys”, “woods and forests”, “rocky cliffs”), from cultural sights (“Nuraghi”, “monuments”) to waters (“navigable lakes”, “marshland”), particularly the sea (“a crystal clear sea”, “white sandy beaches”, “limpid water in all shades of blue and green”, “this breathtaking seascape”, “the seabed”, “protected marine parks”).

The sketch of the Mediterranean setting is finished off by a similarly extensive array of positive evaluative adjectives. The most important and pertinent to this tourist and promotional landscape description are those which are superlative in their grammar (“the most enchanting”) or lexical meaning (“ideal”, “incredible”, “extraordinary”, “unique”, “magical” (twice), “unforgettable”, “breathtaking”, “spectacular”). Furthermore, a number of value-neutral or even negatively value-laden adjectives acquire a positive connotation in the text because of their collocation or cotext (“close contact with nature”, “rocks sculptured by time and the elements into *strange* shapes”, “*traditional* specialities”, “towns [...] immersed in *rugged* countryside”, “houses [...] perched on the top of *rocky* cliffs”). The strange shapes of the rocks, the rugged countryside and the rocky cliffs also evoke that the island’s natural scenery survives intact and untouched. This is reinforced by the adjectives “unspoilt (countryside)”, “protected (marine parks)” and “navigable (lakes)”, which confirm and signal that such physical environment is undamaged and, hence, appropriately appreciated, taken great care of and preserved, as is commonly done with cultural heritage.

4. Concluding Remarks

In accordance with Short's (1996, 1-10) analytical approach, the ecostylistic examination in this chapter has described, interpreted and evaluated several texts or textual sequences from the SardegnaTurismo portal depicting Sardinia's Mediterranean landscape: the textual structure of the introductory paragraphs to the website section "Interests" (3.1) and to the "Interests" sub-sections (3.3), the occurrence of the heart conceptual metaphor in these paragraphs (3.1 and 3.2), the authors' lexical choices and selection of nouns and adjectives in the sub-sections (3.3). This investigation has revealed that all the texts have the following discursive functions:

1. Representing Sardinia's natural scenery as unique and unrivalled in excellence;
2. Equalling the physical environment of the Mediterranean island and its remarkable history and cultural heritage, or portraying it as the only setting where that history and that heritage could have developed and thriven as such;
3. Since the cultural heritage of a social group is the most representative manifestation of that group's ethnic culture, constructing the island's landscape and heritage as implicitly incarnating Sardinia's regional identity as a whole.

All the discursive means used in these tourist and promotional texts also sketch the Mediterranean island as well worth visiting for a large number of reasons—its food, events, tourist facilities, etc.—all of which are described as intermingling with its natural scenery. But why does it rise to such prominence on the website? This seems to be the most successful and effective discursive device among those deployed here. As mentioned in Section 2, because the texts skilfully combine the semiotic pattern of three-S tourism discourse with that of cultural tourism discourse, they have a dual audience: sea-lovers and culture-lovers. The island is widely known and renowned as a tourist destination for its sea and beaches, viz., its physical environment; therefore, the consistent emphasis on that environment and, what is more, its depiction as cultural heritage are likely to fascinate and attract sea-lovers, or general, unsophisticated international visitors, and might persuade them to find out more about the Mediterranean island. However, by means of the very same device, the SardegnaTurismo website may deceive more culture-oriented visitors into believing that a stereotypically sun-sand-and-sea-

only Sardinia should not be taken into consideration for their future holidays⁴.

References

- Autonomous Region of Sardinia. 2012. “SardegnaTurismo.”
<http://www.sardegnaturismo.it/en/>. Downloaded at the end of August.
- Burke, M., ed. 2014. *The Routledge Handbook of Stylistics*. London: Routledge.
- Denti, O. 2007. “A Multimodal Investigation of Tourist Texts and Cityscapes.” In *Cityscapes: Islands of the Self: Language Studies: Proceedings of the 22nd AIA Conference: Cagliari (Italy), 15-17 September 2005*, edited by L. Jottini, G. Del Lungo, and J. Douthwaite, 327-345. Cagliari (Italy): CUEC.
- 2012a. *Cross-Cultural Representations in Tourism Discourse: The Case of the Island of Sardinia*. Cagliari (Italy): Aipsa.
- 2012b. “The Island of Sardinia from Travel Books to Travel Guides: The Evolution of a Genre.” *Textus: English Studies in Italy*, 25.1: 37-49 (special issue *Tourism and Tourists in Language and Linguistics*, edited by L. Fodde and G. Van Den Abbeele).
- Döring, M., Penz, H., and W. Trampe. 2008. *Language, Signs and Nature: Ecolinguistic Dimensions of Environmental Discourse: Essays in Honour of Alwin Fill*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Douthwaite, J. 2000. *Towards a Linguistic Theory of Foregrounding*. Alessandria (Italy): Edizioni dell’Orso.
- Fill, A., and H. Penz, eds. 2008. *Sustaining Language: Essays in Applied Ecolinguistics*. Wien and Berlin: Lit Verlag.
- Fill, A., and P. Mühlhäusler, eds. 2006. *The Ecolinguistics Reader: Language, Ecology, and Environment*. London and New York: Continuum.

⁴ It would be worth doing further research on SardegnaTurismo starting from these texts and findings. Firstly, the ecostylistic scrutiny of the web portal, which only treats its linguistic texts and not its visual texts, could be amplified into a multimodal discursive analysis. Secondly, SardegnaTurismo could be compared with the tourist websites of other Mediterranean islands or regions where tourism is a major source of income; see Zurrú (this volume) on the Maltese archipelago. Thirdly, and consequently, it would be useful to examine whether the linguistic features and multimodal devices identified in the study could or should be considered as distinctive of SardegnaTurismo only or as characteristic of tourism discourse as a whole.

- Fodde, L., and G. Van Den Abbeele, eds. 2012. *Textus: English Studies in Italy*, Special issue *Tourism and Tourists in Language and Linguistics*, 25.1.
- Fodde, L., and O. Denti. 2005. "Cross-Cultural Representations in Tourist Discourse: The Image of Sardinia in English Tourist Guides." In *Cross-Cultural Encounters: Linguistic Perspectives*, edited by M. Bondi and N. Maxwell, 116-129. Rome: Edizioni Officina.
- Fodde, L., and O. Denti. 2008. "The Dialogic Dimension in Tourist Discourse." In *Language and Bias in Specialised Discourse*, edited by G. Garzone and P. Catenaccio, 155-175. Milan: CUEM.
- Fodde, L., and O. Denti. 2012. "Il discorso turistico: Peculiarità linguistico-comunicative nella didattica dell'inglese specialistico." In *Prospettive linguistiche e traduttologiche negli studi sul turismo*, edited by M. Agorni, 23-46. Milan: Franco Angeli.
- Goatly, A. 2010. "Edward Thomas, the Landscape of Nature, and Ecostylistics." Plenary lecture delivered at *PALA 2010: The Language of Landscapes: The 30th Annual Conference of the Poetics And Linguistics Association*, 21-25 July 2010, University of Genoa (Italy).
- Halliday, M. A. K., and C. M. I. M. Matthiessen. 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Arnold.
- Harré, R., Brockmeier, J., and P. Mühlhäuser. 1999. *Greenspeak: A Study of Environmental Discourse*. London: Sage.
- Jeffries, L., and D. McIntyre. 2010. *Stylistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jeffries, L. 2010. *Critical Stylistics: The Power of English: Perspectives on the English Language*. Basingstoke (UK): Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lakoff, G., and M. Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Leech, G., and M. Short. 2007 [1981]. *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose*, 2nd ed. London: Longman.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 2003. *Language of Environment, Environment of Language: A Course in Ecolinguistics*. London: Battlebridge.
- Myerson, G., and Y. Rydin. 1996. *The Language of Environment: A New Rhetoric*. London: Routledge.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., and J. Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.
- Short, M. 1996. *Exploring the Language of Poems, Plays and Prose*. London: Longman.
- Simpson, P. 2014 [2004]. *Stylistics: A Resource Book for Students*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

- Stockwell, P., and S. Whiteley, eds. 2014. *The Cambridge Handbook of Stylistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Viridis, D. F. 2009. "Twentieth-Century Sardinia in *The National Geographic Magazine*: A Lexical Analysis of a Biased Representation." In *Minori e minoranze tra Otto e Novecento: Convegno di Studi nel centenario della morte di Enrico Costa (1841-1909)*, edited by G. Marci and S. Pilia, 129-148. Cagliari (Italy): CUEC.
- Viridis, D. F. 2012. "Ideological Landscapes in G. O. Trevelyan's 'An Indian Railway': An Ecostylistic Analysis." In *Ekologiya yazyka na perekrestke nauk: materialy 2-y mezhdunarodnoy nauchnoy konferentsii: v 2-h chastyah: Ch. 1 (Ecology of Language at the Crossroads of Sciences: Proceedings of the 2nd International Scientific Conference in 2 Volumes: Volume 1)*, edited by N. N. Belozeroва, 40-47. Tyumen (Russia): Izdatelstvo Tyumenskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta (Tyumen State University Publishing House).
- Wales, K. 2010. "The Stylistics of Landscape, the Landscape of Stylistics." Plenary lecture delivered at *PALA 2010: The Language of Landscapes: The 30th Annual Conference of the Poetics And Linguistics Association*, 21-25 July 2010, University of Genoa (Italy).
- Zurru, E. This volume. "Advertising the Maltese Archipelago's Heritage: An (Eco)Linguistic Investigation," pp. 178-203.

Appendix

1. Self-Study

1.1. Imagine being a prospective tourist from Scotland planning a two-week visit to Sardinia. Go to the web portal <http://www.sardegna.turismo.it/en/>, click on the section “Plan your holiday” and organise your journey from Edinburgh to Sardinia and your stay on the island. You should at least:

- Book your accommodation in four different places;
- Visit one city or town or village of artistic interest, one in the mountains, one by the sea and one archaeological site;
- Choose one of the itineraries at <http://www.sardegnaturismo.it/en/organizza-la-vacanza/itinerari>;
- Choose two of the events at <http://www.sardegnaturismo.it/en/eventi-page>;
- Choose three of the foods at <http://www.sardegnaturismo.it/en/temi/gusto>.

Write a slide show presentation including all the information on the holiday you have planned. The presentation should explicitly provide the reasons for your choices, particularly of the itinerary, the two events and the three foods.

2. Classroom Activities

2.1. Discuss Exercise 1.1 with your classmates. Make your presentations, vote the best holiday and give reasons for your vote. Are you a sea-loving tourist or a culture-loving tourist?

2.2. Go to <http://www.sardegnaturismo.it/en/temi/> and read the paragraphs introducing the “Interests” sub-sections “Sardinia wellness” and “Sardinian traditions”. Analyse the paragraphs: identify syntactic instances of coordination, modification, multiple realisation, and lexical instances of positive evaluation. What is their function in the texts?

2.3. Look back at the Background section above and answer the following:

- What is the difference between travel books and travel guides on Sardinia? Which of the two genres are the sections from Sardegna Turismo examined in this chapter more similar to and why?
- Read five random pages from D. H. Lawrence's *Sea and Sardinia*: of the themes and features of the island dealt with by the author, which ones can also be found in the sections from Sardegna Turismo? Which ones are new?
- Read the introductory sections to the tourist website of another Mediterranean island or region (e.g., the Maltese website investigated by Zurrú in this volume): of the themes and features of Sardinia treated in this chapter, which ones can also be found on the website you have chosen? Which ones are new?

2.4. (Advanced students only) Choose one of the articles or book chapters included in the References section and a text you would like to analyse (advertisement, film/TV series dialogue, newspaper/magazine article, headline collection, web page, multimedia text, etc.). Examine the text using the linguistic and discursive tools in the article or chapter, try to interpret and evaluate the text and the author's message and ideology, and present your findings to your classmates.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EXPLORING THE ONLINE ADVERTISING OF THE MALTESE ARCHIPELAGO'S HERITAGE THROUGH ECOSTYLISTICS

ELISABETTA ZURRU

1. Introduction and Aims

Open-access online resources represent an invaluable opportunity to communicate and share information with a theoretically unlimited audience. At the same time, the textual, linguistic and multimodal features of these resources – images, texts, adverts and/or videos – constitute powerful instruments to impact on and, to a certain extent, guide the audience's reaction to the subject matter they illustrate.

Undoubtedly, what stated above also applies to many and varied interactive processes based on the exploitation of language as a tool to bring about a change in people's opinions or to shape those opinions when agreement already exists (Halmari and Virtanen 2005, 3). However, persuasion tends to be more strongly linked to certain genres¹ (ibid.) than to others, in that, while usually lacking in those interactions which are purely transactional in nature (e.g. giving directions to a passer-by; cf. Brown and Yule 1983), it invariably represents a fundamental component of those interactive processes or genres which are essentially promotional, such as advertising (cf. Bhatia 2005; see also Abbamonte and Cavaliere, this volume).

Although websites are not included in the range of genres explored by the contributions collected in the volume edited by Halmari and Virtanen, they can certainly be regarded as persuasive whenever they have a promotional nature, namely when their main goal is to persuade people to

¹ The link between genre(s) and persuasion and genre(s) and tourism will be explored in section 2 below.

invest their money, time, energies, etc., in a certain tangible or intangible product.

In particular, besides being sometimes instrumental in the construction and promotion of the identity of a country (Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010, 4-5), official tourism websites can become the ideal means of communication to construct and convey a certain 'representational politics', which I intend as the intentional sharing and combining of information meant to communicate a very specific image of a country, in order to positively showcase it for promotional reasons.

Exploiting Saussure's distinction ([1916] 1983) between paradigmatic (selective) and syntagmatic (combinatorial) relations in language as a touchstone², the selection of information to share can be regarded as the first step of this 'representational process' (the paradigmatic relation), while the second fundamental step is the combining of the information selected throughout the website (the syntagmatic relation). Indeed, websites are treated as hypertexts (Francesconi 2014, 154), that is as electronic documents connected through cross-linking, which are specifically designed to allow readers, web surfers or, in this case, prospective tourists, to "have the illusion" they can read the pages as they see fit, while in actual fact they reproduce the web-designer's communicative choices (Maci 2012, 138). More specifically, the organisation of a website into homepage and linked pages, main sections and subsections, and the exploitation of such tools as direct links to other pages and/or the juxtaposition of related articles on the same page suggest both the hierarchical relations between the pieces of information contained in the same page and the relations of interdependence between the pieces of information contained in different yet related pages.

Besides considering the selection and combination of information, a third element to take into account is the linguistic choices made to translate this information into the written texts included in a tourism website. Research on the linguistic patterns of tourism discourse has revealed that the language of tourism attempts "to persuade, lure, woo and

² Following Adami 2003, Francesconi writes about syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations in websites in terms of "the combination of co-occurring textual units within the screen page" and the "selection among possible options across further pages" (Francesconi 2014, 154). By contrast, I employ Saussure's notion in relation to the pre-production stages in the construction of a website (or of any text, for that matter), in that the very selection of the information to include (or to exclude) in a text and the way that information is presented in terms of, say, chronological order or cause-effect relations constitute (implicit) indications of the communicative function(s) of the writer/author.

seduce millions of human beings and, in so doing, convert them from potential to actual clients” (Dann 1996, 2). In addition, the two main functions of tourism texts – which can be identified in spite of the differences between genres and texts themselves – are information, i.e. describing the tourist destination, and promotion, i.e. persuading readers to visit the country/region/city (Francesconi 2014, 24; see also Argondizzo and Ruffolo 2012; Denti 2012, 66-67; Nigro 2012, 108; Maci 2012, 138; Maci 2007, 43). Therefore, together with the visual language typically used online, the linguistic choices displayed in the texts included in a tourism website represent deliberate selections meant to attract and persuade readers/tourists (Denti 2012, 66-67), in order to convince them to share (and be inspired by) the representation of the country offered in the web portal, to the extent of selecting that place as their tourist destination.

Given this premise, the aim of this article is to carry out a linguistic investigation of the official tourism website of the Maltese archipelago www.visitmalta.com/en³.

The website offers prospective tourists a wide range of information about the three islands which compose the archipelago, divided into seven main sections presented at the top of the page (“What to see & do”, “Events”, “Places”, “About Malta”, “Plan your Trip”, “Gozo & Comino”, “Meetings”). A slide show occupies the top half of each page, while the written text included in the section selected occupies the bottom half and is sometimes introduced, followed or interrupted by one or more pictures or videos.

In addition to providing the tourist with practical information, the website extensively focuses on the identity of the islands as distinctively Mediterranean and characterised by a rich historical and cultural heritage, which is constantly foregrounded through organisational means – direct links and related articles – and linguistic references. In other words, the

³ The website is available in twelve languages: English, Italian, French, German, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, Japanese, Russian, Chinese, Hungarian, Turkish. The English version has been selected because, as pointed out by Francesconi (2014: 9-10), this language, being commonly used as a *lingua franca*, also covers this role in the domain of tourism. Interestingly, the Maltese version of the website is not available, even though Maltese is the national language of the archipelago. This is clearly related to the need to attract foreign visitors rather than counting on domestic tourism, being the Maltese population in the range of a few hundred thousand inhabitants and the size of the archipelago so small that it can be visited “in just 48 hours” (see Text 1, section 3.1).

The version analysed here was downloaded at the end of July 2014. On 25th January 2015 I checked if any changes had been made to the website and found that no significant change had taken place in the meantime.

Mediterranean nature of the islands and their historical and cultural heritage are pervasively presented as two of the main features, if not *the* main features, of the archipelago, which, given the prototypical promotional nature of the website, also become the main reasons why the country should be visited. For instance, the homepage includes a 20-second video entitled “Malta – Truly Mediterranean”. By the same token, the first sub-subsection of the first main section “What to see & do”, hence the ideal ‘starting point’ of the website, bears the title “Culture and Heritage” and several links at the end of the page direct the tourist to the subsection “Attractions” of the third main section “Places”. The latter, in turn, focuses on the description of the historical and cultural development of the places listed as much as (if not more than) on the geographical characteristics of the landscape. Notably, the second sub-subsection of the fourth main section “About Malta” is entitled “History” and provides tourists with an extremely detailed account of the historical development of the archipelago, from 5200 BC to the 21st century, further strengthening the idea of an ancient land which, besides “lying virtually at the centre of the Mediterranean” (<http://www.visitmalta.com/en/about-malta>; Accessed January 25th 2015), is rich in history and culture.

I will therefore apply the theoretical and methodological paradigm of ecostylistics (see section 2 below) to analyse the sections “What to See & Do”, “Places”, “About Malta”, and “Gozo and Comino”. The aim is to identify what linguistic and textual strategies are used, within a more general framework of tourism discourse, to represent Malta

a) as a site for heritage tourism (Dallen and Boyd 2003; Park 2014) rather than for (mainly or exclusively) other types of tourism activities (e.g. eco-tourism, shopping tourism, sport tourism, and so on; cf. Dallen and Boyd 2006, 1), and

b) as “truly Mediterranean”.

More specifically, an ecostylistic analysis of one written text presented in the section “What to See & Do” will be carried out in section 3 below, in order to distinguish those linguistic features which form part of the language of tourism from those stylistic features of Malta’s official tourism website that, far from being deployed to describe and provide information about spaces, places and landscapes, are utilised as implicit persuasive means (Östman 2005) to promote the archipelago as a tourist destination worth visiting for its history, heritage, culture and Mediterranean appeal. In addition, a brief examination of the keywords ‘Mediterranean’ and ‘history’, ‘heritage’, ‘culture’ in the pages cross-linked to the text analysed will be offered, in order to provide further contextual support to the findings of the ecostylistic analysis.

The analysis in section 3 will be preceded by some notes on the theoretical and methodological framework applied, presented in section 2.

2. Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Although the first examples of what we now define as tourism can be traced back to medieval times (Fodde and Abbeele 2012, 9) and tourism represents a domain of massive significance from the economic, social, cultural and political point of view (Thurlow and Jaworski 2010, 6; Dallen and Boyd 2006, 1; Maci 2007, 41-42), academic research started to focus on the link between language and tourism only in the fairly recent past (Fodde and Abbeele 2012, 9).

Linguistic research on tourism generally agrees that a strong relationship exists between tourism texts and the social, cultural and economic context they are born in or influenced by – and that they contribute to influencing – thus framing the investigation of language and tourism within the study of discourse (cf. Thurlow and Jaworski 2010; Denti 2012; Francesconi 2014). More specifically, the language of tourism has come to be regarded as an instance of specialised discourse (Gotti 2006), although unanimous consent seems to be lacking (Cappelli 2012, 19) on the grounds that it does not show all the features typically exhibited by specialised discourse⁴. Generally speaking, however, a number of textual and linguistic features which distinctively mark the language of tourism can be listed (cf. Denti 2012; Francesconi 2014; Gotti 2006; Maci 2007) and will, in this article, be explored as a background for the ecostylistic investigation. It is also important to mention that the study of tourism discourse often stems from or is based on genre analysis (cf. Denti 2012; Francesconi 2014). Swales (1990, 45-58) defines genre as a set of communicative events sharing a set of communicative purposes (although specific instances of a genre can be more or less prototypical), which, in turn, delimit the acceptable and appropriate contributions to the genre in terms of their “content, positioning and form”. These contributions are accepted and shared by a discourse community or socio-cultural group whose members are experts, to varying degrees, in the field to which the genre belongs (ibid.).

Interestingly, Halmari and Virtanen start their exploration of persuasion precisely from the premise that the notion of communicative purpose is what links persuasion and genre, in that “genres can be more or

⁴ For an account of these features, see Gotti 2011.

less persuasive; persuasion, a communicative purpose, finds its realization through various genres” (Halmari and Virtanen 2005, 11).

In the framework of tourism discourse, genre analysis can be aptly utilised to identify the possible genres related to the domain of tourism, their communicative purpose(s), the constraints the latter place on the textual/linguistic features of texts pertaining to those genres, and so on. For example, following the classification by Calvi (2010), Francesconi (2011, 324) defines official tourism websites as belonging to the “institutional” genre family and to the “web-page” macro-genre, based on the socio-professional context (viz. the involvement of an institutional body) and communicative purpose and medium (information/promotion and the Internet), respectively. However, while genres used to show a certain “territorial integrity” before the information technology era, it is now difficult to recognise clear-cut boundaries between genres, and the “invasion of territorial integrity” seems now to be the rule rather than the exception (Bhatia 2005, 219). Consequently, websites are defined as hybrid genres, given that they exhibit features pertaining to different text types (Denti 2012, 55), and make use of written texts, as well as images or videos, to discuss topics ranging from accommodation, sport, culture, to history, landscape, and so on.

This premise clarifies why discourse analysis (e.g. Argondizzo and Ruffolo 2012; Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010) and multimodal analysis (e.g. Denti 2012; Francesconi 2014; Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010; Maci 2012), together with corpus analysis (e.g. Argondizzo and Ruffolo 2012; Maci 2012; Nigro 2012), are the methodologies more typically used to investigate tourism discourse.

I suggest, however, that stylistic analysis, and ecostylistics in particular, might represent a valuable integration to the methodological toolkit at the disposal of analysts investigating tourism texts, capable of allowing them to distinguish those features belonging to the language of tourism from the stylistic features of the specific text under examination.

Born with the aim of investigating literary texts from a linguistic point of view (Leech and Short [1981] 2007, 1), stylistics is interested in finding out “not just *what* a text means, but also *how* it comes to mean what it does” (Short 1996, 6, original emphasis). Applying Austin’s terminology (1962), it can be claimed that stylisticians set out to unearth those linguistic and textual devices used by writers/authors to express certain communicative functions (their intentions or purposes) and obtain certain perlocutionary effects (the readers’ reaction). In the last two decades, however, stylistics has also begun to investigate texts other than literature, and has combined with such disciplines as corpus linguistics (Semino and

Short 2004), critical discourse analysis (Jeffries 2010), pragmatics (Black 2006) and ecolinguistics (Goatly 2010).

With regard to ecolinguistics, the discipline started to be systematised at the beginning of the 1990s (Fill and Mühlhäusler 2001, 10), with the aims of exploring the possible ways in which language can be used to increase people's awareness of ecological and environmental topics or misused to support unecological and anti-environmental ideas. Topics typically investigated by ecolinguists are linguistic and biological diversity, language and environmental issues, or the inclusion/description of environmental topics in texts (<http://www-gewi.uni-graz.at/ecoling/>; Accessed January 25th 2015). The last topic also represents a major area of interest in ecostylistics, a very recent investigational approach to the textual and linguistic representation of ecological and environmental topics in texts. However, starting from the premise that these topics can also be dealt with through the real or fictional representation of space, place and landscape in texts, ecostylistics embraces issues which range from academic environmental activism (Goatly 2010) to the thorough stylistic investigation of environmental themes in literary texts (Zurru 2012) and the representation of space and landscape in non-literary texts (Viridis, this volume), by applying the diverse linguistic frameworks and methodologies typically applied by stylistics.

Two more points need to be clarified, starting from the selection of the official tourism website of the Maltese archipelago as case study. The reasons why this website was selected are essentially three. First of all, tourism websites are a recent addition to the panorama of tourism genres (Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010: 3) and, being an online resource, are able to reach a vast audience. Secondly, although some investigations of official tourism websites of Mediterranean landscapes have been carried out (Denti 2012; Plastina 2012; Viridis, this volume), this is an area of investigation which remains relatively unexplored. Thirdly, considering the prototypical informational/promotional nature of official tourism websites and the possibly deceptive nature of ecological and environmental concern in tourism discourse, I am interested in investigating how the topics of space, place and landscape are treated in the official tourism website of a world-famous tourist destination in the Mediterranean: Malta.

The final point to clarify is that, although images and videos and other multimodal features are as important as the written texts to convey the communicative purposes of an official tourism website, and analyses combining stylistics and multimodality have been carried out (cf. McIntyre 2008), in this article I will only focus on the written texts of the website

for reasons of space, in consideration of the usual length of stylistic analyses (see footnote 5).

3. Ecostylistic Analysis and Results

As mentioned above, those sections supposedly related to the representation of space, place and landscape were considered for the analysis. In particular, the sections “What to see and do”, “Places”, “About Malta”, and “Gozo and Comino” were investigated, while the sections “Events”, “Plan your Trip” and “Meetings”⁵ were not.

The division into seven main sections placed at the top of the homepage in a horizontal sequence from left to right, the same direction as people write and read in English, seems to at least *hint* (see Introduction) at the main section “What to see and do” being a ‘reasonable’ (viz. suggested) starting point. By contrast, once a main section is selected, the organisation into subsections proceeds vertically, the sequential order becoming top-down.

Table 1.1 below provides a summary of the consequential organisation of the pages related to the first subsection “Holiday Ideas”⁶:

⁵ It could be argued that this represents an arbitrary selection of the material to investigate and, consequently, that the resulting examination might lack in objectivity, this usually being the main objection to qualitative investigations. However, a) stylistic analyses are, by definition, rigorous and detailed (the risk of partiality is counterpointed with analyses which are “as *detailed*, as *systematic* and as *thorough* as possible” – Short 1996, 6; original emphasis) and generally lengthy, and, consequently, it is advisable that the texts subjected to stylistic analysis be of appropriate length – in other words, stylistic analyses of entire novels or books have, to my knowledge, never been carried out; and b) since this article is the first step in this research, it seems only appropriate to proceed in a way which, all things being equal, can be defined as rational and logical: while “What to see [sic]”, “Places”, “About Malta”, and “Gozo and Comino” are clearly, even intuitively, related to such topics as space, place and landscape, the sections “Events”, “Plan your Trip” and “Meetings” are much less so. This does not mean that a relation between those three sections and space/place/landscape cannot be identified in absolute terms: meetings and events happen *in places*, trips are planned *to places*; however, the link in this case seems weaker than in the case of the four sections analysed and, as a consequence, its exploration might be the object of future research.

⁶ The first main section “What to See and Do” is organised into six main subsections (“Holiday ideas”, “Sports and activities”, “Diving”, “Language Learning”, “Cruise Holidays”, “Weddings and Honeymoons”), each in turn expanding into several sub-subsections. However, the first main subsection

Homepage	1 st main section	1 st subsection	Subsections of the 1 st subsection
www.visitmalta.com/en/	What to See and Do	Holiday Ideas	Culture and Heritage
www.visitmalta.com/en/	What to See and Do	Holiday Ideas	Enjoy the Nightlife
www.visitmalta.com/en/	What to See and Do	Holiday Ideas	Family Fun
www.visitmalta.com/en/	What to See and Do	Holiday Ideas	Filming in Malta
www.visitmalta.com/en/	What to See and Do	Holiday Ideas	Food and Drink
www.visitmalta.com/en/	What to See and Do	Holiday Ideas	Health and Wellness
www.visitmalta.com/en/	What to See and Do	Holiday Ideas	Natural Escapes
www.visitmalta.com/en/	What to See and Do	Holiday Ideas	Sea Excursions and Boats Charters
www.visitmalta.com/en/	What to See and Do	Holiday Ideas	Shopping
www.visitmalta.com/en/	What to See and Do	Holiday Ideas	Simply relax

Table 1.1: Organisation of the pages related to the first subsection “Holiday Ideas”.

The section below will focus on the stylistic analysis of the top left-hand side main section “What to See and Do”. Besides constituting the ‘ideal’ starting point of the website, another major reason why this page was selected lies in the fact that it is identical⁷, bar the first sentence and the last paragraph, to the subsection “Malta” of the main section “Places” (Places > Islands > Malta). This aspect is of paramount importance, given

“Holiday ideas” can legitimately be regarded as related to the “What to See” part of the main heading, and, as such, as being possibly representative of the depiction of places and landscapes, which, first and foremost, are experienced through sight (prototypically, in English the verb ‘see’ collocates with the nouns ‘place’ and ‘landscape’ while the verb ‘do’ does not). The remaining five main subsections are clearly related to the “What to Do” part instead, and, as such, have not been considered for examination (see also footnote 5 above).

⁷ Certain texts, paragraphs or strings are consistently repeated in the website. Unfortunately, a general consideration of this interesting aspect cannot be provided here for reasons of space.

that Malta is generally considered by people⁸ and also implicitly promoted in the website as the main representative of the whole archipelago⁹. In addition, if we now consider the organisational structure of the third main section “Places” – which, given the theoretical and methodological framework and aims of this article, is of great interest – we realise that its first subsection is headed “Islands” and that the three sub-subsections it contains are, in top-down order, “Malta”, “Gozo”, “Comino”. The text selected for scrutiny, therefore, is representative of both a) the first indications provided by the website as to what can be seen and done when on holiday in Malta and b) the place that should be visited first. In other words, this organisational choice suggests that, at least to a certain extent, in this website the notion of place merges with the notions of seeing and doing.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the stylistic analysis of this (these) web-page(s) will be supported by the examination of the keywords ‘Mediterranean’ and ‘history’, ‘heritage’, ‘culture’ in the web-pages cross-linked to the text analysed.

Generally speaking, given the need to proceed with the analysis and discuss its results in the space of an academic article, the second step related to the investigation of the keywords should not be carried out if a ‘traditional’ (viz. highly detailed and lengthy) stylistic analysis was to be performed. However, it appears appropriate to also consider the wider context of the text analysed, since

a) the macro genre into account is a tourism website, namely a hypertext where the pages are cross-linked to each other and can be read in a highly interactive way, and

b) the aim of the article is to investigate whether an ecostylistic analysis of the written texts of a tourism website can help distinguish those linguistic features related to tourism discourse from those idiosyncratic

⁸ I am obviously making a reference to the general perception of the country based on linguistic facts, e.g. that the official name of the country is Malta and that the corresponding adjective of nationality is Maltese, so that, unless one has visited or plan to visit the country or has knowledge of its history, society and/or geography, it is not impossible (or even unlikely) that he/she might not be aware that Malta is an archipelago rather than one single island.

⁹ On the one hand, the website address is www.visitmalta.com/en rather than, say, www.visitthemaltesearchipelago.com; on the other hand, the heading of the four main section is “About *Malta*”, not “About the Archipelago”, and the other two main islands, Gozo and Comino, are devoted a separate section (the sixth one). The differences in the representation of the three islands in the website constitute a highly interesting aspect which, however, goes beyond the aims of the present article and might be explored in future research.

linguistic and discursive stylistic features of the specific website under scrutiny.

In conclusion, although preventing the ecostylistic analysis from being as detailed as it would normally be, the examination of the keywords will offer valuable co-textual information which will make it possible to exclude that the analytical results are incidental and/or mainly related to the style of one single passage and of its author(s)¹⁰.

3.1 Text 1 is presented below. Paragraphs have been numbered for ease of reference according to their organisation on the web-page and, within each paragraph, sentences have been numbered as well. The strings highlighted in bold and underlined reproduce the cross-linking displayed on the web-page.

Text 1: Main section 1

What to See and Do

[1] [1a] In Malta you'll explore **7000 years of history** yet live passionately in the present. [1b] You'll span the millennia with an astonishing array of things to discover. [1c] And wherever you go, the Islands' scenery and architecture provide a spectacular backdrop. [1d] The colours are striking, honey-coloured stone against the deepest of Mediterranean blues.

[2] [2a] The Maltese Islands have been described as one big open-air museum. [2b] What makes them unique is that so much of their past is visible today. [2c] Delve into the Islands' **mysterious prehistory**, retrace the footsteps of St. Paul or see where the **Knights of St. John** defended Christendom.

[3] [3a] Malta is holidaying as the mood takes you. [3b] And with near year-round sun, you can indulge in **outdoor living** at its best.

[4] [4a] In just 48 hours and a kilometre or two, you can try a new sport, laze on an island cruise and tour the most important historic sites,

¹⁰ The authors of visual and written texts in tourism website are scarcely ever known. Even when the company/institution in charge of the website is known, the single texts almost never bear the signature of their author(s), who might have at least a slight impact on the specific features of the text(s) they write, even though a high degree of standardisation is usually in order in official websites. This being the premise, the investigation of more than one single text, which might have been written by more than one single person, allows us to draw conclusions related to the general stylistic features of the website rather than to the specific stylistic features of one text.

and still have time to join in the **nightlife**. [4b] That's the real advantage of a stay here.

[5] [5a] The Islands offer plenty of specialist holidays for those seeking to learn a new skill, discover history or get fit. [5b] If you're interested in sports, we cater as much for the seasoned enthusiast as the casual first-timer. [5c] Malta has wellness and **spa facilities** at the luxury hotels and club resorts. [5d] Sea and land lend themselves to activities from rock-climbing to gentle rambling.

[6] [6a] For a tempo and scene change from Malta itself, hop to the sister islands of **Gozo** and **Comino**. [6b] Here, you'll holiday within a holiday and at the most relaxed of Mediterranean paces.

(www.visitmalta.com/en/see-and-do; Accessed January 25th 2015)

Given that this is the page about what can be seen and done in Malta in the official tourism website of the archipelago, it is reasonable to claim that prospective tourists might have a certain range of expectations when reading it, for instance that the beauty of the islands be described at length and in detail, being, as mentioned above, the main communicative functions of tourism websites to both give information on (= describe) the tourist destination and promote it (= persuade prospective tourists to visit the country).

Text 1 does not, however, appear to meet these expectations in full.

At the general level, the text exhibits many textual and linguistic aspects related to tourism discourse: being a macro-genre ('tourism web-page') used in a specialist (= the writer) to non-specialist (= the prospective tourist) communication type, the language used is accessible, both in terms of morpho-syntactic and lexical choices (Gotti 2006, 21; Maci 2007, 54); it makes a predominant use of the personal pronoun "you" (e.g. "you'll explore", "you'll span") to establish a dialogic relationship with the prospective tourist (Fodde and Denti 2008); it makes extensive use of positively value-loaded words (e.g. "passionately", "astonishing", "spectacular", "striking"), often with a predominant modifying function (Denti 2012, 67; Maci 2007, 56); it uses the imperative form (Denti 2012, 78; Maci 2007, 57) on more than one occasion (e.g. "Delve", "retrace", "see") to 'suggest' prospective tourists what venues they can visit and what activities they can perform.

With regard to the overall content of the text, it provides prospective tourists with a wide array of information rather than mainly focusing on the beauty of the place. This is not surprising, since Text 1 is meant to be read in a pre-trip stage, namely *before* having set off (cf. Francesconi 2014, 22), by prospective tourists whose identities and preferences cannot be known a priori. Ideally, the website could be consulted by billions of people with billions of different tastes, hence Text 1 needs to offer an

overview of all the main reasons why the country is worth visiting instead of focusing on one single aspect, thereby running the risk of discouraging all those prospective tourists interested in, say, relaxing holidays rather than in natural scenery¹¹.

It is the (chrono)logical sequence in which these reasons are listed in the text that provides an interesting starting point for our analysis.

The text is organised into six paragraphs. The first and the fifth paragraphs are the longest, they are both composed of four sentences, and of a similar number of words (51 words and 61 words, respectively). The third paragraph is the shortest, is made up of two sentences and of a total of 21 words. These paragraphs are therefore graphologically foregrounded (Douthwaite 2000, 207) by virtue of being the longest and the shortest paragraph(s), respectively.

The structure of the text and the distribution of its content into sentences and paragraphs is skilfully planned.

The introductory paragraph is divided into two halves: [1a]-[1b] focus on the historical background of the archipelago, while [1c]-[1d] describe the natural scenery. History is therefore presented in the text as the first reason why the place should be visited, natural scenery coming second.

That in [1a] a non-oppositional relationship (“yet”) between “history” (= past) and “present” is created is of interest. Indeed, it has been pointed out that “Heritage, as a tourism resource [...] is as present-centred as much as past-oriented” (Park 2014, 26) and that, although history, heritage and culture are usually equated and regarded as one and the same thing¹², “heritage is not simply the past, but the modern-day use of elements from the past” (Dallen and Boyd 2003, 4). [1a], therefore, implicitly hints at the historical background of the place as an example of heritage that can be consumed in the present. This impression is reinforced in [1b], where the noun phrase “7000 years” is referred to through lexical reiteration (Halliday and Hasan 1976, 278-9) via the collocation “span the millennia”, which further underlines how ‘historical’ Malta is. A further indication that heritage tourism is hinted at is the use of the verbs “explore” and “discover” which, together with the adjectives “unique” [2b] and “mysterious” [2c], represent lexemes typically used in tourism discourse to give an overall impression of authenticity and of a place which is off-the-beaten-track (cf. Maci 2007, 55-56). However, authenticity is also a key

¹¹ See Denti (2012, 110-111) and Viridis (this volume) for an account of how tourism texts on another Mediterranean island, Sardinia, attempt to attract different types of tourists, from sun-and-sea lovers to culture-lovers.

¹² Hence the selection of the keywords ‘history’, ‘heritage’ and ‘culture’ mentioned in the Introduction.

issue in heritage tourism “in which the past is recreated and reappropriated for touristic consumption” (Park 2014, 60)¹³.

[1c] introduces the first specific indication of landscape, the noun “scenery”. This is, however, coordinated with the noun “architecture”, which UNESCO (cf. Park 2014, 25) classifies as cultural rather than natural heritage – thus heritage tourism is implicitly referred to again. Furthermore, both nouns are defined as “backdrop”. Since what they are the backdrop of is not specified in [1c], the only possible explanation is that ellipsis occurred and that the chunk deleted would function as anaphoric reference to [1a]-[1b]. In other words, scenery and architecture simply provide the backdrop against which the exploration of Maltese history takes place.

In turn, the quality making the “backdrop” so “spectacular” is made explicit in [1d], which exploits the domain of colours to depict a contrast between a man-made product (“stone”, a metaphor for ‘buildings’, and an anaphoric reference to “architecture” in [1c]) and the natural landscape (“the deepest of Mediterranean blues”, anaphoric reference to “scenery” in [1c]), by opposing the colours “honey” and “blue”. However, while the first colour (“honey-coloured”) is used in the pre-modifier of the head of the noun phrase “stone”, the second one (“blues”) is used as the head of the noun phrase which is pre-modified by the adjective “Mediterranean” and is part of a superlative metaphorical construction (“the deepest of Mediterranean blues”). In other words, the sea surrounding the islands is not deep ‘per se’, but as a consequence of being “Mediterranean”. Note further that another background-foreground opposition is implicitly created in [1d] through the use of the preposition “against”, which turns the Mediterranean Sea into the backdrop of the islands.

Paragraph [2] goes back to focusing on the historical heritage of the archipelago. [2a] does that thanks to the metaphorical noun phrase “one big open-air museum”. In particular, it is the head of the noun phrase “museum” which connotatively (hence, implicitly) refers to the historical past of the islands, thus anticipating the content of [2b]-[2c]. It has been pointed out (Jeffries 2010, 20-21) that the noun “museum” has a conventional pejorative use when deployed as a metaphor in sentences like “He lived in a museum”, because it creates the ideological equation old = bad. In the context of this paragraph, however, it acquires positive connotations thanks to both its pre-modification and to the general idea of

¹³ Sant Cassia (1999, 248) makes a similar remark with specific reference to Malta, claiming that the ‘aristocratic’ past of the former capital city of the country, Mdina, has been skillfully reconstructed for political reasons starting from the 1930s and is nowadays consistently used as a resource to attract tourists to the town.

historical richness that the text has started building up in [1a]-[1b] and continues to develop in [2b]-[2c], where the noun phrases “past”, “mysterious prehistory”, “the footsteps of St. Paul”, and “the knights of St. John” are used. With regard to pre-modification, the adjectives “big” and “open-air” strengthen the idea of a rich and accessible site, and the numeral “one” is used with an inclusive function, namely to turn the plural noun phrase functioning as subject “The Maltese islands” into a single unit, thus implicitly suggesting that the definition “big open-air museum” applies to every inch of Maltese territory.

[2b] is also interesting for two reasons. On the one hand, through the use of the noun “past” and the temporal adverb “today”, it presents again the past-in-the-present relation introduced in [1a], thus suggesting the idea of heritage tourism. On the other, it starts with a pseudo-cleft construction (“What makes them unique”) which not only contains the adjective “unique” used to qualify the pronoun “them” (= “The Maltese islands” in [2a]), but which also represents a presupposition trigger giving rise to a presupposed subordinate clause in subject position (*ibid.*, 96), which, as a consequence, is taken for granted and is not debated by prospective tourists, since the information which is “packaged up” in the noun phrases preceding the predicate and performing the function subject is generally not questioned by hearers or readers (*ibid.*, 18-25). Thanks to this linguistic choice, that the archipelago is unique (*viz.* ‘authentic’) is therefore implicitly presented as a given.

As mentioned above, paragraph [3] is the shortest, since it essentially represents the transition from the first part of the text focused on heritage tourism to the second part introducing the other types of tourist trade available in the archipelago.

This does not mean, however, that Maltese historical heritage is not mentioned again.

Indeed, in [4a] three coordinated main clauses (“you can try a new sport”, “[you can] laze on an island cruise”, “[you can] tour the most important historic sites”) describe the three activities which can be undertaken during the day (as opposed to “the nightlife”), the third one (“tour the most important historic sites”) being related to cultural heritage.

The same linguistic device is used in [5a]. In the context of a fifth paragraph listing different types of tourist activities (sport, gastronomy, wellness, luxury, resorts) – which explains the length of the paragraph – [5a] also lists three activities tourists can focus on and the second one (“discover history”) recalls heritage tourism yet again. The only specific references to place, space and landscape are the nouns “Sea” and “land” in

[5d], which, however, the selection of the verb “lend oneself to” turns into the ideal background to practice the sports mentioned in the sentence.

Only in the final, sixth paragraph are the other two main islands of the archipelago, Gozo and Comino, mentioned, while Malta is mentioned three times and the adjective Maltese is used once in the preceding five paragraphs¹⁴. It is interesting to note that besides being described through a noun related to the domain of landscape (“scene”), they are also defined in [6a] through a noun related to music and rhythm (“tempo”). This noun is reinforced in [6b] thanks to the noun phrase “the most relaxed of Mediterranean paces”, where the highly unusual (viz. foregrounded – Douthwaite 2000) combination “Mediterranean paces” recalls the notion of “tempo” (“paces”) and, at the same time, of the Mediterranean sea surrounding the archipelago which was introduced in [1a], so that the reference to the Mediterranean Sea appears in both the first and the last paragraph.

To sum up, the second and sixth paragraphs of the text focus on the “What to See” part of the heading (noticeable, in this respect, the adjective “visible” in [2b]), while the first, third, fourth and fifth paragraphs focus on the “What to do” part. However, while one single type of tourism – heritage tourism – is devoted the first two paragraphs (and is therefore implicitly defined as something that you can both “see” and “do”), all the other types of tourism available in Malta are simply sketched and summarised in the third, fourth, and fifth paragraphs, which, however, also contain two more references to heritage tourism. With the exception of the nouns “Sea” and “land” in [5d], landscape is explicitly referred to only in [1c]-[1d] and in the last paragraph and, in both cases, the adjective “Mediterranean” is used as a pre-modifier to define the landscape and its “relaxed” rhythm.

A brief examination of the keywords¹⁵ ‘Mediterranean’ and ‘history’, ‘heritage’, ‘culture’ in the pages linked with the web-page analysed above supports these conclusions.

¹⁴ In addition to what stated above (section 3 and footnote 9), it is worth noticing that the stark difference in the portions of the text devoted to Malta on the one hand and to Gozo and Comino on the other is reinforced by the noun phrase “the sister islands” in [6a], which implicitly turns Malta into the deictic centre (Simpson 1993, 17) starting from which the relation of sisterhood can be built.

¹⁵ The notion of keywords in the language of tourism was introduced by Dann (1996). However, even if ‘historical’ is one of the keywords identified by the scholar, the keywords selected in this article are not meant to identify patterns related to tourism discourse. They are intended to support the stylistic analysis carried out in section 3.1 above in its identification of the stylistic features of the

Table 1.2 below shows the findings of this examination. The left-hand side column includes the indication of the web-page to which each link in the “What to See and Do” section leads; the central column is devoted to indication of the sentences or clauses in which the keyword ‘Mediterranean’ is used, while the right-hand side column lists the uses of the keywords ‘history’, ‘heritage’ and ‘culture’.

Web-page	Mediterranean	History, Heritage, Culture
<p>HISTORY</p> <p>7000 YEARS OF HISTORY = HISTORY (ABOUT MALTA > FACTS AND TIPS > HISTORY)</p>	//	<p>1) The <i>history</i> of Malta is a long and colourful one dating back to the dawn of civilisation.</p> <p>2) The Knights took Malta through a new golden age, making it a key player in the <i>cultural</i> scene of 17th and 18th century Europe.</p> <p>3) The artistic and <i>cultural</i> lives of the Maltese Islands were injected with the presence of artists such as Caravaggio, Mattia Preti and Favray who were commissioned by the Knights to embellish churches, palaces and auberges.</p>
<p>PREHISTORY</p> <p>MYSTERIOUS PREHISTORY = PREHISTORY (ABOUT MALTA > FACTS AND TIPS > HISTORY > PREHISTORY)</p>	They were replaced by peoples from various parts of the <i>Mediterranean</i> during the Bronze Age	<p>1) The Hal Saflieni Hypogeum [...] is an outstanding feat of <i>prehistoric</i> engineering</p> <p>2) Malta was a "Sacred Island" - a kind of centre of worship and mystic practices for <i>prehistoric</i> communities</p> <p>3) these farmers had developed a new <i>cultural</i> system</p> <p>4) there is no evidence of any <i>cultural</i> exchange</p> <p>5) The temple <i>culture</i> came to a mysterious end</p>

Maltese Archipelago’s tourism website. Considering how restricted the corpus of texts to investigate was, no computer-assisted analysis was required.

<p>KNIGHTS OF S. JOHN</p> <p>KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN = KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN (ABOUT MALTA > FACTS AND TIPS → HISTORY > KNIGHTS OF S. JOHN)</p>	//	they gave the Islands in the <i>history</i> of medicine
<p>SPORTS AND ACTIVITIES</p> <p>OUTDOOR LIVING = SPORTS AND ACTIVITIES (WHAT TO SEE AND DO > SPORTS AND ACTIVITIES)</p>	//	//
<p>ENJOY THE NIGHT LIFE</p> <p>NIGHTLIFE = ENJOY THE NIGHTLIFE (WHAT TO SEE AND DO > HOLIDAY IDEAS > ENJOY THE NIGHTLIFE)</p>	Typical of the <i>Mediterranean</i> lifestyle, the locals' approach to life is to enjoy and celebrate it as much as possible.	<p>1) Regular orchestral, soloist concerts and operas take place in some stunning <i>historic</i> venues.</p> <p>2) The islands have an effervescent calendar of <i>cultural</i> events to see</p> <p>3) Saints, fireworks, food and fun are all part of this <i>cultural</i> phenomenon</p> <p>4) Theatre is a lively and well-represented part of the local <i>cultural</i> scene</p>
<p>HEALTH AND WELLNESS</p> <p>SPA FACILITIES = HEALTH AND WELLNESS (WHAT TO SEE AND DO > HOLIDAY IDEAS > HEALTH AND WELLNESS)</p>	The warm climate, clear <i>Mediterranean</i> light and fresh sea air alone help increase energy levels.	If you want to raise fitness levels, and enjoy some leisure and <i>culture</i> as well

<p>GOZO</p> <p>GOZO = GOZO (PLACES > ISLANDS > GOZO)</p>	<p>Gozo's rugged landscape and spectacular coastline await exploration with some of the <i>Mediterranean's</i> best dive sites.</p>	<p>1) Gozo also possesses a nightlife and <i>cultural</i> calendar all of its own, with some great dining out.</p> <p>2) The island also comes complete with <i>historical</i> sites, forts and amazing panoramas, as well as one of the archipelago's best-preserved <i>prehistoric</i> temples, Ġgantija.</p>
<p>COMINO</p> <p>COMINO = COMINO (places > islands > COMINO)</p>	<p>The island had proved a useful base for pirates operating in the central <i>Mediterranean</i> and, though stark and barren today, it was home to wild boar and hares when the Knights arrived in 1530</p>	<p>//</p>

Table 1.2. Use of the keywords ‘Mediterranean’ and ‘history’, ‘heritage’, ‘culture’ in the pages linked to the section “What to See & Do”.

As can be noticed, eight pages are directly crossed-linked to the section “What to See and Do”. Three of these (“History”, “Prehistory”, “Knights of St. John”) are related to the historical heritage of the islands, two (“Gozo” and “Comino”) to place and landscape, and the remaining three (“Sports and Activities”, “Enjoy the Nightlife” and “Health and Wellness”) describe one type of tourism (other than heritage tourism) each. Therefore, the topic ‘history’ is as predominant in the web-pages prospective tourists can read by clicking on the links suggested in Text 1 as it is in Text 1 itself.

This being the premise, besides being used in the two web-pages where its deployment is logically ‘expected’ in the context of a tourism website, namely “Gozo” and “Comino”, the keyword ‘Mediterranean’ is also used in other three web-pages, none of which is meant to describe the landscape (“Prehistory”, “Enjoy the Nightlife” and “Health and Wellness”). In particular, while in the web-page “Comino” the idea of an island lying at the centre of the Mediterranean is suggested (“central Mediterranean”), the (stereotypical) collocation “Mediterranean lifestyle” and the not-so-typical combination “Mediterranean light” underline how inextricably intertwined

Malta and the Mediterranean area are, since the latter influences the landscape, the lifestyle and even the quality of the light in the archipelago.

The keywords 'history' and 'culture' and their derivatives are used far more consistently, with seven out of sixteen uses in sections not related to history, culture or heritage, namely "Enjoy the Nightlife", "Health and Wellness" and "Gozo".

The keyword 'heritage', however, is never used in the web-pages considered above. Extending the research to all the other sections mentioned in the Introduction, it is significant to point out that 'heritage' always appears in the fixed (hence, scarcely noticeable) combination "Unesco World Heritage", with just one exception: the clause "The Maltese Islands are really one big heritage park" in the sub-subsection "Museums and Galleries" (Places > Attractions > Museums and Galleries). On the one hand, this strengthens the conclusion that the site equates history with heritage, given that this clause is identical to the one analysed in [2a] above, bar the noun phrase "heritage park" in place of "open-air museum", with which it shares a relation of synonymy ("heritage" = "museum"; "park" = "open-air"); on the other hand, it further supports the thesis that the focus on heritage tourism is used as an implicit, namely not overtly stated or overexploited, persuasive device.

4. Concluding Remarks

An ecostylistic analysis of the web-page "What to See & Do" from Malta's tourism website has been carried out and supported by a brief examination of the keywords 'Mediterranean', 'history', 'heritage' and 'culture' in the eight web-pages cross-linked to the section analysed.

The analysis has highlighted that, against the backdrop of the linguistic features characteristic of tourism discourse, a number of implicit stylistic features can be identified in this website in relation to the (non)representation of place, space and landscape.

More specifically, the analysis has revealed that, in a section where it would be reasonable to expect a more or less detailed outline of the landscapes, spaces and places enriching the archipelago (especially in terms of the "What to See" part), the description of the historical heritage of the islands is in fact the aspect the section scrutinised – and related crossed-linked pages – dwell on more consistently. In other words, given the promotional nature of the text analysed, that the beautiful landscapes of the islands are practically not described (even where they *should* be described), while their historical and cultural heritage are repeatedly hinted at (even where they *do not need* to be hinted at), cannot but lead us to

conclude that Malta's official tourism website implicitly identifies heritage tourism – more (or rather) than other types of tourism – as the main reason why the Maltese archipelago is worth visiting.

By the same token, despite the fact that the section “Language” (About Malta > Facts and Tips > Language) underlines that “The survival of the [Maltese] language is perhaps testament to the resilience of the Maltese to remain a distinct people and culture”, the few instances of a description of Malta's landscape we do find in the text analysed depict it as pervasively Mediterranean rather than pervasively Maltese. On the one hand, the only two occasions in which landscape is referred to in the text analysed create a direct linguistic link between the landscape and the Mediterranean, with the latter lexeme used in foregrounded structures (a metaphor and an unusual adjective + noun combination, respectively). On the other hand, the analysis of the keyword ‘Mediterranean’ in the eight pages cross-linked to the page “What to See & Do” similarly showed that the lexeme is used whenever the landscape is described. However, it is also employed when other aspects of Maltese life and tourist trade, such as nightlife and spa facilities, are presented. To state the matter differently, although the overarching strategy in the sections analysed is not to place emphasis on the representation of place, space and landscape, when a description of the landscape is in fact provided, the linguistic strategies used do emphasise the existence of an inextricable relation between the landscape and the Mediterranean Sea. At the same time, the quality of being Mediterranean is also linguistically associated with aspects unrelated to the landscape, such as the lifestyle and rhythm of life, thus implicitly strengthening the notion of the inseparability of Malta from the Mediterranean.

Finally, the investigation has demonstrated that, starting from the literature on tourism discourse, stylistic analysis can fruitfully contribute to the examination of official tourism websites, given its focus on the investigation of those implicit linguistic devices used in writing to convey certain communicative functions. More specifically, ecostylistics was deployed here to investigate the relation between the representation of landscape, place and space in Malta's official tourism website and promotional discourse. This investigational approach allowed us to demonstrate that, rather than focusing on showcasing the beauty of the archipelago's landscape, it is Malta's heritage the web-portal is particularly interested in promoting. Therefore, (eco)stylistic analysis represents a useful approach to examine texts which are prototypically persuasive in nature, since persuasion is only effective when it is implicit (Östmann 2005), because “the less conscious we are about the persuasive purposes of the text, the more open we can be to its message” (Halmari

and Virtanen 2005, 230). Consequently, while certain typical characteristics of tourism discourse, such as the use of extremely positively value-loaded adjectives, represent features people might have become familiar with, and which might have lost part of their persuasive power as a consequence (ibid.), the idiosyncratic stylistic features of tourism texts remain a more implicit, hence highly persuasive, aspect of those texts which can be unveiled through (eco)stylistics.

References

- Abbamonte, Lucia, and Flavia Cavaliere. (this volume). "Food, family & females: (Southern) Italy in U.S. advertising", in *Mediterranean Heritage in Transit: (Mis-)representations via English. Cross-cultural and Educational Perspectives*, edited by Lucia Abbamonte and Flavia Cavaliere, 1-53, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Argondizzo, Carmen, and Ida Ruffolo. 2012. "A Discourse Analysis of the Perception of "Nature" in English Travel Promotion Texts." *Textus: English Studies in Italy*. Special issue *Tourism and Tourists in Language and Linguistics*, 25.1: 85-103.
- Austin, John. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bhatia, Vijay. 2005. "Generic Patterns in Promotional Discourse", in *Persuasion Across Genres. A linguistic Approach*, edited by Helena Halmari and Tuija Virtanen, 213-225. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Black, Elizabeth. 2006. *Pragmatic Stylistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Brown, Gillian, and George Yule. 1983. *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cappelli, Gloria. 2012. "Travelling in Space: Spatial Representation in English and Italian Tourism Discourse." *Textus: English Studies in Italy*. Special issue *Tourism and Tourists in Language and Linguistics*, 25.1: 19-35.
- Dallen, Timothy, and Stephen Boyd. 2003. *Heritage Tourism*. London: Pearson.
- Dallen, Timothy and Stephen Boyd. 2006. "Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century: Valued Traditions and New Perspectives." *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 1.1: 1-16.
- Dann, Graham. 1996. *The Language of Tourism. A Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Oxford: CAB International.
- Denti, Olga. 2012. *Cross-Cultural Representations in Tourism Discourse: The Case of the Island of Sardinia*. Cagliari: Aipsa.

- Douthwaite, John. 2000. *Towards a Linguistic Theory of Foregrounding*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Fill, Alwin, and Peter Mühlhäusler, eds. 2006. *The Ecolinguistics Reader: Language, Ecology, and Environment*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Fodde, Luisanna, and Olga Denti. 2008. "The Dialogic Dimension in Tourist Discourse", in *Language and Bias in Specialised Discourse*, edited by Giuliana Garzone and Paola Catenaccio, 155-175. Milan: CUEM.
- Fodde, Luisanna, and Georges Van Den Abbeele. 2012. *Textus: English Studies in Italy*. Special issue *Tourism and Tourists in Language and Linguistics*, 25.1.
- Francesconi, Sabrina. 2011. "New Zealand as "the youngest country on earth": A Multimodal Analysis of a Tourist Video." *Textus: English Studies in Italy*, 24.2: 324-340.
- 2014. *Reading Tourism Texts: A Multimodal Analysis*. London: Channel View Publications.
- Goatly, Andrew. 2010. "Edward Thomas, the Landscape of Nature, and Ecostylistics", plenary lecture delivered at *PALA 2010: The Language of Landscapes: The 30th Annual Conference of the Poetics And Linguistics Association*, 21-25 July 2010, University of Genoa (Italy).
- Gotti, Maurizio. 2006. "The Language of Tourism as Specialized Discourse", in *Translating Tourism: Linguistic/Cultural Representations*, edited by Oriana Palusci and Sabrina Francesconi, 15-34. Trento: Trento University Press.
- 2011. *Investigating Specialized Discourse*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Hallett, Richard, and Judith Kaplan-Weinger. 2010. *Official Tourism Websites: A Discourse Analysis Perspective*. London: Channel View Publications.
- Halliday, Michael, and Ruqaiya Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Halmari, Helena, and Tuija Virtanen, eds. 2005. *Persuasion Across Genres: A linguistic Approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jeffries, Lesley. 2010. *Critical Stylistics: The Power of English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Leech, Geoffrey, and Mick Short. [1981] 2007. *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose*, London: Longman.
- Maci, Stefania. 2007. "Virtual Touring: The Web Language of Tourism." *Linguistica e Filologia*, 25: 41-65.

- 2012. “Click here, Book now! Discursive Strategies of Tourism on the Web.” *Textus: English Studies in Italy*. Special issue *Tourism and Tourists in Language and Linguistics*, 25.1: 137-156.
- McIntyre, Dan. 2008. “Integrating Multimodal Analysis and the Stylistics of Drama: A Multimodal Perspective on Ian McKellen’s *Richard III*.” *Language and Literature*, 17.4: 309-334.
- Nigro, Maria Giovanna. 2012. “From Words to Keywords: The Journey from General Language to the Language of Tourism.” *Textus: English Studies in Italy*. Special issue *Tourism and Tourists in Language and Linguistics*, 25.1: 105-119.
- Östman, Jan-Ola. 2005. “Persuasion as implicit anchoring: The case of collocations”, in *Persuasion Across Genres. A linguistic approach*, edited by Helena Halmari and Tuija Virtanen, 183–212. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Park, Hyung Yu. 2014. *Heritage Tourism*. London: Routledge.
- Plastina, Anna Franca. 2012. “Tourism Destination Image: Distortion or Promotion? An Analysis of Web-based Promotional Discourse about Calabria.” *Textus: English Studies in Italy*. Special issue *Tourism and Tourists in Language and Linguistics*, 25.1: 119-133.
- Sant Cassia, Paul. 1999. “Tradition, Tourism and Memory in Malta.” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 5.2: 247-263.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de. [1916] 1983. *Course in General Linguistics*. La Salle: Open Court.
- Semino, Elena, and Mick Short. 2004. *Corpus Stylistic: Speech, Writing and Thought Presentation in a Corpus of English Writing*. London: Routledge.
- Short, Mick. 1996. *Exploring the Language of Poems, Plays and Prose*. London: Longman.
- Simpson, Paul. 1993. *Language, Ideology and Point of View*. London: Routledge.
- Swales, John. 1990. *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thurlow, Crispin, and Adam Jaworski. 2010. *Tourism Discourse: Language and Global Mobility*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Viridis, Daniela Francesca. (this volume). “Mediterranean Landscapes as Heritage: An ecostylistic analysis of a Sardinian tourism website”, in *Mediterranean Heritage in Transit: (Mis-)representations via English*, edited by Lucia Abbamonte and Flavia Cavaliere, 161-177, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Zurru, Elisabetta. 2012, “Islands, Rivers, Tigers, Humans: an ecostylistic analysis of *The Hungry Tide* by Amitav Ghosh”, *Ekologiya yazyka na*

perekrestke nauk: materialy 2-y mezhdunarodnoy nauchnoy konferentsii: v 2-h chastyah: Ch. 1 (Ecology of Language at the Crossroads of Sciences: Proceedings of the 2nd International Scientific Conference in 2 Volumes: Volume 1), edited by Natalia Belozerova, 47-56. Tyumen (Russia): Izdatelstvo Tyumenskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta (Tyumen State University Publishing House).
<http://www-gewi.uni-graz.at/ecoling/>; Accessed February 25th 2015
<http://www.visitmalta.com/en>; Accessed February 25th 2015

Appendix

Self-Study

1) Visit the pages “Malta”, “Gozo” and “Comino” (Places > Islands) on www.visitmalta.com/en. What adjectives are used to describe each island? Do you think the three islands are described as resembling one another or not? Why/why not?

Classroom Activities

1) Discuss the answers to the questions above with your classmates. Did you and your classmates draw similar or different conclusions?

2) Do an online research and find the definitions of the following types of tourism:

- Sport tourism
- Religious tourism
- Adventure tourism
- Cultural tourism
- Beach and resort tourism

3) Which one(s) of the definition(s) in activity 2 above can be applied to your country? Write a 100-200 word composition defining what type(s) of tourism your country is famous (or *should* be famous) for and discuss it with your classmates.

CHAPTER EIGHT

APPRECIATING THE MEDITERRANEAN DIET: POPULARIZING NUTRITIONAL DISCOURSE ONLINE

ANNA FRANCA PLASTINA

1. Introduction

As the real pioneer of modern nutrition research, Ancel Keys (1904-2004) coined the definition of Mediterranean Diet and promoted its benefits (Key/Keys, 1975; Keys, 1980). The American physiologist and epidemiologist's interest in the Mediterranean Diet focused on the association between this eating style and the protection against several chronic degenerative diseases and disorders. For this reason, Keys decided to live for a period of time in Pioppi¹, a coastal town in the Cilento area in southern Italy, in order to study the diet of the local people and share their lifestyle. His lifelong research regarded the relation between science, diet, and health, and paved the way to establishing the rise of the modern nutritional sciences.

The concept of Mediterranean Diet has, in fact, a particular nutritional significance, as pointed out by Willett et al. (1995: 1402S):

the term "Mediterranean Diet" has a specific meaning. It reflects food patterns typical of Crete, much of the rest of Greece, and southern Italy in the early 1960s.

Visibly impressed by the local diet in southern Italy, Keys and his wife specified that it included:

¹ Pioppi is now home to the Mediterranean Diet Association and to a museum dedicated to Ancel Keys.

Homemade minestrone² [...] pasta in endless variety [...] served with tomato sauce and a sprinkle of cheese, only occasionally enriched with some bits of meat, or served with a little local sea food [...] a hearty dish of beans and short lengths of macaroni [...] lots of bread never more than a few hours from the oven and never served with any kind of spread; great quantities of fresh vegetables; a modest portion of meat or fish perhaps twice a week; wine of the type we used to call ‘Dago³ red’[...] always fresh fruit for dessert [...] it would be hard to do better than imitate the diet of the common folk of Naples in the early 1950s (Keys / Keys, 1975: 4).

Following Keys’ research, the traditional Mediterranean dietary scheme was popularised in 1994 as a Food Pyramid by the non-profit company, Oldways Preservation and Exchange Trust⁴. At its base, the pyramidal graph represents the healthy foods which should be consumed more on a daily or weekly basis, while those which should be eaten less are illustrated at the top of the pyramid. The general aim of the Food Pyramid is to provide “[...] a nutrition education tool for the general public and scientific community” (Manios et al. 2006: 154) (see Appendices 1 & 2). Even in more recent times, researchers have continued to acknowledge Keys’ pioneering work. For example, Andrade et al. (2009: 71) highlight how Keys’ research contributed to helping “[...] establish the epidemiological link between dietary fats, serum cholesterol, and atherosclerotic coronary and vascular disease”. Pérez-López et al. (2009: 67) further point out that:

both men and women who report eating foods closest to the MD⁵ are about 10-20% less likely to die over the course of a study of heart disease, cancer or any other cause [...] There is some evidence of the benefits of the MD in relation to bone metabolism, rheumatoid arthritis, and neurodegenerative age-related diseases (cognitive deficit, Alzheimer’s disease, Parkinson’s disease).

Given its acknowledged bio-social value, the Mediterranean Diet was inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2010 as follows:

the Mediterranean diet (from the Greek *diaita*, or way of life) constitutes a set of skills, knowledge, practices and traditions ranging from the landscape to the table; [...] characterized by a nutritional model that has remained

² Vegetable soup.

³ Slang term for an Italian with a negative connotation.

⁴ Oldways has also designed other diet pyramids to represent those diets of cultures found to be healthy by epidemiological studies.

⁵ Mediterranean Diet.

constant over time and space [...] in the Mediterranean communities of which Soria in Spain, Koroni in Greece, the Cilento in Italy and Chefchaouen in Morocco are examples (UNESCO, 2012: 20).

In the same year, the diet was further popularised through a revised Pyramid as a main frame which could be adapted to the different cultural contexts of the contemporary Mediterranean Basin. The revision was basically related to new cultural and lifestyle elements, as well as to the modern public health challenge of obesity (Bach-Faig et al., 2011). In this respect, Dermeni et al. (2012: 72) point out that:

the new revised Mediterranean pyramid aims to popularise the concept and in particular to emphasise its applicability to present-day lifestyles in order to counteract the current dramatic decline in the healthy Mediterranean dietary pattern throughout the Mediterranean area.

Lachance and Fisher (2005: 34) provide a detailed explanation of this dietary pattern:

one can best describe the diet in the Mediterranean countries as having [...] an emphasis on fruits, vegetables, vegetable fats, high-soluble dietary fiber, and a consumption of alcoholic beverages. It is a diet in which legumes and nuts are joined with vegetables and fruits as one tier. Potatoes are coupled with cereal grains.

As non-communicable diseases, including obesity, diabetes and cardiovascular disorders, have increased worldwide, there is an urge for nutritional prevention policies to promote the adoption of the Mediterranean dietary model (Keys, 1995; Belahsena / Rguibia, 2006).

Until the mid-twentieth century, this model represented the traditional cultural heritage of the Mediterranean Basin, and even “[...] a (or perhaps ‘the’) common language of the Mediterranean people” (Renna et al. 2014: 2). Nowadays, globalised food production and consumption and evolving lifestyles have witnessed two major contrasting dietary phenomena. On the one hand, young southern Italians are increasingly moving their dietary habits from the traditional Mediterranean model towards an increased consumption of American foods. Due to this trend, a serious risk of losing the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean Diet in its area of origin can be envisaged in the future. On the other hand, more consumers in the United States are starting to question the Standard American Diet (SAD), which is rich in animal proteins and fats, high in cholesterol and saturated fats, high in processed foods, and low in fiber, complex carbohydrates, and vegetables. This is mainly due to the influence of repeated nutritional

campaigns in favour of the Mediterranean Diet. For instance, Oldways⁶ is currently encouraging online consumers to adopt the Mediterranean model by defining it as the “Gold Standard” employed by trustworthy communities, such as educators and health professionals:

The ‘Gold Standard’ eating pattern that promotes lifelong good health is widely used by consumers, educators, and health professionals to gain healthier eating habits.

The Mediterranean Diet is thus gaining momentum worldwide as a modern nutritional recommendation launched by Oldways⁷:

Not only is it full of delicious foods and rich culinary heritage, but it is also good for the heart, and not just metaphorically speaking.

Besides the nutritional recommendations issued by Oldways, the United States government has also promoted policies which support the Mediterranean Diet in place of the Standard American Diet. This is clearly witnessed in the new version of the *Dietary Guidelines for Americans* released in 2010 by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2010: 24-25):

Consuming less than 10 percent of calories from saturated fatty acids and replacing them with monounsaturated and/or polyunsaturated fatty acids is associated with low blood cholesterol levels, and therefore a lower risk of cardiovascular disease [...] To reduce the intake of saturated fatty acids, many Americans should limit their consumption of the major sources that are high in saturated fatty acids and replace them with foods that are rich in monounsaturated and polyunsaturated fatty acids [...] Oils that are rich in monounsaturated fatty acids include [...] olive oil.

In other words, the Dietary Guidelines suggest that standard American dietary habits need to be changed as they are deemed to be unhealthy. While the guidelines may be seen as an official promotional source of the Mediterranean Diet, they certainly represent a site of controversial debates as they claim to “[...] accommodate the food preferences, cultural traditions, and customs of the many and diverse groups who live in the United States” (U.S. Department of Agriculture and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2010: viii).

⁶ <http://oldwayspt.org/resources/heritage-pyramids/mediterranean-diet-pyramid>.

⁷ <http://oldwayspt.org/community/blog/we-heart-mediterranean-diet>.

2. Aims and Purposes

This chapter focuses on how nutritional discourse is popularised in online discussions as a result of the 2010 Dietary Guidelines for Americans⁸. This kind of discourse is relatively new, given that nutrition evolved as a science only from the late nineteenth century when scientific research focused on the importance of macronutrient constituents (e.g. carbohydrates, fats, proteins) for the physiological functions of the human body. The discovery of essential nutrients, such as vitamins and minerals, throughout the twentieth century gave rise to the so-called “vitamin era” in which greater attention was placed on dietary requirements for disease prevention. At this time, nutritional discourse was mainly employed within the scientific community, concerned with the development of functional foods, including processed food or foods with health-promoting additives. As food started to be increasingly industrialised, nutritional discourse became part and parcel of the marketing strategy of food advertising. This has been seen as “[...] a phenomenon that encourages disturbing trends as far as health is concerned because it promotes homogenization in diet, the consumption of foods that are hardly nutritious [...]” (Arnaiz, 2001).

Currently, nutritional discourse has expanded its realm beyond the scientific and industrial communities and is steadily becoming a practice within the lay community, especially due to the widespread use of social media. Within specific virtual environments, consumers are allowed to share their opinions on dietary issues, and thus, to popularise nutritional discourse online.

The main aim of this chapter is to consider how this relatively new nutritional discourse practice is mediated in online discussion forums. It specifically focuses on the different ways in which language is used to appreciate the Mediterranean Diet. For the purpose of this study, two specific research questions are addressed:

1. How is online nutritional discourse on the Mediterranean Diet popularised through the language of appreciation?
2. How do these linguistic choices affect the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean Diet?

Broadly-speaking, the study draws on Appraisal Theory (Martin 2000; Martin & Rose 2003; Martin & White 2005), which is grounded in the tradition of Systemic Functional Linguistics. Appraisal is considered as

⁸ The next set of guidelines are due in 2015.

“[...] the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgments and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations” (Martin, 2000: 145). Appraisal is structured into the three subsystems of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation, as resources which:

[...] we could deploy systematically in discourse analysis, both with a view to understanding the rhetorical effect of evaluative lexis as texts unfold, and to better understanding the interplay of interpersonal meaning and social relations in the model of language [...] (Martin, 2000: 148).

As the main purpose of the current study is to analyse the language of appreciation consumers employ to refer to the Mediterranean Diet, theoretically, it draws only on the Appraisal subsystem of Appreciation, which can be defined as “the resources for valuing the worth of things” (Martin & Rose, 2003: 24).

3. Method and Materials

A mixed methods research design was used for the analysis of the language of appreciation embedded in online nutritional discourse. The three aspects, namely, *reaction*, *composition* and *valuation* (Martin, 2000), pertaining to the Appraisal subsystem of Appreciation were adopted as independent variables. These are considered by the Appraisal Framework⁹ as follows:

in general terms appreciations can be divided into our ‘reactions’ to things (do they catch our attention; do they please us?), their ‘composition’ (balance and complexity), and their ‘value’ (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.) (Martin & White, 2005: 56).

In particular, *reaction* can be seen as the functional impact of things and processes related to the Mediterranean Diet (e.g. *healthy* vs. *unhealthy*); *composition* as the compositional qualities (e.g. *fresh* vs. *processed*); *valuation* as the social value attributed to the diet (e.g. *cheaper*, *expensive*). Furthermore, each of the three aspects of appreciation was considered also in terms of positive or negative orientation values: appreciation has also “[...] a positive and a negative dimension-corresponding to positive and negative evaluations of [...] natural phenomena” (Martin, 2000: 159-160).

⁹ Further details are available at: <http://grammatics.com/appraisal/>.

The materials used for the study were 288 discussion threads (14,196 running words), which were collected from online discussion forums available on the US National Public Radio website¹⁰. All threads were posted between the years 2011-2014, and generated as comments to four articles available on the website. The threads were chosen as they covered appreciation of four different aspects of the Mediterranean Diet. In detail, these referred to: 1. the benefits of olive oil and nuts for prostate cancer survival (41 threads; 2,312 words); 2. the signs that a Mediterranean Diet helps prevent cardiovascular disease (75 threads; 3,073 words); 3. possible local alternatives to the Mediterranean Diet (63 threads; 3,840 words); 4. the potential loss of the diet in the Mediterranean area (109 threads, 4,971 words). Raw data was transcribed and linguistic tokens of appreciation were annotated manually. Data was then categorised into three thematic areas: 1. *Scientific Evidence of the Benefits of the Mediterranean Diet*; 2. *Alternatives to the Mediterranean Diet*; 3. *The Sociocultural Value of the Mediterranean Diet* to gain insight into the appreciation of these aspects.

4. Results and Discussion

The analysis yielded 4,457 tokens of appreciation, which represented 31.4% of the raw corpus (14,196 running words). All tokens were classified for the three aspects of appreciation (reaction, composition, valuation), and their positive or negative dimensions in each of the three thematic areas identified.

4.1. Scientific Evidence of the Benefits of the Mediterranean Diet

Scientific benefits of the Mediterranean Diet yielded a total of 1,206 instances, representing 27% of the entire corpus of appreciation language (4,457 tokens). These covered all three aspects of appreciation, besides both positive and negative dimensions as in Table 1. Figures in bold highlight the highest occurrences recorded.

¹⁰ <http://www.npr.org/>

Dimension	Reaction	Composition	Valuation
Positive	134 (11.1%)	556 (46.1%)	102 (8.5%)
Negative	92 (7.6%)	54 (4.5%)	268 (22.2%)
Total (N=1,206)	226 (18.7%)	610 (50.6%)	370 (30.7%)

Table 1: Appreciation: Benefits of the MD based on Scientific Evidence.

Results indicate, however, that appreciation of the scientific benefits of the Mediterranean Diet was mainly expressed in terms of its compositional qualities (50.6%), which outweighed the aspects of reaction (18.7%) and valuation (30.7%). In addition, appreciation was mostly expressed in terms of *positive composition* (46.1%), compared to the other two predominant dimensions of *positive reaction* (11.1%) and *negative valuation* (22.2%). The latter dimension and aspect of appreciation was not found to be directly related to the Mediterranean Diet itself, but rather to the scientific community as shown in Example (1):

- (1) *The High-Fat-Low-Carb folks have been preaching these benefits for a long while, and the science is now backing them up. It's funny, we've been told for decades to eat less fat.*

Negative valuation in Example (1) is expressed through the nominal phrase *The High-Fat-Low-Carb folks* which suggests reference to the authors of the 2010 *Dietary Guidelines for Americans*. Their action of *preaching* is loaded with a negative dimension of appreciation, which is extended to the scientific community in the verbal phrase *the science is now backing them up*. The use of the adjective *funny* questions scientific credibility, which is then delegitimised in the verbal phrase *we've been told*, where scientific agents are omitted. Hence, discourse on scientific credibility is popularised as it does not take the primary source of the guidelines into any account. Negative valuation appears to be expressed on the issue of high-low fat consumption, while no appreciation of the issue of *replacing* saturated fats (e.g. butter) with unsaturated fat (e.g. olive oil) is formulated.

This nutritional concept was also found to be a controversial issue frequently subjected to appreciation in consumers' reactions as indicated in Examples (2) and (3):

- (2) *There is a larger body of scientific evidence pointing toward multiple health benefits of reducing consumption of refined carbohydrates and replacing foods high in saturated fats with plant-based sources of fat, including oils, nuts and avocados* [positive reaction].

- (3) *I've been eating bacon and eggs every morning for breakfast and several physicians have remarked that my cholesterol profile is ideal* [negative reaction].

In Example (2), the comparative adjective *larger* qualifies the increase in the trustworthiness of scientific evidence, showing a positive reaction towards *health benefits* through the indefinite numeral adjective *multiple* and towards *sources of fat*, which are positively specified through the head noun *plant-based*. In Example (3), instead, the verbal phrase *I've been eating* combined with the temporal expression of continuity *every morning* suggests that monounsaturated fats, appreciated through the noun *bacon*, are not unhealthy. The implicit negative reaction towards vegetable fats is then explicated through the nominal phrase *my cholesterol profile* and its qualifier *ideal*, which has been attributed by *physicians* as agents of scientific evidence. These, however, have been quantified through the use of the indefinite numeral adjective *several*, which does not attribute any scientific authority to these agents.

On the other hand, the compositional qualities of the Mediterranean Diet were highly appreciated, especially through the positive emphasis placed on its main component as shown in Example (4):

- (4) *40% of the Mediterranean diet is fat/oil. The researchers reason that the type of fat it has is the clue, mostly mono-unsaturated fatty acids (MUFAs).*

Example (4) first appears to neutrally state that the main compositional quality of the Mediterranean Diet is fat/oil, and that 40 percent of calories come from this component. However, the following nominal phrase *the type of fat*, the noun *clue* and the qualifier *mono-unsaturated* suggest positive appreciation of the compositional qualities of *fatty acids*, and clearly relate these benefits to *researchers* as scientific agents, who are evaluated positively through their action of reasoning. A more detailed analysis on the appreciation of the qualities of olive oil as the main source of monounsaturated fatty acids revealed that the ten highest ranking adjectives all qualified olive oil positively as reported in Table 2.

Word Ranking for Qualities of Olive Oil	Occurrences (N=196)	Rate of Occurrence
1. healthy	35	17.9%
2. monounsaturated	32	16.3%
3. protective	29	14.8%
4. vegetable	26	13.3%
5. antioxidant	23	11.7%
6. therapeutic	18	9.2%
7. anti-inflammatory	14	7.1%
8. rich	9	4.6%
9. extra virgin	6	3.1%
10. dressing	4	2.0%

Table 2: Appreciation of the Qualities of Olive Oil.

Findings further show that the top-ranking quality attributed to olive oil was the common term *healthy* with a rate of occurrence of 17.9%. Four of the top-ten ranking items used were, however, found to be qualifiers sourced from the jargon of the scientific community: *monounsaturated* (16.3%), *antioxidant* (11.7%), *therapeutic* (9.2%) and *anti-inflammatory* (7.1%) with a significant total rate of occurrence (44.3%). This suggests that consumers were highly aware of the scientific benefits of olive oil, and that their popularised nutritional discourse was embedded with positive appreciation of its compositional qualities.

4.2. Alternatives to the Mediterranean Diet

1,336 instances (30% of the appreciation tokens) were found to express appreciation of dietary alternatives to the Mediterranean model with prevailing results for positive reactions to alternatives (36.2%), and negative valuation of different aspects related to the Mediterranean Diet (28%) as highlighted in bold in Table 3.

Dimension	Reaction	Composition	Valuation
Positive	483 (36.2%)	53 (3.9%)	187 (14.0%)
Negative	200 (15.0%)	39 (2.9%)	374 (28.0%)
Total (N=1,336)	683 (51.2%)	92 (6.8%)	561 (42.0%)

Table 3: Appreciation of Dietary Alternatives to the Mediterranean Model.

In detail, positive reactions to dietary alternatives were found to appreciate two main aspects, namely, a richer variety of choices and dietary choices due to climatic conditions. In the first case, appreciation of

other diets frequently encompassed references to the Mediterranean Diet as in Example (5):

- (5) *I like Asian food as well and the same benefits are available with more variety.*

In the above example, the adverb *as well* refers to the Mediterranean Diet as the primary source of dietary pleasure, while the modifier *same* acknowledges its primary benefits. The positive dimension of reaction towards *Asian food* is marked, however, by the noun *variety*, which is attributed major qualities through the use of the comparative adjective *more*.

In the second case, choices of dietary alternatives were found to relate to external factors, such as the environment as shown in Example (6):

- (6) *Mediterranean diets are not universally healthy. If you come from a culture that had adapted to a high fat diet, like our brothers in Alaska, you'd get sick and die from eating fresh greens all day.*

The negative adverb *not universally* introduces the perspective that *Mediterranean Diets* are not always appropriate for all people everywhere. In places (*Alaska*), where alternative diets (*high fat*) are the result of adaptation to local environments, the Mediterranean Diet may be organically inappropriate. While there is an apparent positive reaction to this kind of diet embedded in the nominal phrase *fresh greens*, the use of the if-clause *if you come from* introduces the constrained conditions which need to be observed to avoid the possible dangerous consequences announced in the main clause *you'd get sick and die*.

Similarly, negative valuation of alternative choices was mainly due to two practical factors, namely, the unavailability of Mediterranean ingredients and their expensive costs as respectively suggested in Examples (7) and (8):

- (7) *Any sort of diet like this is hard for many people who don't live near one of the major coasts or Chicago. Midwesterners, for instance, are cursed with very poor food choices in the smaller towns and cities.*

Example (7) suggests an implicit negative evaluation of dietary alternatives imposed by the attribute *hard*, which highlights the difficulty of having the freedom to consume Mediterranean food. More specifically, *Midwesterners* are passive agents, constrained (*cursed*) by their locations which are qualified as *smaller*, and thus, offer limited *food choices*. These

alternatives are negatively evaluated through the intensifier *very* and the qualifier *poor*.

- (8) *I'd still rather pay that much for veggies than eat processed junk, though. Heck, I'd even eat dirt or even not eat at all if I had to eat McDonald's or any other typical processed food.*

Example (8) suggests positive valuation of *veggies* as part of the Mediterranean Diet, despite their high cost compared to cheaper dietary alternatives. The nominal phrase *processed junk* and the possessive noun *McDonald's* clearly convey a negative valuation of this alternative, which is further intensified by the two extreme hypothetical actions: *eat dirt or even not eat at all*.

Thus, findings suggest that reaction to dietary alternatives was mainly positive due to the availability of different ethnic cuisines in USA which have similar nutritional benefits to those of the Mediterranean Diet. The other positive reaction identified referred to dietary alternatives which were considered necessary to adapt to the surrounding environment. On the other hand, the difficulty of finding Mediterranean foods together with the need to fight the unhealthy habit of consuming fast food were the two main aspects appreciated through negative valuation.

4.3. The Sociocultural Value of the Mediterranean Diet

The sociocultural value of the Mediterranean Diet was expressed through a total of 1,915 tokens (43%) with significant numbers for positive reaction (44.6%) and positive valuation (43.4%) as highlighted in bold in Table 4.

Dimension	Reaction	Composition	Valuation
Positive	854 (44.6%)	41 (2.1%)	832 (43.4%)
Negative	47 (2.4%)	23 (1.2%)	318 (16.6%)
Total (<i>N</i> =1,915)	901 (47.0%)	64 (3.3%)	1150 (60.0%)

Table 4: Appreciation of the Sociocultural Value of the Mediterranean Diet.

Hence, findings indicate a strong appreciation of the Mediterranean Diet, especially in terms of the positive reaction to the genuine taste as suggested in Example (9):

- (9) *there is nothing like slurping up the leftover juices from my Greek salad that I simply dressed with really good olive oil (mmmmm...juice of sun-ripened tomatoes, hint of feta, and olive oil.*

The positive reaction is signalled through the act of *slurping up* the tasty natural juice of a salad, whose attributes are *simply dressed* with *olive oil*, which is qualified as *really good*. The interjection *mmm* further conveys the sensory pleasure deriving from the natural quality of typical ingredients, such as cheese and *tomatoes* which are appreciated for their positive quality (*sun-ripened*) due to the Mediterranean climate.

Traditional values as part of the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean Diet were also positively appreciated as shown in Example (10):

- (10) *When I think of the Italian diet, I immediately picture pasta, salad, bread, vegetables and wine. I certainly don't think of McDonald's. The meal is very important to certain European cultures. It's an event and celebration of life. One chooses food for the day carefully.*

The consumer's spontaneous association with *the Italian diet* not only triggers images of its main ingredients, but more importantly, emphasises the sociocultural value attributed to food in the Mediterranean Basin through the nominal phrase *the meal is very important*. The intrinsic sociocultural value of *the meal* is positively appreciated as *an event* and a *celebration of life*. The value of this ritual is further mirrored in its consumers' reverential action of choosing food *carefully* on a temporal basis (*for the day*) to evoke the pleasure of freshness and genuineness.

On the whole, the analysis of appreciation revealed that online nutritional discourse on the Mediterranean Diet was popularised following the pattern summarised in Table 4.

Appreciation	Reaction	Composition	Valuation
MD Scientific Benefits (<i>N=1,206</i>)		<i>Positive (N=556)</i> + unsaturated fat + olive oil	
Alternative Diets (<i>N=1,336</i>)	<i>Positive (N=483)</i> + variety + environmental conditions		<i>Negative (N=374)</i> - availability/cost of MD food - junk and processed food
Sociocultural Value (<i>N=1,915</i>)	<i>Positive (N=854)</i> + sensory pleasure + natural quality		<i>Positive (N=832)</i> + cultural value of meals + freshness

Table 4: The Pattern of MD Appreciation in Online Nutritional Discourse.

Hence, consumers engaged in discussions on five key issues regarding the Mediterranean Diet, and mostly expressed their appreciation of its compositional qualities through an extensive use of positive adjectives (cf. Table 2).

Linguistic choices further suggest a positive appreciation of the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean Diet from different perspectives. The gradual loss of this dietary habit among young Mediterraneans is clearly emphasised in Example (11):

- (11) *Certainly the Mediterranean diet is "under attack" but this is happening due to entrance of our American "filth" standards in diet.... not anything fundamentally connected with the way people have eaten there for generations. As always, it's the kids who are adopting the consumption of the fast-food garbage we invented here.*

In the above example, appreciation is expressed as a cause-effect relationship based on the *entrance of our American "filth" standards in diet* which result in *the Mediterranean diet is "under attack"*. The sociocultural evaluation attributes a very negative qualifier "*filth*" to American dietary standards, and makes use of a military metaphor "*under attack*" to convey the devastating effect. This contrast is also shaped through the use of spatial deixis in *here/there*, which introduces the modern unhealthy practice of *the consumption of the fast-food garbage we invented here* as opposed to the healthy habit of *the way people have eaten there for generations*.

In this regard, consumers also expressed appreciation regarding the loss of values associated with the Mediterranean Diet as in Example (12):

- (12) *One of the simplest meals is one of the least expensive: Just combine pasta, chicken broth, garbanzo beans and oregano to make a very hearty soup, something like a pasta e fagioli. This so-called peasant food has proven for centuries to be filling and full of protein. And it's very hard to believe that Italians are turning their backs in droves on their traditional, beloved foodstuffs.*

The qualifiers *simplest*, *least expensive*, *very hearty* introduce the authentic value of the diet (*peasant food*), and of its nutritional benefits: *has proven for centuries to be filling and full of protein*. Yet, the consumer struggles to understand the reason why an indefinite massive number (*droves*) of Italians engage in the action of *turning their backs* to their food which is attributed the qualities of *traditional* and *beloved*.

Discussion of this unjustified behaviour is taken further within the same thread as in Example (13):

- (13) *You are so right! Obesity is certainly not epidemic in Italy as it is here. Italy is blessed with a beautiful environment ideal for vegetables, lean meats, grains and seafood. “American” penchant for fat junkie food is certainly infecting the rest of the world but with a down-turn in the economy, things may swing back to normal. Eat your vegetables!*

Positive appreciation of the dietary practice in Italy is introduced in Example (13) first by referring to the public health issue of obesity, which is qualified as *epidemic* in USA, but not in Italy. The use of the passive voice *is blessed* conveys a spiritual sense of Italy’s self-contained happiness. This is due to its natural environment, which is qualified as *beautiful* and *ideal* for healthy dietary practices. By contrast, the American inclination for junk food is the active agent responsible for *infecting the rest of the world*, while the qualifier *fat* is used as an antonym of *lean* to emphasise the positive cultural value of the Mediterranean Diet. A sense of nostalgia for traditional healthy dietary practices is connoted through a hypothetical economic cause-effect relationship (*a down-turn in the economy-things may swing back*). This particularly evokes the evaluation of the Mediterranean Diet as a *normal* healthy standard.

A sense of loss of true cultural values was also evident in consumers’ discussions as shown in Example (14):

- (14) *Just came back from Italy a week ago. They have fresh markets all over the place. Everything is by KILO(grams) and so tasty. Kids hang out at McDonald’s though! Pity they prefer it to mamma’s home-made delicacies. Guess it’s our fault in a way.*

The consumer’s first-hand experience in Italy is one of positive appreciation of the traditional cultural lifestyle (*fresh markets, mamma’s home-made delicacies*). It also captures the sense of dietary changes (*kids hang out at McDonald’s though!*), which is negatively appreciated (*our fault*) and emotionally loaded with disappointment (*pity they prefer*).

On the whole, linguistic choices of appreciation were found to evoke three main threats to the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean Diet: 1. the influence of the American dietary practice of consuming precooked food which is quickly prepared and cheap, rather than of nutritional value; 2. the risk of spread of social diseases, such as obesity, in the Mediterranean area due to this unhealthy dietary practice; 3. the unexplainable dietary change leading to the loss of nutritional traditions.

5. Concluding Remarks

In the Final Declaration of the 8th Meeting of the Ministers of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries of the thirteen CIHEAM member states¹¹ held in Istanbul in 2010, the Ministers recommend these countries to:

work to promote a healthy and sustainable regional food production system following the standards of the Mediterranean diet that foster the spirit of conviviality and favour consumption of local and seasonal products, particularly by encouraging regional networks to support public decisions for the protection, promotion and marketing of Mediterranean products and the development of environmentally sound agricultural production systems (p. 5)¹².

The Ministers' recommendation appears to be consistent with the results found in the current study on the language of appreciation used in online nutritional discourse as shown in Table 4. First, positive appreciation of the scientific benefits of the Mediterranean Diet was mainly expressed in terms of its compositional qualities as part of the *healthy and sustainable regional food production system following the standards of the Mediterranean diet*, recommended in the Final Declaration. Second, negative valuation of alternative choices was mainly due to the unavailability of Mediterranean food, which is in line with *the promotion and marketing of Mediterranean products* encouraged by the Ministers. Third, positive reaction towards the sociocultural value of the Mediterranean Diet was recorded consistently with the urge to *favour consumption of local and seasonal products*. Moreover, positive valuation was based on the appreciation of the traditional values of the diet (e.g. *the meal is an event and celebration of life* in Example 10), which is consistent with the statement *the standards of the Mediterranean diet that foster the spirit of conviviality* in the Final Declaration. In addition, appreciation was also found to convey a sense of loss of the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean Diet that requires *the protection of Mediterranean products*. Ultimately, the results of this research study highlight how online nutritional discourse recorded between the years 2011-2014 popularises similar crucial issues tackled in the 2010 Final Declaration through the language of appreciation of both the Mediterranean nutritional approach and its cultural lifestyle.

¹¹ The International Centre for Advanced Mediterranean Agronomic Studies (CIHEAM) is composed of Albania, Algeria, Egypt, France, Greece, Italy, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Portugal, Spain, Tunisia and Turkey).

¹² www.ciheam.org/images/CIHEAM/PDFs/Cooperation/final_declaration_istanbul_en.pdf.

References

- Andrade, Jason / Mohamed, Aneez / Frohlich, Jiri / Ignaszewski, Andrew 2009. Ancel Keys and the lipid hypothesis: From early breakthroughs to current management of dyslipidemia. *British Columbia Medical Journal*, 51(2), 66-72.
- Arnaiz, Mabel Gracia 2001. Nutritional Discourse in Food Advertising: Between Persuasion and Cacophony. *Anthropology of Food*, Issue 0, <<http://aof.revues.org/989>>.
- Bach-Faig, Anna / Berry, Elliot M. / Lairon, Denis / Reguant, Joan/ Trichopoulou, Antonio/ Dernini, Sandro/ Medina, F. Xavier / Battino, Maurizio/ Belahsena, Rekia/ Miranda, Gemma/ Serra-Majem, Lluís 2011. Mediterranean Diet Pyramid Today. Science and Cultural Updates. *Public Health Nutrition*, 14(12A), 2274-2284.
- Belahsena, Rekia / Rguibia, Mohamed 2006. Population health and Mediterranean diet in southern Mediterranean countries. *Public Health Nutrition*, 9(8A), 1130-1135.
- Dernini, Sandro / Berry, Elliot M. / Bach-Faig, Anna / Belahsena, Rekia/ Donini, Lorenzo M / Lairon, Denis / Serra-Majem, Lluís / Cannella, Carlo 2012. A dietary model constructed by scientists: The Mediterranean diet. In: *Mediterra 2012*. Paris: CIHEAM-Sciences Po Les Presses, 71-88.
- Keys, Ancel 1980. *Seven Countries: A multivariate analysis of death and coronary heart disease*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- 1995. Mediterranean diet and public health: Personal reflections. *The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 61, 1321-1323.
- Keys, Ancel / Keys, Margaret 1975. *Eat well and stay well, the Mediterranean way*, New York: Doubleday.
- Lachance, Paul A. / Fisher, Michele C. 2005. Reinvention of the Food Guide Pyramid to promote Health. In Taylor Steve (ed). *Advances in Food and Nutrition Research*, Vol. 49. San Diego, CA and London: Elsevier Academic Press, 2-39.
- Manios, Yannis/ Detopoulou Vivian / Visioli, Francesco / Galli Claudio 2006. Mediterranean diet as a nutrition education and dietary guide: misconceptions and the neglected role of locally consumed foods and wild green plants. *Forum of Nutrition*, 59,154-170.
- Martin, James R. 2000. Beyond exchange: APPRAISAL systems in English. In Hunston, Susan / Thompson, Geoffrey (eds). *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 142-175.

- Martin, James R. / Rose, David 2003. *Working with Discourse—meaning beyond the clause*. London: Continuum.
- Martin, James R./ White, Peter R. R. 2005. *The Language of Evaluation: appraisal in English*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pérez-López, Faustino R/ Chedraui, Peter / Haya, Javier /Cuadros, José L. 2009. Effects of the Mediterranean diet on longevity and age-related morbid conditions. *Maturitas*, 64(2),67-79.
- Renna, Massimiliano/ Rinaldi, Vito A. / Gonnella, Maria 2014. The Mediterranean Diet between traditional foods and human health: The culinary example of Puglia (Southern Italy). *International Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science*, 1-9.
- Willett, Walter/ Sacks, Frank / Trichopoulou, Antonia/ Drescher, Greg/ Ferro-Luzzi, Anna/ Helsing, Elisabet/ Trichopoulou, Dimitrios 1995. Mediterranean Diet Pyramid: A Cultural Model for Healthy Eating. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 61(6), 1402S-1406S.
- UNESCO 2012. *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity 2010-2011*. Paris: UNESCO.
- U.S. Department of Agriculture and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. 2010. *Dietary Guidelines for Americans, 7th Edition*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Appendix 1- Self-Study (CEF B1-B2)

A. Go to Oldways Preservation and Exchange Trust webpage:
<http://oldwayspt.org/resources/heritage-pyramids/why-pyramids-are-important>

Read the webpage and answer the following questions:

1. Which three elements are important for good dietary guidance?
2. Which element is the most important? Why?
3. Which is the best element to show a balanced, total diet? Why?
4. How many food pyramids has Oldways created?
5. What different eating patterns do these represent?

B. Now go to Oldways webpage on the Traditional Med Diet:
<http://oldwayspt.org/resources/heritage-pyramids/mediterranean-diet-pyramid/traditional-med-diet>

Read the information and decide whether the following statements are True (T) or False (F):

1. Grains, vegetables, and fruits are essential sources of vitamins, minerals, energy, antioxidants, and fiber. T F
2. Refining and processing grains adds nutrients. T F
3. Vegetables are usually dressed with butter in the Mediterranean. T F
4. Whole fresh fruit is ever-present in the Mediterranean. T F
5. Extra virgin olive oil is highest in health-promoting fats, phytonutrients and other important micronutrients. T F

C. Download the Mediterranean Diet – Summary & Chart at:
<http://www.herringtonmc.nhs.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Mediterranean-Diet.pdf>

Read the section on Adopting the Mediterranean Diet -general principles

1. tick the principles that you already practise;
2. download the chart and record your food consumption for one week;
3. bring your chart to class.

Appendix 2- Classroom Activity (CEF B1-B2)

A. In pairs, discuss your good/bad dietary habits recorded in your chart.

Talk about:

1. the food you consumed most/least;
2. the food you should/shouldn't eat more/less;
3. whether your diet follows the Mediterranean standard.

B. Read the text on *Med Diet and Health*:

<http://oldwayspt.org/resources/heritage-pyramids/mediterranean-diet-pyramid/med-diet-health>

1. Complete the following chart with information from the text

1. Name of the scientist who discovered the MD	
2. Time/Place of Research	
3. N° People/Countries Involved in the Study	
4. Research findings	
5. Med Diet's Health Benefits	
6. Scientific studies on these benefits	

2. Write a short report (200-250 words) using the above chart;
3. Prepare a powerpoint presentation on your report to deliver in class during the next lesson.

C. Oral Presentation

4. Deliver your presentation in class;
5. Evaluate your peers' presentations based on the following criteria:
 - Language: accuracy and fluency;
 - Content: points covered, exactness of information;
 - Effectiveness: communication skills, originality.

CHAPTER NINE

EUNITED IN DIVERSITY: TURKISH WOMEN BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY

MARIA CRISTINA AIEZZA

1. Introduction and Background

The European Union project of political cooperation goes together with the effort to create a cultural integration, in order to turn the 'European idea' into reality (Shore 2000, xi). The EU tries therefore to bring peoples closer by promoting the emergence of a common identity with shared history, symbols, organisations and values.

The ongoing process of Enlargement to the South Eastern area of the continent increases this need to shape a sense of 'cultural match' (Cortell and Davis 2000) among the participants in the organisation. The issue becomes particularly pressing when new memberships are likely to raise the opposition from old member States perceiving 'outsiders' as a threat to the union's stability, security, and prosperity (Mattli and Plümper in Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2005, 54).

EUROPA website (www.europa.eu) represents one of the instruments of the EU promotional discourse. It is an interactive platform for the access to European institutions, legislations, publications and a virtual space of debate. Through its European Commission Audiovisual Services, the EU provides photos, videos and news services mainly addressed to media professionals, covering information on the activities carried out by the European institutions.

The controversial issue of the Turkish membership has been in the agenda for over fifty years. Started in 2005, accession negotiations have been hindered by the country's shortcomings in the fields of politics, economy, democracy and human rights (Müftüler-Baç 1998, 240). Progress has been complicated by many issues, mainly linked to the

authoritarianism of its Islamist government, which emerged clearly in the conflict over Cyprus island¹, in the harsh repression by Turkish police of Gezi Park demonstrations and in the restriction of the freedom of expression on the Internet².

The slow pace of Turkey's progress towards EU membership may actually suit some EU governments (Archick and Morelli 2014, 12). The perception of Turks as the 'Others' of Europe seems in fact to be still embedded in the European mind-set, questioning Turkey's eligibility based on religious grounds (Müftüler-Baç 1998, 243). Turkish identity is actually characterised by a continuous struggle between a secular, Western-oriented discourse and traditional, Islamic and oriental formulations. Modernisation is perceived to be mainly a process of Europeanisation (Müftüler-Baç 1998, 240, 242).

It is fundamental that European policies of Enlargement be supported and diffused by the EU to overcome oppositions. As a candidate member, the Republic of Turkey is therefore the object of a media campaign aimed at testifying the progress obtained in the adaptation to European standards.

Figure 1 shows a frame from "So similar, so different, so European" (European Union 2012³), a promotional clip displaying the beauties and modernity of South-Eastern Europe. Its images exploit the surprising similarities between the old member States and the candidates to accession, constructing a 'Them' as akin to 'Us' in order to make new adhesions more acceptable. For instance, with its skyscrapers, its lights and busy roads, Istanbul Levent business district could be mistaken for a German city:

¹ For further information on the Cyprus question, see:

http://ec.europa.eu/cyprus/turkish_cypriots/index_en.htm.

² For further data on Turkey's progress towards EU membership, please refer to the last European Commission progress reports: *Turkey. 2013 Progress Report* (http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/package/brochures/turkey_2013.pdf) and *Turkey. 2014 Progress Report* (http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2014/20141008-turkey-progress-report_en.pdf).

³ The video can be watched at:

http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/news_corner/multimedia-library/video-galleries/index_en.htm.



Figure 1. Turkey in the video “So similar, so different, so European”

The audio-visual documents provided by the EU highlight Turkey’s economic and societal developments, the projects for reconstruction and for social support, its artistic and touristic attractions, the modernity of its architecture.

Since gender equality is a policy priority of the EU, the Europeanisation of Turkey is also enacted by means of the representation of a European Turkish woman. However, women’s rights still constitute a problematic area in the State: domestic violence, honour killings, early and forced marriages remain today a serious concern (European Commission 2014). Patriarchy was evident in the words of the Islamist Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç, who recently complained about the moral corruption of the country, warning women not to laugh in public—thus provoking a defiant reaction on the social media, rapidly flooded with pictures of women smiling and laughing (Hopkins 31/07/2014).

In this context, the safeguarding of women’s rights, the female participation in the job market and the exhibition of a female model not conforming to the tradition of familiar and religious oppression appear crucial in the EU propaganda for Turkey’s membership.

2. Aims and Purposes

As a bridge over the Mediterranean Sea, suspended between East and West, Turkey reflects the coexistence of old national heritage and new cultural models.

This study discusses how the EU promotional multimodal discourse represents linguistically and iconically this interplay. By investigating

which cultural aspects and values are foregrounded and which are downplayed in the representation of Turkish women, this paper aims at highlighting the communicative strategies carried out by the European Union for consensus formation about enlargement policies.

3. Methods

This chapter focuses on two promotional videos issued by the European Commission promoting Turkey's accession to Europe through gender issues. "Turkish women—Between tradition and modernity"⁴ is a video news release, a segment created to inform and shape the opinions in the form of a documentary. This European Commission news report was made available to television channels on the occasion of Turkey's admission to negotiations for the accession (which started on October 3rd 2005). The second video considered for analysis, "Focus on Southeast Europe: Turkey—Gender Equality"⁵, was issued some years later, in 2009, in the European Commission Enlargement multimedia gallery section.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) seems to offer the proper instruments to unravel which choices are made in the representational process in a text, studying:

what is included and what is excluded, what is made explicit or left implicit, what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded, what is thematized and what is unthematized, what process types and categories are drawn upon to represent events and so on (Fairclough 1995, 104).

CDA represents an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse, mainly by understanding language as a form of social practice and showing how it is shaped by relations of power and ideologies (Fairclough 1992, 12). The concept of ideology itself can be conceived as "meaning in the service of power", as "the ways meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds, from everyday linguistic utterances to complex images and texts" (Thompson 1990, 7). The researcher is called to consider the social contexts within which symbolic forms are employed and deployed and to determine whether such forms establish or sustain relations of domination (Thompson 1990, 7).

⁴ The video is available at:

<http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/player.cfm?sitelang=en&ref=I049382>.

⁵ The video can be viewed at:

http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/news_corner/multimedia-library/video-galleries/index_en.htm.

More specifically, Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) can help investigate how ideology is conveyed through the different semiotic modes. MDA is an emerging paradigm in discourse studies which regards texts as multimodal phenomena, examining language in combination with other means, such as images, gesture, music and sound (O'Halloran in Hyland and Paltridge 2011, 120). The study of how visual elements and other semiotic resources express meanings and relations and carry out cultural value and significance takes into consideration the invaluable reference offered in the extensive accounts by Kress and van Leeuwen (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001; van Leeuwen 2005).

The present investigation focuses on relevant excerpts from the videos, accompanied by an identifier number and the indication of the starting minute. Such sections are analysed at both verbal and visual level, by connecting the stories and opinions represented to the historical and social context and interpreting them in the light of the EU promotional discourse.

4. The MCDA framing of the data

4.1. “Turkish women—Between tradition and modernity”

This video (lasting 10.15 minutes) collects accounts by five Turkish women, a businesswoman, a DJ, a trade unionist, a police chief and a member of the European Parliament, alternated with a voiceover.

Through the use of the two antithetical nouns (“tradition”/“modernity”), the title promises us an overview of the female condition in a journey through different worlds, diverse life experiences, revealing the oppositions in the country or the so-called ‘two Turkeys’. The first sentences of commentary seem to suggest the same idea:

[1] Bridging Asia and Europe, Turkey is a country full of contradictions. It is split between tradition and modernity. A split which can be seen clearly in the lives of Turkish women. (00.03)

The beginning of the video recalls Turkey’s function of connection (“Bridging”) between two continents, illustrated by the image of the bridge over the Bosphorus. The contrast between two realities also emerges through the quotation of the opposition in the title (“between tradition and modernity”) and the words “contradictions” and “split”. The latter, repeated using the most direct form of lexical cohesion, seems to continue emphasising the clash of cultures and lifestyles.

The antithesis is also revealed visually, through the coexistence in the city of Istanbul of ancient (the mosque) and modern (the bridge) architecture. The two worlds are even merged in the wonderful reflection of the mosque in the glasses of a skyscraper (Figure 2). The 'then' and the 'now' overlap, sharing the same visual surface, their spatial co-presence becoming evident at a glance to the eyes of the beholder (van Leeuwen 2005, 13, 219-229).



Figure 2. Reflection of a mosque in a skyscraper

In another shot, we find ourselves behind two elderly men sitting on a bench chatting. Opposite, a poster depicts an icon of modernity, a female model wearing men's clothes:



Figure 3 A poster showing a female model in menswear

The text starts highlighting the progress achieved by the Republic of Turkey in the field of equality between the genders:

[2] Since the days of Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the modern Turkish Republic, women have had equal legal rights. They even won the right to vote before women in France. (00.14)

We see a monument to the memory of Mustafa Kemal, the father of “modern” Turkey, commonly remembered as the defender of westernisation. The reference implies that the country’s transformation is not a recent event, but the result of a historical process begun in 1923. “Since” then, Turkey has recognised the equality between the genders. The adjective “legal” narrows, however, the area of use of the previous “equal”: the comment omits to mention that, with the constitution of the Kemalist Republic, women acquired a formal recognition, but not the guarantee of a genuine non-discriminatory treatment. Their voting rights were granted in 1934, “even”, ten years before those of French women. Yet, the video hides the paternalistic nature of the concession and the more moral than political role assigned to women in the secularisation of the State (Kaser 2008, 152).

Old and new worlds coexist in the streets, symbolised by the girls in fashionable clothes strolling by some ladies wearing the traditional costumes and hidden by the Islamic veil. Westernised citizen women—especially a girl walking hastily towards us, wearing a plunging neckline and with a mobile phone hanging from her neck—are shot from a frontal angle, which tells us: “what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved in” (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 143).



Figure 4. ‘Modern’ and ‘traditional’ women in the streets of Istanbul

Veiled women are instead commonly shown facing backwards, implying a, perhaps symbolic, exclusion of or distancing from the old female model. Moving to Taksim Square, the video focuses, in fact, on a middle-aged veiled woman (Figure 5). Shot from a back view, she walks slowly among a flock of pigeons, a traditional image in sharp contrast with the emancipated female model of Figure 4.



Figure 5. A woman walking in Taksim Square

The gap between the present and the past woman still exists:

[3] But it's a different story in some rural areas. There, tradition and family dominate (00.24)

The place deictic “there”, functioning as an anaphoric demonstrative reference (Halliday 2004), encodes spatial distance between the modern Turkey and the rural part of the country. Yet, it also suggests the distinction between the Europeaness of Turkey, evident in the metropolitan town of Istanbul, and the non-Europeaness limited to “some” remote areas.

Moreover, the premises created by the previous exaltation of legislative achievements are here contrasted, countered (Martin and White 2005). The expression “tradition and family dominate” would require further disambiguation, clarifying the role of religion, patriarchy and unwritten laws in relegating women to a position of inferiority in society.

4.1.1. The businesswoman

We find ourselves immersed in the centre of Istanbul, among kebab shops, fishmongers and bakers. Then we travel by car along busy streets and modern buildings. We meet the first interviewee, a middle aged blonde lady in a black suit:

[4] one of the country's most powerful businesswomen. Güler Sabancı is the head of Sabancı Holding, a huge conglomerate dealing in everything from food to banking and cars. (00.58)

The use of the plural (“businesswomen”) would imply the presence of a significant group of female managers in the country, but the text does not reveal the actual low number of women in leading positions. Ms Sabancı is clearly not a common person: she is a successful entrepreneur, rich and famous, ranked by Forbes as the 27th most powerful woman in the world in 2009 (Forbes 2009).

We see the lady watching a video sponsoring the company. While some slides about the history of the family business scroll, we hear:

[5] Güler's uncle chose her to succeed him at the head of the family empire rather than any of his male relatives. (01.11)

It is remarkable that a woman is the head of the second largest industrial and financial group in the country and that her uncle preferred her as his successor—presumably to other possible male candidates.

The actual participation of women in the work and school systems is then revealed by some statistics, which, however, pass almost unnoticed:

[6] In Turkey, less than a third of women are officially in work and one in four women is unable to read or write. (01.20)

The country still has serious problems in the inclusion of women in the labour market and in female education and the adverb “formally” seems to allude to the plague of undeclared work.

Ms Sabancı (Figure 6) is shown while chairing a meeting and giving instructions to male employees. This is one of several visual stereotypes (van Leeuwen in van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001, 95) present in the videos analysed displaying typical exemplifications of female power.



Figure 6. Güler Sabancı chairing a meeting

The businesswoman is presented as a model in opposition with the problematic situation of the backward part of Turkey:

[7] Güler Sabancı represents another facet of the country, a growing group of educated, modern working Turkish women. (01.27)

The adjective “growing” suggests that the number of women included in schooling and employment is still limited. Progress is, nevertheless, taking place and this is the aspect the EU wishes to communicate.

The commentator conveys what appears to be Ms Sabancı’s position:

[8] In her eyes, the Western Europeans who see Turkey as an overpopulated, backward country, are not seeing the full picture. (01.36)

A common technique that will return several times in the video appears here: some observations are presented in an intermediate form between the explicitness and the implicitness through a prepositional phrase, such as “In her eyes”, “In her opinion” (Halliday 1985, 333). Yet, the opinion reported as expressed by the interviewee, can easily be identified as the vision the EU intends to spread.

The entrepreneur then intervenes, addressing Europeans:

[9] “First of all to our friends in Europe who are worried about Turkey’s accession to Europe—the good news is, we are not coming tomorrow, there is another 10 years at minimum, so they should not worry about that.” (01.48)

Ms Sabancı's tone and expression are rather ironic. She points out the fear the EU members ("who are worried") have of Turkey's accession but (through a positive adjective in the phrase "the good news") she reassures the Europeans ("they"—an exclusive pronoun—"should not worry") that the entry of Turkey is still far away. By employing the inclusive pronoun "we", the speaker creates an identification with her Nation, which remains something distinct from Europe (see e.g. Cheney 1983). Güler Sabancı's direct appeal to the European population also proves an awareness of her power arising from economic strength.

The voice-over presents the opposition between the growing sectors of industry and services and the traditional agriculture. Similarly, the images tell the contrast between the textile industry Sun Textile in Smyrna and the production of cotton in the region of Söke. A textile worker is shown, first in long shot, then in close-up, which expresses, according to Kress and van Leeuwen, a personal proximity between observer and observed (1996, 136). The young woman represents a model of integration in the European community: she preserves the traditional Turkish culture, wearing the Islamic headscarf but, being a modern working woman, she is closer to European citizens. The female farm workers (Figure 7) occupy instead a totally distinct territory and are implicitly presented as belonging to another order, different from the modern citizen woman (van Leeuwen 2005, 13, 15). Since they are part of the backward side of the country, symbolised by the cotton picking still performed manually, they are pictured as distant from the viewer (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 138), and represented from a back or side view, their heads bowed and covered, making it difficult to discern their faces.



Figure 7. Cotton harvest in Söke

The commentary points out that the entrance of the Turkish State will give Europe an efficient production and a broad market. Then images and words show Turkey as a young country: crowds of young people wearing Western clothes in the streets of Istanbul; a boy and a girl travelling together on a tram; a giant screen advertising Tarkan's concert.

The partnership with the EU will prove to be favourable for Turkey:

[10] Europe will bring social stability to Turkey. (02.37)

The sentence exemplifies what Halliday (1985) defines as a process of doing, with "Europe" as the agent, "will bring" as the material process, "social stability" as the purpose, "Turkey" as the beneficiary. By predicting future improvements, the video implicitly admits that unsolved questions still trouble Turkish society.

A quick shot shows three veiled women in front of a restaurant of the multinational fast food chain *Burger King*. The black chador seems to represent here a 'disturbing' element to the Western eye, exploited for its connotation (see e.g. van Leeuwen 2005, 37-38; van Leeuwen 2013) of female oppression and passivity but also as an element causing fear and suspicion. The possible bearers of social *instability* are here shown as peacefully integrating into a setting which has experienced a rapid modernisation. However, the commentator does not spend any words to reflect upon the striking contrasts between Islamic traditions and globalisation.



Figure 8. Veiled women in front of a Burger King restaurant

We then go back to the office of Güler Sabancı, who talks again about the project of Turkish accession, desirable especially for EU's attention to human rights.

4.1.2 The DJ

We are in Northern Istanbul. It is noon, lunchtime for the employees of the headquarters of the Sabancı Holding, with its modern buildings such as the twin towers. We are then virtually transported in the crowded streets of the Old City, among shops and stalls. We see the faithful approaching the mosque for the *Salatu-z-zuhr*, the noon prayer. The two coexistent realities are even juxtaposed in the soundtrack, when the *adhan*, the song calling to prayer, merges with the notes of the music mixed by a DJ. The country is therefore presented initially through 'ethnic' sounds, exotic for the European audience, emphasising the image of a non-Western country. Yet, since the point of the video is to establish that Turkey is 'just like' the other EU members (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 184-185), its modernity is exhibited through the club music played by a female DJ.

The young girl, Ilgin Çimşek, works at night and wakes up at this time to practice her pieces. We are shown first her hands with red-painted nails moving between the record player and the mixer. In her room, with posters on the walls and a computer on her desk, we meet Ilgin, a beautiful brunette, wearing sports clothes and a T-shirt with the writing "Girl DJ rocks".

Her case, however, is clearly not representative of the Turkish feminine universe:

[11] Ilgin is one of just four female DJs in Turkey. (03.35)

She certainly belongs to an open-minded family that, as the commentator tells us, though at first doubtful, allowed her to study in Paris and to fulfil her dreams. However, the girl seems to be affected by the prejudices the population could have against a woman working in nightclubs:

[12] "It's not a bad thing to work in a club. If you trust yourself, if your parents trust you, it's OK, it's not a problem [...]." (04.00)

We can deduce that Ilgin fears that the public could consider her work shameful for a girl, "a bad thing", "a problem". Instead of exalting her love for music, the DJ seems to need to justify herself and assert her morality mentioning her parents' support.

She reveals her desire to become a producer and her aspirations are exploited as representative of the new generations' wishes:

[13] Like many other modern Turkish young people, Ilgin is highly ambitious. (04.14)

She is then shown in close-up while putting some make-up on, an action emphasising her femininity, even though many could consider her work as masculine. We follow her while she gets ready, walks through the streets wearing fashionable clothes and enters a music store.

Meanwhile, the commentary reports some thoughts ascribed to the young woman:

[14] Ilgin has never felt any big differences in her professional or social life from any other young people in Western Europe. She knows though that in many rural areas of Turkey young women have a completely different lifestyle. She's unhappy that it's this one sided picture of traditional Turkey which is the one usually portrayed in the Western media. (04.35)

Ilgin's experience is here presented as comparable to the life of any other young girl in Western Europe, suggesting that she actually is European. Again, as in [8], the opinion of the EU is attributed to the interviewee, who affirms to be sadly aware of the different situation of rural Turkey—which is, however, not further described—but to dislike the fact that this part of the country may be chosen as representative of the whole nation.

4.1.3 The Kurdish writer and trade unionist

We are now sitting in a car. The driver is a dark-haired lady, wearing make-up and dressed casually: Yaşar Seyman, a writer, journalist and trade unionist. We meet her in her flat while performing another stereotypically male action, drinking beer—when the Islamic religion would prohibit the consumption of alcoholic beverage.



Figure 9. Yaşar Seyman drinking beer

[15] Yaşar Seyman is another woman who wants to change the male dominated image of her country. She's ready to take on Western prejudices and the traditional mindset of Turkish society. She is one of the rare female trade unionists in the country, in addition to being a journalist, writer and women's rights' defender. (04.58)

It seems strange that a trade unionist's primary objective is to change just the "image" of a sexist Turkey, instead of contrasting a patriarchal *reality*, and to fight "Western prejudices", as if the non-compliance of women's rights was an invention of the foreign media. The video mentions only at the end, among other aims, what should be the main focus of her commitment: the generation of a radical cultural change. Ms Seyman's story is clearly not illustrative of the ordinary life of women in Turkey: "she is one of the rare female trade unionists".

We then move to her study, where she shows us a book she wrote, reads a copy of the "Bir Gün" newspaper to which she contributes and then works at the computer. Meanwhile, the voice-over provides what are presented as her views on women's rights in Turkey:

[16] In her opinion, since the late 90s the Turkish women's movement has brought about important changes in society with women's rights moving closer to international standards. However, many rights exist on paper but are yet to be put into practice. (05.18)

Through her perspective, the EU highlights here the advances in the legislation protecting women's rights. Again, the video presents first the

positive information, countered only afterwards by the revelation of current limitations.

In her office, Ms Seyman explains the causes of the difficulties that women meet in the assertion of their rights:

[17] “In Turkey there is not a problem with laws. But it’s the unwritten laws, the burden of tradition and a male dominated society that are the greatest obstacles for women. So the problem really lies in men’s power, tradition, religion and unwritten laws” (05.38)

While in [15] male domination in society might seem a mere Western stereotype, in [17] Yaşar Seyman defines it as an “obstacle”, a “problem”, together with traditional beliefs influencing gender relationships.

The woman’s ethnic origin is also used by the EU to communicate the progress of Turkey in the field of minority rights:

[18] Several years ago, this CD could have never been part of Yaşar’s collection. Being of Kurdish origin she enjoys music, theatre and radio broadcasts in her own language—something banned until 1991. But she says that there is still a long way to go. (05.59)

The woman appears finally free to make use of multimedia and artistic works in her mother tongue, but the reality differs from this optimistic representation, prerogatives and freedoms of the Kurds not being fully insured in Turkey⁶. The need for further achievements in the field of the rights of the Kurdish population is, nevertheless, presented in the video as a personal opinion of the journalist (“she says”).

4.1.4 The police chief

We accompany afterwards a new interviewee, a woman in uniform: Özcan Çalışkan.

[19] Özcan Çalışkan is a defender of laws. She is a police chief in Turkey’s capital Ankara—responsible for 300 people and 75 local police units. Her father disapproved of Özcan’s plans to study French. So she became a policewoman, something she’s never regretted. (06.15)

⁶ For further information on Turkey’s progress towards negotiations in 2005, see e.g. the online report of the European Commission of 8/11/2006, *EU Enlargement: Key findings of progress reports on candidate countries: Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Turkey* available at: http://eu-un.europa.eu/articles/en/article_6437_en.htm.

Özcan is not just a worker and a policewoman, she has also great responsibilities: she is a police chief in Ankara, the capital city, and coordinates a great number of subordinates. However, the link between her father's opposition to the study of French and her decision to pursue a military career is quite ambiguous.

Ms Çalişkan discusses her views on women's issues in Turkey:

[20] "About 10% of police officers are women. That's why we don't have any difficulties in the organisation and we are not treated any differently. And legally that's the case in almost all sectors of the society." (06.36)

The mere presence of women in the police force is for the interviewee sufficient to prevent discrimination. Nevertheless, the adverb "legally", limits once more gender equality to the legal field. Such an observation would require further details or accounts of experiences of crimes suffered by women, which are missing in the video.

The policewoman is recorded while checking documents and inspecting prisons, and her profession is clearly exploited to introduce another problematic issue:

[21] Turkey has made significant progress in reducing police brutality and violence. According to Özcan Çalişkan, the EU helped in contributing to the improvement of police working methods. "The police, specially its criminal units, have seriously invested to ensure that cases are solved on the delivery of proof rather than on the basis of pure suspicion, as was common practice before [...]" (07.04)

Through the voice of the interviewee ("According to Özcan Çalişkan"), the EU also takes in fact the credit for the advances in the investigative system.

4.1.5 The Euro-MP's voice

In the last part of the video, we move into the heart of Europe, in the Turkish district in Brussels. We see Turkish shops and restaurants, veiled women, men with moustaches.

A young woman walks merrily towards us. She is Emine Bozkurt, a Dutch Member of the European Parliament of Turkish origin and defender of women's rights. Once more, the commentary stresses that the view of a backward and traditional Turkey is a partial representation:

[22] The image many Europeans have of Turks is that they're insular, religious and culturally conservative. This superficial picture bothers Emine Bozkurt [...]. (08.14)

We find ourselves at a table of a bar, sitting opposite Ms Bozkurt, who admits the contrasting nature of Turkey's society:

[23] "Turkey is a country with many faces. You have very modern cities, even more modern than many European cities. But you have also the rural part of Turkey. And you see these different faces in the Turkish community too." (08.27)

The antithesis between urban and rural landscapes in the country is therefore also reflected in the distinction between the progressive and conservative mind-sets of the population ("many faces", "different faces").

We follow the woman on her way to the European Parliament and then we meet her in her office. We hear that Ms Bozkurt drafted a resolution of the European Parliament to defend the rights of women in the fields of violence, education, participation in work and politics.

The prospect of an accession to the European Union gave a boost to the legislative reform, as the Euro-MP states:

[24] "I think that the talks about the membership of the EU worked as a pressure cooker. In this way I think lot of things went faster and faster and also helped—because the EU has a lot of attention to human rights." (09.20)

The EU is represented as a force pressing Turkey to adapt to international standards of protection of human rights. The intervention of the Union appears again fundamental to the positive developments taking place in the country.

We see Ms Bozkurt attending a session of the Committee on the Rights of Women in the European Parliament. Meanwhile, in a nightclub in Istanbul, Ilgin Çimşek is starting her work as a DJ and ends the video giving us a smile.

4.2. "Focus on Southeast Europe: Turkey—Gender Equality"

Some of the topics missing in the 2005 video are instead covered in the 2009 "Focus on Southeast Europe: Turkey—Gender Equality". The latter is a shorter document, lasting 4.58 minutes and collecting, again, interviews with five women and comments expressed through a voice-

over. The interviewees include: a former victim of abuse, now member of the Counselling Centre for Women in Van, a further member of the Centre, a student at the Centre; a businesswoman and a member of Women Entrepreneurs Association (KAGIDER).

The video also begins with a view of Istanbul, with its Bosphorus Bridge, its crowded streets, its monuments. The voice-over comments on the prospect of Turkey's accession to the EU, soon quoting gender issues as part of the agenda.

[25] There are examples of women in high levels of business, academia, the civil service and politics, however gender equality remains a major challenge in Turkey. With one in four women in the labour force, the rate of women's employment is the lowest among the developed countries that make up the OECD. Despite efforts, much more needs to be done as regards access to education. Political representation of women at both national and regional levels is very low. (00.19)

Again, the EU starts discussing the feminine condition through the presentation of some exceptional cases, then countering the premises with the more general data about women's inclusion in the education, work and politics.

Different female models are also shown in the course of the video, but the analysis of some formal visual aspects reveal a focus on symbols of westernisation, like the girls wearing suits, representing the working woman, shot from a frontal angle while walking towards the camera or those working at the computer and framed in close-up.

Unsolved problems like domestic violence, honour killings and early and forced marriages are here acknowledged. The video situates such issues in the most underdeveloped areas of the country, which would appear therefore, again, as 'not yet' Europe. Crimes against women are narrated through the story of a former victim of abuse, Zübeyde Ürgün. Traumatic events are, however, told without judgements on the perpetrators of violence and on the decision imposed by the family, thus avoiding overt condemnation:

[26] She was forced into an arranged marriage at the age of 16. Having been raped by a relative of her father's when she was 9, marriage was seen by the family as the only way to save her honour. (01.03)

The victim is represented in the passive voice as the recipient of paedophile abuse and of family choices. In the words of Mrs Ürgün herself, female degradation is represented in a causal-conditional relation

(Halliday 2004, 414), as a cause-&-effect process, shifting the focus from what has been done to the woman to what she had been doing (Tranchese and Zollo 2013, 145-146):

[27] “If a girl has lost her virginity and this comes out, the girl is either killed or forced to marry an old man or a widower with children. By losing her virginity, she becomes a second-class woman.” (01.15)

The woman is then shown while talking to a group of children and then walking in the streets, followed by male gazes. She enters a second-hand clothes shop, showing the assistant two old family pictures, both depicting a man with children. The male figure is accompanied in one by a woman wearing a chador and in the other by two women covered by a niqab. Held in female hands, these memories are presented from an oblique, detached point of view, and looked at from a meditative distance (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 147) (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Zübeyde Ürgün shows old family pictures

The scene remains uncommented in the voice-over. However, the sentence suggests Zübeyde may be one of the women:

[28] Today she is a mother of six children and she wants her daughters to have a very different life than hers. (01.35)

The old photos seem to represent the traditional patriarchal scheme dominating her past life, an oppression which she does not want to perpetuate on her daughters.

Zübeyde is shown while distributing leaflets to sympathetic women and reading announcements in the microphone on board a van. She is in fact now a women's rights activist, helping other victims through the Counselling Centre for Women in Van, offering them legal, psychological and practical assistance.

Like the previous video, "Turkey—Gender Equality" also stresses the role of the European Union, highlighting its financial contribution to the Centre and the influence of the accession process on the establishment of the committee for equal opportunities. As reminded by a second member of the Centre, Zozan Ozgokce, Turkey is now concerned with women issues, having included gender equality in the Constitution prior to accession to negotiations.

The battle against women's illiteracy is another crucial issue considered in the video. We see a female adult school class in a small village, where women of different ages are shown while learning to read and write. They are all wearing colourful and beautifully decorated scarves, an exotic but pleasant view to the Western eye, in sharp contrast with the darkness of chadors.

The students react to the filming with facial expressions ranging from satisfaction to unease, modesty and distrust. In close up, a middle-aged woman appears luminous and happy:



Figure 11. A student of a female adult school

In this sequence, she first looks at the camera with watery eyes, showing her pride for the results obtained at her age, to then turn her gaze away, revealing a traditional modesty.

Hereafter is also the testimonial of a young student, Nürâh Durna, about her schooling experience:

[27] “In the beginning, if somebody asked me to write down my name, I couldn’t do it. Now I can just write down my name and, if I go to Van, I can read the signs because I learned the alphabet.” (03.12)

She is the first and only veiled woman in the two videos to be given the opportunity to speak. She is framed in close-up, she looks at ease in front of the camera and is also proud of the results obtained. The group of women have taken on the challenge of learning literacy at a late age and appear open to change and improvement in their lives. Yet, they also seem to be exposed to a Western gaze, ‘looked at’ (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 253), as the object of the teaching action and of the EU benevolence more than as active subjects of their own empowerment.

The following two interviews are dedicated to the topic of economic independence, another key element promoting women’s emancipation. We see a middle-aged woman while talking to employees working at the computer. She is the entrepreneur Ayla Sevand:

[29] After many years of struggling and with the help of KAGIDER, the Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey, she succeeded in creating her own computer business. (03.40)

Having herself experienced obstacles (“After many years of struggling”), Ms Sevand is now committed to helping other women to fulfil their ambitions:

[30] “It’s a man’s world, so we really strong women, women who reached a career or have attained a position, I think have the responsibility to lead other women and to help other women to come and to play on a fair ground with men because, if not, it’s a man’s world.”(03.54)

The repetition of the sentence “It’s a man’s world” seems to acknowledge a ‘taken-for-granted’ male domination in society. Women who have obtained a rewarding job, as indeed the interviewee herself, have shown themselves to be particularly determined. These “very strong women” have now the duty to guide the others to become self-employed, since the patriarchal structure of society can be challenged if women start helping each other. Through this message, the EU is, however, implicitly admitting that female access to the labour market and to roles of power is still limited and problematic.

The commentary exalts KAGIDER contribution in offering women entrepreneurship support and organising gender awareness seminars, measures which have been implemented by means of EU funds. Meanwhile, we are shown another example of an empowered woman, her story narrated only through images. We see her in a greenhouse, touching some plants, as if checking their state, then in a laboratory controlling some documents and talking to a biologist. She walks outside, looking at the posters showing the future aspect of the area (Figure 12) and then discusses the design of the new building. She appears confident, glad and satisfied to see her projects turning into reality.



Figure 12. An entrepreneur looking at her projects taking life

Plans of growth and change can therefore be seen through Turkish women's eyes, thanks to those who show the independence, spirit of entrepreneurship and strength of an imaginary European female model promoted by the EU.

The final interview, released by KAGIDER member Servisîmin Cömert Birced, and the last commentary constitute a further opportunity to emphasise the importance of the EU role in promoting gender equality in Turkey, by employing a symbolism similar to that encountered in the previous video:

[31] Turkey's EU membership perspective is a strong catalyst for change when it comes to enhancing women's rights, hence bringing the Country's social practices even closer to the ones shared by the European Union. (04.36)

The phrase “even closer” would suggest that the main targets in the field of equal treatment have already been met, but this allusion is not demonstrated further.

5. Discussion and conclusions

The promotion of Turkey’s adhesion to the European Union requires an effort to soften the differences and mediate the contrasts, to create a European Turkey which could share the community identity.

The analysis revealed that the videos did not aim simply at offering a report about the contradictions and challenges of the Turkish female world, but also at justifying the access to negotiations.

In the 2005 video, the comments often reproduce the opposition in the title “Between tradition and modernity”, yet the elements stressing progress, freedom, entrepreneurial spirit, equal treatment are given more prominence in the construction of the sections.

Meanings come not only from words but also from images, objects and actions with their symbolic and metaphoric power to induce ideas into the viewer (van Leeuwen 2005, 39). The iconic representation of women seems to lean towards the depiction of a modernity in which the Western eye can feel at ease. The interviewees are filmed in well-chosen scenes, emphasising female power and emancipation: the CEO chairing a meeting, the girl putting on makeup, the trade unionist driving and drinking beer, the police officer giving orders to male subordinates. The existence of another, traditional world is only sketched and always limited to some remote rural areas which are never shown visually, apart from a rapid flash of work life, through the stereotypically backward practice of cotton harvesting performed by hand-picking.

The portrayal of old and new elements in the urban Turkey looks quite balanced, nevertheless scenes seem to be shot from an ‘Orientalist’ (Said 1978), Western perspective, arousing interest and curiosity in the exotic elements, the mosques, the markets, the veiled women.

The video also presents a strong disapproval of the image of Turkey circulated by the Western media, representing it as traditional, backward, conservative and religious. The thought is attributed to the protagonists but is clearly identifiable as a Union’s means to shape the public opinion. Western Europe, in particular, is constructed as the decision-making and opinion forming centre of the EU. It is the addressee of a necessary media campaign, derived from the fear that the image of an underdeveloped State may hinder a peaceful integration in the supranational organisation.

The 2005 promotional document glosses over thorny issues that could prejudice accession. Fundamental questions, such as the relationship with men, violence, the patriarchal regime, illiteracy, traditionalism and religion are omitted or just touched upon. Accounts given by women coming from traditionalist backgrounds or who have emerged from male domination are completely omitted.

The 2009 “Focus on Southeast Europe: Turkey—Gender Equality” would instead appear more balanced and centred on women issues. Domestic violence, rape, early and forced marriages, family oppression, illiteracy, difficulty of inclusion in the labour market are treated in more detail, but problems are often confined to the most undeveloped regions. Modernity and tradition are, however, integrated, in the presentation of the project for the education of women in the rural village near Van. Yet, women are presented as the only recipients of gender-specific measures, without mentioning efforts aimed at changing men’s abusive attitude and the need to produce a real transformation from inside the society.

In both videos, the interviewees’ characters could be associated with Spivak’s concept of ‘native informants’, authentic and authoritative sources of information who speak on behalf of their group for the benefit of the Western audience (1999, 6; Ghasemi Tari 2012, 622, 626). The documents reveal themselves to be quite unbalanced in favour of the presentation of one-sided testimonials by a minority of emancipated and professional women. Only exceptional cases, fortunate ‘others’, free, unveiled, young or middle-aged westernised women are given the right to speak for the Turkish female world.

Many veiled women are visible, but they remain silent, their outfit suggesting patriarchal and traditionalist ideologies without the need for words. Just one girl wearing a headscarf is given the opportunity to tell her story, which is, however, functional to the promotion of the EU action.

The protagonists’ voices appear in fact exploited to narrate themes different from the female condition, divulging the progress obtained by Turkey in various economic and social fields, all for the purpose of gaining consensus in the Enlargement policies.

A content analysis reveals that the main reasons behind the interviewees’ selection reside in the women’s social and professional roles. Each of the 2005 video protagonists seems to have been chosen in order to convey opinions and information about some problematic areas for Turkey’s accession: the businesswoman represents the economy and labour market; the DJ conveys the young generation’s aspirations; the trade unionist refers to both women’s and minority rights; the police chief reports the improvements of police working methods.

The more recent video focuses instead more specifically on providing examples of the results of EU financial assistance schemes in cooperation with local associations active in awareness-raising on women's rights and gender equality, assistance to victims of abuse, literacy teaching and promotion of women entrepreneurship.

Both videos stress the role of the EU in fostering progress, accomplishing the mission of the Directorate General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations to promote the EU values, policies and interests⁷. The audio-visual documents analysed highlight the image of a modern country and minimise the need to reach the criteria set to become a full-fledged member. Through words and images, voices and experiences of the protagonists, the EU constructs a correspondence between Turkey and the Union to motivate the process of administrative unification, trying to persuade a constructed Western 'Us' that Turkey is—or, at least it can become—Europe⁸.

References

- Aiezza, Maria Cristina. 2008. *Identità europea e identità di genere: il portale EUROPA e la donna turca. Analisi linguistica e multimodale*. Naples: University of Naples 'L'Orientale'. Unpublished degree thesis.
- Amnesty International. 2008. *Turchia. Rapporto Annuale 2008*. <http://www.amnesty.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/928>; accessed February 2nd 2015.
- Archick, Kristin and Vincent L. Morelli. 2014. *European Union Enlargement*. Congressional Research Service. <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21344.pdf>; accessed June 18th 2015.
- Balirano, Giuseppe. 2009. "Towards a Turkish EU-entity: a Semiotic Approach to the Reading of EUROPA Website Cyber-representation of a 'European Turkey'." *Textus: English Studies in Italy. Identity Construction and Positioning in Discourse and Society*, 22.1: 179-189.
- Balirano, Giuseppe and Giuditta Caliendo. 2008. "Redrawing the Map of an Enlarged European Id-Entity: New Margins Stretching the Centre", in *Identity and Culture in English Domain-Specific Discourse*, edited by Gabriella Di Martino, Vanda Polese, Martin Solly, 111-134. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.

⁷ Refer to the Directorate General for European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations webpage at: http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/about/directorate-general/index_en.htm.

⁸ On EU Enlargement and identity building, see also Balirano and Caliendo 2008 and Balirano 2009.

- Cheney, George. 1983. "The rhetoric of identification and the Study of Organizational Communication." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 69.2: 143-158.
- Cortell, Andrew P. and James W. Jr. Davis. 2000. "Understanding the Domestic Impact of International Norms: A Research Agenda." *International Studies Review*, 2.1: 65-87.
- Delegation of the European Union in Turkey. *EU Funded Projects in Turkey*. <http://avrupa.info.tr/en/eu-projects-at-a-glance.html>; accessed February 20th 2015.
- European Commission. 8/11/2006. *EU Enlargement: Key findings of progress reports on candidate countries: Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Turkey*. http://eu-un.europa.eu/articles/en/article_6437_en.htm; accessed February 24th 2015.
- 12/10/2011. *Commission Staff Working Paper. Turkey 2011 progress report*. Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2011/package/tr_rapport_2011_en.pdf; accessed February 21st 2015.
- 2013. *Turkey. 2013 Progress Report*. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/package/brochures/turkey_2013.pdf; accessed June 17th 2015.
- 2014. *Turkey. 2014 Progress Report*. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2014/20141008-turkey-progress-report_en.pdf; accessed June 17th 2015.
- 03/06/2015. *European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations. The Directorate General*. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/about/directorate-general/index_en.htm; accessed July 15th 2015.
- European Commission Audiovisual Service. 2005. *Turkish women—Between tradition and modernity*, video. <http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/player.cfm?sitelang=en&ref=I049382>; accessed February 24th 2015.
- European Union. 2009. *Focus on Southeast Europe: Turkey—Gender Equality*, video. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/news_corner/multimedia-library/video-galleries/index_en.htm; accessed February 24th 2015.
- 2012. *So similar, so different, so European*, video. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/news_corner/multimedia-library/video-galleries/index_en.htm; accessed February 24th 2015.
- Faiclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- 1995. *Media discourse*. New York: Arnold.
- Forbes. 19/08/2009. “The 100 Most Powerful Women.” *Forbes.com*.
http://www.forbes.com/lists/2009/11/power-women-09_The-100-Most-Powerful-Women_Rank_2.html; accessed February 20th 2015.
- Ghasemi Tari, Zeinab. 2012. “Orientalist Feminism and the Politics of Representation of Iranian Veiled Women in West's Popular News Outlets.” Proceedings of *Women's International Conference*, 09-11 May 2012. Izmir.
- Halliday, Michael Alexander Kirkwood. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 3rd edition revised by Christian Matthiessen. London: Arnold.
- Hopkins, Steve. 31/07/2014. “Having the last laugh! Turkish women react to deputy prime minister's call for females not to smile in public by posting pictures of themselves beaming and chuckling.” *Daily Mail Online*. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2711662/Having-laugh-Turkish-women-react-deputy-prime-ministers-call-females-not-smile-public-posting-pictures-beaming-chuckling.html>; accessed June 17th 2015.
- Hyland, Ken and Brian Paltridge, eds. 2011. *The Continuum Companion to Discourse Analysis*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Kaser, Karl. 2008. *Patriarchy after Patriarchy. Gender Relations in Turkey and in the Balkans*. Wien and Berlin: Lit Verlag.
- Kress, Gunther and Theo van Leeuwen. 1996. *Reading Images: The grammar of visual design*. Oxon ,UK, and New York: Routledge.
- Martin, James and Peter R. R. White. 2005. *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Müftüler-Baç, Meltem. 1998. “The Never-Ending Story: Turkey and the European Union.” *Middle Eastern Studies. Turkey before and after Atatürk: Internal and External Affairs*, 34.4: 240-258.
- Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.
- Schiffirin, Deborah, Deborah Tannen and Heidi E. Hamilton, eds. 2001. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Malden, MA.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds. 2005. *The Politics of European Union Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches*. Oxon, UK, and New York: Routledge.
- Shore, Cris 2000. *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*. Oxon, UK, and New York: Routledge.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1999. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Thompson, John B. 1990. *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of mass Communication*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Tranchese, Alessia and Sole Alba Zollo. 2013. "The Construction of Gender-based Violence in the British Printed and Broadcast Media." *CADAAD (Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines)*, 7.1: 141-163.
- van Leeuwen, Theo. 2005. *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- 2013. "Colour Schemes", in *Multimodality and Social Semiosis: Communication, Meaning-Making, and Learning in the Work of Gunther Kress*, edited by Margit Böck and Norbert Pachler, 62-71. London: Routledge.
- van Leeuwen, Theo and Carey Jewitt, eds. 2001. *The Handbook of Visual Analysis*. London and Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Wodak, Ruth and Paul Chilton, eds. 2007. *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis: Theory, Methodology and Interdisciplinarity*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Self-study

Watch the videos *Turkish women—Between tradition and modernity* (European Commission Audiovisual Service 2005) and *Focus on Southeast Europe: Turkey—Gender Equality* (European Union 2009) (links to the clips are available in the references).

A) Answer the following questions:

1. How many women speak English? How many speak Turkish? Can you spot any non-standard linguistic elements in the interviewees' language?
2. Identify the problematic issues in Turkish society and, in particular, those linked with women's rights.
3. Find out any recurring language patterns, parallelisms and repeated topics across the two videos.
4. What is the image of men emerging from the videos?
5. List, in the 2005 video, the elements associated with tradition and those relating modernity.

B) Refer to the provided sources and answer the following:

1. Read Chapter 4, "Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer" in Kress, Gunther and Theo van Leeuwen. 1996. *Reading Images: The grammar of visual design*. Oxon ,UK, and New York: Routledge (also summarised at <http://www.curriculumsupport.education.nsw.gov.au/secondary/english/assets/pdf/grammar.pdf>). Choose some scenes from the films and describe some formal aspects of image composition (e.g. shot distance, angle) hypothesising their implications on the relationship between the observer and the represented subject.
2. Basing on Grice's cooperation principle (Grice, Herbert Paul. 1975. "Logic and Conversation" in *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*, edited by Peter Cole and Jerry L. Morgan, 41-58. New York: Academic Press. Also available at <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lc/study/packs/Grice-Logic.pdf>), provide possible examples from the videos of violations of conversational maxims and justify.

Classroom activities

C) Discuss:

1. What is your attitude towards Turkey's accession to the EU? What are the dominant opinions on the issue in your country?
2. What is the current female participation rate in the labour market in Turkey? And in your country? Are there any major disparities?
3. Imagine and narrate the life of a westernised girl from a urban area and that of a girl from a rural area in Turkey.
4. Have you ever visited Turkey or any Muslim countries? How would you describe/imagine the coexistence of religion and globalisation?

CHAPTER TEN

BEBEK OF THE BOSPHORUS: A CHILDREN'S STORY, OR A CROSS-CULTURAL JOURNEY?

STEFANIA TONDO

1. Introduction and Aims

“And what is the use of a book”, thought Alice, “without pictures or conversations?”

At the very beginning of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), this famous quotation expresses the desire for pictures, a desire which animates both the protagonist and subsequent generations of young readers: the longing for visual fantasies, for something different from ordinary life, and a more pleasurable language to characterise the surrounding world. Bearing *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in mind, this desire to escape from a kind of book, without pictures and conversations, that young readers might be threatened by, led to the well-known «perfect storm for the creation of children's books», when «not only did this book [*Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*] change the tone of voice used in children's books, it integrated the illustrations into the verbal text as equal partner» (Hunt, 2009: 18). There has been a veritable explosion in picture books, especially since the second half of the twentieth century (e.g. Moebius 1990; Nodelman 1988; Doonan 1993; Nikolajeva and Scott 2001). The awareness of the importance of visual aspects of children's books, as well as the widening of this research field – as shown by projects like the European Picture Book Collection (EPBC) and the European School Education Training course (ESET) – are central to Jella Lepman's view of «the function of literature in increasing understanding between nations and particularly the young – as indicated by the title of her book, *Die Kinderbuchbrücke* [A Bridge of Children's

Books]» (Pinsent, 2008: 1). Since 1952, when Lepman founded the IBBY, research in this field has rested on the possibility of «focusing on the diversity of possible perspectives on the illustrations of children’s books [...] and considering its potentials as a space for cultural dialogue and exchange [...] Illustrations are themselves histories of art and style arising from cultural tradition, and [...] enable us to traverse boundaries and dissolve barriers» (Pinsent, 2008: 1).

It is the aim of this paper to describe a picture book – *Bebek of the Bosphorus: A children’s story* (Waters, 2008) – as an opportunity to reflect on how cultures may cross borders and give both children and adult readers the possibility of travelling and learning something about foreign cultures, while reading between the lines and seeing through the pictures. The pleasure of the picture book, in general and in this specific case, is not necessarily associated with early years and childhood, since the picture book is, in reality, deceptive in its apparent simplicity. Close critical attention outlines a complex web of links (Nodelman and Reimer, 2003), which are extremely evocative of cross-cultural experiences. Indeed, in many senses, *Bebek of the Bosphorus* involves a journey through different cultures, symbolizing the wide-weaving sea it describes, so that both children and adult readers are given the possibility of learning something about Turkish life. Investigation of the book is seen in the context of a survey of the interesting field of multicultural-oriented children’s literature and of literary cultural bridging in visual texts for children.

To begin with, the publishing company of *Bebek of the Bosphorus* already underlines the distinctively cross-cultural quality of the book. Çitlembik Publications is «an American/Turkish company centered in Istanbul, Turkey that works in conjunction with Nettleberry LLC of Eden, SD», and specializes in «the publishing of books with a multicultural focus and publishes in both English and Turkish languages. Its English publications include [...] Children’s books with a multicultural focus, and translations of Turkish literature into English» (National Book Network: Çitlembik Publications, www.nbnbooks.com). Its web-autobiography suggests English and Turkish interaction:

Established in 1991 as a native-speaker service, in 2000 Çitlembik gradually moved into publishing and now functions as a full-service publishing house. In 2001, this Turkish-American company entered into a partnership with Nettleberry LTD of South Dakota, USA, a company that solely warehouses, distributes and sells Çitlembik publications in North America. Çitlembik publishes high quality books in both Turkish and English (www.citlembik.com). The main fields of activity are in foreign language books about Turkey, translations of Turkish authors into other

languages, Turkish language alternative social science, literary, popular science and children's books (www.citlembik.com).

It is not surprising, therefore, if among all Çitlembik titles *Bebek of the Bosphorus: A children's story* and *Boğaz'daki Bebek* are listed in both English and Turkish editions, and that book cover and format, pictures and story, illustrator Betül Akzabaklar, and, last but not least author Wylla Waters, do not change.

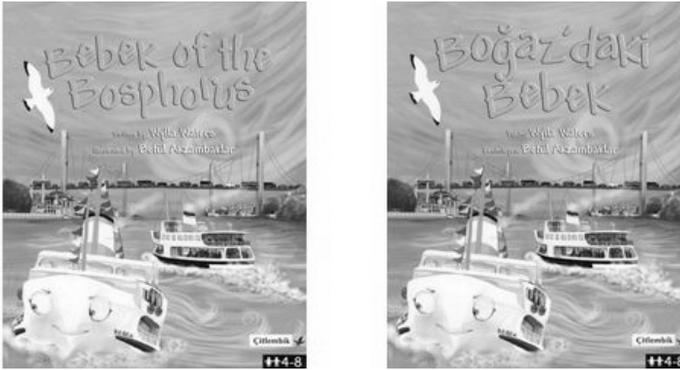


Figure 1. *Bebek of the Bosphorus* book covers

Edited in two languages versions, Turkish and English, the cross-cultural educational aims of the book, at local and global levels, may be more than one: to encourage Turkish children who are learning English; to introduce little ones to books and reading; to explore something of the Turkish culture. Thus, it is probably addressed to both Turkish and English-speaking children. Though targeted 4-8, the book also requires adult mediators, since picture books are intended to be read by adults to young children and, hence, cross borders of readership age.

2. Wylla Water's cross-cultural authorial identity

More specific biographical information about the author will show us how Wylla Waters' life story and authorial identity combine with the publisher's intended cross-cultural aims. The exclusive source is *Today's Zaman*, the English edition of the Turkish daily *Zaman* (www.todayszamanily.com), whose mission is to communicate Turkish culture to the English-speaking world.

The American Wylla Waters has had a long history with Istanbul. Born in Iran, daughter of a US Foreign service officer, she spent her early childhood in India and Turkey. At the age of four, she was in Istanbul, where she studied at the IICS (Istanbul International Community School), first grade initially, and eighth and ninth grades later. She completed her high school studies at Robert College, Istanbul. Then, in New York, she studied at Barnard College. She travelled around America, returning to Istanbul at regular intervals. Once settled there, she worked as a first grade teacher's assistant and became a teacher of English for speakers of other languages (ESL), in secondary school, at the Istanbul and International Community School, the same she had attended as a student. She is well-known as a children's author. Among her works are two plays for children: *The Disappearing Shop at the Grand Bazar* and *The Magic Chestnut*, where Turkish tree spirits, together with a child, fight against a possible toxic spill and save the Bosphorus. Her stories always feature fantasy characters coming from around Istanbul, with the same intention of informing people about the rich Turkish cultural heritage and landscape as Çitlembik Publications. Her cross-cultural identity makes her an author who has lived, and still lives, within the culture she is writing about. Indeed, her writing activity is based on personal experience and deep awareness of cultural differences and similarities; she is a writer who accurately represents the culture she is portraying. This is why the writer and the illustrator interplay dynamically and manifest intimate familiarity with the nuances of the specific culture they deal with, to produce what may be called an authentic multicultural literary picture book for children (Howard, 1991; Hillard, 1995; Yokota, 1993; Rochman, 1993). The sense of belonging to a local context and also to life in its global sense is made stronger when it is communicated through fantasy worlds, involving the author's memories and childhood experiences with the sea. Istanbul, where she now lives and works, and past and present walks along the Bosphorus, inspire her tales. She animates the stories from her memories, which are peopled by fishing boats, fishermen, nets, crabs, octopuses, ferry boats, and the Bebek harbor:

Walking along the Bosphorus and being on the water are some of my earliest, and fondest memories. When we lived here long ago, the fishing boats used to come alongside the area between Hisar and Bebek to clean their nets. The fishermen would give me little presents, like crab here and there, and one time, an octopus that I carried around in a bucket for a week. The poor thing! Even back then, the ferry boats were particular favorites of mine. I loved riding them, and also waving to the people who were on them as they passed by. Of course, back then one travelled on the

ferris much more frequently before the bridges were built (Waters, 2008. In Hamilton, 2008)

Thanks to the natural style of her writing, and the *simultaneous use of Turkish and English* in the names of the characters, she accomplishes true authenticity.

3. *Bebek of the Bosphorus* – The pleasure of a visual-oriented, Turkish-tinged English text

The youngest member of a family of ferryboats that lives on the Istanbul Bosphorus, is the main character of the story, called *Bebek*. This Turkish word in English means *baby; infant; babe; doll; dolly; cookie; cooky; infantile; small*. As such, the baby ferryboat of the story feels that she is never taken seriously, she feels bored and left out:

Now, on the Bosphorus lives a large family of ferryboats. *Bebek* is the youngest boat in the family. She works with the rest of the ferris, but as the youngest, she is given little to do (Waters, 2008: 4)

Though she is so young, she is said to have had «lots of adventures» (ibid: 4), of which the present, before the readers, is another instance. One day she rebels against her ferryboat family:

On this particular cold winter's day *Bebek* was bored (ibid: 5).

Promptly, she gets her opportunity to show how brave she is:

“Hump!” said *Bebek*. “I’ll show them - I’ll run away [...] I’ll go so far away that no one will find me!” she said angrily (ibid:9-11).

But Istanbul is suddenly hit by a cruel wizard:

A cold wind was blowing down from the Black Sea as *Bebek* stated up the Bosphorus. It stung *Bebek*'s face, but she didn't care [...] As *Bebek* sailed up the Bosphorus, it started to snow [...]. This is the worst snowstorm in fifty years (ibid:13; 17; 24).

Bridges are closed and «hundreds of people are stranded on both sides of the Bosphorus» (ibid:24). *Bebek*'s childlike nature urges her to reach her relatives, in these hard weather conditions:

The sky was getting blacker and the snow was falling faster. Bebek shivered. “Maybe I should head home – just to see if everybody is okay,” she thought (ibid: 20)

When back with her family, she works overtime to transport stranded passengers home across the waters of the Bosphorus:

Bebek could hardly see the people standing on the dock, but she could hear their worried voices (ibid: 25).

Now is the time, she realises, that she can be of some help and show that, even if she is only a small child, she can make a real contribution:

“I’m going to help!” cried Bebek. “Don’t be silly. You’re young,” laughed a cousin. “Just watch me!” said Bebek (ibid: 26).

And, strenuously, she goes on:

All that afternoon and evening Bebek carried hundreds of cold, tired people across the Bosphorus. The wind blew across her decks and the waves beat against her sides, but she kept sailing. (ibid: 26-27).

The success of the baby ferryboat gives the story the expected happily-ever-after ending:

“Well done!” the first frozen bridge called down to Bebek. “Good work, Bebek!” boomed the second bridge (ibid: 29).

Lastly, her desire for gratification and wish to be included win out:

Finally, very cold and tired, Bebek sailed into her warm dock and snuggled between her resting relatives. As she closed her eyes, she knew that she was part of the great ferryboat family and would never – she promised – be bored again (ibid: 31).

Each member of the ferryboat family, all Turkish named – ‘Uncle Kumkapi’, ‘Uncle Büyükada’, ‘Grandfather Yalova’, ‘Aunt Florya’, ‘Moda’, and an unnamed cousin – upset the child emotionally, in their distrustful and indifferent attitude:

“Auntie,” said Bebek, coming alongside her Aunt Florya. “I’m bored.” “Stop bumping me, child!” Aunt Florya scolded. “You’re getting my deck all wet! Go bother your uncle.” Bebek sailed up to her Uncle Kumkapi,

who was helping another ferryboat. "Uncle ..." she said. "Not now, Bebek," said Kumkapi. "Can't you see I'm busy?" (ibid: 9-10).

Illustrations accompany the words dynamically, and vice versa. To make the Turkish names more concrete, the names of the ferryboats are all visible. Pictorial and verbal information are parallel, and a can of oil branded 'Yağ' is also shown.

The pleasure of this visually-oriented text satisfies the visual imagination of the «beholders» - those who are involved in reading visual texts and reading pictures (Pinsent, 2008), i.e. of those who see the harbor scene populated by seagulls, two talking bridges, and humans queuing and waiting for the ferry in order to cross the Bosphorus. The realistic effect of the illustrations also depends on the alternation of light and dark shades. The weather depicts «the deep blue on a blazing summer's day», as well as the «almost dark grey-green in the depth of winter when it is about to snow» (James, 2008). The preponderant blue, of the sea and the sky in its different, alternating nuances, lasts until the dominating harmonious blue giving the feeling of peace, at the end of the story. The ferryboats are of simple shape, childishly drawn, and are of large size, closely related to the background which fills the whole pages. They act as childlike creatures, relating to the interests of the child readers, who will be attracted by the humanized objects and animals. Bebek, the baby ferryboat, is equivalent to the children who read about her. Her struggle and final success, her real-life personality, convey a universal message of the importance of letting children have their opportunity, to do no matter what. Baby children are important; they play pivotal roles, needing and calling for attention. Their self-image and self-esteem depend on the opportunities they are given, as well as the human solidarity of the surrounding adult world.

The reader may rapidly forget that s/he is reading a fictional story of talking sea-vehicles, and may start to think of them as individual characters and, therefore, adopt the perspective of the publisher's introduction to the story:

Bebek is the youngest member of the family of boats that live on the Istanbul Bosphorus. The other boats don't take Bebek seriously because she is so young, but *one day she gets the chance to prove to everyone how important she really is* (my italics; back cover).

This cute talking-ferryboat sets out on an entertaining journey, in a tale addressed to people of all ages, and represents something more - «an excellent introduction to life in Istanbul for friends and family spread out across the globe» (Hamilton, 2008).

While evoking the contemporary sea traffic of the Bosphorus Bridge, the illustrations and words in this picture book revive images of the past so that old Turkish ferryboats are «now back, to delight a new generation of children» (James, 2008). Old Turkish ferries are a sort of lifelong friend for the writer, and she longs to tell today's children, who live in the age of innovations, bridges and more advanced sea bus vehicles, about them. A ferry which was smaller than the others, so that all the people used to name it 'bebek', really existed in the 1880s, as the author reports (Hamilton, 2008). This connects the tale to the tradition of the ferries on the Bosphorus, working hard to keep the city moving.

In 1837, they were managed by private companies. In 1851, under a new private company, they had some attractive names, like *Şirket-i Hayriye* (*The Goodwill Company* or *The Kind Works Company*) and now the new sea-bus companies go by the less appealing names of *Istanbul Sea-Bus Management* with an undeniable loss of the emotional and psychological quality of bygone ages (James, 2008). In the story, there is also a sea bus among the old fashioned ferries, and Bebek vies with it:

Not only a sea bus sped by. "There's poor little Bebek," he laughed. "Hey, I can beat you!" "Those sea-buses are such showoffs," mumbled Bebek. "They think they're so smart in their uniforms, and they're always trying to race me." (ibid: 14-15).

Today sea-buses are more comfortable, faster and sleeker but, as Wylla Water and Betül Akzabaklar's picture book suggests, the ferries of the past were more romantic.

4. The fictional tradition of humanized vehicles

Not only is a fragment of past local tradition involved here but also, inevitably, a whole global fictional repertoire of humanized transportation vehicles is relevant:

Bebek is not a unique genre in children's literature. There are *The Little Engine that Could*, *Thomas the Tank Engine*, and a dozen others. But, as far as I knew, there were no Turkish characters that children could relate to directly, so I jotted the story down (Waters, 2008. In Hamilton, 2008).

The reference is to a list of well-known titles. Among these, and with the new Turkish entry of *Bebek of the Bosphorus* (2008), the following widely-known products may be remembered: the American illustrated children's book *The Little Engine that Could* (1930), later adapted as a 30-

minute animated film *Tillie the Little Engine that Could* (1992); *Thomas the Tank Engine* of the *Railway Series* books (1946), then a TV series on the adventures of humanized trains with faces, *Thomas & Friends* (1979); the TV British children's animation *Ivor the Engine* (1959, 1975-77); *The Adventures of Tilly the Tractor and Freddie the Fire Engine* (1977; 2010); the British children's TV series *Tugs* (1988) dealing with the adventures of anthropomorphized tugboat fleets; *Danny the Digger*; (2002); the animated TV programme, *Tractor Tom* (2003), the American Disney-Pixar computer-animated film *Cars* (2006), set in a world populated entirely by anthropomorphic cars and other vehicles with an entirely non-human cast.

5. The picture book as a conveyor of g/local culture

Incorporated in a global production for children based on transportation, this Turkish ferryboat leads the reader back to the local context and, in so doing, it may guide him in a journey through Istanbul. *Bebek of the Bosphorus* may be read as a vehicle for the transportation of local culture across the world, in the glocal (global-local) perspective that editorial enterprises of this kind generally require. It connects with other publications for children like the poetic *Turkish Delight. A Kid's Guide to Istanbul, Turkey* (Weigand, 2011). Istanbul evokes much more: the Bosphorus, the never-ending traffic lines across the Bosphorus Bridge, the covered markets of the Grand Bazaar, the Blue Mosque and Santa Sophia Church, the Arasta Bazaar, the carpet sellers (McPherson, 2014), and so on. Other additional links may be identified. Numerous travel web-sites indicate the following: *Bebek, Istanbul*, a historic neighborhood of Istanbul, Turkey, with some *Bebek Cafés*, and *Bebek* named food shops; *Bebek Bay*, a resort area on the Bosphorus in Istanbul, Turkey; *Bebek, Aksaray*, a village in the District of Aksaray, Aksaray Province, Turkey; *Bebek, Adiyaman*, a village in the district of Adiyaman, Adiyaman province, Turkey. Moreover, *Bebek children's festival*, Istanbul, Oct 11-14, 2014: at *Bebek Park*, was described as «Turkey's first and only festival for infants and children [...]. For fun activities for kids from ages 0-15 [...] a fun day for the whole family. The activities include: science workshops, cooking/making workshops, face-painting activities, bubble activities, mother-child workshops, a pony club, a music shop, and a body shop» (www.theguideistanbul.com). Furthermore, the *Civil Bebek*, a retail chain that sells products for babies and markets products 'made in Istanbul', has existed since 1996, and expanded to 36 stores in 2012. Finally, among touristic merchandise one can find a *Bebek-designed bag* to keep, as I do, a souvenir of Istanbul.



Figure 2. Personal object and photography

In conclusion, *Bebek of the Bosphorus* is one example of «the importance of the picture book as a conveyor of cultural values» (Cotton, 2008: 17) and of «the interplay between the specific and the universal [...] as well as the dual process of integration and regionalization, striving to attain a balance between locality and universality, difference and homogeneity» (Panaou, 2008: 35).

The book suggests possible educational and didactic uses: it helps to reflect on what is local and what is global; on how the local and the global may be identified; on what is specific and what is universal in cultures; it contributes to visual literacy; it supports eco-oriented thought concerning transportation, and finally, it nurtures a deep cross-cultural awareness.

Between the local and the global, this story of the baby ferryboat plying the shores of the waterway dividing Istanbul, separating the continents of Asia and Europe, suggests the image of seawater that almost questions the very idea of aquatic borders. The sea, portraying the majestic stretch of water that divides two continents, is represented at the very beginning of the book in the first drawing, a map, planned to locate where the story is set:



Figure 3. Waters, 2008:2

The accompanying page, full white, with a small picture of a flying seagull in the right upper corner, gives parallel verbal information:

There is a lovely long body of water that winds its way between the continents of Europe and Asia. It is called the Bosphorus. The Bosphorus looks like a wide river with hills and houses on both sides, but it's really a strait. It connects two seas: the Sea of Marmara and the Black sea (ibid: 3)

Bosphorus, or Istanbul Strait, forms part of the boundary between Europe and Asia; together with the Sea of Marmara and the Dardanellas strait to the southwest, it forms the Turkish Straits. The Sea of Marmara is connected by the Dardanellas to the Aegean Sea, and thereby to the Mediterranean Sea, and the oceanographic description goes on and on.... Water moves and connects. The experience of reading and looking at the book seems to dissolve and melt the institutionalized boundary of the sea. Like the flowing Ocean waters, the book conveys overwhelming emotions and values, universal and specific, from place to place.

6. In concluding

This delightful light, short picture book from Istanbul makes the case for «stories, writing them, telling them, sharing them» which really

«enrich us and connect us and help us know each other» (Rochman, 1993: 19). The book becomes *Bebek*, the ferryboat, small-sized, powerful in telling and illustrating her story. The charming tale, and the attractive and locally-oriented illustrations introduce readers throughout the globe to life in Istanbul. The book presents a cross-section of a part of Istanbul culture, and the trip of *Bebek* exemplifies the world of Children's Literature. Here characters, places and themes from around Istanbul are rich with ideas for children's fantasy, for child readers of all ages. Turkish culture and landscape are given new life and meaning through the medium of literary communication for children in English. Through the mediation of the adult world involved in cross-cultural children's literature, of the grown-ups responsible for the formation of better lives for their children, the overall message of the tale is that, in differences and similarities, *all the world is all of us*:

All the world is here.
 It is there.
 It is everywhere.
 All the world is
 Right
 Where you are.
 Now.
 All the world is wide and deep ...
 All the world's a garden bed...
 All the world is old and new ...
 All the world has got its sky ...
 All the world goes round this way ...
 All the world is cold and hot ...
 All the world can hold quite still ...
 All the world is you and me ...
 Everything you hear, smell, see
 All the world is everything
 Everything is you and me
 Hope and peace and love and trust
 All the world is all of us.
 (Scanlon, 2009)

Tackling topics no smaller than cross-cultural and cross-age communication themselves, focussing on children's rights to pictures, fantasy, and to prove how important/clever they really are in an adult world, *Water and Akzabaklar's* picture book invites children to explore a variety of settings, which the blending of Turkish words in the English narrative, faithful to the terminology of the Turkish edition, makes even more vibrant. The synergy of *Water's* words and *Akzabaklar's* illustrations

are in tune with the 1960s advent of the “pictorial turn”, i.e. growing attention to imagination, imagery, and non-linguistic symbol systems, while setting aside the “assumption that language is paradigmatic for meaning” (Mitchell 1994: 12). A development that was even more dramatic in the domain of educational literature and children's books, and that is fully exploited in *Bebek of the Bosphorus*, with the effect of shaping a more alluring multimodal communicative mode, thus showing the world's connectivity from multiple perspectives.

References

- Cotton, P. 2008. Visualising Europe through picture books: where are we now? In Pinsent, P. and Harding, J. (Eds.) 2008. *What do you see? International perspectives on children's book illustration*. New Castle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Doonan, J. 1993. *Looking at pictures in picture books*. Stroud: Thimble Press.
- Hamilton, K. 2008. [EXPAT PROFILE] *Wylla Waters: penning children's stories of Istanbul*. At www.todayzamanily.com
- Harris, V.J. (Ed.), *Teaching Multicultural Literature in Grades K-8*. Norwood, MA: Christopher-Gordon Publishers, Inc.
- Hillard, L.L. 1995. Defining the “Multi-” in “Multicultural” Through Children's Literature. *The Reading Teacher*, 48, (8), 728.
- Howard, E.F. 1991. Authentic Multicultural Literature for Children: An Author's Perspective. In Lindgren, M.V. (Ed.), *The Multicolored Mirror*. Fort Atkinson, WI: Highsmith Press.
- Hunt, P. and Sainsbury, L. 2009. *Illustrated children's books*. London: Black Dog Publishing.
- Hunt, P., ed. 1990. *Children's literature the development of criticism*, London: Routledge.
- James, M. 2008. *Bebek of the Bosphorus*. At www.todayzamanily.com
- Lepman, J. (first published in German in 1964; trans. Edith McCormick 1969) 2002. *A bridge of children's books*. Dublin: O'Brien Press.
- Loftis, E. 2014. *My top 10 Turkey reads*. At www.todayzamanily.com
- McPherson, C. 2014. *Imagination and adventure for children*. At www.todayzamanily.com
- Moebius, W. 1990. Introduction to picture books codes. In P. Hunt (Ed) *Children's literature the development of criticism*, pp. 131-147. London: Routledge.
- Mitchell W.J.T. 1994. *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Nikolajeva, M. and C. Scott, (Eds.) 2001. *How picture books work*. New York: Garland.
- Nodelman, P. and Reimer, M. 2003. *The pleasures of children's literature*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Nodelman, P. 1988. *Words about pictures: The narrative art of children's picturebooks*. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press.
- Panaou, P. 2008. The infinitely varied mutual contest of sameness and difference in contemporary European picture books. In Pinsent, P. and J. Harding, (Eds.) 2008. *What do you see? International perspectives on children's book illustration*. New Castle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Pinsent, P. and J. Harding, (Eds.) 2008. *What do you see? International perspectives on children's book illustration*. New Castle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Rochman, H. 1993. *Against Borders: Promoting Books for a Multicultural World*. Chicago, IL: American Library Association.
- Scanlon, G. 2009. (illus. Marla Frazee) *All the World*. New York: Beach Lane Books.
- Waters, W. 2008. (illus. Betül Akzabaklar) *Bebek of the Bosphorus: A children's Story*. Çitlembik Publications: Istanbul.
- . 2008 (illus. Betül Akzabaklar) *Boğaz' daki Bebek*. Çitlembik Publications: Istanbul.
- . 2008 In Hamilton, (Ed.) 2008[*EXPAT PROFILE*] *Wylla Waters: penning children's stories of Istanbul*. At www.todayszamanily.com
- Weigand, P. D. and Weigand, J. D. 2011. *Turkish Delight. A kid's guide to Istanbul, Turkey*. Jamul, California: Bellissima Publishing, LLC.
- Yokota, J. 1993. Issues in Selecting Multicultural Children's Literature. *Language Arts*, 70, 156-167.

Self-Study

Read the sections “Bebek”, “Istanbul” and “Bosphorus” on the web sites. How are these places described? Do the web descriptions and online images correspond to the visual and verbal setting of the book? Why/why not? Write down differences and similarities.

Classroom Activities

1) Discuss the answers to the questions above with your classmates. Did you and your classmates draw similar or different conclusions?

2) Do an online research and find descriptions of the following:

- Ferryboats and sea transportation
- Humanized vehicles in the world of children's literature
- Toy vehicles and real-life means of transport

3) Which one(s) of the sea transportation experience(s) in activity 2 above may be relevant either to your real or imaginative life, and/or to your country and/or to a country you know? Write a 100-200 word composition and also draw a picture of it/them and discuss it with your classmates.

CONTRIBUTORS

Lucia Abbamonte is Assistant Professor of English Language, Translation and Applied Linguistics at the Department of Psychology – Second University of Naples – Italy. She presently teaches English in Master Degrees and PhD courses in Psychology, and has participated in several funded Projects of National Relevance (PRIN). Her present interests lie in the fields of CDA, pragmatic aspects of situated linguistic communication in socially sensitive contexts, language in professional practice and mediation, ESP for (Neuro)Psychology and Cognitive Sciences, and the translation/adaptation of scientific texts –especially (neuro)psychological measurement scales and questionnaires. She has authored four books and many essays, has contributed several papers in international conferences, and is reviewer of international journals.

Maria Cristina Aiezza is a Post-Doctoral Research Fellow in English Language and Translation at the University of Sannio in Benevento, Department of Law, Economics, Management and Quantitative Methods, with a research project on ‘Interculturality and Representation in Corporate Language’. She holds a PhD in English for Specific Purposes from the University of Naples Federico II, with a corpus-assisted study on the discourse of sustainability reports issued by companies operating in industrialised and developing countries. Her research interests include institutional and corporate discourse, the language of advertising, specialised and audiovisual translation. Her most recent studies focus on the promotion and management of corporate image and ethics in the context of web 2.0 media.

Amelia R. Burns teaches English Language and Language Mediation at the University for Language Mediators of Maddaloni (Italy), and is Director of Studies of the British Schools of Naples. She holds a Ph.D. from the University of Bari in English Language and Linguistics. She also holds an M.A. in English Language Teaching Methodologies from the University of Rome “Tor Vergata. She has been an invited speaker in several international conferences. She is the author of *Marketing and Communication: a corpus-based study of Marketing Research Articles*

(Sчена, 2011), and many research articles in the area of Computational Linguistics, Lexicography and Sociolinguistics.

Mariavita Cambria, MPhil, PhD, is Assistant Professor in English Linguistics and Translation at the University of Messina, Italy. Her research interests include multimodal critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, Irish studies and varieties of English. She has published both nationally and internationally on multimodality, online newspapers, genre analysis and Irish English. She has written three books, published several articles and co-edited a book on web genres. She is on the editorial board of the journal *Im@go*, a journal of the social imaginary and has participated in funded projects of national relevance.

Flavia Cavaliere is Assistant Professor of English Language, Translation and Applied Linguistics at the Department of Human Studies of the University of Naples Federico II, where she teaches English for Special Purposes (ESP) in an international Ph.D. course and a 2nd level Master course as well. Her research interests concern Translation Studies (mainly in the field of Audio-Visual Translation), Cross-cultural Communication, Language and Media, Multilingualism, Critical Linguistics and (multimodal) Discourse Analysis. Her publications include four volumes and many articles published in international books and journals. She is a reviewer of international journals, regularly contributes papers in international conferences, and has participated in several international research projects.

Anna Franca Plastina is Assistant Professor in English Linguistics and Translation at the University of Calabria, Italy, where she teaches ESP to undergraduate, postgraduate and PhD students. She has published monographs, edited volumes, book chapters, and articles internationally. She is a member of the editorial boards of *The Journal of Teaching English with Technology*, *Studies in Contrastive Grammar/Studii de Gramatică Contrastivă* and *Rivista di Psicolinguistica Applicata/Journal of Applied Psycholinguistics*, and has peer-reviewed for the *Cambridge Journal of Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* and for the *Spanish Journal of Applied Linguistics* (John Benjamins). She has participated in European-funded research projects and in Erasmus teacher mobility programmes. Her research interests include psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics applied to computer-mediated-communication and to bi- and multilingualism, applied linguistics and professional and social practices, critical and multimodal discourse analysis and CALL.

Douglas Mark Ponton is Assistant Professor at the Department of Political and Social Sciences, University of Catania, where he teaches undergraduate and post-graduate courses in English for the Science of Administration, the Internationalisation of Commercial Relations and Global and Euro-Mediterranean Politics. His research interests are Political Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Studies, Interactional Sociolinguistics, Corpus Linguistics and Conversation Analysis. He has published many papers on diverse social themes, as well as politics, ecolinguistics, the language of sport, tourism and the British Royal Family. Books he has published include 'For Arguments' Sake', an analysis of argumentation in modern political rhetoric. He also researches issues related to the Sicilian dialect.

Maria Grazia Sindoni, PhD, is Assistant Professor in English Linguistics and Translation at the University of Messina, Italy. She has written four books, and published articles in international journals and entries for encyclopaedias. Her research interests include systemic-functional linguistics, multimodal critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, theories of semiosis of communication and Anglophone Creole languages. Her last book *Spoken and Written Discourse in Online Interactions. A Multimodal Approach* (Routledge, London and New York, 2013) has come to its second edition. She is currently editing a book on the relationship between language, performing arts and multimodality for the book series "Routledge Studies in Multimodality".

Stefania Tondo, PhD, is Associate Professor of English Literature at the Department of Education of the University Suor Orsola Benincasa, Naples. She has published on Shakespeare, Victorian fantasy and Children's Literature, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, George MacDonald and Henry James. She has edited the translated editions into Neapolitan language of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *A Christmas Carol*. Her scientific work and research is currently focused on: fantastic realism, Lewis Carroll and George MacDonald; psychological realism and Henry James; the field of crossover literature. Her research interests also include new forms of literary communication, such as graphic-novels and manga versions of English classics, Children's Literature Translation (CLT) and Child-Oriented Translation (COT) - thus traversing aspects of the contemporary literary debate and interdisciplinary approaches.

Daniela Francesca Virdis is Associate Professor of English Language and Translation at the Department of Philology, Literature and Linguistics at the University of Cagliari, the Secretary of PALA (Poetics and Linguistics Association) and a member of the editorial board of *Rhesis: International Journal of Linguistics, Philology and Literature*. She is the author of the book *Serialised Gender: A Linguistic Analysis of Femininities in Contemporary TV Series and Media* (2012), which was awarded the AIA (Italian Association of English Studies) Book Prize 2013. She is also the author of the book “*A spectacle of strangeness”: diavoli e streghe nel teatro giacomiano* (2004). She has published both nationally and internationally on the language of English Jacobean plays and treatises about witchcraft and demonology, and on the language of contemporary American films and TV series. She is currently researching on language and sexuality, national-ethnic stereotypes and ecostylistics.

Elisabetta Zurru is Lecturer in English Language and Translation, Department of Modern Languages and Cultures, University of Genoa (IT). She holds a PhD in Comparative Literature and Literary Theory from the University of Cagliari, where she has taught Terminology and Translational Stylistics in the Master’s Degree Course in Translation and Interpreting, and now teaches Generative Grammar and Pragmatics in the BA Degree Course in Modern Languages and Cultures, and EFL in the BA Degree Course in Cultural Heritage Management. Her main research interests lie in Stylistics, Pragmatics, Media Studies, Translation Studies and Postcolonial Studies and her main publications, including the book-length study *Exploring Linguistic Meaning-Making: Exercises in Stylistics*, CUEC, Cagliari, (2008), are focused on the application of the frameworks provided by stylistics to a wide range of literary and non-literary texts, such as (animated) feature-length films. She is currently researching language and alterity, and ecostylistics.