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Title	Destination image/branding of Sicily and the Mafia phenomenon: a corpusbased analysis of keywords in English guidebooks
Type	Article
URL	https://clok.uclan.ac.uk/id/eprint/50615/
DOI	https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2024.2311422
Date	2024
Citation	Pagano, Ninfa and Sharpley, Richard Anthony john (2024) Destination image/branding of Sicily and the Mafia phenomenon: a corpus-based analysis of keywords in English guidebooks. Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change, 22 (2). pp. 190-208. ISSN 1476-6825
Creators	Pagano, Ninfa and Sharpley, Richard Anthony john

It is advisable to refer to the publisher's version if you intend to cite from the work. https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2024.2311422

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Tourism destination image, the branding of Sicily and the Mafia phenomenon:

A corpus-based analysis of keywords in English guidebooks

Ninfa Pagano & Richard Sharpley

1 Introduction

It has long been acknowledged that the image of a destination is not only a relevant element of a tourist's destination choice process and subsequent behaviour but also of destination marketing and management strategies. Therefore, destination image has become one of the most popular areas of marketing-related research in tourism studies (Gunn, 1972; Crompton, 1979; Embacher & Buttle, 1989; Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; Gartner, 1993; Baloglu & McCleary, 1999; MacKay & Fesenmaier, 2000; Buhalis, 2000; Beerli & Martín, 2004). At the same time, however, even in the age of the Internet, guidebooks remain a vital resource for tourists both in planning their vacations and in the experience of places visited. Moreover, they also have the power to shape tourists' attitudes and expectations through what information is included or excluded and the way it is presented. In other words, guidebooks are influential in determining how tourists perceive a destination.

Since descriptions of Sicily first appeared in the Grand Tour diaries of the 18th Century, the island has been a popular tourist destination. Unfortunately, however, it has also long been associated with the Mafia, a now international form of organised crime that originated on the island between the 18th and 19th Centuries (see Balsamo & Carpozi, 2019) and that is still active today, although in recent years challenged by a popular anti-Mafia movement. Popularised in books and movies – notably *The Godfather* trilogy – the Mafia can, therefore, be considered one element of the destination image of Sicily. Hence, whether viewed positively (Sicily as a 'film tourism' destination) or as a potential risk factor, the Mafia is arguably a factor taken into account by tourists when visiting the island. Therefore, the overall aim of this study is to explore the potential influence that the Mafia

phenomenon, as conveyed by three English guidebooks, has on the destination image of Sicily.

Specifically, through an analysis of tourism discourse, or the English language as a specialised and promotional discourse in the tourism field (Dann, 1996; Gotti, 2006; Maci, 2013; Manca, 2016), this study examines critically the manner in which three English language guidebooks to the island of Sicily, namely Baedeker (2012), Lonely Planet (2014) and Rough Guide (2014), address the Mafia phenomenon. The selection of these three guidebooks and, particularly, their years of publication is explained below but, essentially, this study seeks to investigate how and to what extent the tourism discourse when applied in guidebooks to describe the Mafia may modify, positively or otherwise, potential tourists' destination image of Sicily.

As noted above, for the purposes of this study, tourism discourse analysis is also connected to the issues of both destination image (Chew & Jahar, 2014) and the perceived risk of a destination. Indeed, perception of risk plays a relevant role in tourists' decision-making processes, to the extent that it may even modify rational decision-making when selecting a destination (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998). Perceived risk is defined as the 'consumer perception of the probability that an action may expose them to danger that can influence travel decisions if the perceived danger is deemed to be beyond acceptable level' (Reichel *et al.*, 2007, cited in Chew & Jahar, 2014: 383-4; also, Mansfeld, 2006). Such perceived danger may include aspects such as physical, psychological, financial or health risks resulting from a natural disaster (Mansfeld, 2006), epidemics (Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009), terrorism (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998) or political instability (Carter, 1998). In the context of this study, the Mafia phenomenon may be perceived as a risk which could be ascribed to political instability.

As discussed in more detail in the following sections, the concept of destination image has long been the focus of academic attention, not least because of widespread recognition of it being 'fundamental to tourist decision-making and, ultimately, to the viability and success of a destination' (Tasci & Gartner, 2007: 41), as well as destination marketing and management strategies (Baker & Cameron, 2008). The research to date has primarily been concerned with defining destination image and how it is constructed or, more precisely, the constituents of destination image, such as *organic* (gained through personal studies and/or general life experiences) and *induced* (the influence of commercial

information) images (Gunn, 1972). Significantly, however, few if any studies have sought to explore empirically the relationship between induced and organic images, particularly where elements of the organic image may be negative or related to difficult or 'dark' (Sharpley & Stone, 2009) aspects of the destination's culture and heritage. The purpose of this study, then, is to begin to address this gap in the literature. Specifically, it seeks to investigate how and to what extent the tourism discourse when applied in guidebooks to describe the Mafia phenomenon may modify, positively or otherwise, the potential destination image of Sicily held by tourists. The following section, then, reviews briefly the concept of destination image, pointing to guidebooks as one source of induced image. The paper then goes on to consider guidebooks as a literary genre before introducing those employed in this study and, subsequently, discussing the research method and outcomes.

2 Destination Image

Tourist destination image (TDI) has been the focus of research for more than forty years and has been defined in a number of ways, typically reflecting the scientific perspective adopted by tourism researchers. Indeed, the concept of 'image' in the context of tourism destinations has, over time, been studied within a variety of disciplines such as social and environmental psychology (Fridgen, 1987), marketing (Assael, 1984), consumer behaviour (Boulding, 1956; Herzog, 1963), destination management and marketing and branding (Stepchenkova, 2010). As has been suggested, people act on their perceptions rather than on facts (Boulding, 1956; Chon, 1990). Motivations, interests, cultural background, emotional state, self-image and many other factors play a relevant role in the consumer travel decision-making process and intertwine with the image that people have about a particular destination (Stepchenkova, 2010).

The most significant works on the concept of TDI include contributions such as that of Crompton who, in an early work on the topic, defines TDI as 'the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that a person has of a destination' (Crompton, 1979: 18). Echtner and Ritchie (1991) similarly define TDI as the perception of the attributes of a destination and of the holistic impressions it generates. It is made up of a variety of characteristics comprising both the tangible and intangible aspects of a destination; the observable characteristics of a territory are referred to as 'functional' attributes while the intangible characteristics are referred to as 'psychological' attributes.

Other definitional contributions suggest TDI is shaped by the images that a destination evokes and by the atmosphere and the attractions that the consumer expects from it (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991). These stereotypical, affective and unique images form tourists' mental constructs (Gallarza, Saura & Garcia, 2002). Moreover, image can be characterised by 'any idea, belief, feeling or attitude' or as a 'set of expectations and perceptions a prospective traveller has of a destination' (Buhalis, 2000: 99) which can result from past experiences, word of mouth or any other information or promotional campaign. Consequently, and as discussed shortly, TDI plays a relevant role in an individual's travel decision (Cho & Fesenmeier, 2001; Crompton, 1979; Innis, 1986).

Baloglu and McCleary (1999) propose a TDI model based on two dimensions (the cognitive and the affective) that together produce an overall image. According to them, the cognitive dimension concerns beliefs or knowledge about the attributes of a destination while the affective dimension refers to feelings evoked by the destination. 'The cognitive component constitutes awareness: what someone knows or thinks they know about a destination. The affective component is based on how one feels about this knowledge' (Konecnik & Gartner, 2007: 403). Researchers agree that affective image is a subjective, emotional response to cognitive knowledge about a tourist destination (Li, Cheng, Kim, & Petrick, 2008; Smith *et al.*, 2015). Therefore, cognitive image positively influences affective image even before visiting the destination (Kim & Stepchenkova, 2015; Tan & Wu, 2016).

As for TDI formation, in an early work Gunn (1972) identified three different elements in the formation or construction of image: the *organic,* the *induced* and the *modified induced* image. The *organic image* derives from sources of information which are not controlled by the marketer (for example, word of mouth) and is formed from past experiences and unbiased sources of information such as news reports, movies or newspapers. In contrast, the *induced image* develops from marketing information, such as brochures, as well as more formal publications such as guidebooks and, of course, on the Internet. Hence, induced images are created through information received from external sources that specifically promote the destination (Gartner 1993). The *modified induced* image is the outcome of personal experiences made at the destination. According to Gartner (1993), it is only possible to control the induced image because this is the outcome of a planned marketing effort, whereas the organic image is beyond the control of destination marketers (Gartner 1993).

Gartner (1993) alternatively identifies three components that are hierarchically interrelated, namely, cognitive, affective and conative:

- Cognitive refers to the values, beliefs, knowledge and ideas that a person has about
 a certain reality or object. It is generated by a series of mental processes through
 which a person evaluates the attributes known about the product. External stimuli
 (e.g. advertisements, information, etc.) play a relevant role in the creation of a
 'cognitive image';
- ii. Affective refers to an individual's feelings and emotions connected to a destination;
- iii. *Conative* refers to the way a person reacts to a situation. It has to do with action so it takes place when a destination has been chosen. It depends on the images developed during the cognitive and the affective phases.

In parallel, Baloglu and McCleary (1999) propose a model which takes two relevant determinants into consideration:

- stimulus factors, or functional variables, which can be directly observed and/or measured (e.g. information sources);
- ii. *personal factors,* which refer to psychological characteristics not directly observable (e.g. values, personality, etc.).

Taking into account all the definitions and hypotheses listed above, this study privileges and adopts Gunn's (1972) definition of the induced image of a destination, as well as Gartner's components (1993). More specifically, it seeks to identify whether and to what extent the induced image of Sicily as conveyed by the tourism discourse employed in the three selected guidebooks may affect the potential visitors' TDI of Sicily and, hence, their decision-making process. Also, with reference to Baloglu and McCleary's (1999) work, this study investigates the role of the three selected English guidebooks on Sicily as a stimulus factor in the mind of potential visitors.

As noted above, guidebooks, as a formal source of information, may be considered to contribute towards the induced image of a tourist destination. The role of guidebooks has been widely acknowledged in academic research. Indeed, 'the guidebook is a crucial part of

the touristic process, because it mediates the relationship between tourist and destination' (Bhattacharya, 1997: 372). Moreover, 'reading travel guides is part of the process of preparation and anticipation. It enables the imagining of the destination' (Jack & Phipps, 2005: 82). In parallel, Smecca (2009) analyses how tourist guidebooks can be manipulated by editors and translators in order to meet their target readers' expectations and appeal to culture-bound prejudices and stereotypes. The content of guidebooks is, thus, manipulated in order to address different audiences living in different countries and their 'cultural orientations' (Katan, 2004: 13) through the type of tourism discourse they decide to employ, thus producing an induced image of destination (Gunn, 1972). The next section considers the nature and role of guidebooks in more detail.

3 Guidebooks as a literary genre

During the 18th Century, many British travellers visited Italy and recorded their impressions for either private circulation or publication (Sweet, 2012). All such

published and unpublished material describing the cities they visited is quite rich and varied. Such accounts can either be read as mere records of where travellers stayed and what they saw or as material which would later predetermine expectations and reaction of other travellers. (Sweet, 2012: 3)

The subsequent appearance of the first guidebooks in the early 19th Century marked the beginning of the tourist era and a divide between the Grand Tour with its travel diaries and a new way of travelling more suitable to modern, independent travellers. The aim of the first guidebooks was to accompany travellers/tourists during their journey by offering a written form of mediation with the local reality of the places visited. In other words, guidebooks gave travellers the impression of being free in their wanderings but equally 'protected' from the foreign environment (Nigro, 2006).

Thus, the early 19th Century witnessed the beginning of a 'new phenomenon in the literature of travel' (Buzard, 1993: 65). Murray and Baedeker initiated this new literary phenomenon – the travel guidebook – which Murray baptised as a *handbook* in 1836. Such a new form of travel-related writing provided 'a text that would be at once more accessible, more practical and more exhaustive than any previous one' (Buzard, 1993: 70). Thus,

Murray and Baedeker contributed to the creation of what was defined as 'a new genre' (Buzard, 1993: 66) by blending existing textual typologies in order to provide the tourist with just one text which, although light and compact, included all kinds of information.

If we consider guidebooks in their historical development, the 'first modern guidebook' (Brilli, 1997: 30), which inaugurated the age of the continental Grand Tour, was *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* written by Joseph Addison (1705). Similar to this model were works such as *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (Fielding, 1755), *Letters from Italy* (Sharp, 1766), *Tours Through France and Italy* (Smollett, 1766), *Grand Tour* (Boswell, 1766) and *Journey from Geneva to Rome* (Gibbon, 1764).

However, John Murray III identified the starting point of his future guidebook in Marianne Starke's (1802) *Travels to Italy*, 'an important precedent for the handbooks of the mid-nineteenth century' Buzard, 1993: 70). After almost twenty years after the publication of her first book, Starke decided to enlarge her field from Italy to all Europe and in 1828 she published *Information and Directions for Travellers on the Continent*. 'This work physically resembles the later handbooks – slim, portable, printed in double columns' (Buzard, 1993: 70).

Starke's innovations were further developed by Murray and Baedeker. In their guidebooks, the style became increasingly objective and informative; guidebooks became more compact and the word *handbook* was preferred to suggest that it fitted 'easily into the tourist's hand' (Buzard, 1993: 66).

The first Murray guidebook, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, was published in 1836, followed by the first Baedeker guidebook in 1839. After 1861, Baedeker guidebooks were also published in English and French in addition to the original German with such translations being modified and adapted to the needs of English and French tourists. The 20th Century subsequently witnessed huge growth in guidebook publications reflecting the broader expansion and democratisation of travel. Cronin (2000: 86) notes that 'the guide book translated the foreign culture into the mother tongue of the traveller. The traveller no longer had to rely on the oral translation of the guide/interpreter as the guidebook provided written translation'.

Nowadays, guidebooks usually share similar structural divisions into descriptive and informative sections, the latter including practicalities and other useful tips. They represent both a pre- and on-trip tool, offering tourists information about a destination and its

attractions either before or during their journey. Hence, they are in some respects similar to travel brochures. According to Sharpley (2018: 234), 'for many people the travel brochure (physical or virtual) is the main source of information in planning holidays... It is the medium through which tour operators sell their product, informing potential customers about their facilities, amenities and activities available.' Of particular significance to this paper, guidebooks also have the power to shape tourists' attitudes and expectations through what information is included or excluded and the way it is presented

3.1 The guidebooks in this study

As stated above, three guidebooks to Sicily were selected for this study, namely: *Baedeker*, published in 2012, *Lonely Planet*, published in 2014 and *Rough Guide*, published in 2014, all in their English version. All are available in the UK, as well as in Europe, the USA and Australia. Each provides a great deal of information although, as will be pointed out later, their content varies in both quality and in quantity. All three were selected on the basis of their popularity and perceived authority in the market. It should be noted that the 2012-2014 editions as opposed to more recent editions were chosen because, when presenting historical aspects of Sicily (such as the development of the Mafia phenomenon over the centuries), they inevitably adopt a particular perspective or stance. It was deemed appropriate to consider the historical perspective on the Mafia twenty years after the infamous murder in 1992 of two judges (Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino) invloved in Mafia trials. Their violent deaths represented a turning point not only in the history and development of the Mafia but also, more particularly, in Sicilians' awareness of and attitude towards the Mafia – although this latter aspect is beyond the scope of this paper.

Although belonging to the same textual genre, the three guidebooks differ in the way in they are organised, in the audience they address and in the linguistic style adopted. Generally, however, all three include an overall presentation of Sicily before focusing on the description of each specific destination on the island. Unsurprisingly, particular attention is devoted to Palermo, the island's capital, which benefits from much detailed information in each guidebook.

Lonely Planet was founded in the 1970s by Tony and Maureen Wheeler who departed from London and, travelling across Asia, eventually reached Australia. On their return to the UK, they wrote their first guidebook, Across Asia on the Cheap, published in

1973. That was followed by the still popular *Southeast Asia on a Shoestring* (1975) and, today, *Lonely Planet* publishes more than 650 guidebooks in 14 languages.

Lonely Planet guidebooks, typically written in a concise and rather informal style, are perhaps best known and most widely used by low-budget, independent travellers although they also appeal to more mainstream tourists. They describe places without disregarding the socio-economic aspects of destinations and environmental problems. Originally targeting a wide range of tourists, they are the most used tourist guidebook among 'self-producers' or independent tourists. Notable about this guidebook is the limited number of images and photographs, except in the introductory section; conversely, substantial practical information is provided (Vestito, 2006: 44-47).

As for the *Rough Guide*, Mark Ellingham, a graduate of Bristol University, published its first guidebook in 1982. Following a journey to Greece, he decided to create a guidebook which could 'combine a journalistic approach to description with a thoroughly practical approach to travellers' needs, a guide that would incorporate culture, history and contemporary insights with a critical edge, together with up-to-date, value-for-money listings' (see: http://www.roughguides.com). Following on from the first *Rough Guide to Greece* (1982), *Rough Guide* publications now cover more than 200 destinations in the five continents and are translated into 22 languages.

In the *Rough Guide to Sicily,* images are inserted that relate directly to the textual content. The guidebook follows a rather straightforward internal structure. The introduction is the only section rich in photos, followed by a section named 'Basics' which provides all the necessary practical information before leaving as well as during the stay. The description of Sicily is developed in a very 'orderly' way, allowing readers to immediately find the information required; it is easy to use owing to its practical lay-out and the use of symbols which connote the quality of the attractions. Descriptions of the main destinations are preceded by a tourist map with a detailed legend and the identification of places according to categories. The guidebook ends with a section named 'Contexts' which includes interesting historical events, Sicilian books, language and the Mafia.

The first *Baedeker* travel guidebook was published on July 1, 1827 by Baedeker Verlag, a German publisher and pioneer in the business of worldwide travel guides founded by Karl Baedeker. In the early 19th Century, it was the first publication to play a fundamental role in conveying an image of Italy to foreign visitors (Nigro, 2006). The

structure of contemporary *Baedeker* guidebooks usually includes an introduction to the places to visit, maps, information about routes and travel facilities and, above all, descriptions of noteworthy buildings, sights, attractions and museums written by specialists in a formal style.

In the 2012 edition, the usual introduction section ('Background') provides an overall presentation of Sicily. This is followed by a section offering practical information which, of the three books in this study, is arguably the most complete and useful to the visitor owing to a classification of hotels, accommodation facilities, restaurants, cinemas and other facilities according to price and categories (mid-range to luxurious). Sicilian towns are introduced in alphabetical order and the most important ones are indicated by an asterisk. Each section referring to a particular destination also includes sub-sections, presented in different colours according to the aspect dealt with.

What primarily distinguishes the three guidebooks is their targeted readership. *Baedeker* is traditionally written for a cultured audience (Nigro, 2006; Vestito, 2006) with high expectations with regards to the depth of information provided (for example, the number of pages devoted to the Mafia (24-28) with only two pictures). Similarly, the *Rough Guide* is aimed at an audience with an interest in the art, history and culture of the places visited. It offers longer descriptions of the sights, sometimes even indulging in comments and anecdotes. It is written in a colloquial style and often resorts to irony as a rhetorical strategy to present peculiar or negative aspects (number of pages devoted to Mafia: 49; 83-84; 355; 390; 380-384, without pictures).

In contrast, the *Lonely Planet* guidebook addresses a younger audience and pays more attention to practical and cheap solutions. The artistic and cultural descriptions of the places visited are limited to essential information. The language style is concise and less formal and descriptions are more subjective. Although originally planned to meet all tastes, it is one of the most used guidebooks among the low budget, independent travellers (pages devoted to the Mafia: 279; 296-299, without pictures).

4 Methodology

Despite the long history and evident influence of guidebooks, only a limited number of studies have considered both the 'language of tourism' (Dann, 1996) in guidebooks (Nigro, 2006; Vestito, 2006) and how that language might represent specific cultural aspects of

destinations in particular (De Marco, 2016). More specifically, few have sought to explore through linguistic analysis the relationship between the text in guidebooks and destination image whilst, as previously observed, the potential influence of the Mafia on destination image formation has not benefited from academic scrutiny.

As established in the introduction to this paper, the aim of the research is to analyse the manner in which the three selected guidebooks present the Mafia through the tourism discourse employed in the relevant sections, the purpose being to establish if and how this might influence tourists' image of Sicily. As such, the research involves both a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the tourism discourse employed by the three guidebooks. The quantitative analysis of the linguistic choices employed is carried out both starting from Dann's perspective (1996), which will be further explained, and by applying the Corpus Linguistics approach. The qualitative analysis of the linguistic statistical data is carried out through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (van Dijk, 1993, 1995; Fairclough, 1989, 2003).

First, from a strictly linguistic perspective, the foundation of this research lies in the first comprehensive study of tourism discourse or, more precisely, the language of tourism and its influence on tourists' behaviour provided by Graham Dann (1996) in his seminal work, *The Language of Tourism: A Sociolinguistic Perspective*. In this book, he claims that the 'tourism industry exploits language in order to attract and *control* tourists and their experience of a destination' (Dann, 1996: 144). More specifically, he argues that:

tourism, in the act of promotion... has a discourse of its own...The language of tourism attempts to persuade, lure, woo, and seduce millions of human beings and, in so doing, convert them from potential into actual clients. (Dann, 1996: 2)

As Dann suggests, the language of tourism is characterised by some specific verbal techniques which he defines as 'comparison, keywords and keying, testimony, humour, languaging and ego-targeting' (Dann, 1996: 171-188). These have since been analysed by tourist academics such as Cappelli (2013), Cesiri (2016), Erwanati (2001), Maci (2013), Mattiello (2012) and others. The verbal techniques privileged in this study concern *keywords* and *languaging*.

Keywords are defined by Dann as those which 'fire the imagination' (Dann, 1996: 174) of the potential visitor. They include words such as 'away, adventure, escape, dream,

imagination, pleasure' (Dann, 1996: 174). They have a promotional and persuasive purpose. At the same time, keywords have also been defined as 'words whose frequency is unusually high in comparison with some norm' (Scott, 1996: 53; 1997: 236) or with standard language, which means that they occur more frequently in tourism discourse contexts than in general English.

Second, with regards to the qualitative analysis and following van Dijk's (1993, 1995) approach to CDA as well as the other studies referred to previously (Dann, 1996; Gotti, 2006; Maci, 2013, 2020; Manca, 2016), this research focuses on the meanings conveyed by specific formal aspects of guidebook discourse to account for the influence of ideologies in the presentation and representation of Sicily in the selected guidebooks.

CDA considers language as a 'social phenomenon and thus analyses texts and places these texts in their context, in order to determine the function of the discourse they represent in society' (Hallett & Kaplan-Weinger, 2010: 7). Hence, this section explains how the linguistic characteristics of the relevant sections of the three guidebooks focusing on the Mafia will be identified as a basis for revealing the meanings conveyed by the guidebook discourse in respect to the representation of Sicily (van Dijk,1993, 1995; Urry, 2011).

Since its emergence in the 1980s, 'critical discourse analysis has become a widely used qualitative research method... Language was seen to construct versions of social reality, and it was seen to achieve social objectives' (Willig, 2003: 160). Formal/linguistic aspects of discourse can be considered as instruments through which authors construct and convey desired 'mental models' (subjective mental representations) and social representations relying upon socially shared perceptions and expectations (Bergmeister, 2015; Garrod & Kosowska, 2012; De Marco, 2016; Urry, 2011).

Returning to the linguistic perspective, in order to analyse tourism discourse as it is employed in the selected three guidebooks, a methodological approach is used based on observation, description and analysis of data. As noted above, the Corpus Linguistics approach which is 'based on a pragmatic and contextual study of a language' (Nigro, 2006: 75) was adopted. Indeed, 'corpus linguistics is empirical. Its object is real language data' (Teubert, 2005: 5); the starting point of its linguistic analysis lies in authentic and real data. Language, rather than being considered as an abstract system of knowledge and rules outside the communicative context, is studied in its pragmatic and social dimension. 'The main objective of *corpus linguistics* is the examination and description of language use in

representative texts of a specific community in a specific situation' (Nigro: 2006: 76). The Corpus Linguistics approach (Baker, 2010; Brezina, 2018; McEnery, 2001), which 'extracts quantitative data and interprets them from a linguistic perspective' (Manca, 2016: 64) is, therefore, most appropriate for this study.

The three selected guidebooks constitute the whole 'corpus' of the research; each guidebook constitutes a 'sub-corpus'. Consequently, each section devoted to the Mafia included in each of the guidebooks is analysed with a special focus on Dann's rhetorical strategy of keywords (1996) through an examination of the occurrences of the two specific lexico-grammatical features selected for this study, namely, nouns and adjectives-pre/post modifiers (Halliday, 2004). The concepts of collocation and colligation (Firth, 1957; Sinclair, 2003) are not under scrutiny in this study. 'Nouns are typically modified by adjectives, e.g. *lovely weather*' (Aarts, Chalker & Weiner, 2014: 254). '*Premodification* is a left-dislocation of terms with an adjectival function which *modifies* the qualities or the properties of the headnoun. This may create complex nominal groups whose modifiers are nouns which have acquired an adjectival role' (Maci, 2013: 51). Conversely, *postmodification* is the 'phenomenon of a dependent phrase, clause, etc. restricting the meaning of a preceding head word through modification, i.e. by ascribing a property to it' (Aarts, Chalker & Weiner, 2014: 314). A *postmodifier* is 'a modifier that follows its head in phrase structure' (Aarts, Chalker & Weiner, 2014: 315).

The software *WordSmith Tool 6.0* (Scott 1998, 2012) is employed for the collection of linguistic items; 'it generates statistical information' (Francesconi, 2007: 12). As will be shown, keywords are employed with different frequencies by the three sub-corpora of guidebooks. The result may consequently imply a different way of using them when dealing with the Mafia phenomenon and, therefore, a different tourism destination image of Sicily may be conveyed to potential tourists on the basis of the different linguistic choices adopted.

4.1 Methodology applied to sub-corpora

More specifically, the quantitative analysis, utilising *Wordsmith Tools 6.0*, identifies the occurrences of keywords – belonging to the lexico-grammatical categories selected, i.e. nouns and adjectives-pre/postmodifiers – in the three sub-corpora of guidebooks. As specified above, keywords have also been defined as 'words with unusually high frequency' (Scott 1998: 24). Such occurrences reveal *key semantic fields* to which the lexico-

grammatical features selected belong. The resulting data then undergo a qualitative linguistic analysis through which the tourism discourse employed by the three guidebooks in the sections dealing with the Mafia phenomenon is examined. It is intended that the results obtained demonstrate whether and to what extent the tourism discourse used in the three guidebooks might influence the tourism destination image of Sicily and, consequently, potential visitors' decision-making when choosing Sicily as a destination.

The three sub-corpora of guidebooks are comparable as they all show texts with similar textual coherence and cohesion and they share the same communicative function — that is, the presentation of the historical development of the Mafia phenomenon and the current situation. However, they differ in the length of the relevant sections devoted to the Mafia (*Baedeker*: 902 words; *Lonely Planet*: 1412 words; *Rough Guide*: 2034 words). The total corpus of the three guidebooks examined consists of 4348 words. It is a small corpus but 'even when small-scale, a corpus is a reliable aid when working with domain-specific language' (Bowker & Pearson, 2002: 48).

The key semantic fields identified on the basis of the occurrences of keywords are illustrated in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Key semantic fields

Nouns	Adjectives and Pre/postmodifiers		
Mafia history	Mafia history		
Anti-Mafia movement and institutions	Anti-Mafia movement and institutions		
Mafia 'values'	Mafia 'values'		
Places connected to the Mafia	Places connected to the Mafia		
Places connected to Anti-Mafia movement	Places connected to Anti-Mafia movement		
and institutions	and institutions		
People connected to the Mafia	People connected to the Mafia		
People/activities connected to the Anti-	People/activities connected to the Anti-		
Mafia	Mafia		
Mafia businesses	Mafia businesses		
Advice and information for tourists	Advice and information for tourists		
Books and filmography	Books and filmography		

The other verbal technique proposed by Dann and investigated in this study regards *languaging*. Although in a more limited way, examples of *languaging* (Dann, 1996: 183) can also be found in the three sub-corpora of guidebooks. Languaging was a term originally used by Potter (1970: 90-1), implying the use of real or fictitious foreign words of which the reader has limited or no knowledge. In travel writing, languaging is mainly, although not uniquely, applied in the field of gastronomy (Dann, 1996: 183); it 'may include a manipulation of the vernacular' (Dann, 1996: 184). In the case of our three sub-corpora of guidebooks, as will be shown, languaging is used with reference to the Mafia phenomenon, its historical/social development and its activities. This use of languaging when dealing with the Mafia can be justified by the fact that some words, as Dann (1996: 185) notes, 'hold a fascination in themselves', a fascination that might be enhanced by the reader's lack of knowledge or understanding of such words (Potter, 1970), thereby further shrouding the whole matter in mystery.

The following are examples of such languaging relevant to the fields of the Mafia and the so-called anti-Mafia movement (a movement in Sicily that seeks to oust the Mafia) in the grammatical function as nouns or postmodifiers/adjectives, and the number of their occurrences in each sub-corpus.

Lonely Planet

Mafia: (7); omertà; pizzeria; trattoria; anti-Mafia (4); latifondist; Mafioso/i: (3); Libera (2); anti-pizzo; Addiopizzo; pizzo (3). Total: 25.

Here, examples of languaging point out aspects such as the historical development of the Mafia (e.g. *latifondisti*, or landowners); places related to their activities (e.g. pizzeria; trattoria); values (i.e. omertà); mafia and anti-mafia organisations (e.g. *Addiopizzo; Libera*).

Baedeker

L'onorata Società (2); omertà; *Libera* (2); *Addiopizzo* (4); pizzo (2); Mafia (17); lupara bianca; Cosa Nostra (3); mafioso (2); anti mafia; 'Ndrangheta; Camorra. Total: 37.

Here, examples of languaging point out aspects such as the internal organisation of the Mafia, their activities and names (e.g. L'Onorata Società; Cosa Nostra; lupara bianca); anti Mafia organisations (*Libera*); values (omertà); other types of similar criminal organisations in southern Italy ('Ndrangheta; Camorra).

Rough Guide

Addiopizzo; Consumo Critico; pizzo (2); Mafia (22); anti-Mafia (4); Corleonese (3); Capo di tutti i Capi; mafiosi (5); omertà; mafiosità; cadaveri eccellenti; maxiprocessi; Pentiti; Capo dei Capi; Cosa Nostra; *La Piovra*. Total: 47.

Here, examples of languaging point out aspects such as Mafia organisation, activities and geographical location (e.g. Mafia; Corleonese; Cosa Nostra; Capo di tutti i Capi; pizzo; cadaveri eccellenti; mafiosi); values (omertà; mafiosità); anti Mafia organisations (*Addiopizzo; Consumo Critico*); aspects connected to their prosecution and arrest (maxiprocessi; Pentiti); and television and cinematographic productions (La Piovra).

Recurring aspects in all three guidebooks are Mafia organisations and names, anti-Mafia organisations and names, and values.

5 Data Analysis

The analysis and comparison of the percentage data obtained from the three sub-corpora of guidebooks, specifically the key semantic fields that have been examined (see Table 1), point to some distinctive features which lead to conclusions which are highlighted and discussed in the sections below. The results of the quantitative linguistic analysis are summarised in Tables 2a and 2b; they highlight the percentage data of nouns and adjectives- pre/postmodifiers respectively in each guidebook connected to each semantic field.

Table 2a: Nouns

	Lonely Planet	Baedeker	Rough Guide
Mafia history	7.57%	13.74%	9.04%
Anti-Mafia mov. and inst	2.76%	0.88%	1.72%

Mafia 'values'	0.28%	1.55%	0.58%
Places connected to the Mafia	0.77%	1.21%	0.78%
Places connected to anti-	0.21%	0.33%	0.24%
People connected to the	0.77%	0.88%	2.50%
Mafia People/activities connected	5.80%	4.98%	3.34%
to the anti-Mafia Mafia businesses	1.13%	3.88%	2.40%
Advice and information	0.70%	1.44%	2.94%
for tourists			
Books and filmography	1.62%	0.55%	1.32%

Table 2b: Adjectives - pre/postmodifiers

	Lonely Planet	Baedeker	Rough Guide
Mafia history	2.54%	2.88%	3.19%
Anti-Mafia mov. and inst	1.98%	0.00%	0.93%
Mafia 'values'	0.07%	0.11%	0.19%
Places connected to the Mafia	0.00%	0.22%	0.04%
Places connected to anti- Mafia	0.00%	0.00%	0.09%
People connected to the Mafia	0.42%	0.44%	1.17%
People/Activities connected to the anti-Mafia	1.19%	1.44%	1.17%
Mafia businesses	0.07%	1.55%	0.83%
Advice and information for tourists	1.48%	0.11%	1.22%
Books and filmography	0.70%	0.22%	0.44%

From a comparative linguistic analysis of the percentage data obtained in the three sub-corpora of guidebooks, it can be inferred that as far as the lexico-grammatical category of *nouns* is concerned:

- i. Baedeker devotes most attention and space to the key semantic field concerning 'Mafia history' (13.74%). This suggests that it places greater importance on providing its readers with a historical explanation of the Mafia phenomenon, seeking to inform them sufficiently to approach and understand the phenomenon from a wider historical perspective. In comparison, Rough Guide devotes 9.04% to 'Mafia history', while Lonely Planet 7.57%. This varying emphasis on the history of the Mafia may well reflect the traditional (and perhaps target) readerships of each of the guidebooks. Indeed, not only is Baedeker the oldest of the three (first published more than 150 years before Lonely Planet or Rough Guide), but it arguably appeals to a more cultured audience seeking authoritative and detailed information on the destination, its history and culture.
 - ii. The guidebooks differ in terms of the space they devote to the people and the organisations which have tried to challenge the influence of the Mafia. In this case, Lonely Planet places more emphasis than the others on the impact of what might be described as anti-Mafia activities. Specifically: Lonely Planet: 'People/activities connected to the anti-Mafia' (5.80%), compared to Baedeker (4.98%) and Rough Guide (3.34%). Attention is also devoted to 'Anti-Mafia movement and institutions' in all guidebooks; once again Lonely Planet places greatest emphasis on this (2.76%), while the emphasis in Rough Guide (1.72%) and Baedeker (0.88%) is less. This suggests that Lonely Planet that demonstrates a greater sensitivity towards an organised legal response to the Mafia. In so doing, it appears to be the publication that is most prepared to adopt a subjective/political stance as opposed to the more traditional objective approach followed by Baedeker. This idea is also reinforced by the emphasis on those movements, such as Libera and Addiopizzo, which over recent decades have started to raise and increase citizens' awareness of so-called 'organised criminality' and to highlight the consequential need to react against it and to fight against the passive resignation which has characterised Sicilian attitudes until recently – at least until Falcone's and Borsellino's murders. Lonely Planet is, then, the guidebook that contributes more to providing an image of Sicily that is

not firmly fixed to the idea of its criminal past, of the *Cosa Nostra* and of the value of *omertà*. Rather, it promotes an image of Sicily as a more mature and conscious country and, consequently, arguably safer when chosen as a tourist destination.

iii. In reassuring potential tourists against possible dangers related to the presence of the Mafia, *Rough Guide* devotes more attention to the key semantic field connected to 'Advice and information for tourists' (2.94%), while the proportion for *Baedeker is* 1.44% and for *Lonely Planet* just 0.70%. On the basis of these results, *Rough Guide* places greater emphasis on attempting to convey an image of Sicily as a safer place. In particular, the discussion of all the cinematic productions focused on Mafia families – first of all *II Padrino* – conveys the idea of the Mafia being something belonging to the past and, consequently, so detached from everyday life that it is possible to talk about it in 'lighter' rather than 'darker' terms (Sharpley and Stone, 2009), perhaps almost as a fictional tale and therefore absolutely inoffensive.

With regards to the lexico-grammatical category of adjectives - pre/postmodifiers:

- i. The discourse analysis shows that greatest attention is devoted by the three guidebooks to the key semantic fields concerning the historical development of the Mafia phenomenon (*Rough Guide*: 3.19%; *Baedeker*: 2.88%; *Lonely Planet*: 2.54%) and 'Mafia businesses' (*Baedeker*: 1.55, *Rough Guide*: 0.83%, *Lonely Planet*: 0.07), followed by the counterpart of 'Anti-Mafia movement and institutions' (*Lonely Planet*: 1.98%, *Rough Guide*: 0.93%, *Baedeker*: 0.0%) and 'People/activities connected to the anti-Mafia (*Rough Guide*: 1.91%; *Baedeker*: 1.44%; *Lonely Planet*: 1.17%)
- ii. Only *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* devote some attention to 'Advice and information for tourists': *Lonely Planet*: 1.48%; *Rough* Guide: 1.22%, while *Baedeker* only 0.11%.

All the other semantic fields show low percentage data which do not privilege any aspect in particular (see Table 2b).

6 Discussion of results and contribution to knowledge

The analysis of the tourism discourse in this study has explored whether the so-called 'shared knowledge attitudes and ideologies' (Van Dijk, 2001) about the Mafia phenomenon are actually considered, reinforced and spread by the three selected guidebooks, or whether a different stance is taken by one or all the guidebooks which might on the whole convey a new, more 'relaxed' and safer idea of Sicily as a tourist destination. In other words, the study has sought to establish whether a dark 'marker' – 'marker' in MacCannell's (1989) words and 'dark' in Sharpley and Stone's words (2009) – of Sicily as a Mafia destination is actually reinforced by the guidebooks, or whether a 'light' – as opposed to dark – image of Sicily as a tourist destination is conveyed.

As noted above, Sicily has on the one hand been and might still be considered a 'dark tourism destination' (Sharpley & Stone, 2009), dark tourism being defined as travelling to 'places or sites associated with death, disaster and suffering' (Sharpley, 2018: 214). Hence, given the long history of violent death associated with the Sicilian Mafia (see Balsamo & Carpozi, 2019), the island may jsutifiably be described as a 'dark' destination. On the other hand, tourists may hold a 'lighter' image of Sicily in relation to the Mafia, particularly as it can now be seen as a film tourism destination, with visitors seeking out locations where movies such as 'The Godfather' was shot and to visit the cafes where actors used to meet during the film shooting.

From the resarch in this study, it is the latter, lighter image of Sicily that emerges from the discourse analysis. Most notably, the data revealed a positive perspective on the island of Sicily. In other words, the guidebooks do not adhere to or convey a negative traditional image of the Mafia but, rather, portray Sicily as an island that has finally become more aware of the issue – especially thanks to the exemplary models provided by the two judges, Falcone and Borsellino, and their deaths in 1992 – and that has eventually started to react against it, as the actions of the anti-Mafia organisations testify, such as *Addiopizzo* and *Libera*, testify. In addition, and from a 'lighter' perspective, the image of Sicily is more simply linked to the tourism industry and to the extensive film production devoted to the Mafia phenomenon, thus turning Sicily into a so-called 'movie-tourism' destination.

More specifically, the statistical data commented on so far suggest that *Lonely Planet* and, to a lesser extent, *Rough Guide* are the guidebooks that demonstrate a greater degree of sensitivity towards the issue of an organised legal response to the Mafia phenomenon. In so doing, *Lonely Planet* in particular appears to most prepared to adopt a subjective/political stance as opposed to the more traditional objective approach followed by *Baedeker* which dwells more on the historical developments of the Mafia phenomenon.

Overall, it would of course be erroneous to claim that the Mafia is on the decline, whether locally in Sicily or globally. Nevertheless, the results obtained from the linguistic analysis of the three sub-corpora of guidebooks suggest that, in terms of destination image, the guidebooks collectively:

- i. reduce prospective tourists' possible 'perceived risk' (Reichel et al., 2007, cited in Chew & Jahar, 2014: 383-4; also, Mansfeld, 2006) of Sicily as a destination, thus modifying their initial 'organic' image (Gunn, 1972) which might be biased by their previous information and knowledge;
- ii. combine a 'dark' image of the island connected to the Mafia phenomenon, to murders and to organised crime with an image of contemporary Sicily as not only a 'film destination' but mainly as a safe place for tourists. Specifically, the image conveyed is one of a country that has managed to raise its awareness of and to distance itself from its 'darker' past, in particular through the fundamental support and activities of the anti-Mafia organisations and through the legal responses to the Mafia phenomenon, which have followed the terrible trauma imposed on the Sicilian population by the murders of the two judges in 1992.

In other words, given its relationship with the Mafia, Sicily is undoubtedly a 'dark tourism' destination. However, these darker aspects of the island are, as revealed in the linguistic choices employed by the three guidebooks, mostly rooted in the past. It can, therefore, be concluded that the strong, legal reaction of the anti-Mafia movements against the criminal phenomenon as well as the cinematographic representation of the Mafia, depicting a portrait of the 'old' Mafia phenomenon, somehow 'lighten the dark' of the original image of Sicily, thereby reducing tourists' perceived risk and communicating the image of the island as a safe destination.

Of course, this paper does not address all the possible areas connected with the tourist destination image of Sicily in general and the relevance of the Mafia to that image in particular. Indeed, further research should include empirical studies that explore tourists' image of Sicily both prior to and following a visit to the island and, in particular, the influence (if any) of the Mafia phenomenon on that image. For instance, research might reveal that, on the one hand, in the context of the Mafia the island is primarily considered a film tourism destination, or that, on the other hand, for some tourists, a visit to the island stimulates an awareness of the Mafia that they did not previously possess. Either way, the results can be considered positive with regards to the TDI of Sicily, both in terms of tourists' increased awareness of the Mafia phenomenon and the places connected to it and also the enhancement of film industry.

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LONELY PLANET

Gregor, K., Maric, V. (2014). Sicily. London: Lonely Planet.

ROUGH GUIDE

Belford, R. (2014). The Rough Guide to Sicily. London: Rough Guides Ltd.