THE PROMOTIONAL FUNCTIONALITY OF EVALUATIVE LANGUAGE IN TOURISM DISCOURSE

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Abstract – This study intends to investigate the use of evaluation in a corpus of British tourist brochures produced by tour operators specializing in the promotion of Italy. The theoretical framework is the Appraisal System developed mainly by White (1998, 2001) and Martin (2000) in order to study the discourse functions of evaluative resources. The creators of brochures resort mainly to two categories of Appraisal. The first concerns the expression of emotions (Affect), both in an implicit and explicit way, while the second category (Appreciation) includes aesthetic assessments. Evaluation can be amplified by several linguistic devices which either sharpen the margins of an experiential category or intensify the meaning of a word, like those lexical items which include an assessment of intensity as part of their semantic load. The iteration of evaluative meanings constructs a prosody, bringing an emotional and aesthetic colour to the whole text which involves the reader and increases the perceived value of a tourist destination.

Keywords: Evaluation, Promotion, Appraisal, Brochure, Tourism

1. Introduction

Travellers' impressions of a destination and, thus, their choice of holiday packages are influenced significantly by tourist brochures. The decisive role of this text type is foregrounded by a number of researchers, in particular by Andereck (2005, p. 9), whose survey shows how "a brochure can increase prospective visitors' interest in visiting a destination". Its strategic importance to the industry of tourism is also underlined by Morgan and Pritchard (1998, p. 31), when they assert that "[t]he tourist gaze is moulded by professional image creators and brochure writers".

This study intends to investigate how tourist brochures achieve their promotional ends. I shall focus, in particular, on their linguistic dimension to understand how their creators exploit evaluative resources to attract customers.

One of the identifying features of tourist brochures is their use of highly evaluative language, "usually extolling the positive features of the places described and the services offered" (Gotti 2006, p. 27). Brochure writers colour their promotional discourse by mingling attitudinal meanings in order to establish evaluative prosodies resonating across the whole text. By the word 'attitudinal' we mean "any utterance which either conveys a negative or positive assessment or which can be interpreted as inviting the reader to supply their own negative or positive assessments".[1] Promotion relies on the cumulative effect of similar appraisals which form a kind of prosody which determines the kind of attitude brochure writers want their readers to share. Like Halliday (1979, pp. 66-67), "we shall refer to this type of realisation as 'prosodic', since the meaning is distributed like a prosody throughout a continuous stretch of discourse". As the text of the brochure unfolds, readers are thus rhetorically aligned. Writers exploit a wide spectrum of attitudinal and graduating resources to

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[1] http://grammatics.com/Appraisal/AppraisalGuide/Framed/Stage1-Attitude-Affect-01.htm (18.10.2012).

attract potential customers by enriching their texts with emotions and evaluations regarding their subject matter. The main aim of this study is to discuss how evaluation is achieved through efficient exploitation of lexico-grammatical resources to serve a promotional function.

2. The corpus

The corpus of my analysis, compiled between August 2012 and January 2013, includes a sample of British tourist brochures presented online by tour operators specializing in the general promotion of Italy.[2] Given the wealth of this country's cultural heritage, I decided to select also a number of widely-recognised promoters of cultural tourism to Italy. To my knowledge all the texts examined here are authentic and not translations from Italian. Table 1 provides a detailed representation of the corpus, its parts and sources.

	Tokens	Types	Type/Token Ratio
Martin Randall Travel	18,753	3,627	19.34
Kudu Travel	5,814	5,814	23.65
Just Sardinia	7,126	1,695	23.79
Inntravel	52,611	4,235	8.05
Cresta	6,292	1,790	28.45
Classic Collections Holiday	17,607	3,108	17.65
Citalia	7,516	2,147	28.57
Andante Travels	12,924	2,676	20.71
ACE Cultural Tours	10,037	2,379	23.70
Total	138,680	10,283	7.41

Table 1
Corpus detail

Since my focus is the promotion of Italy as a tourist destination, the corpus does not include the sections devoted to the description of accommodation or terms and conditions or other practicalities.

In order to throw light on the nature of promotional discourse in British tourist brochures, the corpus investigated here will be processed by resorting to Mike Scott's *WordSmithTools* (1999). Thus, the quantitative data will corroborate the descriptive and qualitative analysis.

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[2] According to the British Travel Awards, some of the best tour operators to the Italian Peninsula include Citalia, Classic Collection Holidays, Cresta, Inntravel, and Just Sardinia (http://britishtravelawards.com/blog.php, 12.12.2012). To complete my corpus, I decided to include some companies specializing in guided cultural tours of Italy. In this sector, according to Gill Charlton, a travel expert and consumer correspondent for *The Daily Telegraph*, "the top choices are ACE Cultural Tours, Andante Travels, Kudu Travel, and Martin Randall Travel" (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/italy/9012204/Italy-a-guide-to-finding-good-value.html, 22.09.2012).

3. The theoretical framework

Since Dann's (1996) seminal work *The Language of Tourism, a Socio-linguistic Perspective*, a number of Italian scholars have joined the debate on the language of tourism and the peculiarities of the texts concerning the field. Their contributions have been embedded in a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches. Besides discussing whether or not the discourse of tourism should be included among types of specialized discourse (Calvi 2000; Cappelli 2006; Gotti 2006; Fusari 2009; Nigro 2006), most of these works highlighted the textual and linguistic features of the major tourist genres (Cappelli 2006; Castello 2002; Denti 2012; Fodde and Denti 2005; Francesconi 2007; Maci 2012; Mattiello 2012; Mocini 2009; Nigro 2006, 2012; Vestito 2005). Since "Translation issues are paramount in tourism" (Fodde and Van Den Abbeele 2012, p. 11), the analysis of tourist discourse across languages represents another critical approach chosen by researchers who have investigated parallel or comparable corpora of English and Italian (Cappelli 2012; Manca 2004, 2012; Mocini 2011).

The framework of the present study is the Appraisal System[3] developed mainly by White (1998, 2001) and Martin (2000), and applied to textual analysis in several areas including the semantics of casual conversation (Eggins and Slade 1997), literary narrative (Rothery and Stenglin 2000), news reporting (Martin 2004; White 2002), and poetry (Martin and White 2005). Appraisal is concerned with the system of interpersonal meanings which realize the *tenor* of discourse. As Martin and Rose (2003, p. 22) state: "Appraisal is concerned with evaluation – the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned". Thus, the term 'attitude' includes Affect (people's feelings), Judgement (people's character) and Appreciation (the value of things). There are two attendant categories of Appraisal: Engagement (the position of the speaker/writer) and Graduation (the strengthening or weakening of attitudes). Judgement and Engagement will not be dealt with, as less relevant for the purpose of this study.

4. Emotional appeal

Let us start with Affect, or the set of resources used to construe emotional reactions. Besides its informative function, a tourist brochure aims at persuading customers to buy a product. Angela Goddard (2002, p. 35) claims that "feelings are crucial where advertising is concerned because as a form of communication it consciously targets our emotions".

Feelings can be expressed directly, or may be implied. As we can see from the following passage taken from the corpus, emotion can be explicitly named:

> We will also *enjoy*[4] the art and architecture of Parma, where the baptistery is perhaps the greatest Romanesque building in northern Italy (Ace Cultural Tours).

> We *admire* the Duomo, bell tower, archbishop's palace, seminary and the façade of Santa Croce (Kudu Travel).

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[3] Capital letters are normally used for categories in the literature dealing with Appraisal.
[4] Here and elsewhere in the quotations from the corpus, italics has been added to highlight the linguistic items being discussed.

The frequency of the two affectual resources included in the foregoing quotations are shown in Table 2.

Affectual resources	Occurrences	Frequency
enjoy	156	0.11%
admire	35	0.03%

Table 2
Frequency of "enjoy" and "admire"

Phenomena which trigger similar emotions are presumably viewed positively by the readers themselves. By appraising things in such emotional terms, the writer seeks to create an empathetic connection with the readership. Most of the time emotions are presented as non-authorial, as being ascribed to someone else such as visitors who act as a surrogate for the writer and represent a device for the expression of the attitudinal position assumed by the writer. The tourist milieu is evaluated positively through the emotional responses attributed to visitors:

> Visitors will *enjoy* staying in a masseria, grand restored country farmhouses and mansions (Classic Collection Holiday).

As a result, the text appears to negotiate solidarity with the readers: "If the reader endorses the emotional response, sees it as praiseworthy, justified or at least understandable, then they are more likely to be positively disposed to that social actor generally".[5] Affectual values are expected to be approved of by the readers of the brochure. Thus, they are strategically used to position the reader attitudinally with the destination being promoted:

> Our family activity holidays in Italy are meticulously researched, and we choose *family-friendly* accommodation where you will find a *warm* and genuine *welcome* (Inntravel).

> The beauty of Lake Orta lies in its tranquillity: visitors can stroll down the cobbled streets of Orta San Giulio and *enjoy* leisurely boat rides to the enchanting Island of San Giulio (Citalia).

> *Surprisingly*, the city seems scarcely deflected from a typically Italian dedication to living well and stylishly by the annual influx of festival visitors (Martin Randall Travel).

> Opera lovers will *delight* in a trip to Verona's open air amphitheatre (Classic Collection Holidays).

> Puglia, an *awe-inspiring* region steeped in rustic mystery and culinary legend is baked by the noonday sun and caressed by murmuring waves (Citalia).

Affectual values inscribed in "warm", "welcome", "enjoy", etc. are justified by some supporting evidence such as "family-friendly accommodation", "The beauty" and "tranquillity" of Lake Orta, "the enchanting island of San Giulio". Another emotional evaluation inscribed in "awe-inspiring" seems to be well-motivated by the reference to "rustic mystery", "culinary legend", and "murmuring waves". To bestow credibility on the emotional aspect of their brochures, writers often provide a number of specific, tangible, even technical data as in the following excerpt:

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[5] http://grammatics.com/Appraisal/AppraisalGuide/Framed/Stage1-Attitude-Affect-05.htm (21.10.2012).

As well as being the seat of one of Europe's oldest universities, Padova boasts numerous frescoed churches, including the Cappella degli Scrovegni, whose Giotto frescoes will fill you with *awe*. Once you've taken in these, the Basilica of St Anthony whose domes and bell towers dominate the skyline, and the Palazzo della Ragione, which astonishes with its size, you can enjoy more cycling by following our circuit to the west of the city (Inntravel).

As the foregoing examples illustrate, the feelings are construed as reactions to the emotions triggered by the concrete references. Grammatically speaking, Affect may take the form of several structures. The epithet "family-friendly" achieves Affect as a quality attributed to "accommodation". Verbs such as "enjoy" and "delight" realize affect as a process, whereas the modal adjunct "Surprisingly" realizes Affect as a comment. Notice how both the emoter and the trigger of the emotion are introduced together in "visitors can [...] enjoy leisurely boat rides", while in other instances of Affect only the trigger is represented:

In such a quiet, untouristy area, the *welcome* is genuine and *warm* and our chosen inns receive high praise, not least for a regional cuisine of pasta, cured meats, fish from the rivers, bread made from chestnut flour, and, in season, wild mushrooms, truffles and chestnuts (Inntravel).

As we can see, the feelings construed by the brochures may fall into three general categories: happiness, security and satisfaction. The happiness variable relates to emotions concerned with 'affairs of the heart'. Other feelings, like peace, for example, cover the area of security. The last of these three categories concerns emotions associated with satisfaction in the guise of the achievement of goals, like the pursuit of pleasure and interest, the gratification of curiosity. Table 3 below contains a summary of the different kinds of emotion included in the foregoing quotations.

Items	Kind of emotion	Occurrences	Frequency
enjoy	Happiness	156	0.11%
warm	Security	40	0.03%
admire	Satisfaction	35	0.03%
welcome	Security	22	0.02%
delight	Satisfaction	19	0.01%
surprisingly	Satisfaction	10	< 0.01%
awe-inspiring	Satisfaction	9	< 0.01%
family-friendly	Security	8	< 0.01%
awe	Satisfaction	5	< 0,01%

Table 3
Frequency of different kinds of emotions

Attitudinal meaning is strictly context-dependent. Up until now, we have considered all instances of positive affect. Promotion in the field of tourism also draws, however, on instances of negative Affect. The item "awe-inspiring", for example, refers to the feelings of respect and amazement that people have when they are faced with something wonderful and often frightening. This ambivalence can make something worth visiting.

Only inscribed Appraisal is explicitly lexicalized in the words such as those emphasized so far. Conversely, evoked Appraisal is not tied to individual words but is expressed through the implied meaning of spans of text, the so-called 'tokens' of Appraisal:

The man-made environment melds with the natural in a picturesque union of *intense beauty*. It is a landscape of rumpled hills, sometimes rugged and forested, *sometimes tamed in the struggle* to cultivate, always speckled with ancient farmsteads, fortified villages and isolated churches. Even

> from the central piazze of many of these towns there are views of countryside which seems scarcely to have changed for centuries (Martin Randall Travel).

Apart from the first sentence where the phrase "intense beauty" is explicitly evaluative, determining, prospectively, the tone of the whole descriptive passage, none of the ensuing lexical items describing the landscape of central Italy might be said to convey any kind of positive assessment *per se*. It is the selection of experiential meanings which establishes a prosody of positive evaluation. Outside this particular context, similar descriptive expressions would be attitudinally neutral, but here their combination creates a landscape which impresses the observer with its unexpected variety and which, in tourist terms, is valued positively. The explicit evaluation inscribed in "intense beauty" launches the prosody which is subsequently reinforced by the feeling of amazement created by non-attitudinal ideational material. The reference to the struggle between people and nature reinforces the feeling of astonishment which also finds its expression in the choice of a marked grammatical structure which fronts the circumstantial element and hence anticipates something unexpected. The adverb "even", too, indicates an assessment by which the subsequent occurrence is represented as somewhat unexpected. Finally, although the embedded clause introduced by "which" does not contain any explicit assessment, it is nevertheless a token of Appraisal. The evocation of a positive attitude "is projected by reference to events or states which are conventionally prized" (Martin 1999, p. 142). The text naturalizes the position of the compliant reader since a practically untouched countryside has always exerted a powerful fascination on tourists. It does not construe affect directly, but rather triggers a positive response on the part of the reader who gradually becomes emotionally involved by the prosodic nature of the whole description.

5. Appreciation

Besides Affect, another important resource for evaluating entities and phenomena is Appreciation. This subcategory of Attitude includes evaluations of everything we come across, like buildings, paintings, towns, beaches, etc.: "The most obvious values of Appreciation are concerned with what is traditionally known as aesthetics, with positive or negative assessments of the form, appearance, construction, presentation or impact of objects and entities".[6] Thus, we can identify three kinds of Appreciation: Reaction, Valuation, and Composition. Reaction is concerned with whether the entity evaluated is pleasing or displeasing to the senses. This type of Appraisal has to do with how people respond aesthetically to entities, how these capture their attention. But unlike Affect, here the value is oriented more towards the "appraised object" than to the appraising subject. It is as if it were an intrinsic property of the evaluated entity itself. The emotional reaction is separate from any human experiencer of the emotion and attached to the entity evaluated:

> *Impressive* ruins at Selinunte, *beautifully* situated beside the sea, including city defences and many temples (Andante Travels).

Evaluations such as "impressive" and "beautifully" convey the writer's aesthetic reactions to the ruins at Selinunte, a response which the reader may or may not share. Conversely, Valu-

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[6] http://grammatics.com/appraisal/AppraisalGuide/UnFramed/Stage3-Attitude-Appreciation.htm (19.12.2012).

ation refers to statements of fact that contribute not so much to the construction of the *tenor* as to that of the *field*. For example, the archaeological digs in Pompei or the Bronze Age nuraghi are assessed in a more objective way. Nobody can deny that they are "famous" or "unique" respectively. Since similar forms of Appraisal are conventionalized or institutionalized, they cannot be ascribed solely to the writer. For that reason, they are ideationally attuned:

> Since the first excavations in the 18th century, ancient Pompeii has been one of the world's most *famous* archaeological digs (Martin Randall Travel).

> The *unique* Bronze Age nuraghi are a striking feature, as are Tuscan-style Romanesque churches and 16th-century Catalan altarpieces (Martin Randall Travel).

The last subcategory of Appreciation, Composition, refers to those instances of evaluation that have to do with the form of the appraised, with its proportionality and detail:

> The Nuragic settlement at Palmavera, one of the more *elaborate* complexes with central towers, defences and village (Andante Travels).

> This is really an innovative and *extravagant* architectural complex of buildings which reflected the Emperor's interests in travel and culture, and which in turn influenced later architects (Andante Travels).

> Drive to Noto, one of the loveliest and most *harmonious* Baroque towns, before driving north to Taormina, in time for an introductory walk through the town before dinner (Martin Randall Travel).

Notice how different kinds of Appraisal resonate with one another reflecting the prosodic nature of the brochure's discourse:

> If you *delight* in places which lie *off the beaten track*, in *tiny* hill towns where vineyards clamber up to the fourteenth-century walls, in *majestic* landscapes of storm-tossed hills punctuated by cypresses, in the discovery of *great* architecture and *exquisite* paintings in *unexpected* places, in tracing *a maze of* alleys *scarcely changed* for 500 years, this tour is likely to *please* (Martin Randall Travel).

Table 4 below shows the prosody of evaluation within the same descriptive stretch of text. The numbers in brackets refer to the occurrence rates of the items throughout the corpus. The occurrence of evoked appraisal is not provided since this form of evaluation is not explicitly lexicalized.

Items of Evaluation	Appraised	Category	Subcategory	Attitude
off the beaten track	places	Appreciation	Valuation	Evoked
scarcely changed	alley	Appreciation	Valuation	Evoked
great (135)	architecture	Appreciation	Valuation	Inscribed
exquisite (31)	paintings	Appreciation	Reaction	Inscribed
majestic (27)	landscapes	Appreciation	Valuation	Inscribed
delight (19)	you (the reader)	Appreciation	Reaction	Inscribed
tiny (19)	hill towns	Appreciation	Valuation	Inscribed
maze (7)	alleys	Appreciation	Composition	Inscribed
to please (3)	tour	Affect		Inscribed
unexpected (2)	places	Appreciation	Reaction	Inscribed

Table 4
Prosodic instances of Appraisal

6. Graduation

What involves readers in the reality described in tourist brochures is also amplification of attitude. Affect and Appreciation can be strategically amplified for promotional reasons. Writers exploit a set of lexico-grammatical resources to construe a positively enhanced version of the reality they seek to promote. Martin and Rose refer to these resources as Graduation (2005, p. 43). Feelings can be graded along a scale of intensity, as can the worth attributed to things. This strategy aims at framing the tourist experience as an extraordinary one, emphasising the uniqueness of a place or highlighting its difference from other places: "Upscaling of attitude frequently acts to construe the speaker/writer as maximally committed to the value position being advanced and hence as strongly aligning the reader into that value position" (Martin and White 2005, p. 152). Graduation operates across two axes of scalability "that of grading according to intensity or amount, and that of grading according to prototypicality and the preciseness by which category boundaries are drawn" (Martin and White 2005, p. 137). Assessments of both intensity and amount are realized through lexical items which create or add to positive semantic prosodies.

Graduation on the basis of prototypicality and preciseness is also referred to as 'focus'. In this case, something that is inherently non-gradable is rendered gradable through resources which sharpen or soften the boundaries between things. The parameter of graduation is that of prototypicality since "phenomena are scaled by reference to the degree to which they match some supposed core or exemplary instance of a semantic category" (Martin and White 2005, p. 137).

> We drive back, stopping in a little sheltered cove to picnic and swim. Dinner at the palazzo is prepared by a local cook with a reputation for delicious and *authentic* Salentine cooking, and to complement the meal we sample Apulian red wines such as Primitivo (Kudu Travel).

From an experiential perspective, "Salentine cooking" is a well-defined non-gradable category. The adjective "authentic" turns the categorical boundary between types of Salentine cooking into a graded one, implying other types of cuisine which are not or are only marginally "Salentine". By reference to the degree of prototipicality, the writer sharpens the focus of the appreciated entity, flagging a positive attitudinal assessment. Likewise, it is through a focusing resource, the adjective "true", that a non-gradable item such as "landscape" is re-construed in such an interpersonal way that it participates in a scalable cline of prototypicality, being implicitly compared to other types of landscape which lie beyond the margins of the category:

> Blending history and poetry, this tour reveals the *true* landscape of war (Martin Randall Travel).

As well as Appreciation, Affect can also be amplified by focus:

> A visit to a working farm, or masseria, and some gentle strolls through the olive groves give us a *real* feel for 'la terra'(Kudu Travel).

Amplification by reference to prototypicality is typically realized by the intensifier "very":

> Apulia, the remote region comprising the heel of the Italian boot, enjoys a traditional cuisine that is the *very* essence of a healthy Mediterranean diet (Kudu Travel).

Table 5 provides the occurrences and frequency of the focusing resources discussed so far.

Items	Occurrences	Frequency
real	42	0.03%
authentic	16	0.01%
true	15	0.01%
very	14	0.01%

Table 5
Frequency of "real", "authentic", "true", and "very"

The term 'force' is used instead for the form of graduation called 'intensification'. In this case, writers can strengthen or weaken the degree of evaluation through words which up-scale the quality of things or increase their level of intensity:

> The *very* fine Archaeological Museum contains treasures from all over the eastern part of the Island (Andante Travels).

Intensification is frequently realized through comparative and superlative forms, with the ensuing rhetorical effect of attitudinally foregrounding one or more features of an entity by comparison to something else. Table 6 sums up the occurrences and frequency of grammatical items of intensification.

Items	Occurrences	Frequency
most	420	0.30%
best	104	0.07%
very	92	0.07%
less	26	0.02%

Table 6
Frequency of "most", "best", "very", and "less"

In the following quotation, for example, there are other well-preserved Baroque cities in the Mediterranean area, but Lecce is at the very top of an ideal scale of famous Baroque cities and therefore well worth seeing:

> […] whole day in Lecce, the best-preserved Baroque city in the Mediterranean, visiting churches, the museum and the amphitheatre of the Roman city of Lupiae (Andante Travels).

Again relative scaling is realized through a superlative: there are other important art galleries in Italy, but the writer ranks the Uffizi at the very top of the intensity scale:

> The afternoon is devoted to the Uffizi, Italy's most important art gallery, which has masterpieces by every major Florentine painter as well as international Old Masters (Martin Randall).

The comparative "less", too, may reinforce the positive prosody of a statement:

> We will take in all of Venice's major sites – such as the Arsenale and the Rialto Bridge – as well as a handful of *less* well-known churches (Ace Cultural Tours).

It makes an implicit comparison with other tours which do not include visits to less-known churches.

The preceding examples contain forms of amplification realized by individual grammatical items such as "very", "best", "most", "less", which are all intensifiers whose meanings depend on their combination with content words. But intensification is also achieved through a set of items which are lexical rather than grammatical. Not only do they

up-scale the meaning of the collocating adjective, but also bestow an attitudinal colouring on it:

> Segesta is the setting for one of antiquity's most perfect temples, whilst the awe-inspiring drummed columns of Selinunte, felled by an earthquake, *dramatically reveal* the wealth, power and prestige of the Greek cities of Sicily (Ace Cultural Tours).

> This is a *tremendously varied* journey - from the flower-covered hills around ancient Segesta to the baroque splendour of chic Ortygia (Andante Travels).
> Private coach today south out of the city to visit site of a Roman villa at Tellaro, where *exceptionally fine* 4th century mosaics were discovered beneath a traditional farmhouse (Andante Travels).

Adverbs such as "dramatically", "tremendously", and "exceptionally" appear to be partially delexicalized, since, in their respective collocations, they have lost at least some of their full semantic load. They do not characterize the entities they refer to as "dramatic", "tremendous", or "exceptional" respectively, but actually perform the same intensifying function as the adverb "extremely". A similar effect can also be achieved by adverbs which simply focalize a semantic feature of their respective collocates:

> We follow a traditional mule path through olive groves to the village (and ancient Principality) of Seborga (2 hours) then return to Bordighera for a private visit to the gardens where Monet painted a number of pictures in 1884 and to the extraordinary, *completely untouched*, atelier of Italy's most famous Impressionist painter, Pompeo Mariani (Andante Travels).

Here, the gardens which have remained "untouched" are upscaled by the addition of "completely". Both the collocates used in this case share a reference to the upper end of the degree-scale. The role of the adverb is to intensify by just 'copying' one feature of the meaning already present in its collocate. Adverbs of this kind are co-selected for their shared semantic feature which is then foregrounded. As Bublitz (1998, p. 23) states, "Co-selection leads to a re-arrangement of both items' semantic features which are then different from the meaning they display when not co-selected." A case in point is the collocation "dramatically reveal", where the two collocates are reduced to the semantic feature they share, "surprise", which is mirrored by the adverb and thus intensified:

> Segesta is the setting for one of antiquity's most perfect temples, whilst the awe-inspiring drummed columns of Selinunte, felled by an earthquake, *dramatically reveal* the wealth, power and prestige of the Greek cities of Sicily (Ace Cultural Tours).

These adverbs closely match the intensifying feature of their respective collocates as far as meaning is concerned. Bolinger (1972, p. 246) states that "Intensification boils down to semantic repetition". Its rhetorical function is "fundamentally the same as in […]'it's a great big house', 'you're a bad, bad girl'", adding to the prosodic nature of the text with the comparable effect achieved by increased volume and pitch used for highlighting in speech. Table 7 displays the occurrences of the most frequent lexical intensifiers.

Lexical intensifiers	Occurrences	Lexical intensifiers	Occurrences
superbly	15	completely	10
remarkably	14	dramatically	5
exceptionally	13	tremendously	3
perfectly	12		

Table 7
Occurrences of the most frequent lexical intensifiers

A pervasive phenomenon with a powerful intensifying force is infusing amplification. In this case, no separate word conveys the amplification, which is part of the meaning potential of the single term instead. Amplification is fused into the individual item itself which includes the sense of up-scaling. Infused amplification is realized by attitudinal lexical items which are usually non-core vocabulary, whose dictionary definition includes intensifiers such as "very", "well", "highly", "greatly", "extremely", etc. Amplification is thus fused into the words themselves. The writer chooses one item rather than another along a cline of possible alternatives:

> From the snow-topped peak of Mount Etna, to the *wonderful* stretches of coastline, this sun-blessed island has been luring visitors for centuries (Cresta).

> Drive up through forested hills to Barga, a *delightful* little town with a fine Romanesque cathedral at its summit (Martin Randall).

Among the various dictionary definitions of the word *wonderful*, for example, we find[7] "very pleasant", with the amplification being indicated by "very". The little town of Barga is described as "delightful" as opposed to other possible linguistic choices such as "beautiful", "attractive", or "pleasant". Similarly, in other adjectives, which are very frequent in the corpus analysed, amplification is fused into their meaning since they normally occupy a position at the upper end of the intensity scale:

> The 'Campo dei Miracoli' is a *magnificent* Romanesque ensemble of cathedral, monumental burial ground, campanile ('Leaning Tower') and baptistery, all of gleaming white marble (Martin Randall).

Here, to boost the attitudinal meaning, the writer chooses the adjective "magnificent" as opposed to other possible options referring to the degrees of beauty along a scale of intensity.

In order to understand to what extent brochures highlight interpersonal meanings through infused amplification, we can examine the explicit items of Appraisal appearing in the top ranks of the frequency list.[8] If we look at their dictionary definitions, we see that most of them (those in italics in Table 8 below) express intensification via infusion.

Rank	Lexical item	Rank	Lexical item	Rank	Lexical item
52	ancient (238)	195	*fascinating (89)*	306	*superb (63)*
54	*beautiful (233)*	227	excellent (78)	311	*splendid (62)*
66	*famous (200)*	230	*spectacular (78)*	327	*stunning (60)*
108	*magnificent (141)*	255	*important (72)*	334	*renowned (59)*
114	*great (135)*	257	*famed (71)*	349	*picturesque (57)*
139	*wonderful (118)*	274	*panoramic (68)*	359	*delicious (55)*
144	*fine (113)*	277	*elegant (67)*	365	*fantastic (54)*
159	*delightful (105)*	289	*unique (66)*	378	*impressive (52)*
172	*rich (101)*	291	*charming (65)*		
183	*perfect (96)*	299	*special (64)*		

Table 8
Frequency ranks and occurrences (in brackets) of Appraisal items

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[7] This particular definition was provided by The Collins Cobuild *Advanced Learner's English Dictionary*.
  [8] We selected only the items which are openly evaluative.

Given their high frequency, these words appear to be essential for the impact of tourist brochures.

The iteration of the same meaning constructs a prosody which permeates the text in its entirety. This linguistic mechanism combines with other Appraisal resources, acting as a powerful advertising strategy.

Up-scaling of attitudinal meanings is also carried out with respect to quantity and extent. This kind of amplification is realized either through grammatical means or by attitudinal lexis:

> Impressive ruins at Selinunte, beautifully situated beside the sea, including city defences and *many* temples (Andante Travels).

> In Alberobello, why not try one of the local restaurants housed in an *ancient* trullo, where you will find the delicious handmade orecchiette (little ears) pasta for which the region is famous (Cresta).

> In his teens Verdi moved to the picturesque *nearby* town of Busseto to study music and lived at the house of a wealthy merchant and music-lover, Antonio Barezzi (Ace Cultural Tours).

In the three quotations above, it is an individual item that acts as modifier of the graduated entity. Whereas "many" evaluates by reference to an imprecise reckoning of number, "ancient" graduates the entity by reference to its extent in time, and "nearby" in relation to proximity. But quantification is also carried out via semantic infusion:

> There is a guided tour of the La Scala museum, containing portraits of Verdi, Puccini and others, plus *a wealth of* historically significant instruments (Martin Randall).

In locutions such as "a wealth of" , amplification, here referred to amount, is infused into the noun head, which in this case includes the meaning of "many". Table 9 displays the frequency of "ancient", "many", "nearby" and "a wealth of".

Items	Occurrences	Frequency
ancient	238	0.17%
many	197	0.14%
nearby	74	0.05%
a wealth of	32	0.02%

Table 9
Frequency of "ancient", "many", "nearby" and "a wealth of"

Significantly, this analysis may also reveal something more than the linguistic dimension of promotion. Indeed, an overview of the co-text of the top-ranking items may also provide information about what aspects of a tourist destination are foregrounded and, thus, made to appear worth visiting. Table 10 below shows how the top appraisals typically collocate with meanings that are potentially alluring to prospective tourists.

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Lexical items	Collocates	Occurrences
delicious	food and wine	55
fine	works of art, frescos, etc.	46
magnificent	churches and basilicas	34
excellent	food and wine	31
delightful	towns and villages	28
superb	views and the natural scenery	20
stunning	views and the natural scenery	19
splendid	towers, castles and *palazzi*	16

Table 10
Frequent collocates for some top appraisals

As we can see, collocates for "delightful" frequently refer to towns or villages. The adjective "fine" is used to foreground works of art such as frescos, mosaics, sculptures, etc. Churches and basilicas are often presented as "magnificent", whereas "splendid" is typical when evaluating towers, castles and *palazzi*. Food and wine are usually "delicious" and "excellent", whereas "stunning" and "superb" qualify views and the natural scenery. Overall, Italy boasts a "wealth" of "important" sites and "unique" cultural heritage to enthral a large number of tourists.

7. Conclusion

The foregoing study aimed at investigating the functions of evaluative language in a corpus of British tourist brochures where Italy is the textual referent and the British public the addressee. We can argue that interpersonal meanings conveyed through evaluation are exploited extensively for promotional purposes. The analysis of Appraisal carried out brings to light the fact that the discourse of tourism instantiated in brochures is characterised by a constellation of repeated meanings which, we might say, "mould" a compliant reader. As the text unfolds, the tourist space is negotiated through a purposeful array of evaluating devices which are meant to attract tourists to a certain destination. Interpersonal meanings, encoded in appraisals, reverberate throughout the text as an ongoing cumulative motif, creating prosodic configurations, since "the meaning is distributed like a prosody throughout a continuous stretch of discourse" (Halliday 1979, pp. 66-67). The persuasive power of the messages is further enhanced through amplification resources which "turn up" the "volume" of some linguistic items and construe the brochure writer "as maximally committed to the value position being advanced and hence as strongly aligning the reader into that value position" (Martin and White 2005, p. 152).

Summing up, one might say that the language used to promote Italy acts as a communicative bridge between the expectations (generally based on market surveys) of the average holidaymaker and the offer made available by the provider. This implies that the language best geared to convey impressions that match holidaymakers' expectations has to be well-chosen and woven into convincing, appealing texts as Dann (1996, p. 2) puts it: "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".

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