



*Glocal Features of In-flight Magazines: when local Becomes Global. An Explorative Study**

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INTRODUCTION

Globalization is a concept referring to an economic process that enhances capitalism, i.e. the establishment of free markets all over the world. At first, the concept of globalisation was regarded quite positively because of the idea underpinning globalization, according to which the more widespread free markets and competitiveness become, the stronger related economies will be (Fairclough 2006). In the long term, however, it has acquired negative connotations when related to the financial world, and globalisation has begun to be regarded as a synonym for global crisis. Indeed, six main claims exist (Steger 2005), both for and against concepts centred around the term *globalism*:

- Globalization concerns the liberalization and global integration of markets;
- Globalization is inevitable and irreversible;
- No one is actually in charge of globalization;
- Globalization benefits everyone;
- Globalization furthers the spread of democracy around the world;
- Globalization requires the declaration of war on terror.

The first claim is the most crucial because it assumes that the most effective, and

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therefore preferred, form of capitalist economy is based on 'liberalised' markets (Fairclough 2006). Such a view has been perceived as an objective possibility in real life, considering also the fact that market liberalization has gained the support of the world's most powerful states and influential politicians, international agencies (such as the World Bank, WTO, OECD, etc.), private corporations, and other agents and agencies. "Globalism can be seen as having created a space for unconstrained and highly profitable action on the part of the corporations of the most powerful countries on earth" (Fairclough 2006: 5).

Since the mass media are predominant in the constitution of the public knowledge and information, beliefs, values and attitudes necessary for establishing and sustaining economic, social and political systems and order, the emergence of a global communications industry has played a fundamental role in the emergence of a 'global economy'. In other words, the mass media have contributed to *representing* the processes of globalization. Indeed, discourse can be used rhetorically to provide a particular view of globalization which can justify or legitimize the actions, policies or strategies of particular (usually powerful) social agencies and agents. Discourse can also generate imaginary representations of how the world will be or should be within a globalized society. In addition, it may establish relationships between various *local* experiences linked to information, beliefs, values and different communities in such a way as to transcend their national boundaries and grant them increasing access to potential resources which are defined as *global* lifestyles, information, practices and values. If globalization is transnational, in that it creates relationships between local experiences that transcend *locality*, then it implicitly promotes the movement of capital, which can also be symbolic and cultural, as well as the movement of people and their experiences. In other words, this mobility, facilitated by economic and political interaction between countries, which naturally involves capital, goods, commodities, information *and* people, is an agent of globalization. In this context, even tourism, regarded by Thurlow and Jaworsk (2003: 580) as the most widely recognised form of elite travel, can be seen as an agent of globalization because of the mobility it implies.

The language of tourism has been studied from various perspectives. The most recent works from an English perspective are Cappelli (2006), and Gotti (2006), who concentrate on the language of tourism promotion; Nigro (2006), who focuses more on translation and mediation than on language itself; Francesconi (2005, 2007), whose works concern a more restricted topic related to the language of tourism promotion; and Maci (2010), who looks at the discourse of both tourism promotion and tourism planning and management.. Cappelli (2007) also deals with the problem of tourist mediation as applied to Web texts. Similar contributions have been made, from a corpus-based perspective, by Tognini Bonelli and Manca (2002) and Manca (2004, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009), who focus on the problem of cross-cultural translations in



the tourism industry, with particular regard to the sector relating to farmhouse stays. A major contribution to the analysis of Spanish tourism language has been made by Calvi (2000, 2001 and 2006). Works by Nigro (2005), Vestito (2005) and Chiavetta (2007) deal with English tourism language describing Italian resorts and the way in which Italy is seen from a cultural point of view. Multimodal analysis, following Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), is conducted by Denti (2007) and Maci (2007). Catenaccio's (2009) analysis of medical-tourism websites focuses on the way in which corporate and institutional identities are constructed within the tourism industry. Yet, to the best of my knowledge, little attention has been paid to the analysis of tourism discourse as a resource for representing globalization in a cultural sense. Drawing from Thurlow and Jaworski (2003), I will therefore try to analyse how the sense of *global* is represented in tourism discourse with particular regard to the genre of inflight magazines.

The research questions underpinning my investigation are:

- From a semiotic perspective, what are the main visual elements that make inflight magazines appear to be *global*?
- From a discursive viewpoint, to what extent do inflight magazines emphasize this *global* attitude within the *local* culture they represent?

The preliminary results of this exploratory investigation seem to indicate that inflight magazines tend to recreate a world in which both the tourist destination and the airline are presented as international, fashionable and sophisticated, in other words *global*, and where the tourist, as a globetrotter, is seen as a global-minded citizen of the world despite his/her search for authentic unspoiled destinations.

THE CORPUS OF INFIGHT MAGAZINES

Inflight magazines are provided free of charge on planes and contain articles on various aspects of tourism; they are part of the flight marketing process in the sense that while the airline provides information about the destinations it flies to, it also offers products which appear to be less expensive if compared to those offered by travel agencies and web-based tour operators, while at the same time providing the traveller with a sense of security by implying that he or she is being guided by whoever knows best.

In order to carry out both a semiotic and a discursive analysis of the genre of inflight magazines, based on the premise that reliability and international accreditation should be the main criteria for selection, I collected ten monthly inflight magazines, five American and five European, these being:



1. *EnRoute* by Air Canada (January 2010) <http://enroute.aircanada.com>;
2. *American Way* by American Airlines (1 February 2010)
<http://www.american waymag.com/>;
3. *Sky* by Delta Airlines (February 2010) <http://delta skymag.delta.com>;
4. *Hemisphere* by United Airlines (December 2009)
<http://www.hemispheres magazine.com>;
5. *Continental* by Continental Airlines (February 2010)
<http://magazine.continental.com/ 201002-home>;
6. *Lufthansa Magazine* by Lufthansa (November 2009)
<http://lufthansa.com/de/en>;
7. *Ulisse* by Alitalia (May 2009), paper edition only;
8. *Traveller* by EasyJet (September 2009) <http://traveller. easyjet.com/>;
9. *RyanairMag* by Ryanair (August 2009) <http://www.ryanair mag.com/>;
10. *High Life* by British Airways (October 2009) <http://www.bahighlife.com/>.

All these inflight magazines, collected between 2009 and 2010, are either published in English (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9 and 10) or are bilingual (German/English – No. 6; Italian/English – No. 7). My choice of inflight magazines depended in part on their accessibility and reliability. The Canadian and US inflight magazines were downloaded from the Net and are in digital format. The European inflight magazines were chosen according to the airline: Ryanair and EasyJet are, respectively, the first- and second-largest low-cost carriers in Europe; Alitalia, the Italian airline (which shares flights with Air France and KLM) is the major domestic airline and the third largest offering international flights to/from Italy, while being the nineteenth largest airline in Europe. Lufthansa is the sixth largest airline in the world in terms of the overall number of passengers carried.

DISCUSSION

The format of inflight magazines

Inflight magazines are published by commercial airlines to provide their passengers with informative and entertaining reading. The economic relevance that inflight magazines have in the tourism industry is confirmed by International Inflight Media Marketing (IMM www.imm-france.com/en/), according to which such magazines represent a growing sector of the media market and make a great contribution to profits, which can be inferred from the large readership (targeted by the advertising pages) of inflight magazines, as shown in Table 1 below:



	USA	EUROPE	MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA	FAR EAST, PACIFIC, JAPAN
Publications	21	61	35	21
Readers	24m,	18m.	2m.	5m.

Table 1: Inflights: Financial and marketing breakdown. Source: IMM
<http://www.inflight-media.ch/> (02/02/2011).

According to IMM, the number of inflight readers across the world surpasses that of the readers of traditional monthly magazines by 11 million (1 million in the U.S., 5 million in Europe and 5 million in Asia & Africa). This, combined with an increase in passengers in 2010 of an average 11.7%, and a decrease in local magazine readership, makes inflight magazines the leader in this sector (with US\$2.5bn. profit in 2010, despite the economic crisis across the globe).

IMM has identified passengers as being a homogeneous group belonging to the middle and upper classes, whose only individual characteristic is their nationality. This group of readers forms an extremely receptive type of public who spend at least thirty minutes reading the magazine during their flight. Advertisers in the various sectors have recognised the importance of inflight magazines as a means to better reach their targets. According to *Mediaweek.com* (2009: 31-32), there has been a 33% drop in advertising because of the recession, which seems to indicate that inflight magazines are changing their own image in order to appear less marketing-orientated. Indeed, some *magazines* have recently added or eliminated some prominent sections, while other sections have been completely redesigned and now have a totally new look. However, this trend has merely modified the formal layout of inflight magazines: they may seem less marketing-oriented but still appear as trendy and 'glossy' as traditional magazines. Just as traditional fashion magazines do, inflight magazines contain a mixture of travel, business and general-interest features. How their content is presented is, however, conceived in such different ways that each inflight magazine seems to have its own distinct personality. One magazine may combine common-sense business information and the cultural aspects of a metropolis such as New York or London; others may be characterized by an informal register but still manage to provide a certain sophisticated charm, reader-appeal and style; others may linguistically reflect the enjoyment opportunities and friendly laid-back atmosphere of holiday resorts. The topics usually dealt with in my corpus of inflight magazines generally centre around forms of infotainment, such as science, technology, business, first-person profiles, ecology (with particular regard to recycling and energy conservation), gastronomy, sports, fiction, adventure, wildlife, fashion, family, arts and culture, hotel and spa reviews, travel news, health tips and other topics of general interest. Issues relating to politics and religion are not dealt with in my corpus, probably because these inflight magazines try to be politically correct. In addition, such issues as terrorism, war, disease, natural disasters or any other upsetting topic, such as lost baggage, late departures, airline personnel strikes and ruined vacations, are also avoided in my corpus. The



leitmotif of the articles present in my corpus of inflight magazines seems to be one of never reflecting negatively on any aspect of air travel.

Visual aspects of inflight magazines representing the 'local' and the 'global'¹

As Thurlow and Jaworsk state (2003: 586), inflight magazines are strikingly homogeneous, despite their apparent diversity. This is indeed confirmed by my corpus, which presents the sections stated below (in the following order):

- Lifestyle/cultural articles (fashion, celebrities, culinary, film/book reviews);
- Business information (information about investments);
- Games/'psychological' quizzes;
- Travel and destination information (travelogues, guides, articles on specific cities);
- Passenger and inflight information (airports, visas, local climate, currency, transfer facilities);
- Airline news (destinations, new routes, company mergers or takeovers).

As a norm, the greater part of inflight magazines consists of travel articles. These normally seem to be linked to flights to the proposed destination and tend to provide a positive image of the airline, as though that location were accessible only thanks to that particular carrier.

As revealed by my corpus, a destination described in an article is usually reinforced by illustrations which are very carefully chosen as far as colour is concerned: the sky is always a cloudless bright blue; the sea is always a calm crystal-clear turquoise, and the beaches are white, sandy and uncrowded (as in Figure 1 below); the mountains are snow-covered in winter and are surrounded by beautiful green flower-strewn meadows in summer; the desert landscapes are of varying shades of ochre and brown, though the idea conveyed in the latter case is not one of desolation but of dry yet pleasant climatic conditions where the ideal seasons for a visit are spring and summer, the colours being chosen to reinforce this idea. The photographs in the inflight magazines characterizing my corpus often seem to be a sort of visual cliché, since they represent certain characteristics of the ideal trip and the ideal holiday: the locals are always friendly and smiling, as though to invite and welcome the tourist; the long golden palm-fringed beaches are totally unspoiled; lions and elephants roam tranquilly across the savannah, looking curiously at the camera but without showing any signs of aggressiveness; the sun is always shining, the weather fine and warm.

¹ The pictures presented in this contribution have been downloaded from those inflight magazines whose websites did not claim any copyright.

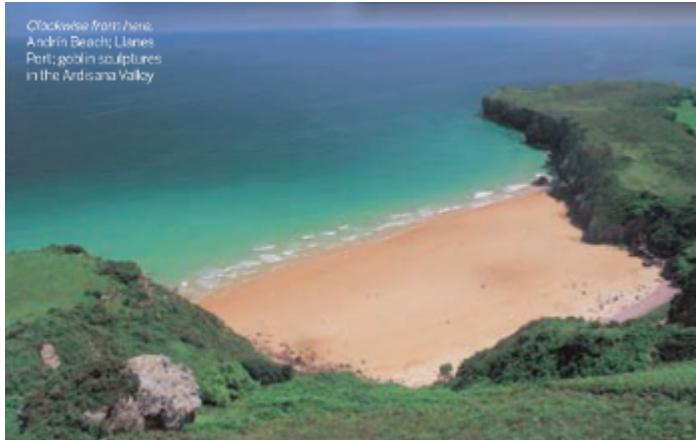


Figure 1: *Traveller* (Sept. 2009: 42).

All this points to unspoiled aspects of nature which contrast sharply with the pollution and traffic problems existing in many tourists' hometowns. Illustrations clearly offer passengers stereotyped visual information whose main function is indirectly to emphasize that these locations are accessible only by travelling on this particular airline's flights. When the destinations described refer to passengers' own cultural backgrounds, the pictures show details related either to the ancient historical heritage and magnificence of the location (see Figure 2 below) or to the uniqueness of the destination in terms of its modern amenities and possibilities for entertainment.



Figure 2: Palermo. *Ryanairmag* (September 2009, <http://www.ryanairmag.com/archive/35>).

The choice of tourist resorts described in inflight magazines, as mentioned above, depends on the destinations served by flights. This is of crucial importance if we take into consideration the prospective development of low-cost airlines, whose hubs are located in less well-known areas than the internationally better-known airports. The choice of linking travel articles to flights bound for a particular destination reflects the cultural and business trends evidenced by Chiavetta (2007: 311), i.e. "to focus tourists' attention also on less advertised sites of urban tourism, to



enlarge the traditional range of tourist resorts, and to invest in the rediscovery of local identities", which is in general rendered in the textual part of the article:

1. L'Aquila has a refined and cultured atmosphere with places where art reveals and conceals itself. (*Ulisse*, May 2009: 63)
2. The sleepy hills of Sussex will be ablaze this autumn [...]. (*Traveller*, Sept. 2009: 13)

Indeed, such rediscovery, in magazines with global distribution, allows 'local' exportation to an international setting with considerable financial advantages. In the corpus under analysis, a balance between local and global is to be found in the feature articles on destinations reached by the airline. The tourist localities presented are both national *and* foreign and, surprisingly, in my corpus are usually towns rather than natural locations. This is probably linked to the fact that airline hubs are generally in close proximity to towns and cities rather than to resorts in natural settings. The destinations described are either great financial capitals, such as New York, London and Tokyo (see, for instance, Figure 3 below), or capitals offering the greatest cultural interest in the arts, such as Madrid, Paris, Venice, Rome, Prague and so on. These capitals have *iconic* status and represent globalization in terms of both business and entertainment (Thurlow, Jaworsk, 2003: 598).



Figure 3: Sky (February 2010: 116).

In my corpus, one way to convey such global identity is by exploiting a well-balanced choice of international and national celebrities of both sexes in articles contained in the lifestyle/culture section of all inflight magazines. This seems to be a strategy adopted in order to give a *cosmopolitan* impression. In this way, local becomes international and acquires exactly the same glamorous glossy status as global news. In other words, national celebrities, appearing alongside international



VIPs, function as a semiotic “resource for global identification”, allowing airlines to control the tensions generated by opposing globalizing and localizing forces (Thurlow and Jaworsk, 2003: 597), as can be seen in Figure 4 below:



Figure 4: Tom Walsh (left) and Smokey (centre; right). *Americanway* (1 February 2010: 22, 35).

or as can be implicitly revealed in the text:

3. A maestro photographer recounts his extraordinary experience at [...]. (*Ulisse*, May 2009: 44)
4. This is how Uto Ughi sums up Abruzzo [...]. (*Ulisse*, May 2009: 69)

The construction of an international and therefore global image of an airline is discernible in the maps showing flight destinations. In this section, the inflight magazines forming my corpus illustrate traditional routes, introduce and emphasize new routes, and mention any future routes still in the pipeline. In doing so, they offer a network of connections between local, regional and international. They are local, but place themselves in a global context. In addition, the world map of the destinations shown by inflight magazines does not follow the traditional view of the world, with Europe at the centre, America on the left and Asia on the right. Instead, the central point is the airport/hub that the airline operates from, as revealed in Figure 5 below:



Figure 5: United Airline world routes map. *Americanway* (1 February 2010)

As Kress and van Leeuwen state (1996), the centre of the visual is the real nucleus of information, to which all the rest is secondary. The airline and its inflight magazine are at the core of their global reach, which privileges the nation it belongs to, as well as its passengers.

Language features of inflight magazines: preliminary results

All inflight magazines use English as the main language of tourism. Although this may be dictated by the need to reach as wide a readership as possible, the status of English as the *lingua franca* of tourism seems to depend on the fact that writing in English is a means by which airlines attempt to position themselves as global, while granting the same status to their passengers. In addition, English is the language of capitalism. This is indirectly confirmed by recent studies (Baumgardner 2006; Serra 2006; Ustinova 2006; Avraham / First 2003; Oversdotter Alm 2003; Martin 2002; Bhatia 1992; 1987), according to which the use of English in advertisements targeting consumers belonging to communities whose native language is not English, seems to be a linguistic strategy adopted so as to both attract the reader's attention and convey the illusion of perfection associated with product/concept features. Indeed, whenever a community has some advantage of power, prestige and/or wealth, any objects and ideas proposed in the language of that community appear to become more desirable and useful. This seems particularly true for English, regarded as the *lingua franca* of technology and science; it therefore has an implied prestigious status, which is reflected in the products portrayed together with ideas of reliability and perfection. Consumers prefer to 'buy American' (Avraham / First 2003) because of the social status such products may be associated with and the prestige they consequently grant to their owners (Baumgardner 2006). As Niño-Murcia states (2003: 122), in business contexts, English is seen as "the strongest currency in today's society [...] as something that needs to be attained in order to participate as a consumer in the global market".



The product benefits and its features, offered in English, enhance prestige and status, and symbolize modernity, technological efficiency and reliability. The preference for the use of English as the *lingua franca* of non-English inflight magazines is the result of this perception of the social status and prestige endowed to the company represented by the inflight magazine and the passengers who read it.

The choice of name for an inflight magazine confirms the prestige strategy adopted by airlines. For instance, with the exception of *EnRoute* (AirCanada), which is in French, the names the inflight magazines I have collected are in English and immediately evidence their cosmopolitan and *global* nature. Apart from *Lufthansa Magazine*, *Continental* and *RyanairMag*, which clearly refer to the airline itself, all the other inflight magazines have names linked to the semantic field of travel: *Sky* (Delta) and *Air Ways* (American Airlines) specifically refer to the idea of flying, *Traveller* (EasyJet), *Hemisphere* (United Airlines) and *Ulisse* (Alitalia) have names that are both cosmopolitan and give the idea of free effortless movement and the crossing of national borders so as to achieve globality (cf. also Thurlow and Jaworsk 2003: 592). In addition, the titles *High Life* and *AmericanWay* bring to mind the best possible lifestyle – which, according to the magazine in question, may be either British or American.

Interestingly, Thurlow and Jaworsk (2003: 594) point out that inflight magazines distance themselves from traditional glossy magazines because they are not available at newsagents but only on board as complimentary copies. The presence on the cover of the words "Your personal copy" or "Your free copy to take away" (cf. Figure 6 below) confirms this. Such *straplines*, however, seem to reveal a marketing strategy whose aim is to transform the mass of travellers into individuals. By exploiting the ambiguity of the possessive adjective *your*, the readership is addressed as a whole, yet at the same time the *straplines* imply a more personal touch. Travellers feel they are *the* traveller, the important traveller, and are given the illusion of receiving individual care, entertainment choices and luxury treatment – which is ultimately the same illusion created by the tourism industry.



Figure 6. *Traveller* front page (September 2009).



The text of all the travel articles contained in the inflight magazines forming my corpus is usually divided into sections: a headline at the top of the page gives the name of the destination or hotel. At the bottom of the page the text, semantically organised in a hierarchical structure, going from general to detailed information there is: firstly, an overall view of the offer provided; secondly, a more accurate description of the destination, infrastructure and facilities; subsequently the services offered, such as excursions and cultural or entertainment events; finally, availability and costs are mentioned. In this description, a particular role or position is assigned to the reader: inflight magazines imagine their prospective readers in an ideologically-framed world characterized by globalization and in which they see themselves as *global*:

5. Welcome aboard, and thanks for choosing Continental for your flight today. Every day, we proudly fly over a hundred thousand customers all over the globe, with more than 2,400 daily departures to 130 domestic and 132 international destinations. (*Continental*, February 2010: 5)

In the articles on destinations, what emerges is that the reader is targeted as a global traveller characterised by sophistication and curiosity, in other words, a tourist who dislikes mass tourism but prefers "taking part in a guided treasure hunt which will reveal unexpected gems" (Chiavetta 2007: 312). Hence, such a sophisticated reader can wisely select the chosen destination, which is always described in terms of adventure and culture:

6. Make a highlight of your trip a night in one of these lively jazz clubs, where the music is always soulful and the ambience unforgettable. (*Traveller*, September 2009: 28)
7. Wake up to the perfect stillness of the mangrove lagoon, and peer through the sheer voile drapes out onto the Caribbean Sea, grateful you didn't stop in Cancún. (*Hemisphere*, December 2009. www.hemispheresmagazine.com)
8. It's easy to think we already know everything there is to know about Vincent Van Gogh: the madness, the lack of an ear, 'The Sunflowers'. But the real story is, of course, far more complicated [...]. (*High Life*, February 2010, <http://www.bahighlife.com>)

In order to see whether there is any balanced use of the *local* and the *global* in linguistic terms in my inflight magazine corpus, I carried out a lexical analysis of twenty randomly selected articles (two² for each inflight magazine of the corpus collected, forming a sub-corpus of 20,142 words). A wordlist was generated from these articles, which was then compared with a reference wordlist generated from the British Natio-

² The full list of articles is available in the *Appendix*.



nal Corpus (BNC). The comparison disclosed a keyword³ list, computed with a log-likelihood test, whose first thirty words can be seen in Figure 1 below:

N	Key word	Freq.	%	. Freq.	RC.	Keyness	P
1	WWW	69	0.32	2	,146.10	0000000	
2	COM	44	0.20	281	484.81	0000000	
3	#	805	3.73	04,421	1.61	445.25	0000000
4	TEL	54	0.25	1,608	435.55	0000000	
5	KUŽLAP	13	0.06	0	219.33	0000000	
6	STREET	59	0.27	18,761	0.02	205.57	0000000
7	CAFŽ	10	0.05	0	168.71	0000000	
8	BLUES	23	0.11	1,253	158.28	0000000	
9	CHAV	9	0.04	0	151.84	0000000	
10	WROCŁAW	11	0.05	14	151.30	0000000	
11	MAYAN	12	0.06	38	147.37	0000000	
12	RUINS	19	0.09	724	144.05	0000000	
13	CHAN	14	0.06	151	140.42	0000000	
14	TOWN	43	0.20	16,974	0.02	132.66	0000000
15	CO	27	0.13	5,025	121.36	0000000	
16	L'AQUILA	8	0.04	4	119.70	0000000	
17	ORG	9	0.04	17	118.31	0000000	
18	TULUM	8	0.04	5	117.65	0000000	
19	LLANES	7	0.03	1	112.07	0000000	
20	PICCHU	9	0.04	30	109.72	0000000	
21	MUSEUM	27	0.13	6,384	109.06	0000000	
22	MACHU	9	0.04	32	108.70	0000000	
23	N	30	0.14	9,758	103.23	0000000	
24	CHAYA	6	0.03	0	101.23	0000000	
25	CARAL	6	0.03	0	101.23	0000000	
26	YUMCHAA	6	0.03	0	101.23	0000000	
27	CITY	40	0.19	21,634	0.02	100.76	0000000
28	POZNAN	8	0.04	23	99.58	0000000	
29	TROPEZ	8	0.04	42	91.02	0000000	
30	SIP	11	0.05	355	86.97	0000000	

Figure 7: Destination articles keyword list.

Given the fact that all keywords belong to the semantic domain of tourism and tourism destinations, I grouped all the keywords⁴ into a keyness hierarchical order, according to their syntactical category, as can be seen in Table 2 below:

Acronyms	Adjectives & nouns with adj. role	Prepositions	Verbs	Common Nouns	Proper Nouns (PEOPLE/INSTITUTIONS)	Proper Nouns (CULTURAL EVENTS)	Proper Nouns (LOCALS)	Proper Nouns (DESTINATIONS)
www	blues	along	Stop	Tel	Sip	Mardi Gras	Café	KuZlap

³ Keywords do not have any social or cultural values; they are simply statistically unusual words found in the corpus under investigation (Culpeper 2002).

⁴ Wordsmith extracted more than 200 keywords. In order to exclude from keyness any word that can appear as a keyword simply because of it not being present in the reference corpus, I set the minimum frequency for a word to be considered for keyness at five. This narrowed down my keyword analysis. I also set the probability value p at 0.000001, which means that the probability a word has in order to be computed as a keyword by chance is almost nil.



com .co.uk org pl DIY	Mayan ancient site chic punk cult legendary day Spanish Bermuda surf lizard pristine famous impressive underground jungle Swedish fashion luxury chicken perfect		Sells	Ruins Town Museum <i>Chaya</i> City Miles Square Hotel Boutique Venues Wares Tour(s) Jewellery Sun Tourists Restaurant Crossroads (ice)cream Beaches Beach Sea Stop Streets Road Art Architecture Shop Bar Rum Jungle Visitors Venue City's civilization	De Zilli Lorne DEL Freeland Till's Evita Hamer UNESCO Staple (singers) Pope Piñero Handy		Yumchaa Connaught <i>La</i> <i>EL</i>	Chav'n de Huntar Wroclaw Chan L'Aquila Tulum Llanes Macchu Picchu Caral Poznan Saint-Tropez Maya Ruleville Yucatan Selfridges Peru's Torun Clarksdale Tutwiler Antigua London Carnaby (Street) Pinar del Rio Mississippi <i>Calle</i> Delta Blues Museum <i>Huntar</i> London's <i>Rua</i> Lima Guatemala Buenos Aires Frith Street (Yucatan) Peninsula Riviera (Maya) Peru <i>Plaza</i> <i>Museo</i> Beak Street Road Oxford Ave. <i>Reine</i> Chelsea
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Table 2: Breakdown of keywords.

What I expected to find was the occurrence of evaluative terms, such as adjectives and adverbs, with a high keyness value able to confirm the stereotyped image of the destinations shown in the illustration introducing or accompanying the article. Yet the keyword list elaborated by Wordsmith does not seem to present evaluative items as keywords. As we can see from Table 2, above, the majority of keywords refer to the proper names of tourist localities, i.e. of towns, sites, streets, squares or museums (such as: *Chav'n de Huntar*, *Chan*, *Yucatán*, *Perú*, *Beak Street*, *Oxford*, *Lima*, *Guatemala*, *Antigua* and *Perú*, *Coba*, *Lima* including the doublets *Yucatán*



Península, Riviera Maya, Macchu Picchu, Saint Tropez and Carnaby Street), but also of people. Interestingly, in these articles, the presence of names referring to either famous or ordinary people, and to either famous or unknown sites, as revealed by the keyword list in Table 2 above, seems linguistically to mirror the choice of publishing, side by side, pictures and stories of local and international celebrities (cf. paragraph 3.1 above) so that what is local can indirectly acquire the same glamour of what is global.

It is worth noting that some of the proper nouns, particularly those indicating streets and squares in the locality, are in the language spoken in the destination proposed by the article, as we can see from Concordance List 1, for *Calle*, below:

25 different locations at the tourist office (Calle	Alfonso IX, www.llanesdecine.com).
cheeses. Ultramarinos Casa Buj (13	Calle	Mercaderes, tel: +34 985 401 072)
coast. Bikes can be hired from Llanesport (Calle	Gavito, tel: +34 985 402 853).
Have dinner at Restaurante La Cueva (3	Calle	Marqués de Canillejas, tel
and make your first stop Café Pinin (5	Calle	Nemesio Sobrino, tel: +34 985 400

Concordance List 1: *Calle*.

Amongst the keywords in the local language of the destination, there is extensive use of the proper name *Rua*, of the preposition *del*, of the article *la*, of the noun *Reine*, and even of the common noun *chaya* ('spinach'). Of course, attention to some aspects of the culture of the tourist destination depicted in the inflight magazine is also conveyed through the use of gastronomic terms (cf., for example, the presence of *lizard* in the expression *lizard's soup*). The fact that the foreign word *chaya* is at the top of the common-noun keyword list is indicative of a desire to represent exoticism and authenticity within the travel article, thus immersing the tourist in the *local* culture:

Chillies and bolstered by clumps of	chaya	, it tastes sort of like ... chicken
Portion of eggs and tomatoes,	chaya	, and bacon. Happily stuffed with
Your fluids with a pitcher of sweetened	chaya	iced tea. Order a crisp and citrus
Of interest along the way. There are	chaya	Juice stands, taquerías and the

Concordance list 2: *Chaya*.

As claimed by Urry (1990), the lexical items chosen to describe a locality usually tend to reproduce the notion of *authenticity*, by means of which the pleasure the tourist receives from experiencing the holiday will correspond to her/his expectations. In order to achieve *authenticity*, two lexical strategies seem to be used, generally these are: (a) the use of emotive words (Dann 1996), which refer to tourists' expectations about the holiday package rather than to qualities related to the destination, (b) the use of words belonging to the destination language, which confers an exotic flavour to the text and provides local colour. Since the keyword list



elaborated by Wordsmith does not reveal a lot of emotive terms here, it seems that articles about the tourist destination collected from my inflight magazine corpus resort to the second option. In those cases in which we have emotive words, there appear certain adjectives, such as *chic*, *punk*, *cult*, *legendary*, *pristine*, *impressive*, and *perfect*. Analysis of the concordance lists generated for each adjective revealed interesting usage of these pre-modifiers. For instance, all the occurrences of *chic* are found in the article describing Paris (*Traveller* 2009), whereas *punk* and *cult* occur only in those inflights (*Ryanairmagazine*, August 2009; *HighLife*, October 2009) where London is the tourist destination. If the presence of *chic* can be seen as being in some way justified, since the term may be the correct borrowing to depict French culture, then the use of *punk* specifically to identify one of the London trends is meaningful: lexical items appear to be culturally connoted as triggers evoking the tourist cliché of the destination. This seems also to be confirmed by the adjective *pristine*, which collocates only with the noun *beaches* in the article about Riviera Maya (*Hemisphere*, December 2009). *Impressive* on the other hand, seems to be the preferred adjective in my corpus whenever the reference is to the architectural beauty of the destination or to the archaeological site being described. The keywords *famous*, *legendary* and *perfect* appear to be the least culturally connoted, as they may refer to people, places and time, indiscriminately. Nevertheless, they are ideally suitable for recreating deictic references (I vs. you; here vs. there; now vs. yesterday/tomorrow), which position the inflight reader precisely in the tourist destination and cohesively facilitate readability. Therefore, adjectives seem to be used to reinforce tourist stereotypes and clichés, with the purpose of providing reassuring contact with the reader in the presence of cultural clashes, by means of which these become a synthetic label for places and people and help the identification and comprehension of something which may otherwise be unintelligible (Cappelli 2006: 230).

As far as common nouns are concerned, the item *tel.* occupies third position in the overall keyness rankings. This comes as no surprise, as this lexeme belongs to many items necessary for conveying useful information to potential tourists regarding places to go. It is the word *ruins* which seems the most relevant in this keyword group. This keyword collocates with such adjectives as *interesting*, *unmarked*, *impressive* and *rugged*. Such an adjective, qualifying the destination described in archaeological terms as a *ruin*, seems to underline the fact that not only is it culturally relevant (*interesting*, *impressive*) but also that it has preserved its monumental beauty and primitive authenticity, i.e. it is *unmarked* and *rugged*.

Authenticity thus recreated in such manifold ways contributes to conjuring up the concept of the *local* in the inflight reader's mind.

The highest keyness, however, is not achieved by words referring to the locality, but rather by acronyms belonging to a semantic field relating to the Web, i.e. such items as *www*, and *.com* which, respectively, occupy first and the second positions in



the keyness ranking (see Figure 1 above and Concordance List 3 below):

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	t. #	% os.	# os.
2	WROCLAW, TEL: +48 (0)71 342 5526, www.prl.wroc.pl Lizard King 86 STARY	18,862	861	5%	0	0%	
3	WROCLAW, TEL: +48 (0)71 343 9887, www.lwowska.com.pl PRL 10 RYNEK	18,651	861	1%	0	0%	
4	TORUN, TEL: +48 (0)56 621 9637, www.hotelczarnoza.pl EAT & DRINK	18,637	861	3%	0	0%	
5	POZNAN, TEL: +48 (0)61 855 7351, www.hotel-solei.pl Hotel Pod Czarna	18,623	861	5%	0	0%	
6	WROCLAW, TEL: +48 (0)71 772 3777, www.hotel.com.pl /monopolwroclaw	18,611	861	9%	0	0%	
7	Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7636 0933, www.the100club.co.uk A tale of three	17,522	811	8%	0	4%	
8	Soho Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7734 4004, www.punksoho.co.uk 20 / 100 CLUB 100	17,509	811	8%	0	4%	
9	Kingly Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7287 0514, www.aintnothinbut.co.uk 19 / PUNK 14	17,497	811	0%	0	4%	
10	Frith Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7734 9505, www.garlicshots.com 18 / AINT	17,480	810	8%	0	4%	
11	Park Lane, tel: +44 (0)20 7518 3160, www.tamangang.com 17 / GARLIC &	17,466	810	2%	0	4%	
12	Dean Street, tel: +44 (0)20 437 9585, www.quovadissoho.co.uk Bars 16 /	17,452	810	7%	0	3%	
13	Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7224 0028, www.texture-restaurant.co.uk 15 / QUO	17,439	810	2%	0	3%	
14	Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7499 6580, www.atelierdeschefs.co.uk 14 /	17,427	810	7%	0	3%	
15	Frith Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7813 8016, www.barrafina.co.uk 13 / L'ATELIER	17,413	810	1%	0	3%	
16	Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7287 9233, www.zillaldo.com 12 / BARRAFINA 54	17,401	810	6%	0	3%	
17	10 / YUMCHAA 45 Berwick Street, www.yumchaa.co.uk Restaurants 11 /	17,384	810	0%	0	3%	
18	Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7734 3297, www.sisterray.co.uk 10 / YUMCHAA 45	17,377	810	7%	0	3%	
19	North-east corner of Hyde Park, www.speakerscorner.net 9 / SISTER	17,364	810	2%	0	3%	
20	Beak Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7734 7727, www.yearzerolondon.com 8 /	17,354	810	8%	0	3%	
21	Beak Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7287 7073, www.playlounge.co.uk 7 / YEAR ZERO	17,341	810	2%	0	3%	
22	Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7636 1000, www.london.langhamhotels.co.uk	17,328	810	7%	0	3%	
23	Brook Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7629 8860, www.claridges.co.uk 5 / THE LANGHAM	17,312	810	1%	0	3%	
24	Carlos Place, tel: +44 (0)20 7499 7070, www.the-connaught.co.uk 4 /	17,300	810	6%	0	3%	
25	HOTEL tel: +44 (0)20 7297 5555, www.courthouse-hotel.com 3 / THE	17,288	810	1%	0	3%	
26	Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7300 1400, www.sandersonlondon.com 2 /	17,274	810	6%	0	3%	
27	Beak Street, Tel: +44 (0)20 7734 7727, www.yearzerolondon.com CITY MAP	17,245	810	4%	0	2%	
28	Beak Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7287 7073, www.playlounge.co.uk . £25 (Ü29)	16,617	776	0%	0	9%	
29	Place, tel: +44 (0)20 7499 7070, www.the-connaught.co.uk has long	16,255	758	0%	0	7%	
30	Street, tel: +44 (0)20 7300 1400, www.sandersonlondon.com), which will	16,217	756	1%	0	7%	

Concordance list 3: www.asa.keywords

The presence of Web links in the articles forming my corpus of collected inflight magazines grants prospective travellers the possibility to have straightforward access to information about the destination's locals. By bypassing intermediaries, inflight readers can assume more independent-traveller behaviour, but, at the same time, they require more personalized and specialized forms of travel (Osti et al. 2008: 63-64; Pierini 2007: 85). This digitized form of information apparently helps potential tourists to be aware of product options and to allow appropriate product decision-making. In addition, the presence of Web links (69 occurrences) to the club, haunt or restaurant depicted in the inflight articles seem to cast a new light on the *local* which, precisely because it is linked into the worldwide web network, thus acquires the same charm as what is normally perceived as being internationally *global*.

My preliminary findings, which require further investigation, seem to suggest that these keywords are used to convey a sense of the potential attractions that the destination offers in terms of art, history, culture and recreation. The idea is that of a



place which still has some *off-the-beaten-track* aspects waiting to be discovered. Hence, the impression is of taking part in a 'treasure hunt', as hinted at above, whose clues are wisely disclosed by the airline only to their own passengers and only through their *global* inflight magazine. In addition, precisely because the text describing such an *off-the-beaten-track* destination is networked within a global context, it acquires international glamour.

CONCLUSIONS

Like most international corporations, the airline industry tends to adopt marketing strategies aimed at promoting and differentiating national interests in an international context. The easiest way to do this is to present themselves as global. By doing so, airlines construct a *global* reality which is international, and therefore *global*, of which the traveller becomes a part. Inflight magazines are an expression of such a global identity – embodied by the magazine and assigned to the traveller.

As stated by Thurlow and Jaworsk (2003: 601), inflight magazines offer the traveller the opportunity to relate to a society whose lifestyle is international, fashionable and sophisticated: in other words, globalised.

The first research question I posed in the introductory section of this paper, i.e. what visual elements best make inflight magazines appear to be *global*, can be easily answered. The way in which inflight magazines are visually organized influences readers to perceive them as having a *global* layout: this seems to be confirmed not only by the fact that inflights are as glossy as fashion magazines, but also by the presence of pictures wisely alternating local and international destinations and celebrities. Furthermore, the *global* frame of mind prepared for inflight readership is indirectly supported by the representation of the flight-route map in which the main hub from which the airline company operates is depicted as being at the centre of the world.

As far as my second research question is concerned, that is to what extent inflight magazines emphasize this *global* attitude within the *local* culture they represent in linguistic terms, my preliminary results seem to suggest that inflight magazine texts offer *global* topics and make what is local *global*. Their titles, as we have seen, convey the idea of identification of the readership as having a *globetrotter* attitude. In addition, the keyword analysis using Wordsmith Tools seems to indicate that certain lexical items mirror a visual alternation between local and global.

As claimed by Cohen (1989: 32-34), in order to present a destination as an authentic alternative to mass tourism, emphasis is also placed on particular emotive and exotic words, which reveal both the way in which the destination is represented and to what extent such a representation is influenced by mental models. Exoticism is achieved by means of foreign words which can be used without any explanation, thus



immersing the tourist in the local culture, or can be accompanied by a translation or comment, thus giving the reader the linguistic tools required to understand it. Authenticity is provided by the use of untranslated words, which thus add emphasis to the uniqueness and exoticism of the destination. This authentic destination is presented as being situated far from mass-tourism routes, and yet set in a global context, linguistically realized via the alternance of national and international elements, such as people, places and times on the one hand, and through the reference to World Wide Web links on the other.

Travellers who read inflights are thus guided towards what may transform the globetrotter into a globalized citizen of the world. The reasons at the basis of such migration, from local to global, are manifold, but social motivation supersedes all others. When a person reads the airline magazine, this points to a specific social identity or indicates that the reader belongs to a certain social community, especially when the mother-tongue is not English. The rights and obligations deriving from this social identity are negotiated through the speaker's language and, whenever there is a choice of language, there will be a choice of the social aspects that the speaker wishes to be associated with. Such identity is ideologically constructed, in the sense that inflight magazines propose idealized models, images and social relationships (cf. also Piller 2001). The social and cultural identities 'borrowed' from those offered by inflights are fundamentally those pertaining to global consumers, who are multilingual, though predominantly English-speaking, and who are characterized by success, élitism, internationalism, future orientation, sophistication and enjoyment (Piller 2001: 173).

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APPENDIX

Inflight magazine travel articles (retrieved 02/02/2011)

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