SPECIALIZED AND CULTURE-BOUND KNOWLEDGE DISSEMINATION THROUGH SPOKEN TOURISM DISCOURSE
Multimodal strategies in guided tours and documidaries[*]

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Abstract – The distinctive features of most instances of tourism discourse are their predominantly low specialization and their hybrid generic and semantic nature. Tourism discourse draws from a range of genres and specialized domains, including but not limited to art, history, economics, architecture, and geography to name but a few. Through its communicative strategies, it leads the tourists and their "tourist gaze" (Urry 2002) in their real or imaginary journey, it mediates the tourist experience and contributes to closing the gap between their culture and the destination's culture. These leading and mediating operations are performed by making culture-specific knowledge and specialized concepts accessible to the general public (Cappelli 2016; Cappelli, Masi forthcoming). For this reason, tourism discourse offers an ideal vantage point to investigate popularization and knowledge dissemination strategies. Much linguistic research on written tourism discourse has been carried out over the past two decades. However, to the best of our knowledge, spoken genres remain largely unexplored with few exceptions. Our study intends to contribute to closing that gap by investigating the way in which multimodal semiotic resources are exploited in oral communication in tourism to make specialized and culture-bound concepts accessible to the audience. First, we present the data obtained by the analysis of a small sample of clips of guided tours and documentaries representing various domains. Then, we illustrate the way in which verbal and non-verbal strategies are used to create accessibility in a genre-specific way. Finally, we propose a classification of the data analysed as belonging to three strictly interconnected and yet distinct genres, namely documentaries, "docu-tours" and guided tours, and we provide some conclusions regarding the relevance of the study for professional development and pedagogical applications.

Keywords: accessibility; ESP; genre; multimodality; tourism discourse.

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[*] Although the research was carried out jointly by the two authors, Veronica Bonsignori wrote sections 3.2., 4., 4.1., 4.2. and 4.3.; and Gloria Cappelli wrote sections 1., 2., 3.1., 5. and 6.

1. Introduction

Tourism discourse encompasses a wide range of communicative contexts, ranging from specialist-to-specialist interaction (e.g. corporate business-to-business communication) to "layman-to-layman" exchanges (e.g. travel reviews and other user-generated contents). This has made the language of tourism, its features and its nature as a type of LSP widely debated topics over the past three decades (Dann 1996; Gotti 2006; Cappelli 2007; Maci 2013; Francesconi 2014; Nigro 2012, inter alia).

Our study focuses on instances of expert-to-non-expert tourism communication. The distinctive features of this type of discourse are its high accessibility and hybrid generic and semantic nature (Gotti 2006; Cappelli 2012, 2016; Cappelli, Masi 2019; Nigro 2006; Maci 2013). More specifically, we investigate the way in which multimodal strategies are used in interactions between professional and non-professional documentarists and tour guides (i.e. "the industry") and real or potential tourists to help the latter make sense of possibly unfamiliar culture- or domain-specific concepts.

The language of tourism draws from a range of genres and specialized domains, including but not limited to art, history, economics, architecture, and geography to name but a few. Through its communicative strategies, it leads tourists and their "tourist gaze" (Urry 2002) on their real or imaginary journey, it mediates the tourist experience and contributes to closing the gap between the tourists' culture and the destination's culture (Fodde, Denti 2005). These leading and mediating operations are performed by making culture-specific knowledge and specialized concepts accessible to the general public (Cappelli 2016; Cappelli, Masi 2019). For this reason, tourism discourse offers an ideal vantage point from which to investigate popularization and knowledge dissemination strategies.

Much linguistic research on written tourism discourse has been carried out over the past twenty years (see inter alia, Cappelli 2007; Maci 2013; Francesconi 2014; Manca 2016, 2018). However, to the best of our knowledge, spoken genres remain largely unexplored with few notable exceptions (Rosypalova 2012; Lopriore 2015; Fina 2018; Francesconi 2018) and are only just starting to receive the attention of linguists (see CHROME Project,[1] Origlia *et al*. 2018). The intention of our study is to help close this gap by discussing a specific aspect of the instances of spoken tourism communication present in our corpus, namely the way in which multimodal semiotic resources are intentionally exploited in oral communication to

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[1] The CHROME project is led by a group of researchers whose main aim is "to define a methodology of collecting, analysing and modelling multimodal data in designing virtual agents serving in museums" (see http://www.chrome.unina.it/).

disseminate knowledge. More specifically, we present data obtained through the multimodal analysis of a small sample of clips of guided tours, documentaries and what we have named "docu-tours" representing various domains. We discuss the way in which verbal and nonverbal strategies are used to create accessibility in our dataset and their largely genre-specific distribution. We propose that a continuum between three strictly interconnected and yet distinct genres can be identified (i.e. documentaries, "docu-tours" and guided tours) according to the ways in which the intentional use of multimodality enhances accessibility. Finally, we provide some concluding remarks about the limitations of the study and its relevance for professional development and pedagogical applications.

2. Theoretical background

Much has been said about the ways in which written tourism materials such as guidebooks, brochures or websites select and portray the relevant aspects of destinations for their audience (Cappelli 2007; Cappelli 2016; Cappelli, Masi 2019). Besides this "leading function", they have been investigated in order to highlight the other much debated and prominent functions of tourism discourse: its power to offer cross-cultural representations of the destination, to reduce the cultural gap between the tourist's home culture and the local culture and, as a consequence, to foster a process of socialization and enculturation of the traveller (see Cohen 1985; Dann 1996; Urry 2002; Dybiec 2008, among others). This is also known as the "mediating function" of the language of tourism. The way in which such "mediation" operates is by creating cultural accessibility for travellers through a range of diverse communicative strategies, both verbal and nonverbal (Cappelli 2016, also Agorni, Spinzi 2019).

The term "accessibility" is used here to indicate the measure of the ease with which mental representations and pieces of stored information are retrieved from memory so that relevant aspects of the target culture become understandable and, therefore, accessible (see Ariel 2001, 2006 and its adaptation in Cappelli 2016 and Cappelli, Masi 2019). The language of tourism is often shaped by this need to provide interpretive tools for tourists by helping them integrate their culturally predicated expectations and needs with the destination's culture, as well as to create connections between the "known" and the "new". In expert-to-non-expert communication, the industry often has to help tourists make sense of what is new and unfamiliar to them and ascertain the importance of the items selected as culturally relevant (e.g. knowledge of specific concepts essential for the understanding of local art, history, geography, language, traditions, etc.). To do this, it often takes

advantage of available mental representations and adapts them to make new representations that are easier to grasp.

As in other specialized domains, specific concepts are made accessible through popularization strategies, which allow for the reformulation and recontextualization of expert discourse so as to meet the needs, tastes and background encyclopaedia of non-expert readers (see Calsamiglia 2003; Calsamiglia, van Dijk 2004; Gotti 2003, 2006, 2013, 2014; Myers 2003; Hyland 2005). In this sense, we can argue that through its mediating function, the language of tourism used in specialist-to-non-specialist communication promotes knowledge dissemination, and our claim is that this is one of its defining features regardless of the medium used for the interaction.

Another important issue at stake relates to multimodality. Indeed, communication is essentially multimodal (see Kress, van Leeuwen 1996; Norris 2004; Scollon, Levine 2004; O'Halloran 2004), since various semiotic resources are intertwined and altogether contribute to making meaning in a given situational context. This is particularly true in the case of guided tours, which are in presentia and where the situational context is thus shared, but also in the case of audiovisual products such as documentaries and docu-tours, where both aural and visual elements are fundamental in order to convey and fully interpret a message. More specifically, a communicative event in a given and specialised situational context cannot be analysed solely by taking into account the verbal element, as nonverbal cues such as hand gestures, gaze direction, proxemics in general, sounds, and images greatly contribute to supporting, integrating and creating meaning. Therefore, sections 4.1., 4.2. and 4.3. report on the analysis of the strategies used in the spoken genres investigated for cultural mediation and accessibility creation and focus on the intentional use of multimodality for the explanation of culture or domain specific concepts and specialized lexical items.

3. Material and methods

3.1. Data

The multimodal corpus built for the present study has been developed within a PRIN project financed by the Italian Ministry for the University. It was inspired by *Lumière* (originally known as the Library of Foreign Language Film Clips)[2] developed at the University of California at Berkeley, which is an ongoing project aimed at promoting the learning of language and culture

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[2] https://lumiere.berkeley.edu/login

through films. More specifically, it is a component of a larger multimodal corpus that collects video clips representing six specialised discourse domains of interest to ESP students, i.e., Medicine and Health, Business and Economics, Technology, Tourism, Political Science and Law, in different genres such as Ted Talks, films, TV series, TV interviews, etc. Our dataset comprises 34 clips that were selected and cut from 20 audiovisual documents of three different genres, namely 2 guided tours, 13 docu-tours and 5 documentaries, in the aforementioned domains (see Table 1). Each clip lasts from 1 to 5 minutes, so that our multimodal component is approximately 1 hour long and totals 10,663 words.

Title	Clips	Genre	Domain
The city of Edinburgh with Kim	9	Guided Tour	Tourism
Edinburgh Castle with Frank	1	Guided Tour	
Rick Steves – Lucca	3	Documentary	
Hunterian Museum with S. Chaplin – Medical London	3	Docu-tour	Health & Medicine
Gordon Museum of Pathology, King's College London	1	Docu-tour	
Old Operating Theatre with Mark Pilkington – Medical London	1	Docu-tour	
Medical Oddities from the Bowels of Mutter Museum	2	Docu-tour	
Philadelphia's Mutter Museum	1	Documentary	
Mutter Museum – Easy Documentaries	1	Documentary	
Roger's tour of Wall Street	1	Docu-tour	Business & Economics
Wall Street trader's NYSE tour	1	Docu-tour	
Young explorers – A brief history of money (British Museum)	2	Docu-tour	
Inside the NY Stock Exchange	1	Documentary	
UK Parliament tour: Houses of Parliament	1	Docu-tour	Political Science
UK Parliament tour: House of Commons Chamber	1	Docu-tour	
UK Parliament tour: House of Lords Chamber	1	Docu-tour	
What's inside the White House	1	Documentary	
The Crown Court	1	Docu-tour	Law
Courtroom for children (USA)	1	Docu-tour	
Chicago Museum of Science and Industry	1	Docu-tour	Technology
Tot.		**34**	

Table 1
Our component of the multimodal corpus.

A few words on this classification are in order. To the best of our knowledge, although travel documentaries and videos have received some attention for their role in the remediation of the tourist experience or of the image of the destination (Francesconi 2011; Lopriore 2015; Francesconi 2017; Muhoho-Minni, Lubbe 2017; Leotta, Ross 2018; Terzidou *et al.* 2018), no distinction between documentaries and what we have named "docu-tours" has been

discussed in the literature on tourism discourse. Neither have these two genres been compared to guided tours (Burdelski *et al.* 2014; Thurlow, Jaworski 2014; Dumitrascu, Maruntelu 2016; Fukuda, Burdelski 2019), even if they share the same informative nature and could be seen as the spoken counterparts of guidebooks and travel-related websites.

Discussing the features of documentaries in general and travel documentaries in particular (see Lopriore 2015 for a thorough review) or of guided tours is not the aim of this chapter. Moreover, although part of a larger effort aimed at identifying the distinctive features of the spoken genres of tourism discourse, the investigation whose findings are reported and discussed in this article was not intended to lead to a global description of the latter. A word of caution is therefore necessary. The operational tripartite classification that we propose here is yet largely intuitive and based on the preliminary observation of some macroscopic differences between the samples collected, including but not limited to the use of voiceover, the scripted vs. spontaneous nature of the interaction, the montage techniques, and the role of the speaker in the clips (Cappelli, Bonsignori 2019). The research we present below specifically focused on one aspect of these complex communicative events and products, namely the strategies used to ensure the comprehension of possibly difficult or unfamiliar key concepts. In spite of the limited size of the corpus and the somewhat arbitrary distinction made between documentaries and "docu-tours" due to the fuzzy boundaries between some instances of the two genres, the observations we could make from the analysis of the data seem to unveil some distinctive characteristics of three different genres and this may eventually contribute to their global description and definition.

3.2. Methods of analysis

The 34 selected clips were carefully watched and then wholly transcribed. Firstly, the verbal component was analysed to identify culture-specific expressions and specialised vocabulary. Secondly, the popularization strategies employed for accessibility creation were retrieved and classified. Calsamiglia and van Dijk (2004, p. 370) describe popularization as

> "a vast class of various types of communicative events or genres that involve the transformation of specialized knowledge into 'everyday' or 'lay' knowledge [...]. This means that popularization discourse needs to be formulated in such a way that non-specialized readers are able to construct lay versions of specialized knowledge and integrate these with their existing knowledge".

Popularization discourse has received much attention over the past few years and many linguistic strategies have been identified as typical (see Calsamiglia

2003; Calsamiglia, van Dijk 2004; Gotti 2013; Kermas, Christiansen 2013; Luzón 2013; Semino *et al.* 2013; Scotto di Carlo 2014; van Dijk 2014; Diani 2018; Laudisio 2018; Sezzi 2019 inter alia). The most widespread ways to popularize knowledge seem to be the use of narration and figurative language, and explanation in all its various forms, such as definition and exemplification, metaphors, descriptions, comparison, and analogy. They are all meant to help language users relate new representations to old representations (Gotti 2013), that is, they make sure that new concepts become "accessible" to the reader.

The most common verbal strategies found in our dataset in association with terminology or culture-specific concepts are the following: explanation (through denomination, description, definition, analogy, exemplification, and paraphrase), anchoring to the reader's background and time, and attribution (e.g. mentioning the source of the information reported by the guide or the documentarist).

Finally, a multimodal analysis with the annotator software ELAN[3] (Wittenburg *et al.* 2006) was carried out, which allows for the integration of verbal and nonverbal cues such as images, gestures, gaze direction, graphic aids, and sounds. Such a holistic description is provided by the creation of multiple tiers in the software, which can be filled with various analytical information through the use of labels, i.e. "controlled vocabulary", in their abbreviated and extended form. This system enables the analyst to visualise all the different elements that occur together in the communicative event alongside the video, which is streamed on the upper left side of the ELAN document window (see Figure 1 as an example). Table 2 below shows an example of the multitiered analysis created in the software for one of the clips in the multimodal component of the corpus.

In detail, the first tier is the Transcription tier, where speech is transcribed in synchronization with the video. Gestures are described in the Gesture_description tier, based on Querol-Julián's (2011) model, and their function is indicated in the Gesture_functions tier, following the classifications drawn by Kendon (2004) and Weinberg, Fukawa-Connelly and Wiesner (2013). The Verbal strategy tier comprises those labels that refer to the strategies used for accessibility and popularization purposes, while other information regarding gaze direction and prosodic stress is inserted in the corresponding tiers. Finally, important elements regarding camera angles, for example, are annotated in the Notes tier. If the speaker is not on camera but can only be heard in voice-over, this becomes relevant in the analysis and should thus be taken into consideration (see Bonsignori 2016).

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[3] ELAN (Version 5.7) [Computer software]. (2020). Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive. Retrieved from https://archive.mpi.nl/tla/elan

Tiers	Controlled vocabulary	
	Description	Abbreviation
Transcription		
Gesture_description	opening palm up	OPu
	palm down	Pd
	palm down over other hand	PdoH
	hand on fist	HoF
	rotating hands	RHs
	palm down sinuously moving forward	PdSMf
	hands in ball shape	HsBS
Gesture_function	to indicate position	indexical
	to express certainty	modal
	to mark different units within an utterance	parsing
	to indicate the kind of speech act	performative
	to represent an object/idea	representational
	to emphasise/highlight importance	social
Verbal strategy	Description	desc
	Paraphrase	paraph
Gaze	Down	down
	Out	out
	looking at interlocutor	LaI
Prosody	paralinguistic stress	stress
Notes	description of camera angles	

Table 2

Example of the annotation framework created in ELAN from clip 01e_Guided tour_Kim_volcano2.

4. Analysis

The following sections illustrate the multimodal analysis of the three different genres of the guided tour, docu-tour and documentary. Each section provides an example from a selection of clips where strategies for accessibility and popularization are employed, either verbally or nonverbally. This type of analysis was carried out on all the clips included in the corpus.

4.1. The guided tour

The cases presented in this section are taken from a guided walking tour of Edinburgh, where a group of tourists follow their tour guide, Kim, who takes them around the city to visit the most important sites.

Clip 1 lasts 00:01:02 and features the tour guide surrounded by tourists at Hutton's Section, one of the most famous geological sites in Edinburgh. In this clip, she tells them about the important discoveries made by Scottish

geologist James Hutton and attempts to describe various types of rocks and their formation, particularly of sandstone, as shown in the excerpt in (1) below. In the transcript, specialised vocabulary is highlighted in bold, words used to express a certain strategy for accessibility are in italics followed by the corresponding label within square brackets, while the symbol "[Ç]" indicates that a gesture is performed:

(1) Clip 1 from 1e_Guided tour_Kim_volcano2

Because he made a very important discovery here. See, here at Hutton's Section, James Hutton worked out what **igneous**, *or volcanic* [paraphrase], rocks, are. Because, when he was alive, during the 1700s, people generally thought that all rocks were formed the same way. So same way as a **sandstone**, for instance: *you get a layer of sand* [Ç]*, another layer of sand* [Ç]*, another layer* [Ç]. *Squish it down to form a rock* [Ç] [description].

As can be seen in example (1), the specialised term *igneous* is explained with the paraphrase *or volcanic* in order to make it understandable for an audience of non-specialists, whereas the term *sandstone* is explained through the description of its formation on the verbal level and with the use of a series of gestures accompanying words and performing a representational function. Figure 1 shows the multimodal analysis of this passage.
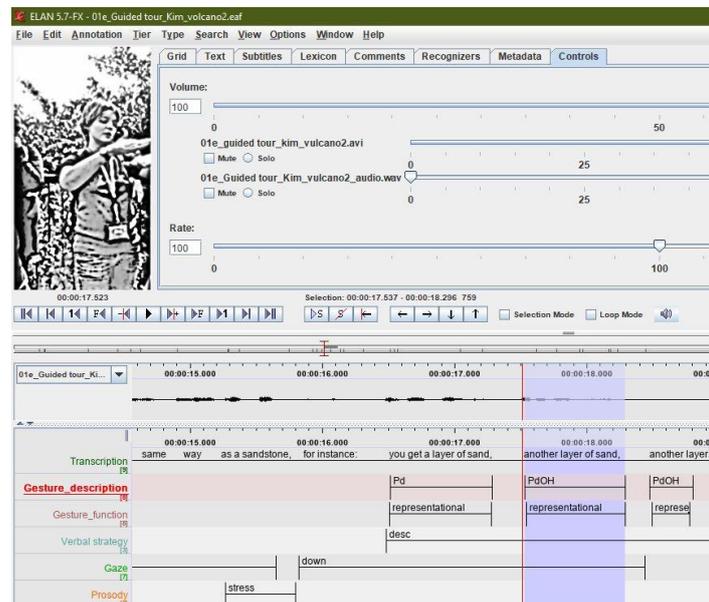
Figure 1
Multimodal analysis of the description of *sandstone* in clip 1.

Figure 1 also incorporates the still image of the tour guide performing the gesture labelled as "PdoH" (i.e. "Palm down over other hand") while uttering the words *another layer of sand* and looking down. In this case, the gesture highly contributes to supporting and integrating the meaning expressed by words.

Clip 2 is taken from the same tour of the city of Edinburgh, but in a different area, namely James's Court, down the Royal Mile, where famous personalities such as philosopher David Hume once lived. In this clip, the tour guide describes the typical features of the streets in this old part of the city through the verbal strategies of denomination and exemplification, as shown in the transcript below:

(2) Clip 2 from 1d_Guided tour_Kim_Royal Mile
Alright, then. This area here is called *James's Court* [G] [denomination]. Now, the Royal Mile has what's called *a "herringbone" street pattern* [G] [denomination], so, you know, *like the bones in your fish they've got the spine* [G] *and lots of little bones going on either side of it* [G] [exemplification]*?* That's kind of what the Royal Mile looks like, you've got the main high street [G], lots of little streets going on either side of it [G]. Now, down some of these streets, you've got *narrow passageways* [description] *called "closes"* [denomination]. There's one there [G], and we'll go through another one in a few moments.

More specifically, the guide tries to explain what the typical *herringbone street pattern* consists of by taking the example of a fishbone and using a series of gestures mainly with a representational function in an attempt to concretely show the audience of tourists what her words mean. Indeed, apart from the first and the last gesture, the other 5 gestures perform a representational function, as the one visible in the still image in Figure 2, which accompanies the words *lots of little streets going on either side of it* and which is described as "PsdmaSs", that is, "palms down moving alternatively to the sides".
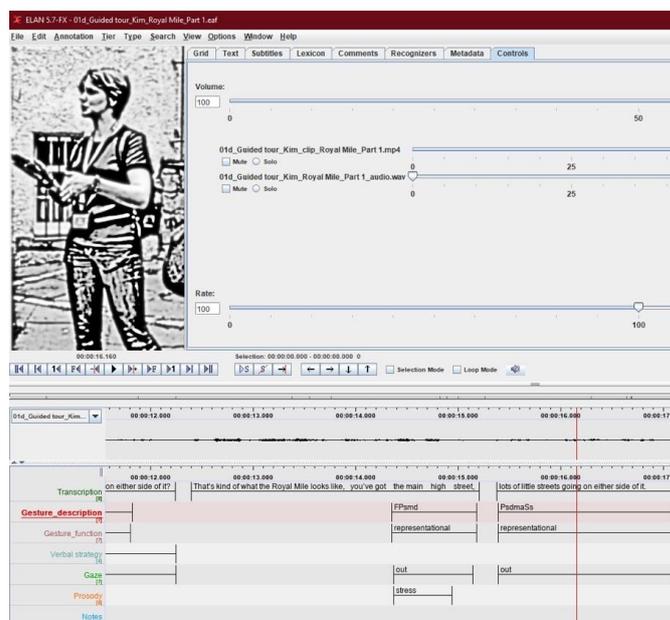
Figure 2
Multimodal analysis of the explanation of the *herringbone street pattern* in clip 2.

Finally, when she refers to a specific type of street, namely *closes*, she employs the strategies of description and denomination and uses a gesture, described as "Ff", i.e. "forefinger forward", in the Gesture_description tier in the screenshot in Figure 3, to show tourists an example, which is visible from where they are standing. This gesture, thus, performs an indexical function.
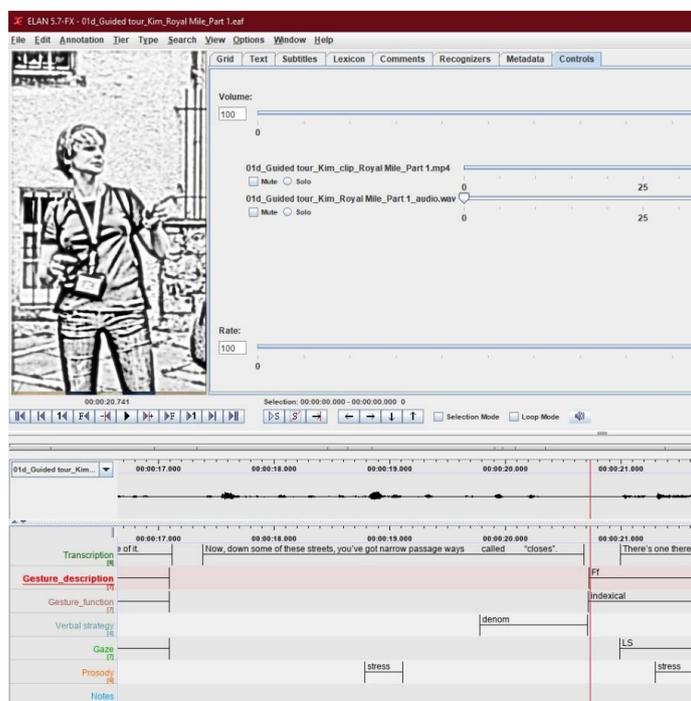

Figure 3
Gesture performing an indexical function in clip 2.

4.2. The docu-tour

As briefly mentioned in section 3.1., the genre of the docu-tour is quite fuzzy, as it shares some of the features of the documentary and some of the guided tour.

In the second part of clip 3, Simon Chaplin, the curator of the Hunterian Museum, which is a historic museum of medicine in London, talks about how teachers of anatomy used to work with their students, that is, by using what he calls *preserved specimens*, a technical term that he explains verbally through two paraphrases, as indicated in the transcript below in (3):

(3) Clip 3 from 3_Hunterian Museum_Part 02
Because bodies were so hard to come by, of course most teachers would also use preserved **specimens** [image], *or preparations* [paraphrase], in their lectures, so *bits of body pickled in alcohol or dried and varnished as dry preparations* [Ç] [paraphrase], and they would pass these around [Ç] in their lectures for their students to look at.

*L*ingue e
*L*inguaggi

Actually, the multimodal analysis of this clip shows that when the curator uses the first paraphrase, i.e., *or preparations*, he is off screen and the viewer can see examples of specimens in the image, which shows the display cases, as annotated in the Notes tier in Figure 4.
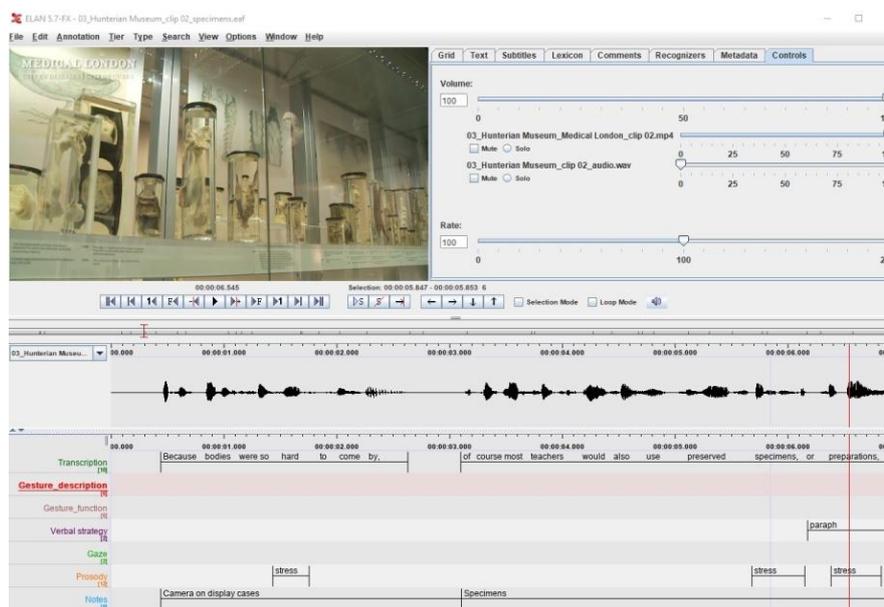

Figure 4
Image of *specimens* in clip 3.

Then, the camera focuses on the curator while he is explaining the term using the second paraphrase. While doing so, he also uses a gesture to represent the concept, thus allowing the viewer to access meaning (see Figure 5).
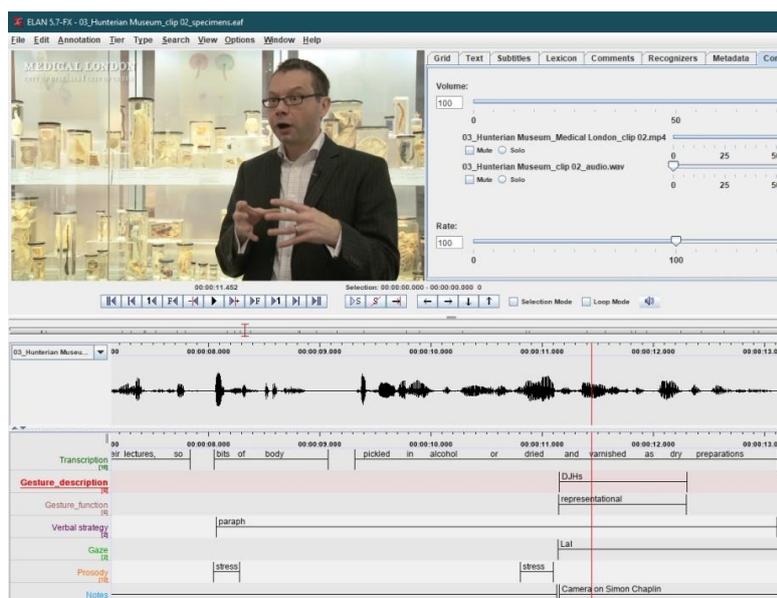
Figure 5
Verbal and nonverbal strategies to explain the term *specimens* in clip 3, part 2.

Interestingly, while speaking, he does not look directly at the camera, but at his interviewer (as indicated in the Gaze tier in Figure 5), who plays the role of the third viewer.

Another interesting example of the different strategies that can be employed for accessibility refers to the explanation of the term *body snatchers*, which occur in two docu-tours about historical medicine in London. In the first part of the clip about the Hunterian Museum (here clip 4), the curator introduces the problem of getting hold of bodies to teach anatomy in the 18th century, and then he highlights the importance of the *resurrection men* to this end. Therefore, in this case, Simon Chaplin explains the term using two verbal strategies, namely a series of paraphrases, i.e. *the grave robbers, the body snatchers*, accompanied by an explanation, as shown in the transcript in (4). It is worth noting that, while speaking, he uses a series of gestures with a merely social function, that is, in order to emphasise the key concepts (see Figure 6).

(4) Clip 4 from 3_Hunterian Museum_Part 01
So, they were having to rely on private deals with hospitals [G], with work houses [G], with prisons… [G] But most of all, with the [G] *resurrection men* [G] [denomination], *the grave robbers* [G]*, the body snatchers* [G] [paraphrase], *who supplied all of the private anatomy schools in Georgian London with the* **corpses** *they'd need* [explanation].

Figure 6
Gesture with a social function while explaining the term *body snatchers* in clip 4.

By contrast, in clip 5, taken from the Old Operating Theatre in London, the curator, Mark Pilkington, talking about the *Barrow Boys*, uses verbal cues, namely a definition that includes the term *body snatchers*, followed by an explanation, which is supported by an image, that is, a painting showing exactly what *body snatchers* stands for. In this last case, when the screen

shows the painting in question, the curator's voice can only be heard in voice over, i.e. "v.o." in the transcript in (5), (see Figure 7).

(5) Clip 5 from 5_Old Operating Theatre
And interestingly, this whole region of Southwark was well known as the home of the *Barrow Boys* [denomination], *who were a particularly notorious group of **body snatchers*** [definition], and it wasn't until 1832 that the body snatching laws came into effect, so for a good ten years it's quite likely that the *bodies being dissected here had been* (v.o.: *pinched from neighbouring churchyards, perhaps even been the victims of murders by the Barrow Boys themselves*) [explanation] [image].

Figure 7
Verbal and nonverbal cues to explain the term *body snatchers* in clip 5.

The use of gestures and of images as strategies to help the viewer understand the meaning of technical terms or cultural elements are employed also in other docu-tours from other domains. For instance, in clip 6 from Roger's tour of Wall Street, which pertains to the business domain, when Roger as a guide talks about the *ticker*, he simply shows it to the camera (and the viewer) with an indexical gesture (see Figure 8 on the left), whereas when he tells about the formation of the NY Stock Exchange, he mentions the *Buttonwood tree* using the strategy of anchoring and showing an image of it in a painting (see Figure 8 on the right).

(6) Clip 6 from 6_Roger's tour of Wall Street
"Hi! I'm Roger Phillips, I'm at AIG American International Groups Corporate Treasury. I'm standing here in front of the *New York Stock Exchange* [image]. Right behind me is *the **ticker** and the entrance to the New York Stock Exchange* [G] [image] on Wall Street. The New York Stock Exchange was formed in 1792 *under the Buttonwood tree that stood here at one time* [anchoring] [image – painting].
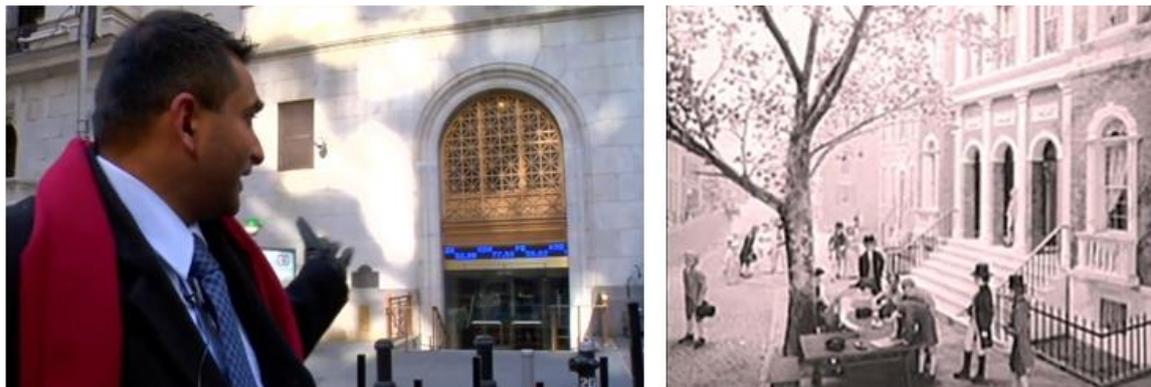
Figure 8
Indexical gesture and painting in clip 6.

However, other strategies can be used in the docu-tours we have analysed so far. For instance, labels can be superimposed on the screen when referring to certain concepts or ideas. This is the case of the caption *Goldman Sachs* that appears on the screen in clip 6 when Roger introduces this new topic to the viewer and shows the building on camera (example 7, Figure 9 on the left). Another example is from clip 7, a docu-tour about the Crown Court, thus pertaining to the legal domain. Here, the judge takes the role of the guide and speaks directly to the viewer, describing the components of the British Crown Court and their role. As shown in the excerpt in (8), he employs the verbal strategy of denomination, i.e. *Prosecution Barrister and Defence Barrister*, and then a label appears on screen next to each professional, so that the viewer can clearly understand (see Figure 9, on the right).

(7) Clip 6 from 6_Roger's tour of Wall Street
Here in front of us is [Ç] *the corporate headquarters of **Goldman Sachs*** [image] [label], *one of the most important and bluest of blue chips investment banks* [definition].

(8) Clip 7 from 15_The Crown Court
All the people present during a trial at the Crown Court are *the **Prosecution Barrister** and the **Defence Barrister*** [denomination] [label], usually with **solicitors** behind them [label] *taking notes* [image].

Figure 9
Use of labels in clip 6 and 7.

4.3. The documentary

The last genre we investigated is the documentary. In the following paragraphs, excerpts from the clips cut from Rick Steves' Lucca documentary (i.e. in the domain of tourism) are analysed as an example of this genre.

The first thing worth noticing is the large use of voice over and the presence of classical music in the background throughout the whole video. In clip 8, Steves talks about the famous and beautiful *ramparts* that enclose the city in a scripted language characterised by an extensive use of adjectives and adverbs (see transcript in 9). The description is entirely performed in voice over and what is interesting is that he lets images explain what ramparts are (see Figure 10). More specifically, it is through images that he creates the synonymic relation between the specialised term *ramparts* and the more general word *walls*. In this way the viewer can easily follow Steves' description and access the specialised meaning.

(9) Clip 8 from 13_Rick Steves_Lucca_part 1
(v.o.) Beautifully preserved Lucca is contained entirely within its iconic **ramparts** [image]. Most cities tear down their **walls** to make way for modern traffic [image]. But Lucca, kept its **walls**, [image] effectively keeping out both traffic and, it seems, the stress of the modern world.

Figure 10
Use of images in clip 8.

In the same way, in the next example in (10), specific terms such as *Romanesque*, *piazzas* and *pedestrian drag* are explained solely with the help of images, while verbal cues are hardly ever explanatory (see Fig11).

(10) Clip 9 from 13_Rick Steves_Lucca_part 2
(v.o.) **Romanesque churches** [image] seem to be around every corner. As do inviting **piazzas**, [image] busy with children at play. The main **pedestrian drag** [image] is Via Fillungo.

Figure 11
Use of images in clip 9.

Finally, in the two examples in (11) and (12) Rick Steves is, first, on top of the Guinigi tower enjoying the view of Lucca (Figure 12), and then in the Church of San Giovanni among the audience at a concert (Figure 13, on the left). In this way, through experiencing he becomes himself an example of what it means to visit Lucca and to enjoy its culture.

(11) Clip 9 from 13_Rick Steves_Lucca_part 2
(v.o.) Those making the climb are rewarded with commanding **city views**, all in the shade of its amazing trees.

Figure 12
Self-experience in clip 9.

At the very end of clip 10, this idea is strengthened by the quite long performance of the singer, who, together with the classical music played by the pianist, allows the viewer in some way to live the same experience.

(12) Clip 10 from 13_Rick Steves_Lucca_part 3
(v.o.) Nearby, the church of San Giovanni [image] hosts nightly **concerts** celebrating the music of hometown composer Giacomo Puccini. [sound]

Figure 13
Self-experience in clip 10 and use of sounds.

5. Findings

The analysis of the clips confirms that multimodality is central in making potentially "difficult" concepts accessible in spoken tourism discourse, and therefore has a pivotal role in popularization and knowledge dissemination. Documentarists and tour guides resort to both verbal and nonverbal strategies when they need to make sure that their audience understand terminology and culture- and domain-specific references. However, the materials investigated show a different distribution pattern of such strategies across genres. Interestingly, such patterns seem to reveal specificities which contribute to the definition of three distinct although sometimes overlapping genres: documentaries (D), docu-tours (DT) and guided tours (GT).

Overall, nonverbal strategies (i.e. images, gestures, sound effects, labels and graphic aids) are more commonly used than verbal strategies (i.e. paraphrase, explanation, exemplification or anchoring). This is confirmed by the analysis of the three genres, which also evidences that a possible continuum can be identified with respect to the feature investigated. Table 3 and Figure 14 show the global vs. the specific percentage of the use of the different strategies.

|	Nonverbal strategies	Verbal strategies
Global count	60%	40%

Table 3
Percentage of use of verbal and nonverbal strategies in the corpus.
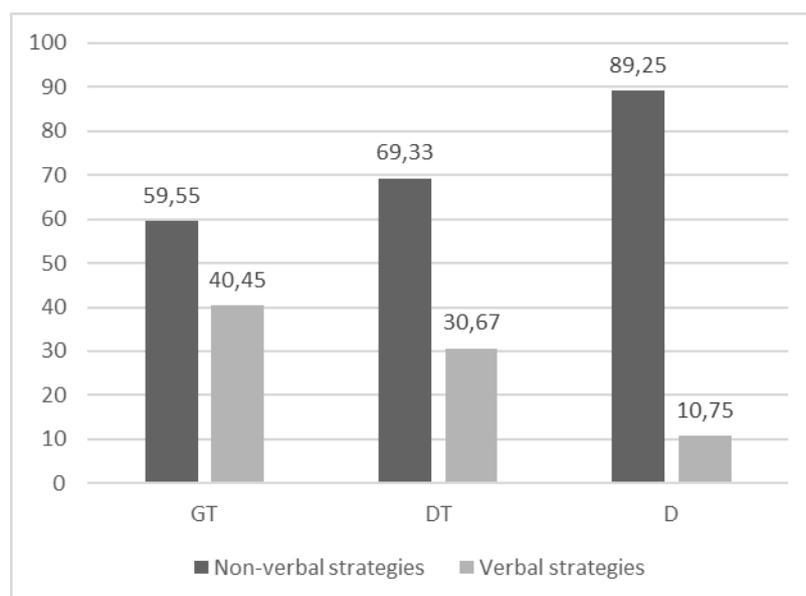
Figure 14
Global distribution of strategies in the three genres.

As is evident, verbal strategies are preferred in guided tours, whereas their prominence progressively decreases in the two audiovisual genres. This was expected because, as Lopriore (2015, p. 221) states, in documentaries "the spoken text has to back up visuals rather than overpower them" and narration should be "kept as simple and as clear as possible to allow images to speak". Moreover, documentaries are planned, scripted and edited and therefore the authors can pair nonverbal elements and terminology in an effective way to ensure maximum explanatory power.

The same tendency is observed in docu-tours, where, however, nonverbal strategies often overlap with verbal strategies. Thus, in a style that is similar to that of guided tours, the speaker offers a verbal explanation of unfamiliar concepts while, at the same time, images (static or in the form of short narrative videos) echo his or her words as in a "canonical" documentary. Finally, in guided tours, although nonverbal strategies still look preponderant, it is actually the verbal component that plays the major role in creating accessibility, as the only nonverbal resource available to tour leaders is usually the use of gestures as Figure 15 shows.
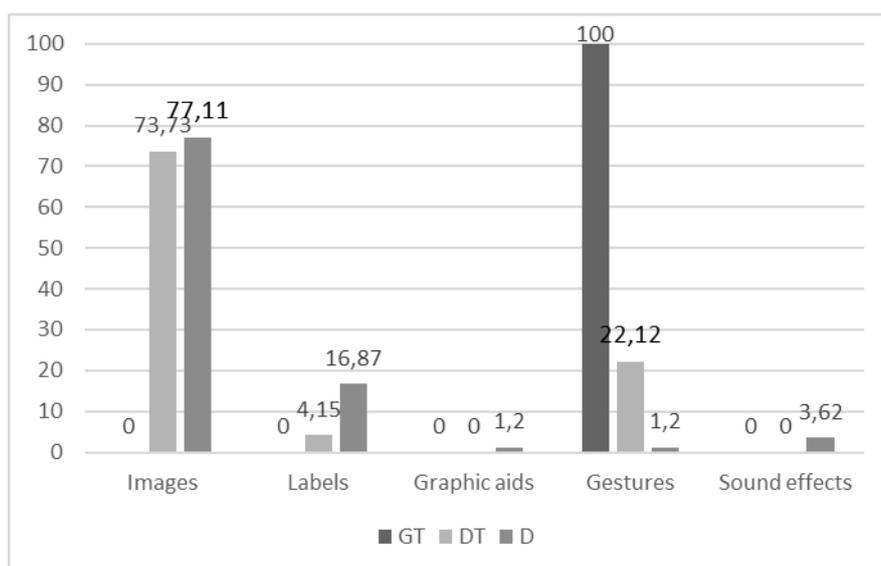
Figure 15
Distribution of nonverbal strategies across genres.

Images are almost equally common in documentaries and docu-tours, while labels, graphic aids (e.g. arrows and animations) and sound effects were only found in the former, as they are typically added in the editing phase. The hybrid nature of docu-tours is again evidenced by the fact that, besides resorting to visual resources like documentaries, gestures are also typically used by the speakers on camera to enhance understanding, just as tour guides do in "real life" situations.

The use of verbal strategies too reflects the scripted vs. non-scripted continuum along which the three genres can be ideally placed. Figure 16 provides an overview of the distribution of the individual types in the corpus and Figure 17 details the distribution in each genre.
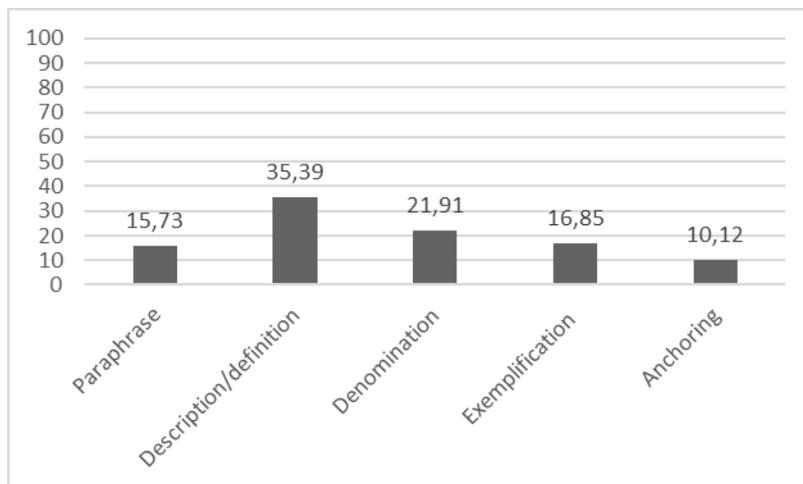
Figure 16
Global count of verbal strategies.
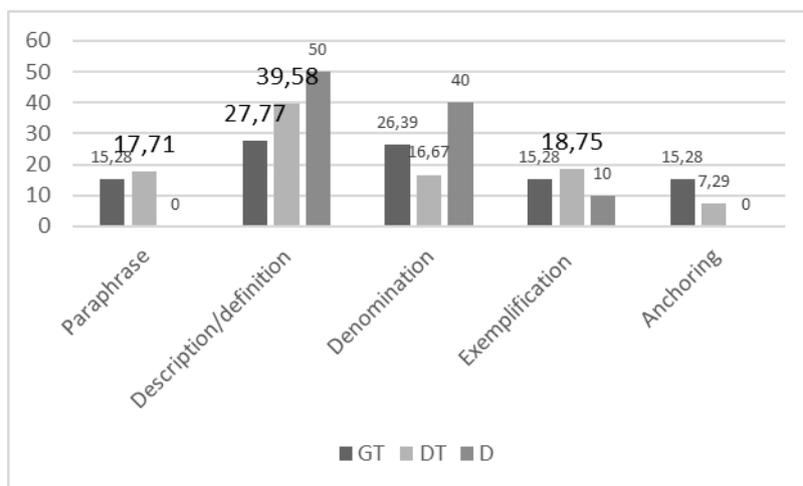
Figure 17
Distribution of verbal strategies across genres.

All the strategies identified were found in guided tours and docu-tours, whereas only those which reveal proper planning (e.g. description, definition, exemplification) were retrieved in documentaries. Paraphrase was mostly found in the form of rephrasing, which is more typical of spontaneous spoken communication than planned written language. It is therefore not surprising that it is quite common in guided tours, although we did not expect it to be as frequent in docu-tours. The same holds for exemplification. This reinforces the idea that docu-tours can be seen as a hybrid genre, where accessibility is

achieved through the sometimes redundant overlap of multiple verbal and nonverbal strategies. This is probably due to the fact that, contrary to what happens in documentaries, the verbal component precedes the visual component (Lopriore 2015), and thus docu-tours preserve some of the characteristics of the more spontaneous nature of guided tours.

6. Concluding remarks

The authors are aware of the limitations of the study. The small size of the dataset should invite some caution in the claims we can make and does not allow us to generalize the conclusions. The documentary and guided tour component should be expanded to include a variety of sources and types so as to avoid assumptions from possibly idiosyncratic preferences of only a few documentarists and guides. Another possible limitation is the aforementioned intuitive nature of the operational classification of the clips into the three genres.

Nevertheless, we believe that, as long as no systematic analyses of the latter are available, individual studies like this one can advance our understanding of the distinctive features of the language of tourism and of the ways in which it contributes to knowledge dissemination. The observations that emerge from our multimodal analysis point towards the plausibility of the generic classification we propose, and, at the same time, add to what we know about popularization strategies in spoken specialized discourse.

It is our conviction that this type of research should not remain confined to the academic debate, and that, as a more general objective, it should promote research-based reflection on the method of effective tourism communication in the English-speaking world. For this reason, it could provide stimuli and inspiration for the design of materials for the teaching of this type of English for specific purposes, as well as for professional development (Cappelli, Bonsignori 2019).

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