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THE USE OF MARKERS IN WEB-BASED TOURISM DISCOURSES OF WORLD HERITAGE: A MULTIMODAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Abstract

Markers are important semiotic devices of tourism discourse in the creation of images of World Heritage Sites (WHS) as tourism attractions. However, they display information and explain its significance according to the discourses and social assumptions about heritage that govern their use. As alternative discourses emerge alongside mainstream tourism discourse, these introduce new dynamics in the use of markers, which may give rise to competing images of a same WHS attraction. This largely under-investigated issue is at the core of the present paper, which focuses on a multimodal discourse analysis of markers in sample web-based tourism and indigenous discourses. While the main aim is to unfold the evidential-type of information and the epistemic-type of evidential information markers provide of a same WHS across these discourses, the ultimate goal is to highlight the practical implications the quantitative and qualitative results of the study may have for ESP learners of tourism discourse.

Keywords: markers, tourism and indigenous discourses, evidentiality, epistemicity, ESP, world heritage.

1. Introduction

The recent exploitation of the UNESCO label as a destination brand (Ryan & Silvanto, 2010) has transformed World Heritage Sites (WHS) into “‘must see’ symbolic attractions” (Evans, 2001, p. 81), which can be defined by the “empirical relationship between a *tourist*, a *sight*, and a *marker*” (MacCannell, 1999, p. 41; original emphasis). Markers appear to be the most important element as they allow a tourist to recognize a sight and the sight itself to exist (van den Abbeele, 1980). Not only do they “instruct what to see”, but more importantly, they indicate “how to see it and value it” (Larsen, 2006, p. 246) so as to transform tourists’ initial mental constructs into distorted destination images for promotional purposes (Plastina, 2012). Markers can thus be considered an integral part of tourism discourse, understood as “a semiotic system, be it textual-linguistic, visual-pictorial or [...] any other system of signification” shaping tourism (Jaworski & Pritchard, 2005, p. 2).

Nowadays, websites are easily accessible resources of WHS information, where “off-site markers” (Culler, 1988; MacCannell, 1999) appear to play a key role in “image formation processes” (Gartner, 1994: 197) as they anticipate the sight, demanding some involvement with their use in web-based tourism discourse. They can thus be considered “superior to the sight” (Dann, 1996: 9) due to their inherent capability of arousing tourist motivation for visitation. In spite of their importance, off-site markers have been so far generically defined as “any kind of information or representation that constitutes a sight as a sight” (Culler, *ibid.*, p. 5), and as “information separated from its sight” (MacCannell, *ibid.*, p. 111). From a linguistic perspective, however, a more refined categorisation is needed in order to gain an in-depth understanding of how off-site markers rely on tourism discourse, and more specifically, how they operate in multiple web-based discourses competing for heritage presentation and interpretation, which lies at the core of the present study. This paper therefore proposes two broad categories, namely *presentation* and *interpretation* markers and their related subcategories, which may allow for a more fine-grained analysis of off-site markers in WHS discourses. Such categorisation may also account for the selection of off-site markers, which largely depends on the discourses and underlying social practices authorizing their use. In this sense, “authorized heritage discourse” appears to use markers which mainly point to “aesthetically pleasing material objects” (Smith, 2006, p. 29). This longstanding discursive practice has, in fact, been legitimated by the traditional Western assumption that world heritage is *tangible* heritage of “outstanding universal value” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 2). Yet, heritage is essentially a dynamic construct, “defined by the needs of societies in the present” (McDowell, 2016, p. 37). Accordingly, world heritage has been more recently redefined in the light of the expertise offered by indigenous WHS communities in “the safeguarding [...] and re-creation of the intangible cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2003, p. 1). As a result of the active involvement of these communities in heritage tourism development, alternative non-Western discourses are emerging alongside authorized heritage discourse. These relatively new discourses appear to focus mostly on the “values, customs, ceremonies, lifestyles” (Timothy & Boyd, 2003, p. 3), which represent *intangible* heritage and “the cultural identity of its creators and bearers” (Lenzerini, 2011, p. 101). While both Western and non-Western discourses of heritage have significance in their own right, their uses of off-site markers are expected to differ, and thus create competing representations of a same WHS attraction. Gaining insight into how off-site markers produce different heritage interpretations may help

better understand some of the current dynamics of tourism discourse between experts and non-experts. Nevertheless, to date, studies have focused on the semiotics of mainstream heritage tourism discourse, leaving emerging indigenous discourses a largely under-researched area. Recent calls for empirical discursive research in this area confirm the need to “rethink present heritage discourses” in the light of the “pluralization of heritage” (Wu & Hou, 2015, p. 47), and of the new meanings shaping “the semiotic landscape’ of heritage tourism” (Waterton & Watson, 2014, p. 8).

As a contribution to filling this void, the present study aims at exploring how off-site markers are used in web-based tourism and indigenous discourses to shape a same WHS image. Such a comparative analysis can offer insights into the evolving dynamics of tourism discourse, which may have practical implications for its pedagogy in ESP contexts, as well as for researchers pursuing a “discursive turn” in heritage studies (Harrison, 2013). With this in mind, the study first seeks to determine how markers are used to indicate evidential information of a same WHS in tourism and indigenous discourses. Secondly, it attempts to disclose the epistemic type of evidential information indicated by markers in these discourses. Based on these results, the study considers how these markers may attempt to negotiate competing representations of heritage, and also suggests how their discipline-specific use can enhance ESP learning of tourism discourse.

The paper sets out with a brief overview of the proposed off-site markers, which are framed by key concepts of evidential and epistemic modality (Palmer, 2001; Sanders & Spooren, 1996), and multimodality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Martinec & Salway, 2005). It then provides an outline of the corpus and methodology used in the research, and presents the quantitative and qualitative results of a multimodal discourse analysis. The paper finally offers an insight into the practical implications these results may have for ESP pedagogy of tourism discourse.

2. Presentation and interpretation markers in tourism discourses

World Heritage practices are shaped by discourses that reflect the conservation, management and tourism of outstanding sites for the purpose of heritage presentation and heritage interpretation. According to the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), *heritage presentation* “denotes the carefully planned communication of interpretive content”, while *heritage interpretation* is considered as “the public explanation” of a WHS, “encompassing its full significance, multiple meanings and values”.¹ Drawing on these definitions, it appears that off-site markers in WHS discourses may easily operate as either *presentation markers*² displaying carefully selected information about material heritage places or intangible heritage events (Smith, 2012), or as *interpretation markers* explaining their significance. Due to the multimodal nature of web-based tourism discourses, the two broad categories of off-site

1 Cf. Note to the Ename Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites, 2008, <www.enamecharter.org/initiative_0.html>, and The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites, 2008, <http://www.icomos.org/charters/interpretation_e.pdf>. ICOMOS is an official advisory body to the World Heritage Committee.

2 The meaning of presentation markers thus here differs from that used in pragmatics and discourse studies, where they are considered to be those linguistic expressions that make the information presented more acceptable and accessible to the reader/listener.

markers proposed can be further divided into four main sub-categories: *textual presentation*, *multimodal presentation*, *textual interpretation* and *multimodal interpretation* markers.³

In detail, *textual presentation markers* can be understood to provide evidence of tangible or intangible heritage in different ways. Drawing on Palmer's (2001, p. 35) categorisation of evidential modality, textual presentation markers may be seen as operating as "sensory evidentials" when they provide linguistic evidence through the use of sensory perception verbs (e.g. *see, hear, feel, smell, taste*). Given that motivation for WHS visitation is also driven by learning experience (Poria et al., 2004), and that the sensory kinaesthetic modality may also be considered as a way of directly experiencing the place and becoming aware of its uniqueness, textual presentation markers are also likely to provide linguistic evidence of heritage through the use of sensory kinaesthetic verbs (e.g. *move, climb, walk, ride, drive*). They may further be expressions of a second "purely" evidential category, namely "reported evidentials" (Palmer, *ibid.*), operating as "quotatives" when they overtly signal the original information source, for example, through the use of direct or indirect reported speech, or as "hearsay evidentials" when the source is omitted in order to provide less reliable information for potential manipulative purposes.

Multimodal presentation markers can also operate as sensory evidentials with visual markers creating more vivid and appealing perceptions. They are also capable of altering the truth-conditions of evidence, especially regarding people, places and objects as "represented participants", or "the subject matter of the communication" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 48). In particular, people can be depicted as "offering" information to the viewer, or as "demanding" it by attempting to establish imaginary relations with the viewer, for example, by means of their gaze. Participants can also provide evidence through "narrative" meanings when they are represented in "action processes", where the main participant(s) and the recipient(s) of the action are connected by "vectors" through depicted elements, such as "bodies or limbs or tools", or engaged in "reactional processes", where vectors meaningfully connect the glance of represented participants as reactors with other passive participants (*ibid.*, p. 56-64). Additionally, participants can convey "conceptual" meanings through their static depiction as members of a same class (classification processes), as a part-whole structure (analytical processes), or when portrayed with symbolic attributes (symbolic attributive processes), and even acquire symbolic meaning also through the use of other semiotic resources, for instance, textual (symbolic suggestive processes) (*ibid.*, p. 89-108).

Textual interpretation markers mainly explain heritage meanings and thus help manage the acceptance of its evidential information. In so doing, they allow authors to take personal responsibility in evaluating evidential information (cf. Marín-Arrese, 2011), and to exert "epistemic control" (Langacker, 2013). Hence, textual interpretation markers easily signal different degrees of "subjectification" including "semi-subjective" positions when they offer observational evidence or shared knowledge, but divide the responsibility for the factual status of information with their consumers, who are ultimately in charge of constructing interpretive meaning; "subjective" positions, whereby they "explicitly encode the speaker/writer's personal limitation of the validity of information", for example, through the use of

³ The term *textual* here refers to the deployment of the written mode, whereas *multimodal* is meant to indicate the common co-deployment of the written and visual semiotic modes.

"I-embeddings" (e.g. *I think, I believe*) (Sanders & Spooren, 1996, p. 246). Authors interested in shaping induced WHS images as their covert manipulative goal are, however, more likely to conceal the responsibility for their claims through the use of different linguistic devices (e.g. modal and cognitive verbs) and/or visual strategies altering the "information value" of pictorial elements (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Such epistemic "implicitness" ultimately denotes a "mystification of responsibility for the realization of events" (Marín-Arrese, 2011, p. 258). This can also be accomplished in the single stages of the construction of induced WHS images. Following MacCannell's (1999) five-stage model, implicit propositional attitudes may be captured in the use of WHS name markers (*naming* stage), or other linguistic items marking types of consumption (*framing and elevating* stage), values (*enshrinement* stage), artefacts (*mechanical reproduction* stage), and social organizations disseminating WHS fame (*social reproduction* stage).

Multimodal interpretation markers may also reveal how authors alter the status between texts and images and their semantic relations to distort evidential information according to their own promotional interests. Authors may thus choose to give texts and images an "equal independent", "equal complementary" or an "unequal" status (Martinec & Salway, 2005, p. 345). Texts and images without "signs of one modifying the other" hold an "equal independent" status, whereby evidential information is open to diverse textual and visual interpretations; texts and images that are "joined equally and modify one another" hold an "equal complementary" status, which denotes that both semiotic modes are mostly used to provide reliable evidential information; when "one of them modifies the other", texts and images hold an "unequal" status, which shows that evidential information is strategically manipulated to orient interpretive meaning according to the author's interests. Authors can further choose to establish different semantic relations between texts and images for similar purposes. In this sense, relations of "exposition" indicate that "the image and the text are of the same level of generality" open to different interpretations; those of "exemplification" show that "the levels are different" to substantiate evidential information through textual or visual examples; in relations of "enhancement", where "one qualifies the other circumstantially" (Martinec & Salway, 2005, p. 342-350), allowing ample margins for manipulating information.

Bearing all these features in mind, this paper aims at addressing three main research questions:

1. What main evidential type of information about a same WHS is indicated by presentation markers in tourism and indigenous discourses?
2. What epistemic type of evidential information do interpretation markers signal in these discourses?
3. Do these markers negotiate competing representations of heritage?

A multimodal discourse analysis is conducted on a collection of web-based texts promoting the WHS Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia to address these research questions.

3. Materials and methodology

The key expression “Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park” was typed into an online search engine and the first ten websites with related tourism or indigenous discourses were collected to build the multimodal heritage corpus (6,242 words; 61 images) for the current study. Samples were distributed into two sub-corpora (cf. Appendix) based on the criterion of tourism vs. indigenous discourse. The sub-corpus with tourism samples was labelled as Official Tourism Boards (henceforth OTB), and was made up of 3,074 words and 25 images; the one with indigenous samples was named Park and Aboriginal Tours (PAT), and included 3,168 words and 36 images. The corpus was purposely kept to a manageable size for a more detailed analysis of markers.

The quantitative and qualitative analysis was theoretically framed by the multimodal social semiotic approach to discourse, thus assuming that “all signs in all modes are meaningful” (Kress, 2010, p. 59). On-screen texts were transcribed and static images downloaded and stored for analysis. Raw corpus data were filtered, and markers were manipulated by predefined evidential and epistemic categories (Palmer 2001; Sanders & Spooren, 1996), and by multimodal parameters (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006; Martinec & Salway, 2005) for data analysis. Textual presentation markers were coded as *sensory perception*, *sensory kinaesthetic* or *reported* (*quotative* vs. *hearsay*) evidentials; multimodal presentation markers as *represented participants* (*people* vs. *objects*), their information mode (*offer* vs. *demand*), and representational meanings (*narrative* vs. *conceptual*). Textual interpretation markers were coded as epistemic modifiers of evidence according to authors’ positioning (*semi-subjective* vs. *subjective*) and attitudinal propositional meanings of heritage. Markers in single stages of image construction were also recorded using MacCannell’s (1999) five-stage model to detect possible variations across discourses. Multimodal interpretation markers were coded for text-image status (*equal independent* vs. *equal complementary* vs. *unequal*), and as indicators of semantic relations between the two (*exposition* vs. *exemplification* vs. *enhancement*). Variations across the two subcorpora were annotated to examine how markers negotiated competing representations of heritage.

4. Results

4.1. Textual Presentation Markers

Textual presentation markers ($N=146$) in the corpus were mainly used as “sensory evidentials” ($N=121$; 82.9%), and only scantily as “reported evidentials” ($N=25$; 17.1%), thus suggesting the need to provide more immediate evidence to enhance engagement in image formation processes. The senses of hearing, sight and touch, and the kinaesthetic sensory modality were mainly sourced to shape image perceptions, while no instances referring to the senses of taste and smell or other sensory modalities were found. Frequency percentages (%F) recorded higher occurrences for three sensory perception verbs, namely *hear* (29.8%), *see* (25.6%) and *touch* (7.4%), as well as for the sensory kinaesthetic verb *walk* (20.6%). Textual presentation markers were, however, unevenly distributed across the two subcorpora, as reported in Table 1.

Sensory Verbs (N=121)	OTB subcorpus		PAT subcorpus	
	(%F)	Token	(%F)	Token
<i>Hear</i> (N=36)	30.6%	hear tales of survival	69.4%	<i>hear the echo of the beginning of time, Tjukurpa (law) whispering the connections between people, plants, animals and the land</i>
<i>See</i> (N=31)	51.6%	see it from the skies by helicopter or hot air balloon	48.4%	<i>see Uluru-Kata Tjuta through Anangu Eyes</i>
<i>Walk</i> (N=25)	84.0%	walk around the rock with an Aboriginal guide	16.0%	walk along the base
<i>Touch</i> (N=9)	==	==	100%	<i>touch the wind talking through the span of past</i>

Table 1. Frequency (%F) of top sensory perception and kinaesthetic verbs across the two subcorpora.

Results show that tourism discourse is significantly marked by the kinaesthetic verb *walk* (84%) to provide dynamic evidence of *the rock* as the central WHS attraction, which is stereotypically recognized as Australia's natural icon. The sensory verb in the token points to the "object" in accordance with the Western conception of tangible heritage, while the preposition *around* marks the spatial dimension in which *the rock* is perceived. Moreover, in the example above the nominal phrase *an Aboriginal guide* acts as a cue of the reliability of the factual status of the information, besides hinting at "the authenticity of toured objects [...] to be perceived by tourists" (Wang, 1999: 351).

On the other hand, indigenous discourse is significantly marked by the auditory verb *hear* (69.4%), which provides sensory evidence (*echo, whispering*) of intangible Aboriginal heritage (*the beginning of time, the connections*) through natural elements (*plants, animals, the land*). While these elements make the information more credible, they also foreground the importance of "nature tourism" as "surely one of the major ways of experiencing a 'real self'", and thus create a sense of "existential authenticity" (Wang, 1999: 351). Hence, sensory evidentials in both discourses appear to serve the common purpose of attempting to satisfy the tourist's "quest for authenticity" (MacCannell, 1999). However, the use of the two different sensory verbs clearly contributes to constructing two different perceptions of the heritage attraction. A different reality is also created when the auditory verb *hear* is used in tourism discourse. Here, the marker points to narratives (*tales*) as oral evidence of Aboriginal cultural history to create a stimulating imaginary world. The creation of such a perception also makes it easier to exert epistemic control over the conceptualization of *survival*. By construing its meaning within an imaginary world, the author subtly attributes tale tellers alone the responsibility of the truth-value of past Aboriginal hardship caused by colonization. On the other hand, the kinaesthetic verb *walk* in indigenous discourse appears to create the same

spatial dimension of perception of the rock (*along the base*) as in tourism discourse (*around the rock*). However, the verb here specifically points to *the base* rather than more generically to *the rock*. Hence, *the base* acquires major evidential significance also in relation to “the top” of the rock as its opposite dimensional space. This appears to help raise awareness of the Aboriginal sacredness of the rock, and implicitly suggests that climbing Uluru for consumerist purposes is particularly disrespectful of the Anangu tradition.

Although the sensory verb *see* is used with a similar frequency across the two subcorpora, it also generates different visual perceptions of the heritage attraction. In tourism discourse, it offers direct evidence of the “object” from a bird’s eye view (*from the skies by helicopter or hot air balloon*), which deliberately alters the WHS reality to satisfy the Western demand for luxury tourism. In indigenous discourse, instead, the marker offers a more genuine visual perception from the insider’s perspective (*through Anangu Eyes*). Finally, the use of the sensory verb *touch* was recorded only in indigenous discourse, where it points to a natural element (*the wind*) to offer “existential authenticity” of local cultural history (*the span of past*) like the auditory verb *hear*. Its use also suggests that image perception is constructed as a more multisensory experience in indigenous discourse compared to tourism discourse. This appears to reflect the recent trend of adopting “a sensory marketing approach to the tourist experience” (Agapito et al., 2012: 7), and may also be one of the reasons for the limited occurrence of *reported* evidentials in the present corpus (17.1%). Nevertheless, these were found to be mostly used as “quotative evidentials”, although in different ways across the subcorpora as shown in Examples (1) and (2):

- (1) *hear directly from the traditional owners themselves on how Paddy Uluru fought for Aboriginal lands rights* [PAT #5]

- (2) *the traditional owners do not climb [Uluru] because of its great spiritual significance, and in respect of their culture they ask that others do not climb it either* [OTB# 1]

Example (1) is a quotative evidential used in indigenous discourse to overtly signal the information source (*directly from the traditional owners themselves*), while the expression *on how* offers indirect evidence of the history of the local community from the insider’s perspective (*Paddy Uluru fought for Aboriginal lands rights*). The weaker factual status of this indirect evidence is remediated by the sensory evidential *hear*, which helps strengthen information reliability. In Example (2), the quotative evidential in tourism discourse introduces the negative sensory kinaesthetic verb *do not climb*, but relies on the same information source (*the traditional owners*) and on the use of overtly marked indirect speech (*they ask*) to reject this way of directly experiencing Uluru. This thus allows the author to distance himself from the trustworthiness of the claim about intangible heritage (*because of its great spiritual significance*) as indirect evidential information.

4.2. Multimodal Presentation Markers

The 61 images in the corpus showed that “represented participants” are mostly depicted as people (93.4%), and only in a few cases as objects (6.6%) of the WHS tourist experience. In particular, the images used in tourism discourse are mostly visual-only representations, which thus force viewers to interpret meaning through visual perception. Moreover, they mainly portray represented participants as “offering” viewers information as their gazes are not directed at them. They are thus understood to be “objects of contemplation” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 48), as shown in Figure 1.

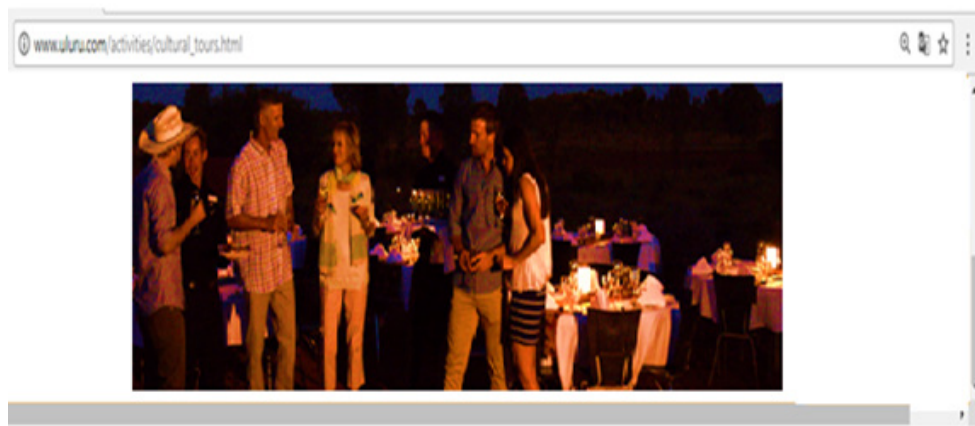


Figure 1. Represented participants in tourism discourse: *narrative* representational meaning (source: Uluru Travel, 2016, accessed at www.uluru.com/activities/cultural_tours.html).

Figure 1 places the viewer in the passive role of observer, who contemplates a group of tourists as the central represented participants. These “offer” social evidential-type of information about the WHS by engaging in an unfolding recreational activity in which they construct a narrative pattern of meaning. In particular, the taller man on the left of the picture and the group of persons on the right participate directly in the creation of narrative representational meaning. Propositional meaning is, in fact, generated by the vector formed by the taller man’s gaze (Reactor), which is directed toward the group of passive participants (Phenomena) so that “a transactional relation” is established (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 68). The vector thus contributes to creating a “reactional process” of narrative meaning so as to leave the viewer to imagine what the represented participants are thinking/saying in order to “create a powerful sense of empathy or identification” with them (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 68).

Conversely, images in indigenous discourse are mostly multimodal, and thus direct viewers to construct interpretive meaning through the written and visual codes. They commonly depict only one central participant as an Aboriginal character, who acknowledges the viewer, and thus “demands” to establish some sort of ideal relationship, as shown in Figure 2.



Figure 2. Represented participants in indigenous discourse: *conceptual* representational meaning (source: Uluru Aboriginal Tours, 2017, accessed at www.josweeney.com.au/uluru/).

In the image, the represented participant is looking directly at the viewer as a sign of an invitation for more involvement with him. From a multimodal perspective, this involvement can be better understood by examining the different information values accorded to the three key elements present in the visual space, namely the represented participant, the rock and the informative text. Along the horizontal axis of the visual space, the rock mostly occupies the left part of the image as “already given” information, well recognizable for its iconic value; the represented participant is positioned on the right as “key information”, which the viewer “must pay particular attention to” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 180). The stick used as a support is an attribute, which engages the aged man in a symbolic relation with the surrounding land. More importantly, the represented participant acquires *conceptual meaning* through the vertical axis of the visual space, where the rock is placed in the upper section as the “Ideal”, which “tends to make some kind of emotive appeal”, while the text is positioned in the lower section as the “Real”, which is “more informative and practical” (ibid., 186-187). The man’s static position suggests his “timeless essence” (ibid., p. 56), and engages him in a “symbolic suggestive process” (ibid., p. 108) of meaning mediated through the written text in the foreground, and more specifically by the keyword “timeless”. It is through this conceptual representational meaning that the represented participant primarily “demands” a deeper relation with Aboriginal intangible heritage from the viewer.

4.3. Textual Interpretation Markers

Results showed that the frequency of occurrence of textual interpretation markers ($N=189$) was similar to that of presentation markers ($N=146$), thus suggesting a recurrent evaluation of evidential information, which is typical of promotional discourses. Textual interpretation markers revealed a significantly higher frequency of authors’ *semi-subjective* positioning (71.4%; OTB 36.3%; PAT 35.1%) compared to their *subjective* positioning (28.6%; OTB 13.7%; PAT 14.9%) across both discourses. In spite of this common feature of sharing responsibility

with their readers, authors used markers to evaluate evidential information in ways that induced completely different interpretive meanings as pointed out through Examples (3) and (4):

(1) *the Anangu believe this landscape was created by their ancestors at the beginning of time* [OTB # 4]

(2) *They have always known that this is a very special place* [PAT #1]

Example (3) shows how the epistemic strategy of *implicitness* is used to conceal the author's presence in the tourism text, and thus mystify the responsibility for the veracity of propositional meaning. First, *the Anangu* are presented as a source of "observable evidence" (Palmer, *ibid.*, 24), allowing the author to share information directly with her readers. However, *the Anangu* are foregrounded as the only agents responsible for the truth-condition of the claim, and thus represent the premise for the author's manipulation of information. Epistemic control over propositional meaning is then covertly exercised through the deliberate use of the non-factive verb *believe*, which denotes an extremely low degree of information reliability. This leaves the reader in charge of cognitively elaborating the significance of the verb *believe* in order to construct interpretive meaning. The author's low degree of personal responsibility for the evaluation of this information thus reflects a traditional Western attitude, which tends to undervalue local beliefs tied to intangible heritage.

Similarly, Example (4) shows how the strategy of "implicitness" is also used in indigenous discourse to draw attention away from the author, and focus on *they* (the Anangu) as the same agents of evidential information. However, a different "epistemic legitimisation" strategy (Marín-Arrese, 2011) is here used to express responsibility for the truth value of propositional meaning. Epistemic control is, in fact, covertly exercised through the deliberate use of the factive verb *have known*, which denotes a high degree of facticity. Unlike the non-factive verb *believe* in Example (3), the verb *know*, in fact, intrinsically presupposes that knowledge is constructed as the result of prior sensory experiences, whereby it is also "the basis of 'evidentials' ('I know because I see', 'I know because I hear' [...])" (Wierzbicka, 1996, p. 49). The present perfect *have known* together with the frequency adverb *always* reinforce the reliability of the Anangu's everlasting knowledge, and thus easily convince the reader to accept the responsibility of sharing the claim that *this is a very special place*. Differently from Example (3), the author's low degree of personal responsibility for the evaluation of evidential information is here understood to encourage readers to activate their own perceptual capacities to appreciate the significance of intangible heritage. In addition to the occurrences of *know* (N=29) and *believe* (N=32), another recurrent verbal pair, namely *understand* (N=16) and *think* (N=18) was found to characterize factive and non-factive verbs as the discriminant epistemic type of evidential information, as reported in Table 2.

PAT	OTB
We have very significant Tjukurpa here for you to see and understand	<i>the Anangu think that by simply touching the rocks they can communicate with dreamtime and receive blessings from their ancestors</i>
We'll teach how to understand the natural and living cultural landscape that is Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park	<i>Many Anangu think that some illness and problems are caused by harmful elements in the spiritual world</i>
you'll understand there is more to Uluru than meets the eye	<i>They think that the spark of life, the soul which energizes them, is part of that ancestor</i>

Table 2. Epistemic-type of evidential information: factive *understand* vs. non-factive *think*.

A more in-depth analysis also showed that textual interpretation markers operate differently across tourism and indigenous discourses in the single stages of image formation. Markers were recorded in all stages, except for the last stage of “social reproduction”. With reference to the *naming* stage, frequency percentages (%F) showed higher occurrences for six types of name markers ($N=145$), namely *Uluru and Kata Tjuta* (61.8%), *Uluru* (61%), the acronym *UKTNP* (41.6%), *Ayers Rock* (20.8%), *Ayers Rock/Uluru* (10.4%) and *(formerly/previous)ly Ayers Rock* (4.4%) in the whole corpus. Name markers were distributed evenly across the OTB subcorpus ($N=77$; 53.1%) and the PAT one ($N=68$; 46.9%), and presented low variation both within the OTB subcorpus ($M=25$; $SD=24.64$) and the PAT one ($M=33.4$; $SD=28.7$), as reported in Table 3.

Name Type	OTB subcorpus (N=77)		PAT subcorpus (N= 68)	
	Name	%F	Name	%F
Original	Uluru	61.0%	Uluru & Kata Tjuta	61.8%
Official	UKTNP	7.8%	UKTNP	33.8%
Westernized	Ayers Rock	20.8%	(formerly/previous)ly Ayers Rock	4.4%
Double names	Ayers Rock/Uluru	10.4%	==	==

Table 3. Distribution of name marker types across the tourism and indigenous subcorpora.

Results show that the WHS is mostly marked as *Uluru* and *Ayers Rock* (81.8%) in tourism discourse, whereas the original name *Uluru-Kata Tjuta* and the institutional acronym *UKTNP* (95.6%) are predominantly used in indigenous discourse. Example (5) illustrates how *Uluru* and *Ayers Rock* are used as markers of interpretive meaning in tourism discourse:

(5) *World Heritage-listed Uluru is one of Australia's most iconic symbols* [OTB# 1]

European explorer William Gosse called the rock Ayres Rock in 1873 [OTB# 2]

Uluru in the first instance points to the popular WHS brand (*World Heritage-listed*) and to stereotypical meaning (*most iconic symbol*), allowing the author to divide the responsibility for the claim with his reader on the basis of widely shared knowledge. The name in itself circumscribes the extensive WHS area to the rock, and its use thus reflects a Western *consumerist* attitude towards heritage. In a similar vein, the toponym *Ayers Rock* also points to the “object”, marked this time by historical evidential information (*European explorer*). This reflects an underlying *colonial* attitude to the WHS attraction, which is similar to that of authorized heritage discourse imbued with “a certain set of Western elite cultural values as being universally applicable” (Smith, 2006, p. 11). Example (6) shows, instead, how the name markers *Uluru-Kata Tjuta* and *UKTNP* point to different evaluative meanings of evidential information in indigenous discourse:

- (6) *Anangu are the traditional owners of Uluru-Kata Tjuta and the land around. They've been at this place for tens of thousands of years* [PAT #1].

Most Anangu speak English as a second or third language and prefer to be accompanied by an interpreter as an accredited guide with UKTNP, who has extensive experience working with Anangu and inside the park [PAT #4].

The original name in the first instance signals the *Anangu* as *the traditional owners* of the WHS and its surroundings; the institutional name in the second points to their current role as joint managers of the WHS, and thus to their involvement in heritage tourism development. Hence, both names reflect an attitude of *ownership* of heritage, which should not, however, be interpreted according to the capitalist conception. It rather reflects the “guardianship role over use or non-use by others and their own people” (Lai, 2014, p. 298) as a form of heritage preservation. The less frequently used double name *Ayers Rock/Uluru* (10.4%), in which the Aboriginal name follows the European one, reflects, instead, a *dominant Western/subaltern indigenous* view of heritage grounded in authorized heritage discourse. Conversely, the Western name *Ayers Rock* in indigenous discourse is always preceded by the temporal adverbials *formerly* and *previously*, which operate as markers of historical evidence of the period when the land was subtracted from its original owners. They also function as epistemic modifiers of the name, whereby they reflect an attitude of claiming *Aboriginal land rights*, which also explains the extremely low use made of this name marker (4.4%).

Interpretation markers in the *framing and elevating* stage are mainly used to indicate the “identity-conferring status” of heritage (Rojek & Urry, 2003, p. 13). In tourism discourse, the WHS boundaries are framed by geographical evidence (e.g. *lies in the centre of Australia, is located in the red heart of Australia*), thus showing a more objective degree of responsibility for the veracity of propositional meaning. However, *Australia* is laden with epistemic value as it confers the WHS the status of *national* identity, thus reflecting an underlying sense of *Western pride*. In indigenous discourse, instead, the WHS boundaries are framed by cultural evidence (e.g. *in the spiritual heart of, lies in the territory of the Anangu people*), which denotes more subjective responsibility. *Territory* has epistemic value, which contrasts with *Australia* in order to confer the WHS the status of *local* identity, thus denoting an implicit sense of *Aboriginal pride*. Similar propositional attitudes were revealed also in expressions “elevating” the WHS. A recurrent use was made of the noun phrase *ancient landscape*, embedded with

sensory evidence (*landscape*) and different epistemic meanings (*ancient*) of this evidence, as illustrated in Examples (7) and (8):

- (7) *Come for the rock, experience the ancient landscape of Uluru* [OTB# 4]
- (8) *For Anangu, the ancient landscape is the narratives, songs and art of Tjukurpa* [PAT #3]

In Example (7), the rock is considered as historical visual evidence, which allows *Uluru* to be elevated as the main *ancient* "object" of the tangible *landscape* in tourism discourse; in Example (8), instead, the *Anangu* provide evidence through their *ancient narratives, songs and art of Tjukurpa*, which holistically elevate *the landscape* as intangible heritage.

Enshrinement markers were consistently used to supply evidence of the uniqueness of the WHS in terms of the *natural* landscape in tourism discourse as opposed to the *cultural* landscape in indigenous discourse, as shown respectively in Examples (9) and (10):

- (9) *Experience the beauty of this unique desert landscape; Ayers Rock/Uluru is breath-taking at sunrise and sunset* [OTB# 2]
- (10) *Anangu's spiritual law, Tjukurpa, is the foundation of life and society. Please note: Aboriginal hosts are traditional people with strong cultural obligations* [PAT #5]

In Example (9), *desert landscape, sunrise and sunset* provide evidence through sensory perceptions of the *natural* landscape, which allow the author to overtly express positive evaluations, (*the beauty, breath-taking*), denoting an explicit sense of *admiration*. The underlying promotional purpose is to entice the virtual visitor into the *sensory* experience of tangible objects. In Example (10), instead, *Anangu's spiritual law* offers evidence of the *cultural* landscape (*the foundation of life and society*), which enables the author to ethically evaluate heritage as *strong cultural obligations*, thus reflecting an implicit sense of *preservation*. The covert goal here is to draw the virtual visitor into being fascinated by the *spiritual* atmosphere surrounding intangible customs and values.

As a core part of the *mechanical reproduction* stage, evidence is provided through the reproduction of artefacts in both discourses, as indicated in Examples (11) and (12):

- (11) *Create your own artwork to take home as a memento of your experience* [OTB# 4]
- (12) *Learn the essence of an ancient way of teaching and create your own story to take home* [PAT #1]

Example (11) shows how the use of the experiential verb *create* in tourism discourse points to evidence which becomes tangible when the visitor actively engages in the *manual* reproduction of heritage (*artwork*). The noun *memento* operates as an epistemic modifier of heritage reproduction, evaluating it as pure commercial objectification. In Example (12), a similar engaging experience of reproducing heritage also appears to be offered. However,

the noun *story* substitutes the meaning of *artwork* as plain manual heritage reproduction in (11) with that of the local cultural practice of story-telling as *oral* heritage reproduction. This is determined by the factive verb *learn* as a fundamental premise for the successful realization of the experiential verb *create*. Hence, *learn* in indigenous discourse operates as a marker of propositional attitude (Langacker, 2013), which reflects a *holistic* view of heritage, whereby the intangible is “the larger framework within which tangible heritage takes on shape and significance”⁴. Although the verb *learn* may therefore appear to create a competing representation of heritage reproduction, its regular use in tourism discourse reveals that a positive propositional attitude is also taken toward the value of intangible heritage as indicated in the instances (a)-(k) in Example (13) . These all show how the verb provides evidence of different experiential consumptions of heritage, and implicitly expresses positive evaluations of local cultural practices. This appears to remediate the longstanding void created by authorized heritage discourse. However, the verb is more likely to reflect the marketing strategy of promoting the diversification of the WHS attraction offer through local heritage.

(13)

- a. **learn** about ancient traditions and stories from the Dreamtime
- b. **learn** about Tjukurpa, the traditional law guiding the Anangu people
- c. **learn** about bush tucker, traditional medicines, sacred Aboriginal rock art and how animals formed the Uluru landscape
- d. **learn** about the local Aboriginal culture
- e. enrich your experience by **learning** about the ancient culture and history of the land from the traditional custodians of Uluru, the Anangu
- f. **learn** about its fascinating history with the Uluru people
- g. **learn** about ancient bush skills and how to hold a spear
- h. **learn** about the different symbols used to create beautiful works of art depicting Creation Time (Tjukurpa) stories
- i. **learn** how the local people lived in such a hot desert climate surviving on a variety of bush plants and animals
- j. **learn** how this grass is made into the final product of paper
- k. You will discuss Tjukurpa and the Songlines and **learn** their relevance to Anangu life in the desert learn about Aboriginal culture and the Aboriginal history of the area

In other words, the verb *learn* is understood to function as a “pull factor” (Dann, 1996) in the attempt to respond to the current quest for a more experiential consumption of heritage.

4 Mounir Bouchenaki, “The Interdependency of the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage” (keynote address delivered at the ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium, Victoria Falls, 2003). http://openarchive.icomos.org/468/1/2_-_Allocution_Bouchenaki.pdf.

4.4. Multimodal Interpretation Markers

Differences in the status between images and texts and in their logico-semantic relations confirmed that interpretation markers also operated differently at the multimodal discursive level across the two subcorpora. Interpretive meaning was, in fact, mainly marked by an *unequal* status between texts and images, and by their logico-semantic relation of *enhancement* in tourism discourse; instead, it was marked much more by an *equal complementary* status between images and texts, and by the logico-semantic relation of *exemplification* in indigenous discourse. In particular, multimodal content was predominantly mediated through the combination of at least two images with only one accompanying text in tourism discourse as shown in Figure 3.

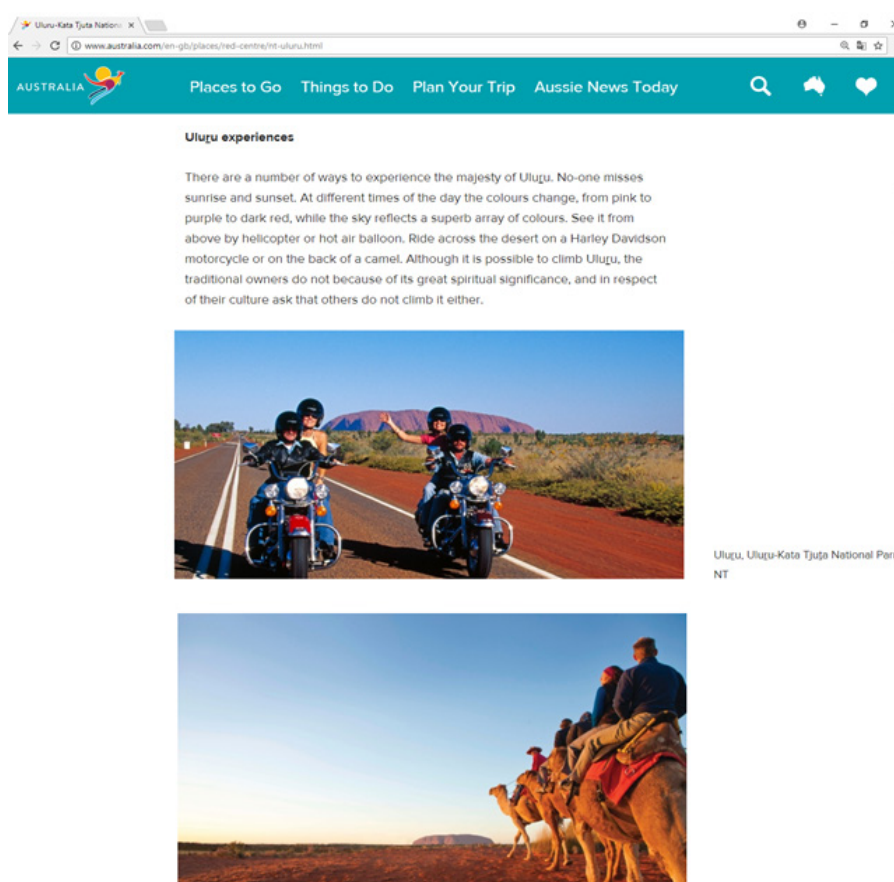


Figure 3. Multimodal marking in tourism discourse: *unequal* status and relation of *enhancement* (source: The Official Site for Australian Travel and Tourism Australia, 2017, accessed at <http://www.australia.com/en-gb/places/red-centre/nt-ulu.html>).

In Figure 3, the two images offer the viewer more appealing and immediate evidential information compared to the plain text, whose opening phrase *there are a number of ways* conveys vague evidential information. In spite of the subsequent use of the sensory kinaesthetic verbs *walk*, *ride*) pointing to the submodality of experiencing the place, and of the verb *learn*, textual meaning ends up, however, being partially obfuscated by the appealing images and their visual meanings. While the two uses of the sensory kinaesthetic verb *ride*

find their semantic equivalents in the two images, the meanings of the sensory kinaesthetic verb *walk* and the factive *learn* are lost in the process of intersemiotic translation. Thus, the overemphasis on the specific visual meaning of the *Harley Davidson* and of *the back of a camel* turns these into epistemic markers, which signal the heritage attraction as mere luxurious or exotic pleasure. They rule out, in fact, the possibility of the experiential consumption evidenced in the text (*learn about ancient traditions and stories from the Dreamtime*), denoting a *materialistic* attitude toward heritage, strongly influenced by the Western hedonic consumption of tourism.

On the other hand, multimodal content was mediated in indigenous discourse on an equal one-to-one basis between texts and images. As shown in Figure 4, the image and the text complement each other on an equal footing, whereby the textual marker *knowledge* feeds general evidential information into the visual, and in return, the image clarifies the generality of this information by offering an example of Aboriginal rock art as specific evidential information. Both general and specific *knowledge* provide strong evidential information (Wierzbicka, 1996), and the use of both semiotic modes serves to further strengthen the reliability of this information. While the reader-viewer is mostly responsible for inferring meaning multimodally, the author overtly evaluates textual information, exemplified by visual evidence, as an experience, which is *more than just the tourist side of the rock*. This reflects an underlying attitude, which assigns deeper significance to the consumption of the heritage attraction of *Uluru*.

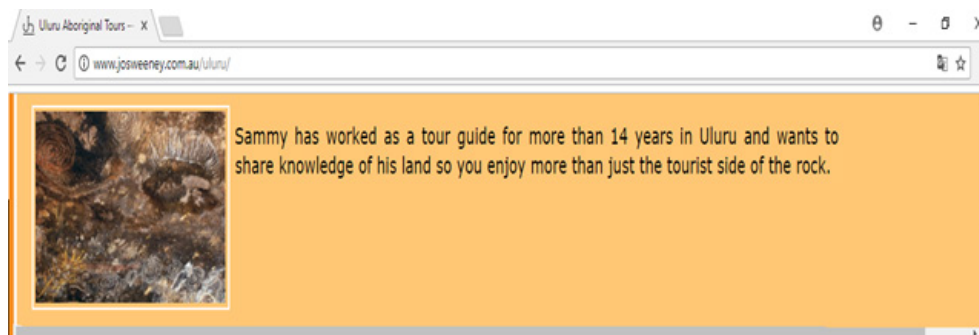


Figure 4. Multimodal marking in indigenous discourse: equal complementary status and relation of *exemplification* (source: Uluru Aboriginal Tours, 2016, accessed at www.josweeney.com.au/uluru/).

On the whole, multimodal interpretation markers like their textual counterparts appear to evaluate evidential information targeting tangible heritage in tourism discourse and intangible heritage in indigenous discourse. However, just like the factive verb *learn* was found to operate as an epistemic marker remediating the traditional neglect of intangible heritage in mainstream tourism discourse (cf. Example 13), multimodal markers in indigenous discourse were also found to work as signifiers of tangible heritage, as illustrated in Figure 5.

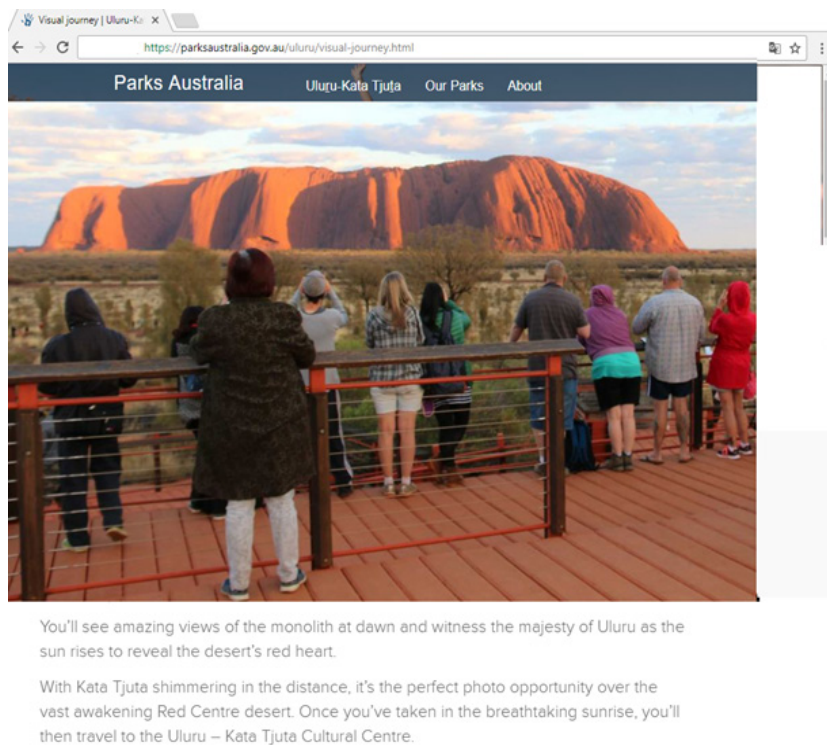


Figure 5. Negotiating competing WHS representations: multimodal markers in indigenous discourse (source: Uluru Kata-Tjuta National Park, 2015, accessed at www.parksaustralia.gov.au/uluru/).

Both textual and visual markers in Figure 5 mainly offer interpretations of a shallow consumption of tangible heritage through the appreciation of the natural landscape in accordance with traditional Western practices. Textual markers thus operate mainly as sensory evidentials of sight (*see, views, shimmering*) as opposed to the more frequent use made of the auditory evidential *hear* in discourses of intangible heritage (cf. Table 1). In the intersemiotic translation, the textual markers *monolith* and *red* are enriched by their visual counterparts through the semiotic code of colour (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2002) and through the system of salience (e.g. size, focus, perspective) (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) to convey an *amazing* image of Uluru. In the provision of a shallow consumption of heritage, *the perfect photo opportunity* as a textual marker jointly operates with the visual marker *the viewing platform* to shape the WHS as a product and a commodity.

5. Discussion

Heritage is widely acknowledged as being “that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes” (Ashworth & Graham, 2016, p. 7), and is therefore never an unmediated encounter with the past. Its “usage” is consequently “perceived as sign of that usage” (Culler, 1988, p. 155) according to the interests of its sign-makers. Ever since the UNESCO seal of approval has been artfully exploited as a marketing device by the tourism industry, the WHS has become a “semiotic landscape [...] with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making” (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, p. 2). Web-

based constructions of destination images further confirm that “tourism is in large measure a quest for [...] signs” (Culler, *ibid.*), and an “exemplary case for the perception and description of sign relations” (Culler, 1998, p. 60). Such a perspective highlights the importance of markers in tourism discourse, which can be further fostered by offering an insight into their specific use in shaping WHS images. The present study has therefore set out to examine not only how these markers operate in mainstream tourism discourse, but also in emerging indigenous discourses for the same purpose of providing evidential type of information and epistemic type of evidential information about a WHS attraction.

The results of the present study show that textual presentation markers in both tourism and indigenous discourses operate mainly as *sensory* evidentials, although perception verbs were deliberately chosen to point to different information. The verbs *walk* and *see* were mostly used to indicate the materiality of heritage in tourism discourse; the verbs *hear* and *see* signalled its immateriality in indigenous discourse. This evidential type of information thus validated a “constructive authenticity” in tourism discourse, whereby “the authenticity projected onto toured objects” was marked by evidentials of the natural landscape (e.g. *the rock*), and an “existential authenticity” in indigenous discourse, where “a potential existential state of Being” (Wang, *ibid.*, 352) was indicated through evidentials of the cultural landscape (e.g. *the span of past*). The limited use of quotatives and the lack of occurrences of hearsays as *reported* evidential information can therefore be explained as the need to stimulate more immediate perceptions, which make the type of induced authenticity more convincing. Multimodal presentation markers differed in their indication of evidential type of information concerning “represented participants”. In tourism discourse, groups of tourists *offer* social information about the WHS through their engagement in *reactional* processes, which shape their representational meaning as *narrative* in order to stimulate the viewer’s desire for identification with the represented participants; in indigenous discourse, instead, a single Aboriginal character *demand*s deeper relations with intangible heritage from the viewer by engaging in *symbolic suggestive* processes, whereby the participant is endowed with *conceptual* representational meaning also through other semiotic information sources.

As to the second research question, textual interpretation markers mostly signal *semi-subjective* positioning as authors share responsibility with their readers, especially when informing about intangible heritage. This was done primarily through the use of the epistemic strategy of *implicitness* to mystify the responsibility for the truth-condition of propositional meaning, while epistemic-type of evidential information was mainly marked by the discriminant use of factive vs. non-factive verbs (*believe* vs. *know*; *think* vs. *understand*). In tourism discourse, evidential information ascribed to indigenous agents is weakened by the use of non-factive verbs; in indigenous discourse, instead, it is strengthened by the employment of factive verbs. In both cases, authors appeared to assume a detached attitude toward intangible heritage, leaving the virtual visitor with the main responsibility of verifying the factual status of information. Yet, these attitudes were discriminated by a high/low appreciation of heritage “embodied in people rather than in inanimate objects” (Logan, 2007, p. 33). As a result, the virtual visitor needs to engage in some sort of cognitive process to mediate interpretive meaning when non-factive verbs are used, whereas personal perceptual experiences are encouraged for major appreciation of intangible heritage when factive verbs point to more reliable evidence. Choices of markers ranging from the *naming* to the *mechanical reproduction* stage of image formation were also regulated by similar attitudes. Even multimodal interpretation

markers were selected with similar purposes in mind. Hence, the *unequal* status between texts and images and their recurring semantic relation of *enhancement* in tourism discourse were indicators of the conception of heritage as Western hedonic consumption; the *equal complementary* status and the predominant semantic relation of *exemplification* in indigenous discourse evoked, instead, the view of heritage as local experiential consumption.

As to the final research question, results indicate that markers were hardly ever used to negotiate competing representations of heritage. These findings confirm that “images of place are endlessly manufactured” to produce “a quite striking diversity” in spite of the fact that current semiotic “processes appear homogenizing, reducing differences between places through the proliferation of essentially the same signs and images” (Lash & Urry, 2002, p. 260). Hence, while the majority of markers created a divide between representations of material and immaterial heritage, only two exceptions were found in the sample discourses. The use of the factive verb *learn* in tourism discourse was understood as an attempt to remediate the persisting neglect of intangible heritage in authorized heritage discourse. It could, however, be also seen as part of the promotional strategy of diversifying the offer of the WHS as a tourism product. Similarly, very few multimodal markers were used in indigenous discourse to rebalance its promotion of tangible heritage. Even in this case these limited attempts may be considered as part of the policy of creating *meaningful and realistic opportunities for Anangu to engage in, and benefit from tourism* [PAT #4].

The recent call to remove “the manifest content of messages of ‘the language of tourism’ [...] by exposing their latent layers of connotation [...]” (Dann, 2012, p. 52) together with the evidenced use of markers in shaping evidential and epistemic meanings of WHS attractions suggest that ESP pedagogy of tourism discourse needs to pay closer attention to these functional uses. Accordingly, ESP instruction ought to adopt a multimodal approach, whereby learners of tourism language are enabled to engage in tasks, which privilege semiotic meaning-making processes based on the use of authentic materials (Plastina, 2013). First of all, tasks may be designed to raise learners’ awareness of the discipline-specific use of sensory verbs, direct and indirect speech, factive and non-factive verbs, and of information values in heritage images. Tasks can be further planned to familiarise learners with the three main functions highlighted in the current study, namely evidential presentation of WHS information, qualification of the author’s commitment to the factual status of textual/multimodal evidential information, and identification of subjective attitudes toward heritage. In detail, learners could first receive instruction on the linguistic and multimodal meanings of markers in the context of heritage tourism discourse, allowing them to draw comparisons with their functional use in other more familiar tourism promotional texts addressing the general public. Learners may then be given a sample multimodal text on a WHS extracted from a mainstream tourism website, and required to engage in meaning-making activities. These could include identifying and classifying linguistic items and visual elements according to the three aforementioned functions, as well as speculating about the status and semantic relations between texts and images highlighted in the present study in order to gain “new understandings [arising] as a result of transducing semiotic material across modes” (Nelson, 2006, p. 71). In the next step, the task could be replicated with the use of a text on the same WHS taken from an indigenous website so that comparisons can be drawn to pinpoint differences in the use of markers. Teacher questions “asking why these semiotics (rather than others) are mobilized to do certain things at certain times” (Iedema, 2003, p. 29) may also prove helpful in developing learners’

critical awareness of attitudinal meanings underlying competing heritage representations. Additionally, information transfer activities could be designed to encourage learners' deep processing of semiotic differences in the use of markers across the diverse stages of WHS image construction (e.g. name markers). Learners' control over the way they progress in these meaning-making practices could then be enhanced by allowing them to engage in marking processes leading to the production of their own web-based WHS images. In accordance with the ESP principle of learner-centredness, this task would motivate students to create their own meanings by reconstructing the primary functional use of markers previously given. This would ultimately allow them to gain a more critical understanding of how markers are chosen to orient evidential and epistemic meanings according to the underlying interests of tourism and indigenous discourses as outlined in the present study.

6. Final Remarks

Following the increased recognition that heritage holds an important place in the tourism industry (Prideaux & Timothy, 2008), the WHS has become an "interactive space" created by tourism and indigenous communities, where their "social practices and values meet and new meanings are created" (Wearing & Darcy, 2011, p. 19). The results of the present multimodal analysis consistently show that new WHS meanings are shaped by simultaneous processes, whereby Westernized images are constructed and also re-constructed now that indigenous communities are called to (re)present and market their heritage. Off-site markers play a key role in making these processes meaningful, and thus contribute significantly to shaping the dynamics of current tourism promotional discourse. As such, these semiotic devices confirm that "nowhere [...] is a semiotic perspective considered more appropriate than [...] in the study of tourism imagery and in the treatment of tourism communication [...]" (Dann, 1996, p. 6). Accordingly, ESP courses for students of tourism ought to provide adequate instruction on the functionality of markers as part of learners' need to develop both their linguistic and semiotic skills, which allow them to better cope with tourism promotional communication in their future profession.

The present study has offered an insight into the evidential and epistemic uses of textual and multimodal markers in tourism and indigenous discourses. However, the small-scaled research has focused on marking processes in discourses promoting only one heritage site. Further research may help gain a deeper understanding of the discipline-specific use of presentation and interpretation markers by investigating their occurrences in other dominant and alternative discourses mediating other jointly managed WHS, as well as in the subaltern heritage discourses, which stand outside of the dominant tourism discourse due to the fact that indigenous peoples have no official role in WHS management.

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Appendix – The Multimodal WHS Corpus

Park and Aboriginal Tour websites (PAT)

1. Uluru Kata-Tjuta National Park
www.parksaustralia.gov.au/uluru/
2. Australian Government-Department of the Environment
www.environment.gov.au/topics/national-parks/uluru-kata-tjuta-national-park
3. Australian Government –WHS
www.environment.gov.au/heritage/places/world/uluru
4. Uluru Aboriginal Tours
www.josweeney.com.au/uluru/
5. SEIT Outback Australia
www.seitoutbackaustralia.com.au/SEIT-PATJI---Aboriginal-Guided-Tour-with-Traditional-Owners-of-Uluru/

Official Tourism Boards websites (OTB)

1. The Official Site for Australian Travel and Tourism Australia
www.australia.com/en-gb/places/red-centre/nt-uluru.html

2. Australian Tourism Network

www.atn.com.au/nt/south/uluru.htm

3. Northern Territory Visitors Bureau- Travel Online

www.northernterritory.visitorsbureau.com.au/tours/ayers-rock-uluru/

4. Uluru Travel

www.uluru.com/activities/cultural_tours.html

5. Big Uluru Trek

www.bigulurutrek.com.au/bigulurutrek