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Is Communicating Made in Italy through the Italian Language a Used Strategy in International Marketing?

A Content Analysis of Barilla and Lavazza Advertising

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Introduction

This work aims at establishing whether the display of Italian language in English-speaking countries advertising is a used strategy for communicating the country of origin of Made in Italy products. The idea of engaging in this investigation was inspired by an ad of an Italian cruise company, Costa Crociere. In the TV commercial (Costa Crociere, 2014), which is part of an advertising campaign called ‘*Il modo italiano di scoprire il mondo*’, a voiceover presents a list of English terms with their equivalent translations in Italian by saying, for example, “*Perché dire ‘good morning’ quando puoi dire ‘buongiorno’? O fare ‘breakfast’ se puoi fare ‘colazione’? [...]*”. As a matter of fact, English has pervaded Italian to such an extent that it is difficult – if not impossible – not coming across any English term or expression in written or spoken Italian texts. The *Accademia della Crusca*¹ has even called for a more thoughtful use of Anglicisms in every-day Italian by promoting the campaign ‘*#DilloinItaliano*’ (Testa, 2015):

Molti (spesso oscuri) termini inglesi che oggi inutilmente ricorrono nei discorsi della politica e nei messaggi dell’amministrazione pubblica, negli articoli e nei servizi giornalistici, **nella comunicazione delle imprese** [emphasis added], hanno efficaci corrispondenti italiani. Perché non scegliere quelli?

In this respect, advertising has surely been a breeding ground for the mixing of English into Italian, and, more broadly, for foreign language display. Indeed, the “[...] use of foreign languages in advertising is a worldwide phenomenon” and research about multilingualism in advertising has been a prolific field since the 1980s (Hornikx *et al*, 2013; Vettorel, 2013). There have been many studies investigating the roles of various language-mixing instances, yet the most studied is perhaps the English language display in non-English advertisements. Kelly-Holmes (2000: 76) is quite clear in this respect:

[t]he use of English in intercultural advertising is quite a unique case, since the English language has meaning, use and significance independent of the countries in which it is spoken. Thus, we see its use as a symbol of national identity, of globalism, of youth, of progress and modernity; at one and the same time, it can bear the properties of pan-Europeanness / Americanness / globalism.

¹ The *Accademia della Crusca* is an Italian institution in the field of research on the Italian language that brings together scholars and linguistic and philological experts of the Italian language (<http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it/en/accademia>).

Therefore, English in intercultural advertising may be conceived as a ‘total linguistic fetish’, that is “[...] the phenomenon of using languages for symbolic (fetishised) rather than utility (instrumental-communicative) purposes in commercial texts” (Kelly-Holmes, 2014: 135). Vettorel (2013: 261) seems to have a similar opinion and suggests that, in Italian advertising,

English is exploited as an attention-getter, as a marker of cosmopolitan and international values, but also as a resource upon which to draw in terms of linguistic and cross-linguistic creativity.

Then, if English has pervaded Italian advertising, what about Italian in advertising for English-speaking countries? Is it employed at all? If yes, what for?

Broadly speaking, foreign languages in intercultural advertising may be employed for two main reasons: (1) consumers are more likely to remember those messages in which something ‘out of ordinary’ happens (as it might be the display of a foreign word in a monolingual text); (2) consumers may make ethno-cultural associations by means of foreign languages (Hornikx *et al*, 2013). In other words, due to the strict link between languages, cultures and countries, languages are able to induce consumers to make an association between the product advertised and the country of origin of that product. Indeed, research has shown that the associative process is at play because there are some products that are considered to be ‘more ethnic’ than others. That is, they are conceived as prototypical for a specific country, such as sushi for Japan, hot-dog for the United States, pizza for Italy, and so on (cf. Aichner, 2017; Aichner, 2014; Usunier and Cestre, 2007; Roth and Romeo, 1992). Besides, it has been shown that, the more congruent is the association between product and country, the more positive will be the evaluation given by consumers about that product advertised (cf. Vianelli and Pegan, 2014; Verlegh *et al*, 2005; Pharr, 2005). Hence, for example, using the Italian language to advertise a pizza made in America may give that pizza an ‘Italian flavour’ that may determine the success of the product (Hornikx *et al*, 2013).

In order to provide meaningful answers to the above-mentioned questions, it was necessary to delimit the scope of research. Based on the assumption that there seems to be a connection between languages, countries and products, Made in Italy products were indicated as the main subject to be analysed. Yet, Made in Italy is characterised by a vast range of items that covers many types of products, from fashion to food and furniture –

including even industrial components. If the subjects chosen for the analysis had not been delimited, it would have resulted in an unmanageable number of advertisements to be discussed. Besides, the very process of creating the corpus for the analysis was not as simple as it would seem. In particular, it was necessary to decide the type of advertising to take into consideration – i.e. printed advertisements rather than radio or TV ads. Thus, TV commercials seemed to be the best alternative for a simple practical reason: they were the easiest to find on the web. In addition, the oldest commercials retrieved dated back to the early 2000s, which means that it was possible to consider an amount of time that could have ensured meaningful results². That being established, it remained to determine what kind of products would have been the centre of attention. Then, by taking into consideration Made in Italy data, the theories about product-country match as well as the level of difficulty in collecting enough material, Barilla and Lavazza TV commercials were chosen as the most suitable examples for this analysis.

Therefore, even from what has just been briefly stated, it is possible to understand that to find answers to the questions raised above means taking into account various overlapping fields of research. The first three chapters, then, will try to come to terms with the matter at stake, in order for the analysis in Chapter 4 to be meaningful. In particular, Chapter 1 will describe the concept of the Country of Origin Effect. In order to do so, an overview of the broad process of globalisation is provided, the concept of culture is described from an intercultural perspective and some background information about theories on consumer behaviour is given. Indeed, the outlining of these themes may be seen as a preparatory work that helps defining the context in which this analysis is placed. Then, after having established the main framework of the matter, a review of the literature of the Country of Origin effect will be provided. In this respect, focus will be on the concepts involved, such as the link between the intrinsic-extrinsic cues and consumers' evaluation, the correlation between product and country (and vice-versa), the role of stereotypes and country image in this subject area, the country of brand, and the culture of brand origin. The Chapter will then continue to explain the most widely used strategies employed in communicating the country of origin of products by drawing on Aichner's study (2014).

² The TV commercials taken into consideration were aired from the early 2000s to January 2018.

Following on from the concept of country of origin applied to Italy, Chapter 2 will deal with the expression 'Made in Italy'. Therefore, an attempt will be made to define what is implied in the phrase 'Made in Italy' by analysing what comes to mind when thinking about it. Analysis will then proceed to present the factors attributable to its success as well as the measures taken – both at an international and national level – as to protecting such a valuable heritage. The second section will provide recent data about Made in Italy, with attention being paid both to the Italian market and to export. The analysis will focus on the agri-food sector as it is one of the most prolific of the Italian economy and the area of interest for the analysis of Barilla and Lavazza advertisements. Finally, the conclusive section will involve some general considerations. For example, it will be seen whether the image of Made in Italy abroad has undergone any change in the last decade. Moreover, it will be dealt with the problems of counterfeiting and Italian sounding, while it will be provided some (more or less experimental, more or less effective) efforts as to promoting and protecting the authenticity of Italian products.

Then, in Chapter 3 the preliminary work of analysis will be elaborated on to focus on the concepts of communication, advertising and language. In particular, the theories on cultural differences described in Chapter 1 will be seen in terms of intercultural communication by addressing the role of culture, language and context. Attention will be paid to the concept of mass communication styles in an attempt to understand what is implied in the making of advertisements aimed at different countries and cultures. Besides, recent changes in mass communication will be pointed out. Then, there will be an introduction to the executional elements constituting the process of advertising, with the aim at describing the use of language as to determining the scope of research. The last section will be dedicated at providing information about the role of the Italian language abroad as well as the initiatives aimed at protecting and promoting it, with some examples of Italian words from gastronomy used abroad from the Sixteenth century to the present day.

Chapter 4 will be the core part of the analysis. Here, there will be an introductory section aimed at providing background information about the companies chosen for the analysis. The second section will then describe the research design in terms of data collecting process – i.e. where it was possible to find the TV commercials suitable for the analysis and how many of them was actually possible to retrieve. Thus, the chapter will

provide the actual analysis, which implies the description of the method employed and the discussion of the results in thematic sub-sections. Final remarks and implications will conclude the chapter.

Finally, the conclusive section of this study will reassesses the issues that set in motion the whole process of analysis. It will be discussed whether it was possible to answer to the research questions mentioned above. Thus, taking account of what has been discussed in the preceding chapters, an attempt will be made to link the results presented in Chapter 4 to the main body of research about the Country of Origin Effect and intercultural advertising. Then, the chapter will conclude with a reflection about the limitations of this work of research, while there will be some suggestions about how to improve it and about possible future research in this field of study.

Chapter 1

The Country of Origin Effect

Research has proved that consumers draw inferences about the quality of products by making associations based on some characteristics of the product and/or advertisements (cf. Solomon *et al*, 2006). The ‘Made in ...’ label is rather one of the strategies used by companies in the hope of benefiting “from the patriotism of domestic customers of from positive stereotypes that foreign customers have about the products from that country” (Aichner, 2014: 81). It is a label that refers to a certain level of product quality, expertise and know-how of a country with regard to a specific product or class of products. Indeed, people are said to be prone to make judgement about products if they are provided with their country of origin. This phenomenon is known in the literature as the ‘Country of Origin Effect’ (cf. Aichner *et al*, 2017; Andéhn *et al*, 2016; Bertoli and Rescinti, 2013; Vianelli and Marzano, 2012; Chattalas *et al*, 2008; Usunier and Cestre, 2007; Bertoli *et al*, 2005; Roth and Romeo, 1992). Moreover, the country of origin of a product may be communicated even through other strategies, some of them explicit and other not. The strategic use of language, for example, may help consumers to associate easily and quickly a product to its country of origin, while communicating some stereotyped characteristics of the product advertised (cf. Aichner *et al*, 2017; Aichner, 2014).

From what has just been said, it is possible to outline the points at issue. The key words are many, and each one of them would need a proper explanation in the context in question. For example, globalisation plays a prominent role in the dynamics of brands’ layout, as does culture. Consumers are at the centre of a brand’s marketing activity and their needs should be carefully taken into account, especially if the target segment comes from a foreign country. Similarly, even brand communication through advertising should be carried out considering the input as well as the output culture. Thus, in order to unravel the intricacies of what concerns the Country of Origin Effect, it is important to start from wide-ranging concepts such as globalisation and culture. Therefore, the following sections will present an introduction to country of origin, with a quick overview of the topics of globalisation, culture and consumer behaviour. Then the analysis will proceed to a brief literature review, with a focus on the major concepts involved and some remarks

on the latest studies. Finally, following Aichner's study (2014), the strategies used by companies to communicate the country of origin of products will be presented. Some final remarks will conclude the chapter.

1.1. Introduction to Country of Origin

1.1.1. Globalisation and Culture, a brief overview

In terms of international economy, the concept of 'globalisation' has become widely known since the late 20th century. Taking into account just one dimension of globalisation, O'Rourke and Williamson (2002: 25) define the term as "the integration of international commodity markets" and prove that, if seen in this perspective, it is a relatively modern phenomenon, dating back to the 1820s. Looking at the current economic and social layout of the world known as 'global capitalism', Gereffi *et al.* (2001) underline a distinction between the terms 'globalisation' and 'internationalisation'. Internationalisation "has been a prominent feature of the world economy since at least the 17th century and refers to the "geographic spread of economic activities across national boundaries" (Gereffi *et al.*, 2001: 1). Alternatively, 'globalisation' involves the "functional integration between internationally dispersed activities" and therefore is much more recent than internationalisation (Gereffi *et al.*, 2001: 2). Overall, nowadays "economic activity is not only international in scope, it is also global in organisation" (Gereffi *et al.*, 2001: 1).

Foreign markets, then, are the centre of attention for almost any economic activity, and globalisation is but one of the causes. Bertoli and Rescinti (2013: 14) clearly point out that the other reasons are known:

[I]a saturazione dei mercati occidentali, l'emergere delle nuove potenze economiche (in primis Cina e India, ma anche Brasile, Russia, Paesi arabi, Sud Africa), il progresso delle tecnologie nei trasporti e nelle comunicazioni, la crescente articolazione a livello internazionale delle value chains dei prodotti e dei servizi.

It seems evident that globalisation does not only concern import/export flows and foreign investment, but also all company functions and activities, including marketing, finance, research and development, human resources and logistics. This means that there is a need for strategic models that can take into account the new global competitive scenario, since companies have to "think international" (Bertoli and Rescinti, 2013: 15). As Usunier and Lee (2005: 219) point out, "the basic preoccupation of a global strategy [...] is the

configuration and coordination of activities, including marketing, across national markets”.

In Western thinking, it was assumed that globalisation would lead to the homogenisation of consumption patterns and universal values (De Mooij, 2014). Technology – specifically Internet – was thought to create a sort of global village where everyone would behave in the same way. Though it is true that developed countries have become increasingly similar with regard to the economic sphere and their people have similar possibilities of investing in technology and consumer durables, differences can still be found “with respect to what people do with them or the motives for buying them” (De Mooij, 2014: 8). In particular, economic development and greater access to wealth as well as to better education are considered the forces that contribute to the divergences between countries. As De Mooij clarifies, “wealth brings choice” and, consequently, in wealthier countries the influence of culture on consumption and consumer behaviour is more manifest (De Mooij, 2014: 11). Indeed, technology has enhanced – or even reinforced – people’s activities and existing habits, not changed them, so “countries similar economically are not necessarily similar in their consumption behaviour, media usage, and availability patterns” (De Mooij, 2014: 9). To sum up, the outcome of these intertwined processes borders on paradox: as Giumelli (2016: 246) points out, “globalisation becomes an asset to be customised and localised using some instruments and elements that are set out by the local communities or by the community of relation”.

Therefore, if the barriers to trade and to international commerce are constantly diminishing, cultural differences are still to be considered the most enduring feature (Usunier and Lee, 2005). Selling in a foreign country (also) requires knowing its inhabitants’ habits and customs and an awareness that culture plays an important – yet not exclusive – part in that. However, according to Usunier and Lee (2005: 4), “the cultural variable is difficult to isolate and operationalise”. The formula ‘one nation = one culture’ is often expressed when trying to generalise these themes, even if it is clear that such a simplification brings with it an infinite number of inaccuracies. In particular, “while nation-states are an enduring reality, not all national territories hold homogeneous ethnic, linguistic and religious groups” (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 4). The saying ‘think global, act local’, then, is widely used to summarise the dynamics involved in this context. People have different needs across different areas of the world, so “the idea is that a good

product, service or communications strategy can achieve global success as long as it is customised to meet local tastes” (De Mooij, 2014: 2; cf. Morley, 2002).

Consequently, there is a need to determine and describe cultural differences, something that could be done in many ways. De Mooij (2014: 81) illustrates them and operates two major distinctions, that is, cultures described “according to *descriptive characteristics* or classified into *value categories* or *dimensions* of national cultures” [italics in the original]. For example, descriptive models deal with the different expressions of cultures, namely religion, family structure, language and body language, food and eating behaviour, social class structure, and so on (De Mooij, 2014: 82). Conversely, value dimensions are statistically independent categories that “define patterns of basic problems that are common to all societies and that have consequences for the functioning of groups and individuals” (De Mooij, 2014: 83). It is important to underline that, although those models were not developed specifically for explaining differences in consumer behaviour, some of them can actually be employed to help understand “cross-cultural differences in product ownership, buying, communication, and media behaviour” (De Mooij, 2014: 88).

Several dimensional models have been developed, yet they are not useful from a marketing perspective. Indeed, as De Mooij (2014) clarifies, in order to analyse consumption data, it is important that models give country scores. Among those major large-scale models “which can be used as independent variables for the analysis of human behaviour across cultures” (De Mooij, 2014: 83), Hofstede’s categories have been used as an umbrella model (De Mooij, 2014: 89). Besides, although Hofstede’s dimensions have been measured “for management and organization practices, [they] also make sense for marketing and sales and, as such, have been studied extensively in international marketing” (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 57). Moreover, even if they were developed at the national level, “researchers have made progress in the measurement of some of these dimensions at the individual level”, something that “offers the opportunity to increase the validity of claims as well as the variance explained” (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 57). Therefore, a brief overview of the model is provided in the next section.

1.1.1.1. Hofstede's Dimensions

Hofstede developed a model that seeks to describe differences in cultural values, which have been proven to have influences in terms of different consumers' behaviour (De Mooij, 2014; Solomon *et al*, 2006). Table 1 (below) provides a brief summary of it.

Method	Subdivisions	Authors
Value Categories or Dimensions	<p>Six independent dimensions of national culture:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <i>power distance</i> 2) <i>individualism/collectivism</i> 3) <i>masculinity/femininity</i> 4) <i>uncertainty avoidance</i> 5) <i>long-/short-term orientation</i> 6) <i>indulgence/restraint</i> (developed by Minkov and added later) 	<p>Hofstede, G. (2001). <i>Culture's consequences</i> (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage</p> <p>Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (2010). <i>Culture's organisations: Software of the mind</i> (3rd ed.). New York: McGrawHill</p> <p>Minkov, M. (2011). <i>Cultural differences in a globalizing world</i>. Bingley, UK: Emerald.</p>

Table 1: Classifying Cultures, personal elaboration drawn upon information found in De Mooij (2014: 81-105)

The most important category “for understanding differences in communication” is that of individualism/collectivism (De Mooij, 2014: 89). In broad terms,

people from individualist cultures have a more clear-cut view of where ‘oneself’ stops [...] and where ‘others’ start, whereas people from collectivist cultures have much fuzzier borders between their self and that of near others (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 54).

These statements are better developed in Table 2 (below):

Individualist cultures	Collectivist cultures
People look after themselves and their immediate family only.	People belong to in-groups which look after them in exchange of loyalty.
Identity is in the person, and people want to differentiate themselves from others.	Identity is based in the social networks to which one belongs.
People are ‘I’ conscious and express private opinion.	People are ‘we’ conscious – their identity is based on the social system.
People attach priority to variety and adventure.	Harmony with in-group members and avoiding loss of face is important, resulting in preference for indirect communication.
Intellectual autonomy encourages individuals to pursue their own ideas and intellectual direction independently.	
Universalistic: people tend to believe that there are universal values that should be shared by all.	Particularistic: people accept that different groups have different values.

Table 2: Individualism vs Collectivism, self-elaboration drawn upon information found in De Mooij (2014: 88-94)

Regarding the sale process, “in individualistic cultures, parties want to get to the point fast, whereas in collectivistic cultures, it is necessary to first build a relationship and trust between parties” (De Mooij, 2014: 91). Moreover, in collectivistic cultures, concrete product features are preferred over abstract brands, while brands tend to acquire unique human personality in individualistic cultures (De Mooij, 2014: 91). These traits are extremely important when dealing with advertising and communication strategies, something that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Another important feature is ‘power distance’, which assesses the extent to which individual members of a society are inclined to give authority and accept an unequal distribution of power among members of their own society (De Mooij, 2014; Usunier and Lee, 2005). Those societies that score high on the power distance indexes are called ‘large/high power distance cultures’ and are characterised by the fact that every individual has their “rightful place in social hierarchy”, thus “acceptance and giving of authority come naturally” (De Mooij, 2014: 93). As regards interactions between people, children strongly rely on their parents, subordinates on their bosses, students on their professors, and citizens on their governments: dependency is a persistent feature as well as a value included in collectivism, where people “make an effort to live up to expectations of others” (De Mooij, 2014: 94). Then, being the ‘number one’ brand is important and it is more likely that position will be maintained than it would be in low power cultures “where challengers are favoured with a ‘we try harder’ approach” (De Mooij, 2014: 94). Conversely, those scoring low are referred to as ‘small/low power distance’. Here the main concern is on equality in rights and opportunities (De Mooij, 2014: 93). This means that parents are considered to be equal to their children – who are “raised to be independent at a young age” –, they interact more with them and they both belong to the same realm of relationships. (De Mooij, 2014: 93-94).

Another feature that is correlated with individualism/collectivism and power distance is wealth: high GNI per capita is strictly linked with low power distance and with individualism. Consequently, as De Mooij underlines, it is important to control for wealth “when using the dimensions for understanding differences in communication behaviour or media usage” (De Mooij, 2014: 94). However, if this works in a worldwide perspective – where countries may vary greatly with respect to wealth – it is power distance that justifies differences in countries with much more similar wealth (De Mooij, 2014: 94). In

order to better comprehend the distribution of cultures according to these variables, Figure 1 (below) shows a chart mapping 53 countries ranked on individualism and power distance (see Appendix 1 for a list of countries' abbreviations).

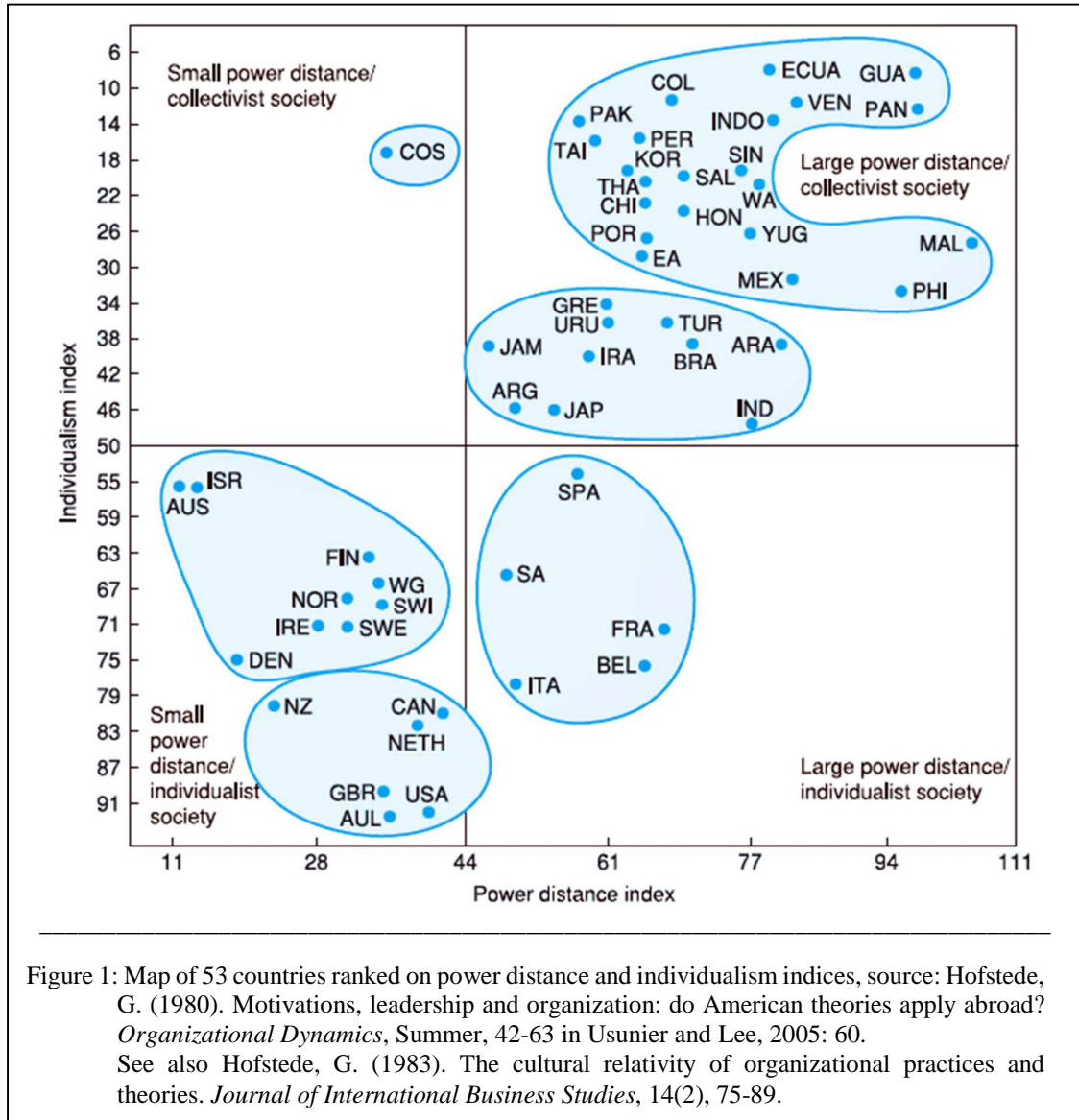


Figure 1: Map of 53 countries ranked on power distance and individualism indices, source: Hofstede, G. (1980). Motivations, leadership and organization: do American theories apply abroad? *Organizational Dynamics*, Summer, 42-63 in Usunier and Lee, 2005: 60. See also Hofstede, G. (1983). The cultural relativity of organizational practices and theories. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 14(2), 75-89.

Another dimension is that of 'long-/short-term orientation', which Hofstede added to his model in 1991 (Minkov and Hofstede, 2012). The values found in short-term orientation are those of national pride, tradition, low thrift – that is, social consumption and spending are emphasized –, self-esteem, self-enhancement, religion, magnanimity, and generosity (De Mooij, 2014: 94; Usunier and Lee, 2005: 28). Instead, long-term orientation is characterised by longer-term thinking, thrift, frugality, savings, perseverance, and pragmatism (De Mooij, 2014: 94). Regarding communication

behaviour, this dimension differentiates between collectivistic cultures: long-term oriented cultures are more literate, that is, they score “higher in literacy and reading ability” and are more dependent on written information, whereas short-term oriented cultures are more oral cultures, which means that people rely more on communication from family, friends and television (De Mooij, 2014: 95). Being aware of these differences could mean a lot in terms of deciding how to communicate messages effectively in specific cultures and/or of analysing existent advertising materials.

‘Masculinity/femininity’ and ‘uncertainty avoidance’ are the last two dimensions worth considering (see De Mooij, 2014: 97). The first one describes the roles males and females have in society, how they relate to each other. If the variation of roles differentiation is small, then that society would be feminine; if it is large, the society would be masculine. Typically, northern European countries are those regarded as more femininity oriented, whereas Latin America are mostly masculine. In feminine cultures, men often take typical female jobs or dedicate themselves to household activities – something that in masculine cultures would be virtually impossible. Besides, in feminine countries, quality of life is considered to be more valuable than possession, which does not mean that people in those countries “strive less for efficiency” than in masculine countries (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 470). From a marketing perspective, these characteristics may emerge in purchasing decisions: in feminine cultures, for example, household shopping is more a masculine task. Therefore, advertising should consider this distribution of roles, or it would be ineffective (De Mooij, 2014: 99).

Uncertainty avoidance, then, is related to the extent to which individuals in a society feel intimidated by ambiguous, uncertain and unclear situations. In cultures that score high on the index of uncertainty avoidance, people have a high level of anxiety, feel the need for rules and formality that structure life, and have a lower tendency to take risks (De Mooij, 2014: 100). Moreover, in these cultures, stable careers are preferred, and anxiety as well as aggressiveness create a strong inner impulse to work hard (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 504). As De Mooij explains (2014: 100), this dimension is correlated to countries’ favourability towards innovations and it explains differences in travelling behaviour, foreign language speaking, and contacts individuals have with foreigners in general. In the light of adapted marketing communications of global products, research has shown that the level of uncertainty avoidance has an influence on people’s purchasing

process. Figure 2 (below) provides with information about 53³ countries' scores on power distance and uncertainty avoidance (see Appendix 1 for countries' abbreviations).

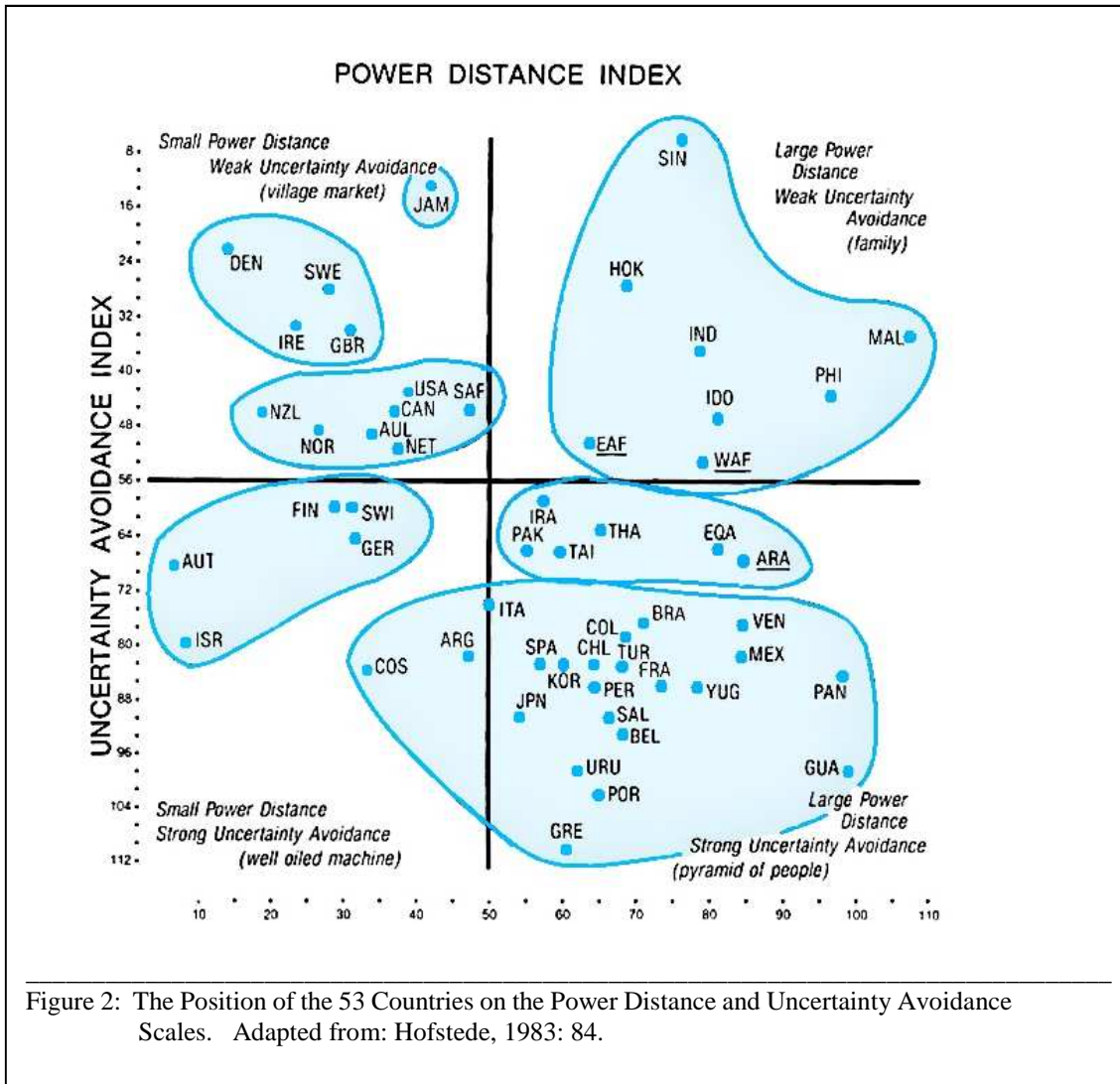


Figure 2: The Position of the 53 Countries on the Power Distance and Uncertainty Avoidance Scales. Adapted from: Hofstede, 1983: 84.

1.1.2. Consumer Behaviour

As this brief analysis has aimed to show so far, culture permeates all people's living dimensions and being aware of this is the first step towards successful marketing results. For example, across cultures, people may not have the same concept of personality and identity, and this may have great implications in consumers' buying motives. Besides, it is not obvious that the studies about consumers behaviour are relevant to each culture of

³ To be precise there are 50 countries and 3 regions. In the chart the regions are underlined (Hofstede, 1983: 83)

the world, since they originated in Western psychology and sociology by academics holding a ‘Western point of view’ on the matter. Indeed, it should be acknowledged that each interpretation of the world is realised based on one’s own cultural values and criteria (cf. De Mooij, 2014: 73; Pasquinelli and Mellino, 2010: 133). Therefore, each analysis of – as well as each motivation for – an individual’s particular behaviour is largely regulated by culture and produces different outcomes. Knowing and understanding the existence and the extent of these differences is of uttermost importance in terms of effective global marketing and advertising. In order to have a clear idea of the matter at stake, it is important to focus on what is implied in the phrase ‘consumer behaviour’. Although this topic has become a focus of research only recently, it is already characterised by a proliferating literature and an interdisciplinary structure. Thus, since analysing it in detail is beyond the scope of this work, just a brief overview on the matter will be provided.

Since the very beginning of their work about consumer behaviour, Solomon *et al* (2006: XIV) clarify that

consumer behaviour is much more than buying things; it also embraces the study about how having (or not having) things that affects our lives, and how our possessions influence the way we feel about ourselves and about each other – our state of being.

According to the authors, then, consumer research is divided into two perspectives, or ‘paradigms’, one being the dominant – the so called ‘positivism’ – and the other being the newest – that is, the ‘interpretivism’ (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 26). In the first one, the focus is on the supremacy of human reason and on the idea that science can discover the only possible existent objective truth. This view lays emphasis on the function of objects, celebrates technology and sees the world as “a rational, ordered place with a clearly defined past, present and future” (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 26). What has been criticised about this point of view is the excessive stress on material well-being and the predominance of a Western and male perspective in its logical outlook. Thus, the second paradigm originates from this criticism and bases its assumptions on the belief that the positivist conception of consumers refuses to acknowledge the actual complexity of the social and cultural world (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 26). Consequently, interpretivists prefer to think that meaning is a subjective process since individuals experience and share culture in their own unique ways. It is not possible, then, to reduce everything to a matter

of right or wrong, but rather, there are multiple explanations about any behaviour and consumption given that they are “a set of diverse experiences” (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 26).

In order to better comprehend what is involved in the purchasing process, Solomon *et al* (2006) suggest a distinction between consumers as ‘individuals’ and as ‘decision-makers’. In particular, regarding their internal dynamics, not only are consumers influenced by any kind of perceived stimulus – from advertisements and product packages to other people’s suggestions – but they also respond to their own interpretation of them. Interpretation, then, is thought to take place at the end of the process of perception, when consumers absorb information and sensations from the outside world, elaborate them and store them in their minds, adding them to their existing knowledge (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 50). In this process, symbolism plays an important role:

When we try to make sense of a marketing stimulus, whether a distinctive package, an elaborately staged television commercial or perhaps a model on the cover of a magazine, we do so by interpreting its meaning in the light of associations we have with these images. For this reason much of the meaning we take away is influenced by what we make of the symbolism we perceive (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 52).

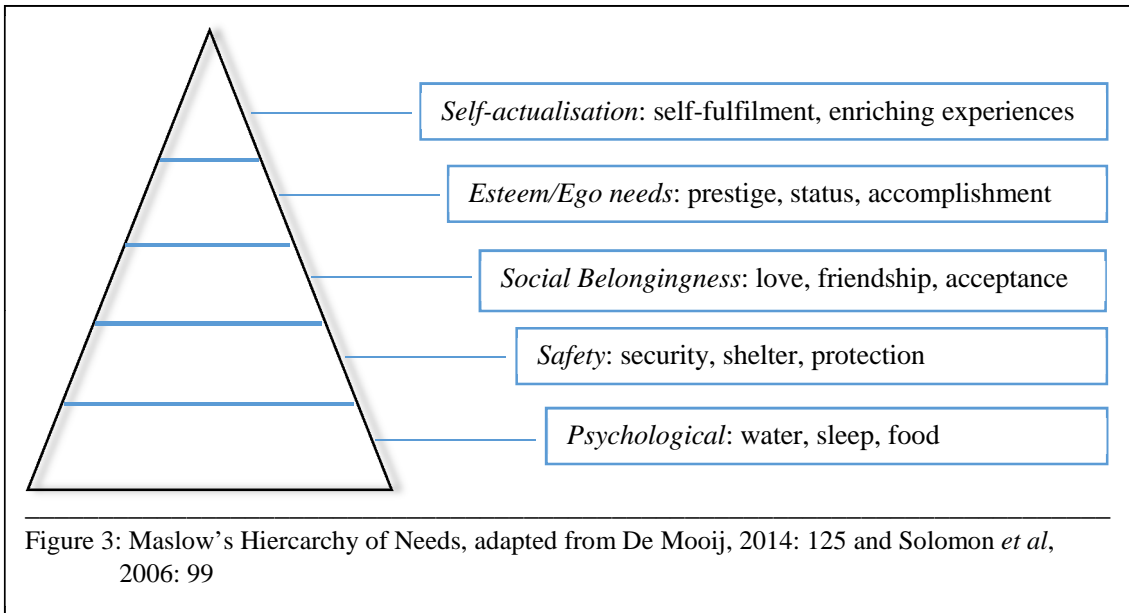
Besides, symbols are not the only agents in the process of interpreting products. Indeed, consumers’ needs and wants come into play too, influencing the way in which products are conceived. It is clear, then, even from this brief overview of the matter, that each individual plays a unique role as “self-contained agent” in the market-place (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 33).

Then, it is possible to look at consumers by analysing their roles as decision-makers, albeit this perspective finds limited approval from academics. People are constantly dealing with the need to make decisions about products, and this is thought to be carried out by following a process of problem solving, which is usually characterised by five steps – namely, problem recognition, information search, evaluation of alternatives, product choice, and outcomes (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 258). However, this and other “grand models’ of consumer decision-making” have been criticised since their introduction for generalising conditions are specialised, context- and product- specific (Erasmus *et al*, 2001: 85).

Besides, even the rationality that is at the basis of these approaches has been questioned, again without straightforward results. In particular, several studies have shown that consumers may not even engage in these activities before the actual purchase,

or that they may decide out of opportunistic reasons (Erasmus *et al*, 2001: 85). Also, it has been demonstrated that consumers may be involved in cognitive and emotional information processing and that they may even have limited knowledge and skills (Erasmus *et al*, 2001: 85). In other words, many scholars perceive these rational models as too idealistic and simplistic. Yet, many articles claim quite the opposite, describing an actual growth in the rationality variable (see Shugan, 2006: 5). Possible explanations of this apparent conflict in findings may be both the fact that scientific instruments are developing, thus incrementing the achievement of predicting consumer choice, and the fact that there may have been an improper use of experimental and statistical controls (Shugan, 2006: 6). Indeed, “both perspectives are correct, but they ask different questions” (Shugan, 2006: 6).

One of the variables that are thought to play against the notion of a rational consumer is the ‘cultural variable’. As has been mentioned in the previous sections, culture plays a prominent role in the consumption process, to the extent that “consumption choices cannot be understood without considering the cultural context in which they are made” (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 498). In other words, “culture is the ‘prism’ through which people view products and try to make sense of their own and other people’s consumer behaviour” (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 498). Usunier and Lee (2005: 88) suggest that the way culture influences consumer behaviour may be briefly summarised into three main points. Firstly, it has an impact on the hierarchies of needs (see Figure 3 next page), which have been categorised by Maslow in 1954 (cf. De Mooij, 2014: 125; Solomon *et al*, 2006: 98; Usunier and Lee; 2005: 88). The scholar based his theory on the assumption that satisfying one’s own needs is the aim of every person’s behaviour and that, confronted with choices as to which needs to satisfy, “some needs will take precedence over others” (De Mooij, 2014: 125). However, criticism has not spared this model, blaming it not to be universal – cross-cultural research has given proof of this –, and underlining the fact that a number of different requirements can be met by the same product (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 99). For example, eating is surely necessary for survival, yet it may also fulfil the need of belonging as it may be seen as a social act, or it may be seen as a status act when concerning a luxury good – e.g. caviar – or as an act of self-actualisation if considered from a gourmet’s perspective.



Secondly, purchasing behaviour and buying decisions may be influenced by culture-based values. As has been shown in section 1.1.1, the main distinction is between individualistic and collectivistic cultures and thus between individual versus family inclinations – but not only. Usunier and Lee (2005: 91) mention a study conducted in 1999 by Chiou where it was stated that “consumers in individualistic cultures used products to express their inner value, while consumers in collectivist cultures were more likely to use products to reinforce their social relationships”. This distinction refers to the social level, yet it is possible to see a similar ‘behavioural pattern’ at an inner personal level. As the authors report, a study by Markus and Kitayama in 1991 proposed a distinction between two dimensions of the self, the ‘independent’ and the ‘interdependent’ (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 90). This distinction stands for the corresponding realisation – at a personal level – of individualistic and collectivistic characteristics. Besides, it has been shown that the

independent self-concept was more strongly related to purchase reasons associated with uniqueness, while the interdependent self-concept was more strongly related to reasons associated with group affiliation (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 91).

Thirdly, institutions, social conventions, habits and customs also have an influence on consumer behaviour. The domain of consumption in daily life is structured and organised around some habits, of which eating is surely the most important as well as the most culture-specific one. Thus, in a cross-cultural perspective, it is possible to appreciate many variations regarding, for example, the number of meals per day, their standard

duration, their composition and ways of processing, the beverages and their characteristics, the social and symbolic functions of meals and food in general, etc. (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 92). Again, these differences seem to relate to the already mentioned dichotomy of individualism/collectivism and the other value categories. It is clear, then, that culture and its connotations cannot be ignored, but, conversely, have to be analysed and employed for developing adequate and successful cross-cultural marketing strategies (De Mooij, 2014: 150).

1.2. Country of Origin – A Brief Literature Review

As has just been shown in the previous sections, consumers make use of different elements when evaluating a product in the purchasing process. Among them, the country of origin is surely one of the most widely studied, although its impact has sometimes been overestimated. Nevertheless, it still remains an important attribute that can be used by the consumer to infer information about the product – e.g. its quality – as well as the brand it belongs to (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 285). As Peterson and Jolibert (1995: 884) point out,

the country of origin of a product, which is typically operationalized or communicated through the phrase ‘made in’ is an extrinsic product cue - an intangible product attribute - that is distinct from a physical product characteristic or intrinsic attribute. As such, a country-of-origin cue is similar to price, brand name, or warranty in that none of these directly bear on product performance.

In a globalised market, then, country of origin research has become an important and prolific area of investigation in consumer behaviour since the mid Sixties. Regarding this current work of analysis, it is important to clarify that, given the abundance of literature, it is rather impossible (and beyond the scope of this work) to review and analyse thoroughly each study conducted so far. Moreover, the difficulty in dealing with this matter lies also in the fact that, despite the dynamism and the actuality of this area of research, there still lacks a unique model that could be unanimously approved from the scientific community (Vianelli, Marzano, 2012; Marino, Mainolfi, 2011). This work is an attempt to present the main lines of research while trying to focus on the main – and widely accepted – concepts of the matter.

As already touched upon, there are different perspectives on the matter, each one trying to delineate a sort of orderly schema. One of the most recent outline is to be attributed to Cappelli *et al* (2016), who, in their study about Made in Italy, briefly classify

the theoretical background of the past 50 years. In particular, they identify four scientific lines of research, namely the ‘Country of Origin Effect’ (1965-2012), ‘Country Image Stereotyping’ (1982-2010), ‘Brand Image – Consumer Association’ (1994-2012), ‘Willingness to Pay Premium Price’ (1991-2015) (Cappelli *et al*, 2016).

Another supported classification is rather broader and tries to analyse the role of the nation in different situations. It is the case of Country Branding, a topic subdivided into three more sections: Country of Origin, Destination Marketing and Public Diplomacy (Marino and Mainolfi, 2011; see Table 3 below). Here, the first line of research – that is, country of origin – is said to be the natural starting point of scientific studies and it concerns the influence of country image on consumers’ purchase behaviour (Marino and Mainolfi, 2011: 7).

Macro-areas of study	Focus	Variables Examined
1. Country-of-origin	Export branding (COO, PCI, CBI)	Socio-demographic and cultural characteristics, ethnocentric tendencies, patriotism, level of involvement in consumption processes
2. Destination marketing	Country image	Overall country image, service quality, tourism policies, destination brand
3. Public diplomacy	Political branding	Communication strategies at a national level, country credibility, country reputation

Table 3: The scientific macro-areas of reference for country branding (Marino and Mainolfi, 2011: 7).

Alternatively, Vianelli and Marzano (2012) give another point of view on the matter. In their literature review, they focus on the role of country of origin in the purchase process and divide the studies published up to that year into two macro-period. The first one involves the ‘single-cue’ studies and refers to the studies issued from 1965 to 1982. In those years, academics mainly dealt with the effects of country of origin in consumers’ purchase choices without taking into account any other possible variable (or cue) that could influence consumers’ buying behaviour (Vianelli and Marzano, 2012: 4-5). The second period goes from 1983 onward and comprises the so-call ‘multi-cue’ studies. Here the focus of research shifts to the analysis of the impact of country of origin as a relative factor not as an absolute. Indeed, this perspective acquires even more significance when attention is drawn to the so-called ‘hybrid products’ and the features of the current

economic contest, where products require more specific details about their origin since the production chain could be fragmented into different countries (Vianelli and Marzano, 2012: 4-5). Indeed, many authors have tried to provide an exhaustive model of reference about Country of Origin dimensions for hybrid products, but again with no unique outcomes (cf. Aichner, 2014; Vianelli, Marzano, 2012; Pharr, 2005 among the many). Overall, as this brief overview has shown, it seems evident that the country of origin effect on consumers has been a relevant topic since the second post-war period.

1.2.1. The Concepts Involved

Having abandoned the line of research that considered the country of origin the only cue consumers used for evaluating products, nowadays scholars have deepened their analysis about this extrinsic cue and have discovered that it is a complex matter encompassing symbolic, emotional and cognitive components (Pharr, 2005). For example, it has been shown that, when the information carried by the country of origin is not the only cue included in the product, the effect of country of origin tends to be less strong (Peterson and Jolibert, 1995: 895). Besides, the same study reveals that the influence of country of origin on consumers evaluations is stronger at the earlier stages of the decision making process, which means that, when the response requires a “greater degree of personal commitment”, the effect of such information will be less (Peterson and Jolibert, 1995: 894; cf. Pharr, 2005). Also, a study by Maheswaran (1994) suggests that even the consumer’s own knowledge of the product category has an impact on the effects of this attribute. That is, experts tend to rely less on country of origin information, especially when other cues are available, while novices continue to rely on it; nevertheless, when other information is not available or not clear, both experts and novices will rely on this cue to make a decision. (Maheswaran, 1994: 362). Also, this work underlines some differences in the processing of the information inferred from country of origin cues:

[e]xperts used country-of-origin [...] to selectively process and recall attribute information, whereas novices used them as a frame of reference to differentially interpret attribute information (Maheswaran, 1994: 362).

Chattalas *et al* (2008) suggest that consumer’s level of involvement may influence the use of country of origin as heuristic shortcuts. In particular, “when involvement is high,

the motivation to engage in information processing is also expected to be high, which in turn leads to analytical processing that discourages the use of heuristics” (Chattalas *et al*, 2008: 57).

Other variables moderating the country of origin effect may be found in consumers’ ethnocentrism. Referring to the conception elaborated by Sumner in 1906, ethnocentrism is the evaluation of one’s own group of belonging as the centre of everything, while the others are “scaled and rated with reference to it” (Balabanis and Daimantopoulos, 2004: 81; Pasquinelli and Mellino, 2010: 133). As explained by Balabanis and Daimantopoulos (2004: 82), “consumers’ ethnocentrism is the application of ethnocentrism to the economic sphere”, inheriting its main premises and properties. In a study investigating the preferences of U.K. consumers for particular products, they found that domestic products were preferred over foreign products in specific product categories, and that these preferences were to be attributed to ethnocentrism (Balabanis and Daimantopoulos, 2004: 91). Similar bias was indicated in the first scientific paper ever published about the relationship between the country of origin of products and consumer behaviour (Schooler, 1965). Besides, contrary to the usual tendencies when it comes to cultural matter, consumers’ ethnocentrism can be measured on an international basis through a scientific tool, the CETSCALE – the Consumer ETHnocentrism SCALE, which was developed by Shimp and Sharma in 1987 (Luque-Martinez *et al*, 2000: 1357).

Also, one of the most scrutinised aspects of the country of origin effect refers to the correlation between country and product. In this respect, the study by Roth and Romeo (1992) is a landmark in this field of research. In particular, it attests an existing correlation between product category and country and give evidence that, when there is a strong and favourable match between them, a positive product evaluation is more likely to occur. The authors underline that “a strong positive match would exist when the country is perceived as being very strong in an area that was also an important feature for a product category” (Roth and Romeo, 1992: 487). Thus, as they suggest, product-country matches can have positive repercussions for managers who wants to develop measures to boost the use of country of origin information in advertising strategies (Roth and Romeo, 1992: 488). At the basis of their assumptions there is the concept that, “if a country is perceived as having a positive image, and this image is important to a product category, consumers will be more willing to buy the product from that country” (Roth and Romeo, 1992: 493).

Similarly, Usunier and Cestre (2007: 32-33) corroborate the existence of a match between product and country, and refer to it as 'product ethnicity'. Indeed, they start from the premise that consumers' knowledge of country-product and product-country matches is organised along "two complementary forms of categorisation" – that is, "product viewed as typical of a country" (e.g. sushi-Japan) and "countries viewed as typical origins for products (e.g. COOs for luxury products)" (Usunier and Cestre, 2007: 35). In other words, product ethnicity is the stereotypical mental connection of a generic product with a particular country of origin (Usunier and Cestre, 2007: 36). Consequently, categorisation processes concerning both country of origin for the same product are likely to produce strong matches as outcomes while some products are considered to be "more ethnic" than others (Usunier and Cestre, 2007: 44). Exclusive associations are probably rare and consumers from different countries may not make the same product-country/country-product associations, yet there may still exist some matches that are shared cross-nationally – in those cases it is possible to talk about 'global product ethnicity' (Usunier and Cestre, 2007: 33). In line with Balabanis and Daimantopoulos's study (2004), they also found evidence of the fact that people have a tendency to make more associations between products from their own country than with other "stimulus countries" because of their greater exposure to, knowledge of and familiarity with local manufacturer, domestic products and brands. However, product ethnicity should not be directly related to consumer ethnocentrism, since product-country and country-product matches are simply associations, not evaluations as in the case of consumer ethnocentrism (Usunier and Cestre, 2007: 39). Moreover, it has been shown that people's spontaneous inclinations to make such associations – that is, based on their own frame of reference – are stronger in individualist countries than in collectivist countries (Usunier and Cestre, 2007: 64).

So far, there still are two important concepts at play that need further explanation in order to have a clearer image of the whole matter: stereotypes and country image. Stereotypes, then, are generally regarded as oversimplified mental categorisations of things and people (De Mooij, 2014: 61). As already mentioned, they are included in the set of elements that help consumers both in their evaluative process through the country of origin effect and in their product-country/country-product associations. They are strictly related to culture, as they are "socially acquired knowledge and vary by social

group” (De Mooij, 2014: 61). Thus, they could be a strong – yet dangerous – tool for making reference to other cultures: they are functional, if accepted as “a natural process to guide our expectations”, dysfunctional, if used to make incorrect judgements about individuals – or other entities such as nations – regarding them only as part of a group (De Mooij, 2014: 61). Consequently, research has shown that national stereotypes – that is to say the qualities identified as pertaining to a nation’s people – are used to “influence country perceptions in marketing practice” (Chattalas *et al*, 2008: 54). Indeed, brand advertising largely depends on the effective employment of stereotypes as tools for attracting attention and creating instant recognition (De Mooij, 2014: 62). (See section 1.3.2 for further details).

Together with country of origin, country image is regarded as one of the most widely investigated topics in marketing, international business and consumer behaviour studies – in over than 35 years there has been published at least 554 scientific articles (Lu *et al*, 2016). As the authors explain, country image research focuses on how a country’s image affects “consumer’s perception of and attitude towards the country, its people, and their marketplace offerings” (Lu *et al*, 2016: 825). However, it is important to point out an important aspect of this field of research attested by Cappelli *et al* (2016: 3-4), namely the lack of a unanimous “point of convergence on the conceptual and practical content related to country image”, which has produced “a plethora of measurement tools of the particular parameter”. For example, by summarising eight studies produced until then, Roth and Romeo (1992) described country image as having four basic dimensions: (1) ‘innovativeness’ (that is, use of new technology and engineering advances); (2) ‘design’ (appearance, style, colours, variety); (3) ‘prestige’ (exclusivity, status, brand name reputation); (4) ‘workmanship’ (reliability, durability, artisanship, manufacturing quality). By contrast, Bertoli and Rescinti (2013: 28) claim that country image is composed of a set of ‘cognitive’ and ‘affective’ components as well as stereotypes shared at an international level. The first ones refer to the country’s social, economic, cultural and political characteristics, while the affective elements are described as one’s feelings and emotions towards a particular country. Alternatively, in their scientific paper, Usunier and Cestre (2007) take into consideration Martin and Eroglu’s (1993: 193) conception of country image, which is defined as “the total of all descriptive, inferential and informational beliefs one has about a particular country”, which are possible to divide

into three sub-dimensions – political, economic and technological. According to their interpretation, key elements in country image, then, are stereotypes, albeit there seems to be a lack of pure country stereotypes, which are those completely detached from products, technology and manufacturing (Usunier and Cestre, 2007: 35). This leads to the assumption that “most constructs related to country of origin are not pure country images” (Usunier and Cestre, 2007: 35). Thus, the stereotypical associations consumers make between particular products and country of origins are not to be confused with country image – that is, country image and product ethnicity are two distinct consumer’s mental constructions (Usunier and Cestre, 2007: 36). In other words, country image is not to be confused with one's *attitudes* toward certain products from a specific country (Usunier and Cestre, 2007: 36; Martin and Eroglu, 1994: 194).

One's country image can develop as a result of a direct experience with the country, such as traveling to the country. Alternatively, it can be influenced by outside sources of information, such as advertising or word of mouth communications. Last, it could be affected by inferences (correct or incorrect) based on past experience such as opinions gained from using products originating in that particular country. (Martin and Eroglu, 1993: 194)

Consequently, as Usunier and Cestre (2007: 36) point out, country of origin inferences are *evaluative* statements based on the combination of product and country information stimuli, whereas product ethnicity is a unidirectional *association* between product-country or country-product, based on a single stimulus and with no evaluative dimension. Thus, even if they are strongly related, product ethnicity is not the country of origin image of products.

1.2.2. From Country of Origin to Country of Brand and Culture of Brand Origin

Over the last two decades, the concept of country of origin seems to have become less relevant. The emergence of hybrid products have caused its disaggregation into multiple concepts, which are constantly being revised without a shared model of reference (cf. Aichner, 2014; Vianelli and Marzano, 2012; Harun *et al*, 2011; Pharr, 2005). Consequently, many scholars have preferred to focus on consumer’s perceptions of product origin inferred from brand information (Vianelli and Marzano, 2012: 12). Therefore, the idea that has increasingly gained consensus is that the country of brand has become responsible for stimulating associations about a product’s origin (Vianelli and

Marzano, 2012: 16). However, as Vianelli and Marzano stress (2012: 16), there is an important step to make in order to understand the supposed consumer associations in an era of global brands. Indeed, consumers may not know the actual country of origin of a brand, but rather their choices may be derived from their personal beliefs about a brand's origin, which may be based on direct or indirect experiences with the product and the correspondent brand (Vianelli and Marzano, 2012: 17). It is for this reason that Thakor and Kholi (1996: 27) proposed the term 'brand origin', namely "the place, region or country to which the brand is perceived to belong by its target consumers". In this way, what seems to be more important is the consumers' mental process, the actual association in their minds when taking into consideration the brand of the product they are willing to buy. As De Mooij (2014: 28) stresses, in today's world, it is not products that are at the centre of attention, but brands. Consequently, there seems to be a shift even in the terminology associated with this field of research: scholars tend to refer more to 'country of brand' – or 'country of brand origin' – rather than 'country of origin' (De Luca and Pegan, 2014: 5; Vianelli and Marzano, 2012: 16).

Brands can be conceived in different manners. De Mooij (2014: 27-48) bases its analysis onto two main distinctions. On one hand, a brand is a construct "created by marketing companies and their agencies to label items on supermarket shelves in the real world"; on the other, they are ideas created by consumers in their imaginations (De Mooij, 2014: 28-29). It is this second conception that is important to stress in this current work of analysis. Indeed, consumers' way of conceptualising brands can be considered from two perspectives. One way of viewing brands is as an 'association network' in the consumer's mind (De Mooij, 2014: 29). These associations form a sort of symbolic language based on "brand name, visual images, user associations, product attributes, benefits, and values, as well as places and occasions of usage" (De Mooij, 2014: 29). It follows that consumer perceptions of brands are variable, not only at an individual level, but also at a cultural level. It is a marketers' task to "decide which attributes can be linked with which different concrete or abstract benefits and/or value of various cultures" in order to create effective associations in consumers' minds (De Mooij, 2014: 29).

On the other hand, brands may be conceptualised focusing on brand personality. In this model, marketers attach characteristics of human personality to brands as a way to achieve differentiation (De Mooij, 2014: 29). Consequently, brands acquire the typical

traits of the brand consumer, a fact that contributes to create the ‘brand identity’. The brand’s uniqueness, values and meaning, and the ways through which it is positioned in the marketplace are the elements that marketers decide when shaping the identity of a brand. Conversely, consumers picture the brand in their own ways, creating the ‘brand image’, which can be different from its identity. “It reflects how the brand signals are decoded by users, nonusers, and stakeholders” (De Mooij, 2014: 29). It is easy to understand, then, that consumers from different cultures can perceive brand personality, and thus brand image, differently. Again, the aim of marketers is to produce effective advertising that reflects the values of the target audiences (De Mooij, 2014: 48).

Recent studies have further developed the concept of ‘brand origin’, presenting a new – and more sophisticated – paradigm for the analysis of the country of origin effect, namely the ‘culture of brand origin’ (Vianelli and Marzano, 2012: 18). The accent, then, is to the elements in a brand name that can convey a particular idea or image in the consumer’s mind, from linguistic factors to cultural ones (Vianelli and Marzano, 2012: 18; Harun *et al*, 2011: 285). In particular, a study by Harun *et al* (2016: 34) confirms the trend: people are more inclined to speculate about a brand’s origin directly from its name, which “can provide a distinctive identity to a brand especially pertaining to brand origin information”. Indeed, it has been shown that there should be internal congruence between language, brand name and country of origin in order for the brand to benefit from positive inferences (Harun *et al*, 2016: 34; cf. Nes and Gripsrud, 2014; Vianelli and Pegan, 2014; Bertoli and Rescinti, 2013). These findings, then, seem to find support in the activity of ‘foreign branding’. This is the strategy of using foreign languages in brand names so to make customers believe that the product originates from a certain country in order to generate positive associations through the country of origin effect (Aichner *et al*, 2017: 45). However, if consumers are informed of the actual country of origin of a company employing such a strategy, their evaluations will be negatively affected (Aichner *et al*, 2017: 56).

1.3. The Strategies Employed to Communicate the Country of Origin of a Product

From what has been discussed so far, it is possible to understand that there is an issue regarding consumer awareness. That is, consumers’ choices are based on their

perceptions about a brand or product country of origin, which not always coincides with reality due to various factors, namely ignorance, little interest, lack of adequate information (Vianelli and Marzano, 2012: 17). Therefore, in order to positively affect the likelihood of purchase based on inferences about the match between product quality and country of origin, companies may adopt different strategies to ensure such a connection (Aichner, 2014: 84; Vianelli and Pegan, 2014: 61). In his work, Aichner (2014) calls them ‘country-of-origin strategies’ and makes a basic distinction between those legally regulated and those unregulated.

1.3.1. Legally Regulated Country-of-origin Strategies

A company can use some legally regulated devices in order to communicate the country of origin, namely ‘Made in ...’ label and the quality and origin labels. In particular, the ‘Made in ...’ label is the easiest and most widely used strategy to communicate the origin of a product since there is an explicit reference to the country (Aichner, 2014: 84). Besides, it is the only element displaying the origin of a product that is compulsory in most countries worldwide. Indeed, legislators want to guarantee security and be able to immediately identify product from certain countries – as in the case of import bans –, or to assure consumers awareness so that they are put in a position where they can take any actions they feel required – as in the case of boycott (Aichner, 2014: 84). However, despite its continuing growth in scope and significance at both domestic and international levels, mandatory country of origin labelling has been regarded as controversial and widely contested, especially in the food sector (Newman *et al*, 2014: 505). As Aichner (2014: 84) stresses, the European Union has no clear definition for the use of the ‘Made in ...’ labels, which are partially affected by the Madrid Protocol, national trade mark laws, customs legislation, competition laws. Consequently, without a clear-cut description of the specific requirements in terms of legal regulations, it is difficult for companies to assess the right action to take. Research has shown that the ‘Made in ...’ image affect all of a country’s product and services. Then, any company, regardless its business sectors, may benefit – or not – from a country’s good – or bad – reputation (Aichner, 2014: 85). That is why, for example, “if not prescribed by national laws, companies usually use ‘Made in ...’ marks because they believe that it would positively influence the image of the product and therefore increase sales” (Aichner,

2014: 85). (More information about the ‘Made in Italy’ label will be provided in the next chapter).

The other legally regulated strategy is the use of quality and origin labels. They are specifically indicated for “the protection and promotion of the origin for quality agricultural products and foodstuffs both for member countries of the European Union and for non-member countries” (Aichner, 2014: 87). These labels are three, namely PDO (Protected Designation of Origin), PGI (Protected Geographical Indication) or TSG (Traditional Speciality Guaranteed) (Aichner, 2014: 87). Their use is legally regulated on an international level and they are particularly employed in the food processing industry, which is regarded as one of the most relevant industries in terms of country of origin effect and image building. Indeed, it has been shown that these devices tend to ensure credibility to the product and to diminish the perceived risk of purchasing a disappointing product with regard to their quality (Aichner, 2014: 87). For example, in their study, Verbeke *et al* (2012) state that consumers are inclined to perceive more positively products with these labels as they are signals of better quality.

1.3.2. Unregulated Country-of-Origin Strategies

There are, then, numerous ways of displaying the country of origin that are not regulated by any law, but that companies can employ in order to benefit from positive associations in consumers’ minds. Thus, companies can freely choose any kind of strategic device, which can be used in combination with each other in order to implement the effect. Indeed, given that no legal recognition is required for their use, companies can take advantage of any possible positive image from favourable origins, whether it is in accordance with the actual country of origin of their products or not (Aichner, 2014: 88). Here, it is important to underline that the use of more than one strategy in combination with each other implies a certain degree of knowledge about the audience in the target market (Aichner, 2014: 91). As has already been mentioned, the consumer’s “knowledge, perception and stereotypes about certain foreign countries can differ significantly depending on their own nationality and culture” (Aichner, 2014: 91-92). The crucial aspect for companies is to be aware of these differences, to understand them and, thus, to create advertising messages apt to the target audience.

1.3.2.1. Country of Origin Embedded in the Company Name

Here, the country of origin is embedded, in different degrees, in the name of the company. This strategy is not to be confused with foreign branding. Indeed, foreign branding is, by definition, the “strategy of pronouncing or spelling a brand name in a foreign language” (Leclerc *et al*, 1994: 263). Conversely, the adjective ‘embedded’ stands for the actual references to the country of origin that are included in the name of a company. These references consist of explicit country names – or any other reference to a geographical origin, such as regions or cities – and any related modification of them, such as adjectives or morpheme linked to them (Aichner, 2014: 89). A few examples of the employment of this strategy are Acqua di Parma (perfumer company, Parma, Italy), British Airlines (airline, United Kingdom), Sanpellegrino (brand of mineral water, San Pellegrino Terme, province of Bergamo, Italy).

1.3.2.2. Typical Words from the Country of Origin Embedded in the Company Name

In order to convey information about their country of origin through their names, companies may employ particular stereotypical names, such as first or second names, and/or other country-specific elements, such as animals or objects (Aichner, 2014: 89). Research has shown that, as long as in the target market the word used to convey the country of origin is identified as typical to the country of origin, it does not necessarily have to mean something in the input language/culture (Aichner, 2014: 89). Here are some examples found in Aichner’s study: Husky Energy (oil and gas operations, Canada), Lincoln National (insurance, United States of America), Dr Oetker (food processing, Germany) (Aichner, 2014: 89).

1.3.2.3. Use of the Country of Origin Language

The country of origin effect can be shown using language in the company or brand name, in slogans and/or in body copy of any advertisements, from print to radio, web and television media (Aichner, 2014: 89). Again, the important element is consumers’ perception: “the actual meaning of the brand name [or slogan] is of secondary importance, especially when the target market is not the domestic market” (Aichner, 2014: 90). Some examples include Intimissimi (a lingerie brand, Italy), Pomodoro Mutti (tomatoes canning

industry, Italy), Volkswagen (automobile producer, Germany), Guinness (brewery, Ireland). However, the implications for the use of a specific language in international advertising is not as predictable as it seems. For this reason, the topic will be discussed with further details in Chapter 3.

1.3.2.4. Use of Famous or Stereotypical People from the Country of Origin

Famous or stereotypical people (or group of people) from a specific country may be used as elements for communicating the country of origin of the product. As already mentioned, stereotypes can be a useful tool for giving suggestions concerning a topic, since they are “a widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of a particular type of person or thing” (OED, 2018). Indeed, certain celebrities or stereotypical characters can serve as symbolic signals for conveying specific behaviour, values or lifestyle related to a particular country. However, as De Mooij (2014: 282) warns, the use of celebrities in advertising varies in accordance with the cultural context. In particular, the cult of personality and obsession with celebrity and stardom are conspicuous in individualistic and masculine cultures, whereas in collectivistic cultures “celebrity appearances are not limited to famous actors, singers, sports stars, or comedians” (De Mooij, 2014: 282). That is, many of the protagonists of advertisements are selected because of their cute looks, not for their symbolic power of adding personal characteristics to the product (De Mooij, 2014: 282). Besides, since in individualistic cultures the celebrity’s unique and desirable traits are assumed to be reflected in the brand, and the brand itself must be unique, a famous person can be associated with only one brand or company to be credible. Conversely, “in collectivistic cultures, this uniqueness is not relevant” (De Mooij, 2014: 283). Examples of this strategy may be found in the TV commercial of Lavazza (2015), a famous Italian coffee brand, for its international TV commercial campaign. First, the main character of the TV commercial is an Italian actor, Sergio Castellitto, who tells the story of Lavazza’s origins in 1895. Second, the protagonist of the story told by Castellitto is linked to the image of the adventurous traveller, who easily reminds the iconic figure of Marco Polo or, more in line with the time of narration, the Italian expatriates who went abroad to seek their fortune. Third, the

physical traits of the characters make the audience think of Italian men – they are dark-haired and wear beard.

1.3.2.5. Use of Country of Origin Flags and Symbols

Another frequently used strategy to communicate the country of origin is the use of symbols, official flags, emblems and other elements that can be easily associated with the nation in question. Among those, flags are perhaps the most widely used symbols on product packaging for those products that are perceived to have a high level of product ethnicity – that is, hamburgers, ketchup, barbecue sauce (the United States), maple syrup (Canada); brie cheese (France), pasta and pizza (Italy), the so-called ‘typical products’ (Aichner, 2014: 90). The Italian flag, for example, is displayed on both sides of the payoff “N°1 IN ITALY” in the 2016 TV commercials of Barilla (cf. Barilla UK, 2016). As regards symbols in general, even some iconic objects can convey information about the country of origin. This is the case, for example, of the famous FIAT 500 car or the equally celebrated Vespa scooter, two of the most representative symbols of Made in Italy and the Italian lifestyle.

1.3.2.6. Use of Typical Landscapes or Famous Buildings from the Country of Origin

This is one of the most widely used strategies to communicate the country of origin of a product. Indeed, well-known buildings and typical landscapes may serve as a quick reference for the consumers to make associations between products and countries (Aichner, 2014: 91). Indeed, historical and iconic buildings are easily recognisable worldwide since they are regarded as symbols of a nation. Similarly, certain landscapes immediately evoke the country image to which they are associated with in collective imagination. Because of its great effectiveness, there are many instances of the employment of this strategy, even in the few TV commercials already mentioned. For example, in the 2015 TV commercial of Lavazza, Sergio Castellitto is telling the story from a balcony with breathtaking views of Rome – the Colosseum stands out among the other buildings. Other TV commercial include, for example, the typical hilly landscapes of Tuscany. They are the 2000s Barilla U.S. commercial entitled ‘Sisters’ or the 2016

Lavazza U.S. campaign ‘I’m Back’. Table 4 below is taken from Aichner’s study (2014: 91) and is a useful summary of the strategies just described.

	Strategy name	Strategy type	Communication complexity
1	‘Made in ...’	Explicit	Low
2	Quality and origin labels	Explicit	Low
3	COO embedded in the company name	Explicit	Low
4	Typical COO words embedded in the company name	Implicit	Medium
5	Use of the COO language	Implicit	Medium/high
6	Use of famous or stereotypical people from the COO	Implicit	Medium/high
7	Use of COO flags and symbols	Explicit/implicit	Low/medium
8	Use of typical landscapes or famous buildings from the COO	Implicit	Medium

Table 4: Country-of-origin strategies (Aichner, 2014: 91)

1.4. Conclusion

As this chapter has just tried to show, research about the country of origin effect and its implication on consumer behaviour has received great attention from academics. This has resulted in a significant and still increasing number of studies, each one dealing with many different facets of the matter, thus developing a plethora of results. Despite the many contributions to the topic, authors seem not to have come to any general conclusion, let alone to the development of a shared model of reference. Yet, in an effort to find some general lines of research, it is possible to assert that culture has clearly a relevant – if not central – role in determining how consumers act in their purchasing processes. This leads to the assumption that companies willing to sell in foreign countries have the necessity to understand deeply the forces at play in the culture of their target market. Once these forces – and, thus, the corresponding differences implied between the domestic culture and the foreign one – have been analysed, companies need to adapt their messages in order for the target consumers to receive positively the message. Indeed, studies have shown that consumers rely on specific product cues – both extrinsic and intrinsic – when it comes to evaluating and purchasing products (or services), albeit with different degree of involvement and implications. One of the cues is certainly the country of origin. However,

the construct itself still presents some aspects that need to be analysed with more depth, even in the light of the ever-developing processes of globalisation and improving technology, and of new applied methods of research.

Among all the labels employed to communicate a specific country of origin, the 'Made in Italy' label is one of the most known and appreciated worldwide. Thus, in order to link it to the main field of research already mentioned and to have a clearer context for analysing the role of the Italian language in international advertising, the next chapter will aim to explain what is meant by Made in Italy, giving a definition of the concept and describing its implications in today's global market.

Chapter 2

Made in Italy

The expression ‘Made in Italy’ has become more than just information about the country of origin of products. Indeed, data show that the export of products with the Made in Italy label has incredibly grown in the last ten years and, in parallel, even the market of counterfeited products has registered a significant increase in turnover, thus translatable into a loss of profit for the Italian economy. Moreover, foreigners associate Made in Italy not only with top quality products, but also with certain and unique emotions and with a characteristic (life)style. Thus, what is implied in this concept? What forces are at play in determining its essence? This chapter try to clarify these points with the support of data and surveys results. The first section, then, will deal with different attempts in giving definitions and descriptions of Made in Italy, with a focus on current regulations in terms of country of origin information display and Made in Italy label. The second section will present data about the consumption of Made in Italy products in Italy as well as abroad, while in the third section there will be some general considerations regarding counterfeit, Italian sounding and the measures adopted to try to inform consumers while promote Made in Italy. The chapter will end with some conclusive remarks.

2.1. Definition(s)

Defining ‘Made in Italy’ is not an easy task. Surely, it is one of the most widely used English phrases and maybe the most known brand in the world (Pellegrini, 2016: 9). The first concepts that come to mind when thinking about Made in Italy are ‘quality’ and ‘authenticity’. Indeed, Made in Italy has become synonymous with “high productions competences” (Temperini *et al*, 2016: 94) as well as, as a recent research has shown, ‘a way of life’, typically Italian ‘emotions’ and the ‘truly Italian product’, that is, the concreteness of the Italian ‘know-how’ (Tendenze Online, 2017). Made in Italy, then, has been associated with some specific areas in which Italy has been regarded as pioneering, which are the so-called ‘Four A’, namely Food (‘*Alimentazione*’), Clothes and fashion (‘*Abbigliamento e moda*’), Furniture and furnishings (‘*Arredamento*’) and Automation and mechanics (‘*Automazione e meccanica*’) (Marson, 2017; cf. Bertoli and Resciniti, 2013; Fortis, 2005). It is clear, then, that ‘Made in Italy’ can be analysed from different

perspectives, each of which builds up “a very complex and multi-faceted concept” (Temperini *et al.*, 2016: 93).

As has already been mentioned before, ‘Made in Italy’ is a country of origin label, but the images and associations it evokes are more than simple information about where a product is manufactured. Worldwide, Italy and its products have an appeal that is rooted in history, art, architecture, landscapes, and that is supported by culture, elegance and charisma (Marson, 2017). This label has become a symbol of excellent artisanship, artistry and prestige, a mix of elements that is responsible for its success and recognisability at an international level (Di Tommaso and Rubini, 2012). Indeed, one of the basic characteristics of the ‘truly Italian product’ is its high quality conceived as ‘*lavoro ben fatto*’ – that is, a ‘finely crafted’ product (Tendenze Online, 2017). In other words, as Fortis (2005: 5) confirms,

[l]’espressione *Made in Italy* [italics in the original] è divenuta così qualcosa di ben più importante di un semplice marchio d’origine: è diventata un sinonimo di leadership nel design, di qualità ed affidabilità universalmente riconosciute. Una sorta di marchio collettivo che richiama subito alla mente l’immagine esclusiva delle produzioni italiane, la creatività dei nostri imprenditori e lo stile di vita italiano.

The reasons for this success are to be ascribed to many factors. In particular, Italian products are the results of a complex historical and cultural evolution (Bettiol, 2015). Indeed, the Italian manufactural tradition and culture represent the essential elements of a high quality product, to such an extent that it is possible to describe Made in Italy as ‘cultural manufacture’ (Bettiol, 2015: 32). In line with this perspective, Pellegrini (2016: 26-27) suggests that it is precisely the combination of history, art, culture, traditions, environment, *savoir-faire* and *savoir-vivre* that distinguishes the ‘Italian character’ and that are intrinsically present in the Italian products. In this way, not only does Made in Italy represent a quality label, but also a mark of uniqueness and distinctiveness (Pellegrini, 2016: 27). Viale (2012) also confirms these traits of originality, adding that

[...] la condizione necessaria per innescare una rappresentazione mentale di italianità non è il luogo della produzione o della concezione, ma quello del comportamento. Nel senso che il prodotto è collegato a un atteggiamento, al popolo, allo stile, alla storia, alla terra, alla vita sociale ecc. dell’Italia.

Therefore, it seems clear that what makes the Italian products and the Italian way of life so peculiar is an idiosyncratic combination of elements that can be regarded as the heritage of Italian culture and identity.

In the light of the necessity of making consumers aware of what they are purchasing, and in order to protect the above mentioned heritage, it has been essential requirement to regulate the use of the ‘Made in ...’ label as well as any information about the origin of ingredients in foodstuff. However, legislation on this matter is not completely transparent, both at a national and at a European level (Bardoni, 2017). As regards the European Community, the reference law on the matter of country of origin is the Regulation (EU) No 1169/2011, which was updated with the adoption – on May 2018 – of the Regulation (EU) 775/2018⁴. Broadly speaking, “under the Regulation on food information to consumers [...] the origin of primary ingredient must be indicated if different from the origin of the food in order to not deceive consumers and to harmonise the presentation of such information” (European Commission, 2018). In other words, only those companies that give some glimpses or evoke the traits of a particular country of origin by any means – namely, words, symbols, images and so on – in the packaging of the product shall specify the country of provenance of the main ingredient (InformaImpresa Online, 2018). Many associations and organisations gave their feedback about this regulation, criticising the ‘voluntary aspect’ of the application of information about origin. Indeed, their main concern is that these extremely flexible rules would actually give rise to an “unfair trade practice to mislead consumers” (Coldiretti, 2018). For example, if the package does not give any clue about the geographical origin of the main ingredient of the product, it is sufficient for the producer to declare ‘EU’ or ‘non-EU’ or ‘EU and non-EU’ or even nothing, without actually providing transparent information (Made in Italy, 2018).

With the aim of protecting Italian products and consumers, the Italian Ministry of Agriculture and Food Policies has issued some decrees for specific products and product categories. They are believed to foster and guarantee transparency for the most consumed basic foodstuffs – i.e. milk and dairy products, rice, durum wheat pasta, tomato and its derivatives –, making Italy the only European country to have such stringent regulation (Made in Italy, 2018). However, after Regulation (EU) 775/2018 was issued, they are only in force until 31 March 2020⁵ (InformaImpresa Online, 2018). Alongside criticism about the flexibility of the European regulation, Italian pasta manufacturers expressed

⁴ Applicable from 1 April 2020.

⁵ For milk the applicability will end on 31 March 2019 (InformaImpresa Online, 2018).

their concern about the concept at the basis of the EU regulation. Indeed, they stressed that the origin of an ingredient – wheat, for example in the case of pasta – is not necessarily indicative of quality (Made in Italy, 2018). Anyway, they have expressed their commitment to keep on showing the origin of the products/ingredients even in those situations in which the European legislation does not require them to express it, thus effectively continuing to adapt their policies to the Italian laws (Made in Italy, 2018).

Considering the distinctive attributes of Italian manufactural heritage, there are specific regulations regarding the Made in Italy label. In particular, a double track is established regarding the possibility to include the phrase ‘Made in Italy’ in the label. On one hand, products are entitled to show ‘100% Made in Italy’ label only if the entire process of product design, manufacturing and packaging has been carried out in Italy, according to Law No 166 of 20 November 2009 (Marson, 2017). On the other hand, ‘Made in Italy’ label is to be considered for those products that have undergone only the last substantial transformation or processing in Italy, according to Law No 350/2003⁶ (Marson, 2017). Actually, there is another law in force, Law No 55 of 8 April 2010 – the so-called ‘Reguzzoni-Versace-Calearo’ –, which is in truth not applicable. Indeed, it is addressed to specific sectors – namely, textiles, leather goods, shoe industry, sofas and tanning products – and it aims to impose “a compulsory marking system that allows to track each production stage of a product” (Marson, 2017; cf. Pellegrini, 2016). However, given the intricacies and vagueness of the requirements needed in order for the product to actually be recognised as ‘Made in Italy’, it has resulted in an unsuccessful protectionist attempt (Marson, 2017). Besides, it is even unenforceable as it is in conflict both with “the supranational principle of free movement of goods, and with the Community Customs Code (see Note 6 below)” (Marson, 2017). To sum up, albeit their controversial and blurred aspects, these measures prove the attempts, both by the European legislators and the Italian government, to assure transparency for the consumers and to protect the Italian valuable heritage.

⁶ As Marson (2017) clarifies, Law no. 350 of 24 December 2003 is in line with Art. 36 of the CE Regulation No 450/2008 of the European Community, the so-called ‘Community Customs Code’ – which Italy needs to apply as a Member State.

2.2. Made in Italy Data

Recent studies have shown that Italianness is increasingly sold in large-scale retailers in Italy. In particular, as reported in the third edition of *Osservatorio Immagino*⁷, more than 25% of food products display information about their Italian origin, both with symbols or with the typical labels ‘100% Italian’ or ‘Made in Italy’ (Tendenze Online, 2018). Indeed,

[s]ui 60.600 prodotti alimentari di largo consumo analizzati dall’Osservatorio Immagino [2018] è emerso che oltre 15.300 richiamano la loro origine italiana in etichetta e che, nel corso del 2017, le loro vendite sono cresciute del 4,5%, ossia a un tasso maggiore rispetto al +2,3% fatto registrare nel 2016 (Tendenze Online, 2018).

The most widely used device to communicate their Italian origin is the Italian flag, which was found in 14,3% of Italian food products, while the phrase ‘100% Italian’ is the most widely used claim in the ranking of growing trends (Tendenze Online, 2018). In general, these studies have revealed that typically Italian products continue to have an increasing success among Italians, with a considerable growth in sales of products showing Italian quality and origin labels (Tendenze Online, 2018) (see Table 5 below for a brief overview of *Osservatorio Immagino*’s results).

	Product %	Sales % in Value	Sales % in Value Trend 2017 vs 2016	Sales % in Value Trend 2016 vs 2015
Italian Flag	14.3	13.8	4.9	3.1
Made in Italy	11.5	6.9	-0.4	0.3
100% Italian	5.2	7.4	7.8	1.2
<i>DOC</i>	1.8	1.1	8.1	3.3
<i>DOP</i>	1.2	1.4	6.9	2.1
<i>IGP</i>	1.0	1.0	7.8	8.1
<i>DOCG</i>	0.9	0.6	8.7	9.5

Table 5: Italianness in data, adaptation from *Osservatorio Immagino* (2018)

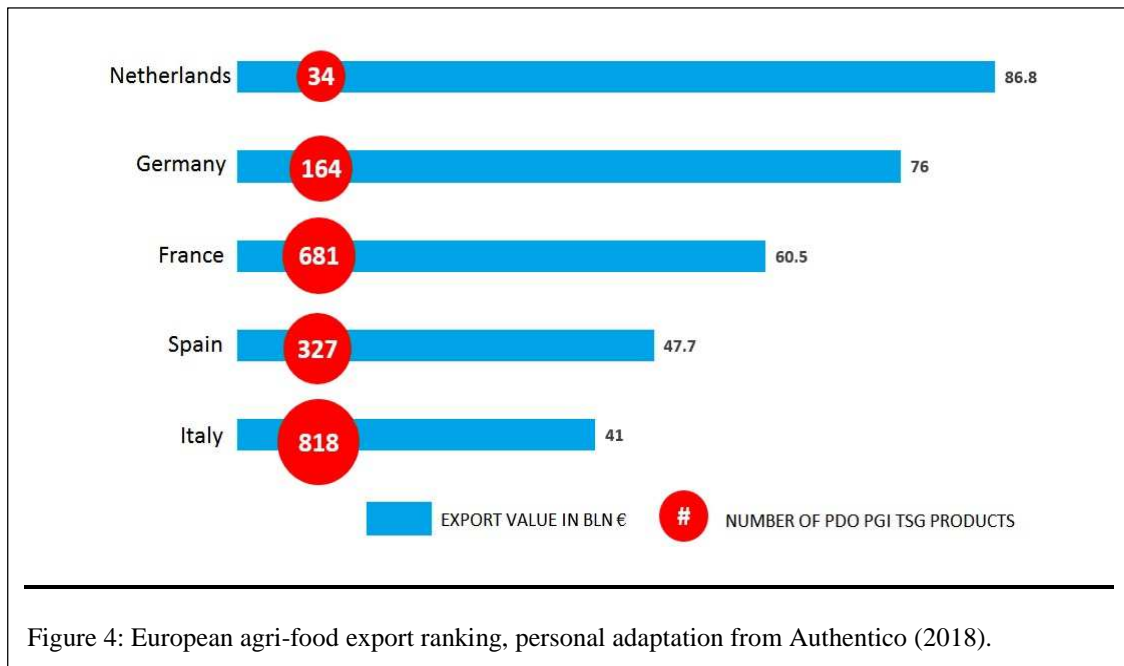
Reasons for this ‘patriotic’ success may be twofold. On one hand, the growth in the display of quality and origin labels in Italian products may be attributable to those laws requiring the mandatory country of origin label for main ingredients (Tendenze Online, 2018; see also previous section). On the other hand, consumers increasingly associate

⁷ *Osservatorio Immagino* is a study that measures new consumption trends every six months, using data from GSIItaly Nielsen, a non-profit association that brings together 35 thousand consumer goods companies (see < <http://osservatorioimmagino.it/>>).

‘Made in Italy’ foodstuffs to those elements of quality and genuine taste that are able to reassure them. Companies, indeed, have tried to emphasise these characteristics by making them more explicit in their product labels, packaging and advertising, in order for the consumer to better acknowledge them (Tendenze Online, 2018). As a result, this positive assessment seems to show a virtuous circle where Italians are increasingly relying on local products, a trend that companies are trying to take advantage of.

Even abroad Italian products are showing positive trends. In particular, in the period between January and July 2018, Italy's exports to European countries increased by 5.6%, while Italy's exports to extra-EU countries saw an increase by 4.2%, both compared to the same period in 2017 (Osservatorio Economico - Ministero Sviluppo Economico, 2018). The positive trend of Italy's exports is to be found even when taking the last decade as a reference. As stated by Fortis (2018), “l'export in dieci anni è volato, passando dai 364,7 miliardi del 2007 ai 448,1 miliardi del 2017: un incremento di ben 83,4 miliardi (più 22,9 per cento)”. In this panorama, the Italian agri-food sector⁸ has been widely celebrated as one of the driving forces of the Italian economic recovery, with a record sales of over 40 billion, nearly twice the figure of 2007 (Authentico, 2018). However, if looking at the big picture, compared to 2017 Italian speciality food is fifth in the European agri-food export ranking, still behind other big producers, namely Germany – 76 billion – and France – 60 billion – (LaRepubblica.it, 2018). This seems to be even paradoxical considering the number of Italian products with quality labels (see section 1.3.1 above). Indeed, as Figure 4 (next page) shows, among the five top European exporters, Italy figures as the first for number of PDO, PGI and TSG products, yet it is only in fifth position in terms of export value.

⁸ The focus is particularly on the agri-food sector since this dissertation will deal with the analysis of two Italian companies – Barilla and Lavazza – that operate in this area.



There seem to be various reasons for these results. For example, one may be found in the layout and dimension of Italian companies since there is an extreme fragmentation in the Italian production system that “[...] genera un gap di competitività del nostro tessuto imprenditoriale, sicuramente ancora poco strutturato per affacciarsi all’estero” (Authentico, 2018). In addition, there is a lack of Italian retailers operating at an international level, since

[...] le più grandi catene distributive sono quasi tutte cooperative e, come tali, sono focalizzate sui “soci” consumatori italiani e non hanno interesse ad espandersi fuori confine (Authentico, 2018).

Moreover, Italian products are characterised by a paradoxical situation: the biodiversity of Italian foodstuff is so wide in range that it actually constitutes a limit. In other words, notwithstanding the fact that the richness of Italian gastronomic heritage is a great resource, its incredible variety of choices makes it difficult to provide with competitive supply (Authentico, 2018). Besides, the other competitors can benefit from a larger agricultural area, which guarantees lower average export price of products (Authentico, 2018). Another important aspect may be related to companies’ difficulty to globalise their production, as well as their preference for neighbouring markets, which have lower potential compared to distant ones (Authentico, 2018). Indeed, as regards the food sector, the only extra-European country that figures in the countries of destination for Italian

exports – based on 2017 data – are, in second position, the United States. Other destinations in the top five include Germany – in first position –, and France, United Kingdom and Spain, in subsequent order of ranking (Osservatorio Economico - Ministero Sviluppo Economico, 2018). With regard to the type of food products exported, recent data show that coffee, chocolate, tea, spices and ready meals are the top of the ranking, followed by wine in second position, and in third position by corn, starch and derivatives, included bread and pasta (Authentico, 2018). Figure 5 (below) provides with a visual summary of Italian agri-food exports.

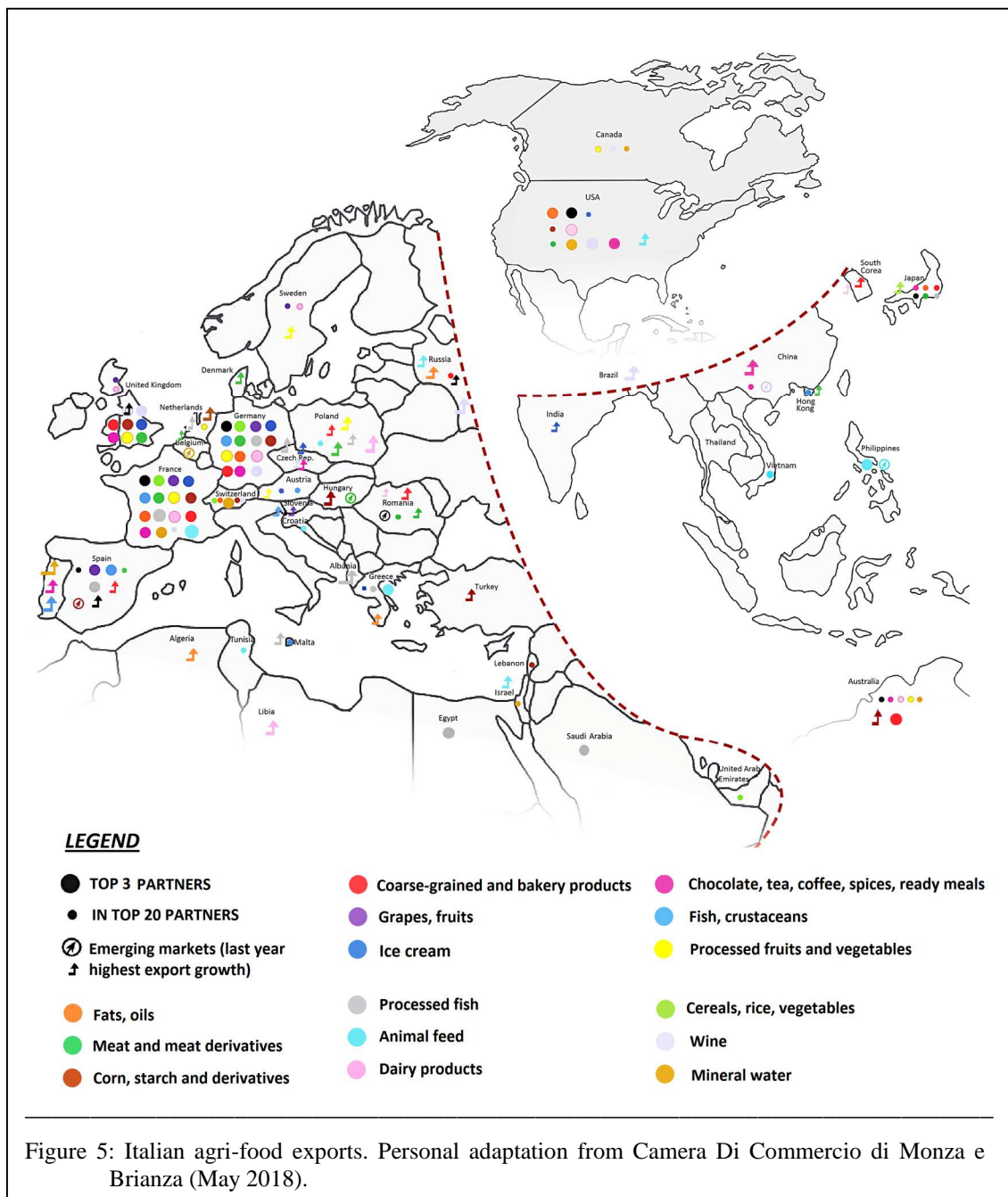


Figure 5: Italian agri-food exports. Personal adaptation from Camera Di Commercio di Monza e Brianza (May 2018).

2.3. General Considerations

As has already been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, many aspects contribute to the actual worldwide success of Made in Italy. These traits have been assessed many times in research, which has contributed to delineate what people think about Made in Italy and the Italian lifestyle. The interesting thing is that, apparently, during the last decade, there have not been so many changes in terms of the pivotal elements associated to Made in Italy. In particular, a study conducted in the United States by Gfk-Eurisko (2007) was aimed to identify the values that characterise Italy and Italian products according to a panel of international professionals – namely, economists, journalists, researchers, marketing and communication experts. Six traits that qualify and make distinctive the Italian quality emerged from this survey. Italy is thought to be appealing not only in terms of aesthetic value – meant as attractive design, ‘*buon gusto*’, style and elegance –, but also in craftsmanship, in the sense Italian products are a combination of incredible attention to detail, creativity and traditional know-how (Gfk-Eurisko, 2007). Besides, culture seems to play an important role in determining what is attractive, representing an important element of uniqueness and identity that is reflected in products quality (Gfk-Eurisko, 2007). According to this survey, other features that define the Italian character are geographical, productive and historical variety, and quality of life and social relations, together with a more general ‘knowing how to slowly enjoy small things’ (Gfk-Eurisko, 2007). What emerges, then, is that the quality of Italian life is an ideal model for many foreigners, as well as an important point of strength for Italian products (Gfk-Eurisko, 2007).

A more recent study partially confirms these findings. Indeed, as reported by a survey by CENSIS (Tendenze Online, 2017), foreigners identify three essential major elements that are linked to Made in Italy. First, they name the real Italian product, with its unequalled quality, aesthetical beauty and refined authenticity (Tendenze Online, 2017). Secondly, they mention the Italian way of life, understood not only as attention to detail, creativity and originality, but also as the characteristic Italian ‘happiness and love of life’ and the distinctive attribute of ‘slowness’ – that is, the rejection of hectic life for the sake of a slower and more natural pace of life (Tendenze Online, 2017). Lastly, foreigners think that also emotions represent the essence of Italianness. These are intended as the physical sensations linked to the sensorial experiences they may have

when visiting the ‘*Bel Paese*’, and they also include foreigners’ desire to participate to the typical Italian life and experience a sense of ‘belonging to the place’ (Tendenze Online, 2017). To sum up, as this brief comparison has shown, while the core strengths associated with Made in Italy continue to remain almost unchanged – thus defining its essence in time –, new ways of experiencing Italianness begin to appear in survey results. Regarding the agri-food sector, an attempt to concretise all these characteristics may be, for example, FICO⁹ – *Fabbrica Italiana Contadina*, the Italian Farming Factory, which was inaugurated in Bologna in November 2017.

Italian top quality and prestige are even proved by the fact that e-commerce titans has begun to provide space for Made in Italy in their online platforms. The last one on the list is Alibaba, which has recently collaborated with *Agenzia Ice* – Italian Trade & Investment Agency – and created ‘HelloIta’, a virtual hub where over 80 Italian companies from the typical Italian productive sectors can introduce Made in Italy to China (Rocco, 2018). Before this, in 2015 Amazon inaugurated an online store dedicated to the promotion and purchase of Made in Italy handicraft products. In 2014 it was Google’s turn, with the launch of the project ‘Made in Italy: *eccellenze in digitale*’ – ‘Made in Italy: excellence in digital format’ –, which includes the creation of a web platform where to present, describe and give information about Italian artisanal products (Maci, 2014). Also, back in 2006 eBay and Confartigianato signed an agreement whereby Italian SME entrepreneurs were facilitated and assisted in the sales of their products in the famous online platform (Confartigianato, 2006). These partnerships and projects are the demonstration that Made in Italy is a valuable resource recognised at a global level.

However, counterfeit heavily impinged on Made in Italy, exactly because of its prestige and potential of selling. Indeed, the total value of counterfeit and pirated Italian goods sold all over the world in 2013 has been estimated to be over 35 billion euro – the equivalent of 4.9% of Italian manufacturing products sales (Confcommercio, 2018). The range of goods affected by counterfeit is vast, from luxury goods to industrial ones – i.e.

⁹ Fico is the world’s largest food park or, better,

a training ground for a sensorial and educational experience about food and its biodiversity, where the wonders of the Italian food and wine industry are presented and narrated from their birth inside Mother Earth to their final destination on a dish and in a glass (FICO, 2017).

machinery, replacement components, or chemicals (Confcommercio, 2018). This phenomenon does not even spare sensitive products such as pharmaceutical products, food and beverages, medical equipment or toys. In terms of foodstuff, then, there is a particular strategy adopted in order to pass off products that are not produced in Italy as actual Made in Italy – the ‘Italian sounding’. This practice is unfair competition against not only consumers, but the country as well, since it has been estimated that, globally, its turnover amounts to 90 billion euros, a value that in the last ten years has grown by 70% – equal to three times the turnover of Italian exports in the food sector in 2017 (AISE, 2018). The expedient at play in Italian sounding is to employ geographical designations, images and brand names that evoke Italy for products that are not actually made there in order to benefit from the good reputation of the country and the Made in Italy label (Pellegrini, 2016: 24-25). The imitated products are many and include not only geographical designated products such as cheese, meat, sauces and wines, but also the most famous Italian dishes, such as pizza, *lasagna alla bolognese*, *tortellini* and even *tiramisu* (Authentico, 2018). The countries, then, in which the phenomenon is most developed are the United States, Canada, Latin American countries, Russia, South East Asian countries, but also some EU countries (Authentico, 2018).

However, taken for granted that the damages to Italian economy and consumers’ health are dangerously extensive – indeed, counterfeited products are not guaranteed by any legal label –, the massive presence on a global scale of these fraudulent practices may be regarded as a positive indicator. As Caricato (2016) affirms,

[1] *Italian sounding* sembra in apparenza una minaccia, ma non lo è. Sarebbe, al contrario, una grande opportunità, [...] Significa essere al centro delle attenzioni, vuole dire essere ritenuti protagonisti di primo piano

Bruni (2015) also supports this point of view, adding that those who are selling their products with reference to a supposed Italian origin are implicitly saying that they would like to be Italian, thus affirming Italian top quality.

Although some may regard this fraudulent act as having an implied positive aspect, it remains the fact that counterfeited products and Italian sounding need to be identified and prosecuted, while protecting and promoting the authentic Made in Italy in order to ensure transparency and build trust. In this respect, for example, the Italian Ministry of

Economic Development and ITA (Italian Trade Agency) promoted and funded the ‘True Italian Taste’ project (see Figure 6 below), which is coordinated by Assocamerestero.



It is part of the ‘The Extraordinary Italian Taste’ campaign and was launched in 2016 in the United States, Canada and Mexico and, in collaboration with ICCAs, it now involves Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland and UK (ItalPlanet.it, 2018). The goal of this project is not just to protect and promote the authentic Italian products abroad, but also to support those Italian companies that sell certified and typical products and want to get known on foreign markets, as well as to consolidate and expand opportunities for existing companies (ItalPlanet.it, 2018). In the past, various politicians attempted similar – yet not so effective – strategies. For example, Minister Di Maio has lately proposed the creation of a sort of multilingual e-commerce portal where Italian companies would be able to sell their own products (Cosul Cuffaro,

2018). Actually, the first proposal for a website destined to protect Italian heritage dates back to 2006 – called ‘Italia.it’, it was created by Mr Berlusconi’s government and unsuccessfully revamped by the following ministers (Cosul Cuffaro, 2018). After that, in 2015 Mr Franceschini, the then Minister of Culture, created ‘verybello.it’, a website aimed at promoting the cultural events organised during Expo and closed just after two years of doubtful efficiency (Cosul Cuffaro, 2018).

Moreover, together with these institutional efforts, technology is employed both in the development of new ways for ensuring the reliability and authenticity of the productive process, and in the development of devices designed to help consumers to discover Italian sounding products and, thus, to protect the authentic Made in Italy. For example, in 2006 a group of Italian professionals founded Certilogo, a company that releases a code for products as a stamp of authenticity to those brands that adhere to the ‘Certilogo circuit’ (Piva, 2015). In this way, brands can prove their products are authentic, while consumers can verify the origin of what they are going to purchase/have purchased (Piva, 2015). It originated from a twofold necessity – on one hand, it was the brands’ way to compensate for the damages, in terms of profit and image, caused by counterfeit; on the other, it responded to the consumers’ call for greater safeguards and guarantees. Similarly, another team of Italian professionals have recently created ‘Authentico’, an app for smartphones that, by scanning the product barcode, allows users all over the world to easily recognize original Made in Italy products from imitation ones (Authentico, 2018).

Nevertheless, the new frontier in ensuring the transparency – and thus the authenticity – of the productive systems seems to arrive from a new communication protocol – the blockchain. Briefly, the blockchain is a platform for managing transactions as well as information and data exchanges (Bellini, 2018). It is a technology based on the logic of the distributed ledger, in which data are stored in more than one server at a time in a peer-to-peer network (Bellini, 2018). This technology is said to be transparent – as every operation and transaction is visible to every participant of the network –, consensus-based, secure and immutable. Transactions are managed through encryption by network participants. They verify, approve and subsequently record all the blocks containing all the data of each transaction (Bellini, 2018). Therefore, this new paradigm may be seen as a solution to the recurring and problematic themes of univocal and secure identity,

transparency and traceability. Consequently, given its potentialities, it has already been employed in various fields, from finance and economy to healthcare and music, including the agri-food sector (Bellini, 2018). Indeed, here blockchains give the possibility to create supply chains in which each process is visible and each stakeholder can provide data and information, and check those given by all the other participants (Bellini, 2018). In Italy, this innovation has not widely spread yet, although experts are optimistic about its forthcoming diffusion as it is a model that would be suitable for a system – like the Italian one – characterized by a plurality of SMEs (Soldavini, 2018). The first to start, though, could be the largest companies, which have already understood the importance of smart manufacturing technologies (Soldavini, 2018). Together with Ibm Italia, Barilla has already begun “[...] una sperimentazione in cui è coinvolto un singolo produttore di basilico con una tracciatura ‘dal campo alla tavola’” (Soldavini, 2018). As a result, the company has pointed out that, should the project be effective, it will be extended to each company’s raw product such as wheat, milk, tomatoes, and so on (Soldavini, 2018). In brief, the fact that institutions and companies are adopting all these measures and devices is the indicator of an attempt to solve a basic problem, which is the need to have a credible system that ensures transparency and protects authentic products and, thus, the Italian cultural and productive heritage.

2.4. Conclusion

Behind the apparently simple phrase ‘Made in Italy’ there is a vast – and partly hidden – universe of meanings that may be examined from different angles. For example, it is possible to perceive it from the consumers’ perspective, whereby Made in Italy communicates the idea of top quality products that are imbued with those traits linked with Italianness, namely not only authenticity, attention to detail, creativity and originality, but also ‘*buon gusto*’, style and elegance. These traits are an idiosyncratic combination that represent the heritage of manufacture production and Italian culture, which, as such, need to be protected as well as promoted worldwide. Consequently, Made in Italy may be analysed in relation to the regulations for the pursuit of transparency in the use of specific country of origin information and the protection of authentic Italian products. Notwithstanding the efforts – both at a national and international level – to promulgate effective laws, counterfeit and Italian sounding are still affecting Italian economy. By contrast, many perceive their massive presence as a litmus test of Italian

value in terms of quality products: if there are so many fake Italian products it means that Made in Italy is a profitable element that is worth imitating or mentioning. Indeed, this prestige is confirmed by export data – during the last decade, Italy has nearly doubled its sales income, a recovery led also by the success of the agri-food sector.

However, notwithstanding the great potentialities of Made in Italy, it still does not perform as it should. Indeed, Italy is the European country with the greatest amount of geographical designation products, yet it is the fifth nation in terms of European export ranking. This paradox is attributable to various factors. For example, the richness in biodiversity might represent a limit, as it is the actual quantity of products – indeed, the cost of exports is higher than other competitors’ due to limited agricultural area. Moreover, there is a lack of Italian distribution chains abroad and the dimension and characteristics of the productive system does not help Made in Italy to be as competitive as it would be given its potentialities – the majority of companies are small, poorly structured and with low propensity to internationalisation, tending to focus on neighbouring markets.

Institutions and professionals, then, have tried to foster the growth of Made in Italy through a double approach. On one hand, they have promulgated specific regulations to help Italian productive system as well as to protect consumers. On the other, there has been the creation of *ad hoc* online portals and other initiatives. It is not enough just to have top quality products and be surrounded by art, history and beauty, the essential element is to make consumers – especially those abroad – aware of what Made in Italy may give, while making it accessible and efficient. Efforts, then, should be oriented to implement the communication and promotion of Made in Italy, to inform and tell consumers about what is implied in the authentic Italian products and artisanship. There should be an investment in the creation and improvement of a more aware relationship between foreign – but not only – consumers and what Italy can offer in terms of products as well as experiences. This may be achieved also by exploiting the potential of e-commerce and the new social media, with a focus on the emotions that the Italian way of life may be able to offer (cf. Tendenze Online, 2017; Pellegrini, 2016; Bettiol, 2015; Gay, 2015; Confartigianato, 2006).

Therefore, there is the need for both offensive and defensive strategies or, as the former president of *Giovani Confindustria* put it, for “innovation, digitalization,

teamwork and cooperation with institutions” (Gay, 2015). Among various strategies, advertising is surely the most widely used instrument by companies to promote and sell their products. In this respect, the next chapter will deal with what is implied in this activity, especially in cross-cultural contexts, where companies need to be aware of and understand the characteristics of target culture in order for their advertising campaign to be effective.

Chapter 3

Communication, Advertising and Language

One of the investments in terms of fostering Made in Italy is represented by making improvements in its communication, which mostly involves intercultural advertising. As Kelly-Holmes (2000: 67-68) explains,

[i]ntercultural advertising can be defined as advertising for a product which is identified as originating from one particular social, economic, linguistic, political, cultural context that takes place in and – perhaps most importantly – is directed at other social, economic, linguistic, political, cultural contexts. Thus, not surprisingly, intercultural advertising communication is a site where much of the cultural difference between societies, regions and nations is played out and even accentuated.

Indeed, globalisation has brought markets to growth, and, similarly, new technologies – i.e. new technological devices but also new social media – have widened the number of users, thus creating “[u]n grande spazio comune dove è possibile condividere informazioni e interagire con altre persone” (Bettiol, 2015: 61). Moreover, since culture, language and communication are linked to each other, even advertising – its style, role, and use – is culture-bound. In this context, it seems clear that being aware of differences in cultures is not only a matter of succeeding in interpersonal communication, but, from a company’s perspective, it can also be translated into effective product promotion – and, thus, into more profit (cf. Usunier and Lee, 2005). Indeed, “understanding culture is the first step to take by global companies when deciding on the type of strategy for their global brands” (De Mooij, 2014: 12).

While acknowledging the intricacies of the matter at stake, this chapter will provide a brief overview of the underlying links between culture and language, trying at the same time to describe the ongoing development of the communicative scenario at a global level. The next sections will deal with how advertising mirrors culture, with a focus on the strategic use of language as a cue aimed at triggering the country of origin effect. Then, analysis will move on to providing a description of the use of Italian terms abroad, thus giving the background information needed in view of the next Chapter. The final section will provide some concluding remarks.

3.1. The Role of Culture, Language and Context

Chapter 1 has already tried to account for some differences in culture, yet there is more to explain in terms of style of communication. The very act of communicating may be universally represented by a model (see Figure 7 below) that requires some basic elements (cf. De Mooij, 2014: 197; Velentzas and Broni, 2014: 118). People, with their words, material things and behaviour, create their own ‘cultural worlds’, each of which “operates according to its own internal dynamics, its own principles, and its own laws – written and unwritten” (Hall and Hall, 2000). One of the main distinctions with regard to communication dynamics has to do with context. According to Hall and Hall (2000: 200),

context [italic in the original] is the information that surrounds an event; it is inextricably bound up with the meaning of that event. The elements that combine to produce a given meaning – events and context – are in different proportions depending on the culture.

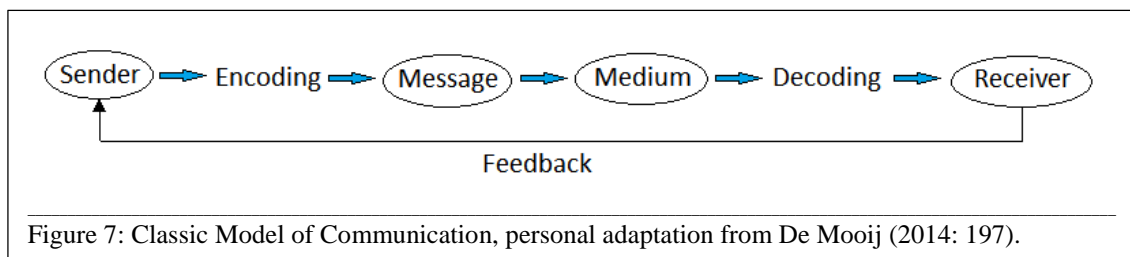


Figure 7: Classic Model of Communication, personal adaptation from De Mooij (2014: 197).

Consequently, it is possible to refer to ‘high-context’ communication in cultures where the person internalises most of the information – i.e. information is part of the context and “very little is made explicit” (De Mooij, 2014: 85) –; whereas, in ‘low-context’ communication, it is the explicit code of the message that expresses the information (De Mooij, 2014: 85; Hall and Hall. 2000: 200). These characteristics have many consequences in intercultural communication, especially in advertising. For example, “argumentation and rhetoric are found in low-context cultures, whereas advertising in high-context cultures is characterised by symbolism or indirect verbal expression” (De Mooij, 2014: 85). Moreover, there seems to be some kind of correlation between collectivism and high-context cultures, that is, “in collectivist cultures, information flows more easily between members of the group, and there is less need for explicit communication than in individualistic cultures” (De Mooij, 2014: 85). As Usunier and Lee (2005: 397) report, Hall (1976: 91) tried to give a possible tentative ranking of countries – that is, “[...] on a scale starting with low-context and moving across

to high-context [it] would be: Swiss-Germans, Germans, Scandinavians, Americans, English, French, other southern Europeans, Latin Americans, Middle Easterners, Japanese”.

Language, then, seems to be in part responsible for the degree of contextuality of communication (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 376). In particular, ideas and facts may be expressed more or less explicitly according to the language itself (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 376). For example, English and France are more precise than Japanese – they are ranked as less context-bound than Japanese, in which both spoken words and written words “often have multiple meanings, so that the listener needs some kind of contextual clarification” (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 376). However, nuances are always present within languages, and definitions are not always so clear-cut. This means, for instance, that even in languages associated with low-context cultures, context may still be useful due to a particular language structure, as is the case of Finnish (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 377).

Culture, then, appears to shape communication styles in relation to some norms that inevitably define what is considered to be ‘appropriate’ between members of a certain cultural community (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 379). Usunier and Lee (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 379) define the existence of at least three areas where culture has a strong influence on communication. For example, communication styles indicate what is appropriate interaction as well as the appropriate emphasis put on talking and listening. Moreover, self-assertion and talking are at the basis of a communication style where the self-concept is strong, whereas listening communication style is common in cultures where suppression of the self is valued (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 379). Thus, according to this perspective, achieving ‘good’ communication largely depends on cultural norms.

Even from this brief overview on the matter, it is possible to understand that language – thus communication – and culture share some kind of relationship¹⁰. Many scholars have hypothesised that language influences cultures, others that language is an expression of culture (De Mooij, 2014: 69). As Conway III and Schaller (2007: 108) explain,

¹⁰ It is beyond the scope of this work providing a deep analysis of these topics, which is objectively very complex and tends to result in a vicious circle of answer seeking. However, for the sake of a better understanding of the issues at stake, a general overview will be presented.

[...] human cultures are intimately connected to language; and language, of course, is one of the primary means through which people communicate. Language is often the defining feature of a specific cultural population (e.g., francophone Canadians; Sinhalese Sri Lankans). A common language is not merely a badge of social identity, it is also often a signal of shared history, shared customs, and shared beliefs and values.

Historically, the first to theorise the existence of a close interconnection between these elements was the linguist and anthropologist Benjamin Lee Wharf, who developed and extended Edward Sapir's hypothesis (cf. Pasquinelli and Mellino, 2010: 81; Usunier and Lee, 2005: 383). Briefly, they contend that language is somehow responsible for people's worldviews in as much as the words choice and their combination in speech "correspond to particular assumptions and experiences about the world" (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 372). Besides, stereotyping and ethnocentrism – already mentioned in Chapter 1 – are therefore easily understandable from this perspective. Yet, despite thorough empirical testing, many linguists do not consider this assumption valid, while there seem to be limitations in the case of multilingual speakers (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 388).

The other perspective on the matter is that language reflects culture. This notion stems from the idea that "only the ability to speak is universal for humankind" (De Mooij, 2014: 69). Indeed, Holtgraves and Kashima (2008: 89) claim that culture is reflected and even reinforced by language:

[t]here are clear cultural differences in some of the most basic features of language and language use, and it would be surprising if these differences were not related to cultural differences in social cognition. We have argued that linguistic practices both reflect these cultural differences as well as help to maintain them.

Cultural orientations, then, are reproduced in the use of language on any particular occasion, and as time goes by, "these ways or representing culture linguistically become linguistic practices and eventually part of the language" (De Mooij, 2014: 70). This perspective seems to find support in the fact that some languages are richer in specific areas of vocabulary (De Mooij, 2014: 70) – the Sami people, for example, have almost 1.000 words for 'reindeer' (Robson, 2013). Consequently, when culture-specific words express something unique, they tend to be adopted by other languages (De Mooij, 2014: 70). However, notwithstanding the different perspectives in terms of the link between language and culture, what seems to be plausible is that each instance of communication is the concrete representation of the actual link between languages and cultural contexts and that "words [...] offer only an illusion of sharing in the same vision of reality" (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 392).

3.2. Mass Communication Styles and Advertising

Communication styles, that is, the combination of “[t]he need for context, directness versus indirectness, literacy or orality, and the purpose of communication” (De Mooij, 2014: 202), are defined by culture with regard to both interpersonal communication (see previous section) and mass communication. Therefore, culture shapes the content, form and style of any public instances of communication, such as literature, public relations, and mass media content, including advertising (De Mooij, 2014: 206). In general, differences in communication styles deal with different conceptions of rhetoric and can be divided into three main areas according to the philosophies of Aristotle, Buddha and Confucius (De Mooij, 2014: 206). Indeed, some of their features are still at the basis of current communication styles. For example, rhetoric is at the base of Western mass communication and three of its five canons are recognisable in much of Western advertising: invention, arrangement, and style (De Mooij, 2014: 207). Thus, given the fact that advertising is the product of a specific culture, it embodies different communication styles according to the part of the world in which it is produced (De Mooij, 2014: 208). Table 6 (below) serves as an overview of the differences in terms of rhetorical models.

Aristotle’s Rhetoric Model	Buddhist Rhetoric Model	Hindu Rhetorical Model
Western mass communication theory.	e.g. Chinese TV commercials	e.g. Indian soap opera and advertising
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It has to accomplish an intended goal - It is geared toward influencing human choices on specific matters that require immediate attention - It concerns persuasion pursued at public forums <p>The five canons of rhetoric:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Invention = how to persuade 2) Arrangement = structure of a coherent argument 3) Style = presentation of the argument to stir the emotions 4) Memory = memorise speech 5) Delivery = making effective use of voice, gestures, ... 	<p>Five steps:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Theme glorification 2) Explain the main idea 3) Allegory 4) Karma = prove the truthfulness of a theme 5) Summarise and conclude by giving peace of mind <p>The use of allegory and metaphors is particularly recognisable in advertising styles.</p>	<p>Three of the steps are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Simplification 2) Reach commonness of experience 3) Aesthetic delight

Table 6: Underlying Models in Mass Communication, personal elaboration drawn upon information found in De Mooij (2014: 206-208).

As De Mooij (2014: 77) puts it, “[t]he art of advertising is to develop symbols or advertising properties that must be understood by a target audience”. In other words, advertisement cannot be decoded the same way across different cultures, since those symbols are originated in and work for one specific culture. This means that advertising should adapt its messages to the target audience in order to be effective while preserving the consistency with the original message (De Mooij, 2014: 77). Advertising, then, is a field that is never fixed, as it “mirrors changing social behaviour” (Usinier and Lee, 2005: 411; Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 5). Indeed, following De Mooij’s definition (2014: 208), “advertising can be viewed as a symbolic artefact or communication product constructed from the conventions of a particular culture”. The process of communicating through advertising involves the presence of a sender that develops the message according to the shared knowledge of various conventions and expecting a particular audience’s response (De Mooij, 2014: 208). The same set of cultural knowledge is used by receivers to read the message, deduce the sender’s purpose, assess the content, and provide a feedback (De Mooij, 2014: 208). It is clear, then, that cultural knowledge determines the basis for interaction as well as the style of advertising (De Mooij, 2014: 208).

However, new technologies, new means of communication and the new active role of consumers have called into question the traditional model of communication. In particular, the traditional model of mass communication was considered to be unidirectional, while the media content was controlled only by a few gatekeepers, who often used it to brainwash and exploit the population (Chaffee and Metzger, 2001; Solomon *et al*, 2006: 169). As Bettiol (2015: 58-59) explains, in that context,

[I]a pubblicità e i mezzi di comunicazione di massa sono stati i protagonisti indiscussi [...]. Hanno costruito bisogni, presentato prodotti prima sconosciuti a potenziali nuovi acquirenti, costruito un immaginario nel quale le persone si potevano riconoscere.

Yet, this system has evolved to the extent that academics have suggested to substitute the term ‘mass’ in mass communication with the term ‘media’ (Chaffee and Metzger, 2001). In the new system, “[I]a comunicazione non è più asimmetrica, come in precedenza, ma diventa interattiva” (Bettiol, 2015: 60). This means that the content of communication now can be adapted to the new interlocutors’ interests, thus overcoming “l’eccessiva semplificazione che i media tradizionali imponevano” (Bettiol, 2015: 60-61). Information is more accessible and consumers can express their new autonomy and independence by

communicating more easily with other consumers from all over the world (Bettiol, 2015: 60), something that has put even more attention to the cultural contexts implied in these new processes of communication. As De Mooij stresses (2014: xvii),

[n]ew digital developments in the global marketplace also reinforce the need to understand how communication works across cultures, as the digital media are hybrid forms of interpersonal and mass communication.

In this new scenario, it seems that even the nature and role of advertising have undergone a change. While Bettiol (2015: 59) alludes to a less predictable link between advertising and sales, Solomon *et al* (2006: 168-170) try to describe today's dynamic world of interactivity drawing on the interactionist communication model. Here, consumers are seen as 'interpreters' and "meaning does not arise from the objects themselves, nor from the psyche, but from interaction patterns" (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 170). This means that new importance is given to the concept of the 'self', which is conceived "as an active participant in the creation of meaning from the various signs in the marketplace rather than as a passive decoder of meanings which may be inherent in the message" (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 170). Besides, this perspective entails the development of the traditional model of communication even in terms of the roles of the sender and receiver, since they are actually seen only as communicators who are always engaged in mutual sending and receiving of messages (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 170). Regardless of the actual object of communication –i.e. the 'message' –, both the self and the other are constantly interpreted as objects (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 170). To sum up, interactive communication model may be regarded as a possible answer for the need to consider the active roles a consumer might play in obtaining product information and building a relationship with a company (Solomon *et al*, 2006: 198). Figure 8 (next page) provides a visual description of the model just described.

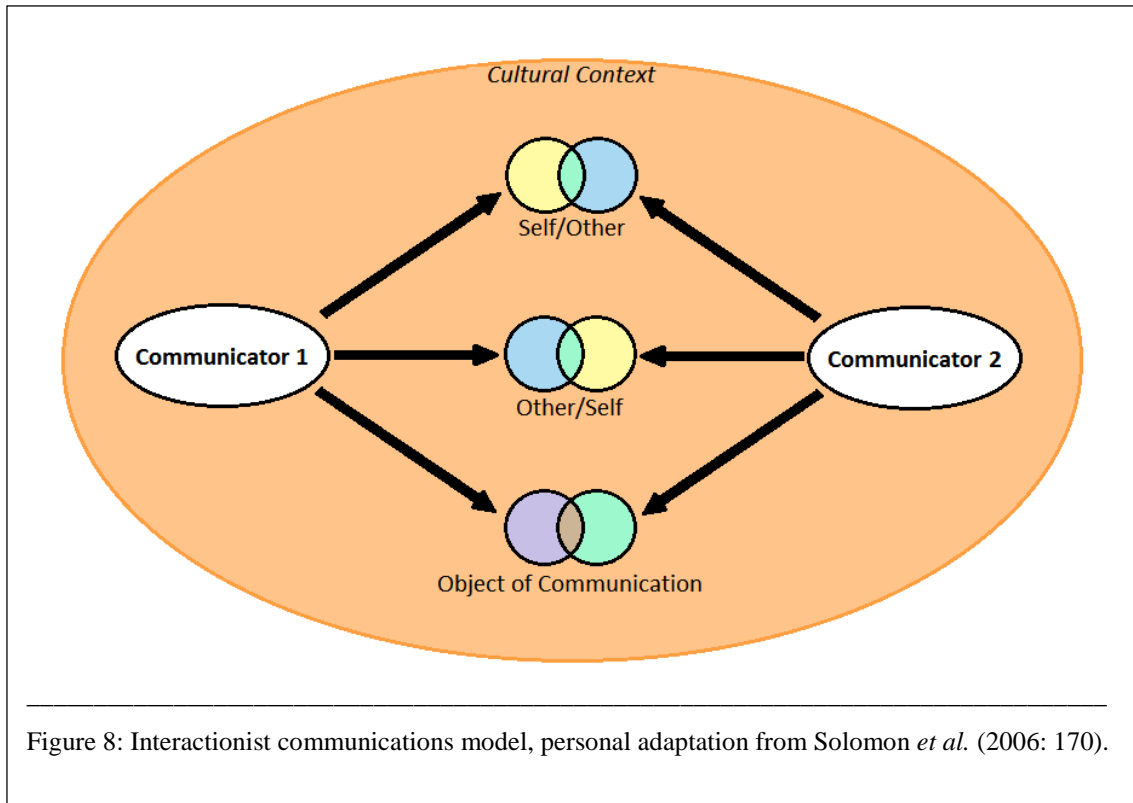


Figure 8: Interactionist communications model, personal adaptation from Solomon *et al.* (2006: 170).

3.2.1. Advertising Strategy and Style: some examples

Advertising styles and forms can be analysed, described, classified, and compared in many ways. For example, De Mooij (2014) and Usunier and Lee (2005: 413) suggest two different categorisations which actually share some characteristics. In particular, De Mooij refers to ‘advertising styles’ meaning the combination of four elements – i.e. appeal, communication style, basic advertising form, and execution. Conversely, Usunier and Lee present a model of advertising categorisation that explain the matter from a broader perspective (see Table 7 next page). Therefore, the latter will be taken here as the starting reference when presenting the characteristics of advertising, while there will be some integrations from other authors, especially when dealing with comparisons between cultures.

Advertising	
Strategy (‘what is said’)	Types of appeals used
	Themes developed
	Overall communication style: - direct/indirect - explicit/implicit - rational/emotional
Execution (‘how it is said’)	Language
	Humor
	Characters and roles represented
	The influence of more and religion
	Visual elements of advertising
	Music
Style	Persuasive
	Informative
	Oneiric (i.e. dream-oriented)

Table 7: Model for analysing advertising, personal elaboration drawn upon information found in Usunier and Lee (2005: 409-442)

As regards advertising strategy, De Mooij (2014: 271) underlines that appeal in advertising is quite a broad concept including values and motives that define the main message. Besides, the appeal stands also for the general creative strategy (De Mooij, 2014: 271). Since culture shapes advertising, even appeals reflect the characteristics of that culture (De Mooij, 2014: 271). Therefore, it is possible to appreciate examples of different appeals following the Hofstede’s dimensions (see Chapter 1). For example, low power distance cultures seem to show status symbols less frequently, whereas high power distance cultures appear to be characterised by the frequent use of status symbol, especially prestige (De Mooij, 2014: 276). Even the relationships between the various characters of the advertisement may be explained according to power distance (De Mooij, 2014: 276). Moreover, in terms of uncertainty avoidance, demonstrating the competence of the manufacturer seems to be an essential element in high uncertainty avoidance advertising, whereas in weak uncertainty avoidance cultures the result is more important (De Mooij, 2014: 289).

Actually, the most relevant differences in terms of appeals are those concerning the dichotomy ‘individualism/collectivism’. In particular, low-context communication seems to be more textual and high-context communication more visual” (De Mooij, 2014: 278),

although the quantity and type of body copy may depend on a wide variety of factors, such as the development of new technologies, different stages of market development and the effect of social forces like multiculturalism (cf. Kress, 1996). Another difference in appeals that may be explained in terms of this dichotomy refers to the greater effectiveness of the focus on in-group benefits, harmony and family in collectivistic cultures with respect individualistic culture, where the focus tends to be more on the individual benefits and references, personal success and independence (Han and Shavitt, 1994). Besides, there seems to be an actual paradox when analysing the role of families in advertising: “[...] showing families is as much or even more found in individualistic than in collectivistic cultures” (De Mooij, 2014: 281). Indeed, this may be explained taking into consideration the fact that advertising presents the desirable, what is lacking in society (De Mooij, 2014: 1), thus, given the fact that in collectivistic cultures families are part of one’s identity, advertisers may feel little need to depict them (De Mooij, 2014: 281). However, even if approximately 70% of the world population is – to various degrees – collectivistic, many global advertising campaigns reflect individualistic values – i.e. showing people alone, addressing people in a direct way, and referring to all sorts of individualistic claims –, perhaps due to the fact that the United States have laid down the rules of advertising theory. Nevertheless, it is not to think that “much global advertising is effective only for a small part of the target” (De Mooij, 2014: 283).

Furthermore, research has shown differences in terms of the overall communication style (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 414). For example, in Italy and France, viewers and readers are “supposedly willingly to escape from the real world”, so advertising in those countries seems to be more dream-oriented. As the authors explain, “[t]he oneiric style does not really concentrate on actual buying and consumption experiences. The dream-like dimension that surrounds the product is favoured at any price” (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 414). Conversely, German advertising may be regarded as highly informative. Indeed, the information content of advertising is perceived to be a key issue because “it shows whether the strategy follows the informative option, rather than the persuasion or dream-orientation avenues” (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 414-415). Again, culture is the most important element in explaining the quantity and the type of information that can be found in advertising: “[w]hereas some targets prefer more rational, tangible cues – as in the USA – others expect emotional and more ‘subjective’ information” (Usunier and Lee,

2005: 415). This could be explained in terms of a tendency towards uncertainty avoidance, since information reduces uncertainty (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 415). To sum up, as this brief overview has tried to show, the general rule is that advertising strategy must be able to adapt to the local orientation in terms of information content and style of advertising, and this should be taken in high consideration when the target audience belong to a foreign country (Usunier and Lee, 2005: 416).

3.2.2. Advertising Execution: Focus on Language

Since the aim of this work is analysing how many and what kind of Italian terms have been used in international advertising during the last two decades, a focus on the theories concerning the use of language in advertising should be helpful in determining the scope of research. As Kelly-Holmes (2005: 8) reports, Smith (1982: 190) defined the language of advertising as ‘functional dialect’ – i.e. it is a language chosen and employed for a specific purpose and, thus, it becomes a variety of its own “because it becomes associated with this particular function” (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 8). Although the boundaries between advertising language and ‘ordinary’ language are not distinct, a distinguishing feature of advertising language is that it is to some extent planned in advance (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 8). Indeed,

[l]anguage choice in commercially driven discourses is rarely, if ever, random, and this statement applies even more, the higher the production qualities and costs in terms of space and time involved (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 8).

Besides language, in advertising it is possible to find paralanguage, which is said to be the ‘texture of language’ (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 9). Since paralanguage shows intertextuality – i.e. it links visually to other texts –, the careful employment of printed words and/or prosody can give the text both symbolic and iconic meaning in order to support and strengthen the language of the advertising message (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 9). For example, in the case of TV commercials, particular choices in terms of accents, dialects and foreign words can function as part of the visual representation, rather than being part of the content of information carried by the message (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 9-10).

In this respect, the appearance of a number of languages in advertising discourse is referred to as ‘multilingual advertising communication’ (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 10).

Drawing on Cook's classification¹¹, Piller (2000) suggests that multilingualism actually encompasses all the three modes of TV advertising. However, acknowledging the complexity of analysing the implications of multilingualism in all three modes and bearing in mind the actual scope of the current analysis, the focus here¹² will be on language. In particular, the actual switching between different languages or dialects is defined as 'code-switching', which can be divided into 'intersentential switches' – i.e. switching between languages at sentence or clause boundaries –, and 'intrasentential switches' – i.e. switches within a clause involving a phrase, a single word or across morpheme boundaries (Mahootian, 2006: 512). However, there has been a bit of confusion between the use of this and another term – 'code mixing'. As Mahootian (2006: 512) explains, if code mixing had been used to refer specifically to intrasentential switching, and code switching to refer to intersentential switching, "[i]n most current literature, [...] the term 'code mixing' is used interchangeably with 'code switching', with both terms referring to both types of language mixing".

It is worth providing an explanation for the difference between the terms 'borrowing' and 'loanwords'. In particular, the former has been employed with reference to "any words or phrase taken from one language and used by the **monolingual** [bold in the original] speakers of another language", such as, in the case of Italian borrowings in the English language, 'pizza', 'barista' or 'cappuccino' (Mahootian, 2006: 513). The process of becoming part of the hosting language is not immediate, but rather it requires various stages of 'integration'. Anyway, once a foreign word has been completely accepted into a host language, it will also adapt to the morphology and phonology of that language – e.g. 'pizzas', 'baristas' or 'babycino' (Mahootian, 2006: 513). Indeed, the length of a supposed borrowed utterance, the degree of morphological and phonological integration, and the frequency of occurrence in the host language are the elements that have to be considered when trying to decide whether it is a borrowing or a code switch (Mahootian, 2006: 513). Then, at the end of the process of integration there are

¹¹ Cook (1992) uses the term 'mode' to indicate the three means of communication employed in TV advertising, namely music, pictures and language.

¹² Even though this analysis seeks to find the quantitative and qualitative use of the Italian language in Barilla and Lavazza international TV campaigns, in the next chapter some references will be made even to the music and visual elements used as country of origin cues in order to have the full picture of the strategies employed by the companies.

'loanwords'. These are fully integrated and established words, used by monolinguals, "usually without any knowledge of the words' origins" (Mahootian, 2006: 513). It is possible to further categorise loanwords as necessary loans – i.e. those that fill the gaps or come together with specific items brought into the host culture, such as 'chili', 'robot' and 'orange'. By contrast, unnecessary loans are those that "coexist with the native analogue but usually in a semantically altered fashion", such as 'veal', meaning 'yearling' or 'calf', but actually used also to refer to the meat from the animal rather than the animal itself (Mahootian, 2006: 513).

However, Kelly-Holmes (2005) calls for going a step further in the use of 'code switching' as the reference term to the employment of foreign words in advertising texts. Indeed, there are many reasons "why a different way of looking at such texts seems desirable, albeit using many of the basic ideas of code-switching" (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 11). For example, code-switching theory has mainly stemmed from research dealing with oral data from 'spontaneous' and 'natural' communication (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 11). Besides, in code switching speakers may actively and genuinely make choices between terms, something different from a simple borrowing of a particular lexical item as in the case of multilingual advertising (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 11). Indeed, "in many cases, in-depth and familiar knowledge of the foreign language is neither displayed by the advertiser nor assumed on the part of the advertisee" (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 11-12). Moreover, the very context of foreign languages in advertising texts would seem responsible for the need of a special treatment due to its commercially driven nature (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 12).

It seems more plausible to refer to this phenomenon of multilingualism in advertising texts as 'foreign' words display, although even this definition does not come without caveats. As already mentioned, the interpretation of the nature of a foreign word does not come straightforwardly, since "[u]sage, spelling, phonology and other factors all combine to make a word more or less 'foreign'" (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 14). Besides, host languages may have different degrees of tolerance with regard to the acquisition of foreign words and lexical borrowings, and this may happen not only between languages, but also between different linguistic cultures, as well as between different political and historical circumstances (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 15).

Then, as explained by Bhatia and Richie (2013: 569), even the acceptance of language mixing in current global advertising seems to be characterised by three types of different attitudes, namely, the negative attitude, the neutral attitude, and the positive view. As regards the first perspective on the matter, research has shown that it is the most universally found among the population at large, and it seems to originate from the long history of linguistic prescriptivism and purism worldwide, which has regarded language mixing as a sort of ‘linguistic deficiency’ (Bhatia and Richie, 2013: 569). However, it would seem paradoxical that, acknowledging the commercially driven nature of advertising texts, advertisers still continue to deliberately make use of foreign words despite their supposed negative aura.

Not only do advertisers find language-mixing to be natural, they also find language-mixing and even multiple language-mixing, together with the mixing of various scripts, worthy of inclusion in their advertisements (Bhatia and Richie, 2013: 570; cf. Hornikx *et al.*, 2007).

Then, according to the neutral attitude, language mixing is employed just for “low-level cosmetic effects, such as ad hoc attention getting” (Bhatia and Richie, 2013: 570). From this perspective, the use of foreign words in a particular language is seen as a transient fad or a one-time and momentary charm. A probable explanation for this attitude is the fact that foreign languages seem to be used occasionally by advertisers as means for getting the attention of the potential purchasers. Actually, “this use of language-mixing is globally rare [...]; it does not come close to accounting for even the tip of the iceberg of the actual incidence of language-mixing in advertising” (Bhatia and Richie, 2013: 570). Finally, the positive attitude, which is currently the most followed approach to language mixing, is characterise by the recognition that the use of foreign languages in advertising is the response to the deeper and creative needs of advertisement writers “to create the desired effects of persuasion, naturalness, and other socio-psychological effects in their language” (Bhatia and Richie, 2013: 570).

Furthermore, according to the study of Alden *et al* (1999), the use of foreign languages falls into brand positioning strategies. For example, foreign words may be employed in order to appeal to a certain sub-cultural group, as in the case of Spanish in American advertising to Hispanics (Alden *et al*, 1999; cf. Bishop and Peterson, 2011). This strategy is considered part of a ‘local consumer culture positioning’ (Alden *et al*, 1999). Then, in ‘foreign consumer culture positioning’, “a brand could associate itself

with a specific foreign consumer culture by employing spoken and written words from that culture in its advertising and/or brand name” (Alden *et al*, 1999: 77). In this case, the fact that advertisement’s effectiveness appears to be enhanced by foreign language display seems to find a probable explanation from the fact that consumers are more prone to remember words that come unexpected (Domzal *et al*, 1995: 102). Indeed, foreign words produce an interruption in the consumers’ schema of advertisement and require a deeper processing of the information they carry (Domzal *et al*, 1995: 102). However, another account for this effectiveness is likely to come from the study of language attitudes in sociolinguistics (Hornikx *et al*, 2013: 153). In this field of research, languages are supposed to convey particular information about the – social – identity of their speakers or writers (Hornikx *et al*, 2013: 153; cf. Giles and Watson, 2013). Indeed, “[t]heory on foreign-language display argues that it is not used for the literal content it conveys, but for the associations it evokes” (Hornikx *et al*, 2013: 154; cf. Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Piller, 2003; Piller, 2001; Ray *et al*, 1991).

In this respect, a recent study by Hornikx and Van Meurs (2017) has found proves that foreign language display in advertisements serves as implicit country of origin cues. As the authors explain,

the use of an FL [Foreign Language] (e.g., a German slogan) is believed to suggest (rather than directly indicate) the relevant COO [Country of Origin] (e.g., Germany), which, in turn, should enhance consumers’ evaluation of the product that is advertised (Hornikx and Van Meurs, 2017: 60-61).

Figure 9 (next page) shows the conceptual framework of these assumptions.

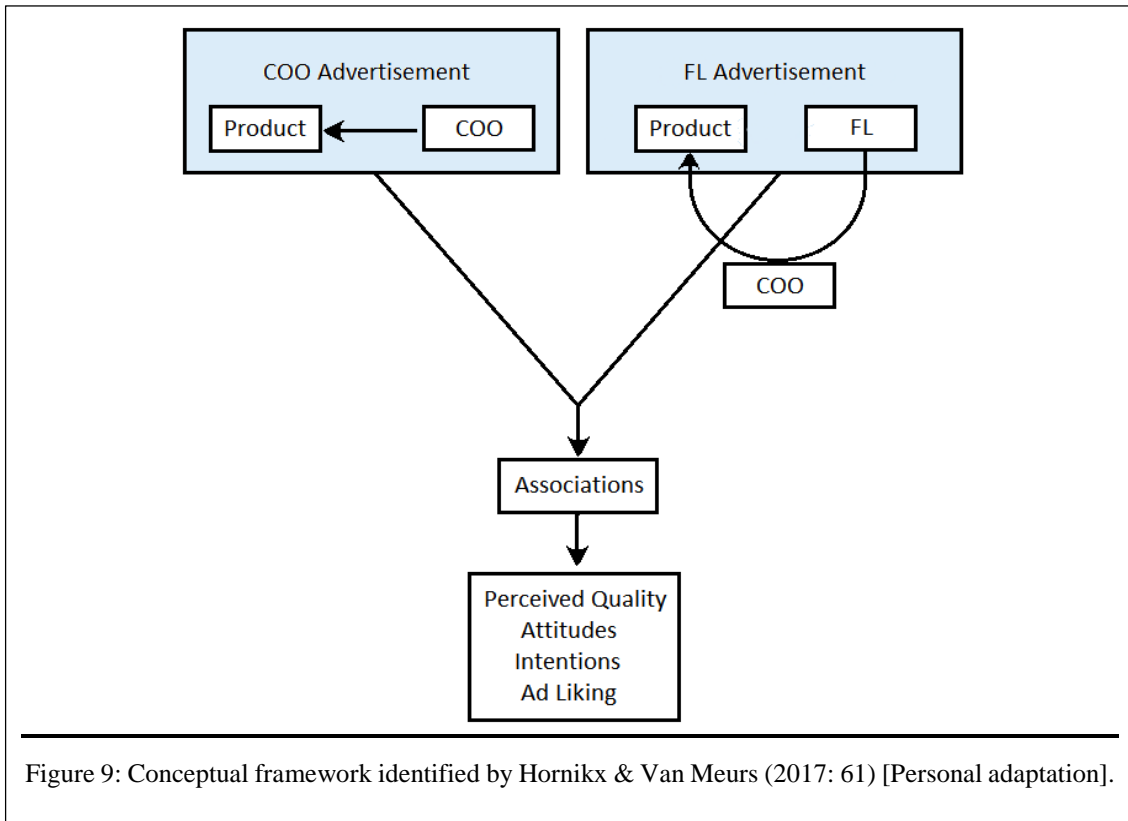


Figure 9: Conceptual framework identified by Hornikx & Van Meurs (2017: 61) [Personal adaptation].

In particular, their study proved

1. the existence of the dependency of foreign languages on the relevant country of origin: “in the context of a product ad, consumers were overall found to link languages to countries with which the product is typically associated”. Besides, “consumers’ perceptions of FLs rely on their knowledge of COOs and typical products” (Hornikx & Van Meurs, 2017: 66);
2. that foreign language display evokes the same kinds of associations as country of origin: “[t]he frequency of the categories of associations (e.g., product, advertisement, body copy) evoked by an ad with an FL does not differ from those evoked by an ad with COO” (Hornikx & Van Meurs, 2017: 68);
3. that advertisements with a congruent foreign language are as effective as advertisements with a congruent country of origin. Besides, “[...] for ad liking, congruent FL ads were found to be better liked than congruent COO ads” (Hornikx & Van Meurs, 2017: 69).

Consequently, from these findings it is easy to understand the phenomenon of Italian sounding (see Chapter 2). Indeed, if companies that actually offer authentic

products may use foreign languages in order to enhance the effect of country of origin, foreign language display may also be exploited to create ‘fake’ associations between a ‘non-authentic’ product and the particular country of origin from which a company wants to benefit. This is possible because, as this study has shown, consumers are prone to making connections between languages, countries and products (see Chapter 1; cf. Aichner, 2014; Domzal *et al*, 1995; Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Ray *et al*, 1991).

3.3. The Italian Language Abroad: an Overview

The layout of the Italian language today – both in Europe and in the rest of the world – is the result of an articulated evolution. From the high degree of respectability among the most elite circles of the other societies in the Middle Ages, to the great esteem that the Made in Italy brand has won nowadays, the Italian language and culture have always been able to diffuse beyond national borders (Del Giudice, 2011). Recent studies have tried to give account for the current use of the Italian language abroad. The results seem to suggest that, in today’s world, the Italian language has nothing to envy to the pervasiveness of the English language. Indeed, the Italian words in the English language actually outnumber the English words that have been included in the Italian language (Tavosanis, 2018). Besides, if in the past the Italian language in America¹³ was stigmatised and associated to illiteracy, poverty and degradation, now the Italian language seems to have re-emerged as being a prestigious language (Lanzilotta, 2014). Evidence for this – to some extent – new revival comes from statistics: from 1960 to 2016 there has been an increase by 512 % in terms of Italian students enrolled in university courses in the United States (Modern Language Association, n.d.)¹⁴.

Concerning the reasons for the employment of the Italian language abroad, Casini (2015) gives evidence for the fact that the Italian language has been used worldwide not

¹³ Actually, the language spoken by the Italian immigrants to the United States in the first half of the twentieth century should not be regarded simply as ‘the Italian language’. Indeed, as Lanzilotta (2014) reports, it is better to talk about ‘ethnic languages’, since most Italian immigrants were illiterate and only spoke their own vernacular languages.

¹⁴ Data retrieved from ‘Language Enrollment Database, 1958–2016’, Modern Language Association (MLA), the leading American association for the study of languages and literature.

only as means of communication.¹⁵ Rather, it has been employed as an ‘language of identity’ – that is, a language that expresses a particular identity. Indeed, having analysed the use of Italian in urban semiotic landscapes, the author argues that Italian has been employed abroad thanks to its inherent capacity of evoking particular values, such as those linked with Made in Italy and the Italian culture – that is, ‘*buon gusto*’, creativity, art, and positivity (Casini, 2015). Therefore, it seems that the attraction for the Italian language has to be considered in terms of a wider process of competition between languages. As Casini clarifies, this stands for the idea that languages – and thus their speakers – are at the same time the reflection and the actualisation of the identities at play in the broader processes of competitiveness between cultural, social, and economic and productive systems (Casini, 2015: 91). In other words, “[I]’attrattività di una lingua rimanda in termini semiotici al grado di attrattività del sistema Paese, delle sue industrie, dei suoi fattori di riconoscibilità a livello planetario” (Casini, 2015: 91).

Yet, Lanzilotta prefers to consider this employment of the Italian language abroad as ‘commercial language’. For example, in the United States – but, actually, this is easily recognisable all over the world – there is a trend to Italianise even what is not Italian, as in the case of Starbuck, which offers products with Italian-like names such as ‘*frappuccino*’ and ‘*caramel macchiato*’ (Lanzilotta, 2014: 72). Indeed, abroad the most widespread Italian words come from the world of culture. However, the number of Italian words related to food entered in the English language in the twentieth century showed an increase in number – if in the first half of the century they represented a quarter of the total, in the following period they were about a half and, towards the end, they came to exceed by 70% (VIVIT, n.d.). Indeed, as it is attested in VIVIT website, among the Italian words that have made their fortune in the world, those coming from

[...] il settore del cibo e della cucina si presenta come uno dei più ricchi, dinamici, suggestivi, se non il più importante in senso assoluto. L’immagine dell’Italia all’estero [...] è strettamente, intimamente legata all’idea del suo cibo, che costituisce un modello di unanime apprezzamento, si direbbe quasi un [...]. Fra termini tradizionali e termini più moderni, [...], il cibo italiano è un fattore potente di identità interna e di identificazione del concetto e dell’immagine dell’Italia all’estero.

¹⁵ As reported by Casini (2015), surveys has shown that more than 20 % of non-Italian speakers decide to learn Italian for utilitarian reasons. In these terms, the Italian language is considered as a ‘language with instrumental value’ (Casini, 2015: 92).

As Lanzilotta (2014: 77) underlines, the propitious moment for the Italian exports and the increasing interest in the typically Italian values cannot be separated from the worldwide passion for the Italian culture. It is easy, then, to understand how

[...] il successo del Made in Italy [italics in the original], e l'interesse nell'importare molti prodotti italiani nel mercato americano, e più in generale internazionale, continuano a contribuire al successo dell'italiano” (Lanzilotta, 2014: 76).

Therefore, to promote the Italian culture means to preserve the interest for and the commercial status of the Italian language abroad (Lanzilotta, 2014: 82). (Table 8 below gives some examples of Italian words from gastronomy used abroad).

Year or Historical Period	Host Language	Italian Words Used Abroad
1517	Spanish	<i>Maccheroni</i> , in the adapted form ‘ <i>maccaronnes</i> ’.
1599	French	<i>Maccheroni</i> , in the adapted form ‘ <i>macaroni</i> ’.
1599	English	<i>Maccheroni</i> , in the adapted form ‘ <i>macaroni</i> ’.
15th century	French	<i>Mortadella</i> , in the adapted form ‘ <i>mortadelle</i> ’.
1553	French	<i>Vermicelli</i> , in the adapted form ‘ <i>vermicelle</i> ’.
1669	English	<i>Vermicelli</i> , in its original form.
From the 16th Century	English	<i>Antipasto</i> , <i>polenta</i> , <i>bologna</i> .
From the 16th Century	French	<i>Lasagne</i> , in its original form.
1846	American English	<i>Lasagne</i> , in its original form.
Between the 18th Century and the 19th Century	English, French	<i>Confetti</i> , in its original form.
Between the 18th Century and the 19th Century	Spanish	<i>Confetti</i> , in the adapted form ‘ <i>confeti</i> ’.
At the end of 19th Century	English	<i>Pappardelle</i> and <i>panettone</i> , in their original form.
1852	English (attested in America)	<i>Salami</i>
1855		<i>Risotto</i>
1877		<i>Ricotta</i>
1888		<i>Spaghetti</i>
1911		<i>Mozzarella</i>
1923		<i>Rigatoni</i> , <i>scampi</i>
1929		<i>Ziti</i> , <i>zucchini</i> , <i>prosciutto</i>
1935		<i>Pizza</i>
From the 20th Century	Attested in almost thirty languages	<i>Spaghetti</i> , <i>espresso</i> , <i>cappuccino</i> , <i>cannelloni</i> , <i>mortadella</i> , <i>panna</i> , <i>ravioli</i> , <i>risotto</i> , <i>salame</i>
From the Sixties		<i>Bruschetta</i> , <i>carpaccio</i> , <i>ciabatta</i> (known in the plural form ‘ <i>ciabattas</i> ’), <i>pesto</i> , <i>rucola</i> , <i>Parmigiano</i> , <i>mozzarella</i> , <i>olio d’oliva</i> , <i>aceto balsamico</i> , <i>farfalle</i> (small pieces of pasta shaped like butterflies’ wings)
From the Eighties	Attested in over twenty languages, including Japanese, Indonesian, Thai and Lao	<i>Tiramisù</i>

Table 8: Italian words from gastronomy used abroad. Personal elaboration drawn upon information found in VIVIT website (n.d.)

In this respect, the *Accademia della Crusca* has been at the forefront in the activities aimed at analysing, protecting and promoting the use of Italian abroad. Among the many activities, it is worth mentioning ‘*VIVIT-Vivi Italiano*’. In particular, it is an online database that is one of the largest integrated digital archives of educational materials, texts and multimedia documents specifically built for the circulation of knowledge about the Italian linguistic and cultural heritage abroad (Accademia della Crusca, 2015). In addition, the ‘*Osservatorio degli italianismi nel mondo (OIM)*’ has been created as part of the ‘*VIVIT Project*’. This web portal aims to be the digital transposition of the *Dizionario di italianismi in francese, inglese, tedesco (DIFIT)*, which is directed by Harro Stammerjohann and is the first comparative lexicographical work collecting and explaining in detail all the examples of Italian words used in the three major European languages, namely, French, English and German (OIM, n.d.).

3.4. Conclusion

“Advertising is more than words; it is made of culture” (De Mooij, 2014: 6). As this chapter has tried to show, in order for it to be effective and, thus, profitable, advertising should be shaped according to the cultural characteristics of the target audience. Broadly speaking, the cultural elements that determine the layout of an advertisement are linked to Hofstede’s dimensions – as De Mooij (20014: 184) explains, “[they] are practical because they are limited in number and because they overlap relatively little and cover most countries in the world”. When establishing the structure and content of an advertisement, other elements to pay attention to are the degree of context in the target culture’s communication system and the types of values and motives that should define the message in order to appeal to the target audience. This means, in other words, that effective advertising should be tailored according to culture.

Moreover, it should be noted that advertising is the expression of the underlying changes taking place at the global level. New technologies and new means of communications are considered to be among the major responsible factors for the evolution of the communication process and style. Therefore, new communication models have been developed in the effort to provide with theoretical substance to the new forces and the new relationships at play in these new processes. Consumers, then, are more (inter)active than the past and information is so much accessible that there seem to be no actual obstacles for it to be exchanged. Yet, as already mentioned before, the only

boundaries that still resist this increasingly interconnected and open environment are those that define cultures. In other words, a paradox is at play: new technologies and the enlargement of the markets have made the contact between people from very different cultures possible, which in turn has risen the problem of how to pursue effective communication. Indeed, as Bettiol (2015: 68) warns, in the current globally heterogeneous context, “[a]ll’ aumentare della distanza culturale dei consumatori, maggiore dovrà essere l’attenzione alla modalità di comunicazione”.

In intercultural advertising, these issues are even accentuated. Yet, the multilingual nature of the advertising message is not to be referred to as a mere displaying of different identities come into contact. Indeed, given the commercially driven nature of advertisements,

the choice, use and functioning of [...] foreign words, accents and languages is primarily driven by symbolism, by connotation rather than denotation, and by the way the visual/aural aspect or the form of the advertisement – rather than the informational or the content aspect – is formulated and understood (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 25).

In intercultural advertising, then, foreign words may be considered as ‘fetish’: “they represent the attempt to use language to achieve a particular market-oriented goal” (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 36). Thus, it is of little importance whether the target audience understands the foreign word in an advertisement, “so long as it calls up the cultural stereotype of the country with which the language is associated” (Kelly-Holmes, 2000: 67).

As regards the use of the Italian language abroad, academics seem to agree that nowadays Italian is employed for the symbolic meaning that it carries. The renewed prestige of the Italian language in the world can be considered linked to the international success of Made in Italy products, which – as discussed in the previous chapter – are synonymous with excellence and quality. This is particularly true for the Italian words coming from the sector of gastronomy. Here, there is even a tendency to mock the Italian language when naming new products or places – the Italian sounding (see Chapter 2) is a clear example of this phenomenon. Therefore, not only does the Italian language function as a denotational language – as in the case, for example, of loanwords and borrowings – but it also expresses denotative elements that work as stereotypes. Having said that, the analysis now will move on to its core part.

Chapter 4

Multilingual Advertising: an Analysis of Barilla and Lavazza TV Commercials

This chapter contains the actual study aimed at answering the research question: ‘Is communicating Made in Italy through the Italian language a strategy used in international marketing?’. To do so, it has been decided to restrict the scope of analysis to two companies: Barilla and Lavazza. The reasons at the basis of this choice are many. Firstly, they are both Italian-run companies that belong to the agri-food sector, one of the most buoyant areas of the Italian economy (see Chapter 2). Secondly, the products they sell – i.e. pasta and coffee respectively – fall into the top ten of the most exported Italian products (see section 2.2). Thirdly, within their categories, they have also been listed as the number one companies in terms of selling abroad (Zoja, 2018). Finally, the choice has also been driven by some practical considerations. Indeed, their websites provide enough material for conducting a diachronic analysis of the strategies employed in communicating Made in Italy, as they have ad hoc digital archives of their international advertising campaigns. Therefore, Barilla and Lavazza seem to represent the perfect models for the aim of this analysis.

The next section will provide overviews of the companies’ histories, in order to have a clearer idea of the brands analysed. Then the chapter will proceed with a description and analysis of the TV commercials. The results will be shown in the following section, while the concluding remarks will be provided in the last one.

4.1. Barilla and Lavazza: Background Information

4.1.1. Barilla: not just ‘Masters of Pasta’

Barilla is an Italian family-owned food company. Its history dates back to 1877, when Pietro Barilla opened a small bread and pasta shop in Parma. In 1910, his children, Riccardo and Gualtiero, were able to begin the process of industrialisation by inaugurating a new pasta factory and launching the first trademark (Our History, n.d.). The establishment of Barilla as a pioneering company began in 1936 – Riccardo’s son, Pietro, started the commercial network development and fostered an innovation in the production of pasta, with the introduction of new machinery and a special type of pasta aimed at solving the nutrition problems of Italy (Our History, n.d.). The 1950s proved to

be a watershed for the company: Pietro went to the United States, where he could learn from the latest theories in the fields of marketing and advertising, and the company decided to focus their production only on pasta (Our History, n.d.). Later, the world economic crisis of the Seventies forced Pietro to sell the company to an American multinational corporation, but company managers remained and continued with development, launching '*Mulino Bianco*' in 1975 (Our History, n.d.). After Pietro succeeded in buying his company back in 1979, he "[...] continued his innovative approach in communication with advertising commercials by famous directors such as Federico Fellini and cartoons like *Mulino Bianco*'s Little White Miller" (Our History, n.d.). At the end of the twentieth century, the company landed west aspiring to conquer the American market, while in 2017, after having established commercial offices and factories in Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Turkey, Russia, Singapore, China, Australia and Japan, the slogan was united worldwide under the phrase 'Masters of Pasta' (Our History, n.d.; Rapporto 2018). According to the company's latest report,

Barilla è leader nel mercato della pasta in Italia e nel mondo. Presidia il segmento dei sughi pronti, con oltre 40 ricette diverse. Inoltre offre quasi 180 prodotti da forno che coprono momenti di consumo dalla prima colazione al fuori pasto. [...] Abbiamo 28 siti produttivi, 14 in Italia e 14 all'estero, che ogni anno producono oltre 1.800.000 tonnellate di prodotti alimentari, che esportiamo in più di 100 Paesi (Rapporto 2018).

Yet, not only is Barilla increasingly succeeding in producing and marketing pasta all over the world, but it has also been committing itself to social and scientific activities. For example, in 2004 it inaugurated '*Accademia Barilla*', a cultural project dedicated "[...] to safeguarding, developing, and promoting the regional Italian gastronomic culture as a unique World heritage" (Our History, n.d.). In 2009, then, there was the birth of the 'Barilla Center Foundation for Food and Nutrition', a centre aiming to analyse – with a multidisciplinary approach – the major global issues related to food, nutrition and sustainability. This focus on food safety and on the sustainable use of planet resources turns a new page in Barilla's history, strategy and vision, now marked with the claim 'Good for You, Good for the Planet' (Our History, n.d.; Rapporto 2018). Furthermore, Barilla has even tried to export the model of conviviality and pleasure of healthy eating of the Mediterranean diet by opening 'Barilla Restaurants' all around the world (Adnkronos, 2017). Barilla's goal, then, goes beyond the making of high-quality products: it also promotes healthy lifestyles and sustainable nutrition, the support for

national agriculture, and aims at continuous improvement of existing products and the enhancement of diversity as a value (Adnkronos, 2017).

4.1.2. Lavazza: High-quality and Sustainable Coffee

The company's fortunes began in 1895, when Luigi Lavazza opened the first Lavazza Drogheria in via San Tommaso, in Turin. He sold groceries and products for everyday use, but his passion was coffee. Indeed, on a trip to Brazil he discovered the different origins and characteristics of this plant and studied the art of blending to satisfy the tastes of customers in an age of great change (La Storia, n.d.). Then, in 1927 the little shop developed into a small business with the establishment of 'Luigi Lavazza S.p.A.', a family-run company that began the conquest of the province thanks to a fleet of vehicles and a sales network (La Storia, n.d.). After World War II, the Lavazza Brothers had the intuition to focus only on the production and marketing of coffee in branded packages and, in 1949, they patented a cylindrical container with a pressure lid, which evolved into a vacuum-packed can the year after (La Storia, n.d.). Between the Fifties and Sixties, Lavazza became the first coffee company in Italy while beginning its expansion even outside the national boundaries. The ambition of the company to increase the production of high-quality blends resulted in the foundation of '*Centro Luigi Lavazza per gli Studi e le Ricerche sul Caffè*', a centre devoted to the promotion of the art of coffee blending and its consumption (La Storia, n.d.). Turning points in the company's European expansion are the opening of the first Lavazza headquarters abroad in Paris in 1982 and the setting up of its foreign affiliate, Lavazza Coffees Ltd, in London in 1990. The Nineties are characterised by some collaborations with artists, chefs and designers that contributed to new communication campaigns and the realisations of new blends and products (La Storia, n.d.). In 2004, then, the social commitment evolved into the creation of 'Giuseppe and Pericle Lavazza Foundation', a non-profit organisation that wants to improve the living conditions of people in coffee-producing countries, while the company launched the project '*¡Tierra!*', an initiative aimed at promoting sustainability, social development and economic growth of smallholder communities in developing countries (La Storia, n.d.). Nowadays Lavazza is established in five continents and has become a brand capable of combining the taste and the pleasure of Made in Italy with the determination of the commitment to sustainability: in 2018 it was awarded the 'Superbrands Awards', internationally considered the 'Oscars' for brands (Lavazza, 2018).

4.2. Research Design: The Data

The aim of the current work of research is to find whether the employment of the Italian language is (or is not) a used strategy in communicating the country of origin in TV commercials by two Made in Italy companies that belong to the agri-food sector – Barilla and Lavazza. In order to do this, data were collected from 36 television advertisements by Barilla and Lavazza that was broadcasted in different Anglophone countries from the late Nineties to January 2018.¹⁶ The material was found on the Internet. In particular, as regards Barilla ads, the corpus was created as to find a solution to the fact that the main web portal of the company does not provide archives of advertising campaigns. Therefore, a twofold method was employed. Firstly, I looked for the Barilla’s YouTube channel (Barilla, n.d.) in order to see whether there was a section dedicated to the TV commercials of specific countries. Here, only the British, Irish and Australian advertisements were found. Secondly, I searched for specific text strings on the main page of the website ‘YouTube’ in order to find the American TV commercials. The text strings were chosen in order to find as many results as possible in accordance with the aim of the work.¹⁷ At the end, a total of 15 TV commercials was found. This method may not have provided every TV commercial broadcasted in the various Anglophone countries, yet it certainly gave enough material for developing a diachronic analysis of the employment of the Italian language.

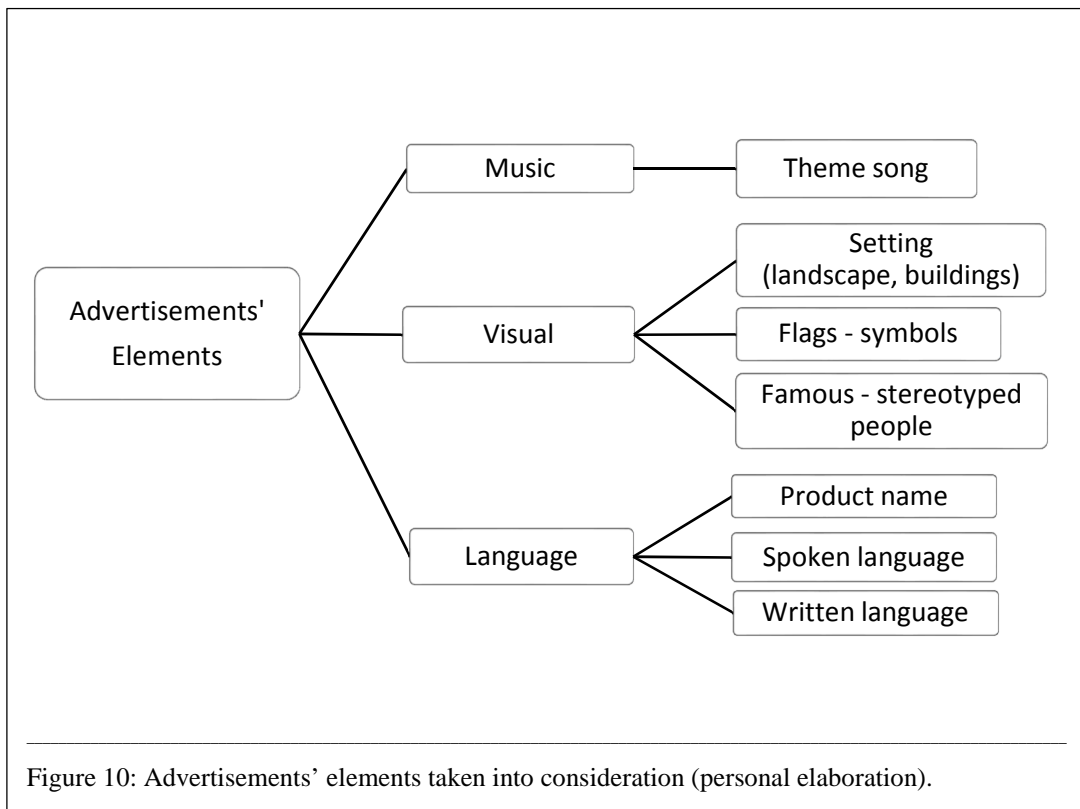
As regards Lavazza, the research process was easier since the website of the company had a specific page dedicated to the advertising campaigns of the last twenty years (Lavazza, n.d.). Then, in order to be sure of having found as many results as possible, even the company’s YouTube page was searched. There it was possible to find the same results as in the archive page, but with the addition of a specific section dedicated to the 2014 Australian TV campaign ‘#FromItalyWithPassion’. At the end, a total of 21 TV commercials was found. See Appendix 2 for the complete list of the TV commercials analysed.

¹⁶ The research process took place in January 2018.

¹⁷ The text strings were the following: ‘Barilla US TV commercials’ and ‘Barilla America TV commercials’.

4.3. Foreign Language Display: The Analysis

Drawing on literature about advertising discourse (Cook, 1992), multilingual advertising (Piller, 2000) and country-of-origin strategies (Aichner, 2014), it was possible to establish a method of analysis. In particular, the advertisements were divided into three main elements or components, namely music, visual and language. This was decided drawing on Cook's subdivision of TV advertisements into three 'modes' – namely, music, picture and language – and following Piller's assumption "[...] that multilingualism can occur in any of these modes, that it is not confined to the language mode only" (Piller, 2000: 264; Cook, 1992: 37). In this current work of analysis, the element 'music' refers to the use of songs, special sounds or jingles. Then, the term 'visual' refers to any visual reference to a particular country, whether in form of setting/landscape/building, flags/symbols or endorsers, i.e. famous actors or stereotypical characters. Finally, the component 'language' presents the following subdivisions: product name,¹⁸ spoken language and written language. See Figure 10 below for the visual representation of the scheme just described.



¹⁸ Since the brand names are both Italian, they are not taken into account here.

Table 9 and Table 10 (next pages) show how the various components in the TV advertisements by Barilla and Lavazza are developed. In both tables, any reference to the language/culture of the target audience will present the abbreviation 'EN' since the language used can be broadly defined as 'English', while any reference to the foreign language – i.e. Italian – will have the 'IT' tag. Further explanations with examples will be provided in the next sections.

TV commercial	Year	Country	Theme song	Setting	Flags - symbols	Famous – stereo. people	Product name	Spoken language	Written language
Al Dente	1996	USA	IT	IT	-	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN + IT
Spaghetti Noodles	1999		-	IT	-	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN + IT
The Choice of Italy	2003		IT	IT	-	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN
Mille Lune Mille Onde	2000s		IT	IT	-	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN
Sisters	2008		IT	IT	-	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN
The Dream by Javier Blanco	2009	AUL	-	IT	IT	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN
The Dream by Javier Blanco	2009	USA	-	IT	-	IT	IT	EN	EN
The Perfect Night	2012	USA	IT	IT	-	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN
Taste the Difference	2014	AUL	-	IT	-	IT	IT	EN	EN
Piccolini Commercial with Roger Mazzeo	2015	USA	IT	IT	-	IT	IT	EN+ IT	EN
The secrets to be more BRAVO at cooking	2016	UK & IRE	-	-	IT	-	IT	EN + IT	EN + IT
3 STEPS to be more BRAVO at cooking			-	-	IT	-	IT	EN + IT	EN + IT
Want to be more BRAVO at cooking			-	-	IT	-	IT	EN + IT	EN + IT
Spaghetti Marinara ‘On the Couch’	2016	USA	IT	-	-	-	IT	EN+ IT	EN
Masters of Pasta with Roger Federer & Davide Oldani	2018	I. C.	EL*	IT	-	DE** + IT	IT	EN + IT	EN
Total			EN = 0 IT = 7/15 (47%) EL* = 1/15 (6%) - = 7/15 (47%)	EN = 0 IT = 11/15 (73%) - = 4/15 (27%)	EN = 0 IT = 4/15 (27%) - = 11/15 (73%)	EN = 0 IT = 10/15 (67%) DE + IT = 1/15 (7%) - = 4/15 (27%)	EN = 0 IT = 15/15 (100%)	EN = 2/15 (13.5%) IT = 0 EN+ IT = 13/15 (86.5%)	EN = 10/15 (67%) IT = 0 EN+ IT = 5/15 (33%)

Table 9: Analysis of Barilla TV commercials [I.C.= International Campaign. See Appendix 1 for the other countries’ abbreviations].

*: EL refers to the Greek theme music called ‘Sirtaki’,

**.: DE refers to the German nationality of Roger Federer, the tennis player coprotagonist in this commercial.

TV commercial	Year	Country	Theme song	Setting	Flags - symbols	Famous – stereo. people	Product name	Spoken language	Written language
Lavazza, Italian for Life	2000	UK	IT*	IT	IT	IT	IT	EN	EN
Espresso Trevi	2008	I. C.	-	IT	IT	-	IT	EN	EN + IT
Espresso Hands	2009		-	-	-	-	IT	-	EN + IT
Espresso Venice, A Modo Mio	2011		EN	IT	IT	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN + IT
#LavazzaDelivery brings free coffee in a New York tweet	2014	USA	-	EN	EN + IT	EN + IT	IT	-	EN + IT
Bar San Tommaso	2014	AUL	-	IT	IT	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN + IT
Training Centre			-	IT	IT	IT	-	EN + IT	EN
Friends House			-	IT	IT	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN + IT
Caffè Sospeso			-	IT	IT	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN + IT
Travel Agent			-	IT	IT	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN + IT
Ready to Fly			-	IT	IT	IT	-	EN + IT	EN
Back to Italy			-	EN + IT	EN + IT	EN + IT	-	EN + IT	EN
A Modo Mio Italy's Favourite Coffee			2014	UK	-	EN + IT	EN + IT	EN + IT	IT
Italy's favourite coffee	2015	-	EN + IT		EN + IT	EN + IT	IT	EN + IT	EN
Italy's favourite coffee	2015	AUL	-	EN + IT	EN + IT	EN + IT	IT	EN + IT	EN
More To Taste	2015	I. C.	-	IT	EN + IT	IT	-	EN + IT	EN
Prontissimo Medio	2016	UK	EN	EN/IT	EN	IT	IT	-	EN + IT
Prontissimo Intenso			EN	EN/IT	EN	IT	IT	-	EN + IT
I'M BACK	2016	USA	IT	IT	EN + IT	EN + IT	-	EN + IT	EN + IT
Born Social	2017	I. C.	EN	EN + IT	-	EN + IT	-	-	EN + IT
Capsule	2017	I. C.	EN	EN/IT	EN + IT	IT	IT	-	EN + IT
Total			EN = 5/21 (24%) IT* = 2/21 (9.5%) - = 14/21 (66.5%)	EN = 1/21 (5%) IT = 11/21 (52%) EN+IT = 5/21 (24%) EN/IT = 3/21 (14%) - = 1/21 (5%)	EN = 2/21 (9.5%) IT = 9/21 (43%) EN+IT = 8/21 (38%) - = 2/21 (9.5%)	EN = 0 IT = 12/21 (57%) EN+IT = 7/21 (33.5%) - = 2/21 (9.5%)	EN = 0 IT = 21/21 (100%) - = 6/21 (28.5%)	EN = 2/21 (9.5%) IT = 0 EN+IT = 13/21 (62%) - = 6/21 (28.5%)	EN = 8/21 (38%) IT = 0 EN+IT = 13/21 (62%) - = 0

Table 10: Analysis of Lavazza TV commercials [I.C.= International Campaign. See Appendix 1 for the other countries' abbreviations].

*: The music theme is supposed to refer stereotypically to Italy, but it seems to be a Spanish-like music to an Italian ear.

4.3.1. Song/Music

Almost half of Barilla TV commercials (47%) employs songs or music that, in a way or another, refer to Italy. For example, in the 1996 ad, a typically Italian instrument, a mandolin, plays the theme music, which seems to imitate a type of Neapolitan *tarantella*. From 2003 to 2008 and in 2015, the music employed is Bocelli's '*Mille lune mille onde*', while in 2012 there is an instrumental version of the famous Italian song '*Nel blu dipinto di blu*' by Domenico Modugno. The music employed in the 2016 commercial seems to imitate an Italian-like composition, although there is no direct reference to any particular Italian song or music. In the 2018 TV commercial, Barilla employs the *Sirtaki*, a Greek composition that seems to clash with the 'Italianness' of the product. As Natali (2018) hypothesises, this peculiar choice may be seen as an attempt to associate the product to the broader concept of the Mediterranean diet, rather than simply to the concept of '*Italianità*'. Undoubtedly, it seems a questionable choice to an Italian audience. Then, the symbol '-' refers to those compositions that are not attributable to any country, but rather function as a music theme of the brand. When taking into account the diachronic aspect of these results, it seems plausible to claim that communicating the country of origin through music may no longer be a chosen strategy by Barilla advertisers. Besides, according to the target country, the data analysed seem to indicate a specific trend: the reference to Italy by means of music is a strategy employed in TV commercials aimed at an American audience.

As regards Lavazza, almost a third of the musical compositions employed in the TV commercials here analysed (33.5%) has some kind of reference to a country, the other two thirds have no direct reference to any country. Five TV commercials out of twenty-one have songs with English lyrics, while there are two TV commercials that employ supposedly Italian music. However, among these two, only the 2016 USA TV ad has a specific reference to Italy by means of music – i.e. '*L'Italiana in Algeri: Atto I*' by Rossini. Conversely, in the 2000 UK TV ad, there is a theme music that an Italian ear would define as 'Spanish' – that is to say, in the first part of the commercial, the theme song might imitate an Italian mandolin music, yet, in the second part, the rhythm and chords refer to the typical Spanish flamenco music. This means that there is only one real reference to Italy by means of music. When taking into consideration the diachronic

aspect of the analysis as well as the target country, it seems that music is not the mode chosen for triggering any association with the Italian country.

4.3.2. Setting, Flags and Symbols, Famous and/or Stereotyped People

In 11 TV commercials by Barilla (73%), there is a clear reference to an Italian setting. Whether it is a street market (as in the case of 1996 USA and 2003 USA commercials), a typically Italian landscape (as in 2000 USA, 2008 USA, 2009 USA and AUL, and 2012 USA commercials) or an Italian '*trattoria*' (as in 1999 USA and 2015 USA commercials), the company seems to rely strongly in the evocative power of images. The symbol '-' refers to a 'neutral' setting, that is a kitchen or other domestic rooms, which do not provide direct reference to a specific country. From a diachronic perspective, it seems that evoking Italy by means of setting has been a very used strategy since the beginning. Indeed, the only TV commercials that do not refer directly to an Italian landscape are those that show a reference to Italy through the Italian flag – i.e. the 2016 'BRAVO' campaign for the United Kingdom and Ireland. Even the use of famous or stereotypical people from the country of origin is a strategy employed in most of the TV commercials. For example, one of the protagonists of the 1996 USA commercial is a cook that resembles the stereotypical image of an Italian mature man – that is grey hair and moustaches, and olive complexion. The same happens with the 1999 USA commercial. Also, in the 2003 USA commercial an Italian actor, Giorgio Farnesi, is starring, while, in the 2018 commercial, the famous Italian cook Davide Oldani co-stars with the famous Swiss tennis player Roger Federer – whose presence may be justified by the reference to a cooking show and the resulting duel they develop during the commercial (Natali, 2018).

As regards Lavazza TV commercials, most of them can be said to refer directly to Italy by means of setting (52%), flags or symbols (43%) and famous and/or stereotyped people (57%). Yet, some commercials among all three categories show a mixture of references to the target cultures as well as to the Italian one. For example, as regards the settings, the most recent commercials are characterised by an 'EN + IT' reference – which means that the protagonists are shown both in Italy and in the target country –, or an 'EN/IT' setting – meaning that the landscape/building might easily refer to either one or the other. Among the various symbols employed (e.g. the iconic FIAT 500 car), it is possible to find a peculiar mixture of EN and IT. In particular, in some ads (e.g. in the

2015 international campaign, in the 2015 and 2016 British commercials), instead of having the typically Italian little coffee cup, the protagonists drink from huge mugs branded Lavazza, a scene that in Italy might be rather difficult to see. Finally, with reference to the use of famous and/or stereotyped people, two are the cases worth mentioning. The first one refers to the commercial ‘More to Taste’, where the storyteller is Sergio Castellitto, a famous Italian actor known at an international level. The second one actually refers to the commercials of the campaign ‘#FromItalyWithPassion’, where the protagonist is a typically Italian barista that travels all the way to Australia to bring the ‘real Italian coffee’.

4.3.3. Language: Product Name

The subcategory category ‘product name’ refers specifically to the language used in the name of the product advertised, whether it appears in its written and/or spoken forms. As can be easily observed, in both companies’ TV commercials, any product name is always conveyed in Italian. There is no lexical adaptation to the host language, nor any modification in the morphology of the terms – that is, in these ads there is no instances of words such as ‘baristas’ or expressions like ‘one *panini*’. For example, in the in the ‘Piccolini Commercial with Roger Mazzeo’ (2015, USA), the protagonist grabs a box of pasta where the description says ‘*Piccolini / Mini Farfalle*’, while the cooking suggestions are written in English (‘cooks in only 7 minutes’). Other examples come from Lavazza 2016 commercials aired in the United Kingdom. Here the products are marketed under the names ‘*Prontissimo Medio*’ and ‘*Prontissimo Intenso*’.¹⁹

A point to make regards the word order. For example, in the ‘Piccolini Commercial with Roger Mazzeo’ (2015, USA), the speakers utters “[...] new Barilla Piccolini”, which in Italian would have been ‘*nuovi Piccolini Barilla*’, with the brand name used as a post-modifier rather than a pre-modifier. The same happens in the ‘Spaghetti Marinara ‘On the Couch’ (2016, USA), where the word order follows the English language rules (“1 box Barilla Spaghetti” rather than “*1 scatola di spaghetti Barilla*”). These are examples of how foreign words are displayed following the syntax of the host language. As regards

¹⁹ Although in English the term ‘pronto’ is taken from Spanish (meaning ‘quickly, promptly’), the suffix ‘-issimo’ is easily associable to the Italian language even by a non-Italian audience. Besides, the presence of the modifiers ‘*medio*’ and ‘*intenso*’ and the context helps the process of association with the Italian language.

the diachronic aspect of the analysis, no differences are observed in the use of product names.

4.3.4. Spoken Language

This subcategory refers to the language uttered during the commercial, either by the protagonists and/or by voiceovers. Only two ads (13.5%) employ exclusively English, while no commercial is Italian-only. Among the mixed ads ('EN+IT'), foreign language display can be observed in different aspects and at various levels – there is the simultaneous presence of two distinct linguistic systems, mixed lexis and mixed pronunciation/accent. These aspects usually co-occur, as in the Lavazza commercial series '#FromItalyWithPassion' aired in Australia in 2014, where the barista usually talks in Italian with the other protagonists, whereas he directs himself to the Australian audience in English with a heavy Italian accent. In this case it is possible to state that proper code-mixing is at play. Something quite similar can be found in the 2018 commercial by Barilla – the Italian cook greets in Italian the Swiss tennis player and says "*Ciao Roger! Sei pronto?*". Yet, the dialogue carries on in English, with the only exception of the expression '*al dente*'. Another example of co-occurrence is in the 2016 BRAVO commercials by Barilla, where a (supposedly not Italian)²⁰ girl says 'bravo' with a stereotypically Italian accent (i.e. mixed lexis and mixed pronunciation/accent). Furthermore, a peculiar mixture of English and Italian is to be found in the 1996 Barilla commercials. Here, one of the characters explaining what '*al dente*' means says "It's *no* hard and *no* soft": as it is possible to see, the language used does not conform to English grammatical rules. Other examples of Italian words displayed in Barilla ads are in 2008 commercial, where two girls exclaims "*Zia! Zia!*" as they meet their aunt, and in 2015 commercial, where a girl welcomes is dad with a joyful "*Papà!*". In these cases, the purpose of the foreign language display is just confirming the link to the Italian country: it works purely as implicit cues for the country of origin.

As regards the voiceovers, it is worth mentioning those in Barilla ads. Here, over the years, a shift seems to have happened from the use of (supposedly) Italian native speakers talking in English (with a heavy and stereotyped accent) to the use of native

²⁰ She has light blond hair, blue eyes and light pink complexion. Besides, according to her role in the ad, she might be the daughter of the male protagonist, who speaks fluent British English.

English speakers. For example, in 1996 commercial, the accent of the male voiceover can be associated with that of a southern Italian man talking in English. Since – clearly – not all Italian people have that strong southern accent when talking in English, a possible explanation may be found among stereotypes. In particular, to an American audience, the stereotypical figure of an Italian man is that of the Italian-American immigrants and/or of the *mafioso*, both usually associated to men coming from the southern regions of Italy. Conversely, in more recent commercials, the voiceovers are assigned to natives of the target country, as in the case of the 2009 ‘The Dream by Javier Blanco’ commercial aired in Australia, in which the female voice is distinctly from Australia, and the ‘Spaghetti Marinara ‘On the Couch’’ (2016, USA), where the voiceover is clearly done by an American speaker.

4.3.5. Written Language

This subcategory refers to any instance of written text appearing as superimposed on the images of the commercials. From the analysis, it is possible to observe that the written text concerns various elements of the ads, which are not necessarily present at the same time in each TV commercial:

- the ad claim
- the ad body copy
- subtitles – which can be further differentiated into ‘descriptions’²¹ and ‘translations’²²
- the brand’s designation of origin.

In particular, much of the written text concerns the ad claim, the only element that is present in every commercial. Among the claims in the Barilla ads, only two²³ out of fifteen (13.5%) display Italian words, while the other claims are English-only. As for Lavazza ads, the claims are usually in English, with some instances of Italian words

²¹ They refer to place and time tags and are present in both brands’ ads, such as ‘Parma, Italy, 1877’ (Barilla, ‘The Dream by Javier Blanco’ ad) or ‘London, 7:30 a.m.’ (Lavazza, ‘A Modo Mio Italy’s Favourite Coffee’ ad).

²² They refer to the translations of the utterances spoken by the protagonists of the commercials.

²³ They are the 1996 and the 1999 ad, both aired in the United States. The Italian words employed are ‘*al dente*’ and ‘*pasta*’ respectively.

display. For example, in the ‘Espresso Trevi’ ad (2008, international campaign), the claim recites ‘The Italian Espresso Experience’.

Then, when present, each instance of written body copy in both Barilla and Lavazza ads follows the language employed in the voiceover. For example, in Barilla’s ‘3 STEPS to be more BRAVO at cooking’ (2016, United Kingdom), the superimposed text is about the three steps described by the English voiceover. Another example has to do with the Lavazza ‘Born Social’ ad (2017, international campaign). Here, the body copy is represented by the lyrics of the theme song in English and is superimposed during all the duration of the commercial.

As regards the descriptive subtitles, they are employed in two out of fifteen ads by Barilla and in twelve out of twenty-one ads by Lavazza. In both cases, they are written in English and, when they show a time reference, they employ the English format ‘a.m./p.m.’. However, one of the descriptive subtitles in Lavazza ads present a questionable format: ‘Milan, 16:00 PM’ (Lavazza, ‘Travel Agent’ ad). Since this type of format occurs only here, it should be regarded as a typo. Then, the other type of subtitles concern translations. These are in English and are present only in those Lavazza ads among the ‘#FromItalyWithPassion’ Australian campaign where the protagonists interact with each other in Italian. Finally, the brand’s designation of origin is present only in the Lavazza ads aired from 2016 (i.e. 5/21, 24%), and it is written in Italian only (‘Torino. Italia. 1895’ instead of ‘Turin. Italy. 1895’).

4.4. Conclusion

From the findings of this study, it appears that the two brands employ different strategies to show the country of origin of their products. In general, Barilla seems to be the brand that makes more easily recognisable references to Italy, while Lavazza appears more internationalised since the early 2000s (it is sufficient to look at the music category to see the difference). Yet, it seems that, over the time, there is a tendency to represent less directly the link with the Italian country in both brands’ TV commercials. For example, while the oldest Barilla ads are overwhelmed by elements that connect them to Italy, the 2018 Barilla ad displays less invasively a link with Italy. In particular, although in the first scene it is possible to see the entrance of what seems to be an Italian *villa*, the main scenes take place in the neutral setting of a professional kitchen. The theme music, then, is almost deceiving as it recalls Greece. The only links with Italy are represented by

one of the two protagonists – a famous Italian chef –, some expressions used by him and the name of the product. As regards the most recent Lavazza ads, the only easily recognisable references to the Italian country are the name of the product and the brand's designation of origin shown in the last images.²⁴

As regards the category of language as a whole, it is evident that the product name is the element that is most responsible for recalling the link with Italy. In both brands' ads, it is the only item that does not undergo any changes or adaptations to the target country. In the early Barilla ads, its evocative power is even highlighted by the employment of voiceovers with strong Italian accent. However, over the years, there has been a tendency to avoid using Italian accent as a vehicle to show Italianness: the link to Italy is rather displayed in the use of foreign language uttered by Italian famous or stereotyped people. Lavazza, on the contrary, has never availed itself of Italian accent, but has used Italian language in the body copy of its ads aimed at the Australian audience.

There seems to be various explanations for the differences observed in this study. For example, Barilla and Lavazza may display the link with the country of origin differently due to differences in product ethnicity. In particular, between pasta and coffee, it is the former one that is surely considered prototypical for Italy. Coffee, instead, is a more international product since it may be associated to various countries (e.g. America as in the typical American coffee, or Brazil and Latin America as the places of origin of the raw material). Yet, there is no doubt that Italy is considered the birthplace of high-quality coffee. This different degree of product ethnicity may be then translated into different amounts of evocative elements by the two brands.

Then, there may be a twofold reason at the basis of the supposed dilution of the references to Italy in both brands over the time. On the one hand, there may be the fact that, at a global level, the art of cooking in general has undergone a process of internationalisation. This is possible to see in the abundance of culinary talent shows and cooking shows: the most famous ones have originated abroad, from the United Kingdom and the United States (for example *Master Chef* and *Hell's Kitchen* respectively). Thus, if the matter *in se* – especially high-quality and healthy *cuisine* – is prototypically associated to Italy, it has been 'foreigners' that have made it famous. On the other, time

²⁴ The characters as well may suggest some kind of association since they have Mediterranean traits, but they do so in a less powerful way with respect to the other categories, where the link is more evocative.

may have made consumers more aware of and more expert on the products advertised. As already discussed in the Chapter One and as stated by Vianelli and Pegan (2014), “[...] the effect of the COO [country of origin] may become less important as customers become more familiar with a specific brand”. Hence a lesser necessity of making reference to the country of origin by both brands.

Conclusions

The previous chapter has described some examples of how Italianness is communicated in English speaking countries by means of TV commercials. Results shows that there are many ways of exploiting – and thus communicating – the link with the country of origin. If the analysis is considered as a whole – i.e. without considering the differences in the results of the companies –, it seems that the most employed strategies are the use of typical landscapes, famous buildings or recognisable settings, the use of famous and stereotypical people and the use of the language from the country of origin. In this respect, the most powerful evocative effect seems to be attached at the category of product name: each instances – when present – is characterised by the use of the Italian language. Besides, other interesting points are worth mentioning. For example, the differences in the use of strategies to communicate the country of origin between the two companies. It seems that Barilla has exploited more the positive association with Italy, since – especially in the oldest TV commercials – references to the Italian country were present pretty much in every category analysed. For its part, Lavazza seems to be more international since the very first ads analysed here. Its way of evoking Italianness is never detached from references to a broader ‘global culture’.

As has been shown, this analysis is characterised by the fact that it comprises many overlapping fields of research. In particular, it has to do with studies about the Country of Origin Effect. As argued in Chapter 1, for more than five decades, this concept has been one of the most prolific in international marketing research. However, despite the abundance of studies, it seems that scholars have not reached unanimous results as to what is implied in the concept. The only aspects on which everyone may agree are that it has to be conceived as a multidimensional element, that consumers’ culture does play a role in determining the type and effect of evaluations based on the country of origin, and that these evaluations may be influenced even by the degree of match between the country and the product advertised.

Thus, it has been worth discussing what is implied in the label ‘Made in Italy’, one of the most famous country of origin shown on products. In Chapter 2 it has been suggested that this expression evokes some specific traits and values – such as those of

excellent artisanship, high-quality, authenticity, tradition, *savoir-fair* and *savoir-vivre* – that are the result of various intermingled cultural and social processes that have taken place in Italy since Medieval times. The very mixture of all those elements is what makes an Italian product so valuable worldwide. Therefore, on the one hand, there clearly is the necessity to protect such an important heritage, and institutions and groups of intellectuals seem to be making many efforts in this respect (even though sometimes without the intended effect). On the other hand, there is the need to promote it by managing the communicative aspect, even taking into consideration the new characteristics of the present global context in terms of new communication processes and means of communications.

Indeed, as Chapter 3 has tried to show, various underlying changes are taking place at the global level that have consequences in the way people can communicate with each other as well as the way in which they can have access to information. If new technologies have almost erased differences in distance by making it possible to communicate with everyone in the planet, it seems that the same process has not happened for cultural differences and cultural barriers. Paradoxically, this new dimension may actually have worsened them. Communication, then, has to comply with these changes, especially in terms of intercultural advertising, where the economic aspect makes everything more ‘delicate’. Indeed, it has been discussed that advertising, in order for it to be effective and profitable, should be planned and structured in accordance with the values and characteristics of the target culture. Then, particular attention has been paid to the use of language in intercultural advertising. There have been many studies investigating the role of various language-mixing instances, yet the most frequently studied feature is perhaps the use of English in non-English advertisements. In this respect, it has been possible to see how language in these kinds of multilingual products is mainly employed not for its denotative aspect, but rather for its connotative power, hence becoming a ‘fetish’.

Thus, drawing on both primary and secondary research, has it been possible to find meaningful answers to the research questions posited at the beginning? That is, is communicating Made in Italy through the Italian Language a used strategy in international marketing? The analysis clearly demonstrates that yes, the Italian language is displayed in advertising aimed at English-speaking countries. This, of course, is the main conclusion that is possible to draw from the analysis conducted in this study. Yet,

there are many implications that can be read also in view of the preliminary process of research carried out in the first three chapters. In particular, it is possible to claim that multilingualism is a multifaceted phenomenon, thus supporting Piller's idea that multilingualism actually encompasses all three modes of TV advertising. For example, the use of a theme song by an Italian artist while showing images about a colourful Italian street market where an Italian actor utters '*Scusi!*' to a stranger against whom he has just bumped clearly give an idea of Piller's multilingual advertising concept²⁵.

Then, Hornikx and Van Meurs' conceptual framework (2017: 61) seems to work in all the TV commercials analysed here. In other words, it appears that language has indeed been chosen as an element that implies the country of origin of the products advertised. To support this, it should be noted that there is no direct reference to any expression of the phrase 'Made in Italy' in any of the ads analysed. The only example of a semi-direct reference to the fact that the product is actually produced in Italy may be seen in one of Barilla's slogans, 'The Choice of Italy'. Yet, this expression may be regarded as just legitimating the choice of American consumers: "if Italians – supposedly the more expert in terms of food quality – have chosen Barilla, how can you – Americans – not rely on them and choose Barilla too?"

Moreover, the instances of Italian language employed in these TV commercials seem as well to find an explanation in Casini's assumptions (2015). In Chapter 3, it was discussed that the degree of attractiveness of a language has to be measured in terms of competitiveness between various cultural, social, economic and productive systems. In other words, there seems to be an equation between attractiveness for a language and attractiveness for the country in which that language is spoken. In analysing the TV commercials, it is possible to see that the themes developed are those of quality, authenticity, manufactural know-how, and tradition. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, these are all elements linked to the concept of Made in Italy and they are those characteristics that make it attractive and successful worldwide. The fact that there is not a single instance of adaptation or translation to the host language of the name of the products, or the fact that the Italian language itself is used as a communicative tool in

²⁵ The reference is to the TV commercial by Barilla called 'The Choice of Italy' aired in 2003 for the American market.

many of the TV commercials are signs that languages are employed by virtue of their power of evoking particular and attractive values.

Furthermore, this work of analysis provides examples of the implementation of strategies for communicating the country of origins described by Aichner (2014). In particular, Barilla and Lavazza are family names that are easily recognisable as Italian. Although there are no typically Italian words in the names of the brands themselves, many products have names that are easily recognisable Italian words or phrases – think, for example, to ‘*A Modo Mio*’ by Lavazza. The use of famous and/or stereotypical people has been largely described, as well as the use of flags, symbols and typically Italian landscapes and buildings – e.g. the Italian flag, the iconic FIAT 500, the Tuscan hills. Thus, it is possible to argue that in each commercial there are various instances of unregulated strategies at play. Yet, no sign of the use of legally regulated strategies has been observed. A possible explanation may be found in the fact that the products advertised do not benefit from any quality label, while maybe companies have preferred not to use the ‘Made in ...’ label to avoid the legal consequences that they would have encountered in order to comply with the regulation.

However, it is worth noting that there are some limitations in this analysis. First, delimiting the scope of research to two companies and to one means of communication may have not provided enough material as to claiming that the results found here constitute a general trend. That is to say, it is not possible, from the analysis conducted in this dissertation, to determine whether the use of the Italian language is a frequent strategy advertisers use when promoting Made in Italy products. A way to assess if it actually is a standard characteristic is to broaden the scope of research, and this may be carried out in two manners. One is considering other means of communication, such as printed, radio or web advertising. The other is not only choosing other companies in the agri-food sector, but also including companies operating in the other sectors in which Italy has been regarded as pioneering, such as fashion, furniture and mechanics.

Secondly, even the source chosen for the creation of the corpus of analysis may have limited the results. In particular, it is quite improbable that the TV commercials found comprise each TV commercial actually aired in each English-speaking country. In this case, the list is probably incomplete. This also leads to the third limitation observed in this work of analysis. As has been shown in Chapter 1 and 3, in order to be effective,

advertising should adapt to the cultural characteristics of the target audience. This would also mean that the country-of-origin strategies may be employed differently according to the target country. Yet, it was not possible to assess this statement due to a lack of material concerning the countries of destination of the commercials. It is true that Internet has facilitated the process of collecting material, but it may also have not provided all the commercials since it was not the original channel of broadcasting.

Some opportunities for future research have already been mentioned as possible solutions to the limitations observed in this study, yet other suggestions are worth mentioning. For example, the same study may be replicated taking into account non-English speaking countries advertisements, even considering the fact that developing countries have emerged as new end markets. In this respect, Barilla has recently announced their aim to become the first player in Japan (Carrer, 2017), while they entered the Chinese market in 2014 (Fatiguso, 2014). Therefore, what about the use of the Italian language in TV commercials for those countries? In addition, a comparison between the results of such a work of analysis and those found in this study may also be carried out to see if there are actually differences in the use of country-of-origin strategies for Made in Italy products promoted in countries so culturally different.

Another interesting avenue for future research has to do with Italian sounding. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Italian sounding is a widespread phenomenon that is affecting not only consumers trust, but also the economy of the Italian country. A recent survey has tried to determine the dimension of the phenomenon:

[t]ra gli oltre 800 prodotti Italian Sounding mappati figura la ‘pizza carbonar’ o la ‘mortadela Siciliana’ rilevati in Spagna, mentre nell’area Nafta sono frequenti le storpiature come ‘sarvecchio’ al posto di ‘stravecchio’ o la ‘sopressata’ che perde una ‘p’, infine, in Francia e Olanda, uno speciale Limoncello viene presentato come un liquore da aperitivo (AISE, 2018).

Thus, what are the strategies used by advertisers to promote products that want to appear Italian when actually they are not? Are there any differences in the type and amount of instances of Italian word display compared to the results of this current study? Is it possible to perceive the actual discrepancy between an authentic Italian product and a fake one by means of analysing the language used in the advertising promoting Italian sounding products? These are but few examples of how future research might assess

themes that will definitely provide interesting results in terms of intercultural advertising and international marketing research.

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Appendix 1

Here is the full list of abbreviations of the countries used in Hofstede's work (Hofstede, 1983).

ARA	Arab countries (Egypt, Lebanon, Lybia, Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, U.A.E.)	GUA	Guatemala	PER	Peru
ARG	Argentina	HOK	Hong Kong	PHI	Philippines
AUL	Australia	IDO	Indonesia	POR	Portugal
AUT	Austria	IND	India	SAF	South Africa (Kenya, Ethiopia, Zambia)
BEL	Belgium	IRA	Iran	SAL	Salvador
BRA	Brazil	IRE	Ireland	SIN	Singapore
CAN	Canada	ISR	Israel	SPA	Spain
CHL	Chile	ITA	Italy	SWE	Sweden
COL	Colombia	JAM	Jamaica	SWI	Switzerland
COS	Costa Rica	JPN	Japan	TAI	Taiwan
DEN	Denmark	KOR	South Korea	THA	Thailand
EAF	East Africa	MAL	Malaysia	TUR	Turkey
EQA	Equador	MEX	Mexico	URU	Uruguay
FIN	Finland	NET	Netherlands	USA	United States
FRA	France	NOR	Norway	VEN	Venezuela
GBR	Great Britain	NZL	New Zealand	WAF	West Africa (Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone)
GER	Germany	PAK	Pakistan	YUG	Yugoslavia
GRE	Greece	PAN	Panama		

Appendix 2

A list of the TV commercials taken into consideration for the analysis.

Company	Year	Country	TV Commercial	Mins
Barilla	1996	United States	Al Dente	0:30
	1999		Spaghetti Noodles	0:30
	2003		The Choice of Italy	0:30
	2000s		Mille Lune Mille Onde	1:00
	2008		Sisters	0:30
	2009	Australia	The Dream by Javier Blanco	0:30
	2009	United States	The Dream by Javier Blanco	0:30
	2012		The Perfect Night	0:30
	2014	Australia	Taste the Difference	0:30
	2015	United States	Piccolini Commercial with Roger Mazzeo	0:30
	2016	United Kingdom & Ireland	The secrets to be more BRAVO at cooking	0:20
	2016		3 STEPS to be more BRAVO at cooking	0:20
	2016		Want to be more BRAVO at cooking	0:20
	2016	United States	Spaghetti Marinara 'On the Couch'	0:30
	2018	International Campaign	Masters of Pasta with Roger Federer & Davide Oldani	0:30
Lavazza	2000	United Kingdom	Lavazza, Italian for Life	0:40
	2008	International Campaign	Espresso Trevi	0:30
	2009		Espresso Hands	0:30
	2011		Espresso Venice, A Modo Mio	0:30
	2014	United States	#LavazzaDelivery brings free coffee in a New York tweet	1:20
	2014	Australia '#FromItalyWithPassion' Campaign	Bar San Tommaso	0:55
			Training Centre	0:50
			Friends House	0:55
			Caffè Sospeso	0:55
			Travel Agent	0:40
			Ready to Fly	1:00
	2014	United Kingdom	A Modo Mio Italy's Favourite Coffee	1:00
	2015		Italy's Favourite Coffee	0:30
	2015	Australia	Italy's Favourite Coffee	0:45
	2015	International Campaign	More to Taste	1:00
	2016	United Kingdom	Prontissimo Medio	0:30
	2016		Prontissimo Intenso	0:30
	2016	United States	I'M BACK	0:45
2017	International Campaign	Born Social	1:20	
2017		Capsule	0:30	
2018		Lavazza. It's how you say coffee in Italian	0:15	

RIASSUNTO IN LINGUA ITALIANA

Comunicare il Made in Italy attraverso l'utilizzo della Lingua Italiana è una Strategia Impiegata nel Marketing Internazionale?

Un'analisi dei contenuti delle pubblicità di Barilla e Lavazza

Questo lavoro di analisi si propone di stabilire se l'uso della lingua italiana nella pubblicità destinata a paesi anglofoni sia una strategia impiegata per comunicare il paese d'origine di prodotti Made in Italy. L'idea di intraprendere questa ricerca è stata ispirata da uno spot televisivo di una famosa compagnia di crociera italiana, Costa Crociere. Nello spot in questione (che faceva parte di una campagna pubblicitaria chiamata 'Il Modo Italiano di Scoprire il Mondo') una voce fuori campo proponeva l'utilizzo dell'italiano al posto dell'inglese per riferirsi a termini di uso comune: "Perché dire 'good morning' quando puoi dire 'buongiorno'? O fare 'breakfast' se puoi fare 'colazione'? [...]". Effettivamente, si può affermare che l'inglese abbia pervaso la lingua italiana in modo tale da ritenersi difficile (se non impossibile) non imbattersi in termini o espressioni derivanti dall'inglese in qualsiasi tipo di testo italiano, sia orale che scritto. A questo proposito, l'Accademia della Crusca ha persino richiesto, attraverso una petizione, che ci si presti ad un uso più moderato di anglicismi anche nell'italiano di tutti i giorni, promuovendo la campagna '#DilloinItaliano' (Testa, 2015).

Effettivamente, i testi pubblicitari sono terreno favorevole per la mescolanza dell'inglese nell'italiano, e, da un punto di vista più generale, per la presenza di forestierismi. Come spiegano molti studi in merito, l'uso di lingue straniere nei messaggi pubblicitari è un fenomeno diffuso in tutto il mondo, e gli studi sul multilinguismo nella pubblicità sono stati molto prolifici fin dagli anni '80 (si veda per esempio Hornikx *et al.*, 2013; Vettorel, 2013). Tra tutti gli studi riguardanti questo tema, sicuramente quelli che indagano l'uso della lingua inglese all'interno di pubblicità destinate ad un pubblico non anglofono sono i più numerosi. Kelly-Holmes (2000) suggerisce che nella pubblicità interculturale la lingua inglese sia un esempio peculiare, in quanto ha un significato, un uso e un valore indipendenti dai paesi in cui è effettivamente parlata. Ne consegue che il suo utilizzo può essere considerato come un simbolo di identità a-nazionale, di globalismo, dell'essere giovani, di modernità e di progresso. A questo proposito, l'inglese presente nella pubblicità interculturale può essere concepito come un 'feticcio linguistico

totale', ovvero come parte di un fenomeno in atto nei testi a destinazione commerciale che prevede l'uso delle lingue per scopi simbolici (feticizzati) piuttosto che di utilità (strumentali-comunicativi) (Kelly-Holmes, 2014). Vettorel (2013) sembra essere dello stesso avviso. Secondo il suo studio, nei messaggi pubblicitari diretti all'Italia, l'inglese viene impiegato non solo come elemento atto ad attirare l'attenzione e come indicatore di valori cosmopoliti e internazionali, ma anche come risorsa da cui attingere in termini di creatività linguistica. Quindi la domanda sorge spontanea: se la lingua inglese ha pervaso la pubblicità italiana, cosa si può dire della lingua italiana nella pubblicità destinata a paesi anglofoni? È effettivamente impiegata? A quale scopo?

Parlando in senso ampio, le ricerche sembrano aver stabilito che i forestierismi possono essere impiegati nella pubblicità interculturale per due motivi principali: (1) i consumatori sono più prони a ricordare quei messaggi in cui succede qualcosa 'fuori dall'ordinario', come può essere ad esempio ritenuto l'uso di una parola/espressione straniera in un testo monolingue; (2) i consumatori potrebbero fare delle associazioni etno-culturali attraverso la lingua straniera presente nel messaggio (Hornikx *et al*, 2013). In altre parole, a causa del stretto legame tra lingue, culture e nazioni, le lingue sono in grado di indurre i consumatori a compiere delle associazioni tra i prodotti pubblicizzati e il paese d'origine di tali prodotti (Hornikx *et al*, 2013). Infatti, studi hanno dimostrato che il processo di associazione viene attuato perché alcuni prodotti sono considerati più 'etnici' di altri, più prototipici per uno specifico paese, come ad esempio il sushi per il Giappone, gli hot-dog per gli Stati Uniti, la pizza per l'Italia e così via (si veda ad esempio Aichner, 2017; Aichner, 2014; Usunier e Cestre, 2007; Roth e Romeo, 1992). Inoltre, è stato dimostrato che più l'associazione paese-prodotto è congruente, più positivo sarà il giudizio dato dai consumatori riguardo al prodotto (cf. Vianelli e Pegan, 2014; Verlegh *et al*, 2005; Pharr, 2005). Da qui si deduce che, per esempio, usare la lingua italiana per pubblicizzare una pizza fatta in America darebbe a quella pizza un 'sapore italiano' che potrebbe determinarne il successo in termini di vendite (Hornikx *et al*, 2013).

Quindi, al fine di fornire risposte esaustive alle domande soprammenzionate, è stato necessario delimitare l'ambito di ricerca. Basandosi sul presupposto secondo cui sembrerebbe esserci una connessione tra lingue, prodotti e paesi, sono stati scelti i prodotti del Made in Italy quali soggetti da analizzare. Tuttavia, il Made in Italy è caratterizzato da una vasta gamma di prodotti di diversa natura, che vanno dal cibo all'arredamento, ai

componenti industriali. Se non fosse stata operata una scelta in merito ai prodotti da prendere in considerazione, la quantità di annunci pubblicitari da analizzare sarebbe divenuta ingestibile. Inoltre, lo stesso processo di creazione del corpus di analisi non è stato così semplice come poteva sembrare: è stato necessario, infatti, decidere anche il tipo di pubblicità da prendere in considerazione (a mezzo stampa, radio o televisione). La scelta, quindi, è ricaduta sugli spot televisivi per una semplice ragione pratica: a confronto con gli altri, sono quelli più facilmente recuperabili attraverso l'uso del web. Si è inoltre riusciti a creare una lista di spot che coprisse un arco temporale tale da poter sperare di avere dei risultati significativi (alla fine gli spot analizzati sono stati trasmessi nel periodo che va dal 2000 a gennaio 2018). Stabilito ciò, rimaneva da determinare quale tipo di prodotti sarebbe stato al centro dell'attenzione. Quindi, valutando i dati relativi al Made in Italy, le teorie sulla corrispondenza paese-prodotto come anche il grado di difficoltà nel raccogliere materiale sufficiente, gli spot televisivi di Barilla e Lavazza sono stati scelti quale materiale più adatto a questo lavoro d'analisi.

Pertanto, anche solo da quanto è stato detto finora, si capisce che trovare risposte alle domande poste significa prendere in considerazione diversi campi di ricerca, anche sovrapposti tra loro. Tra tutti, il soggetto principale è rappresentato dagli studi sull'Effetto Paese d'Origine. Come discusso nel Capitolo 1, per più di cinque decenni, questo concetto è stato molto analizzato nell'ambito di ricerca del marketing internazionale. Tuttavia, nonostante l'abbondanza di studi, sembra che non si sia ancora giunti a risultati unanimi per quanto riguarda ciò che si ritiene essere sottointeso nel concetto. Gli unici aspetti sui quali sembra esserci una linea di pensiero comune riguardano il fatto che si tratti di un concetto multidimensionale, che la cultura dei consumatori giochi un ruolo importante nel determinare il tipo e l'effetto delle valutazioni dettate in base al paese d'origine, e che queste valutazioni potrebbero essere influenzate persino dal grado di corrispondenza paese-prodotto.

Di conseguenza, nel Capitolo 2 si è passati a trattare il tema del Made in Italy, uno delle espressioni di paese d'origine tra le più conosciute. Si è discusso sul fatto che questo marchio d'origine evochi specifici tratti e valori, come ad esempio quelli di artigianalità, eccellenza manifatturiera, alta qualità, autenticità, tradizione, *savoir-faire* e *savoir-vivre*. Questi sono il risultato di processi culturali e sociali che si sono mescolati tra loro e che hanno avuto luogo in Italia fin dai tempi del Medioevo. La stessa commistione di tutti

questi elementi è ciò che rende i prodotti Italiani così preziosi e stimati in tutto il mondo. Pertanto, da una parte c'è la chiara necessità di proteggere un patrimonio così importante, e tanto le istituzioni quanto alcuni gruppi di 'addetti ai lavori' stanno dimostrando di lavorare in questo senso (anche se a volte con scarsi risultati). Dall'altra c'è il bisogno di promuovere il Made in Italy agendo sull'aspetto comunicativo, anche (e soprattutto) in virtù dei cambiamenti a livello globale dei mezzi di comunicazione e del processo stesso del comunicare.

A tal proposito, nel Capitolo 3 si è cercato di dare un quadro generale dei cambiamenti in atto a livello globale in termini di comunicazione tra utenti e di accessibilità all'informazione. Se da un lato le nuove tecnologie hanno quasi del tutto eliminato le distanze rendendo possibile la comunicazione tra consumatori in qualunque luogo del pianeta, sembra che lo stesso processo non sia avvenuto per quanto riguarda le distanze tra culture. Anzi, paradossalmente questa nuova dimensione comunicativa potrebbe averle addirittura accentuate. Il sistema comunicativo deve quindi aggiustarsi a questi cambiamenti, e questo vale anche per la pubblicità interculturale, nella quale l'aspetto economico rende questo adattamento ancora più importante e 'delicato'. Infatti, per essere efficaci, e dunque affinché portino profitto, i messaggi pubblicitari dovrebbero essere pianificati e strutturati in accordo con le caratteristiche ed i valori fondamentali della cultura di destinazione. Pertanto, nella pubblicità interculturale particolare attenzione va posta (anche) all'uso della lingua. A questo proposito, nel corso degli anni ci sono stati numerosi studi volti ad indagare il ruolo della mescolanza linguistica in tali produzioni comunicative, tra i quali il più studiato sembra essere l'uso della lingua inglese in annunci pubblicitari destinati a paesi non anglofoni. Si è visto, quindi, come in tali produzioni multilinguistiche la lingua sia impiegata non tanto per il suo potere denotativo quanto più per quello connotativo, diventando così un 'feticcio'.

È stato quindi possibile, facendo anche riferimento al lavoro di ricerca svolto nei primi capitoli, arrivare a delle risposte rilevanti? In altre parole, comunicare il Made in Italy attraverso l'utilizzo della lingua italiana è una strategia impiegata nel marketing internazionale? L'analisi esposta nel Capitolo 4 dimostra chiaramente che sì, la lingua italiana è usata negli annunci pubblicitari destinati a paesi anglofoni (Regno Unito, Stati Uniti d'America e Australia). Per giungere a questa constatazione si è deciso di sviluppare un metodo di analisi basandosi sugli studi riguardanti il discorso pubblicitario (Cook,

1992), il multilinguismo nella pubblicità (Piller, 2000) e le strategie per la comunicazione del paese d'origine (Aichner, 2014). In particolare, è stato possibile determinare tre principali componenti presenti in ogni spot televisivo: l'elemento musicale, l'elemento visivo e l'elemento del linguaggio. Queste categorie sono state decise partendo dalla proposta di Cook (1992) di analizzare gli annunci pubblicitari televisivi suddividendoli in tre 'mezzi', cioè musica, immagini e linguaggio, e dall'ipotesi di Piller (2000) secondo cui il multilinguismo non è da riferire alla sola categoria del linguaggio, ma è piuttosto un elemento presente in tutti i componenti di uno spot. In questo lavoro d'analisi, la componente 'musica' fa riferimento all'uso di particolari canzoni o temi musicali; la componente 'visiva' si riferisce a tutti i rimandi visivi ad un particolare paese d'origine, sotto forma di ambientazioni/paesaggi/edifici, bandiere/simboli o attraverso l'uso di personaggi famosi o stereotipati; infine, la componente 'linguaggio' è ulteriormente suddivisa in tre categorie: nome del prodotto, linguaggio parlato, linguaggio scritto.

I risultati hanno evidenziato numerosi elementi attraverso cui viene comunicata l'italianità del prodotto pubblicizzato. Se si considera l'analisi nel suo complesso (quindi tralasciando le differenze rilevate tra i risultati degli spot di Barilla e quelli di Lavazza), sembra che le strategie più sfruttate siano le seguenti: l'uso di paesaggi tipici, edifici famosi e ambientazioni riconoscibili come italiane; l'uso di personaggi famosi o riconducibili a stereotipi legati all'essere italiano; l'uso della lingua relativa al paese d'origine. A proposito della lingua italiana e della componente 'linguaggio' relativa ai vari elementi presenti nel messaggio pubblicitario, l'effetto evocativo più potente sembra attribuibile alla categoria del 'nome prodotto'. Qui, infatti, ogni occorrenza presenta esclusivamente l'uso dell'italiano (non esistono cioè traduzioni o adattamenti del nome prodotto in nessuno degli spot analizzati).

Se si comparano, poi, i risultati relativi alle singole aziende, si possono notare delle differenze nell'impiego delle strategie volte a comunicare il paese d'origine. Per esempio, sembrerebbe che Barilla abbia sfruttato di più l'associazione positiva con l'Italia dal momento che, specialmente negli spot televisivi meno recenti, i riferimenti al paese d'origine sono presenti praticamente in tutte le categorie analizzate. Da parte sua, invece, Lavazza sembra avere uno sguardo più internazionale fin dall'inizio: il suo modo di evocare l'italianità non è mai slegato da riferimenti ad una cultura più 'globale' e cosmopolita. Una possibile spiegazione può trovarsi nel fatto che i prodotti pubblicizzati

potrebbero godere di un diverso livello di etnicità. In particolare, tra la pasta ed il caffè è sicuramente il primo ad essere considerato più prototipico per l'Italia; il caffè, invece, è un prodotto più 'internazionale', nel senso che può venire associato a più paesi e non esclusivamente all'Italia (si pensi al caffè americano, o ai paesi d'origine della materia prima, il Brasile e l'America Latina in generale). Tuttavia, rimane l'idea che l'Italia possa essere considerata il paese d'origine di un certo tipo di caffè, quello di alta qualità, e di tutta una particolare 'cultura del caffè' che fa parte soltanto della tradizione italiana. In ogni caso, questo diverso grado di etnicità tra i due prodotti potrebbe essere il responsabile della diversa quantità di elementi che evocano l'italianità riscontrata nei risultati degli spot delle due marche.

Inoltre, in entrambe le marche si può notare una sorta di 'diluzione' dei riferimenti all'Italia nel corso del tempo. Questo trend potrebbe essere spiegato prendendo in considerazione due fattori. Da un lato, infatti, si sta assistendo ad una sorta di internazionalizzazione dell'arte del cucinare in generale, e testimonianza ne è l'abbondanza di talent show culinari e programmi di cucina (i più famosi ed esportati in tutto il mondo hanno avuto origine nel Regno Unito e negli Stati Uniti). Per cui, se la materia in sé (specialmente la cucina attenta alla salute e di alta qualità) è associata in maniera prototipica all'Italia, sono stati gli 'stranieri' che se ne sono serviti e, attraverso un format particolare, l'hanno resa accessibile e 'famosa'. Dall'altro, i consumatori potrebbero essere diventati più informati ed esperti dei prodotti pubblicizzati, non avendo quindi più bisogno di continui riferimenti ad informazioni che, per un consumatore esperto, sarebbero risultate ridondanti e scontate. Infatti, come riportano Vianelli e Pegan (2014), si pensa che l'effetto del paese d'origine possa diventare meno importante man mano che i consumatori acquistano più familiarità con un brand e il prodotto pubblicizzato.

Alla luce del lavoro di ricerca primaria svoltosi nei primi capitoli, è stato possibile trarre alcune conclusioni più ampie. In particolare, si può effettivamente notare come il multilinguismo non sia da riferire soltanto alla comparsa o meno di forestierismi, ma sia piuttosto un fenomeno multidimensionale che si sviluppa in tutte le componenti di questo tipo di annunci pubblicitari. Per esempio, l'uso di una canzone di un famoso artista italiano come colonna sonora a delle scene ambientate in un tipico mercato di strada in

cui un attore italiano si rivolge con un ‘Scusi!’ ad una donna contro cui si è scontrato per errore danno chiaramente idea del concetto di multilinguismo espresso da Piller (2000).

Inoltre, lo schema concettuale descritto da Hornikx and Van Meurs (2017: 61) sembra trovare un riscontro in tutti i messaggi pubblicitari qui analizzati. Sembra, infatti, che la lingua italiana sia proprio stata impiegata come elemento che esprime implicitamente in paese d’origine dei prodotti presentati. Questo è evidente anche se si considera il fatto che in nessuno degli spot è stata usata l’espressione ‘Made in Italy’, unico modo per fare riferimento diretto al paese d’origine. L’unico esempio che potrebbe suggerire in modo meno velato un collegamento con l’origine italiana dei prodotti è riscontrabile in uno degli slogan di Barilla: ‘*The Choice of Italy*’. Tuttavia, questa espressione sembrerebbe essere più uno stratagemma per legittimare la scelta dei consumatori americani attraverso un messaggio implicito: “Se gli italiani, presumibilmente i più esperti in termini di qualità del cibo, hanno scelto la pasta Barilla, come potete voi americani non fidarvi di loro e fare la stessa scelta?”.

Oltre a ciò, i risultati sembrano confermare quanto sostenuto da Casini (2015), secondo cui il grado di attrazione di una lingua dovrebbe essere misurato in termini di competitività tra i vari sistemi produttivi, economici, sociali e culturali. In pratica, sembrerebbe esserci una sorta di equivalenza tra la forza attrattiva esercitata da un certo paese e la forza attrattiva nei confronti della lingua parlata in quel dato paese. Analizzando gli spot televisivi, si può notare come i temi sviluppati siano quelli tipicamente legati al Made in Italy, ovvero alta qualità, competenze tecniche di produzione, e tradizione. Quindi, il fatto che non ci sia nessun esempio di traduzione o adattamento di un termine o di espressione tipicamente italiani e che i concetti tipici del Made in Italy siano stati espressi anche attraverso l’utilizzo della lingua italiana è da considerarsi in virtù del fatto che la lingua stessa sia concepita come veicolo dei valori e delle caratteristiche principali del Made in Italy e dunque del paese Italia.

Non c’è dubbio, infine, che questo lavoro di ricerca fornisca chiari esempi di impiego delle strategie di comunicazione del paese d’origine descritte da Aichner (2014). Barilla e Lavazza, i cognomi dei fondatori delle aziende da cui derivano i nomi dei due marchi, sono facilmente riconoscibili come italiani. Inoltre, nonostante non ci siano nomi tipicamente italiani a formare i nomi dei prodotti, di certo tutti i prodotti presentano parole italiane al loro interno. In più, si è ampiamente descritto l’uso di personaggi famosi o

stereotipati, così come l'uso di simboli o bandiere e lo svolgersi in ambientazioni tipicamente italiane. Dunque si può sostenere che in tutti gli spot analizzati sono effettivamente presenti tutte le strategie non regolamentate per la comunicazione del paese d'origine. Tuttavia, non si può dire lo stesso delle strategie regolamentate secondo legge. Possibili spiegazioni possono trovarsi nel fatto che nessuno dei prodotti pubblicizzati benefici dei marchi di qualità (DOP, IGP e STG), e nel fatto che, probabilmente, le aziende abbiano preferito non usare il marchio 'Made in Italy' per evitare di sottoporsi alle procedure che avrebbero incontrato al fine di rispettare la regolamentazione.

Tuttavia, si notano alcuni punti deboli nell'esecuzione dell'analisi. Ad esempio, se da un lato delimitare l'ambito di analisi a due marchi e ad un canale comunicativo ha permesso di costituire un corpus d'analisi facilmente gestibile, dall'altro potrebbe non aver fornito risultati tali da poterli considerare delle tendenze generali. In altre parole, non si può stabilire se l'utilizzo della lingua italiana sia una strategia sempre impiegata per pubblicizzare qualsiasi tipo di prodotto italiano. Un modo per valutare questo potrebbe essere quello di ampliare l'ambito di ricerca. A questo proposito si suggeriscono due strade: una è quella di considerare più mezzi comunicativi, includendo quindi gli spot pubblicitari per la radio, la stampa e il web (inteso anche nella forma dei social networks); l'altro è quello di allargare la ricerca anche ad altri prodotti del Made in Italy, andando ad analizzare quindi anche gli altri settori in cui l'Italia è simbolo di eccellenza.

Altra debolezza si riscontra nel mezzo attraverso cui si è creato il corpus, ossia l'essersi affidati al web per raccogliere esempi di spot televisivi. Infatti, nonostante le fonti abbiano fornito numerosi elementi da analizzare, non è detto che essi costituiscano tutto l'insieme degli spot effettivamente andati in onda nei paesi presi in considerazione. A questa constatazione può far seguito anche un'altra possibile mancanza riscontrata: non è stato infatti possibile determinare se ci fosse una differenza tra i paesi in termini di impiego delle varie strategie. Dato che, come è stato riportato nei primi capitoli di questo lavoro, i messaggi pubblicitari dovrebbero adattarsi al paese per cui vengono creati, si dovrebbe riscontrare anche un uso diverso delle strategie atte a comunicare il paese d'origine. Tuttavia, non si ha avuto a disposizione materiale sufficiente per trarre delle conclusioni in merito. Probabilmente un ampliamento del raggio di ricerca potrebbe rappresentare una soluzione.

Per quanto riguarda possibili studi futuri in merito alle tematiche qui affrontate, si segnalano alcuni suggerimenti. Oltre alle migliori appena elencate, si consiglia di replicare questo studio prendendo in considerazione anche paesi non anglofoni, magari con particolare attenzione ai mercati emergenti. A questo proposito, infatti, Barilla ha recentemente dichiarato di voler diventare primo player in Giappone (Carrer, 2017), mentre è presente nel mercato cinese dal 2014 (Fatiguso, 2014). Dunque, quali tecniche sono impiegate per comunicare il paese d'origine in quei mercati così distanti culturalmente? Si possono notare differenze rispetto all'uso delle strategie degli spot qui analizzati? Riacciacciandosi, poi, ad uno dei punti deboli sopracitati, queste domande di ricerca potrebbero portare anche a definire se (e come) i messaggi vengano adattati alle caratteristiche culturali dei paesi di destinazione.

Un'altra strada interessante per le ricerche future ha a che fare con l'*Italian sounding*, un fenomeno molto diffuso che comporta delle conseguenze negative non solo per i consumatori (che subiscono delle vere e proprie truffe), ma anche per l'economia italiana. Una recente indagine ha mostrato, analizzando oltre 800 prodotti riferibili all'*Italian sounding*, quanto siano frequenti gli usi impropri, non conformi alla norma o errati della lingua italiana in prodotti che, non essendo prodotti in Italia, vorrebbe spacciarsi per autentici prodotti italiani (esempi ne sono la 'pizza carbonara' o la 'mortadela Siciliana' rilevati in Spagna) (AISE, 2018). Pertanto, quali sono le strategie impiegate per promuovere questo tipo di prodotti? Ci sono differenze rispetto ai risultati riscontrati in questo studio in termini di quantità e tipo di parole utilizzate? È possibile rendersi conto del fatto che si tratta di prodotti non autentici attraverso l'analisi delle parole impiegate negli spot? Questi sono soltanto alcuni dei possibili quesiti che potrebbero dare risultati interessanti all'interno dei bacini di ricerca più ampi della pubblicità interculturale e del marketing internazionale.