



Gina Poncini

Exploring the Image of New World Wine Producers: Website Texts for Wineries in Australia and New Zealand

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Gina Poncini, Ph.D., holds a research and teaching position at the University of Milan, where she teaches English Business Communication in the European Economics degree program. She has also taught courses on language and communication (1996-2004) at the University of Lugano, including Communication in Multilingual Business Contexts, as a member of the Department of Corporate Communication before being appointed to her current position. Her publications include the book *Discursive Strategies in Multicultural Business Meetings* and articles in volumes and journals, including *Business Communication Quarterly*, the *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, and the *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. Her research focuses on intercultural business communication, financial communication, and communication and language concerning gastronomy and tourism. She was recently re-elected to a second term as Association for Business Communication (ABC) Vice President Europe, 2004-2008 (www.businesscommunication.org).
gina.poncini@lu.unisi.ch.

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Abstract

This article reports on a study investigating websites and brochures for wineries and wine regions in Australia and New Zealand. It is part of a wider study¹ investigating written texts and intercultural interactions, mainly in English, with data originating in the food and wine industry in different countries, including Italy, the U.S., Australia, and New Zealand. The present article focuses on evaluative language in website texts, exploring two interrelated issues. One issue concerns the kind of image that linguistic features help build up for wineries, wine regions, and Australia and New Zealand as New World wine producers, and the way they help build up this image. In seeking to shed light on implicit and explicit values underlying the texts, it gives attention to the aspects of local culture and natural elements most frequently included in the texts, and if or how European wine-making traditions, European immigration, and the indigenous culture are portrayed in the texts. A second issue has to do with the way shared knowledge is built up in the texts and the kind of shared knowledge readers are assumed to have about local elements (e.g. land and climate, traditions, wine-making processes and wines, local history).

1. Introduction

In today's global marketplace, foods and wines once available only locally are being exported around the world, increasing their visibility to consumers and potential business partners alike. In addition, more people are travelling to a greater variety of destinations, which heightens their awareness of once-unknown foods and wines and the land and people producing them. Indeed, gastronomic traditions and wineries attract visitors interested in "authentic" experiences (see e.g. Antonioli Corigliano, 1999, 2002, on gastronomy and tourism; Hall, Sharples, Cambourne and Macionis, 2000, on wine tourism; Hjalager, 2002, on food as a source of economic development). However, businesspeople, vacationers and consumers with different cultural backgrounds do not share the same knowledge of an area's geography, climate, culture, traditions and so on. Since these elements influence foods and wines and their image, it is important they be communicated so that customers located in different parts of the world "appreciate" them.

¹ The wider study is in turn part of the project, 'Intercultural communication in business settings: linguistic aspects', is being carried out by a local research unit, headed by Giuliana Garzone, at the University of Milan, as part of the national project (COFIN 2002) *Intercultural Discourse in Domain-specific English*, co-ordinated by Maurizio Gotti.

In this scenario, communication is becoming more challenging. The Internet and the international use of English mean that more materials are accessible to audiences around the world as well as locally (for recent discussions on the role of English and in particular English as a *lingua franca* in business, see e.g. Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson, 2003; Harris & Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003; Poncini, 2002a, 2004a). Although some materials may target specific audiences, nowadays many materials are prepared in English-language versions for general international audiences (see e.g. Poncini, 2002d, on bilingual and monolingual tourism brochures and Poncini, 2004b, on promotional materials for wineries). Even materials or websites seemingly aimed at a local audience may be accessed by potential visitors or consumers from other parts of the country or from abroad, thus contributing to their perceptions of the area, the company and its products. Local audiences, too, may have differing levels of expertise concerning wines, for example. When such diverse audiences are involved, determining the most appropriate amount of technical language and the most effective way to describe local elements is not always a straightforward matter.

The wine industry in particular and wine consumption itself is a rich terrain for considering the role of shared cultural knowledge and expertise about wine regions, grape growing, and the wine-making process. Indeed, businesses and consumers are not only based in European countries possessing a long tradition of winemaking. New World wines – from Australia, New Zealand, U.S, Chile, Argentina, and South Africa – are gaining favor, and their exports are growing (Nomisma, 2003, pp. 8, 15-16, 32, 34, 39). One of the trends includes a growing Asian market attracted to New World wines (Nomisma, 2003, p. 16). At the same time, traditional wine producers based in Europe seek to increase sales abroad and tap new markets.

1.1. Scope of this Article

This article reports on part of a wider study investigating linguistic features of websites and brochures for wineries, wine producer associations, and wine regions in different parts of the world. The article focuses on texts in websites for wineries in Australia and New Zealand. It follows a preliminary study of brochures and websites for wineries in Italy and New World countries, including the U.S. (California and New York), Australia and New Zealand (see Poncini, 2004b), which used a limited data set and contributed to producing research questions for the present study².

² For example, in Poncini (2004b) data analyzed included a brochure for Australia wines (2002/2003 Pocket Australian Wine Guide, by the Australian Wine Export Council), in which positive evaluation concerned a (large) size; (European) traditions and national history; innovations and diversity (of the people, the land and the products). Another brochure, for a winery in New South Wales, shows how positive evaluation surrounds history and traditions as well as newness (*exciting, new, emerged, pioneered*). Interestingly, the website for the New Zealand winegrowers

The present article addresses two interrelated issues. One issue concerns the kind of image that selected linguistic features help build up for wineries, wine regions and Australia and New Zealand as wine producers and the way the features help build up this image. In seeking to shed light on implicit and explicit values underlying the texts, it gives attention to the aspects of local culture and natural elements most frequently included in the texts, and if or how the European wine-making tradition, European immigration, and the indigenous culture are portrayed in the texts. A second issue has to do with the way shared knowledge is built up in the texts and the kind of shared knowledge readers are assumed to have about local elements (e.g. land and climate, traditions, wine-making processes and wines, local history).

The rest of the article is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses evaluation and specialized lexis to lead up to the analytical approach, while Section 3 presents research methods and data. In Sections 4 to 7, extracts from the data are analyzed and discussed. Section 8 presents concluding comments.

2. Analytical Approach

An examination of evaluation or stance is significant because it provides indications of the ideology or values underlying a text (Hunston, 1993; Thompson & Hunston, 2000) and is closely connected to social interaction (Linde, 1997; Hyland, 1999). Thompson and Hunston (2000: 2-5) review a range of terms used for language expressing opinion which include connotation, affect, attitude, modality, appraisal and stance. They (2000: 5) use as evaluation as cover term “for the expression of the speaker’s or writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any number of other sets of values”. This is the way evaluation is used in the present study.

According to Thompson and Hunston (2000), the functions of evaluation can be grouped into three main categories. One function of evaluation is to express opinion: each use of evaluation expresses a value system of a person or a community and builds it up. A second function of evaluation is to construct relations. For example, the language user can use evaluative language to project assumed shared attitudes, values and reactions, which can be difficult to dispute. A third function of evaluation is to organize the discourse. The first and second functions are particularly interesting for the present study because implicit and explicit

also uses *exciting*, to evaluate the world of New Zealand wines. In the Italian brochures for wineries examined so far, this kind of language does not stand out. For Italian wineries and wine regions, implicitly positive historical references often go back to the Romans, with explicit references made to two thousand years of time.

values and shared knowledge are concerned. Martin (2000), for example, shows how the values of a group of people play a role in determining whether negative or positive evaluation is taken on by lexis that is not specifically evaluative. As Thompson and Hunston (2000: 22) state, “evaluations of good and bad are dependent on the value-system underlying the text”. Examining evaluation can thus be a fruitful way to shed light on implicit and explicit values in the texts and their effect on building a particular image for a company, its vineyards, its wines and by extension the country of origin.

Evaluation is pervasive in text (see e.g. Hunston, 1993, 1994; Linde, 1997; Thompson & Hunston, 2000). Mauranen (2002: 118) comments that “evaluation is a slippery notion for linguistic research because it cannot very readily be allocated to any particular, easily definable set of expressions”. The present study therefore limits the examination of evaluation to:

1. Explicit evaluative lexis (i.e. lexis whose main function is to evaluate whether something is good or bad; lexis that is inherently positive or negative, e.g. *perfect*, *bad*)
2. Implicit evaluation along the ‘good-bad’ parameter (Thompson & Hunston, 2000) in a specific text; lexis/terms identified as evaluative because of (a) linguistic context (near positive evaluation), or (b) the accumulation of a particular evaluative status (e.g. in a text ‘big’ or ‘diversity’ may take on a positive connotation), or (c) grounds for being included (Martin 2000), i.e. the inclusion of particular items implies they are of value
3. Selected indications of importance or relevance (e.g. *important*)
4. Selected manifestations of expectedness (e.g. *of course*, *as you know*)

In examining evaluation for the present study, attention will also be given to specialized lexis (e.g. technical terminology, proper nouns and proper adjectives, place names, which may be specialized in this context) that is not explicitly positive. The interest in considering specialized terms because of their potential to take on evaluative status is supported by Poncini (2002c, 2004a) in her study of multicultural business meetings. In discussing the use of evaluation at the meetings, she (2002c, 2004) provides examples of how certain specialized terms acquire a particular “evaluative status” for the group; for example the names of athletes sponsored by the company represent a range of positive things within the group. The use of specialized lexis has also been seen to be of interest in promotional materials. Mautner (1998), for example, discusses technical terms in cosmetics advertising and the connotative vs. denotative meaning they take on. She calls the scientific terminology “pseudoscientific”, and in her view it serves a persuasive function because it implies credibility and quality, whether or not the reader understands it. Furthermore, in promotional materials for tourist destinations and their specialties, specialized lexis can be used to communicate the area’s features and help build a particular image; it has the

potential to reflect and construe a local identity and to take on a positive connotation (see e.g. Poncini, 2002d). Examining how texts presuppose understanding of specialized terminology in promotional materials for wineries takes on significance because linguistic choices that help create or build shared knowledge of wines and local elements increase not only readers' awareness but also their appreciation of these features and their value.

3. Research Methods and Data

3.1. Data

Data consist of websites and brochures for wineries, wine regions, and associations of wine producers in Australia and New Zealand as outlined below.

3.1.1. Websites – Australia

A total of 36 websites as follows:

1. Seven websites in connection to the four largest companies that together represent 75.4% market share according to a report on the Australian wine industry (Australian Government, Invest Australia³), which lists the companies as follows: Southcorp, Beringer Blass (Foster's), Constellation Brands (the former BRL Hardy) and Orlando Wyndham. The total of seven includes websites for companies in parenthesis above and Penfolds (Southcorp).
2. Websites for 24 wineries of different sizes, obtained by consulting the website www.winediva.com, which lists wineries in Australia in alphabetical order, providing a separate page for each letter. Proceeding in alphabetical order page by page, the first winery with an accessible website was selected (no wineries were listed under "Q" and "V").
3. Websites for five wineries, representing a selection of Australian wineries contacted during the preliminary organization of the Nebbiolo grape convention, which took place in Valtellina (Lombardy region, Italy) in January 2004. The organizers contacted wine producers abroad using Nebbiolo grapes.

³ The Italian-language version was consulted: *Industria Vinicola Australiana* ("Australian Wine Industry"), made available at the 2004 Vinitaly trade fair in April 2004.

3.1.2. Websites – New Zealand

A total of 30 websites as outlined below, with points 1-3 referring to the 29 websites accessed through the New Zealand wine growers website www.nzwine.com, organized into three categories of wineries based on grape wine sales:

1. Websites of all wineries listed in Category 3, the largest (sales greater than 2,000,000 liters), for a total of six websites (double listed names were considered as a single website)⁴.
2. Websites for 11 wineries listed in Category 2 (sales between 200,000 and 2,000,000 liters). The first three names and every 5th and [5th + 3] name (e.g. the 5th, 8th, 10th, 13th, etc.) were selected, and if a website was available it was added to the data set.
3. Websites for 12 wineries listed in Category 1, the smallest (sales under 200,000 liters). Every 10th name was selected and if a website was available, it was added to the data set.
4. One additional website represented a winery included in a list of wineries around the world using Nebbiolo grapes, prepared by the Nebbiolo convention organizers mentioned earlier.

The sets of websites⁵ outlined above include wineries of different sizes located in different wine regions and are felt to be appropriate for exploring the issues addressed in the present article. Although the data sets are not directly comparable in terms of characteristics such as size, ownership, age, types of wine produced, and geographical location, the aim is not to perform a quantitative comparison of wineries by these characteristics, which in any case will be taken into consideration as appropriate. The aim, rather, is to explore the linguistic features contributing to building up a particular image, and to explore if and how local culture, history, and natural elements are treated in the text and how this relates to issues of shared knowledge.

In examining the websites for Australia and New Zealand, in addition to homepages, the pages normally consulted included *About Us*, *History*, *Winery/Vineyards*, *Wines*, sometimes indicated by slightly different names. During the early part of the investigation, it was not always immediately apparent when a website concerned a winery that seemed (relatively) small or “independent” but actually belonged to a larger group, in turn part of a global conglomerate. This issue is raised in the analysis and discussion, but in terms of data selection it must be kept in

⁴ The six websites are for Montana (wholly owned by Allied Domecq as of September 2001), Villa Maria, Nobilo Wine Group (since April 2003 owned by Constellation Wines, a division of Constellation Brands), Vidal, Delegat's Wine Estate, Esk Valley.

⁵ Some websites were accessed, saved and printed in 2003 and then in early 2004. For consistency, websites were saved and printed again the first week of April 2004 and in some cases, especially large groups or wineries involved in mergers and acquisitions, the first week of June 2004.

mind that the aim of this study is not to re-construct the various mergers and acquisitions in the wine industry over the last few years.

For definitions, this article draws on Hall, Johnson, Cambourne, Macionis, Mitchell and Sharples (2000, p. 5), who provide a definition for readers unfamiliar with the wine business, so that for the present article “a winery refers to the facility where grapes are made into wine. For the purpose of brevity, winery will be used here to refer to any winery or vineyard complex, with the term vineyard restricted solely to the area where vines are planted. The term wine producer is used here as an all-embracing term for a wine-grower, wine-maker, grape-grower, or the owner or manager of a winery or vineyard.”

3.1.3. Supplementary Data

Data collection for the wider study started in November 2002, and these data were available for reference for the present article. The preliminary data set consisted of 15 websites for wineries, wine regions and associations of wine producers in Italy, the U.S. (California and New York), Australia, and New Zealand, accessed in 2003. Some websites for organizations in Italy were in Italian and English, or in these two languages and German. Supplementary data also include 120 brochures for Italy and other countries obtained at the Vinitaly trade fair in April 2003. In January 2004 I attended the international convention on the Nebbiolo grape, held in Lombardy in northern Italy, where I spoke with wine producers from several countries, including Australia, and recorded spoken interactions. Further supplementary data include semi-structured interviews with the convention organizer, who also handles communication for the association of wine producers that organized the event.

3.2. A Brief Look at the Wine Industry in Australia and New Zealand

In Australia, the pursuit of viticulture and wine-making, according to Macionis and Cambourne (2000, p. 227), has been an important part of this country’s culture from the beginning of European settlement. They (2000, p. 227-228) indicate that Australia has a tradition of small family-owned wineries, adding that winery size according to tonnage crush shows two main categories: very large and very small (see also Batt & Wilson, 2000, who consider family-owned wineries in their discussion of buyer-seller relationships in Western Australia). According to the report Australian Wine Industry (Invest Australia, Australia Government), the Australian wine industry counts 1465 firms with most located in the southeast: South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales. These three states produce 96% of all Australian wine. The Wine Industry Report lists the four main companies as Southcorp, Beringer Blass (Foster’s), Constellation Brands (the former BRL Hardy) and Orlando Wyndham, which together hold a market share of 75.4%. According to this report,

Australia is the 4th wine exporter in the world with a 6.4% market share in 2001/2002; if Europe is excluded it is the top exporter. “Global Wine Production, Consumption and Trade: 1961-2001” attributes 5.2% of world export volume in 2001 to Australia (cited in Tugwell, 2003).

Turning to New Zealand, this country showed “[e]arly promise of the wine industry”, according to Hall, Longo, Mitchell and Johnson (2000, p. 150), who cite Bragato’s (1895, p. 11) positive appraisal in his report on the prospects for viticulture in New Zealand, published by the New Zealand Department of Agriculture. This promise, however, was “thwarted by the vine louse phylloxera, prohibitionism, the Depression and two world wars” (Hall, et al., p. 150) . In their view, changes in social attitudes towards wine and related institutional arrangements were at least partly a result of greater exposure of New Zealanders to European wine and food traditions (pp. 150-151). Dramatic growth came about in the 1990s as rural areas diversified into new agricultural products, and wine and winegrape production came increasingly to be seen by some smallholders as appropriate life style product (Hall & Johnson, 1998b, cited in Hall et al., 2000). In 2004 over 450 winery and vineyard names were listed on the website of the New Zealand Winegrowers – wine makers and grapegrowers (www.nzwines.com accessed 2 April 2004). The five largest producers accounted for 80% of production in 2000 (Nomisma, 2003, p. 83)⁶. Earlier figures, though conceivably calculated in a slightly different manner, highlight the large number of small wineries as well as the great volume concentrated in the hands of a few firms: Hall et al. (2000, p. 153) state that four producers “dominate” production, and according to Campbell (1997, cited in Hall et al. 2000), in 1996 four companies accounted for over 90% of wine produced in New Zealand⁷, while 93% of members of WINZ (Wine Institute of New Zealand) – 244 at that time – made under 22,000 cases annually (WINZ 1997 cited in Hall et al. 2000; for a discussion of the size of wineries in relation to business relationships and networks in the New Zealand wine industry, see Benson-Rea, 2002). New Zealand is a small producer, accounting for 2% of wine sales worldwide (Hall et al., 2000, p. 155).

The significance of New World wine producers is reflected in industry studies and the business press. An in-depth study (Nomisma, 2003) on wine marketing in Europe and the world wine industry gives much attention to these “new competitors” not only in discussing the world market, international trade, and distribution trends, but also in raising questions for European firms and discussing future scenarios. Turning to the business press, a recent article in *The Wall St.*

⁶ The same source (Nomisma, 2003, p. 83) attributes 68% of Australia’s 2002 production to the top five companies, but it must be noted that a number of mergers and acquisitions have occurred in Australia since 2000 and may have increased this figure. The percentage cited earlier for Australia (75.4% market share held by the top four companies in Australia, source: Wine Industry Report) is not directly comparable.

⁷ The four companies indicated by Campbell (1997) are: Corbans, Montana, Nobilos and the Villa Maria group. In November 2000, Corbans was acquired by Montana, in turn acquired by Constellation in September 2001; at the time this paper was written, the Corbans winery appeared on the Montana website with other Montana-owned wineries.

Journal Europe speaks of a “larger global grape battle pitting huge conglomerates from Australia, California, and elsewhere against Europe’s fragmented, family-run vineyards” (Tugwell, 2003, p. A5). These multinational corporations, the article states, “can supply large quantities of reliable, if homogenous, midpriced wine to the giant supermarkets world-wide that increasingly are the important retail outlets” (Tugwell, 2003, p. A5). Finally, some researchers have discussed wine tourism (see contributions to Hall, Sharples, Cambroune and Macionis, 2000) and consider its potential as a way to develop regional images for tourism (Hall, Johnson, Cambourne, Macionis, Mitchell and Sharples, 2000, p. 8). For example, Hall, Longo, Mitchell and Johnson (2000, p. 159) list New Zealand wine regions and respective “brand/images”.

3.3. Preliminary Analysis – Overview

A qualitative approach was used, with an initial examination conducted on a smaller set of websites and brochures, focusing on evaluative language and specialized lexis (technical terms, proper nouns and adjectives) in view of the issues addressed by this article. Categories of observations concerned (1) history; the use of dates, level of detail, proper nouns and adjectives in narratives, (2) the use of indigenous languages; references to native flora and fauna, (3) the link between regional image and the treatment of soil and climate; today’s pioneers and dreamers, and connections to Europe and the rest of the world, and (5) the presentation of wineries involved in mergers and acquisitions; speaking for the industry, the country, the region. Selected examples from the data will now be analyzed and discussed in Sections 4-7.

4. Constructing the History of a New World Wine Producing Country

A common feature of websites examined for Australia and some of the websites of larger wineries in New Zealand is the attention given to tracing past events by means of detailed narratives that frequently cite specific years, especially in the Australian data. Although similar features sometimes occur in the New Zealand data, they are not present to the same degree, and most of the websites of small wineries in New Zealand do not exhibit this characteristic at all. Sections 4.1 and 4.2 provide and discuss examples for Australia and New Zealand respectively.

4.1. Australia: European Settlement and Immigration, from Wool and Orchards to Wineries

An examination of the data shows how a range of linguistic choices help build up a more established image of wineries in Australia and at the same time increase knowledge of certain aspects of Australian history. Regardless of the age of the Australian wineries, dates from the

1800s often appear in website texts, but not necessarily in relation to the winery or wine-making. These dates may relate to the property, land use and ownership. Since specific years are very often cited in the usual number format, i.e. 1837, they stand out graphically from the rest of the text so that the page displays an immediately noticeable historical element. Proper nouns and adjectives concerning people or places also stand out because of capital letters. For websites displaying these features, the overall effect is that even short texts, whether they are on the Homepage, the *About Us* page or the *History* page, help build up a more established image for even relatively new wineries, while at the same time they build knowledge about historical events connected to the settlement and economic development of the country. A more implicit value that emerges is the importance that seems to be attributed to national and local history, down to the use of a piece of land over a century, as evidenced by lengthy narratives about land.

In Example 1, the relatively early establishment of vineyard (the late 1800s) and the inclusion of a family's pioneer origins allow a date prior to the establishment of the vineyards to be used, i.e. the 1840s. This gives a more established image to both the winery and the region, Barossa Valley. Moreover, for readers with less expertise, the text builds up awareness of the Barossa Valley as a wine region without overtly providing this as new information, so that the texts do not appear to patronize more knowledgeable readers. The inclusion of a specific number of acres and a year (again in the 1800s), suggests a positive value is attached to documented land use and land ownership and is thus "grounds" for inclusion. Unless otherwise indicated, here and in the examples that follow, features related to history / the past, settlement and immigration are in a frame, as are explicit references to today (e.g. *current*, *present*, *now*). Proper nouns and adjectives are underlined, and any explicit evaluation is in boldface and underlined.

- (1) The Kaesler Vineyards were established in 1893. The family, sprung from Silesian pioneers who came to the Barossa Valley in the 1840s, took up 96 acres in 1891. (Kaesler, Australia)

In the same website, an earlier date is used in relation to the "non-wine" local history of the wine region, as shown in Example 2, which appears on the second of eight screens under "History", with the screen titled *Barossa Valley - the "cream of South Australia"*.

- (2) Adelaide's founder, Colonel William Light, gave the Barossa its name. He journeyed into the area in 1837. (Kaesler, Australia)

In addition to illustrating how details such as dates are typically included, Examples 1 and 2 also show some of the different terms or phrases related to settlement or immigration, which often combine proper and nonproper nouns and adjectives. In example 1 “pioneers” evokes a somewhat adventurous note in the history of the wine region, while in Example 2, “founder” and “journey” represent alternative ways of referring to settlement. Various ways to refer to European settlement and immigration were noted elsewhere in the data. For example, Caledonia’s website (Australia) speaks of “explorer and squatter” Angus McMillan from Scotland as being moved by his first view of eastern Victoria from Mount Macleod in 1839.

While the winery in Examples 1 and 2 above was indeed established in the 1800’s, attention to past dates is also shown in websites for more recently established wineries, making vineyards and wine-making activities seem older even when, in fact, vineyards are fairly new to the property. For example, the welcome page for Ibis (Australia) dates old property as follows: “The vineyard was established in 1988 on the site of a previous family orchard dating from 1922”. Another relatively new winery, which started plantings in 1997 and produced forty cases of wine in 1999 and two thousand cases in 2003, presents a detailed history of its property, in its “About Fairview” page, selections of which are shown in Example 3 (Deletions are indicated by square brackets [...]). The historical details in the complete narrative contrast its newcomer status as a winery and in a certain sense its small production. In addition, by using “famous”, which has a positive connotation in this context, the text does not presuppose shared knowledge about the Hunter Valley wine region but rather signals expectations of a more general common knowledge of the region. As a result, the text “educates” whoever is unaware of the region’s status.

- (3) Fairview Wines is a boutique vineyard located on the outskirts of Australia’s **famous** Hunter Valley Wine Region. [...] The property has had a colourful history. The original farm house was moved to its current location in the 1880's from Greta. The property became an orchard in the early 1900's [...] (Fairview, Australia)

The website text following Example 3 above goes on to narrate all the uses of the land before grapevines were planted.

The history of the area in which the winery is located also receives attention in a number of websites, which helps build an established image for not only the winery but also the region. In Example 4, implicit and explicit positive evaluation concerns the wine producing area (the state of South Australia) and the specific wine region, in this case McLaren Vale. The text does not presuppose knowledge of South Australia as Australia’s major wine-producing state and explicitly “educates” readers unaware of this. Example 4 also gives attention to years in which

plantings were made in the region (and not just in the vineyard in question), which was noted in other Australia websites, with dates usually from the 1800s, and to a lesser degree in the New Zealand data. Items evoking historical elements are implicitly positive and continue to be outlined by a frame, while other implicit evaluation is underlined, and explicit positive evaluation is underlined and in bold. Though not all proper nouns and adjective have been underlined, because they are near positive evaluation they start to acquire this positive status.

- (4) Coriole Vineyards was established by the **Lloyd family** in 1967, in hills overlooking the McLaren Vale wine region and Gulf St Vincent. The area is one of Australia's oldest and **best-known** wine districts. [...] The original vineyard at Coriole was planted in 1920. Further plantings were added in the late 1960's and 1990's. [...] Coriole has a landmark cottage garden spread around a heritage listed barn and cottage, dating from the 1860's, and constructed of local ironstone. [...] The region lies south of Adelaide, the capital city of South Australia, which is the **major** wine growing State of Australia. The first vines were planted there in the 1840s, shortly after European settlement in South Australia (Coriole, Australia)

To describe an estate, some websites draw on another aspect of Australian history and its past economic development: the wool industry, as shown in Example 5, from the winery's history page. Similar to Example 4, it specifies a local building material, which is implicitly positive. The use of first and last names and references to the family (in boldface) personalizes not only the estate in question, but also the region and more generally, the history of Australia as constructed by individual people with names and relationships.

- (5) Padthaway Estate is located in the heart of the Padthaway wine region of South Australia. This region takes its name from the estate which was settled by pioneers, **Robert and Eliza Lawson** in 1847. [...] The homestead, built of local limestone in 1882, is a two storey Victorian mansion with wide verandas and an **elegant** and timeless symmetry. Originally the home of the **Lawson Family** and the centrepiece of a vast sheep station, it was built to reflect the **family's success** and dominance at a time when wool was king in the Australian economy. (Padthaway, Australia)

4.2. New Zealand: Non-winery History and Wine Making Today

The New Zealand data shows less attention given to citing specific years and providing long narratives, whether related or unrelated to wine-making. When years are cited, they usually concern the winery's establishment, and in some cases years in the first part of the 1900s refer to the arrival of winery or vineyard founders in New Zealand. Only a few dates from the 1800s were noted, and these were usually related to non-wine history. One notable exception in the New Zealand data were pages in the Montana website dedicated to the wineries and vineyards owned by Montana, some of which provide details about grapevines planted in the 1800s as well as well as the changes in winery ownership.

Example 6 shows one of the few occurrences of a year from the 1800s in the websites for small- to medium-sized wineries (in this case, Category 1, small). Although it may appear similar to some of the Australia examples, it can be noted that here the date occurs close to evaluative language concerning present day conditions, with “excellent” soil resulting from a past natural event – a flood that exposed an alluvial fan of gravel. Less “space” is thus given to historical details in this example, and this is also the case of most other New Zealand websites examined. History related to a natural phenomenon thus allows a connection with the past, and the inclusion of “gravel”, though not explicitly evaluated as positive in this particular text, can be considered implicitly positive (elsewhere in the data “gravel” is often either implicitly or explicitly evaluated positively as soil or terrain for vines, to be discussed in Section 6.1). In terms of building shared knowledge, Example 6 uses the name of a nearby river (Ngaruroro), which helps identify location for those familiar with the river and provides a local marker for readers without this prior knowledge, but for both kinds of readers the river implies a source of water. Note that “Original vineyards” are not dated and in itself the expression takes on implicit positive evaluation, suggesting a time element, confirmed by the inclusion of “vine age” in the part that follows.

- (6) Located just south of the Ngaruroro River in Hawkes Bay, the **Blake Family Vineyards** sit on an alluvial fan of gravel that was exposed by the great flood of the 1870's. Our first vineyard, 125 Gimblett Road, is one of the original vineyards of the Gimblett Gravels Wine Growing District, making us **fortunate** to be able to combine the **excellent** soil and vine characteristics with vine age, to create a fruit of incredible complexity. (Blake Family Vineyards)

While the present study does not focus on website layout, graphics and images, Example 6 above comes from a website which also gives prominence to the region: “Blake Family Vineyards,

Hawkes Bay, New Zealand” appears in larger typeface and is set off in a box above the text of Example 6. The name of the winery is slightly more prominent than the name of the region, in turn slightly more prominent than “New Zealand”. In other websites of New Zealand wineries, the name of the region was given a similar fairly prominent position.

A specific aspect of New Zealand’s history is evoked in another of the infrequent occurrences of dates. In Example 7, by including the background of a place name, the contrast is between the relatively recent establishment of the winery (1985) with the 1770 naming of the bay from which the winery took its name. Interestingly, the winery’s connection to an Australian winery that belongs to a corporate group is presented before the text refers to New Zealand. The first sentence in Example 7 represents the first paragraph of the Company Profile page appearing under “Our Company”. The rest of Example 7 consists of the 3rd and 4th paragraphs. The company’s status as part of a larger group, the region, geographical location and history are combined in a relatively short text, condensing features seen to be of value in the websites for the two countries. A shift occurs in the final part of example, where explicit evaluation combines with business terminology (in boldface), with “success” relating to the region Marlborough and not the company.

- (7) Cloudy Bay Vineyards was established in 1985 by Cape Mentelle, the Western Australian winery, which today is a part of the Moet Hennessy Wine Estates. [...] The winery takes its name from the bay at the eastern extremity of the Wairau Valley. It was named Cloudy Bay by Captain Cook on his voyage to New Zealand in 1770. [...]
- The wines of Cloudy Bay are **exported** to 20 countries worldwide, the **principal markets** being Australia, United Kingdom, USA, Europe and Japan. Cloudy Bay will continue to **expand its operations** and the **company** believes that the continued **success** of Marlborough lies in the **production** of **premium** wines from varieties **best suited** to the region. (Cloudy Bay, New Zealand)

4.3. Drawing on Past Generations

In some websites for both Australia and New Zealand, references to generations and/or families in the past lead up to the present and provide a glimpse of economic activities. In the case of Australian wineries, this often helps build shared knowledge for those audiences unaware of the country’s economy, without, however, explicitly explaining it. In Example 8, for instance, the main information is the historical presence of the family; however the text also builds knowledge about the role of cattle in commerce. Example 9, on the other hand, increases the reader’s awareness of land grants in the past, which in this case concerns the 1830s and focuses on the

history of land. In this example, even if the term “generation” does not appear, it is clear that generations of a family (the Fox’s) are involved, and that even the family of current owners, personalized through the use of first names, has held the land for decades. Similar examples occur elsewhere in the data: by giving the history of a family (understandably less known to the reader, who is not expected to know), the text can provide information about the local history and economy to audiences with different degrees of knowledge about these areas.

- (8) The **MacGillivray family** have been established in the Coonawarra region of South Australia for five generations and now, with Black Angus stud cattle and commercial herds at Wittalocka, Keith [...] (Longview, Australia)
- (9) In the late 1830’s, the land was granted by the South Australian Government to the **Fox family** and has been in the **Fox family** until **Frank and Judy Harrison** purchased it in 1969. (Ulithorne, Australia)

The New Zealand websites evoking a generational presence show slight differences to the ones observed for Australia. In Example 10, the occurrence of “generation” is explicitly connected to people today, a winemaker and his cousin, who are attributed experience and expertise in winemaking. Example 11, in contrast, makes an implicit connection between generations (five) and wine making experience through the presence of “France”, thus combining a New Zealand heritage with an Old World wine tradition.

- (10) Owned by **Alwyn Corban**, a fourth generation **New Zealand winemaker**, and his **cousin Brian Corban**, Ngatarawa Wines upholds a long tradition of winemaking **excellence**. (Ngatarawa Wines, New Zealand)
- (11) Behind St Arnaud’s is a fifth generation **New Zealand family** whose forebears arrived in the country from France a century ago. (Gravitas, St Arnaud’s Vineyard, New Zealand)

In Example 11 above, “forebears arrived” represents yet another way of expressing immigration-settlement, while Example 12 below, representing a more recent European tradition, uses emigrate (from) vs. immigrate. Example 12 is from a large (Category 3) winery in New Zealand, and although business titles are used, first names and references to family relationships personalize the winery, as noted in some of the other websites examined. The text appears under

the heading “The Family” on the *About Us* page, suggesting the positive value attached to family.

(12) Delegat's Wine Estate is one of New Zealand's largest **family owned** and **family managed** wine producers....established for over 50 years.

The Managing Director is **Jim Delegat** and his **sister, Rosemari Delegat**, is Executive Director. Their **parents, Nikola and Vidosava**, founded the **family** wine business in New Zealand in 1947 after both emigrated from what is modern day Croatia in the late 1930s. The original vineyard and winery was established in 1947 at Henderson, west of Auckland city. The grapes have long disappeared but the site remains home to today's modern winery. (Delegat's Wine Estate, New Zealand)

The data include other references to wineries being “family owned” and “New Zealand” owned, suggesting this is of value, with these wineries aiming to differentiate themselves from others lacking these kind of New Zealand ties. For example, the website for the large winery Villa Maria includes the text: “A family owned New Zealand Winery. Founded in 1961 by its current owner and Managing Director, George Fistonich, Villa Maria is 100% New Zealand owned”.

Other websites for mostly small wineries refer to immigration in the 1950s. This is especially the case of the Australian websites in Nebbiolo data set, with relative newcomers to Australia or else second generation Australians establishing wineries, often starting in the 1970s. For both countries, linguistic choices about generations co-occurring with first name references present a more personalized picture of the winery and the country's past.

5. The Local Environment: Indigenous Language(s) and Native Flora and Fauna

References to indigenous cultures are infrequent in both the Australia and the New Zealand data, and when they do occur, they usually involve explanations of the indigenous language, for example place names and names given to a winery or a wine. Since this was noted in only a few websites, it is interesting to examine these items as something left “unsaid” in the other websites. Examples 13-15 are from the Australia data and Examples 16-18 are from the New Zealand data. Native flora and fauna also provide a local element existing prior to European settlement, and although such references are not frequent, they are worthy of attention as they express a unique aspect of the two countries (Section 5.2, Examples 19-20; linguistic choices concerning native flora are also discussed in Section 6).

5.1. Names in the Indigenous Language

Two Aboriginal names are explained in Example 13, in a passage also characterized by proper names and dates, discussed earlier in Section 4. The terms in the indigenous language occur in the context of details such as proper names, a land section number, dates from the 1800s, and so on, so that even attention given to indigenous culture is surrounded by the detailed documentation of people (settlers), the land, its name(s) and its use – all part of European settlement and immigration.

- (13) Some 200 [German immigrants] arrived in 1838. Hundreds more followed. By 1842, some families had moved to the Barossa Valley, first to Bethany and then to Langmeil, later given the Aboriginal name for a waterhole, "Tanunda". [...] One of them [the settlers], Johann Carl Schultz took up a portion of Section 122, along the road to Angas Park, later to be known as Nuriootpa, another Aboriginal name. (Kaesler, Australia)

Interestingly, the other two occurrences of explanations for indigenous place names noted in the data for Australia, shown in Examples 14 and 15, also involve water, similar to the meaning attributed to “Tanunda” in Example 13 above. Example 14 refers to the name of a winery in turn named after a place name in the indigenous language. In addition to evoking an indigenous presence and culture, the explanation of the original place name provides information about water sources, suggesting the winery is in an appropriate location. Moreover, specifying that the site was “chosen” is also evidence of an implicitly positive location.

- (14) The site chosen was referred to by Aboriginals as "tabilk-tabilk" meaning "place of many waterholes". (Tabilk, Australia)

In Example 15, the term explained – Baarrooka – is the name of the winery itself. The homepage explains that the winery is located on what was originally sheep and cattle grazing land, and the husband and wife team bought the property for a vineyard after much research and analysis. The texts provide evidence that a conscious choice was made to use a word in the indigenous language – and here, too, water is involved.

- (15) The word Baarrooka comes from the Aboriginal Daungwurrung language and means 'like a duck resting on water'. (Baarrooka, Australia)

Similarly, in the New Zealand websites examined, the two explanations of indigenous language concern a place name (or at least descriptions of a place). In Example 16, the winery is named after the English translation of the Maori place name representing the area in which the winery is located. Example 17 concerns a winery was given the indigenous name of the “district”, with the indigenous name explained in terms of ridges (and not water-related).

- (16) Situated in the **Waipara area** of North Canterbury, New Zealand, Muddy Water is a direct translation from the Maori place name - *wai* (water) *para* (sediment, mud). (Muddy Water, New Zealand)
- (17) Established in 1981, **Ngatarawa Wines** (pronounced **Naa Taa Raa Waa**) is one of the first boutique wineries in New Zealand. The winery takes its name from the district in which it is located. The name **Ngatarawa** means 'between the ridges'. (Ngatarawa Wines, New Zealand)

A final example concerns a Maori name, Te Koko, given to a wine produced by a New Zealand winery founded by an Australian winery and part of a large group.

- (18) The bay at the Eastern extremity of the Wairau Valley, named 'Cloudy Bay' by Captain Cook, was originally known as '**Te Koko - o - Kupe**' by the Maori people of the region. Legend has it that Kupe, the Tahitian explorer dredged for oysters in the bay and **Te Koko** refers to the scoop used by Kupe to lift the oysters from the seabed. (Cloudy Bay, New Zealand)

A different kind of reference to an indigenous language appears on the homepage of the Nobile Wine Group Website. “Welcome to the Nobile Wine Group website...” appears in large typeface (with “Welcome” larger than the rest of the phrase), followed by “and “Kia Ora” to our beautiful country”. For a reader unfamiliar with this expression, the linguistic context makes it clear it is a greeting/welcome.

5.2. Native Flora and Fauna: A Unique Picture

Although references to native plants and animals are not as common as other features in the websites for both countries, when such references do occur, they contribute to building up a unique aspect of wineries and more generally the two countries. At the same time they represent

an alternative way to increase knowledge not necessarily directly related to the winery. This makes it worthwhile to examine two representative texts. Example 19 is taken from the Baarrooka website, interestingly one of the few websites giving attention to indigenous language (see Example 15), and more precisely from a page entitled “Strathbogie Ranges”. By specifying the names of wildlife, the winery is placed in the context of a natural environment that differs from that of traditional wine producing countries.

(19) The region is also especially renowned for its abundance of native wildlife – koalas, kangaroos, echidnas and wombats – which can be observed at close quarters in their natural habitat. (Baarrooka, Australia)

Another Australian website explains the significance of a kind of grass, “yakka” or “Xanthorrea Semiplana”, in terms of Australian culture and the winery’s business itself, as the grass is part of its logo and a wine has been named after the grass.

(20) The lasting qualities of this wine have earned it the title of Longview Yakka, the native grass Xanthorrea Semiplana that is part of our logo and an Australian icon synonymous with hard work and longevity. (Longview, Australia)

Local flora also receives attention in Section 6, which provides examples of how its significance or relevance is evaluated in terms of wine-making. Indeed, of the references in the websites to indigenous language, native flora and native fauna, it is native flora that receives the most attention.

6. Image-building with a Regional Focus

This section focuses on linguistic features that help build up the image of specific wine regions in Australia and New Zealand. Although some examples discussed earlier have occasionally involved specific areas, the emphasis was more on historical detail, contrary to the regional focus resulting from the particular evaluative status that specialized lexis takes on in certain texts. Features that help build up the image of regions can be summarized as follows: (1) implicit and explicit positive evaluation related to soil and climate and the relevance of these local elements, (2) references to people today who are presented as pioneers, suggesting foresight, especially concerning regions new to wines in New Zealand, (3) explicit references to dreams and searches to fulfil dreams, suggesting a lifestyle choice involving wine-making, with texts positioning new

wine regions as equivalent to older, well-known areas, with names of newer areas thus taking on a positive connotation and a more established status, (4) lexical items evoking international connections through professional experience and travel (this, too, relates to lifestyles and also contributes to building a positive status for the wine regions and countries cited).

6.1. Soil and Climate and Their Relevance to Wine Making

Most of the websites examined for both countries give attention to explaining or at least suggesting the relevance of soil types and climate, and often use technical terms in doing so. Example 21 includes not only technical terms (outlined in a frame) but also connects the soil of a New Zealand winery to the soils of an Old World wine region. “Ideal” is used to indicate the relevance of the soil and its technical description; this lexical item was also observed to serve this purpose in the data for the preliminary study (Poncini, 2004b⁸). The positive connotation for the soil type is also built up by presenting it as equivalent to “Burgundian soils” through the use of “mirroring”. The linguistic choices thus create a link with wine-making processes and more specifically grape growing and local natural conditions; they presuppose recognition of the value of “Burgundian soils” to wine-making and to the varieties Pinot Noir and Chardonnay, explicitly evaluated as “great”.

(21) Our soils are loam over calcarious clay on limestone bedrock, **ideal** for growing Pinot Noir and Chardonnay, **mirroring** the Burgundian soils that are the natural home of these great varieties. (Muddy Water, New Zealand)

In Example 22, the information given about climate is implicitly positive for wines, and the reader is assumed to recognize this; the native flora is presented as playing a positive role for the climate of the area in which the winery is located.

(22) Only 3 kms from the coast of the Indian Ocean creates a temperate maritime climate. With this and the **protective** surrounding Marri and Karri trees of the National Parks, spring is frost free and the summers are long and mild. (Eagle Vale, Australia)

While most websites show few occurrences of explicit positive evaluation, a high concentration of explicit and implicit evaluation of soils and other aspects of the environment of a specific region can be noted in Example 23, taken from a website for a larger winery in Australia.

⁸ In general, however, materials examined in the first part of the study showed that websites for wineries in areas such as New York gave less attention to soil and climate than websites examined for Australia and New Zealand.

(23) At Xanadu Wines, rolling slopes of vines **flourish** in the rich, free draining gravel soils of the Margaret River region where they are fed by an abundant supply of **pristine** water and **sheltered** by forests of **magnificent** marri trees. It's a **near-perfect** environment for viticulture. (Xanadu Normans Wine Group, Australia⁹)

In another website for a large winery, this time in New Zealand, much implicit positive evaluation (underlined) helps build up the image of the Marlborough region as opposed to other regions in the country. The implicit evaluation follows a part of the text that includes several business terms (e.g. *investing*, *expansion*). “Delegat family” and not the full company name is used, providing a more personal element. The text builds up knowledge about the region in terms of wine-making and why having planted vineyards there is good for business.

(24) Starting in the late 1980s, and through the 1990s, the **Delegat family** has established a strong viticultural presence in **the Marlborough wine region** of New Zealand's South Island, *investing* in and establishing **prime** vineyard sites. This *expansion* continues today. **Marlborough** regularly gets more sunshine hours than any other region in New Zealand and it has a long slow ripening season extending into April, with cooler nights helping to preserve acidity. Our **Oyster Bay Marlborough** vineyards are planted in the **prime** central Wairau Valley on shallow stony soils over deep layers of free draining river shingle...**ideal** for reducing vine vigour and encouraging concentrated fruit flavours. (Delegat Family Wine Estates, New Zealand)

6.2. Today's Pioneers, Dreamers and Connections to the World

This section provides examples of how texts present individuals as pioneers with foresight and, in doing so, help build the reputation of regions relatively new to wine making. It also shows how individuals' present day travels and experiences can be evoked in the texts to create a connection to Europe and European wine regions, their natural characteristics and wine-making traditions, thus presenting new regions in a positive light. Many cases were noted above all in the small and medium-sized wineries in both countries. In these texts, the careful choice of site also stands out.

⁹ This is from the *History* page for Xanadu Margaret River, reached by hypertext link on a frame on the page “Who is Zanadu Normans?”. The same page includes a separate link for Normans Wines, as discussed in Section 7.1.)

6.2.1. “New Pioneers” in New Zealand

In a number of websites, usually for small- to medium-sized wineries (but not only), attention is given to the region or an area of it rather than the country itself by suggesting the foresight of people who choose to plant vines in that particular region. In some cases this highlights the newness of the region, often evaluated positively. In Example 21, from the website of a Category 2 (medium-sized) winery in New Zealand, the past actions of the “pioneer” (first name reference) were met with scepticism, but the text evaluates the area today as a “leading...site”, though hedged (“arguably”).

- (25) **Chris** literally pioneered grape plantings at Gimblett Road, Hawks Bay in 1982 – a move viewed with some scepticism at the time. The winery now owns and manages over 142 hectares of vineyard in Gimblett Road, arguably the **leading** viticultural site in New Zealand. (CJ Pask, New Zealand)

Similarly, the Wairau River Wines website (Marlborough, New Zealand, Category 2, medium-sized) begins its homepage with a statement suggesting vision and foresight on the part of the founders: “In 1978 Phil & Chris Rose were some of the first people to plant grapes in Marlborough”. These kinds of linguistic choices help build up the worth of the region¹⁰. Moreover, the individuals who demonstrated foresight about the area – the “pioneers” – are also placed in a positive light and add a personal element to the winery and the region.

6.2.2. Dreams and Searching to Fulfil Them

Another way to help build the image of a region and a winery is to include lifestyle-related references, e.g. the idea of searching the world for a site and explicit references to a “dream” of owning a winery or vineyard. In these cases, the text specifies the location was conscientiously chosen, making connections to more established wine regions by including the names of areas NOT chosen to fulfil the dream. As a consequence, the positive status of the chosen area grows, with the New World wine regions favorably compared to famous Old World regions. Many examples were noted in the data. Example 26 lists countries and regions in Australia, and assumes the reader knows the regions are in Australia. A further item of interest is that in the text, the vineyard is equivalent to home. First person plural, *we*, is used, while the website shows a picture of a man and a woman next to the text. With only one reference to a past event and year, the past is not the focus. Rather, the focus is on today and personal connections to places

¹⁰ As mentioned earlier in the paper, the visual aspect of the website is also important. Wineries in this area include “Marlborough” with their logo or their winery name on the website in a slightly smaller-sized typeface.

around the world, countries and regions, which are evaluated positively by the two individuals, who ultimately prefer the Barossa Valley, thus placed in a positive light.

- (26) We travelled the world in search of the **ultimate home** for us, a place that would fulfil our dream of being makers of very **special, unique** wine. Many places **charmed** us -- Cyprus, France, Portugal, Spain, Madeira, New Zealand, Victoria, Tasmania, Margaret River and the Hunter Valley -- but we kept returning to the Barossa Valley, drawn by all it had to offer: [...] Upon seeing our 45 acre (18 hectare) vineyard, initially purchased in 1853 by George Friedrich Schmidt for one pound an acre, we knew we had discovered the vineyard and home of our dream. (Haan Wines, Australia)

Explicit positive evaluation was included in the deleted part ([...]), which listed four positively evaluated points, with the second point “a strong commitment of preserving a great vineyard heritage (where special wine starts!) and not letting it be taken over by industry or subdivision”. This hints at (potential) conflicts today, where the wine industry in both countries has been described as consisting of mostly very small or very large wineries, and a number of mergers and acquisitions have taken place.

The search and dream can be taken further, as shown in Example 27, which illustrates another way connections can be made to European wine-making today, in this case by using names of wines made in Italy. The text assumes readers’ knowledge of specific wines such as Amarone but not necessarily of Verona as an area in which it is produced. It presents climate and soils of the New Zealand site and a European area as similar and draws on the European area’s fame, while the earlier reference to “extensive research” implies credibility. Similar examples were observed in other websites, in which two winery sites, one in the Old World and one in the New World, are presented as comparable and both implicitly of high quality. Although the third person is used (as opposed to the use of “we” to present dreams as in Example 26), the winery is personalized through the use of first names only in most of its website texts.

- (27) Having decided to establish a vineyard to pioneer the production of Italian style wines, **Enzo Bettio** and his **wife Margaret** searched to find just the **right** locality to realise their dream. Extensive research showed that the climate and sunshine hours of Auckland's East Coast are virtually equivalent to the wine growing area of **Verona**, which produces Amarone and Valpolicella. (Vinalto, New Zealand)

Other websites also claim soil and/or climate conditions are similar to well-known European wine-producing regions. In Example 28 below, explicit positive evaluation is used to evaluate Bordeaux wines, which are connected to a family's wine-making goals in Australia. Similar to Example 27, a famous wine name with a positive value (in this case, *Bordeaux*) is thus worked into a text about winery, this time in Australia. The claim is not that this wine is produced, but rather the brothers' goal is to produce wine in Australia that is comparable in quality to the "excellent Bordeaux wines such as Mouton-Rothschild". Common knowledge about the value of Clare Valley is claimed through "known to be excellent".

- (28) The **excellent** Bordeaux wines such as Mouton-Rothschild had long held a fascination for the Taylor brothers and producing wines of comparable quality in Australia prompted the **family's** foray into the winemaking industry. With this goal in mind, the site was carefully chosen for the red brown loam over limestone soils (called terra rossa) and the cool climate of the Clare Valley, **known to be excellent** for producing Cabernet Sauvignon.
(Wakefield, Australia)

The "search" can also involve a winery with a slightly greater business focus implied by the text. Example 29 uses terms such as *worldwide*, *property*, *buy into* (italicized in the example). It also uses "co-owners" – more business-related than "family" or references to husband and wife owners – but the "co-owners" are defined as "wine lovers". In the example, three consecutive passages lead up to a positive presentation of Barossa Valley as a wine-producing region, and in a sense the text also "speaks for" the Barossa. Moreover, the text helps build up the image of other regions, too: by including "Marlborough in New Zealand" in the same category as famous and established wine regions in the world that were considered and not chosen, the text contributes to positioning Marlborough as one of the world's famous wine regions and thus increases its value. Even if another area is chosen in the end, the New World areas cited in this kind of text stand to gain status through implicit positive evaluation, since the text implies the areas are comparable and of high quality.

- (29) The present range of Kaesler Wines springs from a worldwide search for a *property* to produce the **best** possible grapes for red wine.
Winemaker Reid Bosward and his *co-owners*, a group of international wine lovers, searched areas such as America's Napa Valley, the south of France, Marlborough in New Zealand and other parts of Australia before deciding to *buy into* the Barossa.

“No other area can produce the intensity of flavor that we have in the Barossa,” says Ried. (Kaesler, Australia)

6.3. Connecting Worlds: Weaving a Web of Travel and Work Experience

Some websites cite the travel and wine-making experience of people currently involved in the winery, and in doing so list different countries and wine regions around the world. This is usually (but not always) done on the *People* page and is interesting because both New World and Old World wine-producing countries and regions are included, which helps make the New World areas seem more established, an effect similar to what was discussed in Section 6.2.2. In addition, the use of first names further personalizes the winery in these cases, as shown in Example 30.

(30) **Bruce** is a winemaker from New Zealand who has had extensive overseas winemaking experience in the United States and in different countries in Europe. **Anna-Barbara** is a viticulturist and winemaker from Germany who has also had similar viticultural/winemaking experience in various countries. Before both decided to build up their own estate here in **New Zealand**, they managed an estate in Tuscany, Italy for several years producing recognized premium red wines. (Unison, New Zealand)

Similar examples are present in the data. For instance, another winery (Gravitas, St. Arnaud’s Vineyard, New Zealand) states about a member of its “wine-making team”: “Over 15 years’ experience in winemaking (France, Chile, Eastern Europe and New Zealand)”. By including other New World wine producers such as “Chile”, or wine regions in New Zealand and Australia, these kinds of text draw on personal experiences to attest to the entrance of these new regions into the world of wines. Not surprisingly, this contrasts with *People* pages for some large wineries providing individuals’ prior experience in executive positions by naming other corporations in the industry and not necessarily countries.

7. Corporate Marriages: Websites for Large Wine Groups

This section focuses on websites for mostly large wineries, often involved in mergers and acquisitions (M&As). It examines the ways M&As, the winery history, and the country (or region) are portrayed in the texts. Observations fall into three main categories: (1) some websites use M&As to extend the history of the winery further back in time, even if the name of an early winery no longer appears in the current winery or group name, (2) the status of wineries as part

of a larger corporate group or as connected through M&As is not always evident, with websites differing in degrees of explicitness, (3) some texts on websites of a large wineries occasionally appear to speak for the wine industry of the respective country or the country itself. The section closes with examples from websites of two other wineries “promoting” New Zealand as an attractive area to visit, suggesting new visions or at least another voice present in winery websites.

7.1. Acquiring a Longer History?

Websites for large wineries in Australia and New Zealand share similarities with what was noted in most websites for Australian wineries of all sizes, i.e. providing details from the past and citing years from the 1800s as discussed in Section 4. What stands out is that sometimes the history of the winery / group goes further back in time as a result of M&A activity, with the earliest date provided by an older but fairly recently acquired winery. In Example 31, the passage is from the “Normans Wines” page of the Xanadu Normans Wine Group website, with the “historical facts” involving Normans Wines, purchased by Xanadu in 2001. The “Normans” logo includes “ESTABLISHED 1853”. The three sentences in the example represent the first sentence of each of the first three paragraphs respectively, and although part of the text providing additional detailed historical information has been deleted, the example illustrates the kinds of details the text includes (e.g., dates; first names + last names as well as first name only; family relations, including number of sons and daughters). These items are then followed by a concentration of business lexis (italicized) (e.g. *brands, business name, packaged stock*) concerning the recent acquisition.

- (31) Founded in 1853 by Jesse Norman, **Normans Wines** is one of Australia’s oldest winemakers and in 2003, will celebrate its 150th anniversary. [...] In 1857, Jesse married Lucy Peacock from Bristol, and they had five sons and a daughter. [...] In October 2001, **Xanadu Wines Limited** purchased the **key premium brands** and the *business name* of **South Australian** wine producer **Normans Wines** along with its **Clarendon** winery and vineyard and *packaged stock* of **premium** wines. (Xanadu Normans Wine Group, Australia)

In the above example, the first year cited, 1853, represents the establishment of wine producer Normans Wines. Normans Wines and Xanadu Margaret River each have a separate page on the

wine group website, which helps clarify which indeed has the longer history (these separate pages are reached through hypertext links on a page titled “Who is Xanadu Normans?”). In other cases, however, the past may involve a winery whose name is no longer part of the current winery name. For example, the “Australian winemaking heritage” of Beringer Blass Wine Estates (BBWE), according to the page titled *Proud Heritage* on its website, goes back to the late 19th century, when the “original Mildara winery” was established. At present, however, the name *Mildara* is no longer part of the company name, though it is listed on the BBWE page titled “Our Wines” (which provides 28 links to wine brands/winery names, to be discussed later in this section), and it was part of the name *Mildara Blass*, which according to the website was formed in 1991 when the Mildara winery merged with Wolf Blass Wines – it was *Mildara Blass* that “teamed up” with Beringer Estates, thus the “Beringer” in today’s name (the year is not provided in this text, but it appears to have occurred in or after 2000, since the text informs the reader that *Mildara Blass* was growing and successful in that year).

(32) **Beringer Blass'** **Australian** winemaking **heritage** **dates back** to the **late 19th century** when the **original Mildara winery** was **established** at the Jamieson's Run sheep station in **Victoria**, within the Chaffey Brothers' **pioneering Murray River** irrigation settlement. [...] **Wolf Blass Wines** was **founded in 1966** by German-born **Barossa Valley** winemaker Wolf Blass, [...] The two **legends** **combined in 1991** to create **Mildara Blass**, which grew by the **year 2000** to become **Australia's most successful** wine company. [...] **Now**, this **Australian legend** has **teamed up** with **California's Beringer Wine Estates**, enabling **Beringer Blass** to offer the **world's** **leading** portfolio of **luxury** and **premium** wines. (Beringer Blass Wine Estates, Australia¹¹)

In the example above, the detailed narrative includes many occurrences of implicitly positive evaluation about the past, which also occur in deleted parts, and it is followed by a shift to the business situation today. The Australian focus (countries and regions are outlined in a boldface frame) together with the wineries representing “Australian legends” are thus connected to world business (*world, portfolio...of wines*) once Mildara Blass “teams up” with a California winery. Rather than refer to M&As through terms such as “purchase”, merge” or “acquire”, the text uses language that is conceivably neutral (*combined*) or implicitly positive (*teamed up*), in italics. Interestingly, in contrast to the Xanadu Normans Wine Group website, which maintains separate

¹¹ On the Beringer Blass Wine Estates homepage, the first sentence of Example 32 appears with “Read more” after “irrigation settlement”. Clicking on “Read More” leads to page title *Proud Heritage*.

pages – and dates of establishment – for the two wineries, the Beringer Blass logo includes “EST 1876” underneath the name full name “Beringer Blass Wine Estates”. A separate website for Beringer Vineyards California provides 1876 as its year of establishment, so this may be the origin of the year used for BBWE (though to be sure, the year of establishment of Mildara winery needs to be known).

As mentioned in Section 3 on data, in some cases it is not immediately apparent whether a website is for a “stand alone” winery/wine group or whether the winery belongs to a larger corporation. Berenger Blass Wine Estates is an interesting case in point. Its website includes a page titled “Our Wines”, which lists 28 wine brands/company names with links to the respective website; these names include among others “Beringer” (leads to the website for Beringer Vineyards, California), Wolf Blass its homepage states “Australian wine at its peak”), Mildara, and Matua Valley. Matua Valley was included in the New Zealand data set as one of the “category 2” websites (see Section 3.1.2), but on the Matua Valley website, Matua’s connection to Beringer Blass is not immediately evident. A reference to it first appears towards the end of a lengthy text on the Matua Valley *History* page (over 1440 words), followed by a comment about having become “part of the Beringer Blass family”¹².

At the same time, the connection between BBWE and the larger Foster’s Group is not immediately evident on the BBWE website, since Foster’s Group is not mentioned on its homepage or *Heritage* page. The connection to Foster’s become apparent by clicking on “Shareholders Reserve” or “About Wine” on the BBWE homepage, since this opens Foster’s homepage or Foster’s *History of Wine* page, respectively, with Foster’s name and logo evident on all pages. Foster’s *Company Profile* lists Beringer Blass Wine Estates as one of four divisions. Through pages titled *History of Wine* and *Wine in Australia* on the Foster’s website, this Australian group positions itself as part of wine in the world, with historical elements thus connected to Australia, too, in virtue of its status as a wine producer. For example, the *History of Wine* text explains that vines were widely cultivated in Egypt around 3000 BC, and it discusses grape growing and winemaking spreading throughout Europe in the Greek and Roman times¹³. The group appears to speak for the industry in Australia on the *Wine in Australia* page.

¹² The text towards the end of the page explains that a decision was made to seek an international partner. “It would mean that Matua would no longer have an exclusive New Zealand ownership, but conversely, expanded vineyards would cement the company’s New Zealand identity through the character of its wines”. Shortly after this, the text identifies the international partner chosen, Fosters, citing its “international vision that culminated in the creation of the company’s wine division, Beringer Blass” and then speaking of “the short time since Matua Valley has become part of the Beringer Blass family...”. Matua’s connection to a large group is thus evaluated positively.

¹³ This “broad view” of wine making is not limited to large groups. Another interesting example is on the website for a small, relatively new winery in New Zealand, which speaks of the ancient Romans. A page titled *Wine Making* states: “The name of this particular wine is Retico (the old Roman name for wine made from dried grapes) [...]”, while the *News* page describes tours: “For those interested in the winemaking aspects, Enzo and his team will detail

Another approach is that of large winery Montana (New Zealand), which provides details about its own M&As on a page titled “Montana's History”; the subtitle: “A tale of passionate pioneers” is followed by the text “The New Zealand wine industry was still in its infancy in 1934, when Yugoslavian immigrant Ivan Yukich planted his first vineyard [...]” A shift to present day business occurs at the bottom of the page: “On 31 August 2001, international liquor company Allied Domecq paid over NZ\$1 billion to acquire Montana”. The *About* page provides further information “Today the company represents the culmination of many pioneering New Zealand wineries joined together, including Church Road and Corbans Wines”. Each of five wineries and the vineyards (four) are included on a frame, and clicking on the name will lead to a separate history and description for each one. Each one thus maintains its history throughout other M&As, as opposed to “passing on” their individual history to the group.

Finally, one of the most direct and evident ways to show a connection to a larger group is that used by the Nobile (New Zealand) website, which includes the phrase “A Constellation Company” in the upper part of each web page.

7.2. History and Corporate Structure: Considerations on the Homepage, *About* Page and Wine Labels

Although this article does not aim to compare texts on different webpages within a website and those on wine bottle labels, it is interesting to consider an example in terms of a winery’s ownership structure and its history. For instance, the connection between the Orlando Wyndham Group and Pernod Ricard is most direct on the Orlando Wyndham Group’s homepage, as shown in Example 33. Precise company names are used, along with business terms and a complete list of products (underlined).

- (33) Orlando Wyndham Group Pty Ltd is a subsidiary of Pernod Ricard S.A., an international wine and spirit company producing a range of wines, spirits, non-alcoholic drinks and other beverages, many of which are distributed by Orlando Wyndham in Australia. The company's operations involve sales and marketing, research and development, procurement, processing and distribution of grape, wine and spirit products for the domestic and international markets. (Orlando Wyndham, Australia)

the ancient method by which the Romans made wine from dried grapes - a method still in use at Vin Alto today [...]” (Vinalto, New Zealand).

On the other hand, the *About* page for Orlando Wyndham first provides the history of the winery, more specifically the history of “Orlando Wines”. The first sentence of Example 34 displays the typical features noted in other websites, i.e. attention to history and immigration. This is followed by a shift to M&As affecting the group, including acquisition dates and percentage of the holding, in contrast with the shorter text on the homepage shown earlier in Example 33.

(34) The company was originally founded in South Australia's Barossa Valley in 1847 with the arrival of Bavarian immigrant, Johann Gramp. Orlando Wines was purchased in 1989 by the French international wine and spirit company, Pernod Ricard.

The Orlando Wyndham Group was formed in 1990 with the acquisition of Wyndham Estate in New South Wales' Hunter Valley. The Orlando Wyndham Group is 100% owned by Pernod Ricard, S.A. (Orlando Wyndham, Australia)

Some of the historical information presented on the Orlando Wyndham website is also included on the label of a bottle of Jacob's Creek wine, with some differences. The label reads “In 1847, Johann Gramp, founder of Orlando Wines, planted one of the first vineyards in the Barossa Valley on the banks of Jacobs Creek....) (the three sentences that follow are not shown and concern grapes used, the wine's characteristics, and the foods it accompanies). In the opening sentence, “one of the first vineyards” is implicitly positive and suggests foresight, while the reference to the banks of Jacobs Creeks suggests a small scale winery, in contrast with today's large corporations possessing extensive distribution networks and at the same time provides a link to the name of the wine. Other items on the wine label provide further information (e.g. “South Eastern Australia” and company information).

7.3. Speaking for New Zealand

In some cases, a winery appears to speak for a country or its wine industry, or at least help build the country's reputation as a wine producer for the world. As mentioned in Section 5.1, the Nobile website gives visibility to the expression: “*Kia Ora*” to our beautiful country, consequently highlighting a New Zealand identity and in a sense speaking (or welcoming) on behalf of New Zealand. This attention to New Zealand is interesting because the Nobile Wine Group was purchased by Australian BRL Hardy in 2000 and is now part of the Constellation Group, based in the U.S. Example 35 consists of the second and fourth paragraphs on the Nobile homepage, which provide further examples of how Nobile asserts its connection to New Zealand

and prior to that to Europe, without “hiding” its connection to a larger corporate group (“A CONSTELLATION COMPANY” appears in the upper part of the homepage).

- (35) Nobile Wine Group is one of **New Zealand's leading** wineries, and although the second largest wine producer, it is still relatively small with **great potential** for **quality** growth. Nobile's winemaking history goes back to some of the earliest in **New Zealand**. We cherish our pioneering history which dates back over 60 years in **New Zealand**, and 300 years in **Europe**. (Nobile Wine Group, New Zealand, home page, 2nd of four paragraphs) [3rd paragraph deleted]
- Since April 2003, our company is owned by the largest wine business in the **world** - Constellation Wines, a division of Constellation Brands Inc., based in **Rochester, USA**. (Nobile Wine Group, New Zealand, Home page, 4th of four paragraphs)

Example 36 below provides further evidence of a strong New Zealand connection in texts on this website (five occurrences of “New Zealand” in the short text) alongside attention given to the European / Croatian heritage of the family and thus the winery, with the family's heritage providing the connection to Europe. It highlights the family's role, with implicit negative evaluation concerning hybrid grape varieties, contrasted with the positive situation today. It thus appears to speak for the New Zealand wine industry, presenting it in a positive light by positively evaluating the Nobile family's role, further strengthened by lexical choices presenting the group as a family and not as a large corporation. It also builds a positive evaluative status for New Zealand, and this sense it speaks for the country. In Example 36, the page title is “Our History” (one of the webpages under “About Nobile”), with the title followed by “It all started in the hills of Huapai so many years ago...”

- (36) Steeped in history, Nobile wines are **proudly acclaimed** as some of **New Zealand's** most respected pioneering wine brands. A **Croat immigrant, Nikola Nobile**, whose **family history** and winemaking background stretches back over 300 years in Europe, led the way. The history of the company in **New Zealand** goes back to the early 1940's when this **Croatian family**, landed in **New Zealand**. They settled in **Huapai, West Auckland**, situated in the **North Island** of **New Zealand**, and started planting vines in 1943. The **Nobile family** effectively persuaded and guided the **New Zealand** wine industry away

from hybrid grape varieties and fortified wines, to a higher level of quality wine, now recognised and appraised by all markets. (Nobilo Wine Group, New Zealand)

The final paragraph of “Our History” shifts to the situation today, mentioning recent mergers and changes in ownership structure, as shown in Example 37. In general, it is easy to follow this information in the website. When information is placed at the end of a long narrative it represents a shift from a personal and/or historical element to business today. In this case the text speaks once again for the individual winery and its group, placed in the context of a global market that explicitly includes both Australia and New Zealand.

(37) In mid-2000, Australia's second largest *wine producer*, **BRL Hardy**, purchased **Nobilo Vintners**, which later *merged* with **Constellation Brands Inc.**¹⁴ in 2003. The resultant global *wine company*, **Constellation Wines**, now *incorporates* the *parent company's wine interests* in the USA, Australia, UK/Europe, South America and New Zealand.

7.4. Speaking for the Industry in Australia

An interesting example concerning Australia is from the website from Penfolds, part of the Australian Southcorp. Penfolds and Australia are aligned and presented as (near) equivalents, as illustrated in Example 38, which is the first of eight pages under “History”. There is no mention of wine in first part of the text, which alternates between past and present (outlined in a frame), maintaining a strong international focus with Australia as a nation and as a wine producer placed in a world context.

(38) The story of Penfolds is a fascinating microcosm of the story of European settlement in Australia and the country's two hundred year development to its position today in the world community. Australia's wine industry now stands proud in the forum of international wine as one of the greatest quality and value producers in the world, and Penfolds is renowned as Australia's Most Famous Wine. From the adventurous beginnings of Christopher Rawson Penfold leaving England to settle in a far-off land, the Penfolds story journeys to the present day, leaving a 150 year legacy of excellence and outstanding achievement that

¹⁴ This also represents a link to the Constellation Brands website.

has defined the company and - indeed - the entire story of Australian wine. (Penfolds, Australia; link to Penfolds available on Southcorp homepage)

As discussed earlier, the Foster's Group website provides pages on the *History of Wine* and *Wine in Australia*, and in this respect it also appears to be speaking for Australia.

7.5. New Visions of New World Wine Producers

A few websites for wineries go beyond some of the features thus far discussed concerning history, and natural elements concerning wines. These websites show a slightly different focus, explicitly evaluating the region and country today as beautiful, and presenting and describing attractions for visitors. For instance, one text calls New Zealand *Land of the Lord of the Rings*, as shown in Example 39, citing the title of a book and the film based on it, recently filmed in New Zealand. The use of "world-renowned" claims common knowledge of the unique natural surroundings, and the list of places includes proper nouns and adjectives, implicitly evaluated as positive. These linguistic choices highlight differences with Old World wine regions, similar to the way shorter references to local flora and fauna suggest a unique aspect of the two countries. The same website, on a page titled "Paradise found", uses much explicit positive evaluation to speak of the Marlborough region as a desirable place for the reader to visit, as is shown in Example 40.

(39) Our vineyards are located in Wairau Valley, Marlborough, a **spectacularly beautiful** part of New Zealand. Land of the Lord of the Rings.

An hour or so from the vineyards can be found the snow-capped St Arnaud's Mountain Range and ski-fields, the **world-renowned** Kaikoura whale and dolphin sanctuaries, deep limestone caves, the primordial forests of the Nelson Lakes National Park and the endless and empty white sand beaches of the Able Tasman National Park. (Gravitas, St. Arnaud's, New Zealand)

(40) Whether you love wildlife or winemaking, skiing or extreme sports, kayaking or cruising, forest walks or formal garden rambles, Marlborough is a **fantastic** place to unwind. In town there is vibrant café scene and a wide range of restaurants, art galleries, museums, shopping, craft studios and food specialities to discover.

Marlborough is also a place of **great** **history**. A place sacred to many of Maori, the indigenous people of **New Zealand**, a place full of **legends** of **early settlement**, gold rush and battles and war, a place that was the favoured base for Captain Cook when he **first** **charted** **New Zealand** **300 hundred years ago**. (Gravitas, St. Arnaud's Vineyard, New Zealand)

Another winery includes a page on New Zealand and Marlborough characterized by a high concentration of explicitly positive lexis about the landscape and about the country and region as wine producers. The text opens with “In the South Pacific lies a land of breath-taking beauty [...]” and goes on as shown in Example 41:

- (41) “New Zealand, historically well known for its **stunning, unspoiled landscape**, is creating another name in the world for itself by becoming **recognized** as a producer of **world-class** wines. The qualities that make New Zealand “an **unspoiled paradise**” -- **climate and geography** -- along with the **people** who live here, work together to create **highly distinctive, premium quality wines**.” (Allan Scott Wines and Estates Ltd, New Zealand)

Although these kinds of texts are not common in the data, it is conceivable that increasingly more attention be given to the appeal of new world wine regions as tourist destinations, and not only for “wine tourism”, which some researchers see as an area of potential growth (see contributions to Hall, Sharples, Cambroune and Macionis, 2000). Though other websites examined provide useful information to visitors, with the winery hosting events and celebrations as part of its business and sometimes making travel accommodation available, Examples 39-41 stand out for the global, positive view taken of the country and region as an attractive destination (and not just the winery).

8. Concluding Comments

This article has explored how selected linguistic features of website texts help build up a particular image for wineries, wine regions, and Australia and New Zealand as New World wine producers. In examining the use of evaluative language and specialized lexis, it has given attention to implicit and explicit values underlying the texts and how they represent history, certain aspects of local culture and natural elements. Despite the limits discussed concerning data, which consist of sets of websites for wineries in the two countries, and the scope of the

study, which did not aim to analyze website structure and design, the study has shed light on issues of image and shared knowledge in the texts.

The analysis and discussion of examples show how history is woven into the texts in different ways. The article has illustrated how combinations of linguistic features help present a more established image of Australian wineries of all sizes and ages, building knowledge about Australian history and European settlement. In many cases details about “non winery” history are used to do this, and an implicit value that emerges is the importance of detailed national and local history. In the New Zealand websites, less attention to providing historical details was observed, and references to the 1800s or the first part of this century were often immediately connected to present day conditions. The New Zealand data showed a somewhat greater focus on “present day pioneers” and foresight about new wine regions in New Zealand, though references to life style choices were observed in websites for both countries.

While references to immigration and settlement are frequent in the texts for Australia and some texts for New Zealand, the indigenous cultures did not receive much attention in websites for either country, except for occasional explanations of terms used in the native language, mostly place names. In addition, the study shows that references to native plants and animals are not as common as other features in the websites, but when they do occur, these references contribute to building up a unique aspect of wineries and the two countries, setting them apart from traditional Old World wine producers. The references also represent an additional way to increase knowledge about the two countries.

The article has also shown how particular features help build reputations for regions within the country. The relevance of technical details about soils and climate to wine making is shown by means of implicit evaluation or explicit indications of relevance (e.g. *ideal*), while the texts often signal expectations of knowledge of both Old World and New World wine regions (e.g. *well-known*, *famous*) and their importance.

In some cases, wineries or brands are part of larger groups, but this is not always immediately clear on some websites. For example, detailed historical narratives of varying lengths conclude – sometime after several web pages – by shifting to today’s ownership structure or a mention of the group to which the winery belongs, so that this information is not readily apparent. However, a detailed analysis of features as related to M&As is beyond scope of this article (see Nomisma, 2003, p. 80, for a summary of recent M&As, and p. 86, for a summary of communication strategies of world leaders in the industry). Moreover, it was noted that some website texts for large wineries in Australia and New Zealand appear to speak for the country and its wine industry. For instance, some texts for a New Zealand winery belonging to a global conglomerate highlighted the winery’s “New Zealand identity”, while some texts for an

Australian group were seen to promote the Australian wine industry and highlight the position of Australia in the world community.

Other avenues for research include studying how image and identity are communicated after M&Sa, with attention given to website structure, the firm's ownership structure and different kinds of facilities (wineries, vineyards, and so on). Wine labels, too, represent an interesting area of investigation, especially in view of distribution through supermarkets, with wines available on the shelves and consumers able to read labels on the spot before making a purchase decision. Another important area concerns environmental issues such as sustainable viticulture and industry standards and how they are communicated by wine producers.

Some of the websites suggest conflicting values or tension in the industry or in a region when they positively evaluate small, family-owned wineries and negatively evaluate large wineries or corporate groups, usually by implicit means. On the other hand, many texts on websites of larger groups use implicit and explicit positive evaluation about changes in ownership structure, with M&As positioned as positive for the winery and the industry. The evidence of M&A activities in website texts – when it is there, in any case – would seem in line with reports about the growing influence of New World wine producers, especially large groups, and the fact that the wine industry in both countries is characterized by firms that are either very large or small.

As for the wines themselves, an article in the business press (Tugwell, 2003, p. A5) speaks of “homogenous wine”, in contrast with brochures for Australia that positively evaluate the diversity of the land, the people and the wines, examined in the first part of the study (Poncini 2004b). Interestingly, a passage on the 8th of eight pages dedicated to the history of an Australian winery includes a quote by a co-owner, providing his (or their) vision of the industry's future and the contribution of smaller wineries as far as diversity in wines is concerned. The passage states: “It is part of the partners' determination to make great wine and to develop a style that offers a choice. ‘Three companies set the style for 80% of Australian wine,’ Reid says. ‘It is a danger for the industry to have so few careful styles. Australia needs the variety that there is in France. We need the individuality in smaller wineries. We need to offer something different’” (from the Kaesler website, Australia). The two occurrences of “we” are ambiguous and could refer to combinations of (1) *we* Australia, (2) *we* the industry in Australia, or even (3) *we* wine lovers; for the second occurrence, additional possibilities are “*we* the co-owners” (who are wine lovers) or “*we* the company”. A broad view would be “we in the Australian wine industry need to offer something different”. The speaker thus communicates a vision that encompasses more than a single winery.

As a manager in a medium-sized New Zealand winery states: “Even the big companies need the little companies in there simply to add colour to the picture (interview quoted in Benson-Rea, 2000, p.9). Small and large wineries together represent part of the character of each country and its wine industry today, and their promotional materials contribute to building particular images by drawing on history and local elements as well as their European heritage and current connections. As questions are raised about future scenarios for European wine producers, one wonders if features in promotional materials connecting New World wineries to Europe and its traditions are destined to give way to a greater celebration of the character of New Zealand and Australia – as some websites do indeed celebrate. The uniqueness of both countries as New World wine producers goes much further beyond European settlement and immigration.

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