

**TOURISM AND TOURIST PROMOTION
AROUND THE WORLD:
A LINGUISTIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE**

Elena Manca & Francesca Bianchi (*eds.*)



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FOREWORD

This volume is dedicated to our colleague Cosimo Notarstefano who contributed to the organization of the seminar which inspired the publication of this volume and who sadly left us prematurely in January 2011.

Cosimo Notarstefano was a Jean Monnet professor and an expert of Tourism Law at the Universities of the Salento, Bari, and Bergamo. He worked as an expert consultant both at institutions such as the European Union and as well as at local authorities. He was also an expert of European programmes and project-financing, and coordinator of the European Campuses on tourism, environment, and cultural heritage. Author and editor of over 70 scientific publications (including the volumes “Thesaurus Multilingue del Turismo”, “Le Processus de Barcelone: du Partenariat euroméditerranéen au dialogue interculturel”, and “LEADER, from Initiative to Method”), from 2003 onwards he coordinated the Jean Monnet Euromediterranean Centre of Excellence.

On a more personal level, Cosimo Notarstefano was a generous man who dedicated much of his time to the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the University of the Salento and to its students. He was always ready to help and to show his consideration for those colleagues who were committed with working and researching on *culture*.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism is defined by the World Tourism Organization as a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment, for personal or business/professional purposes. Tourism has, therefore, to do with visitors' activities.

The aim of this volume is to analyse tourist promotion in different countries and from a sociological and historical perspective, with an interest on the type of language used to attract both domestic and international tourists and excursionists.

The promotion of a destination is strictly interrelated with cultural aspects. As Herbig suggests (1998: 1), customers' needs vary from culture to culture: what is absolutely relevant for an Italian tourist may be amazingly useless for a British or a Japanese visitor. Unfortunately, too often, institutions, travel agencies or tourist facility owners seem to ignore or forget this obvious fact.

The Salentine peninsula, which is becoming an ever more popular and international holiday destination is frequently advertised with the following description: "Salento: Sun, Sea, and Wind". These three distinguishing features of the area are used by local tourist promoters as the key to every culture. However, they may not always be the right key for everyone. Some cultures may not be interested in the wind or even in the sea. The former, which is almost always present in the area and can indeed be considered a specific feature of the Salento, is mentioned in the Italian version principally because it rhymes with Salento (*Salento-vento*). However, in its translated version into English, both rhyme and meaning get lost, needless to say its promotional effect.

Many tourism experts and sociologists (Herbig 1998; Prime 2003) have described ethnocentrism as the cause of many overwhelming failures. Ethnocentrism is the tendency to look at the world primarily from the perspective of one's own ethnic culture. In other words, being ethnocentric means thinking that if *sun*, *sea* and *wind* work for southern Italians they will work perfectly for northern Italians and the rest of the world alike. With this, we are not assuming that the features of a place should be changed or even altered to please international tourists, but rather that different features of a place should be more or less emphasised depending on the culture which is being targeted.

As Llorens Bahena (this volume) suggests, creating a country or a destination brand is a hard task which requires not only the cooperation of government, institutions, companies, and citizens, but also strategic planning and cross-cultural communicating abilities.

The current volume includes nine chapters. The first five discuss tourist promotion from a cultural and historical perspective by illustrating the role of stereotypes, cultural specificities and cultural training in the creation of new tourist destinations and/or in adjusting the reception of foreign tourism. The remaining ones analyse the language used in tourist promotional discourse, be it printed brochures or Internet websites.

Llorens Bahena's contribution focuses on the tourist promotion of Spain from a historical perspective. He describes a series of stereotypes which have been used to create Spain's international image over the centuries and provides an analysis of how these stereotypes have been used in tourism starting from the 1960s. The reputation of a country depends on a number of variables which are

conditioned by collectively-held stereotypes. These may be positive or negative and may inevitably be interpreted differently by different cultures, with obvious implications on tourist promotion.

Similarly, **De Rosa** illustrates the stereotypes and clichés at the basis of the tourist imagery of Brazil. The author analyses the image of Brazil as it has been developing both in the Brazilian mindset and internationally. The two decades object of analysis go from 1964 to 1984 and the description focuses on the communicative strategies of *Embratur*, the Brazilian national board in charge of promoting tourism, which played a major role in the strengthening and spreading of a specific tourist image of Brazil, both nationally and internationally.

De Carlo's contribution describes tourism in Poland starting from the 1990s to nowadays. Recent investments on infrastructures and tourist promotion activities has led to a growth in the Polish tourism sector. The type of tourist promotion developed in Poland tends to invest on various and alternative forms of tourism in order to attract both domestic and international customers. Poland is working to become an ideal tourist destination with offers ranging from more traditional forms of tourism such as urban as well as rural tourism, ecotourism, lake and beach tourism, and winter tourism, to more alternative types of tourism, such as health and medical tourism.

Lelli analyses the potential of Apulia to attract different segments of American Jewish tourism. The idea of promoting new tourist destinations targeting Jewish travellers comes from a recent increase in those tourist offers which are specifically tailored for Jewish travellers who wish to visit the European places where their ancestors or themselves moved from before taking a new residence overseas. For these customers a specific sector of tourism has been developed, offering visits to small villages and towns in Sicily or other Italian regions that were involved in mass conversions to Catholicism, starting in the 16th century. Lelli examines the tourist offers of those geographical areas that have a well-established expertise in Jewish tourism and provides a number of suggestions for Apulian tourist businesses interested in attracting Jewish guests.

Sportelli's paper focuses on Italy as a destination for Chinese tourists and describes the features that tourist marketing for Chinese visitors should have. The author explains that tourist marketing for the 'Middle Country' requires specific cultural adjustments in order to meet Chinese taste and habits. Furthermore, cultural peculiarities, prejudices, lack of cross-cultural training, and language are some of the barriers which make the relationship between Chinese tourists and Italian tourist business owners difficult. For this reason, Italian tour operators, hotelkeepers, sales personnel, as well as all the human resources offering travel services should be well-trained in the Chinese culture and customs, in order to take the greatest advantage from Chinese incoming tourism in Italy.

The last four contributions to the volume offer a socio-linguistic approach. Language is a major feature of tourist promotion, along with culture, and dramatically changes from culture to culture in the way it is used to describe apparently similar concepts.

Zuliani's contribution analyses the official tourist promotion of *Turismo de Portugal* through its web portal www.visitportugal.com. The description of the features of Portuguese tourism and its development across the years starts with a brief discussion of the *Estado Novo* tourist policies which promoted a tourist image of Portugal based on cultural and geographical unity and continuity. Over the years, the tourist promotion of Portugal has undergone a number of changes and these changes are mainly visible in a marketing communication which is

increasingly adapting to the new dynamics of socialization, and making a massive use of major social networks. This paper also describes the web portal of *Turismo de Portugal*, both in its formal contents and through a comparative analysis of the Portuguese and Italian versions. The comparison focuses on the use of slogans and on some stylistic and rhetoric elements which are recurrent in the language of tourism, such as the use of the imperative, adjectives, and key words. Zuliani's contribution shows the relevant role of web resources in tourist communication. Contents on websites and social networks can be constantly updated and made easily accessible to potential visitors, thus improving the quality and the accessibility of promotion.

Spinzi's paper focuses on ecotourism. In particular, she analyses metaphors in English and Italian ecotourist holiday promotional material. Her corpus-based contrastive approach help understand the ideological framing of this type of discourse. Interesting insights arise from the analysis. Results suggest that this type of holiday is conceptualised in terms of weightlessness, discovery and relation. The metaphorical expressions seem to be largely conventionalized across the British and Italian cultures, with interesting cultural and linguistic differences in the way companies promote ecotourism in the two countries.

D'Andrea focuses on music tourism in France. The theoretical framework she adopts combines some basic principles of rhetorical analysis, with Benveniste's theory of enunciation (Benveniste 1966, 1970), as well as recent developments in French discourse analysis (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1980, 1986). The analysis is carried out on a website called *La Fugue – Europera*, set up by a French tourist agency specializing in musical trips. In particular, she analyses the texts contained in the website from a linguistic and communicative perspective and illustrates the strategies adopted to achieve the desired perlocutionary effect.

Finally, **Manca** offers a linguistic and cultural analysis of the strategies adopted by British and Italian tourist facilities, such as farmhouse holidays, hotels and campsites, in their websites. The methodological approach used for analysis (Manca 2008, 2009, 2012) starts from the identification of word patterns according to the Corpus Linguistics approach (Sinclair 1991, 1996; Tognini Bonelli 2002) and interprets the functionally complete units of meaning thus identified through the cultural filters elaborated by Intercultural Studies theorists (Hall 1989; Hofstede 1991, 2001; Katan 2004, 2006). The node words considered for analysis belong to the semantic field of the five senses which, as the data suggest, are frequently used by Italian tourist websites to promote tourist products. Results show that Italian and British tourist websites have two different approaches to tourist promotion and that language and culture are strictly interrelated.

As can be seen from the brief descriptions reported above, tourism and tourist promotion are approached from different perspectives and theoretical frameworks. From historical and sociological analyses, to marketing strategies and discursive features, all the contributions included in this volume show the complexity of this phenomenon. Successful tourism and tourist promotion can be, therefore, achieved only if all these aspects are considered together as interdependent and interrelated.

Elena Manca

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THE PROMOTION OF TOURISM IN SPAIN

From stereotype to brand image

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1. Introduction

When we speak of stereotypes, few of us are aware that that the word originally referred to a duplicate impression of a lead stamp, used in typography for printing an image, symbol or letter. These stamps could be transferred from place to place, and it is this feature that gave rise to the current metaphorical meaning of stereotype as a set of commonly held beliefs about specific social groups that remain unchanged in time and space.

Etymologically, the term stereotype derives from the Greek words *stereos*, ‘firm, solid’ and *typos*, ‘impression’. The earliest record we have of its use outside the field of typography was in psychiatry, in reference to pathological behaviours characterised by the obsessive repetition of words and gestures.

The first use of the term in the context of social sciences was by the journalist Walter Lippmann in his 1922 work “Public Opinion”. He argued that people’s comprehension of external reality is not direct but comes about as a result of “the pictures in their heads”, the creation of which is heavily influenced by the press, which in Lippmann’s time was rapidly transforming itself into the mass media that we know today. Lippmann believed that these mental images were often rigid oversimplifications of reality, emphasising some aspects while ignoring others. This is because the human mind is not capable of understanding and analysing the extreme complexity of the modern world.

Stereotypes are, furthermore, a ‘group’ concept. We cannot speak therefore of ‘private’ stereotypes because they are based on collective uniformity of content. They constitute a selective system of cognitive organisation and serve to justify the acceptance or rejection of the group being stereotyped.

Consider the following exchange between the characters Levante and Gino in the Italian film “Il Ciclone” (1997) directed by Leonardo Pieraccioni about the adventures of a group of Spanish flamenco *bailaoras* who spend a few days with the inhabitants of a town in Tuscany:

Levante: *Gino, domani vo in Spagna!* (‘Gino, I’m off to Spain tomorrow!’)
Gino: *Olé!*

Gino’s answer is a clear reference to Spain. The exclamation *¡Olé!* is used mainly in the South of Spain and is sometimes also heard in its variants *¡Ele!* or *¡Ole!* (with the stress on the first syllable). This exclamation has become a stereotypical reference to the Spanish, like the French *Voilà* or the Italian *Mamma mia*.

Those who have had the opportunity to visit Spain, France or Italy, or to get to know the inhabitants of these countries, will have noticed that these words are not used as often as we might think and that their use depends to a large extent on the speaker’s region of origin. We are thus dealing with stereotypes, since, as we mentioned, they are doubtful ideas about a group that belong to the collective imagination and are considered by foreigners to be real.

In many cases, the Spanish (or Italians, French or British) themselves deliberately exploit such stereotypes in order to please foreigners by living up to their expectations.

Tourism needs icons, and icons beget stereotypes. So let us pose the question: is Spain's image a stereotype, and if so, is it positive?

Spain's current image derives from a number of stereotypes that arose in different historical epochs, which may be summarised as follows:

2. The Spain of the *Leyenda Negra*

As José Varela Ortega has pointed out, the stereotype of the indolent and warlike Spaniard was key to the representation of Spain as being inquisitorial, cruel and despotic, stigmatising the Catholic monarchy in particular. This basically explains why Spain was the universal enemy for Europe's new nations.

The *Leyenda Negra*¹ was fuelled by the struggle for hegemony between France and the Hapsburgs, the clash between Philip II and Elisabeth I of England, the religious antagonism between Protestants and Catholics, the excessive militarism of the patriarchal Spanish monarchy and the expulsions of the Jews and *Moriscos* (Juderías 1917). In the context of 16th century Spanish hegemony, any community seeking to establish a group identity of a national and/or religious nature had to do so against 'the Spaniard'. As John H. Elliot pointed out, the rapid rise to world superpower status of the Spanish crown in the 16th century following the colonisation of America transformed it into an object of enmity for governments and movements in Western Europe of all political persuasions (Elliot 1971).

The image of a conquering and imperial Spain arose from three factors: the power it succeeded in amassing in a relatively short space of time, the consequent admiration and envy that this good fortune inspired among rival monarchies, and the religious conflicts with protestants, *Moriscos* and Jews. As José Antonio Maravall pointed out, the image of the Spaniard at the end of the 16th century is the product of reflection, calculation, cunning and coldness. Spain's image was conditioned by its religious intolerance, political ambition and its economic ineffectiveness, but there were variants:

The basis for enlightenment-inspired prejudices was established in France, where Spain was criticised for its imperialism, greed, cruelty and usurpation, and was repeatedly portrayed as a nation of paupers, idlers, braggarts and cowards, and envious and arrogant to boot. In England, Spain did not form part of the aristocrats' 'Grand Tour' circuit, and there was little contact other than what arose from war and trade.

It was however in Italy that Spain's image was at its most ambiguous, with manifestations of both a positive and negative nature. The former largely accepted the image conveyed by diplomats and travellers influenced by Hispanophilia. The Great Captain inspired much literary praise in Italy, although the Spanish conquests of Sicily, Sardinia and other territories gave rise to the earliest version of the *Leyenda Negra*, by which Spain was associated with the rapacity of the *tercios*² and the cruelty of their conquests (García Cárcel 1993). In Germany, the

¹ In Spanish as in other languages the colour black has strongly negative associations.

² *Tercios* was a term used by the Spanish army to describe a type of mixed infantry unit, composed of about 3000 pikemen and musketeers. This type of military formation and the combat techniques it applied were formalised and developed above all by General Gonzalo Fernández de

image of the inquisition, the cruelty in America and the tyranny inflicted by Spain's mercenaries in the Thirty Years War created a stereotype of Spain that was to last until German scholars created the concept of Spain's 'Siglo de Oro' in the 18th century.

The attempts to bring Spain into line with the rest of Europe which began with the change in dynasty – and the arrival of more enlightened rulers – at the beginning of the 18th century did not decisively transform the images and stereotypes associated with the *Leyenda Negra*. Rather, the new century was a period of transition towards the romantic and orientalist image of the 19th century. Whereas Spain had previously been a feared monarchy, it now became subject – in the best cases – to a paternalist critique, in line with the spirit of the Enlightenment. Spain's image in the Europe of the Enlightenment was that of a decadent and sick empire, caught in a profound crisis, which would occasionally see improvements as a result of the momentary actions of some king or minister. From the outsider's point of view, the purpose of criticising the Bourbon monarchy was not so much to attack the soon-to-be-defeated enemy but to highlight the local consequences of not applying enlightened policies. It should be pointed out however that there were important differences between the image of Spain held by the French and the image held by the British. The latter was more concerned with details, interested in the material aspects and morally judgemental, whereas the French view was vaguer, more literary and satirical. For the British, despite the increasing contacts between the two countries, Spain continued to be exotic, papist, and strange (Guerrero 1990). The first travellers that were truly recognisable as such, mainly soldiers, diplomats and traders, praised the enlightened policies, the modernisation of the road network, the factories and the public works. While they were critical of the government, the political system and the power of the church, they held a quite different view of the common people. Indeed, their moralistic descriptions contrasted the virtuous *pueblo llano* ('the third estate') with the upper classes, the government and the church, who were considered corrupt, superstitious, absent, ineffective and authoritarian. Spain seemed to be a prototype of bad government: "they are the best sort of people, and under the worst kind of government in Europe" wrote Alexander Jardine (1788, p. 382).

In contrast, the French writers, travellers and visitors considered the *pueblo español* to be licentious, lazy and treacherous. This was the prevailing image among Napoleon's officers during the War of Independence (Gil Novales 2000). The truth is that the 'cursus honorum' of the *philosophes*, theoretically opposed to tradition, actually strengthened the worst of the inherited stereotypes about Spain: Montesquieu spoke of Spain as a southern country "in which the passions multiply the crimes". In his *Persian Letters* he wrote: "For you must know, that, when a man possesses some special merit in Spain, as, for example, when he can add to the qualities which I have already described, that of owning a long sword, or that of having learnt from his father to strum a jangling guitar, he works no more: his honour is concerned in the repose of his limbs. He who remains seated ten hours a day obtains exactly double the respect paid to one who rests only five, because nobility is acquired by sitting still" (Montesquieu 1873, p. 170). The reciprocal phobias of the French and Spanish, widespread among all

Cordoba during the Italian wars. It represented a key phase in the transformation from medieval to modern military institutions. The *Tercios* were composed mainly of professional soldiers, highly disciplined and ferocious, who were known for being invincible in combat in the Renaissance and even during the 16th and 17th centuries.

social classes but articulated by the elite, at times exploded into violent intellectual conflict. Of all the Hispano-French polemics of the 18th century, the most severe was sparked by the famous article on Spain by Masson de Morvilliers, which appeared in the 1784 edition of the 'Encyclopédie'. Starting with the provocative question "What do we owe to Spain?", Masson affirmed the total absence of any significant Spanish contribution to the progress of the human race, declaring Spain to be the most ignorant nation in Europe, lacking in books, science and the spirit of progress. As well as being indolent, lazy and proud, the Spanish were portrayed as enemies of reason, conservative and fanatical (Lucena Giraldo 2005).

3. Romanticism: Carmen and the bandits (*bandoleros*)

The first substantial change in Spain's image in the modern epoch was the fruit of the influence of romanticism, sustained by the real or imaginary experience of travelling around the peninsula. Thus, as with the 'oriental' landscapes, a new route by which travellers could be initiated was born. While the final destinations were Seville, Cordoba and Granada, the route began as soon as one had crossed the border, in Guipuzcoa or Girona – and it had concrete stereotypes in the form of Carmen and the bandits. The War of Independence marked the advent of what would constitute the starting point of the romantic interpretation of Spain, not just because it was linked to the direct experience of Spain by hundreds of thousands of combatants, but because it was seen as a struggle for freedom. However, there was also a clear distinction between the image held by the British and the French, based on their opposing military interests, which were now the inverse of what they had been in the 18th century. In France, Napoleon's invasion was justified by portraying it as struggle between the *Leyenda Negra* and the values of the Enlightenment. Thus the French officers were presented as liberating Spain from the centuries-old grip of intolerance, clericalism and tradition. In contrast, Great Britain adopted the romantic image of a people who had taken up arms in defence of their liberty against a tyrannical and unjust government.

For the rest, Spanish decadence was brandished as an argument in the debate about the triumph of the industrial and bourgeois revolution in Europe and the United States. The Hispanic decline was seen as the manifestation of a more general syndrome of decadence affecting the 'Latin' countries of the South, incapable of discipline and lacking in entrepreneurial spirit. In this sense, it should be pointed out that there was a significant difference between Spain's romantic image and Italy's. Given the greater knowledge of Italy in Europe at that time, it was much harder for the country to be identified exclusively with its *Mezzogiorno* (the Southern regions), which on the contrary was considered an exception in the Italian peninsula. In contrast, in the case of Spain, the caricature of an orientalist Andalusia was identified – typically by references made out of context – with the whole, which undoubtedly conditioned mutual perceptions (García Sanz 2002).

In time, the stereotypes and romanticism were taken up by many Spaniards themselves, happy to accentuate their country's exoticism. The inquisitor was replaced by the *bandolero* and the toreador, but the great novelty was the fabrication of the attractive and sensual Carmen, whose archaic and barbarian inclination towards passion made her dangerous and threatening. For the romantics, much of her charm lies in her 'mystery': the cloak both obscured and accentuated her beauty, awakening the imagination. She was also an emancipated

woman, a cigar-maker, with irresistible magnetism. In the words of Mérimée, Carmen is “madly independent” – a promiscuous and indomitable creature (Serrano 1999, p. 21).

Less enthusiastic about the myth of Carmen were British travellers. Accustomed to the sight of urban masses sunk in abject poverty caused by incipient industrialisation, in Spain they found a ‘poor and simple people’, who nonetheless were characterised by a certain degree of self-reliance. For this reason they idealised them as exemplifying the freedoms that had been lost as a result of the ‘progress’ of modern life. In this way a certain continuity was established between the *Leyenda Negra* and the *Leyenda Amarilla*³ (García Cárcel 1993) of romanticism. The popular image of the Black Legend, propagated in pictures and theatre, had emphasised poverty and cruelty and the foolishness of Spanish soldiers; thanks to romanticism however, after the success of the anti-Napoleonic guerrilla war, Spain began to be identified with the *bandito*, representative of the people, admired for his skill and audacity and exemplary of a pure and honest way of fighting. Reinterpreted by the romantics, the characteristic that had previously been criticised was now seen to be positive. In reality what had changed was not so much the stereotype in itself as its interpretation. The typical figures of the new version were essentially the same as those of the *Leyenda Negra*, but in new garb.

The romantic stereotype emphasised the exotic aspects, such as flamenco, bull-fighting, gypsies and above all the Arabic influence, an important characteristic of the romantic exoticism implicit in the Orientalist image of Spain and a sign of its pre-modern and archaic nature. Another aspect of the romantic image was its variety of human types and social diversity. The fusion of Roman, Muslim, Jewish, Phoenician and Greek motifs was one of the main attractions for travellers, although the vestiges of Islam – exotic by definition – were the favourites. In addition, the Romantics praised the Spanish ‘lower classes’ for what they perceived as their contempt for monetary gain and attachment to honour. This exotic ideal allowed Spain to act as a kind of safety valve, an escape from a bourgeois and industrialised Europe, although it could lead to extreme disappointment among travellers when their expectations were not fulfilled. Unlike the dynamic imperial image of Spain, the romantic vision caused it to become frozen in time, since it was now invested with archaic and anti-modern characteristics.

Nobody expressed better than Mérimée the ambivalence of the admiration for a Spain that was “pure, wild and romantic” and the lack of concern (or outright disdain) for its material progress on the path of civilisation. Unlike many other tribunes of Spain’s romantic image, Mérimée actually knew the country well, going on seven journeys to the Iberian peninsula between 1830 and 1864. Nevertheless, his intellectual stance, based on exoticism, remained substantially unchanged, as did the images of Spain that he offered his readers, who indeed expected nothing else. This is why, despite his extensive contact with Spain and the Spanish people, he did not vary the stereotypes that he had formed in the works written before his travels. There is no before or after in Mérimée; the country he visited had to conform to the image that he himself had already created in his books. What was it about Spain that interested Mérimée? Andalusia and the human element that chimed most closely with that region and its social rituals. In the first place of course, bullfighting, described, despite his confessed enthusiasm, in a reserved and informative manner. After bullfighting came executions.

³ The *Leyenda Amarilla* is the label that García Cárcel used to describe the romantic image of the Hispanic universe.

Although public executions were also carried out in France, those of Spain had a mystic, religious flavour: they were processions that culminated in an act of faith. Writing about one of these occasions, Mérimée stresses the dignity of the criminal, his valorous and impulsive temperamental posture, the religious and secular ceremonials, and the expectations that the bloody spectacle raised in the beautiful women of the town, Valencia, where the episode took place. Bulls, executions and *bandoleros*; references to the exploits of José Maria – *el tempranillo*, the prototype of the generous bandit – reinforced the canon of popular romanticism. Mérimée was not interested in the natural landscape and nor was he, to any significant degree, in the country's monuments. The focus of his attention was the human characters, his *Madrileño* friends, especially the countess of Montijo, her family and her circle. Thus he loved the capital but detested 'European' Barcelona. In spite of everything, his travels do show some form of evolution. In the third journey, undertaken in the autumn of 1845, when the cold and rain of Madrid reminded him of Paris, he saw a changed country which – he confessed – bored him. In the fourth journey the following year, he paid a joyless visit to Barcelona, where he observed that the Catalans were like the French, low and uncouth. In the fifth journey in 1853, he regained his cheerfulness, but stressed the rapid changes that took place from one journey to another. However, he observed that there remained

much of the chivalrous spirit on this side of the Pyrenees and a sublime popular character: When I go to Madrid, I go there to study the habits of the lower orders. You would not believe, Madam, how amiable the common people in this country are, or what talent, dignity and greatness of soul there is to be found in places that we would never imagine (Serrano 1993, p. 35).

In 1859, during his sixth journey, he was overcome with an atavistic terror of the changes in progress: "Everything is changing in Spain, becoming prosaic and French. All people talk about is railways and industry." On the seventh journey in 1864, the changes that he noted (many new houses and the growing habit among the women of dressing in the French style), together with a number of uninspiring bullfights, led him to conclude that the country was degenerating. He saw everything as negative, the bare plains, the wind, and even the braziers, a primitive device which obliged one to either freeze or die of asphyxiation. Material progress had not beautified society, but rather the opposite: "All the originality in this country is disappearing. Perhaps it can only be found in Andalusia and there are too many fleas and too many horrible places to stay and above all I am too old to go and find it there."

4. The Spanish Civil War and the strengthening of the romantic stereotype

The end of the 19th century saw the rise of a new approach to Spain, which, in place of romantic purism, highlighted the country's Europeanising and modernising traits.

The task of conveying a new image of the country was hindered by the fact that the new means of communication such as the cinema and photojournalism preferred to perpetuate Spain's romantic image without modification, maintaining traditional assumptions. Don Juan and Carmen (Figure 1) even became characters

on celluloid, reproducing the same stereotypes of archaic masculinity and a tragic, infantile femininity that needed to be restrained by others.

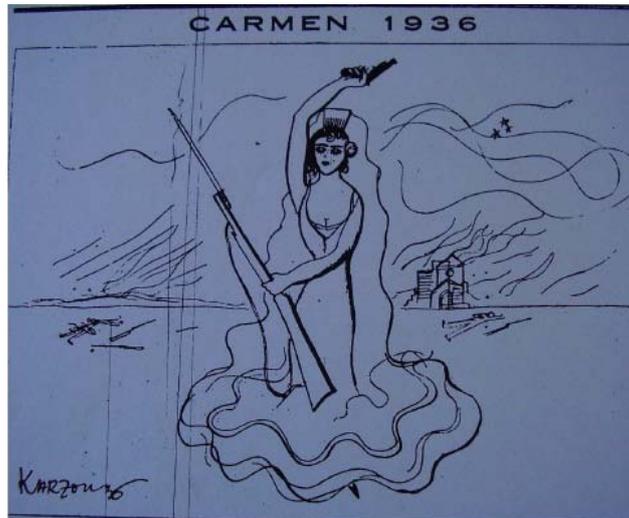


Figure 1
Carmen, a Spain's Romantic image

Contrary to what might be imagined, the civil war did not entail any change in this situation. Whereas the Spanish Republic had been characterised by continuous crisis, confirming the myth of Spain's political abnormality, from 1936 onwards it constituted a neo-romantic space in which the battle of good and evil was played out, a matriarchal, utopian land and the theatre of extreme political violence.



Gringoire, 25/09/1936, p. 3.

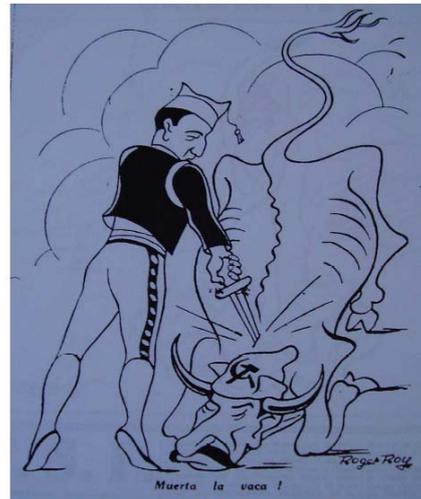
Figure 2
Catholic resistance to the Bolshevism

Regardless of what side one supported, the civil war reinforced romantic stereotypes, which were now propagated via effective means of mass communication to the point of promoting 'war tourism' itineraries for travellers of both persuasions. Feelings of sympathy or solidarity tended to be based on existing stereotypes. When the war broke out, it was presented as the result of a history marked by violence and fanaticism.

Propagandists for both sides sought to convince world public opinion of the legitimacy of their respective causes. Each side sought help from abroad and their publicity materials were oriented to this goal. While the Nationalists played on the theme of Catholic resistance to the French revolution (Figure 2) and raised the spectre of Bolshevism, the Republicans deployed the romantic stereotype of the free people in arms and sought to associate their adversaries with the *Leyenda Negra* reproducing stereotypes of intolerant and repressive Catholicism (Figure 3).



Gringoire, 21/08/1926, p.1.



Gringoire, 13/11/1936, p. 12.



Le Petit Parisien 29/07/1936, p. 1.



Le Canard Enchaîné, 29/07/1936, p. 2.

Figure 3
Stereotypes of intolerant and repressive Catholicism

The manifestations of sympathy for the Republic on the part of significant social groups in Great Britain and the United States of America contained an element of internal critique. Thus the British class system was contrasted with the egalitarianism of the Spanish: “One had breathed the air of equality”, as George Orwell said in a memorable phrase (Orwell 1938, p. 83). The other side made much of Republican barbarity as seen in the murder of clergy and the destruction of buildings and works of art.

The two propaganda machines had the same iconography, with interchangeable vocabulary and images and stereotypes that reproduced the ‘romantic *bandolero*’, either through the upright Nationalist officer or the

anarchist militiaman turned guerrilla: the last noble savage, as in the 'The Last Good Country', by the *bon viveur* and war correspondent Ernest Hemingway.

5. The normalisation stereotype

The bitter aftermath of the civil war produced an authentic freezing of Spain's image, now fixed in its isolation, archaism and rejection of change. However, the sociological and economic changes of the 1960s, with emigration and the development of mass tourism, shattered some of the stereotyped images, which were replaced by direct and personal experiences on a large scale. Leaving aside the 'Spain is different' of the tourist brochures which reproduced romantic stereotypes (passion, the slow pace of life, sex, heat, fiestas and siestas), sociological change and economic development created the conditions for more profound changes. The process of democratic normalisation, which began in 1975, brought about the collapse of the romantic image because, since it was accompanied by intense economic development, on the international level it facilitated the resurgence of elements linked to Spain's imperial image and the *Leyenda Negra*.

The normalisation of Spain, with the successful transition to democracy, destroyed the stereotypical notion that violence and fanaticism always dominate the process of political change. Shortly afterwards, the newfound joys associated with life in the *movida madrileña*⁴, as famous as it was ephemeral, showed that the ghost of romantic exoticism had not in fact disappeared. In this sense, while the rigid, colonial and hierarchical Spain had given way to another, more cooperative identity, Spain's romantic image continued to supply much of the content for the cultural industry, endowing film-makers such as Almodovar with iconic status (Botrel 1998). In addition, stereotypes of democratic normalisation are common to all countries. In the case of Spain, although part of the success of the tourist industry is even today sustained by the residue of the romantic stereotype, the rise of successful multinationals has resuscitated some of the stereotypes of the *Leyenda Negra* associated with greed and rapacity. The contrast between these two sets of images and stereotypes has been mitigated by democratisation, which began in 1975 and has been broadly successful. Obviously though, this situation keeps Spain's image trapped between two extremes, hindering the creation of a country brand (García de Cortázar 2004). This apparent contradiction is the result of history, and says as much about the attitude of foreigners to Spain as it does about the Spanish image of themselves. Such an image may be seen as a symbolic asset, to be used or wasted according to preference.

Having discussed stereotypes in the course of Spanish history, let us see how they have been used in tourism.

We have already seen how French and English travellers of the 18th century observed and described Spain, perpetuating clichés and stereotypes without scrupulously verifying their sources of information, which remains common practice even today.

⁴ The *Movida Madrileña* was a counter-cultural movement that arose during the early years of the Transition after the death of Franco and spread rapidly, becoming the *Movida Española*. Lasting until the end of the 1980s, it began with the famous *Concierto homenaje a Canito*, launching the musicians who were subsequently to become *Los Secretos*. The high point of the *Movida* was the *Concierto de Primavera* in 1981.

5.1 The tourist image of Spain in the last 100 years

The first ministerial order creating a governmental department with the purpose of establishing a tourist development policy was signed by the King of Spain, Alfonso XIII, on 7th October 1905. The main reason was to further the economic interests of the state. A permanent national commission was thus created, charged with promoting foreign tourism in Spain. How was this to be achieved? By studying the means to attract tourists and the factors which hindered tourism.

In 1911 a royal commissariat was set up that lasted until 1928. Two years earlier, in 1926, the first resort of what would subsequently become the *Paradores de Turismo de España* network was opened in Gredos, inaugurated by King Alfonso. In 1927 the first scheduled flight from Madrid to Barcelona took place. The flight, with 10 passengers aboard, took three and a half hours.

The work of the royal commissariat between 1911 and 1928 bore fruit in 1929 with the birth of the *Patronato Nacional de Turismo* ('National Tourism Organisation'), whose work was to be interrupted in 1936 due to the Civil War. When the war was over, the government of General Francisco Franco set up the *Dirección General de Turismo* ('National Tourism Directorate'). In 1940 it set out regulations concerning the opening of hotels, cafés, airlines and travel agencies and the marketing of tourism. 1940 was also the year in which the slogan 'Spain is Different' was first used. In 1951, in recognition of tourism's growing importance and influence, the Ministry of Information and tourism was created. The ministry was to play a key role in the promotion and development of tourism in Spain. The 1960's saw the first real boom in Spanish tourism, with unprecedented growth in the number of arrivals. Tourism was also a vehicle for new ideas and habits, obliging the state to moderate its repressive policies so as to improve the country's image. In 1962 the Medal of Merit for Services to Tourism was instituted, confirming the importance of tourism as a source of income for the still-precarious Spanish economy. This was followed by the opening of the first official tourism schools (1963) and the first 'duty free' shops in Spanish airports. This period also saw the birth of the National Tourism Fairs, whose task was to improve the level of goods and services by the tourism sector and offer tourists what they expected from a country like Spain – thereby reinforcing Spanish stereotypes among foreigners.

The 1970s and 1980s were a period of consolidation for the tourism sector. The first International Tourism Fair (FITUR) was held in Madrid. The famous 'sun' logo by the artist Joan Miró became the national brand, the icon of Spain abroad. Spain became one of the most popular tourist destinations in the world, with more than 40 million visitors in 1981. The football World Cup was held in Spain in 1982, providing the ideal stage on which to promote Spanish tourism's new image and new brand. Just two years after the football World Cup was held in Spain the number of visitors topped 54 million, setting a new record. In the 1990s the Spanish economy grew significantly, enabling it to invest in much new infrastructure that was important to the country's overall development but was particularly beneficial to its main economic asset, i.e. tourism. Tourism enjoyed a new boom, with Spain becoming the third biggest tourism destination in the world after the United States and France.

The start of the twenty-first century saw the Spanish tourism sector facing a new challenge: how to avoid the collapse of its tourism model by adopting innovation and sustainability.

6. The management of the *Turismo de España* brand

The management of 'brand *España*' can be divided into two phases: In the first, the brand became a way of assimilating old romantic stereotypes into a new idea of essentially Spanish values, the projection of which served to safeguard and position not so much a destination as a dictatorial political regime.

The second creative and professional phase coincided with democratisation. In this context the aim was to make use of Spain's historic past and present assets in the tourist industry in order to preserve one of the nation's most important sources of wealth.

6.1 Historic development from its origins in the 20th century

Spain's flag-carrier, Iberia, was to play a key role in the construction of the country's collective image, which it projected to potential foreign customers (Figure 4).

The aim was to attract tourists in order to obtain hard currency for a poor society. Iberia, as will become clear, made extensive use of the stereotype of an exotic country, including folklore, castanets, bulls, etc.



Figure 4
Country's collective image by Spain's flag-carrier Iberia

The Spanish tourist brand with the logo designed by Miró (Figure 5) was launched in 1983 under the guidance of *Turespaña*, headed by Ignacio Vasallo.



Figure 5
Spanish tourist brand designed by Mirò

Under his leadership, Spain's first tourist marketing plan was drawn up. One of the objectives was a clean break with the past: the establishment of a new image – different, cultivated and universal – that would do away with the old stereotypes and go beyond the idea that 'Spain is different'. The focus was on Spanish identity, emphasising the name of the country with its distinctive letter Ñ, which therefore needed to be highlighted.

Another objective was to be a market leader: Spain's competitive advantage in the priority market for tourism, i.e. Europe, was twofold: on the one hand the variety of goods and services on offer: islands, peninsula, beaches, mountains, summer, spring, autumn, etc., and on the other, the climate, fundamental for Spain and all its competitors. Thus the *Diversidad bajo el sol* formula was born.

Without consciously planning for it, brand *España* has been able to count on the support of political forces across the spectrum. The continuity of this support has been invaluable in the construction of the brand itself, the development of brand policy and its funding. All governments have understood the need for consistency in its management.

For the construction of brand *España*, it should be stressed that it entails both promise and validation. The promise is what the brand purports to offer, the tangible and intangible assets that are presented to the customers. The validation is the actual perception of the customer once the tourist experience has been produced and consumed.

Today the emphasis is on the emotional aspects of brand Spain.

Ever since its conception and above all since 1983 with the new design, emotions have been a key feature of brand Spain. The tourist assets of Spain have been presented in a variety of ways but the common denominator has always been the appeal to the distinctive nature of Spanish society, its specific culture, the extrovert personality of the Spanish, the 'Spanish' way of life, the authenticity of their character and the generosity of the Spanish people (Figure 6).



Figure 6
The Spanish way of life

All of this is expressed in the descriptive marketing of brand Spain and its slogans, listed here in chronological order:

- *España es diferente* ('Spain is different')
- *Todo Bajo el sol* ('80-'90) ('Everything under the sun')
- *España es simpatía* ('Spain is cordiality')
- *Pasión por la vida* ('90) ('Passion for life')
- *Bravo España* ('90) ('Bravo Spain!')
- *España marca* (2003) ('Spain Marks')
- *Sonríe, estás en España* (2008) ('Smile, you're in Spain')
- *Necesito España* ('I need Spain')

Emotional branding is also the current backdrop to the dream society, the attention economy and the experience economy. It is the perfect story for a brand to tell, told with honesty and transparency; but it is also consistently and unambiguously the story of a 'cultured' country, adapted to its audience.

The management objectives of the current brand are:

To maintain and strengthen the 'brand Spain' image campaigns in order to increase its recognition and improve its position in the international tourist market (Figure 7).



Figure 7
Emotional branding

To develop for the brand a communication strategy designed to highlight the distinctive aspects of a holiday in Spain in comparison to other rival destinations, emphasising in particular: 1) the Spanish lifestyle, 2) the European context, which entails quality and cultural proximity, 3) personalisation of the experience, 4) the rich variety on offer (Figure 8).



Figure 8
Distinctive aspects of a holiday in Spain

To develop Spain's image as a tourist destination, going beyond the almost exclusive association with sun and beaches and adding new assets linked to other reasons for going on holiday.



Figure 9
Commercialization of Spanish tourist goods and services

To obtain a greater competitive advantage from the existence of the tourist brand itself, whose recognition and attributes contribute to the commercialisation of Spanish tourist goods and services (Figure 9).

7. Conclusion

The identity of a country is the product of a whole compendium of elements – real and fictitious, tangible and intangible, rational and emotional – which lead to the formation of a national image and perceptions that are more or less broadly accepted in the international context. Its reputation is constructed by means of

variables of various kinds, including lifestyle, natural heritage, history, culture, the economy, political and legal institutions, famous leaders, companies and brands, growth potential, natural resources, quality products and leisure potential. Perceptions of these variables are the result of personal experience (one's own and that of others), communication (direct, indirect, controlled and spontaneous), and are conditioned by collectively-held stereotypes. The country brand has a 'corporate' function, encompassing all other product and service brands associated with that country. In terms of brand management, the attributes that are associated with a particular country in the collective international imagination can also become attached to that country's brands, but this works in both a positive and a negative sense.

Constructing a country brand is thus no easy task. It is not simply a matter of increasing investment in advertising, setting up institutions that promote trade and tourism or even gambling on the organisation of the Olympic Games. The process of improving the image and reputation of a country requires constant investment, strategic planning, and good communication and cooperation between a large quantity of stakeholders, including governments, institutions, companies and even the country's citizens.

Spain can capitalise on its good image (10th place in the list drawn up by the Reputation Institute, 2008-09) to promote its products and services such as tourism, but above all it needs to develop a distinctive and positive message around which Spanish institutions and companies can build a common strategy for the country, communicating coherently and consistently so as to occupy a well-defined space in the minds of consumers in other countries.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOURIST IMAGERY OF BRAZIL IN BETWEEN STEREOTYPES AND CLICHÉS

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1. Introduction

The current paper analyses the image of Brazil as it has been developing in the Brazilian mindset and subsequently spreading on an International scale. Starting point of the current analysis will be the 1964-1984 time frame – two decades characterised by military dictatorship –, and the communicative strategies of Embratur, the Brazilian national board in charge of promoting tourism and which played a major role in the strengthening and spreading of a specific tourist image of Brazil, both inside and outside the Country.

2. Brazil at the time of *Embratur*

The currently widespread image of Brazil is still based on the propagandistic and tourist imagery developed and fostered by *Embratur* (*Empresa Brasileira para o Turismo*) from 1966 onwards.

A fortíssima imagem no exterior de que o Brasil é uma grande festa não é obra do acaso. Em 1966, quando foi fundado o Instituto Brasileiro de Turismo (Embratur), houve muito incentivo a campanhas publicitárias que mostravam sempre as belas praias do Rio de Janeiro e a nudez das mulheres no carnaval. Era a época da Ditadura Militar e o objetivo das campanhas era vender uma falsa idéia de liberalismo e democracia, em oposição às denúncias do povo ao governo ditador. Porém, essa idéia prevalece até hoje. (Minini, 2004).¹

Embratur specifically wanted to create a tourist image of Brazil which could promote mass tourism, as well as improve the image of the Country on the international panorama. Indeed, from 1964 to 1984, the Brazilian government was strongly criticised by expatriate scholars and trade unionists, as well as by the international press, for its dictatorial regime and ferocious political crimes which included the disappearance of political opponents (*desaparecidos*). However, *Embratur* never officially admitted having the above-mentioned aims, as the following words of Jeanine Pires – former president of *Embratur* – clearly show:

In order to describe *Embratur*'s initiatives, it is important first to understand its mission. At the time of its creation, on November 18, 1966, *Embratur*'s main objective was to foster the tourist activity, creating conditions for the stimulation of employment, generation of income, and development in the whole country. Since

¹ 'The image of a happy and playful Brazil which is rooted in foreign minds is not there by chance. In 1966, when the Brazilian institute for tourism (*Embratur*) was funded, the Government supported several advertising campaigns which showed the beaches of Rio de Janeiro and naked samba female dancers. That was the time of the military dictatorial regime and those advertisements aimed to spread a false idea of liberality and democracy, to contrast the accusations of the population who denounced the dictatorial regime. Yet, this is still the prevailing view of Brazil.' [personal translation]

January, 2003, with the institution of the Ministry of Tourism, *Embratur's* work concentrates on the promotion, marketing, and support of the commercialization of the Brazilian products, services and tourist destinations abroad. (Travel Daily News, 2007).

Consequently, the tourism policy of Brazil can only be analysed considering the socio-political context within which such policy developed. Only in this way, we will be able to understand the rationale for tourism communication proposed by *Embratur* which aimed at portraying Brazil as an earthly paradise characterised by love and harmony in a Catholic and multiethnic context where peace was guaranteed by a constant fight against communism (Figure 1).



Figure 1
Calendário Turístico do Brasil, 1971, published by Embratur

Such a process of self-representation has its roots in *Embratur's* worries of seeing the international image of Brazil spoilt by the dreadful actions of the military dictatorship. Indeed, as Amado (1992, p. 336) confirms, “o regime militar e sua radicalização comprometeram a imagem do país no exterior, subtraindo credibilidade à sua ação”.² This worry was the soil over which Brazilian tourism was built, as Joaquim Xavier da Silveira wrote:

A construção, ampliação ou reforma de hotéis, obras e serviços específicos de finalidade turística constituem atividades econômicas de interesse nacional. A inclusão deste enunciado em um diploma legal significou o ponto final dos trabalhos da equipe do Governo da Revolução iniciada em 1964, com o Presidente Castello Branco, quando se resolveu dar a este fenômeno do século - o turismo - um tratamento diferente. (Silveira, 1977, p. 17)³.

So strong was the fear of seeing the image of Brazil irrevocably compromised that Brazilian military institutions went so far as to begin a real campaign of counter-

² ‘The military regime and its radicalization compromised the international image of the country, mining its credibility.’ [personal translation]

³ ‘The creation, expansion and renovation of hotels, services and other works for tourists are economic activities of National interest. Including such a sentence in a legal document was the final step of the work of Castello Branco’s Government which in 1964 had finally started to consider this important event – tourism – from a different perspective.’ [personal translation]

information and propaganda based on the use of images which were already present in the national imagery and which were related to the beauty of Rio de Janeiro, its beaches, Carnival and *mulatas*. However, although in the '60s using *mulatas* for tourist advertising was a novelty especially for the North American and European audiences, the stereotype of the *mulata* sensual had been present in the Brazilian society since the colonial period and had great spreading and affirmation in the early 20th century, owing to the Gilberto Freyre's theories on racial democracy (Figure 2).

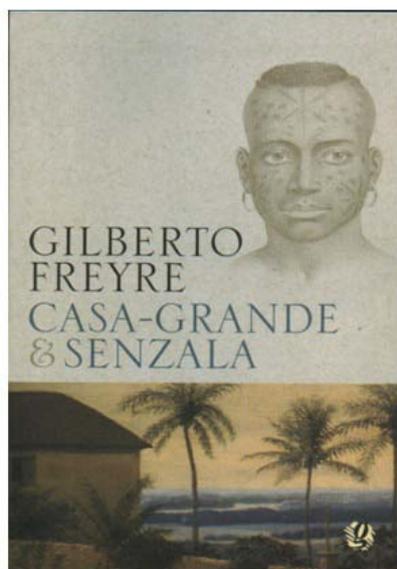


Figure 2
Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-Grande & Senzala*

For a clearer understanding of the process that lead to the development of the Brazilian tourist image, we need to reflect on the difference between stereotype and image. Being based on established opinions which are not acquired by direct experience, stereotypes are rarely susceptible to change and are difficult to modify. Conversely, as Rosana Bignami Viana de Sá declares, an image

pode ser associada a um conjunto de percepções a respeito de algo, uma representação de um objeto ou ser, uma projeção futura, uma lembrança ou recordação passada. Essas múltiplas explicações a respeito da imagem nos levam a considerar o quanto ela pode ser dinâmica e ampla no que se refere a conceito e prática. (Sá 2002, pp. 12-13).⁴

Such dynamism clearly appears when we think that images – in contrast to stereotypes – represent a subjective, personal perspective which differs according to each individual. Tourist images, on the other hand, are partial representations – almost projections of a place – based on the tourist's perception which, in turn, is frequently moulded by previously established representations, i.e. images developed and proposed by people in charge of spreading the given idea. Consequently, tourist images are easily manipulated (Alfonso 2006, p. 77).

⁴ 'can be associated to a set of perceptions about something, the representation of an object or being, a future projection, an old or recent memory. This range of possible explanations for an image lead us to see how dynamic and broad an image can be, both in conceptual and practical terms.' [personal translation]

The tourist image of a country as well as tourism communication are based on the country's literature, cinema, music and folklore. From these, well-known and recognizable elements are taken and transposed to create the desired image. The presence of traits such as Carnival, samba, and soccer in the tourist image of Brazil lead us to believe that those features, now considered an integral part of the Brazilian identity, were, till some decades ago, stigmatized insofar as they referred exclusively to the Afro-Brazilian roots of the Brazilian culture.

Indeed, when we look at the first tourist images used by Embratur, largely based on the stereotype of the sensual *mulata*, we cannot but think that this type of image has been transformed into an icon of Brazilian culture only recently, owing to ideological, literary and cinematographic reinterpretations, and is a key element in understanding the complexity of Brazilian interethnic relations.

Expressão maior da miscigenação do nosso povo, as figuras desses mistos de brancos e negros são habitualmente consideradas como reveladoras de relações menos conflituosas, menos racistas, ao menos ao nível da sexualidade. O sexo é aliás poderoso componente na definição de uma especificidade brasileira e a figura da mulata, em particular, o símbolo da sensualidade e da malícia de uma população que vive num território onde inexistia o pecado (Lopes, 2001).⁵

In the '30s and '40s, Freyre's idea that democracy and racial integration could be reached through interracial marriages became so popular as to becloud, at least partially, the idea of *branqueamento* (lit. 'whitening') which had so far been considered the only viable solution to the Brazilian racial issue and had led to fostering migration from Europe. Freyre's theory thus led the basis for the political project of *Estado Novo* (1930-1945) of Getúlio Vargas.

From the populist regime of Vargas to the military regime of the Sixties, the notion of *miscigenação* (lit. 'miscegenation') was reinterpreted and manipulated in order to transform a mixed race and its semantic components from potential cultural icons into vehicles of tourist image. Thus, similarly to what Embratur will later do with the image of the *mulata*, the Afro-Brazilian elements were rediscovered and used to reshape the image of the nation, in order to attract a large share of the tourism – mostly men – interested in beautiful girls in bikini more than in any landscape attractions.

3. The role of *Embratur*

Embratur was founded in 1966 to shape a national tourism policy, as explained in Brazilian decree n.º 55 of 18 November 1966 which “define a política nacional de turismo, cria o Conselho Nacional de Turismo e a Empresa Brasileira de Turismo e dá outras providências.”⁶ Unfortunately, in an attempt to create an appealing tourist image able to increase foreign tourism and help Brazil get out from economic stagnation, they ended up collecting several national stereotypes and depicting Brazil as a country free of social or political conflicts where nature

⁵ ‘Specific trait of our population, this mixing between the black and the white has normally been considered indication of a low level of conflicts and racism, at least when it comes to sexuality. Sex is indeed a powerful component in defining Brazilian peculiarities and the image of the *mulata* becomes a symbol of sensuality and shrewdness of a population living in a land where sin does not exist.’ [personal translation]

⁶ ‘[...] defines the national policy on tourism, creates the National Tourist Council and the Brazilian Tourist Board and oversees other things.’ [personal translation]

induced happiness and joy: a tropical paradise, welcoming and exotic, full of beautiful women, possibly *mulatas*. Given its characteristics, *Embratur's* tourism communication could not but have dreadful consequences for the image of Brazilian women. Far from disrupting the stereotype of the sensual and easy *mulata*, *Embratur's* communication – which targeted white European or US men – extended this distorted stereotype to all Brazilian women (Figure 3).

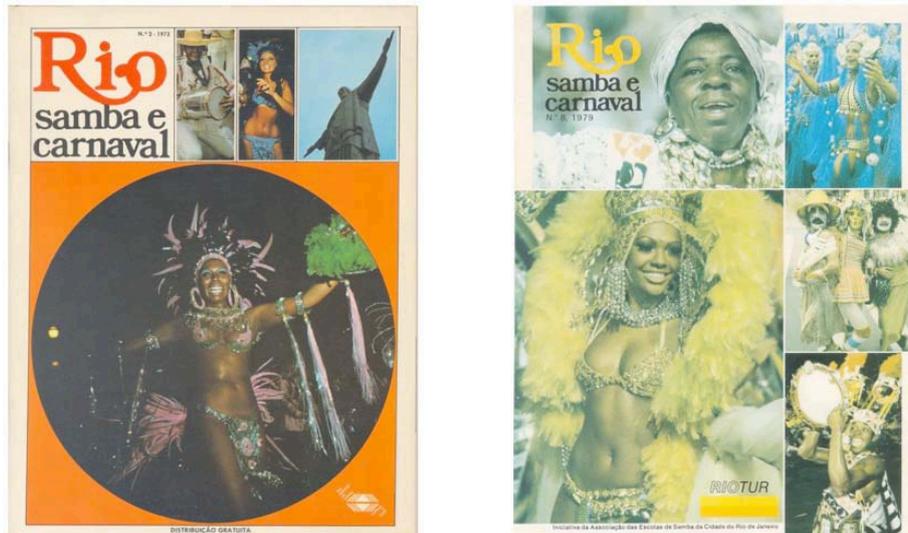


Figure 3
Covers of the *Rio, Samba e Carnaval* magazine

It must be noted that a tourist image based on a commercial use of the female body recalled the negative and discriminating stereotype of the sensuous and intriguing *mulata* so typical of the colonial slave period. Suffice to say that, in 1711 the Jesuit father Andreoni (full name André João Antonil), in his work titled “*Cultura e Opulência no Brasil por suas Drogas e Minas*” (book 1, chapter 10), described Brazil as the paradise of *mulatos* and *mulatas*, the purgatory of the white and the hell of the black (Cfr. Antonil, 1982) and added that *mulatas* used their sensuousness as a means of social climbing – the latter being an element which frequently appears in the literature. Antonil was not the first one to underline this feature, nor will be the last to defend the myth of the *mulata's* tropical sensuality.

Embratur began its propagandistic activity of tourism promotion at the beginning of the ‘70s,⁷ when the Brazilian regime started exploiting the prestige that Brazil had recently gained for winning the Football World Cup in Mexico. The image of Brazil was then enriched with other easily recognizable elements, including Rio de Janeiro Carnival and the statue of Christ the Redeemer – now the best known symbol of Rio and, consequently, of Brazil.

For the first time ever in Brazil, alongside the already-described interest for international tourism, *Embratur* also developed plans for the national promotion of tourism. A program titled “*Conheça o Brasil*” (‘Get to know Brazil’), targeted Brazilian families and offered them a network of accommodations that was slightly different from the one reserved to international tourists (*Embratur*, 1973).

⁷ The year 1970 was proclaimed first National Tourism.

In 1973, on the occasion of the ‘Brasil Export 73’ event, *Embratur* tried to build its tourist discourse around the following idea: “*Turismo é cultura, é folclore, é futebol, é artesanato, é música, é arte popular, é moda, é joalheria, é pintura, é, em última análise, a expressão mais complexa da interação social*”⁸ (*Embratur* 1972, p. 10). *Embratur*’s discourse offered a highly varied and to some extent ambitious type of tourist product which covered everything, from architectural to natural beauty, encompassed the whole complex and complete range of Brazilian artistic production, and included the usual stereotype of a welcoming, happy and friendly people. While *Embratur* was proposing this new type of message, in 1975, the journal “*Rio, Samba e Carnaval*” – translated in several languages – relapsed into the image considered by many the best tourist attraction: Brazilian women.

As the images in these pages testify, communication had never been so explicit in Brazilian tourist discourse. In their graphics, these images resemble the pictures that *EMBRAFILME* – a national board for film production, in other words, the filmic counterpart of *Embratur* – used in the late ‘60s to advertise a series of highly-popular erotic films (the so-called *Pornochanchada*, Figure 4) which aimed to distract the public from politically-involved films (*Cinema Novo* and *Cinema Marginal*) by offering a more attractive alternative based on the display of the female body.



Figure 4
Poster of a film belonging to the *Pornochanchada* genre

Such a sudden surge of explicitness in tourist communication, which would inevitably lead to the promotion of an increase in sex tourism, coincided with a very specific cultural policy of the Brazilian military regime. The grimmest phase, characterized by the passing of Institutional Act n.5 (*Ato Institucional n° 5*) and the institutionalization of censorship and repression in every field, took place from 1968 to 1974, and was followed by a time of political relaxation. Indeed, from 1975 onward, the Brazilian Government promoted a new kind of national culture by means of the *Política Nacional de Cultura* (‘Cultural National Policy’).

⁸ ‘Tourism is culture, folklore, football, craftsmanship, music, popular art, fashion, jewelry, painting, that is a very complex expression of social interaction’. [personal translation]

Consequently, the construction of a tourist image of Brazil based on the beauty of Brazilian women, considered as *a maior atração* ('major attractions'), began to consolidate and transform into a stereotype outside national borders. This stereotype was then used, either implicitly or explicitly, in several tourism campaigns in the following years.

A change of direction in tourism communication took place starting from 1997, when the use of the 'Brazilian woman' stereotype to attract foreign interest was dismissed and a fight against sex tourism began. This led to a re-interpretation and re-construction of the image of Brazil and of all the Afro-Brazilian features connected to the sensuous woman stereotype, such as Carnival and samba. These elements have been detached from their Afro-Brazilian roots and are currently used in tourism communication to identify Brazilian national identity.

To conclude, we could say that, despite a clear failure of racial democracy in Brazil – indeed Brazil is still marked by a serious social and economic divide which sees people of African origins in subordinate position –, official Brazilian tourism communication from the '60s onward has always promoted an image of Brazil based on love for music, harmony between different races and skin colours, and the sensuality and beauty of its inhabitants. The country was depicted as an exotic land of Carnival, football and samba dancers, and the violent aspects of urban areas such as Rio de Janeiro were kept hidden, as they would keep at a distance the average tourist – well informed by fellow-tourists about the existence of a high criminal rate connected to drug trafficking.

However, despite all attempts by the Brazilian boards to hide social and urban problems from the International view, many things have changed in the last two decades. Both in film and literary production, the view on Afro-Brazilian people and their world has passed from seeing them as subordinate passive subjects to active agents. Similarly, drug trafficking is no longer considered an isolated problem, but rather a social issue in need of analysis and solutions: although the social divide cannot explain the origins and existence of drug trafficking, it clarifies why so many youngsters are engaged in criminal activities and cheer for the *movimento* ('drug trafficking bands') as they would do for their favourite football team.

This has brought about novelties also in the tourism sector. Starting from 1992, in order to re-attract some of the tourists that urban violence had kept afar, a high number of tourist agencies and associations in Rio de Janeiro have started offering tourist packages which promise adventure in the *favelas*, advertised with name such as *favela* tour or *favela* adventure.

4. Concluding remarks

It must be admitted that, thanks to its tourism policy, the Brazilian military regime managed to reach its goal. Indeed, while the wrong deeds of Pinochet or the 'disappearing' of thousands of Argentines in the '70s are known world-wide, the international public opinion almost generally ignores that Brazil was ruled for twenty years by a dictatorial military regime and that those years were characterized by torture, thousands of victims, expatriates and *desaparecidos*.

However, if on the one hand the Brazilian tourism policy has had positive commercial and propagandistic results, on the other hand it has generated great social damage – a damage which is only recently been acknowledged and tackled.

In fact, a tourist image so strongly based on the ideas of sensuality and sex has led to a dramatic increase in sex tourism, especially in North-Eastern towns, such as Fortaleza, Natal and Recife; this has then quickly degenerated into pedophile tourism. The underage sex market of the most disadvantaged areas in the North-East of Brazil is so flourishing as to have attracted not only the attention of the police and the media, but also that of literature and cinema which have recently started depicting some towns in a highly negative way.

Apenas recentemente o Brasil começou a perceber os primeiros reflexos sérios da imagem turística até então criada e arraigada. Cada vez mais vemos cidades tentando alterar sua imagem turística, uma vez que tal imagem, somada às demais informações sobre o local, vinha trazendo aspectos negativos cujas conseqüências eram problemas sociais, ambientais ou econômicos. (Alfonso 2006, p. 130).⁹

Nevertheless, changes have been recently seen in the composition of incoming tourists fluxes: although the majority of tourists are still male Americans and Europeans (mostly Italians and Germans), a gradual increase can be noticed in the number of families and groups of women that travel to Brazil every year.



Figure 5
Advertising campaign against sex tourism in Brazil

This radical change in the composition of incoming tourists fluxes mirrors a change of policy in Brazilian official tourism communication – partly induced by foreign human rights organizations (Figure 5) – which has substituted all images of women in bikini with images of Brazilian landscapes, works of art and cultural events.

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⁹ 'Only recently has Brazil started becoming aware of the serious consequences of the tourist image created and spread in previous years. More and more towns try to change their tourist image, when they see that such image, added to other pieces of information about the local situation, carry serious negative aspects which lead to social, environmental or economic problems.' [personal translation]

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TOWARDS ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF TOURISM

The Polish experience

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1. Introduction

Starting from the Eighties new forms of tourism have developed, characterised by shorter holidays, but with a more specific goal. Today tourists are driven by different interests and motivations, and they have at their disposal several ways to put into practice their idea of tourism. They look for new destinations and modes of travelling in line with the requirements of a post-modern society that is unrelentingly moving through a global space (Lemmi 2009, p. 12).

For this reason international experts agree that tourism cannot be seen as a mass phenomenon, rather it should be addressed as post-tourism, where the offer has to be adapted to the demand. In this frame the sociologist John Urry (2002, p. 91) defines the figure of the post-tourist:

The post-tourist knows that he or she is a tourist and that tourism is a series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience. The post-tourist thus knows that they will have to queue time and time again, that there will be hassles over foreign exchange, that the glossy brochure is a piece of pop culture, that the apparently authentic local entertainment is as socially contrived as the ethnic bar, and that the supposedly quaint and traditional fishing village could not survive without the income from tourism.

There are two traits which characterise these new ways of travelling: on the one hand, the borders between tourism and leisure time are fading away; on the other, the distinction between educational experience and entertainment is less and less definite. With regard to entertainment, it is interesting to notice that sometimes it is realised in the so-called 'non-places':¹ places which are specific and peculiar to the contemporary society and which reflect the concept of tourism itself for the modern man.

The experiences of the post-modern travellers are mostly accomplished in such non-places and this very fact invalidates the authenticity of the experiences themselves. Indeed, as Feifer (1985, p. 271) states, the post-tourist is "not a time-traveller when he goes somewhere historic; not an instant noble savage when he

¹ The construction of places devoted to leisure and fun is a recent widespread phenomenon; this refers to man-made attractions, which highlight the ephemeral aspects of the tourist spaces (Augé 1992). These places may be defined as "non-places" or "hyper-real spaces" in opposition to tourist areas with a strong anthropological or geographical value. Urry suggests that a visitor of these non-places lives a virtual experience, where there is no direct contact with reality: "Of course not all members of the world community are equal participants within global tourism. Side by side with global tourists and travellers within many of those 'empty meeting places' or 'non-places' of modernity such as the airport lounge, the coach station, the railway terminus, the motorway service stations, docks and so on are countless global exiles" (Urry 2002, p. 142). A territory becomes a mere support to the development of tourist activities, according to a well-established mechanism of falsification or misrepresentation of reality (such as Disneyland).

stays on a tropical beach; not an invisible observer when he visits a native compound. Resolutely 'realistic', he cannot evade his condition of outsider".

The travellers are aware of the 'non-authenticity' of their touristic experience, they appreciate it, and they enjoy themselves thanks to the amusements and leisure activities specially created for them: "They know that there is no authentic tourist experience, that there are merely a series of games or texts that can be played" (Urry 2002, p. 12).

As already mentioned above, the time we are living can be labelled as the time of global tourism. Besides, it is marked by the fact that there are not any places to discover any more, rather there are varied formulas for travelling, which in the long run are destined to further differ, according to social and cultural differences in the demand (Gaworecki 2007, p. 60). On this subject Lemmi (2009) introduces the concept of 'mille turismi' (literally 'a thousand tourisms'), where each tourist requires services that are increasingly diverse and original. The market is both segmented and demanding, therefore the offer must be adapted to it: this results in the creation of innumerable tourist niches linked to the promotion of cultural and environmental resources. In other words, we are currently witnessing the development of alternative forms of tourism, now closer to the needs expressed by the "environmental sustainability" model (Lemmi 2009, p. 11). This new form of tourism is 'shaped' on the physical and social structure of a territory and it is characterised by a careful selection of operational criteria, and by diversified formulas and fluxes. In this way, it is well integrated into the economic, social and cultural frame of a certain tourist destination. For this reason alternative tourism, also called 'soft tourism', is completely different from the traditional idea of tourism: over the years it has been variously defined as ecotourism, "responsible tourism", "compatible tourism", but it is most commonly named "sustainable tourism" (*ibidem*, p. 74; Niemiec 2006, pp. 53-56; see also Fossati, Panella 2002; Cici, Chitotti, Villa 1999). It monitors some key parameters, such as (Gaworecki 2007, pp. 86-87):

- the carrying capacity of tourist areas (number of tourists per hectare);
- water consumption;
- the impact of tourism on soil, uplands and vegetation;
- the pollution and degradation of the ecosystem as well as of monuments and artworks;
- the socio-economic impact of tourism (in terms of jobs and income) and the socio-cultural one (in relation to culture and civilisation).

Furthermore, alternative tourism rejects the package tours provided with the classic 'all-inclusive formula', in favour of more personalised types of travelling and solutions that are more respectful of the people and the places visited (Lemmi 2009, p. 11).

In Poland there is a general tendency, even among the working classes, to take more than one holiday a year. This explains why people are looking for new ways to experience tourism: here the boundaries between one kind of tourism and the other (e.g. education/leisure, business/health and so on) are gradually blurring.

2. Alternative tourism in Poland

It stands to reason that tourism is generally determined as a “space phenomenon” of outstanding importance in several fields, such as the economic, the social and the cultural ones (Żegleń, Cisek 2007, p. 5). Tourism has become one of the strong points of the entire world economy and its turnover is now comparable to that of traditional sectors, such as industry and trade (Alejziak 2000, p. 137).

However, in Poland tourism was long considered secondary to the productive sphere. A significant change inevitably occurred when the Polish economy had to be adapted to European standards (Buczyńska 1995, pp. 163-165). This process began in Poland in the late Eighties with the end of the Communist regime and the People’s Republic of Poland giving way to the Republic of Poland.

Moreover, in the 1990s, when Poland entered the capitalistic world and adopted a new economic system, the Government was obliged to take a series of measures aimed at supporting tourism in the country; among the most consequential measures, we can mention (Żegleń, Cisek 2007, p. 9):

- in 1994, the Government favoured the development of tourism economy and its implementation was entrusted to the Ministry of Sports and Tourism;
- on April 26th 2000 the Council of Ministers approved a national programme for tourism development, which coincided with the issue of various reforms aimed at favouring Poland’s admission to the European Union (on 1st May 2004).

In the 2000 national programme, one of the main objectives was to create a tourism industry that matched European standards and which was to be managed by private companies owing to a lack of state funding.

Today, Poland has finally recognised the leading role of tourism in the production of the domestic product: tourism is considered an effective means towards development and a curb on unemployment (*ibidem*, p. 7). But for this to happen, everyone should do their best to make the place known, appreciated and visited by tourists. In this way, territorial marketing, with its tools and policies, becomes of the utmost importance to promote and advertise the country.

Unfortunately, an inadequate amount of publicity is another weak point of tourism in Poland. It is estimated that the demand for tourist services is increasing by an average of 5% per year (*ibidem*, p. 22). This is due to numerous factors, among which the most important ones are the following:

- lower travel costs, e.g. thanks to low-cost airlines;
- the high quality of tourist facilities and the consequent rise in the number of sites of interest;
- European funding, which has helped to optimize the tourist offer.

The Polish Ministry of Economy has planned a tourism development project to be implemented in the years 2007-2013, which envisages the creation of new jobs, especially through local initiatives (“*Projekt strategia rozwoju turystyki na lata 2007-2013*”, 2005, p. 3).

Even though several regions are endowed with remarkable natural, cultural and historical resources, they are often lacking in infrastructure and have only a small number of luxury hotels and restaurants.

Within the overall strategy for Polish tourist development, as outlined in national and regional plans, there are some points that could help increase alternative forms of tourism. Indeed, one of the central directives of this national plan is the diversification of tourist facilities by taking into account the rich cultural and natural heritage of Poland and consequently by enhancing its territorial diversity.

As for this aspect, many efforts are being put into achieving cooperation between tour operators, local associations, and organisations. All this is matched to adequate professional training, as a way, on the one hand, to sensitize people towards respecting the territory and, on the other, to arrange new intervention strategies to optimize tourism in Poland (Niemięc 2006, p. 5).

Hand in hand with tourism development, the awareness of an inseparable relationship between tourism and environmental quality is gradually gaining ground also in Poland: it is well known that a deteriorated environment nullifies the attractiveness of a country to its tourists, and excessive tourist fluxes have an adverse impact on the environment and on tourism itself.

In the countries where tourism is in a mature phase – which is not the case of Poland – this has led to a few relevant complications, such as progressive impoverishment of territorial resources; unauthorized building; excessive waste, and pollution in general; from an anthropological perspective, loss of local history and culture, especially in small communities (Lemmi 2009, p. 74).

The tourist market significantly affects customs and lifestyle on the whole, so that a lot of cultural events and traditional rituals are frequently performed only in order to amuse and entertain the eager visitors (*ibidem*, p. 78).

To overcome these problems, Poland is developing a new conception of tourism resource management and greater respect for the natural ecosystems, constantly threatened by the effects, sometimes all but positive, of tourism development.

Given the need for a change in the model of socio-economic development in the new millennium and an increasingly close relationship between economic, environmental and cultural issues, alternative tourist trends have emerged, which could turn economically backward areas into competitive ones.

Among the main forms of alternative tourism that can be found in Poland there are (to delve deeper into the issue of various forms of alternative tourism in Poland, see Gaworecki 2007, pp. 161-210): urban tourism; rural and ecotourism; health-spa tourism and medical tourism; lake and beach tourism; and winter tourism.

1.1. Urban tourism

It is generally accepted that large urban areas are the most popular tourist destinations worldwide. Indeed, cities offer tourists a rich heritage of history, art and culture and are characterised by steady tourist fluxes: this is one of the reasons why cities undergo a constant process of change related to the

implementation of new architectural structures with high visual and imaginative impact² (see Ceresoli 2005, p. 109).

This process is focused on a strong interdependence between architecture, culture, fashion, tourism, specific lifestyles, which – often influenced by trends towards mass standardisation – have contributed to the renewal of the urban landscape, beyond the evolution of tourism itself: factors such as culture, innovation and creativity, in fact, are the driving forces behind the revitalisation of the cities, where depressed areas are sometimes given new functions, by promoting an architecture as an ‘icon’ of post-modern times (Lemmi 2009, p. 114).

The expressive architecture often entails drawbacks both from an environmental point of view, traditional character replaced by design, and from a social one, displacement through gentrification,³ which changes the social and ethnic character of the neighbourhood (*ibidem*, pp. 114-155).

The great risk of such a phenomenon is the loss of the local community’s identity: the sense of identification between a nation and its monuments might be fatally compromised, as long as the latter is not turned into cultural property (see Ceresoli 2005, p.113).

Besides, the organisation of cultural and entertainment events can restore the city to its previous prestigious position, back to the centre of a competitive tourism market.

The tourism which takes place in metropolitan areas (urban tourism) can have different purposes (at a local, national or international level): art and culture, business, congresses, trade fairs, exhibitions, religion, education, the so-called ‘hit and run’ tourism and more.

In Poland there are many cities that are prominent leaders in art and international centres and that attract large numbers of tourists every year. The most popular cities are: Warsaw, Cracow, Wrocław, Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia,⁴ Poznań, Toruń, Lublin, Częstochowa, and the historic site of Oświęcim, namely the former Nazi concentration camp of Auschwitz.⁵

²Two representative examples of unusual buildings are: Krzywy Domek (‘Crooked House’) in Sopot and Złote Tarasy (‘Golden Terraces’) in Warsaw. The first one was built in the centre of Sopot in 2004. It is approximately 4,000 square meters in size and is part of the shopping centre. It was inspired by the fairytale illustrations and drawings of Jan Marcin Szancer and Per Dahlberg. Inside we can find a concentration of shops, restaurants, and drinking establishments (<http://krzywydomek.info/strona-glowna.html>, 10.2013). The second, Złote Tarasy, is a commercial, office, and entertainment complex in the centre of Warsaw, located next to the Central Railway Station. It was opened in 2007. The total area of the building amounts to 205,000 square meters. It includes 200 shops and restaurants, a hotel, a multiplex cinema, with eight screens, 2560 seats, and an underground parking garage for 1,400 cars (<http://www.zlotetarasy.pl/>, 10.2013).

³“When the ‘urban renewal’ of lower class neighbourhoods with condos attracts yuppie tenants, driving up rents and driving out long time, lower income residents. It often begins with influxes of local artists looking for a cheap place to live, giving the neighbourhood a bohemian air. This hip reputation attracts yuppies who want to live in such an atmosphere, driving out the lower income artists and lower income residents, often ethnic/racial minorities, changing the social character of the neighbourhood. It also involves the ‘yuppification’ of local businesses; shops catering to yuppie tastes like sushi restaurants, Starbucks, etc. come to replace local businesses displaced by higher rents” (definition from *Urban Dictionary*, <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Gentrification>, 10.2013).

⁴Gdańsk, Sopot and Gdynia, in Pomeranian Voivodeship, are three towns together making up the metropolitan agglomeration called in Polish: *Trójmiasto* (Tri-City).

⁵The Polish cities offer many tourist attractions: picturesque old towns with palaces, churches, and architectural complexes; museums range from art, applied arts, musical instruments to war

Each city has its own website,⁶ which contains any kind of information: general news about Poland, its history, local food, sights and monuments, traditions and customs, cultural events, accommodation and much more. This service is usually offered not only in Polish and English, but also in a variety of languages, such as German, French, Russian, Czech, Spanish, Italian and others.⁷ In addition to the official website, some cities – like Poznań – even give the opportunity to access an English on-line city guide.

These cities provide the tourist with different forms of accommodation (hotels, hostels, bed & breakfasts, flats etc.), since lodging is diversified according to taste and price.⁸

As far as Polish hotels are concerned, although in a socialist mould for many years, today they are no way inferior to the rest of Europe, above all as for the middle-high segment, being the best known international hotel chains present in the country (Polce 2009, p. 135). Hotel industry is in fact mostly represented by hotels built in the new millennium.

On the other hand, among the cheapest traditional hotels in Poland, there are Dom Wycieczkowy and Dom Turysty, which have preserved their socialistic structure and style. Located in central areas of the cities, these hotels, in spite of presenting small rooms, standard plain design, limited number of services, are highly desirable for the major hotel chains: they are trying to buy the old Soviet hotels in such cities as Cracow, Łódź, Gdańsk and Warsaw, where tourism is greatly developed. This approach is having a positive effect on the overall level of services in Polish hotels, which have to compete and improve their quality. For example, hotel rooms in the oldest Polish network Orbis⁹ provide higher and better standards than the traditional ones. Room prices in Polish hotels depend not only on the level of the hotel, but also on the area where it is located and on the season. The highest season in Poland which affects the urban tourism is May-September. Indeed, hotels in Cracow, Wrocław, Gdańsk, Sopot, Gdynia, Warsaw and other major Polish cities, during the summer, as a rule, raise their prices.¹⁰

The solutions for youth accommodation are growing: modern and coloured hostels are mushrooming in the young people's favourite cities.

The tourist promotion of Polish cities and regions relies on the help of such institutions as *Centrum Promocji Miast*¹¹ and *Agencja Promocji Miast i Regionów*.¹² In Warsaw a Festival dealing with the promotion of cities and regions was started in 2007, which takes place every year in September, organises

memorabilia and ethnography; impressive monuments, included by UNESCO in its heritage list; and zoological gardens, botanical gardens, arboretum, numerous parks (<http://www.international-travel-tours.com/poland/cities.html>, 10.2013).

⁶ The official websites of these cities are: Cracow, <http://www.krakow.pl/>; Warsaw, <http://www.krakow.pl/>; Lublin, <http://www.um.lublin.pl/>; Gdańsk, <http://www.gdansk.pl/>; Sopot, <http://www.sopot.pl/eGmina/pl/>; Gdynia, <http://www.gdynia.com/>; Łódź, <http://uml.lodz.pl/>; Poznań, <http://www.poznan.pl/>; Wrocław, <http://www.wroclaw.pl/>; Toruń, <http://www.torun.pl/>; Oświęcim (Auschwitz), <http://pl.auschwitz.org.pl/m/> (10.2013).

⁷ Obviously, if the websites are intended for the domestic tourism, then they are available only in Polish and English.

⁸ Two popular websites to book Polish hotels are: www.staypoland.com; www.enterhotel.pl (10.2013).

⁹ The Orbis Hotel Group was founded in the 1920 and today is the largest hotel network in Poland, managing nearly sixty hotels under the Etap, Ibis, Mercure, Novotel, Sofitel and Orbis Hotels brands <http://www.orbis.pl/> (10.2013).

¹⁰ <http://www.city-of-hotels.com/183/poland/1.html> (10.2013).

¹¹ <http://www.miasta.org.pl/?p> (10.2013).

¹² <http://www.apmir.org/> (10.2013).

conferences and workshops, and publishes material on promoting strategies. Besides, the same Festival launched a competition called “*Złote Formaty*” (‘Golden Formats’), with the purpose of awarding a prize to the cities which succeeded in the best tourist promotion.¹³

There are a lot of Tourism and Recreation Fairs, arranged in Warsaw annually.

In order to attract both domestic and foreign tourism, the city promotion is more and more frequently entrusted to agencies and specialised institutions, which make use of new and more effective forms of publicity: TV advertising, internet, press and others.

1.2. Rural tourism and ecotourism

The first investigation of organic farms in Poland was carried out in 1990 on the basis of the Organic Agriculture Criteria of EKOLAND Association and worked out according to the guidelines of the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM). Since then, we have observed a continuous development in organic agriculture, with different growth rates in different periods, depending on expertise levels, market conditions and subsidies (Łuczka-Bakula, Smoluk, Czubak 2004, p. 110).

One of the precursors of ecotourism is ECEAT-Poland. In Poland, rural tourism and ecotourism¹⁴ developed in the Nineties following the initiative of the association *ECEAT – Europejska Centrum Rolnictwa Ekologicznego i Turystyki w Polsce* (‘European Centre for Ecological and Agricultural Tourism’) – active in several European countries, which began to spread the *EAT (Eko-Agro-Turystyka)* project.¹⁵

ECEAT is the leading European organisation in the field of small-scale sustainable tourism with a special attention to rural areas and organic farming. Organic farming is a form of agriculture that excludes the use of synthetic fertilizers and pesticides. Organic farmers try, as far as possible, to rely on natural strategies in order to maintain soil productivity and control pests. Organic agriculture can be considered a subset of sustainable agriculture, the difference being that organic implies certification in accordance with legal standards (Niemiec 2006, pp. 54-55). Organic methods are studied in the field of agroecology. *ECEAT*-Poland is non-profit, charitable and educational association. They help preserve precious cultural and natural landscapes and the traditional way of life of rural people, while supporting the growth of organic farming and nature protection.¹⁶

Farms are located in rural and hilly regions, where tourism helps produce income and enhance the landscape and the environmental resources. Tourist activity in these areas also contributes to support housing estates and productive structures (agricultural, trading, hand-crafts) that can now hardly survive on a local economic basis. The high environmental, artistic, historical and cultural

¹³ <http://www.outdoordlamiast.pl/> (10.2013).

¹⁴ The term ‘ecoagritourism’ has been existed in literature for some years. This kind of agritourism denotes the stay on farms, whose workers cultivate soil and produce food by means of organic methods. They must be farms which possess a certificate (Zaręba 2006, p. 52).

¹⁵ The Eco-Agro-Tourism project (EAT) was started in January 1993 and the coordination team, which was formed in Poland, was later transformed into the independent, non-governmental, non-profit association *ECEAT*-Poland. The *ECEAT* websites are: <http://eceptoland.pl/en/projects.html>; <http://eceptoland.pl/index.php> (10.2013).

¹⁶ <http://www.poland.eceat.org/abouteceat.htm> (10.2013).

quality of these areas determines the development of highly attractive tourist destinations.

Customers mainly come from developed, urbanised and industrialised areas and look for comfortable accommodation in rural houses, modernised and adapted, where they can experience traditional habits, rural foods and natural activities: walking, hiking, visiting national parks, recreational or outdoor sports, tasting natural products and so on (Gaworecki 2007, p. 78).

Ecotourism (Zaręba 2006) especially addresses a developing market segment, which is rapidly growing, even though it basically remains a niche phenomenon. It is characterised by a number of key aspects:

- first of all, it focuses on the observation of nature;
- second, it aims at reducing the negative effects caused by traditional tourism on the environment and society;
- third, it essentially has an educational character;
- fourth, it contributes to environmental protection;
- finally, it raises the tourists' and the local community's awareness of such issues as the respect for the environment and the preservation of culture.

Poland is a country characterised by a rich environmental heritage, mostly unspoilt: it is a true temple of ecotourism. The main activities for ecotourists in Poland are hiking, bird watching and cross-country skiing. In addition to this, some 'agrihouses' even have their own ethnographic museums: here tourists can get acquainted with the local traditions and objects which belong to the history of these places.

Thanks to Poland's unspoilt countryside, it is possible to experience ecotourism across all the country. Polish farmhouse holidays offer excellent opportunities for the recreation with children, who can enjoy the fresh air or play in specially-equipped yards.

Over the last few years the places which have been considered the main tourist attractions are: Pobrzeże Bałtyku, Pojezierze Mazurskie, Tatras and Podhale, Bieszczady, the national park near the river Narew (Narwiański Park Narodowy), Puszcza Knyszyńska (Park Krajobrazowy Puszczy Knyszyńskiej),¹⁷ Pomorze Zachodnie, Ziemia Lubuska,¹⁸ and the Carpathians.

Other resorts are: Zielona Góra, Puszcza Białowieska, a unique place in Europe, where it is not strange to see bisons living in the wild in Łąka Prudnica, Wisła (city), Gruszczyn, in the forests of Białowieża,¹⁹ Lubañ and others. There are other farms in Bieszczady and Tatra Mountains, or in seaside and lake resorts.²⁰ Another famous site is Wojciechów near Lublin, where a village of

¹⁷ <http://www.turystyka.puszczaknyszynska.org/> (10.2013).

¹⁸ <http://www.ziemialubuska.pl/> (10.2013).

¹⁹ The town of Białowieża (means 'the White Tower'), in eastern Poland, is on the edge of forest. In the town is also located the branch of the Polish Academy Science, which specializes in flora and fauna of Białowieża Forest. Tourists can also visit the museum of the Białowieża Forest and be invited to the rest in the houses of local residents, as well as to make special trips on the paths of the forest (<http://www.poland-vacations.com/173/agrotourism-en.html>, 10.2013).

²⁰ Some websites that promote agritourism in Poland are: <http://www.wakacje.agro.pl/>; <http://www.goscinnawies.pl/>; <http://www.agrowakacje.pl/>; <http://polandnaturally.pl/>; <http://www.cottages-for-holidays.com/173/agrotourismo-en/agro-poland-en.html>. They are usually web pages with information in numerous languages: Polish, English, German, Russian,

blacksmiths was founded and which now strongly appeals to many tourists. There is a museum of local crafts, and an international handicraft exhibition is held annually, where master craftsmen from different towns display their handiworks.²¹

It is clear that eco and farmhouse holidays are in fashion today and that holidays on a farm have been regarded as a panacea for the farming activities, particularly in the poorer regions. There are several forms of rural tourism promotion: internet, brochures, magazines and fairs where both farmhouse holidays and organic food are promoted. There is the necessity to enlarge the number of farms offering tourist accommodation: this could be done through good advisory systems or through courses held by advisers.²² Besides, people willing to undertake such activities can rely on financial support from the European Union both for organic agriculture and for farms providing tourist accommodation.

1.3. Health-spa tourism and medical tourism

This form of tourism, as we know, originates from the use of natural mineral water springs with special healing powers in some medical treatments. Hotels, entertainment venues, casinos and sports amenities rise near the hot springs.

Polish Health Spas are part of the Polish culture since the 13th century. At that time they were used to treat many diseases, today they serve rather for relaxation and regeneration. The mineral water and the medicinal mud are the primary activities of health spas, which makes the treatment for some diseases exclusive to Poland. More and more tourists are allured to Poland through the accommodation facilities and care provided in spas.²³

Spa tourism in Poland is now central: it is being improved and made of high quality.

The policies followed nowadays by many thermal baths are changing, as they focus now rather on prevention rather than on treatment. Moreover, due to the introduction of new services, the thermal facilities are moving towards an integration of treatment with wellness.

More specifically, the recent approach determines a shift from specific therapeutic treatments to the achievement of a general psychological well-being. Indeed, recently the range of Polish tourist services has been extended with the addition of 'beauty farms', SPA institutes and wellness or fitness centres. There are now many such facilities in Poland all of which guarantee European standards of service.²⁴ Polish health spas offer:

- high standard of medical services;
- modern medical equipment;
- high quality health treatments;
- affordable prices;
- professional medical staff.

French, Italian, etc. It is also interesting that farmers network with each other and are grouped together in a consortium: <http://www.bugnarew.pl/start>; <http://www.agroturystyka.pl/> (10.2013).

²¹ <http://www.poland-vacations.com/173/agrotourism-en.html> (10.2013).

²² See <http://en.poland.gov.pl/Accommodation.7246.html> (10.2013).

²³ <http://www.hellotravel.com/poland/spa-tourism> (10.2013).

²⁴ <http://en.poland.gov.pl/Health,tourism,7482.html> (10.2013).

Besides, spa tourism is increasingly linked to other forms of tourism, such as sport, recreation and culture. Health spas in Poland are numerous, more than fifty resorts with a kind atmosphere, charming surroundings, delightful boarding houses, and modern sanatoriums all year round. We can name just a few: Augustów, Busko-Zdrój, Ciechocinek, Cieplice Zdrój, Duszniki-Zdrój, Inowrocław, Iwonicz Zdrój, Kołobrzeg, Krynica Zdrój, Kudowa-Zdrój, Łądek Zdrój, Nałęczów, Szczawnica, Ustroń, Wieliczka.²⁵ The last mentioned is the famous salt mine, sculpted by miners over the centuries and now under the aegis of UNESCO.²⁶

Polish health spas suggest package treatments which are good value for money: they include accommodation in a sanatorium, boarding service, medical care, and physiotherapy. What makes Health-Spa Tourism in Poland so interesting in fact is the competitive prices combined with high standards of treatment. Highly qualified, well-trained and professional personnel work in the health resorts. The medical facilities are on the cutting edge as well, they have been modernised and now these centres present the latest and most advanced machinery and equipment (<http://www.polandforall.com/poland-health-spa-tourism.html>).

It is easy to arrange a stay supplying boarding house and treatment: the local spa services office will provide all the necessary information, and will refer patients to treatment facilities following consultation with a doctor.

The promotion of the health spas is entrusted to the Polish Spas Chamber of Commerce (Warsaw) and to the Union of Polish Spas Association (Nałęczów). Poland, which is becoming a leader in medical tourism in Central Europe, is mostly visited by Germans, British, Scandinavians, and Canadians.

Tourists are in particular being attracted by dental surgery and cosmetic and corrective surgery clinics. British people come to Poland in order to receive dental treatment, whereas among the other Europeans plastic surgery, which is four times less expensive than in other countries, is becoming more and more popular. Aesthetic medicine, laser eye surgery, rehabilitation and obesity treatment, being very cheap, are also a matter of interest.²⁷

The health spas are located in regions with varied environmental climatic conditions, usually bordering national parks and reserves. They offer the possibility of spending time outdoors and taking benefit of the advantages of eco-tourism by the sea, lakes or in the mountains. Tourists can choose between brine pools, thermal baths, natural mineral water springs or cryotherapy chambers.²⁸

Many health centres have excellent opportunities for the treatment of children.

Since Poland joined the European Union, they have been signing agreements with the national health services of all the other member countries. Health care clinics cooperate with hotels, holiday centres and a number of travel agencies, with the goal of linking health care services to leisure holidays. In the immediate future a further dynamic increase in medical tourism is as expected as desired.²⁹

²⁵ <http://en.poland.gov.pl/Health,tourism,7482.html> (10.2013).

²⁶ The official websites of Wieliczka Salt Mine and the museum: <http://www.wieliczka-saltmine.com/>; <http://muzeum.wieliczka.pl/?lang=en> (10.2013).

²⁷ <http://www.tourism-review.com/poland-popular-destination-for-medical-tourists-news2393> (10.2013).

²⁸ <http://www.medi-tour.co.uk/353,0,wellness-tourism-in-poland.html> (10.2013).

²⁹ <http://en.poland.gov.pl/Health,tourism,7482.html> (10.2013).

1.4 Lake and beach tourism

People have always been attracted to sea and lakes, so it is easy to imagine that this kind of tourism was the first (or at least one of the first) to develop and, over the years, it has diversified and specialised (Cori, Lemmi 2009, p. 22).

As for lakes, in many cases they exert considerable attraction when they are a long way from big built-up areas.

Lakes and forests are abundant in Poland. The land of Poland is dotted with approximately ten thousand lakes. Most lakes in the country are located in two areas: Mazury, in the north-eastern part of the country and Lubuskie, in the western region. The undulating landscape with a picturesque and attractive view has been shaped by nature in the long course of time. Groups of impressive lakes are also found in Eastern Poland and the western part of the Lublin region. Mountain lakes are the most astonishing among Polish lakes. Many of these lakes, like Czarna Hańcza, have crystal clear waters, perfectly reflecting the enchanting landscape girdling them. For all these reasons lake tourism in Poland has gained enormous popularity.³⁰

The northern part of the country, mostly overlooking the Baltic Sea, includes the two regions of Pomerania in the west and Warmia and Mazury in the east. Together, they constitute the so-called Baltic Lakelands (Pojezierze Bałtyckie), characterised by gentle rolling hills of morainal origin, full of thousands of small lakes and ponds and often covered with thick broad-leaved and coniferous forests (Polce 2009, p. 13).

The Lubuskie lakeland comprises hundreds of lakes located in the central and northern parts of Lubuskie. These lakes are of primary importance for tourism in this region. The most popular lakes are Długie near Międzyrzecz, Dobiegniew, Głębokie, Lubniewice, Lubrza, Łagów, Pszczew, and Wilkowo. Tourists visit the Lubuskie lakes not just because of its picturesque views but also to enjoy and practice water sports, go angling, and to spend their holidays on sultry sandy beaches near their crystal clear waters.³¹ There are excellent conditions here for sailing, rowing, canoeing and kayaking. Water sports enthusiasts, naturalists, avian watchers and anglers can have plenty of fun in these lakes. Also fishing is ideal here and in chilly winters ice-boating and skating will surely provide tourists with an unequalled experience. In this period the lakes are covered with long stretches of smooth ice. Hundreds of lakes are interconnected by streams meaning that a person can travel hundreds of miles in water. On a holiday at the Lubuskie Lakes in Poland there is something to suit everybody's taste.³²

Alongside lakes, Polish rivers are a source of fun for anglers and lovers of water sports as well. Vistula is the biggest river in Poland. Smaller, wild streams like Drawa, Czarna Hańcza, Krutynia or Drwęca are also well-liked.³³ Kayaking is the most popular sport done in these rivers. Thousands of tourists visit Poland every year to enjoy river tourism. These rivers pass through pine and spruce forests, giving the impression of wonderland.

The last form of tourism related to water is beach tourism. It is quite developed in Poland since this is a country with a long Baltic coastline. There are

³⁰ <http://www.international-travel-tours.com/poland/lake-tourism.html> (10.2013).

³¹ <http://www.international-travel-tours.com/poland/lubuskie.html> (10.2013).

³² <http://www.lakelubbers.com/lubuskie-lakeland-1834/> (10.2013).

³³ <http://www.international-travel-tours.com/poland/lake-tourism.html> (10.2013).

dozens of sea resorts on the coast of Baltic Sea like Wolin Island, located close to the German border and the coast of Pomerania.³⁴

Beach tourism has become one of the most important economic activities. The coast, more than 500 km long, is low and sandy and, despite the cold temperatures of the Baltic Sea, attracts thousands of tourists every summer (Polce, p. 14). The Sopot beach is equipped with excellent facilities for water sports and with comfortable structures.

1.5 Winter tourism

Like other types of tourism (beach, urban, etc.), even the mountains have seen a huge increase in tourist numbers, which was accompanied by an evolution of the resorts themselves. Thanks to the diversification of the tourist facilities, these resorts cater for two main seasons (the summer and the winter).

The winter season in Poland is longer than in western or southern Europe. This particularly refers to the mountain areas in the south of the country. The snow cover remains there from November till March, creating excellent conditions for skiers, enthusiasts of winter rest and recreation, and other fans of winter sports.³⁵

The lovers of winter rest and recreation can choose from a wide offer, that includes renown winter resorts as well as quieter and fascinating little spots, better suited to family holidays. The spas located in the mountains are very attractive, full of tourist attractions and organising many sports and cultural events so as to make the stays of their customers more interesting.³⁶

On the territory of Poland there is a great number of mountain ranges. It has developed both mountain sports and hiking trips. In Poland, the most popular and highest mountains are the Tatras. They are interesting not only for skiers of any level, but also for lovers of mountaineering.

The hiking tourism is also fairly developed here. There are routes for the beginners as well as for professionals, with a few slopes and extremely beautiful landscapes. The routes have specially equipped places for rest, where tourists can overnight and have meals.³⁷

The Tatras are the highest range of the Carpathian Mountains that lies along the Polish border with Slovakia. The visitors can find here breathtaking views and unspoilt environment. The Tatra Mountains offer visitors the best skiing in winter, hiking, exploration of caves, rock climbing, cycling, para-gliding and a lot more. Tatras also take tourist to the tour of wildlife preservation which is the foremost place to visit while on a tour of Poland. There are twin national parks which cover the whole of the Tatras from both the sides of national border.

The walking paths near Tatras are pristine and fascinating to those tourists who do not hike in the mountains. The paths in the valleys are extremely enchanting which lead to wonderful Zakopane town. The whole area features various inns, hotels, motels, restaurants, board-houses, cafes, shops, art galleries, sport facilities and nightclubs.³⁸

³⁴ <http://inter.mssagroup.com/en/the-economy-of-polish-market> (10.2013).

³⁵ The most popular sports are: [snowboard and ski](#), [cross-country skiing](#), [gliding on ice](#), [ski jumping](#), [the kumoterki races](#), [sledge runs](#), [fishing under ice](#), [kayaking trips](#), [climates of the far north](#) (<http://www.poland-vacations.com/173/winter-en.html>) (10.2013).

³⁶ <http://www.polandforall.com/winter-attractions.html> (10.2013).

³⁷ <http://www.poland-vacations.com/173/winter-en.html> (10.2013).

³⁸ <http://www.local-life.com/zakopane/articles/tatra-mountains-zakopane> (10.2013).

The Cracow-Częstochowa Jurassic Upland consists of a rich ecosystem due to the unique climate and the whole high ground is surrounded by virgin forest. This place is abundant with great forests and its paths are ideal for horse excursions. The place, also famous for horse riding and numerous trails covered with sand, will encourage horses and equestrians to infinite gallops. Nature lovers will have a chance to admire majestic fields of grain while having an adventurous trip. The best to watch, the Cracow-Częstochowa includes many species of insects, including beetles, butterflies and birds. Mammals include the beaver, badger, ermine, bats, many of which hibernate in the park's caves during the winter.³⁹

The Pieniny is a small mountain range, lying on the Slovak border east of the Podhale region and north of the Tatras. The Pieniny Mountains extend for 22 miles in a narrow range. These old limestone mountains have weathered in many wonderful ways. They also provide visitors with the opportunity to ride on the little mountain horses known as '*huculy*'. Here the famous resort Szczawnica is located, a recently opened Ski Centre. It is possible get to the top by the cableway or lift. As well as with skiing enthusiasts, this place is popular with snowboarders because of a specially constructed track.⁴⁰

The main ski resorts are located in the Tatra Mountains: Zakopane,⁴¹ Szklarska Poręba,⁴² Karpacz,⁴³ Krynica Gurska, Piwniczna-Zdrój, Ustrzyki Dolne, Szczyrk.⁴⁴ In winter, these resorts are full of thousands of tourists, thanks to the development of infrastructure and high quality of service.⁴⁵

Zakopane is a major centre that attracts many tourists every year. This place, a small village at the foot of the Tatra Mountains, has been a popular destination with the Polish intelligentsia since 1870. Up to this day, Zakopane has maintained the reputation of a city of artists and it still attracts creative people in search of a suitable environment to live and work. 30,000 people live there, beyond whom we must consider the 2 million visitors arriving every year, mostly skiers. In fact, Zakopane has excellent facilities for winter sports (Polce, p. 13).

In Poland, there are other mountain resorts, including the High Beskids in the west, separated from the Low Beskids by the impetuous river Dunajec (that tourists can cross on board of log barges steered by experienced mountaineers).⁴⁶

³⁹ <http://www.poland.travel/en-gb/national-parks/ojcowski-national-park> (10.2013).

⁴⁰ <http://www.pieniny.com/en/> (10.2013).

⁴¹ Zakopane is the centre of mountain tourism, where there are different competitions in winter sports. In this recreation site there is a wide range of hotels, restaurants, cafes and well-equipped tracks and complexes (<http://www.zakopane.pl/>, 10.2013).

⁴² Szklarska-Poręba is a ski resort in Sudety. Here it is possible to find various skiing and snowboard championships (<http://www.szklarskaporeba.pl/>, 10.2013).

⁴³ The most fashionable ski resort in Poland is Karpacz, situated in the south-east of the country in the Karkonosze Mountains, the highest mountains of Sudety. This youth resort is popular as among the lovers of classical skiing as among the fans of the increasingly popular snowboarding. Every year a very well-liked snowboard Championship takes place in January (<http://www.karpacz.pl/>, 10.2013).

⁴⁴ Szczyrk is another winter area, which has a great number of tracks for tourists and professionals (http://www.polandforvisitors.com/poland/winter_sports_games, 10.2013).

⁴⁵ <http://www.poland-vacations.com/173/winter-en.html> (10.2013).

⁴⁶ The Dunajec Gorge is the most spectacular attraction of the Pieniny Range. Tourists can raft run down the Dunajec River surrounded by peaks, vertical rock walls and high cliffs dropping down to the river. On the south side there is Niedzica Castle, also known as Dunajec Castle, which is a major tourist attraction along with Pieniny National Park, because it comprises wonderful caves, waters, flora and fauna. All these sites show an alluring view of the Dunajec Gorge and the overview of the Pieniny Range with the splendid beauty of its nature (<http://www.polandforall.com/pieniny-mountains-poland.html>, 10.2013).

Many foreigners every year travel to the mountains to relax, to practice sports, to enjoy the scenery or, perhaps, simply to follow the latest trends (*ibidem*).

In southern Poland there are resorts for skiing and hiking in the Karkonosze mountains, which is part of the Sudetes mountain range. Karkonosze includes the tourist centres of Karpacz and Szklarska Poręba.⁴⁷ All visitors to Poland can find accommodation in comfortable hotels and guesthouses, which offer delicious food and high quality of services, always accompanied by traditional Polish hospitality.

In recent times, the winter holidays in Poland enjoy great popularity among the tourist. Foreigners prefer to rest in Poland during the winter more and more. This is due to the relative cheapness of the recreation of service in line with the European level, the beautiful nature and friendly local people.⁴⁸ Besides, today Poland has already developed adequate infrastructure for winter tourism, but it is not going to stop at this level.

Most of the upland areas, although still largely intact, sooner or later will have to confront the effects, both direct and indirect, of increased tourism, in particular the overload of facilities and structures.

3. Conclusion

To sum up, with a slightly larger area than Italy (312,685 km²), Poland is able to provide a wide and various range of types of tourism, above all thanks to its diverse territory (Polce, p. 15). As said above, in recent years, more and more systematically, alternative forms of tourism are growing, closer to the needs expressed by the 'environmental sustainability' model.

These new forms of tourism give travellers the opportunity to enrich their programmes with a series of specialized activities, such as rural tourism, ecotourism, spa, religious, congress tourism, etc.

For this reason, Poland is currently working to become an ideal tourist destination not only for the traditional holiday lovers, but also for those who prefer to spend their holidays alternatively: on the one hand, the need for relaxation in an attractive country, on the other, the unique experiences offered by nature, local cuisine, cultural events and cities of artistic interest.

This is made possible by the development of Polish infrastructures, which allow transport and connections between the various places of interest and that are becoming more and more efficient and organised, also thanks to European subsidies.

Another crucial factor is the promoting activity carried out with strong commitment over the last years by the Poland National Tourism Office,⁴⁹ aware of the fact the tourism is a phenomenon in constant growth, in spite of the international economic crisis.

⁴⁷ <http://inter.mssagroup.com/en/the-economy-of-polish-market> (10.2013).

⁴⁸ <http://www.poland-vacations.com/173/winter-en.html> (10.2013).

⁴⁹ The Poland National Tourism Office website allows a user to select several languages (Polish, English, Italian, French, Spanish, German, Austrian, Dutch, Czech, Ukrainian, Russian, Danish, Hungarian, Swedish, Norwegian, Hebrew, and Japanese etc.) and provides diverse, detailed helpful information about transport, hotel accommodation, sight-seeing, food, events, photos, maps, etc. (<http://www.poland.travel/en>, 10.2013).

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PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS OF JEWISH TOURISM IN APULIA

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1. Premise

Apulia has recently been reconsidered as an interesting destination for international Jewish tourism.

Five years ago in New York, during an event organized by the local Italian Consulate in collaboration with a Jewish-Italian foundation with headquarters in the United States,¹ a specific discussion took place on the potential of Apulia to attract different segments of American Jewish tourism (Schoen Brockman 2013). The participants, mostly tourism promoters, declared their interest for and curiosity about new destinations to include in their packages, but also mentioned their concern about the potential reaction of their customers who are used to choose invariably the same holiday destinations in the North of Italy.

Established tourist destinations could be successfully substituted with new ones if we take into account a phenomenon that seems to have acquired ever greater impact in recent years: an increase in tourism offers targeting those Jewish travellers, mainly from Israel, the United States and Australia, who wish to visit the places in Europe where their ancestors or themselves had moved from to settle in their present residences.

Certainly the opening of the borders of Eastern Europe set in motion this new offer and had a significant effect on several countries including Italy. Although few are the Italian Jews who left Italy for other destinations in the last century – and few are their descendants who could be potential users of this specific type of tourism – specialized business operators have soon realized the potential of Jewish cultural heritage in Italy.

The Italian peninsula was one of the first centres of settlement of Jewish communities since ancient history: Rome and Southern Italy – in particular Salento – have seen the flowering of the oldest Jewish centres in Europe, which remained extremely vibrant for centuries. So, why not take advantage of the renewed flows of Jewish tourists to Eastern Europe and channel a substantial portion of those customers towards discovering the vestiges of the oldest diaspora of Israel in the Occident?

We are definitely talking about a type of niche tourism which has been spreading like wildfire and has acquired new life in the last few years, especially since the recovery of the Jewish identity – real or imagined – has become very fashionable in the U.S.A., and third or fourth generation Americans are willing to revise their origins, mainly Italian, in a Jewish key.² For these customers a specific sector of tourism has been developed, offering visits to small villages and

¹ *East of the West. Centuries of Jewish Crossover from Venice to Lecce*, New York, Italian Consulate General, Italian Cultural Institute, Primo Levi Center, 3 giugno 2009. Another event took place in New York on September 13, 2011, and focused on the analysis of the strategies to foster Jewish tourism in the Marche and Apulia regions (*Jewish Treasures, Italian Regions*, New York University / Casa Italiana Zerilli Marimò).

² See, e.g., <http://calabriajudaica.blogspot.com> (9.2013)

towns in Sicily or other Italian regions that were involved in mass conversions to Catholicism, since the sixteenth century.

These travellers, made 'special' by their own curiosity, are looked at in Apulia with surprised eyes. Based on some preliminary observations, combined with the examination of the experience of other geographical areas that have well-established expertise in Jewish tourism, I would like to offer some reflections intended – I hope – to renew interest for these guests, who could arrive in Apulia by ever growing numbers.

2. Types of Jewish tourists

People seeking to have a 'Jewish' experience in their travels are a highly heterogeneous group of tourists. However, I shall here try to subdivide them into 'types', according to some specific characteristics.

A 'cosmopolitan' tourist (mostly American) of Jewish origin and tradition is used to travelling and is always interested in participating in cultural events within a package which is generally managed by a travel agency in his/her country of origin. This kind of tourist can either visit Europe alone, with his/her family, or in a small group; in any case, they will carefully choose the desired routes so that they meet their interest in the Jewish tradition with an interest in non-Jewish art and culture. These tourists are able to find the hotels and the restaurants that meet their needs. They often have medium-high requests, based on the standards prevailing in their country of origin, but do not require any specific services entailed by their religious identity.

Therefore, these tourists visit Jewish sites as well, often relying on the experience of local operators or using specific book guides. For example, when visiting the synagogue and the Jewish Museum of Florence, they may take advantage of the Jewish Guide to Tuscany (Sacerdoti 1995) or the services of a tour operators' cooperative founded by students of the University of Florence and offering highly professional information in several languages. That student cooperative has been working for years under contract with the Jewish community of Florence which considers their services as highly beneficial. A similar experiment is being carried out in Apulia by the Jewish community in Trani. They have recently revived the cult and used a youth cooperative to organize guided visits to the Jewish quarter and its two medieval synagogues, recently restored. Presently, there is no specific Jewish Guide to Apulia (see, however, Falco, Sacerdoti 2003); however, the opening of the Jewish Museum in Trani, inside the ancient main synagogue, has led to the publishing of a bilingual (English-Italian) catalogue presenting aspects of the history of Judaism in Apulia (Colafemmina, Gramegna 2009).

In such cases, tourist guides are faced with the difficult task of having to filter out bias before giving information to the tourists. Being a tourist guide requires language skills (mostly English), as well as knowledge of the history and culture of Judaism in general and of the local area in particular.

The guides must learn not to take anything for granted and especially not to provide explanations which, without adequate clarifications, may seem 'strange' to a visitor coming from a different cultural reality. For the average American of Jewish tradition, whose family is mostly of Eastern European Jewish origin, the reality of the Italian Jews with its two thousand year history cannot be understood as a reality in itself, but only if tied to that of other larger Jewish

groups. From personal experience, the representation - as objective as it may be - of the history of the Italian Jews to the Jews of Central and Eastern European origin often suggests the idea of a minority strongly assimilated into the customs of the Christian majority, which often leads to bias and misunderstandings.

For example, the information that a seventeenth-century Italian rabbi used to talk in Italian to a mixed audience of Jewish and Christians during his sermons - which is what really happened in the ghetto of Venice - is certainly a far, if not totally alien, experience to a Jew of Polish or Russian origin accustomed to considering their identity as completely autonomic. Nevertheless, even the most prepared guide, will have to emphasize the existence of proceedings that reinforced the union rather than the separation of the communities of different faiths, while pointing out these aspects of the Italian cultural experience. Indeed, talking about cultural osmosis between Jewish and non-Jewish culture in Italy is important, but in order to convey this kind of information one must know the exact circumstances and be able to properly retrace the facts connected to the community, in order to avoid the risk of alienating an audience that has different expectations and perspectives. And all this without altering the historical veracity of the information.

An example of unreliable information is represented by Jewish tourism in Venice, which has recently been at the centre of debate. In the last few years, Venice has invested heavily in the restoration of that part of town which seems to have suggested for the first time in Europe the term 'ghetto' in all its dimensions, and in the development of its touristic potential. The features of the ghetto of Venice are unique in the world: even a cursory examination reveals immediately the cultural osmosis that took place in Venice, especially between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. But, probably due to the scarcity of the native Jewish element in nowadays Venice, the tourist services, as well as many places offering accommodation in the Jewish part of Venice, are managed by people who are associated to kinds of Judaism other than those historically established in that city. Consequently, the shops of the alleged Jewish crafts, the bookstores and many of the specialty food shops give the 'uninformed' tourist the idea that Judaism in Venice is similar to that of the Eastern Europe of the 17th- 18th centuries and that the ghetto of Venice is and has always been like many Jewish centres in Poland or Russia, i.e. separate from the surrounding non-Jewish culture.

Therefore, when visiting the ghetto of Venice, the American tourist, with little knowledge of the history of Italian Jewry, is led to believe that the Jewish community in Venice was similar to those from which his own ancestors came from, since exactly to these Eastern Jewish communities is today entrusted the management of the local tourist services. While from one hand they have developed - with positive implications - a wide range of events targeting tourism, on the other hand, these events have nothing to do with the historical reality of Venetian Judaism which is mostly Mediterranean in spirit.

A 'Jewish' experience of this kind can indeed enrich culturally and arouse great interest, but does not take into account historical reality. It is only a means of cultural marketing (often ideological) and includes contents that are objectively false and should be avoided.

Similar to what I called the 'cosmopolitan' Jewish tourist is the secular Israeli tourist. The latter usually make use of international tourist agencies offering 'generic' packages which arrange for them to visit only the major landmarks of each place on the itinerary, but with no specific attention to local Jewish heritage. The difference between these tourists and their American

counterpart is that they usually stay less in one place, and because of their permanent 'mobility' the amount of information provided must be reduced. In order to address this type of tourist, the knowledge of an international language – such as English – is sufficient, but, unlike with the previous type no special competence on the cultural history of Judaism is usually needed. Coming from a secular type of education, even if they know their identity heritage better than the Americans, they are often reluctant to talk about it, assuming ignorance on the part of their non-Jewish interlocutors as far as everything related to their traditional culture is concerned.

In some cases, however, even secular Israeli tourists come to Italy to cover specifically Jewish itineraries. I happened to be involved in organizing a tour of the Jewish catacombs of Venosa (Potenza, Basilicata) for a group of highly cultured Israelis. These catacombs have only recently been restored and reopened to the public. Consequently, the local guides were not well prepared (including language) and could not cope with the many questions of the tourists who were interested not only in discovering the specific aspects of the place visited, but also the history of the local Jewish communities – no longer existing today.

Completely different attention on the part of the local tourism operators is required by religious Jewish tourism, often coming from Israel but also from Jewish communities in other countries.

It is difficult for religious tourists to move alone. Usually, they travel in rather big groups which include also qualified rabbis who have the role of providing assistance in complying with religious rules. The accompanying persons often know the local situation or speak the local language.

I happened to attend a conference in Santa Maria al Bagno to celebrate the twinning of a town on the Israeli coast with the town of Nardò, from whose shores many Holocaust survivors left after the war, on their way to Palestine/Israel. A group of Israelis attended the meeting accompanied by a local rabbi of Italian origin, who was there to supervise the food preparation and deal with other aspects of daily life.

In their own countries, the religious Jews (who may vary extremely with regard to the degree of compliance with the rules of faith) live in an environment that allows the scrupulous observance of the norms of purity prescribed by the Jewish tradition. Consequently any place other than their own is automatically unsuitable.

Since the more complex requirements refer to the purity of food, a major problem for these groups of tourists is of a dietary nature. In towns where there are significant Jewish communities, the necessary services are guaranteed by the presence of one or more kosher restaurants, run by managers who work under the supervision of the local rabbi. The problem arises when the religious Jewish groups visit towns that have hosted a Jewish community in the past, but cannot currently provide any specific services.

As far as Apulia is concerned, there is no Jewish community, except for the one in Trani. This is a relatively new Jewish reality and counts only a few members; however, in the past few years and under the supervision of the communities of Rome and Naples, they have managed to provide kosher meal services, needed by Jewish tourists to observe the Jewish dietary laws. Following this accomplishment, a new summer flight route between Tel Aviv and Brindisi has been recently opened.

The Jewish religious tourists who come to Apulia generally ask for information before departure and make use of tour operators who know whom to

ask in order to receive specific services. But despite all efforts meeting all the needs of these tourists is not straightforward. For this reason, many tourists, always doubtful that a small place might not be suitable for the observance of the religious practices, prefer not to stay far from major communities. Although such groups are not numerous, the tourist centre of a city like Lecce should nevertheless take into consideration the possibility of offering hospitality to these people. After all, the solutions to the problem are not that complex.

I was in the position to welcome a group of religious guests in Lecce. For small groups the problem is not serious, because we are talking about people accustomed to travelling, and who know that they cannot find everything they need to comply with their precepts at destination. This is why they travel with everything necessary: they carry along food and other things they need for their daily lives.

3. Strategies

The life of religious tourists would be made easier if hotels had rooms equipped with disposable tableware (plastic plates, cups and cutlery); this would allow them to eat the (usually dried) victuals they bring along in their suitcases, without concern. Other little courtesies will help, such asking whether they need hot water; but in this case one must be careful with the containers in which the water is heated. Very often the guests themselves are equipped with a small kettle. Furthermore, in order to let this type of tourist use their rooms during their religious holidays, when people cannot turn the lights on or off or use electric tools, the rooms should have metal keys and there should be no electric locks that would prevent them from entering or leaving, etc.

This kind of tourists does not go to restaurants. But a moderately religious tourist would be contented with a restaurant with a strictly vegetarian menu. Locals should avoid suggesting specialties that are absolutely incompatible with the religion of the guests; local foods which might seem 'neutral' can be mentioned, but without forcing the customers to accept them. On the other hand, a theoretically impure dish, impure because cooked in an impure oven, could be safely prepared in foil, as this removes the risk of contamination. Like 'kosher' hotels, the restaurants claiming to be able to provide a selection of suitable dishes (and which may consider being provided with a few bottles of kosher wine, too) will be included in the Jewish tourism guides and become referents for all tour operators who organize trips in the area.

This kind of knowledge can easily be gained by travel agents by attending a few-hours course. As it has already been suggested, in the Salento, those in charge of local tourism could also create a network of the small facilities which will have fewer problems to adjust to these regulations. I wish to stress again that an offer of this kind, advertised in specific guides, would significantly increase the possibility for individual accommodation facilities to be promoted within a network of specialized travel services..

Finally, in order to operate competently in the area of Jewish tourism – of any of the mentioned types – a 'cultural mediator' is necessary who – in the guise of a guide or as a consultant of accommodation and food – will act as intermediary between local tour operators, national or international, and groups of travellers. To this end, I think it would be appropriate to create specific university curricula aimed at graduating experts who combine language abilities, knowledge

of history, art, culture, administrative skills, and above all familiarity with the culture of the incoming tourists. Such graduates will be able to foster a new type of sustainable tourism, more and more in line with the demands of the times.

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SOFT SKILLS IN TOURIST PROMOTION FOR THE CHINESE MARKET

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*By adapting itself to the world of modern globalized economy,
China has forced the rest of the world to reshape, at least partly,
its own economy in order to adapt it to Chinese needs.*
(Rana Mitter, Oxford University)

1. Introduction

In 2009, ISTAT – Italy’s main statistics institute – registered as many as 1,254,000 Chinese people travelling to Italy; at the same time, high quality Italian brands, mainly in the fashion field, started to record a majority of Asian customers, and among them the leading group was from China.

Since then, Italy has become aware that direct flights from and to China are too few, or, maybe, that the competences of stores managers all around Europe are too superficial. Although they are already used to welcoming shoals of Japanese buyers, they lack information about the best way to welcome, listen to, and offer a buying service to a Chinese client.

A major issue is at stake here: does the tourist marketing for the ‘Middle Country’ or ‘Middle Kingdom’ – as the Chinese name their country – need specific cultural connotations or is it enough if it meets the good practices of international marketing, without any form of adaptation? In other words, is the Chinese culture to be considered peculiar in its specific traits or can it be legitimately included among the cultures of the Third Millennium global society?

If it is true that the ever increasing number of ‘hard-boiled eggs’ (*jidān* 鸡蛋) – i.e. the foreigners who study the Chinese language and culture and who are so called because they look white outside but are yellow inside – is counterbalanced by an equally high number of ‘banana men’ (*xiāngjiāorén* 香蕉人) – i.e. the Chinese with international personal and professional profiles and values who, conversely, are so called because they appear yellow outside but are white inside, these questions do not have simple or univocal answers.

And what type of tourist could be the target of the tourist market in China, where social mobility is a growing phenomenon (Lu X. 2004) and where the ‘ten layers’ (*jiēcéng* 阶层) have recently replaced traditional social classes (*jiējí* 阶级)?

The tourist market can be expected to become ever more visible, and involve greater and greater ‘layers’ of population. Today, in the new Chinese society, the symbols of success include holidays and travels abroad, along with brand accessories, houses, and cars.

Are those holidays and travels status symbols that can be satisfied by offering and buying pre-arranged and standardized packages, or should tourist promotion meet specific and peculiar cultural needs and expectations ?

Just to give one, though meaningful, example, contemporary Chinese artists are today very highly rated on the international art market, and, on the wake

of the success of the Factory 798 in Beijing¹ and the Moganshan Lu galleries in Shanghai,² districts of artists are rising up in various cities throughout the country, with a flowering of arts that is not only commercial (Clark 2010).

In such a climate, Italy, the home of figurative culture and fine arts in the world, is given the uncommon opportunity to offer high-quality cultural tourism, but this requires adequate and specific intercultural competence.

2. New Chinese cultural tourists in Italy

Deloitte has recently published the field report “Hospitality 2015: Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure Trends”, where it is foreseen that, owing to a growing interest of the new Chinese generation in culture and history, compared to the former generation’s interest in technology, Italy will shortly become the first destination for Chinese cultural tourists. Moreover, as a consequence of an overflow of circulating currency, the Chinese government is encouraging the Chinese people to spend their money (Mitter 2008).

In fact, China is historically afraid of inflationary trends. The 1988/89 urban protests that led to the democracy movements of Tian An’men square were a consequence of economic problems wedging in the dangerous grooves of the inflationary growth of those years which had reduced the buying power of the civil servants and depreciated their ‘iron rice bowls’ (*tie fan wan* 铁饭碗), to use the Chinese metaphoric term that refers to the poor but steady income of the employees of State-run enterprises, as well as to the system of guaranteed lifetime employment. Before that, in 1948-49, rising inflation had led to the defeat of the Nationalist Party, thus sanctioning the victory of the Chinese Communist Party and the birth of the People’s Republic of China.

Obviously, with such historical precedents, the Chinese government fears inflation and tends to adopt all possible measures to boost consumer spending. For this reason, the Government has recently added some new holidays to the calendar. These new holiday periods, along with the traditional Chinese New Year’s celebrations (*Chunjie* 春节), also called Spring Festival, the most important holiday for the Chinese, will encourage the Chinese to travel and spend money.

As the Annual Report of the Italy-China Foundation explains, in 2010, the total spending of Chinese tourists in Italy, who account for 12% of the total number of extra-European travellers, exceeded that of American and Japanese tourist (respectively accounting for 7% and 9% of the extra-European travellers).³

¹ The Factory 798, also called 798 Art Zone (*798 Yishuqu* 艺术区), in the Chaoyang district of Beijing, is often compared to New York’s Greenwich Village or Soho, since it houses a wide community of avant-garde artists. The artists are located in what was once the Dashanzi Factory, a large industrial area created in 1951 following the Socialist Unification Plan of Military-industrial Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China. Initially created for the production of modern electronic components and funded by the Chinese government’s First Five-Year Plan, in the 1980’s, with Deng Xiaoping’s economic reforms, the Factory was deprived of financial support, like many other state-owned enterprises, and was then deserted. The area gained new life in 1995, when Beijing’s Central Academy of Fine Arts, looking for a cheap workshop space, chose this place for its first Factory of Arts, initially called Factory 706 (Yang B. 2005).

² Moganshan Lu (莫干山路) in Shanghai, known also by the name of Shanghai Creative Industry Clustering Park, or M50 Art District, is another example of the artistic rebirth of old economy’s industrial areas in Chinese big cities.

³ These are the results of a survey carried out by the tax-free shopping service company Global Blue for the Italy-China Foundation.

Russian tourists are at the top of the list (26%), followed by the Chinese, with an increase of 94% of sales, compared to the previous year, and an increase of 72% on the total transactions; the average receipt for the Chinese spender in Italy is of 869 Euro, after the Ukrainians' one (898 Euro), but higher than the Russians' (713 Euro).

Indeed, Chinese tourism is not only a holiday tourism, but also a shopping one, encouraged by tax-free purchasing that makes fashion products – just to make an example – less expensive if bought in Italy. Thus, as several groups of tourists from the Middle Kingdom appear in the outlets of Leccio (Florence), Serravalle Scrivia (Alessandria) or Castel Romano (Rome), the best Italian retailers are becoming aware of the fact that they lack the necessary 'passwords' to communicate with this 'new' and unknown type of customer. Even expert hotelkeepers, like the Venetian ones, are faced with this type of problem.

3. Chinese passion for shopping in Italy

Fashion sales amount to 71% of the total purchases by Chinese shoppers in Italy, and jewelry sales to 23%, with a steady rising trend in watch buying which has registered an increase of 135%. Most interestingly, this rush to buying watches strongly clashes with what intercultural experts have traditionally, and so far, being teaching: "never give a watch to a Chinese person, because the word watch (zhong 钟) is synonymous with end, death (zhong 终)".

The new desire for luxury goods makes the Chinese less sensitive to superstition, even when related to unfavourable homophonies, and warns us that in intercultural communication there are no prearranged rules, but evolving skills which can be acquired by studying value orientations, linguistic environments and social changes. Thus, even in the tourist or economic environments, the soft skills of intercultural communication represent an indispensable tool, tough one which is very sophisticated and sensitive to changes.

Chinese tourists are only allowed to travel to those countries that enjoy the status of 'authorized destination' (ADS, Authorized Destination Status): the European Union member states acquired such a status in 2004. Chinese tourism in Italy is marked by an annual increase rate of 20%, and can no longer be ignored. Unfortunately, however, Chinese as a language is not considered by tourist traders and it is very rare to find information signs in Chinese.

All this represents an irremediable delay, worsened by the fact that Chinese tourists consider Italian accommodation facilities inferior to those of other countries and complain about the lack of services and facilities such as the American breakfast and kettles in the rooms.

According to a SWOT (Strength, Weakness, Opportunities and Threats) survey, carried out in 2005 by the tourist promotion board (APT) in Rome, the Italian tourist offer is characterized by the following strong points: a) art routes, b) luxury products purchase, c) rich variety of tourist products. This is counterbalanced by several weak points: a) safety, b) hotels quality; c) limited number of direct flights, d) poor coordination between different types of promotional activity, e) lack of effective promotion of museums, f) poor incisiveness of information and promotion flow, g) visa problems.

The main requests from Chinese tour operators are: a Chinese-speaking assistant in international airports; information packs in Chinese; tourist guides,

museum brochures, and information leaflets in Chinese; and, last but not least, the already-mentioned availability of kettles in hotel rooms and American breakfast.

A good promotional strategy would clearly be a diversification of the offer: from honey-moons, to gastronomical itineraries, from sport events to spa holidays; but if offer is not supported by training programs for Chinese tour guides in Italy, or for Italian guides who can speak Chinese and specialize in assisting Chinese clients, this strategy, like any other, would produce unsatisfactory results.

An interesting survey on Chinese tourism in Italy, was carried out in 2005 by Agnès Fauduet from ISG (*Institut Supérieur de Gestion*, Paris). It was commissioned by AVA, the Venetian association of hotelkeepers and involved 30% of the hotelkeepers in Mestre (Venice). The survey revealed that Chinese tourism in Mestre is mainly composed of groups organized by foreign agencies, especially German ones, and that shortage of air connections makes Italy a secondary stopover for the Chinese. Furthermore, it highlighted that hotelkeepers in Mestre tend to undervalue this type of tourism, considering it a sort of 'fill-up', and that they strongly complain about these people's behaviour. Indeed, hotelkeepers complain that Chinese tourists are noisy and smoke in their rooms, they spit and burp, turn up always too early at breakfast and turn the restaurant upside down.

However, despite the hotelkeepers discontent, Chinese tourists grow in number, and the Casino in Venice, for instance, records a constant stream of Chinese people who love gambling. At the same time, the hotelkeepers association was only able to print a leaflet titled "Heading for East", which, if it is true that it has the merit of providing some good information in a world of ignorance, on the other hand, does not satisfy any need exhaustively, as a useful guide should do, ending up with being a *pot-pourri* of general information including other countries, such as India, Russia and Japan.

Those who, like the writer of this paper, have been working in the intercultural management training field for the business for over twenty years, well know the limits and perils of manuals and the validity of suitable training projects.

For this reason, both linguistic and cultural projects should be organized by university institutions specializing in the field and whose scientific coordination and experience may guarantee suitable training.

In fact, the research carried out by experts such as Wolfgang Arlt of Stralsund University (Germany), and published in his recent "China's Outbound Tourism" seems to be much more complete and competent than "Heading for East", and Chinese websites themselves offer surprising abundance of information and sources.

The "2010 Trend Report of Women's Travel" registers, for example, that the expense for tourism by "well-educated and well-paid single Chinese women rose to 4,300 yuan Rmb (468 Euros) last year, up 20 per cent year on year, eclipsing the nine per cent rise in the same figure for men". The Report was published by Qunar.com (去哪儿网), the most important Chinese search engine in the tourist field, and it also reports that Chinese women are responsible for 65% of the Chinese tourist decisions, as well as the comments and suggestions given to hotels and on websites.

This women's behaviour appears to be less reserved and more direct than the typical Chinese style of communication, traditionally implicit (*hanxu* 含蓄). Italian tour operators should appreciate these women's readiness to openly

express their satisfaction or discontent about services. Their comments may contribute to the improvement of the quality of tourist offer which, as said above, is not always considered adequate to the needs of Chinese clients and is usually labeled as superficial and culturally careless.

The Chinese appear more and more eager for a unique, custom-made and high-standard holiday which may be able to satisfy their new desire for luxury.

The Chinese culture is a traditionally hierarchic culture marked by high power-distance and is strongly oriented towards behaviours that are a clear indication of status and social prestige – what in Chinese cultural terms is called *mianzi* (面子), ‘the face’ (Bond 1996). For this reason, Chinese tourists look for tourist services that can grant the company of prestigious fellow travellers, famous names of the business industry, and CEOs of important multinationals.

Banking on luxury and pleasure, the agency ‘Trip TM’ in Beijing has managed to attract important clients and has organized a social forum to exchange experiences on line. This represents the modern version of traditional and mutual advantage relations networks, known with the Chinese name of *guanxi* (关系), within which the Chinese have always organized their own business (Ying L. S. & Walker, 2006). “Who you go along with is the most important thing on such tours” is what Cui Xueyan, senior trip designer of ‘Trip TM’ is convinced of and what was stated on the *China Daily* (Zhongguo Ribao 中国日报, 2010, July, 21). Cui Xueyan has recently spent a month organizing a tailor-made tour for two important clients who wanted to spend thirteen days in Italy in eighteen-century castles, to take cooking lessons with Italian chefs and learn the secrets of cooking Italian spaghetti, and spend the last part of their trip in an eleventh century building on the Amalfi coast; a 400,000 yuan Rmb (49,660 Euro) tour that included the presence of an Italian guide with a proficiency-level Chinese, learnt after studying for four years at the University of Beijing (Beijing Daxue 北京大学).

Trips abroad are networking occasions, and as Wu Lin, vice-general manager of Sun Pala, another agency in Beijing which operates in the tailor-made trips field, says: “The trip is actually a mobile Master of Business Administration (MBA) class, providing a chance for communicating and learning”.

In Italy, the tourist agency Dream Italy has copied such a model and has organized a luxury trip for ten Chinese tourists, from Montecarlo (France), to Rome: they lodged in old castles, planned stops in the best vineyards where they could drive luxury prestigious cars such as Ferrari, Maserati or Lamborghini; even a balloon was rent, in order to admire the Tuscan landscape from above and *en plein air*.

In a word, the stereotype of the poor Chinese or Asian group trips is bound to disappear forever, despite the very many prejudices which are still alive and widespread.

4. Learning the Chinese language and culture: a resource for tourism

In order to offer a suitable type of service to Chinese tourists, the presence of a tourist guide qualified in Chinese is crucial.

There are several university courses which offer Chinese classes: I teach Chinese language and culture at the University of Trento and at the University of

Salento, in two very different and beautiful areas of the country with a high tourist vocation. In Italy, the universities of Venice, Naples and Rome can boast a long history and a consolidated tradition in Chinese studies. Furthermore, the Confucius Institutes, specially created for spreading the Chinese language in the world, work side by side with university institutions, thus broadening the educational offer.

Finally, some secondary schools also provide good extra-curricular courses in Chinese, but they are usually inadequate to train people for tourist reception, in absence of study plans that could be scientifically shared.

In the end, new frontiers are being opened in business and sales training.

Recently, I was involved in a training course for Italian sellers in the fashion field. The course aimed to improve sales processes with Asian clients, and in particular with Chinese clients and began with a preliminary questionnaire which was distributed to about a hundred sellers. Their replies showed some recurring resistances and stereotypes.

According to these questionnaires, a major barrier is clearly the language. Sellers, for instance, claim that sometimes it is necessary to gesticulate to communicate with clients who do not understand English. This is a serious limit especially when it is important to describe a product and give suggestions or explain how to handle clothes and accessories. Most of the times they need the help of a Chinese guide, who speaks English, but this is not enough when a lot of people in the group want to be served at the same time.

Beside the language barrier, the cultural barrier creates even greater obstacles.

The Chinese are seen as: suspicious, nit-picking, with impolite behaviours, invasive, rude and even dirty and loudish, to use the most common adjectives found in the questionnaires. “In twenty minutes they are able to dismantle a shop” complain the shopkeepers, “they are chaotic, impatient, quick, impulsive and untidy, they claim a quick service and do not tolerate waiting, they are pretentious and always ready to bargain”.

However, after some days of training on the Chinese culture, prejudices are generally reduced, and sellers begin to understand some cultural differences. For instance, they learn that while in Italy it is not customary to bargain in luxury shops, in Asia most popular markets, including luxury shopping arcades, are characterized by a lively and joyful confusion and Chinese shopkeepers appreciate – as a cultural value orientation – the traditional habit of negotiating for a good price. Indeed, *bon ton* does not have a universal declination, but a cultural interpretation.

5. Concluding remarks

Italy is currently living a moment of glory in tourist marketing among the Chinese, despite the very many problems and the absence of systematic planning.

The 2010 Expo in Shanghai, revolving around life quality in the urban environment (“better city, better life”, 让生活更美好 *rang shenghuo geng meihao*), offered Italy a fantastic opportunity to advertise its technological excellence and Italy as a tourist destination. The Italian Pavillion – designed by the architect Giampaolo Imbrighi from the University of La Sapienza in Rome and realized in ‘i.light’, a newly invented transparent cement developed in the Italcementi

laboratories – was a major attraction. Transparent cement was also presented at Tongji University (同济大学), one of the most important universities in Shanghai specializing in technical subjects. The auditorium was so crowded that several students were forced to stand.

The Italian Pavillion was appreciated by the Chinese not only for its technical features, but also for its cultural sensitivity: it was composed of differently sized light structures, connected by iron bridges whose irregularity reminded of the Shanghai game when the sticks fall onto the flat surface thus simulating the disorder of vital movement against static balance. It was perfectly coherent with the perpetual movement of the *dao* (道), the cosmologic principle of Chinese philosophy, in a cross-reference of associations and symbolic intersections among cultures.

The logo on the stand reminded of the same game; there, the sticks appeared in the shape of chopsticks, as a reference to social exchange, of which the city should be the place, just like a banquet. The crossed chopsticks – also drawn in the openings of the modular structures of the stand – reminded of crossways and interwoven social courses, too. All the topics which are very dear to the Chinese culture were there. Indeed, the Italian Stand (both the container and the contents, such as events, music, catering) was voted by the Chinese people as the best foreign stand.

Excellent results of this type can only be achieved thanks to well-developed intercultural skills. Italian tour operators, hotelkeepers, sales personnel – such as all the human resources offering travel services – should gain awareness of the importance of being well-trained in Chinese culture and customs, in order to take advantage of the great opportunities offered by the Chinese incoming tourism in Italy.

Cultural competence should be the pillar where to build involvement, constancy and humbleness, personal traits which are even necessary to acquire linguistic competences.

The first to come down from the throne of euro-centrism will be the first to gain advantages from the curiosity of the Chinese people who love our Country, associating them to the legendary lives of Marco Polo and Matteo Ricci.

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A JOURNEY TO PORTUGAL

The official tourist promotion of *Turismo de Portugal*

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1. Introduction

This paper analyses the Portuguese official website for tourist promotion: www.visitportugal.com. This website suggests itineraries for a visit to the country and was created by *Turismo de Portugal*, the official national tourist organization, in order to provide visitors with information about Portugal and its major attractions.

Analyses will be carried out from two different, though integrated perspectives. First, the content and structure of the website will be discussed, in order to identify the image of the country that the official tourist promotion board aimed to convey. Next, an analysis of the web page and the web portal as text types of tourism discourse will be carried out. Indeed, the Web is gaining ever greater relevance as a means of tourism promotion, alongside the traditional catalogues and leaflets that are distributed at tourist offices throughout the world.

2. National identity and tourism promotion in Portugal

Turismo de Portugal is the official national board for the promotion, development and support of tourism in Portugal. It supervises the promotion of Portugal as a tourist destination, both nationally and internationally, and works along with seven regional agencies of tourism promotion in order to implement a national plan of foreign promotion. In 2008, notwithstanding the financial troubles which affected all Euro countries, *Turismo de Portugal* obtained the World Travel Awards as Europe's Leading Tourist Board,¹ beating France, Germany, Greece, Spain, Italy, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. In the same year, the Portuguese official web portal (www.visitportugal.com) was also created and proved to be an important means of tourism promotion and visibility in the Web. The portal promotes seven areas: Porto e Norte; Centro de Portugal; Lisboa; Alentejo; Algarve; Madeira (the Madeira islands) and Açores (the Azore islands), described in dedicated websites separately managed by the seven regional boards. These tourist destinations are also advertised in the leaflets and catalogues distributed by the tourist offices in Portugal. The last few years have also been characterised by an increasing promotion of the central region of Portugal, and more specifically of the Beiras area, a tourist destination that is not yet well-known internationally.

It needs to be noticed that the Azores and the Madeira Islands have only recently become important tourist destinations in the Portuguese tourism market, also thanks to their beautiful coastal and inland landscapes. This represents a major change from the years of the *Estado Novo*, when Portuguese tourism promotion did not even mention these islands when describing the artistic and natural heritage of Portugal. Indeed, at that time, tourism promotion used to

¹ <http://www.worldtravelawards.com> (4.2010).

portray Portugal as a geographically monolithic continental country (Pires 2003, p. 54).

The following sections provide a brief summary of the development of Portuguese tourist promotion, in order to describe the major changes occurred over the years.

3. Past and present: tourism and propaganda

In 1933, Prime Minister Antonio Salazar established the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (SPN) under the chairmanship of journalist António Ferro, who was soon to become a leading ideologist of the regime. This board was renamed *Secretariado Nacional de Informação* (SNI) in 1945. Tourism was used as a primary means of political communication and propaganda: the *Estado Novo* wanted a tourist image of Portugal based on cultural and geographical unity and continuity and which would support the image of a rich and developed country. A major channel in the distribution of this official tourist image was the Portuguese journal “*Panorama*” (1941-1974), dedicated to plastic arts. Several SNI placards were published in this journal, all promoting mainland tourist sites, such as Minho, Trás-os-Montes, Alentejo, Algarve, Estremadura and Lisbon. Furthermore, some issues of the journal included explicit references to the Portuguese mainland as the ideal tourist destination, such as the following:

Na verdade, de norte a sul, da fronteira ao Atlântico, **o nosso território continental** oferece ao viajante uma variedade tão grande de panoramas encantadores, de motivos plásticos e de costumes curiosos. (*Panorama* 1942, n. 2, p. 45).²

and the following:

Pequenina **tira de terra**, aberta da entre dois azuis incomparáveis, o religioso do céu e o tentador do mar. (*Panorama* 1944, n. 20: 52).³

Some examples of the posters published in the magazine “*Panorama*” and created for the SNI during the fifties are reported in Figure 1.

These reproductions clearly illustrate a folkloric promotion of Portugal represented through its most characteristic traditional symbols: the bull fight (*corrida*); the Barcelos rooster (today’s most famous souvenir); traditional costumes; popular feasts (the Pilgrimage to *Nossa Senhora d’Agonia* – ‘Our Lady of Agony’ – Viana do Castelo, one of the most important religious events); the flag; and the sun. These symbols, present in almost all of the posters, power the stereotype of a country which is blessed by good weather and are used as metaphors of well being and prosperity. The cities advertised are continental destinations of the Ribatejo region (Santarém), Minho (Viana do Castelo), and the coast (Nazaré, Estoril). These posters promote a rural and coastal Portugal which bases its economy on the rearing of livestock and on activities connected to the sea (the woman from Nazaré wears a black traditional costume and carries a basket of fish on her head).

² ‘[...], from North to South, from the board [with Spain] to the Atlantic, our mainland offers the traveller an incredible variety of enchanting views, plastic motifs and interesting customs’ [personal translation].

³ ‘A small stretch of land, in between two incomparable shades of blue, the religious one of the sky, and the tempting one of the sea’ [personal translation].



Figure 1
Posters published in the magazine “Panorama” and created for the SNI

With the Expo98 event, the Lisbon Treaty and the 2004 European Football championship, Portugal began to attract the attention of the media. This contributed to the development of tourism promotion through modern and powerful means of communication, such as the Internet. The creation and constant updating of the official web portal and its satellite regional websites marked the beginning of a new promotional era which is now moving towards the use of social networks. Indeed, many Portuguese towns have updated their marketing strategies, taking advantage of social networks, in particular Twitter and Facebook.

The Expo98 event (22 May-30 September 1998) revolved around “The Oceans” as its main theme and saw the participation of 146 nations. Pavilions and infrastructures were built for the occasion on the Eastern part of the city, the *Parque das Nações* (Park of the Nations) area, located in the vicinity of the Tagus estuary. This area has quickly become an important tourist attraction in Lisbon, both for its geographical position and attractions: *Parque das Nações*, now hosting the famous *Oceanário* (Aquarium); the important *Vasco da Gama* shopping centre; and an international complex with hotels, offices and residential buildings. There is also a harbour with over 600 moorings which is among other things a privileged location for bird-watching lovers.

4. The Web portal as a tourist genre

The *Turismo de Portugal* board has many channels of tourist promotion: an official web portal; brochures; leaflets distributed by tourist agencies; and promotional videos. All of the materials are multilingual and have the same tourist target: they offer the same types of holiday, advertise the same tourist

destinations, and use very similar imagery and contents.

The current paper will focus exclusively on the web portal of *Turismo de Portugal*. This is an institutional portal created with the aim of promoting tourist destinations and landmarks and providing useful information for planning holidays in Portugal. Many pages in the portal include last minute news on events and shows, as well as links to websites of local tourist facilities, governmental agencies, museums, travel agencies, and the like.

Such a portal represents “the expression of the on-line institutional communication of a single board, and its major aim is promoting a given region”.⁴ Furthermore, the tourist portal has been classified as a “vertical or second level portal”⁵ specializing in the tourism field. Consequently, its navigation structure aims to encourage its users to explore and discover.

As Calvi (2009) says:

El estilo de estos documentos es muy cercano al de los folletos, de los que representan una evolución, pero con una mayor implicación del interlocutor, mediante estrategias de todo tipo: formas exhortativas, abundancia de verbos en la segunda persona, posesivos, elementos gráficos, fotos, etc. A todo se cabe añadir, por supuesto, la organización hipertextual propia del medio, que permite crear recorridos de fruición personalizados.⁶

Thus, we could define the Web portal as a ‘hybrid genre’ which draws together the discursive strategies and structures of the other tourist text types. These strategies and structures are adapted to navigation needs and enriched with interactive resources that are not available in printed paper.

5. The Web portal *Turismo de Portugal*

Let us now enter the official website of the *Turismo de Portugal* board (www.visitportugal.com) and start a virtual tour of the country. The website is multilingual and visitors can virtually journey around Portugal in 9 foreign languages, plus the national one. Our analysis will consider some of the most culturally and linguistically relevant features of the website.

“Quando a onda se espalha e a espuma chia, parece qua há mil vozes mínimas a falar”⁷ (Pessoa 1997): these words by poet Fernando Pessoa well describe the emotions that any visitors who enter the website may feel. Furthermore, the sound of sea waves is used as a background sound which will accompany visitors throughout their virtual tour. The mental associations are straightforward: the waters of Portugal; the age of discoveries – the *Descobrimentos*; and Portugal’s projection over the Atlantic which has historically characterised the country as home of great sailors and still represents

⁴ <http://www.urp.it> (4.2010).

⁵ <http://www.cs.unibo.it> (4.2010).

⁶ ‘The style of these types of documents is very close to that of brochures, of which they represent an evolution characterised by greater involvement of the interlocutor, achieved by means of different type of strategies, including exhortative phrases and the frequent use of second person verbs, possessives, graphic elements, photos, etc. To all this we should clearly add the hypertext structure – typical of the medium – which favours the creation of customised paths of access to the information.’ [personal translation].

⁷ ‘When the wave crashes and the foam hisses, it seems like a thousand tiny voices are speaking’ translation from Zenith R. (ed. and transl.) (2001), *The Selected Prose of Fernando Pessoa*. New York, Paperback, p. 26.

part of Portugal’s image in the tourist’s mind.

Let us now consider a visual feature with a highly promotional value. The home page as well as every page of the “Experiences” and “Destinations” sections are dominated by a photograph with an attached slogan. The slogan, which can be considered as “the textual feature of the visual approach” (Boyer and Viallon 2000, p. 21), is a short phrase aimed at catching the reader’s attention and conveying a precise message. This slogan differs from the ones on public transport, buildings, or brochures only insofar as it is animated: phrases appear gradually on the picture and are left aligned. The users’ attention is, therefore, focused on the top left and ‘above the fold’ area, or rather, on the upper area. As shown by research on eye tracking and on “F pattern” (Nielsen 2006), regarding the visualization of the webpage, users tend to focus their attention on the beginning of the first line, in the section of the page where the main content is found. The layout of the web page object of our analysis thus supports the usability of the website (Figure 2): users will focus primarily on the promotional message – the slogan – only to move immediately to the horizontal menu below the image and the ten navigation languages available. The attention will then follow the above mentioned “F pattern”, and the eye will move on the left of the page where a search bar and icons of the main social networks are located; at the centre of the page there are important links that direct users to practical information (where to eat, sleep, cultural events, FAQs, etc.) and on the left of the map of Portugal, the region of interest can be chosen with a click (as an alternative to the “Destinations” section).

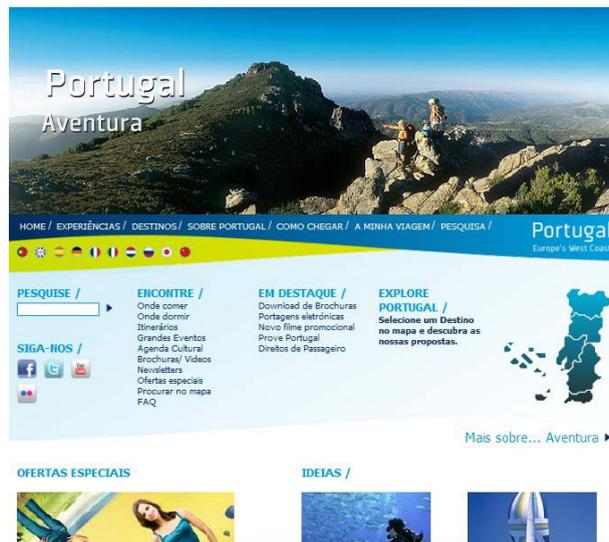


Figure 2
The home page, ‘above the fold’

The information at the bottom of the web page, or ‘below the fold’, will be probably viewed only by some of the users (Figure 3).



Figure 3
The home page, ‘below the fold’

Here, there are links and images that direct you to events in the foreground and other sections of the site (also accessible from the menu). On the fold of the screen there are three images cut in half with links that direct users to other sections of the site. In order to increase the usability of the site it would be advisable not to cut the information ‘above the fold’, moving in the foreground the events in this part (which otherwise might not be displayed).

5.1. Slogans across languages: analysis of some Italian translations

This section will analyse some slogans of the “Experiences” section, in their Portuguese and the Italian versions. The images they are associated to will also be considered, in order to compare the different promotional strategies at play.

5.1.1 Adventure

Let us start from the Adventure section (Figure 4; Table 1).



Figure 4
The Adventure image

<p>PT <i>Aventura</i> <i>A cada dia um mar de emoções</i> (Every day a sea of emotions)</p>	<p>IT <i>Avventura</i> (Adventure) <i>Ogni giorno, emozioni sempre nuove</i> (Every day, always new emotions)</p>
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Table 1

The Adventure slogans, with literal translations into English

The slogan in Portuguese immediately attracts the reader’s attention, as the metaphor *um mar de emoções* effectively matches the image of windsurfing, a sea-sport that attracts many tourists to Portugal. Conversely, the Italian version remains neutral and does not take advantage of the word-image combination.

5.1.2. Energy

In the Energy section the images are the same in the Italian and Portuguese versions, but they are matched with a different slogan (Figure 5; Table 2).



Figure 5
The Energy image

<p>PT Energia <i>Onde o sol se deita e nasce em festa</i> (Where the sun goes down and rises in a holiday mood)</p>	<p>IT Energia (Energy) <i>Notti e giorni di divertimento senza sosta</i> (Nights and days of nonstop amusement)</p>
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Table 2
The Energy slogans, with literal translations into English

The contents are similar, and there are two words that belong to the same semantic field (*festa/divertimento*) and convey the same message. In this case, the tourist advertisement focuses mainly on the leisure activities that can be enjoyed by night or by day. The image of the Energy section is similar to that of the Adventure section and thus seems to be repetitive. This imagery describes only partially the sport activities that can be enjoyed in Portugal, focusing on a single type of sport activity that can be practiced only during the day.

5.1.3 Romance

Let us now move on to the Romance section (Figure 6; Table 3).

Quite interesting is the choice of the Portuguese term *romance*. False friend of the English ‘romance’, this term means ‘novel’, ‘fiction’, ‘fancy’, ‘tale’, ‘story’ and is here used to describe a romantic type of holiday, particularly suitable for couples. The verb *inspire-se* clarifies the metaphor: the travelling couple may write their own romance, inspired by passion.



Figure 6
The Romance image

PT <i>Romance</i> <i>Inspire-se de paixão</i> (Be inspired by passion)	IT <i>Pause romantiche</i> (Romantic breaks) <i>Lasciatevi andare alla passione</i> (Loose yourselves into passion)
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Table 3
The Romance slogans, with literal translations into English

In Italian, the use of the word *pause* in *pause romantiche* shifts the focus to the holiday itself, but keeps the invitation to surrender to passion. The chosen image is a breath taking sunset, which matches the message perfectly.

5.1.4 Short-breaks

Short breaks are a type of tourist offer that primarily target workers who have few days available for a trip, and, for this reason, they prefer weekends and bank holidays. The tourist slogan should, therefore focus on the intensity of the holiday in order to convince the prospective customers to opt for it. In the image reported above, against a view of the city of Porto both versions make use of similar concepts (Figure 7; Table 4).



Figure 7
The Short-breaks image

PT <i>Mini-férias</i> <i>Dias que valem por meses</i> (Days that last for months)	IT <i>Vacanze brevi</i> (Short breaks) <i>Vivi al massimo le tue giornate</i> (Live your days at your best)
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Table 4
The Short-breaks slogans, with literal translations into English

The Portuguese version refers to the lasting effect offered by a short break. It seems to be much more convincing than the Italian version which only invites tourists to live their holiday at their best and does not focus on the lasting effect

which is sought for by a worker.

5.2 The messages of tourist promotion: destinations and proposals

In the Italian version of the website, some of the destination names are left in Portuguese (e.g. Porto e Norte, and Lisboa), while for Madeira the English term ‘Madeira Islands’ is used. As mentioned above, the proposed destinations correspond to the seven Regional Agencies for Tourism Promotion and each of them has its own website.⁸ By clicking on *Per saperne di più* (‘For further info’), web visitors are directed to the destination web page which is constituted of a small picture and a long description. At the end of the description, both the link to the regional agency and the address of the tourist office are available.



Figure 8
Web page of the Azores holiday destination

At the bottom of the same page, ‘below the fold’, there is a section labeled “*Idee*” (‘Ideas’) where several links direct to trip ideas in the area being described.

More than 150 trip ideas can be found, ranging from cultural trips to excursions, from golfing to *fado* holidays. They are all reported in alphabetical order for an easier selection. This list includes the trips chosen by Portuguese VIPs, such as Cristiano Ronaldo, José Mourinho, and Mariza’s, the latter being a young and successful Portuguese *fado* singer. This is an original advertising strategy, but has the limitation of being appreciable almost only by a Portuguese audience: with the exception of football players and coaches most of the VIPs mentioned are little known in the rest of the world.

The official website and the brochures of *Turismo de Portugal* show many similarities: they adopt the same style and advertising messages and propose the same destinations and activities. The Internet allows bi-univocal interaction between institution and audience, and the wide array of information provided needs therefore to be organized functionally and clearly. The website of *Turismo de Portugal* is user-friendly and allows visitors to save their navigation paths and personalize their profiles. As mentioned above, the website advertises a number of different locations and suggests a wide range of hotels, restaurants and facilities that can be accessed by clicking on the links provided, grouped together by topics.

⁸ www.visitportoente.com, www.visitcentro.com, www.visitlisboa.com, www.visitalentejo.pt, www.visitalgarve.pt, www.madeiraislands.travel, www.visitazores.travel (9.2011).

The different and heterogeneous proposals are addressed to travellers who travel on their own, as a couple, or with their family, and who intend to live their holiday productively and relax at the same time. The ideal addressees of the above mentioned proposals are aged between 25 and 55, love music, visual arts, sport, excursion trips, nature and plan to discover the mountains in the North or the beaches in the South.

The types of holiday advertised focus on twelve proposals or ‘experiences’ which can be differently combined according to the time tourists have, and their preferences. Two different targets can be distinguished: a general public characterized by an intermediate social status and a ‘niche’ public with a high social status. The proposals created for the first group include cultural holidays, holidays which mainly feature local cuisine and wine, adventurous holidays with activities such as rafting, surf, trekking, whale-watching, etc., holidays whose main feature is fun and entertainment (young people can enjoy the nights in Lisbon, the pubs in Algarve and the discos in Porto), romantic holidays for couples. The second group is offered relaxation in spas or in nature reserves, luxury holidays with high-quality cuisine, and golf holidays in the 70 golf courses of the country. Travellers will have the possibility to organize their own short holiday during a break from work, or their own longer trip to one of the several tourist destinations during the summer time. The promotion of these two alternatives targets a high-social-status traveller as can be deduced by the hotels suggested which can all be classified as luxury hotels.

The architectural, artistic and archaeological heritage plays a role of utmost importance in both the official website and the official tourist promotion. The focus on the thirteen UNESCO sites in the World Heritage List contribute to describe Portuguese culture as unique.

As Da Cunha Barros (2002, p. 27) suggests, tourism “*independientemente da modalidade que esteja em análise, como actividade humana, implica, na óptica do turista, desejos e motivações, mobilidade, actividades, contactos e processos de aculturação, impactes e mudanças culturais*”.⁹ The tourist product is a combination of different elements and diversified benefits. What the visitor looks for is not the quality of the tourist attraction but its being part of a global symbolic code (a semiotics of attractions). The tourist object becomes a sign which refers to other signs, a pure signifier (Amirou 1995, p. 78).

5.3 Tourist discourse in the language of *Turismo de Portugal*: a comparative analysis

The previous sections analysed promotion strategies of *Turismo de Portugal* on the Web. This section will focus on discourse. Indeed, “turismo e linguaggio sono un binomio inseparabile in quanto per promuovere, attirare, informare e comunicare il valore della attrazioni, il turismo necessita di un linguaggio che costruisca la realtà in termini positivi” (Nigro 2006, p. 41).¹⁰ More specifically, the current section will focus on recurrent stylistic and formal aspects as well as on the identification of key words which aim to attract tourists and get their

⁹‘independently from the typology analysed, [tourism] as a human activity implies desires and motivation, mobility, activities, friendship and enlightenment, cultural impacts and changes in the tourist’s perspective’ [personal translation].

¹⁰‘tourism and discourse cannot be separated, as, in order to promote, attract, inform, and communicate the relevance of specific landmarks, tourism requires a type of discourse which depicts reality in positive terms’ [personal translation].

consensus. Thematic corpora have been assembled both for the Portuguese and the Italian versions, by selecting extracts from the section “*Destinazioni / Destinos*”. This section is particularly rich in interesting examples.

The language of tourism is characterised by the presence of emphatic phrases and highly evocative adjectives, and addressees are constantly involved by means of direct exhortations. Syntactic and lexical choices are never casual, but reflect precise intentions of the addresser who aims to impress, promote and attract.

Bakhtin, as reported by Carlos Reynoso (1996, p. 25), has emphasised the non-subjective and interactive feature of language. According to Reynoso (*ibidem*), neutral words and sentences do not exist and everything is characterized by intentions and accents.

5.3.1. The rhetorical question

A recurrent feature of the language used by *Turismo de Portugal* is the rhetorical question. This feature involves addressers in tourist discourse and stimulates their response by convincing them to try the suggested tourist experiences.

Table 5 reports some of the rhetorical questions which are present in the Portuguese and Italian versions. The rhetorical questions on both versions are almost identical and implicitly introduce the argument or the proposal that is about to be put forward.

In the Portuguese version, the formal third person singular is used, thus maintaining a greater distance between the sender and receiver of the message with respect to Italian. The Italian version, in fact, makes almost always use of the second person plural, or more rarely singular. The second person singular is adopted to reduce even more the horizontal distance between the interlocutors.

PORTUGUESE	ITALIAN	DESTINATION
<i>Já provou?</i> (Have you ever tried?)	<i>Avete già provato?</i> (Have you ever tried?)	Algarve
<i>Adivinhou?</i> (Have you ever guessed?)	<i>Avete indovinato?</i> (Have you ever guessed?)	Azzorre
<i>Já viu a sua refeição ser cozinhada...?</i> (Have you ever seen your meal cooked?)	<i>Avete mai assaggiato...?</i> (Have you ever tasted?)	Azzorre
<i>Já lhe falar am de...?</i> (Have you ever heard of...?)	<i>Vi hanno già parlato...?</i> (Have you ever heard of...?)	Centro de Portugal
<i>Anda ansioso por arranjar uns dias para descansar?</i> (Are you anxious to get some days of relax?)	<i>Non vedete l'ora di passare qualche giorno di riposo?</i> (Are you looking forward to spending some days of relaxation?)	Madeira
<i>Acha que pode resistir?</i> (Do you think you can resist?)	<i>Pensate di potere resistere?</i> (Do you think you can resist?)	Madeira

Table 5
Examples of rhetorical questions

Tourist discourse is a type of advertising discourse, together with television ads and advertisement in newspapers and magazines, which often adopts the same communication techniques in Italian and Portuguese; in reported rhetoric questions we therefore find the formal third person in Portuguese (*provou, adivinhou, viu, anda, acha*) and the second person plural in Italian (*avete provato,*

avete indovinato, avete assaggiato, pensate, etc.).

As for the use of verb tenses, in Portuguese the ‘*perfeito*’ is used, while in Italian the ‘*passato prossimo*’. These tenses take up printed space differently, since the first is more concise (one form only), while the second is more expanded (made up of auxiliary and participle). This difference is important for the layout of the page.

5.3.2. *The imperative*

Another peculiar feature of the language of tourism is its use of the imperative: this verb form is not used to give orders, but rather to invite the tourist to enjoy what is offered (Nigro 2006, p. 60).

Table 6 provides some examples from the Portuguese and Italian web pages. As the examples show, in Portuguese the formal third person is used, while in Italian the second person plural is preferred.

PORTOGUESE	ITALIAN	DESTINATION
<i>Admire o templo de Diana e verá que não se arrepende</i> (Admire Diana’s temple and you’ll see that you won’t regret it)	<i>Ammirate il tempio di Diana, non ve ne pentirete</i> (Admire Diana’s temple, you won’t regret it)	Alentejo
<i>Mas não passe, para norte ou para sul, sem explorar o litoral</i> (But don’t go away, to the north or to the south, without exploring the coast)	<i>Che vi troviate a nord o a sud non partite senza avere esplorato la costa</i> (Wherever you are, in the north or in the south, don’t leave without exploring the coast)	Alentejo
<i>Se não acredita, visite as aldeias históricas e veja por si</i> (If you don’t believe, visit the historic heritage and see it by yourself)	<i>Se non ci credete, visitate, toccate con mano ed esplorate</i> (If you don’t believe, visit, touch with your hands and explore)	Centro de Portugal
<i>Apanhe um voo para a Madeira!</i> (Take a flight to Madeira)	<i>Volate a Madeira</i> (Fly to Madeira)	Madeira
<i>Seja narcisista por uma vez. Apaixone-se. Pela ilha, por si!</i> (Be narcissist for once. Fall in love. With the island, with yourself!)	<i>Siate narcisisti per una volta. Innamoratevi dell’isola... e di voi stessi!</i> (Be narcissists for once. Fall in love with the island... and with yourselves!)	Madeira

Table 6
Examples of imperative forms

Another verb tense used is the future, a way to anticipate the emotions that the addressees will experience if they accept the invitation contained in the message (*verá que não se arrepende / non ve ne pentirete*).

Regarding the structure of the sentence, there is a clear tendency to maintain the same order in both versions (in the five examples there is an inversion in *Mas não passe, para norte ou para sul, sem explorar o litoral / Che vi troviate a nord o a sud non partite senza avere esplorato la costa*). Overall, a high correlation among contents is clearly visible.

5.3.3. *Evocative and recurring verbs*

Table 7 shows some of the most evocative and recurring verbs. Their function is to attract tourists and make the destination offers more suggestive.

There is almost perfect correspondence between the Portuguese and Italian texts, but in some cases the Italian version is more concise than the Portuguese one, as in the following cases: *a amplitude da passagem é entrecortada por / Coronano*; and *há uma sensação de encantamento no ar / Aleggia nell'aria*.

PORTOGUESE	ITALIAN	DESTINATION
<i>Ondulando</i> (Rippling)	<i>Ondeggiano</i> (They ripple)	Alentejo
<i>A amplitude da paisagem è entrecortada por...</i> (The vastness of the landscape is intersected by...)	<i>Coronano</i> (They crown)	Alentejo
<i>A lembrar</i> (Remember)	<i>Rammenta</i> (It remembers)	Alentejo
<i>Evocam</i> (They evoke)	<i>Evocano</i> (They evoke)	Alentejo
<i>Temperam</i> (They season)	<i>Insaporiscono</i> (They season)	Alentejo
<i>As paisagens são inesperadas</i> (The landscapes are unexpected)	<i>I paesaggi si rivelano inattesi</i> (The landscapes prove unexpected)	Azzorre
<i>Há uma sensação de encantamento no ar</i> (There's a sensation of enchantment in the air)	<i>Aleggia nell'aria</i> (It drifts through the air)	Azzorre

Table 7
Evocative verbs

In the last example in the table, the term *encantamento* ('enchantment'), a key word of tourist language, is used to attract Portuguese visitors, but disappears in the Italian version in favour of a less evocative expression. Translation obviously implies changes or synthesis of concepts. However, key words in the original text should be identified and adequately translated in the target text.

5.3.4. Adjectives

Adjectives are strongly connotative and in most cases precede the nouns they refer to. This makes tourist discourse a peculiar, intentionally emphatic type of language. Here, attention will be given to noun phrases referring to views and nature, two key concepts in the promotion of *Turismo de Portugal*. To make the analysis easier, sentences will be grouped by destination. Table 8 illustrates the adjectives used in the descriptions of the Alentejo area.

PORTOGUESE	ITALIAN
<i>Planícies a perder de vista</i> (Plains that make you lose the sight)	<i>Pianure sconfinite</i> (Boundless plains)
<i>Planura imensa</i> (Huge plain)	<i>Pianura immensa</i> (Huge plain)
<i>Searas louras</i> (Blond harvests)	<i>Biondi raccolti</i> (Blond harvests)
<i>Praias selvagens</i> (Wild beaches)	<i>Spagge selvagge</i> (Wild beaches)
<i>Beleza agreste e inexplorada</i> (Rural and unexplored beauty)	<i>Bellezza agreste e inesplorata</i> (Rural and unexplored beauty)
<i>O encanto do seu património</i> (The enchantment of its heritage)	<i>Incantevole patrimonio storico e artistico</i> (Enchanting historic and artistic heritage)
<i>A paisagem è alta e escarpada</i> (The landscape is high and steep)	<i>Rocce alte e scoscese</i> (High and steep rocks)

Table 8.
Adjectives from the Alentejo pages.

In Portuguese, there are two synonyms *planície* and *planura*, translated as *pianure*

(since in Italian there is no equivalent synonym); in the first case the term is associated to the structure *a* + infinitive + complement (*a perder de vista*); in Italian, this is replaced with the adjective *sconfinate* which clearly illustrates how large Alentejo plains are.

The noun *encanto* (a key word in tourist language) is translated into Italian with the adjective *incantevole* which accompanies *patrimônio storico e artístico*; these two adjectives add a specification to the *patrimônio* of the Portuguese version. Another difference can be noticed in the last sentence: *paisagem* is replaced by *rocce*, a term which describes the main feature of a landscape characterized by tall and steep rocks (*alte e scoscese*).

In the remaining sentences the adjectives are used very similarly in both versions, except from *biondi raccolti*, where an inversion inevitably occurs with respect to the Portuguese *searas louras*.

Let us now look at some examples from the Algarve pages (Table 9).

<i>Excelente clima</i> (Excellent climate)	<i>Eccellente clima</i> (Excellent climate)
<i>Praias de areia fina e dourada</i> (Beaches of fine and golden sand)	<i>Sabbia fine e dorata</i> (Fine and golden sand)
<i>As grandes, as pequenas, as calmas, as agitadas</i> (The big, the small, the quiet, the colorful)	<i>Spiagge grandi, piccole, tranquille e movimentate</i> (Big, small, quiet and lively beaches)
<i>Ondas ou mar chão</i> (Flat waves or sea)	<i>Onde selvagge oppure mansuete</i> (Wild or mild waves)
<i>Muito bom tempo</i> (Very good weather)	<i>Bellissimo clima</i> (Beautiful climate)

Table 9
Adjectives from the Algarve pages

The tourist promotion of the Algarve obviously focuses on the beautiful beaches and the mild climate which attract foreign as well Portuguese tourists especially in the summer. The climate is defined as *excelente / eccellente, muito bom / bellissimo*; the adjectives used for the beaches are antithetic adjectives, such as *grandes, pequenas, calmas, agitadas / grandi, piccolo, tranquille* and *movimentate*. Algarve suits every taste: it is ideal for those who are in search of the sun and relaxation, as well as for those willing to take long walks along the coast or practice water sports, especially windsurfing.

Let us now look at some examples from the Azores pages (Table 10).

<i>Vegetação intocada</i> (Untouched vegetation)	<i>Rigogliosa vegetazione</i> (Luxuriant vegetation)
<i>Lagoas azuis e verdes</i> (Blue and green lagoons)	<i>Lagune verdi e azzurre</i> (Green and blue lagoons)

Table 10
Adjectives from the Azores pages

For the Azores section, two verb phrases have been chosen which are indicative of the type of promotion that *Turismo de Portugal* has adopted for this beautiful archipelago. As the examples illustrate, the *vegetação intocada* is used as an attractive feature. In the Italian version it becomes *rigogliosa vegetazione*. The image proposed in Italian is therefore different, in that it refers to a flourishing landscape instead of an unspoilt one.

Let us now look at some examples from the Lisbon Region / La Lisboa

Regione (Table 11).

<i>A luminosa capital de Portugal</i> (The bright capital of Portugal)	<i>La luminosa capitale del Portogallo</i> (The bright capital of Portugal)
<i>Luz radiosa da cidade</i> (Bright light of the city)	<i>Luce radiosa della città</i> (Bright light of the city)
<i>Pitorescos bairros</i> (Picturesque quarters)	<i>Pittoreschi quartieri</i> (Picturesque districts)
<i>Simbiose de palácios e natureza</i> (Symbiosis of palaces and nature)	<i>Armoniosa simbiosi tra palazzi e natura</i> (Harmonious symbiosis between palaces and nature)

Table 11
Adjectives from the Lisboa Region pages

The Lisbon region (*Região de Lisboa* in Portuguese) is composed of a southern part, the district of Lisbon, and a northern one, the district of Setúbal, and it was created in 2002 when a part of the region of Lisbon and the Valley of the Tagus (Lisboa e Vale do Tejo) was assigned to the Centre and Alentejo regions. The region of Lisbon represents the remaining part after such separation and it is today the most densely populated of Portugal, with 5 million inhabitants distributed over 18 municipalities.

The Italian translation of the destination name, *Lisboa Regione*, is rather curious, since it leaves *Lisboa* in Portuguese and simply replaces *Região* with *Regione*, leaving the latter term postponed. The same happens with *Centro de Portugal* which is also left in Portuguese in the Italian version. Something curious is also visible in the name of the destination *Madeira* which is reported in Italian in its English translation ‘Madeira Islands’, instead of simply ‘Madeira’ or even *Arcipelago di Madeira* (preferably the former).

These three examples show that while the translation of the texts in the web pages is fairly accurate and stylistically correct, the translation of the menu entries – which include other funny expressions such as *Clicca qui per registrar* (Click here to register) instead of *Clicca qui per registrarli* (literally ‘Click here to register yourself’ which corresponds to the Italian correct version) – is not and should be revised in order to avoid undermining the website’s appearance.¹¹

The four sentences considered for analysis describe some important characteristics of the city of Lisbon. These are used as key words by *Turismo de Portugal* in the promotion of this area: brightness; typical districts; harmony between buildings; and nature. The Italian version is almost identical to the Portuguese and uses adjectives in a similar way.

Table 12 shows examples from the Madeira pages. The use of the English ‘Madeira islands’ in the Italian version has already been mentioned.

Nature plays a fundamental role in the promotion of the tourism destination of both Madeira and the Azores. There are adjectives such as *fulgurante*, *exuberante*, *surpreendente* and the expression *emharmonia* associated with *natureza*. The Italian version is once again specular, though the adjective *rigogliosa* is used instead of *fulgurante*.

<i>Destino de requinte e sofisticação</i>	<i>Destinazione ricercata e sofisticata</i>
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¹¹There are also other inaccuracies in the menus, such as *Diritti di passeggero* (‘Rights of passenger’) instead of the correct *Diritti del passeggero* (‘Rights of the passenger’).

(Sought-after and sophisticated destination)	(Sought-after and sophisticated destination)
<i>Natureza fulgurante</i> (Fulgurant nature)	<i>Natura di rigogliosa bellezza</i> (Nature of luxuriant beauty)
<i>Natureza exuberante e surpreendente</i> (Exuberant and surprising nature)	<i>Natura esuberante e sorprendente</i> (Exuberant and surprising nature)
<i>Natureza em harmonia</i> (Nature in harmony)	<i>Natura armoniosa</i> (Harmonious nature)

Table 12
Adjectives from the Madeira pages

Finally, Table 13 shows examples from the Porto e Norte pages.

<i>Rica herança cultural</i> (Rich cultural heritage)	<i>Ricca eredità culturale</i> (Rich cultural heritage)
<i>Zona de montanhas e declives acentuados</i> (Montaneous area with steep slopes)	<i>Zona montuosa e dai ripidi declivi</i> (Mountainous area with steep slopes)
<i>Cenográfico Douro</i> (Scenographic Douro)	<i>Scenografico Douro</i> (Scenographic Douro)

Table 13
Adjectives from the Porto e Norte pages

The name of the destination Porto e Norte is left in Portuguese in the Italian version, instead of being translated as *Oporto e il Nord*.

The city is located on the north bank of the Douro River and is the second most important city of Portugal (it is actually defined as *A capital do norte*, in other words, the capital of the north). Oporto is an important industrial city and a favorite tourist destination, chosen for its historical and artistic heritage, the unique landscape of the Douro valley, and the excellent wines.

The sentences reported above refer to all these features. The phrase *cenográfico Douro* ('scenic Douro') is very emphatic and well summarizes the magnificence and the beauty of the landscape that unfolds around the river. The adjectives in the Italian version are similar to those in the Portuguese version.

5.3.5. The tourist promotion of Portugal sails the ocean's waters

The ocean plays an important role in the representation of Portugal, as visible not only in the web portal, but also in the brochures and in the promotional videos. Indeed, the theme of the Expo98 was "The Oceans: a legacy for the future"; it was chosen in order to remind nations of the role of the oceans and marine resources in the sustainable development of the Earth, and discuss important issues such as the contamination of ocean ecosystem. The area chosen for the exhibition, later renamed Nations' Park (*Parque das Nações*) is located on the eastern part of Lisbon, on the Tagus estuary. This area hosted the pavilions of the 146 exhibiting nations, several thematic pavilions, the famous *Oceanário* – the largest aquarium in Europe – a multipurpose pavilion (*Pavilhão Atlântico*), the Portuguese pavilion, a huge railway station and subway (*Gare do Oriente*), and the Vasco da Gama shopping centre, with its famous cupola designed by architect Calatrava on which water still flows today.

The ocean is a key concept also in the *Turismo de Portugal* website, as the examples in Table 14 show. These sentences have been chosen because they emphasise the role and importance of water in Portuguese history and traditions.

PORTOGUESE	ITALIAN	DESTINATION
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<i>Com ondas ou com mar chão</i> (With plain waves or sea)	<i>Le onde si infrangono selvage oppure mansuete</i> (The waves break wild or mild)	Algarve
<i>O litoral atlântico de ondas batidas</i> (The Atlantic seashore of beaten waves)	<i>Lunghe onde che si infrangono sull'arenile</i> (Long waves that break on the sandy shore)	Centro de Portugal
<i>O mar, azul, sempre à vista onde quer que se encontre</i> (The blue sea always at sight wherever you are)	<i>Il mare, azzurro, è visibile ovunque</i> (The blue sea is visible everywhere)	Madeira
<i>Nove lugares mágicos no meio do Atlântico</i> (Nine magic places in the middle of the Atlantic)	<i>Nove isole magiche in mezzo all'Atlantico</i> (Nine magic islands in the middle of the Atlantic)	Açores
<i>São por certo o mar, o clima e a natureza preservada que confere a toda a região uma energia peculiar</i> (The sea, the climate and a preserved nature certainly give a particular energy to the entire region)	<i>Sono certamente il mare, il clima e una natura preservata a conferire a tutta la regione un'energia peculiare</i> (The sea, the climate and a preserved nature certainly give a particular energy to the entire region)	Lisboa região
<i>Primeiro que tudo com o mar. O mar sempre inspiro os portugueses, que com ele têm uma relação de amor que perdura no tempo (...).</i> (The sea above all. The sea has always inspired Portuguese people, that have with it a relationship of love that lasts long (...).)	<i>Il mare, inanzitutto. Il mare ha sempre ispirato i portoghesi, che intrattengono con esso un rapporto di amore che il tempo non ha scalfito (...).</i> (The sea above all. The sea has always inspired Portuguese people, that have with it a relationship of love that time hasn't scratched (...).)	Romance

Table 14.
Sentences showing the ocean as a key concept.

The key words that we can identify in Portuguese are *ondas, mar, litoral, Atlântico, azul*, which have similar translations into Italian.

Some translated sentences are more articulate than the original versions, such as *com ondas ou com mar chão / Le onde si infrangono selvage oppure mansuete* and *o litoral atlântico de ondas batidas / Lunghe onde che si infrangono sull'arenile*. However, the Italian version is similarly evocative in the description of the ocean and of its vastness.

Water is described as a source of magic, inspiration, and love by the Portuguese people, who still feel deeply bounded to the sea.

6. Conclusion

The current paper has analysed the official tourist promotion of *Turismo de Portugal* through its tourist portal, adopting methodological procedures taken from the fields of social sciences and sociolinguistics that consider tourism as a social phenomenon. In this perspective, the language of tourism is the link between the institutional board and the tourists who are constantly stimulated by promotional messages.

In this article, we have briefly reviewed the official tourist promotion of Portugal in the years of the *Estado Novo*, showing that it was based on an idea of unity and continental geographic continuity and conveyed the image of a thriving

country characterized by a strong folk and traditionalist spirit.

The reference to the past has been our starting point to analyse the development of tourist communication, which has been boosted by important artistic, cultural, political and sport events, such as the Expo98, the Lisbon Treaty and the European Football Championship of 2004, which gave Portugal significant media exposure.

Subsequently, we have analysed the promotional strategies adopted by *Turismo de Portugal* which is taking ever greater advantage of global communication media, such as the Web, through the creation of an official tourist portal alongside the portals of the various regions. We have seen how the promotion of tourism is adapting to the new dynamics of socialization, being present in all the major social networks; this enables the tourism institution to keep users constantly updated on cultural events and tourist destinations. The analyses performed has allowed us to identify the target of the Portuguese tourist board, a tourist with a medium-high cultural background, aesthetic taste, cultural and historical interests, lover of sports and nature, aged between 25 and 55.

Furthermore, we have analysed the structure of the web page of the official portal of *Turismo de Portugal*, identifying its main structural features in order to understand its communicative effectiveness.

Finally, we have analysed the contents of the portal, through a comparative analysis of various textual aspects, such as slogans, and stylistic and rhetoric elements which are recurrent in the language of tourism, such as the use of the imperative, adjectives and key words, in the Portuguese and Italian versions. We have also tried to understand which aspects of Portugal are privileged by the official tourist promotion and how these are rendered in the Italian translations. In the sections analysed, we have found accurate translations in the texts, but inaccurate translations in the menu entries and in the sections devoted to the destinations.

This research has allowed us to understand the importance of communication in the promotion of tourism, and of constantly updated contents. The website is currently one of the privileged channels of tourism marketing, and *Turismo de Portugal* is giving great importance to the impact that the image of the country has on web users, investing more and more on the content of the portal itself and its structure. In this regard, we would like to thank the *Turismo de Portugal* for granting us the use of texts and images, and for the interest demonstrated in the present work.

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TREADING LIGHTLY ON THE EARTH

Metaphorical frames in the discourse of ecotourism

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1. Introduction

Due to the ever-increasing awareness of current environmental issues such as global warming, climate change or the consumption of the Earth's natural resources, sustainability, ecology and green travels have become buzzwords when it comes to how we choose our holidays. Ecotourism, seen as a "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people" (International Ecotourism Society, 2002)¹ expresses this sensitiveness to ecological aspects that are "reflected in new discourses and a new lexicon" (Mühlhäusler, Peace 2001, p. 378).

Research on ecotourism has focussed on the critical use of 'ecotourism' as a "semantically bleached" term (Mühlhäusler 2000) to promote a new but also self-contradictory form of tourism. It has also demonstrated that environmentalism is the dominant discourse and that the military and anthropomorphic metaphors are pervasive.

This present paper gives a further contribution to the study of ecotourist metaphors by investigating the lexical area of English and Italian ecotourist holiday vocabulary and presents a corpus-based contrastive analysis of its metaphorical patterns which help to understand the ideological framing of this discourse. As Fairclough aptly maintains (1989, p. 119):

any aspects of experience can be represented in terms of any number of metaphors, and it is the relationship between alternative metaphors that is of particular interest here, for different metaphors have different ideological attachments.

This study adopts the view that our conceptual system is metaphorically structured (Lakoff, Johnson 2003) and that "the very process of examining conventional metaphors often alerts us to hidden meanings, such as evaluative orientation or ideological position" (Moon et al 2006, p. 26). It focuses on how metaphorical language is realized at a phraseological level, or put it differently, on those lexico-semantic and grammatical formulations which arguably disclose the underlying discourse of ecotourism ideology, policy and principles. Another motive for addressing the use of metaphor is proposed by Deignan and Potter (2004, p. 1232), who state that:

because conceptual metaphor theory claims to describe central processes and structures of human thought, it is not language-specific and should have explanatory power for languages other than English; it is therefore of potential use in cross-linguistic research.

After the outline of the theory driving this work, section 3 will include a rundown of the methodology and the data used. Section 4 introduces the analysis and reports our findings. Some remarks in closing are given in section 5.

¹ www.ecotourism.org (5.2010).

2. Theoretical background

Metaphors, including metonymy and simile, are considered a valuable clue to the cross-cultural identification of ideologies in that they “trigger a kind of analogical thinking which proceeds by such associative chains as are typical of a given culture” (Bollettieri Bosinelli 1988, p. 14). It is by now commonly agreed that metaphors are pervasive in language and go far beyond the rhetorical or decorative features of language by playing a crucial role in cognition and evaluation. This is one of the main contributions of Cognitive Linguistics according to which we have systems of conceptual structures or ‘frames’ or ‘scripts’ which shape our thinking and are thus used to understand the world (Lakoff, Johnson 2003).

This wide interpretation also entails that “metaphor can provide a conceptual structure for a systematized ideology that is expressed in many texts” (Chilton, Schäffner 2002, p. 29). In particular, certain lexical items can trigger metaphorical frame representations viewed – in Gumperz’s words (2001, pp. 217-219) – as representing

presuppositions associated with ideologies and principles of communicative conduct that in a way bracket the talk, and that thereby affect the way in which we assess or interpret what transpires in the course of an encounter.

For cognitive linguists, metaphor is defined as a structural mapping from a source domain onto a target domain. The source domain represents a situation we are familiar with and that is used to understand the more abstract target domain. On the basis of their function, metaphors may be of different type: orientational, ontological and structural. If the first type enables us to organize “a whole system of concept with respect to one another” (Lakoff, Johnson 2003, p. 14) (e.g. Happiness is up; Sadness is down), the ontological metaphors deal with our way of identifying or referring to events and emotions in terms of ‘entities’ or ‘substances’ (e.g. The mind is a machine) (Lakoff, Johnson 2003, p. 25). Finally, structural metaphors are the most complex in that they require us to transfer one basic domain of experience to another basic domain (e.g. Argument is war). By picking out the metaphors ‘we live by’, either consciously or unconsciously, our reality is simultaneously chosen and created.

Thus, conventionalised metaphors are particularly revealing in the process of uncovering discourses around a subject (Baker 2006, p. 167) and may work “to convey a latent ideology (Goatly 2007, p. 28).

Charteris-Black (2004) goes even further by stressing how metaphor selection reveals ideological intent and highlighting the speaker’s intention to favour some specific metaphors in order to achieve precise communicative goals.

Against this backdrop, this work looks at what conventional metaphors are used as carrier of diverse ideological framing of this type of discourse and starts from previous research (Spinzi 2010) where metaphorical conceptualizations were found to be crucial in the construction of two overt ideological items such as ‘environment’ and ‘nature’ and their equivalents in the Italian language.

3. Data and Methodology

When embarking upon a study of metaphors the main problem concerns their localization. This complex issue has been addressed through the use of different

methodologies, ranging from manual to automatic (e.g. Charteris-Black 2004). Despite the insightful contributions from empirical approaches (Deignan 2005), the fact that metaphorical mappings are not associated with specific lexical items still constitutes a major obstacle for corpus-based studies. Nevertheless, research in this field has shown that the investigation of collocation is a good starting point to retrieve metaphors around the search word (see Baker 2006).

Drawing on corpus-based techniques, our own methodology is rooted in the target-domain oriented studies (Stefanowitsch 2006) although only those mappings that are considerably related to a given target domain may be identified. In the wake of Hunston (2004), our analysis begins with a passage from a promotional text, chosen randomly from the ‘description’ section of the website. The text serves as the basis for further corpus-assisted investigation with the corpus working as an ‘echo-chamber’ (Miller 2007).

The analysis is quantitative when assessing the significance of some words on the basis of frequency criteria or when looking at collocational profiles statistically produced by the software. It is qualitative in that collocation is the main analytical tool since it is a suitable vehicle for the “semantic analysis of a word” (Sinclair 1991, pp. 115-116) and the related concepts of semantic preference.

The data were gathered from an ad hoc raw small multilingual comparable corpus of British English, American English and Italian eco-tourist websites. The texts were downloaded from the official sites of ecotourism, which represent non-profit associations committed to the promotion of responsible travelling practices (www.ecotourism.org; www.ecoturismo-italia.it). These sites provide links to local websites and their selection was driven by the main purpose of designing a corpus which served the specifically function of being representative of the specialised domain of ecotourism neglecting ‘exported ecotourism’ for cultural reasons. The number of running words amounts to a total of 91,858 tokens for the Italian sub-corpus and 65,648 tokens in the British sub-corpus. The software used to interrogate the data is Wordsmith Tools 5.0 (Scott 2007).

4. The analysis

Nel regno di Eolo

*Sospese tra una terra aspra ed essenziale, di vulcani e fichi d'India, sole ed eriche, ed un mare generoso, le isole Eolie sono il luogo per un viaggio **alla ricerca** di ciò che alberga nel cuore di quei pescatori e quei marinai che da tempo immemore hanno scelto un'esistenza semplice e ancorata alle antiche tradizioni.*

*La proposta di questo soggiorno è un viaggio “**incursione**”, **un'occasione di incontro** con l'ambiente naturale e con la gente, un'esperienza da vivere come viaggiatori, piuttosto che da turisti. Per questo abbiamo scelto di **camminare a piedi**: il nostro viaggio, infatti, non vuole essere un soggiorno prettamente balneare, ma vuole **esplorare** le isole, **scoprirne** la cultura e comprenderne le tradizioni. Un piccolo viaggio caratterizzato da escursioni facili ed adatte a tutti per conoscere un popolo affascinante, le sue abitudini, il suo pensiero e i suoi misteri.*

The lexical items highlighted here describe the typology of the eco-holiday, frequently associated with the ‘search’ of something which leads to the ‘exploration’ of natural areas or the encounter with nature to ‘discover’ or to ‘taste’ abstract ‘commodities’. When you start a corpus-based investigation you never know what you will find as comparable corpora may be the source of a

potential “serendipity process” (John 1988). Thus, the initial results led to a number of cross-analyses of collocates and other lexical items were also investigated. In this paper we will discuss our findings with reference to the representation of the lemma *viaggio/travel* frequently associated with the activity of walking and the main ideological category involved e.g. *ambiente/environment* (Spinzi 2010). Besides numerical considerations, illustrated by the wordlist in appendix 1, the main rationale for opting to study *viaggio camminare* (*holiday/walk*) is that we are interested in the metaphorical construction of this holiday as already said.

Bearing in mind these preliminary observations from the reading of the short text, we then moved on to the investigation of the wordlist, because it may be revealing of the presence of discourses, especially those of hegemonic nature (Baker 2006, p. 121). What is noteworthy is that where the Italian corpus prefers *viaggio* the British corpus shows *holiday* as being more frequent than journey and travel. *Walk* is frequent in both sub-corpora. In Italian *natura* and *territorio* are at the top of the list whereas in English we find *environment*.

4.1 The case of *viaggi** (198 occurrences)

If we disregard those collocates which construct phrases describing the typology of the holiday (e.g. *Viaggio naturalistico/ecologico/avventura*), the word form *viaggi** is used metaphorically in 30% of the occurrences. The major collocations fall into the following sets: *viaggi/o* is primarily associated with ‘stepping back in time’ (*tempo / memoria / time/ remembrance; storia / history*), with ‘discovery’ (*scoperta / ricerca / discovery / research*), with ‘sensorial activity’ (*sapori / taste*), ‘immersion’ (*immersione / fusion / immersion / fusion*). Hence, three main metaphorical conceptualisations were identified:

1. Travel as CONDUIT to abstract experiences or sensory perception as in the following concordances, which represent 47% of the metaphorical cases:

1. *Un viaggio attraverso la storia, la memoria e le bellezze naturalistiche di luoghi significativi della Sicilia*
2. *Tra sapori tradizionali e profumate essenze di macchia mediterranea, un **viaggio** sensoriale ed appassionante nella memoria perduta di un'isola dai mille volti.*
3. *....un **viaggio** nel cuore e nella memoria delle più importanti attività produttive del paese;*
4. *....**viaggio** al centro della storia...*
5. *Da Sassalbo all'Ospedalaccio: un **viaggio** a ritroso attraverso il tempo...*
6. *...**viaggi** alla riscoperta dell'autentico spirito dell'isola....*
7. *....un **viaggio** dal sapore antico...*

2. Travel as DISCOVERY which totals 17%:

8. *...il nostro **viaggio** ci porterà alla scoperta dei mille ambienti dell'isola...*
9. ***Viaggi** alla riscoperta dell'autentico spirito dell'isola...*

3. Travel as IMMERSION, where a number of movement metaphors liken travel to liquid in some way:

10. *...un **viaggio** che consente non solo di fondersi con l'ambiente circostante e di approfondire la conoscenza del mare, ma di scoprire anche una dimensione interiore di armonia con la natura...*

11. ...il nostro **viaggio** è un tuffo nel passato e una reale scoperta del presente...

The analysis of the verbal form *viaggiare* shows the same metaphorical conceptualization in terms of exploration and discovery, as shown in the two following concordances:

12. *Osservare la natura nei suoi ritmi lenti e incessanti, **viaggiare** a piedi alla scoperta dei luoghi selvaggi e realtà dimenticate...*
13. *..è un modo tutto nuovo da esplorare e **viaggiare** a piedi è sicuramente il modo migliore per farlo...*
14. ***Viaggiare** camminando significa incontrare la natura e assaporarne l'essenza, risvegliando i nostri sensi.*

What can also be noticed is the association between the lemma and the key activity of walking (citations 12, 13, 14) which makes this experience profoundly embodied. This holiday requires an interaction or a meeting with the natural setting (citation 14) which is both embodiment (going on foot) and negotiation through mind explained by the extremely sensual character of this trip.

The items which were postulated as a prime facie translation of the lemma *viaggiare* (see Tognini Bonelli 2002 for the methodology) are 'travel', 'journey', 'make a trip' and 'tour' (Zanichelli 2005), which are not particularly metaphorically conceptualized in the British sub-corpus. *Travel* only is associated with the concept of sustainability through collocates such as *ethical, responsible, responsibly* and it occurs only once in company with *gentle*. Similarly, *traveller** is described as being minded, responsible and ethical whereas *tour* and *trip* are mainly used as descriptive items pre-modified by classifiers as in 'boat trip', 'car tour'.

Since the lemmas analysed do not share the meanings expressed by the Italian lemma, the next step involved the analysis of holiday/s as hypothesised equivalent of *viaggi/o*.

*Holiday** occurs 299 and 28% of the citations convey a metaphorical meaning. The most frequent collocate is *difference* which is a component of the phraseological pattern *this holiday makes a difference*. The difference is that this holiday aims to have no negative impacts on the environment as it is incongruently stated in the following concordances:

1. *Whilst on this **holiday** you will be walking at your own pace in your own group.*
2. *This is the ideal **holiday** for those who wish to proceed at their own pace.*
3. *These **walking holidays** are a great way to explore the beautiful Northumberland countryside and coastline, enabling you to take in the surroundings without damaging the environment.*

As shown by these first two concordances, in the British sub-corpus the phenomenon of embodiment is also present entailing the sensation of being weightless.

The movement is constructed as something which must have a sense of control to prevent disaster to the environment and walking, which is the second most frequent close friend of the node, is the best way to do it. Variation is given by other phraseologies such as *treading lightly, proceed at your own pace*. Closely related to the notion of walking holidays is thus that of 'lightness' and of 'slowing down'. This meaning is conveyed by 5% of the examples of the search word *holiday* and confirmed by the analysis of the concordances of *pace* as can be seen

in the following citation: “Starting off in the village of Arisaig, you will feel the pace of life slow down as you stroll along the waterfront”.

It is worth saying that the item *vacanz** was also investigated in the Italian sub-corpus before confirming that the two items which lend themselves to be metaphorically conceptualised are *viaggi/o* and *holiday*, which may be seen as equivalent on the basis of the collocates they share. The only concordance showing the same metaphorical meaning of contact/relationship/fusion is *vacanza a stretto contatto con la natura*.

4.2 The case of *camminare/walk*

The item *cammino* does not show any metaphorical meaning but it is used either to indicate a distance or a path to walk on. On the contrary, the lemma *camminare* gives rise to metaphorical meanings in more than half of its instances.

Camminare is primarily associated with emotional or sensorial experiences evoking a synaesthesia of sounds and colours. It is a learning experience which aims to slow down the rhythms of hectic life, and where eco-tourists, mainly represented as walkers, are called to live an inner experience.

The main collocates are abstract nouns (*gusto, spirito, passo lento, silenzio, storia, legenda*) which are linked to senses, above all hearing, or to subjects such as legend and history which increase the emotional cumulative effect. ‘Walking’ is seen as both a physical and mental exercise and the result is a fusion between the slow movements of the body and those of the natural setting:

1. *Camminare con l’asino è un’esperienza che porta il viaggiatore a intuire le emozioni del proprio cuore.*
2. *Non correre! Scopri la pace interiore della lentezza consapevole, impara a camminare con **passo** lento, guardati intorno, c’è sempre un fiore nuovo, un insetto, un colore che ti stupiranno.*
3. *Camminare affianco di un asino è una sensazione che riporta indietro, a quei tempi lenti di quando i viandanti portavano il passo appresso allo scandire delle giornate.*
4. *Dal **camminare** escursionistico a quello naturalistico, per scoprire i segreti dei Parchi e delle Riserve Naturali, interrogare il paesaggio mediterraneo sulle sue rarità.*
5. *Dal **camminare** geo – attraverso itinerari che parlano di geomorfologia e geologia – a quello filosofico – che sviscera il senso di ogni passo.*
6. *ma anche agli Estensi, a Napoleone ai Savoia, fino al **camminare** del silenzio, in cui a parlare sono i tramonti, le voci della notte*
7. *perché il ritmo del **camminare** esalta una terra come questa*
8. *Scopri la pace interiore della lentezza consapevole, impara a **camminare** con passo lento, guardati intorno, c’è sempre un fiore nuovo, un insetto che ti stupiranno*
9. *C’è solo la bellezza e il **camminare** una settimana immersi nella bellezza non si può raccontare*

The spiritual connotation given by the collocates of the node is also extended to the word form *camminat**, which is associated to activities such as observation and meditation. Eco-tourists want to go beyond the traditional ‘gaze’ in that they want to experience actively, to take part and learn about the environment.

4.3 The case of *territory/environment*

Previous research (Spinzi 2010) has shown that in the data investigated the Italian word *territorio* shares most of the collocates of the word *environment* rather than

of the item *ambiente*. The main interest in this paper is the metaphorical investigation of these two functional equivalents.

A vertical scan of the concordances of *territorio* uncovers its semantic preferences which go from items related to the heritage of a country (*culturali, tradizioni*) to positively connoted abstract nouns (*valorizzazione, conoscenza, sviluppo*) to names of places (*aree, natura*). Guided by the criterion of frequency, we see *cultura, tradizioni, natura* and *storia* as very frequently associated with *territorio* which encompasses all the cultural human products as we read in the following examples:

1. *Tali escursioni sono organizzate secondo week-end tematici in calendario programmato di itinerari che consentano una lettura a 360° del nostro territorio della sua natura e della sua storia.*
2. *All'arrivo un referente locale darà il benvenuto al gruppo introducendolo nel vissuto del territorio.*

The use of *vissuto* (its past) personifies the territory. Noteworthy is the stress on relationship. The territory constructed as a container replete with traces of the 'past' (stress on the past rather than on the future; see Manca 2008) invites a shared discovery (*scoperta partecipata del territorio*) or to a different 'reading'. Examples (3) and (4) demonstrate this metaphorical representation of the territory as a 'living text':

3. *Il Parco rivolge le proprie proposte ad un pubblico di lettori-viaggiatori, a cui far conoscere il territorio attraverso una lettura differente, interdisciplinare, attenta all'ambiente.*
4. *Il contatto personale con il visitatore è centrale, e le guide sono tutte altamente competenti e preparate per comunicare la loro conoscenza del territorio.*

Territorio shares some collocates with *ambiente* (e.g. *contatto*) (see Spinzi 2010) but it also encodes other aspects related to the cultural and historical heritage of a nation. Travellers are invited to spend their time with other people sharing the pleasures and cultural aspects of the *territorio*. As a result, the whole community is rigidly tied together with socio-economic and cultural images, feelings, stories, myths, values and tradition.

In the British sub-corpus the item *environment* is emphatically construed as a victim due to the its main negatively connotated collocate that is damage. This association highlights the negative axiology underlying the semantics of abuse. This unfavourable pragmatic meaning sets up a contrast with the highly positive evaluative lexis describing the environment (*quiet, beautiful, unspoilt, stunning*). The ideological intent may be seen as that of triggering emotional reactions in the addressees such as guilt and the subsequent moral obligation to be eco-friendly.

The semantics of interaction as fusion features environment, too, and it is visible from the pattern: (build) *blend/s in(to) the natural environment*. Variation includes another formulation, *being at one with*, and nominalised forms such as *interrelationship* and *intricacies*. The British representation of this holiday goes beyond the mere emphasis of the continuity between the human products and the 'natural' as better shown in the following citation:

1. *The large windows and use of wood throughout the Loch Ness bed & breakfast accommodation help to enhance the feeling of light and space and give a sense of being at one with the natural environment.*

5. Concluding remarks

The dominant areas of metaphor suggest that this type of holiday is conceptualised in terms of weightlessness, discovery and relation. The metaphorical expressions seem to be largely conventionalized across cultures with some exceptions. Unlike the British sub-corpus, the Italian data describe this trip in terms of conduit to the traditions, history, habits of a living territory compared to a text to be read rather than explored. Physical and mental/sensorial activities are profoundly involved and interconnected.

Embodied experience or experience of being relies on all senses. In order to understand the experience we must extend the notion of the tourist gaze to include other embodied aspects, touch, movement, hearing, taste both in real and imaginary terms.

The findings are in line with Turner's suggestion (2002, p. 1) of 'somatic society', in which "the body is now part of a self-project within which individuals express their own personal emotional needs through constructing their own bodies".

While little has changed in terms of the 'discovery' of the natural setting, the major shift from other forms of tourism lies in the way companies promote ecotourism: they portray themselves as environment/nature's caretakers, that is, environmentally friendly and offer a typology of holiday which requires a 'slowing down' in harmony with the rhythms of the natural surroundings. The British sub-corpus in particular, ideologically represents the environment as in need for protection and since it is a commodity which cannot be replaced, ecotourism may start working as a panacea.

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Appendix 1

British wordlist

1	THE	4826	5,5227
2	AND	3684	4,2158
3	TO	2262	2,5885
4	OF	2146	2,4558
5	A	1961	2,2441
6	#	1811	2,0724
7	IN	1307	1,4957
8	WE	1138	1,3023
9	IS	1076	1,2313
10	FOR	921	1,054
11	WITH	881	1,0082
12	ARE	832	0,9521
13	YOU	799	0,9143
14	ON	752	0,8606
15	OUR	698	0,7988
16	FROM	643	0,7358
17	BY	542	0,6202
18	LOCAL	511	0,5848
19	HAVE	476	0,5447
20	THIS	465	0,5321
21	AS	439	0,5024
22	OR	404	0,4623
23	AT	402	0,46
24	YOUR	395	0,452
25	CAN	378	0,4326
26	BE	373	0,4268
27	ALL	302	0,3456
28	AN	302	0,3456
29	IT	300	0,3433
30	THAT	299	0,3422
31	THERE	275	0,3147
32	WILL	264	0,3021
33	WHICH	242	0,2769
34	MILES	235	0,2689
35	ALSO	230	0,2632
36	HAS	221	0,2529
37	HOLIDAY	215	0,246
38	WALKING	212	0,2426
39	USE	207	0,2369
40	AREA	200	0,2289
41	S	188	0,2151
42	ACCOMMODATION	186	0,2129
43	UP	176	0,2014
44	PARK	175	0,2003
45	NATIONAL	169	0,1934
46	NOT	168	0,1923
47	GUESTS	164	0,1877
48	ONE	159	0,182
49	WALK	156	0,1785
50	DAY	155	0,1774
51	WATER	149	0,1705
52	MORE	148	0,1694
53	THROUGH	147	0,1682

54	IF	146	0,1671
55	THEIR	142	0,1625
56	WHERE	142	0,1625
57	PATH	141	0,1614
58	WAY	140	0,1602
59	WALKS	135	0,1545
60	ROOM	134	0,1533
61	FOOD	133	0,1522
62	AVAILABLE	132	0,1511
63	BUT	132	0,1511
64	PROVIDE	131	0,1499
65	FRIENDLY	130	0,1488
66	WELL	129	0,1476
67	VERY	128	0,1465
68	WILDLIFE	127	0,1453
69	HOW	125	0,143
70	TAKE	124	0,1419
71	PEOPLE	121	0,1385
72	OVER	120	0,1373
73	OFFER	119	0,1362
74	DO	118	0,135
75	ITS	117	0,1339
76	SOME	117	0,1339
77	OUT	113	0,1293
78	DAYS	109	0,1247
79	SMALL	109	0,1247
80	BED	108	0,1236
81	INTO	108	0,1236
82	MOST	108	0,1236
83	BEEN	107	0,1224
84	HERE	107	0,1224
85	ONLY	105	0,1202
86	SELF	105	0,1202
87	SEE	103	0,1179
88	GOOD	102	0,1167
89	US	102	0,1167
90	ALONG	100	0,1144
91	FAMILY	100	0,1144
92	FARM	100	0,1144
93	ROOMS	99	0,1133
94	ENJOY	98	0,1121
95	ENVIRONMENT	98	0,1121
96	POSSIBLE	98	0,1121
97	ENERGY	97	0,111
98	WHO	97	0,111
99	WAS	96	0,1099
100	ABOUT	95	0,1087

Italian wordlist

1	DI	3921	3,8851	22	100
2	E	3461	3,4293	22	100
3	#	3018	2,9904	22	100
4	IL	1907	1,8895	22	100
5	LA	1864	1,8469	22	100
6	DEL	1592	1,5774	22	100
7	A	1586	1,5715	22	100
8	IN	1466	1,4526	22	100
9	PER	1340	1,3277	22	100
10	CHE	1015	1,0057	22	100
11	LE	923	0,9145	22	100
12	DELLA	909	0,9007	22	100
13	I	901	0,8928	22	100
14	CON	885	0,8769	22	100
15	UN	873	0,865	22	100
16	AL	794	0,7867	19	86,364
17	SI	772	0,7649	21	95,455
18	DA	733	0,7263	21	95,455
19	UNA	714	0,7075	22	100
20	PARCO	637	0,6312	18	81,818
21	DELLE	561	0,5559	21	95,455
22	DEI	546	0,541	22	100
23	È	522	0,5172	18	81,818
24	NEL	458	0,4538	21	95,455
25	ORE	388	0,3844	17	77,273
26	ALLA	372	0,3686	20	90,909
27	SONO	330	0,327	22	100
28	L	327	0,324	17	77,273
29	ED	295	0,2923	22	100
30	TRA	289	0,2864	20	90,909
31	GIORNO	284	0,2814	11	50
32	PIÙ	283	0,2804	18	81,818
33	O	279	0,2764	20	90,909
34	NON	273	0,2705	21	95,455
35	GLI	264	0,2616	22	100
36	DAL	263	0,2606	21	95,455
37	NELLA	253	0,2507	21	95,455
38	DELL	251	0,2487	9	40,909
39	AD	238	0,2358	19	86,364
40	M	235	0,2328	12	54,545
41	PARTENZA	230	0,2279	13	59,091
42	ALLE	220	0,218	19	86,364
43	PRESSO	217	0,215	15	68,182
44	ITINERARIO	215	0,213	11	50
45	DOVE	209	0,2071	18	81,818
46	CI	208	0,2061	19	86,364
47	NAZIONALE	207	0,2051	19	86,364
48	MARE	198	0,1962	14	63,636
49	VIAGGIO	198	0,1962	13	59,091
50	ANCHE	189	0,1873	21	95,455
51	VISITA	180	0,1784	15	68,182
52	AI	173	0,1714	21	95,455
53	COME	172	0,1704	20	90,909
54	TEL	172	0,1704	4	18,182
55	MA	158	0,1566	20	90,909

56	K	157	0,1556	3	13,636
57	NATURA	157	0,1556	20	90,909
58	NEI	157	0,1556	20	90,909
59	QUESTO	153	0,1516	16	72,727
60	INFORMAZIONI	152	0,1506	11	50
61	FINO	149	0,1476	15	68,182
62	LUNGO	148	0,1466	16	72,727
63	CENTRO	144	0,1427	16	72,727
64	CUI	144	0,1427	19	86,364
65	SAN	143	0,1417	13	59,091
66	SU	143	0,1417	19	86,364
67	DALLA	142	0,1407	19	86,364
68	PERCORSO	140	0,1387	16	72,727
69	SULLA	140	0,1387	17	77,273
70	PRIMA	134	0,1328	16	72,727
71	SUL	130	0,1288	19	86,364
72	CENA	128	0,1268	8	36,364
73	PI	128	0,1268	5	22,727
74	HA	127	0,1258	19	86,364
75	VIA	127	0,1258	14	63,636
76	MONTE	126	0,1248	11	50
77	RITORNO	126	0,1248	7	31,818
78	PRANZO	124	0,1229	9	40,909
79	CAMPO	120	0,1189	14	63,636
80	LO	119	0,1179	18	81,818
81	VERSO	119	0,1179	15	68,182
82	KM	116	0,1149	13	59,091
83	RITROVO	116	0,1149	4	18,182
84	PERNOTTAMENTO	114	0,113	9	40,909
85	TERRITORIO	112	0,111	16	72,727
86	ESCURSIONE	111	0,11	10	45,455
87	MARINA	111	0,11	10	45,455
88	LUNGHEZZA	109	0,108	6	27,273
89	DEGLI	106	0,105	18	81,818
90	NELLE	106	0,105	16	72,727
91	ATTRAVERSO	104	0,103	13	59,091
92	MARGIDORE	104	0,103	2	9,0909
93	DAI	103	0,1021	18	81,818
94	KAYAK	103	0,1021	5	22,727
95	DALLE	102	0,1011	19	86,364
96	GUIDA	102	0,1011	16	72,727
97	DOPO	101	0,1001	15	68,182
98	GIORNI	101	0,1001	15	68,182
99	GRUPPO	99	0,0981	12	54,545
100	PROGRAMMA	97	0,0961	13	59,091

LINGUISTIC NOTES ON FRENCH MUSIC TOURISM

The case of *La Fugue* website

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1. Introduction: from travellers' notes to 'travellers of notes'

The phrase *tourisme musical* has only recently been coined, but the musical journey was one of the several forms assumed by the Grand Tour of the past. The habit of travelling in order to learn about a musician and his historical context can be traced back at least to the 17th century, when the Grand Tour already represented a compulsory step for rich, noble young men. To complete their education, English people between 20 and 25 years of age – followed by French and German people of the same age – had to undertake this experience which lasted from six months up to a year and a half (Boyer 1996).

At a time when recordings did not exist, the musical journey represented the only alternative to concerts and scores, and was aimed at learning about a musical reality at first hand, as well as satisfying the traveller's curiosity about other cultures. Charles Burney's work well describes the historical and social importance of this tradition: in order to write a history of music based on real contact with the best musicians of his time, Burney left England in June 1770, and travelled through France to get to Italy. The results of his observations were published in the famous book "The Present State of Music in France and Italy" (1771). Because of his travel journal, in which a wealth of interesting observations and descriptions of contemporary musical life in the main Italian cities are recorded, he is considered as the real founder of musical historiography (Fubini 1979).

Travel journals, along with printed or handwritten letters, are examples of a cultural phenomenon which is nowadays called 'music tourism', and are part of that literary tradition known as 'Travel Literature' which reached its apogee during the 19th century.

Nowadays there are many more opportunities to enjoy musical performances, thanks to new technologies such as television and the Internet, which make it possible to share live events through streaming. Nevertheless, people are more and more interested in travelling so as to take part directly in great music events involving different music genres: from classical music to jazz, from rock music to pop and so on. If we consider classical music in particular, we may observe that the choice of tourist destinations is mainly influenced by the links that those destinations have with a composer or musical genre: for instance, it is well known that Salzburg is Mozart's birthplace, while Bayreuth is generally visited because of its festival dedicated to Richard Wagner. In order to satisfy the increasing demand for a more and more specialized tourist product, some travel agencies have decided to concentrate on classical music in particular, so as to be able to offer well organized itineraries that include visits to musicians' birthplaces and museums, as well as participation in festivals and concerts. In Italy there is even an association, called *L'Isola Volante*, which explicitly invokes *turismo*

musicale and tries “to enhance and support this cultural phenomenon by involving tour operators, tourism organizations, journalists, writers, musical critics and, of course, musicians”.¹ This marks an evolution from travellers’ notes, made up of thousands of pages rich in detailed descriptions of past musical life, to the “Travellers of Notes” [sic], which is the name of the Italian event in the English version of its site. This transformation, which accompanied the rise of mass tourism over the last century, can also be observed in the text types associated with tourist literature: indeed modern tourist guides reveal a more objective writing style than traditional travel diaries (Nigro 2006).

This paper seeks to illustrate certain aspects of current *tourisme musical* in France through the linguistic analysis of a dedicated website. My theoretical framework will combine some basic principles of rhetoric, following the revival of this discipline represented by the publication of the “Traité de l’argumentation: la nouvelle rhétorique” (Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1958), Benveniste’s theory of enunciation (1966; 1970), and some recent developments in French discourse analysis (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1980, 1986).

2. Materials and methods

Since the Internet is of course one of the most popular means of exchanging information in the field of music tourism, I will take into account the French website called *La Fugue – Europera*.² Before proceeding to the main points at issue, I would like to talk briefly about the name of this website, which is made up of two lexical elements: *fugue* and *européra*. The former has here a double meaning, working at both the denotative and the connotative levels: besides referring to the “forme de composition contrapuntique” (*TLFi*) (‘a contrapuntal composition’),³ it also evokes the idea of travelling and escaping, its general definition being that of “action de fuir, de s’enfuir” (*TLFi*) (‘the action of running away’). This ambiguity can be observed in both French and Italian, but it does not exist in English, where two different nouns – *fugue* and ‘flight’ – are respectively used for the above meanings. The choice of playing on the polysemic nature of the word *fugue* is not an end in itself, but has the effect of attracting the client’s attention through the key concepts of ‘music’ and ‘travel’; and so contributes to reaching a wider audience. The second component of the travel agency’s name (*européra*), on the other hand, is a blend formed from the French *Europe* and the French/Italian word *opera*. Here again, a double reference can be perceived: to travelling (throughout Europe), and to music (through its hyponym *opera*). Moreover, the neologism *européra*, thanks to the partial phonetic superposition of its components (*EurOPERa*), creates a type of wordplay. In other words, this choice is based on one of the linguistic features characteristic of advertising discourse, that is to say the aesthetic function.

These few remarks are enough to make us reflect upon the frequent interrelationships which exist between the multiple levels of linguistic expression in tourism discourse. The texts contained in this website will be mainly analysed from a rhetorical perspective, but other aspects will also be considered, such as

¹ http://www.viaggiatoridinote.it/eng/index_eng.php (4.2011)

² The present study makes reference to the website <http://www.lafugue.com/> as it appeared in April 2010.

³ My translation. Starting from this point, the English translation of the French examples chosen for this paper will be put in brackets.

lexical semantics, morphology and pragmatics. Following a descriptive approach, I will focus on the linguistic component in all the pages of this website, in order to identify how tourism discourse is used for promotional purposes, and what kind of communication strategies are used to achieve this aim.

If we look at tourism discourse in the light of Jakobson's communication model (1960), we can conceive the travel agency as the addresser of the message and the potential clients as the addressees. Even if my analysis starts from the linguistic component of the message, the signs of both the sender's and the receiver's presence will also be investigated. In order to show to what extent communication strategies can help to promote a music tourism product, I will comment on some examples drawn from *La Fugue – Europera* website. In particular, the instances selected will be grouped into three sections dealing with:

- communicative strategies aimed at identifying the audience;
- communicative strategies aimed at involving the audience;
- communicative strategies aimed at enhancing the tourism product and its promoter.

In the following discussion I will try to adhere to this classification for reasons of clarity, although it is sometimes difficult to decide whether to label an example as belonging to one or another of the three categories listed above.

3. Analysis

3.1 The identification of the audience

In view of Perelman's definition of *auditoire* ('audience'), i.e. "the ensemble of those whom the speaker wishes to influence by his argumentation" (1958, Eng. trans., p. 19), it is to be supposed that the identification of an audience represents a preliminary phase in a rhetorical study. Since "it is in terms of an audience that an argumentation develops" (*ibidem*, p. 5), I will identify how the audience is constructed in the case analysed below.

By clicking on the name *La Fugue – Europera* on the home page, you can enter the website and begin navigating through the different tourism offers. On the right, there is a presentation text entitled "*Le créateur de voyages musicaux et culturels*" ('The musical and cultural travel designer'). Through the adjectives *musicaux* and *culturels*, the noun *voyage* is modified, and the consequent change in the whole noun phrase indirectly circumscribes the potential audience. In the same text, another adjective, *lyriques* ('operatic'), contributes to limiting the prospective audience:

1. *L'agence La Fugue – Europera vous guide [...] au cœur des plus grands événements lyriques*

(*La Fugue – Europera* agency shows you the way [...] to the heart of the greatest operatic events)

Elsewhere, modifiers such as adjectives are used for the opposite purpose. In the following example, oppositional pairs used in Chopin's profile aim to attract a more varied audience:

2. *Ensemble, redécouvrons les facettes du compositeur classique et romantique, polonais et français, mondain et mélancolique, virtuose et poète du piano...*⁴

(Let's rediscover together the facets of the composer who is at the same time classical and romantic, Polish and French, sociable and melancholy, a virtuoso and poet of the piano...)

Those people who are interested in musical and cultural travels are thus subject to persuasion and belong to what is defined "particular audience" in Perelman's theory of argumentation (*ibidem*, pp. 28-29). This particular audience does not seem to be homogeneous and can be further divided into subgroups. Indeed, the website offers several tourism packages, each of which aims to satisfy a different type of customer: the two itineraries called *Les Fugues orchestrées* ('The Orchestral Fugues') and *Les Fugues Solos* ('The Solo Fugues') are examples of offers specifically created for people of different tastes. However, at first sight, these titles may deceive people who assume that the words *orchestrées* and *solos* stand for orchestral and solo repertoires. These adjectives are not in fact to be interpreted in a literal way, but in a figurative sense. It is therefore not only the word *fugue* that is to be interpreted as a metaphor, but also the two adjectives *orchestrées* and *solos*, which refer respectively to people who love group or solitary travels, as can be seen below:

3. *Les Fugues Orchestrées*

Vous aimez les voyages motivés par un thème, ou l'opportunité de mieux connaître un sujet. Partager certains de vos repas entre amis. Échanger vos émotions de la journée. Être soulagés des contingences matérielles et ne garder que le meilleur du voyage... N'hésitez pas à vous inscrire à nos Fugues Orchestrées.

Les Fugues Solos

L'évènement vous motive, mais vous souhaitez rester maître de votre emploi du temps: choisir un restaurant quand la faim se fait sentir et revoir votre tableau préféré quand il vous plait. Les Fugues Solos vous sont particulièrement dédiées.

(The Orchestral Fugues

You love thematic journeys, or the chance to get a better knowledge of a subject. You love sharing some of your meals with your friends, sharing your daily emotions. Being relieved of your material necessities and thinking only of the best aspects of your journey... Do not hesitate to sign up for our Orchestral Fugues.

The Solo Fugues

The event interests you, but you wish to maintain control over your schedule: choosing a restaurant when you feel hungry and taking another look at your favourite painting at your leisure. The Solo Fugues are particularly made for you.)

This is an example of how to attract the audience's attention through the intentional ambiguity of a double musical metaphor. This technique is frequently used, as we can see in the following instance:

4. *Un voyage en quatre actes.*

(A journey in four acts.)

⁴ This quotation is taken from the description of another tourist package, which was called "2010, la grande année Chopin" ('2010, Chopin's great year'), and conceived on the occasion of the bicentenary of Chopin's birth.

In this case, it is not clear whether the metaphor characterizes the word *voyage* ('journey'), which stands for *spectacle* ('show'), or the word *actes* ('acts'), which stands for *étapes* ('pauses'). In other words, the reader/potential client may wonder whether the figure 'four' refers to the acts of a show or the pauses in a journey.

Another example of metaphor where a musical term stands for a more general concept is *ouverture*, i.e. the instrumental introduction to an opera, which occurs in the title "*Accueil-Ouverture*". However, in this case the metaphor is not so ambiguous as the metaphor previously analysed, because of the juxtaposition of *accueil* ('reception') and *ouverture* ('overture'). Moreover, the term *ouverture* is important not only within the French tradition (see the very famous *ouverture à la française*), but also within that of other European cultures: thus the Italian musical lexicon includes a non-integrated loanword (Martinotti 1984), whereas the English form "derives from the French *ouverture*, which denoted the piece in two or more sections that formed a solemn introduction to a ballet, opera or oratorio in the 17th century" (Temperley 1980).

The identification of the audience sometimes takes place on a non-metaphorical level, as can be noticed in the example below:

5. *Les amoureux de territoires inexplorés apprécieront la grande traversée de la Namibie et de l'Afrique australe [...].*

(Lovers of unexplored territories will appreciate the great crossing of Namibia and Southern Africa [...].)

This utterance has a perlocutionary effect on the audience, because it plays on the implied identification of the audience itself with people who love unexplored lands. As will appear in the following sections, since linguistic strategies may also work in an indirect way, it is often difficult to choose only one among the several reasons that may exist for a speech act. However, in this paper I shall separate elements which are blended in the texts, in order to explain how each strategy is used in tourism discourse.

3.2 The involvement of the audience

The audience that has been thus identified is ready to believe the arguments that have been expressly created to persuade its members. The perlocutionary function is particularly evident in the examples below, characterized by the direct involvement of the public.

If we look again at the text entitled "*Le créateur de voyages musicaux et culturels*", we can notice that the audience is involved through various strategies which operate at different linguistic levels:

6. *L'agence La Fugue – Europera vous guide, en toute intimité, aux quatre coins du monde, au cœur des plus grands événements lyriques: festivals, représentations exceptionnelles, rendez-vous incontournables de tous les mélomanes...*

(*La Fugue – Europera* agency guides you, in full intimacy, to the four corners of the world, to the heart of the greatest operatic events: festivals, extraordinary performances, events that cannot be missed by any music lover...)

At a morphological level, the second person pronoun *vous* ('you') is used to directly address anyone who reads the text: according to Benveniste's theory of

enunciation (1970), a deictic pronoun produces a continuous effort to identify the elements of the context. From a lexical point of view, the verb *guide* ('guides') intensifies the promotional function of this utterance: the audience is seduced by the fact that the agency will take care of everything during the journey. By means of these features, combined with the present indicative tense (the mode of certainty) and the use of axiological terms (see Section 3.3), the agency takes responsibility not only for the organization of the trip, but also for its success. In this way the audience is relieved and feels free to leave home without worrying about anything.

The audience's adhesion is also indirectly elicited by certain expressions giving an affective value to the utterances, such as *en toute intimité* ('in full intimacy'). The connotative meaning attached to such words and phrases evokes in the audience a sense of familiarity which makes its members feel at ease. Whoever identifies himself with such a state is much more inclined to be persuaded by the message.

All these strategies aim to satisfy the public's needs in order to influence its behaviour. The same purpose is pursued by the logical implication hidden behind the following phrase:

7. *festivals, représentations exceptionnelles, rendez-vous incontournables de tous les mélomanes...*

(festivals, extraordinary performances, events that cannot be missed by any music lover...)

If we paraphrase the statement *rendez-vous incontournables de tous les mélomanes* by *tous les mélomanes ne peuvent pas manquer ces rendez-vous*⁵ ('no music lover can miss these events'), its implicit meaning is easier to grasp:

8. *Qui manque ces rendez-vous, n'est pas un vrai mélomane.*

(Whoever misses these events is not a true music lover.)

Once again, they play on the presumed identification between the public and the ideal profile of a true melomane, as results from the 'modus tollens' rule:

9. If *P*, then *Q*.
Not *Q*.
Therefore, not *P*.⁶

In order to gain the audience's trust, the senders of the message do not ignore the traditional techniques of the 'ars oratoria'. The text below is an example of 'captatio benevolentiae':

10. *Après tant d'années, tant de voyages, rien n'est perdu de notre envie de vous plaire et de poursuivre la belle aventure!*

(After so many years, so many journeys, nothing has changed in our desire to please you and to continue our beautiful adventure!)

⁵ It is worthy of note that the universal quantifier *tous* allows an interpretation in logical terms: $\forall x, Px \rightarrow Qx$ (where *P* stands for *être mélomane* and *Q* stands for *ne pas pouvoir manquer ces rendez-vous*).

⁶ In logical terms:

$$\frac{P \rightarrow Q, \neg Q}{\neg P}$$

Here, the senders communicate their will to be still attractive to the public and to continue doing the work they began many years before; the illocutionary force of the utterance is boosted by certain rhetorical devices, such as anaphora (*tant d'.../tant de...*) and litotes (*rien n'est perdu*). Generally used to neutralize a negative aspect, the litotes seems to go against the main techniques of the advertising discourse, which consist in emphasising the tourism product. Nevertheless, litotes, as well as euphemisms (Bonhomme 2009), can be useful to promote a commercial offer. In (10), for example, the litotes has the rhetorical effect of emphasizing what could also be said in the following way:

10'. *Après tant d'années, tant de voyages, nous avons encore envie de vous plaire et de poursuivre la belle aventure!*

(After so many years, so many journeys, we still wish to please you and to continue our beautiful adventure!)

The litotes in (10), which has “the form of a negative phrase or statement used to express the opposite” (Wales 2001, p. 239), expresses the same meaning as (10'). So why should there be a rhetorical device? Since ancient times, figures of speech such as litotes have been used not only to embellish a speech, but also to serve an argumentative purpose. In pragmatic terms, it is evident that the illocutionary force of the utterance is much stronger in (10) than in (10'). If we paraphrase the expression *Après tant d'années, tant de voyages* as follows:

11. *Beaucoup d'années se sont écoulés et nous avons organisé beaucoup de voyages*

(Many years have passed and we have organized many journeys)

it would perhaps be possible to conclude from this premise that:

12. *Nous n'avons plus envie de faire ce travail.*

(We don't want to do this job anymore.)

On the contrary, this possible inference is contradicted by:

13. *rien n'est perdu de notre envie de vous plaire et de poursuivre la belle aventure!*

(nothing has changed in our desire to please you and to continue our beautiful adventure!)

In this case, the rhetorical effect produced by litotes is enhanced by the presence of presuppositions. Following Ducrot, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1986) attaches great importance to what is presupposed: her analysis goes beyond what is explicitly asserted, to underline the manipulatory power of implicit meanings. If we look again at example (10), at least two different presuppositions can be identified:

14. */Beaucoup d'années se sont écoulées et nous avons organisé beaucoup de voyages./*

(Many years have passed and we have organized many journeys.)

15. */Jusqu'à présent, nous avons voulu vous plaire et poursuivre la belle aventure./*

(Until now, we have always wanted to please you and to continue our beautiful adventure.)

Both (14) and (15) remain true even if the content expressed by (10) was denied:

10'. *Après tant d'années, tant de voyages, nous n'avons plus envie de vous plaire ni de poursuivre la belle aventure!*

(After so many years, so many journeys, we don't wish to please you anymore, nor to continue our beautiful adventure!)

This is why presuppositions have a strong effect on the audience: they cannot be disputed; at the same time, they contribute to create “a zone of consensus”⁷ (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986, p. 30) among interactants.

The efficacy of these implicit meanings is enhanced by the repetition of the adverb of quantity, which precedes the lexical opposition between a great quantity, (*tant de* ‘many’), and a quantity equal to zero, (*rien* ‘nothing’), so that the anaphoric effect blends with the litotes. Besides the semantic contrast *tant de/rien*, there is also an opposition at the level of signifier by applying the concept of “contre-répétition” (Cornulier 2007, p. 24) to the expression *tant d'années, tant de voyages*. The formal difference between the sound image of *années* and that of *voyage* is emphasized thanks to the *fond d'équivalence* in the pair *tant d'.../tant de...*

Another oppositional pair can be identified at the morphological level: if we look at the personal pronoun system in (10), it is evident that the first plural person (adj. *notre* (‘our’)) contrasts with the second plural person (pron. *vous* (‘you’)). In rhetorical terms, they constitute references respectively to the senders and to the audience of a tourism discourse conceived in argumentative terms. On the contrary, the following example – drawn from the same text – shows a different use of the first plural person:

16. *Que partagerons-nous dans cette nouvelle brochure?*

(What shall we share in this new brochure?)

Here *nous* (‘we’) refers to the *nous inclusif* (‘inclusive we’). In Benveniste’s theory of enunciation (1966, p. 233), this pronoun has two possible values depending on whether its reference includes the addressee or not. In this case, the choice of the inclusive *we*, together with the verb *partager* (‘to share’), aims at involving the audience in order to win its trust. Furthermore, the partial question based on the interrogative adverb *que* (‘what’) lets us presuppose there is something to be shared. Once again the promotional purpose is achieved through several linguistic strategies, which include at least the lexical, morphological and pragmatic levels of discourse. Even punctuation marks are sometimes used to gain the audience’s attention and interest as appears in the following examples:

17. *L'été enfin ne saurait être complet sans les rendez-vous français [...] dont l'éblouissante programmation promet [...] une « Tosca » [...] dans le cadre magique du Théâtre antique...*

(Finally, the summer wouldn't be complete without French events [...] whose stunning programme promises [...] a Tosca [...] in the magical framework of the ancient theatre...)

⁷ My translation.

18. *la formule Europera [...] vous rend disponible le meilleur de la programmation musicale à la Scala de Milan, à la Fenice de Venise, au Teatro Real de Madrid...*

(The Europera formula [...] makes available to you the best of the musical programmes at La Scala in Milan, at La Fenice in Venice, at the Teatro Real in Madrid...)

2. *Ensemble, redécouvrons les facettes du compositeur classique et romantique, polonais et français, mondain et mélancolique, virtuose et poète du piano...*

(Let's rediscover together the facets of the composer who is at the same time classical and romantic, Polish and French, sociable and melancholy, a virtuoso and poet of the piano...)

Here suspension points are used to evoke several things, such as the magic of Ancient Times (17) or simply an infinite list (18), (2). In both cases, the sender plays on the addressee's desire to dream and to personalize his journey, as if fulfilling his expectations were as simple as completing the open list... In many cases suspension points follow an adjective in the superlative form:

19. *Être soulagés des contingences matérielles et ne garder que le meilleur du voyage...*

(Being relieved of your material necessities and thinking only of the best aspects of your journey...)

20. *Florilège de ce que les grandes maisons lyriques offrent de meilleur et de plus inaccessible...*

(Anthology of the best and most inaccessible work that the great opera houses can offer...)

21. *Nous poussons les portes les plus secrètes [...] par quelque personnalité de grand renom...*

(We open the most secret doors [...] through some very famous personalities...)

In such examples punctuation serves to underline the effects of another linguistic strategy designed to persuade the audience and which will be discussed in the next section: that of providing an attractive description of the travel agency, as well as of tourist destinations and musical personalities. In terms of Jakobson's communication model (1960), the description of both addresser and context are thus improved in order to please the addressee and convince him/her to become a potential client. After studying audience identification and involvement strategies, the next section will show some of the arguments used to persuade the audience.

3.3 The enhancement of the tourism product and of its promoter

Once again there are many similarities between tourism discourse and advertising discourse. This relationship has already been studied by a number of French linguists, among whom is to be counted Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004). She suggests that the discourse of tourist guide books and the discourse of advertising are both based on the following inference (*ibidem*, p.135):

22. *X est bien (il possède tels attributs positifs) → consommez X*

(X is good (it has such and such positive features) → buy X)

The travel designer *La Fugue – Europera* implements this strategy through a series of linguistic devices, including figures of speech, marks of subjectivity, determiners, and connotation.

For example, in *La Fugue*'s website, many toponyms should be analysed as a 'totum pro parte' metonymy, as in the following cases:

23. *Salzbourg fait valoir son rang en convoquant les plus grands orchestres, chefs et solistes du moment.*

(Salzbourg proves its value by inviting the greatest orchestras, conductors and soloists of the day.)

24. *Santa Fe [...] célèbre en musique le 400e anniversaire de sa fondation.*

(Santa Fe [...] is celebrating its 400th foundation anniversary through music.)

25. *Prague d'abord demande à être redécouverte, avec les magnifiques châteaux de Bohême qui l'entourent.*

(Prague first needs to be rediscovered, with the magnificent Bohemian castles that surround it.)

The actions expressed by the verbs *faire valoir*, *convoquer*, *célébrer* and *demander* are generally characteristic of living creatures; so (23), (24) and (25) can also be interpreted as if the place-names were the result of an anthropomorphic metaphor. The figurative meaning can even be conveyed by means of words belonging to the semantic fields of religion (26) and initiation (27):

26. *A Bayreuth, le pèlerinage en terres wagnériennes justifié par la ferveur quasi religieuse qui entoure « Parsifal » et « Les Maîtres chanteurs » une escapade en Bavière....*

(At Bayreuth the pilgrimage through Wagnerian territory, with the almost religious fervour surrounding *Parsifal* and *The Mastersingers*, warrant a short excursion to Bavaria ...)

27. *Nous poussons les portes les plus secrètes et initions aux mystères de cultures fascinantes par quelque personnalité de grand renom...*

(We open the most secret doors and we initiate you into the mysteries of fascinating cultures through some very famous personalities...)

Through this technique, which may be considered as a kind of extended metaphor, the sender makes his musical travels sacred, thus persuading the audience to agree with him/her.

With a view to the same purpose, one of the most common strategies employed is the use of marks of subjectivity, such as axiological terms, mainly adjectives. The axiological lexicon has the capacity to express judgments of value, since it belongs to the class of evaluative terms (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1980). It is easy to guess that in the field of advertising discourse, positive judgement plays the main role. According to Kerbrat-Orecchioni's model (*ibidem*), there exist intrinsically axiological terms, which express a judgment of value apart from the context of production. It is this class of axiological terms which is the most widely represented in the *La Fugue* website, as the following examples show. The examples include adjectives in their basic form (*beaux, exceptionnelles, extraordinaire* ('beautiful, exceptional, extraordinary')), superlative adjectives (*les plus grands, les plus prometteurs, meilleur* ('the greatest, the most promising, the best')), nouns (*beauté, florilège, meilleur* ('beauty, anthology, best')), noun phrases (*charme envoûtant, une pléiade d'artistes d'exception* ('enchanting charm, a pleiad of exceptional artists')), and adverbs (*superbement* ('superbly')). Conversely, some words become axiological on the basis of a "contagion cotextuelle" (*ibidem*, p. 78): such a phenomenon consists in a transfer of meaning from positively connoted terms to other elements that otherwise would be considered as evaluative, but not axiological. An example may be found in the term *immenses* ('immense'), an adjective taking its axiological value from the noun which precedes it: *chefs-d'oeuvre immenses* ('immense masterpiece').

Notwithstanding the absence of any deictic marker, these examples show that *La Fugue – Europera* is engaged in expressing a value judgment concerning its products. But what happens when its strong presence is referred to by a third person pronoun? Though masked by an aura of objectivity, there are linguistic features that may reveal the main purpose of the travel designer:

28. Le créateur de voyages musicaux et culturels

(The musical and cultural travel designer)

The choice of a definite article allows us to see the emphasis on a positive quality of *La Fugue – Europera* in the utterance (28). Indeed, this kind of determiner is considered by most linguists⁸ as a way to convey an idea of existence and uniqueness.

Besides suggesting uniqueness, or even superiority, the texts analysed reveal some of the other positive qualities of the people working for the travel agency, such as their engagement and credibility. If we look at the closing phrase of the presentation text:

29. *Bien fidèlement vôtres,
Frédéric Pfeffer, Olivier Luciani
et l'équipe de La Fugue*

(Sincerely yours,
Frédéric Pfeffer, Olivier Luciani
And the La Fugue team)

⁸ See for example Riegel, Pellat & Rioul (1994) and Arrivé, Gadet & Galmiche (1986).

we can immediately perceive that the possessive pronoun *vôtres* ('yours'), and the modifier *bien fidèlement*, indicates that the agency is at the service of its clients and that a sense of fidelity and confidence underlies this relationship.⁹ The argumentation previously developed is therefore reinforced by the presence of proper nouns, which convey the ideas of personal involvement and of the assumption of responsibility. The authors of the text are also involved from an emotional point of view, as the use of the exclamation mark in (10) shows:

10. *Après tant d'années, tant de voyages, rien n'est perdu de notre envie de vous plaire et de poursuivre la belle aventure!*

In order to convince the audience of the positive qualities of the travel agency, the argumentation focuses on its long-term experience:

30. *Voyager, découvrir, rencontrer – ces mots ont-ils encore un sens ? C'est le pari que fait la Fugue en explorant avec son savoir-faire coutumier les mille et un mondes qui se déploient par delà nos horizons culturels et musicaux traditionnels.*

(Travelling, discovering, encountering – do these words still have a meaning? This is the gamble that la Fugue is taking, by exploring, with its customary savoir faire, the thousand and one worlds lying beyond our traditional cultural and musical horizons.)

The adjective *coutumier* ('customary'), which follows and modifies the phrase *avec son savoir-faire*, strengthens the positive image conveyed by the whole website, besides allowing another presupposition:

31. */La Fugue a, et a toujours eu, un certain savoir-faire./*

(/La Fugue has, and has always had, a certain savoir faire./)

So the audience is persuaded to trust the travel agency, not only by being made to admire its courage in betting on travels and discoveries, but also by identifying itself with the will to explore something that goes beyond traditional limits. The potential client is thus invited to dream and to project his expectations onto a fairy world. Once again, the sharing of premises between the sender and the audience is realised through an attentive use of the inclusive we ('nos horizons'). However, the pronoun system also creates some ambiguity: on the one hand, the first person pronoun includes both the addressees of the message and its author; on the other hand *La Fugue* is referred to by the third person (what Benveniste 1966, p. 256, calls "non-personne"). This formal contradiction may be interpreted as a technique aimed at keeping the correct distance from *La Fugue* and, at the same time, as a way to express a certain complicity with the audience. Through an ambiguity created at an enunciative level, the same perlocutionary purpose is achieved. At the rhetorical level, example (30) is based on the evocative dimension of the three infinitives *voyager, découvrir, rencontrer*: the rhetorical question which follows them, besides performing the traditional function of stating something through questioning, shows that it is apparently possible to negotiate the meaning of the sentence. The well-constructed image of the travel agency is therefore completed by another positive feature, i.e. the dialogic perspective, which supplies the missing piece to complete the puzzle.

⁹ The interpretation of this pronoun as a shifter is not evident in English, because it is delexicalised.

All the examples given in the present section (3.3) belong to a category where the utterances not only have an informative purpose, but also let the audience know that the author of the message believes in what s/he is stating and arguing. Thanks to the atmosphere of complicity – deliberately created by the addresser through various linguistic techniques – the audience is disposed to believe in the same supposed truth.

4. Conclusions

This paper has tried to show how, in the *La Fugue* website, perlocutionary effect is pursued through different linguistic strategies, and how a persuasive intent is hidden behind text that seems merely descriptive. It is worth noting that both lexicon and morphology, besides pragmatical and rhetorical techniques, contribute to the realization of this aim, thus making tourism discourse very similar to the discourse of advertising. Moreover, many texts seem to have an argumentative dimension which derives from the presence of a speaking subject trying to appeal to the members of its audience and to persuade them to become tourists and customers.

In order to present such communicative complexity as clearly as possible, the linguistic strategies adopted in the website have been classified into three groups related to the identification of the audience (Section 3.1), to the involvement of the audience (Section 3.2), and to the enhancement of the tourism product and its promoter (Section 3.3). As already mentioned above, such a classification has its limits, mainly due to the difficulty of separating utterances in a clear-cut way. Notwithstanding such difficulties, this research could be a first step in a wider study taking into account a contrastive dimension. Indeed, it would be interesting to analyse a corpus of parallel texts dealing with music tourism, but at the present time the lack of sources for the French-Italian language pair does not allow this kind of approach. In a perspective where translation is considered from a pragmatic point of view, it would be necessary to study in depth how the target text could produce the same persuasive effects as the source text, and how it is possible to attain what Leo Hickey calls “perlocutionary equivalence” (2004, p. 61).

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DESCRIBING THROUGH THE FIVE SENSES

A contrastive socio-cultural and linguistic analysis of Italian and British tourist websites

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1. Introduction

Tourism is one of the fastest growing economic sectors in the world. As reported by the UNWTO Secretary General Taleb Rifai (2013), in 1950, 25 million tourists travelled internationally but in 2012, one billion international tourists travelled the world, and around five billions more travelled domestically within their own countries. According to Pike (2008, p. 2), most tourism activities take place at destinations which must compete for attention in markets which are cluttered with the messages of substitute products and of rival places. The most important organizations in the field of development and promotion of tourist destinations are the Destination Marketing Organizations which aim to balance and integrate the interests of visitors, service providers, and the community, in the promotion of a tourist destination (DMAI 2008).¹

Tourist locations and tourist facilities often promote and distribute their tourist products using the Internet. Bonel (2005) outlines advantages and disadvantages in the use of the Internet as a multilevel instrument for commercial relations. Advantages for tour operators are globalization, lower intermediation costs, and marketing 1 to 1; advantages for travel agencies are an improved communication with tour operators and customers, and the possibility of specialization. Finally, advantages for customers are cheaper prices, a wider range of choice, and constantly updated information on destinations and offers.

However, the creation of a promotional website for tourist products is far from being an easy task. In fact, the target of tourist promotion is almost always international and multicultural, and this involves the presence of several cultural determinants in the promotion process. Ethnocentricity is always a risk in cross-cultural marketing activities, because those strategies that are successful in a country (or within a culture) do not always work abroad (or in a different culture) (see Prime 2003).

For this reason, this paper performs a linguistic and cultural analysis of the strategies adopted (and that should be adopted) by British and Italian tourist facilities, such as farmhouse holidays, hotels and campsites in their websites. The methodological approach used for the analysis (Manca 2008; 2009; 2012) starts from the identification of word patterns according to a Corpus Linguistics approach (Sinclair 1991, 1996; Tognini Bonelli 2002) and interprets the functionally complete units of meaning thus identified, through the cultural filters elaborated by Intercultural Studies theorists (Hall 1989; Hofstede 1991, 2001; Katan 2004, 2006). The node words considered for analysis belong to the semantic field of the five senses which, as evidence suggests, are frequently used by Italian tourist websites to promote tourist products.

¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Destination_marketing (6.2.2013).

Results will show that Italian and British tourist websites have two different approaches to tourist promotion and that language and culture are strictly interrelated.

2. Corpus Linguistics and Cross-cultural studies

This paragraph provides the description of the theoretical framework used to interpret the relationship between culture and the socio-linguistic representation of a tourist destination.

According to Corpus Linguistics, words do not occur at random in a text but there are sets of linguistic choices that can be seen as large-scale conditioning choices (Sinclair 1991:10). For example, the word *views* in the language of tourism is associated with frequent linguistic choices such as the adjectives *panoramic*, *spectacular*, *magnificent*, *wonderful*, *stunning*, *beautiful*, *lovely*, *brehtaking*, *superb*, *fine*, *outstanding*, *excellent*, *splendid*, *great*, *uninterrupted*, the verbs *enjoy*, *have* and *command*, and the prepositions *of* and *over* (Manca 2012). These adjectives and verbs act as conditioning choices in the use of *views*. Every word has a tendency to co-occur frequently with other words, with grammatical categories, with one or more semantic fields and to perform a definite pragmatic function. Sinclair (1996) calls these different types of co-occurrence collocation, colligation, semantic preference and semantic prosody, respectively; in his view they are the four steps towards the definition of a unit of meaning. In fact, Sinclair (*ibidem*) does not accept the word as the basic unit of meaning, because words acquire their meaning from their linguistic co-text. For example, in the language of tourism, the word *views* acquires its meaning from the adjectives, verbs, and prepositions listed above.

The analysis described in this paper follows the methodological approach proposed by Tognini Bonelli and Manca (2002) and by Manca (2012). This approach consists of four steps: the first step aims to identify the collocates, colligates, semantic preference and semantic prosody of the L1 node words chosen for analysis. Once the units of meaning in which these words are embedded are identified, they are compared and contrasted to their L2 counterparts. This comparison aims to identify functional translation equivalents across the two languages and differences or similarities in the usage of equivalent words. However, two words, which are provided as equivalent by dictionaries, may show to be functionally different and/or to have different frequencies, collocates, colligates, semantic preference and semantic prosody. At this point, in order to find the closer translation equivalent of the initial node word, the analysis considers the collocates of the initial node word and the L2 translation equivalents of those collocates. This step is required because, as often happens, the same concept may be associated, in different languages, with words which are not provided as equivalent by reference books. For example, Manca (2004) shows that the Italian word *natura* in the language of *agriturismi* websites frequently occurs with the adjectives *circostante*, *intatta*, *incontaminata*, with the semantic field of beauty and with the semantic field of sounds (for example, *la bellezza della natura* and *il silenzio della natura*). Conversely, the English word *nature* – provided by dictionaries as the translation equivalent of *natura* – mainly occurs as modifier of nouns such as *trail* and *reserve*. However, a look at the English equivalents of the Italian collocates of *natura* (that is to say *surrounding*, *unspoilt*, *beauty/beautiful*, *sounds*, *silence*, etc.) reveals the presence of a frequent collocate

which is functionally similar to *natura*, that is to say *countryside*. For this reason, in the language of tourism, the functional translation of *natura incontaminata* is the English *unspoilt countryside*.

As said above, constraints on the use of words are not only lexical, but also cultural. This means that the identification of translation equivalents at the linguistic level is not enough to convey the meaning of the source message into the target language. Cultural orientations should also be taken into account, in order to adapt concepts and messages and make them more accessible to the target culture.

Cultural orientations are a culture's tendency towards a particular way of perceiving: reality within a specific culture will be distorted, generalized and deleted to suit the cultural orientation (Katan 2004, p. 230). Following mainly Kluckhohn (1961), Hofstede (1991) and Hall (1982, 1983), Brake *et al.* (1995, p. 39) suggest the presence of ten general orientations: Action; Communication; Environment; Time; Space; Power; Individualism; Competitiveness; Structure; and Thinking. These ten orientations are perceived and interpreted differently by different cultures.

The first five orientations of the ten listed above are clearly visible in the way tourist facilities, services, and offers are described. However, for lack of space, only the first four orientations will be discussed in this paper.

As Katan (2004, p. 316) explains, the orientation of Action has at one end of the cline the Being, corresponding to the state, to the non-action, and at the other extreme the Doing, which corresponds to the action. The Being orientation operates at the level of identity (you are what you do), whereas the Doing orientation separates the level of behavior from the level of identity (you are and you do). The implications on language can be visible, for example, in the features of transactional communication. Cultures tending towards the Being do not separate identity and behavior and will use more personal feelings and opinions in communication; conversely, cultures which show a tendency towards the Doing will communicate using facts, rather than feelings and opinions.

In the language of tourism, the tendency of the Italian culture is towards the Being orientation and this can be seen in most descriptions, such as those referring to the activities that can be enjoyed by visitors: *Pedalare immersi nella quiete antica* (lit. transl.: 'Cycling immersed in ancient peacefulness'). The idea of cycling immersed in a timeless scenario undoubtedly conveys more feelings than facts. Conversely, the British culture tends more towards the Doing orientation, as can be seen in the example *Set in beautiful Exmoor countryside with 10 miles of woodland walks*, where facts prevail over feelings.

The orientation of Communication refers to the way in which High Context Cultures and Low Context Cultures tend to communicate (Hall and Reed Hall 1989, p. 6ff). Different cultures have differing priorities with regard to how much information needs to be made explicit in communication (Katan 2004, p. 245). In High Context Cultures, how something is said is more important than what is actually said: saying that if you book your holiday in an Italian *agriturismo* you will cycle immersed in ancient peacefulness is more important than knowing that there are miles of cycling trails. The concept is the same, but HCCs prefer the former description, while LCCs prefer the latter. In fact, in LCCs, words are more important than the intended meaning.

The perception of the environment may also vary from culture to culture. Some cultures may think they control the environment, other cultures may feel to be in harmony with it, and still, others may feel subordinate to the environment. In

the language of tourism, the different perception of the environment of the British culture and of the Italian culture can be seen again in the use of the words *natura* and *nature* (Manca 2004). In the Italian tourist websites, the beauty of a place is described through the use of nouns which emphasise nature as a positive entity to love and to be part of. In fact, one of its most frequent collocates is the word *contatto* ('contact') used in the phrase *a contatto con la natura* ('in contact with nature'). Similar in meaning, the other frequent collocates are *immerso* and *immersione* ('immersed'; 'immersion'), *all'insegna di*, as in *un soggiorno all'insegna della natura* (this latest expression cannot be literally translated into English; it basically means that nature will be the main feature of your holiday) and *nel rispetto della natura* ('respecting nature').

In the British tourist websites, a more concrete noun, *countryside*, is preferred to *nature*. *Countryside* is never used in association with the concept of contact or immersion, nor with the word *respect* or similar nouns. It is simply used to describe the place where the facility is set and is associated with many qualifying adjectives. It is never described as a positive entity governing people's lives.

The cultural orientation of Time also shows some differences in the two cultures. In the Italian language of tourism (Manca 2011) tradition and past times tend to be central, as can be seen in the frequent patterns *ritrovare/scoprire/rivivere il passato* ('to find again'/'discover'/'live again the past'), *un tuffo nel passato* ('a dive into the past'), *secondo la tradizione* ('according to tradition'), and *nel rispetto della tradizione* ('respecting tradition'), just to name a few examples. These language patterns show the tendency of the Italian culture towards a more past-oriented idea of time, where the past is something people should learn from and where tradition should be considered as something to be continued into the future. In the British language of tourism, tradition and past are not similarly central. In the collocational profile of *traditional* and *ancient*, frequent collocates are concrete nouns such as nouns referring to farm buildings, *breakfast*, *woodland* and *town*; in the collocational profiles of *tradition*, *past* and *time/s* there are neither frequent nor interesting results. The British perspective on time tends to focus on and give importance to the present.

3. Promotion and the five senses: the analysis

As mentioned above, the analysis proposed in this paper concentrates on the way words and phrases belonging to the semantic field of the five senses are used to describe holidays and locations. The choice of this semantic field is motivated by the frequent presence of items of this type in the description of holiday offers in Italian websites.

The data used for analysis are derived from three sets of comparable corpora of tourist websites promoting holidays in British farmhouse holidays and Italian *agriturismi*, in British hotels and Italian *alberghi*, and in British campsites and Italian *campeggi*.

Table 1 summarizes the features of the corpora used in the present analysis.²

² Although the size of the *Campeggi* corpus is twice the size of the Camping Holidays corpus, this does not affect comparability in that general conclusions on the results achieved take into account this difference in size.

	Running words	Text types	Time span
Agriturismo Corpus	600,000	Italian websites of farmhouse holidays	from 2001 to 2006
Farmhouse Holidays Corpus	700,000	British websites of farmhouse holidays	from 2001 to 2006
Alberghi Corpus	80,000	Italian websites of hotels	from 2001 to 2007
Hotel Corpus	80,000	British websites of hotels	from 2001 to 2007
Campeggi Corpus	110,000	Italian websites of camping holidays	from 2001 to 2007
Camping Holidays Corpus	52,000	British websites of camping holidays	from 2001 to 2007

Table 1
The corpora used in the current study

Comparable corpora are constituted by one or more sets of corpora in different languages and are comparable because they contain similar text types. These texts are all in their original language and no translations are included.

As said above, the semantic field of the five senses is frequently used in the descriptions provided by Italian tourist websites and, for this reason, the analysis will start from Italian node words and consider English translation equivalents, in order to compare and contrast the use of nouns and adjectives referring to the five senses. Only the most frequent items semantically linked to the senses of sight, smell, taste, hearing and touch will be considered for analysis.

The Italian items considered for analysis are: *colore/i* ('colour/s'), *verde* ('green'), *profumo/i* ('perfume/s', 'scent/s'), *odore/i* ('odour/s'), *sapore/i* ('flavour/s', 'tastes'), *silenzio/i* ('silence/s') and *immerso* ('immersed').

The analysis will first consider the sense of sight with the noun *colore/i* ('colour/s') and the colour *verde* ('green'), the latter in its substantival and adjectival functions.

3.1 *Colore* ('colour')

In the *Agriturismo* corpus, the singular noun *colore* occurs 50 times and it is always used to describe the wines and olive oil which are produced and sold by the farmhouses. The plural noun *colori* also occurs 50 times, but, interestingly, it shows a different collocational profile from its singular form; it collocates with:

- *sapori* ('flavours' - 11 times);
- *profumi* ('perfumes'/ 'scents' - 5 times);
- *paesaggi* ('views' - 4 times);
- *luci* ('lights' - 3 times);
- *ricche di* ('rich of' - 5 times).

These collocations almost always refer to the surroundings, as visible in the examples in Figure 1.

elle piante mediterranee dove l'ambiente ricco di colori e profumi trasmette una
All'ombra dei cipressi e fra i colori degli oleandri, in un
o gli stupendi paesaggi lungo la costa e i magici colori creati dai fenomenali
ndo la primavera colora la valle con i suoi mille colori, lo spettacolo diviene
uole evadere dalle realtà urbane e immergersi nei colori e nell'ambiente collinare
nti una guida alla scoperta di paesaggi, sapori e colori di una delle terre più

Figure 1
The noun *colori* in the Italian corpus of *Agriturismo*

In the *Alberghi* corpus the noun *colori* occurs 43 times. In most instances, this item is used to describe the decorations of the rooms in the hotel. Furthermore, it is used to describe views and surroundings (8 times), and collocates with *TV* (4 times). The singular form *colore* occurs less frequently, with 11 entries, and it is used in the description of both the rooms and of the surroundings.

The noun *colori* occurs 30 times in the *Campeggi* corpus. Apart from 2 entries referring to colour TV, the item has a varied collocational profile but it is almost always used to describe the surroundings. In fact, it refers to beaches, sunsets, nature, places, views, seas, oasis, autumn, countryside, coasts, and so on. The singular form *colore* occurs 6 times and in most instances refers to the sea and the area.

In the British Farmhouse Corpus, the noun *colours* occurs only 9 times and mainly refers to the colours used to decorate bedrooms and bathrooms. The singular *colour* is more frequent but it is always used as an adjective of *television*/*TV*. There are no instances referring to the description of the surroundings.

The same happens in the Hotels corpus, where the item *colour* occurs 68 times and collocates with *TV* or *television* (64 times) and with *schemes* (4 times). The plural *colours* occurs 9 times and always refers to the colours used in the bedrooms.

In the Camping Holidays corpus, *colour* has 9 entries and, as expected, it always refers to *colour TV*. The plural *colours* occurs only once.

Table 2 summarizes the results obtained so far for *colore* and *colori* and their English translation equivalents.

	Semantic fields collocating with <i>colore/i</i>		Semantic fields collocating with <i>colour/s</i>
<i>Agriturismo</i> corpus	- <i>vino, olio</i> - surroundings	Farmhouse Holidays corpus	- rooms - domestic appliances (<i>TV/Television</i>)
<i>Alberghi</i> corpus	- rooms - surroundings	Hotels corpus	- rooms - domestic appliances (<i>TV/Television</i>)
<i>Campeggi</i> corpus	- surroundings	Camping Holidays corpus	- domestic appliances (<i>TV/Television</i>)

Table 2.
Semantic fields collocating with *colore/i* and *colour/s* in the six corpora

The Italian *colore* and its plural are mainly used in association with the semantic field of surroundings and only in the *Alberghi* corpus they are also used to describe rooms. Conversely, the English *colour* and its plural are always used to describe rooms and as an adjective of *television* and are never used to describe the surroundings.

3.2 Verde ('green')

The other item chosen for analysis is *verde* ('green'). This item can be used both as a noun and as an adjective. It occurs 280 times in the Italian corpus of

Agriturismi. Interestingly, as a noun, it collocates 73 times with the item *immerso* ('immersed'). Other less frequent items are:

- *passeggiate* ('walks' - 4 times);
- *turismo* ('tourism' - 4 times);
- *silenzio* ('silence' - 3 times);
- *spazio* ('space'; 'area');
- *oasi* ('oasis');
- *collina* ('hill');
- *zona* ('area');
- *paesaggio* ('view');
- *prato* ('grass');
- *parco* ('park').

The plural form, *verdi*, is used only as an adjective and mainly occurs with *colline* ('hills', 17 times), *spazi* ('areas', 10 times), and *vacanze* ('holidays', 5 times).

In the *Alberghi* corpus the item *verde* in its substantival and adjectival functions occurs 84 times. As a noun, it collocates 28 times with *immerso* and its declensions; variations of this pattern are constituted by *circondate dal verde* ('surrounded by the green'), *incastonate nel verde* ('set in the green'; the meaning of *incastonato* in Italian has to do with setting precious stones in jewels), *avvolte nel verde* ('enshrined by the green'), *incorniciate nel verde* ('framed in the green') and *nel verde di* ('in the green of') followed by items referring to parks, wood, hills, and so on. Other collocates are: *oasi* ('oasis'), *giardino* ('garden'), *terrazzo* ('terrace'), *valle* ('valley') and geographical names. Its plural declension *verdi* has 8 entries and frequently co-occurs with *colline*.

In the *Campeggi* corpus the item *verde* occurs 119 times and it mainly occurs as a noun. As in the *Agriturismi* and in the *Alberghi* corpus, this item is frequently embedded in the pattern *immerso nel verde* with 50 entries (including all the declensions of *immerso*). Some variations are *circondato dal verde* ('surrounded by the green'), *racchiuso nel verde* ('enclosed by the green'), *inserito nel verde* ('inserted in the green'), *a contatto con il verde* ('in contact with the green') and *in mezzo al verde* ('in the middle of the green'). Other collocates are *oasi* ('oasis'), *parco* ('park'), *alberi* ('trees'), *boschi* ('woods'), *campagna* ('countryside'), *colline* ('hills').

The phrase *immerso nel verde* is an example of context-oriented description where the reference to the sense of touch (*immerso*) and of sight (*verde*) contribute to conveying more feelings than facts.

In the British Farmhouse Corpus, the item *green* occurs 100 times. It is mainly used as an adjective and collocates with: *lane*, *fields*, *roads*, *woodlands*, *pasturelands*, *hills*, *spaces*, *vale*, *trees*, *countryside*. As can be seen from its collocational profile, there is no equivalence with the highly frequent Italian phrase *immerso nel verde* ('immersed in the green') and the English usage of *green* is obviously more concrete due to its adjectival function and the co-occurrence with concrete items.

In the Hotels corpus, *green* has 11 entries. It is used to qualify the surroundings in 4 entries and it is never used as a noun as its Italian counterpart is.

In the Camping Holidays corpus, *green* occurs 6 times. It collocates with *fees* 3 times and only twice with *fields*. It is never used as a noun.

	Semantic fields collocating with <i>verde/i</i>		Semantic fields collocating with <i>green</i> (adj.)

	(n. and adj.)		
<i>Agriturismo</i> corpus	- surroundings (<i>immerso nel verde</i>)	Farmhouse Holidays corpus	- surroundings
<i>Alberghi</i> corpus	- surroundings (<i>immerso nel verde</i>)	Hotels corpus	- surroundings
<i>Campeggi</i> corpus	- surroundings (<i>immerso nel verde</i>)	Camping Holidays corpus	- surroundings

Table 3
Semantic fields collocating with *verde/i* and *green* in the six corpora

Although both the Italian and the English nouns (*verde-green*) are used to describe the surroundings, in English *green* is almost always used as an adjective and never occurs in patterns which may be considered as translation equivalents of *immerso nel verde*. The frequent occurrence of this Italian pattern well exemplifies the Action, Communication and Environment orientations. The idea of an immersion in the nature describes the tendency of the Italian culture to have a subordinated approach to nature. The description through the senses of touch and sight shows the Italian tendency towards the Being orientation (you are what you do) and the High-Context-Culture features where how something is said is more important than what is said.

3.3 Profumo and odore ('perfume', 'scent' and 'odour')

The analysis continues with the sense of smell, particularly with the items *profumo/i* and *odore/i*. The singular noun *profumo* occurs 40 times and refers to wines, olive oil, and less frequently to the surroundings. The plural *profumi* ('perfumes'; 'scents') occurs 44 times and mainly collocates with:

- *sapori* ('flavours'; 6 times);
- *colori* ('colours'; 6 times);
- *campagna* ('countryside'; 4 times);
- *natura* ('nature'; 4 times).

Similarly, the noun *odori* (odours) occurs 10 times and collocates 4 times with *sapori* ('flavours') and 3 times with *profumi* ('perfumes'; 'scents'). The singular noun *odore* occurs only 5 times and always refers to wine.

In the *Alberghi* corpus *profumo* occurs 5 times and its plural *profumi* occurs 10 times. Although not very frequent, the singular form is quite interesting, in that it is used with reference to *agrumi* ('citrus fruits'), *aranceti* ('orange groves'), *caffè* ('coffee'), *pane* ('bread'), and *mare* ('sea') which may typically represent Italy. The association between these elements and their scent is obviously directed to the feelings of potential customers. The plural form *profumi* occurs 10 times. Its most frequent collocate is *sapori* (4 times). In the remaining instances *profumi* is used to refer to the surroundings and to cooking.

As for *odori* no instances of the singular or plural form are present.

The singular noun *profumo* has 6 entries in the *Campeggi* corpus and always refers to the surroundings. The plural *profumi* occurs 10 times and in most entries it is used with reference to the countryside, nature and the surroundings. In 3 instances it also collocates with items referring to past times as in *profumi di un tempo* ('scents of past times') and *antichi profumi* ('ancient scents').

In the British Farmhouse Corpus, there is only 1 entry for *perfume* and it refers to flowers and no entries for the plural *perfumes*. The same is for *scent* and the plural *scents* which occur only 1 time each. The nouns *odour* and *odours* have no entries. The item *smell* and its plural have also been analysed. The singular noun occurs 3 times and refers to *bluebells* and *freshly baked bread*. Its plural *smells* occurs only twice and in both cases it occurs with *sounds*.

In the Hotels corpus, no entries are found for *perfume* *scent*, or *smells* (and their plural forms).

The same happens in the Camping Holidays corpus, where these three nouns do not appear.

	Semantic fields collocating with <i>profumo/i</i> and <i>odore/i</i>		Semantic fields collocating with <i>perfume/s</i> , <i>scent/s</i> and <i>smell/s</i>
<i>Agriturismo</i> corpus	- surroundings - cooking - food	Farmhouse Holidays corpus	(no frequent entries of these nouns)
<i>Alberghi</i> corpus	- surroundings - cooking - food	Hotels corpus	(no entries of these nouns)
<i>Campeggi</i> corpus	- surroundings - cooking (less frequently)	Camping Holidays corpus	(no entries of these nouns)

Table 4

Semantic fields collocating with *profumo/i*, *odore/i* and *perfume/s*, *scent/s* and *smell/s* in the six corpora

As results show, the nouns *perfume*, *scent* and *smell* are not used in the three British corpora. Conversely, in Italian *profumo* and *odore* are used to describe the surroundings and to talk about cooking and food.

3.4 *Sapore* ('flavour')

The semantic field of taste is described by the noun *sapore/i* ('flavour/s'). The singular noun occurs 58 times and it is mainly used with olive oil, wines, honey and vinegar. In 11 instances it refers to past times with the expressions *sapore antico*, *sapore delle antiche tradizioni*, *sapore del passato* ('ancient flavour'; 'flavour of ancient traditions'; 'flavour of the past'). As a plural noun, *sapori* occurs 72 times. It has a varied collocational profile but it mainly occurs with:

- *antichi* ('ancient' - 19 times);
- *ricchi di* ('rich of', as in *ricchi di sapori* ('rich of flavours') - 4 times);
- *odori* ('odours' - 4 times);
- *colori* ('colours');
- *profumi* ('perfumes');
- *tradizioni* ('traditions');
- *genuini* ('fresh'; 'local').

In the *Alberghi* corpus the noun *sapore* occurs 6 times. Although it is not very frequent, its collocational profile is interesting because in 5 instances it is used to refer to the hotel, as in the expressions *il sapore di una sobria eleganza* ('the flavour of a simple elegance') and *il sapore della familiarità* ('the flavour of familiarity'). The plural noun *sapori* occurs 21 times and has a different

collocational profile. In 9 instances the reference to past times is conveyed by the collocations *sapori antichi* ('ancient flavours'), *sapori della cucina tradizionale* ('flavours of traditional cooking'), *sapori della tradizione* ('flavours of tradition'), *sapori di un tempo* ('flavours of past times'), and *sapori lontani* ('flavours of far times'). Other instances contain collocations with *tipici* ('typical'/'local') and *mediterranei* (Mediterranean).

The noun *sapori* occurs 10 times in the *Campeggi* corpus. It is not very frequent and this is obviously due to the fact that food and local produce do not play a relevant role in the promotion of campsites. In most entries this noun collocates with *tradizione* ('tradition'), *cucina tipica* ('local cuisine'), and with geographical names as in *i sapori unici della Romagna* ('Romagna's unique flavours'). The singular noun *sapore* occurs only 3 times.

In the British Farmhouse Corpus, the singular noun *flavour* occurs 4 times and has no recurring co-occurrences. Its plural *flavours* occurs only 3 times.

Another translation equivalent of the Italian *sapori* may be *taste* which occurs 31 times as a noun. However, it is almost always used metaphorically as in *a taste of Ireland*. The plural *tastes* occurs 17 times and it is mainly used in the expression *to suit all tastes*.

In the Hotels corpus, both *flavour* and *flavours* occur only 2 times. *Taste* occurs 9 times. However, its usage is not interesting for our analysis, in that it is used in expressions such as *to suit any taste* and *taste and style* with reference to decorations. In the collocational profile of the plural *tastes* (occurring 13 times) the expression *to suit all tastes* is even more frequent and constitutes its most frequent collocation.

In the Camping Holidays corpus, *flavour* and its plural are never used and *taste* occurs only once in the singular form and once in the plural form.

	Semantic fields collocating with <i>sapore/i</i>		Semantic fields collocating with <i>flavour/s</i> and <i>taste/s</i>
<i>Agriturismo</i> corpus	- cooking - food - past times	Farmhouse Holidays corpus	- geographical names with <i>taste</i> - (no frequent entries of these nouns)
<i>Alberghi</i> corpus	- cooking - food - past times	Hotels corpus	(no frequent entries of these nouns)
<i>Campeggi</i> corpus	- cooking - past times	Camping Holidays corpus	(no frequent entries of these nouns)

Table 5
Semantic fields collocating with *sapore/i* and *flavour/s* and *taste/s* in the six corpora

As can be seen from the results obtained, there is a mismatch in the frequency and usage of *sapore* and its translation equivalents *flavour* and *taste*. In Italian these nouns are associated with the semantic field of food and cooking and of past times, whereas in English their counterparts are almost absent. The only interesting result in the Farmhouse corpus is the collocation between *taste* and geographical names, where the semantic field of taste is used metaphorically to refer to the area or to food.

3.5 *Silenzio* ('silence')

The last word chosen for analysis is *silenzio* occurring 28 times. Its collocational profile is constituted by the words:

- *natura* ('nature' - 6 entries);
- *verde* ('green' - 5 times);
- *immerso* ('immersed' - 4 instances);
- *campagna* ('countryside' - 3 times).

As visible from the above collocates, *silenzio* is mainly used to metaphorically describe the surroundings.

In the *Alberghi* corpus, the noun *silenzio* occurs 12 times. It always refers to the silence of the surroundings. The plural form occurs only 2 times.

In the *Campeggi* corpus, the noun *silenzio* occurs 28 times. However, in 10 entries it is used in the phrase *ore/orario di silenzio* ('silence time') which refers to a period of time usually going from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. and at night until 7 a.m. where people staying at the campsite are requested to avoid any noise which may disturb the other guests. In the remaining entries the noun *silence* is used to describe the features of the place and the surroundings.

In the British Farmhouse Corpus the noun *silence* occurs only twice and the plural *silences* has no occurrences. The noun *sound* and its plural *sounds* have also been checked. Interestingly, in the British corpus the item *sounds* occurs 12 times and is more frequent than its Italian literal translation equivalent *suono/i* which has very few occurrences in the *Agriturismo* corpus. In 6 instances *sounds* is used as a noun and is associated with *spring nightingales*, *countryside*, and *harvest*.

In the Hotels corpus, *silence* and its plural have no entries and *sound* and its plural form occurs only 3 times.

In the Camping Holidays corpus, *silence* and its plural form have no occurrences.

	Semantic fields collocating with <i>silenzio/i</i>		Semantic fields collocating with <i>silence/s</i> and <i>sound/s</i>
<i>Agriturismo</i> corpus	- surroundings	Farmhouse Holidays corpus	- surroundings (only with <i>sounds</i>) (no frequent entries of these nouns)
<i>Alberghi</i> corpus	- surroundings	Hotels corpus	(no frequent entries of these nouns)
<i>Campeggi</i> corpus	- surroundings	Camping Holidays corpus	(no entries of these nouns)

Table 6

Semantic fields collocating with *silenzio/i* and *silence/s* and *sound/s* in the six corpora

Once again, results clearly suggest a different use of the items belonging to the semantic field of the five senses. *Silenzio* is used to describe the surroundings while its English translation equivalent is almost absent in the three British corpora. Interestingly, according to British owners' descriptions, the semantic field of hearing is more frequently represented by sounds instead of silence.

3.6 Adjectives of the five senses

Adjectives belonging to the semantic field of the five senses have also been checked in both the Italian and the English corpus. In the Italian corpus of

Agriturismi the adjectives analysed in their collocational profile are listed below according to their frequency of occurrence:

- *luminoso* ('light'; 'bright') and its declensions occur 32 times and mainly collocate with items referring to rooms;
- *gustoso* ('tasty') and its declensions occur 24 times and mainly collocate with *piatti* ('dishes') and *cucina* ('cooking').
- *profumato* ('perfumed'; 'scented') and its declensions have 21 entries and are mainly used in association with *olio* ('olive oil') and *vino* ('wine').
- *colorato* ('colourful') occurs 9 times and mainly occurs with names;
- *silenzioso* ('silent'; 'quiet') and their declensions occur 6 times and collocate with *natura* ('nature') and *campagna* ('countryside').

In the *Alberghi* corpus:

- *luminoso* and its declensions have 34 entries and mainly refer to rooms;
- *gustoso* and its declensions occur 10 times and refer to food;
- *profumato* has only 1 entry;
- *colorato* has 5 entries but no collocations can be found;
- *silenzioso* occurs 9 times and mainly refers to rooms.

In the *Campeggi* corpus:

- *luminoso* and its declensions occur 6 times and always refer to bungalows in the campsite;
- *gustoso* and its declensions occur 11 times and refer to food and recipes;
- *profumato* and its declensions occur 5 times and mainly collocate with countryside, woods and maquis;
- *colorato* and its declensions occur 5 times and show collocations;
- *silenzioso* occurs 6 times and collocates with *zona* ('place') and other items referring to the surroundings.

It is interesting to notice that the Italian adjectives belonging to the semantic field of the five senses are not frequent and have a slightly different collocational profile with respect to the correspondent nouns; in fact they co-occur more frequently with rooms than with the surroundings.

In the British corpus, with the only exception of the adjective *quiet* which occurs 127 times but whose meanings cover other semantic fields in addition to the five senses one, the adjectives corresponding to the Italian ones do not show a high frequency of occurrence:

- *light* occurs 51 times and mainly occurs in the collocation *light and airy* referring to rooms;
- *bright* occurs 30 times and refers almost always to rooms;
- *colourful* occurs 16 times and collocates with *cottages*, *gardens*, *bathrooms*, and *coastline*;
- *tasty* has 7 entries and all refer to food;
- *perfumed* has no occurrences;
- *scented* has only 4 occurrences.

In the Hotels corpus:

- *bright* occurs 10 times and mainly refers to rooms;
- *light* has 36 entries and refers to rooms (in the expressions *light and airy* and *light and spacious*) and meals.
- *colourful* has only 3 entries;
- *tasty*, occurring 7 times, obviously refers to food;
- *perfumed* and *scented* have no entries.

In the Camping Holidays corpus, the adjective *bright* occurs only once, and *light* occurs 5 times and mainly refers to meals. The adjectives *tasty*, *colourful*, *scented*, *perfumed* and *silent* have no entries. The adjective *quiet* has 19 entries and mainly occurs with *peaceful*, *peace*, and *site*.

As clearly shown by the data above, the semantic field of the five senses is not used in the British description of farmhouse holidays, and when it is used it performs a type of description which is different in style from that of the Italian websites. In fact, the use of nouns belonging to the semantic field of the five senses are expressly used in Italian to engage feelings. In this way, the features of the holiday take shape through the imagination of potential customers and not through a linear description of actual facts.

This difference between the Italian and the British languages/cultures obviously makes the translation process hard and suggests the need to adapt the descriptions of the tourist facilities according to cultural orientations. This obviously implies the use of different promotional strategies.

4. A cultural adaptation of promotion

The translations reported below aim to exemplify how the differences between the two cultures may influence the strategic decisions which need to be made in the translation process of tourist texts. The original sentences are all taken from the *Agriturismo* corpus and they all feature the semantic field of the five senses. For each Italian sentence, two translations will be provided: the linguistic one which refers to a literal translation of the original and the cultural translation which is elaborated on the basis of corpus data and cultural filters.

The sentence provided below is also taken from the *Agriturismo* corpus.

Original Italian sentence:

Luogo ideale dove trascorrere veri momenti di tranquillità, immersi nella pace e nei profumi che solo la campagna sa dare.

Linguistic translation:

'This is an ideal place to spend quiet moments immersed in the peace and scents that only the countryside can give.'

Cultural translation:

'Set in beautiful and peaceful countryside, this farmhouse is the ideal retreat for a relaxing holiday.'

The Italian item *immersi* is never used in the British Farmhouse Corpus and for this reason a literal translation of the Italian phrase *immerso nella pace e nei profumi* is not possible. Furthermore, both *perfumes* and *scents* are almost never used in the British Farmhouse Corpus. A cultural adaptation into English should therefore focus on the item *countryside* and its adjectives and should replace *immersed* with *set* which, as shown by Manca (2004), is functionally similar to the Italian *immerso*. *Countryside* is frequently qualified by *beautiful*, *surrounding*, *open*, *lovely*, *rolling*, *unspoilt*, *peaceful*, *spectacular*, but no adjectives referring to the sense of smell are present in its collocational profile. For this reason, a similar but better alternative can be the use of *peaceful* and *beautiful*. The item *moments* is used only twice in the British Farmhouse Corpus and the collocation *quiet moments* is absent in the corpus. Interestingly, the item *ideal* in English is, in most entries, linked to activities such as exploring, touring, walking, cycling as for example, in *ideal base for touring*. The only collocate which co-occur both with *ideal* and *relaxing* is *retreat* which has, consequently, been used in the cultural translation. The result is a translation which still keeps the concepts of ideal, relaxing, and countryside but in a more linear style and with no metaphors referring to the five senses, thus making the description closer to the LCC style.

The sentence provided below is also taken from the *Agriturismo* corpus.

Original Italian sentence:

Tra i monti e il mare, immersi in un paesaggio ricco di colori, di una natura senza eguali, tra odori e sapori che richiamano alla mente le tradizioni di questa terra.

Linguistic translation:

‘Between mountains and sea, you will be immersed in a landscape rich of colours and of a unique nature; you’ll experience odours and flavours which recall the traditions of this land.’

Cultural translation:

‘The farmhouse is set in beautiful and spectacular countryside with views over sea and mountains; our visitors will also enjoy local produce and traditional farmhouse cooking.’

The frequent Italian pattern *tra* + noun + *e* + det. article + noun, such as *tra i monti e il mare* is not used in the British Farmhouse Corpus. The same can be said for the items *immersed*, *nature*, *odours*, and *flavours*.

A cultural translation will therefore have to focus on the English translation equivalents of the Italian nouns *paesaggio* and *natura* and the patterns they are more frequently embedded in. As shown by Manca (2004, 2012), *view* can be taken as a cultural translation equivalent of *paesaggio* whereas *natura* is better translated with *countryside*; the item *immerso* is replaced by the more idiomatic *set* or *situated* and a concrete subject (‘the farmhouse’) needs to be added to the description. Odours and flavours become more concrete in the English translation as they are replaced by *local produce* and *traditional farmhouse cooking* (‘odouring’ and ‘flavouring’ obviously good).

Another sentence which may pose some difficulties to a translator could be the following one (from the *Agriturismo* corpus):

Original Italian sentence:

Venire in vacanza da noi è l’occasione per riscoprire antichi sapori e gustare la dolce vita di campagna.

Linguistic translation:

‘A holiday in our farmhouse is the chance to discover again ancient flavours and enjoy the sweet country life.’

Cultural translation:

‘Our guests will have the opportunity to experience farm life and enjoy local products and farmhouse cooking.’

As seen above, the idea of *antichi sapori* is very familiar to the Italian people. Many bakeries, restaurants and products have this name. However, this association is unusual for British people, at least in the language of tourism, as a search in the British Farmhouse Corpus confirms. The collocation *ancient flavours* refers to products grown and dishes made as they were grown and made in the past, that is to say without using chemical additives or modern domestic appliances such as, for example, an electric oven. In the mind of a potential Italian customer, which perceives the past as a positive and safe entity, this collocation pushes the right button and may be one of the main reasons why he/she will be convinced to book the holiday advertised.

Obviously, other alternatives may be found.

5. Conclusion

The results of the analysis described in this paper well exemplify the differences between the British and the Italian cultures and what farmhouse, hotel, and campsite owners consider most appropriate to promote the holiday they offer. The Italian descriptions seem to rely more on abstract nouns and metaphorical descriptions in order to create the right context. The surroundings are depicted by recurring to items belonging to the five senses, in order to engage the potential customers’ feelings. Conversely, the British descriptions are more linear and do not include the presence of abstract nouns or items referring to sight, hear, smell, taste, and touch. The main aim of British owners is to provide text and facts through concrete descriptions.

In conclusion, it is clear that the differences in the usage of items referring to the five senses may represent a number of potential difficulties both in the translation and in the promotional process. Translators have to find a compromise between source text meanings and target culture orientations. As shown above, a literal translation would have, as a result, the creation of texts which do not consider target-culture thinking patterns together with stylistic conventions. These texts would sound not adequate and, consequently, unsuccessful among the target audience. Furthermore, the socio-cultural implications described above should be the starting point for the elaboration of adequate promotional strategies in the advertisement of tourist facility websites. In fact, less or more emphasis on some key concepts should be carefully placed according to the specific cultural filters of the potential target visitors. Culture and the sociolinguistic interpretation of a tourist destination are strictly linked. A successful promotional strategy should, therefore, avoid to focus on ethnocentricity and adapt promotional material both culturally and linguistically.

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