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CULTUS

the Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication

TOURISM ACROSS CULTURES Accessibility in Tourist Communication

2016, Issue 9, Volume 1

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Foreword

It is our great pleasure to present the first volume of Cultus 9, an issue entirely dedicated to the language of tourism in a cross-cultural perspective. A high number of articles have been submitted for this issue by international academics and researchers. For this reason, eight articles are being published in volume 1, edited by Elena Manca and Cinzia Spinzi, the remaining ones will follow in volume 2, edited by David Katan and Cinzia Spinzi.

We would like to thank all the authors for contributing to this field of study, and to this issue, with their high-quality, innovative and interesting work and for their dedication and patience.

In addition, we would like to thank those members of the Scientific Committee who have contributed to the making of this volume and whose work has increased the quality of the articles even more.

We are sure that this issue will be very useful for future research in Tourism Discourse studies.

Elena Manca and Cinzia Spinzi

"Dancing with the Spider": popularization at work in intangible tourism-travel discourse

Sabrina Francesconi

Abstract

The multifarious and multifaceted notion of heritage encompasses natural or cultural forms, including objects, places and practices, in their tangible or intangible expressions (Harrison 2010; Richards 2014). Deeply-rooted in local cultures, imbued with their histories, values, beliefs, social organization patterns, traditional dances notably epitomize "intangible heritage" (Smith 2006; Smith & Akagawa 2009). Their representation and communication in tourist texts, yet, poses serious challenges, due to their complexity and elusiveness. This is mainly overcome through "popularization discourse" (Calsamiglia & van Dijk 2004; Garzone 2006; Gotti 2012), whereby specialized discourse is transmitted to the lay public, by the means of visual, acoustic, verbal, and audio-visual resources. The inspection of popularization modes and forms, in a selection of tourist materials about Salento traditional dance forms (de Martino [1961] 2005), is the scope of this paper. Among the wide-range of ever-expanding tourist texts (Francesconi 2014), particular attention is devoted to an institutional video, a brochure, two travel guides, and a travel reportage. Results reveal problems of partiality and generalization in pre-trip promotional texts, as well as inaccuracies and incoherencies in on-trip informative instances.

> Addu d'ha pizzicata la tarantala embelenata? No t'ha pizzicata la tarantala embelenata chiui taranta nun ci n'ha.¹

1. Introduction

From the *Psychedelic Trance Tarantella* song by the Salento group Kalascima, the verses above evoke and narrate the ancient Taranta myth, whereby the

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¹ Where did the poisonous tarantula bite you?/ It did not bite you, the poisonous tarantula/there's no taranta anymore. Translation provided on the 2014 CD.

effects of the poisonous local spider can only be cured through a choreutic, musical and chromatic ritual. The lyrics of the song, in the local dialect, are accompanied by vibrant music, where traditional instruments combine with contemporary technological sound effects. Interconnections across sensory experiences, art forms and ages are not surprising, as the current age is undergoing a considerable tarantella revival and, more in general, the growing popularity and appeal of traditional dances. From a socio-semiotic perspective, dance is seen as a semiotic resource, i.e., a resource for making meaning, within a given social context (Kress, 2014: p. 62). Indeed, traditional dances narrate and celebrate deeply-rooted local cultures: their histories, their values and beliefs, their social organization and dynamics. Acknowledging the wide range of Southern-Italian tarantelle (encompassing diverse, yet similar, dance forms, such as, Tarantella calabrese, Tammuriata campana, Pizzica Pizzica salentina), this work addresses Salento traditional dance forms, namely Pizzica pizzica salentina, Pizzica tarantata and Pizzica scherma, as boasting a special relation with Tarantism (www.tarantarte.it).

Already widespread in the second half of the fourteenth-century, in its basic forms, within the peasant community in the Salentine Peninsula, the phenomenon of *Tarantism* has been attracting critical attention from different disciplines, approaches, and standpoints (De Martino [1961] 2005). For a long time, it was wrongly interpreted and described as a medical problem, and simply ascribed to arachnidism, to the clinical effects of the poisonous tarantula spider. Symptoms were identified in depression and paranoia, fear and delirium, vomiting and sweating. Hence, the "curing" dance was based on the regular repetition of definite choreutic cycles, an intense rhythmic motion, with feet tapping the ground and, in the end, the dancers collapsing. It was only in the second half of the XX century that this explanation was rejected (*ibidem*).

On the basis of his 1959 on-the-ground observation, the ethnographer Ernesto de Martino argued that: "the symbol of the *taranta* [i]s a mythical-ritual horizon of evocation, configuration, release and resolution of the unresolved psychic conflicts which "re-bite" in the obscurity of the unconscious." ([1961] 2005: p. 36) Far from being reduced to a medical condition, the exorcistic *taranta* dance was described as enabling one to express intimate conflicts in a public context, the depersonalizing discourse permitting symbolic resolution of the tensions (*ibidem*: p. xi). In a two-stage process of identification and detachment, the *tarantato/a* experienced the need to dance with the spider, to be the tarantula itself, to

superimpose and impose his/her dancing rhythm, to force the tarantula to dance, until it was exhausted (*ibidem*: p. 36).

While stressing the cultural and historical peculiarities of an autonomous, independent, and localized phenomenon, de Martino ([1961] 2005) claimed that Tarantism impacts universal chords in the human mind and heart. It concerns us all: in our psychological tensions, conflicts, and in our need to cope and dance with them, for final resolution. Tarantism, thus, resonates along a more living and vibrant intangible heritage horizon, which stimulates a dialogue between past and present, between self and other, between locals and visitors. In this vein, the present paper seeks to investigate Tarantism as embedded within intangible heritage tourism discourse. It centres on the way tourist texts, instantiated in their generic configurations, negotiate cross-cultural communication intangible heritage accessible to a wider audience. Based on previous studies on tourism discourse (Francesconi 2014), the working hypothesis is that information on intangible heritage is presented in a superficial way, through rhetorical strategies of generalisation. Proposing popularization discourse as the main paradigm, this work seeks to answer the following research question: what popularization strategies are adopted and how do they operate within the selected tourist texts?

The work is organised as follows: after the preliminary introduction on *Tarantism*, the theoretical underpinnings of intangible heritage, tourism discourse and popularization discourse will be illustrated. Following this, text analysis will be offered, and attention will be specifically paid to the articulation and negotiation of popularization strategies in promotional and/or informative materials on the Apulia region, dealing with traditional dances as intangible heritage forms. Instances will be discussed in their meaning-making generic configurations. Concluding remarks will end the article, with observations on potentials and constraints of intangible heritage tourism discourse.

2. Intangible heritage, experiential tourism, and tourism discourse.

Overall, the multifarious and multifaceted notion of 'heritage' encompasses natural or cultural forms, and, as such, includes objects, places and practices "that have some significance in the present, which relate to the past" (Harrison, 2010: p. 5). According to Harrison, a variety of historic, architectural, aesthetic, but also spiritual and emotional values,

are then ascribed to heritage and make the concept even more elusive. Heritage may, as well, find material or immaterial expression, as the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (with a list of intangible assets complementing the more traditional and established 1972 List of Heritage sites) testifies to.

Italian intangible heritage on the UNESCO list includes, among a few others, Pantelleria head-trained bush vines, the Mediterranean diet, Sardinian pastoral songs and Sicilian puppet theatre. At the moment of writing, the Neapolitan art of pizza-making is being evaluated by the committee for the 2016 cycle. Alongside these selected and accredited assets, a wide range of valuable, yet less appraised, intangible items, such as, languages, music, dance, ceremonies, should also be acknowledged, as they uniquely reveal people's attachments, identities or sense of belonging (Smith 2006). From the perspective of tourism discourse, they increasingly attract visitors, who wish to go beyond a superficial holiday and establish more intimate contact with the visited destination, through a heritage tourism experience.

Within the widely established form of heritage tourism, Richards (2014) identifies a contemporary 'creative turn' and observes that holiday-makers are interested in less tangible tourism assets and in more popular cultural forms. They approach the performing arts from an experiential viewpoint, seeking a direct involvement in art events, courses, and activities. Unlike passive sight-contemplators and compulsive facility-consumers, guests coparticipate in and co-construct what becomes a culturally enriching experience. This seems to reveal an anti-tourist trend in tourism practices (Culler 1989; Francesconi 2014): the traveller/tourist plays a more active role within the holiday experience and prefers less conventionalized and institutionalised, or rather, less 'touristy' solutions.

The aforementioned traditional Salento dances can be easily placed within this creative and experiential tourism context. Challenges, however, arise from the heritage perspective, in terms of heritage accessibility and issues of understanding, interpretation, preservation, and, most importantly, respect. Only as a result of this preliminary process, can choreutic forms be communicated within a form of intangible heritage tourism, which avoids risks of simplification, manipulation, stereotyping (Aime 2000), and subsequent "staged authenticity" (MacCannell 1976). In other terms, the key concept of accessibility in this *Cultus* issue (Cappelli 2016) may be addressed both from synchronic and diachronic perspectives, referring a) to accessing the past phenomenon of *Tarantism*, in

its development and evolution, and b) to *making* intangible heritage *accessible* to potential and real tourists across cultures.² In the former connotation, accessibility is intended as a form of understanding, in the latter, and the focus of this paper, as a form of communication.

Importantly for tourism communication, tourist texts trigger the process of the "tourist gaze" (Urry 2002), whereby visitors' destination perception is organised and filtered by the tourist industry. Celebratory, stereotyped images and narratives are generally deployed, which obliterate the complex, the problematic, and the negative, and which enact a (seemingly) simple, clear, transparent, univocal meaning-making process (Francesconi 2007, 2014). Yet, tourism discourse is less homogeneous than expected. On the one hand, it reflects the segmented and multifaceted nature of tourism itself, as the distinct and fluid forms of sport tourism, eco-tourism, spa tourism, heritage tourism, among others, demonstrate. On the other hand, it showcases a variety of different genres, to be considered in their communication purposes, target, privileged tripstage, as well as in their multimedial and multimodal configurations. All these aspects affect processes of destination-image formation, and, in turn, the degree and extent of, interest in, knowledge of, and focalisation on, the site/sight. Text awareness is thus needed, in order to question a) how intangible heritage is communicated in tourism discourse, and b) how polysemous heritage accessibility can be textually negotiated.

A prominent role in making traditional Salento dances accessible is played by cultural associations, which can inform, educate and involve potential and real tourists before they leave their homes or when they are on holiday. I have personally come into contact with Tarantarte dance school, founded by teacher, dancer and choreographer Maristella Martella, and based in Bologna and Lecce. The dance school offers courses in Milan, Paris, Rovereto, to name but a few, aimed at promoting the knowledge, appreciation and experience of Southern-Italian traditional dances (www.tarantarte.it). Moreover, it organizes week-long workshops in Salento, welcoming expert, enthusiastic or amateur dance-lovers to attend seminars, workshops, and exhibitions. I believe such cultural associations may be actively involved in the planning of intangible heritage tourism events and experiences. By intertwining the two connotations of the term accessibility, they may offer insights into how to raise awareness of the heritage value of the traditional dance form and, ultimately, promote a more responsible and sustainable tourist experience.

3. Popularization discourse and strategies

In order to unpack meaning and knowledge in tourism discourse, this article adopts the paradigm of popularization, whereby specialized discourse is transmitted to the lay public (Calsamiglia & van Dijk 2004; Garzone 2006; Gotti 2012). As such, the social process of popularization is to be addressed both in its epistemic and discursive aspects, as the specialized knowledge is, at the same time, reformulated and recontextualised in order to respond to the new tourist communication situation and to the profile and needs of its non-specialized tourist participants. These, in the end, integrate such newly acquired knowledge with their existing background knowledge.

Popularization is generally investigated as the communication of scientific discourse to the general public. A seminal study conducted by Calsamiglia and van Dijk (2004) has addressed popularization discourse, in the Spanish press, about the sequencing of the human genome. Alongside newspaper articles on specialized topics, the documentary film also epitomises popularization discourse, according to Gotti (2012: p. 145): it features a lower use of specialized terminology and a higher frequency of concepts and terms from everyday language. Moreover, Garzone (2006) has inspected popularization in ESP discourse, with a focus on hedging strategies. Concern with the context of communication in terms of participants, participant roles, interests, motivations and knowledge is, thus, central in popularization process and in popularization discourse examination. Here, popularization discourse is examined in the presentation of intangible heritage discourse within travel and tourist texts, which address the general public and, specifically, travel-enthusiasts and potential visitors.

inspection After the acknowledgment and of communication, text-internal features require close observation. In the analysis of the verbal structures operating within popularization discourse at the textual level, Calsamiglia and van Dijk (2004) outline a wide range of techniques explanation, of such as, denomination, definition/description, reformulation or paraphrase, exemplification, generalisation and analogies in the forms of comparisons and metaphors. Gotti (2012) pinpoints a specific popularization technique for definition in the juxtaposition between the specialized term and its periphrasis, the two parts being generally associated by a comma, a dash, a parenthesis or a disjunctive conjunction. Alternatively, metalinguistic elements may be adopted, such as, *called, known as, that is, meaning*. Elsewhere, popularization implies forms expressing the semantic approximation in the proposed metaphors, similes, and periphrasis.

In the following section, strategies of popularization will be unpacked in a selection of tourist texts, i.e. an institutional video, a brochure, two travel guides, and a travel reportage. The different genre instances will be considered in their context and modes of use, communication purposes, multimedial and multimodal configurations, as affecting intangible heritage accessibility.

4. Text analysis and discussion

Available on the Italian National Tourist Board website for North America, the 4:58 video on Apulia devotes an excerpt to traditional dances, combining visual and audio semiotic resources in the meaning-making process. The vibrant, self-confident male voice claims that "Apulian folklore is particularly interesting" and mentions ancient stories and traditions: intangible heritage falls under the 'folklore' umbrella term. Yet, the dynamic image shows human represented participants dancing Tarantella in traditional costumes, holding the fazzoletto, while a soundtrack accompanies the images with traditional music. This multimodally expressed popularization discourse performs a strategy of exemplification: while the verbal text offers a generalizing hyperonym, the dynamic images and the soudtrack simultaneously perform a function of exemplification. The latter, yet, remains vague.

This multimodal and exemplifying form of intangible heritage communication may be read in light of the text genre it expresses. Freely available online, institutional promotional videos (Francesconi 2011; Pan, Tsai & Lee 2011; Poonia & Chauan 2015) are generally delivered in order to offer a brief and general idea of the destination, in its natural and cultural aspects, avoiding any detailed or accurate portrait. With the aim of capturing and holding the viewers' attention, the meaning-making process is performed through the symultaneous and congruent unfolding in time of different semiotic modes and modal resources, namely dynamic images, soundtrack, and voice-off, among others. The diverse systems are orchestrated in such a way as to construe a pleasant atmospheare, whereby to deliver a simple and accessible message.

A similar process of generalization, albeit without any specific visual co-text, is visible in a section devoted to the Puglia and Basilicata regions, within the 2016 *Kuoni* brochure to Italy:

Whilst the cuisine here is more simple than in the north, Puglia offers a true taste of traditional Italy with its captivating combination of year-round sunshine, historic towns, rich culture and gorgeous countryside and coast.

The adjective 'traditional' and the syntagm 'rich culture' encompass all forms of heritage, with no further distinction. From the multimodal perspective, images on the same page feature Puglia sights, with no visual reference to intangible heritage assets. As seen before, the adopted strategy of popularization may be due to the communication function. The brochure is, indeed, the promotional text *par excellence* and is freely taken by potential or existing tourists, in order to get an idea of the facilities offered by the destination. Available in printed or digital forms, it shows a simple structure, catchy images, as well as euphoric and celebratory language. Generally used to accompany salient photographs, vocabulary is clear, simple and understandable. If facilities are often accurately described, the destination is generally depicted through a panoramic view, avoiding extendend and detailed accounts on natural and cultural heritage (Francesconi 2007; Hiippala, 2015).

A different treatment of heritage concepts can be envisaged in the following text, which expresses, indeed, a more informative genre. In the *Lonely Planet Guide* (2014: p. 126), the intangible heritage term *Pizzica* is introduced and thematised, as being closely related to the ritual *Tarantism*:

Pizzica developed from the ritual tarantismi, a dance meant to rid the body of tarantula-bite poison. It's more likely the hysterical dancing was symbolic of a societal psychosis and an outlet for individuals living in bleak, repressed conditions to express their pent-up desires, hopes and unresolved grief. Nowadays, pizzica (which can be quite a sensual dance) means 'party', with all-night dances held in various Salento towns throughout summer, leading up to Melpignano's humdinger affair.

The syntagm 'ritual tarantismi' is followed by a comma, and the juxtaposed definition equates 'the ritual tarantismi' with a dance form. The next

sentence pinpoints an alternative origin for the *pizzica* dance, not to be found, as believed in the past, in arachnidism but in psychological and social conflicts. The last sentence pursues *pizzica* contemporary appeal: the heritage term is presented through a metalinguistic technique for definition (the verb 'means'), whereas the parenthesis embeds the property of sensuality, hedged through the modal verb of possibility 'can', which specifically indicates optionality, and may refer to some contemporary forms of *neopizzica*.

Some pages later (p. 132) in the same text, within a box devoted to the town of Galatina, we find the following passage:

It is almost the only place where the ritual *tarantismi* (Spider Music) is still practised. The tarantella folk dance evolved from this ritual, and each year on the feast day of St Peter and St Paul (29 June), it is performed at the (now deconsecrated) church.

The inception thematises the exclusive connection between the place (Galatina) and the heritage phenomenon (Tarantism). The key term is written in italics and juxtaposed with its twofold definition: first, the predetermining hyperonym (ritual) and, secondly, the here-proposed equivalent in parenthesis (Spider Music). Notably, tarantismi is, in this passage, associated with music, not with dance: cross-references and coherence within the guide seem weak. The second sentence expands the first one, by enhancing the 'still practised' concept and introduces the 'tarantella folk dance' as developing from Tarantism. Once more, a juxtaposed hyperonym (folk dance) is adopted as popularization strategy: here it follows, rather than anticipating, the heritage term. From the semantic viewpoint, tarantismi is associated with music, thus only selecting one of the multiple components. Overall, the Lonely Planet Guide seems to provide more detailed information on intangible heritage, albeit showing some inaccuracies.

In its "Lecce and Salento section", the Rough Guide to Puglia (2013: p. 66) devotes an extended box to "The Dance of the Spider". The first paragraph opens with the town of Galatina, in its connection with Tarantism.

The small town of Galatina has long been a pilgrimage centre for *tarantate* – women (mostly) who have been "possessed" by the mythical spider of Puglia. **Tarantism** dates back centuries in this

region, with the earliest known accounts of it appearing in manuscripts from the fifteenth century. Victims believed that they had been bitten by the Italian tarantula, or the European black widow spider.

The explanation is here marked by the dash, anticipating the definition. In its opening, the passage connects Galatina (presented as a small town) and tarantate. Written in italics, the heritage term here foregrounds gender issues, associating Tarantism with women, even though the adverb mostly in parenthesis hedges the assumption. Soon after, a second hedging strategy, in the inverted commas, nuances the verb 'possessed'. In order to express the legendary nature of Tarantism, the adjective 'mythical' is adopted to connote the spider. This concept is further explained in the third sentence, where the verb 'believe' introducing the spider-bite effect clarifies the fictitious nature of the story. The second sentence presents the timerooted value of Tarantism, as testified in ancient documents found in the Puglia region. Interestingly, this passage devoted to "Lecce and the Salento" inscribes the spider and the phenomenon within a broader regional dimension.

The second paragraph describes the choreutic and musical ritual in detail, as related to its curing potential.

After descending into a funk of symptoms that included vomiting and sweating, fear and delirium, depression and paranoia, the only cure was the rite of the tarantula, which involved trance-dancing to the local *tarantella*, or *pizzica*, for days on end. The *pizzica* musicians – typically a violinist, guitarist, accordion and tambourine player – would perform fast and feverishly, engaging the victim in a call-andresponse ritual, until eventually they were released from their misery.

Notably, this passage defines *pizzica* as the "local tarantella", thus retrieving the broader and inclusive semantic value. However, the passage below writes of *pizzica* music: making the reader think that *pizzica* only corresponds to music. This third and last chapter centres on the religious and tourist development of the phenomenon: the cult of St Paul as *tarantati* patron saint, on the one hand, and activities, events for a larger public, on the other.

The cult has continued to fascinate Salentines and others into this century, with the myth and music being both preserved and reinvented. St Paul, patron saint of the tarantate, is revered and celebrated to this day in Galatina and surrounding villages. On June and Paul, musicians, feast day of Sts Peter dancers, tarantate and tourists gather at the chapel of St Paul near Galatina's cathedral in the early hours (around 4.30 or 5am) to pay their respects before the crowds arrive for the official early morning Mass. Today, pizzica music is enjoying a boom in the Salento and elsewhere. It's worth timing your visit to coincide with the all-night music festival The Night of the Tarantula (La Notte della Taranta; www.lanottedellataranta.it), held in late August Melpignano, between Galatina and Otranto.

The box ends with recommending a volume for further *tarantism* and *pizzica*-related information:

Dances with Spiders by social anthropologist Karen Lüdtke (Berghahn Books 2009) is a very readable account of the history of the ritual, and the resurgence of pizzica in recent years.

To sum up, both guides provide a more extended and detailed account of traditional dances, which may be read as text-genre specificity. Macrogenres in tourist and travel literature, travel guides are composite in their structure and include diverse sections, such as, historical information boxes, itineraries, and glossaries (Antelmi, Held & Santulli 2009; Cappelli 2016; Denti 2012; Peel & Sørensen 2016). Given their cost, these items are generally purchased only after destination choice performance, in order to get updated, reliable and exhaustive information on the to-be-visited site, and to acquire recommendations for accommodation, eating, sight-seeing, and venues. Today, a wide range of guides exists, distinct in tourist segment, target audience, medium, structure, layout, granularity, and language strategies. Consistently, the analysed instances show different strategies of popularization: the Rough Guide offers a more extended and detailed picture of tarantism than the Lonely Planet guide does, even though featuring a problem of localization. In turn, the Lonely Planet deploys weaker internal coherence, as tarantismi is associated, first, with music and, later, with dance.

The last example in this panoramic overview is from the travel magazine "Travel and Leisure". On February 14, 2011, Michael Frank posted an article on "Traditional Life in Puglia, Italy" where he devoted a section to the Salento and its cultural heritage:

So much about the Salento is specific to the province: the dialects; the food; the music (Alan Lomax visited in 1954 and made several notable recordings); and above all the tarantella, a dance whose origins are still in dispute, but which is believed to have originated in the 15th century around Taranto. Peasant women believed they were bitten by spiders and could only purge their bodies of the venom, and their souls of the accompanying hysteria, by whirling in frenetic circles. The tarantella, which was practiced well into the 1960's, has undergone a revival in recent years and is celebrated at summer festivals in Melpignano and Galatina. I spent a Sunday morning in Galatina looking at the frescoes in the basilica of Santa Caterina d'Alessandria, where Old and New Testament stories are given such a pungent specificity that the serpent in the Garden of Eden has long flowing tresses and an oddly coy, knowing grin, as though she alone was immune to the spider's transforming bite.

In this extended passage, previously seen popularization issues can be found. First, the hyperonym 'tarantella' is used in place of more local choreutic forms, thus resorting to a strategy of generalization. Secondly, only women are associated with Tarantism, enacting a process of ideologically-driven partiality. Indeed, several cases of male tarantati existed, as De Martino [1961] 2005 demonstrated. The analysed instance offers a comprehensive picture of the Salento dance experience, albeit resorting to a technique of generalization. Once more, such choice may be read against the backdrop of generic configuration. Also a macro-genre within travel discourse, the travel magazine includes distinct genres, such as, travel reportage, travel advertisements, letters, among others (Berger 2004; Godnič Vičič 2011). Written by a professional travel journalist in the first person, the travel reportage offers a personal travel account. Directly experienced itineraries, encounters, anecdotes are narrated, providing upto- date, detailed and reliable information, the verbal text being complemented by professionally taken photographs. Inaccuracies identified in pupularization discourse, rather than to the text genre communication function, may be, thus, due to a lack of knowledge in the author.

Table 1 sums up strategies of popularization adopted in the analysed text instances.

5. Concluding remarks

A widely used definition of heritage is related to "the present day use of the past" (Timothy & Boyd 2006). In this paper, the term 'use' has been related to and embedded within tourism discourse, more specifically within intangible heritage tourism discourse. Attention has been given to the revival and appeal of Salento traditional dance forms, read as interpreting and evoking the autonomous and distinct historical and religious phenomenon of *Tarantism*, for the benefit of both locals and visitors. Text inspection has addressed textual representation and mediation, through popularization discourse.

The popularization of intangible heritage discourse in travel and tourist texts raises both epistemic and discursive issues. Indeed, the reformulation and recontextualisation of specialized discourse affect, on the one hand, what knowledge is reported and, on the other hand, how such knowledge is textually mediated. Modes and forms of popularization discourse derive from the communication forms and functions of the text, which, in tourism discourse, instantiate into genre forms. Some exemplary text instances have been selected and analysed, which represent the composite and layered nature of tourism discourse: an institutional video, a brochure, two travel guides, and a travel reportage. Overall, problems of partiality and generalization have been noticed in pre-trip promotional texts, as well as inaccuracies and incoherencies in on-trip informative texts.

To conclude, the specificity a) of intangible heritage tourism within the tourism domain and b) of intangible heritage tourism texts within tourism discourse can be confirmed. A first reason can be found in the increasingly acknowledged cultural and historical value and appeal of intangible heritage itself. A second reason may be envisaged in the ontological and epistemic elusiveness of intangible heritage, which is constantly questioned, reinterpreted, reconceptualised, in order to overcome risks of simplification and stereotyping, on the one hand, and ideological manipulation and exploitation, on the other hand. As a result, popularization discourse and popularization strategies play a pivotal and

delicate role in intangible heritage tourism texts. Only if properly performed, they can contribute to knowledge dissemination and to sustainable tourism fostering.

The exploratory study is limited for various reasons, basically in extent and validity. Future research should, on the one hand, extend the range of considered tourism text genres, respecting a balance between printed, digital and audio-visual materials. The voice of the traveller should also be addressed, as expressed in online travel reviews. On the other hand, consistent, representative and balanced corpora of texts should be compiled, where the frequency of occurrences and their statistic validity may be checked on a larger scale, through quantitative and computer-driven investigation. Contrastive text analysis may be then conducted, in order to observe text behaviour, and, in particular, popularization strategies, when intangible versus tangible heritage is represented in tourist texts. A second, contrastive line of analysis may compare verbally expressed popularization and multimodally expressed popularization. This is the scope of future inspection.

popularization strategies	Intersemiotic exemplification	Generalisation	Detailed	information		cohestort	hadoiso	Sustan					Detailed	information		sexist bias		Suspen		,	ate	, but Detailed	ound account	Generalisation		sexist bias	
екрапыон			Origin: developed from tarantismi	Purpose: meant to rid the body of tarantula-bit poison		towns throughout the summer	Location: still practiced in Galatina	Origin: evolved from the nitual laramisms performed each year on June 29th			Extent in time: dates back centuries in this region	Reason: victims believed they had been bitten by the Italian	tarantula	Extent in time: for days on end		Manner: fast and feverishly	Result: until eventually they were released from their misery.		Use: myth and music both preserved and reinvented	Resonance: enjoying a boom in the Salento and elsewhere	Exemplification: The Night of the Tarantula, held in late August in Melpignano	Origin (when, where): whose origins are still in dispute, but	which is believed to have originated in the 15th century around	Taranto.	Origin (who): peasant women who believed they were bitten	by spiders.	Resonance: recent revival and summer festivals.
description					Property, can be quite	a sensual dance			Property: who have	been possessed by the spider of Puglia.				Property: involved	trance-dancing												
definition				a dance (after a comma)	means 'party'		(Spider Music)		Women	(after dash)				Reformulation: or	priegra	Hyponyms: Typically	a violinist, guitarist,	accordion and tambourine player				A dance	(after a comma)				
visual	dynamic images		Italics	Italics			Italics		Italics		pold			italics						italics							,
denomination	(Apulian) folklore ancient traditions	rich culture	Pizzica	(ritual) tarantismi	(nowadays)	Pizzica	Larantismi	tarantella folk dance	Tarantate		Tarantism			Local tarantella		Pregia	musicians		Cult	Pizzica music		The Tarantella					The Tarantella
text	ENIT video	Kuoni Brochure		Lonely	Planet	Guide	•							Rough	Guide								Travel and	Leisure	Magazine		

Table 1. Popularization in travel/tourist texts.

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