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## KONCEPTUALNA PRESLIKAVANJA U TURISTIČKOM OGLAŠAVANJU - SEMIOTIČKI PRISTUP

### CONCEPTUAL MAPPINGS IN TOURISM ADVERTISING - A SEMIOTIC APPROACH

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**SAŽETAK:** Konceptualno preslikavanje je izraz koji prvenstveno proizlazi iz tradicije kognitivne lingvistike, uglavnom razvijene u posljednjim desetljećima proteklog stoljeća kad se na metaforu prestalo gledati kao na puko retoričko i stilističko sredstvo ili jezični ukras, već kao na način razmišljanja i pojmovnog shvaćanja svijeta. Početna je zamisao ovoga rada istražiti u prvoj fazi središnje slogane preuzete iz plakata u oglasnim kampanjama nacionalnih turističkih zajednica širom svijeta i otkriti i razvrstati najzastupljenija konceptualna preslikavanja u prikazivanju stvarnih ili željenih prednosti pojedinih zemalja kao turističkih odredišta. To će osigurati i polazište za buduća zahtjevnija istraživanja vizualnih slika i njihove usklađenosti s pojmovima prenesenima putem verbalnih znakova. Tekuće istraživanje ne ograničava se isključivo na konceptualna preslikavanja između dviju ili više područja, nego će, tamo gdje je nužno, identificirati i metonimijska preslikavanja unutar samo jednog područja. Budući da se mitovi u semiotičkoj perspektivi obično opisuju kao proširene metafore ili 'naturalizacija kulturalnog', pretpostavka je da se izoliranjem najzastupljenijih konceptualnih područja iz internetskog korpusa turističkog oglašavanja, mogu prepoznati prevladavajući mitovi turizma. Štoviše, prisutnost sličnih ili identičnih konceptualnih preslikavanja u međusobno udaljenim krajevima svijeta može nas dovesti do zaključka da je turizam kao globalni proces 'stvorio' određene metaforičke univerzalije, ishodišno pripisane ljudskoj vrsti prije kao nešto prirodno i neupitno nego da ih se svode na relativne vrijednosti i koncepte pojedinih kultura.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** konceptualno preslikavanje, metafora, metonimija, turističko oglašavanje, semiotika

**SUMMARY:** Conceptual mapping is a term that primarily derives from the tradition of cognitive linguistics, mostly developed in the last decades of the previous century when metaphor stopped being viewed as a mere rhetoric and stylistic device or a language ornament, but started being perceived as a way of reasoning and conceptualizing the world. The idea of this paper is initially to examine the central slogans taken from posters in advertising campaigns of national tourist boards worldwide and to discover and classify the most dominant conceptual mappings in presenting real or desired advantages of the countries as tourist destinations. It will provide a basis for more demanding future analyses of visual imagery and their concordance with concepts transferred by verbal signs. The present research is not reduced to metaphorical mappings occurring between two or more domains but, where necessary, will also identify metonymical mappings within single domains. As myths in semiotic perspective are usually described as extended metaphors or 'naturalization of the cultural', the assumption is that by isolating most dominant conceptual domains from the online corpus in tourism advertising, we can recognize the prevailing myths of tourism. Moreover, the presence of similar or identical conceptual mappings in mutually distant parts of the world may lead us to conclude that tourism as a global process has 'created' certain metaphorical universals, originally attributed to humankind as something natural and unquestionable rather than to be reduced to relative values and concepts of particular cultures.

**KEYWORDS:** conceptual mapping, metaphor, metonymy, tourism advertising, semiotics

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## 1. UVOD

*“Semiotics is in principle the discipline studying everything which can be used in order to lie.”* (Eco, 1976:7)

Ovaj je rad pokušaj da se složeno pitanje turističkog oglašavanja kao integralnog dijela promotivnog miksa (Harrel, 2008:286) promotri iz drukčije perspektive, koja prije stavlja naglasak na slogane kao na semiotički strukturirane znakove, nego kao na funkcionalno zasnovane prodajne iskaze, neovisno o njihovoj jedinstvenosti. Takav pristup je u skladu s tradicijom kognitivne lingvistike, kasnije proširene na semiotiku, a koja se zasniva na tada novoj teoriji metafore, koju su izvorno razradili Lakoff i Johnson (1980). Takav novi pristup predstavljao je korjeniti preokret od puke retoričke i stilističke prakse, koja je promatrala metafore kao često i suvišan jezični ukras, na nova polazišta s kojih se na metaforu počelo gledati kao prvenstveno na kognitivni fenomen koji utječe na osnovne procese ljudskog razmišljanja i, posljedično, na sveopće razumijevanje i spoznavanje naše okoline. Štoviše, ovaj je novi pristup osigurao novu metodologiju u kategoriziranju našeg svakodnevnog iskustva kroz proces preslikavanja između izvornog i ciljnog područja, a koje se događa kad god se jedna konceptualna kategorija razumije posredstvom druge. Ova metodologija, koja će se razraditi u sljedećim poglavljima, korištena je dosad u raznim vrstama korpusa i ovaj je rad pokušaj da se ista provjeri u analizi turističkog oglašavanja, s posebnim naglaskom na slogane kao zgusnute i učinkovite poruke u promicanju raznih turističkih odredišta. Metodologija korištena u ovom istraživanju ne služi isključivo u opisne svrhe, već je zamišljena i kao upotrebljiv alat u promotivnim strategijama, bilo kroz poboljšavanje postojećih koncepata dodatnim jezičnim rješenjima ili stvaranjem novih svježih koncepata u predstavljanju postojeće ili ciljane stvarnosti određene turističke destinacije.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

*“Semiotics is in principle the discipline studying everything which can be used in order to lie.”* (Eco, 1976:7)

This paper is an attempt to view the complex issue of tourism advertising as an integral part of the promotional mix (Harrel, 2008:286) from a different perspective that puts emphasis on slogans as semiotically structured signs rather than functionally based selling propositions, regardless of their uniqueness. It follows the tradition of cognitive linguistics, later extended to semiotics, based in its time on a new theory of metaphor originally elaborated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Such a new approach meant a radical shift from mere rhetoric and stylistic practices that viewed metaphors as a frequently unnecessary language ornament, to a new ground where it started being observed as primarily a cognitive phenomenon that affects the essential processes of human thinking and, consequently, the overall understanding and cognition of our environment. Moreover, this new approach provided a useful methodology in categorising our everyday experience through the process of mapping between source and target domains, which occurs whenever one conceptual category is understood by means of another. This methodology, which will be elaborated in the following paragraphs, has been used so far in different kinds of corpora and this paper is an attempt to verify it in the analysis of tourism advertising, with special emphasis on slogans as condensed and effective messages in promoting various tourist destinations. The methodology used in the research does not exclusively serve descriptive purposes, but is also meant to offer a useful tool in promotional strategies, either by improving the existing concepts with additional language solutions or by producing new and fresh concepts in presenting the existing or targeted reality of a particular tourist destination.

Bilo kakva korektna prosudba novo ponuđenih kategorizacija slogana ne može se izvršiti bez uvida u već postojeće analize i pristupe koji kreću iz različitih polazišta. Stoga će se u prvom dijelu rada prikazati neki dominantni modeli i postojeće taksonomije pri analizi slogana. U drugom će se dijelu objasniti teorijska pozadina konceptualnih metafora kao temelja za istraživanje, a u nastavku će se prikazati analiza primjera slogana uglavnom preuzetih sa Svjetskog sajma turizma (WTM) u Londonu 2012. godine. Dobiveni rezultati ponudit će mogućnost propitivanja postojanja pojedinih mitova turizma kroz prizmu semiotičkog razumijevanja mitova kao proširenih metafora.

## 2. SLOGANI

Ovaj pojam proistječe iz keltskog izraza *slaugh-ghairm* koji je označavao *borbeni poklič*, poziv na pojedinačno okupljanje škotskih gorštackih klanova, a koji se koristio na bojnopolju radi međusobnog ohrabivanja pri napadu i izazivanju neprijatelja. Kasnije nakon što je prihvaćen diljem Europe, služio je članovima iste skupine kao lozinka kojom su se međusobno raspoznavali noću ili u bitci. Do 18. stoljeća riječ slogan izvorni govornici engleskog počeli su koristiti u značenju *razlikovnog obilježja* bilo koje osobe ili grupe osoba (Denham, 1850 prema Shankle, 1941:5).

U kontekstu marketinga, slogani označavaju kratke iskaze kojima se prenosi opisna ili uvjeravajuća informacija o nekoj marki. Slogani i ostali elementi marke, kao što su ime i logo, u učinkovitoj su interakciji i nude se potrošaču kao *udica* koja im pomaže u hvatanju suštine promotivne kampanje (Keller, 2003:204). Na isti način turistički se slogani često definiraju kao jedan od najboljih načina prenošenja turističke slike neke države putujućoj javnosti (Lee *et al.*, 2006:4) i ne iznenađuje da većina oglasnih kampanja namijenjenih promociji bilo gradova ili dr-

Any correct evaluation of the newly offered categorisation of slogans cannot be performed without an insight into the already existing analyses and approaches taken from different perspectives. Therefore, the first part of the paper will present some of the most dominant models and existing taxonomies in the analysis of slogans. The second part will explain the theoretical background of conceptual metaphors as the basis for the research, which will be presented in the following section by analysing the examples of slogans mostly taken from the London World Travel Market in 2012. The results obtained will also provide an opportunity to question the existence of particular myths of tourism in view of semiotic understanding of myths as extended metaphors.

## 2. SLOGANS

The term derives from the Gaelic expression *slaugh-ghairm* denoting a *war-cry*, a gathering word or phrase of one of the old Scottish Highland clans used on the battlefield in order to encourage themselves in the attack and to animate enemies, but later after being accepted throughout Europe, it also served the members of the same group as a watchword by which they could recognize each other at night or in the battle. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century the word slogan came to be used by English native speakers to mean *the distinctive note* of any person(s) (Denham, 1850 qtd. in Shankle, 1941:5).

In the context of marketing, slogans indicate short phrases that communicate descriptive or persuasive information about the brand. Slogans and other elements of the brand, as a name and a logo, effectively interact and provide consumers with a simple "hook" that will help them capture the essence of the campaign. (Keller, 2003: 204). In the same way, tourism slogans are frequently defined as "*one of the best ways to communicate and deliver the theme and the state tourism image to the traveling public*" (Lee *et al.*, 2006:4) and it is not surpris-

žava kao turističkih odredišta usredotočuju se na slogane kao na središnju nit vodilju kampanje. Kako bi bio učinkovit, takav slogan treba ispuniti dvije pretpostavke. One uključuju sadržaj i stil iz čega proizlazi da uspješan slogan treba prenositi 'jedinствени prodajni iskaz' na ugodan i lako pamtljiv način. Jedinствени prodajni iskaz (USP) je pojam koji je izvorno razradio Reeves (1961), koji dijeli USP na tri komponente: korist dobivena kupnjom proizvoda, jedinstvenost u usporedbi s konkurencijom i moć da se potakne ciljana publika (Reeves, 1961:47-48).

Do sada su ponuđeni razni pristupi analizi turističkih slogana (Dann, 1996:143), ali ovdje ćemo se usredotočiti na nekoliko autora koji su ponudili empirijska istraživanja, istovremeno sinkronijska i dijatopijska, pokrivajući veliki broj destinacija u određenom trenutku. Većina njih se oslanja na USP kriterije kao okvir za analizu. Richardson i Cohen (1993) ponudili su koherentni model razvivši četverostepenu skalu pri analizi slogana pojedinih država u SAD-u. Razina 0 odnosi se na slogane bez USP-a, razina 1 na iskaze koji pozivaju na kupnju proizvoda, razina 2 na one koji ističu koliko je proizvod dobar, razina 3 na iskaze koji izražavaju kvalitetu proizvoda, premda ne i jedinstvenu te razina 4 koja udovoljava svim USP kriterijima. Postoje i četiri kriterija uz pomoć kojih se USP razlikuje od ostalih iskaza: (1) stvaraju se tvrdnje o proizvodu koji su po svojoj biti dovoljne da bi bile istinite ili lažne; (2) stvara se samo jedna takva tvrdnja ili nekoliko tematski koherentnih; (3) kupci se informiraju o izvornoj korisnosti proizvoda; i (4) tvrdnje o korisnosti su jedinstvene. Razni su autori u svojim analizama turističkih slogana primijenili metodologiju zasnovanu na USP-u s manjim odstupanjima. Na primjer Lee i dr. (2006) pri analizi 46 slogana u SAD-u podijelili su ih u pet kategorija:

1. Kupite nas jer smo dobri (*Find Idaho; Genuine Nebraska*).

ing that most advertising campaigns meant to promote either states or cities as tourist destinations are focused on the slogan as the central idea of the campaign. In order to be effective, such a slogan should fulfil two prerequisites. It concerns content and style in a way that a successful slogan should convey a "unique selling proposition", presented in a pleasant and easily memorized way. Unique Selling Proposition (USP) is a term originally elaborated by Reeves (1961), who divides the USPs into three basic components: benefit gained by buying the product; uniqueness in comparison with competition, and strength to move the public (Reeves, 1961:47-48).

Various approaches to the analyses of tourism slogans have been offered so far (Dann, 1996:143), but here we shall focus on a few authors who have provided us with empirical studies which are both synchronic and diatopic, covering a large number of destinations at a particular moment. Most of them rely on the USP criteria as a framework for the analysis. A coherent model was offered by Richardson and Cohen (1993), who developed a subcategorised four level scale in the analysis of US states' slogans. Level 0 referred to slogans without the USP, level 1 based on propositions inviting to buy the product, level 2 with propositions focusing on how good the product is, level 3 with propositions expressing the qualities of the product, although not unique, and level 4 that satisfies all the USP criteria. There are also four criteria that distinguish a USP from other propositions: (1) it makes statements about products that are substantial enough to be true or false; (2) it makes only one such statement or a few thematically coherent ones; (3) it informs consumers of genuine product benefits; and (4) its claims for benefits are unique. Different authors in their analyses of tourism slogans have applied the methodology based on the USP with minor alterations. For example, Lee et al. (2006) in analysing 46 US state slogans have classified them into five categories:

1. Buy us because we are good (*Come Find Idaho; Genuine Nebraska*).

2. Utemeljenost na zajedničkim obilježjima (*Missouri - Where the river runs; Arkansas - The Natural State*).
3. Fokusiranost na jedinstvena obilježja (*Arizona - Grand Canyon State; Colorado - Totally Winteractive*).
4. Ekskluzivni apel (*Virginia is for Lovers; I Love New York*).
5. Prosječni Joe (*Delaware - The First State; New Jersey and You Perfect Together*).

Miller i Henthorne (2010) u analizi slogana karipskih turističkih odredišta uočavaju u sljedećim primjerima uglavnom slične kategorije, ali upotpunjavajući tekstualnu analizu vizualnim slikama i kategoriziranom usporedbom prijašnjih slogana istih destinacija, referirajući se na razne strategije razvoja.

Razina 1: Kupite naš proizvod (*Your Cayman Islands. Discover our Islands; Travel Guyana*).

Razina 2: Naš proizvod je dobar (*It's better in the Bahamas; Bermuda - Feel the Love*).

Razina 3a: Doslovno svaka zemlja može si pripisati isto obilježje (*Antigua & Barbuda - The beach is just the beginning; British Virgin Islands - Nature's Little Secrets*).

Razina 3b: Mnogi si pripisuju isto obilježje (*Guadeloupe - Archipelago of Discoveries; St. Martin - The Friendly Island*).

Razina 4a: Jedinstveno obilježje proizvoda koje ne sadrži korist proizvoda (*Grenada - The Spice of the Caribbean; Maagical St. Maartin*).

Razina 4b: Jedinstveni prodajni iskaz (*Belize - Mother Nature's Best Kept Secret; Suriname - The Beating Heart of the Amazon*).

Pike (2004), slijedeći kriterije klasifikacije koje je ponudio Guba (1978), koji predlaže unutarnju homogenost i vanjsku heterogenost slogana kao idealnog cilja, nudi prilično različit skup kriterija zasnovanih na vrijednosnim iskazima slogana, prisutnih u cijelom svijetu:

- **Funkcionalni atributi destinacije:** 'Tropical North Queensland - where rainfo-

2. Common attribute-based (*Missouri - Where the river runs; Arkansas - The Natural State*).
3. Unique attribute-focused (*Arizona - Grand Canyon State; Colorado - Totally Winteractive*).
4. Exclusive appeal (*Virginia is for Lovers; I Love New York*).
5. Average Joe (*Delaware - The First State; New Jersey and You Perfect Together*).

Miller and Henthorne (2010) in the Analysis of Caribbean tourist destinations' slogans identify the following examples in rather similar categories, but complementing the text analysis with visual images and the categorised comparison of previous slogans of the same destinations referring to their various development strategies:

Level 1: Buy our product (*Your Cayman Islands. Discover our Islands; Travel Guyana*).

Level 2: Our product is good (*It's better in the Bahamas; Bermuda - Feel the Love*).

Level 3a: Virtually any country could claim the same attribute (*Antigua & Barbuda - The beach is just the beginning; British Virgin Islands - Nature's Little Secrets*).

Level 3b: Many claim the same attribute (*Guadeloupe - Archipelago of Discoveries; St. Martin - The Friendly Island*).

Level 4a: Unique product attribute which is not a product benefit (*Grenada - The Spice of the Caribbean; Maagical St. Maartin*).

Level 4b: Unique selling proposition (*Belize - Mother Nature's Best Kept Secret; Suriname - The Beating Heart of the Amazon*).

Pike (2004), following the criteria of classification offered by Guba (1978), which suggests internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity of slogans as an ideal target, offers a rather different set of designing criteria based on various slogans' value propositions, present worldwide:

- **Functional destination attributes:** 'Tropical North Queensland - where

rest meets the reef'; 'Hurunui – alpine Pacific triangle'.

- Čuvstvene kvalitete: 'Brisbane – its happening'; 'West Virginia – wild and wonderful'.
- **Motivacijska korist putovanja:** 'Hawaii – the island of Aloha'; 'Ruapehu – where adventure begins'.
- **Segmentacija tržišta:** 'Dive into the heart of exotic Micronesia'; 'Hawkes Bay – wine country'.
- **Simboli samoizražavanja:** 'If travelling is your passion, Brazil is your destiny'; 'Pack your six senses – come to Peru'.
- **Suprostavljanje riziku:** 'Cuba – peaceful, safe and healthy tourism'.
- **Liderstvo marke:** 'Zambia – the real Africa', 'Egypt – where history began and continues'; 'Eastland – first to see the light'.
- Žarište: 'Kalgoorlie-Boulder – gold capital of Australia'; 'Auckland – city of sails'.
- **Bez žarišta:** 'Curacao – in the Southern Caribbean. Real. Different'; 'Ecuador – nature, culture, adventure and travel'; 'Take time to discover Bundaberg, Coral Coast and country'.
- **Kombinacija gornjega:** 'Northland Naturally – first region of New Zealand'; 'Michigan. Great Lakes. Great times'.

Naravno, pojedina rješenja u gornjim primjerima mogu se s pravom propitkivati zbog dvosmislenosti i višesmjernosti. Međutim, namjera ovoga rada nije hvaliti ili kritizirati postojeće pristupe analizi i kategorizaciji slogana, budući da se njima pokazuju posebni aspekti slogana kroz različite točke motrišta istraživača. Svejedno, kakva god taksonomija se odabere, ona treba biti koherentna i konzistentna što god je više moguće kako bi se mogla iskazati u svojoj strukturalnosti i kako bi time bila prihvatljiva kao metodologija za buduće analize u različitim korpusima i ujedno primjenjiva kao promotivna strategija za svakoga tko je uključen u njenu izradu.

rainforest meets the reef'; 'Hurunui – alpine Pacific triangle'.

- **Affective qualities:** 'Brisbane – its happening'; 'West Virginia – wild and wonderful'.
- **Travel motivation benefits:** 'Hawaii – the island of Aloha'; 'Ruapehu – where adventure begins'.
- **Market segmentation:** 'Dive into the heart of exotic Micronesia'; 'Hawkes Bay – wine country'.
- **Symbols of self expression:** 'If travelling is your passion, Brazil is your destiny'; 'Pack your six senses – come to Peru'.
- **Countering risk:** 'Cuba – peaceful, safe and healthy tourism'.
- **Brand leadership:** 'Zambia – the real Africa', 'Egypt – where history began and continues'; 'Eastland – first to see the light'.
- **Focus:** 'Kalgoorlie-Boulder – gold capital of Australia'; 'Auckland – city of sails'.
- **Unfocus:** 'Curacao – in the Southern Caribbean. Real. Different'; 'Ecuador – nature, culture, adventure and travel'; 'Take time to discover Bundaberg, Coral Coast and country'.
- **Combinations of the above:** 'Northland Naturally – first region of New Zealand'; 'Michigan. Great Lakes. Great times'.

Of course, particular solutions in the above mentioned examples can be rightfully questioned as being ambiguous and multi-directional. However, the idea of this article is neither to praise nor criticise the existing approaches to the analysis and categorisations of slogans, as they all show particular aspects of slogans and different perspectives of observation of the researchers. Anyway, whatever taxonomy is taken, it needs to be coherent and consistent as much as possible in order to be presented as structured and therefore acceptable as a methodology for future analysis in different corpora and applicable as a promotional strategy for everyone involved in creating it.



Semiotički pristup koji se predlaže u narednom tekstu kao različit model analize temelji se na nekoliko teorijskih pretpostavki. Prva je uglavnom antropološka jer shvaća kategorizaciju i prototipno razmišljanje kao iskonske vidove ljudske spoznaje (Lakoff, 1987). Od svojih početaka ljudska se vrsta suočava sa svojom okolinom smještajući je u odgovarajuće kategorije, počevši od binarnih opozicija (jestivo-nejestivo, prijateljsko-neprijateljsko, muško-žensko, itd.) kao najjednostavnijih načina kategorizacije. Binarne opozicije, uključujući označene i neoznačene oblike zajedno s komutacijskim testom, leže u temeljima semiotičke analize ili analize bilo koje strukture znakovnih sustava (Chandler, 2002). Komutacijski test, posebice, paradigmatički odabire različite označitelje i njima pripisane označenike koji su mogući u danom sintagmatskom poretku. Jednostavnije rečeno, i u kontekstu turističkih slogana provjeravaju se mogućnosti izvrštavanja raznovrsnih koncepta u vrijednosne iskaze slogana.

Izraz koncept nije slučajno odabran. On služi kao temeljni pojam u kognitivnoj teoriji metafore koju su razradili Lakoff i Johnson (1980) i koja se koristi kao teorijski model u semiotičkoj analizi slogana u ovome radu. Do sada su razvijene razne metodologije istraživanja metaforičkih koncepta, a za svrhu ovoga rada taksonomija koju je ponudio Goatly u svojoj bazi podataka *Metalude* i razradio u pripadajućim tekstovima (1997; 2007) prilagođena je i primijenjena na korpus turizma. Sljedeći će odlomak ponuditi kratki uvid u kognitivnu teoriju metafore i njene implikacije na druge discipline.

### 3. KOGNITIVNA TEORIJA METAFORE

*“The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”* (Lakoff i Johnson, 1980:5).

A semiotic approach suggested in the following lines as a different model for analysis is based on a number of theoretical assumptions. The first one is rather anthropological because it takes categorisation and prototyped reasoning as primordial aspects of human cognition (Lakoff, 1987). Since their very beginnings humans have interacted with their environment by organizing it into various categories, starting from binary oppositions (edible-inedible, friendly-hostile, male-female, etc.) being the simplest ones. Binary oppositions including marked and unmarked forms, together with commutation tests also stand in the basis of semiotic analysis or in the analysis of any structure of sign systems (Chandler, 2002). Commutation tests, in particular, paradigmatically select various signifiers and to them attributed signifieds which are possible in a given syntagmatic order. In simple words, and in the context of tourism slogans, it alternates various possibilities of concepts included in the value propositions of slogans.

The term concept has not been used by coincidence, but it serves as the fundamental notion in the cognitive theory of metaphor established by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) used as a theoretical model for the semiotic analysis of tourism slogans in this paper. Various methodologies in the research of metaphorical concepts have so far been developed. For the purpose of this paper, the taxonomy offered by Goatly in his *Metalude* data base, and later elaborated in the pertaining texts (1997/2007), has been adapted and applied to the corpus of tourism. The following passage will provide a brief insight into the cognitive theory of metaphor and its implications on other disciplines.

### 3. COGNITIVE THEORY OF METAPHOR

*“The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”* (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:5).

Tijekom posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća jedva da je ijedan jezični fenomen kao što je metafora privukao pažnju toliko znanstvenika u raznim disciplinama, od antropologije, sociologije, psihologije do informacijskih i komunikacijskih sustava u svim sferama života, uključujući i turizam. Razlog zašto je ta donedavno, naizgled, trivijalna govorna figura privukla pažnju tolikih heterogenih disciplina leži u radikalnom obratu koji se dogodio u posljednjim dekadama prethodnog stoljeća kad se metafora prestala shvaćati kao puki jezični ukras ili *trop* tj. kao pitanje stila, a počela promatrati iz nove perspektive i otkrivati se kao pitanje misli. Začetnici takvog pristupa, Lakoff i Johnson (1980; 2003), nisu samo dokazali da su metafore sveprisutne u svom ubikvitetu nego da i „živimo s njima“, često nesvjesni toga, budući da su metaforički koncepti duboko ukorijenjeni u svakodnevne izričaje koje nikad ne bismo držali metaforičkima. Tko bi inače prihvatio da je u uobičajenoj rečenici kao – „*Naći ćemo se između 5 i 6*“, prijedlog *između* metaforički motiviran? Stoviše, takav jednostavan primjer koji sadrži metaforički transfer iz primarnog i konkretnog područja PROSTORA u sekundarno i apstraktno područje VREMENA objašnjava razvoj ljudske misli i jezika od njihovih prvih začetaka do danas, gdje se jezični repozitorij za konkretne i vidljive stvari drži primarnim u usporedbi s apstraktnim i time ‘nedodirljivim’ pojmovima. Ako prihvaćamo uobičajeni iskaz da ‘*slika govori više od tisuću riječi*’, tada možemo primijeniti istu logiku unutar jezika i prihvatiti da su konkretne verbalne slike (metafore) najbolji način kojim možemo izaći na kraj s apstraktnim pojmovima zato jer ono što nam pokazuje slika jest dio našeg stvarnog životnog **iskustva**, doživljenog svim osjetilima.

Takvi pojednostavljeni primjeri orijentacijskih metafora opisuju unutarnju strukturu metafora uopće, koja se stvara kroz proces konceptualnog *preslikavanja* između ciljne i izvorne domene, donedavno tumačene kao

For the last few decades there has hardly been any other language phenomenon as metaphor, which has attracted the interest of scholars in various disciplines, from anthropology, sociology and psychology to information and communication systems in all aspects of life, tourism included. The reason why, until recently, such an apparently trivial figure of speech has attracted the attention of so many heterogeneous disciplines lies in the radical shift that occurred in the last decades of the previous century when it ceased to be observed as a mere language ornament or a language style *trope*, being understood in a completely new perspective and revealed as a cognitive phenomenon and the matter of thought. The initiators of this new approach, namely, Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003), have not only proven that metaphors are omnipresent in their ubiquity, but also that “we live by them” not even being aware of it, as metaphorical concepts are deeply enrooted in everyday terms that we would never consider as metaphorical. Who would otherwise accept that in a common sentence such as – “*We shall meet between 5 and 6*” the preposition *between* is metaphorically motivated? Moreover, such a simple example that includes a metaphorical transfer from the primary and concrete domain of SPACE into the secondary and abstract domain of TIME explains the development of human thought and language from its very beginnings until now, where language repository for concrete and visible objects is considered primary compared to abstract and ‘impalpable’ notions. If we have accepted the popular saying that ‘*a picture is worth a thousand words*’, then we can apply the same logic within language itself and admit that concrete verbal images (metaphors) are the best way of dealing with abstract notions in particular because what an image shows us is part of our real-life **experience** perceived by all our senses.

Such very simplified examples of orientational metaphors describe the internal structure of metaphors in general, which is built on the process of conceptual *mapping* between target and source domains, previ-



*sadržaj i prijenosnik*. Ovaj se proces može objasniti trima primjerima metaforičkih preslikavanja.

**Tablica 1: Primjer konceptualnih preslikavanja**

LJUTNJA	JE	VRUĆINA
VRIJEME	JE	NOVAC
DOBRO	JE	ČISTO
<b>Ciljna domena</b>	<b>preslikavanje</b>	<b>Izvorna domena</b>

Izvor: Metalude

Važna je razlika u kognitivnoj teoriji metafore između gore spomenutih konceptualnih metafora kao **prirodnog** dijela ljudske misli i narednih primjera jezičnih metafora kao **prirodnog** dijela ljudskog govora koji proizlazi iz takvih koncepata (Lakoff i Johnson, 2003:247). Naglasak je na prirodnome jer to pokazuje da kategorizacije zasnovane na metaforičkim konceptima nisu puko pitanje stila s obzirom da se drže intrinzičnima u procesu ljudskog razmišljanja i jezične produkcije utemeljenima prvenstveno na našem tjelesnom iskustvu. Posljedično, to nas može dovesti do zaključka da nijedna vrsta mišljenja ne može biti nemetaforička, kako predlaže Urry (2000:21) u kontekstu rasprave o sociološkom razmišljanju i metaforama povezanim s turizmom.

Ovdje je tek nekoliko primjera jezičnih metafora nastalih kao rezultat prethodno ponuđenih primjera konceptualnih preslikavanja:

LJUTNJA JE VRUĆINA:

- Cijelo sam vrijeme **kiptio** od ljutnje.
- Vodili smo **gorljivo** raspravu o religiji.
- On ima **vruću** narav.

VRIJEME JE NOVAC

- **Uložio** sam tri godine života u pisanje ove knjige.
- **Potrošila** je sate igrajući se s unukom.

ously understood as *tenor* and *vehicle*. This process can be explained with three different examples of metaphorical mappings:

**Table 1: Example of conceptual mappings**

ANGER	IS	HEAT
TIME	IS	MONEY
GOOD	IS	CLEAN
<b>Target domain</b>	<b>mapping</b>	<b>Source domain</b>

Source: Metalude

Important distinction in the cognitive theory of metaphor is the difference between the above mentioned conceptual metaphors as a **natural** part of human thought and further shown linguistic metaphors as a **natural** part of human language that derive from such concepts. (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003:247). The emphasis is on the natural as it shows that the categorisations based on metaphorical concepts are not just a matter of style, as they are intrinsic to human reasoning and the language production based primarily on our bodily experience. Consequently, this may lead to the conclusion that no thinking can be achieved non-metaphorically, as suggested by Urry (2000:21) in the context of discussion on sociological thinking and the tourism related metaphors.

Here are just a few examples of language metaphors as the results of the previously given examples of conceptual mappings:

ANGER IS HEAT:

- All the time I was **boiling** with rage.
- We had a **flaming** argument about religion.
- He's **hot** tempered but he soon gets over his anger.

TIME IS MONEY:

- I **invested** three years of my life in writing that book.
- She **spent** hours playing with her granddaughter.

- **Protratio** sam vrijeme na ovaj istraživački projekt.

Samo nekoliko primjera može nas navesti na pitanje događa li se proces preslikavanja isključivo unutar dva područja ili može biti višesmjernan uključujući više područja. Goatly (1997; 2007) prepoznaje razne unutarnje odnose i međuigru metafora. Za svrhu ovoga rada najzanimljiviji je odnos **diversifikacije**, koji se objašnjava kao proces preslikavanja gdje različita izvorna područja mogu voditi k jednom ciljnom području. Suprotan je proces polivalencija, gdje se različite ciljne domene shvaćaju posredstvom jedne izvorne. Konceptualna diversifikacija i njeni jezični odnosi prikazani su u sljedećem primjeru:

**Tablica 2: Primjer metaforičke diversifikacije**

DOBRO JE ČISTO	DOBRO JE PRVO
On je jedan od rijetkih čistih političara.	Ja sam tvoj navijač <b>broj jedan</b> .
To je bila <b>rafinirana</b> izvedba.	Moja je obitelj imala <b>drugorazredno</b> mjesto u mojoj karijeri.
Ona ima <b>reputaciju</b> bez mrlja.	To je <b>trećerazredni</b> rječnik.

Izvor: *Metalude*

Ovi su primjeri konceptualnih i jezičnih metafora preuzeti iz popisa *Metalude*, baze podataka koju je kreirao Andrew Goatly na Sveučilištu Lingnan u Hong Kongu tijekom projekta komparativne analize engleskog i kineskog konceptualnog sustava. To je interaktivna baza podataka organizirana uz pomoć raznovrsnih alata, bilo ispitivanjem *korijenskih analogija* (konceptualnih preslikavanja) i njihovih razdvojenih domena ili provjerom pojedinačnih leksičkih jedinica koje mogu voditi k različitim konceptualnim područjima. To je otvorena baza podataka, budući da svi registrirani korisnici mogu dodavati nove primjere konceptualnih i srodnih im jezičnih metafora. Isti se model primijenio u cilju ovog istraživanja pri identificira-

- I **wasted** my time on this research project.

Just a few examples may lead us to question whether the process of mapping occurs exclusively within two domains or if it can be multidirectional by comprising a number of domains. Goatly (1997/2007) recognises various interrelations or interplays of metaphors. For the purpose of this work, the most interesting one is **diversification**, which is explained as the process of mapping, where different source domains may lead to one target domain. The opposite process is multivalency, where different target domains are understood in terms of one source domain. Conceptual diversification and its language realisations are shown in the following example:

**Table 2: Example of metaphor diversification**

GOOD IS CLEAN	GOOD IS FIRST
He is one of the few <b>clean</b> politicians.	I'm your <b>number-one</b> fan.
It was an <b>immaculate</b> performance.	My family had to take <b>second</b> place to my career.
She had a <b>spotless</b> reputation.	This is a <b>third rate</b> dictionary.

Source: *Metalude*

These examples of both conceptual and language metaphors are taken from the *Metalude* list, a database created by Andrew Goatly at Lingnan University of Hong Kong in the project of the comparative study of Chinese and English conceptual systems. It is an interactive database organized through various research tools, either by examining *root analogies* (conceptual mappings) and their separate domains or by checking individual lexical items that can lead to different conceptual domains. It is an open-set database, as all registered users can add new examples of conceptual and associated language metaphors. The same model has been applied for the purpose of this research in

nju dominantnih koncepata prisutnih u turističkim sloganima širom svijeta.

identifying the most dominant concepts existing in tourism slogans worldwide.

#### 4. ANALIZA KORPUSA

Metodologija korištena u ovom istraživanju bila je semaziološko razvrstavanje turističkih slogana u razna izvorna područja koja stoje umjesto istog ciljnog koncepta DOBRO (DOJMLJIVO / RENOMIRANO). Ona prati osnovni semiotički obrazac da je *znak sve što stoji umjesto nečega drugoga* i u ovom slučaju umjesto istinske ili zamišljene kvalitete ili privlačnosti turističke destinacije. Metodologija uključuje i metonimijska preslikavanja unutar jednog područja, a koja se temelje na uzročno-posljedičnim odnosima kao i odnosa dijela i cjeline.

Korpus sadrži više od stotinu slogana nacionalnih i regionalnih turističkih zajednica, većinom predstavljenih tijekom Svjetskog sajma turizma (WTM) u Londonu 2012. godine i klasificiran je kroz pripadajuća konceptualna preslikavanja. Kao što se već ustanovilo u prethodno spomenutim analizama, jedan slogan može voditi do više vrijednosnih iskaza (Pike, 2004:8), tako da su neki od njih, tamo gdje je primjenjivo, svrstani pod različita preslikavanja.

#### 4. CORPUS ANALYSIS

The methodology used for this research was a semasiological classification of tourism slogans into various source domains that stand for the same target concept of GOOD (IMPRESSIVE or REPUTABLE). It follows the basic semiotic pattern *that sign is everything that stands for something else* and in this case either for real or imagined quality and attractiveness of a tourist destination. It also includes metonymical mappings that, unlike the metaphorical ones, occur within one single domain based on the cause-effect and the part for the whole relations.

The corpus contains over a hundred slogans of national and regional tourist boards, mostly presented at the 2012 World Travel Market in London and is classified into associated conceptual mappings. As already recognised in previously mentioned analyses, a single slogan can contain more than one value proposition (Pike, 2004:8), so some of them, where appropriate, have been used for different mappings.

##### **GOOD IS NATURAL / AUTHENTIC DOBRO JE PRIRODNO**

- Switzerland. Get natural
- Uruguay natural
- Cuba autentica
- Dominican Republic – the nature Island
- Naturally Nepal – once is not enough
- Costa Rica – no artificial ingredients
- Croatia - The Mediterranean as it once was,
- Malta – Truly Mediterranean
- Malaysia – Truly Asia
- Montenegro - Experience the wild beauty
- Trinidad & Tobago – the true Caribbean
- Pure. Natural. Unspoiled. Iceland. The way life should be.
- 100% Pure New Zealand
- Pure Russia

##### **GOOD IS UNDISCOVERED DOBRO JE NEOTKRIVENO**

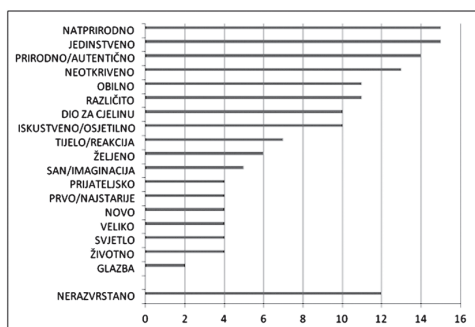
- Discover the unexpected Luxembourg
- Serbia - Discover undiscovered
- Romania – explore the Carpathian garden
- Canada – keep exploring
- Guyana –experience, explore & enjoy
- Reveal your own Russia
- Peru – empire of hidden treasures
- Ukraine, yours to discover
- Sierra Leone – the freedom to explore
- Zambia – Let's explore
- Discover Mongolia
- Japan – Endless discovery
- Come to Bangladesh before the tourists

<p><b>GOOD IS UNIQUE</b> <b>DOBRO JE JEDINSTVENO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uniquely Singapore</li> <li>• Australia. A different light</li> <li>• There's <u>nothing</u> like Australia</li> <li>• There's no place like Hong Kong</li> <li>• Sydney - There's no place like it.</li> <li>• Andalucia. There's only one.</li> <li>• Sicilia. Everything else is in the shade</li> <li>• Ireland – Awaken to a different world</li> <li>• Bulgaria - Unique in its diversity</li> <li>• Czech Republic – Stunningly different</li> <li>• The Seychelles Islands – another world</li> <li>• Georgia – for the best moments of your life</li> <li>• Nicaragua – unica... original!</li> <li>• Indonesia. Ultimate in diversity.</li> <li>• Puerto Rico does it better</li> </ul>	<p><b>GOOD IS DIVERSE</b> <b>DOBRO JE RAZLIČITO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amazing Thailand – Experience variety</li> <li>• Amazing Thailand – Dreams for all seasons</li> <li>• Cyprus. The island for all seasons</li> <li>• Cyprus. A whole world on a single island</li> <li>• Spain. Everything under the sun</li> <li>• Bulgaria – Unique in its diversity</li> <li>• Indonesia. Ultimate in diversity.</li> <li>• Dominican Republic has it all</li> <li>• Karnataka – one state many worlds</li> <li>• Valencia Region – gives you everything</li> <li>• Antigua and Barbuda – the beach is just the beginning</li> </ul>
<p><b>GOOD IS VIVID</b> <b>DOBRO JE ŽIVOTNO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nigeria – tourism is life</li> <li>• Normandy – Love the land. Live the life</li> <li>• Live it up in Singapore!</li> <li>• Ecuador – love life</li> </ul>	<p><b>GOOD IS LIGHT</b> <b>DOBRO JE SVIJETLO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sicilia. Everything else is in the shade</li> <li>• Australia. A different light</li> <li>• Spain. Everything under the sun</li> <li>• Maldives – the sunny side of life</li> </ul>
<p><b>GOOD IS BIG</b> <b>DOBRO JE VELIKO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wales. Big country</li> <li>• Slovakia – Little big country</li> <li>• Croatia – a small country for a great holiday</li> <li>• Bhutan – land of gross national happiness</li> </ul>	<p><b>GOOD IS NEW</b> <b>DOBRO JE NOVO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vietnam. A Destination for the new millennium</li> <li>• Albania – A New Mediterranean to love</li> <li>• South Africa – Inspiring new ways</li> <li>• Estonia. Positively transforming</li> </ul>
<p><b>GOOD IS FIRST / OLDEST</b> <b>DOBRO JE PRVO / NAJSTARIJE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Come to Bangladesh before the tourists</li> <li>• Delaware – the first state</li> <li>• Egypt where it all begins</li> <li>• Ethiopia the cradle of humankind</li> </ul>	<p><b>GOOD IS DREAM / IMAGINATION</b> <b>DOBRO JE SAN / IMAGINACIJA</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amazing Thailand – Dreams for all seasons</li> <li>• Qatar – where dreams come to life</li> <li>• Ireland – Awaken to a different world</li> <li>• Poland – Move your imagination</li> <li>• Korea – Be inspired</li> </ul>

<p><b>GOOD IS SUPERNATURAL</b> <b>DOBRO JE NATPRIRODNO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kerala. God's own country.</li> <li>• Live your myth in Greece</li> <li>• Iceland is my spiritland</li> <li>• India. Eternally yours</li> <li>• North Cyprus – Timeless beauty</li> <li>• Vietnam – timeless charm</li> <li>• Magical Kenya</li> <li>• Zimbabwe – a world of wonders</li> <li>• Refreshingly Sri Lanka – wonder of Asia</li> <li>• Cambodia – Kingdom of wonder</li> <li>• Kazakhstan – the land of wonders</li> <li>• Wonderful Indonesia</li> <li>• Brasil – Sensational!</li> <li>• Incredible India</li> <li>• Rajasthan – The incredible state of India</li> </ul>	<p><b>GOOD IS FRIENDLY</b> <b>DOBRO JE PRIJATELJSKO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scotland welcomes the world</li> <li>• Belarus – Hospitality beyond borders</li> <li>• Abu Dhabi – travellers welcome</li> <li>• You've got a friend in Pennsylvania.</li> </ul>
<p><b>GOOD IS DESIRE</b> <b>DOBRO JE ŽELJENO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Australia – We can't wait to say G'day</li> <li>• Austria. At last!</li> <li>• Austria. You've arrived</li> <li>• I Wish I was in Finland</li> <li>• I need Spain</li> <li>• Bolivia awaits you</li> </ul>	<p><b>GOOD IS MUSIC</b> <b>DOBRO JE GLAZBA</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Argentina – beats to your rhythm</li> <li>• Latvia. The land that sings.</li> </ul>
<p><b>GOOD IS EXCESSIVE</b> <b>DOBRO JE OBILNO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More than the usual</li> <li>• Italy – Much More</li> <li>• Australia – Beautiful one day, perfect the next</li> <li>• It's more fun in the Philippines</li> <li>• Tunisia – there's more to celebrate</li> <li>• Naturally Nepal – once is not enough</li> <li>• Bermuda – so much more</li> <li>• Abu Dhabi – and you think you've done it all?</li> <li>• Turkey unlimited</li> <li>• Belarus – Hospitality beyond borders</li> <li>• Japan – Endless discovery</li> </ul>	<p><b>GOOD IS EXPERIENCE / SENSATION</b> <b>DOBRO JE ISKUSTVENO / OSJETILNO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I Feel Slovenia</li> <li>• Lithuania – See it, feel it, love it</li> <li>• Paraguay – you have to feel it</li> <li>• Montenegro – Experience the Wild Beauty</li> <li>• Guyana – experience, explore &amp; enjoy</li> <li>• Swaziland – a royal experience</li> <li>• Mauritius – it's a pleasure</li> <li>• Latvia – Best enjoyed slowly</li> <li>• Jump into Ireland</li> <li>• Morocco the country that travels within you</li> </ul>

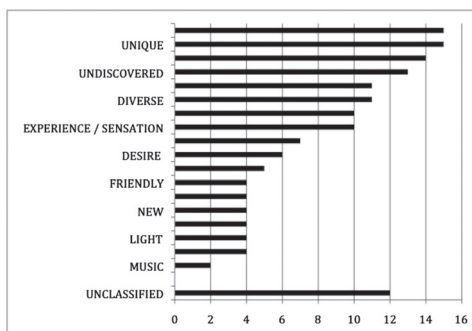
<p><b>GOOD EMOTION IS BODY / REACTION</b>  <b>DOBAR OSJEĆAJ JE TIJELO / REAKCIJA</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bosnia – Your heart-shaped land</li> <li>• Taiwan – the heart of Asia</li> <li>• Malawi the warm heart of Africa</li> <li>• Smile! You are in Spain!</li> <li>• My Indonesia – Just a smile away</li> <li>• Gambia – the smiling coast of Africa</li> <li>• Hong Kong will take your breath away!</li> </ul>	<p><b>A (GOOD) PART FOR A WHOLE (DOBAR) DIO ZA CJELINU</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Albania – A new Mediterranean to love</li> <li>• Portugal – Europe’s West Coast</li> <li>• The Mediterranean as it once was</li> <li>• Cyprus. A whole world on a single island</li> <li>• Malta – Truly Mediterranean</li> <li>• Malaysia – Truly Asia</li> <li>• Trinidad &amp; Tobago – the true Caribbean</li> <li>• Romania – explore the Carpathian garden</li> <li>• Refreshingly Sri Lanka – wonder of Asia</li> <li>• Gambia – the smiling coast of Africa</li> </ul>
<p><b>UNCLASSIFIED NERAZVRSTANO</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Holland – add some orange</li> <li>• Colombia – the only risk is wanting to stay</li> <li>• California – find yourself here</li> <li>• Venezuela is your destination</li> <li>• Germany – the travel destination</li> <li>• Go Goa – a perfect holiday destination</li> <li>• Cameroon is back</li> <li>• China Tourism / Beautiful China</li> <li>• Thailand always amazes you</li> <li>• www. fjjime.com</li> <li>• Definitely Dubai</li> <li>• Beautiful Bangladesh</li> </ul>	

*Slika 1: Kvantitativna analiza koncepata izvornih područja u turističkim sloganima na Svjetskom sajmu turizma u Londonu 2012.*



Klasifikacija pokazuje prilično ograničen broj od 18 izvornih domena izvučenih

*Figure 1: Quantitative analysis of the source domain concepts in the 2012 WTM tourism slogans*



The classification shows a rather limited number of 18 source domains extracted from



iz promatranog korpusa. Štoviše, otkriva da su najrecentniji turistički slogani grupirani unutar tek nekoliko dominantnih koncepata prikazanih u Slici 1.

Analiza sažeto prikazana u Slici 1 pokazuje da se dominantni koncepti izvučeni iz turističkih slogana oslanjaju na ideju o turističkoj destinaciji kao NADNARAVNOJ, JEDINSTVENOJ, PRIRODNOJ / AUTENTIČNOJ I NEOTKRIVENOJ. Međutim, u najvećem broju slučajeva slogani koji leže iza takvih koncepata otkrivaju vrlo malo jedinstvenih obilježja destinacije koji bi ih izdvajali od konkurencije, nego naprotiv, ostaju na razini pukih deklaracija o vlastitim 'kvalitetama'. Što je onda to što ih čini jedinstvenima, prirodnima ili autentičnima? Izneštaujuće ili ne, nerazvrstani slogani čine se 'jedinstvenijima', ne zato što se takvima tek deklariraju, nego zato što to i pokazuju. Na primjer, slogan *Holland – add some orange* poigrava se s jedinstvenim simboličkim obilježjem destinacije *narančom*, smještajući ga u vrlo učinkovit, ali rijetko korišten, koncept ukusnog jela ili pića. Kolumbija uistinu riskira ističući negativni stereotip o sebi kao opasnoj destinaciji, okrećući ga u pozitivni koncept iskrenosti. Kalifornija, s druge strane, vrlo učinkovito i na vrlo jednostavan način promiče ideju individualizma s kojom je se obično povezuje, kombinirajući je s dominantnim turističkim konceptom istraživanja okrenutim i prema sebi samima.

Ovi primjeri povlače za sobom pitanje treba li se slogan, da bi izražavao jedinstveni vrijednosni iskaz, temeljiti isključivo i na jedinstvenom konceptu? Ne nužno. Kognitivna teorija metafore prepoznaje jednako i svježe i nove koncepte, kao i originalna jezična rješenja unutar postojećih koncepata. Što je tako jedinstveno kod Bjelorusije kad se promovira unutar 'potrošenih' koncepata prijateljstva i obilnosti '*preko granica*'. Time se jednostavno izokreće negativni stereotip o prilično izoliranoj europskoj zemlji u pozitivnu autoironiju gdje se *gostoljubivost* iskazuje u 'novom' okružju. Ova interpreta-

the corpus. Moreover, it also reveals that most recent tourism slogans are clustered within just a couple of the most dominating concepts as shown in Figure 1.

The analysis summarised in Figure 1 shows that the most dominant concepts extracted from tourism slogans rely on the idea of a tourist destination as SUPERNATURAL, UNIQUE, NATURAL/AUTHENTIC and UNDISCOVERED. However, in most of the cases the slogans that lie behind such concepts reveal very few unique attributes of the destination that would single it out from its competition, instead they remain on the level of mere declarations about such 'qualities'. What is it then that makes them unique, natural or authentic? Surprisingly or not, unclassified slogans appear to be *more* unique, not because they just declare it, but because they show it. For example, the slogan *Holland – add some orange* plays with the unique symbolic attribute of the destination *orange*, placed in a very effective, but rarely used concept of a delicious meal or drink. Colombia really risks by putting forward a negative stereotype about itself as a dangerous destination, by turning it into a positive concept of sincerity. California, on the other hand, very effectively and in a very simple way promotes the idea of individualism it is usually associated with, by combining it with the dominant tourism concept of exploration turned even toward oneself.

These examples imply a question whether a slogan in order to express a unique value proposition should be based exclusively on a unique concept? Not necessarily. The cognitive theory of metaphor recognizes both fresh and novel concepts and original language solutions within existing concepts. What is it so unique about Belarus promoting itself within a combination of two 'worn-out' concepts of friendliness and excessiveness '*beyond borders*'? It discretely turns the negative stereotype of a rather isolated European country into a positive self-irony where *hospitality* gains a 'fresh' environ-

cija može biti puka 'zabluda o namjeri', koja možda nema ništa s namjerama autora, tako da je dvosmislenost navedene kombinacije riječi tek slučajna, ali 'neograničena semioza' (Eco, 1976: 68-69) ne isključuje nijednog interpretanta u komunikacijskom procesu i sva su iščitavanja legitimna jer nečiji višak ili manjak znanja o nekoj destinaciji su također legitimni budući da se temelje na vlastitom iskustvu.

Nadalje, ispada da su učinkoviti slogani oni koji uključuju u sebi ideju 'konceptualnog stapanja' ili 'konceptualne integracije' koju su razradili Fauconnier i Turner (1998). Slogan *Sicilia – everything else is in the shade*, premda mu se može zamjeriti negativno uspoređujuće oglašavanje, dobiva na učinkovitosti kombiniranjem koncepata jedinstvenosti i svjetla u efektu sliku koja naglašava njene glavne prirodne prednosti kao odredišta.

Naposljetku, zadnji primjer nameće pitanje mogu li se opisani koncepti promatrati kao konceptualne univerzalije ili kao relativni koncepti nastali kao produkt određene kulture. Kognitivna teorija metafore definitivno prepoznaje konceptualne univerzalije kao nešto prirođeno ljudskoj vrsti i kao dio zajedničkog tjelesnog iskustva. Na primjer, koncept SVJETLA se direktno povezuje s konceptom TOPLINE (sunca) kao univerzalno pozitivnoga / dobrog i metaforički povezanoga s konceptom LJUBAV. To vjerojatno proizlazi iz prvog tjelesnog doživljaja djeteta kao posljedice majčina zagrljaja. Štoviše, ako toliko zemalja širom svijeta dijele iste koncepte u vlastitom promicanju kao atraktivnih turističkih odredišta, mogu li se takvi koncepti smatrati univerzalnima? Što je drugo takav koncept nego dio mita, općenito opisanog u semiotici kao 'naturalizacija kulturalnoga' (Barthes, 1972:130)? Trenutna namjera ovoga rada nije da odgovori na takva pitanja, ali ona svakako mogu biti podloga za daljnje analize.

This interpretation may be just 'intentional fallacy' that has nothing to do with the objectives of the authors, so the ambiguity of the given word combination might be merely coincidental, but 'unlimited semiosis' (Eco, 1976:68-69) does not exclude any interpretant in the process of communication and all readings are legitimate as anyone's surplus or lack of knowledge about the destination is also legitimate since based on one's own experience.

Furthermore, it also turns out that effective slogans seem to be the ones that comprise the idea of 'conceptual blending' or 'conceptual integration' elaborated by Fauconnier and Turner (1998). The slogan *Sicilia – everything else is in the shade*, although it may be objected for negative comparative advertising, gains its effectiveness by combining the concepts of uniqueness and light into an effective image, which points out its main natural asset as a destination.

Finally, the last example poses a question whether the described concepts can be viewed as conceptual universals or relative concepts as products of the particular culture(s). Cognitive theory of metaphor definitely recognizes conceptual universals as something innate to humankind as part of our common bodily experience. For example, the concept of LIGHT is directly related to the concept of WARMTH (sun) as universally positive/good and metaphorically related to the concept of LOVE. It presumably derives from the first bodily sensation of a child being embraced by their mother. Moreover, if so many countries from all over the world share the same concepts in promoting themselves as attractive tourist destinations, can all such concepts be considered as universal? Or has tourism created its own culture of positive concepts so frequently used that they have become accepted as natural and therefore unquestionable? What else is such a concept then, but a part of a myth, generally described by semiotics as the 'naturalization of the cultural' (Barthes, 1972:130)? The aim of this article is not to answer such questions, but they surely can be a ground for further analysis.

## 5. ZAKLJUČAK

Ovaj je rad pokazao da kognitivna teorija metafore može poslužiti kao osnova za analizu slogana i da može biti komplementarna već postojećim modelima. Njome se ne implicira da su baš svi slogani u svojoj biti metaforični, nego da možemo koristiti istu metodologiju pri identifikaciji središnjih koncepata koje dijele mnogi različiti slogani i transferirati ih u ideju o dobroj i privlačnoj turističkoj destinaciji kao ciljnoj domeni. Korist od takvog pristupa je višestruka. U prvom redu, kad se shvati kako su slogani konceptualno strukturirani, to može pomoći u stvaranju originalnih jezičnih rješenja unutar postojećih koncepata ili nas može navesti da stvaramo svježe i nove koncepte koji će promovirati prednosti turističke destinacije na najbolji i različit način. Time se ujedno sugerira da vrlo korisna strategija leži u kombiniranju više postojećih koncepata unutar jednog slogana, tako da stopljeni elementi mogu stvoriti originalnu sliku destinacije. Koji god se put odabere u promotivnim kampanjama, vrijedno se podsjetiti da su stalno potrebne nove metafore koje bi povezivale promjenjivu prirodu turista s neprekidnom mijenom okoliša (Dann, 2002:13).

## 5. CONCLUSION

This article has shown that cognitive theory of metaphor can serve as the basis for the analysis of slogans and to be complementary to already existing models. It does not imply that all slogans are in their essence metaphorical, but that we can use the same methodology in identifying the central concepts shared by a number of different slogans and transfer them to the idea of a good and attractive tourism destination as the target domain. The benefits of such an approach are manifold. In the first place, when we realize how slogans are conceptually structured, it can help us create original language solutions within existing concepts or can lead us to create fresh and new concepts, which will promote assets of a tourism destination in the best and different way. It also suggests that a very useful strategy is combining a number of already existing concepts within a single slogan, so that the amalgamated elements can create an original image of the destination. Whatever choice is taken in promotional campaigns, it is always worth remembering that “... *more and more novel and associated metaphors are required which link the changing nature of the tourist to an ever mutable environment*” (Dann, 2002:13).

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