

# Language and Cultural Identity in the Europeanization Process of Tourism in Poznań (Poland)

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European policy makers' emphasis on the need to promote plurilingualism and intercultural communication is often seen as "vital to harmonious engagement between peoples and languages". Cultural tourism is seen as an activity (and economy) which has the capacity to promote this engagement. However, the research results obtained to date do not provide an answer to the question of whether the cultural tourism supports *lingua franca* or offers new chances for plurilingualism and intercultural communication. Further, there is no doubt that dynamically developing reshaped (europeanized) cultural tourism demands new linguistic skills which connect language and culture knowledge, enabling not simply communication but also production of meanings contributing to the formation of identity.

The following analysis explores some of the effects that the concept and practice of 'European culture' and 'unity in diversity' have in the tourism sector in the city of Poznań (Poland) in terms of cultural and linguistic changes. The city owes its high position to the International Trade Fair, commercial exchanges, modern companies and universities, as well as the quality of its labour market. Having a very commercial and business oriented profile, the city struggles to present itself as a destination for cultural

tourism and to find means of addressing many of the issues surrounding the planning, promoting, developing and linking of culture and tourism. In many instances the European Funds act as motivator helping to manage cultural tourism.

The questions analyzed particularly concern the impacts of the Europeanisation of culture and cultural tourism on language or questions the role of language in “cultural tourism” (requested language skills in cultural, language used in guidebooks, labels on cultural monuments, events etc., the language of cultural tourism promotion, city guide language policy, translation etc.) as well as the impacts of Europeanisation of culture on translation in a broader sense (translation and its challenges are essential problems of tourism, e.g. how to translate a local site into a global/European site, or how to translate European heritage into local diversity).

## **The Methodological Approach and Data**

In order to grasp the changes in the constructions of identity in the area of cultural tourism, we analysed the field using different sources of data related to European cultural tourism projects, urban cultural tourism buildings and events (museums, festivals, theatres) as well as urban guides. These corpora are primarily composed of interviews with City Hall workers who are responsible for the development of cultural tourism as well as with the managers of particular outlets responsible for implementing the relevant policies (exhibiting, repertoire, promotional etc.) Interviewees were thus chosen in accordance with Giesen’s (1993) social concept, which speaks of identities perceived as constructed by groups that exercise power over the discursive process creating that identity.

The interviews conducted regarded questions concerning three central issues: the importance of various institutions regarding cultural tourism (1), the possible influence of the European Union on cultural tourism (2) and the language policy applied in the field of cultural tourism (3). Other collected material included texts and photos published in different tourist brochures, advertisements, promotional films, DVDs and travelogues. All the texts constituting the corpus are domestically produced and their relationship to international discourse can be shown only by deconstructing the ways in which they are created. Often competing or

even contradictory national and international identifications are created in different contexts, understood here as different 'discourse production sites' (van Dijk 1985).

This analysis aims to show the different identities and identifications created (or reconstructed) in the field of cultural tourism as well as the ways in which they are realised through language and applied policies (tourism, museum, exhibiting etc.) (Krzyżanowski 2008; Wodak et al. 2009). For the purposes of data analysis we adopted the so-called co-spatial identity theoretical-analytical model (Krzyżanowski 2008). The proposed model assumes the existence of two crucial spaces relevant to the discursive creation of identity. These spaces are a) the discursive space and b) the identity space. The discursive space is composed of linguistic practices, i.e. constructions using particular figures of speech and relevant networks of arguments, thanks to which collective identifications are created. The identity space takes in the sum of created identifications with different objects in the national or international arena.

## **The City of Poznań**

Poznań is a city with a population of 575,000 in west-central Poland. It is one of the oldest and largest Polish cities, the historic capital of the Wielkopolska region, in which the Polish state was born. The region is the most affluent province of the country, inhabited by over three million people. In the past it played the role of state capital and the seat of its rulers. Following a Decree of the President of Poland, the historic old town of Poznań was recognised on December 11th 2008 as an historic monument.

As a consequence of the historic development of the city (the incorporation of Poznań into Prussia in 1773 and the later struggles, including culture, of Wielkopolars against partition) there is a stronger regional identity among its inhabitants than in other regions of Poland. The best-known examples of this local Poznań identity today are: Wielkopolska cuisine, slang and traditions, folk festivals and traditional crafts.

However, as a result of its geographical location, Poznań (lying between East and West, half-way between Warsaw and Berlin), from the 14th century to the present day, has been above all an important trading centre (today, business). Of crucial significance for the development and

position of the city in the post-war period was the Poznań International Fair, which to this day is considered as being the main factor contributing to the openness of the residents of Poznań to other cultures:

Poznań is undoubtedly one of the most European cities in Poland. Its multiculturalism was deeply ingrained even under communism; it was a window to the world. Thanks to the fairs (...) the degree of culture shock that arose when the system changed was somewhat minimised, and we're a little more open to foreigners. Poznań has all the requisites to become a fully European city: a good location, culture, a large and excellent University, valued academic centres, with more and more foreign companies moving here and employing foreigners. [Poznań Local Tourist Organization, PLOT]

Poznań is promoted as a lively center for trade, industry and education. Presently it is the leader among fair organizers in Poland and one of the most important in Central and Eastern Europe. The current slogan of the city is "*Eastern energy, Western style*", associating the city with an efficient European economy. Poznań has been trying to position itself on the urban tourism market while facing strong competition from other large culturally rich cities, since international cultural tourism has until recently played only an "accompanying role" to international business tourism. Work is currently underway on the creation of a new Poznań Strategic Development Plan up to 2030. In the current development strategy the city doesn't emphasize the importance of cultural tourism (instead focusing on business tourism) for the city's development. However, an element of the city's structural mission is 'emphasizing the historical and cultural values of a uniting Europe'.

National, ethnic or cultural minorities, although present in Poznań, do not currently play a significant role in shaping the multilingual nature of the city. An example of this is the Poznań-Bambergers, farmers who arrived in Poznań from the area around Bamberg at the invitation of the city's authorities in several waves between 1719 and 1753, constituting a distinct ethnic group with a different language. Over time the Bambergers totally assimilated with the Polish population only retaining their traditional ceremonies. Poznań slang doesn't have the status of a regional language and is only a specific Polish slang, common to all residents segregated into Prussia, with its characteristic vocabulary composed mainly of borrowings from German. In terms of language, Poznań is a homogeneous city.

## The EU's Cultural Policy, National and Regional Documents

The actual title of the most important document on Poland's cultural strategy doesn't contain a direct reference to the cultural policy of the EU. The date of this document's creation, though, clearly indicates the accession of Poland to the EU as the date for adopting new guidelines in the sphere of culture<sup>1</sup>:

The Ministry for National Heritage decided to draw up a document which would present further means for the development of Polish culture. And so they came up with the National Strategy for Cultural Development 2004–2013, which was the first document of its kind drawn up for this area of culture and as part of that national strategy for the development of culture, certain priorities were defined, which were to be achieved, certain specific directions, specific paths. [the Royal-Imperial Route]

The national strategy for culture is the basis for formulating national programmes encompassing particular sectors of culture. It is also the basis for formulating the activities and priorities for operational programmes within which there are opportunities to apply for EU funds.

Among others, there was a programme titled 'National Cultural Programme for the Protection of Historic Buildings and Cultural Heritage'. And (...) in this programme we find an entry regarding the Royal Routes in Polish cities. In turn, on the basis of other research we find 5 such cities, namely, Warsaw, Krakow, Gdańsk, Poznań and Wrocław. It claims that these cities have great potential for cultural tourism, and we certainly have something to offer in the European tourist market. It was also stated that it would be good to link these cities with some sort of common, representative product which would emphasize the identity of these places, the character of Polish cities, and it said it would be good to organise Royal Routes in these 5 cities. Well, as you know these routes are already a historical fact in Warsaw, Krakow and in Gdańsk. In Poznań and Wrocław these routes weren't there, they didn't function, they weren't a part of the identity, they weren't a part of the history." [the Royal-Imperial Route]

The National Strategy for the Development of Culture 2004–2013, which was mentioned above, and which contains an entry regarding the creation of royal routes in 5 Polish cities, including Poznań<sup>2</sup> led to the relevant entries in the National Cultural Programme for the Protection of Historic Buildings and Cultural Heritage, which in November 2004 was added to the development plan for the city of Poznań. So it could be said

that accession to the EU stimulated an impulse to draw up a plan of cultural (tourism) action at a national level in which the role of individual regions or cities with potential to compete with other cultural centres in Europe was initially defined. National criteria, though, do not always translate into effective decisions and actions at a local level, as confirmed by the two quotes below:

And for Warsaw a schedule was created in terms of creating that Royal Route and the city of Warsaw become an example for the other four cities. In Warsaw they, in a manner of speaking, got a shift on with building this route (...) but unfortunately, it ended as quickly as it began. And while today you may hear that something's happening along the Royal Route in Warsaw, (...) but that activity, as part of the royal route in Warsaw, is mostly (...) investment in infrastructure. There isn't any social, cultural or educational investment going on there. [the Royal-Imperial Route]

The Royal-Imperial Route is a mixed bag. Jokers once said that it's something you can say is 'about everything, and a few more things besides, meaning it's not a themed product, it just includes everything that could be of interest in Poznań (...) A modern tourist product, if we're talking about Europeanization, is based on a specific goal, a defined consumer and also on a defined theme. [guide 1]

In the above examples it is clear that there is poor regional 'transferability' of general EU or state cultural policy in specific, effective cultural activities by state-owned cultural institutions at a local level. While these activities result, though not always, in the implementation of hard infrastructure and are not translated into events of a social nature, they are chaotic in nature, aiming at gaining financial support for as many projects as possible whose linkage under a single programme does not stem from a strategy for creating new cultural identifications (Europeanization).

In relation to the research questions it can be said that Poland's accession to the EU marked a turning point in the general perception of culture, especially its role in tourism. This change in perception, which is only an indirect result of the application of entries contained in EU documents, envisages a certain change in thinking among cultural activists as well as the residents of Poznań – culture became a commercial entity, and engagement in culture was to be a money-making enterprise:

You could say that 2004 was the year of quite large changes for Poland, not only in terms of us joining the EU, but because in Polish culture in

general there started to be this idea that there was this breakthrough. Before then culture was treated as something that needed to be subsidized, and not something we made any profit from. [the Royal-Imperial Route]

The above example of an interviewee's response reflects the conclusions emerging from the analysis of the concepts of activity by the European Community and the European Union in terms of cultural tourism. An analysis of the documents shows that in terms of cultural tourism the EU places more emphasis on the economic scale and aims of the event rather than the cultural aims. Thus culture becomes the content within a certain economic framework which is directly shaped by financing (also from EU funds) and its associated demands. Thus the main conclusion resulting from the research is that the understanding of culture, from our standpoint as a part of cultural tourism creating identity, has undergone a qualitative change leading to a new perception of it (culture as a commercial product). It should be taken into account that creating identification with the national or international space in terms of cultural tourism is partially a derivative of such a function of culture. Projects in the field of cultural tourism are thus intended to create a recognisable 'brand', and as a tourist product are expected to become a source of identification for residents of the city/tourists. Here are two examples:

(...) what we do has to be very clearly identifiable. So we hope, and this is (...) our main drive, (...) that we can achieve this aim. And not only on a local or national level, but also at a European and global level. [Stary Browar<sup>3</sup>]

We really want the brand of the Royal-Imperial Route to be identifiable above all to the residents of Poznań. It's also connected with our activities aimed at, as I told you earlier, popularizing knowledge about Poznań, building a regional identity, it's also connected with these educational projects. [the Royal-Imperial Route]

## **Constructing Identification in the Field of Cultural Tourism**

An analysis of the material gathered makes it possible to identify the strategies used to construct identification in the area of cultural tourism which we were researching in Poznań and, together with that – shaping identity (Wodak 2004; 2009). The recipients of the constructed identification are

not only the residents of Poznań, but also Polish and foreign tourists. These strategies include those of emphasizing the unity of a common European culture, similarities/differences between countries, stressing national/regional uniqueness/distinctiveness or modernisation as a factor in the Europeanization of cultural tourism.

### Emphasizing common features of different European cultures

Every city has its national trail, for example if the French come, it's obvious, you show them the Jesuit college, because Napoleon spent several weeks there. There the peace treaty between France and Saxony was signed (...) If they're Germans, well, for example, you can show them the place (...) where Hindenburg was born (...) he was the President of Germany, or the Poznań fort which the Prussians built, or the Imperial route. [guide 1]

The above identification strategy is intended to present Poland as a country that has close links with the culture of other European countries, and especially the culture of the country of the tourist visiting Poznań. Discovering traces of the presence of one's own country in the place visited is supposed to create a feeling of closeness and community. Another example of this strategy, aimed both at the foreign tourists and the residents of Poznań, is more open in character:

We try in the displays to take into account our shared European history, because there's no Poznań without Poland and Europe. Most of this Europe is in the 'Mediaeval' display (...) about the contacts between Poznań and Mediaeval Europe, and an example of those contacts is the Limoges Crosier (France). And that mediaeval Europe, these are the closest links between Poznań and Europe. [Museum of the History of Poznań].

The strategy of building a new European identity also depends here on showing the extent of Poland's presence in European heritage. This strategy also seems to contradict the standard phrase about 'Poland's entry into Europe', which was popular during the period in which Poland aspired to join the EU, and serves as an example of the unjustified geopolitical limitations of the idea of Europe to the geographical scope of the EU. The above strategy is also visible in museum pamphlets in foreign languages:

Can historical events from over one thousand years back have any meaning for a modern Pole? They surely can, because at that time Poland first emerged in Europe as an important political entity.<sup>4</sup>

The connection between Poland and Europe is assembled here around the binary opposition of the past and present. It should be emphasized that the reference point in creating the above strategy is almost exclusively European. Only in two cases researched, on account of the nature of the activity (Archaeological Museum, Stary Browar), did the interviewees refer to anything beyond the European cultural context.

### Emphasizing similarities / differences between countries

An interesting phenomenon in the construction of identification – above all for the needs of residents – lies in references to rivalries between Polish regions or cities. This element has a much smaller significance in its international dimension (emphasizing features specific to a given nation), which may be influenced by adversarial competition, for example, in terms of acquiring EU funds as part of the same operating programme, or participation in a programme in which several Polish cities compete, such as that which took place during preparations for the competition to be named European Cultural Capital 2016:

In Poznań we have Jewish cultural events organised at a very high level. Judaism Day is basically organised by the Archbishop. The Coaxis Society, which is meant to promote Jewish culture organised a Judaism Day across Poland, but here it lasts a week. [ECC 2016]

There is an opposite tendency to this, which we can read in the ‘National Cultural Programme for the Protection of Historic Buildings and Cultural Heritage’, from the National Cultural Strategy, which recommends that several Polish cities draw up and promote a common brand, even based on something not yet present in the city’s landscape, which could have a distinctive presence on the European tourism market:

Well, of course, the routes (...) in Warsaw, Krakow and Gdańsk exist, in Poznań and Wrocław these routes weren’t there, they didn’t function, they weren’t a part of the identity, they weren’t a part of the history. [the Royal-Imperial Route]

Thus the conclusion may be drawn that the strategy of constructing identity by emphasizing features specific to a given (European) nation or culture is characteristic of those organisations, documents or individuals that operate at a national level and are responsible for the country's tourist image (in this case Poland) in the international arena. In relation to regions or individual cities their 'Europeanness' is extrapolated most often from within an atmosphere of internal rivalry.

### Emphasizing national/regional uniqueness/distinctiveness

A derivative of the above-discussed identification strategy is finding elements distinctive to a specific city/region, and by emphasizing them building a regional identity based on a feeling of uniqueness or a shared goal (here, victory in the competition to be named European Cultural Capital). On the website for the 'Poznań – European Cultural Capital' programme a separate section was created entitled 'What makes us different', containing a list of the best-known examples of local identity, such as:

- *Wielkopolska cuisine* (special dumplings, potato pancakes, potatoes with a special sour cream sauce, St Martin's croissants);
- *Slang and traditions* (*Stary Marych* [a fictional hero from the city], the City's Saints' day – Peter and Paul);
- *Folk festivals*: St. Martin's Days – the Saint's day of the city's main street, Potato Day, Corpus Christi processions including Poznań-Bambergers in their traditional costume, St. John's Fair, Uhlan Day;
- *Traditional crafts*: patissiers, luthiers, chemists;
- Values: order, hard-work, thoroughness, thrift [www.2016poznan.pl]

The head of the 'Poznań ECC 2016' office speaks in a similar tone, when listing a series of events exclusive to Poznań:

- International Animator festival,
- Etnoport festival,
- Malta,
- Highly developed network of alternative theatres [Poznań ECC 2016 programme office]

The above aspects are especially highlighted in the leaflets prepared by the City Hall and the Poznań Information Office. They are designed to create a feeling among tourists of the uniqueness of the tourist experience, whereas for the local community they constitute a source of regional identification and signify their distinctiveness within European culture.

## Emphasizing modernisation as a factor in the Europeanization of cultural tourism

An analysis of the material gathered shows that the Europeanization of culture goes hand in hand with the theme of modernization – so an indication of Europeanness is also the way in which culture is delivered to its consumers in a technologically and visually attractive way:

This museum [June 1956 Poznań Uprising Museum] is one of the first [in Poznań] multimedia museums, which takes advantage of the possibilities offered by computers and modern audiovisual technology. This museum is the sign of a shift in thinking about culture and history in Poznań.” [Muzeum Poznańskiego Czerwca 1956]

Visualizations, modern museums and festival spaces, attractive museums and tourist publications are all there to more effectively deliver broadly understood culture – but they also have significance in the Polish context with regard to the construction of a new European identity using the dichotomy ‘yesterday-today’:

We’d like it to develop but of course here again funds are a limiting factor (...) but still we’re evolving. We have an audio guide, state-of-the-art publications – the pamphlets *used to be* unattractive, crude.” [Archaeological Museum, emphasis added]

We have a good idea how modern museums work in the West and as far as possible we’re trying to *make up for lost time* and catch up with them”. [State Museum, emphasis added]

Making culture available to the general public (tourists or residents) also means making it visible in the city through a network of signposts, which is treated as a kind of symbol for Europeanization through modernization:

The signposting of historic buildings is a European standard. We have signposts on street corners too, they’re pretty, they’re attractive ... the maps are

readable. There are also large information boards in Polish, English and German. Recently some German tourists were saying that, well, they were impressed, they really liked it, and especially that the information was in German.” [guide 2, similarly: interviews tourist 1, tourist 2]

... it's investment associated with the so-called lifebelts. This in turn is associated with the city's information system. After all, if a tourist is to get to know our culture, historic buildings and their connection with European culture we have to provide a source of information where it's available. ... The city's information system is the total of all the informational elements in the form of signposts, tourist information which can be found on the streets of Poznań. And the lifebelts are these illuminated boards which you can find on the Sary Rynek, or Ostrów Tumski, on the city walls. Illuminated panels where, apart from tourist information, there's also a map of the immediate surroundings showing the tourist attractions. So these are also our undertaking, in collaboration with the urban Roads Authority, we often consult with the City's Historic Buildings Officer. [the Royal-Imperial Route]

The aspect of modernization as a theme shaping the identity of residents or tourists using the city's cultural space is not limited to modernisation in the strict sense, meaning investment in infrastructure or renovations. Modernisation also encompasses new methods of understanding culture, its transformation from a phenomenon accessible to the elite, to a mass phenomenon, absorbed into the structure of the city<sup>5</sup>. An example of the revitalisation of the urban landscape through culture and making the achievements of alternative theatres available to a wider public in non-theatrical spaces is the Malta street theatre festival, the Eunetstar founding society, supported by EU funds as part of the Kultura 2000 programme:

In the Sary Rynek, on the streets of Poznań, by Malta Lake (...) the festival can take over any space (...) the biggest discovery is unquestionably the Stara Rzeźnia<sup>6</sup>

The above analysis, drawing on the model by Wodak (1999) and Quenzel (2005) indicates the multifarious constructions of discursive strategy in the area of cultural tourism (museum, exhibiting, urban policies etc.) referring in turn to the region (the city of Poznań), Poland and Polish national culture, and Europe considered as an international discourse space. The application of particular strategies leads at the same time to the construction of various identifications with all the entities

mentioned. On the basis of the above, it is possible to demonstrate a link between the development of cultural tourism and the creation of an open identity (c.f. Hall 1996:4), in which there is room for different types of identification, sometimes existing in contradiction with one another.

## Language as an Indicator of the Europeanization of Cultural Tourism

The quantitative linguistic picture

An analysis of leaflets, pamphlets and websites of cultural tourism locations brings few surprising results in relation to the foreign languages present in them. The majority of these materials are bilingual, either Polish-English or Polish-German, or trilingual, Polish-English-German, taking into account the perceived need for translations into these languages. While the official website of the city of Poznań is offered in Polish, English and German, the content of the City Tourist Board site is given only in Polish. The influence of English is found in both the Polish and German versions. As shown in Figure 1, the English version of the city slogan “*Eastern energy, Western style*” is used also in the German translation, while in Polish a completely different expression is used combining Polish and English “*Miasto know-how*” (“Place of know-how”)7.



Figure 1 Poznań logo in three languages.

The places researched do not carry out their own statistics regarding visiting tourists (with the exception of City Hall and the Poznań Local Tourist Organisation, which prepare materials based on requirements derived from Institute of Tourism statistics8) and as a result they choose a translation format on the basis of personal intuition or their own convictions about the widespread knowledge of English:

We try to make sure the information is available in English at the very least, that at least English is there somewhere.” [Archaeological Museum]

We choose English, *because it's the most widespread language*. [Museum of the History of Poznań, emphasis added]

However, all our catalogues are bilingual. That's normal now. It simply can't be any other way now. [Stary Browar]

A not insignificant factor in making accessible important content for cultural tourism in many languages is the financial resources required for such an undertaking, which – with one exception – are significantly restricted in all cases:

We managed to produce brochures in Polish, German and English. We're restricted by money. It's a success, believe me, even publishing a brochure in German. [Archaeological Museum]

An exception to the above rule is the entirely private enterprise 'Maquettes of Old Poznań' which makes the content of its multimedia display available in six foreign languages: German, English, Spanish, French, Italian and Russian. The owner is currently considering broadening its range of languages to include Czech and Dutch. Although a wide array of languages on offer or the availability of content in at least two languages, English and German, in cultural tourism is according to interviewees a Europeanizing influence, this argument remains in conflict with the range of languages on offer in tourism the 1980s and 1990s.

The need [for foreign languages] is greater now. Once it was different. I know we had old brochures in *German, English, Russian and French*, but they were very old, ugly. [Archaeological Museum, emphasis added]

There are really old materials from the seventies or earlier. Yes, there were leaflets back then in *English, French, German and Russian*. But it wasn't continued. [Museum of the History of Poznań, emphasis added]

If, however, our interviewees clearly observe positive changes regarding the need for and availability of foreign languages in the field of cultural tourism, defining it as quantitative (growth in the need and range of offer), and at the same time the data they give indicates that the current number of languages in which materials, leaflets, films etc. are prepared is smaller than several years ago, they must be referring to changes in the quality of these materials which they are unable to specify adequately, at best indicating their graphic design.

## The qualitative linguistic picture

Only one of the respondents, a German-language tour guide, accurately diagnoses the changes which have taken place regarding foreign languages in the field of cultural tourism in recent years:

As far as the translation [of maps] that I'm looking at, this one happens to be German. There are small slips, but it's definitely better than what there was before (...) what Poznań used to show even at tourism fairs concerning particular objects. They were financed by institutions supporting tourism three or four years ago; they were so bad that on four sides there were a hundred and thirty errors, because I took the bother to count them. Also, you can imagine, when with every third or fourth word there's a mistake, and some of the words, they were so poorly chosen that all sorts of interesting things happened (...) This is partially improved; I know that this thing is better than what there was a couple of years ago. [city guide 1]

So the quality of the actual translations in the strict linguistic sense has improved – they don't contain glaring linguistic errors which make the material unreadable and reduce the meaning and prestige of the cultural artefacts in the eyes of the tourists.

In addition, individual respondents clearly recognise the difficulties and shortcomings of linguistic translations commissioned for the purposes of tourism, pointing out the lack of competence of translators in translating technical terms as well as the highly specialised nature of the texts commissioned:

The translation of archaeological texts into English is a catastrophe, because it repeatedly ends up with the specialist terminology being translated by us. It's difficult to know what to call things (...) I was with a group of Americans and I asked them what [something] was called. They weren't sure. [Archaeological Museum]

The above statement highlights the incomprehensibility even of properly translated – by specialists – texts into English by native speakers of the language, in this case English. Empirical questioning must test whether highly linguistically specialised translation of texts for cultural purposes into the language regarded as the *lingua franca* are meeting their informational aim, or if they cause most information to be lost (on account of their being overly technical). This aspect was also broached by one of our interviewees:

There are difficulties with translations into English (...) the problem is that this language, which is foreign for us, is also a foreign language for the tourists that come here (...) in this case the English needs to be simple and perhaps there should be a principle of using Basic English in tourism, meaning a thousand simple words and in this way reach the tourists, so they have information given as simply as possible. But on closer reading of some of Poznań's tourist leaflets I get the impression that even some English people might have difficulty deciphering certain words. [PLOT]

Other interesting conclusions are provided by a linguistic analysis of Poznań's monthly cultural publication IKS, in particular its one-off special foreign language editions. So far there have been versions in English, German, French and Russian, and a Spanish version is in production. Each of these publications contains 96 illustrated pages. The Informer fulfils the role of a guide, so the attached map of Poznań is an important element of its contents. A brief analysis is provided in Table 1.

The foreign language editions are primarily aimed at tourists. The graphic design relates to the country of the language in which they are published<sup>9</sup>. They try to transmit basic information on the region, show the historical background, interesting buildings and the character of the region, depending on the edition. So the foreign language editions form an element in the promotion of the city, aimed at those staying in Poznań. However, these editions display marked differences, both in content and form. They aren't translations of a certain basic Polish text. They are created as separate editions. The differences in the foreign language versions are observable among other things in the construction of the English text, which is general, universal, and neutral, in which, apart from the cover, there is no reference to Polish-British relations in Poznań. It thus fulfils the role of a neutral informer for readers from various parts of the world. The remaining special editions show the links between EU countries (Germany, France) and Poznań, making the reader aware of the existence of strong links found not only in previous centuries, but also as elements linking Poznań with a given country today. Such a use of a foreign language, not as a tool of literal translation but as a transmitter of culture and a link between the foreign culture and one's own, is intended to deliberately influence awareness of a shared, common culture and of links between nations, and as such it is a clear example of Europeanization.

**Table 1** Analysis of Poznań's monthly cultural publication IKS (Informator Kulturalny, Sportowy i Turystyczny)

Analysed component	EN	DE	FR
cover – graphic design	graphic design resembles the map of London	half-timbered wall	graphic design shaped like the Poznań city hall with the flag of France
cover – text	This is Poznań	<i>Willkommen in Posen</i>	<i>Bienvenue a Poznań</i>
title of a chapter	History	<i>Geschichte</i>	<i>Histoire et relations polono-françaises</i>
content of the chapter; history, common components: a short history of Poznań, monuments in Poznań	monuments and personages described: Zamek Przemysła; Cytadela; Dezydery Chłapowski; Paweł Edmund Strzelecki; Arkady Fiedler (rather universal, neutral text)	Fortifications of Poznań; Bambergers; Germans in Poznań; Mini-dictionary of the history of Germans in Poznań	French influence on the Wielkopolska architecture: worship of St. Martin; Frenchmen in Poznań; Stanisław Leszczyński; Napoleon; Chopin; Motty Family; Stanisława Przybyszewska; (personages characteristic for the Polish-French relations)

An approach similar to the above strategy of so-called cultural rather than literal translations, which are best illustrated by contents of great relevance to specific readers, is not yet standard in the field of cultural tourism in Poznań, however, the first steps in this direction are being made:

The business of guides looks like this: the Royal-Imperial Route guide is in Polish, German and French. But as far as the individual translations for the nations go, it's done in this way ... *of course it's not a translation directly from Polish into German, English or French, because frequently in the Polish text there are nuances which only a Pole could understand*. It's also a transference to that plane for the foreigner, so it's more easily understood, but not to the degree that we have totally different guides, with a separate French, English or German text. Not like that. [the Royal-Imperial Route, emphasis added].

The above attempts are accompanied by a fear of losing the content/message in translation, of trivialising cultural issues – one of our inter-

viewees argues, though, that this strategy to a large degree leads to internalisation of the content:

We have a problem in that these texts don't have to be long as long as they're good. Sometimes a little information is all that's needed to generate interest and steer a tourist to a particular publication, while it's very easy to put people off. [PLOT].

As indicated at the beginning, Poznań is basically a monolingual city, in which multilingualism is characterised by the intensity with which foreign languages are learned and used in communicating with tourists. Summing up the results of the above analysis, it could be said that the 'new' multilingualism of Poznań isn't in the number of languages offered in communicating with foreign tourists, but in the quality of that communication, enabling the application of an effective strategy for the construction of identification mentioned above. The analysis shows that the indicators of the 'new multilingualism' are an improved linguistic quality of foreign language texts and cultural translations of greater relevance to the reader and her culture, taking into account the translation of hermetic elements of the source culture.

## **Conclusions**

The above analysis was aimed at showing the links between multilingualism and identity in the field of cultural tourism in Poznań and the changes taking place in it. As was demonstrated, in the discursive space of cultural tourism there are new ways of perceiving one's own culture being forged (among residents of Poznań) or a foreign culture (among tourists) by constructing different identities – above all, identifications with Europe. The strategies identified of emphasizing a shared heritage while retaining diversity are a reflection of the leading principle in the EU's 'unity in diversity' cultural policy. A (foreign) language is, alongside other elements in the discursive space described, a vital factor influencing its shape. In relatively monolingual spaces it takes on a meaning of its own – losing its significance as an object of cultural identification and becomes above all a tool for transmitting content, hence defining the quality and criteria of a translation, both in its narrow (linguistic) meaning as well as in its broader (cultural) meaning, becomes a crucial element in creating identity and one of the signifiers of a 'new multilingualism'.

- <sup>1</sup> See: National Strategy for Culture 2004–2013: [www.mk.gov.pl/docs/NPK\\_Zabytki.pdf](http://www.mk.gov.pl/docs/NPK_Zabytki.pdf); <http://www.pg.gda.pl/fuuh/informacje.shtml>
- <sup>2</sup> In terms of national cultural tourism, Poznań appears as an important departure point from which to visit places featured on the so-called Szlak Piastowski (Piast Route), a tourist route associated with the beginnings of Polish history running through Lednica and Gniezno, which are among the earliest settlements in the region, and highlighting locations associated with the Piast dynasty (the first Polish dynasty).
- <sup>3</sup> A 19th century old brewery reconstructed into a large shopping mall and cultural centre.
- <sup>4</sup> Leaflet: Archeological Museum in Poznan, It was here that Poland was born.
- <sup>5</sup> Culture as a plural concept comes from the tradition of Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall. Williams argues that “culture is ordinary” (Williams 1958:4). Culture is perceived here as “the whole way of life” (ibid.: 8), lived experience pertaining not only to heritage and tradition or the aesthetic judgements of a select minority who have been educated but covering also cultural activities and interests of the masses.
- <sup>6</sup> <http://www.teatry.art.pl/Wydarzenia/malta/2003/odkrycies.htm>.
- <sup>7</sup> In the city slogan the acronym POZ represents the airport symbol of Poznan. The slogan itself could refer to the Polish verb “poznać” (“to get to know”), however the use of English minimizes such an interpretation and reduces it to “know-how” in its original meaning. It should also mean “*Poznan know(s) how*” (which is actually obvious for the opponents of the slogan, who had ironically re-written it to: *Poznan – don't know how*). The asterisk has two functions: to indicate the note below and to avoid the Polish diacritic “ń” (Poznań) and make the slogan more universal.
- <sup>8</sup> The rough statistics of the Institute of Tourism concerning the number of tourists visiting the larger Polish cities (the current figures relate to regions) are available for 2006. According to these same estimates the number of foreign tourists who visited Poznań was 700,000. Among foreign visitors to Poznań, Germans clearly dominate (approx. 70%). Visitors from the remaining EU countries constitute about 20% (from new member states about 5%). The third significant subgroup of tourists visiting the city are Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians (together about 8%), and the rest – about 2% – are citizens from elsewhere: <http://www.intur.com.pl/statystyka.htm>.
- <sup>9</sup> The association of English with Great Britain, German with Germany and French with France is clearly a simplification on the part of the authors – strictly speaking German, for example, is an official language in at least four European countries.

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