Translating cultural references in tourism discourse: the case of the Apulian region

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CULTURE-BOUND WORDS IN TOURISM DISCOURSE: AN INTRODUCTION

An interesting area of linguistic investigation where some lexical features of the language of tourism combine with the well-established discipline of Translation Studies is represented by the challenging issue of translating cultural references in tourism discourse. Dealing with culture-bound terms *per se* is one of the most demanding tasks for translators, since the concept of *culture* is an umbrella term which ends up including "the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression" (Newmark 1988: 94). But things become further complicated when such a multi-faceted kind of communication as the language of tourism is involved, where a delicate balance needs to be achieved between informing tourists about foreign destination places, by domesticating highly culture-bound items, and the desire to preserve local identity by leaving some cultural references untranslated.

As well illustrated by Graham Dann – whose sociolinguistic investigation focused on the linguistic and cultural mechanisms of the language of tourism, pointing out that it is indeed a language of social control – among the so-called verbal techniques a special place is given to what he terms *languaging* (Dann 1996: 183). With a varying degree of frequency depending on the genre (Piovaz 2009), languaging consists in the introduction of real (or fictitious) foreign words, aiming at inducing a feeling of inferiority in tourists in order to make them more likely to be influenced by the message in a positive and convincing way. In other words, languaging is an interesting strategy used to attract the potential tourists' attention, since it fires their imagination by en-
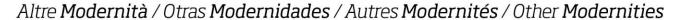
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chanting them with a touch of folklore, if not *couleur locale*, added to the description of places. However, this taste for exoticism in language can also be interpreted as a deliberate effort to exercise social control, hiding "an attempt on the part of the tourist industry to lead tourists as if they were children needing guidance" (*ibid.*: 132).

Apart from these sociolinguistic implications, languaging is obviously a useful tool to introduce cultural references, thus adding an extra difficulty to translators who, not only have to deal with the thorny issue of finding a proper equivalent in the target culture, but also have to decide whether or not to leave some culture-bound items in the foreign language. To put it in the words of Peter Newmark, two translation procedures are normally at their disposal. On the one end of the scale there is componential analysis, defined as "the most accurate translation procedure, which excludes the culture and highlights the message" (1988: 96), in order to ensure the intelligibility of the target text. At the opposite end, the strategy of transference can offer "local colour and atmosphere" (*ibid.*: 96), leaving culture-bound words and concepts in the foreign idiom, at the risk of compromising comprehension.

Although a complete account of the manifold classifications offered by different scholars goes beyond the scope of this study, nevertheless some attempts at categorising cultural references are worth mentioning here, in order to prove how difficult it is to find an exhaustive taxonomy of all the culture-specific items which are commonly found in tourism discourse. Newmark (1988: 95-102), for example, observed that the so-called foreign cultural words could be placed into "cultural categories", going from ecology, material culture, social culture, organisations / customs / activities / procedures / concepts, to gestures and habits. A decade later, David Katan (1999: 45-65) proposed the following categories (and many subcategories) to classify cultural references: environment, behaviour, capabilities / strategies / skills, values, beliefs, identity and imprinting. Finally, in more recent years, Maria D. Oltra Ripoll (2005: 76-78) tried to give a comprehensive view of culture which could include many categories frequently used in the world of tourism – such as nature, leisure / feasts / traditions, artificial products, religion and mythology, geography, politics and economics, history, art and literature, science; incidentally, it still proves to be a suitable and exhaustive classification for most of the culture-bound items emerging from this study.

Knowing that "the limits of each category are not clearly defined and a particular cultural reference can be related to more than one social or cultural field within a community" (*ibid.*: 78), the aim of this paper is to point out the importance of cultural references as a source of semantic richness in the field of tourism and, more specifically, to analyse how some of these culture-specific categories are variously translated in a small corpus of English tourist texts, in order to highlight the linguistic strategies translators may choose when dealing with culture-bound words. Newmark's concepts of componential analysis and transference will constitute the theoretical framework, even though a selection of examples will reveal a more complex pattern of translation procedures, showing how, between the two poles of naturalisation and no translation at all, there are other linguistic choices to be made when translating cultural references in tourism discourse.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS

The materials selected for this investigation share a common topic, the southern region of Apulia, but belong to heterogeneous genres; this implies a different set of textual and linguistic features, which consequently affect the use of languaging in each of them:

- a guidebook (*Puglia*, Thomas Cook Publishing, 2007);
- a 300-page monograph by Stefania Mola (Mario Adda Editore, 2003);
- five tourist brochures published in 2007 and 2010 by APT Bari Editore.

All these textual genres are commonly used in tourism discourse and, as such, are highly codified. For example, although other new sources of information are now available for tourists wanting to retrieve useful data for their travel experiences, guidebooks still remain the main source of information for most people, serving the two-fold function of promoting places and directing people in their travel practice. So, as their existence is justified by the need to guide the reader/traveller, guidebooks are characterized by a self-explanatory way of conveying information about cultural items, as will be illustrated by the Thomas Cook guide, where there is a very high rate of languaging in all its sections[1].

Differently from what happens in guidebooks, whose main aim is both to attract and inform potential tourists, in the 300-page monograph published by Mario Adda Editore language is not used to influence the attitudes and behaviour of the addressee by means of imperatives or vocatives, with the usual attempts at recommending, ordering, persuading, warning and so on. Instead, Stefania Mola's encyclopaedic book is addressed to a cultivated *élite*, who wants to learn more about the ancient history of the region and its artistic and natural treasures, rather than being told where to go eating or shopping. In other words, *Apulia* is obviously intended for an educated audience who love receiving a huge amount of artistic and historical information and who also possess a good command of a rather specialized use of the English language. Therefore, the language used gives evidence of the great indebtedness of the lexicon of tourism to semantic fields belonging to other specialized disciplines, especially geology, architecture and history of art.

Finally, the last part of this paper will be devoted to the analysis of translation strategies deployed in a corpus of five tourist brochures, having an Italian and English version, each of them focused on a particular aspect of Apulia[2]. While in guidebooks the negative aspects of a destination place are usually mentioned so that potential

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[1] Languaging often appears also in the captions accompanying the pictures and photos scattered throughout the pages.

[2] As explained by their titles, the five guides are about "The City of Bari", "The Sea and the Caves", "A Land of History", "The Trulli Road", "The Land of Alta Murgia".

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tourists can be warned in advance, in travel brochures there is a completely different aim: to persuade people into buying the tourism products, goods and services being promoted. Therefore, they make use of highly selective language and images in order to offer only the most attractive sides to the tourist gaze. In this respect, "the brochure is a successful tourism marketing tool" (Yui Ling Ip 2008: 12) which relies on multimodality, namely a seamless integration of words, visual elements, graphics and typography, to achieve its communicative intent.

CULTURAL REFERENCES IN *PUGLIA* BY THOMAS COOK PUBLISHING

As illustrated in the following table, a careful analysis of the languaging strategy in the guide – including Italian and Latin words, but also expressions in the local dialects of the region – has shown that most of them have been translated into English:

The *mani pullite* [sic] (dirty hands)	Puglian *vino* (wine)
The *mezzogiorno* - the 'midday' -	*macchia* (scrubland)
Lecce's *centro storico* (historic centre)	*contrade* (districts)
the evening *passeggiata* (stroll)	*Orecchiette* (literally, 'little ears')
the so-called *vicolo del bacio* (alleyway of the kiss)	the sun-baked *città bianche* (white towns)
stupor mundi (wonder of the world)	*chiang amer* (bitter stone)
Finibus terrae (the end of the earth)	*zampina* (sausages)
città del vino bianco (city of white wine)	*uomo di Altamura* (Altamura man)
seafood *trattorie* (restaurants)	*masserie* (farmhouses)
Rocca Vecchia (literally 'old rock')	Porto Selvaggio (literally 'wild port')
an *antipasto* (or 'starter')	family-run *trattorie* (restaurants) and cafés, with names incorporating *zia* (aunt) and *nonna* (grandmother)
the Italian *palio* (medieval joust)	a variety of *putti* (stone figures)
città di Santo involi [sic] (city of the flying saint)	*gelaterie* (ice cream parlours)
la transumanza (migration) of sheep from the Abruzzi mountains to the *tavoliere* plains	*pronto soccorso* (casualty department)
the *tavoliere* plain (literally 'tableland')	The Strada dell'Olio (street of oil)
a *città libera* (free city)	*città per la pace* (city of peace)

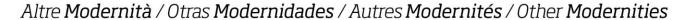*Altre Modernità / Otras Modernidades / Autres Modernités / Other Modernities*

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agriturismo (rural accommodation)	*quartiere delle ceramiche* (ceramics quarter)

This limited selection of examples show that most expressions – referring to the fields of geography, geology, culinary arts, local architecture, social ceremonies – are printed in italics so that they cannot be ignored by readers, while their English translation is given in brackets or is emphasized through the use of inverted commas, especially when providing a literal equivalent to some culture-bound items which would be otherwise untranslatable.

But when a word-for-word equivalence is not possible, the translation strategy known as paraphrase - namely "an amplification or explanation of the meaning of a segment of the text" (Newmark 1988: 90) - is the best solution to make foreign readers understand the meaning and, possibly, the implications of some cultural references. Borrowing Marco Piovaz's terminological distinction, juxtaposing the English translation to a culture-bound expression written in Italian (or in a dialectal form) is an example of "direct translation", while adding a more or less short explanation or paraphrase could be considered a sort of "indirect translation" (Piovaz 2009: 132). Here follows a grid with some of the most interesting instances of indirect translations:

The *Disfida di Barletta* is a reenactment of the historic battle between the French and Italians in the 16th century at which the latter were victorious. One of its most famous incidents in history was the *Disfida di Barletta*, a challenge between the Italians and invading French in 1503.	[…] the *trulli* houses that abound around the Valle d'Itria and are found collectively in the town of Alberobello. These simple, round peasant 'huts' are now lovingly preserved by the Italians as both cultural gems and as tourist accommodation.
It's also possible to see local fishermen seeking their catch from *trabucchi* - traditional pinewood poles.	[…] of Puglian houses - the *trulli* - small, domed, circular homes that have covered this landscape for centuries.
Il Pulo is a large, mysterious cave grotto area (170m/558ft long and 30m/98ft deep) where the most significant Neolithic remains in southern Italy were discovered at the turn of the 20th century.	Along the beach, two small stone huts known as *bagnarole* were originally built so that women could sunbathe away from the prying eyes of men […].
[…] to create wonderful cheeses, pasta, cold meats (*capocollo* is the speciality) and a more than palatable dry white wine.	The geographical position of Italy's 'heel' also means that it is subject to the two European wind patterns: the *sirocco* [sic] in summer and the *maestrale* in winter […].
Italian guesthouses and B&Bs are known as *alberghi* or *pensioni*, and are usually family-run.	The grey stones that make up the roofs are impermeable stones known as *chiancarelle* […].

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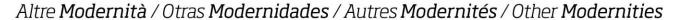
In this way, tourists are imbued with an appropriate knowledge and understanding of the local culture of Apulia, while preserving, on the other hand, intelligibility without loss of information.

Another possible solution to the need of enhancing *couleur locale* in guidebooks, but minimizing the risks of a massive presence of opaque terms in Italian, is represented by a sort of back-translation strategy, where the Italian (or dialectal) culture-bound expression is given in brackets, usually in italics, soon after the English term. In these cases, however, languaging seems to serve a pragmatic purpose, namely providing English-speaking tourists with a glossary of words to face everyday life in Apulia:

match days (*partita*)	their courtyards (*curti*)
barefooted men (*perdoni*)	Nativity figures (*presepe*)
historic centre (*centro storico*)	an art gallery (*pinacoteca*)
in a nearby grotto (*gravina*)	a historic Jewish quarter (*rione giudea*)
papier-mâché (*cartapesta*)	the local stone (*pietra leccese*)
the door knockers (*picchiotti*)	a local dialect (*griko*)
Other Greek signs can be seen in the church of San Vito, which has a fertility stone (*pietra forata*) referring to a pagan rite that was also popular in western Greece.	One of the most famous folk dance troupes in the region, the Gruppo Folkloristico Città dei Trulli, is located in Alberobello […].
of around 100 covered wells (*pozzelle*)	An ancient lookout tower, known as the Specchia dei Mori (Segla u Demoniu in the Greek-Italian dialect) […].
[…] dolmens include a stone 'lid', which is often covered with mounds (*specchie*), and they were used as burial tombs.	Petrol (*benzina*) is available in leaded (*piombo*) and unleaded (*senza piombo*) form as well as diesel […].
motorways (*autostrade*)	canyons and ravines (*gravine*)
the castles (*castelli*)	football (*calcio*)
post office (*ufficio postale*)	stamps (*francobolli*)
tobacconist shops (*tabaccherie*)	police station (*carabinieri*)

Another category showing how both English and foreign words can be variously combined is exemplified in the following table, illustrating how the Italian lexical item can function as a premodifier in a noun phrase:

Trulli houses of the Valle d'Itria	*Trulli* residences
typical *trullo* house	*Trulli* landascape

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its distinctive *trulli* domes	*burrata* cheese
orecchiette pasta	the enormous *cardoncello* mushrooms
the region's big teams such as *Lecce* (*Serie A* team)	Grotta Zinzulusa cave
the enormous bronze *Colosso* statue	*chiancarelle* roof stones
The dry white *spumante* wine (DOC - *denominazione d'origine controllata*, meaning of the highest quality) is a speciality of the area. […] which have been given a DOP (*denominazione d'origine protetta*) grading.	Strada dell'Olio route

In some cases, the head of the noun phrase happens to be the English translation of the Italian term acting as premodifier as *colosso* / statue, *grotta* / cave, *strada* / route or *chiancarelle* / stones. But in most examples, the analysis of lexical sense relations within the Thomas Cook guide reveals that hyponyms and their hypernyms are put together in the same noun phrase. More specifically, the culture-bound item, in Italian, is given in italics and represents the hyponym of a top-level concept, namely the hypernym, which is written in English. This is what happens in those linguistically-hybrid noun phrases as *trullo* house, *burrata* cheese, *orecchiette* pasta, *cardoncello* mushrooms and *spumante* wine, where the first term is the hyponym of its superordinate, given in English so that no potential tourist could be confused about the meaning of the whole expression, easily inferable from the context.

Ultimately, in a few occurrences, it is possible to observe a zero degree of translation, with some cultural references left untranslated in the text or, as in the case of "local *mammas*", even modified according to the morphological rules of English grammar, with the bound morpheme "s" showing a plural noun:

one of the *città bianche*	The entrance into the *centro storico* is this impressive Baroque triumphal arch typical of the period.
Among the highlights are the Tarantella, the *palio* at Oria and the Valle d'Itria Festival in summer [...].	However, to see the most *trulli* all in one place, the UNESCO-protected town of Alberobello is the place to visit.
Housed in 16 rooms in the uppermost floor of a former *palazzo*, this is one of the most significant art museums in the region.	the wheat fields of the *tavoliere*
[...] and children will usually be happy with a *pizza* or a plate of *spaghetti*	the *castello* at Trani, with its beautiful setting in the harbour
[...] don't be surprised to see local *mammas* sitting on steps making homemade pasta for	

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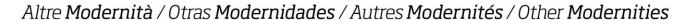
their families' evening meals	

Quantitatively speaking, the habit of not translating some culture-bound words is the least frequently used technique, especially in the Thomas Cook guide where there is an unusually high number of Italian (or dialectal) expressions throughout the pages, whose good intelligibility is of the utmost importance for an effective communication strategy. Moreover, a careful investigation proves that most of the occurrences listed above, with no translation at all, have been variously translated elsewhere, hence their meaning is not unknown to English readers. The only notable exception is represented by the words *palazzo / palazzi*, occurring more than twenty times, which have never been translated in the whole guidebook. A similar observation also applies to *pasta*, *pizza* and *spaghetti*, but knowing their world-wide popularity, the lack of translation strategies cannot be considered meaningful enough for the purposes of this analysis.

Languaging in the field of gastronomy

A section in its own right is devoted to "Food and Drink", and contains essential data for a guidebook trying to cope with the tourists' basic need to be informed. As claimed by Newmark (1988: 97), "[f]ood is for many the most sensitive and important expression of national culture; food terms are subject to the widest variety of translation procedures". So, assuming that "[t]he variety of food and drink and the taste is also a facet of culture" (Katan 1999: 51), what comes to the fore is the desire of conveying the most reliable and accurate information as possible about Apulian gastronomy, thus paying attention to all those obscure terms which may compromise the effectiveness of tourism discourse. As a result, the psychological effects produced by languaging are here partially reduced through both direct and indirect translations of culture-bound items about food:

- culture-bound words in Italian are immediately followed by translation in English: "*tavola calda* - literally 'hot table'"; "*gelateria* (ice cream parlour)"; "*orecchiette* (little ears)"; "*maccheroncini* (small macaroni)"; "*vino di casa* (house wine)"; "*litro* (litre)"; "*mezzo litro* (half litre)";
- some culture-bound words in Italian are followed by a more or less detailed explanation in English, also providing useful information about local habits: "*antipasto*, which might consist of olives, cold meats and anchovies, not dissimilar to Spanish tapas"; "*il primo*, which is generally a pasta dish or soup"; "*il secondo*, the main part of the meal, with a dish of meat or fish (note that vegetables - *contorni* - are ordered separately)"; "*dolce*, which is usually ice cream, cheese or fruit"; "a *ristorante* is likely to be a fairly grand affair, with tablecloths and uniformed waiters"; "a *trattoria* is far more informal and usually serves simple meat and pasta

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dishes"; "an *osteria* is, literally, a tavern with a limited menu of fresh but simple fare"; "a *pizzeria* will serve just that, pizza"; "a Puglian speciality is *calzone*, where the dough is folded over around a filling, which usually includes tomatoes, olives, capers, anchovies and cheese, before being baked"; "another local speciality [...] is *Parmigiano di melanzane* [sic] - aubergine baked with cheese and tomato sauce"; "[f]*riselle* are hard bread biscuits usually eaten with tomatoes, olive oil and herbs"; "*sospiri* (sighs), small iced sponge cakes filled with cream or jam"; "*panetto*, a cake made with figs, raisins, almonds and wine"; "*canestrato pugliese*, a hard sheep's milk cheese"; "*burrata*, a creamy cheese within a cheese surrounded by a "skin" of mozzarella";

- the English word comes first, soon followed by its Italian equivalent given in brackets: "breakfast (*colazione*)"; "lunch (*pranzo*)"; "dinner (*cena*)"; "beans (*fava*)"; "peas (*piselli*)"; "cabbage (*cavolo*)"; "chickpeas (*ceci*)";

- conflation between an Italian hyponym and an English hypernym, so as to produce new hybrid units: "soft *burrata* cheese"; "enormous *cardoncello* mushrooms";

- no translation at all, especially for those items referring to internationally-known Italian dietary habits and food products: "espresso or cappuccino coffee", "salami and cheese"; "pizza".

Apart from the didactic tone of this section, it is interesting to note that in fifteen occurrences out of a total of thirty-four cultural references about gastronomy, an indirect translation procedure has been preferred. Moreover, there are virtually no foreign words left untranslated, as *espresso*, *cappuccino*, *salami* and *pizza* are so universally known that they need no translation at all. Although a direct translation is by far the most common choice in tourism texts, these results point out that here the technique of languaging is extensively used, but with a pragmatic and didactic aim in mind: positing that guidebooks' readers are expected to be in search of basic foreign language words and phrases in such a crucial field as gastronomy, it is no surprising to find that the most relevant number of cultural references are accompanied by a brief but exhaustive explanation, "so that [potential tourists'] understanding of the foreign culture can be enhanced" (Piovaz 2009: 134).

CULTURAL REFERENCES IN *APULIA* BY STEFANIA MOLA

As confirmed by many Latin, Greek, French and German expressions scattered throughout the pages[3], in Stefania Mola's impressive achievement languaging does

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[3] "[S]ub divo", "domus", "koiné", "civitas", "façade", "grand tour", "videndum", "regio secunda", "villae", "tabernae", "honor Montis Angelis", "fait accompli", "civis", "in situ", "domus solaciorum", "forma urbis", "ancien régime", "Ordinamenta maris", "Wunderkammer" and so on.

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not induce any sense of inferiority in the receiver, but is a further mark of the good level of accuracy and high degree of formality in the lexical choices which are addressed to a well-educated readership. This hypothesis is better substantiated by the analysis of Italian foreign words, all belonging to the semantic fields of geology, architecture, history of art, religion and folklore. Interestingly enough, the analysis of the translation procedures reveals a different pattern of data: while in the Thomas Cook guidebook only a very limited number of occurrences are left untranslated for the sake of clarity, different translation choices emerge in *Apulia*, where a higher number of culture-bound words are neither translated nor explained in English, as reported in the following table:

[...] as in the case of the *gravina* of Massafra	[...] some of the halls of the *piano nobile*
It is not by chance that the 'trulli' are the true anthropic and cultural landmarks dominating most of the landscape south-east of Bari [...].	[...] thanks to a beautiful sand dune covered with 'macchia'
[...] the scars caused by water erosion: ravines, 'puli', 'lame'	[...] rural settlements dominated by the presence of the 'trulli' and by scattered 'masserie'.
[...] by that mysterious natural cavity (commonly called 'la Grave')	The taller rectangular tower - called 'torre maestra' - [...]
[...] by a parade of decorations creating an extraordinary *chiaroscuro* effect	[...]a true jewel thanks to the far-sightedness of its feudatory ('Guercio di Puglia', in other aspects quite ill-famed)
[...] several court *'accademie'* were held	The new towns: the 'palazzi'
[...] by the Piemontese brothers of Lecce, known as 'I Messapi'	They arrive organized in 'Compagnie' [...]
a little *Carabiniere* on Good Friday in Molfetta	in the procession of the *Misteri* in Taranto
the *pappamusci* of Francavilla Fontana, similar to the *perdune* in Taranto	The members of the *Congrega del Carmine*

Only in a few cases[4] are the culture-bound items accompanied by an English translation elsewhere, even though it may be difficult for the reader to remember it, given the length of the book. As the choice of a zero degree of translation for all cultural references may have impaired a proper understanding of the text, examples of both direct and indirect translation are equally distributed throughout the pages.

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[4] Namely *piano nobile*, translated as "the main floor", *trulli* and *masserie*, whose features are described in "Apulian *masserie*" and "*Trulli* in Alberobello", two of the sixteen boxes highlighting some particular aspects of the Apulian region.
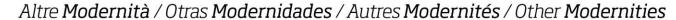
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Therefore, many foreign words are immediately followed by a literal translation in English, usually given in brackets:

'vallone dei Romiti' (hermit's gorge)	'Grotta dei Cervi' (Deer Cave)
Cripta della Candelora (Candlemas Crypt)	'cattedra di Elia' (Throne of Elias)
'Casa Sollievo della Sofferenza' ('House of Relief from Suffering')	'Stanze del Guercio' (Rooms of the One-Eyed)
'Palazzo del Principe' (Prince's Palace)	'Sala del Mito' (Hall of the Myth), 'Sala della Bibbia' (Hall of the Bible) and 'Sala dell'Arcadia' (Hall of Arcadia)
Episcopio (Bishop's palace)	'Guglia dell'Immacolata' (Spire of the Virgin)
'Guglia di Raimondello' (Raimondello-Spire)	the old 'Strada delle Carrozze' (Coach Street)
a stretch of sand called Isola ('island')	*presepisti* (artisans of crèches)
Palazzo Marchesale (the palace of the marquis)	the 'Borgo Murattiano' in Bari (Murat district)
'Statuto del Borgo' (the charter of the district)	[…] squares and 'ville', i.e. public parks and gardens
'bomboniera' (bonbonnière)	[…] the cult of the 'Crocifisso' (Crucifix)
The members of the Congrega del Carmine are called *perdune* (forgiveness)	Madonna dei Sette Veli (Virgin of the Seven Veils)

But when a literal translation is not sufficient to fully explain a more complex item, an indirect translation seems to be a good choice:

The 'trabucco' is a picturesque and complex system of fishing nets made up like scales, which in Apulia you will find only in the Gargano area.	The Tavoliere, the vast crescent-shaped plain of northern Apulia stretching over a sizeable portion of the province of Foggia, is known as the breadbasket of Apulia […].
[…] and dotted with many 'masserie', the typical farmhouses of this region.	[…] by means of the water gushing from the rock inside the cave, called *stilla* by local inhabitants […].
[…] a *sammicalere*, that is to say an artisan specialized in this kind of sacred images.	[…] with pyramid-shaped roofs tiled with 'chiancarelle', small stone slabs typical of the regional architecture.
With her began the age of the so-called 'mitred abbesses', i.e. that anomalous power (defined *monstrum Apuliae*) exercised by a women's community holding for centuries	[…] only the most competent among riders succeeds in piercing the *Viccio*, i.e. a turkey today replaced by a bladder full of water,

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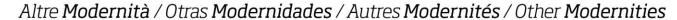
episcopal and feudal rights and privileges, in perennial conflict with the bishops but under the protection of local feudatories.	while standing on his horse at full gallop.
The *fracchie* are giant torches made of logs of forest trees burning for the entire course of the procession, turning it into a picturesque fire stream.	[...] the *fòcara*, a huge stack of wood as tall as a house set on fire on January 17, the day of Saint Anthony's feast marking the end of the long winter night.

TRANSLATING CULTURE-SPECIFIC ITEMS IN TOURIST BROCHURES

As regards the use of languaging in tourist brochures, one noticeable element to point out is that foreign language items are significantly inferior in number if compared to guidebooks. But what is worth noting is that while in guidebooks there is a good balance between translated and untranslated cultural references, in brochures the vast majority of culture-bound occurrences are either translated in English or domesticated. This may be explained by the textual features of tourist brochures, which are characterized by the brevity of the text, hence the need to convey information in the quickest possible way. As a matter of fact, there is no room for a huge amount of languaging which could hinder potential tourists from properly understanding the written message and interpreting it. Consequently, there are very few instances of languaging with no translation provided: "the 'orecchiette' with turnip tops", "the very thin pizza", "the typical trattorias", "the 'ferrovia' cherries", "trulli", "trulli roofs", "contrade", "the falco grillaio", "'cardoncelli' mushrooms", "homes or 'palazzi'". In some cases, the Italian words are even integrated into hybrid noun phrases or assimilated to the English morphological system, thus reducing the unfamiliarity of the whole expression, as happens in "the 'ferrovia' cherries", "'cardoncelli' mushrooms" and "the typical trattorias".
If the choice of a zero degree of translation is not so frequently adopted in tourist brochures, more common strategies are:

1. the use of Italian culture-bound words immediately followed by an English translation: "'la Muraglia' (the Wall)"; "'Capa dù Turk' (Turk's head)"; "the 'Grave' (chasm)"; "with a conical roof of 'chiancarelle' or tiles of limestone rock"; "chiancole, flag-stones"; "the 'cardo selvatico' (thistle)"; "Torri Normanne (Norman Towers)";
2. the use of a "reverse" strategy, where the Italian cultural reference is given in brackets, soon after its explanation in English: "using special tickets (*grattini*)"; "black and white lava stones ('chianche')"; "dotted with ancient farmhouses and shelters for sheep (the 'iazzi')"; "the ravine (gravina)"; "the art gallery (Pinacoteca)".

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As a consequence of the extremely pragmatic approach pursued by this text genre, a general tendency towards domestication of cultural references is the major feature of tourist brochures. This is the reason why many culture-specific items of Apulian gastronomy or geography whose translation in any other language would be particularly difficult, if not impossible, are carefully explained in English, as reported in the table below:

the 'orecchiette' by hand (a typical Apulian pasta)	the 'brasciole' (horsemeat, beef or veal)
the 'cartellate' which are crisp fritters with a wine dressing made of grapes or figs	'zeppole' (fried doughnuts)
the 'scarcelle', loaves of shortcrust decorated with hard-boiled eggs	vineyards of a very fine variety of grape called 'Regina'
characterised by the woods of 'fragni', a member of the oak family	[...] taste the delicious home-made pasta - 'orecchiette'.
The 'Cummerse' of Locorotondo houses have steep, pointed roofs.	[...] the typical 'zampina', a long sausage coiled up and grilled over a charcoal fire.
[...] the 'festini', little masked dance partied held in all the houses of the town.	with narrow alleys called 'chiasse' or 'corti' (courts)
[...] on 'cardoncelli', a typical local mushroom found in the surrounding hills.	The part of the old town called 'Scesciola' stands out from the rest of the town. Scesciola, originally from the Arab word meaning labyrinth, is explained by the intricate streets and alleys.

FINAL REMARKS

On the basis of a corpus of tourist texts belonging to different genres, this study has examined how the lexical features described by Graham Dann in terms of languaging are differently displayed and distributed, and whether a different rate of languaging could be said to enhance or detract from the communicative effectiveness of tourist texts, which obviously share a similar promotional function. The analysis of the examples has illustrated that the introduction of Italian words or culture-bound expressions is useful to the communicative function of tourist texts, namely informing and persuading: in this way, feelings of curiosity and excitement towards the foreign country are aroused, but a correct understanding of the unknown words becomes of the utmost importance for a proper comprehension of the message itself. Hence the need to avoid the risk of unintelligibility of tourist texts, whose promotional purposes may

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be dramatically affected by an overuse of opaque terms in a foreign idiom. To do so, the following translation strategies have been observed:

1. culture-bound words in Italian are immediately followed by a translation in English, usually given in brackets;
2. culture-bound words in Italian cannot be translated in any other language. In these cases, a more or less detailed explanation or paraphrase is provided in English;
3. the English explanation of a culture-bound item is followed by its Italian counterpart, as in a sort of back-translation strategy;
4. conflation between an Italian hyponym and an English hypernym, so as to produce new hybrid units;
5. no translation at all.

Moreover, the qualitative analysis of all the instances of Italian (or dialectal) items occurring in the corpus, and their corresponding translation strategies, has revealed that the Thomas Cook guidebook makes the most extensive use of languaging, if compared to all the other texts selected for this analysis. In order to cope with the high number of foreign words, many of them are accompanied by an English translation (or offer other forms of "domesticating" approaches) for the benefits of tourists. Consequently, the habit of not translating some culture-bound words is the least frequently used technique.

A completely different set of results have been obtained from the analysis of *Apulia*, the monograph published by Mario Adda Editore, where a more refined audience targeted by the author involves different translation norms regarding culture-bound words. While the Thomas Cook guidebook is addressed to a general reader, *Apulia* has a well-educated audience in mind, as confirmed by other lexical choices throughout its sections. Therefore, a stronger tendency towards "foreignizing" procedures has been observed, with a high number of cultural references being neither translated nor explained in English. In spite of this, the need to render some cultural references more intelligible seems to explain the use of domestication, which helps English-speaking readers get more familiar with the culture of Apulia. So, for the sake of clarity, the need of resorting to both direct and indirect translation strategies is felt even in a work as Stefania Mola's *Apulia*, where the use of languaging appears to assert the cultural superiority and social distinction of its readers.

Finally, on the opposite end of the languaging cline there are the five tourist brochures by APT Bari Editore, where only a limited number of foreign language items have been found, due to the textual constraints of a genre which aims at conveying all the essential information in a very limited space. Unsurprisingly, then, most of the culture-bound items in Italian are either translated into English or domesticated for enhancing a better comprehension of the message.

It goes without saying that "[t]he degree to which linguistic choices orient to the audience and their level of knowledge have implications for the areas being pro-

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moted" (Poncini 2006: 139-140), since different communicative strategies end up producing "a different emphasis and degree of explanation" (*ibid*.: 145) in the foreign tourists' comprehension of Apulian cultural references. Positing that the textual genres selected for this study share a common ground in terms of promotional purposes, the linguistic analysis has revealed that guidebooks tend to use languaging as a marketing tool, but also as an instrument providing guidance to potential tourists: hence the need of exposing them to a huge quantity of foreign words so that they could, on the one hand, familiarize with the foreign language and, on the other hand, be taught something about values, traditions and cultural habits of a destination place. In Stefania Mola's monograph, languaging is neither a strategy for inducing a feeling of inferiority nor a didactic tool; instead, it is a mark of a certain formality in the lexical choices and of a specialized use of the language of tourism. Finally, writers of brochures are not interested in striking their readers with a wide use of foreign language items, but prefer adopting a domesticating approach in order to smooth out potentially difficult concepts or cross-cultural differences.

As suggested by the examples discussed in this investigation, translators have to achieve a difficult balance between language and culture, trying to disentangle themselves from the opposite forces of foreignization and domestication, tourists' need to be informed and editorial policies, marketing goals and a truthful description of destination places, genre conventions and textual constraints. To sum up, the translation process is always a matter of choice and choosing how to represent some aspects of local culture to foreign tourists is never a simple issue. Dealing with the translation of cultural references is a challenging experience, since it is able to give also evidence of the intrinsic complexity of the language of tourism itself, which is likely to play an increasingly important role in the globalized tourism market of today.

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