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EXPLORING COMMON GROUND IN MULTILINGUAL BROCHURES FOR MOUNTAIN AREAS IN LOMBARDY, ITALY¹

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Abstract

With growing numbers of tourists representing a range of cultural backgrounds and with English taking on the role of a global language, English-language texts in multilingual and bilingual promotional materials - in this case those available in the Italian Alps - are often read by a multicultural audience. Even if one or two "English speaking cultures" are considered prime targets, the readership of English texts may in fact come from a number of cultures, especially when the material is in Italian and English only. Whatever their cultural and linguistic background, visitors or potential visitors do not share the same knowledge of the local geography, culture, traditions, specialties, and so on. Further complicating the situation is the need for choices - whether on the part of translators or members of local organizations - about whether to maintain a specialized term in the local language or "translate" it. In this context, common ground, used as a general term for those assumptions shared by interactants about common or shared knowledge, goals, wants, values, and so on, takes on an important role.

This paper explores the notion of common ground, examining the presuppositions behind the use of specialized lexis in multilingual, bilingual and monolingual tourist brochures for Valtellina, a major alpine valley in Lombardy, Italy. The study investigates where common ground is presupposed in the Italian and English-language texts (e.g. the use of a proper noun that seems to represent a place-name, without any explanation as to whether it is a mountain pass, a glacier or a hotel name) and where it is not, focusing on linguistic choices that help build shared knowledge. The paper gives particular attention to selected specialized terms relating to local culture and sometimes left in Italian in the English language texts and sometimes translated, and it also examines selected instances of evaluation (Thompson and Hunston 2000).

The paper discusses the linguistic choices that contribute to increasing shared knowledge about specific features and specialties of the area. It also shows that in a number of cases, a single Italian term takes on a variety of forms in the texts in English and in other languages. The paper discusses the implications of these differences in terms of building a particular image for and awareness of the area and its specialties. It discusses the issue of coordinating visitor materials, especially linguistic choices in non-Italian texts, when a number of organizations produce them. Finally, the paper considers the implications of the increasing use of the Internet to communicate aspects of the area to both visitors and local residents.

¹ A draft of this paper was presented at the Tourism Research 2002 Conference in Cardiff, Wales, Sept. 4-7, 2002, in Panel 3, "Tourism, Language and Communication", chaired by Adam Jaworski and Annette Pritchard (Original title: Exploring Common Ground in Multilingual Brochures for Alpine Areas in Lombardy, Italy). I'd like to thank the Morley Scholarship Committee for making it possible for me to work on the conference paper during my stay at the English Language Institute (ELI) at the University of Michigan in the summer of 2002. I also benefited from (and of course enjoyed) informal discussions on "menu discourse" while at the ELI.

1. Introduction

Multicultural Audiences and Common Ground

Major changes are underway in the world tourism market today, with growing numbers of tourists representing a range of different cultural backgrounds. As Swarbrooke (2001: 174) points out, people from one continent and culture are increasingly taking vacations on other continents and in contact with other cultures; moreover, the number of tourists from countries that traditionally did not generate international tourist trips is rising. In addition, new technologies such as the Internet have had a major impact on the way travelers from around the world obtain information on destinations and the degree to which they take on an active role in researching and planning their trips (see Antonioli Corigliano 2002: 11-18 for a discussion).

At the same time, in today's global marketplace, where people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds are coming together more frequently, English often serves as a common language² (see e.g. Firth 1996, Gimenez 2001, Poncini 2002a, Poncini 2002b). Indeed, increasing attention has been given to the role of English as a global language (see e.g. Crystal 1997, Swales 1997), although it must be remembered that other languages serve as a common language in certain settings (see e.g. Neumann 1997 on requests in German in German-Norwegian business discourse, Vandermeeren's 1999 study on language choice, Jaworsky and Lawson 2002 on Polish agritourism, where German was observed to be used as a common language, and Poncini forthcoming on the use of languages other than English in multicultural business meetings).

In such a scenario, even if one or two "English speaking cultures" are considered prime targets of tourist brochures and visitor materials, at many destinations today the readership of English texts may in fact represent a number of cultures. This is especially the case when the material is in the local language (i.e. not in English) and English only – many visitors from non-English speaking countries who do not speak the local language may turn to the English-language texts.

Whatever their cultural and linguistic background, visitors or potential visitors from different parts of the world do not share the same knowledge of the local geography, culture, traditions, specialties and so on. Further complicating the situation is the need for choices - whether on the part of translators or members of local organizations - about whether to maintain a term in the local language (e.g. the name of a food or an event) or "translate" it when preparing promotional and informational materials in different languages.

In this context, common ground, used here as a general term for those assumptions shared by interactants about common or shared knowledge, goals, wants, values, and so on, takes on an important role. The use of the term common ground in this paper approaches its use by Brown and Levinson (1987: 103-125) when they speak of strategies such as claiming "common point of view, opinions, attitudes, knowledge and empathy as a way of claiming common ground". It is thus also possible to speak of creating, increasing, or presupposing shared knowledge or common knowledge

² Whether two cultures or a range of cultures are involved, participants in international business activities who do not share the same linguistic background must choose a language or languages that will allow them to communicate. The language chosen may represent the native language of one of the interactants or it may represent a *lingua franca*, i.e. a foreign language that non-native speakers use with each other because their own linguistic backgrounds differ (see Vandermeeren 1999: 274-277). The present article will use "common language", following Poncini (2002a), as well as "shared language" to expand this definition to allow for the possible presence of native speakers of the language in question as well as the possibility that interactants with the same linguistic background use a foreign language with each other (see e.g. Nickerson 1999, 2000, and Louhiala-Salminen 2002).

when speaking of linguistic choices in tourist brochures (see also Jucker and Smith 1996 for a discussion of common ground referring to those assumptions “entertained by both partners in a conversation and which they assume to be so shared” (1996: 2)).

According to Brown and Levinson (1978/1987: 102) the use of specialized lexis can contribute to common ground. They discuss the positive politeness strategy of claiming common ground by attending to H, the hearer (the hearer’s interests, wants, needs) and indicate that one strategy for this is “claiming in-group membership”. This can be achieved through the use of in-group identity markers such as informal address terms, in-group language or dialect (code-switching) and jargon or slang. Along the same lines, Martin (1986) considers technical lexis to have not only experiential but also interpersonal functions, in Halliday’s (1985) terms. Martin notes that for the interpersonal function it is the concentration of the lexis and not the individual lexical item that has a bearing on tenor. Consequently, technical lexis creates one kind of tenor, and informal terms create another tenor or relationship. The use of technical and specialized lexis can thus be an important aspect of evoking group membership or identity as well as distancing.

When aspects of common ground and group identity or membership are of interest, an examination of evaluation is significant because it provides indications of the ideology or values underlying a text (Thompson and Hunston 2000). Thompson and Hunston (2000: 2-5) review a variety of terms used for language expressing opinion, which include *connotation*, *affect*, *attitude*, *modality*, *appraisal* and *stance*. They (2000: 5) use evaluation as a cover term “for the expression of the speaker’s or writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any number of other sets of values”. This is the way the term *evaluation* is used in the present study.

The interest in investigating the use of specialized lexis and evaluation when different cultures are involved is supported by Poncini (2002a) in her study of linguistic and interactional features of discourse in multicultural business meetings. Poncini (2002a) discusses how certain uses of specialized lexis reflect and construe the group’s business activities, and in her investigation of evaluation at the meetings, she discusses how some lexical items take on a positive or negative connotation at the meetings. She (2002a) provides examples of how certain terms acquire a particular “evaluative status” for the group; for example, the names of athletes sponsored by the company represent a range of positive things. The connotative vs. denotative meaning that technical terms can take on, in this case in cosmetics advertising, has been discussed by Mautner (1998). She suggests that the possibility that the reader may not understand the scientific (or, as she terms it, pseudoscientific) terminology is not really an issue in itself; rather, the significance of this specialized lexis is that it serves a persuasive function, implying quality and credibility with regard to the cosmetics products advertised.

It is therefore of interest to examine linguistic options and in particular specialized lexis and selected instances of evaluation in promotional materials for tourist destinations. Indeed, such lexis can be used to communicate the area’s attractions and to help build a particular image; it has the potential to reflect and construe a local identity and to take on a positive connotation. Consequently, an examination of the presuppositions behind the use of specialized lexis in different languages can involve wider issues concerning marketing communication.

Tourist Brochures, Visitor Materials, and Linguistic Choices

Regardless of the language used in brochures and visitor materials, whether or not to explain or describe aspects of the local culture, geography and so on must be taken into consideration, even when visitors and residents share the same linguistic code. The names of local dishes, for example, might not

be immediately recognized by tourists from other parts of the country or “appreciated” (i.e. the term might not necessarily evoke a positive image or connotation). In a number of cases, determining the amount or the kind of description most appropriate for visitor materials is not always a straightforward matter. Writers (and members of involved organizations) must often decide the extent to which their role is that of “educating” readers, alongside or as part of their objective to promote an area or an event. The amount of background knowledge readers are likely to have and the way to approach this readership are important considerations because the resulting linguistic choices have implications for the areas being promoted as well as for the organizations producing such materials.

The consequences of linguistic choices on an institution’s identity are illustrated particularly well by Ravelli (1998) in her study of texts written for visitors to a public art institution in Sydney, for which she consulted. She notes (1998: 144) that technical terms are sometimes explicitly defined, while at other times they are used without explanation, so that it is difficult for “uninitiated visitors to gain access to the technicality”. In addition, sometimes technicality seems to be signaled, but then visitors must provide the information themselves, such as examples from major art movements that the text leads one to expect. Other problems with the texts were noted. The author (1998: 149) comments that although it would be easy to overcome some of them, the minor changes suggested to the lexicogrammar reveal how “changing the language threatens the visible professionalism of the curators, in their role as art experts, at least in the eyes of some sectors of their audience”. There was concern that overt informational structuring would patronize the art-educated visitor. Ravelli’s (1998) study reveals how the effect of linguistic choices on the “discursive positioning” of the art institution led to tension. More specifically, the art institution’s discursive position of speaking to experts was in tension with another position, very clear: that of the art institution as a “prime tourist site, in a very public location, with educational responsibilities” (1998: 150-151).

Other aspects of interest in examining tourist brochures and materials are illustrated in studies by different researchers (see Dann 1996: 61-63 for an outline of studies on tourist brochures since the late 1970s). For example, Moya Guijarro and Albentosa Hernández (2001) investigate differences in the thematic/topical progression of news items and tourism brochures. They found that because of the persuasive function of the tourist brochure, the writer frequently places new topical entities further away from the sentence-initial position, in contrast with news items. This postponed introduction of the topic in tourist brochures attracts the reader’s attention to the area being advertised. In addition, Thompson (1998: 31) uses the example of tourist brochures in his discussion of the tone of a text, and Thompson and Hunston (2000) analyze sample texts of tourist brochures in their discussion of evaluation.

Not only the language of brochures has been of interest. Dann (1996), for instance, focuses on photographs of people in brochures, investigating the representation of tourists and locals and noting the degree to which tourists are seen to mix with the local population. Moreover, in their study of the new genres and new rhetoric used by green (i.e. environmentally aware) hotels, Frandsen and Johansen (2001a, 2001b), Frandsen (2001), and Johansen (2001) have studied traditional hotel brochures, the new green folders and green cards, and in particular the “towel card”. The latter authors have also given attention to the perceptions hotel guests from different national cultures have of these “green communications”.

In summary, brochures as well as other communications aimed at tourists possess a number of areas worthy of investigation. In the case of tourist brochures aimed at an international (or non-local) readership, examining the presuppositions behind specialized lexis can shed light on how the organizations producing the materials perceive and enact their role in communicating features of the area. At the same time, such an examination can provide indications of the level of expertise – and interest – these organizations attribute to the reader. This takes on significance because creating or

building shared knowledge of local specialties and attractive features of an area may increase not only readers' awareness but also their appreciation of these special features. Such an investigation can thus provide insights into important issues involved in communicating to diverse audiences, whether printed brochures or the internet are involved.

2. Research methods and data sources

The preliminary part of the study aimed to identify categories of specialized lexis and those uses of selected specialized terms to be explored more in-depth in the second part of the study. Data used in this first part consist of a set of brochures (four in Italian-English-German and five in Italian-English) available in the tourist information office in Bormio (Valtellina), during the 2001-2002 winter season and focusing on Bormio and nearby resort areas. Some but not all of the brochures were produced by the local tourist boards (the APT) and/or by the local Comunità Montana, sometimes in conjunction with other organizations. One was produced by the company owning the skillift system for one of the resorts.

The second part of the study examines the presuppositions behind selected uses of specialized lexis, mainly in the Italian and English-language texts. Particular attention is given to whether lexical items are left in Italian or translated, and if left in Italian, whether they are "defined" or explained.

Data used for the second part of the study, in addition to the set of brochures used during the first part, consist of:

- (1) seventeen brochures made available to me by the Tourist Promotion Board - APT Valtellina Sondrio: seven in Italian-English and seven in Italian (all 14 produced by the APT), and three in Italian (by producers of local products)
- (2) three multilingual brochures for the resort area of Livigno in Valtellina (Italian-German-English-French) that were available at the Milan trade fair BIT – *Borsa internazionale del turismo*, in early 2002
- (3) selected web pages concerning tourism in Valtellina

In most cases, the English language texts are translations, though in two cases they represent a partial translation or summary of a longer passage in Italian.

Supplementary data were obtained by means of a semi-structured interview with the tourist board director, who also provided a statistical report on the countries of origin of hotel guests in 2001, and with others in the field. In addition, the Consorzio Vini Valtellina (the association of Valtellina vine growers, wine producers and wine bottlers) provided me with promotional material on wines and foods related to the export project "Progetto Valtellinaestero", aimed at importers and distributors of foods and wines in the U.K. and Germany, and monolingual Italian material on Valtellina wines. The export project material included monolingual brochures in English and in German.

Although statistics on overnight hotel stays according to country by definition exclude other kinds of visitors, they provide an indication of the range of "countries" present in Valtellina in the 2001-2002 winter season. According to the APT report, about 75% of "arrivals" of individuals staying overnight in Valtellina hotels (excluding the ski resort Livigno) are from Italy and 25% come from abroad. Of those guests coming from abroad, about 36% are from the German-speaking countries of Germany and Austria; this figure reaches 50% if it includes arrivals from Switzerland, whose national languages are German, French, Italian, and Romansh, with the German-speaking proportion the majority). English-speaking countries (i.e. the U.K., the U.S., Australia, Ireland, Canada, New Zealand) account for 18% of

arrivals from abroad, and other countries represent the remaining 32%. These figures suggest that about 82% of arrivals from abroad are not necessarily native speakers of English, recognizing, of course, that residence in a country using a certain language does not necessarily mean that the person is a native speaker of that language. Still, with arriving tourists representing 31 countries in addition to the German and English-speaking countries cited above, it can be seen that individuals from a range of countries may consult the English texts in multilingual tourist materials in English. Moreover, this number increases if the material is in Italian and English only. Valtellina tourist materials may also be used by other visitors and tourists who visit the area without necessarily staying in hotels (e.g. they may arrive from another area for a day visit or they may rent apartments; see also Boyne and Hall 2002 on VFR "visiting friends and relatives" tourism).

Where there are notable differences between the Italian and the English version of selected lexical items, or where an Italian term (e.g. a local specialty or a place name) has been translated into English (and thus is considered to be specialized), the study considers the German and French version, if available. In cases where common ground is presupposed (i.e. no overt explanation is given of the term; in other words, shared knowledge is assumed), the study considers whether or not the wider linguistic context, nearby photographs, or other images and graphics may possibly create or increase shared knowledge.

In examining brochure texts in different languages, my aim is not to look for "translation errors", nor is it to criticize the choices of translators or writers of the Italian texts. I am well aware how difficult it can be to describe aspects of local culture or geography in English. Rather, the aim in exploring the linguistic choices employed in monolingual, bilingual and multilingual brochures and the role of common ground is to shed light on what seems "to work" for diverse audiences with different levels of background knowledge and what, in contrast, seems potentially problematic. This is important in view of the communication challenges faced by tourist destinations today (see e.g. Seaton and Alford 2001).

Specialized Lexis in the Brochures

Seven categories of specialized lexis were identified by means of a close examination of the brochure texts. Lexis that at first sight might not seem specialized was also considered in view of their possible appeal to tourists, for example, "church", so that in some categories proper and non-proper nouns and adjectives can be distinguished (e.g. church, sanctuary, Sanctuary of the Holy Virgin).

The categories are:

1. Lexis connected to geography and natural surroundings
2. Lexis related to buildings, structures and organizations
3. Lexis related to local culinary specialties – foods, wines and other beverages
4. Lexis connected to sports, sports structures and outdoor recreational activities (participatory and spectator sports included)
5. Lexis connected to non sports vacation activities
6. First and last names of people
7. Lexis connected to other events and activities concerning local culture and not included in the above categories

Table 1 Categories of Specialized Lexis³

<p>Category 1. Geography and natural surroundings, place-names of towns, parts of towns, valleys</p> <p>Non proper: glacier, "crotti", thermal waters Proper: Acqua Fraggia waterfalls, Natural Reserve of the Marmitte dei Giganti, names of towns (e.g. Chiavenna, S. Caterina) and parts of towns (e.g. Scarpatetti), names of valleys (e.g. Valtartano, Bitto Valleys), parks (e.g. Stelvio National Park), mountain ranges and peaks (e.g. the Disgrazia, Bernina and Pizzo Scalino group)</p>
<p>Category 2. Buildings, constructions, organizations housed in buildings (e.g. APT but not CIO)</p> <p>Non proper: church, mountain huts, alpine huts Proper: The Terme Bagni Masino (the Masino Thermal Baths), Besta Palace, names of churches</p>
<p>Category 3. Local culinary specialties and beverages</p> <p>pizzoccheri, bresaola, bitto cheese, wine, amari, grappe, wine, Sassella</p>
<p>Category 4. Sports and outdoor activities</p> <p>Non proper: skiing, skiers, cycling, mountain bike, tennis tournaments, golf competitions Proper: World Cup, La Sgambeda (i.e. the name in local dialect of a cross-country ski race)</p>
<p>Category 5. Non sports vacation activities</p> <p>thermal baths, guided tours of the historical center, cinematography review, shops selling artisan or typical products (this does not include references to visits to buildings and monuments, as this lexis is included in category 2)</p>
<p>Category 6. First and last names of people</p> <p>These include, for example, names of local skiers who have won Olympic medals, famous local climbers, and writers or historians who cited Valtellina in their work.</p>
<p>Category 7. Other events and activities related to local culture and not included in above categories</p> <p>The name of a religious procession</p>

It can be noted that lexis concerning buildings, churches and so on has been included in category 2, though visits to such buildings and structures may represent a non-sports vacation activity (category 5). In addition, category 7 specifies "other" and may include potential attractions for visitors and as such constitute a non-sports vacation activity (category 5). However, this potential overlap is not felt to be a problem because the aim of the categories is to facilitate the qualitative analysis.

Following the identification of categories and the examination of lexis, several areas of interest were identified for a more in-depth investigation. The selected lexical items were considered interesting in terms of the presuppositions about shared knowledge surrounding their use, as well as their potential to take on a particular connotation.

³ For terms in Italian, in many cases I have purposely not provided a full description of specific terms being examined, in line with a major issue discussed in the paper: numerous choices are available to present, describe or create shared knowledge about a specialized term in Italian, and a choice must be made. The data examples presented and discussed allow knowledge about such terms to emerge, and I felt this was more appropriate than making a choice myself prior to introducing the term.

3. Linguistic Choices in the Brochures

Before presenting and discussing examples from the data, a brief introduction to possible linguistic choices in the brochures will be provided. In general, the linguistic choices in the brochure texts range from uses of specialized lexis that presuppose common ground (i.e. no explicit explanation of a term and practically no information provided by the linguistic context, graphics or images) to uses that include an overt explanation of a term.

An example of a use of specialized lexis that presupposes common ground appears in the phrase "... in this village is born Deborah Compagnoni"⁴. The text does not include an explanation of who this person is, nor does the linguistic context provide additional information except that the village is famous mainly because it is her birthplace. The text thus presupposes shared knowledge as to her identity, as does the original Italian text. This can be contrasted with the German text in the same brochure "...die Heimat von Weltcup-Seigerin Deborah Compagnoni", which qualifies her as a "World Cup winner".

An example of an overt explanation, on the other hand, is the following: "Poschiavo, the capital of the area, boasts an attractive "Piazza" – a town square reminiscent of those common in Italian cities"⁵ (original quotation marks around "Piazza"). In this example, the inclusion of the definition signals that common ground is not presupposed (i.e. it is not taken for granted that the reader understands the term "piazza").

In between these two "extremes" are cases where common ground appears to be presupposed but in fact the linguistic context or other elements actually contribute to building shared knowledge for the item in question. For example, the same brochure that includes the overt explanation of "Piazza" as shown in the example above also uses "Palazzi" ("Churches, elaborate 'Palazzi', richly decorated Engadine houses..." on a different page), after having referred to "historical landmarks". Although no explicit explanation is given, the linguistic context allows an understanding of the term, which seems to give an "Italian flavor" to the description of a town in Switzerland near the border with Valtellina.

The above examples have been briefly presented to provide an idea of what can be involved when speaking of presuppositions behind the use of certain lexical items. The rest of Section 3 will examine and discuss different examples taken from the data and is organized as follows: Section 3.1 focuses on presupposing and building common ground about local specialties when Italian terms are maintained. Section 3.2 discusses differences in what is emphasized when aspects of local culture are presented (the example of crotto, grotto and crot), while Section 3.3 considers Italian names of foods as brands or trademarks, looking at the case of bresaola, bitto, and wine. Section 3.4 examines proper and non-proper nouns (the names of businesses and structures and "generic" names), and Section 3.5 examines the use of place names and whether they can be considered simple names, "brands" or something to be translated.

⁴ This example is taken from a brochure about ski lifts, not produced by the tourist board. Though the complete sentence in English mentions "S. Caterina" as being famous "because of the important races taking place there but most of all because, in this village is born Deborah Compagnoni", the linguistic context is not sufficient to connect this Olympic gold medalist in alpine skiing to "races" as used in the text. Indeed, the original Italian text speaks of "gare internazionali di sci nordico" (international cross-country ski races) as opposed to alpine events.

This example is presented to illustrate a certain kind of linguistic choice; it is important to note that, in general, whether or not it is appropriate to include explanations for terms depends on a number of contextual factors. For example, at a meeting of experts on ski competitions, presupposing knowledge of a famous ski racer could be a strategy to claim in-group membership; in contrast, explicitly telling the experts that "so-an-so won medals at past Olympics", which would presuppose their lack of knowledge on the subject, could conceivably appear condescending in certain circumstances.

⁵ Source brochure B6 p. 12

In exploring these various areas, consideration will also be given to whether terms seem to take on a particular evaluative status or connotation.

3.1 Presupposing and Building Common Ground about Local Specialties When Italian Terms are Maintained

Linguistic context In some texts, certain Italian terms have been maintained in the English (and German) versions. This is often the case when foods and especially prepared dishes are involved. In Example 1 below, the Italian terms are not explicitly defined in the English version, but parts of the wider linguistic context makes it clear that food is involved. It can be noted that for some Italians, the local dishes *pizzoccheri* and especially *sciatt* may be unfamiliar. In the Italian text, as well, the linguistic context indicates that foods are involved. (Here and in other examples, any mechanical features such as quotes or italics are those of the original text. The Italian terms being discussed are in boldface and underlined, other specialized lexis is in boldface only, while selected parts of the linguistic context are underlined.)

- (1) At the end of a day devoted to sport, you may feel the wish to relax in the comfortable hotels, tasting the typical local dishes.

Pizzoccheri, sciatt, game, polenta and mushrooms are the main specialities (sic) of the region and you can find them on the tables of our restaurants. Enjoying a dinner rich in local tastes and soaking up the atmosphere of the well-known “**Valtellina**” **wines** is an excellent start, a kick-off for an evening full of events....

Dopo una giornata alpina nasce il desiderio di rilassarsi nei comodi hotels per gustare i tipici piatti valtellinesi.

Pizzoccheri, sciatt, selvaggina funghi e polenta sono protagonisti sulle tavole di nostri ristoranti. Gustare una cena ricca di sapori nostrani lasciandosi inebriare dai famosissimi **vini di Valtellina** è un ottimo inizio, il via ad una serata ricca di iniziative....

Source: B3 winter, p.8

The German version of the above text maintains the same three terms – pizzoccheri, sciatt and polenta - in Italian:

- (2) Pizzoccheri, Sciatt, Wildpret mit Pilzen und Polenta sind immer auf den Tischen unserer Restaurants zu finden.

The English version above, in contrast with the Italian, uses *you*. While this could be a use of the impersonal *you*, it also involves the reader in a way typical of promotional material (see e.g. Mautner 1998).

Explanation and Mechanical Features Mechanical features such as parenthesis may be used in providing an explicit explanation of a local specialty for which the local term is used. In the case of *pizzoccheri*, the only description identified in the English texts⁶ in the data is at the end of a brochure in

⁶ Though such descriptions are not common in the English texts in the data, they are provided in a larger brochure on Valtellina wines and foods, available in Italian only. The larger monolingual brochure in Italian describes the ingredients and

Italian and English in which local festivals and events are described. To be noted is that the original names of the festivals are maintained in the local language. In addition, the Italian version also explains pizzoccheri, implying an audience unfamiliar with this dish.

- (3) “Festa dei **Pizzoccheri**”, held during (...) in honour of the typical local dish prepared in the whole of the valley that is the **pizzoccheri** (buck wheat rustic tagliatelle with vegetables, butter and alpine cheese).

La “Festa dei **Pizzoccheri**”, durante (...) in onore del piatto tipico locale in uso in tutta la Valle (...) **pizzoccheri** (rustiche tagliatelle di farina nera con verdure, condite con burro e formaggio d’alpe) (...)

Source: A2 pp. 21-22

Interestingly, the above description of pizzoccheri includes the Italian term “tagliatelle” (plural), which may or may not be familiar to non-Italians. “Tagliatelle” represent an example of one of the various forms pasta products can take, roughly speaking flat and cut into strips, while pizzoccheri in the above example implies a certain ingredient and preparation, in addition to the form of the pasta product. This highlights the difficulty in necessarily having to choose a term or phrase that can appropriately describe a local specialty or more generally an aspect of local culture.

Information in the Text: Focus on Main Ingredients In some cases, the text provides information representing a partial explanation of the item. In the next example concerning pizzoccheri, the text indicates an ingredient (buckwheat flour, in bold), which is linked to rural traditions. To be noted is that both the English and Italian versions use quotation marks with the term pizzoccheri.

- (4) ...rural traditions, of which **buckwheat** takes an important part, for the preparation of the main dish of the Valtellina cooking, the **‘pizzoccheri’**.

Di questa tradizione Contadina fa parte il **grano saraceno** con il quale si preparano i **“pizzoccheri”**, *la cui fama ha ormai varcato i confini della Valle: è il piatto principe della buona tavola valtellinese.* Pizzoccheri.

Source: B2 p. 12 (Eng) and p. 10 (Ita)

The additional text provided in the Italian version above includes more evaluative language (i.e. *buona*, meaning “good”), which was not translated in the brochure. The example below from another brochure shows a similar text, this time with highly positive evaluation (i.e. *exquisite*) translated in the English version below.

- (5) ...traditions of the rural world. Among these is the **buck wheat** used to prepare the predominant dishes of the exquisite Valtellina cuisine: the famous **“pizzoccheri”**, **“sciatt”** and **“polenta taragna”**.

il mondo contadino con le sue tradizione. Di quest’ultimo fa parte il **grano saraceno** con il quale si preparano i piatti principali della buona tavola di Valtellina: gli ormai famosi **“pizzoccheri”**, **gli “sciatt”** e **la “polenta taragna”**.

Source: A2 p.19

the way pizzoccheri are made; it also provides descriptions of wines and other local dishes, accompanied by photos (Brochure A5).

The above five examples show different ways common ground may be built up as a result of linguistic choices.

3.2 Differing Emphases of Descriptions: Crotto, Grotto and Crot

An examination of the data shows different emphasis and degree of explanation concerning natural and/or social aspects of foods, their preparation and consumption. The *crotto* is an interesting case in point, as this Italian term may not be recognized by Italians unfamiliar with Valtellina, and some speakers attribute different meanings to the term. Indeed, in Petralli's (1990) study on "Ticinese regional Italian" (Ticino is the Italian-speaking canton of Switzerland), Italian informants provide different explanations for the term *crotto* and demonstrate different degrees of awareness of the term, which can sometimes be seen in Ticino, even though the term *grotto* is far more prevalent. One Italian informant asked to comment on the *crotto* actually supplies the term *grotto* though unaware of the meaning, while some others familiar with the term associated it with the Valtellina area.

In the first example below, in the English version *crotto* has been translated into *grotto*, the same term provided by a native speaker of Italian in Petralli's (1990) study cited above. Interestingly, another example of specialized lexis, *Osteria*, has been left in Italian in the English text. The linguistic context of the Italian and English versions make it clear that a *crotto* is a setting in which one can dine. The positive connotation of "enjoyed" can be noted, though the impersonal structure "to be enjoyed" is used, in contrast to the use of "you" in the Italian version (roughly translated, "the flavor/taste of the typical cuisine will surprise you").

- (6) These are culinary treats to be enjoyed in any setting, whether it be a **gourmet restaurant**, a comfortable 'Osteria', or a simple **grotto**.

La possibilità di provare un'esperienza culinaria sono tante, dai **ristoranti gourmet** alle **osterie famigliari** ai **crotti**: ovunque il sapore della cucina tipica vi sorprenderà.

Source: B6 p 18

In contrast, in Example 7 below, an explicit definition of *crotti* (plural form) in both Italian and English emphasizes natural aspects of how the *crotti* were formed and introduces an additional technical term, the *sorèl*, also defined (as an "air current..."). The air current is linked to the role of the *crotti* in preparing and storing foods. The example below thus represents a more technical description of the *crotti* and excludes a social element such as eating. It can also be noted that the description of *violini di capra* differs in the two languages, with the longer Italian version in parenthesis including the part of the goat involved and an explanation of the name *violino* (i.e. violin) because of "the unique way it is sliced, resting it on the shoulder just like the musical instrument" (my rough translation).

- (7) Characteristic of **Chiavenna**, the "**crotti**" are natural cavities which where (sic) formed by boulders that came away from the mountainside in the prehistoric era. Between the narrow openings of these boulders the "**sorèl**" (an air current at a constant temperature +6/8° C) blows, and is therefore taken advantage of for the maturing and

Caratteristici di **Chiavenna**, i **crotti** sono cavità naturali formate dall'addossarsi di macigni, staccatisi dai fianchi della montagna in epoca preistorica; tra gli spiragli di questi massi soffia il "**sorèl**", una corrente d'aria a temperatura costante (6/8 gradi), sfruttata per la stagionatura e la conservazione del **vino, della brisaola, dei violini di capra (coscia di capra essiccata,**

conservation of wine, bresaola (dried salted beef), violini di capra (goat cooked ham) and cheeses.

Source: B2 p.6 ENG square, titled "The "Crotti" of Chiavenna":

chiamata così per il singolare modo di affettarla, appoggiandola sulla spalla esattamente come lo strumento musicale) e dei formaggi.

Source: B2 p.5 ITA square, titled "I crotti di Chiavenna":

A further point is that the above texts also explain the actual food, with the Italian version using the name for bresaola in the Chiavenna dialect: "brisaola".

Tradition, on the other hand, is the focus of the English version of Example 8 below, which also describes the violino (air/cured meat) in English. A "scientific" element is present, similar to Example 7, although only the text in English gives the air temperature of the crotti. To be noted is that the native speakers of English I questioned about the text found the use of "ham" and the overall description of violini di capra strange.

- (8) The more traditional aspect is represented by the "crotti", which are natural cavities, formed by the piling up of boulders that came away from the mountainside in the prehistoric era. Between the narrow openings of these boulders blows the "sorèl", an air current at a constant temperature (+6/8° C), which has always been taken advantage of for the maturing and conservation of wine and local products: cheeses, bresaole (sic) dried salted beef, violini di capra ("Violin" of cooked goats' ham). The latter (shoulder, preferably of goat meat, pickled and dried, is probably the most typical speciality (sic) of this area; its name comes from the musical instrument and from the particular way in which it is cut into slices.

(page on Valchiavenna, following reference to Chiavenna)

Caratteristici sono i crotti, cavità naturali formate dall'addossarsi di macigni, staccatisi dai fianchi della montagna in epoca preistorica, da sempre usati per la stagionatura del vino e dei prodotti locali, grazie a una corrente d'aria chiamata "sorèl" che soffia a temperatura costante tra questi massi.

Source: A2 17-18

It can be noted that the English language version in Example 8 above is more in depth than the Italian version, perhaps maintaining parts from an earlier brochure about Chiavenna.

A more social element is provided in Example 9 below, which presents a crotto as a place where people from Chiavenna have traditionally gathered to spend time together in an "allegra" (pleasant, happy, good-humored) setting. It follows reference to the activity of eating, drinking, in a longer Italian text under a paragraph on Chiavenna. This is not included in the English translation.

- (9) E questo in un crotto, il luogo dove i **Chiavennaschi** da sempre si incontrano per passare momenti di allegra convivialità

Finally, it can be observed that in some cases, something mentioned in the Italian text may not be present in the English text. In Example 10 below there is no mention of crotti in the English text; rather, "rough stone" is mentioned. This text appears on a page on foods that includes a full picture of local foods. The dialectal "crot" is used in the Italian text as an example of structures such as churches,

fountains and so on, including simple mountain huts. Only later in passage, in the second paragraph (see Example 6), is it clear that it is a place where it is possible to eat.

(10) Churches, elaborate **'Palazzi'**, richly decorated **Engadine** houses, **medieval forts**, fountains, idyllic narrow passageways and courtyards, but also the **simple mountain huts made of wood and rough stone**, all are pieces in the fascinating mosaic which make up the total picture of this multi-faceted landscape

....Chiese, imponenti **palazzi**, case **engadinesi** dalla tipica eleganza, fortezze medievali, fontane e romantiche vie e piazze, ma **anche semplici baite di montagna, fatte di legno e con muri in pirtra, oltre ai tradizionali "crot"**, danno al paesaggio un'impronta indelebile.

B6 p. 18

Interestingly, the German text (not shown) for Example 10 keeps the original dialectal "Crot" in quotes, in contrast with the English version, which in Example 10 above does not mention either crot or crotto. Furthermore, in the paragraph that follows in this brochure (the paragraph corresponds to Example 6, seen earlier), crotto is translated into "grotto" in the English version.

To summarize this section on the crotti, although the term "crotto" is mostly maintained in Italian in the foreign language texts, other terms are also used (e.g. crot, grotto) and in one case the term does not appear at all. What stands out is that the approaches to describing the crotti are characterized by different kinds of emphasis, for example, the natural or geological aspect as opposed to the social aspect. In some cases, the texts seem to be a "textbook presentation" of the crotti and local specialties, with little evaluative language or no explicit connection to the reader (e.g. Example 8). In other cases, the use of evaluative language (e.g. enjoy), and reference to the reader (you) seem to connect the specialties to the reader (e.g. Example 6). Positive evaluation is used in another text that was not translated into English (Example 9), but visitors seem to be on the outside, with crotti presented in terms of local "users".

Two main orientations emerge: the presentation of the crotto as a place with which the readers/visitors - or locals - have contact (i.e. eat there, to enjoy culinary specialties) , which implies the "architectural landscape" is there to be enjoyed by the visitors – or the locals. This can be contrasted with the mainly textbook presentations focusing on geology and nature, raising questions as to what is involved when the objective of tourist materials is to inform or to promote. The interplay between these two objectives and their relation to the potential audience for tourist materials and visitors' expectations and needs is an issue worthy of consideration, in line with Ravelli's (1998) analysis of museum visitor materials and her wider discussion concerning their objectives alongside the position of the art institution itself.

3.3 Names of Foods in Italian: Bresaola, Bitto, and Wines as Brands or Trademarks?

Up to now, the use of different linguistic options to present special features of the Valtellina area has been presented and discussed. Aspects of local culture are seen to be represented by specialized terms, often (but not always) left in Italian in the English language texts (e.g. pizzoccheri, sciatt, crotti, and so on). This section looks at three kinds of local specialties: bresaola, bitto cheese, and wines. It is interesting to consider these specialties along the lines of brands or trademarks because three associations safeguard the "Denomination of Origin" by means of "EU quality marks". These "EU quality marks" concern Bresaola della Valtellina ("IGP"), Valtellina Casèra and Bitto cheese ("DOP"), and the

DOCG Valtellina wines, as explained in brochures called “A Taste of Valtellina”, prepared by the Valtellinaestero project.

3.3.1 The Forms Bresaola Takes

In some of the examples presented thus far, bresaola has been presented or described in a number of ways. This term also appears in other brochure texts. Table 2 below shows some of the ways bresaola is presented in the data examined. Although the presentation is not drawn from a computer-generated concordance⁷, it follows a similar principle of including where the term is collocated (i.e. the linguistic context prior to and following the term, in this case six words to the right and to the left). Bresaola and any equivalent or explanation is in bold in the middle column and, if appropriate, the third column.

Table 2 How Bresaola Appears in Different Passages

Text preceding “bresaola” or equivalent	bresaola or equivalent	Text following “bresaola” or equivalent	
English:			
the maturing and conservation of wine, of wine and local products: cheeses, the local cuisine: pizzoccheri, polenta and	bresaola bresaole ⁸ bresaola,	(dried salted beef) , violini di capra (dried salted beef) , violini di capra delicacies that you won't be able	Example 7, B2 Example 8, A2 BIT3 p.27
Italian:			
e la conservazione del vino, della la stagionatura del vino e dei la cucina tipica: pizzoccheri, polenta e di grappa nell'impasto. Pane di Segale.	brisaola, prodotti bresaola, Bresaola	dei violini di capra (coscia di locali , grazie a una corrente d'aria delizie del palato a cui non (o brisaola) che è il salume	Example 7, B2 Example 8, A2 BIT3 p. 27 A5 monoling. p15
French:			
farine complète de sarrasin), polenta et	viande	des Grisons ⁹ , des plaisirs du palais	BIT3 p. 27
German:			
vollendeten Genusserlebnis. Probieren Sie Pizzoccheri, Polenta,	Bresaola	und all die anderen unviderstehlichen	BIT3 p. 27

The evaluative force or, more simply, the positive and negative connotations of the choices made in describing specialties such as bresaola are worthy of a closer examination. Clearly it would be easier to have a visitor taste bresaola rather than having to describe it in writing, especially in a limited number of words. I conducted several interviews with English speakers from the U.S. and the U.K., and “dried salted beef”, for example, seems to have a negative connotation and does not appear to be a particularly appetizing way to describe bresaola. Some Italians have also told me that “manzo secco salato” or “manzo salato secco”, the literal translation of “dried salted beef” is not very appetizing. It can be noted that in the Italian-speaking canton of Ticino, Switzerland, a somewhat similar air-cured meat

⁷ Table 2 is presented to focus attention on some of the ways the term bresaola is used in the data, recognizing that a computer concordance of data in electronic form would ensure a presentation including all collocations of terms of interest, as well as their “exclusion” from certain texts. A qualitative examination of the data, on the other hand, helps identify alternative versions of items of interest (e.g. different spellings, “viande” in a translation).

⁸ (sic) – spelling in standard Italian is bresaola; in Chiavenna dialect it is brisaola.

⁹ Literally “meat of the Grisons” (or Graubünden), a Swiss canton.

produced in the Grisons is called “carne secca” (literally dried meat) or “carne secca dei Grigioni” (literally dried meat from the Grisons). In this case, a more positive association for this expression is possible. In any case, the Ticinese with whom I spoke indicated that they consider the “carne secca” different from bresaola.

It is important to point out, however, that “bresaola” by definition is not the same as “carne secca dei Grigioni” because both names imply that each meat is prepared in a specific geographical area. Indeed, the materials related to the “EU quality marks” use the expression “Bresaola della Valtellina”. Thus the French translation of bresaola, “viande des Grisons”, not only risks eroding “brand awareness” of bresaola, it is also incorrect. Furthermore, an examination of the data reveals that the term bresaola does not appear at all in some of the Italian texts of brochures; rather, the texts refer to “prodotti locali” (i.e. local products), with the English version of the passage sometimes providing the examples of bresaola and violino di capra.

Descriptions of other terms worth considering in view of connotation include of “violini di capra”. Example 8, for example, refers to “violini di capra” in Italian and then follows with ““Violin” of cooked goats’ ham” in parenthesis. It then explains that this term refers to the “shoulder, preferably of goat meat, pickled and dried...”).

3.3.2 Place Names and Names for Food: Bitto Cheese and the Bitto Valleys

The fact that the same name may be used for a cheese and a valley may complicate matters and sometimes lead to repetition of a name in the English version, as in the example below. It can also be noted that the brochure specifies that Bitto cheese possesses the “EU quality mark” mentioned earlier, more precisely the “DOP”.

(11) ...we arrive at MORBEGNO, situated at the entrance to the **Bitto Valleys**. (...) We must remember that the **Bitto Valleys** is the place where the most important **Valtellinese cheese** is produced, called with the same name, **Bitto**, and which is conferred with the **denomination of protected origin**.

Source: B2 p.8

p. 6, paragraph on the town of Morbegno:

...non dimentichiamo che della zona delle **Valli del Bitto** è la produzione di quello che è il re dei formaggi valtellinesi, **il Bitto** appunto, che si fregia della **denominazione di origine protetta (DOP)**.

Source: B2 p. 6

Some brochures explain that the “Bitto Valleys” are the Valgerola and the Valle di Albaredo. Valley names in Italian are often one word and begin with “Val”, so that Valgerola is understood by Italian speakers to refer to a valley. In English this is suggested but not necessarily clear, as evidenced by that fact that valley names sometimes appear in English as, for example, Valgerola Valley or Valgerola or Gerola Valley. A potential problem with the latter choice, Gerola Valley, is that the reader may not necessarily associate the term “Valgerola” seen elsewhere (e.g. in other materials, on signs) with the actual valley; moreover, Gerola is also the name of a town, which might not be immediately clear to some visitors.

3.3.3 Names of Wines as Specialized Lexis: “Missing” or Included?

An examination of texts in different languages in the data reveals that in many cases wines are cited only in general (e.g. Valtellina wines), with brochures only occasionally including specific names of wines such as Inferno, Sassella, and so on, which are based on geographical sub-areas. In Example 12 below, the Italian text of the brochure refers specifically to the wine “Sforzato”, while the text in English refers to the wines in general, using “Veltline” (normally used in German texts) instead of “Valtellina” (normally used in the English texts) to modify wine. The German text, not shown, refers only to “ehrliehen Veltliner Weine”.

- (12) The local specialties, the **robust Veltline wine**, the numerous Old churches, ‘Palazzi’....
....gustare sapori unici, dai piatti tipici ai grandi **vini rossi di Valtellina**, come lo **Sforzato**.
Source: B6 p. 13

The only other example of references to specific wine names occurs in a more recent brochure in Italian and English and is shown in Example 13 below. Interestingly, the name of Sforzato in the local dialect is also included: Sfursat.

- (13) The “hard work” refers to earlier references to vineyard terraces (a description of which follows the list of wines):
The product of this hard work is the famous **Valtellina wines, sub-areas of the DOCG Valtellina Superiore: Sassella, Inferno, Grumello and Valgella**, to which we should add **Sforzato** or “**Sfursat**”, a “meditation” wine, reaching round **15°**. (...)
After reference to “terrazzamenti coltivati a vite...”
Il prodotto di questo duro lavoro sono i famosi **rossi di Valtellina, sottozone del Valtellina Superiore DOCG: Sassella, Inferno, Grumello e Valgella**, ai quali va ad aggiungersi lo **Sforzato** o “**Sfursat**”, vino “da meditazione” che raggiunge i **15 gradi** circa. (...)
Source: A2 pp. 11-12

The inclusion or exclusion of this specialized lexis in tourist materials, in particular the specific names of meats, cheeses and wines, can be considered in terms of the potential of this lexis to take on special meaning (see e.g. Mautner 1998 and Poncini 2002a), as well as the potential of tourist brochures to contribute to an awareness of an area’s special features. Such features include those products that may also be sold outside the area, such as those promoted by the “Valtellinaestero” project (bresaola della Valtellina, Bitto and Casera cheeses, and Valtellina wines). The importance of the relationship between wine and tourism is confirmed by Hall, Johnson, and Mitchell (2000: 196), who indicate that regionality contributes to product (i.e. wine) branding (see also contributions to Hall, Sharples, Cambourne and Macionis 2000 on wine tourism).

3.4 Proper and Non-proper: Names of “Facilities”, Businesses and Places vs. “Generic” Descriptions

In the data, names for things (proper nouns) are sometimes left in Italian and sometimes translated, while related descriptions take a variety of forms. This variety especially characterizes texts about the “thermal waters”, especially those located in Bormio, where two different “businesses” or “facilities” exist and appear in some texts as proper names. At the same time, other proper nouns are used in relation to

the thermal waters, as do a range of non-proper terms. As a result, a number of linguistic options are available to whoever prepares the texts, while the clarity of linguistic choices depends greatly on the readers' shared knowledge of existing facilities and the way they are organized.

This range of linguistic options is evident in Table 3 below, which provides examples of terms used in the data in relation to thermal waters (capitalization or lack of capitalization follows the original text, while capitals at the start of sentences have been replaced by lower case in square brackets).

Table 3 Linguistic Options Related to Thermal Waters

English Version	Italian Version	Drawn from Example:
thermal water springs	sorgenti di acque termali.	14
the Stabilimento Bormio Terme	lo Stabilimento Bormio Terme	"
Bagni Vecchi	i Bagni Vecchi	"
old baths	antiche vasche	"
[h]ot springs	acque termali	15
Bormio Hot Springs	Bagni di Bormio	"
spa	[le] Terme.	16
	Bormio Terme	17
	Bagni Vecchi.	"
	bagni termali	"
	stabilimento Bormio Terme	"
	piscina natatoria di m 33x16.5	"
	una vasca per bambini	"
	fonte Cinglaccia	"
Roman Baths	Bagni Romani	"
Bagni Vecchi	Bagni Vecchi	"
Baths of Bormio	Bagni Imperiali e i Bagni Medioevali	"
Imperial Baths	Bagni Imperiali	Brochure B8
Medieval Baths	Bagni Medioevali	"

In Example 14 below, the names Bagni Vecchi and Bormio Terme are kept in Italian in the English version, and the use of capital letter makes it clear they are proper nouns. The use of "both" clarifies that two "facilities" are involved, though it is not immediately evident whether one or both possess "old baths" dating back to the Roman period.

(14) In this area tourism started thanks to the **thermal water springs**. At that time Bormio and the Upper part of Valtellina represented an ideal health resort for the European upper-class and aristocratic families. The beneficial influence of **this water** is still alive at both **the Stabilimento Bormio Terme** and **Bagni Vecchi**, in the old baths which date back to the Roman period, where, with a healthy dip, you make a journey backwards in time.

p. 5 Il turismo ha mosso i primi passi nella zona tra fine Ottocento e inizio Novecento, grazie alle **sorgenti di acque termali**. Bormio e l'Alta Valtellina hanno rappresentato in quell tempo luogo ideale di villeggiatura curativa per le famiglie dell'alta borghesia e dell'aristocrazia europea. Oggi l'influsso benefico di **queste acque** è sempre vivo, sia presso lo **Stabilimento Bormio Terme** sia presso i **Bagni Vecchi**, nelle antiche vasche risalenti all'epoca romana, dove, attraverso salutari immersioni, si compie anche un viaggio a ritroso nella storia.

Source: A2 pp. 5-6

In contrast, Example 15 below uses Bormio Hot Springs in English and Bagni di Bormio in Italian rather than specifying the names of the two facilities as Example 14 did. The text in Example 15 does not make it clear there is a Bagni Vecchi and a Bormio Terme. Although the Bagni di Bormio appears to be the name of a facility because the first letter of Bagni is capitalized, if one has knowledge about the two facilities described elsewhere, both the English and Italian versions may result in confusion. Example 15 appears on a page concerning the “Bagni di Bormio” showing three photos of the Bagni Vecchi, which are not, however, cited in the text.

(15) Hot springs are a precious gift of nature. Thus, the Bormio Hot Springs are the place to dive into history and discover well-being that know no age.

Source: B4 p. 13

Prezioso dono della natura sono le acque termali. Ed allora ecco i Bagni di Bormio per immergersi nella storia e scoprire un benessere che non conosce età.

Source: B4 p. 13

Example 16 below illustrates the effects of the use of a capital letter at the beginning of a word vs. the use of lower case. The Italian version uses a capital letter, so that the term “Terme” appears to be the name of a facility. The version in English appears to contradict this, with “spa” used as a non-proper noun. Furthermore, the use of the article “the” before “spa” implies that there is only one facility in Bormio, in contrast with the two proper nouns representing the names of facilities in Example 14 presented earlier.

(16) The spa at Bormio dates back to the times of the Romans.

....Bormio, la cui fama nasce già in epoca romana grazie alle Terme.

Source: B6 p.13

The range of specialized terms representing – or seeming to represent – the names of facilities and other aspects of thermal waters may lead to confusion for readers who do not share specific knowledge of what Bormio offers in the case of thermal waters. One brochure (B8) includes an advertisement for Bormio Terme (clearly a logo) on one page, and a half page ad for the Bagni Vecchi – Bormio, which includes an English translation of Imperial Baths and Medieval Baths (the Bagni Vecchi as a logo is not translated).

It can be noted that the Italian text of Example 17 below includes a number of terms that appear to be proper names of facilities. Besides Bormio Terme and Bagni Vecchi, it also refers to Bagni Romani, Bagni Imperiali and Bagni Medioevali. In addition, the Italian text cites “relax” (sic) and “riabilitazione neuro-motoria e circolatoria” (roughly, neuro-motor and circulation therapy) as motivations.

(17) (English language texts in this brochure appear under the heading “what’s new in Bormio and the surrounding valleys” and summarize parts of longer Italian texts.

This appears as a bullet point:
Reopening of the Roman Baths at the Bagni Vecchi (together with the

Al termine di una giornata passata sugli sci, non c’è di meglio che una rilassante sosta presso Bormio Terme o i Bagni Vecchi. La Straordinaria offerta turistica dell’Alta Valtellina è infatti rappresentata dall’abbinamento attività sportive-bagni termali in acque conosciute sin dall’antichità.

Lo stabilimento Bormio Terme offer una piscina natatoria di m 33x16.5, affiancata da una vasca per bambini, alimentate dalla fonte Cinghaccia; il connubio

Baths of Bormio they are part of the incredible tourist facilities offered by **Upper Valtellina (Alta Valtellina)**: a combination of sporting activity and **thermal baths**.

Source: B1 p. 7

nuoto-permanenza in **acqua termale** è di grande importanza non solo per il relax, ma anche per la **riabilitazione neuro-motoria e circolatoria**.

Ai **Bagni Vecchi**, recentemente ristrutturati, riaprono, per la stagione invernale 2001/01, i **Bagni Romani** che, con i **Bagni Imperiali** e i **Bagni Medioevali**, consentono non solo un'immersione in **acque benefiche**, ma anche un tuffo nella storia e un emozionante viaggio a ritroso nel tempo.

Source: B1 p. 5

Finally, Example 18 illustrates instances where the issue arises as to how many and what kinds of details to include in descriptive texts. As with the use of "therapy" in Example 17, marketing issues come into play, including the target's motivation to visit (to "cure" an illness or for overall wellness and relaxation) and the need or desire of the audience to be "educated" about specific characteristics of the thermal waters.

(18) The **thermal water springs (sulphate-alkaline-earthly-mineral-radioactive)** of a temperature between 38° and 41° C) made this area into a health resort for upper-class and aristocratic families years ago.

Source: B2 p. 16

Le sorgenti di acque termali (solfato-alkaline-terrose-minerali-radioattive) a temperatura tra i 38° e i 41° hanno aperto al turismo nella zona come luoghi di villeggiatura curativa per la famiglie (sic) dell'alta borghesia e dell'aristocrazia europea. Ai giorni nostri il loro influsso benefico è sempre vivo, sia presso lo **Stabilimento Bormio Terme**, sia presso i **Bagni Vecchi**, nelle antiche vasche risalenti all'epoca romana, recentemente ristrutturati, e nella **piscina esterna Beaugards**, che domina tutta l'**Alta Valtellina**.

Source: B2 pp. 13-14

In summary, two main issues come to the forefront in the examples above. First, it appears that how to describe these spas or hot springs in English is not always a straightforward matter, given the range of linguistic options used. Secondly, regardless of the language used, it is not always clear which terms represent the names of businesses or municipal "facilities", and which are generic descriptions. Names of facilities, places and so on may be signaled by capitalization, but capitalization is also used when actual names are not involved.

3.5 Alta Valtellina – A Name, a Brand, or Something to be Translated? (Compare to Alta Rezia)

Up until now, the analysis of examples take from the data has highlighted questions concerning whether or not certain specialized terms should be translated or explained. It was suggested that keeping the names of foods such as bresaola in Italian can help create brand awareness and a positive image of the area. It was also seen that leaving the names of facilities in Italian, for example the Bagni Vecchi, can also result in greater clarity.

Having discussed such examples, it is now possible to make similar observations for the name Valtellina, which occasionally appeared as "Veltline" in the English texts of one brochure, when, in fact, "Veltline" is normally used in German, and Valtellina is normally used in English. A wide range of terms

and descriptions is used for Alta Valtellina, the upper part of Valtellina. Table 4 below shows a range of ways Alta Valtellina is presented in various languages in brochure texts.

Table 4 Presentations of Alta Valtellina in Different Languages (in Bold)

<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Alta Rezia is comprised of the Upper Engadine valley, Valposchiavo and the Upper Veltline Region.2. Alta Rezia comprende l'alta Engadina, la Valposchiavo e l'alta Valtellina.3. Alta Rezia umfasst das obere Engadin, das Valposchiavo und die Region des Oberveltlins.4. Alta Valtellina: Southern skies5. The Alta Valtellina region stretches down the valley...6. Das Gebeit Alta Valtellina umfasst von Tirano... here left in original7. Bormio, al centro dell'Alta Valtellina / at the center of High Valtellina8. the Upper part of Valtellina

Interestingly, the German version of one of the brochures uses "Alta Rezia" consistently, thus apparently recognizing that the original name of this mountain area is important for brand image and awareness (see contributions to Morgan, Pritchard and Pride (2002) and the use of expressions such as "Brand Australia" and "Brand Western Australia" in Morgan, Pritchard and Pride (2002: 9-10). However, this same German version does not maintain the original Italian Alta Valtellina in the text, with one exception. In this particular brochure, "Upper Veltline" and Alta Rezia are used consistently in English with one exception (pp. 13-14), where the original Italian Alta Valtellina is used in German too. The lack of a capitalized "alta" in the Italian version can be noted in point 2 Table 4 above, perhaps detracting from recognition of the place name as a brand (see Pritchard 2002 for discussions of destination branding).

4. Discussion and Concluding Comments

Choosing how to present local specialties and attractions in English is not always a simple matter, as the examples discussed above suggest. Linguistic choices in the brochure texts analyzed help build shared knowledge about specialties and features of Valtellina in different ways and to various degrees. It can be noted in some cases explanations or definitions are provided in the Italian version as well, implying that non-local audiences may not necessarily be familiar with local specialties. Although the objective of this paper is not to judge individual choices, some initial considerations are helpful in view of the issues involved in building a particular image for an area and in communicating its features to audiences with differing levels of shared knowledge about the area.

Indeed, the study shows that in a number of cases, a single Italian term takes on a variety of forms in the texts in English and in other languages. For example, a local specialty might be translated in one brochure, left in Italian with no explanation in another, or left in Italian and described in another brochure. The translations and/or descriptions may also differ. In addition, translating proper nouns representing names of places and "businesses"/facilities is also potentially confusing. It may not be clear that the item in question is the same one appearing in other material where the name is maintained. This problem may be compounded when the use of capital letters at the beginning of terms implies a formal facility is involved when, in fact, this is not the case. As a result, the information presented may not necessarily match with the actual situation (e.g. both the Bagni Vecchi and Bormio Terme are available to visitors). Even the name "Valtellina" appears differently in one of the brochures, which uses "Veltline" in the English text. Contrary to the standard use of "Alta Rezia" in the same

brochure, regardless of the language used, "Alta Valtellina" appears in a variety of other forms in different brochures. Although place names were not examined in depth in this paper, a question of credibility surfaces if certain place names which should remain in the local language are translated inappropriately (e.g. Val di Lei appearing as "Valley of She").¹⁰

These differences have implications in terms of building a particular image for and awareness of the area and its specialties. The image of local products may also be affected by the range of descriptions varying in terms of positive (and less than positive) connotations. For example, describing bresaola as "dried salted beef" may not contribute to a positive image of this food to those unaware of what bresaola is and what it tastes like. Another aspect to reconsider is the "textbook presentation" of specialties and aspects of local culture, for example the crotti, which contrast with some of the texts presenting local specialties in a way that involves the reader. Changes have already occurred, it seems. Earlier brochures describe the Valtellina town by town, generally starting with the altitude, population and distance from Milan. This "textbook presentation" contrasts with more recent brochures focusing on thematic areas such as churches and historical buildings; gastronomy; parks and nature; and sun and snow. The use of specialized terms together with photographs in these "thematic brochures" contributes to increasing common ground for diverse audiences. In general, because these terms represent aspects of local culture, maintaining them in visitor materials rather than "translating" them involves the visitor in the travel experience and at the same time contributes to maintaining aspects of local identity, even when visitors come from around the globe.

One major issue concerns coordinating visitor materials, especially linguistic choices, when a number of organizations produce them. The director of the tourist board confirmed his awareness of this issue during our interview. Indeed, I noted that some brochures contained as many as six logos representing different organizations connected to the brochure, and in a number of cases the APT was not one of them. The high number of stakeholders involved in tourism destinations is recognized by Morgan, Pritchard and Pride (2002) in their discussion of destination branding. They (2002: 1) observe that some people feel that "too many stakeholders and too little management control" characterize destinations, making it too complex to discuss branding issues, although in their view (2002: 2), "places are potentially the world's biggest tourism brands". Despite the difficulties in coordinating materials, then, some applications of the present study can be suggested. This could soften the impact of differences in the brochures as discussed in this study in terms of building a particular image for and awareness of the area and its specialties.

One specific application could be the development of guidelines for the representation of local culture, features, foods and so on, while recognizing the implications of differing degrees of shared knowledge on the part of the audience. This would facilitate the work of members of organizations producing materials as well as whoever is directly involved with texts in different languages. If each individual must decide alone how to handle, for example, descriptions of thermal waters, the result is duplication of efforts as well as the risk of contradictory, uncoordinated information about important attractions of Valtellina. Consideration could be given to the usefulness of specially prepared texts in foreign languages that are not strict translations. In some cases this may be a more effective approach when shared knowledge is a concern, as discussed by Charles¹¹. A strict "control" of information - in any language - could hardly take place, especially with the Internet available to individuals and

¹⁰ This example was mentioned to me by a Tourism Research 2002 conference participant from the U.K. who was familiar with Valtellina and had noted this or a similar term (Valley of Her) in visitor materials.

¹¹ Personal communication, October 2002. Charles spoke of a study originating in the Helsinki School of Economics about a company's financial statements in Finnish and English. Parallel texts rather than translations were recommended precisely because the issue of shared knowledge was an important consideration when non-Finnish audiences were involved. The company worked with the researcher to ensure recommendations were implemented in an appropriate manner.

organizations desiring to communicate to varied audiences. Rather, it may be more feasible to develop a way to manage expertise related to local features and then coordinate efforts to “educate” potential communications. After all, every single menu can hardly be controlled for the way it presents or describes bresaola.

In addition, there seem to be problem areas in some texts in different languages, particularly when translations are involved. Ways to avoid possible mistranslations could also be reviewed. For example, the names of snow sports may not be familiar to an outside translator (e.g. sci alpino, sci alpinismo and sci nordico/ sci di fondo). Indeed, one of the brochures¹² mistranslated a reference to Santa Caterina, calling it the “biggest European mountain ski resort”, when, in fact, the original Italian referred to sci alpinismo (i.e. ski mountaineering or ski touring) and not sci alpino (i.e. alpine skiing, normally associated with ski resorts). It also used the expression “Northern skiers” in the English version in relation to the term “sci nordico” (Nordic skiing) in the Italian text about an area offering cross-country skiing. One solution for this kind of problem could be a glossary by thematic area, providing short “translations”.¹³ This would be useful for translators as well as members of organizations producing the materials who must depend on the work of translators.

An area for further study includes the photographs of the brochures, as brought up by the director of the tourist board. He compared photographs for certain destinations portraying the mountains as a peaceful, relaxing place or, in contrast, as a frightening place and a center of extreme sports. A quick look at brochures photographs confirms that in some Valtellina brochures this is still the case. For example, almost half the photos in one brochure show expert or solitary activities such as people ski mountaineering, people on mountain peaks, or people skiing alone outside the tracks or sitting in the sun alone, as opposed to people involved in “softer” sports on snow and related activities.

Another area of interest involves the presentation of vacation activities in the mountains (text and photos) taking into consideration the theme of sustainable tourism in mountain areas (as discussed by e.g. De Vecchis 1998, Bartaletti 1998 and Zerbi 1998). Moreover, attention could be given to the factors behind the infrequent mention of mountains when international tourist guides present the Lombardy region, as revealed in a recent study by Visentin and Frediani (2001); indeed, in some cases the Province of Sondrio (Valtellina) was not mentioned at all in sections on Lombardy.

It would also be interesting to consider how expertise could be shared about appropriate solutions for those features particularly problematic when multilingual promotional materials are involved. Alternative descriptions of food and wine could be made available, based on previous work done by people with knowledge of a specific area. For example, materials on Valtellina wines, bresaola, and the bitto and casera cheeses were prepared in English and German as part of the Valtellinaestero project aimed at U.K. and German distributors. Although this material was not analyzed in the present study, an examination of the texts suggests that the language used contributes to a positive image of the local products in question. Other expertise may conceivably be gained as the “ConSORZI” for wines, cheeses and bresaola develop their activities. As far as the present study is concerned, the tourist board director was aware of certain questions and has been pursuing some of the issues discussed as far as training is concerned.

To conclude, although Seaton and Alford (2002: 106-107) question whether international promotional campaigns are feasible and suggest it may not be necessary to promote too globally, the growing use of

¹² Produced by a company owning the lift system for one of the ski resorts.

¹³ This would not solve problems of incorrect information, however (e.g. referring to the Orobian Alps when in reality the Orobian Alps are not located in the area being discussed). Individuals and organizations producing materials need to be aware of the negative effect one poor communication effort may have on the entire area.

the Internet suggests that English language texts will continue to be read by audiences from a range of cultures and representing more than one identified target. Surely linguistic choices, including specialized terms, can help build shared knowledge about an area and its features for a specific target as well as for other visitors. Making it possible to click on a link for further information helps meet the needs of those individuals interested in additional details considered inappropriate in brochures, where space may lack. At the same time, audiences less interested in such information can choose to click elsewhere. Indeed, the Internet is positioned to play an increasingly important role in presenting an area, its culture, its features and its specialties to tourists, residents, potential visitors and consumers of local products whose background knowledge and motivations may vary.

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