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È con particolare piacere che propongo un nuovo contributo alla crescente serie degli *Occasional Papers*, una collana all'interno dei *Quaderni del Centro di Studi Linguistico-Culturali (CeSLiC)*, il centro di ricerca del quale sono responsabile scientifico e che svolge ricerche nell'ambito del Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere e Moderne dell'*Alma Mater Studiorum* – Università di Bologna.

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- (2007) Sabrina Fusari, Idioletti e dialetti nel doppiaggio italiano de I Simpson**
- (2008) Alida Maria Silletti, La traduzione del futuro verbale in ottica contrastiva italiana-francese-inglese**
- (2008) Jane Helen Johnson, Corpus Stylistics and Translation**

A questi papers si aggiungono le altre pubblicazioni del CeSLiC:

1) la serie di manuali dei *Quaderni del CeSLiC: Functional Grammar Studies for Non-Native Speakers of English*

http://www2.lingue.unibo.it/ceslic/e_libri_1_func_grammar.htm

che già vanta quattro volumi pubblicati; e

2) gli Atti dei Convegni patrocinati dal centro:

- a cura di D. Londei, D.R. Miller, P. Puccini, Gli atti delle giornate di studio del CeSLiC del 17-18 GIUGNO 2005:

“Insegnare le lingue/culture oggi: Il contributo dell’interdisciplinarietà”,
<http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it/archive/00002055>

disponibile anche in versione cartacea: Londei D., Miller D.R., Puccini P. (a cura di), 2006, **Insegnare le lingue/culture oggi: Il contributo dell’interdisciplinarietà**, Quaderni del CeSLiC, Bologna, Edizioni Asterisco.

Sono molto soddisfatta ora di poter proporre un originale e opportuno contributo su un linguaggio oggetto di grande attenzione oggi: il discorso turistico, che viene indagato nei filmati distribuiti in streaming on-line dall’autrice, **Sabrina Fusari**. La studiosa è ricercatrice presso l’Università di Trento, dove insegna Lingua Inglese, Lingua e Traduzione Inglese e Linguistica Inglese. I suoi interessi di ricerca comprendono i linguaggi specifici, in particolare il *fund-raising text*, la e la linguistica dei corpora.

Il titolo del suo saggio è:

Il filmato turistico multilingue come discorso specializzato: il caso di studio della Val Gardena

ed è un lavoro che parte dalla constatazione che recenti studi collocano il linguaggio del turismo nell’ambito del discorso specialistico, soffermandosi in particolar modo sulle specificità della sua terminologia e sulla vasta gamma di generi testuali che lo interessano (Gotti, 2006). Pur non essendo del tutto chiaro se i turisti possano considerarsi comunità discorsiva in base alla classificazione offerta da Swales (1990: 24-27), rileva l’evidente importanza rivestita da Internet per permettere ai turisti stessi di instaurare “meccanismi di intercomunicazione” (ibidem: 25) e, più in generale, per partecipare attivamente alla costruzione di questo tipo di discorso.

Il presente contributo analizza il ruolo dei filmati turistici multilingui distribuiti in streaming on-line sui siti Internet dei consorzi turistici locali, soffermandosi in particolare sulle strategie retoriche adottate nelle diverse versioni dello stesso filmato. Tali filmati spesso sono distribuiti gratuitamente proprio allo scopo di suscitare discussioni on-line tra i turisti, sfruttando il meccanismo del passaparola tra chi ha già visitato una determinata località e chi intende farlo in futuro.

Dopo una breve trattazione teorica sul linguaggio del turismo come discorso specialistico, si esamina il filmato dal titolo “Liebe auf den ersten Blick”/ “Amore a prima vista”/ “Love at First Sight”, prodotto e distribuito dal Consorzio Turistico Val Gardena in tedesco, inglese e italiano: l’articolo si sofferma in particolar modo sulla versione inglese e su quella italiana, con particolare attenzione alla lunghezza delle diverse versioni in termini di *word tokens*, all’utilizzo di prestiti lessicali e all’uso di aggettivi e avverbi per dar luogo alla strategia nota come “lexical boost” (Bhatia, 1993).

I risultati della ricerca dimostrano che la traduzione del filmato turistico richiede un notevole grado di adattamento per soddisfare i criteri di accettabilità di questo genere testuale in diverse lingue. Inoltre, quando a essere promossa è una regione abitata da minoranze linguistiche (com'è il caso della Val Gardena), i filmati distribuiti in streaming on-line possono fungere da volano per far conoscere la cultura e il patrimonio di queste popolazioni a livello internazionale.

Concetti chiave: turismo, multilinguismo, traduzione, *lexical boost*

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Bologna, li 3 maggio, 2009

Multilingual tourist videos as specialized discourse: the case study of Val Gardena

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1. Introduction

This paper focuses on multilingual tourist videos distributed via streaming video technologies on the websites of tourist boards, and especially on the rhetorical strategies used in the different language versions of the same film. Firstly, we provide some theoretical background on the language of tourism, especially its status as specialized discourse, its varying degrees of technicality in terminology, and the opportunities offered by the Internet for the discourse community of holidaymakers to develop “mechanisms of intercommunication” and “genre ownership” (Swales, 1990: 25-26). Secondly, we analyze one particular multilingual tourist video, “Liebe auf den ersten Blick”/ “Amore a prima vista”/ “Love at First Sight”, produced and distributed by the tourist board of an Alpine valley in the Italian Dolomites, Val Gardena (Consorzio Turistico Val Gardena), a much sought-after location for holidaymakers, especially those interested in winter sports, with a tourist tradition that dates back to the 19th century.

The case of Val Gardena is particularly interesting because it is a trilingual region (most of its inhabitants are fluent in Ladin, German and Italian), and the importance of multilingualism in the area is clearly reflected in its promotional materials. For the purposes of this study, each version of the video (32 minutes) was transcribed and saved to a .txt file for analysis with a freeware corpus concordancer (Antconc 3.2.1); the English and Italian versions were also POS-tagged to reveal the lexical strategies used. The features analyzed are: (1) overall length (in word tokens) of the three versions of the film; (2) presence, origin and frequency of lexical borrowings from other languages; (3) presence and extent of “lexical boost” (Bhatia, 1993; Zhu, 2005).

This study aims at showing that the translation of tourist videos requires a considerable degree of adaptation in order to meet the acceptability criteria for this genre in different languages: for example, although the content of the three versions of the analyzed film is almost identical, there is much difference in terms of wording (e.g. the English version is the longest one, with several repetitions of the same positive evaluative adjectives and

adverbs); the role of lexical borrowings, most of which come from Ladin¹, also varies depending on the degree of background knowledge of the local culture that is attributed to the viewers of each version of the film. Another important aspect of this film is the promotion of a local minority community, the Ladin one: we argue that the model set by “Liebe auf den ersten Blick”/ “Amore a prima vista”/ “Love at First Sight” may be replicated by other local communities, and help them promote not only their tourist industry, but also their culture and heritage.

1.1. Theoretical background

The language of tourism has been recently recognized as a type of specialized discourse, on the assumption that it exhibits very specific lexical, syntactic and textual features, such as monoreferentiality, (expressive) conciseness, use of emphatic language, pre-modification, and specific patterns of textual organization (Gotti, 2006: 22-33). While this is certainly true of some areas of tourism discourse (e.g. travel booking services; management of tourist sites; academic articles on tourism, etc.) which employ a technical terminology², and a set of genres with well-defined syntactic and textual conventions (e.g. general conditions of tourist insurance; general conditions of carriage for passengers and baggage; travel contracts; booking terms and conditions, etc.), the question remains whether tourist brochures, guidebooks, or indeed multimodal genres like tourist films, specifically addressed to tourists, represent a form of specialized discourse in their own right, or fall within the larger domains of advertising/ promotional discourse.

As Aleson Carbonell (1999: 11) observes, if “nowadays, nobody doubts that Business English, Technical & Scientific English or Legal English are different types of ESP [...] English for Tourism is not one of these ‘classical’ ESP and that is why its definition carries such difficulties”. More specifically, one of the main reasons why the language of tourism is so difficult to classify as either a specialized type of discourse in its own right, or a sub-category of other types of discourse, may be considered to be the hybrid nature of tourist texts that are addressed to non-specialists (see Gotti, 2006: 20-21). Unlike tourist texts produced by

¹ We refer to Dolomitic Ladin, a Rhaetoromance language spoken in the Eastern Alps whose study was introduced at the end of the 19th century by linguist Graziadio Isaia Ascoli. Dolomitic Ladin is spoken in five valleys in the Italian Dolomites: Fassa, Gardena, Badia, Ampezzo and Livinallongo, each with its own variety of the language. See Belardi, 2003; Forni, 2007; Haiman & Benincà, 1992.

² Although tourism is a discipline that favours the use of semi-technical rather than technical words (Huntley & De Juan Gonzales, 2000: 189), it does have its own terminology, as demonstrated by the existence of specialized dictionaries that mainly focus on the terminology of specialist-to-specialist communication, especially acronyms, e.g. Beaver, 2005.

specialists for specialists, those for non-specialists are accessible to most people, and do not generally require any particular background knowledge or membership in a given professional community³. However, these texts do present very specific characteristics in terms of vocabulary (i.e. frequent borrowings from the lexicon of architecture, geography, history, transport, and several other specific domains), genre colonization⁴, and syntactic and textual features that are typical of specialized rather than general discourse (Calvi, 2003: 11; Gotti, 2006; Nigro, 2006).

1.2. Holidaymakers as a discourse community

On the face of it, the distinction between specialist and non-specialist communication⁵ in tourism seems to be quite straightforward: in fact, whereas much professional expertise and discursive competence (Bhatia, 2004: 148) is required to interpret, read, and use GDS displays (or, indeed, to *know* that GDS stands for “Global Distribution System”, and identifies a software environment used for booking a trip, also known as “ticketing” in specialist-to-specialist tourist communication)⁶, this is not so for reading a travel magazine or a guidebook. In fact travel magazines are mostly read for leisure (Gursoy & McCleary, 2004), and guidebooks are typically used as pre-trip or on-trip instruments (Dann, 1996), whereas the situation is very different for technical tourist texts which are used by travel agents, tour operators, hotel staff, airline and cruise ship crew etc. in the exercise of their profession. However, it is rather difficult to draw the line precisely where specialist communication ends and non-specialist communication begins: the two contaminate each other and are often intertwined; non-technical tourist texts contain frequent borrowings of terminology from a wide variety of professional sectors, ranging from geography to economics⁷, and a set of

³ The issue is slightly more complex for discourse communities, see 1.2. below.

⁴ Bhatia (2004: 61-62) mentions travel brochures as one of the non-primary members of the colony of promotional genres, i.e. texts which “may not appear to be exactly advertisements but nevertheless have a strong promotional concern. Typical examples will include fundraising letters, travel brochures, grant proposals, public campaigns and several others, which tend to promote not necessarily a product or service, but possibly an idea, a research proposal, a public concern or an issue, a particular place of tourist attraction, or something similar”.

⁵ Calvi (2000) suggests a more complex categorization of the levels of tourism communication, dividing them into: (1) expert-to-expert communication; (2) professionals-to-public communication; (3) advertising communication. Other scholars prefer to focus on the specific features of different types of speech events within the language of tourism as ESP, e.g. hotel checking out (Cheng, 2004)

⁶ For other acronyms used in the language of tourism, see Gotti, 2006: 24.

⁷ “These registers, as tourism discourse in general, do not necessarily present a lexis marked as ‘tourist’. Due to the diffusion of the travelling experience, the connection between these thematic components and everyday language is very close to the point that most of the terminology is not perceived as technical. However, the specialisation of the discipline and the differentiation of the professional figures made it possible to identify a vast linguistic area that refers to the tourist establishment” (Vestito, 2006: 24).

lexico-grammatical features that are typical of specialized registers, such as complex noun phrases and premodification (Laviosa & Cleverton, 2006). The hybrid nature of tourist communication is further demonstrated by Bhatia's choice of a travel magazine as the "typical illustration" of mixed genres, "the advertorial, or a hybrid of editorial and advertisement" (Bhatia, 2004: 134).

Bhatia (ibidem) concedes that holidaymakers constitute a "discourse community" in its own right, which would point to the existence of at least a "speciality-interest group" (Swales, 1990: 24) that uses the (non-technical) language of tourism as specialized discourse. Cappelli (2006: 15) also believes that

there are certain practices, norms and values that are conventionalised in the way we use language and other expressive means in order to talk about tourist-related matters. In addition, these means can be used by members of a particular discourse community in order to exchange information about travel issues of interest to them.

However, the question whether tourists represent a discourse community in the strictest sense of the term is not entirely settled.

Swales (1990: 24-27) identifies 6 criteria that are necessary and sufficient for a group of individuals to be categorized as a discourse community:

- (1) a broadly agreed set of common public goals;
- (2) mechanisms of intercommunication among members;
- (3) participatory mechanisms used primarily to provide information and feedback;
- (4) one or more genres used in the communicative furtherance of the aims of the community;
- (5) ownership of genres and some specific lexis;
- (6) a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discursal expertise.

Swales' emphasis on intercommunication and participatory mechanisms should immediately remind us of the role of the Internet, which has dramatically increased the possibilities for holidaymakers to communicate with each other, share their experiences, write travelogues, and – more generally – take up an active role in the construction of the discourse of tourism⁸. If until about a decade ago, before the Internet revolution, holidaymakers were

⁸ Such reports are even advertised as "unbiased hotel reviews" (see e.g. the homepage www.venere.com), as opposed to the "official" tourist press, which is assumed to be more influenced by market pressure.

predominantly readers or viewers, rather than producers, of tourism discourse, now they can write their own evaluations of hotels and resorts in travelogues and websites or even broadcast their own documentary on *You Tube* or on other web-based facilities. Their increased possibility to implement participatory mechanisms and “own” tourist genres has definitely drawn them closer to Swales’ definition of a discourse community.

1.3. The data

In this paper, we analyze one particular aspect of the new possibilities that the Internet has opened up for prospective holidaymakers worldwide to access pre-trip materials without necessarily relying on the services of travel agents and tour operators: we focus on multilingual tourist videos distributed via streaming video technologies on the websites of tourist boards, and more particularly on the international direct self-promotion of a small area of the Italian Dolomites, Val Gardena, located in the province of Bolzano-Bozen⁹, about 70 kms from the border with Austria.

The multilingual film we have selected, “Liebe auf den ersten Blick”/ “Amore a prima vista”/ “Love at First Sight” is not a typical documentary describing the beauties and tourist attractions of Val Gardena, but rather a short film (32 minutes) divided into two parts (Part 1: Summer; Part 2: Winter). The film tells the story of two children, aged about 12 – a girl from Berlin and a local boy – who meet and become friends in Val Gardena: therefore, the video does not directly praise the beauties of the valley, as is typical of this kind of genre within the language of tourism, but presents all the tourist sights in the background, conceptualizing them within the story of the two children.

Henceforth, we will refer to the film only as “Liebe auf den ersten Blick”, since the source text (ST) is the German one, whereas the Italian and English version are translations. As we shall see, however, the translators¹⁰ were very much aware of the needs and expectation of their target public, and did not aim at producing what may be described as a “faithful” translation¹¹: in fact they even skipped and/ or drastically adapted some passages,

⁹ Bolzano-Bozen, the capital of South Tyrol, has two official names, one in Italian, and one in German. The same holds true for most urban centres in South Tyrol, which is bilingual and recognized as such by the Italian law.

¹⁰ In this paper, we mainly concentrate on the English version, which was produced by Albert Mayrhofer, a translator who lives in Val Pusteria (a bilingual German/ Italian valley, also located in the Italian Dolomites): Mr Mayrhofer is a German native speaker who teaches English in a local school. He translated the video from German into English with the help of a native speaker of English.

¹¹ The reason why we use inverted commas when referring to “faithfulness” is that we consider it to be a very vague and tricky concept in translation. The question that Ricœur (2004: 51) asks, “fidélité à qui et à quoi?” is

their priority being the effectiveness of the target text rather than the precision of the correspondence with the original German text.

The first edition of the video was released by the Val Gardena tourist board/ Consorzio Turistico Val Gardena in 2004, whereas the one that is currently available was produced in 2006: during these two years, 12,000 copies were sold, a figure which does not obviously take into account the people who have watched the video on-line on the Consorzio's website or on *You Tube*. The distribution of the video for streaming on-line is free of charge, so it does not produce any direct income¹² for Consorzio Turistico Val Gardena: however, the tourist board (personal communication) believes in the importance of broadcasting the video on the Internet because of the possibility for tourists and prospective holidaymakers to comment on it and exchange opinions, thus increasing the possibility of using word-of-mouth as an advertising opportunity.

There are no data concerning the effectiveness of the video itself in terms of attracting new tourists to Val Gardena, but statistics are regularly gathered by Consorzio Turistico Val Gardena concerning the effectiveness of the website www.valgardena.it, where the film is available for streaming on-line in the "Video" section. The website is visited by about 12,000-15,000 people per day¹³, with peaks of over 26,000 visitors (26,143 on January, 14, 2008).

Table 1 illustrates the numbers of visits to the website divided by country:

COUNTRY	VISITS	VISITS (%)
Italy	1,110,980	50.77%
Germany	509,695	23.29%
Netherlands	129,271	5.91%
United Kingdom	50,343	2.30%
Poland	47,018	2.15%
Austria	35,363	1.62%
Belgium	32,578	1.49%
Czech Republic	31,600	1.44%
Switzerland	29,048	1.33%

almost impossible to answer, since it is based on "une équivalence présumée, non fondée dans une identité de sens démontrable" (Ricoeur 2004: 40).

¹² The video can also be purchased on DVD from the shopping cart on the website itself, in all the shops of the tourist associations of Val Gardena, and in a number of local hotels.

¹³ According to Consorzio Turistico Val Gardena, most visitors to the website use the webcam facility (which provides a live view of several areas in Val Gardena: Seceda, Dantercëpies, Ciampinoi, Piz Sella, Col Raiser, Selva Gardena "Tubla" and Ortisei), and visit the accommodation booking and weather forecast pages.

Sweden	19,852	0.91%
United States	16,970	0.78%
Lithuania	15,077	0.69%
Denmark	15,063	0.69%

Table 1: Visitors to website www.valgardena.it by country (Nov. 2007-May 2008).

These data reveal that most visitors to the website are Italian and German: Table 2 shows that Italy and Germany are also the country of origin of most holidaymakers who come to Val Gardena.

COUNTRY	ARRIVALS (summer)	COUNTRY	ARRIVALS (winter)
Italy	86,794	Italy	115,003
Germany	33,885	Germany	52,164
Switzerland	4,151	Switzerland	2,999
Austria	3,551	Austria	3,872
United Kingdom	2,197	United Kingdom	7,303
Netherlands	2,064	Netherlands	14,773
France	1,852	France	1,156
United States	1,263	United States	1,140
Sweden	930	Sweden	1,937
Belgium	920	Belgium	3,426
Czech Republic	490	Czech Republic	3,634
Denmark	239	Denmark	2,048
Poland	82	Poland	6,471
Lithuania	21	Lithuania	1,895

Table 2: Visitors to Val Gardena by country and by season (data gathered in Summer 2008).

Given the comparatively small numbers of holidaymakers from English speaking countries who visit the valley, it is beyond doubt that the English version of the film “Liebe

auf den ersten Blick” is not primarily addressed to English native speakers, but rather to speakers of English as a lingua franca¹⁴.

Another reason that makes Val Gardena a privileged location to analyze the role of multilingualism in tourism is that multilingualism itself plays a key role in its everyday life: historically, Val Gardena is a Ladin-speaking area, which has undergone the influence of both German and Italian-speaking populations over the centuries. As a consequence, Val Gardena is now a trilingual region (recognized as such by law) where most people are fluent in Ladin, German, and Italian¹⁵. In addition, it is very well known as a tourist destination in Italy, Germany, Switzerland and Austria, and its tourist board is taking a series of measures to increase its popularity in other countries (e.g. membership in the global network *Leading Mountain Resorts of the World*¹⁶, an extensive multilingual website, and the video we analyze in this paper).

2. Methodology

The three versions of the film (German, Italian and English) were transcribed and saved to .txt files to be processed with a corpus concordancer. The concordancer selected for the purposes of this study is Antconc 3.2.1, developed by Laurence Anthony at Waseda University, Tokyo. Antconc is a freeware concordance program for Windows, Macintosh, and Linux: in addition to being freely available for download¹⁷, Antconc can perform the most widely used functions offered by commercial concordancers (Concord, Wordlist, Keyword), and is presented as “ideal for individuals, schools or colleges with a limited budget” (Anthony, 2004: 7), despite its limitations in the processing of large scale corpora and in the handling of HTML/XML tags (ibidem: 11-12), and absence of statistical analysis tools, a drawback shared by other non-commercial concordancers (Diniz, 2005: 26).

¹⁴ According to Crystal (2003: 104-105) English has become the language of international tourism. See also Cronin, 2000: 122; Gotti, 2006: 34.

¹⁵ The order in which the 3 languages are mentioned reflects the percentage of native speakers in the valley: in the main town of the valley, Ortisei, 82.32% of the inhabitants are mothertongue Ladin, 12.13% German, and 5.55% Italian. In the other 2 main towns in the valley, Santa Cristina and Selva Gardena, the percentage of Ladin speakers is even higher, hitting 91.20% in Santa Cristina. Source: ASTAT, Istituto Provinciale di Statistica della Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano-Bozen (Statistical Institute of the Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen), 2001 Statistical Report, http://www.provinz.bz.it/astat/download/JB08_K3.pdf.

¹⁶ The *Leading Mountain Resorts of the World* is a global network of mountain resorts including Vail (Colorado, USA), Bariloche (Argentina), Queenstown (New Zealand), and Val Gardena (Italy). Three new locations (Saas Fee, Switzerland; Åre, Sweden, and Banff/Lake Louise, Canada) have recently signed a cooperation agreement which will allow them to enter the network.

¹⁷ <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html>.

The Italian and English version were preliminarily POS-tagged with TreeTagger, a tool developed by Helmut Schmid at the Institute for Computational Linguistics of the University of Stuttgart, also freely available for download¹⁸. The tagset used for English is an enriched version of Penn-Treebank; the Italian one was developed by Marco Baroni at the Center for Mind and Brain Sciences of the University of Trento at Rovereto (Italy)¹⁹.

The features of language that were analyzed are:

- overall length (in word tokens) of the three versions of the film;
- presence and frequency of Ladinisms and other borrowings in English and Italian;
- presence and extent of “lexical boost”²⁰ in English and Italian.

The data were first retrieved with the concordancer, and then checked against each text taken individually (when appropriate, the three versions of the texts were checked and compared); the approach was mainly qualitative in nature, although the quantitative extent of the analyzed features was also taken into consideration (see e.g. Table 5 and Table 8).

3. Results and Discussion

Most of our analysis concentrates exclusively on the English and Italian versions, which are presumably the most widely seen: indeed, most viewers (see Table 1 above) who are not German or Italian speakers will probably watch the film in English as the lingua franca of tourism. In the following paragraphs, we analyze separately each of the language features under investigation.

3.1. Length of the films in terms of word tokens

The first surprising finding is the relative length of the three texts: whereas the German ST contains 2,977 word tokens, the English and Italian translations contain respectively 3,319 and 2,585 word tokens. In general, translators know by experience that the same text translated into Italian is usually longer than its English counterpart (Musacchio,

¹⁸ <http://www.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/projekte/corplex/TreeTagger>.

¹⁹ In Treetagger’s website, the English tagset is defined as “a refinement of” Penn Treebank. The tagsets are all available for download in TreeTagger’s website, although some tags were added specifically for the purposes of this study to identify the origin of borrowings (see 3.2.) and the function of nouns as modifiers (3.3.).

²⁰ “Lexical boost” may be defined as the presence of adjectives or phrases used as “forms of positive evaluation [...] to achieve the purpose of appraising the product” (Zhu, 2005: 88).

2005: 74-75), but in this case the opposite is true. One possible explanation lies in the fact, mentioned in 1.3. above, that some sections in the English version were left out from the Italian translation, and there are also some short explanatory glosses in English (see 3.2. below) that are omitted in Italian. These translation choices, however, are unconnected with the concern of being more “faithful” to the German ST, but are the result of a process of re-writing and adaptation that occurs in different ways in each of the translated versions.

Table 3 shows a typical example in which the Italian text is the most “condensed” (the final part describing a children’s party in native American costumes and an acrobatic air show is totally eliminated), accounting for the shorter overall length of the Italian version of the film:

GERMAN (ST)	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	ITALIAN TRANSLATION
Gröden ist ein Outdoor-Paradies. Das heißt: voller Verführungen. Aber um sich verführen zu lassen, sind Sie ja wohl hergekommen! Aber vielleicht wollen Sie auch nur zusehen, wie Tausende beim Gardena-Bike in die Pedale treten, wie aus kleinen Europäern Indianer werden, wie ein Himmelsballett im Azur fantastische Kreise zieht. Also mitmachen, oder auch nur Staunen – beides ist ein Genuß.	Val Gardena is an outdoors paradise, full of exciting temptations. There are many things you will want to try when you come here. If you’re more a viewer than a doer, however, you can watch thousands of cyclists pedaling hard at the Gardena Star Bike competition. Witness the locals turning into Indians, or marvel at the smoke-spewing display aeroplanes painting circles in the sky. Whether you want to join in, or just watch with rapt attention, you are bound to have a good time here.	La Val Gardena è anche il paradiso delle possibilità: è ricca di seduzioni. Se cercate seduzioni, siete nel posto giusto. Ma forse volete solo osservare come spingono in migliaia sui pedali durante la Gardena Star Bike, in un meraviglioso gioco di colori.

Table 3: An excerpt from “Liebe auf den ersten Blick”/ “Amore a prima vista”/ “Love at First Sight” – the Italian version is the most concise.

The attempt can also be seen to prioritize idiomaticity over “faithfulness”: “Outdoor-Paradies”/“outdoors paradise” becomes “paradiso delle possibilità” in Italian, with a slight

under-translation that is nevertheless much more idiomatic and effective than any attempt at rendering this phrase literally. Something similar happens with “voller Verführungen”: a literal translation into English would be perfectly grammatical (“full of seductions”) but it would not have the same pragmatic effect on the viewers, partly because of the slightly negative connotations of the word “seductions” in English.

In some cases, the rephrasing is even more drastic: Table 4 shows the elimination (and total adaptation) of a dialogue in the German text, which becomes a passage read by the voice-over in both English and Italian:

GERMAN (ST)	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	ITALIAN TRANSLATION
<p>„Du wolltest doch ein echtes Abenteuer erleben!“ „Aber keine Mission-Impossible!“ „Das sind ja bloß 10,12 Meter.“ „Aber total senkrecht! Ultratotal senkrecht! Und Du bist sicher, der Bergführer hat alles im Griff?“ „Auf der Welt kannst Du nicht vielen vertrauen ... aber einem Grödner Bergführer schon!“ „Das war mega-cool!“ „Und jetzt ... wieder runter!“ „Gibt’s denn da keine Seilbahn?“</p>	<p>If you pay a visit to our valley, trying your hand at climbing is a must. It might all seem a bit risky at first but with the help of a local instructor, learning to climb is child’s play.</p>	<p>Se si arriva da queste parti, non si può non provare ad arrampicare. All’inizio è davvero un’avventura, ma se avete un istruttore gardenese ... beh, potete salire ad occhi chiusi!</p>

Table 4: Total rephrasing of the ST in English and Italian.

Not only the wording, but also the effect on the public is very different: the opportunity to climb is represented in the German ST as a dialogue between two young people (characterized by borrowings from English and a use of prefixes that is very typical of youth language), whereas the English and Italian translations specify in a rather impersonal way that climbing is a “must do” for tourists to Val Gardena, and praise the skills of local instructors.

In the following sections of this paper, we will concentrate only on the English and Italian versions, which are arguably the most widely seen, based on the data presented in 1.3. above.

3.2. Lexical borrowings

Foreign words (identified in both tagsets with <FW>) are more frequent in the Italian text (1.2% as against 0.6% in English). In both films, most borrowings come from Ladin²¹, a figure that rises to 85.7% of all the borrowings in the English text (66.7% in the Italian one). This figure obviously includes several toponyms that identify the mountains, slopes, and mountain passes²² of Val Gardena. Whereas some toponyms have a different name in each of the three languages that are spoken in the area (e.g. Odles, LAD; Geisler, GER; Odle, IT. Saslonch, LAD; Langkofel; GER; Sassolungo, IT. Rodela, LAD; Radlsee, GER; Rodella, IT. Jëuf de Sela/ Mëisules²³, LAD; Sellajoch, GER; Passo Sella, IT, etc.), the situation is slightly more problematic for toponyms whose name remains the same in the three languages (e.g. Seceda²⁴; Col de Flam; Col Raiser; Cir) or which are the same in Italian and Ladin, and differ only in German (e.g. Rasciesa²⁵, IT-LAD; Raschötz, GER; Val Setus, IT-LAD; Setustal, GER). These “dubious” cases were considered to be words of Ladin origin, given the higher likeliness for them to have originated from Ladin before being borrowed by Italian and German.

Table 5 illustrates the frequency of lexical borrowings in the two texts, with the figures broken down by language of origin:

²¹ The main sources used to identify Ladin words are *BLad* (Banca lessicala ladina/ Ladin Lexical Bank), (<http://blad.tall.smallcodes.org>) and the *Dizionar dl Ladin Standard* (Standard Ladin Dictionary), <http://dls.smallcodes.org/>, developed by Istitut Cultural Ladin “Majon Di Fascegn”. Mothertongue Ladin students at the University of Trento were also used as informants. It should be noted, however, that the concept of Standard Ladin remains an object of debate (Belardi, 2003: 49-50), although both the dictionary and the corpus developed by the Institute for Ladin Culture allow users to sort the results based on the variety of Ladin that they are focusing on (in our case, Gherdëina).

²² Interestingly, all the names of towns are in Italian in both translations, although Ladin and German equivalents exist, and the German ones are obviously used in the German ST.

²³ Speakers who refer to Jëuf de Sela as Mëisules actually use a synecdoche because Mëisules is only a part of the Sella range.

²⁴ Ladins sometimes spell this word as “Secëda”, but the pronunciation is almost the same.

²⁵ Italians sometimes spell this word as “Rascesa”, but the pronunciation is identical. The spelling “Resciesa” can also be found occasionally.

ENGLISH TEXT (borrowings)		
Language	No.	% of all borrowings
Ladin	18	85.7
of which toponyms	12	66.7
German	2	9.5
of which toponyms	1	50.0
Italian	1	4.8
	TOTAL	% of all word tokens
	21	0.6
ITALIAN TEXT (borrowings)		
Language	No.	% of all borrowings
Ladin	20	66.7
of which toponyms	14	70
English	8	26.7
German	1	3.3
of which toponyms	1	100
Latin ²⁶	1	3.3
	TOTAL	% of all word tokens
	30	1.2

Table 5: Lexical borrowings in the English and Italian texts

The table shows that the vast majority (about 70%) of Ladinisms in both texts are toponyms, for reasons explained above concerning the Ladin origin of most names of mountains, slopes and mountain passes. The concordances below (Table 6-7) illustrate the other borrowings and their use within the texts: the concordances were sorted based on the language of origin of the borrowings.

<p>LADIN</p> <p>1... familiar to you? These snowshoes or ciaspes, as we call them around here, once nearly forgotten, have recently been rediscovered...</p> <p>2...snowshoe race, called the Val Gardena Ciasp. Tobogganing, whether on well-prepared runs, or on rugged forest paths, has also become increasingly popular...</p>

²⁶ The Latin expression is “sui generis” (“of its own kind”), a phrase that is frequently used in Italian.

3... opportunity to meet him again. **Bon dì** means good morning in Ladin. But you don't necessarily need to speak it in order to communicate efficiently here...

4...Ladin culture. However, our **Cësa di Ladins**, the House of Ladin Culture, does boast a huge variety of historical treasures, some of which are many thousands of years old....

5... butter on your bread and the **Gherdëina Lat**, the local milk you can have for breakfast, will further remind you of...

6... in our beautiful valley. **A s'udëi**, which in Ladin means see you soon. Perhaps in autumn, or at the very latest, in winter...

GERMAN

7... what today is called **Kulturlandschaft**, or cultural landscape. If you move up the valley, you will find some of the fauna common to this region...

ITALIAN

8... yourself at one of our many **baite**, small inns with a wide range of South Tyrolean specialties to call into. Yet another perfect day is drawing to a close...

Table 6: Concordance of foreign borrowings in English text (excluding toponyms)

LADIN

1... di sci. Le avete riconosciute? Sono le **ciaspes**, come le chiamiamo noi, a lungo dimenticate, tornate di moda soprattutto per splendide passeggiate...

2... si può incontrare qualcuno. **Bon dì**, si dice in ladino. Ma da queste parti non serve un linguaggio unico. Ben tre sono infatti le lingue ufficiali...

3... vivente, anche se poi, nella nostra **Cësa di Ladins**, potrete trovare dei veri e propri tesori risalenti a milioni di anni...

4... sorseggerete un bicchiere di latte, il **Gherdëina Lat**. Ve ne accorgete anche nelle vostre escursioni: sono stati proprio i contadini...

5... passeggiata godendoci l'ultima sera. **A s'udëi**, cioè arrivederci, forse già in autunno, ma al più tardi in inverno... A s'udëi!

6... ma al più tardi in inverno... **A s'udëi!**

ENGLISH

7... pattinaggio artistico per esempio. Anche l'**hockey** su ghiaccio è davvero eccezionale, ti coinvolge totalmente. Un nuovo giorno...

8...d'occhio. Questo poi ci voleva proprio: lo **snowboard**. Che esperienza! Che miracoli di equilibrio! Il maestro è proprio bravo...

9. ...grandicella, ma non si sa mai. Fra **clown** e sorprese, magari ci si può anche divertire, senza contare che si può reincontrare qualcuno...

10. ...bello e più sano. Oggi lo chiamano **walking**, o addirittura nordic walking se si usano i bastoncini. A prescindere...

11. ...chiamano walking, o addirittura **nordic walking** se si usano i bastoncini. A prescindere da quanto si cammina o dalla velocità...

12. ...Gardena. Il bello è che, con la Val Gardena **Card**, potrete utilizzare gratuitamente questi ed altri impianti...

13... volta in un'ascensione o i più bravi **free climber**, gli acrobati dell'arrampicata libera, che magari vogliono aprire una nuova via verticale...

14... migliaia sui pedali durante la Gardena **Star Bike**, in un meraviglioso gioco di colori. Se si arriva da queste parti, non si può non provare ad arrampicare....

LATIN

15... tutti quanti. E anche un'altra gara **sui generis** ha una sua tradizione: la Gardenissima, sei chilometri di discesa mozzafiato, in gara contro tutto e tutti...

Table 7: Concordance of foreign borrowings in Italian text (excluding toponyms)

The non-toponomastic Ladinisms are exactly the same in both texts (except for the item which is repeated twice, which is “ciasp” [pl. ciaspes = snowshoes] in English, and “a s’udëi” [goodbye] in Italian). Most borrowings from Ladin identify local landmarks that prospective holidaymakers are likely to come across during their stay. The main difference between the two translations lies in the explanatory glosses which are provided in English, but not in Italian: in fact not only the Ladinisms, but all the borrowings in the English text are translated and explained, whereas no translation is offered in Italian, except for the final leave-taking expression (“a s’udëi”).

The likeliest reason for this translation choice is the common Romance origin of Italian and Ladin, which makes the lexical borrowings easier to understand for Italians (except perhaps for “ciaspes”: Italian does have an equivalent, “ciaspole”, but it is used and widely understood only in diatopic varieties of the Alpine region). As for the English borrowings, most identify sports, and have entered the everyday language in Italian (a gloss is provided for “free climber”, but the expression would probably be understood anyway, especially by younger Italian viewers, and the others would most likely be helped by the images that are shown on video). The German word “Kulturlandschaft”, which would be

problematic to understand for Italian speakers with no knowledge of German, was totally eliminated in the Italian text, and replaced with the literal translation “cultura del territorio”.

The choice of how to deal with foreign borrowings may thus be considered to be the result of a precise strategy that aims at reducing explanatory glosses in Italian to a minimum. Overall, the use of Ladinisms contributes to giving a local flavour to the texts (emphasizing the role of the local culture as a tourist attraction in itself) with a consistent effort to avoid causing any comprehension problems. This strategy, however, is implemented in different ways in the two texts depending on the different degree of background knowledge that is attributed to the English and Italian viewers.

3.3. Lexical boost

Lexical boost was first analyzed by Teh (1986, quoted in Bhatia, 1993: 51-52), and it is a phenomenon typically observed in the context of promotional discourse, especially advertising and sales promotion letters (Vergaro, 2004). In this paragraph, we focus on lexical boost as expressed by adverbs and adjectives, especially qualifying ones (i.e. adjectives and adverbs that represent a subjective gradable evaluation, as opposed to classifying ones that indicate non-evaluative properties of objects, and thus – in the case of adjectives – “do not admit intensifiers, comparison, or predicative position”, Quirk et al, 1985: 1339)²⁷, and nouns that act as modifiers.

The first aspect worth analyzing (Table 8) is the overall frequency of adjectives (tagged as <JJ> in English and <ADJ> in Italian), noun modifiers (only in English, <NJJ>) and adverbs of manner (<RBly> in English, and <ADV:mente> in Italian) in the two texts:

ENGLISH TEXT (indicators of lexical boost)		
POS	No.	% of all word tokens
Adjectives (<JJ>)	281	8.5%
Noun modifiers (<NJJ>)	32	1%
Adverbs (<RB:ly>)	44	1.3%
	TOTAL	% of all word tokens
	357	10.8%

²⁷ Another useful distinction is that between evaluative and non-evaluative adjectives, see Hunston & Sinclair, 2000.

ITALIAN TEXT (indicators of lexical boost)		
POS	No.	% of word tokens
Adjectives (<ADJ>)	171	6.6%
ADV (<ADV:mente>)	16	0.6%
	TOTAL	% of all w.t.
	187	7.2%

Table 8: Indicators of lexical boost in the English and Italian texts

The frequency of the indicators of lexical boost found in the texts is not particularly high, although the percentage difference between their overall use in the English and Italian text (over 3%) is quite remarkable, and in line with the more concise, condensed style that characterizes the Italian text, as discussed in 3.1. above.

In the British National Corpus (BNC), the approximate overall frequency of adjectives is 7% (similar scores are found in the Brown and LOB corpora), and our texts fall even below the frequency of adjectives in written advertising in the BNC (about 10%). However, the use of adjectives in promotional texts may vary a great deal depending on the marketing strategy (ranging from about 3% in medicine ads to about 10% in perfume ads, Usó Juan, 1998: 305), making a percentage count less significant than might be expected.

What is more significant is perhaps the types of adjectives, adverbs and modifiers that are used, especially those that are repeated more than once. Table 9 and 10 illustrate the types of lexical boost indicators found in the two texts:

ENGLISH TEXT			
ADJECTIVES	Frequency	ADVERBS	Frequency
exciting	8	obviously	4
old	8	quickly	4
numerous	6	truly	4
special	6	particularly	3
long	5	increasingly	2
perfect	5	perfectly	2
popular	5	really	2
beautiful	4	simply	2
busy	3	virtually	2

cold	3	breathtakingly	1
cross-country	3	conveniently	1
downhill	3	dramatically	1
familiar	3	efficiently	1
full	3	entirely	1
happy	3	exceptionally	1

Table 9: Indicators of lexical boost in the English text (first 15 hits provided by Antconc. Sorting: frequency/ alphabetical).

ITALIAN TEXT			
ADJECTIVES	Frequency	ADVERBS	Frequency
bello ²⁸	15	accuratamente	1
gran/ grande	5	comodamente	1
nuovo	5	gratuitamente	1
particolare	5	interamente	1
libero	4	letteralmente	1
bravo	3	meticolosamente	1
gardenese	3	naturalmente	1
ideale	3	notevolmente	1
veloce	3	particolarmente	1
vero	3	perfettamente	1
alpino	2	praticamente	1
antico	2	semplicemente	1
aperto	2	specialmente	1
curato	2	straordinariamente	1
dolomitico	2	totalmente	1

Table 10: Indicators of lexical boost in the Italian text (first 15 hits provided by Antconc. Sorting: frequency/ alphabetical).

If we look at the tables and interpret the data in terms of their “lexical boost” effectiveness, we might consider that the column “adjectives” answers the question: “What is

²⁸ Masculine and feminine forms are grouped together.

Val Gardena like?”, whereas the “adverbs” column answers the question “How is the Val Gardena tourist board/ industry going to prepare your holiday for you?”. The result is obviously a whole range of positive evaluative adjectives and adverbs, with some differences between the two versions. The Italian text clearly aims at representing Val Gardena as a destination where “beautiful” (15 hits) large open spaces prevail, creating a sense of freedom and peace in a perfectly kept uncontaminated environment. The English text also portrays Val Gardena as a “special”, million-year “old” location with a “local” Ladin flavour, but at the same time its adjectives focus more on the “exciting” (8 hits) activities that this “popular” area has to offer, and on the buzzing life of its “busy” but “perfect” ski slopes.

In addition, despite considerable insistence on the adjective “bello” (“beautiful”), the choice of vocabulary appears to be more varied in Italian, where very few items are repeated more than twice (10 adjectives, as against 21 in English), and no qualifying adverbs are repeated more than once (9 adverbs are repeated at least twice in English).

The representation of the valley is therefore slightly different, more lively in the English text, and more scenic in the Italian one. This seems to give rise to two different ways of “boosting” Val Gardena lexically, perhaps in connection with the different expectations and perceived desires of the two marketing segments that are being targeted (domestic vs. international tourists).

4. Conclusion

The question whether the language of tourism (especially the genres addressed to non-specialists) is a form of specialized discourse is not an easy one. The existence of a specialized discourse community formed by holidaymakers is itself open to debate, although the Internet has recently opened up many more possibilities than there used to be in the past for tourists to establish “mechanisms of intercommunication” and “participatory mechanisms [...] to provide information and feedback” (Swales, 1990: 25-26). What can be stated without disagreement is that the language of tourism, especially (but not exclusively) tourist promotion, has interdiscursivity as one of its defining traits, and texts that aim at promoting tourist attractions are extremely fascinating in their capacity to inform, entertain, and persuade at the same time, in different ways and with different linguistic strategies depending on the kind of public that is being addressed, and on the kind of product/ location that is being promoted.

Against the backdrop of a market that remains essentially international by vocation, despite any changes brought about by the current global economic downturn, multilingual tourist materials will most probably become more widespread, especially those that can be distributed on the Internet, building positive (and free) word-of-mouth publicity. However, given the complexity of the linguistic and rhetorical strategies that are effective in different cultures (Connor & Upton, 2004; Connor et al., 2008), it is impossible – and indeed counterproductive – to resort to literal translation when preparing multilingual materials for tourist promotion.

The film on Val Gardena that we have focused on in this paper represents an effective example of a successful translation/ adaptation strategy implemented by a mountain area where multilingualism is part of the population's everyday life (most people in the area are fluent in Ladin, German and Italian). The effectiveness of Val Gardena's website materials (see 1.3.) is obviously helped by its large popularity at least in Italy and Germany, where it is an extremely sought-after holiday location in both winter and summer. However, this model could be usefully reproduced by other lesser known holiday destinations, and it could even represent an effective tool to promote local minority languages and cultures²⁹, just as the authors of this film have done with the Ladin culture. The new opportunities offered by the Internet might make it possible for these local communities to produce and distribute their own multilingual films, relying on their intellectual and creative resources without having to pass through commercial channels of production and distribution.

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²⁹ In the Italian region of Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol alone, besides the Italian, German and Ladin communities, there are also two communities (Cimbrian and Mocheno) that are less widely known outside the borders of the region, but also live in scenic mountain areas that are somehow under-promoted in terms of tourism.

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