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Accessibility in Tourist Communication

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Foreword

It is our great pleasure to present the first volume of Cultus 9, an issue entirely dedicated to the language of tourism in a cross-cultural perspective. A high number of articles have been submitted for this issue by international academics and researchers. For this reason, eight articles are being published in volume 1, edited by Elena Manca and Cinzia Spinzi, the remaining ones will follow in volume 2, edited by David Katan and Cinzia Spinzi.

We would like to thank all the authors for contributing to this field of study, and to this issue, with their high-quality, innovative and interesting work and for their dedication and patience.

In addition, we would like to thank those members of the Scientific Committee who have contributed to the making of this volume and whose work has increased the quality of the articles even more.

We are sure that this issue will be very useful for future research in Tourism Discourse studies.

Elena Manca and *Cinzia Spinzi*

Translanguaging and its effects on accessibility in Travel Writing. A Case Study: H.V. Morton on Apulia

Thomas W. Christiansen

Abstract

Within the field of applied linguistics and particularly bilingual education, scholars (see C. Baker 2001; García 2009) are paying increasing attention the phenomena of translanguaging *whereby languages (seen as manifestations of the activity of communicating, rather than as separate systems) are used in conjunction with each other as expression of an individual's linguistic repertoire. Such an approach recognises that the relationship between languages is fluid and dynamic rather than rigid and mutually exclusive. It can also be relevant to areas such as creative writing, when authors mix and match forms from different sources not only to reflect their own linguistic repertoire but also for stylistic effect appealing to ethos and establishing authorial stance (Cherry 1998, Kockelman 2004). In the specific genre of travel writing, such translanguaging can be used as a strategy partly (but not exclusively) to introduce items from the source language, adding the lingua-cultural insights that readers of such works may expect, thereby establishing the expertise and credentials of the writer.*

In this paper, we will examine the writings of H.V. Morton specifically regarding his visit to Apulia in 1966 contained in the work: A Traveller in Southern Italy (1969). Analysis will concentrate on the types of phenomena which are accessed through translanguaging, mainly in Italian but also in other codes such as local dialects, Latin, or French. We examine whether these concepts are explained further to the reader, either through accompanying translations, glosses, or by means of cohesive ties, such as co-reference or anaphora (Reinhart 1983, Cornish 1999, Christiansen 2011). Instances of translanguaging will be categorised and compared in an effort to explain when and why each is used. The aim will be to show how introducing unfamiliar forms and concepts through translanguaging can empower readers, as active participants in the discourse to access the relevant culture by adapting and expanding their own lingua-cultural schemata.

1. Introduction

Travel writing is one of oldest literary genres dating back to Homer at least. This, however, does not mean that it has become predictable or

formulaic: quite the opposite in fact, as Raban (1987: pp. 253-54) points out:

> As a literary form, travel writing is a notoriously raffish open house where different genres are likely to end up in the same bed. It accommodates the private diary, the essay, the short story, the prose poem, the rough note and polished table talk with indiscriminate hospitality. It freely mixes narrative and discursive writing. Much of its 'factual' material, in the way of bills, menus, ticket-stubs, names and addresses, data and destinations, is there to authenticate what is really fiction; while its wildest fictions have the status of possible facts. Because of this genial confusion, the travel book has always been a favourite haunt of writers, just as critics, with some justification, have usually regarded it as a resort of easy virtue.

One recurrent feature of travel writing is the encounter with alterity which is made more accessible to the reader: encountering the unfamiliar and comparing it to the familiar. To cite Thompson (2011: p. 9):

> To travel is to make a journey, a movement through space. Possibly this journey is epic in scale, taking the traveller to the other side of the world or across a continent, or up a mountain; possibly, it is more modest in scope, and takes place within the limits of the traveller's own country or region, or even just their immediate locality. Either way, to begin any journey or, indeed, simply to set foot beyond one's own front door, is quickly to encounter difference and otherness. All journeys are in this way a confrontation with, or more optimistically a negotiation of, what is sometimes termed alterity. Or, more precisely, since there are no foreign peoples with whom we do not share a common humanity, and probably no environment on the planet for which we do not have some sort of prior reference point, all travel requires us to negotiate a complex and sometimes unsettling interplay between alterity and identity, difference and similarity.

The issue of accessibility – the degree to which a text is easy to process mentally and decode (see Fulcher 1997)[1] – lies at the heart of translation; indeed, in the main, translation can be seen as one of the principal ways in which concepts, whether familiar or unfamiliar, expressed by unfamiliar words in another language can be made familiar or recognisable in the addressee's own language. Of course, not all words or expressions can be rendered satisfactorily accessible in another language, at least not without lengthy additional explanation, which is the case when the original concept

[1] Fulcher uses the term as an alternative to the concept of text difficulty in the Flesch reading index (Flesch 1949).

referred to is itself unfamiliar (see for instance Baker's examples of *Speaker (of the House of Commons)* or *airing cupboard* in English - 1992: p. 18).

One strategy, which may at first seem diametrically opposed to translation is that of *translanguaging*. In effect, this involves the deliberate use of words and expressions from other languages.

Translanguaging (García and Wei 2014) entails aspects of language transfer such as code mixing or switching but, while these are often associated with lack of competence, whereby the speaker confuses different codes, it is seen a natural part of bi- and plurilingualism, because it: "refers to a systematic shift from one language to another for specific reasons" (Coyle *et al*, 2010: p. 16). It is a phenomenon which, in recent years, has received increasing, long-overdue, attention. It entails aspects of language transfer such as code mixing or switching but, while these are often associated with lack of competence, whereby the speaker confuses different codes, it is seen a natural part of bi- and plurilingualism, because it: "refers to a systematic shift from one language to another for specific reasons" (Coyle *et al*, 2010: p. 16). Traditionally, languages have been seen as separate and static entities, the mixing of which has been viewed as accidental or undesired and as such been termed *interference*. Against this view, some maintain that languages constitute activities whereby cognitive input becomes linguistic output (*Languaging*; Swain 2006). Instead of being autonomous fixed entities with well-defined boundaries, languages constitute fluid resources which may be used either individually or in conjunction with each other. As we hope to show in this paper, translanguaging constitutes a stylistic choice whereby a speaker draws deliberately on whose repertoire of different languages to enhance the message, not just to compensate for linguistic deficiencies.

In this article, we will examine closely this phenomenon as a feature of the travel writing of one particular author, H.V. Morton[2] in his description of

[2] Henry Canova Vollam Morton (1892-1979) was a journalist (most notably for the *Daily Mail, Daily Express, Evening Standard* and *Daily Herald*) and travel writer who authored hundreds of articles and dozens of travel books on Great Britain and Ireland, Italy, Spain, Greece, South Africa and the Middle East (1925 – 1969). His total sales exceeded 3 million copies. He published six books specifically on Italy: *A Traveller in Rome* (1957); *This is Rome* (1959); *A Traveller in Italy* (1964); *The Waters of Rome* (1966); *The Fountains of Rome* (1966); and *A Traveller in Southern Italy* (1969). In 1965, he was awarded the *Ordine al Merito della Repubblica Italiana*. His works reflect a keen interest in history, archaeology, architecture, the classics and the Bible. In an acclaimed and controversial biography, Bartholomew (2004), who had had full access to Morton's private papers, highlighted the stark contrast between Morton's urbane gentlemanly public persona and the more seedy

Apulia as found in his 1969 work *A Traveller in Southern Italy*.[3] Our aim will be to ascertain how frequent translanguaging is, in what kinds of context it is used, and how it compares to other strategies used to render elements of the unfamiliar culture accessible such as translation and the exploitation of cohesive devices (in particular co-reference and anaphora - Reinhart 1983, Cornish 1999, Christiansen 2011).

2. The corpus

In the words of Bartholmew (2004: p. 220), Morton's *A Traveller in Southern Italy,* his last original work,

> (…) lacks the zest of his earliest books, but it manages the intrinsic problem of loading historical, guide-book information on the narrative of a journey pretty well: the narrative does not buckle under the weight. It does, however, bear the marks of its origin. This is no carefree, random journey, undertaken by a free spirit. It is the dutiful tour on behalf of the Italian Tourist Board.[4]

The parts relating specifically to Apulia,[5] constituting Chapters II-V and part of VI, amount to 61,693 words. Within this, Morton dedicates 14,763 words to the province (county) of Foggia, 10,180 to the city of Bari, 17,077 to the province of Bari (including what is today the province of

private self. As an aside, within the field of linguistics Morton's writing style and approach was the acknowledged inspiration for an article entitled "In search of English: a traveller's guide" by David Crystal (1995).

[3] Published by Methuen, London.

[4] "Dutiful tour", it may have been, but this did not stop the elderly Morton speaking his mind when he was moved to. On the sailor's monument in Brindisi: "[…] a piece of Fascist architecture, an example of bad manners in stone and brick. This was an out-of-scale ship's rudder, a monstrous gaunt tower of much the same height, I should say, as Nelson's Column, which, conceived as a memorial to mariners in the nineteen-thirties, looks, like so much official architecture of that period, as though it had been designed by someone wearing a uniform too tight for him and anxious to impress his superiors." (pp. 161-2)

[5] Morton prefers the term *Apulia* (from Latin), which he uses 66 times, to its alternative *Puglia* (from Italian) which he uses only twice – discounting four uses as a component of the proper name *Canosa di Puglia*.

Barletta-Andria-Trani); 12,043 to the provinces of Brindisi and Lecce; and 7,630 words to the province of Taranto.[6]

3. Use and frequency of languages other than English in corpus

Given the relatively small size of this corpus and the diversity and variety of the elements being searched for, and ourselves being familiar with the text from various readings, we opted not to use specific concordance software but rather to tag by hand. This involved simply reading through the text noting down and categorising any words or expressions which did not constitute part of the English lexicon. Often, these words were marked by use of italics or sometimes quotation marks, making our task easier, but frequently they were just inserted within the text with no special indication.

In Figure 1. We give the numbers for the languages other than English[7] (henceforth LOTE) found in the text:

[6] Although he was chauffeured around, it is clear that Morton did not always have expert advisors on hand, at least when writing up his notes; he refers to the inhabitants of Lecce as *Leccians* (p.167) instead of *Leccesi*. He also says that the column in Piazza Sant'Oronzo is topped by one St. Donatus, "the patron saint of Lecce" (p. 203) when in fact, as its name suggests, a statue of Sant'Oronzo (the real patron saint of Lecce) adorns the top of the said column.

[7] In fact, the text does also contain much lexis from archaic varieties of English and one noticeable extract (approx. 280 words, pp. 188-9) from an early 17th century work in Early Modern English, which is not easily accessible to a modern reader. Interesting as these could also be argued to be from the point of view of translanguaging, we exclude them from this analysis.

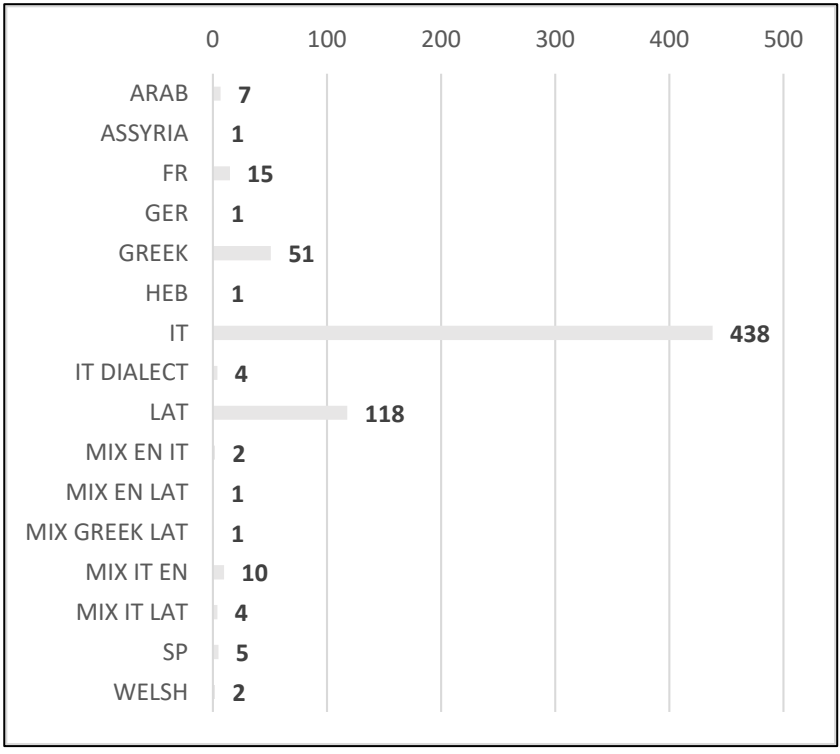


Figure 1. LOTEs found in corpus

As can be seen, although the majority of the text is in English (61,032 out of 61,693 words: or over 98% of the text), Morton uses expressions from a wide variety of languages or mixtures of the same, but most notably Italian, Latin and Greek.

The first stage in our analysis was to look at the contexts associated with each language. This we did by categorising each instance into a base category. Having done this, we grouped together the base categories, where possible, into four general categories: Classics; History Local Context; Religion. In Table 1, we show the base categories that we were able to identify and how they were classified into general categories (in square brackets):

Name	Phrase	Term	Title (honorific)	Title (work)
Name Biblical Name Classics [C] Name Establishment [LC] Name Historic [H] Name Local Institution [LC] Name Nickname [H] Name Place Epithet [LC] Name Tour [LC] Name Religious Figure [R] Name Road [H] Name Saint [H] Name Wind	Phrase Prep Phrase	Term Local Event [LC] Term Architecture [H] Term Citation [LC] Term Classics [C] Term Gastronomy [LC] Term History [H] Term Local Context [LC] Term Local Fauna [LC] Term Miscellaneous Term Religious [R] Term Scientific (Abbreviated) Term Townspeople [LC]	Title Local [LC] Title Religious [R] Title Religious as Term [R] Title Saint [R] Title Saint (Name Place) [LC]	Title Book Title Book (Abbreviated) Title History [H] Title Hymn [R] Title Opera Title Poem Title Prayer [R]

Key: C = Classics; H = History; LC = Local Context; R = Religion

Table 1. Base categories of instances of LOTE found in corpus

As can be seen, many of the base categories did not fall into any of the four general categories and can be treated as miscellaneous. There are also some areas of overlap; for example, names of saints could be seen as both Religion and History. Reading the text, the saints that Morton wrote about (e.g. St. Nicholas, St Francis, St Joseph of Copertino) were treated as characters from history rather than as religious figures.

In Figure 3, we show which of these general categories are most commonly expressed by which LOTE:

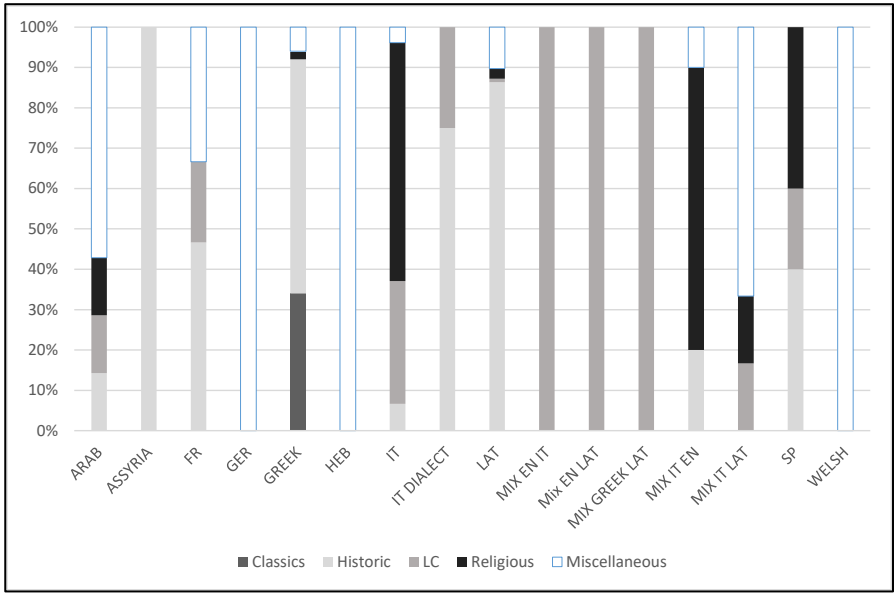


Figure 2. Contexts in which LOTEs are used in corpus

This shows that different languages tend to have different functions. For example, Greek is used mainly for classics and history; Italian mainly for the local context and matters relating to religion. German, Hebrew and Welsh by contrast are used only in few expressions for miscellaneous items.

An interesting counterpoint to translanguaging (the use of words and expressions from LOTEs) are expressions in English that appear to be implicit translations, that is, used without the source phrase being present. For example "Faithful Andria" on Table 2 is clearly a translation of the Latin phrase *Fidelis Andria* (Frederick II's nickname for the place and the name of its football team), although this form does not appear in the text.[8]

[8] "Frederick II, who loved to stay there, so the Andrians will tell you, more than in any other town in Puglia. Among the imperial fads was the composition of Latin slogans for his towns which he inscribed upon arches and walls, some bitter, some sweet. His adjective for this town was 'faithful Andria', and the inhabitants still treasure the description." (pp. 141-142)

Sometimes but not always, these are marked in the text with quotation marks. The examples that we were able to identify are listed below in Table 2:

Term/Expression	Frequency
'Brother Ass' (p.179)	1
Centre of Salentine Studies (p.167)	1
Dante Society (p.167)	1
'dry'(p.54)	1
'faithful Andria' (p.143)	1
Grand Admiral of Castile (p.179)	1
Province(s) (passim)	9
Salentine Academy of Letters and Arts (p.167)	1
'singing doors' (p.141)	1
'The Kiss of Love' (p.138)	1
'thirsty' (p.54)	1
'wine-dark' (p.175)	1
'Wonder of the World' (passim)	3

Table 2. Implicit translations into English in corpus

Morton's use of the term *province*, presents an interesting example of adoption of a cognate word in English to a term in the local language (*provincia*) instead of the standard form (*county*). Perhaps this is because the two concepts are slightly different (England and Italy then and now have different systems of local government, making direct comparison misleading)[9] or maybe Morton uses *province* to conserve some of the formal characteristics (the spelling and the sound) of the original expression – the two explanations not being mutually exclusive.

Translanguaging on the part of Morton can be seen clearly when it comes to the names he uses for saints (excluding cases where these are components of place names e.g. *S. Giovanni Rotondo*). Figures for these are given in Table 3:

[9] In British English, *province* is a complicated term used to refer to larger divisions of a country e.g. Northern Ireland (constituting part, but not *all*, of Ulster, one of the four historic provinces of Ireland). More simply, in Canada, the same term is used to refer to the geographical entities corresponding to what in the USA or Australia are legally defined as States, namely Quebec, British Colombia, Manitoba etc.

Name	Freq	Name	Freq	Name	Freq
S. / San Cataldo	3	S. Giuseppe	0	S. / San Michele	0
St Cathal	1	S. Joseph	1	S. Michael	2
		St. Joseph	4	St. Michael	11
S. / Santa Caterina	0	Joseph	9		
St. Catherine	3			S. / San Nicola	10
		S. Marco	1	S. Nicholas	3
S. Francesco	0	St. Mark	4	St. Nicholas	32
S. Francis	1				
St Francis	20	S. / Santa Maria	12	S. / San Paolo	0
		Madonna	14	St. Paul	5
		St. Mary	0		
		Virgin	9	S. / San Pietro	1
				St. Peter	4

Table 3. Names of saints in corpus

The data in Table 3 is interesting because it shows how Morton variously refers to the same saint in English, in Italian or indeed a mixture of both. This is the case with *St. Cathal / S. Cataldo, St Mark / S.Marco, St. Peter / San Pietro* and most notably with *St. Nicholas / S. Nicola*. In the case of Saint Mary, he only uses the Italian form or the English epithet[10] *Virgin*.
A particular aspect of Morton's translanguaging in this context is his use of the Italian abbreviation *S.* for *Santo* etc, which is also sometimes extended to cases even when the saint's name itself is in English (i.e. S. *Francis; S. Joseph; S. Michael; S. Nicholas*).[11]

In the case of St Nicholas at least, Morton tends to use the Italian version when he is talking about the saint in the local context of Bari, the city that St Nicholas is the patron saint of, the place where his relics are conserved and the venue of a local religious festival. By contrast, with St Joseph of Copertino, he never uses *S. Giuseppe* even when speaking of the latter's life in his hometown. Perhaps, this is because the name *Giuseppe* in Italian is so different from its English version *Joseph* and there is a concern about accessibility. Furthermore, St. Joseph, to Morton obviously an

[10] Descriptive noun phrase – see Christiansen (2009, 2011)

[11] Interestingly, when talking about a town in the province of Taranto, Morton gives its name as *St Castellaneta Marina*, leaving the Italian abbreviation *St* (which stands for *stazione* – railway station). He probably does not translate this because, as we must confess to having done, he inadvertently registered it in his mind as *saint,* as in English (a common element of place names), despite the fact it appears in an Italian noun phrase.

endearing character (also known as *Brother Ass* – see Table 2), is the one saint who is sometimes referred to without any religious title.
On a related note, when speaking about another religious figure, Padre (now Saint) Pio of Pietrelcina, whom he met in the flesh, Morton always refers to him as *Padre Pio* (210 times) never as *Father Pio* (or *Pious)*. Preserving the alliteration of the [*p*] sound in the Italian version may be a factor here. By contrast, he speaks about another priest, one Father Carty, using only the English title *Father* (four times). Interestingly. However, referring once to the younger, unordained Pio, he uses the English title *Brother,* not *Fratello, Fratel,* or *Frate.*

Also, in the case of Rudolph Valentino (a native of Castellaneta in the province of Taranto), Morton only uses the English version of his name (which was also his screen name, although in Italy he was always known as *Rodolfo*). He even almost completely Anglicises his full name: *Rudolph Alfonso Raphael Peter Philip William de Valentino* [sic] *d'Antonguolla* [sic] (and not *Rodolfo Alfonso Raffaello Pierre Filibert Guglielmo di Valentina D'Antonguella*) (p.207).

4. Strategies and factors affecting accessibility of instances of translanguaging in the corpus

Turning to the accessibility of instances of translanguaging, or how the use of words and expressions from LOTEs can affect the comprehensibility of a text, it can be seen that three strategies were employed by Morton: translation, explanation, cohesion, together technically with a fourth option, namely to do nothing (see Table 4 below). The first three are summarised and illustrated in Figure 3:

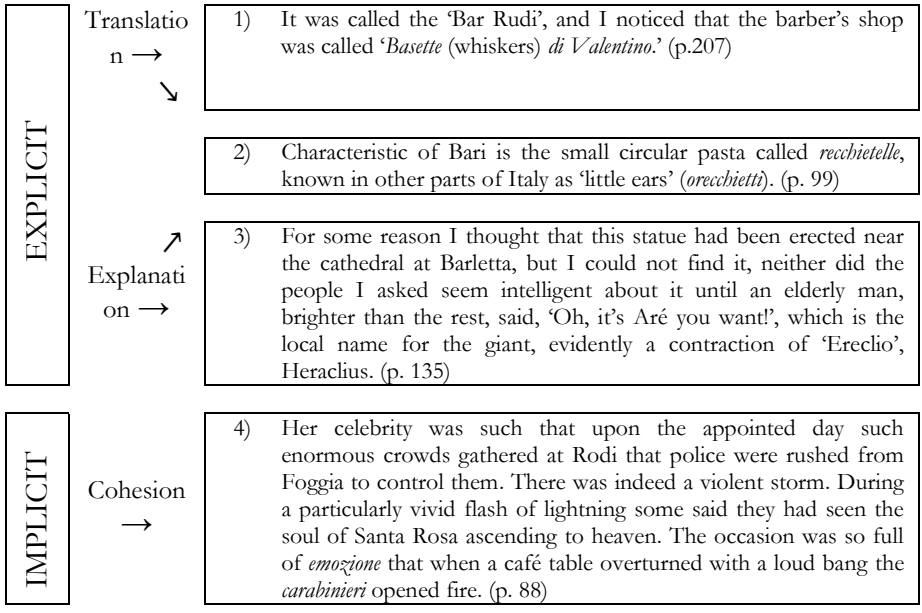


Figure 3. Strategies affecting the accessibility of instances of translanguaging

As shown on Figure 3, translation and explanation are both explicit and involve drawing the addressee's attention towards the word's meaning, either by translating it or describing it. Cohesion is implicit, and works by providing links with other items in the text that, largely through a process of inference (see Sperber and Wilson 1987), make that item accessible (e.g. if A=B and B=C, then A=C).

Translation and explanation can be very similar since the line between a translation which is not strictly literal (i.e. *paraphrasing* as opposed to *metaphrasing*) and an explanation can be difficult to draw: e.g. rendering the idea of *emozione* from example 4 with *emotion* (its formal equivalent in English) or with *excitement, anxiety, passion, commotion* (non-formal, more paraphrastic equivalents). In our analysis, something is classed as explanation when it contains equative *be* or similar phrases such as: *which is*, *in other words*. Example 2 is an illustration of translation (*little ears*) and explanation (*small circular pasta*) combined – underlying also how they may complement and reinforce each other.

Cohesion is often based on co-reference and anaphora with some antecedent in the text (see Christiansen 2011). Example 4 in Figure 3 contains an example of coreference, with the definite article in "the *carabinieri*" functioning as a demonstrative deictic device indicating that the

referent is accessible and retrievable in the discourse or text, as it is in this case with the occurrence of "police were rushed from Foggia" a line or so before.

Emozione in Example 4 is an instance of an item in an LOTE which is not rendered accessible by translation, explanation or cohesion. Presumably, the addressee is either expected to be familiar with the term in Italian or to guess its meaning from the form alone (although its cognate in English, *emotion*, has a slightly different meaning) or somehow to divine its meaning from the context (although no cohesive devices are added to facilitate this, as they are with *carabinieri*).

Accessibility through cohesion is an implicit process and thus it can be difficult to pin down. There are many different types of cohesive device (see Halliday and Hasan 1976; Christiansen 2011) which link items within a text in a variety of different ways. We should also emphasise that cohesion occurs naturally as part of the unconscious encoding of the discourse into a text and will come about whether there is translanguaging or not.

Two more examples of cohesion and accessibility may serve to give an idea of the variety of ways in which cohesion may make instances of translanguaging accessible:

> 5) Appealing to a passer-by, I was directed to a doorway off the main street which led by way of a flight of ancient stairs into a grotto *trattoria*. Tables covered with spotless cloths were set at various levels beneath a rough rock ceiling and upon each stood a carafe of red wine. (pp. 70-1)

In Example 5, a link is established between *grotto*, the modifier of *trattoria,* and *rough rock ceiling* in the next sentence. This makes it clear that *the tables covered with spotless cloths* etc. are part of the *trattoria*, which therefore must be a place for eating in. In Example 6, Morton is talking about the castle in Manfredonia:

> 6) Few visitors ever come to Manfredonia and the town cannot afford the luxury of a gatekeeper. However, a notice on the gate said that the key could be obtained upon application to the town hall. I visualized the procedure: the long explanations at the *municipio* and the frantic messengers sent out to discover the town clerk: then the despair, the regrets, and the apologies because the man with the key had taken it with him into Foggia! (pp. 63-4)

In Example 6, the antecedent for *the municipio* is *town hall* at the end of the previous sentence (thus in rhematic position and therefore salient or prominent in the discourse – see Cornish 1999) as part of the longer noun phrase *application to the town hall*. The rheme of the next sentence is the application procedure, referred to by the more general noun phrase *the procedure*, which is identified as situated at *the municipio*; a link is thus established between *procedure* and *the municipio*, which mirrors *application to the town hall*.

One role that cohesion plays in the rendering of terms in LOTEs accessible would seem to have close links with translation and explanation. One of the factors affecting noun phrase selection in identity chains of co-referential items is the *informative function* (Christiansen 2009), whereby referring expressions are used not simply to designate a referent but to add further information about it. This happens in contexts where the referent is readily retrievable and where, revealingly, a general referring expression like an anaphor (e.g. pronoun) would be *referentially efficacious* (see Christiansen 2009).

In a translanguaging context, referring by means of a term from another language can be seen as *indirect translation* because the use of an unfamiliar term to refer to something whose referent is readily accessible is in itself informative: in effect, making the addressee aware of what the referent is called in another language. It thus, like an epithet (a descriptive noun phrase), adds further information about it. This process is illustrated in Example 7:

> 7) I then went to a chemist. In Italy the chemist, with Latin logic, sells medicines. He does not sell cameras, watches, bath salts, beauty preparations, cigarette lighters, pencils, lipsticks or razors. This means that the average *farmacia* is still dignified by some memory, no matter how remote, of Aesculapius; indeed some have later associations and look as if they had only just removed the stuffed alligator. (pp: 193-4)

In this example, cohesively speaking, *farmacia* constitutes a paraphrase (of an interlingual kind) for *chemist* in the first line and occurs at a point in the text where an anaphor such as *it* would have sufficed to designate the referent, as shown by Example 8 where we substitute the anaphor *it* for *farmacia* without compromising coherence:

> 8) I then went to a chemist. In Italy the chemist, with Latin logic, sells medicines. He does not sell cameras, watches, bath salts, beauty

> preparations, cigarette lighters, pencils, lipsticks or razors. This means that **it** is still dignified by some memory, no matter how remote, of Aesculapius; indeed some have later associations and look as if they had only just removed the stuffed alligator.

The informative function cannot be associated with every case of cohesion in a translanguaging context, in exactly the same way that not every use of an epithet in an identity chain can be said to either. In Example 4, replacing *carabinieri* with an anaphor, the pronoun *they*, leads to confusion, as shown by Example 9 below:

> 9) Her celebrity was such that upon the appointed day such enormous crowds gathered at Rodi that police were rushed from Foggia to control them. There was indeed a violent storm. During a particularly vivid flash of lightning some said they had seen the soul of Santa Rosa ascending to heaven. The occasion was so full of *emozione* that when a café table overturned with a loud bang **they** opened fire.

This replacement, *they*, would not reliably designate the referent because, at that point, the antecedent (the police rushed from Foggia to control the crowd) is not salient enough (see Cornish 1999) – separated as it is by two full sentences focussing on the storm. The addressee would likely be left in doubt about who opened fire in the last sentence and might easily assume that it was somebody unidentified in the crowd, noting that *they* in the fourth sentence obviously refers to *some* in the same sentence, not the police sent to control the crowds. It cannot therefore be said that *carabinieri* in Example 4 has an informative function or that it constitutes an indirect translation. Rather it is a simple case of translanguaging, where the addressor seems to assume that the term will be accessible (familiar already to the addressee).

This brief analysis brings to light the issue of how translanguaging affects the cohesion of texts. It would indeed be interesting to see how cohesion, especially of the lexical kind (reiteration, collocation[12]) functions. According to Hoey (2004, 2005), lexical cohesion involves *lexical*

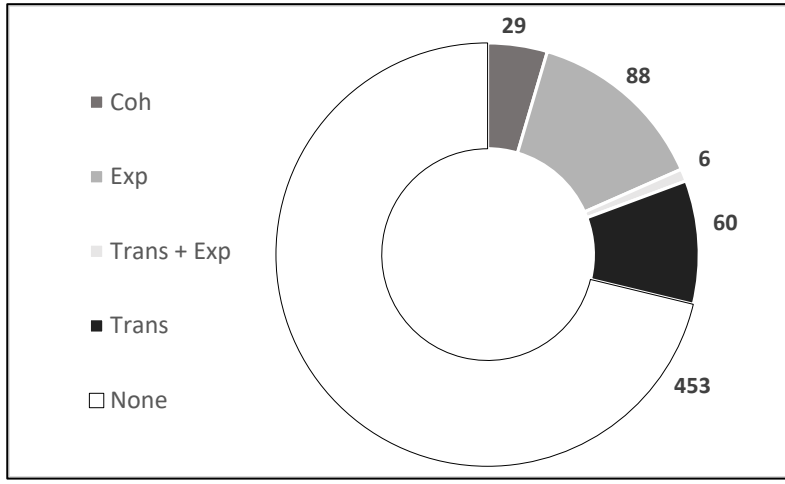
[12] Collocation, in particular, an important source of cohesion, would be a fertile area for research because, conventionally (see Firth 1951, Halliday and Hasan 1976), it is said to be based on statistical frequency of the co-occurrence of certain linguistic *forms* (e.g. *hard* and *work*; *serious* and *problem, blue* and *moon*); with translanguaging, such statistical frequencies would be less likely to hold and consequently, the concept of collocation, at least as conventionally conceived, would be less relevant.

priming: words being stored together with their linguistic co-text and social/cultural context. Priming allows the language user to build up an inventory of the kind of lexical patterns or linguistic structures in which a term typically occurs.[13] Translanguaging would seem to complicate such a relationship considerably at least at the formal, textual level. However, at the deeper, discoursal level (that of the message content), it may prove to be that such inventories exist between concepts which may then be manifested in different languages within the same text. For example: the lexical item *chemist* in the mind of an English speaker will be stored together with the items *medicine*, *lipstick* etc. In the discoursal substratum these would presumably be equated with concepts standing for the relevant denotata. These concepts are presumably linked in a way mirroring the networks among the lexical items (and thus such conceptual links would be the cause of lexical priming). If this were so, then what we could call provisionally *concept priming* would neatly account for phenomena like that which we briefly describe as *interlingual paraphrase* in Example 8 and may accommodate other kinds of translanguaging (as in the use of the term *stuffed alligator* together with the Italian term *farmacia*). The latter relationship stems from mental association and looks like collocation but is based not on frequency of co-occurrence of the lexical forms but on that of the concepts as they are activated within discourse. It would require even more sophisticated tools to analyse and measure than those employed for collocation. However, such a description must be seen as only provisional before specific research is carried out and careful consideration is made of the proper theoretical framework within which this phenomenon may be treated.

5. Relative frequency in Corpus of Translation, Explanation and Cohesion

Looking at the relative frequency of translation, explanation and cohesion in Morton's text allows us to see which strategies are preferred (Figure 4):

[13] A related concept is Sinclair's earlier *idiom principle*: the idea that language is seen as a set of choices at the segmental level and not at that of individual words (the so-called *open principle* of most other theories of language) but "of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analysable into segments" (Sinclair, 1991: p. 110).



Key: Coh = Cohesion; Exp = Explanation; Trans = Translation

Figure 4. Relative frequency in Corpus of Translation, Explanation and Cohesion in instances of translanguaging

Perhaps what is most striking on Figure 4 is how many instances of translanguaging in the corpus are not defined in any way ("none"). Of the strategies to make them more accessible, the most frequent is explanation (see Example 3 above), followed by translation (Example 1), then cohesion (Examples 4-6) and lastly, by a significant degree, by translation coupled with explanation (Example 2).

It is interestingly to look at the types of words and expressions in each category. In Table 4 we list the words and expressions that occur twice or more in each:

Cohesion ↓				**None ↓**	
Baresi			7	*S / San / Santa* etc.	91
Carabinieri			3	*Pio*	62
Farmacia			2	*Padre* (title)	61
Lidi/o			2	*Piazza*	17
Manna			2	*Tarantolata/i/o*	12
Total	13/29	%	44.83	*Maria*	9
Explanation ↓				*Padre* (term)	9
Magna Graecia			13	*Sipontum*	8
Trulli/o			13	*Nicola*	7
Cannae (term)			10	*Camillus*	5
Capitanata			4	*Vitus*	5
Clito			3	*Via Appia*	4

Far figura			3	*Archytas*			3
Manna			3	*Ciborium*			3
Aré			2	*Condottieri*			3
Cantina			2	*Rosa*			3
Finibus Terrae			2	*Ave Maria*			2
Murge			2	*Cesarea*			2
Parthenoi			2	*Chevalier*			2
Sacco			2	*di Leuca*			2
Total	61/88	%	69.32	*di Sipontum*			2
Translation + Explanation ↓				*Don*			2
Disfida			2	*Egnatia*			2
Total	4/6	%	66.67	*Ido Morganweg*			2
Translation ↓				*Laocoon*			2
Taras			23	*Leucius*			2
Tarentum			12	*Pellegrino/Pelligrino*			2
Total	35/60	%	58.34	Total	324/453	%	71.53

Table 4. Most frequent items in categories of Coh, Exp, Trans + Exp, Trans

Surprisingly perhaps, the category where there is no definition of the item (None) is where the greatest number of items which are used repeatedly are found. As the bottom row in this category shows, together these make up 324 out of the total 453 instances (see Figure 4) or 71.53%[14]. The lowest percentage of repeated items is for cohesion (44.83%). Cohesion, translation plus explanation, and explanation all come between 58.34% and 69.32% - a difference of just under 11%.

Some of the items, particularly near the top of the None list in Table 4 (e.g. *San* etc;[15] *piazza, padre as a term*), constitute items which, though technically from LOTEs, may be familiar to educated or well-informed addressees, especially those with an interest in Southern Italy: these being exactly the readership, it could be argued, that the book is aimed at. Some of the terms also relate to Roman Catholicism, (*padre*,[16] a term from Italian and Spanish, *Ave Maria* from Latin) and thus may be familiar to its adherents or to those interested in it. Many of the items are also proper names of some kind (e.g. *Pio*;[17] *Cannae*; *Maria*; *Nicola*; *Camillus*; *Vitus*;

[14] Here as elsewhere on this table, percentages are given to two decimal figures.

[15] Again, excluding cases where the title occurred as part of a place name, e.g. *S. Giovanni Rotondo*.

[16] In the context of the armed forces of most English-speaking countries, the term *padre* is used colloquially for any military Christian clergyman: Anglican, Roman Catholic, Baptist etc.

[17] The case of *Padre Pio* (as a unit, 61 times) is worthy of special attention. Because so much of the text is dedicated to him (most of Chapter 2), much information is in fact

Archytas; *Rosa*; *Cesarea*; *di Leuca; di Sipontum; Egnatia*; *Laocoon*; and *Leucius)* which constitute labels rather than *epithets* (see Christiansen 2011). While an epithet (usually a noun phrase with a common noun at its head) designates its referent essentially by describing it, a *name* designates by convention alone, functioning as an abstract label, and thus requires specific background knowledge. Unfamiliar names even in the addressee's own language are therefore not referentially efficacious and therefore detrimental to accessibility. By using so many names without further explanation, Morton seems to be assuming a high degree of background knowledge on the part of the reader.

6. Conclusions

From our various analyses of the data, it emerges that translanguaging in the corpus is most often not rendered accessible through cohesion, explanation or translation. This means that either the addressee is expected to share the same rich and varied linguistic repertoire of the addressor (see Figure 1) or that they are expected to be able to process the text without knowing the meaning of many of the translanguaging items which occur within in it.

The former option would seem most likely and it would thus seem fair to conclude that the degree of translanguaging found in this corpus indicates that accessibility is not the main priority of the addressor. It seems that Morton expects the addressee to guess the meaning of unfamiliar words from the context or judges that they can be left in to add "local colour" even if their precise meaning remains unclear. In such cases, "authenticity" takes precedence over "accessibility".

Another motive may be Morton's desire, conscious or not, to establish his authorial stance or *ethos* – the speaker's identity as it is constructed and/or deployed in discourse (Baumlin 1994; Cherry 1998). This is a fundamental tool in persuasion (Johnstone 2009). By doing this, Morton puts himself in a position of authority over the reader, which leads the reader to find his presentation of the areas that he visits more acceptable and credible. Morton's background in journalism may be a factor in this.

given about him, both as a person and as a religious figure. Never, however, is the term *padre* as it applies to him defined nor is the English equivalent for the name *Pio* (*Pious*) given, as happens with many saints', popes' or historical figures' names.

With regard to the "adding local colour" aspect of translanguaging mentioned above, by *not* rendering everything immediately accessible, Morton is forcing the reader to face the unfamiliar and make sense of it within the context of the specific discourse. His strategy here is similar to that which, in translation, Venuti (1985) calls *foreignizing*, It could be argued that the objective here is still of accessibility but of a kind where more active effort is required on the part of the reader, and it is this extra effort which enables the readers, as active participants in the discourse, to access the relevant culture by adapting and expanding their own lingua-cultural schemata.

Accessibility, how easy a text is to process and understand, then is a concept that can be analysed at different levels and from different perspectives. Translanguaging may not always constitute a mere obstacle for the addressee on their way not only to an understanding a specific text but also to the wider discourse of which the same text is a manifestation (see Christiansen 2011). At times, it may constitute a longer, but more picturesque and ultimately more rewarding route: in effect conveying linguistically the experience of the traveller, as opposed to the mere tourist, i.e. someone who encounters the unfamiliar, and strives to understand it without prejudice and on its own terms.

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